A HUNGARIAN ARCHITECT IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY: FERENC HILLINGER (1895–1973)

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Following World War I and the Turkish war of independence, the Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed on 29 October 1923. In parallel with defining a new Turkish identity, there was an increasing need for creating a modern style of Turkish architecture, as a representation of the new regime. During the early decades of the republic, two ‘national architectural movements’ can be distinguished, which followed different architectural principles but similar aims. Apart from the introduction of contemporary techniques and materials, architecture and its instruction were explicitly employed by the government as a medium to express its defining identity and ideology. Although the Academy of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) and the School of Civil Engineering (Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi) had already been founded under the Ottoman Empire, these institutions provided education for a new generation of Turkish architects under the early republic. They were mainly taught by master-architects from Germany, including Bruno Taut (1880–1938), Ernst Arnold Egli (1893–1974), and Martin Elsaesser (1884–1957), all of whom were followers of the Bauhaus movement.

While renowned Hungarian intellectuals participated in the ‘modernisation’ of Turkey during the early republican period, lesser known among them is the Hungarian-born architect, Ferenc Hillinger (1895–1973). As a colleague of Bruno Taut, Hillinger arrived in Turkey shortly before the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, and worked as a designer-architect and as a lecturer at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. Since scholarship in Hungary has so far overlooked these facts, the present paper outlines the life and career of a forgotten Hungarian architect, who took an active role in the education of a new generation of Turkish architects, and thus contributed to the architectural history of the country.
1 Hillinger’s education in Budapest

Ferenc (Ferencz) Hillinger was born in the city of Nagyvárad (Bihar county) on 30 March 1895 to a Jewish family.\(^1\) After his graduation from high school, he applied to the Hungarian Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, and became student of the Faculty of Architecture in the academic year 1914/1915. He studied in the same year as a number of later influential architects, including Pál Csonka (1896–1987), who would work as professor of technical sciences, Alfréd (Füchs) Forbát (1897–1972), and János Komor (1968–1944), who would become influential designers of modernist movements in Hungary.

Among the archival documents at the Budapest Technical University, Hillinger’s name first appears in the yearbooks of 1914/1915\(^2\) and 1915/1916.\(^3\) The graduation record of the university testifies to his education in the subjects of humanities and natural sciences in the first year, and then in the subjects of historical morphology, and historical and contemporary construction studies in the second and third years (figs. 1–2).\(^4\) His name does not appear in the yearbook of 1916/1917, since, on 17 January 1916, Hillinger was conscribed for military service, and so he had to suspend his studies. Then, in the yearbook of 1917/1918, the following remark appears: “he was enrolled in the military supplementary semester from March to May 1918.\(^5\) During this term, he studied contemporary building design, engineering subjects, and arts and sciences of humanities.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Although some Turkish scholars describe Hillinger as a ‘German architect’, his contract archived in the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul, makes it clear that he was Hungarian. The document mentions his birthplace Nagyvárad (today: Oradea, Romania), though it reads inaccurately as “Nagynavad”; see Demir 2008: 291–292. Some details on his family are recorded in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum; BMEL_105/d_G_.32.

\(^2\) His name, written as “Hillinger Ferencz” under the registration number 633, appears with the comment “ép.” (építész = architect); MKJMp 1915/1916.

\(^3\) His name, written as “Hillinger Ferenc” under the registration number 343, appears with the comment “ép.” (építész = architect); MKJMp 1916/1917.


\(^5\) His name, written as “Hillinger Ferencz” under the registration number 290, appears with the comment “ép.” (építész = architect); MKJMp 1918/1919.

