

IMAGINATIONS OF THE ANATOLIAN LANDSCAPE: THE FILMS
OF SABAHATTIN EYUBOĞLU

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OF SABAHATTIN EYUBOĞLU

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ABSTRACT

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Blue Anatolia, Travel Film

My thesis examines short documentary films produced by the literary and cultural critic, translator, and scholar Sabahattin Eyuboğlu within the rubric of the Istanbul University Film Center. Composed of travels into Anatolia's cultural geography with an eye scrutinizing the archeological and ethnographic heritage, I argue that his filmography gives a reading of Anatolia as a trope of the motherland as part of Turkey's construction of its national culture, which translates into a journey representing Asia Minor's ancient history, folklore, and picturesque landscape in the films. Seeking the imprints of this ideologically-determined approach in the form and content of Eyuboğlu's films, I also account for the workings of this trope through a survey of the intellectual history of Turkey. I analyze these imprints in the film's "cinematographic re-animation" of the past and their representation of the space of Anatolia as a mythical and trans historical entity.

ÖZET

ANADOLU MANZARALARININ TAHAYYÜLLERİ: SABAHATTİN EYUBOĞLU FİLMLERİ

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KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞMALAR YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2020

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, İstanbul Üniversitesi Film Merkezi,
Kültür Filmi, Mavi Anadolu, Seyahat Filmi

Bu tez eleştirmen, çevirmen ve akademisyen Sabahattin Eyuboğlu'nun İstanbul Üniversitesi Film Merkezi isimli enstitü kapsamında ürettiği filmleri incelemektedir. Anadolu coğrafyasının arkeolojik ve etnografik mirasına bir bakış sunan filmografinin Anadolu'yu ulusal kültürün bir mecazı olarak sunduğunu ve bu mecazın filmlerin sunduğu Küçük Asya'nın antik tarihini, folklorünü, ve pitoresk manzaralarını birleştiren bir seyahat anlatısı üzerinden okunabilir olduğunu iddia ediyorum. İdeoloji çerçevesinde belirlenmiş bu yaklaşımın izlerini ararken aynı zamanda bu temsillerin Türkiye entelektüel tarihindeki izdüşümlerini de derliyorum. Filmlere dair eleştiremi sinema üzerinden geçmiş üyandırmaya çalışan ve Anadolu'yu mitsel ve tarihdışı bir mekan olarak temsilini ele alarak iki başlık altında sunuyorum.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-------------|
| LIST OF FIGURES | viii |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1. Excavating Anatolia: From Archeology to Ethnography | 10 |
| 1.2. İstanbul University Film Center: Ideas on Film | 16 |
| 2. MEDIA APPARATUS: CONFIGURING THE AESTHETICS ... | 25 |
| 2.1. The Formation of a Research Trajectory and the Archival Condition . | 25 |
| 2.2. Place and Memory: Museum as a Medium | 31 |
| 2.2.1. Cinematographic Re-animation | 35 |
| 2.2.2. Narratives of Display | 38 |
| 2.3. Configuring Aesthetics | 43 |
| 2.3.1. Definitions of the Apparatus | 46 |
| 2.3.2. Beyond the Dispositive | 50 |
| 2.4. A Digression | 54 |
| 3. DOCUMENTS OF THE ANATOLIAN LANDSCAPE | 56 |
| 3.1. The Uses of Travel | 56 |
| 3.1.1. Reading an Unfolding Expedition | 56 |
| 3.1.2. Constructing Anatolia: Re-collection of Places | 60 |
| 3.2. Culture Film: An Elusive Genre | 66 |
| 3.2.1. Dispositions of Documentary Film | 66 |
| 3.2.2. Culture Film and the Educational Apparatus | 73 |
| 3.3. Faces and Places: Epistemology of the Documentary Image | 77 |
| 3.4. Defining Space: The Time of Anatolia | 87 |
| 4. Conclusion | 94 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 98 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 2.1. An almost illegible frame from <i>the Mother Goddess</i> | 25 |
| Figure 2.2. A frame from the opening of <i>the Waters of Ancient Antalya</i> .. | 31 |
| Figure 2.3. The ruins of the Apollo's Temple in Side | 32 |
| Figure 2.4. A scene from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in <i>the Hittite Sun</i> | 38 |
| Figure 2.5. Introducing a small water pot in the museum..... | 39 |
| Figure 2.6. An inside view of the Süreyya Cinema House, originally and now an opera house in Kadıköy, Istanbul: Gökhan Akçura's Archive . | 43 |
| Figure 2.7. The censorship authority's decision regarding <i>I am Asitavandas</i> | 49 |
| | |
| Figure 3.1. A scene from <i>Colours in the Dark</i> | 57 |
| Figure 3.2. A villager who is possibly combing the wheat out | 58 |
| Figure 3.3. The cave that the two adventurous men found..... | 59 |
| Figure 3.4. A map instructing the trip to be taken in <i>the Gods of Nemrut</i> | 61 |
| Figure 3.5. An Intertitle: Culture Film | 66 |
| Figure 3.6. An Intertitle: Documentary Film | 67 |
| Figure 3.7. The close-up record of the stone-cutting technique in <i>Rosary</i> .. | 75 |
| Figure 3.8. From <i>the Waters of Ancient Antalya</i> | 77 |
| Figure 3.9. The successive frames of the scene from <i>the Hittite Sun</i> | 79 |
| Figure 3.10. "Birçok sahneler, çevreler, insana ister istemez Eti kabartmalarını hatırlatıyorlar." | 82 |
| Figure 3.11. From <i>the Hittite Sun</i> | 83 |
| Figure 3.12. From <i>the Hittite Sun</i> | 83 |
| Figure 3.13. Superimposition of running water with a Hittite fresco in <i>the Hittite Sun</i> ; "Hala bizim de bir dua gibi ölülerimizin toprağına dök-tüğümüz, su gibi aziz olası sözünde dindarca övdüğümüz suyu, Etiler bir kurban keser gibi tanrılarına sunarlardı." | 86 |
| Figure 3.14. Different frames from <i>the Mother Goddess</i> | 87 |
| Figure 3.15. From <i>the Hittite Sun</i> | 93 |
| Figure 3.16. From <i>the Gods of Nemrut</i> | 93 |

1. INTRODUCTION

A significant portion of Sabahattin Eyubođlu's (1915-1973) literary/cultural criticism and scholarship owes its visibility to his reflections on the cultural heritage of the Anatolian peninsula. Referred to in relation to different activities of his intellectual life, from his essay writing to the cultural paradigm of Blue Anatolia [Mavi Anadolu], or from his translations for the Ministry of Education's Translation Bureau [Çeviri Bürosu] to his fervid defense of the pedagogic project of the Village Institutes [Köy Enstitüleri], his persistent visions of Anatolian culture diffuse into every level and provide one seminal fulcrum to define his position vis-à-vis this wide web of affiliations. He constructs a concept of Anatolia on the premise that within the different communities and cultures composing the peninsula's history, there is continuity and totality which he finds to be evident in an extension of the material culture from the archeological relics reminiscent of different epochs to Turkey's folklore with a national foundation. Modern Turkey finds its cultural roots on this heritage that is spread on the Anatolian territory. His promotion of Anatolia with its aesthetic dimensions contributed to its branding as the origins of Turkey's traditional culture which created its own spectrum of audience and influence to the extent that one could even say this branding has become a trademark identified with Eyubođlu. His Anatolia, the cradle of civilization and contemporary Turkey's culture, is best described by a long but essential piece that is to be found in his book *Blue and Black* [Mavi ve Kara] which is first published in 1961 and contains many of his essays about contemporary Turkish culture and society. Beginning from its first essay "Bizim Anadolu," the book has been used in emblematising the ideological kernels of Blue Anatolia, Anatolian Humanism [Anadolu Hürmanizmi], or the ethos of Eyubođlu's rhetoric in the last instance:

"Bu memleket niçin bizim? Dört yüz atıyla Orta Asya'dan gelip fethettiğimiz için mi? Böyle diyenler gerçekten benimsemiyor, anayurt saymıyorlar bu memleketi. Gurbette biliyorlar kendilerini yaşadıkları yerde. Hititler, Frigyalılar, Yunanlılar, Farslar, Romalılar, Bizanslar,

Moğollar da fethetmişler Anadolu'yu. Ne olmuş sonunda? Anadolu onların değil, onlar Anadolu'nun malı olmuş.

Bu memleket bizim olduğu için bizim, fethettiğimiz için de değil. Aramızda dışarıdan gelmeler çoğunlukta olsalar bile –ki değil elbette– kaynaşmış, halleşmiş hepsi. Fetheden de biziz, fethedilen de. Eriyen de biziz, eriten de. Biz bu toprakları yoğurmuşuz, bu topraklar da bizi. Onun için en eskiden en yeniye ne varsa yurdumuzda öz malımızdır bizim. Halkımızın tarihi Anadolu'nun tarihidir. Paganmışız bir zaman, sonra Hıristiyan olmuşuz, sonra Müslüman. Tapınakları kuran da bu halkmış, kiliseleri, camileri de. . . Yetmiş iki dili konuşmuşuz, Türkçe'de karar kılmazdan önce. . . Ne değişik eller, ne değişik halk oyunlarında tutuşmuş, ne horonlara, ne halaylara girmişiz. Doğuyla Batı sarmaş dolaş olmuş bizim içimizde. Ya o ya bu değil, hem o hem buyuz biz." (2011, 1)

The text gives an overall insight into the constitutive elements of Eyuboğlu's concept of Anatolia. Key labels of the topos of Anatolia's culture that will recur in Eyuboğlu's rhetoric appear in a concatenation: The Hittites, Phrygia, Greeks, Byzantines, Romans. In this schema, the diverse names springing out of a history book construct Anatolia while Anatolia robs them of other possible identities and stamps as Anatolian. This premise grounds the epistemology that produces the vague community of "us" who is being referred to as the subject in the quote. With its community, Anatolia yields to territorial integrity more than any other possible determiner of cultural unity, as it distinguishes its constituents by making them Anatolian, and this is followed by a language emphasis that relates this complex of cultural heritage to the present day. In the last instance, Anatolia neither exceeds nor refers to an entity less than Turkey. This informs the reader about the constitutive premise of Eyuboğlu's "us"; Turkey, being a modern-state, populates "us" while Eyuboğlu's Anatolia marks the cultural roots of this territory. Claimed to be a continuous and single entity in history, Eyuboğlu's Anatolia forms the base for the imagination of a nation-community and it is an entity through in which Turkey defines and recognizes itself. Benedict Anderson's seminal account of the emergence of the nations remarks that nation is an imagined political community similar to that of kinship or religion (2006). Its constitution requires a common ground that its subject can relate to. What distinguishes it from these other communities, though, is implicit in "the style in which [the community] is imagined." The pervading style of the concept of Anatolia for modern Turkey is that it is a trope of the nation when it builds a locus for the communal sources to be drawn from an "immemorial past" (Ibid). The constituents of this immemorial past are

elusive designations; in Eyuboğlu's schema its constituents are a set of emblems comprising empires, colonies, religious communities, or ethnic communities, yet the nation's claim to the past does not recognize any communal modality other than itself. It claims to different characteristics that constitute a communal sense that ends up reinforcing the monopoly of this obscure Anatolianism. Eyuboğlu animates fragments of the past that archeological studies unearth; the distant past takes the stage to tailor the community of the present time. This coincides with Eyuboğlu's identification of Anatolia as the motherland of modern Turkey. The style in which the geography's transformation into a motherland and the nation-community are imagined demands an economy of memory without doubt, but the premises that Eyuboğlu grounds his discourse on Anatolia to design Turkey's cultural heritage animate a set of tropes that cannot be perceived merely as a mandate of misreading or as a privileging of certain instances to build up an identity.

This picture of Anatolia stems from a romantic ideal of the motherland, which gains its national character after the Balkan Wars in 1912 (Kafadar 2017, 130). Such imagery inscribes Anatolia's topography as the Turkish territory and the nation's cradle. In the last decade of the multi-ethnic Empire's dissolution, while having lost its European territory, the intellectual milieu with nationalist impulses recognize in Anatolia a political agenda for defining the state in national terms. The War of Independence and the foundation of modern Turkey as a nation-state in the territory clinches Anatolia's definition as the land of the Turks. As Turkey started to construct the representations of its history, this story was not unitary, however. Eyuboğlu begins his essay by declaring Anatolia as the Turkish motherland and objects to the nationalist rhetoric that seeks Turkey's origin by tracing its history to Turkic Central Asia. In the last paragraph of the essay, he declares: "Ziya Gökalp'in tarihi zaruretlerle uzak ve meçhul ülkelerde aradığı vatan, anavatan, bizim için adaları ve Rumeli'siyle Anadolu'dur." Eyuboğlu denounces the idea of tracing Turkey's roots to Central Asia or any other territory and culture outside Anatolia, but not the Turkish motherland.

This background informs that Eyuboğlu's search to fix an identity depending on the cultural roots of contemporary Turkey is intertwined with the predicaments of a political agenda. Constructing Anatolia as the nation's cradle posits and invents the land in a web of associations; its national character is being cemented by the narrative of cultural roots which produces a discourse of Anatolia as "a historical category and an aesthetic ideal" simultaneously (Bilsel 2007, 224). While Anatolia becomes a harbinger of modern Turkey and the nation-state, its culture fabricates the autochthony of contemporary Turkey and its claim to nationhood. Scrutinizing Anatolia and the surrounding areas' cultural geography during the Ottoman Em-

pire's reign, Kafadar develops a meticulous study on the complex of geographic, ethnic, or political categories and the wide vocabulary signifying the Anatolian region. This study comes to a halt in the wake of Turkey's modernity in the 19th century, noting that this modern period requires a whole different study as convoluted as Turkey's intellectual history (2017, 135). This difficulty would most surely be attributed to the new nexus of politics and aesthetics and the several competing ideologies in which Anatolia becomes an intellectual currency for exchange.

Kafadar's work focuses on the elusive character of the geographical designations with changing territorial, communal, or governmental indices regarding the peninsula. His study also reveals that the demography of the region during the Ottoman State is multi-ethnic and considerably different from the imagined national polity and the trope of the Turkish motherland attributed to Anatolia. Eyuboğlu's conception is not immune to this problem even though he tailors the Anatolian heritage to comprise different communities who do not identify as Turkish. Circumventing any temporal relationship between these elements from the Greeks to the Byzantines, even if Eyuboğlu's Anatolia stands for the fancy title of "the cradle of civilizations," it does not stand for the demographic or ethnic dimensions of Turkey (Copeaux 2006). However, it seems that the nationalist agenda perpetuates the perception of Anatolia and becomes a denominator that determines the speech's limits, and which denies Anatolia's multi-ethnic heritage until the 20th century. The geographical entity of Anatolia becomes intertwined with an ideal than reality and it anticipates the community taking shape akin to such an ideal. Copeaux's point on the illusion of cultural integrity of Anatolia which renders invisible the multi-ethnic population of the region's recent Ottoman past or of the contemporary Republican epoch states that the modality of Eyuboğlu's discourse on Anatolia, too, circumvents that heterogeneous constituents co-existing as the peninsula's culture exists neither in the present time nor in history. Nationalist historiography of the Republic shuns its Ottoman past and denies that the geography had a multi-ethnic population before the drastic change it went through from the First World War to the foundation of the Republic (Keyder 2005, 6). While looking into the distant past to animate the cultural roots of Turkey and fashion Anatolia as Turkish territory, a selective bias in remembering circumvents traumatic events such as the deportation and massacre of the Armenian population in Anatolia or the population exchange with Greece. Instead, "an artificial history propping up an invented version of nationalism" produces its shreds of evidence in the interpretation and making visible of the distant past (Ibid, 11).

Ignoring the gaps in such an account, Eyuboğlu's Anatolia offers the land a privileged position in creating the sense of community that also helps circumvent the scatters

of history. Defining Anatolia's history as the history of "our people" brings the image of a people from the primeval time and identifies the nation's roots with this image. In order to demonstrate the unity of this conception, Eyuboğlu insists that different elements merge into Anatolia. In the very same essay "Bizim Anadolu," he recounts his observations on the traditional "horon" dance from the folklore of the Black Sea region in Turkey and points out that the dance is similar to the Dioynasian rituals depicted by Euripides in the ancient Greek tragedy *the Bacchae*, which Eyuboğlu himself translated (2011, 4). What glues such fragments is the fact that they are Anatolian; the territory stands uniquely in integrity throughout different ages. He grounds his observation in a note that Dioynisian choruses dwelt in Anatolia, while the fact that the Black Sea region of Turkey was populated by the Greeks of Anatolia until the population exchange remains unspoken. The myth of Anatolia obscures the specific history of this place and the Anatolian character that Eyuboğlu imagines pervades as an abstract entity. Bora (2017) referred to Eyuboğlu's Anatolia concept as earth metaphysics [toprak metafiziği], describing the leap of faith to base the claim that Anatolia forms a unique culture in itself. Eyuboğlu invents autochthony in Anatolia through the premise of the land's authenticity. By doing so, Eyuboğlu implicitly attributes to nature the role of a frame articulating culture. Of course, the nature corresponds to the Anatolian territory. In some of his writings in the 1930s, Eyuboğlu struggles to formulate what "nature" designates in the constitution of Turkey's modernity, which seems to have resulted in a few indecisive essays on arts and literature. In one of these essays written in 1938 as a follow-up to an earlier one in 1935, Eyuboğlu asserts in a philological spirit:

"Avrupa kültürü ile temasa geldiğimiz tarihten itibaren fikir dünyamızda ehemmiyet kazanmaya başlayan yeni mefhumlardan biri ve bilhassa sanat bakımından en zengini tabiattır... Bu kelime adeta Tanzimat'tan sonra zihni iktisaplarımızın [edinim] bir mahzeni ve yeni dünya görüşümüzün bir makesi (akisi) olmuştur... Türkçe'de tabiat kelimesi eski, fakat bugünkü manası yenidir... Takriben yüz sene evvel tabiat kelimesinin şu manalarda kullanılmasına imkan yoktu:

"Tabiatta hiçbir şey kaybolmaz.

Bahar tabiatın hayat hamlesidir.

...

"Tabiat insan ruhunun aynası gibidir."

Bu cümlelerdeki tabiat daima insanı aşan bir dünyaya delalet etmekte

ve frenklerin nature kelimesi mukabilinde kullanılmaktadır. Halbuki eskiler tabiat kelimesini sadece mizaç, mahiyet manasında kullanıyorlardı." (2000b, 25)

I think Eyuboğlu's interest in the two lexical meanings of the word *nature* [tabiat] can clarify how he justifies Anatolia as Turkey's cultural roots and identity because he maneuvers with Anatolia by granting the territory a distinct character. Eyuboğlu contends that nature, which once merely corresponded to one's character, started to signify the outer world beyond the human habitat. He translates it as the counterpart of the Latin word *natur*, on which he later claims: "Natur kelimesi bugün hemen bütün batı dillerinde ta Ortaçağdan beri doğuş, yaradılış anlamıyla halkın kullandığı bir kelimedir. Hatta, naturası sağlam deyimini batı halk dilinden bizim halk dilimize de geçmiştir" (35). The essay continues by summarizing different characterizations of nature in Western art and literary history, but it comes to a halt without uttering what this supposedly new homonym implies for Turkish literature and culture. In the 1960s, when Eyuboğlu's interest in the Anatolian culture accelerates with a populist discourse, nature emerges as an analogy to folk [halk] in his essay "Halktan Yana:" "Halktan kopma, tabiattan kopma gibidir: İnsanın düşüncesini inceltir, yüceltir gibi görünerek kısırlaştırır" (2011, 19). The analogy does not immediately speak about what exactly it refers to by nature, either the outer world or the inner character as Eyuboğlu engaged above, but it provides a semantic relationship between nature and folk [halk] through which we may trace what Eyuboğlu harbors in the concept of nature. I contend that he finds a way to establish a relationship between the two meanings of the word when he uses nature as an analogy for folk. I will suggest understanding the folk section of this analogy, a word that has occupied a vague but essential space in Eyuboğlu's writings on Anatolia and Turkish society, as he makes clear while stating that Anatolia's history is the history of "our" folk. Eyuboğlu's two different quotes on nature, the philological one that accumulates the inner character and the outer world in one word and drawing nature as an analogy for folk, indicates that its footprints may be recorded in his understanding of culture. So, Eyuboğlu's analogy actually harbors a perception of culture and the epistemological ground of Eyuboğlu's construction of Anatolian cultural heritage for Turkey. The roots of this epistemology are also deeply embedded in Turkey's intellectual history and what we can call politics of culture following literary and cultural critic Orhan Koçak (2001). So, I cut an interlude to the history of the politics of culture in Turkey in which culture is envisioned in a national frame; this national frame also became the hegemonic perception of the central government, as Koçak notes that this intellectual history would become

Kemalist ideology's expression and representation (Ibid). The imprints of such a program are traceable in Turkey's intellectual history because similar predicaments in envisioning culture repeats themselves while defining the repertoire of the discussion, although the monopolization of culture as part of the state's policies is decisive. Koçak (2001) reads the history of politics of culture in an intellectual itinerary after the thoughts of sociologist and ideologue Ziya Gökalp. Following Taha Parla's (1989) exegesis on Gökalp's thought, Koçak explains that Gökalp's theory/ideology seeks to formulate a harmony between civilization [medeniyet] and culture [hars]. Civilization is the accumulation of concepts and techniques for building human societies. It is artificial and passes on from culture to culture; contrary to civilization, culture is organic and it relates to the authentic essence of the nation; it is not subject to free will (2001, 374-375). Interpreting this theory/ideology, Koçak convicts that Gökalp's paradigm also bears the tension between international/universal civilization and national/native culture, and culture identified as the essence demands protection. Gökalp's distinction between civilization and culture is not new, though. Trying to disentangle the "long and still difficult interaction" (Williams 2014) between culture and civilization, Eagleton takes up a meandering course that does not actually solve it but rather highlights the semantic changes of the two concepts' relation in history. This history seems to converge with Gökalp's distinction in which "'civilization' played down national differences, whereas 'culture' highlighted them" (Eagleton 2000, 14). Very much like Gökalp's theory, civilization encompasses the whole edifice that composes our societies and its techniques with a more rational and calculable agenda; on the contrary, culture signifies a more sensible and less calculable social life (Ibid, 30). But if defined as the cultivation and the education of subject/citizens as Coleridge does, culture is not necessarily a rival to civilization. It survives with it: "The state incarnates culture, which in turn embodies our common humanity" (Ibid, 12). However, Eagleton also notes the imperialist implications of civilization and culture's fragmentary effect on such an expansionist desire. Instead of universal values, culture styles a "universal form of subjectivity" (Ibid, 10). So, we could result that neither separation nor a merge, Eagleton traces the political and social history embodied in the two concepts' relation, and he styles a mediation between them. Some aspects of Eagleton's tracing echo in Gökalp's culture theory while falling short on explaining Gökalp's organicist approach to culture. On the contrary, Eagleton emphasizes the refusal of essentialism; the idea of culture embodies a refusal of both determinism and individual autonomy at the same time (Ibid, 10). Instead, Gökalp's organicism negates individual autonomy and defines culture as an authentic and nonnegotiable character, deeming culture a nation's essence that is immediately available to it.

Eyuboğlu's approach resolves the tension between the civilization and universal from the culture and essential by characterizing both as native to Anatolian culture. He does not repudiate or recognize the exteriority of civilization to the nation's essence. His construction of Anatolia as the motherland accepts that Anatolian heritage is not only composed of Turkish components. Gökalp's Turkish national culture was defined on the basis of ethnicity. The influence of European states and the cosmopolitan Ottoman culture maintaining Greek and Armenian culture or the Persian and Arabic culture were foreign elements that swayed us away from our authentic self. His answer to the question of what is essential and artificial is to merge them and render them all Anatolian, therefore ours. Eyuboğlu Koçak notes that Eyuboğlu spares his energy from an economy of inclusion/exclusion, meaning that he avoids the burden of distinguishing between what is national and essentially Turkish culture, and what is foreign (2001, 403). Instead, Eyuboğlu interprets the various cultural elements reminiscent of the territory's past; these elements are not essentially cultural but their meaning can be organized in a native frame. This is a sound observation, but Koçak also insists that Gökalp's approach is foundational for the cultural politics in the Republic's history, and Eyuboğlu is not immune to his influence. What makes Gökalp's organicist paradigm fundamental for Eyuboğlu's analogy between nature and folk is that Eyuboğlu simply retains this latent conception of culture in the way it conceives the folk and posits folklore as the integral element of nationalized culture. Koçak (2001) emphasizes that Gökalp contended culture to be natural [tabii] in a social Darwinist frame and assumed it to be adaptable to the changing conditions instinctively. In a figurative sense, Eyuboğlu says abandoning the folk sterilizes [kısırlaştırmak] a person, just like abandoning nature. If the stake of culture is an adaptation, then one would fall out of the game by becoming unable to reproduce. It is still skeptical whether Gökalp's culture would fit into the definition of *natur*, but let us not fall into the philological trap and be more categorical to understand the relationship, since what is between nature and culture is an analogy. A possible contradiction between the two definitions of nature, as the inner character and the outer world, is what Eyuboğlu's philological enterprise mitigates. Eyuboğlu defends folk and folklore from a point of view that mitigates such a possible tension. Thinking the implications of the homonym between the outside world and the essential character of a human being for culture, it brings out an equation mandatory for the definition of culture in a national framework; it equates nature to the motherland, which then symbolizes the national character producing "the recurrent metaphor of landscape as the inscape of national identity" (Bhabha 2013, 295). The metaphysical existence that Eyuboğlu attributed to the territory, which stamps its dwellers with an identity defined by Anatolia, works through this equation drawn upon the two meanings of nature. It clinches the identification of

"us" with the cultural heritage to be derived from historical civilizations and folklore.

The preliminaries of building the motherland Anatolia necessitates the analogy between nature and culture. Eyuboğlu's discourse of Anatolia, which is both a historical category and also an aesthetic ideal, reproduces itself through a specific set of tropes and representations. Eyuboğlu strove to publicize his perception of Anatolia as his career further progressed into making documentary films from a public and academic intellectual life. After this meandering summary of the concept of Anatolia, I introduce the main subject of this thesis -Eyuboğlu's documentary film project comprised of several short films narrating Anatolian cultural heritage through journeys on the territory. These films, while remaining within the jurisdiction of culture film genre, explored a wide range of art-historical and cultural objects which form the curriculum of the peninsula's cultural heritage as tailored by him. Modest research films that were produced as part of his scholarship in humanities at Istanbul University and Istanbul Technical University, they highlighted the cultural roots of Anatolia, invented itineraries of associations and continuities between a variety of archeological relics and folkloric practices in diverse parts of the peninsula reminiscent of historical epochs. In the thesis, I assess Eyuboğlu's films produced within the rubric of an institution named Istanbul University Film Center. The reason for this limitation is the plausibility of an institute to function as a limit, which follows an agenda relatively strict and accountable in its film-making. The concept of Anatolia, as outlined following Eyuboğlu's thoughts, denotes a central point that we can Eyuboğlu self-fashions the filmography as an Anatolian Epic. This imagery gives us the chance to hypothesize on this designation and to make a foreword. Similar to Eyuboğlu's oeuvre, in a foreword to Ara Güler's *Yüzlerinde Yeryüzü* (1995), a photo-book in which Güler collects photographs of his several journeys to Anatolia, Yaşar Kemal describes Güler's work as an Anatolian Epic. Epic first evokes a work of gigantic scope. It could be a work that traverses the land and claims to represent the vast scope that it undertakes. In literary theory, it was described as an archaic form in which a character whose decision embodied the destiny of a community and therefore represented it (Lukács 1971, 67). Eyuboğlu's films have no protagonist of any epic scope, yet this comparison emphasizes the films' representative claim. Epics have also come to symbolize a nation's genesis that portrays its common past and destiny, cementing national consciousness. Nevertheless, what does not change beyond the phraseology's implications or the futile question of whether the films fulfill them is that Eyuboğlu's filmography is built upon field trips that speak about the cultural heritage of the peninsula, try to consecrate it as well as to make sense of it.

