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A typographic analysis of newspapers and magazines in the Turkish alphabet reform (1928-1929)

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Abstract

Turkish was written in Arabic alphabet for over a thousand years until the Latin alphabet reform, which was imposed in 1928 as a result of the modernization reforms. Despite this profound change, its effects on the design and typographic choices of period's publications and the role of these publications in the reform are not known. This research investigates how the reform was treated typographically and was promoted in newspapers and magazines, which were also helping the reformers in the transition and post-reform periods from 10 August 1928 to 1 May 1929. This study is based on archival research in the libraries of Turkey.

The thesis consists of four main parts. The first part introduces the methods used to define the scope of newspaper and magazine analysis and to develop the criteria to select these publications, and describes the framework used to analyse the selected publications. The second part provides the linguistic and print-related context to the alphabet reform by tracing back the early alphabet discussions and the observations regarding the multicultural scene, starting from the 19th century in the Ottoman period. The aim of this part is to gain an insight into how the Turks ended up with the idea of this change. The third part presents the historical account of the reform and the phases of the implementation from political, social and educational perspectives. The final chapters, as the fourth part, contextualise and explore the transition through the design of five broadsheets (*İkdam, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, Hakimiyet-i Milliye, Akşam*), two tabloid newspapers (*Karagöz, Yeni Köroğlu*) and two magazines (*Servet-Fünun, Resimli Ay*) published in this period. This part documents the general features of these publications, including production, layout and the use of type and how these were influenced by the transition from Arabic to Latin scripts.

The analysis of publications showed that broadsheets played a key role by integrating Latin content during the transition period and publishing encouraging articles and alphabet lessons daily. Tabloids did the same, but with less participation, as they were the prominent ones in promoting the reform via cartoons. Besides publishing similar supportive content, magazines focused more on visual and content quality. Before the reform, newspapers and magazines in general had a more homogeneous look due to the few Arabic type style and size variations. After the implementation, because of new type purchases and rich variations of Latin metal types, page designs looked more refined, as the hierarchy between the sections became more visible despite some peculiar executions. Typesetters came up with creative solutions to substitute alternative letterforms for the new missing Turkish characters, due to the short period of transition (four months) and the lack of type and print resources. In this way, they showed a unique resilience to adopt this new convention owing to the multi-cultural printing scene inherited from the Ottoman Empire.

This study aims to be a starting point for further studies, by revealing the first encounter of Turkish printed media with the Latin printing convention and the initial responses, which have long-term effects on the design, typographic and printing journey of Turkey.

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Dilek Nur Polat

Contents

Acknowledgements

A note about terminology, translations and transliteration

Terminology and cultural attributions are among the natural considerations of this study, as it concerns the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when the Turkish language still included Arabic and Persian rooted words. A Turkish person today cannot even fully understand the alphabet announcement by Atatürk, which took place publicly in a park on 10 August 1928 because of the use of old words which were abandoned with the language reform in 1932 and which vanished in time. For this reason, all these words were translated into English by considering their Turkish equivalents today.

Some of the technical terms related to design and production are also different from modern usage, generally because of the reason mentioned above. To provide reliable information, these terms were clarified and checked from various sources to understand their use and extent correctly.

Another issue is the choice of terms for special entities and occasions for this study. For instance, while the reform was commonly named as the 'Letter Revolution' (Harf Devrimi in Turkish) or 'Writing Revolution', (Yazı Devrimi in Turkish), it is referred to as the 'Turkish Latin alphabet reform', or as the 'alphabet reform' or in some cases only as the 'reform' in this thesis. Furthermore, to name and differentiate between the two alphabets, which are generally named in Turkish as 'the old and the new alphabet', the use of 'Ottoman-Turkish alphabet' and 'new Turkish alphabet' were preferred in this study. In addition to the alphabets, the Arabic and Latin scripts were mainly referred to in Turkish as 'old and new writings', which I preferred as it emphasises that they are simply scripts, without attributing them any Turkishness, even though the reformers did not call the new Turkish alphabet the 'Latin script'. Moreover, in this study, to avoid repetition and lengthy sentences, sometimes these scripts are simply referred to as Arabic and Latin to differentiate between them.

Apart from terminology, there is the surname issue, which needs clarification. In 1934 (after six years from the alphabet reform) the surname reform in Turkey was enacted. Thus, the adopted surnames of people mentioned in this study are indicated in brackets. Also, the names of places and cities in Turkish are given in their original forms, rather than their English use, such as *Köroğlu*, not *Koroglu*.

The transliteration of some of the news and newspaper articles written before the reform and during the transition period with the Ottoman-Turkish alphabet and also the state documents in this study were performed by me and the people to whom I consulted.[1] All translations from Turkish to English are mine, unless otherwise stated.

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[1] These people are Ottoman historian and academician Nihal Engel, and archivist in the Ottoman State Archives (İstanbul) Übeydullah Kısacık.

"To be able to spread the new alphabet within the society, the first condition should be the printing of publications with the new alphabet, because of their uniqueness as the only printed materials that public will read necessarily."

Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi*, p.225

"[...] Today, we certainly assume that our readers will be surprised to see our newspaper in Turkish, set completely with the new letters. We can imagine the looks leant to the newspaper lines to be able to read words slowly like trying to solve a puzzle."

Yunus Nadi, on the first day of the alphabet implementation
in newspapers and magazines, 'Yeni Yazı', *Cumhuriyet*, 1.12.1928

Figure 1.1 Diagram shows the period, between the starting point of alphabet discussions during the Ottoman period and the alphabet reform year during the Republican period.
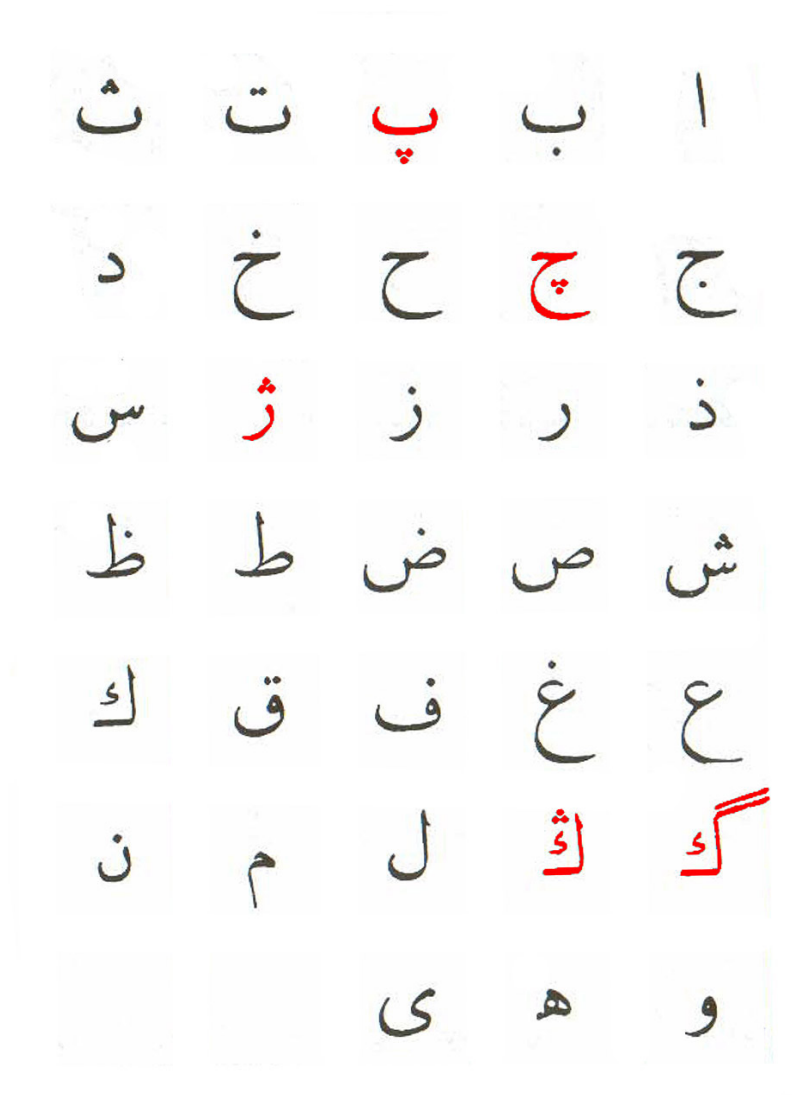
Figure 1.2 Ottoman-Turkish alphabet (Letters in red are the additional characters for Turkish, differently from the Arabic alphabet).

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Research objectives and scope

The aim of this research is to examine and reveal the design and the typographic changes during the transition and the post-transition periods of the Latin alphabet reform in Turkey by examining newspapers and magazines, which were subjected to a big transformation and which served as helping tools in many ways to promote the reform. The Turkish alphabet reform, mainly known as 'Harf Devrimi' (Letter Revolution) in Turkish, could be considered as one of the stand-out alphabet shifting cases in the world due to its pace and ambitious approach to its implementation. The reform aimed to shift from the Arabic script to the Latin in order to align with a more modern nation, which was the initial agenda of the Turkish Republic, founded in 1923 *(Fig.1.1)*. The alphabet reform was carried out in the latter half of 1928 as the initial step of the 'Language Reform', which was realised in 1932.[1]

The Turks, who used various other alphabets over a long period,[2] started to use the Arabic script as their alphabet when they converted to Islam in the 11th century, by creating more letters for the sounds and vowels that were specific to Turkish *(Fig.1.2)*. The use of the Arabic script continued in the Ottoman era, while the conquests and the expansion of the Empire resulted in interaction with other cultures, such as Persian and Arabic. These relationships also influenced the Turkish vocabulary; the Turks added new loanwords to their language while using the Arabic script.[3] In accordance with the republican reformers' agenda, the script reform prepared the ground for the purification of the language from foreign ingredients, such as Arabic- and Persian-rooted words. Geoffrey Lewis has called the Language Reform 'a catastrophic success', and we can see that by considering its profound effect on many aspects of human life, such as social environment, education, collective memory and culture, the alphabet reform had the substantial share in this 'catastrophe'.[4] It radically changed not only the writing habits of public and governmental communications and all printed media, but also the reading habits and fractured the transmission of knowledge inherited from the Ottoman Empire.

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1 Not to confuse these two, the alphabet reform and the language reform are different reformations which happened in different times. The alphabet reform was the attempt of changing the Ottoman-Turkish alphabet based on the Arabic script into a new alphabet based on the Latin script and it took place in 1928. The language reform was the attempt of purifying the language from foreign influence, such as Persian and Arabic and inventing new pure Turkish words. This reform was implemented in 1932.

2 The previous alphabets mainly used were Orhun (Köktürk) and Uygur alphabets that were derived from the Sogdian script, which was also derived from the Aramaic script. Others, such as Mani, Tibet and Brahma, were used by small communities and tribes. Yelda Saydam, "Language Use In the Ottoman Empire And Its Problems (1299-1923)" (M.Phil, University of Johannesburg, 2007), p.10-12; Hitay Yükseker, 'Turkish Language Reform: An Early Example of Language Planning.' in *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 3, (1982): p.90–1.

3 For a basic introduction to Ottoman Turkish: Fahir İz, 'Ottoman and Turkish' in *Essays on Islamic Civilization: Presented to Niyazi Berkes*, ed. Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1976), p.118–139.

4 Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Despite being a popular research topic in the field of social sciences, the alphabet reform has not been sufficiently investigated within the typographic context before.[5] It is also known that this reform affected newspapers and magazines dramatically in typographic terms and there was a transition period, during which the content of newspapers and magazines were set both in Arabic and Latin scripts, side by side on the same page, for a certain period of time. However, no study has so far investigated how these publications changed typographically during the reform year and how long the transition period lasted. This study aims to fill this gap. It also offers some insight into how Turks adapted to this new alphabet/script in a typographic context and dealt with this change from their very first encounter. The newspapers and magazines were specifically chosen because of their unique role. They had a very short time to adapt to a new printing practice and print some of their content with the new letters while still they were partially printing with the old letters. This was accomplished not only because of their wish to adopt new printing technologies that would be possible with the Latin based alphabet, but also the request from the reformers that they should be at the frontier of the implementation of the new alphabet. Apart from this important mission, the availability of most issues/volumes of newspapers and magazines in Turkish libraries and archives allowed them to be used to trace the alphabet reform typographically; in comparison, other ephemeral printed materials are hard to find. Moreover, the publishing frequency of newspapers and magazines allows for a systematic analysis to trace reform-related changes over time and also a comparative approach that enriches the discussion.

This study aims to address the following questions:

– How did newspapers and magazines, also known as helping devices of reformers, help in promoting and implementing the reform?

> – How did they differ from each other although there was a division in their roles?
> – What was the role of satire considering illustrative satirical publications (tabloids) in the reform period?
> – When did the integration of Latin content start in newspapers and magazines and to what extent did publications integrate this content and with which possible motives: familiarising readers with a new alphabet or adapting to a new printing convention?

– How did the reform affect the typographic choices, format, layout and use of images in newspapers and magazines?

> – What were the typographic challenges involved in introducing the new Turkish letters?

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5 There is therefore little discussion on the design of newspapers and magazines before the reform and how they were affected by it. When I started this PhD study, there was no written discussion about newspapers and magazines in the reform period from the design and typographic point of view. But at the end of my first year, a master's dissertation under the type design programme in the department was completed by Zeynep Akay, with the title of 'The typographic transformation of Turkey's leading newspaper as a result of the Letter Reform in 1928' on the typographic changes of one newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*.

– What ways did typesetters and printers find to cope with this huge demand?

– How could the Turkish publication design be positioned within the wider design scene during the reform period?

– What are the possible further effects and implications of the reform on the design and typographic journey of Turkey?

– Related to the questions above, is there a potential in library and archive resources in Turkey for typographic research?

To answer these questions, original materials were reviewed. These materials include broadsheet and tabloid newspapers and magazines published at that time (see below) and collected digitally from various library archives in Turkey and online databases:

- *İkdam*: A broadsheet, eight-page published daily during the transition period. It is one of the oldest high-circulation Turkish newspapers of the reform period. Its foundation dates back to 1894 when various political events – such as the limitation of press freedom by the Ottoman regime – negatively affected the publishing environment in the country.[6] For this reason, it became one of the most important newspapers in the period. The word 'İkdam' is an archaic vocabulary and is no longer in use in daily Turkish. It is an Arabic-rooted word meaning 'working with effort, progress'.[7] *İkdam* became a kind of journalism school, helping to train many notable people in the field.[8] *İkdam* remained in print until 1929.[9] Despite the financial support from the government and its own resources, *İkdam* had to stop its activities due to financial difficulties and low circulation.

- *Hakimiyet-i Milliye:* A broadsheet, eight-page, high-circulation newspaper, published daily during the transition period. It was also the official newspaper of the state. To communicate the Turkish independence movement to the public, Atatürk himself initiated the foundation of this newspaper and named it *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, which means 'National Sovereignty'.[10] When it was founded on 10 January 1920, it was published only twice a week due to the poor quality of the old printing press and the existing metal types. Because of the haste of its foundation (within two weeks), the

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6 Müzeyyen Buttanrı, "İkdam Gazetesinin Kültür Hayatımızdaki Yeri, Şekil ve İçerik Özellikleri (1894–1900)," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Osmangazi Üniversitesi, vol. 1 (2003): p.80, accessed August 3, 2014, http://sbd.ogu.edu.tr/makaleler/4_1_Makale_5.pdf.

7 *Nedir Ne Demek, s.v.* "İkdam", accessed on July 28, 2014, http://www.nedirnedemek.com/ikdam-nedir-ikdam-ne-demek.

8 M. Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve yayın tarihi* (İstanbul: İİTİA Nihad Sayâr-Yayın ve Yardım Vakfı Yayınevi İşletmesi, 1978), p.268.

9 There are contradictions about the exact time of the closure. In some literature the closure date is stated as 1928, the same year with the reform, but as I saw in the İstanbul archives, there were also issues dated 1929.

10 İnuğur, p.331.

facility given over to it was a building in the garden of the Turkish parliament. However, after a year, on 6 February 1921, it started to be published daily and at a good quality, using the new printing presses and metal types.[11] The name of the newspaper was changed many times in the following years and it is still published today.

- *Akşam:* A broadsheet, eight-page, high-circulation newspaper, published daily during the transition period. 'Akşam' means 'Evening'. This name was given because the newspaper was published in the evening. The close friends Kazım Şinasi [Dersan], Necmeddin Sadık [Sadak] and Ali Naci [Karacan] founded the newspaper in 1918 in order to support the Turkish War of Independence along with the head commander Atatürk. After the foundation of the Republic, the newspaper continued its support for the new reforms.[12] In the beginning, the newspaper was published as four pages in a very large format and was printed on an old flatbed printing press. Because of the newspaper's support for the Independence movement, the public demanded more issues than the amount printed. As a result, a new rotary printing machine was bought, enabling a greater number of copies to be printed.[13] With some interruptions, the newspaper remains one of the more popular current newspapers today.

- *Cumhuriyet:* A broadsheet, eight-page, high-circulation newspaper published daily during the transition period. Even though it was not a state newspaper, the newspaper – whose name means 'Republic'– was founded in 1924 with the aim of spreading the ideology and the reform agenda of Atatürk's Republic.[14] The founder and the head columnist was Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu], who was also an MP during the reform period. The regular contributors of the newspaper were also the prominent figures in the alphabet reform and held governmental positions, including Mehmet Şükrü [Kaya], who served as the Minister of Interior, and Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] and Mehmet Zekeriya [Sertel], who were also MPs at that time.[15] After the reform, despite some short-term bans and closures in the following years, it became one of the most important newspapers in the history of Turkish printed media and remained in print until today.

- *Milliyet:* A broadsheet, eight-page newspaper published daily during the transition period. The newspaper was founded by the

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11 Fuat Süreyya Oral, *Türk basın tarihi, Cumhuriyet dönemi 1919-1965* (Ankara: Doğuş Matbaacılık ve Ticaret Ltd, 1968), p.42.

12 Oral, p.75.

13 Reşad Ekrem Koçu and Mehmet Ali Akbay, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul Encyclopedia), s.v. "Akşam Gazetesi." Volume I, (Tan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1958), p.546.

14 Oral, p.76.

15 Haluk Perk and İsmail Günay Paksoy, *İstanbul'un 100 Gazetesi.* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2012), p.110-1.

MP Mahmut Nedim [Soydan] in 1926 and became a semi-official state newspaper. 'Milliyet' means 'Nationality'. It was appreciated for its content, and after a short time its circulation rose and the newspaper became one of the popular broadsheets during the reform period.[16] As a result of being one of the voices of the government, it supported the alphabet reform along with other modernising reforms. The seriousness and the quality of its content and design also helped the newspaper to maintain its position up to the present day.[17]

- *Karagöz:* A tabloid, illustrated, four-page, high-circulation, political/satirical newspaper. It was published twice a week during the transition period. The newspaper, presented in a small format, differs from the others mentioned above. It was one of the newspapers that remained in operation from the time of the Ottoman Empire; it continued to be published twice a week until 1955. It was established in 1908 as an illustrated political/satirical newspaper, inspired by the two galanty-show[18] characters in Turkish culture, *Hacivat* and *Karagöz*, who are famous for sarcastic and wise conversations and criticism about society's problems and political issues.[19] The newspaper was named after the more snappy character *Karagöz* by its founder cartoonist Ali Fuad Bey. The newspaper became a supporter of the Turkish War of Independence and due to its success in reaching rural places and its high circulation, it was noticed by some prominent government figures during the first years of the Republican period. It helped to publicise the Republican ideals and reform within its readership, who were more middle-class citizens.[20] The newspaper was taken over by the journalist Burhan Cahit [Morkaya] after the Republican period, but he handed it over before the alphabet reform, and started to publish a new illustrated satirical newspaper, *Yeni Köroğlu*.

- *Yeni Köroğlu:* A tabloid, illustrated, four-page, political/satirical newspaper published twice a week during the transition period. This newspaper was founded at the beginning of 1928 by Burhan Cahit [Morkaya], who was previously the editor of *Karagöz* newspaper. As in the case of *Karagöz*, the newspaper's policy was to

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16 Perk and Paksoy, p.138-9.

17 Oral, p.78-9.

18 A galanty show is similar to a puppet show, but the characters, which are made of paper, are operated behind a curtain, and they are seen as shadows as a light source is put behind them.

19 For a detailed account on Karagöz newspaper and its relation with the galanty show, see Bülent Akbaba, "İnkilap tarihi Öğretimi için bir kaynak: Karagöz Dergisi." *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi 22*, no. 2 (2014): 731-742; Sibel Kılıç, "Contribution of Karagöz humour magazine (1908-1955) to socio-cultural transformations of the Turkish society which derives its sources from the Karagöz humour practices and its importance through the perspective of the Turkish cultural history." *Journal of International Social Research 4*, no. 16 (2011), accessed on March 19, 2017, http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt4/sayi16_pdf/kilic_sibel.pdf.

20 Kılıç, p.247.

use simple language that could easily be understood by the public and to publish both national and international coverage of different themes and subjects, without giving a detailed account or debate as in the broadsheets. In addition to the regular content, cartoons played an important role to spread the ideals of the Republic. The character 'Köroğlu', who was depicted in the newspaper's cartoons, was also adapted in a similar way to the characters used in *Karagöz*, and is a semi-mythical hero and poet/singer in Turkish cultural history known for his brave and wise manner. The newspaper was published until 1946.[21]

- *Resimli Ay:* An illustrated, fourty-two-page, cultural/social life magazine published monthly during the transition period. It started its journey in 1924 as a popular cultural magazine. Even though its founder, Mehmet Zekeriya [Sertel], stated that the magazine did not have a serious academic approach but was rather a popular and cultural magazine encouraging the public to read, articles on social, political and even educational issues were also published.[22] In addition to the aim of raising the intellectual level of the public and increasing readership, the magazine also had an aesthetic look to appeal to the public's eye, with the use of efficient and increased visuals, living up suitably to its name, 'Illustrated monthly'.[23] The magazine was shut down in 1925 due to the law on the maintenance of order (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu in Turkish), and one year later it restarted, with a different name, for one year. In 1927, it started to be published again under its usual name and continued up until 1938.[24]

- *Servet-i Fünun:* Mainly text-based, sixteen-page, weekly cultural/ political, avant-garde magazine. It was published with two covers (front and back); one used the Arabic alphabet, while the other used Latin. It was one of the oldest and most popular magazines in the history of Turkish printed media. Initially, the young Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz] founded the magazine in 1891 with the aim of publishing scientific and popular subjects and serialised novels translated from a foreign language.[25] The printing equipment and the lithographic plates used were imported from Europe with the financial aid of Sultan Abdülhamid II, so the quality of the magazine's printing

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21 Oğuz Öcal, "Burhan Cahit Morkaya'nın 1925-1928 Yılları Arasında Neşrettiği Yedi Romanı." *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları*, no. 20 (2006): p.166.

22 Erol Çankaya, "Atatürk döneminde edebiyat dergilerinin genel görünümü ve Resimli Ay", *In Yıllık 1981, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu Dergisi*, 149-176. Ankara, n.d, p.155; Makbule Sarıkaya. "Resimli Ay'da Kıyafet." *Acta Turcica* (2012): p.152.

23 A. Holly Shissler, "If You Ask Me" Sabiha Sertel's Advice Column, Gender Equity, and Social Engineering in the Early Turkish Republic." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 3,* no. 2 (2007): 1-30, p.7-8.

24 Sarıkaya, p.153.

25 Ergun Çınar, *İstanbul'un 100 süreli yayını*. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2010, p.30.

and design was superior to others. In 1895, due to a literary debate published in it that had a great effect at the time, the magazine transformed into a literary magazine that published literary works and debates until 1924. After this date, responding to the effect of the new Republic, *Servet-i Fünun* returned to its initial roots, while still publishing some literary works. It continued to be published until 1944.[26]

In addition to the analysis of newspapers and magazines in the last chapters, Chapter 3 summarises the initial alphabet discussions that took place during the Ottoman years and the linguistic problems and the circumstances regarding printing and type that paved the way for the reform. Furthermore, information on the aims of this reform, how it was implemented and the social, political and educational aspects are presented as useful background in Chapter 4. Although the information related to these issues is well covered in the related literature – which is also mentioned in this study – the intention here is to contribute to the literature with some reform-related information in the reviewed newspapers and magazines and the related ephemeral and state documents collected from the archives to enrich the subject. Lastly, Chapter 5 helps to contextualise the analysis of newspapers and magazines by revealing the historical role of newspapers and magazines in Turkey, discussing the effects of the reform on the analysed newspapers and magazines, pondering on the issue of the purchase of metal types and printing machines during the reform period, and showing the role of visuals and cartoons in the implementation of the reform.

Although there is almost no literature on the typographical side of the alphabet reform, this research aims to provide an account of the alphabet reform specifically through the lens of newspaper and magazine design and to be a starting point for further typographic studies on the subject.

1.2. Archival research and institutions

Online databases and library archives in Turkey were mainly used to collect the primary sources for this research.[27] First, the newspapers and magazines that are analysed in this study were collected from the libraries listed below. Two online archives were initially used because of their immediate availability for downloading and storing. One is the newspaper archive of Ankara University[28] and the other is a personal collection named

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26 *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi. s.v* "Servet-i Fünun.", p.573, accessed at April 2017, http://www. islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c36/c360390.pdf

27 The difficulty of not understanding the needs of researchers who approach the artefacts typographically was one of the issues of using these archives. As it will be also mentioned in the Conclusion part, the need for typographic researchers to access actual/physical materials in order to see and spot the details of typographic printing and arrangements is crucial. Further, the digitalisation projects that were in progress during this study negatively affected the initial field trips.

28 http://gazeteler.ankara.edu.tr

Hakkı Tarık Us,[29] which includes old period magazines and newspapers from Turkey, later donated to the Beyazıt Library in İstanbul.

Apart from online databases, the following libraries that hold the printed publications of the period were used in order to complete the missing volumes. The biggest one is the National Library of Turkey, located in Ankara. The library was founded in 1946 and now consists of 3,089,517 items. The majority of this collection is books and periodicals, while other items are books in the Ottoman-Turkish alphabet, manuscripts and non-textual materials. All the old periodicals both in Arabic and Latin scripts are digitalised, and viewing the original copies is not permissible due to the policies of the library. As a result, all the copies of newspapers and magazines in this study are supplied as digital versions.[30]

The second library used is the Atatürk Municipal Library in İstanbul. This library was established in 1931 and contains nearly 200,000 items: 24,803 in modern Turkish, 11,903 in Ottoman Turkish, 3,614 manuscripts in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, 14,547 periodicals and numerous annuals, calendars and maps. Some of the publications and the ephemeral documents in Chapter 3 were sourced from this library.

The third library is Beyazıt Library in İstanbul, one of the oldest and richest libraries in the city. Its collection features over one million works, including books, periodicals, newspapers, rare works, maps, posters, and a money archive. It has 30,000 different kinds of periodicals as well as examples printed in the Ottoman period. The library's newspaper collection is one of the most important newspaper archives in Turkey. It is possible to find most of the newspapers printed during the Ottoman period and local and national papers printed after the Republic was founded.

Apart from the newspapers and magazines, a number of state and ephemeral documents mentioned in this study were collected from the following libraries and archives:

- The archive of Turkish Parliament (TBMM)
- The Ottoman Archives in İstanbul (State archives of the Prime Ministry, referred to as BOA in this study)
- The Republican Archives in Ankara (State archives of the Prime Ministry, referred to as BCA in this study)
- The Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre in İstanbul, online archive
- The Library of Congress in Washington, online archive

In addition to the above sources, other visuals and documents in this study are reproduced from various literary sources and taken from my personal collection, as specifically indicated in the relevant chapters.

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29 http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/asw/tur/htu

30 Other than visiting the library in person, there is also an online service, allowing distant researchers an access to periodicals with a preview option and to buy the digital copies of pages by signing up online.

Chapter 2: Method

In this section, the methodology applied to the analysis of newspapers and magazines will be explained in detail. Initially, this section presents how the scope was defined and how the sample of newspapers and magazines was determined. It describes the approach taken considering the design and typographic features of these newspapers and magazines in order to trace their typographic transformation. The chapter begins with a brief description of the literature consulted.

2.1. Notes on literature

Initially, the existing studies on different aspects, such as social, political, linguistic and educational, were reviewed in order to create a background for this research. The main sources consulted frequently were:

– Bilal Şimşir's book, *Türk yazı devrimi (Turkish writing revolution)* (2008), which is probably the broadest account on the alphabet reform with its rich references and relevant documents revealed for the first time.

– Rekin Ertem's book, *Elifbeden Alfabeye: Türkiye'de Harf Ve Yazı Meselesi (From Elifba to the Alphabet: The issue of letter and writing in Turkey)* (1991), is a balanced piece of literature with a more critical and judgmental perspective than Şimşir's book, which is generally positive and praising in many aspects.

– Ayla Acar's article, 'Türkiye'de Latin alfabesine geçiş süreci ve gazeteler' (The period of switching into Latin alphabet and newspapers) (2011), is one of the rare and well-focused publications that discusses only the reaction and the role of publications in general in the alphabet reform.

– The Turkish Historical Society's 'Harf Devrimi'nin 50. Yılı Sempozyumu' (The 50th year symposium of Letter Revolution) (1991) is a good collaborative work consisting of the talks of the speakers at the symposium on different aspects of the reform, such as book publishing, education, and social and linguistic issues.

– Hale Yılmaz's book, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923–1945* (2013), only briefly mentions the alphabet reform, but from a unique perspective – the untold human experience during the reform period. It is especially good for revealing the reactions of people at the time and some of the resistance to reform.

There is no literature on specific design and typographic features of the reform-period newspapers and magazines. Some of the literature on the printing history of Turkey was consulted in order to obtain information about the print and production sides of the reform, to provide background to the decision making in relation to the graphic forms and design of newspapers and magazines. Two main sources consulted in this respect are:

- Gökhan Akçura's *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi (The*

history of Turkish printing in the Republican period) (2012) is one of the most extensive and illustrative pieces of research on the issue, with many interviews with printers from different periods, in addition to a broad review of the literature.

- Alpay Kabacalı's *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın (From past to present: printing press, media and publishing in Turkey)* (2002) is one of the primary sources in the field that also presents a good account on the subject with images.

However, the existing literature on Turkish printing history covers only the issues below, though not in a detailed/comprehensive manner, but more in a summarised and brief way:

- The account of the types of printing presses, typesetting methods, and some of the metal types in use mostly and their styles (without giving any detail about brand/model, size, stock/place and feature)
- The publishing/printing activities: important publications published (without giving any account/description about their design)
- Some interviews with printers/typesetters/publishers to give a glimpse of printing scene in certain periods considering their importance.

These sources do not mention and describe specifically the graphic and typographic features of a printed work including newspapers and magazines in the context of Turkish printing history. Only the issues mentioned above are well known in these type of resources.

Other literature related to newspaper and magazine design in Europe was used to make comparisons in the analysis of newspapers and magazines. These are:

- Allen Hutt's *Newspaper Design* (1961)
- Albert A. Sutton's *Design and make-up of the newspaper* (1948)
- Harold Evans and Edwin F. Taylor's *Editing and Design: A Five-Volume Manual of English, Typography, and Layout* (1973)
- Anthony Quinn's *A history of British magazine design* (2016)

In addition to the literature mentioned above, some state documents regarding the production and importation of metal types and printing press as well as the details about the implementation of the reform were unearthed and shared in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Lastly, in the early phases of the research, the existing articles in the analysed newspapers and magazines regarding the reform were discovered and used, as they contribute to the matter by giving more detail about the reform, the preparations, and the period that no other main literature provides.

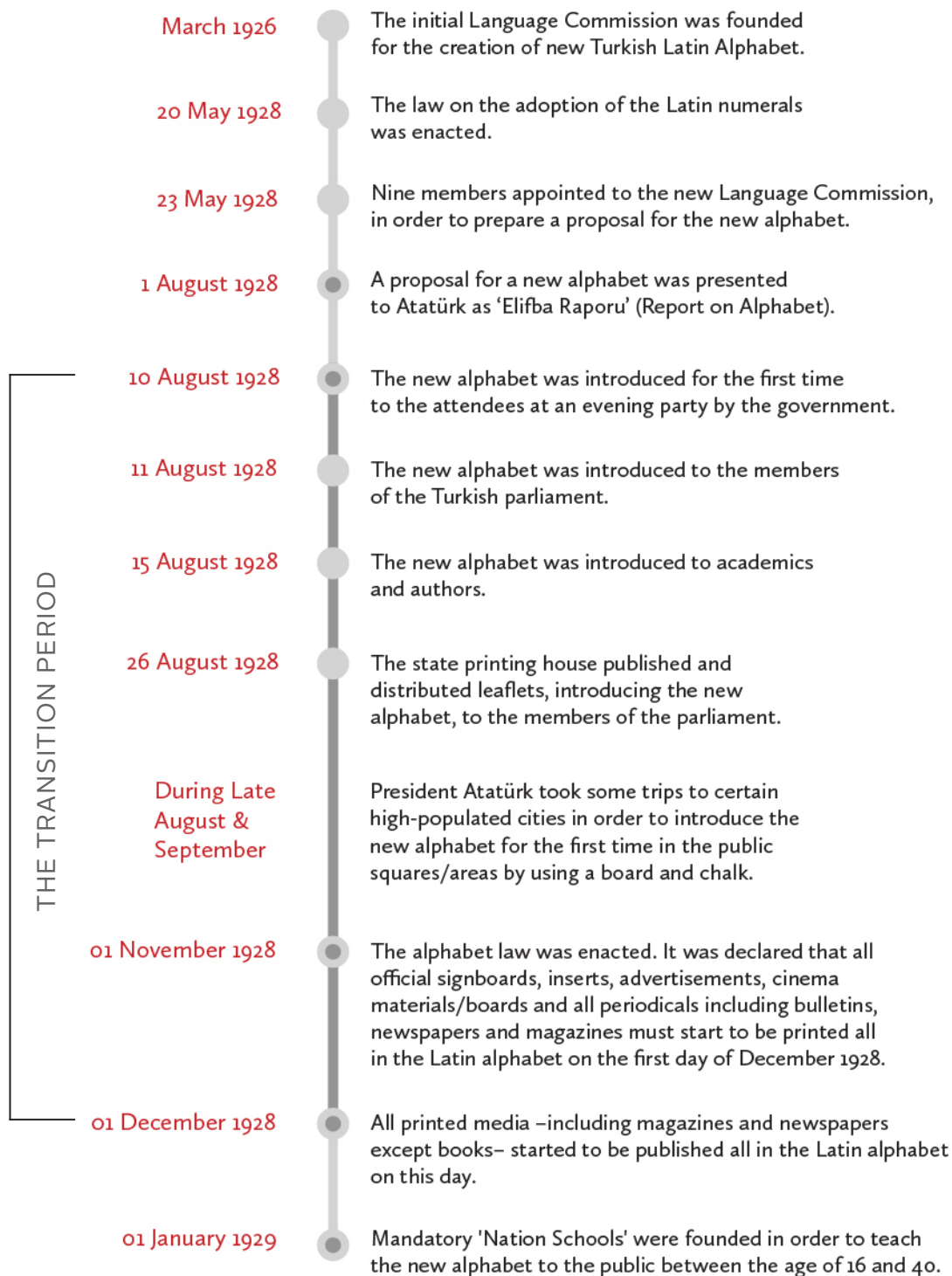|		
March 1926	●	The initial Language Commission was founded for the creation of new Turkish Latin Alphabet.
20 May 1928	●	The law on the adoption of the Latin numerals was enacted.
23 May 1928	●	Nine members appointed to the new Language Commission, in order to prepare a proposal for the new alphabet.
1 August 1928	●	A proposal for a new alphabet was presented to Atatürk as 'Elifba Raporu' (Report on Alphabet).
10 August 1928	●	The new alphabet was introduced for the first time to the attendees at an evening party by the government.
11 August 1928	●	The new alphabet was introduced to the members of the Turkish parliament.
15 August 1928	●	The new alphabet was introduced to academics and authors.
26 August 1928	●	The state printing house published and distributed leaflets, introducing the new alphabet, to the members of the parliament.
During Late August & September		President Atatürk took some trips to certain high-populated cities in order to introduce the new alphabet for the first time in the public squares/areas by using a board and chalk.
01 November 1928	●	The alphabet law was enacted. It was declared that all official signboards, inserts, advertisements, cinema materials/boards and all periodicals including bulletins, newspapers and magazines must start to be printed all in the Latin alphabet on the first day of December 1928.
01 December 1928	●	All printed media –including magazines and newspapers except books– started to be published all in the Latin alphabet on this day.
01 January 1929	●	Mandatory 'Nation Schools' were founded in order to teach the new alphabet to the public between the age of 16 and 40.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Figure 2.1 Timeline showing the all activities of the alphabet reform.