\(^6\) His subjects were Design of Buildings, History of Mediaeval Construction, Studies of General Construction, Installation of Public and Residential Buildings, Constructions of Iron and Ferroconcrete Constructions, Renaissance Architectural Morphology, Studies of Decorum, Practices of Aquarelle, Form Drawing, Figuring, Practical Perspectives, and Elements of Geodesy.
Fig. 1. Graduation record of Ferenc Hillinger in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, Budapest, 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G_32, p. 1).
Fig. 2. Graduation record of Ferenc Hillinger in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, Budapest, 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G_32. p. 2).
Since its foundation in 1871, the prime institute in Budapest for educating professional architects, known today as Budapest University of Technology and Economics, has seen changes to its system, name, and location several times. Between 1871–1934, including Hillinger’s period, it was named the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum (Királyi József Műegyetem), and, since the academic year 1909/1910, it has been located at the campus of Lágymányos on the Buda side of the Danube where it still operates to the present day.\(^7\) In Hillinger’s time, architecture was taught in departments divided according to historical eras: antiquity, middle ages, and modern age. This methodology corresponded with the phenomena of historicising architectural practices at the turn of the twentieth century. Hillinger himself was instructed in antiquity by Virgil Nagy (1859–1921), in medieval architecture by István Möller (1860–1934), in architecture from the Renaissance to the 19th century by Dezső Hültl (1870–1945), while other professors including Iván Kotsis (1889–1980) taught modern approaches.\(^8\)

The university results of Hillinger were very much those of an average student, although his particular interest in general construction studies and technical physics were reflected by his exemplary marks in those subjects. His education in Budapest was completed, as recorded in his graduation report, on 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G._32).

\section*{2 Hillinger in Berlin and the ‘new objectivity’}

Following his education in Budapest, Hillinger moved to Berlin, where, between 1919 and 1922, he was a student at the Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg (renamed as Technische Hochschule zu Berlin in 1920). His supervisor was Professor Bruno Taut (1880–1938), whose main field of research was the architecture of contemporary residential buildings. He conducted construction projects in various countries including Germany, Japan, Turkey, and the Soviet Union. Apart from his practice of teaching and designing, Taut authored nine books in Germany, five in Japan, and one in Turkey, and published about two hundred articles. Working in close relationship with some of the main innovators and thinkers of his age, he was well acquainted with the concurrent intellectual tendencies,\(^9\) and the oeuvre of Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) made a particular impact on his architectural practice. He took up the position of architectural counsellor in Magdeburg in the 1920s, and supervised urban and residential designs at the Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg. He was member of the Prussian Academy of Arts (Preußische Künste in Berlin).

\^7\ For the architectural history of the campus, see Gyetvainé et al. 2013.
\^8\ For the history of the university, see Hébeurger 1979; Karácsony and Vukoszávlyev 2019.
\^9\ His list of colleagues included Walter Gropius (1883–1969), Peter Behrens (1868–1940), Hans Poelzig (1869–1936), Ernst May (1886–1970), Adolf Behne (1885–1948), and Paul Scheerbart (1863–1915).
During the early 1920s, many influential architects in Germany turned their interests to the new theoretical framework emerging from Weimar, known as *Neue Sachlichkeit* (‘new objectivity’). As a reaction to expressionist architecture, the functionally minded, matter-of-fact approach to construction came to be known in Germany as *Neues Bauen* (‘new building’), and materialised in large-scale urban planning and public housing projects, as well as in experimenting with Bauhaus architecture. Hillinger was a colleague of Martin Wagner at the housing company ‘GEHAG’ (Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-, Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft) between 1919 and 1929, focusing on projects related to mass housing in blocks of flats. He also worked together with Taut on designing the Erich Weinert Strasse (former Carmen Sylvia Strasse) in Berlin in 1925, which demonstrates a strong influence of the *Neues Bauen*, and features elements adopted from Dutch architecture (Junghanns 1970: 70).

It appears that following his education in Budapest with a focus on historicism, in Berlin Hillinger became acquainted with a drastically different perspective on architecture. Instead of applying historicising architectural details and designs, the social needs of mass housing became the key factor of his architectural activity. This approach resulted from his education in Berlin, the milieu of post-World War I Germany, and the Bauhaus movement, and accorded well with his political stance: he was a member of the German Social Democratic Party (Erichsen 1994: 32–33). However, when, on Wagner’s advice, Taut decided to move to Turkey, Hillinger followed his former professor, and their approach to architecture was warmly welcomed by the new regime of the republic. Therefore, the activities of Hillinger should be discussed in the context of early republican architecture in Turkey.