1.1 Excavating Anatolia: From Archeology to Ethnography

Archeological excavations in Turkey commence during the 19th century of the Ottoman Empire along with the development of modern state institutions. They become part of an ethnographic and archeological project to re-organize the Ottoman Empire as a counterpart to the European empires of its time and to fashion the image of the state as an Empire (Deringil 2003). While an ethnographic gaze styles the Ottoman man with the white man's burden towards the Empire's colonies in the Middle East and North Africa where "they live in a state of nomadism and savagery," archeological excavations and their exhibition consolidate this enterprise (Ibid). It materializes this image in the Imperial Museum in İstanbul, opened in 1881 with the initiatives of the "emblematic personality" Osman Hamdi Bey, who also directed excavations and expeditions to Nemrut –the remainders of Commagene Kingdom- and to the Sidon necropolis in Lebanon (Eldem 2011). Many objects and architectural relics are transported to the capital of the Empire to the new museum. Osman Hamdi's archeological enterprise is also followed by an ethnographic project in studies of Anatolian folklore and traditions when he publishes the album *Popular Costumes of Turkey* [Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie] in French. The album is composed of photographs that reproduce the image of "the empire through ethnographic tropes common in Europe" (Shaw 2009, 85). In further examples such as international expositions, Ottoman Empire finds room to construct and exhibit its image through representations of the popular traditions spread in the Empire's landscape.

From the Empire to the Republic, archeology and museology also radically orient a new semantics of the nation-state with the shift in the state's self-fashioning. The white man's burden constituting the image of a multi-ethnic Empire contradicts Turkey's understanding of itself after the War of Independence and the foundation of the Republic. The "visible cultural forms" in the museums, which "flourished as metaphors" for the representation of the human of an Imperial period and stood for the Empire "as church architecture stood in for the invisibility of God" (MacDougall 1997), loses the epistemological ground that determines their narrative. The change implies that the visual objects of the previous century must re-assemble a new narrative. Turkey inaugurates archeological surveys on its new finite territory and commences building a new understanding of itself as a nation-state, for which archeology becomes one mirror to sustain this self-image. Instead of the Imperial Museum or Istanbul Archeology Museum, the Hittite Museum and the Ethnographic Museum are founded in the new capital city of Ankara with an exhibition order structured

by a national narrative and objects of the past in display represent the nation-state (Shaw 2007). It is noted that as late as 1932, there were few research projects on Anatolia's prehistory and they were mostly conducted by foreign researchers, but the decision to launch a set of excavations in the state's territory is taken as part of the national Turkish History Congresses (Atakuman 2008, 224). Kemalism, the ideological and institutional complex of the Republic's foundation embodying its nation-building program, builds a past that will cement and sprout "a new chapter in history" emancipating the new nation from the burdens and obstructions of the Ottoman past (Ibid). This impulse to emancipate from the Ottoman past informs the new setting of archeology and the image of Anatolia that the past is meant to represent. While looking into the distant past to visualize and narrate the Turkish history of Anatolia, a selective bias in remembering circumvents the recent history. Turkey's interest in the archeology of Anatolia bolsters its image as the motherland of Turks. This is the foundational gesture of the semantics that stage such representations of the past, which contends that "Anatolia, as the homeland of Turks from time immemorial, was essentially a Turkish territory" (Kilinc 2017, 6). Authorized by the past with a lauded entitlement and autochthony, it presents the nation as a destined community inhabiting its motherland. This community, whose cultural memory is embodied by Anatolia, also excludes and denies that Anatolia's history can intersect with the cultural memory of other communities.

Along with archeology simultaneous project of nation-building anthropology in Turkey inscribes Anatolian culture and excavates Turkish identity's curriculum in folklore and material culture (Demirer 2011). The synchrony between archeological and ethnographic enterprises reflects in the museology's conjunction of the museums of archeology and ethnography around Turkey's various cities (2007). Through various university disciplines such as folklore and literature but also through the mass communication, the state-initiated program of research produced and disseminated the knowledge of Anatolian culture. Özbudun traces the emergence of ethnographic practices in Turkey and points to the critical role of the nation-building program through quasi-institutional organizations such as the network of People's Houses [Halkevleri] established in Turkey's various cities and towns. Such an institutional network encouraged and attracted the mobility of literate observers where they had the chance to contact local cultures. Özbudun suggests an epithet term for the Republic's intellectual type in his Anatolian quest as an "amateur ethnographer" who is subjected to double acculturation; the intellectual's Bildung is harnessed to the national consciousness while he acculturates the folks and produces the knowledge of their practices (Demirer 2011, 124-125). It is also important that an amateur ethnographer observes, learns, and inscribes impressions of Anatolia without for-

getting that, as cited in Özbudun (2011), they are “agents of the Republic” rather than “objective researchers” (Öztürkmen 1998, 97). Their agency is complicit in the state-building program and Anatolia’s image of the motherland that it seeks to reinforce its nationalist trait. While knowledge of Anatolian culture and history surfaces, the facade of the Anatolian landscape becomes an exchange between the intellectuals which in turn becomes the mirror for Anatolia to read itself.

Eyuboğlu’s film productions strike one as ethnographic and archeological films (Demirkıran 2011). Even though the state-initiated research programs on Anatolia’s ethnographic and archeological repertoire correspond to Eyuboğlu’s Anatolia concept and helps us envision how he addresses this material in his films, Eyuboğlu’s interest in this broad category of heritage also resonates with the literary and cultural paradigm of the Blue Anatolia milieu, to which Eyuboğlu’s writings and persona is an essential component. Centering around Eyuboğlu, Azra Erhat, and Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (Halikarnas Balıkcısı), the milieu starts to take shape in the 1940s. Similar to Eyuboğlu’s vision of Anatolian culture, Blue Anatolia bears the marks of nationalist romanticism of the motherland and nationalist historiography, yet its unique characteristics also deserve tracing of. A survey of the archeology in Turkey proves the interest in archaic relics and ruins of the prehistorical epochs, and ethnography displays the desire to conceptualize Anatolian folklore; Blue Anatolia’s attitude refurbished earlier studies but it also contrasted with them in formulating the origins of Turkish culture. The seminal characteristic of Blue Anatolia is its design of the cultural heritage which centers around the peninsula’s past reminiscent of Greek antiquity. Following Keyder (2005), Kenan Sharpe (2018) notes that Turkish nationalism was sceptic about its Mediterranean territory which signified the Ottoman cosmopolitan character and the geography’s common historical trajectory with its Greek population which the Republic tried to repress. Anatolia’s for ethnographic and archeological exploration evaded encounters with this seascape and exempted it from the heritage narrative and Turkish identity. Blue Anatolia, however, displays an explicit interest in the antiquity and embraces its repertoire. Contrary to the repression of the previous receptions, it appropriates the Greek and other non-Turkish aspects of the heritage in Turkey’s territory to the national narrative. As Eyuboğlu’s Anatolia concept reveals, the narrative that Blue Anatolia provides for national heritage is "a national mythology based on geography" (Ibid, 171).

The impulses that shaped Blue Anatolia’s design of national mythology are also associated with a humanist turn re-configuring the nationalist script of culture in Turkey’s modernity, periodically 1938-1946 embodied in the tenure of Hasan Ali Yücel as the minister of education (Koçak 2001). Blue Anatolia has mostly been

associated with this humanist revival of the nationalist script of culture in Turkey's modernity. Koçak labels the epoch as a restoration after the first period of the Republic's Kemalist program and its nationalism that defined the fundamentals of its perception of culture, which he identifies with Gökalp's thought. Nevertheless, restoration also means that this second epoch's world-picture and the frame that it envisioned a cultural program was conceived by the Kemalist program and its national anxieties. Karacasu (2006) elaborates Blue Anatolia's vision of culture in a national program centering it around a national canon-building project. Within this period, the ministry initiates a program to form a literary canon curated with a humanist spirit. A selection of Western classics of diverse epochs from antiquity to the romanticism and enlightenment literature and selected Eastern works are translated into Turkish and published in a series. Translation Bureau [Çeviri Bürosu] produces this edited series in which Eyuboğlu and Azra Erhat also partake as translators. This attempt produced a refined list of World literature that perceived the Western canon and the works of antiquity as a reference. The predicament that such a humanist revival and literary canon aims to overcome can again be interpreted parallel to Gökalp's culture paradigm and the tension of universal/national, between what is the nation's essence or outsider to this essence. As I have tried to explore above, Turkey's nationalist romanticism also clashed with the West, or rather with the West that Turkey conceptualized in the first place. Inventing an authentic Turkish identity clashed with the civilization that Gökalp defined as artificial and accumulation of techniques. This humanist reconfiguration of the national education, Koçak interprets, was meant to keep Turkey abreast with the rest of the world by reconciling the authentic Turkish culture with the universal values of civilization (2001). These universal values culminated in the culture's humanist fashioning through the adoption of the antiquity and classics. But I noted that Eyuboğlu's envision of Anatolian culture is not immune to the nationalist political program that prepared the groundwork for Anatolia's motherland image. Their proposition to construct a blueprint for national culture through an interpretation of the antiquity, too, follows the same trajectory. It is Blue Kemalism as Karacasu (2006) alludes to, and it retains the unaccountable chauvinism of nationalist fervor. The result of this unproblematized predicament ends in nativizing the Western humanist canon that they curate in the first place. Blue Anatolia's promotion of Anatolia claims it not only to be the cradle of Turkish culture; Ancient Greek philosophy and humanist tradition stem from Anatolia as well (Bora 2017). Its reconciliation with universal civilization through humanism, therefore, disclosed an appropriation of the antiquity into the Anatolian culture for which Eyuboğlu led the way. Kenan Sharpe (2018) precisely points out the connotations of this "Hellenism without Greeks" and focuses on how Blue Anatolia's national literature displaced the cultural heritage of

the Mediterranean coast from its Greek past and invented its mythography to correspond to Turkey's contemporary nation-state image. The claim for the copyright of Ancient Greek culture to the culture defined by the boundaries of Anatolia by no means alluded to similarities between Turkey and its neighbor Greece; it was rather a claim that antagonized and reinforced the national pride.

The circle of Blue Anatolia invented its historical fiction through a wide web of interpretation; they embraced and re-oriented the mythology of antiquity to bear the mark of an Anatolian heritage obscurely defined and "promoted the idea that Turkish culture could spring from the ruins of ancient cultures" (Konuk 2010, 78). Similar to Eyuboğlu's dubbing of his films, an advertisement publicizes Homer's Iliad as "Anatolian Epic" translated by Azra Erhat.¹ And while realizing this vision, this network of intellectuals developed a mythical narrative "struggling to redefine a 'native' intellectual heritage as much as a historical one" (Gür 2010, 85). This interest in antiquity coincided with their Eyuboğlu's interest in folklore and the narrative that Anatolia in itself is the locus of civilization that helped him bridge these traditions with the patches and scratches of the past gathered from the Classics or the archeological excavations. The contention that Anatolia was the origin of civilization to which Turkey is the righteous inheritor manifests itself through a narrative whose traces are preserved by the vernacular cultures in Anatolia, forming a chain from the oldest communities, colonies, or states that inhabited the region to the most recent nation-state; return to Eyuboğlu's concatenation that displaces its elements from their historical relations and turns into the emblems of Anatolian culture. The thematic sources that come to define Mavi Anadolu are inconsistent and not necessarily relevant. Folklore traditions, archaic material, and pictorial culture, or ancient Greek mythology and literature commingle into the narrative they craft as long as they exhibit Anatolian culture to be continuous and this wide and eventually heterogeneous repertoire. The modern nation becomes the natural successor of this autochthonous presence in the peninsula as its cultural roots are traceable to the oldest layers of time; cultural survivalism is the seminal premise of Anatolian civilization (Bilsel 2007, 233).

As Koçak (2001) remarks on Eyuboğlu, the movement's approach to culture displays acceptance of the prevalent role of interpretation which leads to the construction of the genesis of Turkey's culture. Lowenthal once defined heritage to show its disparities with history by conceiving a type of heritage fashioner: "The heritage fashioner, however historically scrupulous, seeks to design a past that will fix the identity and enhance the well-being of some chosen individual or folk" (1998, xi). Eyuboğlu's take

¹"Mitolojinin kaynağı büyük Anadolu destanı," 11 July 1967, *Cumhuriyet*

on material culture instrumentalizes the elements of material culture under study by denoting them their meaning in a web of relations with other elements that may read a pulse contrary to history. This opposition crystallizes in Eyuboğlu's interpretive attitude against the correlations between the peninsula's folklore and antiquity. Nevertheless, voluntary "misreadings of the past" (Ibid) are immanent. In his essay "Iliad and Anatolia" [İlyada ve Anadolu], Eyuboğlu recites his encounter with an anecdote of the French essayist Montaigne on Fatih the Conqueror while translating the book, in which the sultan reproaches to the Pope that he cannot understand why the Europeans would detest him since both the Italians and "we" originate from the Trojans. I note that identifying Turkey and Turkish War of Independence with the war between the Greeks and the Trojans and Trojan defense of their land is a repetitive gesture of the Blue Anatolia milieu (Sharpe 2018, 174). Eyuboğlu, who deems the the story quite genuine, nevertheless decides to consult and verify the anecdote by forwarding it to two seminal historians, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Mükrimin Halil İnanç. The historians, though, let him down by saying that Montaigne most probably made it up. Eyuboğlu does not agree and goes on: "Homeros'un da, Montaigne'in de bizi tarihçilerden daha az aldatmış olmalarına şaşmam" (2011, 247). Deeming a good story's image of the past to be more plausible than a historical document, Eyuboğlu's interpretation of the past produces "a troubling species of humanism that attempted to animate mythical stories for present ends" (Konuk 2010, 79).

The past's tracing into the present became a ground for its evocation and re-utilization as well; Eyuboğlu fanatically promoted the use of folkloric and archaic iconography in modern visual culture. He defended the convergence of Western forms with native content and that looking into Anatolia's history and art would help us know ourselves. This can be seen as an intention to sustain the traces he believed to have existed and to close a possible gap between the community designed through the past and contemporary culture. But Blue Anatolia's mythical turn in fashioning a national cultural heritage is not merely an expansion of the repertoire of previous decades established by the nationalist historiography. Even if Anatolia appeared in Turkey's imagery of culture before the 1950s, Blue Anatolia's re-evaluation of the cultural roots clinched "the transformation of Anatolia into an organizing paradigm of aesthetic culture" (Bilsel 2007, 223). They reinforced their paradigm of the Anatolian culture through a convenient rhetoric and gave form to their content. This transformation renders Anatolia a metaphor in a discourse that can be reproduced by story-telling and communication in cultural production; it defines a frame to present Anatolian culture. Anatolia's introduction as an aesthetic category swerves from the content's value to the frame in which the content

is presented. Blue Anatolia's mythology reliant on story-telling strives to establish a medium. Indeed, Blue Anatolia is less about systematic research on heritage, folklore, or archeology and more about trips, journeys, excavations, and adventures. Such is the shift that Eyubođlu and his fellows at Istanbul University reiterate while producing their films on Anatolian culture.

1.2 İstanbul University Film Center: Ideas on Film

Eyubođlu's documentary corpus inherits Blue Anatolia's agenda of establishing the narrative of continuous Anatolian culture and the predicaments of establishing the cultural roots of modern Turkey. Most of his films are produced within the rubric of Istanbul University Film Center, founded by Eyubođlu himself and Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu, with the continuous contributions of Aziz Albek and Adnan Benk, all of whom were part of the Humanities Faculty at Istanbul University at one time. The institute sets to work beginning from 1954 and produces a series of short films. Even though Eyubođlu dies in 1973, the institute continues to produce films at least until 1976. The short films circulate around similar subjects which relate the crew's professions as archeologist, art historian or literary scholar. A list of their short films, which does not reveal any production date for the films, is to be found in a booklet published in 1976 prepared by Aziz Albek. Nevertheless further studies indicate that the booklet aligns the films in timeline (Demirkıran 2011):

The Hittite Sun [Hitit Güneői]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu

Black Pen [Siyah kalem]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu

The Book of Festivities [Surname: Düđün Kitabı]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu

Colors in the Dark [Karanlıkta Renkler]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu

The Roman Mosaics in Anatolia [Anadolu'da Roma Mozikleri]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyubođlu, Mazhar Őevket İpőirođlu

A World Temple in Eastern Anatolia [Aktamar: Dođu Anadolu'da Bir Dünya Tapı-

nağı]; directed by: Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, Aziz Albek

The Gods of Nemrut [Nemrut Tanrıları]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Aziz Albek

I am Asitavandas [Ben Asitavandas]; directed by: Adnan Benk

The Waters of Ancient Antalya [Eski Antalya'nın Suları]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Aziz Albek

The Mother Goddess [Ana Tanrıça]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Aziz Albek

The World of Karagöz [Karagöz'ün Dünyası]; directed by: Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Aziz Albek

The Surname of Ahmet II: A Circumcision Feast in the 18th [III. Ahmet Surnamesi: 18. Yüzyılda Bir Sünnet Düğünü]; directed by: Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, Ü. Yücel

The Covered Bazaar [Kapalı Çarşı]; directed by: Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, Nazan İpşiroğlu

The Tile [Çini]; directed by: Aziz Albek

Golden Horn [Haliç]; directed by: Altan K. Yalçın

Eyuboğlu is credited for 9 of these films and one extra film is dedicated to him. In the films that he is involved in, the voice-over texts in the films belong to him. that An assertion by art historian and critic Sezer Tansuğ, which is actually the first sentence of a brutal criticism, encapsulates a common thread in these films: “Bu filimlerin ilki olan Hitit Güneşi (1956) arkeolog bilginler arasında pek yaygın olan 'kazı sonuçları ile yaşayan köylü folklör biçimi' bağıntısını yansıtır”.² More than intermittently, this correlation becomes the theme of their narrative. The names of the films are relate to the relics, but the relics are also enveloped by a phraseology evoking the archaic stories surrounding them. A name such as *the Gods of Nemrut*, which we know as the head statues reminiscent of the Commagene Kingdom on Mount Nemrut, emphasizes and offers the story behind the statues. *The Hittite Sun*, which is also discussed as the outcome of one of the first national excavations, gives its name to the first film of the series, which could be regarded as a symbolic act to some extent. The scope of films expands in different directions including local handcraft practices such as tile-making, Karagoez theatre, or albums to be found in the Topkapı Palace. The tenth film of Eyuboğlu named *On the Roads of Anatolia* [Anadolu Yollarında] does not find its place in the booklet, whose name

²"Türkiye'de Sanat Belgeçiliği," April 1973, *Yedinci Sanat*

denotes the image of an Anatolian road-trip that already circuits throughout the filmography. All elements build up the spectacle of Anatolia and fashion it as the cultural geography that Eyubođlu tailors.

A letter to the cinematographer İlhan Arakon by the painter Abidin Dino helps form a more concrete picture of the story of the film center and the objectives that inspired its foundation.³ Possibly sent in 1951-52 from Italy, Dino mentions the possibility of making films studying Turkey's native art history with the help of Istanbul University, which possesses a rich archive of dia films and documentations of such objects. The inspiration for filmmaking is the films that Dino and Eyubođlu found the chance to watch in Italy, which mesmerized and propelled them to produce art history films. The cinematographer should also get involved according to Dino's conviction, who believes that even he, despite residing in Europe for the time being, could participate and contribute. The list of films does not remain limited to this collection of dia films or museum works; it becomes an oeuvre enriched by several field-trips to several Anatolian regions within many years. A regulation in the Official Gazette could enable further insight to understand the institute's missions:⁴

"Madde 2 — Merkezin gayesi üniversitenin ilmi çalışmalarında ve arařtırmalarında film imkanlarından faydalanmak ve bu vasıta ile halk eğitime ve milletlerarası kültür mübadelesine hizmet etmektir. Madde 3 — Film Merkezi 2nci maddede belirtilen gayeleri tahakkuk ettirmek maksadıyla; a) Memleketin belli başlı tabiat, insan ve kültür gerçeklerini değerlendiren dokümanter filmler hazırlar. b) Kürsülerin öğretim için kullanacakları ve kendi imkânları ile yapamayacakları filmleri ve fotoğrafları hazırlar. c) Yurt içinde sanat anıt ve eserlerinin film ve fotoğraflarından terekküp eden koleksiyonlar meydana getirir. d) Memleket kütüphanelerinde mevcut kıymetli eserlerin fotokopilerinin hazırlanması hususunda ilgili müesseselere teknik bakımdan yardım eder. e) Filmoloji arařtırmaları yapar ve film ile ilgili arařtırmaları bir araya toplar. f) Gayesinin tahakkuku için resmî veya gayri resmi teşekküllerle işbirliği yapabilir."⁵

³Abidin Dino Archive, Digital SSM: <http://digital.sabanciuniv.edu/abidindino/mektup/3040200000138.pdf>

⁴9759, 18 November 1957

⁵A second regulation in 16 February 1976 [15501] succeeds this one. To underline the changes, I shall quote a similar section that defines the missions of the film center: "Madde 2 — Film Merkezinin amaçları şunlardır: a) Yüksek öğrenim kurumlarında öğretim ve arařtırma yardımcı olacak nitelikte filmler hazırlamak; bunun için ilgililerle işbirliği yapmak, b) Bu filmlerin gerçekleştirilmesi için Türkiye'deki bilimsel kurumlar ve yabancı ülke kuruluşları ile işbirliği yapmak, c) Kendi alanlarında film yolu ile arařtırma yapmak isteyen bilim adamlarına yardımcı olmak, d) Gerçekleştirilen bilimsel filmleri yaymak; Türkiye'nin ve dış ülkelerin çeşitli Yüksek Öğretim Kurumlarında kullanılmasını sağlamak ve bunlarla film değişiminde bulunmak, e)

On their own, these clauses with their technical language would at most give an overall picture of the productions rather than their analysis. The definitions in it are rather indistinct, but the vague limits of the articles are parallel to Eyubođlu's Anatolia as a continuous history of cultural heritage. Even if it does not define a precise boundary for the documentary film or the object of documentary, we learn that Turkey's culture is documented along with the natural and human (not social) realities of the country. The definition of culture, therefore, is limited to Turkey. The films are burdened with a representative value by serving the purposes of international cultural exchange, while also being utilized for public education. These are indeed key points that will recur in my analysis of the films and the institutional frame helps us have a better sense of the pulses behind a production series of 19 years.

Eyubođlu also gets involved in another series of cultural films produced by Eczacıbaşı Corporate. Similar to the films of the film center, they celebrate the local cultural constituents of Turkey. The representative value and the repetitive emblematic sites and objects that have now become some of the cultural tourism's hotspots essential for the country's marketing. Yet, Eyubođlu should not only be thinking about a touristic ruse as the institute's purposes explain. The center's regulation emphasizes the instructional and educational purposes of the films as well. Even if the cinematic language is unable to afford to be both at the same time, different spaces that frame a film can implicate the workings of both in the logic of images. A statement by the co-director İpşirođlu in response to a question on his film work with Eyubođlu clues both on the idea that initiated the attempt and their expectations in using film medium:

"Her şeyden önce somut düşünme yolunda resmin gücünden yararlanmak istedik. Bağımsızlık savaşından sonra anavatan kavramı bizim için yeni bir anlam kazanmıştı. Yüzyıllardan beri yaşam alanımız olan bu topraklara sadece kılıç gücünün hakkı diye bakmıyorduk artık. Gelip geçen tüm uygarlıklarıyla Anadolu'yu kutsal bir kalıt olarak görüyor ve benimsiyorduk. Bilimsel çalışmalar, arkeoloji kazıları ve tarih araştırmalarıyla eski Anadolu kat kat gün ışığına çıkarılmaya başlanmıştı. 1950'den sonra S. Eyubođlu ile yapmaya başladığımız filmler eski Anadolu uygarlıklarının

Bilimsel film arşivi kurmak, f) Filmlerin tanıtılması, korunması ve hazırlanışı ile ilgili yayınlar yapmak, g) Bilimsel filmlerin yapılabilmesi için teknik araç ve gereçler geliştirmek, h) Yaygın eğitime film yolu ile yardımcı olmak, i) Üniversiteye bağlı fakülte ve diğer birimlerin uygulama alanına dönük araştırmalarını duyurup, yaymak, j) Diğer kuruluşların film yaptırma isteklerini karşılamaya çalışmak, k) Çalışma alanına giren konularda eğitim yapmak,"

halka tanıtılması, sevdirmesi ve benimsetilmesi amacını güder."⁶

İpşiroğlu's reflection actually brings us back to the beginning of the chapter to understand how this film enterprise by Eyuboğlu, İpşiroğlu, and their other fellows relate to the concept of Anatolia which has its legible records in Eyuboğlu's essays, but which also develops in a historical course. What the filmmakers aim to accomplish through narratives on Turkey's cultural heritage manifests the discourse of Anatolian motherland in an intersection of politics and aesthetics. İpşiroğlu is straightforward about the conjunction that he instrumentalizes cinema for, or pictorial representation in general: he deems it cinema's capacity to materialize the abstract and envisions a process of acculturation that incarnates the perception of Anatolia as Turkey's motherland. This comment also records the pedagogic character implicit in the filmography. It aims to implement the perception of Anatolia in a nexus merging the abstract ideal of the motherland with the territory's physical or visual images pertaining to museal objects, archeological sites, or the landscape. To have a glimpse of İpşiroğlu's visual thinking that mediates between the abstract and the concrete, the immaterial and the material or the mental picture with the physical picture, an example from the films can imply how this capacity is envisioned and utilized. Eyuboğlu, who wrote all of the voice-over quotes cited in this thesis, remarks in his introductory essay to the films of the center with a note on the film *the Roman Mosaics in Anatolia*: "...Anadolu'nun değişik uygarlık katları arasında ister istemez var olup ta kopmuş bağları bulmamıza yardım ediyor, Roma mozaikleriyle bugünün Antakya'sındaki hasır işçiliğini birleştiriveriyor" (Albek 1976, 3). The narrator's voice describes similarities between the patterns of the mosaics and the rush mat's texture, to which the visual records constitute the document in the film. Further in this film, it associates other modest scenes that have little specificity such as two men sitting and playing backgammon in a coffee house in today's city of Antakya with an ancient mosaic that inscribes the same scene. In a film with a running time of around 10 minutes, these scenes are small sequences of less than 15 seconds. Such a series of associations in-between folklore and antiquity, cemented by the natural landscape builds a short film introducing the town of Antakya as part of Anatolia. Even though the narrator multiplies the examples and emphasizing the shared characteristics of the Roman heritage and contemporary city of Antakya is the prevalent theme of the film, I contend İpşiroğlu's comment on visual thinking refers to the use of images. We have already been speaking of the cultural roots and its invention on an abstract plane, whereas the idea was to find more material ways of contact with the motherland embodied in Anatolia's heritage. Discovery of

⁶"Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu'yla konuşma: Felsefe, dil ve sanat üzerine," 1982, *Yazko Felsefe Konuşmaları*

a bond that Eyuboğlu claims to exist in two very similar iconic moments is not exemplary of internalization; İpşiroğlu speaks of a translation of the mental image into a physical or optical one. This translation is not in the continuity that Eyuboğlu exhausts in numerous short films, but how it effectively utilizes the cinematic apparatus to communicate this continuity. What Eyuboğlu emphasizes, on the other hand, is a reading of the fragments and interpretation, rather than the sensory experience. When the visuals become mere shreds of evidence of the story that Eyuboğlu wants to fabulate influenced by the aspirations of antiquity and folklore, cinema almost becomes redundant in realizing this objective of acculturation and performing Turkey's cultural heritage. İpşiroğlu's statement implies a more palpable moment of contact with the cultural memory to define it on a sensory or tacit level; the film must introduce the material plane while publicizing cultural heritage that extends beyond the mere similarities suggested throughout the film. To represent Anatolia as the motherland requires that Eyuboğlu's interpretive attitude extends beyond the proof of the possible survival of the arts in folklore that once crafted the archaic relics. Even though the repetitive message that the continuity of Anatolian culture can be traced in the remainders of different historical eras and that the Anatolian culture can indeed be pronounced does not exist in the claim of the narrator's voice consolidating the visual images. I understand Eyuboğlu's concept of Anatolia to be a master trope that animates a series of other tropes and expresses itself in the chain that it evokes. This is why, it remains important to understand how this claim is fabricated, but also how it is naturalized and reproduced in film language. This language can be the cinematic narrative that is essential to understand how a film becomes a semiotic text, but also how the cinematic experience remains unattainable. Understanding the act of looking and how our world pictures organize the social kernels of the act of looking is vital in this instance. As Bryson (1988) noted:

"When I look, what I see is not simply light but intelligible form. . . For human beings collectively to orchestrate their visual experience together it is required that each submit his or her retinal experience to the socially agreed description(s) of an intelligible world. Vision is socialized, and thereafter deviation from this social construction of visual reality can be measured and named, variously, as hallucination, misrecognition, or "visual disturbance." Between the subject and the world is inserted the entire sum of discourses which make up visuality, that cultural construct, and make visuality different from vision, the notion of unmediated visual experience. Between retina and world is inserted a screen of signs, a screen consisting of all the multiple discourses on vision built into the

social arena." (Bryson 1988, 91-92)

The paradigm of vision and visibility provides a plane to think the imagery of Anatolian motherland in tandem with cinema as a machine that produces visual and physical representations. I contended that the films of Istanbul University Film Center retain a pedagogic character; it is possible not because of the pieces of evidence about the totality of Anatolian culture that the sequences of a film can fabricate, but because it can also invent a way of seeing. Visibility is a crucial concept when it captures precisely the pedagogy implicit in cinematic representation and when it scrutinizes this sociality of vision. The Istanbul University Film Center project is an attempt to define a specific modality of visibility to frame and present Anatolia in certain modulated intelligible forms. Agreement on the conventions of seeing is necessary for the formation of the cultural memory, which then can become what İpşiroğlu anticipates as "internalization." When one looks, it should not only perceive an iconographic similarity in the small fragments to define Anatolian culture. The look should assimilate them into the Anatolian culture. This convoluted frame is how we should understand vision and visibility. Distinguishing between vision and visibility as the optical and social kernels of the act of seeing, Foster defined that "vision suggests a physical operation, and visibility sight as a social fact" and he went on with a twist that is crucial but almost impossible to count on and to account for: "the two are not opposed to as nature to culture" (1988, ix). This points to a blind spot that is difficult to reach between the two; it opposes a layer between the so-called ideological foundations and institutions which would organize a pure sight. The experience of seeing categorized between vision and visibility explains a process more intricate than a pure vision disrupted by social constructions. It is misleading to restrict visibility as filters of vision that processes visual data assumed to be before we recognize any intelligible unit in the act of seeing since this approach would tend to miss the point that visibility expresses itself by vision. Vision is rather the base that mediates visibility, and what one is exposed to is nevertheless a visual experience. The epistemology of the two concepts stands at the intersection of the optical with social, a point wherein they become indistinct.