2.2. Defining the reform period

The chart in Fig.2.1 summarises the main events in the reform period. The Language Commission was founded in March 1928 in order to prepare the new alphabet although its members were appointed in May 1928. From this date, the Commission prepared the new alphabet, and according to the literature, the new alphabet was announced in the early hours of 10 August 1928.[1] However, the use of Latin numerals was enacted in May 1928, a couple of months earlier than the alphabet announcement. Thus, there might have been some early unofficial attempts in publications, especially in newspapers, to introduce the new alphabet. To reveal the early attempts before the official announcement, the issues/volumes of publications back to this earlier date encompassing the adoption of Latin numerals were also examined. The analysis started with the announcement day; however, a closure date was also needed to be determined in order to end the analysis. As we can see from the timeline, a law requiring the publications to be printed using the new letters was enacted on 1 November 1928, and the full adoption of the Latin script with the new Turkish alphabet in publications occurred on 1 December, which was a definite deadline. For the purpose of the analysis, the period up to this date was defined as the *transition* or *pre-reform period*. The period after the full adoption – or the implementation day – which was analysed to understand how they managed to publish everything in the new script and alphabet, was defined as the *post-reform period*. It was intended to limit the scope to a couple of months from the implementation, but the post-reform analysis was extended at least six months more, in order to find out whether further developments are evident. In the end, the period that was analysed was determined as nine months, starting from the announcement of the alphabet (10 August 1928) and ending on May 1929, five months after the official implementation. The next step was the selection of publications in which the alphabet change was traced.

2.3. Identifying newspapers and magazines for the study

As there is no literature that reveals a certain number or a complete list of all the newspapers and magazines published during the alphabet reform period, a new one, although not with the claim of covering them all perfectly, was formed for this study. In order to identify the newspapers and magazines for the study, the literature on the role of publications during the alphabet reform was reviewed to gather the names of some

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1 There is no specific reason that is known and mentioned in various sources about the chosen time, which is August, for the announcement of the reform. Therefore, there was also no relation with the timing of official or religious holidays, such as 'Ramadan' to coincide with the announcement of the reform (Because of the Islamic lunar calendar (*Hijri*), a year time is shorter than in the Gregorian calendar, which is based on the sun. So, the time of the religious holidays, as in Ramadan, always changes and coincides with different times in the Gregorian calendar). There is also no indication whether the academic year was considered when the new alphabet was announced in August, as there was a problem with producing the updated textbooks with the new alphabet within a couple of months for students and this action was decided to be postponed for the next academic year by the Ministry of Education.

Newspapers	Ankara University online archive	National Library of Turkey online catalogue	Hakkı Tarık Us online collection	Atatürk Library
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	1928 May-Nov	1928 Jan/Apr/May-Nov 1929 Jan-Dec	Before 1926	
Akşam	1929 Jan-Dec	1928 Feb-Dec 1929 Jan-Dec	1928 Jan-Sep	1932-
Cumhuriyet	1929 Jan-Dec	1928 Jan-Nov (inc. 1 Dec)	Before 1927	Dec 1928
Vakit		1928 Jan-Nov	1927 and before	1930-
Milliyet		1928 Jan-Dec	1928 Jan-Nov	1929 Jan-Mar
Yeni Köroğlu		1928 Apr-Dec		
İkdam		1928 Jan-Nov		1928 Oct - 1929 May
Resimli Gazete (weekly)		1928 Jan-Nov Nov 2 volume	Sep1339-Jan1930	
Büyük Gazete		1928 Jan-Nov	Oct1926-Dec 1928 (1 vol.)	
Halk		1928 May-Nov		
Karagöz			Jun1324-Nov 1928 Dec 1928-Jan1935	

Magazines	Ankara University online archive	National Library of Turkey online catalogue	Hakkı Tarık Us online collection	Beyazıt Library
Hayat		1928 Jan-Nov	May-Nov 1928	Nov1928-
Resimli Ay		1928 9 volumes	March-Nov 1928 March,April,June-Aug 1929	
Akbaba		1928 Jan-Dec		1933-
Arkadaş		1928 Jun-Nov	Jun-Nov 1928	1928-29
Servet-i Fünun	1928 Jan-Nov	1928 Jan-Nov	As 'Resimli Uyanış'	
Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu			Oct1926-Sep1928 Dec 1928-35	
Muhit			Nov 1928-May 1933	
Yeni Fikir			Jun1927-Nov1928	
İçtihad			May-Nov1928 Feb1928-Mar1931	
Ceride-i Adliye			Aug-Nov 1928	
Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mec.			Jan-Oct 1928	

Figure 2.2 List of publications and their locations with the available issues/volumes.

publications from different sources.[2] Then, a search of catalogues and databases in Turkey revealed the newspapers and magazines published during the reform period *(Fig.2.2).*[3] The number of publications in the table was too high to make a reasonable analysis, so the list needed to be condensed and some publications needed to be eliminated. To this end, some criteria was developed. Before doing this, the genres of publications were clearly defined as there was a little confusion around this. There was a hybridisation in the form of newspaper and magazine at the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, it is possible to find publications referred to in different resources (Akbaba 2014 and Kılıç 2011) either as a magazine or as a newspaper in a form of tabloid. For this reason, the publication, *Servet-i Fünun*, was put in the category of magazine. Another issue was about the definition of tabloid newspapers, specifically the publications, *Yeni Köroğlu* and *Karagöz*. Considering their publishing frequency, which is twice a week (printed on Wednesdays and Saturdays) and the number of pages (4), it is better to call them 'newspapers' despite not being published daily. The small format of these publications was one of the reasons that might have led to this misconception. For this reason, the term 'tabloid' was chosen here even though the format is used differently today. Further, there were some shared features with the tabloid newspapers of the period such as front covers dominated by visuals, as in the *Daily News of New York (Fig.2.3).*

To select materials for close analysis, the following criteria were identified:

1) Regular publication during the transition period: Being published on the day of the introduction of the new alphabet and until the day of the implementation of the law (10 August–1 December).

2) Availability of the later volumes: To allow for the examination of a volume dated at least three months after the reform in order to observe whether there was a transformation in type and print.

3) Availability in the archives and/or digital copies: Even if there is proof about the existence of a publication during the reform period in the library and archive catalogues, there is always a possibility that copies are not all accessible or are subjected to limited access both physically and digitally. Thus, this criteria eliminates the publications that are missing or have no/limited access.

4) Popularity: Popularity and high circulation were taken into account, as these factors result in being in the public eye more than other publications.

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2 These sources are: The publication list showing the high-circulated newspapers and magazines in İstanbul, prepared by the American Embassy in 1928, cited in Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Publications, Ankara, 1992), p.226-228; Ayla Acar, "Türkiye'De Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreci Ve Gazeteler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi 41* (2011), accessed at April, 2017, http://kisi.deu.edu.tr//yilmaz.ahmet/ikinci_donem_makale/04_ataturk_donemi_egitim_kultur/54.pdf; Halûk Perk and İsmail Günay Paksoy, *İstanbul'un 100 Gazetesi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2012); Ergun Çınar, *İstanbul'un 100 Süreli Yayını* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2010).

3 For both physical and online libraries and archives that I used to conduct my research, see: Chapter 1, section 2 on p.25-7.

Figure 2.3 A example of front cover dominated by one visual, *the Daily News of New York*, 5 February 1921. Image source: Wikipedia (public domain)

Broadsheet Newspapers	Magazines
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	Servet-i Fünun
Akşam	Resimli Ay
Cumhuriyet	
Milliyet	
İkdam	
Tabloid Newspapers	
Yeni Köroğlu	
Karagöz	

Figure 2.4 Final list of selected publications in three categories, broadsheet newspapers, tabloids and magazines.

The newspapers with the highest circulations will be subjected to examination due to their reader demand.

5) Showing a range of type and design elements including continuous text, headings, illustrations, captions, mastheads: Due to institutional seriousness and formality, some of the publications consist of plain text without illustrations and do not show a vital change in types, layout, image/ illustration, masthead, or running head resulting from the alphabet reform. Naturally, this does not provide evidence for the discussion on the design of the publications and opportunity for the observation of change during the transition period.

6) Contributing[4] to the reform by integrating content in the new alphabet during the transition period: Integrating a considerable content published in the new alphabet during the transition period indicates that those publications were actively participating and contributing to the reform and this situation could give a good account on the design and typographic choices of publications and the transformation that they went through.

Using these criteria, 7 newspapers and 6 magazines were abandoned because of their physical and digital unavailability in the libraries. As the following step, some other criteria were applied to the last list; the following publications were identified as suitable for analysis under three main categories: broadsheet newspapers, tabloids and magazines *(Fig.2.4)*. All these publications received government subsidy, except *Servet-i Fünun*, which was one of the oldest and popular magazines at that time.[5]

Clarification on the issue of opposition

As it is not possible to discern any kind of explicit resistance or opposition to the replacement of the alphabet in the newspapers and magazines of the period, the publications were selected for the analysis here specifically for their popularity and participation in the reform process. Active involvement makes the cases more interesting and worthy for the analysis. Choosing the publications that are eligible for this will give a chance to observe the transformation in the design and typographic decisions of period publications, due to the imposed sanctions by the government to print all in Latin after nearly 4 months from the announcement. If there is a desire to participate in the alphabet change movement by integrating contents in the new alphabet during the transition period, then it is possible to say that there is progress and change that would give a good account on the typographic struggles that printers/typesetters and publishers went through. Otherwise, it would not be possible to see and discuss any changes regarding design and typography and the further effects to the typographic scene of Turkey, if publications are not willing to participate in the process.

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4 Contributing, not 'supporting', because it is not possible to measure the support or the opposition.

5 The reason why it did not receive any aid could be that it may not have needed it because of its high circulation among others and because of gaining financial benefit as a result of it.

Furthermore, the fact that some newspapers did not participate as other enthusiastic publications in the integration of Latin script does not necessarily mean that they were against the new script. The reason why they did not integrate the new script could have simply been the lack of new metal type stock at the time, which would include the new Turkish characters, or the lack of experienced typesetters, who might have known how to set and integrate the Latin text during the transition period. So it is hard to deduce that this was an opposition act, especially when it is hard to see any explicit opposition voice or content towards the reform and the reformers in the media.

The change in the direction of magazine selection

It was planned to include four magazines to the analysis, instead of two, but then after a brief analysis on newspapers and magazines, it was seen that the magazines were not active as newspapers in helping to spread and implement the reform within the public, and also there was a slow participation in the integration of the Latin content during the transition period, in contrast to the newspapers that became pioneer in this task (Considering the publishing frequency of magazines, quarterly or monthly, this inactive approach in the integration of Latin content is understandable). For this reason, no significant changes were apparent in the design of magazines during the transition period compared to the change in newspapers. This would negatively affect a possible comparison with the later issues to reveal how their design and typography evolved after the reform. Also, as the problems that emerged because of the adaptation were similar between these magazines, there was no logic to repeat the same issues. However, despite the drawbacks, it is also important to show how the magazines contributed to the reform and how their design and typographic choices were affected in the end. As a result of all these factors, only the most popular and important magazines at that time, which are *Resimli Ay* and *Servet-i Fünun*, were included in the analysis.[6]

Before going further to explain the dates of the analysis and the framework, these selected publications will be introduced briefly one by one to comprehend why they were chosen for the analysis apart from the reason that they were being regularly published throughout the pre- and post-reform periods.

2.4. Selected newspapers and magazines

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[6] Although the famous satirical/humour magazines, *Akbaba* and *Cem* were existing during the same period, due to problem of post-reform issues/volumes are not existing in the libraries and archives, they were excluded from this study.

İkdam

İkdam supported the alphabet reform and shared the endeavour of teaching the new alphabet to the public with other newspapers and government when the new alphabet was introduced. The alphabet lessons formed a part of the newspaper's content. *İkdam* supported the reform as understood from the articles passionately in favour of the new alphabet. Its being one of the oldest newspapers at that time was another reason for choosing it for the analysis.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye

Even though the issues published in December 1928 right after the implementation day cannot be found in the libraries and archives searched for this study, this newspaper was included in the list of analysed publications because it was the official newspaper/channel of the government in the reform year. Some of the members of the parliament were permanent contributors. The fact that it was published in Ankara rather than İstanbul also affected the decision to include it in the analysis.

Akşam

The newspaper had been one of the supporters of the reformers since its foundation in 1918 although it did not publish as many alphabet lessons as the other newspapers did during the reform period. However, its high circulation, popularity, and the change made in its layout were the main reasons why it was selected for the analysis. A statement about the use of Latin typefaces in big sizes in order to help readers learn the new alphabet also affected the decision to include it in the analysis.[7]

Cumhuriyet

The newspaper supported the new Republic (1923) and shared its vision to implement the modernisation reforms right from its foundation in 1924. This newspaper was included in the analysis because of its high circulation and popularity, and contribution to the reform through the publication of alphabet lessons.

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7 Reşad Ekrem Koçu and Mehmet Ali Akbay, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia), s.v.* "Akşam Gazetesi." Volume I, (İstanbul, Tan Matbaası, 1958), p.546.

مليّت **Milliyet**

Milliyet

This paper was one of the supporters of the reform not only by publishing content in favour of it, but also by creating many regular alphabet lessons in different forms. No other newspapers did so at that time. The quality of its printing and type distinguished it from other newspapers and was another reason to analyse this paper.

قره‌كوز **KARAGÖZ**

كوراوغلو YENI **KÖROĞLU**

Yeni Köroğlu and Karagöz

These were high-circulation illustrated tabloids at the time, which also supported the reform by publishing pictures showing the adoption process and creating cartoons to promote the reform. While *Karagöz* was an old magazine that had a strong style and tradition, *Yeni Köroğlu* was a brand-new magazine that was established in the same year of the reform, and unlike *Karagöz*, it was prepared in Ankara and published in İstanbul.[8] The difference in the way these two publications reacted or contributed to the reform was one of the reasons why they were included in the analysed publications.

رسملی ای **RESİMLİ AY**

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[8] The political centre at the time of the reform was Ankara, as the new Republic announced it as the capital by refusing the heritage of İstanbul as the reminiscence of the Empire. However, because İstanbul was the capital of culture since the Empire, the majority of newspapers, magazines and printing houses were in İstanbul. As mentioned earlier many MPs from Ankara were frequent contributors of the publications subjected to the reform. In this case, both cities played an essential role in the implementation of the reform; for more information on the comparison of İstanbul and Ankara in the early years of the Republic, see Hakan Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul'ndan gündelik fragmanlar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmları Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2012), p.33-44.

August 10, 1928   →   Examination 1

The announcement
of the new alphabet

Publications are entirely
in Arabic script.

Between August   →   Examination 2
and September

First contents in Latin script.

September, 1928

October, 1928   →   Examination 3

All issues/volumes
in the transition period.

November 1, 1928

The declaration of the
law for the new alphabet

December 1, 1928   →   Examination 4

The implementation
of the law

Publications are entirely
in Latin script.

February, 1929   →   Examination 5

Amendments

May, 1929   →   Examination 6

Further changes

Figure 2.5 Half-page images of *İkdam* showing the integration of the Latin content throughout the reform period and the stages of the analysis with allocated dates.

Resimli Ay

Even though it had a three-month break right after the implementation day, this magazine was an important and popular publication that was created to spread the new Republic's ideals and agenda within the society. Apart from this mission, the considerable change in the design of the magazine after the break was a further reason to include it in the analysis.

Servet-i Fünun

One of the most important and oldest magazines in the history of Turkish publications, this illustrated magazine was also known for its support for the alphabet reform. The design and the printing quality of the magazine, which always distinguished it from its competitors, was also a factor when tracing the alphabet reform through its volumes.

2.5. Determining the dates of analysis

In order to analyse the newspapers and magazines systematically and also due to the high number of volumes/issues that needed to be examined within the scope of nearly one year, a system that allowed for this analysis at certain dates was established. These specific dates were defined in two separate periods: 1) transition and 2) post-reform. In the transition period, the typographic problems were generally related to lack of type, meaning that there were not enough type pieces/families and they lacked the new Turkish characters because the types that were suitable for French magazines published earlier were used. In the post-reform period, the problems regarding the lack of Latin type were mostly solved. However, the struggle to adapt to a new printing practice because of the new Latin-based alphabet was still evident.

Because of the large scope of publications in the reform period and the examination of certain volumes/issues, representative dates were determined for the analysis and the visualisation of the change resulting from the reform . These dates are shown in the diagram *(Fig.2.5)* below:

Transition period:

– The 1st analysis is on 10 August 1928 – the day when the reform was introduced and publications were entirely in Arabic script.

– The 2nd analysis is on the date when the first Latin content appeared in publications during the transition period; therefore, this date will vary in each publication.

– The 3rd analysis will include the whole issues/volumes in the transition period, which starts with the first Latin content and ends with the

implementation day (around the end of August and December 1, 1928). Important design and typographic changes within the reviewed issues/volumes between these dates will be highlighted.

Post-reform period:

– The 4th analysis is on 1 December 1928 – The implementation day, when the publications were entirely in Latin script.

– The 5th analysis is on all the issues between December 1, 1928 and February 1, 1929 to trace the initial attempts to deal with the new script and the alphabet.

– The 6th analysis is on all the issues between 1 February to 1 May 1929 to show if there were any alterations in layout and typography.

Even though these specific dates for the analysis were mostly reviewed, and were chosen to represent and visualise the changes that came with the alphabet reform explored in this study, examples and cases were not limited to just one issue or volume as it is always likely that some interesting or noteworthy incidents regarding the Latin adoption could go unnoticed. As a result, the rest of the volumes of newspapers and magazines issued during the transition and post-reform periods were also scanned and some important and different cases regarding the Latin alphabet adoption were highlighted.

2.6. Developing framework for the analysis of newspapers and magazines

A framework helps researchers to create a descriptive analysis of graphic language and the visual attributions of text. In order to articulate the design and typographic features of graphic materials, a framework was devised to record, document and discuss the design and typographic features of newspapers and magazines in this study and the changes in these features due to the reform. Even though they are not similar studies, some framework examples were consulted for this study in order to get an idea about how to create a framework for a systematic analysis of selected publications in this thesis. These studies were Sue Walker's 'Checklist for children books' analysis,[9] and Keith Tam's framework for bilingual (English-Chinese) documents.[10] These studies were used to understand what components and design and typographic features that a printed/graphic design work might have and how to call and analyse these parts/features. As a result, these studies gave an initial idea about creating a framework for the analysis.

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9 Sue Walker, "Describing the design of children books: An analytical approach" in *Visible Language*, 2012.

10 Keith C. H.Tam, "A descriptive framework for Chinese–English bilingual typography" in *Typographische Monatsblätter*, 2012.

Different volumes/issues from different appointed dates of each newspaper and magazine, as mentioned in the previous section, are subjected to analysis under the categories that include some graphic components. The changes in these components resulting from the reform will be presented within this framework in a more detailed way. To evaluate each component in newspapers and magazines shown below, some design and typographic features were developed for a systematic and consistent analysis. These features are 'number of pages', 'column width', 'type style', 'leading' etc.

Below are the graphic components and features regarding the design of newspapers and magazines under the main and sub-categories:

Components   *Features*

Format   Number of pages
          Page size

Grid/Layout system
Range and position of content
          Textual content
          Pictorial content
Column Features
          Number of columns
          Column width
          Gutter space
Layout/Grid Style
          Grid styles
          Use of space
          Overall look

Typographic evolution
Adoption of Latin content
          Type style and size
          Typographical hierarchy and variations
          Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
          Use of punctuation
Masthead & nameplate/logo
          Type style/Lettering
          Typographical variations
          Position of information
Headline & headings
          Type style and size
          Typographical hierarchy and variations
          Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
          Use of punctuation
          Alignment
          Word spacing

Components   *Features*

   Body Text

         Type style and size
         Typographical hierarchy and variations
         Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
         Use of punctuation
         Alignment
         Hyphenation and justification
         Leading

   Running Heads

         Typographical hierarchy and variations
         Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
         Alignment

   Advertisements

         Typographical hierarchy and variations
         Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
         Overall look

   Alphabet Lessons

         Type style and size
         Typographical hierarchy and variations
         Use/substitute of new Turkish characters
         Use of punctuation
         Leading

Two main aspects were considered and reflected on in the analysis by examining at the components with the features listed above:

- Individual analysis of transition-period newspapers and magazines of the specified dates (before, during and after the reform): to observe the change and the evolution of the sections above in every publication within itself.

- Conclusion – summarizing the topic by comparing and highlighting the differences/unique cases among the publications.

In the analysis, the design and typographic features of newspapers and magazines were considered. In addition to this, two factors influenced the typographic attributes that form the analysis: 1) The period's printing practice that shaped the design of the transition-period publications, and 2) The differences in genres across diverse publications. As far as the first factor is concerned, the design and typographic decisions of these publications were a result of technical limitations in the convention. On some occasions, making comparisons within the analysis with the foreign press became inevitable. Comparison provided an insight into both the transition-period publications and their foreign contemporaries, and their design and typographic variations. The second factor concerns the diversity of publications. Identifying the differences and similarities between broadsheet newspaper, tabloid and magazine design helped to differentiate the features and components that needed to be determined

Newspaper	Magazine
Front page	Cover
Masthead Logo Slogan Subscriber info	Nameplate Logo Slogan Imprint
Headline	—
Subheadlines	—
Headings	Headings
Subheadings	Subheadings
Body text	Body text
Section heads Pictorial Typographical Pictorial&typographical	Section heads Pictorial Typographical Pictorial&typographical
Running head	Running head
Advertisements	Advertisements
Alphabet lessons	—
Photograph	Photograph
Illustration	Illustration
Cartoon	Cartoon

Figure 2.6 A comparison of the components of newspaper and magazine.

for the framework. Regarding this issue, two main points clearly needed to be taken into consideration. One of them concerns the form of publications and the different genres related to it. In the initial analysis and review of newspapers, there was no need to consider different genres due to the existence of only two different types of newspaper – broadsheet and tabloid. As far as magazines are concerned, there are various genres that need to be taken into account in terms of differences in their design and typographic features, simply because the nature of each genre affects and determines these choices. Naturally, the design and typographic features of a political or philosophical magazine is different from a leisure time/entertainment magazine. Another consideration is that because of their different natures, typography plays a more dominant role in newspapers, while magazines contain more pictorial and decorative elements. This difference inevitably affects the general analysis approach and the articulation of variants. As a result of this consideration, it is concluded that the components of newspapers and magazines show a slight difference although their format, layout and typographic features are quite different from each other *(Fig.2.6)*. For this reason, a general framework was applied to all the newspapers and magazines analysed in this study.

<div align="center">*</div>

The next chapter ponders on the implementation of the reform, how the Turks ended up with the idea of an alphabet reform, and what the contributions in the discussions of alphabet reform were since the half of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire period.

Chapter 3: Implementation of the alphabet reform

"Reading and writing in Turkish with Arabic letters is difficult. A Turkish word can be read in many ways due to the lack of vowels in this alphabet. […] It is hard to differentiate the special names/terms from other words, as there is no majuscule in the Arabic script. There are no such difficulties in European scripts. From 6–7-year-old children to servants and workers, everybody, women and men, can learn how to write and read these scripts easily. In our case, due to the difficulty of learning our script, we cannot succeed in the public's education. Also the Arabic letters are not efficient for printing newspapers, magazines and books. Other nations print literary works using only 30–40 pieces of metal type. To be able to print books in the Arabic script, twice or three times more letters need to be used. However, books are the most powerful tools to spread education." [1]

This chapter aims to trace the contributions made for the sake of the reform and the circumstances that led Turks to the idea of a script change. To this end, the late Ottoman Empire years (1860-1915) were traced back, and the multicultural scene that contributed significantly to the discussion was revealed although it is not the focus of this study.[2] First, however, we will briefly examine the question of why it took over half a century for script reform to be implemented.

3.1. Reasons for the delay of alphabet/script change

There are many social, political and cultural reasons for postponing a change or revision to a script. The main reasons behind the delay to the alphabet reform in Turkey were:

1) Religious concerns of Ottoman ulema[3]
2) Oppressive reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II
3) The war period
4) The struggle of establishing a new republic

After the first mention of a possible revision of the Ottoman-Turkish alphabet in 1862 by Münif Paşa, the most decisive reaction came from some intellectuals and authors who argued that revising the Arabic script

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1 A summarised quote from the Münif Paşa's speaking on the difficulty of using the Arabic script for Turkish in a conference in 1862; cited in Bilâl Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Publications, Ankara, 1992), p.20. (The original text of the speech in Ottoman-Turkish could be found in a periodical called *Mecmua-i Fünun*, under the title: "Islâh-ı resm-i hatta dair bazı tasavvurat", (volume 14, 1862) in the archive of Atatürk Library).

2 For an in-depth insight about the reasons for the postponement and the alphabet discussions in the Ottoman Empire; see: Şimşir; Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi.* (Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, Ekim 1991); Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı tarihinde Türk dili sorunu, Bilim, Kültür ve Öğretim dili olarak Türkçe.* (Ankara: TTK Yayını, 1978).

3 *Ulema:* A body of Muslim scholars who are recognised as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology; "ulema". In *Oxford Dictionary of English*, edited by Stevenson, Angus: Oxford University Press, 2010. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0894280.

or adopting Latin could harm the religious life in the Empire,[4] including the daily religious practices and religious education, which both had an important place in the society and in reading and understanding the holy text, the Koran. This objection continued until the actual script reform.[5]

Another setback was the situation of Ottoman Empire, which was about to collapse. Towards the end of the Empire's fall, the oppressive reign of the Sultan Abdülhamid II overshadowed discussions about script, which were still ongoing despite the weak voice of supporters.[6] The Sultan ascended to the throne with the support of by a group of powerful officials called the Young Ottomans, who were the members of the liberal movement which developed the first constitutional ideology of the Ottoman Empire with the intention of being partners in state business. Also, for the first time, a constitution and parliament were founded. This period was called the First Constitutional Era. However, two years later, the Sultan began to doubt the loyalty of these officials because of the suspicious death of the previous Sultan, Abdülaziz, and he unexpectedly reversed their expectations by suspending the constitution and the parliament. He started to rule the Empire on his own by suppressing his old supporters. The level of oppression reached a point where some journalists and publishers were arrested and even sent into exile, including Ebüzziya Tevfik, who was one of the most prolific printers in the Empire.[7] Moreover, in order not to attract the anger of the Sultan, one of the cautious but also interesting printing actions was taken as "no use of type larger than 24 pt or [...] more than one headline. Anything else would be have been considered vulgar sensationalism".[8] Not only the unlimited power of the Sultan but also the significant problems of the declining Empire such as the bloody events following his overthrow by the Young Turks in 1908 and the war period[9]

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4 Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Arap Harflerinin Islahı Ve Değiştirilmesi Hakkında İlk Teşebbüsler Ve Neticeleri (1862-1884)," *Belleten* 17, no. 66 (April 1953): p.231.

5 The opponents had less voice at the time of the early Republican alphabet discussions because of the government's implicit pressure. It is one of the reasons why the secularisation of education was actualised by the Republican reformers before introducing the script reform.

6 This does not mean that the Sultan was against a revision of the script and even the idea of changing it. During his reign, a commission was appointed in order to discuss and create a scientific report on the issue. Various resources claim, the Sultan himself was not completely against the adoption of the Latin script. Considering the Sultan's western education and his music and literary taste, it could be the case. For the claim about Sultan Abdülhamid's views on Latin script, see: Abdülhamid 2 and Ali Vehbi, *Pensées et Souvenir de l'ex-Sultan Abdulhamit*, cited in Karal, p.65; also: Sultan Abdülhamid, *Siyasi Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1974,) p.177-178. For the full account on the issue: see Şimşir, p.29.

7 Christoph K. Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th-20th Centuries", in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter a Catalogue and Companion to the Exhibition*, by Geoffrey Roper and Weltmuseum der Druckkunst Gutenberg-Museum (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), p.240.

8 J. S. Szyliowicz, "Functional Perspectives on Technology: The Case of the Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire," in *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), p.339.

9 I called this period the 'war period', referring to a series of wars starting with the Balkan wars in 1912 and continuing with the First World War in 1914 and the Turkish Independence War in 1919.

ا (آ)	a, ā	ص	ṣ
ا (أ)	a, e, ı, i, u, ü	ض	ż, ḍ
ب	b, p	ط	ṭ
پ	p	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	s̱	غ	ġ
ج	c, ç	ف	f
چ	ç	ق	ḳ
ح	ḥ	ك	k, g, (ñ)
خ	ḫ	ڭ	ñ
د	d	ل	l
ذ	z, ḏ	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	و	v, u, ū, ü, o, ö
ژ	j	ه	h, a, e
س	s	لا	la, lā
ش	ş	ى	y, ı, i, ī
		ء	ʾ

Figure 3.1 A comparison of Turkish and Arabic letters, showing their substitutes.

کوچ	کول	صوص	قویو
GÖÇ	GÖL	SOS	KOYU
GÜÇ	GÜL -MEK	SUS	KUYU

مز	جی	جی	در	در	سز	سُنز
-mız, -miz, -muz, -müz	-cı, ci, -cu, -cü, -çı, -çi, -çu, -çü	-ce, -ca, -çe, -ça	-dır, -dir, -dur, -dür, tır, -tir, tur, -tür	-dır, -dir, -dur, -dür, tır, -tir, tur, -tür	-sız, -siz, -suz, -süz	-sınız, -siniz, -sunuz, -sünüz
مه	لر	ـه	مه	نه	لی	می
-me, -ma	-ler, -lar	-se, -sa	-mış, -miş, -muş, -müş	-ınca, -ince, -unca, -ünce	-lı, -li, -lu, -lü	-mı, -mi, -mu, -mü

Figure 3.2 Words and suffixes are shown with their multiple readings in the Arabic script. This situation caused confusion and slow pace in learning to read.

which lasted about 10 years inevitably postponed a change in the script. The struggle of establishing a new Republic in the 1920s and making many reforms in various areas in order to reshape the society also meant that it took some time to put the script reform back on the table.

3.2. Contributions on the road to alphabet reform

Apart from the setbacks outlined above that postponed the script change, there were also some circumstances during the Empire years that contributed to the realisation of the reform, either directly or indirectly, and that strengthened the reformers' arguments and objections about the Arabic script, besides their initial motive, which was the Westernisation of the nation. In this section, the five main contributions will be explained. Considering the complexity of the 19th century Ottoman Era in terms of transformation, it is possible to divide the origins of these contributions into two categories: the multicultural scene and internal politics. The first four contributions were mainly the consequence of interactions within the Empire's multicultural society. These could be listed as: 1) Realisation of script and language incompatibility, 2) Technical foundation to print in Latin, 3) Familiarisation with Latin script, 4) Difficulties in setting Arabic type. The final contribution, 5) Troubles in printing related to internal politics, which occurred as a result of Empire's strict restrictions on printing. This might be thought to have impeded reform, but actually contributed to the alphabet discussions by not solving the original print-related problems. It can be said that in terms of the characteristics of the contributions, two of the contributions (realisation of script and language incompatibility and familiarisation with Latin script) were linguistic and the other three were related to printing technology.

3.2.1. Realisation of script and language incompatibility

The main opposition to the Arabic alphabet was the inadequacy of its structure for Turkish and its linguistically misleading nature due to the multiple readings of one letter or word because of this difference *(Fig.3.1)*.[10] Briefly explained, a word could simply be read in more than one way and as a consequence, it could have different meanings *(Fig.3.2)*. For this reason, some prominent figures of the time claimed that this situation also created illiteracy and ignorance, as Lord Kinross pointed out in his book:

> With its complexity of characters and accents, its paucity of vowels and its ambiguity of sounds in different contexts, it was hard for an ordinary person to read, and even the educated Ottoman Turk would often make mistakes in its spelling. This led

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10 For more information about the difference between language and script and the first realisation that came with Divan literature and the language gap between elites and general public: Frank Tachau, "Language and Politics: Turkish Language Reform," *The Review of Politics 26,* no. 02 (January 1, 1964): p.191–92, doi:10.1017/s0034670500004733; for a more linguistic perspective: Nuran Savaşkan Akdoğan, "The Alphabet Reform and Its Implementation on the Way Towards Becoming a Modern Nation-State," *TODAİE's Review of Public Administration 4* (September 2010): p.38-39, 41.

> to the growth of two separate languages – that of the Ottoman mandarin class, which was written but largely unspoken, and that of the people, which was unwritten but spoken. This excluded the bulk of the population from most written literature. How could popular sovereignty thrive without an alphabet, which all the people could learn and read? [11]

Indeed, the literacy rate was around 2-3 per cent at the beginning of the 19th century, and was a serious concern, as the rate was low compared to between 10 and 30 per cent in Europe in the 16th century.[12] On the other hand, as it was pointed out in Nasr's and Robinson's studies, this situation seemed logical considering the oral transmission of knowledge in the Islamic world and religious education at that time.[13] But still, the question of why the apprehension of this situation emerged only in the 19th century, when education in Arabic script had existed for centuries, might occupy minds. The answer could be an important factor that created the initial questioning of the script – the multicultural environment that flourished in the late 18th century and that brought many interactions and developments as contributions.

Ottoman society had never been homogeneous. However, in the last century of the Empire (1820-1920), the reluctant but conscious efforts to meet European standards, and to rise in commerce, made the mutual interests between nations in the society more visible and beneficial.[14] The 19th century Ottoman Empire witnessed a more diverse cultural atmosphere within its borders and many interactions with European countries, including France, Italy, England and Germany. Also, the announcement of Tanzimat[15] in 1839, a significant reformation in education, trade and culture, helped to create this environment. The first

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11 John Balfour Kinross Baron, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (United Kingdom: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), p.441.

12 This comparison, which shows the huge gap between the Empire and Europe even in different centuries, was quoted from the article by Donald Quataert, William Beik, and T. C. W. Blanning, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.167; Joerg Baten and Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Book Production and the Onset of Modern Economic Growth." *Journal of Economic Growth 13*, no.3, (2008): p.221, as cited in Metin M. Coşgel, and Thomas J. Miceli and Jared Rubin, "Guns and Books: Legitimacy, Revolt and Technological Change in the Ottoman Empire." *Economics Working Papers.* 200912. http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/econ_wpapers/200912, (2009): p.17-18.

13 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 'Oral Transmission and the Book in Islamic Education.' In *The Book in the Islamic World, 57–70.* (United States: State University of New York Press, 2014); Francis Robinson, 'Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print.' *Modern Asian Studies 27,* no. 01 (1993): 229-51, cited in Metin M. Coşgel, and Thomas J. Miceli and Jared Rubin, p.17-18.

14 Compared to the new Turkish Republic, The Ottoman Empire never fully embraced the 'Westernisation' idea. Accepting the burden of being technologically behind and having no industrial revolution in the European context forced the Empire to make such reforms.