### 3 Architecture and its instruction in early republican Turkey

#### 3.1 The First National Movement

When the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed by the Grand National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) in Ankara in 1923, a secular parliamentary state replaced the Ottoman Empire. The government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) implemented, and indeed enforced, reform policies covering all areas of life. The movement of nation-building was not only theoretical but also practical, and architecture was an obvious way of expressing the identity and ideology of the new regime (Bozdoğan 2012). The nationalist and étatist policies of the period would

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10 For the life and œuvre of Taut, see Junghanns 1970; Winkler 1980.
consciously reshape the built environment, arguing that ‘national’ or ‘Turkish’ elements should be expressed in architecture, and fiercely opposing the late Ottoman style. However, the principal nature of expressing the ‘national’ substance of the republican identity changed significantly during the period. Turkish scholars distinguish between two main phases in the architecture of the first half of the 20th century, known as the two national movements, with a transitional period between them. The early republican architects retained the First National Movement that had originated in the early 20th century, though with a significant difference: they eliminated the hitherto popular classical Ottoman elements from their repertoire (Sözen 1984; Aslanoğlu 2010).

Besides the state’s ideological programme, architectural innovations appeared also for functional and economic reasons. With the emergence of a new, ‘reformed’ lifestyle, new types of public, educational, transportation, and administrative buildings – such as ministries and banks – also began to take shape. And these new functions required new architectural solutions, which would nonetheless conform to the needs of both the public taste and the political-ideological expectations of the Atatürk government (Tekeli 1984). Meanwhile, the designing and constructing of the new capital, Ankara, had to meet with the demands of large-scale public and residential architecture. Consequently, the republican architects were to eschew late Ottoman features: their style was rejected for ideological reasons, while their structural elements for economic ones.

These complex factors led to the revival of pre-Ottoman – whether Seljuq, Classical, or Hittite – architectural features on the façades of buildings. This could be achieved, for instance, by applying rigid symmetry emphasising the gates and cornices, out of aesthetic rather than functional motives, or by applying rich Seljuq-style ornaments. Conversely, the interiors adopted functional space formations that were commonly used in Western European architecture. Comparable diversity appeared in the building materials: while ferroconcrete prevailed within the structures, the façades tended to be ornamented, sometimes featuring glazed ceramic tiles. In that respect, this major architectural trend in Turkey, popular until the mid-1930s and known as the First National Movement, was analogous with the historicising tendencies in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. The most influential architects of the period were Kemalettin Bey (1870–1927), Vedat Tek (1873–1942), and Giulio Mongeri (1873–1951).

This period was also characterised by the appearance of Western European architects in Turkey. Back in 1911, the French-Swiss Le Corbusier (1887–1965) arrived for a study trip in the Ottoman Empire. While travelling through the towns of Edirne, Constantinople, and Bursa, he was fascinated by the architectural and natural qualities of those cities, and particularly appreciated the harmonious relationships between people and nature (Kortan 2013). He even expressed his interest in preparing a settlement plan for Istanbul: he wrote a letter to the Turkish president through the French Embassy, which was then forwarded by the Turkish foreign minister to
Atatürk. In a letter dated 13 March 1933, the foreign minister explained that Le Corbusier had asked for permission to prepare an urban development plan for Istanbul. The task, however, was eventually commissioned from the French architect Henri Prost (1874–1959) (Bilsel 2010).