The following chapters probe Eyuboğlu's filmography in order to "address the difference introduced into human seeing by traditional cultural meaning consolidated and reconfigured in images" (Davis 2017, 230). Addressing the configuration of images requires considering the conditions of mediality; the configuration of images also implies cinema's configuration and understanding of how the filmmakers style cinema as an instrument of implementing their narrative of cultural heritage and their concept of Anatolia. I emphasize that Anatolia is an imaginary concept rep-

representing Turkey's national cradle, but it is also the physical and tactile images of Anatolia that we see throughout the filmography, represented in the material culture traced in a wide spectrum between archeology museums, ruin-sites, or the peasantry and rural life in Anatolia. The cinematic images can be evaluated neither as pure conceptions of this design nor simple views of the objects and figures blanketing the Anatolian landscape. Cinema mediates the concept of Anatolia and makes it communicable, and this mediation is intertwined with the visuality that envelops our vision in certain structures and senses. Such a process requires to perceive the effective utilization of the film medium for the invention of a way of seeing through film. The definition of media resists being distinguished between an elusive sensory experience or the messages that are being read by the audience as a text. By the film medium, we understand a mixed-media as Mitchell defines, media being a "calibration of senses" as Marshall McLuhan contends. Mitchell's definition continues with a twist that "semiotic-ratios" as "specific mixtures of sign-functions" are also constitutive of media (2005, 261). Cinema is the combination of visual, aural, or sonic blocks that simultaneously register signs and meaning. Capitalizing on the aesthetic experience of cinema, the films reproduced the imagery through which Turkey's national culture expressed and represented itself. As much as it is the nation's motherland as part of the national imagination, Anatolia's representation relies on cinematography's capabilities. In these cinematographic capabilities, Anatolia is narrated in film language and moving images, and reproduced in our perception of such images. This is why analyzing their mediality requires a tandem with the scrutiny of the films' semantics. Combining the historical and theoretical background accounted at the beginning of this chapter, my thesis proceeds by a cultural analysis of the films by looking into how they orchestrate a selection of cultural heritage and produce the frame for the message they deem convenient.

While Anatolia is the films' setting, the films also express a concept of Anatolia which is produced in the discourses of the nation's motherland. This expression conveys the ideological kernel animating a set of tropes through the small scatters derived from the landscape deemed cultural. Looking at the landscape, or rather practices of producing landscape imagery remains essential for this imagery. The landscape is both a trope and a physical reality; as Schama contends, a landscape is "built from a rich deposit of myths, memories, and obsessions" (1995, 14). It is both a mental image and a visual object. This is why it accumulates the energy of visual thinking both in its abstract and material plane. Mitchell notes that landscapes are burdened with "psychological and ideological themes" (2002, 1). But he also distinguishes between reducing the landscape to a purely optical operation and reading it as an ideological imprint, and rejects both; instead, he points out that

landscape configures both. This is why he takes a different attitude and proposes asking “how it works as a cultural practice” rather than decoding it “as a body of determinate signs” (Ibid). Considering it as a cultural practice requires distancing oneself from the technological and artistic frames producing the landscape imagery as much as a landscape view’s ideological connotations. Mitchell’s and Schama’s approach to landscape is parallel to the concept of visibility, and it shows that landscape imagery registers a set of social meanings while it does not exist prior to a social context. This structure guides us while reflecting on the films of the Istanbul University Film Center. We understand that Eyuboğlu and İpşiroğlu do not only configure the order of things and produce a context for an existing plane of visual objects. The films produce visions of the Anatolian landscape and register the visibility of Anatolian cultural heritage simultaneously.

The next chapter of my thesis looks into two kernels of this filmography at the same time while understanding how the landscape is burdened with representing cultural memory: It elaborates Eyuboğlu and İpşiroğlu’s understanding of the cinematic apparatus so as to contextualize their vision through this medium. It deciphers the conceptualization of the past informing the film while trying to enlighten Eyuboğlu’s enterprise that tries to re-animate the past in film medium and cinematic imagery. The chapter reads the films’ devotion to form an expanded but also a living museum, a constellation of a museum artifact’s and film’s mediality with the national narrative of heritage. But since a medium is something material in contrast to the image which is only present by means of the medium (Belting 2014, 16), I pay specific attention to the role of mediation which also brings challenges to the project of Anatolian Epic. In the third chapter, my study returns to its question on Anatolia and tries to understand how its landscape produces repetitive stereotypes of the convention that labels it the motherland. I contextualize them through the theoretical perspectives and historical conventions of documentary film with specific attention to the use of travel imagery and the genre of culture film while detailing the cinematic forms that build the representational repertoire of the general movement that Eyuboğlu’s films reiterate.

2. MEDIA APPARATUS: CONFIGURING THE AESTHETICS

2.1 The Formation of a Research Trajectory and the Archival Condition

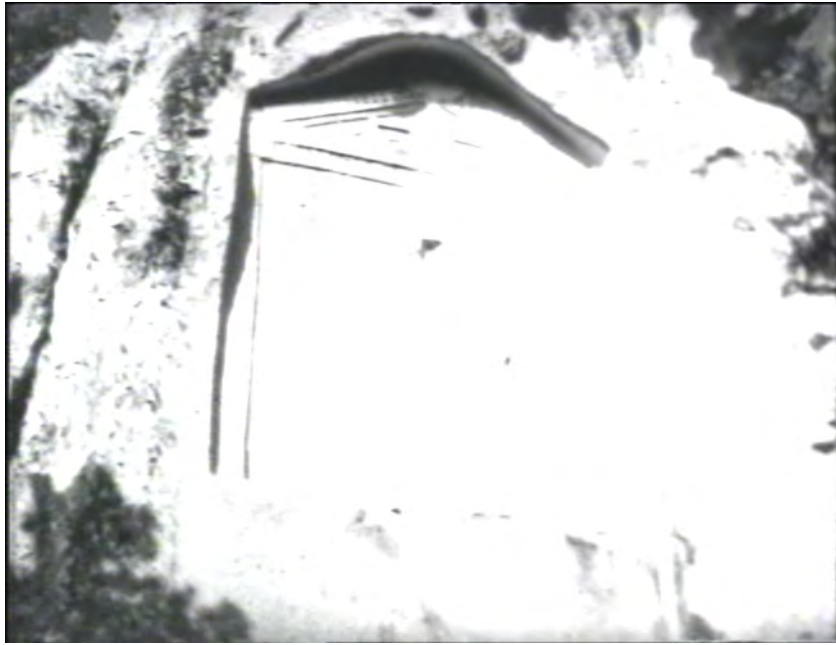


Figure 2.1 An almost illegible frame from *the Mother Goddess*

In his introductory essay to the films of Istanbul University Film Center, Eyuboğlu makes a remark on filming the museal objects and the relics on the ruin-sites: "Filmlerin hepsinde sanat eserlerini müzelerin ister istemez durgun, kapanık havasından, etiketli ve sıkışık düzeninden kurtarıp yaratıldıkları çevrenin doğal özellikleri içinde gösterme yolu tutulmuştur." The films' representations of the past can be examined following this contention underscoring a shift in the exhibition space from the museum to the expanse of the Anatolian peninsula's territory. While anticipating a change of the setting by replacing the museum with the natural surrounding of the relics, Eyuboğlu also reveals in which regard the museum space proved insufficient

from his perspective. He raises an objection to how the museum space represents and communicates the past, and condemns its environment as being static and closed. It compartmentalizes and segments the past while providing a frame that renders the past distinct from the present. The statement's reflection on the past's representation also implies that Eyuboğlu burdens his films with a message that undertakes the role of undoing this museum effect that consecrates historical objects while also displacing them from the outside world (Alpers 1991). Displacement defines that the museum mediates the past. Therefore, Eyuboğlu's conception circumvents the museum frame and its mediation by exhibiting the relics in their original environment, which is the Anatolian peninsula. In this chapter, I ground my analysis on Eyuboğlu's premise on representing the past and work through exemplary narratives from his films, and I contend that we can trace the instrumentalization of cinema in this code. Similar to İpşiroğlu's understanding of cinema's ability to translate a mental image of the motherland Anatolia into a set of physical or optical images, cinema becomes the machinery that produces the representations of past while undermining its mediation. I should make a brief note before any misconception that I do not mean cinema does not mediate, but İpşiroğlu and Eyuboğlu conceive it to render this mediation invisible. This is why I suggest reading the production of the past's images in tandem with the mediality that conditions them in a single trajectory with the film medium. Film theory discusses the concept of apparatus, which perceives cinema in a set of standardizing operations in filmmaking and film spectatorship. "An assembly of optical and mechanical instrumentation" in Jean-Louis Baudry's phrase (1974, 41), the apparatus can be extended to the various institutional interventions regulating a film's experience while orchestrating the mediation's invisibility. This alienation enables a film to appear unmediated before us. Eyuboğlu's figuration of the past's exhibition space conceives a parallel structure of circumventing the mediation, contradictory to the fact that a film replicates and displaces to screen an image in the first place. Therefore, I contend that Eyuboğlu desires to undo the mediation of the museum and represent an unmediated past by utilizing the cinematic apparatus.

Within the conditions I was able to view the films, though, the films' condition had deteriorated and they had been damaged because they were not archived and preserved. Having lost their original semblance, it became impossible to watch the films without encountering flaws that reveal the conditions of screening a film. Therefore, I had no chance to evade the medium that made the images present. This is why I would like to encapsulate a short account of my research trajectory, which also shaped the epistemology of my inquiries on the films' representations of the past. The research inaugurated when I started to search for the films and along

with them the records that could reveal the story of the Istanbul University Film Center. There was hardly any existing literature on the films except short notices on national press informing about their festival appearances or other screenings; film criticism of the era paid scant attention to them. But I also had to find the films themselves, and I never had the chance to see the original screening copies of them, which were actually in 16mm or 35mm film formats.¹ I found out that most of the films with their digital copies were available at Istanbul University's and Anadolu University's Faculty of Communications.² Within the thesis, I used the black and white scans of Anadolu University.³ The copies of the two universities do not have drastic differences, but some of Istanbul University's digital copies were color films which made them more accurate digital copies. Both universities digitized the films in Betacam format which still bore the traces of the damaged original film stock. Istanbul University also preserves some of the films in now-obsolete Betacam format.

The material conditions and infrastructural limits or orders informed my research and directed its specific course. The films do not yet have restored copies and their images have deficiencies. The unrestored versions are revelatory on another level. Both the copies at Istanbul University and Anadolu University have unique stories and they actually lead to two different academic studies. The first is *Belgesel Sinemacı Yönüyle Sabahattin Eyüboğlu* [Sabahattin Eyuboğlu as a Documentarist] (Avcı 1999) and the second *Filmlerle Anadolu Destanı Yazmak* [Writing the Anatolian Epic through Film] (Demirkıran 2011). Both books recount the history of the films after two different accounts of re-discovering the films. Avcı's thesis work becomes possible after the discovery of the films in a storage chest in the house of Magdi Rufer, who was Eyuboğlu's partner until his death, during the shootings of a documentary film on Rufer's life and music.⁴ Parallel to this story, Demirkıran's book takes shape after Istanbul University's Faculty of Communications re-discovers the films in the basement floor of the building that once housed the Istanbul University Film Center in Fatih district of Istanbul (Demirkıran 2011). What is common in these stories is a gap in which the works are not conserved. Studying such a

¹I am grateful to Can Candan for sharing with me the digital copies available to him.

²I gathered from my inquiries that the institutes which maintain a limited number of the films in their archives are the British Film Institute (BFI) and the Turkish Ministry of Culture, yet neither archive has digital copies of them. BFI possesses *the Hittite Sun* in 35 mm which is acquired by the institution in 1978. They notified me that they cannot share with me the details of their acquisition. The Ministry of Culture, which seems to be working on a bigger digital archive of Turkish Cinema for public use -though not free- focuses on fiction feature films and digitizes them with a high scan quality. Since the BFI and the Turkish Ministry of Culture are well-funded and powerful institutions, I assume they would have been able to restore their copies with the utmost care in professional ways had they intended to do so. The oldest state-initiated film archive in Turkey, located in Mimar Sinan University informed me that they possessed no copy of the films that are suitable for view.

³I am grateful to Prof. Nazmi Ulutak for sharing the copies with me.

⁴Ebru Şeremetli, "Çeyiz Sandığındaki Filmlerin Tanığı," Kış 2003, *Belgesel Sinema*

material necessitates an extra level of reflection because the films' physical conditions had deteriorated in this time gap. And even on the immaterial digital files through which I viewed the films, they retained an object-ness inscribed on these formats. The object-ness is rather born out of the archival condition that the films bore traces of. Under these conditions, I was unable to evade the film medium that made the representations present. As objects, they preserved traces of their course in time. Walter Benjamin (2008) had famously observed that cinema had robbed people of their presence and the mechanical reproduction rendered objects similar to an extent there is no longer uniqueness. Different copies of Eyuboğlu's films, however, seem to have started their own life. The passing decades have rendered these films objects out of use and devoid of attraction at first, then privileged them with the uniqueness of a singular object with a surface that inscribed the course of the time. "Fascination of time fossilized" determines an extra layer of meaning of its own (Mulvey et al. 2006, 31). Mulvey employs this phrase to capture the impression that emerges when one watches any film of any other era; however, it is also apt to use it to refer to the dust and scratch that accumulate on the material film as a reflection of the story of the objects.

The physical condition also indicates that the films were not archived properly and despite the allure, why they are dislocated from their original place, and why the institution's history loses its trace demand reflection as well. Such a displacement, Meltem Ahıska (2010) shows, can be determined as a sociological phenomenon related to Turkey's modernity. Initially intending to inspect the history of the State Radio in Ankara and the imprints of Turkey's nation-building from the perspective of radio modernity in cultural history with the aim of investigating discourse of Orientalism and Occidentalism constitutive of the world picture of Turkey's modernity, Ahıska tries to reach the institution's archives. The research's trajectory shifts, though, because the State Radio did not keep an archive regularly; the past radio programs were not cataloged and the fragments of old records in the institution did not have any order. Rather than making a comparative study between the BBC archives in London which she observes to stand accountable for the institution, the research demands the invention of different maneuvers to be able to speak of the State Radio in Ankara because of "the missing archives." This archival condition is not a sacrifice or mistake due to technicalities or failing bureaucracies; it is a repetitive condition in Turkey's modernity. Ahıska argues that an absence constitutes Turkey's national archives, which does not mean history is missing, but "the very ground of national history is suspect" (Ibid, 37). Not limited to the radio or communication in general, it is common that archives are not preserved and eventually destroyed. Not only as a physical space but also as the institutional foundation

of the nation-state, archive defines the historical a priori in the Foucauldian sense, organizing the limits of the sayable (Ibid). In this sense, prior to deciphering the workings of national memory at work in the oeuvre of Istanbul University Film Center, there is an archival condition curtailing and distancing the films from being scrutinized. The accountability of a university institution, and also the transmission of the scholars' experience in making films of educational and scientific purposes, are hampered by the lack of documentation and preservation. Its reach is framed by an absent archive and its lost ideas as the vanishing point of this picture. But this curtailment is again related to the national history of Turkey. Even though I was able to reach my object, the fact that they were not in their original place remains to obscure the perception.

Rather than an archive of the radio programs, Ahıska finds recitations of the people who worked for the State Radio; "a striking and repeating theme that surfaced in most of the interviews was, in fact, parallel to that of the destruction of the institutional archives: the personalization of the past" (Ibid, 33). The deteriorated film materials actually display a similar trajectory of personalization. Originally the Film Center possesses the films while it is active. The presence of a catalog published in 1976 proves the existence of a collection. We are further informed that Istanbul University Film Center hosts a scientific film archive donated as the result of collaboration by the Institute for Scientific Film [Institut Wissenschaftliche Filme] in Gottingen, West Germany. This archive of 300 films also becomes part of the center's collection composed of films about life sciences and ethnology. This archive joins the films that Istanbul University has already been producing for 19 years and forms a scientific film archive. Even though they are also shown in TRT (Adalı 1986), the next time the films make a significant appearance is in a forgotten basement or a chest box in Eyuboğlu's house. Even though there also exists an official regulation published in 1976 issuing the foundation of a scientific film archive, there is an obfuscated moment of transition when these films are displaced from where they are originally meant to be. It is this displacement which turns them into personal memories preserved in the chest box of an old friend, similar to the memories of the people who Ahıska interviews while researching the radio days and instead of access to the records, there is access to the personal memories reserving the history of radio days. As the personalization indicates, this absence positions archives not as the bearer of history and truth, but they are positioned in a nexus of history and memory.

The study of Eyuboğlu's films, therefore, is reliant on the images of the past which are posited in a dubious interval. Memory, in contrast to history, has been regarded as a subjective, changing, and an unreliable account of the past, and its represen-

tation of the past received both positive and negative criticism. The past's account provided by the archives does not posit with one or the other; it leads to the "native concept" of "the missing archives" which epitomizes the absence of national archives in Turkey and to understand the social undercurrents of the archives' contribution to the sense of history (Ahıska 2006). Archives in Turkey have witnessed systematic destructions which leads to the questioning of the authority of history as the objective and factual account of the past. This disturbs the dichotomous assumption between memory and history. If they cannot be categorized as subjective or objective structures of communicating the past, they can also be approached as rather two different media for the representation of the past, which further echoes with Benjamin's remarks on memory: Walter Benjamin makes an aphoristic claim that "memory is not an instrument for exploring the past, but rather a medium" (Benjamin 2005, 576). The strong observation is quite allegorical for the perspective that I structure for this chapter. Memory brings us into contact with the past and provides an experience, which evokes an allusion to the word medium's original meaning referring to a person who communicates with the dead between the two worlds. But this contact happens through materiality: "Memory, of course, does not operate only as an abstract (mental) system: it is generated by and channeled through an endless variety of media and artefacts" (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, 7). The fold of medium and artefact in Eyuboğlu's films from dilapidated stones to the film stock makes this definition an adequate account of this chapter's investigation on them. It is these variety of media that organize the images of the past, mental or physical, that we should pay attention to as much as the authenticity or the truth-value of an account of the past.

2.2 Place and Memory: Museum as a Medium



Figure 2.2 A frame from the opening of *the Waters of Ancient Antalya*

Between 5-15 May 1962, Eyubođlu takes a trip to Antalya, a Mediterranean city in the south of Turkey, to record footage to produce a film for his art history courses, according to a document from Istanbul Technical University where he teaches at the time.⁵ This research trip results in *the Waters of Ancient Antalya* directed by Eyubođlu and Aziz Albek. It opens with a scene of a waterfall and the sound of flowing water. Following the credits, short sequences of the seaside scenery which has a beach blended with the rocks on the shore display a typical Mediterranean coast. A male off-screen voice informs simultaneously:

"Pamfilya kıyıları, Büyük Anadolu Destanı'nın en zengin yataklarından biridir. Adı üstünde, Pamfilya: Bütün milletlerin kaynaştığı yer olmuş buralar. Tarih öncesi Anadolular'ın da izlerini taşıyan bu topraklarda Arzavalılar, Dorlar, Lidyalılar, Helenler, Romalılar, Bizanslılar, Selçuklu ve Osmanlılar kanlarını, canlarını birbirine katmışlar."

Side is a harbor-city and a Greek colony in the pre and early historical times; the landscape of its hinterland reserves a rich archive remaining from many other states

⁵The document is available in (Savas 2012)



Figure 2.3 The ruins of the Apollo's Temple in Side

that ruled over it. Its first impressions offer a rich sensory scenery composed of the ruins of an ancient Apollo temple. The architecture of the city's older layers is legible in other relics such as an old water canal that will be found in many places dominated by the Romans. The film follows such ruins and traces to give us a sense of the immense depth of this small shore's past. But the film does not limit its enthusiasm about the site's history to the relics of the past; it bolsters the image of the past through natural environment as well: the beach, a village close-by, or a river stretching out from high mountains to the sea. Further, it stops by the opening of a new archeological museum in Antalya, which seems to evoke little interest for the filmmakers; the camera decides to collect the traces of the past not in the museum but the expanse of land. For this purpose, it follows the streams and the banks of a river that is decisive on the architecture of an ancient city –since bringing the water to the city and the water canals are some of the ancient remains- or the pomegranates which give the city its name –the voice-over informs that in an ancient Anatolian language Side means pomegranate- weighs in transmitting the image of the past. It combines a series of elusive elements; the narrator's voice sometimes pushes us to imagine since the past is absent except for its ruins. Fashioning this archive as Anatolian while the ruin images and pastoral overlay performs an image of the past.

Tracing the past on the Anatolian landscape is a common gesture in Eyuboğlu's filmography. He fashions an Anatolian archive for "the great Anatolian epic" and in *the Waters of Ancient Antalya*, Side becomes representative of this archive. Besides the content of this archive, he configures a complex setting in which a single

environment juxtaposes the past and the present. There is no limit between the ruins of the Apollo temple and a village's story. My claim is that this gesture by itself manifests a certain "regime of memory" in which Anatolia its cultural memory is conceived and represented by the film (Radstone and Hodgkin 2003). Having discussed that memory can be perceived as a medium of the past, regimes of memory can be defined as the institutional and systematic dimensions that organize it within society as the word 'regime's dictionary meaning would indicate (Ibid, 1). In an influential but also controversial article, Pierre Nora (1989) argues on the memory regimes of modern societies and the parallel development of the concept of history and proposes a schema, in which we can understand the major change the past's relationship with contemporary life and the past's representation. Essential to his contention, there takes place a shift that more or less coincides with the industrial epoch and modernity that "prior to the nineteenth century, memory was a pervasive part of life" (Ahiska 2006, 12). The organization of memory in this attributed past was spontaneous and integrated into social life and environment; Nora conceptualizes this memory condition as "real memory" which is "retained as the secret of so-called primitive or archaic societies" (Nora 1989, 8). This concept of memory then contrasts with historiography, whose epistemology is determined by forgetfulness and commitment to a rapid change. Modern historiography exteriorizes, institutionalizes, and compartmentalizes the past. It detaches the past from present and reserves it in archives, museums, and other organizations where it is recognized only in distance. In a mournful tune, Nora evokes the memory regime of the past in the face of history and defends "lieux de memoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de memoire, real environments of memory" (Ibid, 7). This conceptualization addresses the commemoration of the past, but it also proposes a solution for the past's role in the building of a community. The distance between the past and our contemporary societies would be overcome by a commemoration of the real environments of memory:

"If we were able to live within memory, we would not have needed to consecrate lieux de memoire in its name. Each gesture, down to the most everyday, would be experienced as the ritual repetition of a timeless practice in a primordial identification of act and meaning. With the appearance of the trace, of mediation, of distance, we are not in the realm of true memory but of history." (Ibid, 14)

In modern society history mediates the past which imposes forgetfulness in contrast to the memory of a different mode that preserved the past real and present within

the community. What creates this change is not only the existence of memory and history as two different mediations of the past. History becomes more and more about the past' extraction from the individual and the community through institutionalization. Nora's objection crystallizes with the prosthesis; Nora's "places of memory" acts in opposition to "the terrorism of historicized memory" which he figures as "prosthesis-memory" or "secondary memory" (Ibid, 14). His diagnosis of the remembrance of the past marks a transition into modernity when the prosthesis pervades as the essential technique of remembering; Nora is discontented because memory is no longer internalized but dependent on prosthesis, or what Bernard Stiegler (2010) called "exteriorizations of memory" that creates registers of memory through technology. In modern society, the past is mediated through institutions that merely preserve historical records lacking the sense of history. Historiography segments the past and everyday spaces endangering memory's presence "with the appearance of the trace, of mediation, of distance." A concern similar to Nora's modern predicament emerges in one of Eyuboğlu's early essays *The Living Past* [Yaşayan Geçmiş]:

"Tarih! Tarih! Fakat müze ve kütüphane dolusu tarih değil, ruh dolusu tarih. . . Tozlu ve küflü mazi değil, bizim havamızı teneffüs eden, bizimle birlikte yaşayan mazi. . . Vesika değil, abide. Ders, ilim, masal yahud faydalı malumat olarak öğrenilen tarihin lüzumsuz olduğunu iddia edecek değilim. Fakat tarih yalnız bu ise onsuz yaşamak da mümkündür. Bize lazım olan tarihi bilgiden ziyade tarihi zihniyet yahud daha yeni bir tabirle, tarihi şuurdur." (2000a, 97)

Eyuboğlu resorts to what he calls "historical consciousness" rather than history, and his notions are somehow more obscure than Nora's such as when he speaks of a spirited history. Nevertheless, the similarities surface between them when Eyuboğlu negates history's preservation in museums or libraries and associates this preservation with dust and mold which underline their separation from life. Instead, he pleads for historical consciousness which breaths in the same environment as us. This is why I contend that the past's representation in his films and Nora's reproach to modern historiography and the waning real memory are also parallel. What Eyuboğlu's quote from "The Living Past" corresponds to in the narrative of *the Waters of Ancient Antalya* is evident in an attitude while depicting the past when about recalling the layers of the region's landscape than learning it as historical information. The film's images of the past do not have a distinct frame from contemporary life, and there is no distance between the settings of what is now and

what was then. Rather than isolating a ruin site or a museum, *The Waters of Ancient Antalya* celebrates the formation of an image of the site in which the different tenses of past and present share the same spectacle.