15 Or in Turkish, Tanzimat Fermanı: A series of regulations in various areas, to modernize the Ottoman Empire. The period began in 1839 and ended in 1876, with the announcement of First Constitutional Era; see: Johann Strauss, 'Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute: Printing and Publishing in a Multi-ethnic Society', In *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy,* edited by Elisabeth Özdalga. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.229.

two-way diplomatic relationship with the Western world actually started with the attempts of the Ottoman Palace in the early 16th century to build relations with France. In 1740, the decrees were also extended and enhanced for other nations.[16] Thus, in the 18th and 19th centuries, a considerable number of people, including diplomats, traders, engineers and artists, migrated to the territory and benefited from the privileged status and rights by becoming a part of the Ottoman society. Alongside their ideas and life styles, they brought their expertise in many areas. However, there was also a non-Turkish population before these more recent foreign settlers. Other nations (or non-Muslim minorities)[17] lived within the territory especially in İstanbul (Constantinople)[18] and İzmir (Smyrna). They were not only present in governmental positions, but also played a big role in cultural and industrial developments. Their productivity affected the cultural content, such as art, architecture, literature and music, as well as publishing and printing. Another field they contributed was 'education', which was a substantial trigger in the realisation of the script and language incoherence.

At the beginning of the 19th century, minorities who lived within the borders of the Empire were given some rights and freedoms relating to education, and they initiated formal education in their native languages. The attendance of Turks at the schools of minorities and foreigners also led to the realisation that children in these schools learnt reading and writing faster and more easily than the Ottoman children.[19] This coincided with the return of Turks who were educated in Europe and their intellectual contributions to Turkish society. One of the contributions was to identify the problems and flaws in the education system and to propose solutions. These alterations might have led to the formation of a more adequate education system for Turkish citizens. This situation also put the efficiency of the script in the learning progress into question. Despite the fact that there is no mention in many publications, historian and geographer Katip Çelebi may have been the first person who pointed out the problem in the

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16 Although there was an active trade with Italy (especially with the city of Venice) dating back to the 15th century, there was no established, mutual political relationship. Thus, France was the first country to establish a solid interaction in many ways, from political to cultural. For a detailed account on the enfranchising of foreign citizens, see: James B. Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations", *The American Historical Review 6*, no. 2 (January 1901): p.254, doi:10.2307/1833581.

17 It is possible to say that they were mainly Armenians, Greeks, Sephardic Jews, Kurdish and Levantines (French, Italian, German) (Johann Strauss, 'Linguistic diversity and everyday life in the Ottoman cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (late 19th–early 20th century)' in *The History of the Family 16*, no. 2 (2011): 126-141.

18 The common name 'Constantinople' in the Ottoman Empire years was changed to 'İstanbul' as the official name of the city in 1930 by the new Turkish Republic. See: Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), p.57.

19 At that time, the majority of Ottoman Turkish schools were religious, apart from military and bureaucratic ones, but in the latter half of the 19th century, more secular schools, including the ones of minorities, started to spread widely throughout the nation. For more information about education in the late Ottoman years, see: Yılmaz Çolak, "Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies 40,* no. 6 (2004): 75, doi:10.1080/0026320042000282883, p.68-70.

Figure 3.3 The newspaper 'Takvim-i Vekayi' with no punctuation, 1831. Image source: National Library of Turkey.
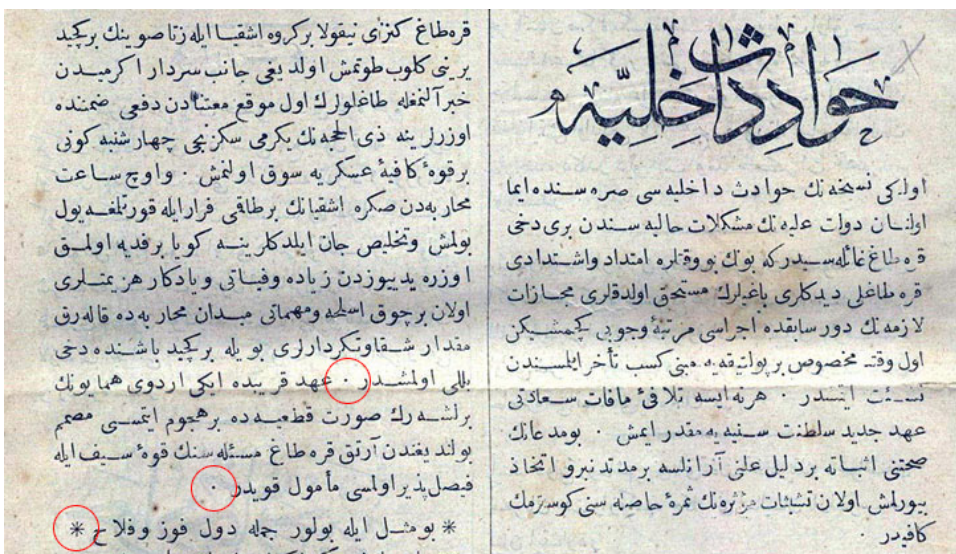
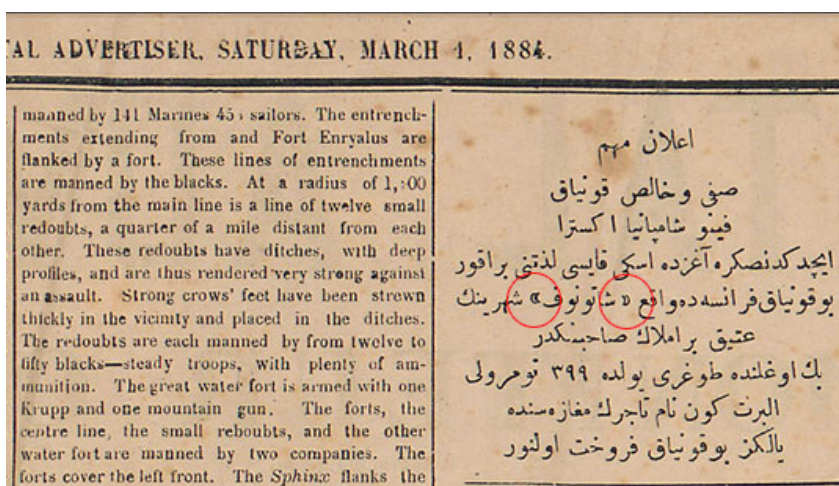**Figure 3.4** The newspaper '*Tasvir-i Efkar*' with punctuation, 1862. Image source: National Library of Turkey.

Figure 3.5 *The Oriental Adviser*, 1 March 1884. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

17th century, as Şimşir claimed.[20] Thereafter, a prominent figure in the Ottoman intelligentsia, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, also brought the issue to the attention in his grammar book, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye*, published in 1851. Ten years later, Münif Paşa opened up the discussion again in a conference organised by Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye (the Ottoman Scientific Society), but this time by initiating an unending debate with a vast number of Ottoman intellectuals. Even though he praised the Latin script, he did not directly propose its use; instead, he suggested the adoption of hareke,[21] 'vowel points' to read words correctly, but it was concluded that this would bring difficulty in printing, which was itself a vital tool to increase the number of literate people. He also proposed to separate letters in printing, but did not find a way to do this. In 1869, an article was published in the newspaper Hürriyet by the Young Ottoman exiles in London, again criticising the education of children in Turkish schools:

> While Armenian, Greek, or Jewish children at their parish schools learnt to read newspapers and letters within six months and to write letters within a year, Muslim children studied for many years without being able to read a newspaper, and even their teachers were usually unable to write a decent letter. The fault is not in the children, who are not lacking in natural intelligence, but in the whole system of education.[22]

The general tendency, including the article above, was not in favour of an alphabet change, but more of a reformation in education and modification of the script. This apparently shows that people who argued for adopting the Latin script were also present. They were often being criticised for ignoring the difficulty in different vocalisation of other languages, such as French and English, from their written version.[23] Furthermore, there was a huge discussion on orthographic problems. Until the 1860s, Turks did not use basic punctuation such as the full stop or comma *(Fig.3.3)*. The journalist and author Şinasi was the first person to use punctuation in his newspaper *(Fig.3.4)*. From this moment, some basic punctuation marks started to appear in periodicals and books. Due to the lack of an established system, typesetters generally had to adopt French punctuation when they set a page as a result of previous experience or interaction with the publications in Latin script *(Fig.3.5)*. Thus, intellectuals urged authorities to create a standard punctuation system for Turkish and to end the confusion and misuses. They even exaggerated the issue by claiming that it was more urgent and vital than an alphabet reform.

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20 Şimşir, p.18.

21 In Arabic, 'ḥarakāt'.

22 Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.428.

23 For more information about the furious discussion between the two important figures, Namık Kemal and Melkum Han, see: Tansel, p.232. Another significant counter argument against favouring the Latin script was Avram Galanti's work, see: Avram Galanti, *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir* (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1996).

Figure 3.6 The Zellich Calendar in various languages and scripts, 1920. Image source: "Zaman Tünelinde Beyoğlu Kent Müzesi'ne Doğru 6. Daire-I Belediye'den Beyoğlu Belediyesi'ne 155 Yıl", Exhibition Catalogue.

Apart from the contributions stemming from social interactions, it is possible to say that another catalyst for the script question was the rise of modernism and nationalism movements within the Ottoman Empire and undoubtedly in Europe at that time as a consequence of French Revolution in 1789. Ideas for purification and simplification of the language were also put on the table, inspired by those ideologies. Therefore, the idea of script modification became a part of a growing call for change. Even though a revision or reform did not occur until 1928, the discussions paved the way for the realisation of the reform by creating a forum for public discourse. Prominent Turkish people evaluated the problem not only from linguistic and educational perspectives, but also from printing and typographic perspectives. These considerations bring us to the next contribution, which is having a technical foundation to print materials in different scripts.

3.2.2. Technical foundation to print in Latin

To picture the linguistic environment of the late period of the Empire, a well-known metaphor 'the Tower of Babel' could be used.[24] In the late 19th century of Constantinople (İstanbul) alone, Ottoman Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew and French were actively spoken alongside other foreign languages such as Italian, German and English. In Anatolia (the mainland of Turkey) and the south-eastern part, Kurdish, Arabic and Persian were also being used. Furthermore, the Balkans was a part of the Ottoman Empire, so it is possible to include various languages used in this land to this long list as well. Apart from these, some other dialects and writing systems belonging to the nations and religious communities living in the territory existed. Although not everybody was necessarily speaking all the languages and may not even have been bilingual, there was a basis for being able to print publications in all these language and script variations *(Fig.3.6)*.[25] The printing activities of the minorities –Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Christians – started to develop shortly after printing was introduced by Gutenberg in Europe, and they continued actively until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Furthermore, foreigners who lived in the territory for a certain period were also active in printing and had mutual ties with the minority communities. These groups also had a strong relationship with the Ottoman Turkish printing circle throughout this period, and having them as a part of active cultural life was most beneficial for the Empire.

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24 Turkish historian Şükrü Hanioğlu uses this term in his book for two cosmopolitan cities at that time, İstanbul and Selanik (Salonika); for the use, see: *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography* (United States: Princeton University Press, 2011), p.10. Long before him, Lady Montagu also used this term in her letter written during her stay in Constantinople; see: Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters from the Levant during the Embassy to Constantinople, 1716-18* (New York: New York, Arno Press, 1971), p.158.

25 To show the bigger picture, it is known that 1746 newspapers and magazines were published in 22 different languages during the Ottoman period. This explains why there was an active printing scene in the territory despite the late adoption of printing in Turkish and the slow progress in its development. Also, for the table showing the details of the publications and its languages, see: Ebüzziya 1985: 30 and Demircan 1988:45, cited in Firdevs Karahan, "Bilingualism in Turkey", in *The 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism,* by James Cohen et al. (Somerville, Ma: Cascadilla Press, 2005), p.1159.

To mention the assets of both foreign citizens and minorities briefly, the Hungarian convert İbrahim Müteferrika introduced printing with movable Arabic type for the first time in the territory (between 1726 and 1729) and sought to cut aesthetically better types than the ones produced in Europe.[26] His successors, Armenian typographers, including Ohannes Mühendisyan and many others, were the ones who mainly cut Arabic types with the help of their proficiency in metalwork.[27] Lithography started to be used for the first time in Turkey in 1831 by French immigrants Henri and Jack Cayol.[28] Furthermore, the Italian brothers Carlo and Giovanni Naya founded the first photography studio in İstanbul in 1845.[29] These people were not only pioneers in cultural production, but also influenced trade within the Empire by importing paper and printing machines from Europe. The Jewish family Burla Biraderler (or Bourla Frères in Europe), who emigrated from Spain in the 15th century, is a good example of this trade. As Strauss pointed out, if a high-standard printing practice came into existence, it was because of the collective efforts and contribution of the non-Muslim communities, who hold the majority of printing presses in İstanbul.[30]

As far as the existence of Latin script in print terms is concerned, it can be said that there was a settled foreign population, especially French. After the French Revolution, a new print culture emerged to spread the revolution's ideas and propaganda among the Ottoman-French citizens.[31] As a result, publications in French, and also in Latin, appeared in printed media, and French publications dominated the scene with the help of modernisation period as a result of the Tanzimat reforms. Other nations in the region, such as Germany and Britain, sought ways to publish newspapers or periodicals in French to maintain their existence in the press.[32] French dominance remained until the fall of the Ottoman Empire. During the war period between 1912 and 1923 (Balkan Wars, First World War, Turkish

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26 Paul Lunde, "Saudi Aramco World: Arabic and the Art of Printing: A Special Section," (April 1981), https://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm.

27 For the contribution of Armenian printers and typographers, see: Teotig, Sirvart Malhasyan, and Arlet Incidüzen, *Baskı ve Harf: Ermeni Matbaacılık Tarihi* (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2012).

28 Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Taş Basmacılığı* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2001), p.13.

29 The information is derived from the exhibition news of 'Camera Ottomana', retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_history-of-photography-in-ottoman-empire-documented-in-i stanbul-exhibition_394433.html; for more information about the development of photography in the Ottoman Empire, see: Edhem Eldem, ed., *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1914* (United States: Koc University Press, 2015), p. 66–105.

30 Strauss, "Kütüp ve Resail-I Mevkute", p.228.

31 Ali Budak, "Fransız Devrimi'nin Osmanlı'ya Armağanı", *International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish and Turkic 7*, no. 3 (2012): p.664.

32 For more information about these newspapers, see: François Georgeon, "Aperçu sur la Presse de langue française en Turquie pendant la période kémaliste (1919-1938)." *La Turquie et la France à l'époque d'Ataturk, Collection Turcica I, Paris, Association pour le développement des études turques* (1981). For its Turkish translation with online access, see: François Georgeon. "Kemalist Dönemde Türkiye'de Fransızca Yayın Yapan Basına Toplu Bir Bakış (1919-1938)." *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* (1990), accessed August 4, 2015, http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-17/kemalist-donemde-turkiyede-fransizca-yayin-yapan-basina-toplu-birbakis-1919-1938.
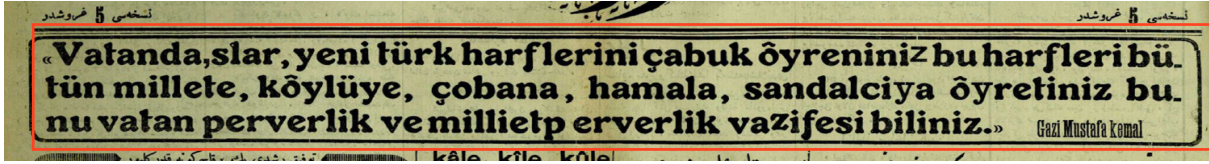
«Vatanda,slar, yeni türk harflerini çabuk ôyreniniz bu harfleri bü. tün millete, kôylüye, çobana, hamala, sandalciya ôyretiniz bu. nu vatan perverlik ve millietp erverlik vazifesi biliniz.» Gazi Mustafa Kemal

Yeni alfabeye ali smakme selesi

Figure 3.7 *İkdam* newspaper from the transition period. The typeface used was the same one to print French publications. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
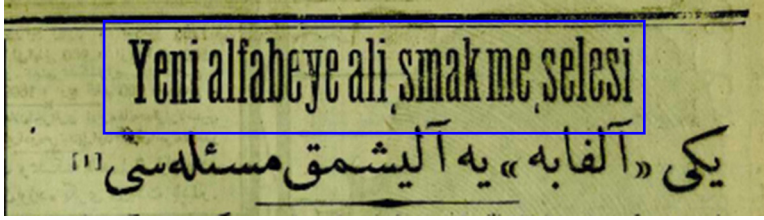

Paraissant Mercredi et Samedi

N° 6

20 Paras

Souvenir de la GÚERRE

Figure 3.7a A French-Turkish magazine 'Yadigar-ı Harb' from the early 20th century. It is possible to see same typeface used for *İkdam*. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

« Oxford » kongırâsında mesâ-îsıne en çok iştirakh ettiğim şûbe « İslâm » ve « Türk » tetkikâtile teve-ggul eden sekizinci şûbe oldu. Arap lisânı ve edebiyatı sâhasında mârûf bir mütehassıs olan Oxford hocala-rından profesör «Margoliouth» şü-benin reîsiydi. Fransanın, Almanya-nın, Ingilterenın, Hollandanın ve « Mulla » atli bir râhipti; bu râ-hibin esâsen türk olup sonradan katoli k olduğunu İngiliz gazeteleri yazdilar. Bu râhip efendinin « Na-muk kemal » in meşhür « Renan müdâfaanâmesi » atli eserînden ba-hs edeceği programda mündericti. Fakat her nedense « Mulla » bu muhtırasını kongrada okuyamadı.
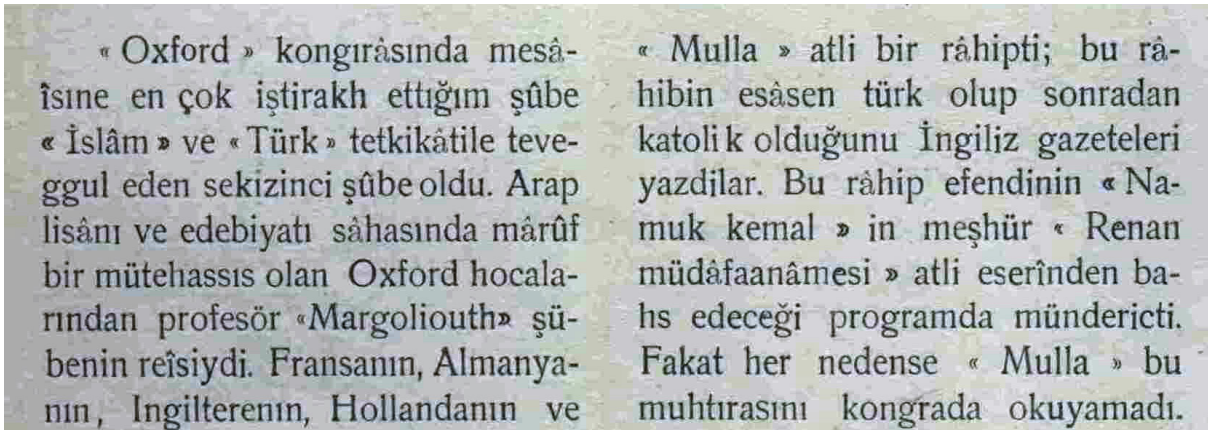
Figure 3.8 *Hayat* magazine, on December 1928 after the implementation. The French punctuation was still in use. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Independence War), publications struggled to avoid closure. Although many managed to exist during the early years of the new Republic (1920s), the support of the new regime for French editions of Turkish publications to transmit its own ideology and agenda deepened the financial crisis of French or foreigner-owned publications.[33] After the language reform, they gradually vanished from the scene.[34] Yet, the foundation that they passed on to the print community helped reformers to cope with the rapid change and adaptation in printing brought by the reform. The possession of Latin types, which were mainly used for printing French publications and documents before, was in particular a significant contribution *(Fig.3.7)*. There were few people in the business of typesetting, so any kind of expertise and experience of using Latin type must have helped the shift into a new script and made it easier to print Latin content alongside the Arabic one in the transition period. Retaining the habit of adopting French punctuation during the transition period also indicates the use of previous experiences *(Fig.3.8)*. The existence of Latin script in the era not only helped the printing sector, but also contributed to making the public eyes and minds familiar with it in many contexts.

3.2.3. Familiarisation with Latin script

The widespread use of the Latin script in French language publications in Turkey contributed to its reputation alongside Arabic. From the latter half of the 1800s, the number of people who used the Latin script in daily life in the Ottoman Empire increased and it was used across a range of documents and situations in Turkey: 1) Publications, 2) Textbooks and leisure time books, 3) Ephemeral documents, and 4) Signage and environment.

Publications: monolingual / bilingual newspapers and magazines
Between the early 19th and the 20th century, there were two different audiences for publications containing Latin script: the foreign citizens and the Turkish population including non-Muslim minorities – Greek, Armenian, and Sephardic Jews.[35] Furthermore, the script use varied depending on the content. While some publications were printed entirely in Latin *(Fig.3.9)*, in others the Latin script was only used for some of the content while the rest was in Arabic script. Some publications were also bilingual, usually in French and Ottoman Turkish. In such publications, not all the content was printed in both languages. The general tendency was to publish the articles in only one script, and to use both languages for image captions and short news, announcements and mastheads *(Fig.3.10)*. Setting special names and terms in Latin within the Arabic script text was also a normal practice.

During the last century of the Empire, there was huge wave of imported

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33 Georgeon, n.p.

34 Ibid; in the study, there is also comprehensive research on the numbers of French publications in the late years of Ottoman Empire and the Republic.

35 Ibid.

Figure 3.9 *La Turquie*, 1866. Printed entirely in Latin. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

Figure 3.10 Bilingual masthead. *Malumat*, 4 July 1901. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

Figure 3.11 *Djem*, 28 September 1912. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

Figure 3.11a *Le Film*, 12 October 1927. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

European goods and international trade. The use of advertisements of these goods in Arabic-only newspapers and magazines must have contributed to familiarization with the Latin script. In these ads, the name of the foreign company or its logo mainly remained in its original form (usually in Latin) *(Fig.3.11)*. Newspapers and magazines were not the only reading materials containing Latin script; these also included books for educational and recreational purposes.

Textbooks and leisure time books

Education for Turkish people was mainly Islamic, and educational materials were scarce and written in Arabic script until 1773.[36] After this date, French started to be accepted as an education language in secular schools, which increased the number of textbooks in Latin script.[37] New military and engineering schools were the first to teach their students with textbooks imported from France.[38] For a while, the term 'French' was used as a synonym for 'foreign language'. Even the Sultan was impressed with the schools in France and initiated the opening of a school in İstanbul to instruct all lessons only in French. French also started to be taught in minority schools, while German, English and Italian were added in the late 19th century. The attendance of Turkish population to these schools, including children and college students, helped to establish French as the most common language in education.[39] As a result, young generations became familiar with Latin script.

The use of French and the Latin script tightened the relationship with France and brought about a significant integration with the French culture (as well as with Europe). In this way, a Francophone class was created,[40] which eventually caused a demand for books, including novels, plays and poetry books in French. Books and publications were not the only printed materials to contain Latin alphabet. Following the interaction with Europe, the expansion of bureaucracy's impact and the establishment of new governmental and cultural institutions made it possible to use French more widely in the ephemeral documents for official, cultural and communicative purposes.

Ephemeral documents

Up until the 19th century, the only people to know a foreign language other than Turkish in the Empire were the non-Muslim minorities. After the rise

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36 Karahan, p.1158. This was the case for Turks, not for the minorities or foreigners.

37 Ibid, p.1158. Karahan claims that the reason why French started to be used as education language was the lack of textbooks and instructors in Turkish.

38 Demiryürek, p.130-131. For the influence of Europe in Education, see: Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p.198.

39 Ertem, p. 30-33; There is also detailed information about the number of Turks who attended these schools.

40 Brummett, p.78.

Figure 3.12 A bilingual stamp. Date unknown. Image source: Personal Collection.
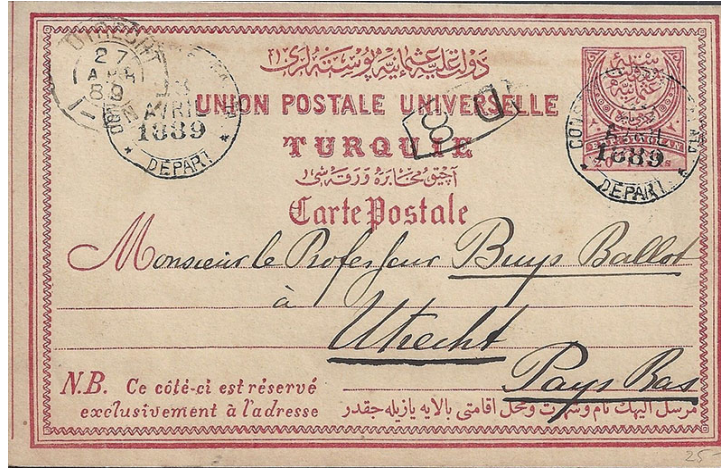

Figure 3.12a Bilingual postcard, 1889. Image source: Flickr/OttomanImperialArchive.

Figure 3.13 An "Ottomanist" banknote in Turkish, French, Greek, Armenian and Arabic, 15 July 1880. Image source: SALT Research, Ottoman Bank Archives, İstanbul.
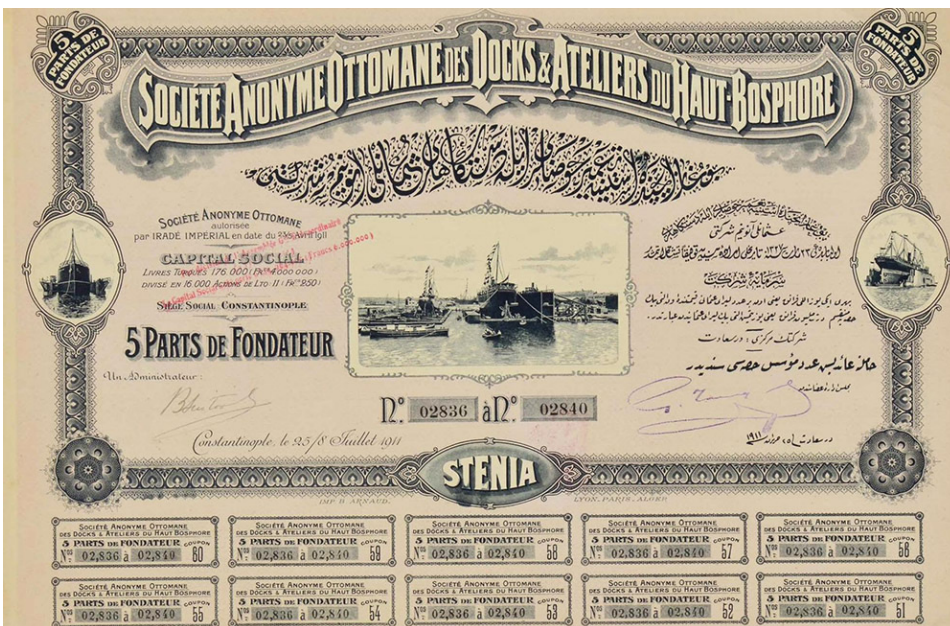

Figure 3.14 Coupons for ship trip. July 1911. Image source: Flickr/OttomanImperialArchive.

in international affairs, the Empire opened embassies across Europe and taught French as the semi-official language to its high-profile officers and diplomats.[41] A new translation office was founded and as it was the case in education, French became the dominant language among the other foreign languages in state offices to maintain correspondence.[42] In addition to that, following the foundation of the Universal Postal Union, the introduction of communication channels, such as a mail system, post offices, and the telegraph, consolidated the use of Latin in communications. The use of the telegraph required writing Turkish with Latin letters because the Arabic was not a recognized script in the worldwide telegraph network.[43] Also, the efficient use of mail inevitably resulted in mass production of bilingual postcards and stamps *(Fig.3.12)*.

After the Tanzimat, the reforms in economy initiated the opening of the first Ottoman bank in 1856.[44] In this way, bilingual banknotes, chequebooks, share documents, certificates and many types of documents entered the life of every literate individual in the Empire, including foreign citizens *(Fig.3.13)*. Moreover, the developments in transportation (introduction of trams and ferries) led to the use of multi-lingual tickets and other documents related to travel *(Fig.3.14)*. Also, the use of photography and lithography must have enriched the production of these documents. In addition, the rise of a multi-cultural society caused a boost in cultural and entertainment events, which eventually led to the production of various flyers and posters for theatres, operas and concerts *(Fig.3.15)*.[45] It was even possible to see music sheets of publication supplements in Turkish, but written in Latin script *(Fig.3.16)*. In addition to these ephemeral documents, the same diversity also started to be observed in the streets.

Signage and the environment

To promote cultural events across the cosmopolitan cities, mainly İzmir (Smyrna) and İstanbul, commercial brands and goods imported from Europe, bilingual advertisements and posters were crucial tools *(Fig.3.17)*. In these cities in which the foreign and minority population lived, most were distinguished with multi-script interior and exterior signage as it was described in Strauss' study *(Fig.3.18)*:

> In a way reminiscent of English in the contemporary world,
> French was almost omnipresent in the Ottoman cities of the
> late 19th century: street signs were (where they existed) usually

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41 Ertem, p.33.

42 Demiryürek, p.131.

43 Şimşir, p.33-34.

44 Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt", *European Review 13,* no. 3 (July 2005): 431–45, doi:10.1017/s1062798705000554, p.7.

45 Johann Strauss, "Linguistic diversity and everyday life in the Ottoman cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (late 19th-early 20th century)." *The History of the Family 16*, no. 2 (2011): 126-141, p.129.

Figure 3.15 'Şark Musiki Cemiyeti' concert brochure, 29 October 1921. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

Figure 3.15a 'Mr. Carpenter enters the American Consulate in Constantinople'. Posters of movies and performances are on the wall. 1923. Image source: Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division.

Figure 3.15b "This picture shows one of the leading theatres of the city". Bilboards in many languages. 1920. Image source: Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division.
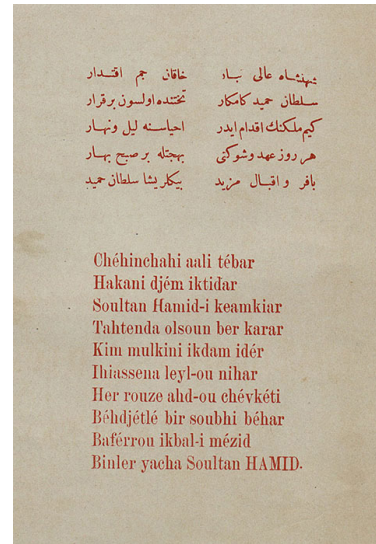
Figure 3.16 From a music sheet, supplement of *Malumat*. Date unknown. Image source: Atatürk Library, İstanbul.

Figure 3.17 Some advertisement examples for multi-script use in Tünel. Early 1900s.
Image source: "Zaman Tünelinde Beyoğlu Kent Müzesi'ne Doğru 6. Daire-I Belediye'den Beyoğlu Belediyesi'ne 155 Yıl", Exhibition Catalogue.

Figure 3.18 'Water five cents a glass'. Shop signs in two scripts. 1920.
Image source: Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division.

Une casse relativement réduite de caractères arabes d'imprimerie, et qui donne une idée
des difficultés que l'ancienne écriture présentait du point de vue de la lecture

Une casse, simple et sans complication, de caractères turcs

Figure 3.19 Type case compartments, before and after the reform. Image source: Histoire de la Republique Turque, 1935, p.253-4

bilingual (Turkish and French), likewise the name boards on railway stations — or the inscriptions on tickets for the İstanbul tramway. French inscriptions could be seen on or in public and administrative buildings (e.g. post offices, banks, Régie), on theatres and cinemas, hotels, restaurants, and especially on shop signs, sometimes accompanied by their Turkish versions.[46]

Certain areas (Beyoğlu –including Karaköy and Pera– in İstanbul) were highly active in commerce with many foreign shops.[47] These instances of script use explain how the Turkish people became familiar with Latin for over a century, as they were surrounded by it. This familiarity also helped to question the efficiency of Arabic printing.

3.2.4. Difficulties in setting Arabic type

Even though complete freedom for printing did not exist, non-Muslim minorities and foreign citizens were able to print their books and publications, and their scripts were not an obstacle to fulfilling this aim.[48] They also had the opportunity to see printing in Latin script first hand, which may have helped to identify the potential obstacles to typesetting Arabic metal type including: a) a large number of letter variations and type compartments, b) lack of type styles/weights/sizes, c) lasting problem of Arabic metal type due to its letterform, and d) issues around the use of horizontal space.

Large number of letter variations and type compartments

Arabic type consists of many different forms, which are isolated, initial, medial and final, ranging up to 500 different forms in total.[49] This situation increases the number of type case compartments and affects the pace of printing negatively *(Fig.3.19)*. For instance, in 1925, to be able to set a four-page newspaper, at least 25 typesetters were needed.[50] Additionally, the difficulties that typesetters went through were known to people in the publishing industry in Turkey:

> The old type cases were quite wide because of the high number of compartments. The hand compositors' arms could not reach every corner when they tried to pick up a metal type (sort) for this reason. They easily became tired because of moving right to left in front of the type case. The old ones usually had an assistant, so

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46 Strauss, p.134.

47 Brummett, p.201. While keeping in mind that this multi-cultural scene was generally seen in metropolitan areas like İstanbul and İzmir, the active teaching and the pilot areas for the alphabet reform were in the same cities. The lack of teachers and equipment for public schools to teach the new alphabet was the main reason for failure in the rural areas.