Six years after Le Corbusier’s journey, the Hungarian architect Károly Kós (1883–1977) applied for a scholarship in the Hungarian Scientific Institute in Constantinople, founded in December 1916, and his travels resulted in the publication of a monograph titled Istanbul: Urban history and architecture in Hungarian (Kós 1917). The first part of this volume, while strongly reflecting the author’s Turanist ideology, analyses the city’s architectural history with some excursions to the architecture of the Middle East and Central Asia. In the second chapter of the volume, he provides a sensible, though artistic and partially subjective, discussion of the urban structure, and makes suggestions for its development. Together with Le Corbusier’s analysis, this work features among the first contemporary urban development plans for Istanbul, based on the historical and natural qualities of the city.

With the proclamation of the republic, Atatürk and his government commissioned the development of the newly appointed capital, Ankara, in 1924. The project was directed by two German architects, first by Carl Cristoph Lörcher (1884–1966), and then, from 1929 onwards, by Hermann Jansen (1869–1945). At the same time, the president also considered the development and modernisation of Istanbul, and thus invited architects from Western Europe to Turkey. Under the Nazi rule of Germany, a number of architects, especially Jews, were forced to leave their country, and many found employment in the thriving development projects in the new republic.

3.2 The Second National Movement

Foreign, mainly German, architects were the earliest representatives of the Bauhaus movement in Turkey, which initiated the transition to the Second National Movement. Although many of their works concentrated on the capital Ankara, they also led projects in Istanbul and other regional cities. Turkish scholarship generally describes this period of Bauhaus influence as a transitional phase between the two national movements. The German architects’ activities overlapped with both movements, and some of them had a strong interest in Ottoman or Anatolian vernacular architecture.\footnote{For instance, Ernst Arnold Egli published a seminar monograph on the classical period of Ottoman architecture; Egli 1954.} What they all clearly rejected was the First National Movement’s adaption of historical, mainly pre-Ottoman architectural elements.

Besides designing new buildings, the foreign architects also took an active role in educating local architects, especially since Atatürk encouraged them to teach at
the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. While the academy, established by Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910) in 1883, had a strong connection with European architects from the beginning, the presence of professors from Germany and Austria strengthened significantly before World War II. The foreign architects sheltered in Turkey had a pioneering role in the education of the Second National Movement, which combined spatial principles of the Bauhaus with Anatolian vernacular architectural knowledge. Among the professors of the academy were Hans Poelzig (1869–1936), Ernst Egli (1893–1974), and Bruno Taut (1886–1938).\footnote{After fleeing from Nazi-ruled Germany to Switzerland, Bruno Taut worked in several Middle and Far Eastern countries. In Kyoto, he mainly worked as designer in applied arts, then, in 1936, for the recommendation of Martin Wagner, he was invited to the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, received governmental and ministerial assignments, and published a book on constructions in Turkish; Junghanns 1970; Winkler 1980.} According to his contract, Hillinger was also employed as a lecturer at the academy between 1937 and 1939 (Demir 2008: 291–292). The Turkish journal Arkitekt also reveals that, in 1941, Hillinger worked as the technical director of the Construction School in Ankara (Ankara Yapı ve Usta Okulu).\footnote{His title was Ankara Yapı ve Usta Okulu teknik şefi, yüksek mimar (‘master architect, technical director of the Construction School in Ankara’); Hillinger 1941.} In this position, he made a considerable impact on the urban development of the country (Aşkan 2011: 112).