2.2.1 Cinematographic Re-animation

My reading of *The Waters of Ancient Antalya* in tandem with Nora's exegesis on the past's representation and the shifting regimes over its representation does not establish an immediate association in-between. Aptly, rather than being specific categories, Nora's concepts provide a working paradigm on a modern predicament, which echoes in Eyuboğlu's concern with the past's representation. When evaluated from this perspective, both reveal a common discontent with historiography's institutionalization of the way the past is represented, and instead, both Nora and Eyuboğlu argue for a different memorial that finds its best expression in memory's spatialization. Eyuboğlu conceives the pervasion of the past in our present environment. His struggle over representation becomes symptomatic with the mediation; he challenges the institutions that preserve and isolate the past from the everyday. The past, according to this perspective, should not remain exterior to us. Cinema is being instrumentalized in presenting a more authentic spirit of the past. What Eyuboğlu seeks in cinema can be re-phrased as "cinematographic re-animation" to challenge the stillness of the past in the ruin-objects that particularly is the prerequisite of the spectacle in a museum.⁶

Cinema's re-animative capability works against the distance of the museum objects. As the phrase suggests, it is an operation of bringing back and charging the past with a spirit. The museum objects appear in the distance because a museum cuts an object from the outside world and from its original context. The wall of the museum is meant to establish a frame in which, if not fictional, the logic and structure of the museum's own, an apart-ness from the outside, exists. Doing away with this apart-ness, *The Waters of Ancient Antalya* emancipates the museum from its frame and introduces an expanded landscape as a museum, which then embodies an expansive but also vigorous form of memory. For Eyuboğlu, bringing the museum object back, therefore, means bringing it outside the museum walls. He disregards the museum

⁶I appropriate "cinematographic re-animation" from a short text that was written by curator Anselm Franke to describe the attitude against museum objects of African tribal art in *Les Statues Meurent Aussi* by Alain Resnais and Chris Marker (2012, 148). The film is set in several museums with a significant tribal art collection in Francophone Europe, notably Musée de L'homme in Paris and questions the gaze on this spectacle

frame so as to be able to contemplate the Asia Minor's archaic past not only before a museum spectacle but also before a small village or a natural landscape. This does not only expand the repertoire of the object in which we can find traces of the past, however. It also decides on the way we relate to the past and configures memory. This enterprise echoes in Nora's environment of memory, but Eyuboğlu's perception of the past's representation is nevertheless more convoluted for a straight association with it. Nora's concept of the environment of memory is an object of mourning; there are places of memory to commemorate the absence of the real environment. The way he imagines the past dwelling with us and sharing our environment does not seem to concede the shift that informs Nora's conception of modern historiography and the memory's trajectory in modernity.

Nevertheless, Eyuboğlu and Nora concur on their discontent and nostalgic exploration of an authentic experience of the past. For Nora, this exploration is more directed towards a criticism of the prosthesis and mediation that renders memory a second-hand image. Eyuboğlu manifests it in an approach to the objects of the past which leaves traces in his other writings as well. For an exhibition by the sculptors Kuzgun Acar and Ali Bütün, he writes a review that clues about his approach to art, revealing a sensibility that he seeks in modern art. About the sculptors' very first exhibit in 1952 in Maya, Istanbul's first private-owned gallery, Eyuboğlu notes:

"Her iki sanatkarda da gerek şekil, gerek malzeme bakımından işin aslına gitme, dünyanın ilk seramik ustalarının keskin ve sade ifadenciliklerini bulma gayreti görülüyor. İnsanı bir bakışta sarsacak vahşi güzellikler aramışlar. Zamanımızda zevksizliğin emrine verilen bütün teknik imkanlarla kepaze edilmiş, vitrinler dolusu ve yürekler acısı adilliklere bürünmüş çanak çömlek işçiliği bu denemelerde eski asalet ve haysiyetini bulmağa çalışıyor. Ama bu kusurlu, bu iyi pişmemiş zevk ölçülerinin, Beyoğlu vitrinlerindeki pürüzsüz, peril peril zevksizliklerle cenkleşmesi ne mümkün? Kim alır bunları evine?... Sahici sanatı sevenlerden başka."
(Eyuboğlu 2000*b*, 87)

Acar was an artist whose primitive figurations become amplest in his late works towards his untimely death in 1976 (Koçak 2007). In this respect, Eyuboğlu shows the vigilance of recognizing Acar's primitive modernism at a very early date. But the important thing for this chapter is the display of how Eyuboğlu perceives rather than what the sculptures represent. Eyuboğlu's celebration of the artists' archaic vision is accompanied by a nostalgia for the humane that he finds in the artistic work.

The search for immediacy and the discovery of beauty in this noble savagery should not be unique or novel, but Eyuboğlu turns a modern sculpture into mourning of a craft living its fatality without recourse. We do not know whether this nostalgia is manifested in the works, but Eyuboğlu surely relates their beauty in comparison to the industrial design of functional objects. If he did not compare them to the reproduced objects of everyday life, we could think that he celebrated the semblance of ancient art in modern sculptures. But his praise of the artists is due to the tension with the fact that there is a replacement of the arts in the face of “ugly” reproduced products, which are so perfect that they lack what is human. Eyuboğlu’s praise concludes by saying that they are flawed as the pots are cooked untimely. Inspired by the labor and its humane character, this is the quality that he finds appropriate to his taste. While doing so, the difference between a modern work of art in the exhibition space and the undefined ancient pottery is being omitted by Eyuboğlu; style is decontextualized and instead, what he seeks in the past becomes the ideal form of an artwork.

One could say that Eyuboğlu’s search for the authentic object stamps his endeavor of cinematographic re-animation. Eyuboğlu wants objects to appear in their original environment, and he does this by means of cinema. But the contradictory level of this process is that cinema and mechanical reproduction’s requisite is a displacement of the object itself and it is an act that produces an image, a representation of the thing as its trace. Authenticity’s disappearance is an essential fact of its ability to reproduce reality. The authority of the object is at large in cinema, and the reproducibility of an image is parallel to the mass-produced goods that one sees in the windows of the shops. But in seeking the invocation of the past, Eyuboğlu also involuntarily recognizes its distance and loss. Turning the past into an object of re-animation is a contradiction that cannot be a remedy for itself.

Nora’s work disambiguates the modality in which Eyuboğlu would have thought about the image of the past. But it does not explain how this image works on the level of the film. Returning to the claim of taking history out of the museum, how this expanded museum would work would be legible in the composition of natural elements. Nature is involved with the ruins of the city’s Roman past. It is as if the camera is recording views of the past, such as the flowing water and the canal’s engineering reserving the traces of the Roman ancestry in Anatolia. The unchanging sound of water is also there for the first and only time in Eyuboğlu’s films with the film center. These non-museum inscriptions of memory are conceptualized as a real environment of memory. Their relation to the ruins is immanent. The ruination extends to the environment; nature is a disruptive power by inhibiting the abandoned places: “Tabiat ana sarıp sarmalamış insanoglundun marifetini. Su yerine sarmaşıklar

taşıyor şimdi kemerlerden, kimi yerde çamlar el koymuşlar suyun geçtiği yere.” It equals time in this respect. But nature itself preserves its own disruption as well. A river bank can reveal ruins of its own: “Kumlarda yatan ağaç Iskeletleri bu suların her zaman bu kadar uslu olmadığını anlatıyor bize.” What becomes questionable is whether this space is what Nora called an environment of memory or with a twist, in Eyuboğlu’s view, a transgression of the museum or it is a space turned into a museum. Once the pastoral views are consecrated by the camera frame, the open field gains an exhibitional order in a practice similar to the museum. They become isolated and extracted. By then, it becomes questionable whether the museum is transgressed or the museum expands.

2.2.2 Narratives of Display



Figure 2.4 A scene from the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in *the Hittite Sun*

The organization of Anatolian space as a museum is ambivalent in *the Waters of Ancient Antalya*, since the film actually refrains from exploring the relationship between Side and the city’s archeology museum; its visit to the museum appears like an eclectic interlude. Eyuboğlu’s contention on bringing the museum object to their original environment is not legible in the film through an explicit example; but still, its attempt to unearth the traces of the past in the city and to demonstrate how they actually survive to this day is another variation of Eyuboğlu’s claim. In other films of Istanbul University Film Center, however, Eyuboğlu establishes a



Figure 2.5 Introducing a small water pot in the museum

more intimate relationship with museal objects and center their narratives around the objects preserved in museums, rather than still being excavated on the field. *The Hittite Sun*, the institute's first film co-directed by Eyuboğlu and İpşiroğlu, weaves a narrative of the Hittite ruins and relics around the cult object that is famously recognized as the Hittite Sun and follows a journey that expands on it. The famous relic, which also came to symbolize Ankara until 2007, was excavated in the 1930s in an area close to Ankara and became the city's symbol until it changes very recently. It is even re-visualized with a statue of the symbol in the city's public space. The symbol is exhibited in "the Hittite Museum" in Ankara, which opens in 1946 and is renamed as "the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations" in 1968.

After a usual landscape view along with a notice remarking the foundation of the Hittite Museum in Ankara to take place in the foundation period of the Republic, the film starts by introducing minor relics discovered in the excavations, then transferred and displayed in the museum. These relics appear as things of quotidian use; they present fragments of the Hittite's way of life. Their presentation in the film is one by one isolated from others, as if they are cataloged by the film frame. Some of the objects are still before the camera while some rotate with the help of a hand that creates an emphasis on their features. The film's title promises a survey of the Hittite relics, and it does so. A journey that begins in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations extends to the ruin-sites dispersed on the Anatolian landscape; the plot is also interested in tracing the survival of the Hittite culture in popular traditions of Anatolia's rural settlements. This beautifully crafted film's narration does not contend itself with one locus as its main subject like *the Waters of Ancient Antalya*

and it follows an itinerary assisted by what it found in the museum and seeks to expand it to the outside, which makes it a sound example of what Eyuboğlu expected from exhibiting the artifacts in their natural environment. It travels a large zone in central Anatolia; small settlements and ruin-sites in the central Anatolia, specifically the provinces of Ankara, Kayseri, Konya, and Nevşehir become records of different aspects of an anticipated continuous Anatolian culture.

The evolving history of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations is traced by art historian Wendy Shaw in an article addressing “narratives of display” in museums of Turkey, specifically heritage museums emerging from the Late Ottoman period in the 19th century to the Republic’s foundation (Shaw 2007). Understanding the exhibition narrative of the museum may enrich our insight into Eyuboğlu’s dissatisfaction with the way the museum represents history. Shaw’s article emphasizes that the museum inherited a building that was once a commercial center for the Ottoman Empire, which endorses “a Turkish frame for prehistoric artifacts” (267). Remarking the museum’s national sub-text, Shaw’s article goes for further scrutiny on the composition of the national narrative of the museum. Her historical research discloses that over the years the Museum did not only change its name; its exhibition space and form went through significant changes. Beginning from 1960 and the succeeding few years, the pavilions hosting the relics evolves into more chronological order, in contrast to the original version of the museum which exposed the monumental ruins in one big space and distributed smaller artefacts around the centralized monuments in less chronological order.

This approach helps us understand the level of social meaning in the museum frame, reminding Williams’ tip that medium is already a social material (Williams 2014). By giving the objects an order, it produces the sense in which the objects are to relate. Noting that chronological order is a common tradition in archeology museums, “the chronological arrangement of artifacts in such setting abstracts them from their original geographical origins and places them into a narrative of art” whereas “at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations they are positioned instead in a narrative of national unity.” (268). The change in the exhibition order expresses a change in the museum’s semantics; the “unremembered, prehistoric artifacts” (267) are taking shape into the memory of the nation in the national frame. The original structure of the museum, national though it was, did not intend to define “a continuous civilization from the prehistory onward” (268). The diagnosis of this new arrangement, the shift from the universal narrative to the national one, is a recapitulation of Turkey’s predicament of building the national culture and the intellectual milieu that Eyuboğlu engaged with. This arrangement is parallel to Benedict Anderson’s statement that for narratives of nations the past “must be narrated because it

cannot be remembered” (Anderson 2006). While weaving the nation’s unrecalable myths, the exhibit turns decontextualized objects into the documentary evidence of the biography of the nation (Ibid).

Shaw also accounts for the same contrast between artworks and objects as a tension between the forms of Western and Turkish museums where the discourse on the past constitutes “objects as metonyms of heritage itself without a recourse to the discourse of art” (2007, 269). Turkish heritage museums, in this opinion, circumvents a difference between objects and art. However, Svetlana Alpers defines a “museum effect,” born out of the exhibited object’s displacement and decontextualization from their original place and their appropriation in a way of seeing as part of their being of “visual interest” (Alpers 1991). Alpers defends a museum effect that once an object is exhibited in the conditions of a museum, they become decontextualized and devoid of their original use and place (Ibid). Shaw’s point is that, in line with Alpers’ idea that the preliminary condition of the museum effect is the object’s displacement from its original context and purpose, a narrative of art history distances and exteriorizes the viewer from the spectacle. History is represented as something other than the viewer just as the objects no longer inhabit their intended contexts. “When men are dead, they enter into history. When statues are dead, they enter into art,” states simply Chris Marker’s narrator in *The Statues Dies Too* (Franke 2012, 148). However, the visual spectacle in the museum is due to the objects’ displacement from their original place, not their art historical context. In respect to objects categorized as archaic or primitive, art is a status of their after-life. But there is something else at stake in this resort to the mediation of art historical narrative. The Turkish heritage museum builds upon a narrative animating national memory –real as Nora would say-; This narrative somehow denies the displacement, and therefore, the death of the museum object. Shaw’s point is that, in conformity with Alpers’ idea that the preliminary condition of the museum effect is the object’s displacement from its original context and purpose, a narrative of art history distances the viewer from the spectacle and exteriorizes the past. In contrast, Eyuboğlu does not recognize a distance between the language of mute stones and his world.

The way these objects are appropriated serves the purpose of making the nation at ease with the past, anesthetizing the strangeness of the otherness which remains like sediment in the image of the past mediated by these objects. This brings up the last point about the affinity between the museum space and cinema. Outlining how Turkish Modernity from the 19th century Ottoman Empire into the Republic configured displays of cultural heritage and a national narrative for the places of commemoration, Shaw points to a possibility wherein the heritage is organized in a less chauvinist fashion. Evoking Malraux’s *Museum Without Walls*, Shaw gives a

glimpse of such a possibility:

"One might imagine a "museum without walls," such as that suggested by Andre Malraux, that could root the present culture of Turkey in the prehistory of Anatolia, proceeding through Hellenistic, Roman, Mesopotamian, and Central Asian antiquities into the Christian and Byzantine legacies and thence from the Seljuk and Beylik to the Ottoman era and into the modern and contemporary periods. Such a museum of ideas would serve to bring out the complex ethnic, religious, and cultural roots of a nation often deeply vested in a singular identity." (Shaw 2009, 275)

Malraux's *Museum Without Wall* (1967) promised a chance to montage arts of different cultures, such as the Western and non-Western ones or the ancient and contemporary art, together which could tackle our situated knowledge of art history, visual literacy and the reception and meaning of the works. Shaw adapts optimism by reserving the possibility that the nationalist framework of heritage could be deconstructed. She imagines a cultural harmony in a representation of multiculturalism that would inform our contemporary culture. Indeed, one could say Eyuboğlu's view shares something with this imaginary museum. *The Waters of Ancient Antalya's* opening lines propose an imitation of this perception and conform to this appreciable multiculturalism. In contrast, Malraux's museum aims to discover different combinations and possible correlations between works and cultures; it hacks the emerging technologies of reproduction and imagines its capabilities. Once this range is limited, however, it would not be a museum without walls. Eyuboğlu's films have a strict modulation on interpretation; there is always an alert that the harmony of the elements it builds into one may be in jeopardy. This is demonstrated by the strict narrative which does not leave any space without interpretation which takes up the place so as to eliminate other possibilities. Once these cultural elements are uttered, they are immediately transformed into the past. Interpretation immediately anaesthetizes the object by orienting it to an element of the Anatolian narrative. They become part of the natural and consensual course of the nation's emergence, rather than singular ethnicities against the standardizing force of Turkish identity. In this regard, cinema is rather an operation of "re-encoding popular memory"; "people are shown not what they actually were but what they need to remember themselves as having been" (Foucault et al. 2018, 106). The story of Anatolia's history, shaped by drastic changes in its demography, becomes a continuous entity by circumventing the existence of a different community of Anatolia in the past. The ancient history

polishes the community of Anatolia as a nation by disregarding the recent memory of the ruptures in its multi-ethnic population that Eyuboğlu's narrative does not recognize however he fashions an archaic past of from a wide range of "civilizations."

2.3 Configuring Aesthetics



Figure 2.6 An inside view of the Süreyya Cinema House, originally and now an opera house in Kadıköy, Istanbul: Gökhan Akçura's Archive

In a questionnaire of the journal *Yeni Ufuklar* in 1956, when asked to give his opinions about the current state of film art, Sabahattin Eyuboğlu delivers an optimistic view about cinema's future possibilities and its possible use-value (Eyuboğlu 2000b, 193-194).⁷ His short answer responds by describing cinema's position in arts and the experience of cinema; he reflects that cinema brings the spectrum of fine arts together as the houses of god once did and he therefore correlates cinema to the

⁷1. Avrupa sinemayı buldu, çünkü 500 yıldır onu arıyordu. Aslında durgun olan resim, heykel gibi sanatlar hareketli olmak, konularını zamanın akışına sokmak istiyorlar, müzik, tiyatro, roman, dans gibi hareket sanatları da durgun deperleri, mekan özelliklerini vermeye, tasvirici olmaya özeniyorlardı. Hepsinin birden aradığı da insanı ve dünyayı oldukları gibi, ama sanatçının dilediği düzen içinde yeniden kurmak, yaşatmaktı. Her sanat, en olmayacak şeyleri bile yaşar yaşanmış gibi, hayatın ta kendisi imiş gibi gösterdiği ölçüde başarı sağlardı. Kısacası, uyanık bir rüya olmak istiyordu sanat, gerçekten olmuş gibi korkutan, sevindiren, güldüren, ağlatan bir rüya; sinemayla oldu. Sinema güpegündüz rüya görmeye gittiğimiz yerdir. Bütün sanatların istediği bu olmasa, hepsi birden aynı rüyayı donatmak için rejisörün emrine girmez, bir bütün içinde erimeye razı olmazlardı. Girmedik sanat mı kaldı sinemaya? Hepsi, eskiden camide, kilisede, tekkede yaptıkları gibi bir amaçta birleştiler... 2. Eğitici olmak aslında her sanatın en asli tarafıdır. Hepsi de zaten bu kaygıyla doğmuşlardır: dans bile. Öğretme bakımından sinemanın imkanları şimdiye kadar hiçbir sanatın ulaşamadığı kadar zengindir. Sinema yoluyla öğretilmeyecek hiçbir bilgi yoktur, demek yetmez; hiçbir bilgi sinemadan daha iyi bir öğretme yolu bulamaz, bile diyebiliriz artık. İyi bir öğretmenin yaptığı nedir? Her şeyden önce öğrencinin gözünü kulağını bir zaman için etrafa kaydırmadan kendi üzerine çekmek değil mi? Sinemada bu iş kendiliğinden oluyor: kararmış ve susmuş bir dünya ortasında seyirci bir tek ışık ve ses kaynağına ister istemez çevriliyor..."

sacred places of ritual. Comparing cinema with religious experience and evoking the well-known concept of total work of art, he claims that in cinema, art is finally able to accomplish its ultimate desire of becoming a daydream penetrating human senses in-between what is real and imaginary. He thinks about film in the special cinematic experience of immersion. Cinema acts upon *aisthesis*, the ancient Greek origins of the aesthetics marking “the whole region of human perception and sensation.” (Eagleton 1990, 13). In this sensory penetration, he also distinguishes a chance of education and cultivation. Aesthetics’ definition exceeds the frame of art. From art to education, Eyuboğlu actually eliminates a possible boundary between art and life. As the line between the two vanishes, he seizes the chance to influence life.

Indeed, aesthetics has long been claimed not to be art theory but a social institution (Ibid). Similar to Eagleton’s remark on the aesthetics, fundamental to the criticism of mass media, Walter Benjamin draws upon a constellation between art, aesthetics, and politics in order to configure aisthesis in the 20th century society (Buck-Morss 1992). To dwell upon this trajectory of the aesthetics in his famous age of mechanical reproduction, Benjamin (2008) identifies a shift in the changing regime of art in European culture and a transition from the cult value of the object to the exhibition value, from art’s religious and sacred frame to the space of audience now defined as public. He remarks that this evolution corresponds to a shift in art’s ground from ritual to politics when he starts to question the meaning of the mobilization of mass media and the implications of the transferability of its representations. His notoriously enigmatic concept of aura crystallizes this effect and tries to respond to it in the evolution that his thesis defined; the concept, despite this twist, is roughly synonymous with "medium" in Benjamin’s lexicon (Somaini 2016). It is defined by a feeling of presence in a work of art or the here and now effect surrounding an object, certifying its authenticity (Benjamin 2008, 24). Benjamin is no less ephemeral in his definition of "aura" than he is elsewhere: “the unique apparition of distance however near it may be” (23). Harmonious with the definition of aesthetics between art and life, this unique experience is not necessarily the characteristic of an art object and it is not an aesthetic category, Miriam-Hansen (2008) argues. Aura’s trajectory in modernity is extinction since mechanical reproduction replaces the uniqueness of the object and its aura thereof. But following aura’s decay, Benjamin also points to contradictory returns of aura in mass media and points to the exploitation of these certified copies in the realm of politics. The emergence of aura in mass media is understood by Benjamin, according to Buck-Morss, as the violation of the technical apparatus which she dubs as anesthetics (1992).

This modernist script for which Walter Benjamin’s reflections on technology, re-

ception of art, and the mass media in the 20th century stands as an Ur-text may also be illustrative to understand the way Eyuboğlu envisioned representations of Anatolia's cultural heritage through the machinery that cinema is. If Eyuboğlu described cinema as a form of total work of art even though he did not explicitly utter the concept, and what attracted him in cinema was an immersive experience. As much as the objects and the narrator's voice that claims the continuity from the ancient history on Anatolia to modern Turkey through these objects, Eyuboğlu's insight aligns the specific experience in cinema to the text of his films. His remark on film art in general emphasizes on its auratic dimension and celebrates it while suggesting utilizing it on education. The idea of presence is already constitutive of his film-museum and its design of the past, though its outcomes are suspect. A film begins when the authority of the object, to which one is exposed in a museum, is suspect. Nevertheless, Eyuboğlu's reflections in his response to the journal questionnaire underline the cinema experience precisely because it replaced the authentic art. Eyuboğlu's interest in cinema's operational use acculturation seems to rely on such a mediatic possibility and its animating power.

As İpşiroğlu expresses in an interview, their intent in making films on Anatolian culture is to introduce this heritage to the general public. What makes visual media the appropriate medium was its capacity to translate the abstract into the material. In the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, a similar paradigm can be observed: the exhibition order mediates "the familiar and immediate to the abstract and imagined" (Gür 2007, 65). Redfield contends that "aesthetics is to articulate sensory experience with suprasensory into harmony, form, or meaning" (Redfield 2003, 11). All these definitions indicate a functional role to aesthetics in combining what can be called a raw experience and a frame of reference so as to output a sensible unit. But this modality of the relation between the sensory and suprasensory or the material and abstract also has a premise about the conduct. In line with İpşiroğlu's reflection and Redfield's squared definition, aesthetics sets a form of speech that reconciles the medium with message which mitigates the resistance of being in contact. It is similar to what Roland Barthes remarked in his definition of myth as "ideas-in-form". He contended for all communicative media that "different at the start, [they] are reduced to a pure signifying function as soon as they are caught by myth" (Barthes 1972, 114). İpşiroğlu's understanding of producing visual representations of his mental image of Anatolia and Eyuboğlu's passion for cinema's immersive experience aim to produce this experience of the image unhampered by the medium's visibility. "Inherent in every medium is its capacity either to catch our attention for its own sake, or just the opposite, to conceal its presence within the picture" The invisibility of an image's mediation is the modality of aesthetics when it is defined through this

dialectic dialectic between the material and abstract. (Belting 2014, 16). Mass media and communication perfects the concealment of medium while transforming its transparency into the standard experience.

2.3.1 Definitions of the Apparatus

Reymond Bellour configures the cinematic apparatus in a cluster of cinema, memory, and conditioned spectatorship: “the lived, more or less collective experience of a film projected in a cinema, in the dark, according to an unalterably precise screening procedure, remains the condition for a special memory experience, one from which every other viewing situation more or less departs” (Bellour 2012, 9). Cinema surrounds the spectator and animates sensory experience by organizing a set of technical devices that operates in almost a universal process. Positing movie theater to the epicenter of cinema, Bellour prefers not to refer this technical web of relations as apparatus [appareil] but prefers to refer to the social, psychological, and architectural complex that defines the movie theater which is the site of film dispositive [dispositif]. The difference between the two concepts, superficial, inadequate or exaggerated it may be, enables a difference in theorizing about and criticizing cinema. Eyuboğlu’s perception of cinema seems to anticipate this vast machinery; or at least he positions film art in this almost unalterable spectatorship and his praises to cinema centers around the way such a mechanism operates. I noted that cinema acted upon aisthesis. In this section of the chapter, I will first have a broader look on the cinematic apparatus since its universal and standard form defines mass media and the sensory experience that is the lingua franca of cinema. Yet, I will also argue contrary to its capacity to explain the films of Istanbul University Film Center and challenge it with Foucault’s concept of dispositive. What I aim by having a glance at both is to dwell on the filmmakers’ vision first by the apparatus, and then challenge it with the material conditions and relations that build cinema as a network so as to render the immaterial, unmediated appearance of the film medium visible.