48 Strauss, "Kütüp ve Resail-I Mevkute," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.230.

49 Huda Smitshuijzen AbiFares, *Arabic Typography: A Comprehensive Sourcebook* (London: Saqi Books, 2001), p.94–95.

50 Gökhan Akçura, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2012), p.171.
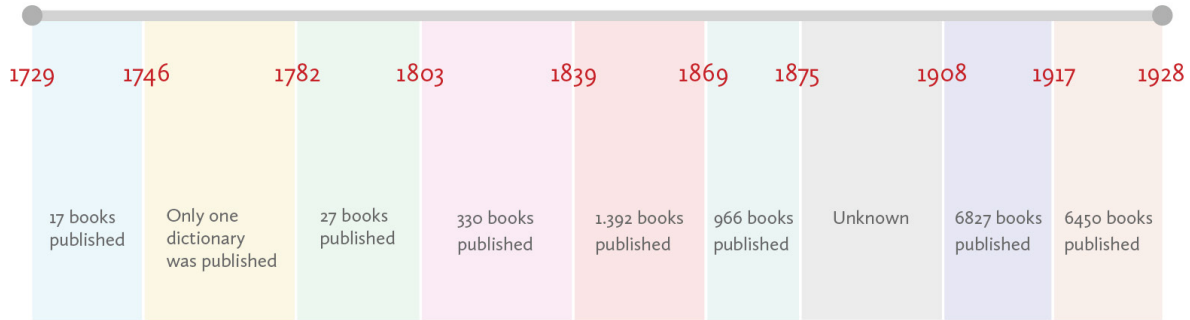
Figure 3.20 Book publishing between early 18th and early 20th centuries. (The numbers of published books and periodicals stated in the table are approximate, and taken from J.Baysal's and A.Kabacalı's studies. There is an unknown period regarding the number of printed items between 1875 and 1908, due to the lack of study).
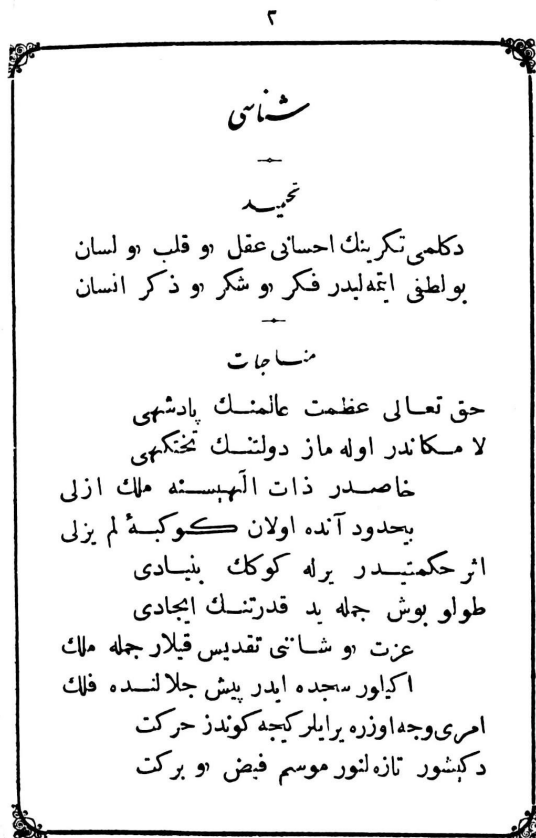
1729	1746	1782	1803	1839	1869	1875	1908	1917	1928
17 books published	Only one dictionary was published	27 books published	330 books published	1.392 books published	966 books published	Unknown		6827 books published	6450 books published

Figure 3.21 The first page of 'Divan-ı Şinasî' by İbrahim Şinasî (Tasvir-i Efkâr Matbaası, 1870). Image source: The archive of TBMM (Turkish Parliament)
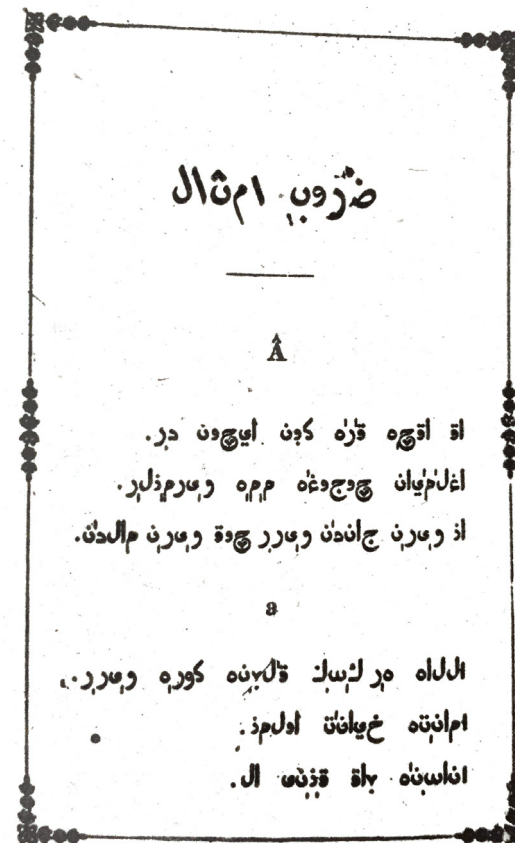

Figure 3.22 First page of *Durûb-i Emsal*, printed in London in 1885 with the Melkon Han's separated letters.
Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.453.

when they set type, they asked them to pass the metal sort that they could not reach.[51]

Münif Paşa raised the issue of high number of type variation as an obstacle to spreading knowledge and education, as mentioned earlier. The low quantity of printed books from the late 18th century to the early 20th century supports his claim *(Fig.3.20)*. Some Ottoman printers were also aware of the difficulties of using Arabic type. Therefore, they mentioned the different natures and needs of naskh and ta'liq style types: 'While printing a book in naskh style necessitates type variations of around 300, in ta'liq style this number is doubled or even tripled.'[52] For this reason, they proposed either to decrease the number of type variations or to create a new writing system that ensured the Arabic script could be printed effectively. As a result, a committee was appointed by the Council of Public Education in 1879 to revise the script in order to make it non-cursive for printing, but the notion was not put into practice.[53] One of the prominent typographers of the period, Haçik Kevorkyan, also decided to reduce the number of parts of the ta'liq metal type from 2200 to 1600 as a result of these concerns. According to his claim, this reduction made the typesetting job easier, and it gained the appreciation of newspapermen.[54]

Another significant attempt to simplify the letter variations and type case compartments was made by an intellectual and journalist, Şinasi,[55] who also saw this an obstacle. Consequently, he determined the shape of the letters (also by separating some of them), and ordered matrices to be created in order to cut the new letters. He also printed some of his books with these new types[56] *(Fig.3.21)*. In this way, the number of type variations, which was around 500, dropped to 112. However, for those who were used to the old typesetting, the beauty and the influence of calligraphy disappeared.[57] It is known that Ebüzziya Tevfik, a talented printer and author, was one of the figures that did not share the ideas of Şinasi and claimed that the problem was not the Arabic script, but the execution of type production.[58]

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51 *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (1959), s.v* "Arab Asıllı Türk Harfleri," by Reşat Ekrem Koçu, p.931.

52 Akçura, p.114.

53 Orlin Sabev, "Waiting for Godot: The Formation of Ottoman Print Culture," in *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East: Papers from the Symposium at the University of Leipzig*, September 2008, ed. Geoffrey Roper (United States: Brill Academic Publishers, 2013), p.116-7.

54 This type was originally inherited from another typographer, Ohannes Mühendisyan. To learn more about it, see: *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (1959), s.v* "Arab Asıllı Türk Harfleri," by Reşat Ekrem Koçu, p.929.

55 *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi (2010), s.v* "Şinasi," accessed December 10, 2015, http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c39/c390104.pdf.

56 These books were called 'Divan-ı Şinasi', 'Tercüme-i Manzûme' and 'Durûb-i Emsâl-i Osmaniye'. See: Ertem, p.116.

57 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncilik, İstanbul, 2000), p.68.

58 Ertem, p.117.

Figure 3.22a The proposal of İbrahim Hakkı from Milas. Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.454.

Figure 3.22b The proposal of Zâkir and Şâkir Remi brothers. Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.460.

Figure 3.22c One of the proposals of Mirza Ali Mehmet Han Üveysi. Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.453.

Figure 3.22c The proposal of Celâl Esad. Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.453.

Apart from the simplification endeavours, there were many initiatives to create a new alphabet system based on Arabic script for printing. The majority of these applications were created by the separation of joined Arabic letters (or ligatures) and the invention of additional letters for sounds in Turkish, which are different from Arabic. Unfortunately, most of these systems were not taken seriously and vanished after a while *(Fig.3.22)*.[59] However, one of them was discussed and even put into practice in the late 19th century. The model was called 'Huruf-u Munhasıla' (later called Hatt-ı Cedid-New Writing) meaning 'separated letters'*(Fig.3.23)*.[60] In order to revise the script and ease reading, letters were separated and new letters were invented to account for the vowels in Turkish that were different from those in Arabic. The inventors, who were also the publishers, announced this new writing system in their publications and showed examples of its execution.[61] Unfortunately, it did not find enough supporters due to the political conflicts and chaos in the late Ottoman years and was forgotten. However, during the World War I, one of the military officers and the leader of the Young Turk Revolution, Enver Paşa, brought up the discussion again by reviving the 'Huruf-u Munhasıla' in the use of military correspondence, as he was the main leader in both the Balkan Wars and World War I. However, his endeavour fizzled out under much criticism from the prominent figures and reformers in the history of the Republic, Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, regarding its ill-timed execution and potential to create misunderstandings and disasters in wartime.

Lack of type styles/weights/sizes

The lack of type styles, weights, sizes, and uppercase and lowercase options in Arabic script were seen as serious limitations and considerable obstacles to creating typographically sophisticated text and design, as naskh was the only style in use, particularly for setting books until the second half of the 19th century. However, the progress in newspaper design necessitated all the typographic variations mentioned above. In the beginning, to meet this need, printers used lithographic plates especially for big newspaper headlines to distinguish between different types of content and create a hierarchy in the layout. Later, typographer Haçik Kevorkyan, introduced the ruq'ah and kufic style metal types for the first time *(Fig.3.24)*.[62] According to his claim, newspapers were pleased not to cover the cost of the lithographic plates used to print headlines. Even though the problem seemed to be partially solved using these two notable inventions, newspapermen were still making negative comments about the Arabic scripts up until the alphabet reform:

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59 For detailed information about all the attempts, see: Ertem, p.97–172.

60 For more information about the attempt, see: Yusuf Akçay, 'Osmanlı Dönemi Alfabe Tartışmaları Bağlamında Dr. İsmai Hakkı Bey ve Islah-I Huruf Cemiyeti'. In *Uluslararası Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Kongresi,* (2007): p.25-27.

61 Ibid, p.11.

62 This information was quoted from the typographer himself in the newspaper article. Apart from that, there is no definitive information about the invention of the ruq'ah and kufic styles in related studies. For the newspaper article, see: Ahmed Rasim, "Yeni 24 Punto Kûfi Yazı," *Vakit*, August 13, 1924.
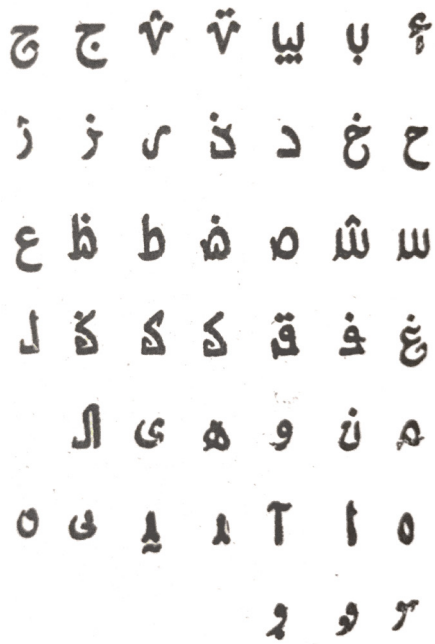
Figure 3.23 Huruf-u Munfasıla (Separated letters). Image source: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.454.
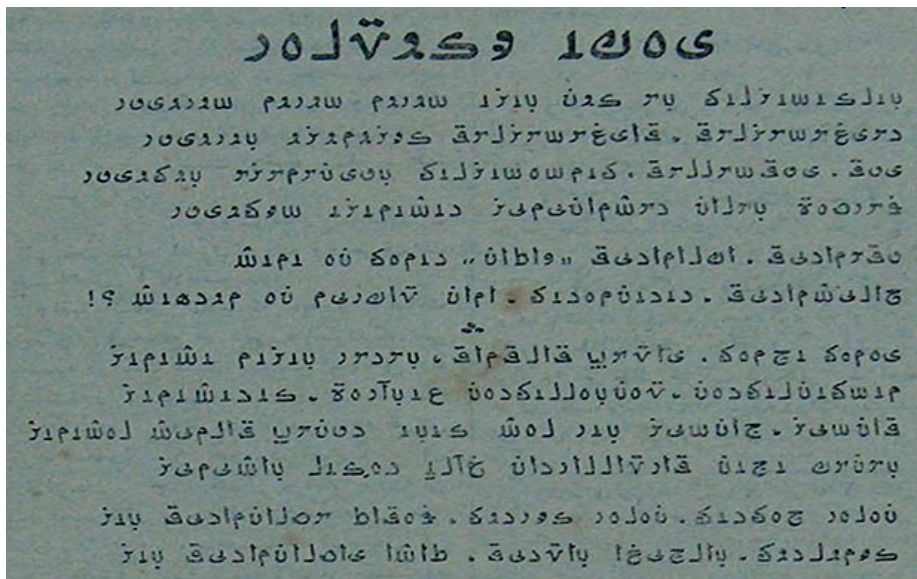

Figure 3.23a An example of text set by Huruf-u Munfasıla. Image source: 'Yusuf Akçay, Osmanlı dönemi alfabe tartışmaları bağlamında Dr. İsmail Hakkı Bey ve Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti', 2007.
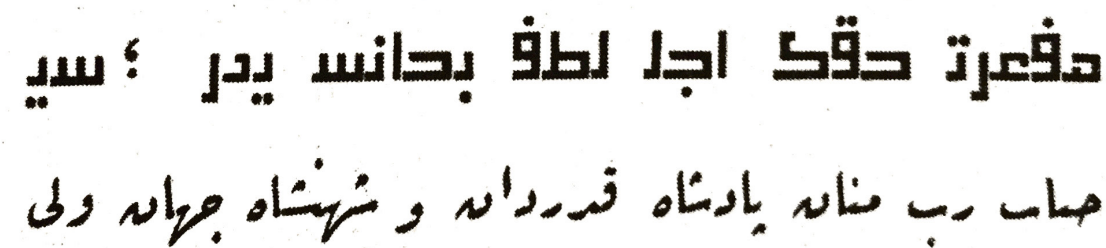

Figure 3.24 An example of the Kufic type in 16 pt and the Ruq'ah type in 18 pt by Haçik Kevorkyan. Image source: Teotig, Sirvart Malhasyan, and Arlet İncidüzen, *Baskı ve Harf: Ermeni Matbaacılık Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2012).

> Unfortunately, the styles and variations in our script are not sufficient enough. The craftsmen (typographers) could not make the effort to create new styles for our 'Arabi' script. Today, there is one talented Turkish typographer in Bâb-ı Âli Street, whose name is Mehmet Efendi. However, what can only one Mehmet Efendi do? Cutting types necessitates a huge budget. However, in the nations that use Latin script, there are excessive and proficient factories for cutting types and many beautiful type styles and variations have come into existence because of it.[63]

This statement also reveals another problem, which is the absence of talented professionals in type production. In another of his articles, Ahmet Cevdet [Oran] touches on the issue of the execution of alphabet reform again, but in a different context:

> If they (reformers) are sincere in their conviction, they could cut the necessary Arabic types with vowel markers as was intended earlier. I do certainly not recommend doing this job in Turkey. There is no typographer here who could execute this creation properly, although it seems an easy and insignificant task. Even though the metal types of Germans are very good, I could tell you that there is still a huge difference between the types cut by Germans and the Latin types cut by the nations who use Latin script. So, neither Turkish nor Armenian typographers could succeed in this. [64]

This quoted passage is rather ambiguous due to its content, but it is important as it shows the need for typographers who would adapt to a great transformation like the alphabet change. Being in a situation like this prior to the implementation of the reform seems to be a big disadvantage, but in the meantime, it could also be an opportunity to establish a new practice, considering the unsettled nature of the printing industry.

Durability problem of Arabic type

According to the claims of printers and journalists,[65] the cursive nature of the Arabic script made the metal type less durable than Latin type. For instance, in Europe, a Latin type might be used for up to six years, while in Turkey, Arabic type had to be replaced every two years. Naturally, this condition resulted in high costs for the production or importation of these metal types, and thus, the use of Latin type was considered to be economical in the long term.

Horizontal space

Due to the nature of Arabic script, it is acknowledged that the space

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63 Ahmet Cevdet Oran, "Latin Hurufatı," *İkdam*, March 10, 1926.

64 For the full article, see: Ahmet Cevdet Oran, "Latin Hurufu," *İkdam*, April 11, 1926.

65 Ahmet Cevdet Oran, "Latin Hurufatı."

between letters is wider than for Roman letters. As a consequence, a text set in Arabic script occupies a larger area than one set in Latin script. In 1926, Ahmet Cevdet [Oran] claimed that this situation increased paper consumption, leading us back to the issue of the high cost of printing with Arabic script.[66]

3.2.5. Troubles in printing

There was slow progress in the introduction of printing in Turkey due to internal politics and what can be described as the dominancy of importation on printing and the supervision and monopolisation of type.

Dominancy of importation

Printing in Turkish was not completely embraced by the Ottomans due to a strong calligraphic tradition. This attitude partially resulted in the lack of type production and printing press manufacture and in a dominancy of imports in printing tools and equipments, including Latin types. Also, the Ottoman economic policies, which empowered foreign trade, aided to adopt this application. The capitulations for foreigners and the choice of rich tradesmen from the non-Muslim community on import –instead of investing to build a national industry– caused the expansion of this policy. By the 19th century, "The traditional view of Ottoman manufacturing is that is steadily collapsed in the wake of the influx of European manufactured goods."[67] Thus, one of the common economic policies of Ottoman, 'provisionism', set a barrier on industrial developments:

> [...] provisionism, that is, the maintenance of a steady supply so that all goods and services were cheap, plentiful, and of good quality. With respect to foreign trade, provisionism sought to keep the supply of goods and services to the internal market at an optimal level. Export was not encouraged, but rather curtailed by prohibitions, quotas, and taxes. Import, by contrast, were fostered and facilitated.[68]

As opposed to the existence of manufacturing and export in Europe, this policy was highly dominant in the Empire. Eventually, this policy caused an unsettled printing convention in the long term and did not contribute to the search for creating an advanced technology that suitably worked with Arabic-Turkish type. Moreover, they relied on imports for printing press and paper, which are the vital elements for the advance of printing technology, and in some cases, even the ink and material of metal types

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66 Ibid.

67 Şevket Pamuk and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Ottoman de-Industrialization, 1800-1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact, and Response," *The Economic History Review 64* (November 24, 2010), doi:10.1111/j.1468-0289.2010.00560.x, p.164.

68 Donald Quataert, ed., *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950* (United States: State University of New York Press, 1994), p.60.

were imported.[69] There were two types of print-related imports: 1) Type and printing equipment imports, and 2) paper.

Type and print-related imports: The lack of production of printing presses and other equipment and tools both in the Empire and in the Republican years meant that import was essential to maintain the printing activity. According to state records and printers memoirs, there were many imports from Europe by the state and independent printers.[70] Before the end of the 19th century, we see imports mainly from France and England; however, this declined due to the unsuccessful wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and starting with 1876, Turkey imported materials from Germany, including type, printing tools and paper.[71] There are many state documents showing this commerce,[72] and even the imported brass lines for newspapers.[73]

The only component of printing that was domestically produced was the metal type. The majority of the type production was in Armenian and Hebrew scripts until the 19th century. However, after Müteferrika's initiative to introduce printing in Turkish for the first time, we do not know whether the Arabic-Turkish type production became the dominant one among others.[74] In addition to these types, Latin was also produced in low amounts.[75] Despite this insignificant production, the majority of the Latin type supplement came from abroad, especially from different European countries, mainly Germany, Italy and France. Even though they were rare occasions, some Arabic type and type equipments were also bought from abroad (i.e. Paris 29 April 1899 and Chicago 15 August 1893). In summary, the imports of type, type machine and its material mentioned in the state documents can be listed as:

- Types in different scripts, such as Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian and French (Latin) for either the state printing house or other governmental institutions.
- French (Latin)[76] types, type material and machines/equipments by

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69 BOA, BEO., 1199/89917, 08 Cemaziyelevvel 1316: "Matbaa alat ve edevatı ile mürekkeb huru-fatının ithaline ruhsat verilmesi hakkında."

70 The memoir of a notable printer, Ahmet İhsan [Tökgöz], is a good source to keep track of Turkish printing journey from a personal point of view. For his book: Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993). Also see the following state documents for the type imports from: BOA, HAT.,1425/58337, 23 Safer 1256; and BOA, C.MF., 92/4600, 21 Safer 1213.

71 Ibid, p.32.

72 See the state documents for printing equipments: BOA, DH.MKT., 16 Ramazan 1323; BOA, DH.MKT., 03 Safer 1324; for type and type material importation, see: BOA, İ.RSM., 31/1326, 03 Cemaziyelevvel 1326; BOA, DH.MKT.,1014/52, 08 Şaban 1323.

73 See the document: BOA, DH.MKT., 560/27, 10 Cemaziyelevvel 1320.

74 This, the production of Arabic-Turkish type after Müteferrika, is entirely a research topic itself.

75 For the Mihran Dökmeciyan's case in İzmir, see: BOA, DH.MKT., 1211/10, 10 Şevval 1325. The importation also took place during the alphabet reform process in 1928.

76 The term used for the Latin type written as 'French' in the state archive documents. Additionally the word 'ecnebi', 'foreign' was used when they were talking about the Latin type.

independent printers (mainly Armenian and Turkish) and owners of newspapers.
- 'Foreign' type for the state printing houses of 'vilayets'.[77]
- Arabic types and equipment from abroad.

Apart from these, there was another material that had the biggest share in imported goods and that shaped the printing practices dramatically: paper.

Paper: Even though paper importation did not directly affect the circumstances that created the need for alphabet change, it was a vital component to increase printing activity.'

However, different from the type and printing press imports, official documents show that paper was imported both from East and West in the 15th century. While the source of paper from the Eastern part of the world is not known exactly (Damascus, Samarkand, China, Iran or India were the possible places for this importation), the very first import from the West was from Italy either in the 14th or the 15th century.[78] Due to the rising French dominance on paper production in the 18th century of Europe, the presence of Italian paper in the Ottoman territory started to disappear. Although there were many attempts for local paper production during the 18th and 19th centuries, imported papers from various European countries (Italy, France, England and Germany) ruled the market, even in the time of the alphabet reform. Therefore, paper production by the state could not compete with the cheap imported paper. Other reasons such as lack of experts and water supplies for the production of paper meant that Turkish state facilities for paper production faced closures many times.[79]

Although the conditions for foreign trade were not strict in the beginning of the 19th century, and the flourishing import scene is a proof of that, the policy and the control on the custom for metal type and printing equipments became tight in the late 19th century. This points to another significant setback in the way to developments to create a better system for Arabic-Turkish type, which is the 'supervision and monopolisation of type by the state'.

Supervision and monopolisation on type [80]
Although the printing activities were taken under control by the state for

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77 In Turkey, and formerly in the Ottoman Empire, a major administrative district or province with its own governor. "vilayet." In *Australian Oxford Dictionary.* : Oxford University Press, 2004. http://www.oxfordreference.com.idpproxy.reading.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195517965.001.0001/m-en_au-msdict-00001-0061152.

78 *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi (2001), s.v.* "Kağıt", accessed March 2016, http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c24/c240099.pdf.

79 Ibid, p.165. For a detailed account on the local paper production in the Ottoman Empire, see İsmail Güleç, "Osmanlılarda Kağıt Ve Kağıtçılık," *Müteferrika,* no. 2, (1994): 85-94 and Osman Ersoy, *XVIII. ve XIX. yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de kâğıt* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963).

80 There is plenty of literature about the regulations in general, especially regarding printing and book publishing, but there is not much mention about type and its production.

the first time in 1857, it seems that the first serious regulation regarding the issues of metal type production was in 1888.[81] This sets the condition for getting permission from the state to establish new printing house or type foundry, cut types and manufacture printing equipment. The state officials were also permitted to do uninformed inspections of printing houses. Also, if the 'Press Administration of State' (Matbuat İdaresi) required samples from equipments and/or type variations/styles, the owners of printing houses or type foundries were required to provide those to for inspection purposes.[82]

While the mentioned regulations created some restrictions, the latter sanctions, which were invoked in 1897 and 1898, were more strict. In addition to supervision, punishment was included in the span of authority. According to state documents and relevant literature, type production in Turkish was monopolised in many ways. One of them was its incorporation with the Fine Arts Academy, called 'Mekteb-i Sanayi', which is the first fine arts college founded by the state, and which contained a type foundry. We also know that the existing type foundries[83] were closed down by the order of the state and typographers were recruited within either the state printing facilities with their equipments or in other jobs, such as positions in customs.[84] A statement of a notable printer, Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], confirms these changes:

> [...] there were only three or four type foundries in İstanbul; these were moved within the facilities of 'Sanayi Mektebi'.[85] After printing houses ask permission for the metal types they will use, they require these types from the directorate of the institution (Mekteb-i Sanayi). The directorate notifies the type foundries within the institution about the request and typographers cut the necessary types in this direction and we (printers) were getting them by showing our permission. This process was also valid for the types that imported from Europe. But the odd thing is that it was a binding decision only for Turkish printers. The foreign printers in the territory were left out of this regulation.[86]

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81 Kabacalı, p.98.

82 Ibid, p.99.

83 It is worth reminding that there were no big type foundries or factories. The production of type was in the form of individual enterprise rather than mass production.

84 See the state document for this regulation: BOA, BEO, 1086/81398, 10 Şevval 1315: "Matbaa hurufatı yalnız Mekteb-i Sanayi'de imal ve füruht edileceğinden esamisi muharrer dökmeci ustalarının gümrüklerde yahud diğer mahallelerde istihdamı". Here, we need to distinguish between 'hurufatçı', 'typographer' and 'dökmeci ustaları', 'casting experts'. While the number of the typographers, who create a type-form, was one or two people at that time, the number of craftsman doing the hard work for casting the types was low. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that the typographer himself does not cut types. On the contrary, we commonly see typographers cutting types.

85 For your information, 'Sanayi Mekteb-i' and 'Mekteb-i Sanayi' refer to the same institution. Flipping words in this way was a common practice in Ottoman Turkish, due to the Arabic-rooted words.

86 Tokgöz, p.117-118.

In 1895 printing regulation, foreigners were also included in the scope of the bans and restrictions, to prevent them from spreading hostile propaganda towards the state. To summarise, as a new form of state intervention, type was put under the supervision in the following ways:

– Type and typesetting machines will only be produced by the state and will be distributed in case of a demand.

– Requests for type and equipment of type production which either come from abroad or the provinces, i.e. 'vilayets', will be monitored by the state. Any other action, such as exportation and production of the Turkish type apart from the state print house, was strictly prohibited and subjected to inspection and permission.[87]

– Every single type sale within the border of the Empire will be controlled. Permission for their use will be required.

– The state will buy the old, worn types from the state printing houses (probably for the purpose of melting and cutting the new ones in the state type foundry, Mekteb-i Sanayi).

– Even the type and printing equipments imported from Europe for the State Printing House will be inspected.[88]

The intervention of the state was not all negative. Evidence from the state archives suggests that some printing houses were subsidised or printers were given awards.[89] Even some of the typographers and printing house owners were subsidised in the case of money loss or the closure order by the state and were recruited in other jobs.[90] However, these attempts seem insignificant compared to the tight policy on printing and type. Concentrating the type production in one centre, which is the state, did not serve the purpose of creating a free market and a competition for type production, which would eventually bring 'progress' in practice.

Summary

The diverse atmosphere of languages and scripts is the evidence of the rich printing tradition within the Ottoman Empire. This most likely helped

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87 For the edict, see the documents: BOA, BEO., 1038/77778, 17 Cemaziyelahir, 1315: "Memalik-i Sahane'den harice matbaa hurufati ihracatinin men'i hakkinda"; BOA, BEO., 27 Cemaziyelahir, 1315: "Türkçe hurufatın Memalik-i Şahane haricine çıkarılmasını önlemek için gerekli tedbirlerin alınması."

88 See the documents: BOA, DH.MKT., 16 Ramazan 1323; BAO, DH.MKT., 03 Safer 1324: "Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Şahane'deki dökümhanesi için ruhsat-ı resmiyeyi haiz hurufatçı Haçik Kevorkyan'ın Avrupa'dan sipariş ettiği sarı cetvelle kurşun kal'ın, müfettiş marifetiyle muayene edildikten sonra usul ve emsaline uygun olarak kendisine teslim edilmesi gerektiği."

89 See the documents for awarding type people: BOA, İ.TAL., 193/1317, 16 Recep 1317: "Matbaa-yı Askeriye Evrak Memurluğu'nda müstahdem Hafız Mustafa Efendi'ye dördüncü ve Ceride-i Askeriye Sermürettibi Malatyalı Mahmud ve hurufat kısmında İzmirli Ahmed Çavuşlara beşinci rütbelerden Mecidi Nişanı itası."

90 See the document for recruiting one of the prolific typographer Haçik Kevorkyan: BOA, DH.MKT., 2173/45, 19 Şevval 1316: "Hurufat dökümcülüğü ile uğraşan Haçik Kevorkyan'ın zorda olması dolayısıyla mevcut malzemelerinin devletçe satın alınması ve kendisinin de Orman ve Maadin ve Ziraat Nezareti'nce bir memuriyete tayin edilmesi."

to prepare the psychological and technological ground for the script change. Although this cultural heritage from the time of the Empire was sometimes denied by the minds behind the Latin alphabet reform due to their emphasis on Turkish nationality, the education and the intellectual accumulation that the Republican reformers took during the Ottoman period must have shaped their vision for a necessary change. Considering the youth of the new Republic,[91] it would be fair to say that changing a script in use would be easier in an environment described in this chapter, rather than in a uniform society, which would only use one script. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the reform took place as a result of a long discussion and preparation process, as would happen for any other major reform of this scale. Also, relying on importation, not having a settled printing convention and an established typography practice significantly assisted in realising an immense transformation like the alphabet change. If the printing scene was as in Europe, there is no doubt that establishing such a successful reform in such a short period would be unlikely. When the difficulties of Arabic type were considered, convincing people and adapting to a new practice from scratch became easier and feasible for the reformers, because they had inherited an era that was full of unsolved printing issues, never-ending discussions on script-metal type coherence and unsuccessful simplification attempts.

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In the next chapter, the questions of what the aims of the reform were other than the printing and linguistic issues, how the reform was enacted and applied in different areas and what the public reaction in the post-reform period was will be answered.

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91 It was five years old at this point, so we can say that there were still traces from this diverse atmosphere.

Chapter 4: Background to the alphabet reform

"There is no incentive for broad orthographic change or script conversion in societies in which there is no desire for profound rejuvenation. All successful cases of romanisation were preceded or accompanied either by deep social transformation, religious conversion, or secularization of the speech communities." [1]

Script change is a consequence of serious progress and reformation in societies, along with political representation. This chapter discusses the political, social and educational aspects of the Turkish alphabet reform. The adoption process will also be touched on with the details of the preparation and the implementation steps of the reform. Additionally, the post-reform period, including the issues, the approval of the new alphabet and the resistance to it, will be discussed in the light of some example events.

4.1. Aims and motives behind the reform

During the 19th century, the intention of most Turkish intellectuals was not to cut ties with the past and the East directly as the reformers intended to do, many were rather looking for a unity in language, one which would close the linguistic division between intellectuals and the general public by improving the script and levels of literacy.[2] As for the motives of Republican reformers, it could be said that westernisation and secularism played a significant role in triggering reform as well as other reasons. The reformers believed that some Eastern influences belonging to the Ottoman legacy prevented the nation from being a developed and civilised country and that removing such influences would result in acceptance by the West.[3] Atatürk's statement cited in Wortham's 'Mustafa Kemal of Turkey' also confirms this reality:

> So long as Turkish was written from right to left, it could never properly express the ideals of European civilization. The picturesque involutions and intricacies of Arabic script afforded a psychological background to the Oriental mentality, which stood as the real enemy of the Republic.[4]

The Arabic script represented not only a writing system to the reformers, but also a cultural object or a reminder of a past to be ashamed of. An anecdote from the period reinforced this. Falih Rıfkı [Atay], a passionate advocate of the new alphabet and the principal nominee on the Language

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1 İlker Aytürk, "Script Charisma in Hebrew and Turkish: A Comparative Framework for Explaining Success and Failure of Romanization," *Journal of World History 21,* no. 1, 97-130 (2010): p.120.

2 Margaret M Wood, "Latinizing the Turkish Alphabet: A Study in the Introduction of a Cultural Change," *American Journal of Sociology 35,* (September 1929): p.195.

3 Kaya Yılmaz, "Critical Examination of the Alphabet and Language Reforms Implemented in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research 2,* (2011): p.72.

4 H. E. Wortham, *Mustafa Kemal of Turkey,* (New York: William Edwin Rudge, 1930), p.188-9.

Commission, admitted that when a Canadian couple, whom he had met earlier and become close on a cruise, saw his writing in Arabic script, he felt ashamed as if he was wearing old clothes from the Ottoman Era, such as a fez or shalwar; he later embraced his embarrassment in his newspaper column.[5] This memoir shows that an alphabet was not merely a tool for communication for the reformers, but also an indicator of a culture and an image of a nation with its shapes, writing direction and letterforms.

4.2. Preparations

When the Ottoman Empire fell and the new Republic was founded, despite some enthusiastic members of the new parliament, Atatürk did not think that it was the right time for the change. He was concerned about the possibility of negative reactions and even rejection of it. The opposing voices were still strong in 1926. However, it is known that Atatürk revealed his intention long before when he met with a Bulgarian Turkologist, Ivan Monolof, in 1906: "We have to select the Latin alphabet, getting rid of the language that prevents us from entering Western civilization. We should resemble the West in all respects including our outfits".[6]

Despite his aspiration and admiration for the Latin alphabet, Atatürk declared that language reform (including script reform) needed to proceed in stages in order to prepare the nation. In order to achieve this, reformers believed that formal education needed to be secularised. Education at this time generally was based on religious tradition and the Arabic script was a part of this spiritual heritage.[7] Diana Spearman and M. Naim Turfan, in their article about Turkish language reform, noted that:

> In 1924, as a consequence of the general of secularisation, the religious schools were closed, and all education was placed under the Ministry of National Education. This made the change of script easier because, while the teachers in the old schools would be unwilling to teach it, the teachers in the state schools would be not only obliged to use it, but willingly, indeed, anxious to do so.[8]

This was also a time of considerable interaction between nations and the spread of new ideologies was inevitable. Three years after the Turkish Republic was founded, discussion was sparked again with the Baku Language Congress in 1926 and Azerbaijan's adoption of the Latin alphabet. As a result of this, the Language Commission[9] was launched in 1926 with the initiative of a member of the parliament despite its non-active position

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5 Ayla Acar, "Türkiye'de Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreci ve Gazeteler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi 41* (2011): p.16. For the original newspaper article; see: *Milliyet*, 02.11.1928.

6 Kaya Yılmaz, p.67.

7 Diana Spearman and M. Naim Turfan, "The Turkish Language Reform," *History Today* (February, 1979): p.90.

8 Ibid, p.90.

9 The original name of the Commission is 'Dil Heyeti' or 'Yeni Alfabe Komisyonu'. Even though Hale Yılmaz mentioned this in her book as "Linguistic Society", I preferred to make these direct translations.

until 1928. It is known that no significant proposal on a new alphabet was made at that time. However, the work of the commission prepared the necessary ground for the change, as Valter Tauli indicated: 'authority is an essential factor in language planning, and the young Turkish government supplied this authority',[10] Up until the year of adoption (1928), some authors, journalists, educators and politicians also wrote and presented suggestions in booklets, newspaper columns, etc. Even though the reformers found these attempts misleading due to their taking sides unofficially, this enthusiasm still helped to convince the opponents in favour of the Latin alphabet.[11]

Activities of the Language Commission: The preparation of the new alphabet

During January 1928, many activities, including meetings and public speeches, were held in favour of the Latin alphabet adoption. However, the first serious attempt came with a draft bill by the parliament on 9 May, proposing the acceptance of Latin numeral use as a preliminary step towards the script change. The law regarding the Latin numerals was enacted on 24 May and they started to be used in various places, including newspapers.[12] With the support of media and political discourse, the Language Commission finally became active with the appointment of nine members to 'study the method for adoption of Latin letters in Turkish and their applicability' on 23 May 1928.[13] Although the commission did not consist entirely of linguists,[14] reformers and contributors were too politically astute to ignore this opportunity and worked with speed. The commission had its first official meeting on 26 June 1928, although some unofficial meetings and briefings by Atatürk were held before this date. Active communication and the exchange of views between Atatürk and the Language Commission continued throughout the alphabet preparation.[15]

The commission examined many alphabets based on Latin from Europe during their studies[16] and proposed different approaches that could be taken to adopt a new alphabet:

1) Adopting the French alphabet,
2) Adopting the Greek alphabet without using any other approaches from the other Latin-based alphabets,

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10 Cited in Yükseker, "Turkish Language Reform," p.93-4.

11 Bilâl Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Publications, Ankara, 1992), p.81-83. There are clearly some cases where prominent people, including journalists and educators, changed their opponent attitude towards the adoption of Latin alphabet during this period.

12 Ibid, p.85-86.

13 İlker Aytürk, "The First Episode of Language Reform in Republican Turkey: The Language Council from 1926 to 1931," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 18,* no 3 (July 2008): p.280; for detailed information on the task of the Language Commission, see: Aytürk, p.282; Akdoğan p.47.

14 There were three members of parliament additionally to three linguistics and educators along with a general secretary; see: Rekin Ertem, *Elifbeden Alfabeye Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (Çemberlitaş, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1991).