The European architects operating in Turkey were particularly interested in studying Anatolian vernacular architecture, and adopting some of its elements for their own design projects. This approach is attested to by the journal Türk Yurdu (‘The Turkish Home’) in the 1930s, when its chief editor was Ernst Egli. The German professors educated a new generation of Turkish architects, in particular Seyfi Arkan (1903–1966), Sedad (also spelled as Sedat) Hakkı Eldem (1908–1988), Emin Onat (1908–1961), and Şevki Balmumcu (1905–1982). This Second National Movement goes back to the 1930s, and continued mainly until the death of Atatürk in 1938, although its influence can be observed until as late as the mid-1950s. The cultural policy of the period put a great emphasis on the research and systematic identification of ‘Turkish’ art, which was painstakingly distinguished from ‘Persian’ and ‘Arab’ elements. In the community centres known as Halkevleri (‘Community houses’), with branches established in several cities across the country, regular lectures and art historical instruction began in the 1930s (Yesilkaya 1999). This institution also curated the first exhibitions on Turkish art, and issued the first art-related magazine, Güzel Sanatlar (‘Fine arts’), in Turkey.
Among the Turkish architects, Seyfi Arkan’s main building project was the presidential summer house, known as Florya Köşkü, in Istanbul. In his design, he adopted some typical features of Anatolian residential buildings, such as sliding windows and wide eaves, and used other building types, namely the kiosk (köşk) or the bathhouse (deniz hamamı) standing on pillars over the Bosphorus, as models for the mansion (Akcan 2012: 74). However, the resulting architectural formation is completely modern. The building uses contemporary materials, such as a ferroconcrete structure with large, steel windows. The spatial formation is functional, and the ornamentation-centred approach of the First National Movement’s pre-Ottoman revival is absent here (fig. 3).

The same approach can be seen in the architectural oeuvre of Clemens Holzmeister (1886–1983). While designing the presidential residence of Atatürk, the Çankaya Köşkü, in Ankara, Holzmeister examined some examples of Anatolian vernacular architecture, with special attention to the mode of living in rural houses, and applied the traditional Anatolian design principles in the spatial composition of his new building. Another influential architect in the period was Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who graduated from Istanbul, but also studied in Berlin and Paris (Giray 1981). He met personally with some of the pioneering figures of modernist architecture, including Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Upon his return to Turkey, Eldem worked as a modernist architect, while incorporating some traditional Anatolian elements within his designs. According to Eldem, the traditional Anatolian residential houses often bear formal and spatial features that contemporary architects claim to be ‘innovations’, and, therefore, vernacular Anatolian buildings satisfy the demands of contemporary architecture (Eldem 1983). Indeed, the large, multi-functional interiors that can be freely shaped by portable furniture and open towards its surroundings through the hayat-like porch, and the close interaction between garden...
and interior find their analogues in Le Corbusier’s revolutionary principles of modern housing.

In short, the architects associated with the Second National Movement showed a special interest in Anatolian vernacular architecture. Thus, in their new designs, they would combine Anatolian aesthetics with contemporary materials, technology, and the spatial principles of the Bauhaus, in contrast to the former, pre-Ottoman revival style. In that respect, the two main architectural approaches to which Hillinger was introduced during his formative years – namely, historicism in Budapest and modernist principles and social sensitivity in Berlin – coincided with the two national movements in early republican Turkey.

4 Hillinger in Turkey

Taut’s design projects generally featured rational, clear, and functional arrangements, applying few but characteristic elements typical of Anatolian vernacular architecture, such as the large, consoled eave, for instance in the Trabzon Male College. His main projects in Turkey were the Linguistics and Historical Faculty building of the Ankara University in 1937, the Cebeci High School (Cebeci Ortaokulu) in Ankara, and the Republican Maiden Institute (Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü) in Izmir in 1938. In several projects, he worked together with Asim Kömürçüoğlu – one example is the Atatürk High School (Atatürk Lisesi) in Ankara built in 1937–1938. Hillinger also participated in several construction projects, mainly as an associate of more senior colleagues. He worked on the Cebeci High School in 1938, the Trabzon High School (Trabzon Lisesi) in 1938–1941, the Republican Maiden Institute in 1938, and the National Fair Cultural Pavilion in Izmir in 1939 (Demir 2008: 131–132). Besides these projects, he also wrote an article on the construction method of roof structures, published in the journal Arkitekt (Hillinger 1941).

Hillinger’s close relationship with Taut is evident from a letter written by Taut to the German architect Carl Krayl (1890–1947) in 1938. While discussing a possible collaboration in designing the Ankara Opera House, Taut suggests that Hillinger should also be involved in the project. He adds that Hillinger was in Turkey with his family, and even refers to his 10-year-long experience at GEHAG (Zander 2007: 322). Following the premature death of Taut in the same year, Hillinger finished many of his former professor’s projects, including the Atatürk High School in Ankara (Winkler 1980: 19), and also contributed essential material for the first scholarly monograph on Taut (Junghanns 1970: Vorwort).