Film theory further investigates cinema’s technical and ideological conundrums in the concept of apparatus in order to account for the “set of operations which combine in the production of a film” (Baudry and Williams 1974, 40). Even if this definition emphasizes the making of a film and the techniques involved in the process, these operations can be grasped in multiple senses from the convention of projection and movie theater to the conventions of film techniques in the making of a film: "Between "objective reality" and the camera, site of inscription and projection are situated

certain operations... To the extent that it is cut off from the raw material (objective reality) this product does not allow us to see the transformation which has taken place" (Ibid). The key premise of Baudry's criticism is that the apparatus is based on the concealment of certain operations and it exerts a "specific ideological effect" (Ibid, 41). The apparatus is posited as the fulcrum of cinema and its technological, ideological, as well as experiential kernels of the medium. This approach that Baudry has led also tends to regard cinema in trans historical terms. It totalizes cinema and assumes a "supposed universality of forms of representation" (Rosen 1981, 8). In this uniform, cinema sublimates its technological and material conditions and reduces its medium specificity to an idealist representation of moving or kinetic images. "Cinema owes virtually nothing to the scientific spirit" manifests Andre Bazin and declares cinema an "idealist phenomenon" (Bazin 1967, 17). In Baudry's terms, the specific ideological effect of cinema is that the cinematic apparatus imitates Plato's cave as the canonical metaphor of idealist philosophy (1976). According to Baudry, "cinema assumes the role played throughout Western history by artistic formations" which are "the ideology of representation and specularization" (Baudry and Williams 1974, 46). Eyuboğlu was also convinced that for European culture the invention of cinema was inevitable; the realist representation that evolved within the Western visual culture preceding cinema is indicative of its birth Eyuboğlu (2000*b*). When he surmises that cinema's invention is the necessary result of a realist motivation in art, he also comes to regard cinema as an ideal form. Rather than the contingency of technological innovations, he assumes necessity and continuity in tradition, which unsurprisingly already circuits his understanding of the cultural phenomena. The apparatus theory, therefore, tends to sterilize and standardize cinema. Opposing this view, a seminal art historian contends that film is the only example of an art form where the technical developments led and conditioned "the discovery and gradual perfection of a new art" (Panofsky 1995, 93).

Baudry's conceptualization, transhistorical or homogenizing it may be, remains canonical. On the one hand, it could be criticized because it reduces the apparatus' exteriorization of our sensorium to the vision and a convention of representation grounded on its superiority, but on the other the literature contends this is the career of idealist philosophy which Baudry criticizes. "The vision is the most excellent of senses and the metaphor of theoria since the age of Greeks" as Hans Jonas put it (1954, 507). The visual emerges as the sense that is the metaphor for knowledge itself. Similar apprehensions of the visual could be multiplied. Further, the cinematic apparatus' uniform structure assumes that "each film is, good or bad, a piece of cinema," while cinema has "a certain configuration, certain fixed structures and figures, which deserve to be studied directly" (Metz 1991, 3). Even though this approach is

useful to grasp ideological kernels of cinematic experience or semiology of cinema, it also imposes a one-size-fits-all approach. Eyuboğlu's films overlap with the grand narrative of narrative filmmaking so long as Eyuboğlu anticipates to utilize this canonical film aesthetics, which stands for both cinema's convention of representation and the standardized institutional mechanism. Still, I have reservations if this grand narrative enables an adequate exploration the story of Eyuboğlu's film. They are films whose purpose is measured by being outcomes of the university research, and they are not part of different institutions in Turkey which we could deem as the national media industry. They are in contact with such forms and networks, yet they are also not produced as a result of such an industry. The cinematic apparatus approach therefore demands further tailoring. The institutional web that surrounds Istanbul University Film Center must be scrutinized further and in a story specific to itself. Foucault's definition of dispositive can enable a study ground that exceeds the limits of apparatus theory. Balsom (2013) contends that a wider breadth of relations affect cinematic production and reception can be conceived by replacing the apparatus with dispositive, which Foucault defines as such (1980, 194):

"a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the dispositif. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements."⁸ (Balsom 2013, 16)

Introducing dispositive to the analysis challenges the universal claim of the apparatus theory; it opens a more material comprehension of the film. Cinema is not only a convention of representations which emanates from the Western tradition of pictorial representation and idealism; a heterogeneous machinery in which various units enable the machinery's working through different regulations, institutions, and architectural structures circulate films and organize their apprehensions. This ensemble can reveal different forces at work in our reception of a film other than a regime of seeing. Operations of cinema, which Baudry reduced to a film's production and its reception in certain modes, expands to include objects and institutions that may not be cinematic at all. The fact that Eyuboğlu's films were produced by the university institution shows how intricate cinematic apparatus's network can be. Foucault speaks of an economy of the said and unsaid. This can be attributed

⁸The translation is modified in the cited work

to any of these institutional limits, architectural forms, or regulatory decisions. One censorship decision, following a short film of the film center directed by Adnan Benk named *I am Asitavandas* [Ben Asitavandas, 1965] explains that the film includes sequences that may hurt national sentiments, ordering these parts to be extracted from the film for an international exhibition, whereas it can continue to be screened in the uncensored version within the country. Other examples also indicate a certain degree of censorship intervention in Eyuboğlu's films. Even though it has been there throughout film history in different geographies in changing enforcement and repression, speaking of censorship in terms of dispositive has a convoluted position. The example displays how it can affect the network of cinema through intervening international screening. The concept dispositive indicates the multiple elements at force in the production of a discourse. Censorship's direct intervention on speech and representation with its imperative force does, by the end of the day, shape a discourse. But its exertion of power is not a part of "a system of relations" even though it affects such a system. It distinguishes from how festivals, university regulations, or conventional forms would inform Eyuboğlu's film production. This is why I assume it not to be part of such a system of relations while giving us a sense of what such a system could be. By dispositive, Foucault envisions an aesthetic web for the power mechanisms which would produce a discourse including cinema.

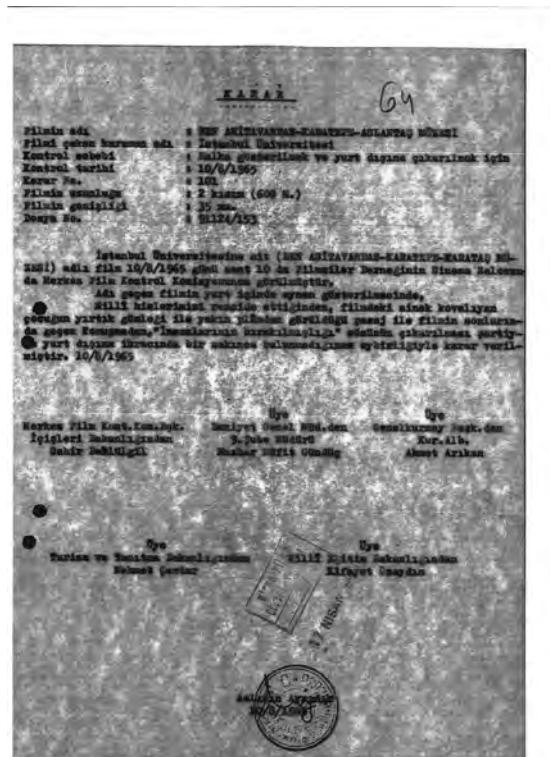


Figure 2.7 The censorship authority's decision regarding *I am Asitavandas*

2.3.2 Beyond the Dispositive

The films of Istanbul University have a utilitarian relationship with the cinematic apparatus. The film medium promises the construction of the Anatolian cultural memory that Eyuboğlu anticipates. This construction is not only a chain of objects with cultural value, but an exhibitional order. This order informs the configuration of memory and defines the past as an authentic and present entity. Cinema serves this purpose as a machine that produces representations, but it also has an industrial and institutional kernel. These two levels may appear different at first sight, but they become extensions of each other. Eyuboğlu's vision also reflects on this institutional aspect and displays his interest in the immersive experience that the cinematic apparatus creates. He conceives in this complex what I call the cinematographic re-animation. It becomes possible through the necessary technical operations of cinema condition that we receive the message unmediated while the medium appears imperceptible. I bring up the concept of dispositive as a reaction to this schema, and I contend that it reveals about Eyuboğlu's anticipation that this process is not as smooth as it is envisioned. If the cinematic apparatus is organized to render the operations of film invisible, then dispositive can be a study deciphering the mediation of cinematic images and make the medium that makes the images present visible. But also, the insight of the dispositive is valuable because restricting our answer on the films' relationship with the cinematic apparatus by recognizing the limitations of thinking cinema as a mechanism of abstract and metaphorical workings in traditional and uniform architecture. Dispositive renders the discursive practices building cinema more tangible and profane, whereas a conventional approach to the concept of cinematic apparatus ignores the fact that neither *the Hittite Sun* nor *the Waters of Ancient Antalya* are conditioned by industrial production and its technical know-how. Thomas Elsaesser remarks that "cinema has many histories, only some of which belongs to the movies" (2004, 12). This mode of thinking is quite instructive to map out that Eyuboğlu's films do not only intend to display in the movie theater but also becoming a film of the movie theater means a set of adjustments in which we can grasp a film's material conditions at work. During my research, I tried to investigate to what extent the filmmakers were able to screen their films. The main reason was to understand how they were perceived within certain frames provided by these spaces so as to achieve a scale for the semiotic analysis of the films. International film festivals, programs by certain consulates, and the Turkish Cinematheque in Istanbul, later on, television appearances were also on the list. But aside from the characteristics of such frames, following Baudry's cinematic apparatus and Foucault's dispositive it became clear to me that cinema

necessitated that a film becomes mobile between these places and it required a set of objects, adjustments, and standards to make this mobility possible.

Departing from dispositive, which perceives cinematic apparatus as a network within a more complex and more contingent structure, an exemplary study to understand the industrial and geographical limits of film culture could enlarge the frame of reference for grasping and locating Eyuboğlu's works and their engagement with the cinematic apparatus. Benoit Turquety's (2019) contemporary study *Medium, Format, Configuration: The Displacements of Film* extends not only the technical spectrum of the dispositive but also considers its geographical and cultural latitudes. The study re-evaluates technological aspects of cinema following the thought of the French philosopher Georges Simondon, who contends that technical objects can never be grasped in isolation since they are always part of infrastructures and networks enabling their mobility, and employs a framework in order to "defocus from a closed and implicitly Western conception of the cinema dispositif" (Ibid, 18). Film formats emerge as a key for this insight on the technological and political implications of cinema. Cinema industry formulates ways of standardizing its medium: a contrast of the low and high formats existed from the beginnings of the cinema's industrialization; the seminal distinction is between 16mm and 35mm formats: "35 mm meant feature films, centralized commercial production, and distribution, the movie theater. 16 mm denoted first the amateur context, but soon educational and useful cinema, distribute through parallel and sometimes non-commercial networks, like universities, churches, mobile projection unit, etc." (Ibid). The relationship between high and low formats is not a hierarchy necessarily; they develop their own networks of circulation. Formats become the standards in which a film gains mobility, but Turquety points out to the stakes of the standardization as an economy of exclusion. Studying the case of the Nigerian Film Industry, aka Nollywood, Turquety points out the power relation and exclusion in the standardization of cinema. Nollywood has produced all of its films in VHS tape format and therefore has not even been regarded as an industry, even though it produced more films than most of the other national industries (Ibid). Perceived from this perspective, the cinematic apparatus and its representation already exceed a metaphorical structure and demonstrates that its means of production is an architecture more complex than definitive categories and hierarchies.

Turquety's transgression of the conventional modes of thinking about the film format can also be revealing in considering Eyuboğlu's films and how they interact with the economy of cinema; his study shows that it is an illusion of the cinematic apparatus to present cinema in monopolistic terms rather than a spectrum. This is valid in distinguishing between cinema as entertainment culture and cinema as instructional

or informative media. But Turquety's inspection on format asks a fundamental question about these categories and surface economies of exclusion; format becomes an integral index influences the network in which a film can circulate. If we consider the film economy that Eyuboğlu's films partake in Turkey also demonstrates a development parallel to the period Istanbul University Film Center begins to be active. The surrounding conditions give certain clues. In the history of Turkey's national cinema, there is a scarce environment with few directors until the end of WWII. The national film production in Turkey is barely visible during the period. Following WWII, though, it can be said that a developing industry of local film production comes to being today known as Yeşilçam Industry, which continued its life very much into the 90s. Feature genre film productions pervade in the numbers, whereas the history of the documentary feature film is comparatively scarce. Aside from the documentary films produced by Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi, a branch of the military which also produced documentaries in the interests of the army, or propaganda films of the single-party regime, few documentary films can be detected such as the cinematographer İlhan Arakon's short film named *The Story of a City* [Bir Şehrin Hikayesi, 1952] which he shot on 16mm. In a period when there were no television film festivals in Turkey, such films had difficulty in reaching the public, although there was a law that conditioned an instructive short film to be screened before any feature films. In a film magazine Baha Gelenbevi, one of the pioneering filmmakers in Turkey reproaches the movie theaters' ignorance of the law. There were most surely propaganda films produced by the state, but documentary film production in civil enterprises seems scarce.

Alternative attempts also succeed to achieve visibility in the 1960s. Following the Turkish Cinematheque and around the same the flourishing student film clubs at the universities or the cinema clubs in small cities without universities and film magazines, one could say that there is an environment with possibilities. Different milieus of circulating film journals such as *Görüntü* at Robert College or *Genç Sinema* in the capital city Ankara are examples of emerging political film culture (Başgüneş 2010). More significant for our approach to the cinematic apparatus, Robert College Cinema Club organizes *Hisar Short Film Competition* [Hisar Kısa Film Yarışması] in 1967. This competition is particularly important since its selections included only 16mm and 8mm film formats, focusing on experimental and amateur cinema, and it promises different possibilities for producing and exhibiting film. There are records of the short films that are screened in the competition. But moreover, some records imply that film screenings in the unions or factories were also taking place pushing the limits of a specialized movie theater by using the mobility of small film

projectors.⁹

I note that this small section is most surely insufficient to account for the film history of Turkey. I rather try to encapsulate it so as to demonstrate the existence of a spectrum; different veins of mobility strives to exist. These small fragments help illustrate the environment in which the films of Istanbul University Film Center participated or did not participate in and a way to understand the stakes that Turquety reveals. Returning to the film center and reconsidering the questions Turquety tackles, for the productions of Istanbul University Film Center, to become “film” enough also has its stakes. Withing the available records, we can consider their first film *the Hittite Sun*. Berlin Film Festival, where the film made its world-premiere and eventually won an award, did not screen film in 16mm format according to the festival rules. Therefore, even though the film was shot on 16 mm, a copy in 35mm format that conformed to the industry standards must have been produced for screening at the festival. But the matters of film format also inform about the anticipated audience and screening spaces of the films. 16mm was, though not exclusively, the regular format for most educative films as Turquety noted; it meant screening in the classroom since it was portable. The films of Istanbul University were also meant to be instructional in university education. 35 mm, on the other hand, enabled them screening at film festivals or other movie theaters, national or international. 35 mm embodies the idea of reaching a wider public audience rather than specialized contexts. The catalog of the film center informs that every film has a 35 mm and a 16 mm copy.

In a letter that was possibly sent in 1954-1956, Eyuboğlu writes to his painter friend Abidin Dino and states that they are willing to send the film to a film festival in Germany so that they could fund the necessary film material and demonstrate themselves to the University.¹⁰ But this condition also takes them into a circuit that we do not know to what extent they were aware of. Along with its advantages, an international screening also requires appealing to the censorship authority. Adding to that, a 35 mm copy is a professional but an expensive product that demands a bigger budget. Becoming "a movie theater film" demanded adaptation, therefore. Looking into this history indicates that the productions of the Istanbul University

⁹ Ahmet Soner, one of the directors of *Bloody Sunday* [Kanlı Pazar], a film that documented a widespread political demonstration in Istanbul as part of the political movements of the '68, notes in his diary: "17 Mart 1969 -Pazartesi- 16'lık göstericiyi bir taksiye atıp Aksaray'daki TÖS (Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası) lokaline gittim. Makineyi kurmama bir öğretmen yardım etti. Salonda hiç boş sandalye yoktu. Kanlı Pazar'ı gösterdim. Teknik Üniversite'den bir grup öğrenci yarın Sinop'a gidecekmış. Gerze'de bütün mitingi yapılacakmış. Bir kamera bulup, mutlaka gitmeliyim."

¹⁰ "Filmi [Hitit Güneşi] haziranda Almanyadaki bir dökümanter film festivaline gönderip hem malzeme, hem de üniversiteyi bize güvenderecek birkaç yazı sağlamayı istiyoruz." in Abidin Dino Archive, Digital SSM: <http://digital.sabanciuniv.edu/abidindino/mektup/3040200000882.pdf>

Film Center responded to the conditions and tried to accord with them; there were not only necessities but also decisions made. Turquety's argument and emphasis on film format reveal that their standardization of film economy creates a regime of visibility that the films of Istanbul Film Center also encounter and give a response to. In this case, despite the repetitive arguments of lack of funds, which one simply will know to be always true, the costly reproduction of 35 mm copies also shows the intent to take place in the circulation promised by the movies. Format, in the end, does not reveal a different economy in itself, but a relation to the Western conception of cinema through the films of Sabahattin Eyuboğlu. These technical details that one discovers in the making of an archive of Istanbul University Film Center display the effort taken to produce films in the industrial standards, which Eyuboğlu anticipated. In a close-up to the operations of the cinematic apparatus, which is also an educational apparatus, its flaws become apparent and give a contrasting image of a fluent mechanism and network.

2.4 A Digression

Having discussed a material approach to cinema and the representation of the past in cinema, I would like to conclude this chapter with a hypothetical situation, which I consider to be relevant to this chapter's concerns. I am aware that Eyuboğlu's films, which I review and analyze in a decayed form, can also be restored with the state-of-the-art digital technologies. But I believe this would not finalize any of the concerns on the archive, memory, or the apparatus. They may give the precise image of the film as it was yesterday, which would bear other questions: To restore these films completely would not only mean cleaning but also recovering them to their industry-standard forms. Setting aside the technical questions of such a restoration to achieve a copy similar to the original, the seminal question would be whether these films would be restored to being archival films or to films for a theatrical screening of today's standards. At a time when almost every movie theater and festival uses digital projectors, this would demand a DCP (Digital Cinema Package) copy in 2K or 4K resolution as standardized by DCI (Digital Cinema Initiatives) (Fossati 2011, 58). A scan of higher quality automatically means more information about the original, along with an increasing expense and increasing digital and physical space demand. This question, though, would not only be a matter of quality, storage, and budget; it would imply a choice whether these films are restored

and digitized for their original purpose of public screening in the industry-standards and for the classroom. Another option would be to restore to protect from complete destruction and turn into a well-preserved archival material, which could be available for those interested with relatively less quality and resolution. If the films of Istanbul University Film Center had both 16mm and 35mm copies, these copies had different resolutions. Regardless, their reintroduction with the technologies of our time would also have to reconfigure their presence. Restoration can be alluring, giving images back their lives in crisp colors. But the advance of technology does not account for this return. Do we recognize them as part of a lost heritage at a time when the Turkish Cinematheque in Istanbul re-opens as part of such a film culture in Turkey, which was closed after the 1980 coup d'état, perhaps similar to archeological remains and material cultures Istanbul University Film Center sought after? I do not pose this last question to evoke a bitter irony, but because I think tackling it would reveal about Turkey's modernity's negotiations of history, "which has not actually been properly shut down and externalized" (Ahıska 2010, 37).

3. DOCUMENTS OF THE ANATOLIAN LANDSCAPE

3.1 The Uses of Travel

3.1.1 Reading an Unfolding Expedition

Following their first few films, Eyubođlu and İpřirođlu break with the limits of the short film by producing the feature-length documentary *On the Roads of Anatolia* [Anadolu Yollarında]. After finishing this film which has a length of 1800m in 35 mm in color, roughly 64 minutes, they send the film to the central censorship board to be able to screen it nationally or internationally in a movie theater or a film festival. The film is rejected by the authorities, however, on the grounds that it represents Anatolia's native population as primitive and the Anatolian landscape as underdeveloped. The film's imagery to the country's progressive modernity which exasperates the authorities, as an official annotates on the film in a correspondence. The document also informs that the film is dubbed in German, which implies that the filmmakers probably produced it for Berlin Film Festival where their films already made a few appearances before. The film cannot be screened in Berlin in 1959, but it appeals to the censorship authorities again the following year and gets approved with slight interventions. It finds its place in the festival's program in 1960.¹² This lengthy film is also not included in the publicity booklet of the film center published in 1976.

¹Mehmet Alkan, "Eyubođlu'nun Sinemacı Yönu, *Yeni Ufuklar*, p. 176

²The authorities' decision says:"Filmde geöen (Ařiret) tabirinin (Oba) tabirile deđiřtirtirmek üzere adı geöen filmin, filmlerin ve senaryolarının kontrolüne dair nizamnamenin 35inci maddesine tevfiikan yurt dıřına ıkarılmasında bir mahzur olmađını, Emniyet Umum Mdrlđ temsilcisinin muhalif reyine karřılık ekseriyetle karar verilmiřtir."

In 1959, instead of this feature documentary, another short film named *Colours in the Dark* is sent to Berlin Film Festival. This film is composed of the records of an adventurous journey to the Cappadocia area in which Eyubođlu and İpşirođlu discover cave-church reminiscent of the the Cappadocian Greeks. It starts with a view of the land and the title of the film inscribed on it. The narrator's voice says: "Bu film 1957 yılında üniversitenin Anadolu gezilerinde bulunan bir Ortaçađ kilisesini yerinde tanıtmak için yapıldı." It continues with depictions through which we recognize the territory of Cappadocia in a series of metaphors born out of the landscape's impressions:

"Orta Anadolu'da, Kapadokya'da Tabiat Ana ilk bakışta yaşamaya küsmüş, gülmeyi, süslenmeyi unutmüş, kupkuru, asık yüzlü bir çehre takınır. Bazı yerler size dünyamızın hayat öncesi, bazı yerler de aydaki gibi hayat sonrası halini düşündürür. Göreme'de toprak baştan başa volkan köpüğüdür. Sular ve rüzgarlar bu köpüğü aşındıra aşındıra garip heykelleri andıran bin bir şekle sokmuş."



Figure 3.1 A scene from *Colours in the Dark*

The film's introductory long shots and observations of the local life situate the expedition to the church in a geographical but also semantic map while inviting the audience to explore a tantalizing environment. It grasps the quirky appearance of a landscape that is now a tourist hotspot along with its peasantry and agriculture and narrates them with fascination. The narrator's voice paints this Anatolian picturesque with certain traits familiar to Eyubođlu's imagery of Anatolia; contrary to a rational space, it could be characterized as unattainable where is governed by



Figure 3.2 A villager who is possibly combing the wheat out

the order of nature. Its architecture would be distinguished from the urban world of a scholar. Its picturesque is neither ravished nor polished -yet it is idealistic-; it just possesses a sense of its own. The plot continues to explore further through encounters with the landscape and with the people dwelling in it; these observations try to attenuate the visual repertoire of the film with a rhetorical language of persuasion and enchantment:

"Uzaktan köyler ve kasabalar bile bir efsaneden arta kalmış, heybetli ama cansız dekorları andırır. Göreme vadisini tepeden seyreden Uçhisar (Sivrihisar) kasabası donmuş bir efsane gibidir. Kaya manastırlarının birçoğunun kapısı bu manzaraya açılır. Aza kanaat etmesini, sabırla çalışıp beklemesini bilen insan, burada en özlü dünya nimetlerine erir."

The ecopoetic descriptions of the Cappadocian views bring a mythical existence before our eyes. Silence prevails in every image; as archaic as the environment, peasantry merges with nature to portray a scenic view. All of these constructs the sensory experience the Anatolian landscape, which in turn becomes intelligible in the silhouette of repetitive stereotypes: natural, naïve, authentic, unviolated, awaiting to be unearthed. This is indeed what happens when two adventurous men go to fascinate and to intoxicate themselves by these views: "Göreme'yi gezen herkes bilinmeyen kiliseler bulma hevesine düşer, bulduğu da olur: Nitekim bu filmi yapanlar, 700 yıl kapalı kalmış bir kilise buldular." Rather than art historians, they are two free spirits who bring a lost church to our attention. But they are also not hesitant to provide us with an interpretation of the church's visual elements and



Figure 3.3 The cave that the two adventurous men found

iconography: “Resimler Bizans geleneğine uymakla beraber, daha sade, daha gürbüz ve daha duygulu bir sanat özelliği taşıyor. Bu resimler yer yer Anadolu halk sanatına mal edebileceğimiz ilkel motiflere karışıyor.” The imagery that is weaved in the preceding sequences of earthly views prepares the ground for this premise that one would recognize the church as culturally Anatolian. Its visual signs inscribed on the wall present queues for the history of Anatolian culture. The narrator’s text weaves into representation a cultural level of signification and specifies cultural codes. What will decode them is a visual literacy defined by its nativity. Having abandoned their art historian identity, the authority of their interpretation shifts. James Clifford once asserted that “experiential authority” of the ethnographer “is based on a ‘feel’ for the foreign context, a kind of accumulated savvy and a sense of the style of a people or place” (1988, 35). As much as or even more than the evidence of iconography or material culture, the narration’s depictions and contentions depend on the rhetoric acquired by being the savvy of the Anatolian peninsula.

Besides its sophisticated descriptions glorifying the landscape, it could be said that *Colours in The Dark* takes up a very classical documentary film form which can be called Griersonian after the pioneering critic, producer, and filmmaker John Grierson. Almost primitive in its structure, it juxtaposes text and image while a descriptive voice-over informs the visuals and our perception of them, with an additional film score that keeps up with the film’s mood and pace. This simplicity is also similar to a slide film projector. One can conjure up a moment in the classroom where the professor reflects on the photographs of his last field-trip and explains them through a convenient and consistent reading. Indeed, the photographer Ara Güler

(2005) recounts that he prepared lecture slides for Eyuboğlu's art history lectures at the university with his documentary photographs in the early 1950s. Remarking Eyuboğlu's growing interest in photography and film, the photographer reminisces about how he consulted Eyuboğlu and asked for his opinions on the photographs that he captured in his journalistic trips to Anatolia. Projected in a classroom, such travel photographs are not merely documentary images of the objects and places of archeological or art historical value; they translate the travel into images. *Colours in the Dark* utilizes such an experience of travel to make its point as much as the material culture the film searches after.

Historically, the relationship between travel and visual culture dates back to the 19th century, when an abundance of travel images was being produced. The technological advances enabled "documenting one's trip by an image," and travel became entangled with visual objects such as postcards (Gunning 2006, 27). Cinema's early history also partook in the expansion of this visual culture; travelogue, which was already a literary genre exploring and reporting the impressions of foreign places, was transformed by the new media. Film historians note the emergence of a mixed cinematic form referred to as "travel lecture" as a result of the practices of visual documentation (Ibid). The lecture is not exactly a narrative film. It involves an oral performance accompanying the footage of an itinerant traveler present before the spectator; "a silent travelogue presented with live narration by an itinerant filmmaker—is the archetypal form of the travelogue in cinema" (Ruoff 2006, 217). It transmits the experience of travel through an early modality of spectatorship and cinema while the traveler shares the film material as his writing pad in presence. With its simplicity, this modality is also a plausible archetype to speak about how Eyuboğlu fashions the Anatolian landscape in travel imagery. As Eyuboğlu's films are intended to be used for academic purposes, similar to the slide films he borrowed from Ara Güler, it is plausible to think that Eyuboğlu's presentations of his films in lectures or university theaters could evoke the live experience of this hybrid form with the presence of a story-teller who is also an adventurous traveler.