15 Ertem, p.220.

16 Şimşir, p.89.

Figure 4.1 The first page of 'Elifba Raporu'- 'ABC Report', 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 4.2 The new Turkish alphabet, based on the Latin script.

3) Reviewing all Latin-based alphabets and choosing the suitable letters that would meet the needs of the Turkish language,

4) Adopting the Azerbaijani alphabet.

After a careful consideration, the third option – the adoption of appropriate letters from all Latin based-alphabets – was taken as the main approach.[17] At the end of this lengthy task, the Anatolian News Agency, a state channel, announced on 12 July 1928 that the new alphabet was completed and was named Turkish, whilst the commission was still working on grammar and orthographic rules. After one month preparation, the proposal for a new alphabet was ready to be approved and was presented to Atatürk as 'Elifba Raporu' (ABC Report) on 1 August 1928 *(Fig.4.1)*.[18] The new alphabet consisted of 29 letters, including additional *Ç, Ğ, İ, Ö, Ş, Ü* letters suitable for the consonants and vowels existing in Turkish different from the Arabic language *(Fig.4.2)*. The council also shared their opinion about the length of the adoption process, but Atatürk disagreed with the assumption — presenting the new alphabet in a five-year period — and declared that this change should happen in three months or it should not happen at all. Atatürk also explained to a commission member why he thinks in this way: "Even if a half column in the Arabic script in newspapers still remain after five years, then everybody would read this half column."[19] Apparently, he feared that public could fail to learn the new alphabet if the Arabic script continue to exist.

The issue of announcing the new alphabet was important, considering the objections that had been raised in previous reforms. The time and the place were chosen carefully, and the new Turkish alphabet was announced to the public for the first time by Atatürk at the early hours of 10 August 1928 in a park called Sarayburnu in İstanbul.[20] Atatürk made his famous speech:

> Gentlemen, our beautiful, harmonious, rich language will shine with the new Turkish letters. (…) The new alphabet must be learned. Teach it to every citizen, woman, man, porter, boatman. Take it as a duty of patriotism, nationalism. Think while fulfilling this duty that it is a shame if ten percent of a nation, a social community does know how to write and read, while ninety percent is illiterate. Those who are humans should be ashamed of this. This nation is not a nation that has been created to be ashamed. This nation has been created to be proud and it is a nation that has filled its history with pride. If ten percent of the nation does know how to write and read, this is not our fault.

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17 Ertem, p.217.

18 The report was also published in the same year in the new alphabet, along with the school primers; see: Aytürk, p.281. It is possible to see the copy of this report in Atatürk Library in İstanbul.

19 Ertem, p.219.

20 It was announced on the day of a party held by the government's political party, Republican People's Party (CHF).

نور كيه حرف انقلابي واورويا مطبوعاتى

صوك انقلابز دنيانك هرطرفنده بيوك تقديرلره قارشيلانمشدر ، برفرانسز

غزتهسى آشاغيده كى باشلقلريمزى درت ستون اوزرينه طبع ايتمشدر

Figure 4.3 *Cumhuriyet* news on the coverage about a French newspaper on the change of their masthead, 04 November 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 4.4 The announcement of the Calligraphy School in *Milliyet* newspaper, 16 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 4.5 A seal-maker, who was making seals in the Arabic script, now learns the new alphabet. Image source: *The National Geographic Magazine*, 'Turkey goes to school', January 1929.

> This is the time to totally clear the faults of the past. We will correct these faults. The whole Turkish society will learn the new alphabet within one or two years. Our nation will show that with its alphabet and mentality, it is on the side of the whole civilized world.[21]

The reaction of other nations following the announcement was all positive and yet puzzled at the same time. The embassies and newspapers followed the process closely and reported this event to their countries with some astonishment, as they did not expect to see a change of this scope and pace.[22] Newspapers especially gave coverage of developments during the transition period by publishing many details such as the new alphabet table and the new mastheads of some Turkish newspapers *(Fig. 4.3)*. Furthermore, they did not hide their astonishment when they reported that even the Calligraphy School, Hattat Mektebi, which had been active for centuries, accepted the new alphabet and had established new courses. Indeed, the announcement in newspapers regarding the course was made only one week after the introduction of the reform on 10 August *(Fig. 4.4)*. In these announcements, it was enthusiastically noted that calligraphers in schools had started to practise in Latin in order to create beautifully written signs, plates and stickers. The school offered a free public course to teach people who wished to learn to use the new alphabet.[23] One of the prolific calligraphers and tutors, Mustafa Halim Özyazıcı, is an important example showing the struggle of calligraphers at that time. These skilled masters in Arabic calligraphy were forced to start over again by learning a new script with a completely different nature and logic *(Fig. 4.5)*.[24] Another cause for astonishment for the foreign media was the length of the transition period. Their optimistic prediction for the adoption was at least five years, but they apparently realised after the reaction of Turkish people and the determination of Atatürk that it would not be the case:

> It is surprising to see, the efforts to learn the new alphabet are truly astonishing. [...] For the last couple of days, I've been in some of the small coffee houses where people who do not how to read go to listen to the people who read the newspapers for them. I have seen that from young people to older ones, they copy the new letters onto the corner of the newspapers or the back of cigarette boxes or the marble surface of the tables in order to learn – because Mustafa Kemal declared that he knows the new alphabet and told everybody to learn them immediately.[25]

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21 *Miliyet*, 'Büyük Gazinin 10 Ağustos 1928 Nutku', (August 10, 1929), p. 1.

22 Various reportings and anecdotes shared in Şimşir's book reveal this impression; see: Şimşir, p. 163.

23 For these pieces of news, see: *Milliyet*, 16.08.1928; *Cumhuriyet*, 19.08.1928.

24 For a detailed account of his life and works, see: Melike Taşçıoğlu and Şinasi Acar, "Bir Hattatın Dönüşümü: Alfabe Devrimi'nin Halim Efendi'nin çalışmaları üzerinden incelenmesi," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 15*, no. 2 (2014).

25 J.H. Walton, "Turkey's A.B.C. Whole Population at school. Kemal's Clever Move," *The Daily Telegraph*, 28.08.1928.
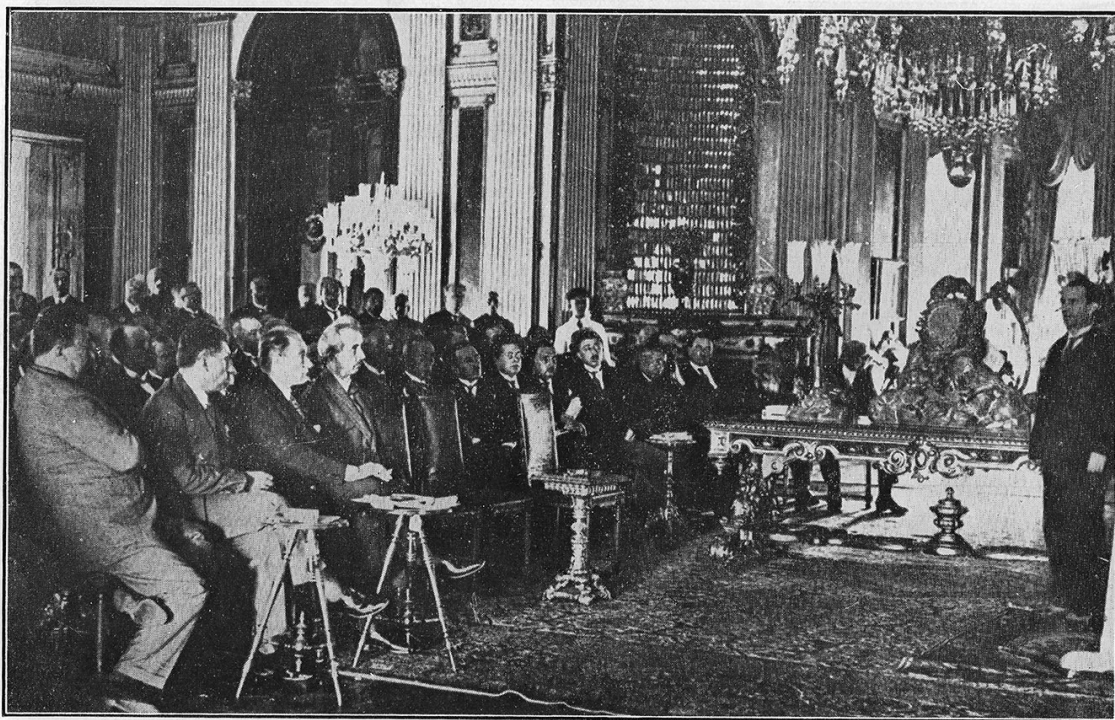
113. UNE SCÈNE DES RÉUNIONS TENUES SOUS LA PRÉSIDENCE DU GAZI AU PALAIS DE DOLMABAHÇE POUR LA DISCUSSION DES PROBLEMES LINGUISTIQES.

Figure 4.6 "A scene of the meetings held under the presidency of the Gazi [Atatürk] at Dolmabahçe Palace for the discussion of linguistic problems." Image source: Histoire de la Republique Turque, 1935, p.99

Figure 4.7 The 'Letter march' published in newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 18 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

On 11 August, a hall on the upper floor of the Dolmabahçe Palace, which had been the summer house of Atatürk for the last two years, was prepared as a classroom with all the educational tools. In this hall, one of the commission members, İbrahim Naci [Dilmen] gave an alphabet lesson to Atatürk's close circle, including some MPs and presidential staff *(Fig.4.6)*.[26] Atatürk inspired people about the reform by using the new alphabet effectively in his circle, from his menu list to the leaflets of the music programme in the Palace.[27] He even asked the presidential symphony orchestra to compose a 'letter march' *(Fig.4.7)*.[28] Within a week of the announcement, many important decisions about teaching the alphabet were made such as educating all teachers, preparing new textbooks, and assigning various institutions and governmental bodies to help teach the alphabet to their staff and to the public.[29] Following these decisions, the ministries started alphabet lessons and sent their correspondence written in the new alphabet. Education Committees were created from the cities' administrative units to participate in helping to make the public literate. The responsibilities of the committees were 'determining the schedule of classes, finding classrooms, providing the necessary equipment, paying instructors' salaries, and ensuring regular attendance of the citizens registered in the courses'.[30] It was also determined that other spheres apart from schools, such as societies, coffee houses, government buildings and mosques, could be utilised to teach the new alphabet.[31] Even the initial conferences given in İstanbul University were broadcast in Darülfünun Park and Beyazıt Square on 21 August with the aim of reaching the public more effectively.[32]

In the following days, between 25 and 29 August 1928, one of the members of the Language Commission presented the new alphabet to officials, deputies and intellectuals – including writers, poets, journalists and academics – in various meetings in Dolmabahçe Palace, and discussed the existing version of the alphabet and the further plans for the method of implementation. The guests were initially asked to attend the meeting with a basic knowledge of the new alphabet. This was because, despite the enthusiastic atmosphere, there were still some members of the parliament and intellectuals who were not completely convinced and these were divided into two groups – the ones who did not comprehend the importance of the reform and those who had objections to the alphabet that the Language Commission had prepared. Two journalists and intellectuals especially

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26 *İkdam*, 11.08.1928, cited in Ali İhsan İlhan, "1925-1928 Yılları Arasında Cumhuriyet Ve *İkdam* Gazetesinde Çıkan Harf İnkilabıyla İlgili Konular," (MA diss., Fatih University, 2010), p.196/203.

27 Şimşir, p.167.

28 İlhan, p.314/316-8.

29 Şimşir, p.168.

30 Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1945* (United States: Syracuse University Press, 2013), p.148.

31 Ibid, p.148.

32 "Salı günü Darülfünunda verilecek hoparlörle meydanlarda dinlenecektir", *Cumhuriyet*, 21.08.1928; "Bugün Darülfünun meydanında yeni harflerimize dair verilecek konferansı dinleyeceğiz," 20.08.1928, cited in İlhan, p.314-316.

criticised the adoption of two letters with a cedilla – *ş* and *ç*.[33] In fact, the same criticism was made by a columnist from *Cumhuriyet* on 2 July 1928, long before the announcement of the new alphabet. He criticised the new letters with dots and marks, which considerably reduce the pace of writing, as is the case in Arabic letters. He also called the Commission to consider abandoning some of these letters, asking 'what is the fault of our old letters, if we are going to put dots above and below every Latin letter?'[34] Interestingly, their concern was also shared with a German professor, who wrote a letter to the Turkish government after the announcement in order to give some advice on the adopted letters:

> *Ş*, which is pronounced like German *sch*, cannot be found on any typewriter or in any print shop outside of Turkey. *Est* is important for every language, that it can also be printed abroad and written with the typewriter. In addition, all appendages (cedilla and similar) affect the classically beautiful simplicity of the Latin letters, especially the large letters, in public posters and street signs. [...] The letter *ç* also has the disadvantage that a cedilla, which, apart from France, does not exist on the typewriters all over the world and in printing houses, has the disadvantage.[35]

According to Yılmaz, 'these meetings provided a forum for the teaching of and the debate on the new alphabet, and for building a consensus in its favor.' [36] This was because a law/regulation regarding the new alphabet had not been enacted yet and it was crucial to convince these people before sending them all over Turkey to introduce the alphabet.

Atatürk visited various cities in Anatolia during September and October 1928 in order to introduce the new alphabet to the public himself. He especially chose the cities that had important roles in the history of new Republic and introduced the alphabet in a very unusual way. He taught the new letters by writing on a blackboard and picking people randomly from the crowd and testing them, to show how easy learning the new alphabet was *(Fig. 4.8)*.[37] For this reason, he was named as the 'head teacher' and it was possible to encounter the title in both Turkish and foreign newspapers.[38] During his visits, Atatürk saw some flaws in orthographic rules while teaching the letters to the public. When he came back to Ankara, he wrote a report showing his suggestions to correct these flaws, which were later edited by the Language Commission.[39]

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33 Şimşir, p.177. They also criticized the lack of x, w, q letters and other characters that they found suitable for certain sounds.

34 Abidin Daver, "Hem Nalına Hem Mıhına", *Cumhuriyet*, 02.07.1928; 02.08.1928, cited in İlhan, p.157-8/431.

35 BCA. 180.9.0.0.3.16.6. Latin harflerinin kabulü ile ilgili yazışmalar. 11 August 1928.

36 Hale Yılmaz, p.144.

37 Ibid, p.144.
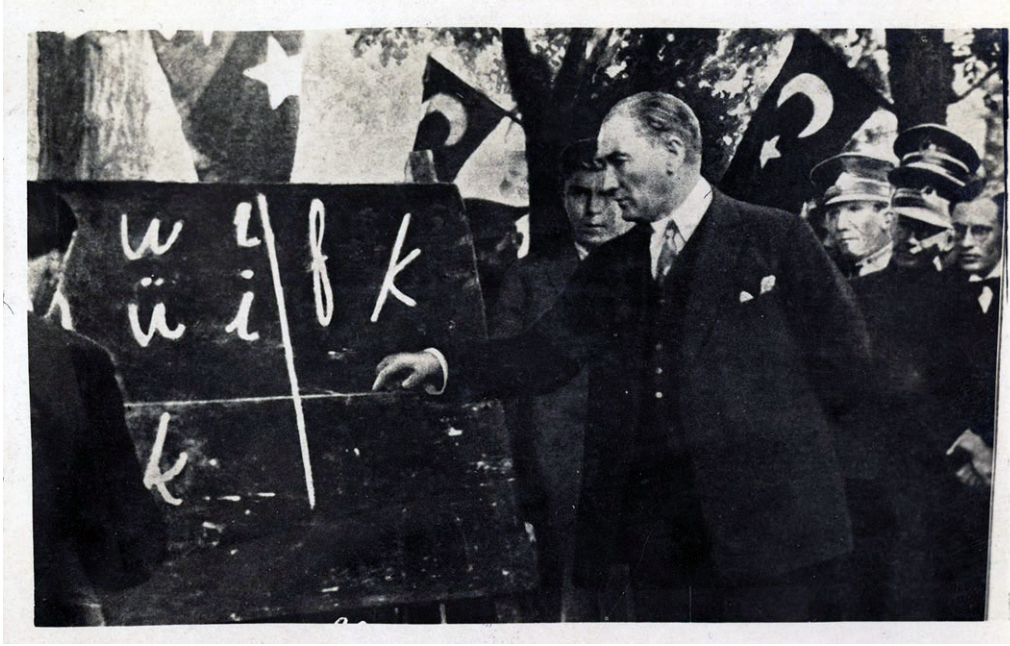
38 Şimşir, p.180

39 Ibid, p.196.

Figure 4.8 Atatürk teaches the new alphabet on blackboard in his visits. *Servet-i Fünun*, 25 October 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
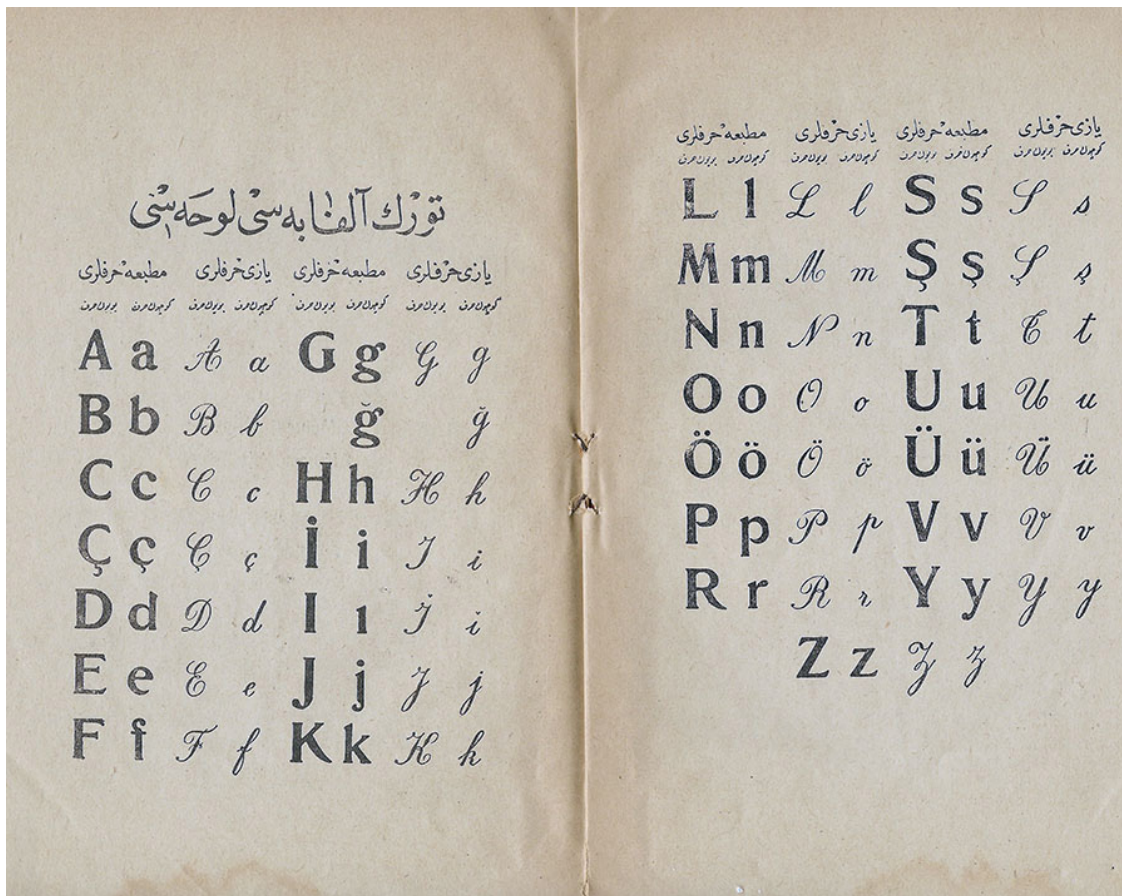

Figure 4.9 An alphabet table page from one of the initial primers. Image source: Personal collection.

Three months after the first announcement, the new alphabet law 'the Acceptance and Implementation of the Turkish Letters (Türk Harflerinin Kabulü ve Tatbiki Kanunu)' – declaring all official signboards, inserts, advertisements, cinema materials/boards and all periodicals including bulletins, newspapers and magazines had to be printed in Latin script by the first day of December – was enacted on the first day of November by the parliament. As declared in the law, all printed media, including magazines and newspapers, but not books, were to be published entirely in the Latin alphabet from 1 December 1928. A couple of days later, a budget of 400.000 Turkish liras was approved to help the implementation of the reform. According to the state documents, half of it was made available to buy Latin metal types from Europe and to provide financial aid to the newspapers and magazines that had been under strain.[40] Although the amount was generous considering the whole budget, still it was not significant enough to cover all the expenses of publications, so most people made many sacrifices in this mobilisation.

Teaching materials

Many private printing presses were too impatient to wait for the Language Commission's ABC primer, so they published their own versions without getting any approval for their correctness. After noticing the situation, the Commission's statement warning the public about these misleading primers was published in newspapers on 17 August 1928.[41] It was also declared that the Commission's primer was about to be circulated and publishers were advised to wait until then. Ten days after this report, newspapers reported that the Commission's primer was sold out within a couple of hours of its release.[42] It is important to note that these primers aimed to teach the alphabet both to those who knew how to read in the old script and to those who were illiterate *(Fig.4.9)*. These primers were published in both Arabic and Latin scripts and generally consisted of an alphabet table, showing vowels and consonants, lessons on suffixes and prefixes, and some reading articles for practice.[43] After these announcements, all primers were first subjected to inspection before being printed by private presses and a notice was put on the covers indicating that those publications had been approved by the Commission.

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40 Ibid, p.227-8. For a full account on spending the budget, see the State document: BCA. 30.10.0.0.143.25.23. Yeni Türk harflerinin kabülü dolayısıyla bütçe'ye ilave edilen 400.000 liranın nasıl harcanacağı. 06.12.1928.

41 "Elifba ve İmla Kağıtları yakında neşredilecek", *Cumhuriyet*, 17.08.1928, cited in İlhan, p.187.

42 "Yeni harflerin tedrisi için muhtelif yerlerde yüzlerce kurs açıldı ve derslere başlandı", *Cumhuriyet*, 27.08.1928, cited in İlhan, p.207.

43 For a good documentation of these primers in a four-volume article series, see: Mustafa Duman, "Türk Yazı Devrimi Tarihinden: Yeni Yazıyı Öğreten İlk Kitaplar," *Müteferrika*, no. 2 (Bahar, 1994); "Türk Yazı Devrimi Tarihinden: Yeni Yazıyı Öğreten İlk Kitaplar (II)," *Müteferrika*, no. 16 (Güz, 1999); "Türk Yazı Devrimi Tarihinden: Yeni Yazıyı Öğreten İlk Kitaplar (III)," *Müteferrika*, no. 18 (Kış, 2000); "Türk Yazı Devrimi Tarihinden: Yeni Yazıyı Öğreten İlk Kitaplar (IV)," *Müteferrika*, no. 19 (Yaz, 2001).
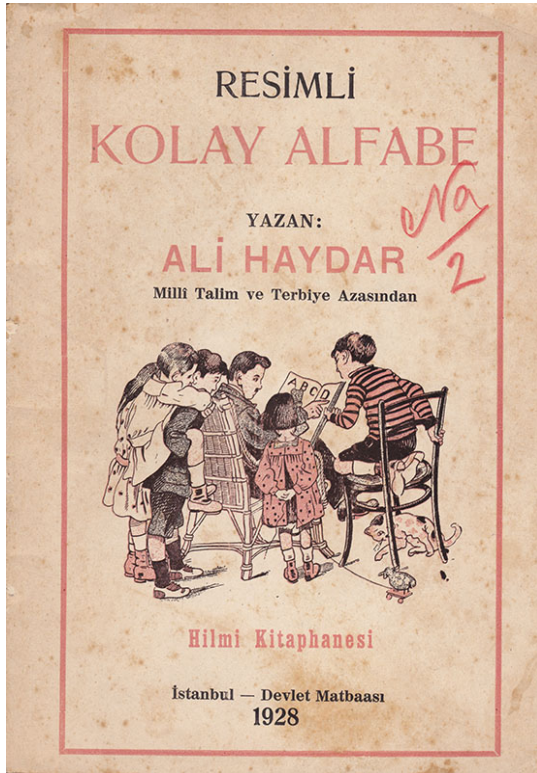
RESİMLİ
KOLAY ALFABE
YAZAN:
ALİ HAYDAR
Millî Talim ve Terbiye Azasından

Hilmi Kitaphanesi

İstanbul — Devlet Matbaası
1928

Figure 4.10 An illustrated ABC primer. Hilmi Kitaphanesi, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1928. Image source: Personal collection

Ankarada açılan Millet mektepleri dersanesinde yeni harfleri öğrenen bir Hanım

Figure 4.11 A woman reads in the classroom in Nation's Schools. *Karagöz* newspaper, 20 February 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Halk dershanelerindeki faaliyetlerin işte bir manzarası... Hiç mektebe gitmemiş olanlar bile bu dershanelere koşuyor. a yazı yazan talebeye bakınız. Bu hiç ukuma yazma bilmeyen küçükken arap harfleri yüzünden mektepden kaçan bir delikanlıdır.

Figure 4.11a Men classroom in Public schools. *Milliyet* newspaper, 19 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

It is known that there were two different versions of these primers during the transition period. The first version comprised those published before Atatürk's correction of some orthographic rules after his famous visits to Anatolia mentioned earlier. It is, therefore, possible to see the initial orthographic decisions in these copies *(Appendix 1)*. The other version was updated after the correction and shared a similar content structure. In a newspaper article, it was mentioned that a simpler ABC primer for illiterate people had been created by the Language Commission and would be printed by the State Printing House.[44] Even though it was said that there would be a simpler version for illiterate people printed all in Latin, as far as it is known, these primers do not seem to have been published (or circulated) until the implementation of the reform due to the lack of documentation.[45] Apart from the difference in versions, there were some illustrated primers *(Fig.4.10)* with no indication of whether they were aimed at adults or children *(Appendix 1A)*. In addition to these primary materials, it is also possible to find some reading and writing practice books/booklets.[46] Some newspapers also published some primers using their own regular lessons, which were printed every day.[47] These primers aimed only at teaching to the public. In formal education, due to the speed of the adoption, it was concluded that only Turkish lessons would use the new alphabet for the first year, as it was not possible to prepare and print all the textbooks for all subjects in three months. The rest of the lessons would be taught in the old script until the following year, by which all the necessary textbooks would have been printed in the new script.[48]

Nation's schools

Following the initial volunteer schools 'Halk Dershaneleri' or 'Public classrooms', which were opened a short time after the announcement and enabled the teaching of educators and a part of the literate public, a new form of school or course – called 'Nation's Schools' – was launched as part of the reform agenda on 1 January 1929. The aim was to speed up the process of teaching the new alphabet to the public. According to the regulation, attendance was mandatory for all male and female citizens between the ages of 16 and 40 who could not read and write the new letters *(Fig.4.11)*.[49] Schooling was for four months for the illiterate and two months for the literate.[50] Lessons were at night because mainly elementary school teachers were being called to teach these classes. If there was a greater demand,

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44 "Dil Encümeni'nin alfabesi", *Cumhuriyet*, 27.08.1928, cited in İlhan, p.208.

45 There are some visuals of these primers in Gökhan Akçura's Turkish printing history book, but without any information or source; see: Gökhan Akçura, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2012), p.88/90-1/104-5.

46 Mustafa Duman documented some of these materials in his articles; to see some of the visuals of the booklets for writing practice, see: Akçura, p.84/86/98.

47 For more information on *Cumhuriyet*'s primer, see: İlhan, p.352-3/376.

48 "Mekteplerde Tedrisat", *Cumhuriyet*, 06.09.1928, cited in İlhan, p.229.

49 Hale Yilmaz, p.148.

50 Wood, p.194.

Figure 4.12 Man sitting next to an alphabet poster. Image source: *The National Geographic Magazine*, 'Turkey goes to school', January 1929.

Figure 4.13 A street servant practices the new alphabet, *Milliyet* newspaper, 16 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 4.14 News on changing sings, including tram signs. *İkdam*, 2 December 1928. *Milliyet*, 2 September 1928, 16 December 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey and Atatürk Library

secondary school teachers and some intellectuals also helped to provide this education. Thus, Turkey literally became an open school. While the aim was simply to raise the literacy level, in this case not only would people 'be able to read and write in 5-6 years, but they would also become able to read newspapers, popular books and magazines'.[51] After completing the course, people were awarded with a certificate.

The new alphabet in public spaces

In an article of The National Geographic Magazine in 1929, the changes related to daily life – people on the street who were changing their signboards or learning the new alphabet from the street posters – were described and pictured *(Fig.4.12)*.[52] Margaret Wood also reflected on the change in the streets in her 1929 article:

> The ships were among the first to paint out the old letters and in the new, trains and trams followed, and within a few days' time new signs had appeared everywhere, sometimes printed neatly and again with shaky, uneven lettering as a child just learning to write might print. News stands on Galata Bridge and the street corners of conservative old Stamboul were flooded with paper-covered primers teaching the new alphabet and yet the supply could not keep up with the demand.[53]

It was indeed possible to come across people on the streets that even took a break from shopping and practised the new alphabet *(Fig.4.13)*. Even porters practised the alphabet after putting their loads down. The sellers, including butchers, grocers were studying while they waited for customers.[54] The ABC primers/booklets – printed by various presses – were everywhere: shop windows, pavements, bridges, stations, squares and post offices. The other significant and noticeable change was on the street and shop signs that were enthusiastically reported by the Turkish newspapers throughout the adoption period *(Fig.4.14)*. In addition, the punishment for the late changers and the mysterious people who painted signs in old script during the night[55] must have forced people to make the change immediately. Therefore, the demand for sign painters at that time created side jobs for the ones who could obtain brushes and had the ability to write. Even prisoners helped to create the government's building signs, as we know from newspapers *(Fig.4.15)*. Despite complaints about some examples with poor writing, which was probably created by the same method and logic that existed in Arabic calligraphy and which was the result of previous

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51 "Lisanımızda Lüzumlu Bir Tasfiye," *Milliyet* (October 13, 1928), p.1; also for a detailed information about the Nation's Schools, see: Akdoğan, p.46-49.

52 Maynard Oven Williams, "Turkey Goes To School," *The National Geographic Magazine 55* (January 1929): p.94-108. For more information about the alphabet posters and plates, see: Mustafa Duman, "Latin Harfli Türk Alfabe Levhaları," *Tarih ve Toplum 229* (January 2003): p.19-22.

53 Wood, p.199.

54 Şimşir, p.174.

55 Ertem, 291.

Aapisanedeki mahkûmlara faydalı bir iş : mahkûmlar marangozhanede yeni harflerle tabela ihzar ediyorlar.
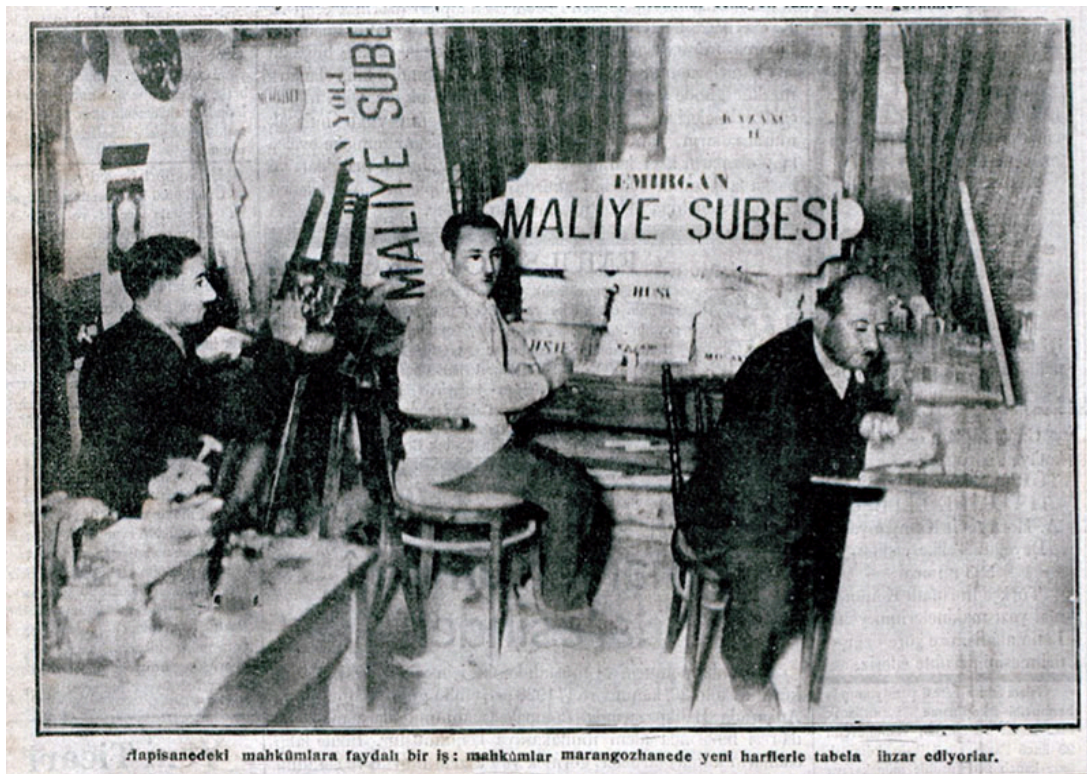
Figure 4.15 Prisoners help to make signs in new letters. *Milliyet* newspaper, 5 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
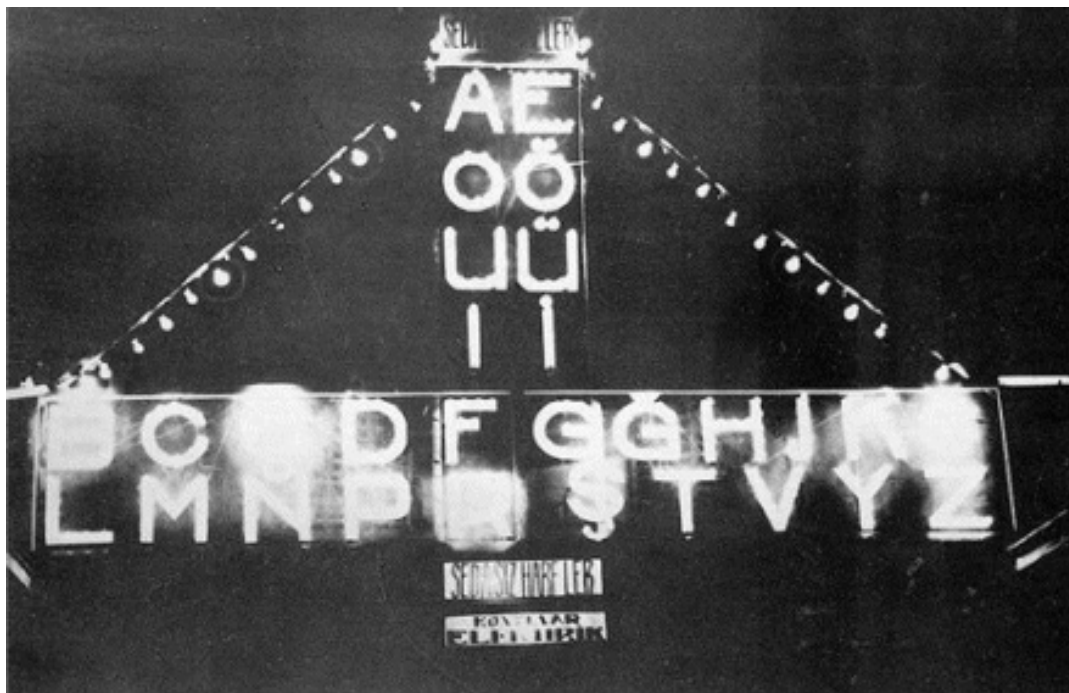

Figure 4.16 A neon sign showing the new alphabet on a roof of building in Ankara. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 9 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

experience, new signage was quickly embraced, so it is possible to conclude that the script change was most clearly observed in various types of signs. The reformers also knew the importance of familiarity in the streets that would help people to embrace the new alphabet quickly, so encountering a neon alphabet sign on the top of a building was not an awkward occasion at that time *(Fig.4.16)*.