Among Hillinger’s numerous works in Turkey, only one of his designs is known today: the visualisation sketch of a family house on the Bosphorus (Junghanns 1970: 99). This shows a centralised building arranged on two floors, featuring a conical roof, and standing on a massive pillar above the sea. The interior of the building is
accessible from the shore through a closed bridge (fig. 4). Both the bridge and the house itself feature rows of large windows, a characteristic feature of contemporary modernist architecture. In the mass of the building, the form of a classical Ottoman köşk (‘kiosk’) can be identified, whereas its structural and spatial principles follow contemporary, essentially modernist, arrangements. The house has similar features to the residence of Bruno Taut in Istanbul (Akcan 2012: 273). That is, Hillinger’s approach followed the characteristics of the Second National Movement, similarly to the works of Arkan, Holzmeister, Eldem and his master, Taut.

Fig. 4. Family house on the Bosphorus, visualization sketch by Ferenc Hillinger, 1938 (Junghanns 1970: fig. 293).

During the early years of republican Turkey, several Hungarian advisors and scholars were invited to the country. In the field of architecture, the activities of Hungarian builders were particularly noteworthy, with renowned Hungarian architects being involved in both national movements. Although none of their projects

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14 Among them were Antal Réthly (meteorologist), György Tittes (engineer of the infrastructural facilities of several Anatolian cities), Gyula Mészáros (founder of the Museum of Ethnography, Ankara), Imre Ormos (landscape architect of several sites in Ankara), János György (chief director of Atatürk’s farm), János Máthé (gardener for Atatürk’s house), László Rásonyi (first lecturer of the Institute of Hungarology, Ankara), Oszkár Wellman (agricultural engineer, pioneer of new breeding methods), and Tibor Péterfi (historian); Saral 2017: 597–623.

15 In the 1920s, a group of Hungarian workmen, engineers, and trained experts arrived in Turkey, and worked in construction projects at numerous sites and with different companies.
came to be realised, the surviving designs by Alfréd Bardon (1904–1986) and Károly Dávid (1903–1973) fit with the First National Movement, whereas those of István Janáky (1901–1966) and his colleagues follow the principles of the Second National Movement. Some of their designs would make an impact on Hungarian architecture in the period (Kovács 2014; Rabb and Kovács 2016). Apart from the newly designed buildings, Hungarian architects also took part in the preservation of historical monuments. The most prominent project was the investigation of Ferenc Rákóczi’s dining hall in Tekirdağ (Rodostó) (Fodor, Kovács and Kövecsei-Oláh 2017). Nonetheless, Hillinger’s activities in Turkey can be evaluated as a unique case: he was probably the only Hungarian architect who went to Turkey not for temporary projects, but for a longer period.

5 Conclusions

As this short overview of Hillinger’s career demonstrates, he was initially educated in historicising architecture in Budapest, after which he was introduced into a novel, modernist approach in Berlin, heavily influenced by the current social and economic considerations. Notably, a comparable process can be observed in the architecture of early republican Turkey: while the First National Movement sought to revive pre-Ottoman features as a form of historicism, the Second National Movement, under the influence of foreign, mainly German, architects, adopted its principle approach from the Bauhaus movement. Hillinger was a representative of this latter trend, as well as an important, though little known, member of the influential group of Hungarian expatriates during the first decades of the Republic of Turkey.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources


About 100 people worked in Ankara and its surroundings in 1925, participating in the construction of dwellings, drainage and sewage systems, pavements, electricity, lighting, etc. Other builders worked on the Hotel Erzurum in Ulus, and, notably, several residential building in Ulus feature similar decorations thanks to them; see Cügen, Yılmaz, and Tanrıveren 2013: 130–142; Saral 2017: 597–623.


**B. Secondary sources**