3.1.2 Constructing Anatolia: Re-collection of Places

Turkey's national history records instances of different projects in which Anatolia becomes an object of study in different forms. Literature reserves a privileged place in which Anatolia is explored "both as theme and place" (Parla 2007). Eyuboğlu inherits this tradition and even before his films, his life-story intersects with other



Figure 3.4 A map instructing the trip to be taken in *the Gods of Nemrut*

narratives of travel into Anatolia. In a letter to his painter brother Bedri Rahmi Eyuboğlu, who goes to Edirne as part of a state-initiated artist's mobility program between the years 1938-1943, Eyuboğlu writes that the painter should return with views of paradise in his paintings (Eyuboğlu 1985, 129). Within the consecutive 5 years of this program called *Travel through the Homeland* [Yurt Gezileri], many painters enjoy the chance to spend time in different locations and portray rural Turkey according to their vision. The paintings are exhibited in a central exhibition that the ruling party RPP organized annually in Ankara (Yasa Yaman 1996). Quite a good number of the paintings are also printed in journals such as *Ülkü* or *Arkitekt*. Unfortunately, many of these paintings are lost over time whilst some being preserved in national painting and sculpture museums or private collections (Edgü 1998). Poet Yahya Kemal's phrase "Mektepten Memlekete" inspired and described what the project was set to achieve, but it also encapsulates the self-image of the artist in the country's periphery and the idealism that informs his Anatolian views. It implies a stereotype of artist/missionary, artistic imagery informed by a collective project, and an amateur ethnographer as dubbed by Demirer (2011). Although the rural landscape of the Republic has already been introduced to literature and cultural sciences such as folklore, the mobility program is perceived and praised as the act that swerved and enriched the visual repertoire of the artist; the introduction of this breath of visual repertoire meant more relations between the center and the periphery of the Republic (Duben 2007). Setting aside its historical importance and consequences, the program also prompts a journey metaphor which may have also been a seminal role-model for Eyuboğlu's project and his strives to accumulate a scenic archive of the Anatolian culture. The paintings produced during the painter's trips are various from a single object used for everyday purposes,

such as Abidin Dino's *Testi* [jug] which simply inscribes the form of a traditional jug to the canvas on a two-dimensional form, to the cultivated fields, village views or unruly Anatolian landscape. The stylistic attitude of each painter may be different and these paintings may reflect the unique vision of their unique makers; it is difficult to determine if these recollections of different characters from different places would patch a consistent vision. But this common metaphor of travel, travel from academia to the fieldwork, frames them in an idealist gesture that one expects as this total oeuvre comes into being.

A short historical survey traces the importance of travel in Eyuboğlu's design of cultural heritage to a date earlier than his filmmaking. His relationship with the milieu Blue Anatolia materializes in a series of sea voyages which has come to be known as *Blue Voyage* [Mavi Yolculuk]. Beginning from the 1940s, each year Eyuboğlu and a circle of writers, painters or cultural producers in general, notably Azra Erhat and Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, set out to a romantic journey on the Turkish side of Aegean Riviera which culminated a cultural voyage through the historical ruins of the ancient Greek. These journeys also included many other intellectuals of the epoch or even Eyuboğlu's students from the university such as Mina Urgan, who also accompanied Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu and Aziz Albek in their trip to Van to shoot *Aktamar/A World Temple in Eastern Anatolia* (1998). The voyages became a hub for cultural producers while unraveling the heritage of the Aegean peninsula of Turkey. In these voyages of the Blue Anatolia, there is a pedagogic undercurrent that can be regarded as the Ur-sprung of Eyuboğlu's film project. Going through the route is amalgamated by an experience that Eyuboğlu finds acculturative. Reminiscent of these travels, Azra Erhat writes travelogues of two trips in 1961 and 1962 along with a memoir of the travels to be published in 1969 which are also "a tourist guide, a mythology and archeology book" (Albachten 2012, 430). Blue Voyages cover the main themes that shaped Eyuboğlu's approach to Anatolian culture and the cultural heritage that he considered apt for modern Turkey. But I also point out that out of the experience of the journey and a chain of tropes, he develops a method with nuances of his own. He embeds a technique of acknowledging the Anatolian culture. So, the experience of travel is not a simple attachment to the organization of the films so as to make them more plausible. This experience is part of the discourse on Anatolia as well. Both the predecessor program *Travel through the Homeland* and *Blue Voyages* prepare the blueprint of the journey ideal on which a national consciousness is inscribed. Eyuboğlu's travels also capitalize on the same track.

Most of Eyuboğlu's films have a specific destination at the start, either an object, a place, or an informative purpose to introduce a specific historical people. A film

such as *the Colors in the Dark* demonstrates that the destination holds an integral role in creating the experience economy. As the visual documentation of Anatolia in travel imagery reproduces the metaphors molding scenes of the Anatolian landscape, travel organizes the images and turn the structure of story-telling into a “structure of feeling” (Williams 1975). In this transformation, travel is both an explicit theme and an implicit mode. It is a story track that a film can follow and a movement that begins from one point and ends in another which also orchestrates the reception of the various environments that travel ingests in movement. Once the film sets on a journey, there emerges a background in addition to the foreground in which we will most surely see the central theme. The haphazard movement paints the background, which then shapes our reception of the foreground. *The Gods of Nemrut* presents a typical journey that accounts for both senses of the travel. Aimed at reaching the remains of the Commagene’s kingdom, which are for the first time discovered by the Ottoman orientalist painter and museologist Osman Hamdi Bey as the film itself recites, the film sets out to reach this destination and gathers fragments of life in the region along the road. The map (fig. 4) introduces us to the route; it is followed by the views of a group of people walking in what is at best an alley in a wasteland. It informs us about the location and the route to be taken. On the road, the voice-over will accompany us by its comments on the journey and scenery:

"Eski Kahta'dan öteye yalnız katır sırtında, tabana kuvvet dağa tırmanmak zorundasınız. Üç saat sonra Horik köyüne varırsınız. Yolun yarısındaki bu köy yerle gök arasında, rüzgarlı bir yamaçta kendine umulmadık bir sığınak bulmuş gibidir. Nemrut'un aşık yüzünü birden güldüren, ekmeğini taştan çıkararak bir avuç insanı ile Horik köyü Antiokhos'tan daha eski Anadolu geleneklerini sürdürmektedir."

This sequence illustrates how travel configures our sightseeing along the way to the Nemrut mountain. The text that he wrote measures the distance by the means of the journey itself, which are then attributed to the life in the region. It provides the modality in which we are meant to come into contact with the landscape; an unexpected encounter with Horik village leads our perception of the sculptures to come in the Nemrut mountain. The ancient Anatolian traditions that the villagers are supposed to sustain are not uttered explicitly, though. Eyuboğlu attributed to his travels the role to render fragments total, along its acculturative mission: “Film merkezinin gezileri çoğaldıkça, Anadolu tarihini sürekli ve tutarlı bir bütün olarak görmemize yardım edebilirler” (Albek 1976). This phrase deduces that the journey has a decisive role in constructing the Anatolian heritage. When a journey

to the archaic sculptures on a mountain is framed by this sense of going there, in addition to being there, the spectacle revolves around the journey's orbit. Travel has a mission of compiling which could otherwise be a confusing repository of fragments. A proposition by anthropologist Marc Auge in which he understands space through the experience of modern travel gives an insight into this structure:

"Space, as frequentation of places rather than a place, stems in effect from a double movement: the traveler's movement, of course, but also a parallel movement of the landscapes which he catches only in glimpses, a series of "snapshots" piled hurriedly into his memory and, literally, recomposed in the account he gives of them, the sequencing of slides in the commentary he imposes on his entourage when he returns." (1995, 85-86)

Auge's seemingly simple but delicately profound passage focuses on the modern experience of travel by pointing to the essential design exerted on space by movement, which, in Auge's terms, collects dispersed fragments to reconstruct the travel in another context. In this movement, the joints that render the traversed space whole become invisible and blind spots of perception. Auge's delineation of the traveling eye becomes comprehensible through a modest metaphor of an eye watching out the window; while moving forward, the landscape optically slides back in a distorted image. The traveler captures such impressions based on the misrecognition of the sliding landscape. And Auge remarks the transfer of these images back to the home where they are glued into a total image that represents the travel and the destination. Prior to being a glue for the history that Eyuboğlu seeks to amend, travel also amends "frequentation of places" and renders the space continuous through which Eyuboğlu unhesitatingly produces Anatolia. How one works through the records of a travel's impressions informs Auge's theorization of this modern mobility; the re-composition is the necessary element of travel with a dependence on those souvenirs reminiscent of the views. At this point, Auge's description gravitates towards the terms of photography and film since modern travel's reminiscence becomes more dependent on such technical devices. In this picture that he describes, Auge highlights the optics: "travel constructs a fictional relationship between gaze and landscape" (Ibid). The spirit of this composition reminds Rancière's approach to fiction that defines it as "a structure of rationality that is required wherever a sense of reality must be produced" (Rancière N.d., 25). Not an opposition of the real and the imaginary, but a frame so that a narrative can be produced to make sense and to communicate. Even the non-fiction film has a structure and a set of premises that make it

intelligible and perceptible. Travel, in the same way, will re-create the destination and pass the space through its prism so as to make it meaningful. This is also valid for Eyuboğlu's films; travel denotes a backbone and shape in which the films can manifest a certain sense of the destination and can become a story that gives a clear image of it. Sliding landscapes and visual objects posited on these landscapes, they harmonize so that we perceive them as one. Auge's words to describe the traveler's space is reliant on photographic reproduction: snapshot, sequence. Changing materiality of memory and its technics articulate travel imagery justifying Gunning's emphasis on travel as. It provides us the image of other places which we accord to our own taste and interpretation as travel is "the way of appropriating the world through images" (Gunning 2006, 27).

"Travel film" is a type of documentary film in which moving images classified according to their relation to the facts and reality construct the work on the screen. Yet, not every film that conveys travel can be contained within the limits of travel film, and it cannot be said that travel exhausts the filmography and grasps different kernels of Eyuboğlu's film enterprise. Eyuboğlu uses travel as a thematic element and it is a plot technique. He contends that his search for the cultural origins in Anatolia has a shared spirit of a trip. Indeed, travel denotes his films a mood in each film and the relationship between the films with each other. In the introduction section of my thesis, I contended that the Anatolian landscape in these films represents a mental image that is willing to trademark Anatolia as the nation's motherland and as the cultural roots of Turkey. Travel denotes a consistent itinerary in which we can trace the way Eyuboğlu arranged Anatolia's cultural heritage and the message he conveyed through them. It operates within the story-telling that Eyuboğlu installs while publicizing Anatolia and tracing the undiscovered aspects of Anatolian culture; it decrypts certain traits of Eyuboğlu's endeavor but does not suffice for an adequate analysis. I commence by trying to find out travel's epistemology, how the movement of a traveler makes the Anatolian space and culture knowable. In this chapter, therefore, I try to understand the movements that convey the plot through which he portrays on the Anatolian landscape and how it draws a map of the peninsula's region, for which an evaluation of the films within documentary filmmaking enable tools to work through the films. My approach to documentary film and genre takes a stance to capture snapshots descriptive of the different characteristics of Eyuboğlu's films. I evaluate how they relate to the documentary film genre and the different typologies and classifications in film theory and history. A film such as *Colors in the Dark* can best be described as a culture film, which I use as a differentiated documentary form. The description proves useful to remark the framework of Eyuboğlu's films, which is informed by ideology and a political

program.

3.2 Culture Film: An Elusive Genre

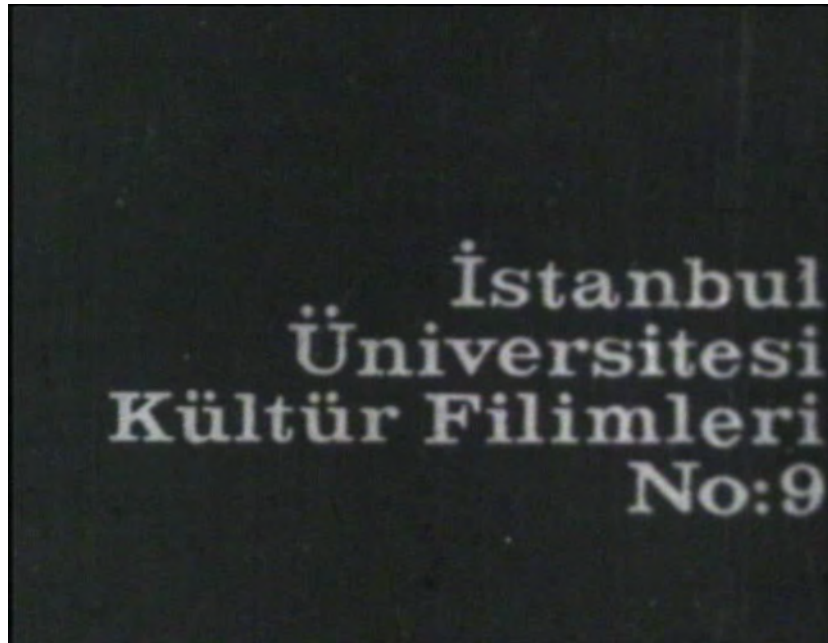


Figure 3.5 An Intertitle: Culture Film

3.2.1 Dispositions of Documentary Film

Sigfried Kracauer, German cultural and film theorist, categorizes a broad range of film types classified according to the actuality of their images. This list of *film of fact* in Kracauer's terminology goes as the following:

"1) the newsreel; 2) the documentary, including such subgenres as the travelogue, scientific films, instructional films, etc.; and 3) the relatively new species of the film on art." (1960, 193)

Kracauer's *film of fact* marks a family of different categories in the territory of "non-story film" which "shuns fiction in favor of unmanipulated material" (Ibid). Docu-

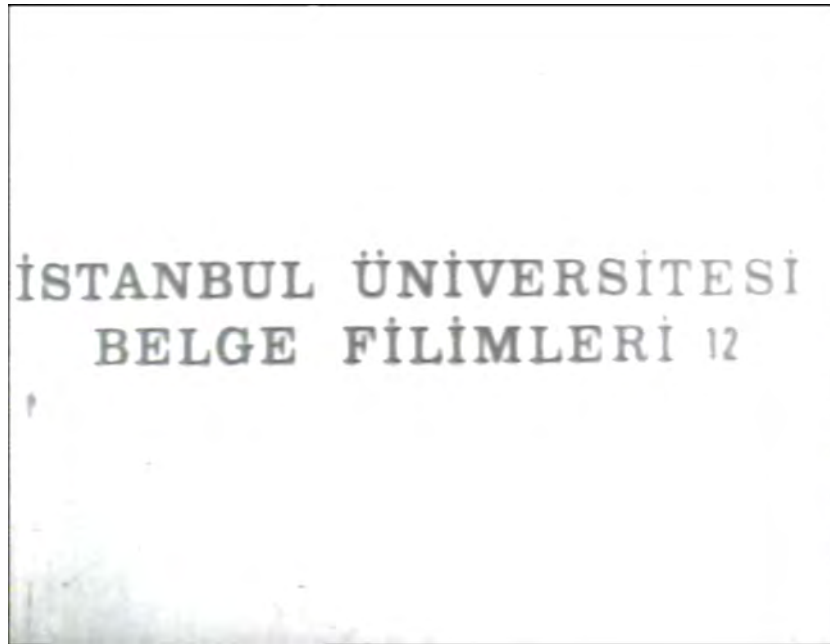


Figure 3.6 An Intertitle: Documentary Film

mentary stands for one sub-category of this family. The newsreel informs about the recent on-goings of the world, whereas the film on art studies and introduces the works of art. Eyuboğlu's films cut through both sub-categories of documentary and film on art through their different characteristics. However, Kracauer's classification is not seminal because of its ability to provide an exhaustive typology; its merit is in the fact that it distinguishes films of fact as non-story films and evaluates in the actuality of the film material that they extract from the real world. Kracauer regarded this character to be the realization of cinema's capacities and appreciated a commitment to the visual, and an investigation of the reality by means of the camera. John Grierson, who coined the term documentary in the English language displays a contrasting definition of documentary genre and defense of its story-telling capacity. His approach dates back to the early ethnographic films of Robert Flaherty as he heralds "documentary" in a review of the filmmaker's *Moana* (1926). Grierson's aim is not to classify films that make use of images distinguished by their actuality, however. Crude reflections of physical reality as travel film or newsreel are not part of the definition of the documentary film that he envisions. Documentary elevates certain films of fact to an artistic form and demarcates certain forms of representation of reality from the sub-genres formed in Kracauer's film theory. Examples of factual use of moving images could go back to the moment of cinema's birth, but in Grierson's perspective, documentary film genre differs from other films of fact in portraying its subjects in an artistic form. In Grierson's attempts to construct "a theoretical and institutional foundation" and to elevate documentary into an ideal art form is propelled by German idealist philosophy tradition in which a critique

of the capitalist world is situated (Winston et al. 2013, 129). A similar contention on Grierson's documentary theory is made by Philip Rosen; evaluating Grierson's critique of the newsreel as a lower form of a film of fact for "mistaking the phenomenon for the thing in itself," Rosen contends Grierson's pulse is to establish a Kantian "epistemology of actuality through film" (2001, 233). Grierson seeks a noble form, but his idealist approach also defines the documentary's content with an imminent skepticism to the modern world influenced by romantic anti-capitalism. Flaherty's two significant films, which attracted Grierson's attention, conserve non-Western lives. Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), which follows two-year-long research on an Inuit family in Northern Canada, and *Moana*, which was filmed in Samoa in a similar fashion, are examples of his meticulous effort for this purpose. In line with the traces of idealist philosophy as in Grierson's will to elevate and to formulate documentary, Flaherty's films seek after "a more authentic humanity" (Grimshaw 2001). Looking at a naïve world, Flaherty's camera consecrates on what is threatened by destruction and oblivion in the progress of the modern world and its culture. Flaherty's ethnographic filmmaking has the impulse of an "innocent eye" that images the elusive and the endemic which brings it closer to the epistemology of salvage anthropology. His cinema seeks to see things without "preconceptions" like a vision uninterrupted by the social limits, a sight before sight (Ibid). The purity of vision in such a paradigm emancipates the enslaved humanity and brings forth the naive human. This question constitutes the documentary genre as Grierson envisaged it; Flaherty's search for naive humanity demonstrates how cinema can create the poetry of the things. His films did not use voice-over commentary but inter-titles in line with his epoch. But, even though Grierson's inspiration for the documentary genre was initiated by Flaherty's ethnographic eye and his meticulous study of his subjects, his orthodox documentary theory envisioned the emergence of commentary and a "concomitant indifference to the visuals" as criticized by Kracauer (1960, 210). And what is more, his interest in establishing a higher form of documentary and his scorn of types of documentary such as newsreel or lecture films did not mean that his cinema was an endeavor towards a pure cinema, or "film as film" as Kracauer calls it. Grierson firmly believed in acculturation through cinema and its role to inform and construct citizenship. Kracauer further quotes Grierson:

"Grierson, who initiated and promoted the British documentary movement, instilled new life into the genre while at the same time estranging it from its cinematic roots. He himself admits his relative unconcern for film as film. In Grierson's words, the "documentary idea," meaning his own, "was not basically a film idea at all, and the film treatment it

inspired only an incidental aspect of it. The medium happened to be the most convenient and most exciting available to us. The idea itself, on the other hand, was a new idea for public education: its underlying concept that the world was in a phase of drastic change affecting every manner of thought and practice, and the public comprehension of that change vital." (Ibid, 210)

To wrap up and to relate the comparison between Kracauer and Flaherty to Eyuboğlu's films, Kracauer investigates a broader frame for the non-fiction film and he classifies them according to the correspondence between the images and phenomena of the real world. "Documentary" is one of the groups in his classification. In contrast, Grierson defines documentary as an art form and its representation to be a reflection on the phenomena which transcend it. He deems public education to be possible in this form that turns documentary a cinema version of radio and newspaper, and Kracauer annotates that Grierson's ideal betrays cinema, which is the way that Grierson believes to turn documentary into art. The two accounts are in obvious tension, but Grierson establishes the orthodox of the form-content structure of the documentary film which seems to have influenced Eyuboğlu, too. I remarked that *the Colors in the Dark* had a classical documentary structure in its form of commentary orchestrating a set of moving images. This style was envisioned by Grierson. Eyuboğlu's take on cinema's reflection of reality is similar to Grierson's documentary genre; he tries to accomplish something more than the non-story record of reality. Indeed, non-story would be a thoroughly wrong designation for the films which Eyuboğlu labeled as the Anatolian Epic. Furthermore, the educational format that Grierson considered to be apt for the documentary film also initiated Eyuboğlu's film enterprise in the first place. Şakir Eczacıbaşı recounted in an anecdote that Eyuboğlu considered the made-up word "gör-göster" the appropriate term for his filmmaking than "belge film," which was the common translation of documentary until the 1970s. The phrase "belge film" was employed in the film center's booklet by Macit Gökberk, too, although he noted that they "not documentaries [belge film] in the conventional sense" (Albek 1976). The word "belgesel" emerged in the 1970s and became mainstream in the 1980s (Erkılıç 2015). The difference between the two interpretations could be of little importance but they seem to assume a change of emphasis in the definition of documentary film. "Belgesel" is a phrase aware that a documentary develops a style in a film narration to mediate facts. "Belge film", which would be "document film," could correspond to the "film of fact" as used by Kracauer. Following Kracauer, educational films, scientific films, newsreels, or art films can compose different types of documentary

films presenting images of factual value. It is possible to think that Eyuboğlu's quotidian anecdote in a friend's memoir on his films heralds a shift from "belge film" to "belgesel". Eyuboğlu steps off his position from making a product of document value and swerves toward a narrator's role. It could be pushing the interpretation, but it seems that this small history of translation of the word documentary could imply a problematization of the documentary's representation of reality. Eyuboğlu did not conceive his non-fiction films as "non-story films" and they indeed overlapped with the epistemology that Grierson envisaged the documentary film-making. They reflected the material of reality through filtrating it by a certain vision. However, I am skeptical to correlate them because I contend that the filter of Eyuboğlu was less about an artistic film form and more about the ideological kernels of his thought.

French historian Olivier Lugon (2008) remarks that the French coinage *film documentaire* signified "a cultural or travel film of an edifying character" in the first decades of the 20th century. Defined this way, documentary is more of a comprehensive designation that is not necessarily defined in a film's artistic form. Rather than a noble form of reflecting reality which Grierson named as documentary, in Lugon's terminology documentary is similar to Kracauer's "film of fact." The use of film material as a trace of real-life informs Lugon's definition in contrast to Grierson's hierarchy of film forms. But also, it squares documentary to films that specifically address cultural themes and emphasizes their purposeful existence. This definition illustrates an important level because just like Lugon, the contexts of public screenings also squared Eyuboğlu's films in certain classifications and categories relevant to documentary film genre. Within Eyuboğlu's films, there appear two different titles as *Documentary Film* [Belge Film] and *Culture Film* [Kültür Filmi]. They seem to be used interchangeably rather than referring to two different series in the institute's productions. The institute's name also seems to be referred to as "Zentrum für Kulturfilme" [Center for Culture Films] in a synopsis sheet of *the Hittite Sun* used as a publicity material during Berlin Film Festival. Their screening spaces propose a variety of categories within which we can recognize them: documentaries, scientific films, culture films, art films, or merely short films. These spaces provide a sense of various schemes within which they are framed and presented to the public and push them to define themselves in the generic categorizations of cinema. The earliest and most persistent example is the Berlin Film Festival, which hosted 4 films of the institute's productions other than *the Hittite Sun* in the following years. According to the festival program, *the Hittite Sun* makes its world premiere in 1956 as part of the section "Kulturfilme aus alle der Welt" [Culture Films from the World]. As the name entails, the program curates a world-view of the cultural spectrum where they can showcase. Yet the Silver Bear award it receives is for the competition "Short and

Documentary Film". The festival does not seem to distinguish strictly between documentary and culture film. Indeed, I also note that the difference between culture film and documentary film should not be exaggerated. In English translations of the film theorist Bela Balazs, who writes in German, the German word "kulturfilm" is not translated as culture film but as documentary (2010). The theorist was able to speak of documentary film while referring to it as kulturfilm. Other screenings and the festival programs within which the films partook can be traced in the print media: Balkan Film Festival, Cannes Film Festival Shorts, International Festival of Scientific and Educational Cinema in Madrid strike among a few other names. They also appear as part of cultural publicity and representation such as a program that advertises the traditional Karagoez theatre in London.³ In Turkey, the films are rather subject to curations that introduce the short or documentary film in Turkey either in the Cinematheque or special screenings such as a commemoration after Eyuboğlu's death⁴; they are also televised in the early periods of television history in Turkey (Adalı 1986).

I will nevertheless insist on using the culture film as related the history of documentary film genre, because what specifies this type of film is that it entangles documentary filmmaking within a certain institutional limit and relate film-making to political establishment. As I noted before, Istanbul University Film Center initiated similar film series in Turkey. Simultaneously with the film center, Eczacıbaşı Culture Film Series [Eczacıbaşı Kültür Filmleri Serisi] advented in the early 1960s in which Sabahattin Eyuboğlu again took credit as copywriter. The films were quite similar to the film center's productions; a narration of Anatolian heritage and life is a common thread in these films. Even the same locations are revisited. To exemplify, the Cappadocia region which is already recorded in *the Hittite Sun* and *the Colours in the Dark* again becomes the locus for *Göreme* in this new series. "Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu" initiates a similar series of culture films directed by Süha Arın, who revisits similar topics such as his film *Hattiler'den Hititler'e* (1974) (Adalı 1986). Eczacıbaşı Culture Films are defined by an introductory text in a short catalog of the series as such:

"Doğuyla Batının kavşağındaki Anadolu, değişik medeniyetlerin kalıntılarıyla yüklü bir kültür toprağıdır. Bu toprağı tanımak ve tanıtmak, yabancıardan önce üstünde yaşayanlara düşer. Oysa bizler, bugüne kadar, bu işi gereğince yaptığımızı ileri süremeyiz. Hatta Anadolu tarihiyle

³Cevat Çapan Londra'da Karagöz'ü Tanıttı," Taha Toros Arşivi

⁴Sabahattin Eyüboğlu Anısına," February 1973, *Filim 73*

bizden çok Batılı arařtırcıların ilgilendiđi bile söylenebilir. Anadolu'yu tanıtmayı yalnız devletin deđil, hepimizin işi sayan Eczacıbaşı fabrikaları yöneticileri Anadolu'nun deđişik yönlerini gösteren bir kültür filmleri serisi hazırlamayı kararlařtırmıřtır." ⁵

This short text remarks advertisement and self-representation of the country to others as the culture films' aspiration. Eyubođlu accentuates similar points when he and İpřirođlu wins a Silver Bear award from Berlin with the Hittite Sun and emphasizes the importance of representing Turkey in an international film festival.⁶ This mission also stimulates the canonic metaphor of Eyubođlu's Anatolian culture, namely the merger of the East and the West. Understanding Turkey's culture in this equation, it further discloses that its dwellers are entitled to write Anatolia's culture. But this emphasized publicity character of culture film cannot be said to be the limit of what culture film stands for. To acknowledge and to publicize [tanımak ve tanıtmak] work mutually. The context of culture film production is implicit in the assumptions that assume the state to have a monopoly on culture and make the culture film identify with it. A journalistic piece from 1945 expands this form and discusses propaganda films while including the production of culture films as part of propaganda in cinema:

"İřte sinema gazeteciliđinin gayeleri!.. Bütün dünya milletleri birbirlerine kendi düşüncelerini ařılamak için bu vasıttan geniş miyasta faydalanıyorlar. Sabahleyin cereyan eden vaka akřam seanslarında sinemaya aksetmiř bulunuyor. Türkiye'de propaganda filmleri Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğüne hazırlanmaktadır. Bu işlerle, imkan bulunduđu takdirde, hususi teřebbüslerin de ilgi göstermelerini istemek zorundayız. Basın ve yayın müdürlüğü birçok mahrumiyetlere rađmen 300 metreden bařlayıp 1000 metreyi geçen kültür filmleri meydana getirmektedir. řimdilik en uzun propaganda filmi B/13 1470 metrelik Sümerbank bařarıları hakkındaki filmidir." ⁷

The aforementioned documentary about Sümerbank indicates a definition of culture film with a wider frame than just cultural heritage and a perception of culture defined

⁵to be found in Can Candan, "Eczacıbaşı Kültür Filmleri," June 2010, *Altyazı*, p. 76

⁶"Sinema, Dünya ve Biz," August 1956, *Yeni Ufuklar*, p. 561-564

⁷"Propaganda Filmleri" 1945, *Haftanın Filmleri*, p. 26

by folklore or material culture. The author also deems such films of fact to function as a propaganda of the official ideology. Its purpose is to reach the public, and presumably it calculates and hopes to influence its aggregate life in certain ways. As I contended, culture film's context is defined by the political establishment and this character distinguishes it as a specific type of documentary film. For Grierson, too, documentary film was "a godsend for propaganda" (Kracauer 1960, 160). Eyuboğlu's stance on propaganda is rather trickier than the author of this short piece, though. After *the Hittite Sun*'s international success in Berlin, Eyuboğlu prides over the film's not being an explicit propaganda film.⁸ And indeed, as the film tends to develop a communication that can best be described as mythical, he deserves a credit for his pride. His rhetoric and representations relating to the political establishment differs is more intricate and subtle. Nevertheless, the genre of his films is stamped as propaganda film in this short excerpt. Culture film seems to be defined by its public agency and how the sensibility that it wants to exert: rather than its subject matter, it is a style that propagates the cultural politics of the Turkey's modernity.