4.3. Post-reform period

It is without doubt that such a radical change, on this scale, will result in critical reflections and after-effects on society for many years, and change the nation's destiny forever. Considering the serious transformation that Turkey went through due to the reforms, it is possible to categorise the outcomes of the alphabet reform in the short and long terms.

The main goal of this change was to make people literate without delay, but despite the ambitious launch and the enthusiasm reflected in various publications, the results were not as expected. Before the reform, according to the 1927 census, only 8.16 per cent of the population (more than 13,600,000 people) was literate. With all the efforts after the implementation of the reform, this rate accelerated to 20.4 per cent by 1935.[56] It is possible that there were some external factors affecting the result such as poor facilities and lack of teachers due to the huge demand generated by the obligatory literacy programme. Furthermore, 'the economic reasons were crucial in limiting the reach of these schools,'[57] as the budget was not sufficient to cover all the expenses. These deficiencies may also have caused the growing gap in literacy and educational levels between urban children and those in rural areas.[58] At the other end of the spectrum, a personal memory of Margaret Wood quoted in her article in 1929 shows that learning to read and write was an especially tough task for elderly people, most of whom did not participate in this process.[59] One of the reasons for not participating was that elderly people were reluctant to learn the new alphabet as an expression of resentment about abandoning the old script.[60] In addition, they felt it was no necessary for them to learn the new script for employment.[61]

Considering the lower-than-expected literacy level reached within six years, it is understandable to question whether there was resistance or even protest against this tremendous change. Even though the literature on the reform did not cover this aspect well, there are some incidents recorded

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[56] Walter Weiker, *Modernization of Turkey from Ataturk to the Present Day* (United Kingdom: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1981), p.154; for the personal experiences on learning to read and write from a more social perspective, see: Hale Yılmaz, p.147-153.

[57] Hale Yılmaz, p.153.

[58] Kaya Yılmaz, p.75-6.

[59] Wood, p.200.

[60] Hale Yılmaz, p.167.

[61] Ibid, p.168.

in the State Archive in Ankara. For example, a protest occurred in the first month of 1929 in a rural city, Manisa, carried out by a person who put up a poster in public space to tell people not to obey the reformers' directions and to warn people about the danger of forgetting how to read Koran if they adopted the new alphabet. As expected, as the document records show, he was sent to court for his actions.[62] There is another case where a wealthy old-literate[63] father hired a teacher to teach the new alphabet to his children privately, while he did not feel a need to learn it himself.[64] Even those who went to the Nation's School seemed to forget the new script, as the Minister of the Interior, Şükrü Kaya, wrote to the prime minister, İsmet İnönü, six months from the opening of these schools:

> In Kayıseri, Sivas, Şebin Karahisar, and the other district centres I visited, the civil servants have familiarised themselves with the [new] Turkish letters. Official correspondence is in Turkish letters. But it appears that it is not widely used among the people. Aside from the fact that the results of the Nation's Schools are quite weak, those who can read and write lack the practice or are about to forget the new letters. All transactions amongst the most enlightened of the people are in Arabic letters. I also found reading and spelling in Turkish in high and middle schools to be very poor. I know that proficiency and skill will not be gained in a short period of time and that a long time is needed for it to become general among the people. However, I sensed that the impact and the power of the first attack have weakened...[65]

There is a record in the State Archive that even fourteen years after the implementation, some senior governmental officers were still using the old script in correspondence and that this situation misled and discouraged young officers.[66] These incidents and failures of people to introduce the new script into their private lives do not necessarily indicate resistance or being opposed to the idea of the new script. As Hale Yılmaz also pointed out, during the mobilisation of the new alphabet, there were people who were 'more royalist than the king' in some cases, by informing on people who failed to meet the expectations of the Republic; this is interesting because it is known that "the central government policy was in fact more sensitive to individual (circumstances) and more tolerant toward noncompliance than its own rhetoric suggested, especially when noncompliance was not viewed as an act of opposition or reaction."[67] Despite the initial determined

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62 BCA 030.10.102.668.3. Kula'da yeni Türk harfleri aleyhine ve din lehinde bildiri astığı gerekçesi ile Süleyman Nuri'nin adliyeye sevk edildiği. 24.01.1929.

63 I used this term to differentiate the people who know how to read in old script, but are not familiar with the new script.

64 For this case, see: Hale Yılmaz, p.167.

65 BCA 030.10.12.12.73.4, Telegram from Şükrü Kaya to Prime Minister İsmet Paşa (İnönü), 21.06.1929, cited in Hale Yılmaz, p.161-2.

66 BCA 030.10.144.33.11. Resmi dairelerdeki memurların halen Arap harfleri kullanmakta oldukları ve bunun da gençleri zor duruma düşürdüğü. 17.06.1942.

67 Hale Yılmaz, p.177.

and more intolerant attitude during the reform year, reformers softened their approach on the issue in the following years probably because they had succeeded in making an official change. Still, the role of censorship in this should not be underestimated, as Aytürk states:

> There was effective state control over the civil society and the press, and opposition to the regime and the Kemalist ideology was punished if it became too loud and attracted too many adherents. The nature of the political system thus facilitated the transition to a Roman based alphabet by silencing widespread opposition to it. Arguments to the contrary were allowed to be expressed and published between 1926 and 1928, but once the official decision to romanise the Turkish script was announced in 1928, the opposition evaporated almost overnight.[68]

Though the increased literacy rate was not high, as can be seen from the examples above, the reform could still be considered as a success, considering the conditions of the era. All the criticism from the opponents of the reform aside, the alphabet reform was robust and successful, with its convincing motives and justifications, even more so than the language reform.[69] This may be also because there had been a demand for an increase in literacy since the Ottoman times; 'Becoming literate implied only a gain'.[70] The positive and encouraging reports by Western newspapers also helped to spread the news of the change. Some reporters even came to see this transformation with their own eyes and conveyed their observations to their organisations. After the reform, the difficulties that foreigners had gone through when travelling to Turkey and trying to read signs in Arabic script were gone. The admiration of foreigners could also be seen in Wood's 1929 article: "one cannot fail to admire the willingness of the present generation of Turks to undergo the expense and the inconvenience of making such a change for the future interests of their country".[71] Thus, the reformers must have achieved one of their most important goals – the revision of the nation's image in the eyes of the world. Moreover, the act of publishing the reaction of the world in Turkish newspapers must have motivated people struggling to adapt to this change.

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68 İlker Aytürk, p.120. Even the journalists and some reformers –including İsmet İnönü– were against the reform and made speeches about it publicly. However, right before the reform, it can be seen that they stopped being an opposition and became a full supporter. Moreover, it is not possible to see any opposing voice from the government and the media from this point. This situation raises doubts about a possible silenced opposition; for the regulations on the press, see Nurşen Mazıcı, "1930'A Kadar Basının Durumu Ve 1931 Matbuat Kanunu," Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi (1996): 131-154, doi:10.1501/tite_0000000210.

69 İlker Aytürk, "Script Charisma in Hebrew and Turkish: A Comparative Framework for Explaining Success and Failure of Romanization." *Journal of World History 21*, no. 1 (2010): p.108. 97–130. doi:10.1353/jwh.0.0106.

70 Hale Yılmaz, p.158-161.

71 Wood, p.196-7.

The script reform was a precursor of the language reform; a few years after the alphabet reform, a number of government initiatives in favour of language purification were introduced.[72] The Language Council announced that Arabic- and Persian-rooted words were to be abandoned. In parallel, they also invented new words derived from either French or English, while claiming their Turkish authenticity and purity.[73] These actions, both changing the script and purifying the language, also generated long-term effects, which remain to the present day. Even though the alphabet reform seemed to be an innocuous act for laying the foundations of a more modern nation, today it has caused a cultural illiteracy in terms of collective memory and the nation's heritage. To prove this point, it is sufficient to ask an adult in Turkey today to read a book from the reform years and ask what s/he understands from the text. This experiment will certainly result in an understanding between 40 and 50 per cent. Spearman and Turhan also claim that 'an average Turk is now unable to read easily any book published before about 1940'.[74] Even the original alphabet speech given by Atatürk cannot be fully understood by the present young generation.[75] In modern Turkey, the purification attempt also created a polarisation between people who have different ideologies, for example those preferring and using outdated or pure Turkish words in daily life.[76] This kind of nostalgia – using or trying to retrieve old words – can also be seen in the current revival of the Ottoman calligraphic tradition ignored since the alphabet reform.[77] Aytürk claims that it is possible to talk about a 'cultural identity crisis' today because of this cultural interruption.[78]

<div align="center">*</div>

The following chapters contextualise the analysis of newspapers and magazines, which is the significant part of this study.

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72 Çolak, p.75

73 Çolak, p.77.

74 Spearman & Turhan, p.95.

75 Aytürk, "The First Episode of Language Reform in Republican Turkey," p.275.

76 Kaya Yılmaz, p.78.

77 Wood, p.200.

78 Aytürk, p.275.

Chapter 5: Contextualising the analysis of newspapers and magazines

"The honour of implementing the new Turkish alphabet for the first time in public broadly belonged to the Turkish press." [1]

Although the effort made for the transition to the new script was obvious and it is known that the publications were published in two scripts for a while, it is not documented before how far this integration of Latin went and how it affected the look and the design of publications and the typographic decisions made during this transition and after the complete adoption of the new script. The following chapters (6-7-8) aim to seek answers to these questions by analysing the selected newspapers and magazines within a certain framework. However, before going through the analysis chapters, some historical context and issues regarding the analysed newspapers and magazines will be revealed first in this chapter. In the historical context, a brief history of newspapers and magazines in Turkey will be presented in order to examine further the role of publications in Turkish printing history and understand how this context aided the implementation of the reform. In the second section, how the reform affected the reform-period newspapers and magazines financially and how new metal types and printing presses and other equipments were supplied will be presented in a brief summary. In order to contextualise the analysis, the last section will deal with the common issues in reform-period newspapers and magazines such as the use of images and cartoons to promote the reform.

5.1. Historical role of Turkish newspapers and magazines [2]
Emergence of newspapers

As the introduction of printing was late in the Empire, the adoption of Turkish newspaper convention came one century after Müteferrika's initiative. This progress seems normal and feasible when it is compared to the creation of newspaper in Europe nearly 165 years after Gutenberg. However, for the Ottoman case, the accelerative role of non-Muslims for the adoption should be taken into consideration. Although the Ottoman Turks were not using the printing press, minorities were doing so and they became the master of it. No matter how much the Ottomans tried to ignore the existence of the printing convention alongside them, being affected by and exposed to this innovation was inevitable in a more technologically developed world. Alongside technology, the wind of ideologies and political and religious propagandas that spread to the country from Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries played an essential role in creating a printing culture within the Ottoman society. In that period, books were deemed

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1 Aytürk, p.225.

2 To review this section through a diagram on the publishing activities in Turkish, see Appendix 2, p.350.
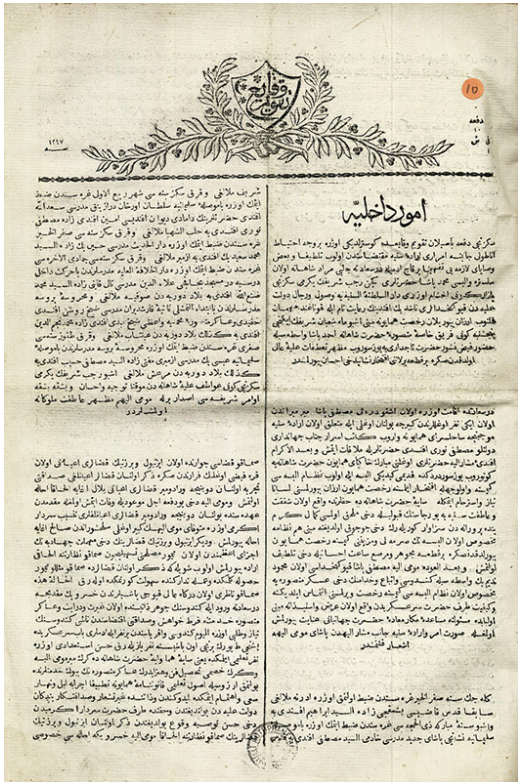
Figure 5.1 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 27 May 1831, No.10.
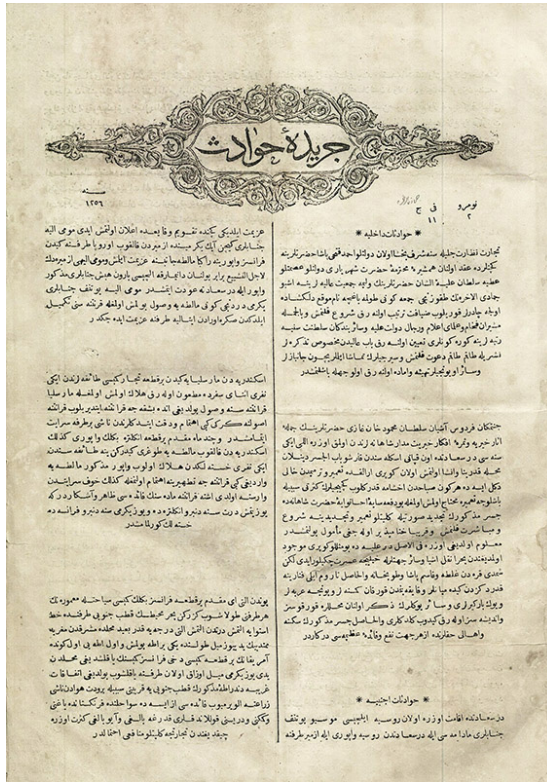Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 5.2 *Ceride-i Havadis*, 10 August 1840, No.2.
Image source: National Library of Turkey

educational tools to spread knowledge, while newspapers were ideal grounds as crowd-pullers for propagating ideas and political agendas. Thus, it is understandable that the first state newspaper came into being for this purpose.[3]

Apart from the cosmopolitan capital, İstanbul, one of the Ottoman provinces, Smyrna (İzmir), was a place where the other communities lived and used the printing press efficiently. Non-Turkish press (widely French) was dominant in the scene especially for missionary activities.[4] These printing presses were founded in order to play an active role in spreading the ideas of the French Revolution within the French community in the Empire by using newspapers as a tool.[5] However, in time, they started to publish content in favour of some minority riots, which provoked the crowd. This act displeased the Sultan, and it resulted in the publishing activity being suspended. In place of it, a new paper in French named as *Le Courrier de Smyrne* was launched and news and articles started to be published, but this time in favour of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan, Mahmut II, was also following the paper closely and saw its effect and the disturbance that was created in other countries as a powerful political tool. As a result, in 1831, he decided to publish a weekly Turkish state newspaper, named *Takvim-i Vakaiyye*, in four languages (Armenian, Arabic, Persian and French) *(Fig.5.1)*.[6] As its circulation and publishing frequency did not meet the expectations, it continued to be published, not on a daily basis, but periodically. Undoubtedly, it paved the way for other official newspapers and started a new era of periodicals.

While the first state newspaper was still in print but not very active, a second semi-official paper, *Ceride-i Havadis*, was started to be published in 1840 by a British man called William Churchill [7] *(Fig.5.2)*. It was supported financially and permitted by the state, and played a more active role in spreading all kind of news and promoting education and literacy in addition to its wide-ranging editorial content.[8] This approach to newspaper publication emphasises its role in transmitting information, as was the case in the implementation of the Latin alphabet reform in 1928.

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3 The first government newspaper within the Ottoman territory was actually published in Egypt by Bulaq Press in 1828; it was a Turkish–Arabic newspaper named *Vekayi-i Mısriyye.* For more information, see: Christoph K. Neumann, Geoffrey Roper and Weltmuseum der Druck-kunst Gutenberg-Museum, in *Book And Newspaper Printing In Turkish, 18Th-20Th Centuries* (West-hofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), p.234.

4 Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th–20th Centuries)," *Middle Eastern Literatures 6*, no 1 (2003): 39-76, p.60.

5 The first French paper (or bulletin) was published in 1795; for more information, see: Uğur Akbulut, "Osmanlı Basın Tarihine Bir Katkı: Gazetelerin Yayınlanma Amaçları Üzerine." *Journal of Turkish Studies 8*, no. 5 (2013): 31-57, p.34-35.

6 Ibid, p.35; for more information, see: Neumann, p.234 and J. S. Szyliowicz and Geoffrey Roper, in *Functional Perspectives On Technology: The Case Of The Printing Press In The Ottoman Empire* (United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), p.337.

7 For more information about him, see: Akbulut, p.38.

8 Churchill blamed illiteracy for low circulation of papers and claimed that if literacy were to rise, printing would flourish, as had happened in Europe. For a detailed account of the paper's mission on encouraging the literacy, see Akbulut, p.39.

Figure 5.3 *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, 3 July 1862, No.2.
Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 5.4 First magazine *Vakay-i Tıbbiye*, 1849.
Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 5.5 First illustrated magazine *Mir'at*, 1862.
Image source: Atatürk Library

Newspapers became more powerful and active in politics after the 1860s. The two prominent newspapers, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkâr (Fig.5.3),* were introduced in this period. These newspapers laid the foundations of modern newspapers and created a patriotic and lofty mission, such as simplifying Turkish in order to get the attention of the public and raise literacy and circulation in this way. Furthermore, the people behind these papers knew the correlation between a civilised nation and high-circulation newspapers, and often expressed this opinion in their editorial articles.[9] Apparently, achieving these goals was not deemed possible with low circulations, but according to the general opinion among the researchers, there was progress in literacy and success in creating a newspaper readership thanks to the simplification of the language and effective publishing strategies. A statement by one of the prolific Turkish literature professors, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, also supports this argument. He claims that no newspaper in the world had the same mission and role as it had in Turkey in that period and while the public generally creates ideologies and spreads them with the help of newspapers, in Turkey, newspapers and the people behind them created new ideologies and imposed them on the public via newspapers. It is even possible to indicate a definite formation of public opinion for the first time through the newspapers of the period. However, due to the regulations and restrictions in the second half of the 19th century, newspapers almost lost their popularity and place to printed books and magazines, supported by the translation and popular literature trend.[10]

Magazine publishing

Despite the two centuries of delay in establishing Turkish printing, magazine publication immediately followed the first Turkish newspaper in Turkey. The first magazines spread to the country quickly in different genres.[11] The very first magazine in Turkish, *Vakay-i Tıbbiye,* was on medicine and was published in 1849 *(Fig.5.4).* The first pictorial magazine called *Mir'at* was published in 1862 *(Fig.5.5).*[12]

There was a correlation between being an intellectual and being keen on to publish magazines in the beginning of 20th century. A few of intellectuals were privileged enough to own a private printing facility. Due to the limitations in printing, some of them ended up going to Europe in order to seek the new equipments to publish high-standard periodicals.[13] Except for

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9 Akbulut, p.41-3.

10 Jale Baysal, 'Harf Devrimi'nden Önce Ve Sonra Yayın Hayatı' in *Harf Devrimi'nin 50. Yılı Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), p.67.

11 Aslı Yapar Gönenç, "Türkiye'de Dergiciliğin Tarihsel Gelişimi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Hakemli Dergisi | İstanbul University Faculty Of Communication Journal 29* (2007): p.64 http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/iuifd/article/view/1019010360/1019009599.

12 Zafer Toprak, "Fikir Dergiciliğinin Yüz Yılı," in *Türkiye'de Dergiler Ansiklopediler (1849-1983)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984), p.17.

13 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2000), p.108.

some of the well-known, high-circulated ones, there was no continuity in publishing magazine in the beginning of 20th century. Many of magazines vanished after a short-period publishing. Even there were many one-volume magazines. This was also the result of the pressure on media dictated by the Ottoman regime. Considering the practice of publishing and its ephemerality, it is possible to conclude that magazines were substantial devices to spread the voice of people and ideas in that period.

In terms of magazine printing, owing to the lack of craftsmen to create clichés for pictures, publishers used to buy clichés and related equipment from the foreign-rooted publishing houses. Later on, Turkish publishers commissioned some of the European printing houses to create suitable clichés for their content. Even though the quality of clichés was good, printers and publishers faced a problem in applying printing techniques because of unsuitable printing machines and materials such as ink and paper. Furthermore, a law was enacted in the late 19th century requiring the inspection of clichés and equipment coming from abroad. Because of these limitations, editors (or publishers) sometimes had to use unsuitable clichés for their articles.[14] Surprisingly, despite all the obstacles, it was also possible to encounter across good examples of magazine printing, as the period printers spent most of their time improving their printing facilities, rather than dealing with the restriction on media.

Print explosion [15]

After overthrowing of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1908 and the restrictive era the printing activities as well as the announcement of the Second Constitutional Era,[16] the Young Turks[17] set the press free again and abolished the inspector committee. That is how an "explosion" in printing came about. This was also "a period[18] when the seeds of the modern Turkish press were planted in terms of capitalisation, professionalisation, ideological differentiation, and technical advance."[19] To understand the extent of the explosion, Ataman and Pekman give a snapshot of it:

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14 Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993), p.156.

15 The historian Orhan Koloğlu uses this term to explain the immense scale of a breakthrough, which was considered a boom in printing after the lift of autocratic ban on the press in 1908 by the overthrow of the Sultan. Cited in Bora Ataman and Cem Pekman, "A Champion of Printing Quality in the Ottoman Turkish Press of the Second Constitutional Period: Şehbal Journal." In *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East: Papers from the Symposium at the University of Leipzig, September 2008*, ed. by Geoffrey Roper (Netherlands: Brill, 2013): p.231-243.

16 This occasion was the second attempt of announcing the constitutional monarchy in 1908 as a result of the Young Turks' revolution.

17 "A member of an abortive reform movement in the Ottoman Empire, originally made up of exiles in Europe who advocated liberal reforms. The movement fell under the domination of young Turkish army officers of a nationalist bent, who wielded great influence in the government between 1908 and 1918." "Young Turk". In *Collins English Dictionary*, 2000.

18 A period started in 1908 with the abolishment of inspection committee and the oppression on the press.

19 Ataman & Pekman, p.231.

Figure 5.6 'Loosing the Censor'. *Kalem* newspaper, 11 February, 1909. Cartoon shows the struggle between the Ottoman officials and opponents, who either try to open or shut in the Press ban. Image source: National Library of Turkey.
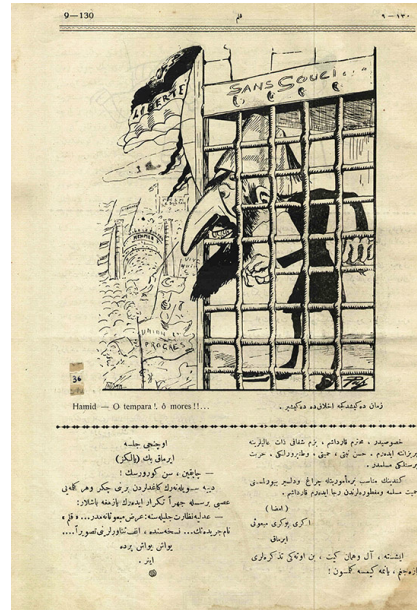
Figure 5.6a 'Sans Souci' (Care free). *Kalem* newspaper, 29 June, 1911. Cartoon shows Sultan Abdulhamid II as caved and watching the crowd, who celebrates his overthrow and the announcement of Second Constitution. Image source: National Library of Turkey.

Figure 5.7 The cover of Illustrated magazine *Şehbal*. 23 May, 1909. Image source: Atatürk Library.

Figure 5.7a An inside page of *Şehbal* magazine. 23 May, 1909. Image source: Atatürk Library.

The total number of periodicals published in the entire Ottoman Empire was only 120. However, following the declaration of freedom, in the first six weeks, over 200 appeared and within seven months 730 newspapers had applied for licences. In the following six years, 1600 periodicals were licensed, not to mention the unlicensed journals and newspapers.[20]

The rate of circulation also peaked for the first time in the history of Ottoman Turkish printing and publications. For example, newspapers and periodicals reached nearly five or six times higher than their past rates. The newspapers were sold on the black market and supplies ran out quickly.[21] In addition to the conventional broadsheet newspapers, satirical tabloid newspapers also entered their golden era also as a result of the victory of political opponents. This incidence inevitably created a significant cartoon and image tradition in newspapers that had never been seen before *(Fig.5.6)*.[22] Thus, the publishing stage was once again given to newspapers and periodicals, after a favourable era for printing quality and book publishing. As a result of this liberation, periodicals in good quality came into existence. *Şehbal* magazine, as an equivalent of *L'Illustration* in Paris in excellence is a good example for that *(Fig.5.7)*. However, the life of this boom in publications did not last for long because the war period[23] was at the door.

War period and republican years [24]

Due to the dramatic rise in printing in the Second Constitutional Era, the aggressiveness in spreading new ideologies, such as Nationalism, Modernism[25] was at peak in the history of the Empire. This awakening increased the tension and caused some unpleasant incidents, such the execution of officers in İstanbul streets.[26] One year after the boom, a new regulation was promulgated in 1909 in order to take the press under control and prevent these unpleasant events. As a result of this, the printing activities started to slow down and the number of printed items, especially

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20 Ibid, p.233.

21 Ibid, p.233.

22 For a comprehensive account on the role of image and press in that period, see: Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (United States: State University of New York Press, 2000).

23 I called this period as 'war period' to refer a series wars starting with the Balkan Wars first in 1912 and continuing with the World War I in 1914 and the Turkish Independence War in 1919.

24 There is no efficient literature from a printing point of view, particularly about this period. Even though a boom in printing had happened a couple of years before, the conditions of the wars seem to have interrupted the rise on the quality of printing, due to the lack of printing facilities, and paper supply.

25 In addition to these Western-rooted ideologies within the Ottoman territory, four more concepts as a national slogan spread by the announcement of the Second Constitutional Era, which were: "Freedom, Equality, Justice and Brotherhood."

26 Nurşen Mazıcı, "1930'a kadar basının durumu ve 1931 Matbuat Kanunu," *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* (1996): 131-154, doi:10.1501/tite_0000000210, p.136.

Figure 5.8 *Güleryüz* newspaper, 18 May, 1921. Image source: National Library of Turkey.

Figure 5.8a *Güleryüz* newspaper, 26 May, 1921. Image source: National Library of Turkey.

publications decreased within years. The objection of the opponents for the oppression on the press in 1913 made the situation worse and censor became tighter afterwards. Ironically, not a long time later, when the opponents came to power, they also applied the same censorship.[27]

A long period of wars with a great privation and struggle has started with the Balkan Wars in 1912 and continued throughout the World War I and the War of Turkish Independence. It should not be a surprise that the readers lost their interest in reading literature in that period[28] and the need for making patriotic propagandas via publications –especially newspapers– has become a vital issue. This tendency inevitably gained a significant momentum in the Independence War even though the press was divided into two fractions as supporters and non-supporters of the war. The printing houses in the mainland, Anatolia,[29] which were founded right away after the boom in printing in 1908, soon became the places where the independence supporters published their publications during the war. Also despite the oppression of the occupier forces –French, British and Italians–,[30] the Anatolian movement succeeded in spreading the idea of independence and tried to prevent the black propaganda by publishing newspapers with high circulation *(Fig.5.8)*.[31]

In the war period, the circumstances regarding printing were worst in the history of Turkey and the need for decent printing facilities and paper supply was greater. But still, besides all these difficulties, it was a productive period even though the printing people were using every material they had to be able to print and transmit the idea of independence.[32] This kind of challenge must have paved the way for the implementation of the alphabet reform and inspired the people who used publications as a helping device for the change.

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27 Ibid, p.137.

28 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılı k, 2000), p.139.

29 *Anatolia:* In Turkish *Anadolu*, also called *Asia Minor*, which is the peninsula that today constitutes the Asian portion of Turkey. Because of its location at the point where the continents of Asia and Europe meet, Anatolia was, from the beginning of civilization, a crossroad for numerous peoples migrating or conquering from either continent. [...] Anatolia may be defined in geographic terms as the area bounded to the north by the Black Sea, to the east and south by the Southeastern Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, and to the west by the Aegean Sea and Sea of Marmara; culturally the area also includes the islands of the eastern Aegean Sea. "Anatolia". In *Encyclopædia Britannica* (contributors: John E. Woods, John Frederick Haldon, Donald Fyfe Easton, Seton H.F. Lloyd, Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate and Dominique P.M. Collon), accessed April 2018. https://www.britannica.com/place/Anatolia

30 Kabacalı, p.151. Lots of journalists sent to exile and many publications were closed down due to the strong political propaganda against the occupiers.

31 Mazıcı, p.138. The first kind of this newspaper was 'İrade-i Milliye', published in the city called 'Sivas' where the independence movement was started. After that, another important newspaper started to be published in the new centre of independence movement, which is Ankara. The newspaper was called 'Hakimiyet-i Milliye' and reached a noteworthy readership during the National campaign. There were also many other newspapers, such as *Güleryüz, İleri* and *Öğüt*.

32 Hıfzı Topuz, cited in Akçura, p.57. For a detailed account of the difficulties that an Anatolian newspaper (Öğüt) went through, see: Akçura, p.57-62.

After the occupation years, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire in 1923 and as a consequence, the new Turkish Republic was founded shortly afterwards. It was a one-nation republic as opposed to the multicultural Ottoman Empire. Thus, again, making propaganda was necessary to unite the nation and spread the agenda of the new regime. For this reason, the printing facilities and equipments used in the war period also started to be utilized for printing new materials of the newly founded Republic, such as bulletins, circulars and official documents.[33]

Though these attempts revived the printing activity, the inspection and censor on the press still continued in this period. The reason was although the new government was determined to raise the literacy rate and readership and put this aim primarily into its agenda, any dissenting voice could have damaged the authority of the new republic.[34] Also, due to being afraid of any chaos that may have started by the minority riots in the country, the government brought censorship again in 1925 and closed down many publications due their provocative content.[35] In contrast with the new censorship, the governmental publishing took an essential role in the printing sphere in the same year. It is possible to see many state publications to shape the society and textbooks regarding different disciplines such as law, science and technology to educate the new generation. While the newspapers, which also support the new Republic, became the voice of the government, magazines had the role of engaging the public with social and cultural aspects. This reality encouraged the people who were in favour of the new government to use magazines in order to shape the society in accordance with the government's modernisation agenda. It was achieved with the use of Western-look imagery and also with articles encouraging a Western life style.

In addition to all the activities, the great acceleration has come later with a milestone, which is the Latin alphabet reform. Although the idea of changing the script existed since the 19th century, it was also one of the main goals of the new Republic from the beginning. Therefore, they might have intentionally kept their enthusiasm for printing and its educational side in the early years to realize their goal and get a greater result by changing the script afterwards.

5.2. Effects of the reform on newspapers and magazines

There was no apparent division between the roles of publications used to implement the reform. However, broadsheet newspapers played a key role as noted in the literature:

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33 Akçura, p.73.

34 Mazıcı explains the reasons and motivation of the regime to control the press in depth, p.138-39.

35 Mazıcı, p.140.

Newspaper	1.12.1928		2.12.1928		7.12.1928	
	Printed	Sold	Printed	Sold	Printed	Sold
Cumhuriyet	11.500	9.000	12.000	9.650	7.000	5.730
Milliyet	10.000	8.500	10.000	8.620	8.000	5.250
İkdam*	4.000	2.320	8.000	5.440	5.000	3.120
Vakit	7.000	5.500	7.000	5.440	4.000	2.780
Son Saat	6.000	3.420	3.000	2.670	2.500	1.500
Akşam**	1.000	850	4.000	2.000	3.000	1.340

(*) and (**) The newspapers *İkdam* and *Akşam* were printed 50% and 75% less than their normal print number on 1 December 1928. This was because of the breakdown in their printing machines; it is not related to the alphabet change.

Figure 5.9 Table prepared by the American Embassy in İstanbul to inform to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the US to show the circulation of newspapers on the implementation day and the afterwards. Source: Şimşir, p.226.

The owners of the newspapers, who were affected most, ordered new metal types and as the first cost of the reform, they consoled themselves with the tax exemption for new printing machines and equipments by the government and their rightful hope that the public will learn the new alphabet and buy their newspapers.[36]

Magazines, due to less frequent publication and lack of the government subsidies available to the newspapers, played a less significant part in implementing the reform. In some cases, circulation declined and some magazine publishers had to declare their closure. Newspaper circulation also declined because fewer people could read the Latin script. This important burden on publications eventually brought great financial strain. The demand on readers – being able to read a daily newspaper partially in the Latin alphabet – was especially ambitious:

> As foreseen, a significant fall on the newspapers' sale occurred. The circulation of newspapers decreased by the percentages of 25, 30 and 50. The newspapers that had less power are struggling. Readers are now not able to scan the papers as quickly as they do before. They read slowly and with difficulty. It is possible to come across a person who says that s/he prefers to scan a newspaper in French, rather than being able to read a Turkish newspaper in two hours. One of my friends who is a young teacher told me disappointedly that he lost the pleasure of reading.[37]

Indeed, a serious decrease in circulation occurred throughout the transition period. The decrease was up to 50 per cent according to the report and the table prepared by the American Embassy in İstanbul to inform to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the US *(Fig.5.9)*.[38] Readers familiar with the French language preferred to read the French editions of Turkish newspapers, such as *Cumhuriyet* (Republic), *Milliyet* (Nationality), and *Akşam* (Evening), as also indicated in the quote above.[39] Newspapers even took some precautions to help prevent the loss of readers and low circulation. Not only the drop in sales but also the effort and cost of procuring printing equipment, including Latin types, put publications in a difficult situation economically. Eventually, at the end of the transition period, the government prepared a law for newspapers and magazines, containing decisions on subsidies and tax exemptions for buying printing tools and metal types from abroad. Although the amount that the publications had initially asked for was not granted, these measures partially helped

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36 An extract from the news published in *The Times* newspaper (7.12.1928), cited in Şimşir, p.257.

37 This extract was from a French newspaper called *Mercure de France*, cited in Şimşir, p.227.

38 Şimşir, p.226.

39 Also to compare with the Turkish ones printed in Latin, unfortunately I could not find a copy of these editions in the archives/libraries of Turkey. When I did some research, it appeared that the copies exist only in the Library of Congress in Washington. Due to the financial restraints and also because of the focus of this study, I did not run after them. Gökhan Akçura, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2012), p.81.

Newspaper	Demanded	Taken	Magazine	Demanded	Taken
Cumhuriyet	10.000	2.250	Haftalık Mecmua	500	100
Milliyet	9.000	2.000	Resimli Gazete	500	100
Vakit	8.000	850	Resimli Ay	300	100
İkdam	8.000	1.200	Akbaba	400	100
Son Saat	7.500	800	Papağan	400	100
Akşam	7.500	1.100	Milli Mecmua	300	200
Karagöz	2.000	200	İçtihat	300	50
Köroğlu	2.000	200	Üniversite Mecmuası	500	250

Figure 5.10 The amount of subsidies paid by Turkish government's for newspapers and magazines per month. Source: Şimşir, p.226.