3.2.2 Culture Film and the Educational Apparatus

Culture film's epistemology can be expanded by comparative histories. Germany provides a national history of culture film production aside from hosting them in a section in Berlin Film Festival. Historically, the genre's production coincides with Germany's Weimar era although previous productions, especially in relation to German colonialism which can be classified as culture film are widely available (Oksiloff 2016, 9). These are not necessarily short films; they are documentaries that competed with the feature films and intervened with "the spectatorial economy". With the growing opinion that the feature films incited decadence, culture film set out to "enrich knowledge, promote understanding of other peoples and countries, [and] stimulate scientific research" (Ibid, 89-90). Especially when correlated with travel, the scope of the genre immediately positions in the context of colonialism. But the knowledge of other countries and the propaganda of German colonialism with accompanying ethnology is not the only scope of such films; a title which

⁸Öğrendiğimize göre filmin beğenilen tarafı konusunun yeniliği, takdimin sadeliği, sözün ve fon müziğin eserleri öne sürerek filmin ölçülü bir biçimde yer alması ve bir de, bir çok rakiplerinin düştüğü kusura düşmeyerek, kaba propagandaya, gösterişe resmi ve beylik sözlere yer vermemesi olmuş. Gerçekten bütün filmde "Medeniyetler beşiği Anadolu" ve "Atatürk'ün kurduğu Eti müzesi" sözlerinden başka propaganda hissi veren hiç bir şey yoktu. Diğer filmlerden çoğunda yapımcılar, ellerindeki imkanların zenginliğine rağmen, eserlerini dünya seyircilerinden çok kendilerine film yaptırana beğendirmek yolunu tutmuşlardı. Otuz milletin katıldığı bir pazarda milli menfaate en fazla zarar veren şey milli gösteriş oluyor. Sonunda kendini övdüren, kendini övmeyen oluyor. Bu da ayrı ve çok önemli bir ders bizim için." in "Sinema, Dünya ve Biz," August 1956, *Yeni Ufuklar*

also lay bare its topic could be exemplified: “How do I Stay Healthy? [Wie bleib ich Gesund?].” Citizenship and education is an essential trait of culture film. A systematic production of Kulturfilm is initiated by the infamous German studio UFA, a national film production company for the inter-war years of Germany (Ibid, 89). Propaganda is again an important component of such films; defining a field of general audience and public education just as Istanbul University Film Center did so. UFA also produced a distinct branch of film from the Kulturfilm as Instructive or Classroom films. The scope of the latter signifies a use of film within the educational apparatus, as defined by its institutions and limits. Such a distinction is overrun in the constitution of Istanbul University Film Center. According to the regulatory decree published in the Official Gazette in 18 November 1957, the institute’s *raison d’être* is defined as the following: “Merkezin gayesi üniversitenin ilmî çalışmalarında ve araştırmalarında film imkânlarından faydalanmak ve bu vasıta ile halk eğitime ve milletlerarası kültür mübadelesine hizmet etmektir.” It is also the center’s attempt to partake in the spectatorial economy, aiming to exert an influence in the public. Culture film distinguishes itself from the educational film by a shift to the public as the defined addressee. The film center’s constitution provides a flexibility in obscure limits which can adjust to any form of education and program.

Kulturfilm or culture film, the genre somehow escapes being defined except for its relationship with politics of culture. Oksana Sarkisova emblemizes a phrase by the Soviet filmmaker Lebedau which comes out of her research on the institutionalization and production of Kulturfilm in the Soviet Russia: “not fiction, not newsreel, not advertisement.” (Sarkisova 2016, 21). The definition almost comes from everything that it is not. In tracing the production of Kulturfilm in the Soviet, Sarkisova also encounters the elusive limits of the genre’s definition and comments on the genre as “picturesque ethnographic films.” Similar productions, aims, and descriptions seem to connect Soviet, Weimar, or Turkey’s culture film economy. German Kulturfilm was influential in the Soviet attempts with the formula of the film as a “mixture of education and entertainment” (Ibid). It blends the purposeless activity with a purpose. The pedagogic strategy of this magic mix is manipulative: “Despite different understandings of Kulturfilm, all parties believed that it was one of the primary means of shaping an audience’s knowledge of the country” (Ibid). While the implementations are national, more or less similar motifs and motivations stimulate culture film productions.

In different examples that shed light on different experiences of modern state projects, culture film’s generic trait is most visible in programs that aim the cultivation of citizen-subjects for the emerging modern states, with topics expanding or contracting according to the desired definition of culture. It accomplishes what

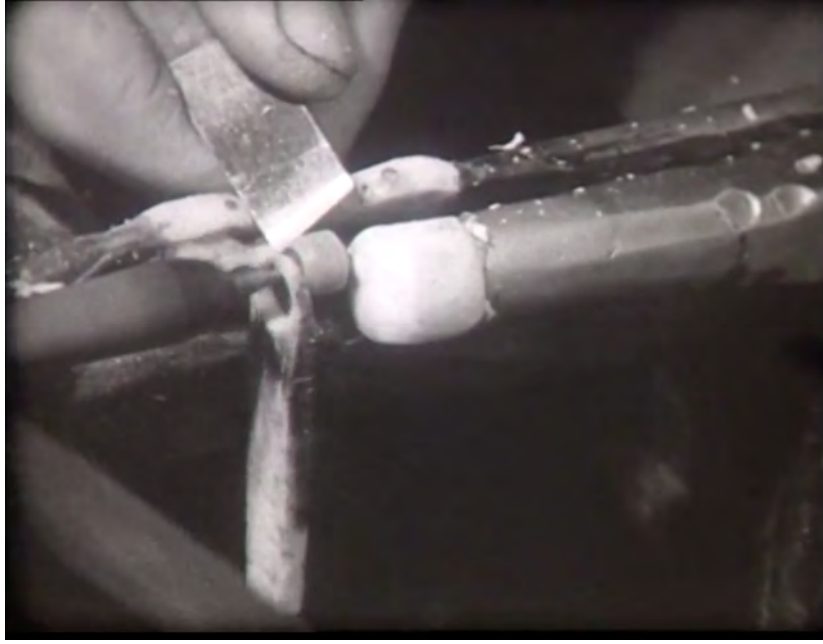


Figure 3.7 The close-up record of the stone-cutting technique in *Rosary*

it envisions when cinema is treated as a mass media form comparable to radio or newspaper. The genre also distinguishes itself from instructional or educational films as we see in Germany before the second World War. From a different perspective, Grierson's aim to establish the documentary genre also regarded documentary different from instructional films. Narrowing down to the subject of the thesis, the culture films produced by Istanbul University Film Center has a stance that does not distinguish between the two. It ignores a difference in films produced for public education and the practices of the educational institutions. The culture films of the center are also taken as instructional films and are meant to be in the service of the educational apparatus, as *the Hittite Sun* can be seen in the catalog of technical films published by the Ministry of Culture.⁹ The difference between an instructional film and culture film may be difficult to allocate, but Istanbul University's partnership with the Institut Wissenschaftliche Filme that was founded in the post-war West Germany is instructive to perceive the difference. The German institute produced scientific films which differed in the use of film and research, and it also donated 300 films to the university. The films of the institute range between diverse topics of ethnology, technic, and life sciences (Albek 1976). Ethnology topic covers Eastern Europe, Middle East, North Africa, and Afghanistan. This institute was best known for its virtue of creating a consistent archive which defines film as "the permanent visual recording of phenomena" (Chiozzi and Dresner 1989, 23). Aziz

⁹Ed. by Güler Eryaşar, *Film-Radyo-Televizyon ile eğitim merkezi: 1979 Film ve Film Şeritleri Kataloğu*, p. 20; it is to be found under the title "Turizm ve Eski Eserler" and suggested for "Orta Dereceli Okullar, Yetişkinler"

Albek, Eyuboğlu's cameraman and fellow filmmaker, also produced 3 films for the Cinematographica Encyclopedia, the vast catalogue of educational and technical films produced and archived by the institute. The films are titled *Preperation of Edirne Cheese at Ismailli* and *Baking Flat Cakes*. The data on the website of the information center which preserves the institute's archive today informs about the location shot and the technical details of the films. A third one as *Rosary* [Tesbih] accompanies them and the film is a cooperation with Vienna University's ethnological research unit.¹⁰ *Rosary* is distinguishable from the Eyuboğlu's films with a meticulous surveillance of the stone-making technique of a craftsman. It consecrates the knowledge of the material processing rather than what it reflects and how it embodies the native/national culture. The figure 3.7 exemplifies a shot from the film with a close-up consecrating the tool and the craft, which will be followed by an establishing shot recording the craftsman's work-station. The film has no soundtrack but a narrator's voice that intermittently describes the process. These films are also further accompanied by textual and visual information in the Cinematographic Encyclopedia introducing the traditional techniques devices used by the craftsman and the region where the technique in the respective film was recorded. In the registers of the IWF indicate other two films are black and white, silent, and short films. The rules of the institute are very strict in the formation of its visual archive, reducing the semantics of the film language to an operational level. In an interview made for a TRT documentary about Aziz Albek's life and his archeology and film works, Albek recalls his time spent working with the IWF¹¹. Having worked for the institution, Albek complains that while making them he was not as free as in his work with Eyuboğlu. The works of the film center and Eyuboğlu's projects are open to association. The associations are actually the fulcrum of the logic of the images. It is the measure of their value. The difference between the IWF project compared to the film center reveals a binary in the communicative value of film. The vision of acculturation through the Anatolian journey grounds upon the obscure ideal of public education, taming of the citizen into the subject of modern nation state. Culture film's distinctive character is not the factual value of its representations; it is not just a sub-genre of documentary film. Its language participates in the classification. The disparity between the films of the IWF and the film center also unveils Eyuboğlu's take on education through his films; its truth is not based on calculability. Instead, it is education that relies on the symbolization of myth which can go as vulgar as the establishment of Turkey's national flag in the ruins of an ancient Apollo temple (Fig 3.8). The ideological mark that amalgamates education with entertainment

¹⁰ *Rosary* was the only one I was able to view from the films of Institute Wissenschaftliche Filme

¹¹ *Gerçeği Arayan Adam* link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5bbO7KouOAO>

develops its unique language in this difference.



Figure 3.8 From *the Waters of Ancient Antalya*

3.3 Faces and Places: Epistemology of the Documentary Image

Documentary film has a tendency to define the representation of reality in operational terms; its epistemology “trades heavily on its own evidentiary status, representative abilities, and argumentative strategies” (Nichols 1991, 201). *Colours in the Dark* produces this regime by re-enacting the discovery of truth through an intrusion into the unknown; it evidenced this character by centering around an expedition and a promise of the discovery. In this regard, the documentary registers the truth in a dismantling of the seen and the level of exposure in its subject. If this discovery by sight is the aptitude in the documentary, centered around the discovery, it also orchestrates the narrative and a respective order of representation. Nichols emphasizes the evidentiary status but does not limit the documentary’s meaning to the evidence. For Eyuboğlu, evidence emerges in the relationship that he weaves between the objects from different layers of Anatolia’s history. Remembering Grierson’s reading of Flaherty, it is more about enabling the thing to manifest itself. Grimshaw’s reading of Flaherty defended that his documentary attitude emanated from his humanist vision to which the endemic non-Western life and salvage became an expression. The impulse that informs Eyuboğlu and Flaherty is not the same,

though, and Eyubođlu's filmography attains to the political establishment of Turkey and seeks to design its identity. Each unit in his films is informed by this establishment. While reflecting on Eyubođlu's Anatolianism and its implications in the context of Turkey's politics of culture, Koçak notes on his attitude to the elements that build his perception of Anatolian culture:

" Eyubođlu, teknik-malzeme ya da biçim-öz eklemlenmesi konusunda ... rahat görünmektedir, çünkü malzemenin de anlamı kendi içinde saklı ve sabit bir töz değil, tarih içinde ve "her seferinde başka başka niyetlerle" oluşturulan bir temsil, bir yorum, bir zihinsel kurgu olduğunu kabul etmiş gibidir." (2001, 403)

Koçak's diagnosis, which he convicts while interpreting Eyubođlu's essays, can be extended to Eyubođlu's documentaries; it is also telling about the way in which he produces meaningful units and sequences to weave his story of the Anatolian culture in documentary images. Eyubođlu's material, which are the objects and spectacles of cultural value, are incorporated in accord with a message that he considers apt. A sequence in the middle of the Hittite Sun exemplifies such a construction; the voice-over wanders in his journey from the remnants of ancient civilizations to the 20th century nomads of Anatolia:

"Yine bozkırdayız. Yaz aylarında Anadolu boyunca durmadan boyunca yürüyen sürüler ve insanlarla karşılaşıyoruz. . . Siyah kıl çadırları içinde konaklamış yörükler. . . Güneşten kavrulmuş yüzüyle bu nine, 3000 yıl önceki Eti kabartmalarında gördüğümüz teknikle yün bükmekte devam ediyor. Uzaktan, bozkırın rengine karışan bu sessiz insanlarda yaklaştıkça beliren bir incelik, fakirlik içinde kaybolmayan ve belki ta Alacahöyük geleneğine bağlanan bir süslenme zevki ve türküler kadar sıcak duygu zenginliği bulursunuz."

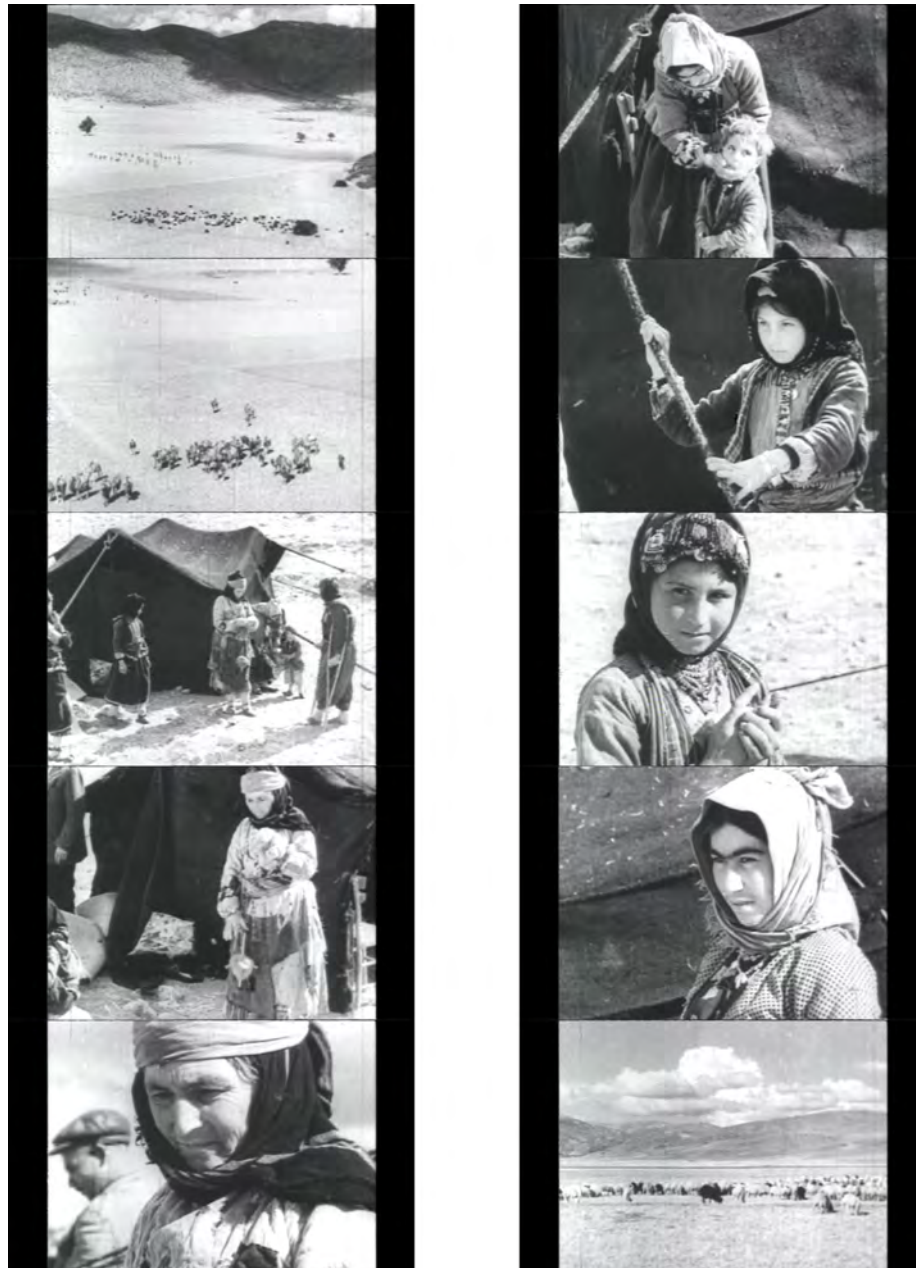


Figure 3.9 The successive frames of the scene from *the Hittite Sun*

Synchronized with the text, images of people moving along with their herds and tents are preceded with longshots of the Anatolian landscape and are succeeded by images of ruins in Alacahöyük, an ancient Hittite city. The scenery of uncultivated land follows the faces of old Yörük people. This imagery evokes a pastoral and rural landscape that envelops its inhabitants while endowing them an archaic character withstanding with the ruins. We are exposed to each shot no more than 4 seconds. Becoming representative of a naïve and unchanged community, they re-animate the oldest civilizations in Anatolia. The continuity that is the trademark of Eyuboğlu's Anatolian vision is re-constituted in successive images on the screen. Anthropologist/historian James Clifford scrutinizes an exhibition named “‘Primitivism’ in 20th

Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern” having taken place in the Museum of Modern Art in 1984/1985. The exhibit undertakes the research to establish the influences and inspirations of tribal arts on the Western modernist painting in the early 20th century in the paintings of figures such as Pablo Picasso or Henri Matisse. It comprises visual objects of both scopes and merges them in continuity. This narrative is one of “allegory of affinity” as Clifford designates while being critical of the implications of this narrative; the exhibition animates modernism’s “disquieting quality” of “appropriating and redeeming otherness” within the rubric of universality (Clifford 1988, 193). The affinity relies on tropes of family and kinship; and it uses a suggestive language, which is “left uncontradicted” and “repetitiously asserted” (Ibid, 191). Even though there are no objects of modern art in this instance –the previous chapter a short piece of Eyuboğlu’s reflection on Kuzgun Acar’s art- the sublimation of “ahistorical human capacities” is a common thread of this exhibition and Eyuboğlu’s films (Ibid). It can also be extended to illustrate Eyuboğlu’s mode of speech. Ara Güler commemorates Eyuboğlu saying that he never insisted on the idea of cultural continuity in Anatolia, he just told that they could be true (2007). The same point is again remarked by the play writer Güngör Dilmen: “Ama bu bağlantıları kurarken dogmatik değildi. Bu ilişkiler mutlak vardır demiyorum, ama düşünülebilir, diye sözünü bağlardı.”¹² The language of Eyuboğlu’s allegory of affinity is realized in montage, and on this particular scene on the amalgamation of the face with the landscape. In this association, the close-ups to the faces possess the power to provoke our senses while simultaneously exposing deeper levels of reality. Kracauer crystallizes what Russian filmmaker and film theorist Sergei Eisenstein’s film-philosophy on close-up stands against by this quote: “not so much to show or to present as to signify, to give meaning, to designate” (1960, 47). Famous for his passion for montage, Eisenstein’s vision can be helpful to delve into the workings of this scene. Landscape shares the ambiguity of close-up as well; it possesses a kernel that “exerts a subtle power over people, eliciting a broad range of emotions and meanings that may be difficult to specify.” (Mitchell and Mitchell 2002, VII) The difficulty, if we follow Eisenstein, must be due to the load of sensation which erases a mere icon in the cinematic image and charges it with possible associations. These attractions are not an appendix to the film’s fundamental purpose for Eisenstein; he seeks to constitute film as an articulation of these sensations and organize the film as a total idea:

“... Montage became a means of achieving a unity of a higher order- a means through the montage image of achieving an organic embodiment

¹²S. Eyuboğlu ve Anadolu," March 1973, *Yeni Ufuklar*

of a single idea conception, embracing all elements, parts, details of the film-work." (1977, 246)

Eyuboğlu joins the ranks of Eisenstein's formalist attitude which harmonizes singular units into a "whole with a purpose" (Kracauer 1960, 221). The small units bring forth a greater claim, a purpose; they work towards an image science. This science requires not just art history or even material culture; it expands into the field in order to frame this science as Anatolian. Montage, as Eisenstein envisions, enables a relationship of the particular to the whole, of the empirical to the ideal. The movement from face to landscape, or vice versa, becomes the epitome of Eyuboğlu's strive by moving beyond the empiricism of seeing to a concept of Anatolia. Grimshaw points to the same decision of montage which approximates faces and landscapes in Flaherty's films and deduces it to be a reflection of Flaherty's "humanist impulse" (Grimshaw 2001). The naïve humanity appears on the faces of Inuit family members and extends to the epic life that they survive in the polar region. Eyuboğlu and Flaherty converge on this annexation and the faces of nomads merge with the Anatolian landscape, where Eyuboğlu finds a persistent character that sets the course of life in its territory. A similar proposition is at work when the nomads' material culture reflects the archaic past as the narrator contends himself, which then dissolves into the inexhaustible steps. Remembering Özbudun's contention that the doctrine of ethnography in Turkey is one that is nation-state building, we could read into this scene as "the recurrent metaphor of landscape as the inscape of national identity" as put by Bhabha (2013), which composes the landscape as an impression of the national character. The scene's prescription is again further retained in the ancient ruins and peasants in the area. With an angle imitating a post-revolution Soviet peasant's face, Fig. 11 precedes a sequence that will mirror an ordinary village and peasant life. Within this setting, we witness the everyday practices that carry on life. We see the women who labor collectively to process wheat in traditional techniques on rugs outdoors, succeeded by others who seem to handle a further process of preparing food out of the wheat by making flat cakes, again in an outdoor setting. The voice-over interrupts: "Acaba Eti kadınları da böyle mi seriyorlardı buğdayı güneşe? Böyle mi hamur açıyorlardı?" The lives of these dwellers recorded on film becomes expressive of the archaic environment that they stem from. Their gestures and movements tend to display their attunement with nature. The women's presence in their environment is autochthonous.

We are exposed to different aspects of the Anatolian landscape by a long shot of steps with herds, an old woman working, a woman taking care of a child, a tent, relief sculptures in antique dwelling sites, or scenes of peasant life. There are fragments of



Figure 3.10 “Birçok sahneler, çevreler, insana ister istemez Eti kabartmalarını hatırlatıyorlar.”

tacit knowledge in these sliding moments; these objects we recognize simultaneously with the narrative-voice which make these scenic moments intelligible. Along with the irrefutable manipulation of the voice-over, the film deduces that these moments are representative of Anatolia and subtly registers the message as the truth of what we see. Eyuboğlu builds his message through these similarities. But an in-depth analysis of selected scenes from *the Hittite Sun* shows that even though Eyuboğlu constantly employs a suggestive language, his associations work through a language that exceeds a speculative affinity by the images that he makes use of. The culture film, contended Sarkisova while looking into the history of the genre in Soviet Russia, envisioned “new rules of visual literacy and the epistemic foundations of seeing” (Sarkisova 2016, 213-214). The visual literacy Eyuboğlu introduces in *the Hittite Sun* resonates with this definition; using images to produce a sense also teaches how to think them. But this epistemology from the culture film to documentary is not only a question of how documentary organizes its material and codes certain messages therein. Sarkisova’s conviction on Soviet Russia’s culture film enterprise shows that the register of these images involves an organization of the social material and the visuality. I contend that on the visual plane, the workings of these associations are like mnemonic codes that propose how to see and how to associate.

One after the other, the small units that make up an organic whole for the conception-idea become traces of each other. The meaning is coded not in the singular moments; it is annexed to this relationship established between images. A concrete example is a superimposed sequence when the narrator speaks of the role



Figure 3.11 From *the Hittite Sun*



Figure 3.12 From *the Hittite Sun*

of scarce water sources in Anatolia, and how it finds its place in the repertoire of the Hittite iconography. From a small stream, the view melts into a cave relief (Fig.14). This one is pretty much on the same track with other scenes quoted from *the Hittite Sun*. In the film *the Mother Goddess*, the role of the association culminates as the whole purpose of a journey. It follows a figure's repetition in the symbolic world of different Anatolian cultures from its prehistory to the contemporary days, as the film's name implies and at first it follows the banal modality the reader have recognized by now: it invests in tracing different objects, sites, and practices in which an Anatolian tradition of the mother goddess, which is a symbolization for nature,

could be evoked.¹³ After a tour in various relics of different episodes, the film moves further and intends to relate this visual trace with modern Turkey. The narrator's voice suggests that greased wrestling and an annual traditional festival in Manisa is in common with the sculpture objects and frescoes from the museums and ruins when the wrestlers pay their tributes to the earth by leaning and touching it. The festival's intoxication when the local candies are thrown to the crowd beneath a mosque's minaret, this view relates to the same ritual.

In such scenes as tracing the figure of the mother goddess, the indexicality of different sequences decides Eyuboğlu's organization of images. The epistemology of his films constructs upon the similarities between the objects that are represented in different frames and forms his sequences as the conjunction displaying the similarity. Especially in concern with reality, Gunning (2007) noted how indexicality has been re-worked in cinema through photographic thinking. But even though the photographic frozen frame is part of cinema, there remains the unattainable movement to understand the workings of cinematic signs and what is coded through them. But moreover, it may initiate two categories for the perception of moving images: the single frames which we perceive almost without being conscious of them and the movement that which deludes perception for anything other than itself. Following Pierce's taxonomy of signs, "in contrast to the icon's relatively straightforward resemblance and the symbol's conventionality or arbitrariness, the index sustains a less clear-cut "physical" or "existential" relation to its object" (Doane 2007, 2). Index sign's, meandering way of relating to its referent has been interpreted to possess the power of specific cultural codes in photography. Posited beyond the directness of icons, index signs hold ambiguity. They are also related to associations that a sign can communicate, and which is also why they have attracted interest in understanding the workings of advertisement language. Cinematic images have a relationship with the index sign more convoluted than, to put it crudely, non-moving images. Even if single frames can be on the plane of indexicality, movement is decisive on our perception of cinematic signs. It requires a different approach to understand how an index could be possible in the movement of thousands of images. Christian Metz discusses cinema's effect of reality and explains it in contrast to photography, joining the ranks of Barthes, which preserves "place present but time past... an illogical conjunction of here and then" (Metz 1991, 5). Cinema's power, on the other hand, is in an immersive experience of "there it is" (5). Cinema's reality fulfills a presence

¹³Similar to Eyuboğlu's repetitive feminine/maternal metaphor of the Anatolian territory, similar claims are to be found in Karaagaçlı's writing: "Şunu unutmamalı ki, Anadolu'da baba Tanrıdan çok önce Ana tanrıçaya tapılırdı. Anadolu kazılarında meydana çıkan insan tarafından yapılmış ya da yazılmış anıt, heykel, yazı ne varsa, en eskilerinden tutunuz da, taa günümüze kadar hepsinde, Ana Tanrıçanın etkilerini bulursunuz. Bu etki Yunanistan'a ve Avrupa'ya da yayılmıştır. Ana Tanrıça'ya tapışın ana özelliği tanrıça ile birleşmektir. Bu durum Anadolu'dan "Fenafillah" (öldükten sonra dirilme) şeklinde doğuya ve batıya yayıldı." (1997, 15)

absent in the photography which Metz conceptualizes as “impression of reality.” Tom Gunning warns before any wrong assumptions drift us away: “impression of reality, not its materiality” (2007, 44). The reality of photography in contrast to the realism of cinematography is distinguished in this definition. Gunning emphasizes the priority of movement in this impression and claims that Metz’ concept interprets cinema’s ontology as realism, rather than reality, by shifting from photographic index to movement. Cinema’s realism is prevalently related to the movement rather than the trace of a referent on a single frame. The “evidentiary status” of the documentary film can be re-interpreted with this dubious indexicality. This movement is not necessarily to be understood as the psychological perception of movement that we can see in a film unit. Indeed, Eyuboğlu’s films exhibit an abundance of static objects possessing an iconic character, while some others such as the Hittite sun which has long been associated with Turkey or a relief similar to Turkey’s flag will appear as symbols. But more than any other observation and interpretation, Eyuboğlu’s constant claim in his films is to establish itineraries, indexical traces between his recollected fragments. It could even be said that Eyuboğlu’s ultimate aim is to invent such indexicality by means of which cultural codes can be communicated, similarities that are legible in the frame of an invented Anatolian cultural memory. This is what he wants to evidence before the objects themselves and this is why, in the case of Eyuboğlu’s films, moving images are not independent of the photographic index; it emerges within the movement as part of his project. The successive moments of a travel source a repertoire in which images can become each other’s referent.

Pioneering documentary maker Joris Ivens states that “a film’s final design has two tasks: to concern itself with the moving image as a series of static moments; and to concern itself with the movement itself, or in other words, the organization of thousands of images” (Waugh 2016, 227). Ivens’ cinematography resonates with a dilemma in cinema’s ontology which connects it to photography on one level and then elevates it to cinema’s inner workings. The workings of a cinematic sign are also grasped in-between these two definitions. In this repetitive story that Eyuboğlu re-discovers in each film, it seems that he emphasizes the relationship between the scenes is his primary interest in the organization. And what we see as the source of his construction of mnemonic units for the Anatolian heritage is primarily these designed sequences. The other half of Ivens’ reflection on film art, that is the value of the static moments, is overlooked in this enterprise. However, I contend that subtler registers are also available in Eyuboğlu’s films that do not necessarily exist in the succeeding frames of a sequence built to provide a piece of evidence for the narrator’s suggestion. Particularly, in the *Mother Goddess*, the film which sets out



Figure 3.13 Superimposition of running water with a Hittite fresco in *the Hittite Sun*; “Hala bizim de bir dua gibi ölülerimizin toprağına döktüğümüz, su gibi aziz olası sözünde dindarca övdüğümüz suyu, Etiler bir kurban keser gibi tanrılarına sunarlardı.”

to unearth the remnants of the rituals of mother goddess in Anatolia, one finds an involuntary and implicit level of this code. In these images (fig 3.14), rather than continuities that are suggested or the organic montage of succeeding images, it seems as if a mise-en-scene is stuck with the film-makers. These are not shots following each other in a sequence; one appears at the very beginning of the film with an illustration of a Mother Goddess object turning around itself and the others during the film. It has no insistence and the film does not point to it. Many of the Eyuboğlu’s cluster of images and texts become determinate signs and try to stabilize the meaning. Along with the workings of the movement of the film, these indices inscribe the memory of a common Anatolian heritage from the museum to a life where its memory still pervades. The film registers a mnemonic code in those sequences that are fabricated to express such associations voluntarily, but it is also possible to see such involuntary and unconscious inscriptions.

3.4 Defining Space: The Time of Anatolia



Figure 3.14 Different frames from *the Mother Goddess*

The historian Etienne Copeaux diagnoses in Eyuboğlu's thought a strong emphasis on place and dubs it as *vertu chtonienne*, articulating a Latin phrase meaning "virtue of the land" (Copeaux 2006, 262). The term expresses Eyuboğlu's Anatolia as a vault of sensibilities which denotes the land an inarticulate presence. Eyuboğlu's eulogies to the landscape can be encapsulated as a reflection of this ideology. Similar to Bora's *earth metaphysics*, Copeaux's designation captures Eyuboğlu's formulation of the national space and the motherland with precision. But the important question remains, setting aside that every national space more or less constructed itself around banal metaphors of cradle and autochthony which mingles myth with history, what specific problematics does *vertu chtonienne* respond to beyond a repetitive and familiar national imagination? What is exactly at stake? Copeaux aptly points out that this ideology overruns ethnic history and heritage (Ibid, 267). To render this discussion more tangible and contemporary, Candan (2016) notes the absence of the slightest reference to the presence of Kurdish culture and communities in Turkey in Eyuboğlu's documentary films. Copeaux suggested a genealogy, more aptly a forensic science, to reveal how Eyuboğlu's Anatolia, or Anatolianism in Turkey in general, is constructed through exclusions and circumvention of history. The phrase corresponds to Eyuboğlu's conceiving of the Anatolian territory as a consecutive power to define an identity. But the problems of its order is that even though Anatolia itself may be rich in its resources as the cradle of civilizations, it also monopolizes the cultural spectrum in its territory. The monophony presents this identity's past as a natural course of events rather than a contingent evolve of historical conditions. As the narratives of the Hittite Sun or others explored, it sought to represent contemporary Anatolia as a capsule preserving the origins. But this capsule conceived in a film narrative has its repercussions and predicaments that it reproduces.

To understand how Anatolia is built as this capsule, returning to the theme of travel will once more help us understand the definition of the Anatolian landscape. Even if Eyuboğlu's Anatolia is a metaphysical concept somewhere between a Gaia and a nation's motherland, the history of narratives of Anatolian journeys proves that

it is not always as generous as Eyubođlu's depictions; road-trips into the unruly Anatolian landscape is imminent with repercussions. Looking into the history of the Turkish novel, Parla traces that travel turning into ordeals provide a repetitive structure in which Anatolia becomes "both a theme and place" (2007). Allegories of the new motherland's discovery, writerly projections on Anatolia constitute a foundational metaphor for the Republic's nationalization of space and of the motherland. It concentrates energy around itself in these narratives where the nation's intellectual comes into contact with the imagined motherland. Parla remarks on the dubious nature of the journey, however; the discourse of Anatolia raises an antinomy that the encounter with the motherland turns into its doppelganger; "topophilia becomes topophobia". It is the internal orientalism that Bora summarizes by a quote from the poet Yahya Kemal Beyatlı: "Yahya Kemal, İstanbul'un Batılı seyyahlara nasıl görüdüğü sorusunu sormıřtu kendine ve cevabını şöyle vermiřti: "Bize bir Anadolu köyünün pazar yeri nasıl görünürse"" (2017, 95). The poet's words encapsulates the predicament that conditions the imagery of Anatolia, that a gaze looking from outside produces the knowledge of this territory. But the one looking falls out of the landscape that comes to being in one's perception. One sound example is Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu's infamous *Yaban*, first published in 1932, which tells the story of an intellectual who is a survivor of the first world war during Turkey's War of Independence in seclusion in an Anatolian village. The novel was championed by some authors for capturing the truth of an intellectual's experience in the Anatolian territory and its strong impressions whereas harshly criticized by many for missing the truth of Anatolia and failing to represent it precisely. Despite the dissensus, it emblemizes the world-view of an intellectual haunted by the nationalist ideas and romanticism against the work he allocates for himself in the wake of a historical turn. The protagonist's challenge is his inability to connect with the hostile village community and he is estranged. Almost crystallizing the dilemma, the title of the work translates into English with a twist as *Stepmother Earth* following its early translation to Italian; while the original title stresses the estranged intellectual, the English translation polishes its counterpart as the unwelcoming doppelganger of the land.

As if to mitigate and to avoid such a position, Eyubođlu constantly underlines romantic expressions of the Earth. His films seem to be more reconciled with the journey they undertake and the topics of Eyubođlu's film are not much in common with a literary protagonist's conflict or the modernization project that shapes their Anatolian trips. But even if Eyubođlu's romanticism does not seem hampered by an evil twin, it still shares the endeavor to project his vision to the territory; he becomes a different type of a landscape architect. Parla's commentary does not only

point to the dangers of topophobia that will overwhelm topophilia of the national romanticism; it points to the epistemological predicament that will repeat itself in the Anatolia's imagination for the ideological designs that makes the landscape a deposit of ideas. Contradiction surges in Eyuboğlu from a different perspective. Returning to his writings on Anatolia and Eyuboğlu's designation of "us" as the subject of an Anatolian legacy, Bilsel noted the changing meaning of the subject "us" in Eyuboğlu's sentences. double meaning that Eyuboğlu cannot avert in his imagination of an Anatolian community. Interchangeably, Eyuboğlu's "us" refers to the nation in the form of possible readers; but also, when he refers to a concept of "our people" he starts to speak of a community he is not immediately part of but "an idealized other" (Bilsel 2007, 236). This double image is due to Eyuboğlu's topophilia which fashions a primitive image which is nevertheless necessary for him to prove the continuity of cultural heritage.

While anxious to interpellate the national imagination, this vision becomes its own predicament. The discourse of *earth metaphysics* or *vertu chtonienne* is about looking from outside while it abstracts Anatolia from its own time and frames it within a mythical time; its temporality does not seem to be from our time and instead it confines Anatolia's image to an infinite primeval state. Even if the concept's stakes are legible in a historical circumvention, if we are to understand it as a constituent of Eyuboğlu's cultural heritage narrative it requires understanding how it circuits within its logic. As Fabian remarks in anthropological theory, that primitive is "essentially a temporal concept" and that it is "a category, not an object" (Fabian 2014, 18). Its temporality can already be perceived when a village is styled as a trace of archaic Hittite art. But this cultural continuity thesis always demands that some form of primeval existence survives in Anatolia and whatever he makes a film about it is necessary to find a scene that he can claim to be so. He does not find an object but invents a category. Fabian argues anthropology's construct of time to be mandatory for its knowledge and points to the "denial of coevalness" as a predicament of anthropological knowledge (Ibid). It is the refusal of contemporaneous existence with the culture that is being studied. The existential planes of the seer and the seen are divided by a rift in time, after which the interpretation springs. But Fabian further reflects on "an aporetic split between recognition of coevalness in some ethnographic research and denial of coevalness in most anthropological theorizing and writing." So, Fabian's concept does not limit the predicament of anthropological knowledge production to the categorization of a study object with a banal stereotype. Reflecting on this split between the field and the writing could translate into the time shift that we saw in Auge's travel as an art of collection and recomposition, where remembrance takes a leap from the field to the editorial. A culture film lives on

this gap; it gathers arbitrary instances and turns them into infinite emblems in the editing room or on the writer's table.

This denial is the dilemma of Eyuboğlu's Anatolia concept. Privileged as being devoid of history, Anatolia contradicts with the national imagination that renders it the cradle where cultural roots stem from. Anatolia is both the origin of modern Turkey and its other. Framed by a utopian vision, it also turns into a mortified spectacle. The film cannot overcome the contradiction that Anatolia embodies Turkish cultural history while itself appearing as a trans historical other to evidence a story of origins. At this moment, the landscape also figures in-between reality and dream, very much like what Eyuboğlu anticipated in a cinematic reverie. Anatolia somehow designates Turkey's center and periphery or its origin and colony. It plays both the place where Turkish modernity takes place and it is other while remaining indecisive between the two positions. Despite his conception of a native image science that stems from within Anatolia, Eyuboğlu's gaze upon it is impossible to render native. What is Anatolian about Eyuboğlu's visions of Anatolia, the trait which we will recognize as specific to Anatolia, remains suspect. This impossibility to label a gaze as being from outside or inside, a native one or an outsider's, invalidates the distinction that Eyuboğlu and the cultural politics of Turkey envision. The projected film registers its simplest capability and brings "foreign views" within the reach of the viewer, which Gunning argues: "Foreign views portray not only a distant site but also a particular point of view, one from outside the land viewed" (Gunning 2006, 25). The cultural self-knowledge of Turkey's national cradle is intricate with this gaze upon itself from the outside. A film as self-representation and the representation of self, as the representative for nation or Anatolia, is possible so far as it is framed to be so. This impossibility is also illustrative that the defined space is never conclusive if it is defined by this limit and instead this impossibility becomes a possibility to see how the films transgress the ideas that they have to bear and demonstrate inconsistencies with their frame. Could there be a moment that short-circuits the representative value that the films have seen appropriate for them? Eyuboğlu's continuous and non-volatile narrative pursuing an idea throughout 19 years becomes an apparent element that undoes his attempts. The oeuvre becomes a performance staged in the editing room which always needs self-assurance. This visibility is something beyond what can be attributed to the technical inadequacies in them. Eyuboğlu is apologetic for their films' lack of technical capacity in a few accounts, but this estranging visibility of performance is beyond the results of such flaws; it is embedded in the fiction that Eyuboğlu's voice-over texts exert over the visual archive it recollects.

In his "video-essay," *Uber Song of Ceylon*, iconoclast filmmaker Harun Farocki ex-

amines this development by scrutinizing *Song of Ceylon* directed by Basil Wright and produced by Robert Grierson, a documentary travel film dated to 1934. Farocki aims to unravel the stereotypes and the logic that commands the travel film, which he finds to be repetitive narrative structures. He begins: “Documentary film. Another word for documentary used to be travelogues. If you go far away on a journey, then every picture you bring is valuable. Foreign beaches, foreign people, plants, animals, buildings. Films of people who have mysterious meaning.”¹⁴ The images from the documentary *Song of Ceylon* slide by, accompanied with simple drawings summarizing them which contrasts with the scenes from the film while caricaturing them, as well as mortifying the documentary claim to grasp the reality of its ethnographic object. Farocki reads his text in his almost trademark style that sounds like the words of a narrator software on a computer with a mechanical recitation. This provides a structural but also brutal criticism keeping a distance from the allure of travel images, which are also recitations from another film. It displays a sharp contrast to Eyuboğlu’s narrators in *the Hittite Sun* or the others, whose speech tries to imitate the ruse of presence, which also makes Eyuboğlu’s works comparable to travel film as an early form of visual culture in which an itinerant traveler accompanies his silent film-records and narrates it to the spectator in real-time.

But at some point in his critical exigency, Farocki comes to a halt and starts to speak of leaks that unwork the stereotypes shaping the travel account and our perception of the ethnographic space in *Song of Ceylon*. He finds this subversive power in moments that are the result of cinematic thinking, born out of a movement and an affection that cinema discovers. Farocki’s critique is like seeking a hole in the web of knowledge that surrounds the film from which a different source of knowledge springs. Like Farocki, we may as well stop this narrative that strives to read the constructions and ideas that Eyuboğlu builds and make room for a counter-narrative that undoes in the film what the film does. Early cinematic forms had a rubric and logic of images that differed from the narrative film structure as Farocki also contends. This character of early cinema is best encapsulated by Gunning’s phrase “cinema of attraction” that designates cinema’s capability as “a matter of making images seen” and an “act of showing and exhibition” (Gunning 1990, 56). The striking diagnosis of Gunning’s term is in its power to distinguish cinematic experiments before the conventions of narrative and standardized forms of audiovisual communication. Cinema of attractions exploits cinema with an immediacy by means such as people directly looking into the camera and disrupts the space and time orientation of narrative in film (Benelli 2002). Gunning’s conceptualiza-

¹⁴Translations are from the subtitle of the video’s online link: <https://necus-ejms.org/telekritik-uber-song-of-ceylon/> accessed in 2020-05-02

tion is similar to a form of modern animism in which concept loses its proximity. If Eyuboğlu's film presumes a strict narrative, it is not to shadow a sensation that the spectator can perceive in film images but in order to pass it through its prism. Even though travelogue films are eager to provoke sensation by the exposition of other places, they are also meant to control and organize this sensation. This is how travel becomes an aesthetic education, yet its grip may be losing its control by the opening of such moments; the tactility that the film squared by certain forms and meanings may fail to do so. Farocki and Gunning suggest the possibility that this aesthetics is not as contained as desired and dissonant ruptures are imminent.

As my analysis stressed, in Eyuboğlu's films, too, the films realize a set of ideologically determined stereotypes that perpetuate the field of vision. And if we assume that his films propose articulating the experience of Anatolian cultures, we also have to acknowledge that this learning and exigency on material culture provides little contact. The discontinuities of a travel film's aesthetic regime can be interpreted as a moment of contact. Gunning's emphasis in early travelogue films on the recorded subject looking at the camera is a worthy point that finds its examples in Eyuboğlu's films, too. Looking into the camera in early travel can be interpreted as a moment that returns the gaze of the traveler and the spectator thereof (Peterson 2013). However, even though I have made use of comparisons, I am also aware that the relationship with the camera at the early 20th century and the mid-20th century can be different historical situations. Early cinema had little self-awareness in such moments and looking into the camera also meant little in the era of non-diegetic cinema. Eyuboğlu and his fellows were not competent in filmmaking; this engenders moments that are more liberal than a narrative film. Even though the voice-over constantly comments to keep track of the film and the visuals try to build a continuity editing and what I referred to as, following Eisenstein, an idea-conception, the amateurism leaves its imprints in the imperfection of their shots. This amateurism could account for this anachronism. Local people while looking into the camera is a sequence that they do not seem to hesitate to edit into the film. This is why it remains important in the context of Eyuboğlu's films and not least because of revealing the contradictions of an ethnographic gaze's pleasure. It does not immediately create a contradiction in a mythical landscape which Eyuboğlu describes as "Nemrut Tanrılarında hiç yardım görmeyen bu köy," reminding the book title *Christ did not Stop at Eboli* [İsa Bu Köye Uğramadı] which Eyuboğlu himself translated in 1961. The possibility of reading the peasantry as a sociological phenomenon is there. The films do not repress it; they circumvent it. Looking at the camera can be a display of this condition. What it succeeds in is challenging the picturesque that Eyuboğlu gives form out of his images. Eyuboğlu's Anatolian picturesque paints history with

myth, the realism of the decay with the idealization of the folklore. The sudden appearance of looking into the camera reminds us that the images we are exposed to are more of a traveler's fashioning of his sightseeing than an exploration of the state of things.



Figure 3.15 From *the Hittite Sun*



Figure 3.16 From *the Gods of Nemrut*

4. Conclusion

The ethnographic and archeological repertoire in the films that Eyuboğlu and his fellows produced strives to design Turkey's cultural memory and narrate its constitutive elements and tropes. This endeavor avoids being a descriptive research account. In the introduction chapter, I outlined the films and encapsulated an ideological/theoretical genealogy to understand how Turkey fashioned its cultural roots and produced its national culture. I pointed out that the conceptual framework of our approach to Eyuboğlu's film enterprise has a historical axis, to which the concept of Anatolia gives a seminal depth and insight. In this depth, it becomes clear that Eyuboğlu and his fellows show instrumental reasoning in producing films, and they adapt the cinematic apparatus for the purposes of public education. To complement this approach, in the succeeding chapters, I chose to follow the films' interpretations of Turkey's native cultures in a framework that negotiates in the semantics of the moving images an Anatolia concept as it was an available itinerary of Turkey's intellectual history. Before the general cinema audience, the authority of national culture and its program finds itself in the spectacle of mass culture and it tries to appropriate the cinematic apparatus for its own ends. I think that this appropriation deserves further reflection, and it creates a double-image that my study has to account for in the contrast between the social and historical determinants and the film analysis, which displays an antinomy in the presumed concept of culture.

Turkey's modernity project establishes itself as high culture based on public literacy like other national cultures (Gellner 1996). It originates in the state-apparatuses that interpellate the state's subject-citizens while transforming the society in its established order. Gellner's discussion of nationalism defines the nation-state as a high culture program and concludes that it is born out of the transition that builds industrial modern societies. The high culture is the integral force that characterizes modern society and nation-state. In a transition to the "nationally defined culture" of modern societies, high culture determines an abstract system based on education and state control, in contrast to the low culture that emerges as the practices not being transmitted by the natural course of a way of life. Gellner's conception incorporated

the adoption of technological communication to high culture, as his reliance on public literacy already informs this incorporation. But I have reservations on whether the appropriation of means of mass communication implies the implementation of high culture per se. I contend that cinema as a communication technology is a hybrid form that the distinction between high and low culture cannot account for immediately. It indicates a swerve from the high forms of national culture.

Walter Benjamin (2008) remarked that cinema's audience had been predisposed the position of a "quasi-expert." Becoming this expert, reserving its other possible connotations, also meant that everyone was literate vis-a-vis film art, even though the mass reception of a film and "mass production of senses" (Hansen 2009) did not mean that film spectatorship is an experience of critical reflection. Its global character indicated that it is some form of a lingua franca. Once the focus is on the premise that cinema's language, which has most definitely inspired and encouraged Eyuboğlu, is a global expression in opposition to high forms of expression, in theory, the absence of expertise also works as an equalizer with a democratic distribution.¹ Of course, regarding cinema a lingua franca is a modernist utopia which has its frailties; it circumvents the fact that cinema is a system of relations with unstable conditions defined by power relations, yet what I address is the imprints of such a premise in Eyuboğlu's approach to cinema, too. The utopian vision of cinema as the lingua franca attracted him and informed his film enterprise. But aligning this modernist vision with the state-initiated poetics of culture is not devoid of repercussions. These repercussions emanate precisely from the speech that cinema necessitates. Eyuboğlu is quite an orator aware of the consequences of rhetorics, and I also contended that his affiliation with Blue Anatolia movement endorsed this aspect of his thought. This is why it is apt to ask how he speaks through cinema, along with the subjects of his films. Sezer Tansuğ had scorned Eyuboğlu's films by stating that anyone with such an opportunity enabled by the university's funds and possibilities could do these films since they did not display any cinematographic skills.² We can understand this as the position that cinema condemns pedagogy however sophisticated its repertoire is: anyone could do; therefore, it will speak as anyone. This is especially valid when Eyuboğlu and his fellows claim to the popular audience rather than a selective audience as students and learners. High culture cannot preserve itself; cinema displaces the high cultural form that Turkey's

¹"Dünyanın öteden beri aradığı ortak dil sinema olmağa başlıyor. Milletlerin birbirine yaklaşması birbirini bilmekle olacaksa bu bilginin en kestirme ve en cömert yolu sinemadır. Hangi sahne otuz dört milleti renkleri, sesleri, davranışları, gelmiş geçmişleri hatta gelecekleriyle... çeşitli sanat ve bilgi adamlarıyla, inanış, adet ve efsaneleriyle bir araya getirebilir? hem de bu adar kısa zamanda, bu kadar çok dünya seyircisi karşısında?... Elli yıl önce bir Belçikalı şair, insanlar el ele verip dünyayı kuşatsa ve hora tepseler hep birden, diyordu bir şiirinde. Bu hora sinemada tepiliyor şimdi." in "Sinema, Dünya ve Biz," August 1956, *Yeni Ufuklar*

²"Türkiye'de Sanat Belgeciliği," April 1973, *Yedinci Sanat*

cultural politics is, along with its possession of the authority for implementation. From high culture to cinema, Eyuboğlu's films are exposed to a transition that does not only affect the form and content that communicates their ideas but also changes the position from which one speaks. By taking up cinematic expression they partake in a plane of mundane expressions. Considering its relation to the national culture program paving the way from the museum to the field-work, it would at most be a coda to such a performance.

In Eyuboğlu's writings, too, one finds a recurrent theme of the opposition between the intellectual and city-dweller segment of the society and the anonymous folks, which feeds the distinction of two strata of culture in society. What he seems to be arguing in these writings, even though they are obfuscated by indeterminate notions, is a negotiation between high and low culture. Eyuboğlu's defense of folklore and his vague concept "folk" seems to be discontented with the high culture of the nation-state and its implementation; it can be regarded as a search for revision. Having said these, I will not simply suggest that by gravitating towards cinema's possibilities in reaching the public, Eyuboğlu shifts from the high culture of modernization to low or mass culture. What he envisions, by the end of the day, is a pedagogic project that is parallel to the state's educational apparatus. But mass communication has a characteristic that erodes the definition of high culture and public literacy. This is why film culture cannot become an undisputed supplement to the nation-state's educational apparatus and its nationally defined culture.

In the second and third chapters of the thesis, my analysis commuted between the uses of cinematic features and narrative techniques and the cinema's innate abilities. This was necessary to understand how Eyuboğlu's films reflected and constituted. In the second chapter, I tried to show the imminent role of mediality as a contradiction of Eyuboğlu's film enterprise. The film medium operates in the mediation's invisibility; it represents and makes images present while itself is imperceptible. This contradiction also becomes evident in the past's representation and memory's figuration in the films. Contrasting with the museum space, Eyuboğlu desires an unmediated contact with the past. I tried to reflect on my own research process encountering the films as objects of the past and the film's take on the past in the first place. For this purpose, I commuted between the image of the past that is given shape in two of Eyuboğlu's films in the filmed landscapes and museums and an evaluation of the materiality of the film itself. Considering the materiality of the film also directed me to study how the filmmakers perceived film medium and struggled within its industry-dimensions which informed and standardized cinema's material conditions in a network. I have evaluated the relation they establish with cinematic language not only on the plane of representation but also in the institu-

tional architecture that exerts influence on a film's production and its reception by the audience.

My third chapter scrutinized how travel and documentary film form characterized the Anatolian landscape as an open space of expedition and exploration while conjuring an ethnographic spectacle. Having focused specifically on the films *Colours in the Dark* and *the Hittite Sun*, I surveyed how Eyuboğlu's travels constitute the national trope of Anatolia in a nexus of several representations constructing it as an entity outside history. I also tried to build a genre discussion to understand how the films were perceived in the documentary and cultural film discourse, which helped me understand the construction of signs and meaning within a narrative composed of documentary images. Both in a national framework with comparisons and a theoretical framework, I evaluated their imagery as works of documentary films. I found out that their language corresponded to parallel discussions in Eisenstein's organic montage and Flaherty's humanist ethnography, which related to Eyuboğlu's humanism and Eyuboğlu's project of a native/Anatolian iconography. This vision, however, ignored that a traveler's gaze engendered foreign views of Anatolia that contradicted his project.

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