Figure 5.11 Advertisement showing a new model of Heidelberg printing press *(5 April, 1929, Cumhuriyet)*. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
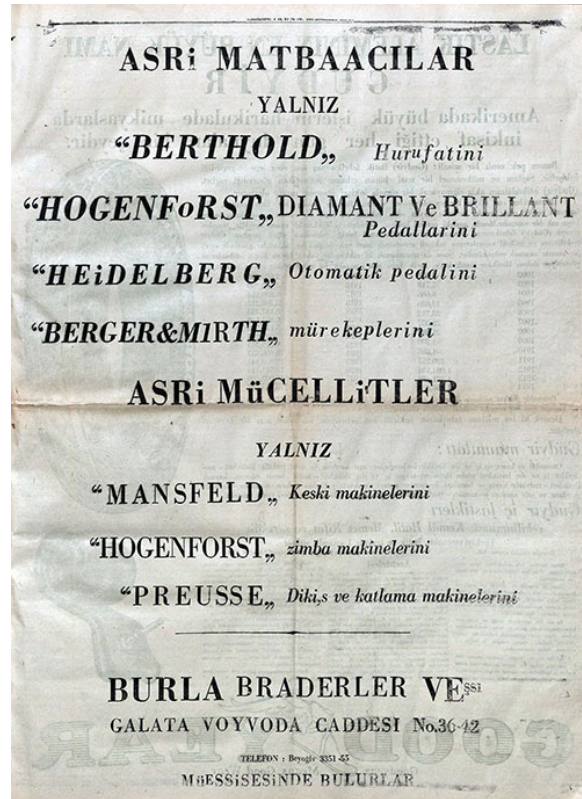
Figure 5.11a One page advertisement of representative, Burla Biraderler, who were selling types, printing press and printing tools *(1 December, 1928, İkdam)*. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

some of high-circulation newspapers to keep their businesses running *(Fig.5.10).* Nevertheless, others, such as *Vakit* and *İkdam*, had to declare their closure after the reform.[40] It is not known who initially brought in the idea of supporting publications financially, but there were also some official inquiries from local newspapers during the transition period as we understand from the state documents. On 1 and 16 October, two provincial newspapers from the cities, Amasya and Sakarya, requested money from the government either as a loan or aid to be able to buy new Latin types and to continue to spread the new Republic's reforms successfully and introduce the new alphabet to the public.[41] They wrote these requests to the Press Directorate of the State because an individual named Cenap[42] wrote a letter to the government based on these requests, and advised the following measures to be taken for this cause:

- Transferring 200,000 Turkish liras to the budget of the Press Directorate and distributing this amount to the newspapers that the government supports.
- Tax exemption on metal types that will be imported from abroad for one year.
- Tax exemption on newsprint for one year.
- Free circulation of publications via post for one year.

In his letter, Cenap he also emphasised that these publications are vital to make the public read and to spread the government's and its political party's propaganda. He also warned that if no measures were taken, these publications would have little choice but to close down.[43] After the Minister of Interior, Şükrü Kaya, forwarded this letter to the government, these measures were accepted and put into practice as far as conditions allowed.

5.3. Purchase of metal type and printing presses

As put forward in the arguments of reformers, adopting Latin script brought access to the new printing technologies and this meant greater importation to align the latest developments with Europe. Certainly, this adaptation was realised as a long-term achievement due to the pace of economic recovery. However, it was still possible to see advertisements for advanced printing tools and machines suitable for the Latin script during and after the transition period *(Fig.5.11).* Unfortunately, these ads are one of the few sources of information about the type of equipment likely to have been used for publication printing[44] because it is not even

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40 Rekin Ertem, *Elifbeden Alfabeye: Türkiye'de harf ve yazı meselesi* (Çemberlitaş, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1991).

41 See the document: BCA, 30.10.0.0, 8559/83.547.16, 25 October 1928, "Gazeteler 1928 Aralık ayından itibaren yeni harflerle çıkacağından bazı gazetelere para yardımında bulunulacağı, hariçten gelecek malzemeden gümrük vergisi alınmayacağı ve ücretsiz olarak nakledileceği."

42 Unfortunately his position in this state institution could not be identified despite the research on him. Also, because the surname law was not enacted yet in this period, it became harder to identify him with only a forename.

43 Ibid. See the letters in Appendix 3 and 3A, p.351-2.

44 In addition to ads, there is some information extracted from the memoirs of printers, but

known where 68 percent of newspapers were printed. In İstanbul, only 12 out of 56 'identified' newspapers had their own printing facilities, and the rest (44 newspapers) were printed in other publishing houses.[45] Furthermore, there is only a generalised knowledge on printing presses used by publishers during the reform period. Especially it is hard to divide the printing environment of newspapers and magazines in two categories as the situation of magazine printing is unknown due to a lack of studies. However, they must have benefited from the experience of newspapers' printing which played a leading role in the adoption of the new alphabet. Hence, they will not be elaborated on separately in this section. In terms of production, the important developments could be categorised as 1) type of printing press, 2) typesetting, and 3) supply of metal types.

Type of printing press

Before and after the Turkish Republic, the printing scene was briefly as follows:

> The first years of the examined era (1919), the printing machines were primitive. Typesetting was being done by hand. The power and speed of machines were limited. One or two newspapers, such as *Vakit*, had a rotary press. After the foundation of the Republic, the printing machines improved and hand composition was replaced by type compositor machines. Between the years of 1923 and 1933, the power of the printing press increased and rotary presses became widespread.[46]

The extract above does not name all the newspapers that owned a rotary press before the Republic; these were *Sabah*, *İkdam*, *Tanin* and *Tasvir-i Efkar*.[47] It is not known which newspaper had the rotary press first, but there is a statement regarding its arrival date, which is either 1908 or 1909, 62 years after its invention. It is also stressed that they were not powerful machines[48] probably because they were the early kinds of rotary press. During the transition period, the newspapers that did not have a rotary press started to buy those machines, and they purchased the latest versions. According to the newspaper announcement, these newspapers were *Cumhuriyet*, *Vakit* and *Son Saat*, who bought the machines from the German Frankenthal company and *Milliyet* who bought from the British Skot company.[49] According to an announcement in *Son Saat* newspaper on 7 May 1929, the colour rotary press they ordered was dated 1929 and there were

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this is unreliable and generalised information based on a person's memory, so it cannot be taken as fact.

45 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "1919-1938 Dönemi Basınına Toplu Bir Bakış," in *Yıllık 1981, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi* (Ankara, 1981), p.107.

46 Kocabaşoğlu, p.108.

47 Ahmed Celaleddin Saraçoğlu, *Mütareke yıllarında İstanbul, Kitabevi Yayınları* (İstanbul 2009), p.365, cited in Akçura, p.223.

48 Cevat Fehmi Başkut, *Gazetecilik dersleri* (İstanbul: Sermet Matbaası, İstanbul 1967), p.67, cited in Akçura, p.227.

49 *Son Saat*, 7 May 1929.

Gazetecilere ve matbaacılara

Muhtelif Avrupa fabrikalarının Türkiye umumî vekilleri

Muhsin ve münir Emin kardeşler

İstanbul, Şamlı Han

Her türlü matbaa te'sisatı, makinalar ve levazımatı ve binlerce çeşit üzerine labör ve fantazi hurufat, pirinç çizgi takımlaları rotatif, lito, tipo ve tifdruk, illüstirasiyon ve lüks siyah, renkli mürekkepler.

Türkiye için temsil ettiğimiz fabrikalar

Almanyanın en meşhur fabrikalarından:

Baverşe Gisaery hurufat fabrikası

Gebruder Şimit mürekkep fabrikası

ve dünyanın her tarafına matbaa te'sisatı yapan

Grafika müessesesi

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24 sahifelik büyük ve son sistem bir rotatif makinası Grafika müessesesi tarafından (Akşam) a satılmıştır. Bundan başka bir çok matbaaların satın aldığı makinalar ve levazımın ve hurufat tarafımızdan te'm in edilmiştir.

Telefon İst : 1396

Figure 5.12 The announcement about *Akşam*'s rotary press sale is at the bottom of the ads, along with the advertisement of other products, such as metal types from the Bauer Type Foundry, ink from Gebrüder Schmidt, and the Grafika for printing presses. (9 December 1928, *Akşam*). Image source: Atatürk Library

only four others in the world; one in the Netherlands, one in Poland and the other two in New York. The newspaper also claimed that even French newspapers ordered these presses after Turkish newspapers had done so. The arrival date of these presses is also mentioned as four months after the announcement. Within a couple of days, the newspaper also advertised its old printing presses and the new metal types in 10 and 12 pt that they brought from Germany, without mentioning any names.[50]

Another piece of information about the sale of a rotary press, which was for the newspaper *Akşam*, comes from an advertisement by a representative, Muhsin ve Münir Emin Kardeşler, *(Fig.5.12)*. An anecdote from a newspaper article in the 20th anniversary edition of the newspaper reveals this sale.[51] Apart from that, the ad claims that many printing presses, tools and metal types were sold to printing houses by the representative. However, it is hard to determine who the customers were.[52] This obstacle is also valid for the new printing presses imported from Europe for the State Printing House. An announcement on 15 January gave this information without indicating the seller and the type of the machines.[53]

It could be concluded that the new printing machines, which are rotary presses, were ordered either during the transition period or right after the implementation of the reform as the announcements indicate. Thus, during the transition when they introduced the Latin content along with text in the Arabic script, they must have used the old technology that they had.[54] But after the official date for the implementation, we understand that the new printing presses were purchased either by the newspapers and the state. Apart from the printing machines, the details about how they managed to print in two scripts are unknown, but we do have the information related to the practice of typesetting in the transition period.[55]

Typesetting

Until the reform, types were set by hand because there were no composition machines suitable for Ottoman Turkish.[56] However, it is known that there were two Linotype machines in İstanbul for Arabic typesetting. However,

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50 Akçura, p.227.

51 Ibid, p.223.

52 This is one of the problems with such sources of information.

53 *Milliyet*, 15 January 1929, "Devlet Matbaası-Yeni makineler geliyor-Mürettip mektebi açıldı."

54 As mentioned, it is hard to identify each of these presses due to the lack of literature and evidence. This subject needs a separate study and some 'detective work'.

55 The only information about this comes from one of the printing history books: the typesetters had to learn the new alphabet first in order to print in Latin in the transition period. This situation necessitated a course for the typesetters, which will be pondered on in the next section.

56 The statement of one of the typesetters, İbrahim Bilge, on the general picture of printing press in 1925, proves this point: 'The newspapers were being published by rotary press with hand composition. Because there was no type composition machine in the country at this time, all letters were set by hand and twenty-five typesetters were working in order to publish a four-page newspaper.' Akçura, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi,* p.171.

Figure 5.13 Advertisements of Monotype and Typograph (9 December 1928, *Akşam* - 1 April 1929, *Cumhuriyet*). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

according to the statement of one of the Linotype representatives, Reginald Orcutt, they had fallen into disuse and were well beyond repair.[57] There is a detailed account on these machines in Titus Nemeth's unpublished thesis 'Arabic type-making in the machine age: the influence of technology on the form of Arabic type', with some speculations and evidence about their arrival time.[58] The conclusive date for their arrival is defined as some time before the First World War. To add a different perspective on the issue, there is another statement by a Turkish journalist, Cevat Fehmi Başkut. According to Başkut, a linotype machine for Arabic typesetting was brought to a printing house called 'Cevdet Matbaası', in 1923.[59] Furthermore, another interesting statement on Arabic typesetting machines in Turkey belongs to a typesetter, Saim Erdoğmuş, who also claimed that he used this machine before the reform. In his statement, we learn that the tutor, who thought these machines, was also the representative of Linotype, Fevzi Bey, who is also mentioned in Orcutt's memoir. He also gives some details that the matrices were in 12- and 16-point sizes and the machines were only used for printing law and regulation books. He specifically points out that these machines were not given to the newspapers until the alphabet reform, because of the difficulty of learning the old script and typesetting on these machines, which had a very crowded keyboard to operate (around 400 letters).[60] The first newspaper to get a typesetting machine suitable for the new Turkish alphabet was *Cumhuriyet*, as can be confirmed in other sources as well. According to another printer's statement, the date for the new machines was 1930, one year after the implementation.[61]

Although we see advertisements by competitors during the transition period, such as Monotype and Typograph *(Fig.5.13)*, there is no evidence to confirm that they were bought and used in newspaper printing. Considering the huge economic burden on newspapers, it is likely that this technology was not adopted immediately as in the case of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. As the printer above claims, it may also be because the compositors would not be able to adapt well enough to setting the new Turkish letters in the short time in which the implementation took place (within four months from the announcement and nine months from the preparations). As a defence of this suggestion, it is possible to see the newspaper owners' act of buying new metal types from Europe as an initial choice. A newspaper article in *Milliyet* also supports this suggestion by stating that the alphabet reform led to a positive and improving effect for cutting new Turkish types. The article even claimed that, in a very short time, there would be no need for importation of types from

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57 Reginald Orcutt, *Merchant of alphabets* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1947), p.71

58 Titus Nemeth, "Arabic Type-making in the machine age: the influence of technology on the form of Arabic type, 1908–1993" (PhD diss., Reading University, 2013), p.67–71.

59 Cevat Fehmi Başkut's statement, cited in Akçura's book (*Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi*, 2012), p.228.

60 The statement of the printer cited in Fuat Süreyya Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi (1919-1965 Cumhuriyet Dönemi)*, 2nd volume (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Şirketi Matbaası, 1968), p.450.

61 Akçura, p.228.

YENİ HARFLERİN BİR FAYDASI DAHA

Harf dökümhaneleri

Harf inkılâbımız Türk dökümhaneleri için büyük bir feyz ve inkişaf hazırlamıştır

Bir harf dökümhanesinde faaliyet

Yeni Türk harfleri, hurufatçılık san'atımızda da mühim bir terakki yolu açmıştır.

Şimdi Türk hurufat dökümhaneleri sahipleri yeni harflerimizi dökmeğe başlamışlardır; bu suretle lakin zamanda Avrupadan harf getirtmek ihtiyacından vareste kalacağımız şüphesiz addolunabilir.

Figure 5.14 News about the positive effect of the reform on Turkish type foundries (29 October 1928, *Milliyet*) Image source: Atatürk Library

Devlet matbaası

Yeni makineler geliYor mürettip mektebi açıldı

Devlet matbaasında ıslahata devam edilmektedir. Matbaanın Avrupaya ısmarladığı yeni makinelerde yoldadır.

Dün devlet matbaasının faaliyeti hakkında müdür Faik Sabri B. bir muharririmize demiştirki:

— Yeni yapacağımız matbaa binasının planları bitmek üzeredir. Yakında vekâlete göndereceğiz. Avrupadan sipariş ettiğimiz makineler yola çıkarılmıştır, yalnız tertip makinesi geldi bugün gümrükten çıkacak. Bu makine Türkiyaya giren ilk büyük tertip makinesidir.

Burada açılacak olan mürettip mektebinin muallimleri takarrür etti. Vekâlete bildirdik. Mektep üç dersaneli ve 60 mevcutlu olacaktır.

Figure 5.15 The announcement of the newcoming meachines and the course for typesetters in the State Printing House (15 January 1929, *Milliyet*). Image source: Atatürk Library

Matbuat cem'iyeti de bir kurs açtı

Ankarada yeni harfler le Divân-ı Muhasebât me'mourları ders alıyor-lar

Figure 5.16 The course to teach the new alphabet to the members of the Press Directorate (20 August 1928, *Milliyet*). Image source: Atatürk Library

Dün Devlet Matbaasında Matbaacılık kursu açıldı ve ilk ders verildi. Bu kursa devam edenlere asri ve fenni bir şekilde matbaacılık öğretilecektir. yazısı sahife 3 te.

Figure 5.17 The printing course in the State Printing House (10 March 1929, *Milliyet*). Image source: Atatürk Library

Europe *(Fig.5.14)*. The statement of a typesetter, Aslan Tufan Yazman, on typesetting processes during the transition period supports this argument by stating that there were no typesetting machines such as Intertype and Linotype.[62] However, a news/announcement in *Milliyet (Fig.5.15)* (15 January 1929) on the State Printing House's newly arrived unnamed typesetting machines disproves this fact.[63] In the announcement, it is claimed that these typesetting machines were the biggest ones in Turkey thus far. So, we understand from this statement that there were some typesetting machines before the *Cumhuriyet*'s machines in 1930. It is likely because of the earliest newspaper advertisement on December 1928 and the use of typesetting machine by the state before, as mentioned earlier *(Fig.5.13)*. It was also stated in the same news article that the building of the State Printing House was being extended because of these new machines and a course to train the typesetters in this house was established.

In general, the issue of typesetters who had to learn the new alphabet in a short time was one of the ambitious but essential tasks regarding the adoption. There is no comprehensive account of the issue apart from the testimonies of some typesetters and the news/announcements in newspapers about the courses to train these people. Nevertheless, it was apparent that there were many courses in different forms for typesetters in many printing houses within the newspapers or in governmental bodies *(Fig.5.16)*. Apart from the courses for typesetters specifically, which included both teaching the new alphabet and how to set pages with the new letters, there were courses for all the staff aimed at teaching printing using the new letters in general *(Fig.5.17)*.

The State Printing House opened an early course for all its employees, including typesetters and copy-editors as we learn from the news on 22 August, ten days after the new alphabet announcement. It was planned that they were to learn the alphabet with practice in a month. According to the report, thirty typesetters in the house were already able to work with the new letters; others were going to be able to accomplish this in two months. Governmental paper works and correspondences with other nations could necessitate being familiar with the Latin alphabet, so it seems natural that there were already experienced typesetters. In Ankara, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper also started to run a course for its typesetters.[64] There was also news on the application of new Turkish letters in the Turkish Press Society for all the staff. Lectures were conducted three days a week for a few hours and the person giving these lectures was Hakkı Tarık Bey, the owner of the *Vakit* newspaper and a member of parliament. It is not surprising that the owners of the newspapers, who were mainly the members of parliament, were also the ones who gave these initial lessons in how to set types in the new script and letters because of their identity as being the men of letters and their involvement in the reform process.

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62 Akçura, p.88.

63 "Devlet Matbaası-Yeni makineler geliyor-Mürettip mektebi açıldı," *Milliyet*, 15 January 1929.

64 *Cumhuriyet*, 22 August 1928.

An extract from a memoir of typesetter, Faik Ülgen, reveals some details about this aspect:

> When the newspaper started to integrate the content in new letters, [the owner of the newspaper] Necmettin Sadık [Sadak] [who is also an MP] ordered a blackboard to teach the new script and the alphabet to us every day. As I know French letters a little bit, it became easy to learn the new Latin [Turkish] letters. I never forget that I set the first headline of the newspaper with the new letters. I received a "well-done!" from Necmettin Sadık [Sadak] as I set it without any mistakes. As people from the period know, it was a rare and unusual praise that could be expected from him.[65]

To conclude from all the evidence above, partially sharing content using the new letters could be seen as preparation and prudence to make all typesetters ready for the full adoption by training the typesetters during the transition period. It is apparent that the number of typesetters who were already familiar with the Latin script and quickly learned the new alphabet was sufficient to introduce Latin content in small amounts throughout the transition.

The statements of typesetters showed that these people either already knew French or worked setting publications in French. For instance, the journalist and typesetter Aslan Tufan [Yazman] stated that he worked in *Le Levant* newspaper before the reform and this prepared him for learning the new letters quickly. Moreover, he started to set the content according to the İstanbul accent, different from authors'/columnists' accents and their preferences, by applying the orthographic rules prepared by the important figures of the reform, Falih Rıfkı [Atay] and Necmettin Sadık [Sadak]. As well as the newspaper owners and MPs, these typesetters also taught typesetting courses established within the transition-period newspapers.[66]

Supply of metal types

During the transition period, some of the European type foundries were being advertised with the name of their Turkish representatives in newspapers. These foundries were mostly German, such as Berthold, Schelter & Giesecke, and Bauersche Giesserei (or Bauer Type Foundry) *(Fig.5.18)*. Despite the German influence and the dominance in the type purchases, it was also possible to see French type foundries, such as Deberny and Peignot.[67] Apart from *İkdam*, it is not known whether other newspapers bought metal types from these foundries.[68] This is because only *İkdam* announced the source of its new types on the first day of

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65 Faik Ülgen's article in *Akşam* (26 September 1960), cited in Akçura, p.105.

66 Ibid, p.88–90.

67 For the type foundry's advertisement of the new metal types, see the ABC primer in Atatürk Library Online Archive and Sources: *Yeni Türk Alfabesi* or *Halk Alfabesi*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928).

68 Finding out whether newspapers used these types requires a further investigation and study to identify every individual typeface in each newspaper.

Figure 5.18 Advertisement of German Schelter Type Foundry (28 September 1928, *Cumhuriyet*). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 5.18a Advertisements of German type foundries, Berthold and Bauersche Giesserei (Bauer Type Foundry). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 5.19 Announcement of the type foundry where the metal types of *İkdam* were provided from (1 December 1928, *İkdam*). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 5.20 News about new types that imported from Europe to use in the State Printing House. (21 October 1928, *Milliyet*). Image source: Atatürk Library

the implementation *(Fig.5.19)*. Due to the lack of official documents and research on the issue, it is hard to determine which publications bought their metal types from which type foundries. Even the statements of the newspaper owners could not give any clue about the source of metal types:

> The old types that we had previously became worthless immediately. On the other hand, we had to provide the new types [suitable for the new letters] with a chunk of money. We did not have the experience to decide which kind of metal types would suit the [new] Turkish alphabet best. We bought this, and it didn't suit, but we said we need that, still it was not good; then we said we need those ones too. In short, we bought and bought… [69]

Newspapers were not the only ones to bring metal types from Europe. The State Printing House also imported types weighing 4000 kilos; these types were intended for the purpose of printing books according to the announcements in newspapers *(Fig.5.20)*. In other news, it was also stated that the new types and Monotype machines for the house were soon to be ordered.[70] Unfortunately, there is no name or evidence about the suppliers. Despite the lack of record and literature in Turkey about these purchases, Klimis Mastoridis mentions in his article that the Greek type foundry, Karpathakis was the main supplier of the Turkish printing market at the time of the alphabet reform: "The printers of the time would talk about the way ships used to leave in rows from Piraeus loaded with printing types bound for Turkey."[71] In 1929, a decree signed by Atatürk for the printing house of the Prime Ministry was about a sale of metal types and printing tools from the Turkish representative of the Heidelberg factory, Burla Biraderler, in İstanbul.[72] However, as we know from the literature and the news/announcements, metal types were not solely imported from abroad, but also produced within the country.

One of the institutions to produce types was the State Printing House, despite its order for metal types and typesetting machines from Europe. It is known that the very first types after the alphabet announcement were cut and used to print the initial ABC primers.[73] A news article published on 22 August 1928 in *Cumhuriyet* supports this information by stating that the metal types that belonged to the State Printing house were produced and supplied in the house.[74] We also learn from an article that one of the well-known calligraphers, Halim Efendi, designed the new types for the printing

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69 Quote is extracted from the Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu]'s article 'Fikir Hayatı' in *Cumhuriyet*, 3 April 1929, cited in Akçura, p.81.

70 *Cumhuriyet*, 22 August 1928, cited in İlhan, p.194.

71 Klimis Mastoridis, *Cutting and casting Greek types in the nineteenth and twentieth century* (Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 2006), p.18, 42. Accessed on February 2018. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/238664993_Cutting_and_casting_Greek_types_in_the_nineteenth_and_twentieth_century

72 *Cumhuriyet*, p.200.

73 Kabacalı, p.172.

74 *Cumhuriyet*, 22 August 1929.

24 punto № 45

ISTANBUL 1928

Darülfünun hukuk fakülte-
sinde doktora sınıfı imtihan-
larına bu ğün başlanmıştır.

16 punto № 40

ISTANBUL 1928

Darülfünun hukuk fakültesinde doktora sınıfı imtihanları-
na bu ğün başlanmıştır. Bu sene imtihanlara yalnız bir mü-
davim iştirak etmektedir.

12 punto № 31

ISTANBUL 1928

Darülfünun hukuk fakültesinde doktora sınıfı imti-
hanlarına bu ğün başlanmıştır. Bu sene imtihanlara
yalnız bir müdavim iştirak etmektedir.

10 punto № 21

ISTANBUL 1928

Darülfünun hukuk fakültesinde doktora sınıfı imti-
hanlarına bu ğün başlanmıştır. Bu sene imtihanlara
yalnız bir müdavim iştirak etmektedir.

12 punto № 29

ISTANBUL 1928

Darülfünun hukuk fakültesinde doktora sınıfı imti-
hanlarına buğün başlanmıştır. Bu sene imtihanlara ya-
lnız bir müdavim iştirak etmektedir.

Figure 5.21 Type examples attached to the official
document: BCA, 30.10.0.0, 83.548.2, 'Kıbrıs Lefkoşa'da çıkan
Söz gazetesine matbaa harfleri gönderildiği' (26 February
1929).

house of the Ministry of Education.[75] However, no further detail was given in these two accounts. An announcement was also made in *Cumhuriyet* about encouraging the type foundries, which had produced Arabic metal types before to now produce the new letters [types] now, with the help of the Press Directorate by considering the local needs and not buying from abroad. As a result of this decision, it is reported that samples from these type foundries were to be requested, but there is no more information on why they were being asked.[76]

In addition to the active role of the state in supplying the new metal types appropriately prepared for the new letters and printing teaching materials with the new metal types in different departments, it was also in the prime position to be consulted and asked to provide new type stocks by the Turkish communities abroad. For instance, a state document reveals that one of the Turkish newspapers, *Söz*, from Cyprus, asked for two cases of types in different sizes from the state. In another document, related to this request, an order was given by the state for making a deal with an unnamed representative in İstanbul, who was presumably selling new Latin types, in order to send the necessary types to this newspaper. There is also an attached type specimen showing the requested types; the metal types were unnamed, however, but numbered *(Fig. 5.21)*. Although the newspaper received the requested types from the representative, types in bigger points for headlines and headings were missing. So the correspondence continued between the state officers and the newspaper until the purchase was completed.[77] This kind of a relationship was not the only one from this period; we also see in the state documents that another two Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria also requested newspaper types from the state.[78]

It should be remembered that all the imported types were intended for use after the implementation of the reform (1 December 1928) because during the transition, the existing Latin types, which were mostly used for French publications from the time of the Ottoman Empire, were being used. However, it is impossible to determine the amount of existing Latin types that were used in foreign publications before and that were utilised later temporarily in the transition period.[79]

5.4. Role of visuals in the implementation of the reform

Although it was a script/alphabet reform, using visuals effectively aided the

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75 Melike Taşçıoğlu and Şinasi Acar, "Bir Hattatın Dönüşümü: Alfabe Devrimi'nin Halim Efendi'nin Çalışmaları Üzerinden İncelenmesi," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 15*, no. 2 (2014): p.82.

76 *Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1928.

77 BCA, 30.10.0.0, 83.548.2, 'Kıbrıs Lefkoşa'da çıkan Söz gazetesine matbaa harfleri gönderildiği' (26 February 1929).

78 BCA, 30.10.0.0, 239.617.3, 'Bulgaristan'ın Yanbolu kasabasında çıkan Yenilik isimli gazeteye yardım için matbaa harflerinin gönderilmesine izin verildiği (1 April 1929).

79 Because of the lack of literature, this job can only be realised by identifying typefaces used in both early publications in Latin and in transition-period publications.

promotion of the reform and played a substantial role in creating a positive impression to encourage people to learn the new alphabet. This was mostly achieved by publishing photographs and cartoons in newspapers.[80] As the integration of more photographs in broadsheets and tabloids is mentioned in further chapters, cartoons – another significant tool, used to reinforce a negative perception of the old script – and their use in broadsheets and tabloids are discussed here before the typographic analysis of publications. However, before that, sharing a brief account on publishing images in publications both in the Ottoman and Republican years and on whether there was a limitation imposed by religion will be beneficial to eliminate questions that might arise in minds.

By looking at the publications from the late Ottoman period (late 19th and early 20th century) and at European publications at that time, it is possible to say that there was no significant difference considering westernisation and publishing the image of human openly. Although human depiction is a controversial issue in Islam, the wide use of human depiction and even the modern woman image in the Ottoman-Turkish printed media in the last century of the Empire was not an unusual practice. It can be said that the class or group which practised the traditional art (such as illumination, calligraphy etc.) was reserved and more conservative and religious compared with the class or group which printed and published newspapers and magazines at that time. Also because of the *Tanzimat reforms* which had opened the path for westernisation, there was a tendency among journalists and media people to admire European ideals and to introduce printing/media technologies. So there was a close watch on the printing developments in Europe, and this situation played an important role in the production of illustrated publications and magazines despite the drawback of image issue[81] in Islam. Moreover, thanks to the minorities living and

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80 In magazines, none of these visuals appeared to promote the reform. Instead, there was an increase in the use of images, including pictures and illustrations. The reason for integrating/publishing more visuals was strengthening the tie with readers who may have been too bored with the reading trials because of the new letters. More visuals were added simply to attract readers. For more about the use of images in magazines, see: p. 287, 291-95..

81 Image issue in Islam: Apart from the anecdote mentioned above, it is important to note that the understanding of image and its variations in the Islamic culture was not always very strict. Also it should not be forgotten that even though the image of people was not depicted on architectural structures as in Christianity, it found a place for itself mostly in books. So, apart from the Islamic scholars' scientific books/studies (especially books on medical or medicine), it is not surprising that there was a common traditional art in the Islamic world (mainly Persian and Ottoman), which is called 'miniature', that was the action of depicting important historical and also imperial occasions and events in order to make a visual record. In these depictions, it is possible to see people as pictured –even the prophet himself, though with a covered face–, besides the depicted animals and plants. From the book of İpşiroğlu, the basis for the ban and the journey of image in Islam in time could be summarized though there is no obvious and direct mention of banning image in Quran, as in Torah. There is a statement about the ban on creating all kind of idols or god icons. In the first years of Islam, idolatry also meant 'image', so the image was prohibited indirectly. Being strict about this matter was important in those years due to the mission to create a common acceptance on the existence of God and the belief on his being the only creator. After a certain period, an interpretation appeared that the non-living things/objects could be illuminated/illustrated. Then, in the late Abbasid period, known as 'Bagdat school', illumination art called 'miniature' appeared for the first time and remained as an

using printing presses actively in the Empire, getting familiar with the new printing technologies became possible. Moreover, the Ottoman-Turks were not against the use of image as the Ottoman Sultans were pleased to hire painters in order to have their self-portraits, as in the case of Italian painter, Bellini, who was hired by Mehmed the Conqueror. Turkish painters were present in the early 20th centuries and even they had their own institution called *Ottoman Painters Society* and its magazine. Also, publishing books with image was not forbidden, as İbrahim Müteferrika, who initiated printing in Ottoman-Turkish, published a book called *Tarih-i Hindi-i Garbi* with full of illustrations and human depictions.

5.4.1. Cartoons: the tool for the condemnation of Arabic letters

> *Cartoons are, by their very nature, designed to confound the dimensions of time, space, language, and perceived reality. The effect of a cartoon is dependent both upon its invoking a perceived "reality" and upon its subsequently breaking the boundaries of that perception. That is, cartoons are expected to alter reality, radically or subtly, in ways which are both familiar and startling. To do so, cartoons employ tropes that are themselves caricatures of character, dress, aspect, setting, and situation. The cartoon mocks the attempt to bound signifier and signified; it serves as a mediator, for the viewer/reader, between chaos and culture, between the old and the new order.*[82]

While newspapers were the helping devices of the reformers, cartoons in publications were also efficient and crucial tools to convey the mission and the message of the reform using soft power, as Brummett has indicated in the quote above. Although an introduction to these reform-period cartoons was given in the tabloids section, the quantity of cartoons in that context formed only a small part of the examples from this period. Here, in this section, some of the cartoons concerning the reform are collected from various publications, as this is a unique opportunity to analyse the visual rhetoric[83] in these helping tools and to show how the reform was promoted in publications using the power of image. Besides some of the cartoons from the analysed publications, such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Milliyet*, *Köroğlu* and *Karagöz*, others were collected from the two satirical publications from the reform period, *Akbaba* and *Cem*. While not every cartoon was signed by

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art form in the Ottoman Empire years. Despite the interruption in the image tradition within the Islamic societies, there was a continuation in the miniature art that was shaped by different cultures (Persian, Turkish etc); for more information on the issue, see Mazhar Ş. İpşiroğlu, *İslamda Resim Yasağı ve Sonuçları* (The image ban in Islam and its consequences) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018), p.9-11.

82 Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p.18–19.

83 For a detailed account on visual rhetoric, see: Sonja K. Foss, "Theory of visual rhetoric," *Handbook of visual communication: Theory, methods, and media* (2005): p.141–152; for information about reading images, see: Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

YENİ HARELERİ MEKTEPLERDE ÖĞRENEN ÇOCUKLAR BU GHUN DEDE LERİNE ÖĞRETİYORLAR

Büyük anne. — A ? !... Hani bunun lamelifüsülası, hiç onsuz elifbe olurmu ? bir yaşıma daha girdim !

Figure 5.22 Cartoons showing grandchildren teaching the new alphabet to their grandparents. (Left) *Köroğlu*, 29 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey. (Above) *Cem*, 12 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

its artist, most of them were created by the prominent cartoonists from the period. The identified names in the examined cartoons in this section are Cemil Cem, Ramiz Gökçe, Cemal Nadir, Mahmud Arif and Klişeci Rıza.

Before the Republic – which was founded in 1923 – the country had a good reputation for producing cartoons. The very first humour magazine in Turkish "Diyojen" was published in 1870 and others followed this magazine despite the interruptions and bans caused by the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned earlier,[84] the golden era for cartoons and satirical magazines in the country came right after the establishment of the Second Constitution Era in 1908.[85] Even though the subjects of these cartoons were different from the reform period cartoons, they helped to create a strong cartoon culture and tradition whose effect lasted and was felt after the Republican Era. Both in the time of the Ottoman Empire and the new Republic, because the majority of the population was illiterate, it was vital to create cartoons that did not need written explanation or captions to aid the interpretation of the image and given message. Also because of that, the images – the way they were presented and what they represented – were powerful and sensational and not so complicated so as not to cause misunderstandings. Despite the intention of the reformers to cut the historical and cultural connection with the Empire, shared knowledge and culture among the readers were important variables to be able to perceive and interpret the reform cartoons. The accumulation of meaning from this legacy must have encouraged reformers to use this powerful tool.

In general, it is possible to separate the cartoons in newspapers and magazines according to their subjects and into two main categories – the transition and post-reform periods. Before revealing these cartoons, it should be noted that the most of the propagandist cartoons were published during the transition period, when the publications were still trying to convince the public about the new alphabet as well as demonising the old one. To achieve this, two main approaches were used to spread the ideology of the reform among readers via cartoons:

1) Direct messages to convince the public about the benefits of the alphabet reform and encourage them to learn the new alphabet.

2) Condemning the Arabic letters by personification (illustrating them as a person or an object) or by using metaphors, associating them with certain notions, such as backwardness and the Middle Eastern culture that the reformers wanted to leave behind and not to be associated with.

Regarding the first approach, some of the examples were shared in the

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84 See the section 'Print explosion' in 5.1. Historical role of Turkish newspapers and magazines, p.127.

85 For a good and comprehensive account on the role of image and press in that period, see: Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (United States: State University of New York Press, 2000).

Figure 5.23 Cartoons showing elder people buying a student ticket (Left) and talking about going to Nation's schools (Right). *Cumhuriyet*, 30-31 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library.

Figure 5.24 The use of sun metaphor to represent the new Turkish letters. (Left) *Akbaba*, 30 August 1928. (Right) *Karagöz*, 1 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 5.25 The use of light metaphor against the candle, which represents the old letters. *Cumhuriyet*, 24 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

tabloids, as these publications mostly published cartoons on this matter.[86] This direct approach was also present in the broadsheet newspapers, but they did not publish as many cartoons using the second approach. There were two main messages behind the cartoons that passed a direct message. One was explaining the benefits of the reform, aiming to create awareness about being literate by associating knowing how to read with being an enlightened individual. The other was the idealisation of learning the new alphabet by the public, from children to the elderly. So, showing these people learning the new alphabet had to be encouraging and convincing. In particular, picturing grandchildren teaching the new alphabet to their grandparents was one of the most commonly used approaches *(Fig.5.22)*. Along with this, showing the public attending the Nation's schools was another way of promoting the reform *(Fig.5.23)*.[87]

As cited in Elisabeth El Refaie's article, the art historian E. H. Gombrich argues that metaphor is a common and expected device in political cartoons: it is one of the main "weapons" in the "cartoonist's armoury".[88] That is why, metaphors were the most important characteristic of the reform cartoons, especially in the ones where the Arabic script and letters were demonised. Among the selected cartoons, it is possible to see many different metaphors that were used with their counters. One was the use of the sun – with 'The new Turkish letters" written on it – rising up from the horizon, to represent the new alphabet and association with the enlightenment and the new Republican era *(Fig.5.24)*. In these cartoons, Arabic letters are also shown as either overrun or dead, buried with a gravestone. Similar to the sun metaphor, use of the light as representing the new alphabet can be seen in the cartoon that illustrates the new letters as a man –but also as a metaphor for light – that blows out the old-fashioned candle, which represents the old letters *(Fig.5.25)*. The captions in two scripts were placed above and below the cartoon states: "The light of the new Turkish letters blew out the Arabic letters' candle." Other metaphors were the camel and the automobile. As can be seen in Figure 5.26, while the camel was created with Arabic letters, the car was partially formed with the new Latin letters, moving quickly and leaving the camel behind in the smoke. The caption placed above states: "Abandoning the Arabic letters and adopting the Turkish letters is like dismounting from the camel and getting into a car." Even the choice of words in this caption shows that

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86 For some of these cartoons, see Chapter 7 'Illustrative tabloid newspapers: visual propagandist', p.269-73.

87 We cannot know for sure what the intentions of cartoons published in these publications were or whether there were multiple layers in their interpretation. On the other hand, the supportive content by these illustrative newspapers for the adoption of the new alphabet supports the idea that they were definitely in favor of the reform and that is why, it is most likely that there were no sarcasm or irony about the awkward situations that the reform created, such as picturing an old lady while asking a student ticket at the counter in Figure 5.23. Also, as mentioned in the illustrative tabloids part (Chapter 7), the satirical publications had not only a sarcastic approach or mission, but also a didactical one.

88 Cited in El Refaie, Elisabeth. "Understanding visual metaphor: The example of newspaper cartoons." *Visual communication 2*, no. 1 (2003): 75–95.

Figure 5.26 The metaphors 'camel' and 'car' to compare the old and the new alphabet. *Cumhuriyet*, 30 November 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.
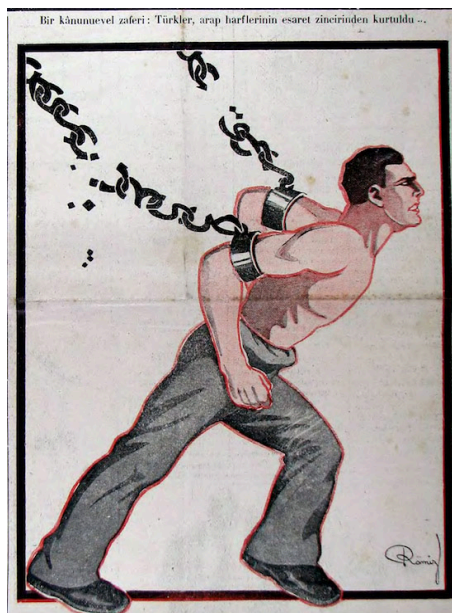

Figure 5.27 The chain metaphor to represent the imprisonment because of the old letters. *Akbaba*, 29 November 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 5.28 The association of the old and the new letters with the old and the new year (Left). *Cem*, 3 January 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library
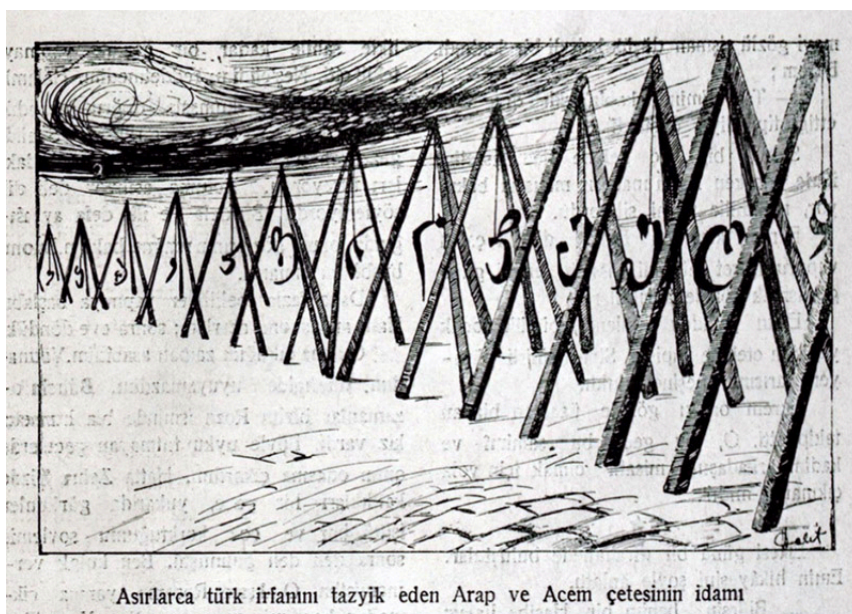
Figure 5.29 The association of the old and the new letters with the old and the new year (Above). *Milliyet*, 1 January 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Asırlarca türk irfanını tazyik eden Arap ve Acem çetesinin idamı

Figure 5.30 The hanged old letters. *Cem*, 12 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

the old letters were not seen as Ottoman-Turkish, but Arabic, and the new letters, despite their Latin source, were seen as solely Turkish and not even identified as new, as mentioned on some other occasions. The last unusual metaphor was a chain formed of Arabic letters, as in Figure 5.27. An enslaved man breaking the Arabic letter chain was illustrated in this cartoon, which celebrates the implementation day for the publications by saying that "The victory of 1 December: Turks liberated from the chain of Arabic letters" (1 December 1928).

Apart from metaphors, associations and personifications were applied frequently in the creation of cartoons. Because of the date of the implementation day, which was one month before the new year and the opening of the Nation's schools (which opened on the first day of the new year), the new and the old year association was made in some cartoons. Within this context, an old man carrying the old letters represents the old year and a child with many new ABC books represents the New Year – as illustrated in *(Fig.5.28)*, for example. A similar approach was taken in another cartoon, which also shows a man carrying the old letters, representing the old year, while a woman sitting on a globe surrounded by the new letters represents the New Year *(Fig.5.29)*.[89]

Apart from this, another common practice was the personification of the old letters alongside such associations. In some cartoons, the old letters were associated with death. For this reason, it is possible to encounter cartoons showing the old letters hanged/executed one by one *(Fig.5.30)* with a caption saying "The execution of the Arabic and Persian gang that pressured Turkish knowledge for centuries"; another shows the old letters placed in a coffin as a skeleton shouting: "The ones who love me shall come after me" *(Fig.5.31)*. Another attempt at personification was apparent in a cartoon showing an old-letter figure running after the displaced Sultanate and abolished Caliphate pictured on the old-fashioned ox-driven cart *(Fig.5.32)*. The personified letter, saying "I can't stay here, take me with you too", is also running away from the new Turkey shown as the sun on the horizon. In another example, a person created with the old letters is shown as unwanted and is being kicked by another person created with the new letters *(Fig.5.33)*. One of the most representative and well-known reform cartoons also applied this method. The personified letters, wearing the old-fashioned and now-discarded hat, the fez, from the Ottoman period, were shown as migrating in an Islamic way called "Hejira" (Hicret in Turkish) *(Fig.5.34)*.

Personifying the Arabic letters was a clever solution to flesh out the reform propaganda that resulted in the most striking and powerful images among a range of other cartoons. Because of these images and the successful

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89 The image of modern woman was not usual in that period, as she represents the new, so modernity and civilization (as the leading woman figure in the painting of Delacroix, 'Liberty') that the new Republic promotes as important concepts to wish public embrace. Considering the reformers' ideological tie with the Enlightment idea and the French Revolution, it is understandable why they chose a woman figure to represent the 'New Year'.
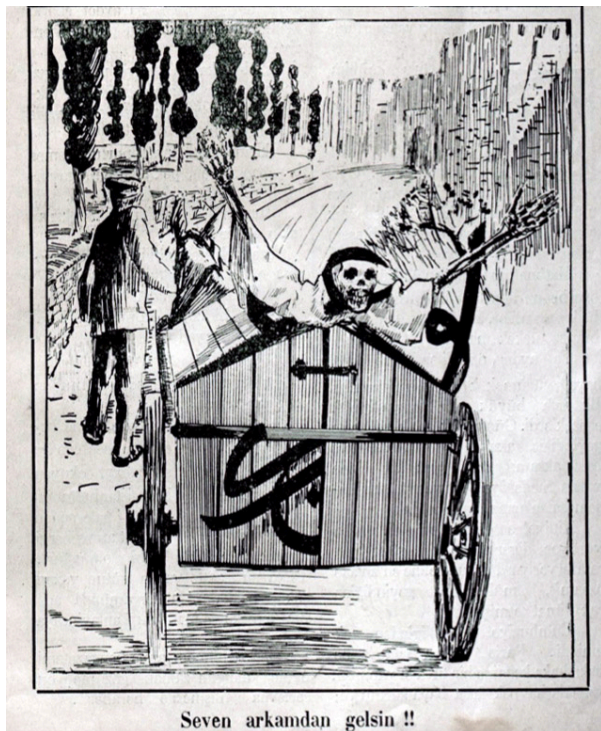
Figure 5.31 The cartoon showing a skeleton formed by the old letters, *Cem*, 12 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 5.32 The old letter is running to catch the displaced Sultanate and the abolished caliphate. *Köroğlu*, 12 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey.
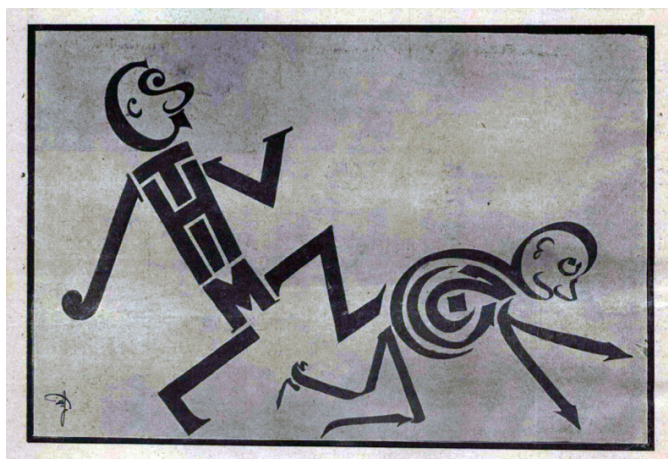

Figure 5.33 Latin letters kick Arabic letters, *Akbaba*, 13 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 5.34 The migration of Arabic letters. *Akşam*, 1 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

metaphors and associations, these cartoons could be labelled as efficient and essential tools for spreading the reform ideology among the readers and the public to encourage its acceptance, supporting the substantial and explicit help provided by the publications.

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To trace this great alteration, the analysis is presented using three different publications: 1) broadsheet newspapers, 2) tabloids, and 3) magazines. Before discussing the typographic and design-related changes on publications due to the reform, their particular contributions in the adoption of the new alphabet are mentioned briefly.
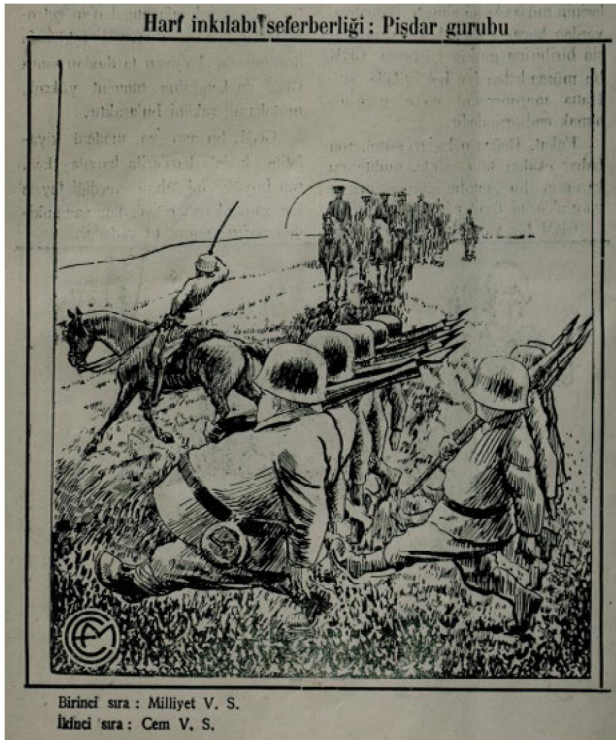
Figure 6.1 A cartoon showing vanguards to represent two publications (first row: *Milliyet* and second row: *Cem*) in the alphabet rally (*Cem*, 12 December 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library.

Chapter 6: Broadsheet newspapers: the primary helping devices of reformers

"The change in the appearance of newspapers […] tells us a great deal about the changes in the society." [1]

At the beginning of 1928, before the public announcements about the adoption of a new alphabet, some newspapers introduced the idea. This was in partly because of the positions newspapermen held in that period. Most of the editors in chief were the members of the parliament,[2] and were likely to have heard the initial arguments in government departments before the official announcement.[3] As a result, they became the first supporters of this new revolution and were the first people the reformers, such as, Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, sought help from.

Newspapers were known by many names based on to their leading role in teaching. The prime minister called newspapers 'mobile schools' when commenting on the scenes of the public reading in cities.[4] Furthermore, newspapermen likened their role to 'vanguards' as they were extending frontiers *(Fig.6.1)* or 'cavalry' to point out their vigorous and substantial contribution. A columnist of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, Abidin Daver, emphasised this role on the first day of the implementation on 1 December 1928:

> Among the people who created, edited and especially set this newspaper, there were people who did not even recognise the Latin letters until the last three months. We, typesetters particularly, worked very hard and learned, and joined the frontiers in this alphabet mobilisation as cavalries.[5]

Calling the media 'a weapon of the Alphabet reform' was another salient example.[6] Newspapermen and owners of newspapers did not only support the reform because of cultural and literacy concerns, but also because of the practical side of the profession because if this change could be implemented successfully, there would be two important contributions. First, newspapers would be easily printed at speed, compared to the difficulties encountered in using Arabic letters, and eventually publications would gain a European look and quality, which was a long-lasting dream of the newspapermen:

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1 Harold Evans and Edwin F. Taylor. *Editing and Design: A Five-Volume Manual of English, Typography, and Layout.* 5 vol (New York: Heinemann [for] the National Council for the Training of Journalists, 1972-1978, 1973), p.23.

2 To mention some of those prominent newspapermen, Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu] of *Cumhuriyet*, Celal Nuri of *İkdam*, Falih Rıfkı [Atay] of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and Mahmut Nedim [Soydan] of *Akşam,* Necmettin Sadık [Sadak] of *Milliyet* were all Members of the Parliament. For the names of MPs in detail, see: Nalan Ova, "Harf İnkilabı ve Türk Basını (1928-1929): Vakit, İkdam ve Hakimiyet-i Milliye Örnekleri" (MA diss., Ankara, 2005), p.84.

3 In fact, these newspaper-related discussions were not the first. The subject had been discussed since the beginning of 1920 and gained a momentum in 1926 with the Bakü conference on the adoption of the Latin alphabet in the region.

4 For the statement of İnönü in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper (28 March 1930), see: Nalan Ova, p.97.

5 Abidin Daver, 'Bir Harika', *Cumhuriyet*, December 3, 1928.

6 *İkdam* newspaper (7 April 1929), in Nalan Ova, p.73.

The newspaper, *İkdam*, claimed that at least one year later, the Turkish newspapers will be printed as beautiful as French newspapers because of the new letters. A couple days later, the newspaper also reported that the Turkish newspapers will be published even more beautifully than European newspapers *(24.9.1928- 29.9.1928)*.[7]

Alongside this goal, the import of the latest printing technologies of Europe would become possible.[8] Secondly, in relation to this innovation, there would be no obstacle to printing newspapers in higher numbers and a sharp rise in circulation could therefore occur. Teaching an easy-to-learn alphabet to every individual in the country – reversing the dramatically low level of literacy[9] – would also be instrumental in creating a higher demand for publications.[10] Because they believed that after teaching the new alphabet to the illiterate people, a boom in publishing is likely due to the demand for reading materials, though this did not happen in the short term. Within two decades, a progression in publishing became possible.[11]

Newspapers were indeed rigorous in their support and determined to introduce the Latin alphabet to the public. Even before the official announcement on 10 August 1928, *Milliyet* published two small articles in Latin on 2 June to test and show the appearance of a Turkish–Latin text, and became the first paper to publish an alphabet table on 2 August, one week before the reformers. It is certain that the newspaper staff achieved this by using their own judgement and existing experience with French publications. So, compared to the state version, there were naturally many mistakes and differences in orthography. Another paper, *Cumhuriyet*, was also enthusiastic and quick to publish an alphabet table, announcing it in the paper on 7 and 8 August. After the proclamation, the rest of the major newspapers started to publish alphabet lessons regularly in their columns, a practice that lasted until the full adoption of Latin letters on 1 December, accompanied by ABC primers.[12] In addition to the lessons – and unlike the primers – they published reading articles for practice everyday. After the foundation of the public schools for teaching the new alphabet in January 1929, the newspapers continued to support education in this way.[13] A columnist, Ali Naci [Karacan] in *İkdam*, later claimed that newspapers were

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7 Ayla Acar, 'Türkiye'de Latin Alfabesine Geçiş Süreci ve Gazeteler', *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* 41 (2011): 16, http://kisi.deu.edu.tr//yilmaz.ahmet/ikinci_donem_makale/04_ataturk_donemi_egitim_kultur/54.pdf, p.18-19.

8 The people in favour of a script reformation mainly blamed the use of Arabic movable type for the backwardness of printing in the territory and they always compared the look of these papers with European examples.

9 There are many different literacy rates for that period, ranging from 9% to 20% of the whole population. See: Bilal Şimşir, p.165, 271.

10 *İkdam* newspaper (18 December 1928), in Nalan Ova, p.89.

11 Rekin Ertem, *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de harf ve yazı meselesi*, (İstanbul, Dergah Yayınları, 1991), p.327.

12 For a detailed analysis of alphabet lessons in newspapers, see section 6.4, 'Teaching the alphabet', p.253.

13 Ayla Acar, p.22.

Figure 6.2 A news article regarding the abolition of circumflex. (*Cumhuriyet*, 29 January 1929). Image source: Atatürk Library.

Figure 6.2a An announcement about the change on G and K letters and their use in grammar. (*Milliyet*, 26 September 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library.

Figure 6.3 A news article mentioning the change of signs. (*Milliyet*, 20 October 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library.

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more successful than 'Millet Mektepleri' (Nation's schools) in teaching the new alphabet.[14] This may be because, due to the technical and financial challenges the reform brought, almost no books were printed during the transition period except for the initial ABC primers, and newspapers and magazines were the only printed materials that were accessible. Newspapermen were aware of this fact and reminded their readers of it by advising them to read the practice pieces every day.[15]

Apart from using and teaching the alphabet, newspapers were the first to apply grammatical rules for testing. They accomplished this task when there were no grammar books or style guides covering spelling, punctuation and orthographic rules. Such a guide, called *İmla Lügatı*, was only prepared by the state when the transition period was over, at the beginning of 1929.[16] Over the transition period, the ground was laid to discuss these issues. Before making the rules final, a consensus was reached over this period of effort and criticism. These trials also served as the only instant communication tool in public engagement to announce new developments regarding the orthographic changes *(Fig.6.2)*.

Owing to their significant sacrifice and contribution, newspapers expected more tolerance for their orthographic mistakes. For instance, *Cumhuriyet*'s editor in chief criticised the complaints about confusions related to grammar and typesetting mistakes in the paper. He invited people to be reasonable and fair at a time when there was no technical foundation for publishing these papers with such a short turnaround.[17] Newspapers also served as an inspector and a reporter for the new adaptations in other areas by publishing news on the subject and sharing photos of the transition in the streets and daily life. Especially, publishing the pictures of changing signs was a common practice during the transition period *(Fig.6.3)*. Misspellings in subtitles in cinemas and shop signs were often criticised by newspapermen to guide the public trying to learn the alphabet.[18] It could seem ironic to criticise the same mistakes in other areas when there were complaints about newspapers, but considering the short preparation time of a newspaper every day, such mistakes are more understandable. Reporting and condemning some incidences of late adoption, such as not changing signs and car plates, was also the duty of the transition period newspapers. The punishments related to these late adoptions were mentioned. In addition to negative criticism, praise for good efforts was also evident as a method to condemn those who were late in making changes:

> One of the things that Gazi [Mustafa Kemal] noticed in his last trip

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14 *İkdam* newspaper (7 April 1929), in Nalan Ova, p.73.

15 For Celal Nuri's article, see: Celal Nuri, 'Efendiler, Gazete Okuyunuz', *İkdam* (n.p.), November 7, 1928.

16 Gökhan Akçura, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Matbaacılık Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2012), p.93.

17 Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu], 'Biraz İnsaf', *Cumhuriyet* (n.p.), December 6, 1928.

18 For some of the complaints, see: Nalan Ova, p.75-77.
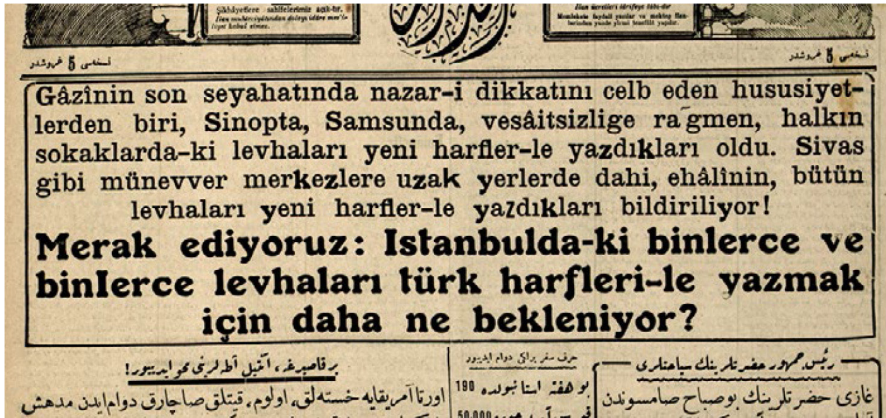
Figure 6.4 A complain about the late adoptions, as headline (*İkdam*, 18 September 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey.

Figure 6.5 An newspaper article about a poorly designed traffic sign (*Cumhuriyet*, 18 November 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library.
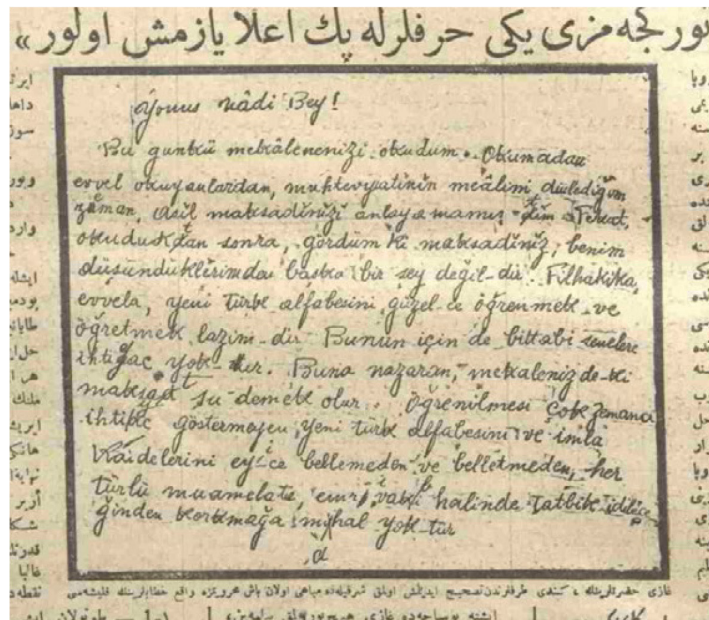

Figure 6.6 Atatürk's handwritten respond to the editor (*Cumhuriyet*, 19 August 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library.
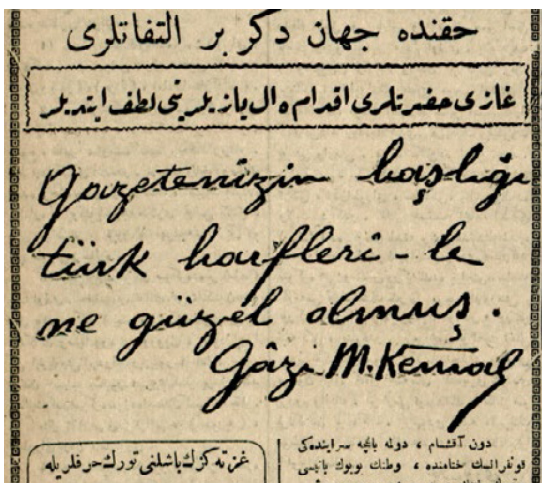

Figure 6.7 "How beautiful your headline is with the Turkish letters." Atatürk's admiration note with his handwriting (*İkdam*, 30 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey.

was that people made a great effort to write their street signs with the new alphabet in [cities] Sinop and Samsun, regardless of the bad conditions they are in. Even in rural areas far from the centres, it is reported that they have changed all their signs into Latin. We wonder why thousands and thousands of shops in İstanbul wait to write their signs with the new Turkish letters *(Fig.6.4)*.[19]

By reporting anomalous and successful executions, newspapers' contribution to the process was significant. In this way, they became the sole and comprehensive resources by sharing all the details of the adoption. Furthermore, they reached a position where they could warn public authorities to make changes in public spaces. A photograph accompanying a comment on a traffic sign is a good example of that kind of intervention *(Fig.6.5)*. In the article, it is clearly stated that the use of only two words, 'Attention' (Dikkat) and 'Pass Slowly' (Yavaş Geç), would be sufficient to inform and not distract drivers with a long text as it is put in the sign.[20] Another warning was about a misspelling on the sign of the State Printing House's central office.[21] According to the paper, such a mistake should not be ignored in a place that was setting an example for others.

When considering all these active engagements with the process and the state, the role of MP newspapermen could not be denied, as was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.[22] This close relationship simply resulted in newspapers being the agents of the state. As a consequence of this participation, Atatürk himself even sent handwritten notes to newspapers to be published. His first notice was for the editor of *Cumhuriyet*, Yunus Nadi [Abalıoğlu], after reading his article regarding his concerns about the duration of the implementation.[23] To sum up the note, contrary to Nadi's negative opinion, Atatürk stated that 'learning the new alphabet does not necessitate years' *(Fig.6.6)*. Another of his handwritten messages was for *İkdam*, to praise its headlines in Latin *(Fig.6.7)*. Apart from the content in favour of the reform, positive reactions from foreign newspapers were proudly shared in papers with pictures during the transition period. This kind of action was a convenient way of promoting the reform within the society.

This kind of readiness and enthusiasm, and being commissioned by the state, made newspapers an invaluable tool for realising the alphabet goal.[24] Considering the political and social role of newspapers in Turkey, dating back to their participation and effects on society in the 19th century, there is no doubt that they were the first consideration for creating a nationwide teacher and one-of-a-kind pioneer for the implementation of the reform.

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19 Headline', *İkdam*, September 18, 1928.

20 'Dikkat, Fakat Yazıya', *Cumhuriyet*, November 18, 1928.

21 Acar, p.20.

22 See p.171.

23 Atatürk, 'Yunus Nadi Bey!', *Cumhuriyet*, August 19, 1928.

24 For the rates of subsidy for newspapers and magazines, see Chapter 5.2., figure 5.10, p.142.

Before going through the broadsheet analysis, main visual attributes of a broadsheet newspaper will be mentioned briefly to comprehend the analysis of broadsheets.

6.1. Visual attributes of broadsheet newspaper

The transition period broadsheets shared the same visual attributes of broadsheets in Europe at that time (1928). As such, the features of this kind of publication mentioned below are also valid for the analysed Turkish broadsheets here in this study.

Broadsheet newspapers in the beginning of twentieth century were large-format printed newspapers. They were printed on rotary presses, a system that works with a number of cylinders, enabling printing in larger quantities and at greater speed. This type of newspaper was mostly published daily and was set by hand using metal type to form words, lines and paragraphs. Then, an impression was made to a stereotype by using a papier-mâché mould of the surface of a set page in order to transfer this impression to the rotary cylinders used to print to the newsprint. As can be understood by the name 'broadsheet', the paper (newsprint) was used at large sizes compared to other kind of papers used in printing works. That is why, broadsheets were created by folding the printed paper more than once and creating spreads. Even though the paper size was similar, the number of pages and the final size were usually different in each broadsheet, depending on the size of the rotary presses used.

One of the obvious features differentiating the broadsheet from the tabloid newspaper is the large number of graphic components with a more complex structure. These main components are placed on the front page, inside pages and the last page:

Masthead: The front page starts with this component, which defines the broadsheet newspaper's identity and consists of the nameplate and/or logo of the newspaper with some additional information, such as subscription, publication date and the paper's motto/slogan. The place for this kind of information is called the 'ear'. The nameplate could either be created by setting metal types or be printed using a line block where the name was written by hand.

Headline: The second important component that catches the eye of readers after the masthead is the headline, where the news content starts. It is an indicator of the news content. This part could be formed in different widths, such as one-page (width) or multiple column (width). It is, however, unusual to see one- or two-column width headlines, and the headline generally formed as one line. In this component, different typefaces, type styles and sizes can be used depending on the newspaper's content choice and visual identity.

Headings: These components are smaller and appear beneath the headline

on the front page and inside pages. They summarise the content placed underneath and help readers to decide whether to read the rest of the content/news article. This component could be formed in many widths, lines/styles on the inside pages – unlike the headline – such as multiple columns, multi lines (decks) and staircase style.

Section heads: Another type of heading style, section heads, appear as either only typographic or both pictorial and typographic. This type of component is mostly for specific permanent sections/columns and would help reader to remember and to navigate these sections.

Body text: The body text, which takes up the largest amount of space in broadsheets and forms the main news content, is placed under headings and mostly defines the typographic colour on the page. The choice of leading (line spacing), justification (spaces between words), typeface, typeface style and size all affect the appearance of this colour.

Running head: Another component not part of the news content is the running heads. This component generally comprises the date of issue, page numbers and the newspaper's nameplate/logo, helping readers to navigate the entire content of the newspaper.

Pictorial components: Apart from the textual components, there are pictorial ones, such as photographs, illustrations (line-drawings), cartoons, decorative elements and advertisements. Apart from decorative elements and advertisements, the others are created and used depending both on content and context. While decorative elements mainly include dashes, frames, etc. to separate different pieces of content, advertisements are either only textual or both textual and pictorial. These components balance the dominance of text, bring contrast to the page and give readers clues about the textual content. Apart from the components and their features, there are also some features of page design, namely layout and columns.

Layout: This feature is how all the components mentioned above are put together in a systematic way in order to create a reading pattern for readers. It is determined not only by aesthetic concerns, but also by the size and type of content and the choice of grid style.

Grid style: It is an invisible guideline system that allows determining the place of different components on a page, such as text, images, masthead/nameplate/logo, running heads/folios and white space around them. Grid could be in different styles, such as modular, columnar, hierarchical, symmetrical or asymmetrical.

Column features: These components are the main building blocks of a grid and page. Layout and grid are primarily formed by multiple columns (from five to eight), which are divided with column rules. The width of the columns determines the type size of the body text. Further, the given space (gutter space) between these columns is one of the important areas of white space on page.

Range and position of content

There are two main types of content in a broadsheet newspaper, which are textual and pictorial. While textual content is comprised of texts at a certain length for reading purpose, pictorial content does not include text/ words and is only for looking. Apart from the pictorial contents, such as photographs, illustrations, cartoons, illustrated advertisements, pictorial section heads, decorative elements, which were also mentioned above as components, there is many different textual content placed in different parts of the newspaper.

Textual content

At that time, the textual content was formed from two types: permanent and changeable content. The permanent components, apart from the national and international news, consisted of the categories below, listed with their position:

Front page:

— An editorial article, either on the first or second pages, written by the owner, who is also the editor of the newspaper [25]

— Small announcement frames for next day's content, or a directory for the inside pages, generally positioned next to the editorial article

— Weather forecast, either positioned on right-or-left side of masthead or bottom of page

— National and international news coverage

Inside pages:

— Telegraph news from abroad and the national borders

— The 'voice of the readers' corner

— Sports news

— Table of stock exchange rates

Last pages:

— Official announcements

— Advertisements

The changeable content was mainly composed of cartoons, crossword puzzles, news and advertisements for cultural activities.

Within the next broadsheet newspaper analysis, the reform will be traced in three main categories: format and layout, typographic evolution and teaching the alphabet.[26]

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25 There are some cases where other important figures in the government or authors were guest authors for this particular issue.

26 To be able to follow the mentioned changes in each section clearly, see Appendix 4, p.353-57 for the particular front pages from the different issues of newspapers.

6.2. Changes in format and layout

Apart from typography, these two important considerations, format and layout related to the physicality of a newspaper define the characteristic of a newspaper. Regarding the possible effect of the reform, decisions such as introducing the content in Latin script and using the two scripts during the transition period certainly affected newspapers' general look. This is the reason why it is worth discussing these issues to comprehend the transition-period newspapers as an 'object' to see how the overall look changed in the light of the available indications. At first, the state of format will be examined at and lastly, the possible effects of the reform on layout will be traced and revealed.

Format

> *"The choice of format must always begin and end with editorial purpose, but the decision must be taken in the light of prevailing technology, and economic environment of the paper."* [27]

The evolution and function of newspapers in Turkey differed greatly from their Western contemporaries, which had a progressive development and an advanced typography and readership. It is worth considering that the first Turkish newspaper only appeared in the beginning of the 19th century (two hundred years later than Europe) and the effect of this late adoption was also exacerbated by the adverse political attitudes and interruptions to printing by the Ottoman Palace, as mentioned in earlier chapters. That is why, the notion and the format of a newspaper in Turkey were not the same as other contemporaries. The late technological adaption, unlike Western newspapers, resulted in publishing in bigger sizes and had fewer pages right from the time they started to be printed in the territory. So, while considering these facts, we will be exploring two important features in newspaper format: number of pages and the paper size.

Number of pages

At the beginning of the 20th century, the fall of the Empire, a defeat in World War I, the War of Independence and the establishment of a new Republic negatively affected paper stock and printing. This situation eventually caused severe pressure on paper stocks before the alphabet reform.

Lack of availability of paper was one of the reasons why newspapers had fewer pages – around four per edition – at the beginning of the 1920s, unlike contemporary Western newspapers, which were usually published with many more pages (fourty-eight pages in the case of *New*

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27 Harold Evans and Edwin F. Taylor, *Editing and Design: A Five-Volume Manual of English, Typography, and Layout* (New York: Heinemann [for] the National Council for the Training of Journalists, 1972-1978, 1973), 5, p.41.

Newspapers	10 August	10 October	1 December	10 February	10 May
İkdam	6	6	6	8	6
Cumhuriyet	6	8	4	6	6
Akşam	4	4	4	8	8
Milliyet	8	6	8	8	8
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	6	6	6	6	6
Vakit	8	8	-	6	6

Figure 6.8 The number of pages throughout the transition period and after the implementation of the reform.

York Herald Tribune).[28] However, during 1928, this number rose to six pages and during the transition period, there were fluctuations from time to time. To be more precise, only in *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet*, the number of pages changed from 4 to 8 pages. Apart from this, the general approach was a six-page format *(Fig.6.8)*. This could be the result of a decrease in advertisements. It is apparent that while the main content of newspapers did not change significantly throughout this period, there was a difference in the amount of advertisements.[29] Considering the evidence for decrease in circulation and readership during the transition,[30] due to the use of Latin-typed content and the slow learning process of public, companies and institutions must have been concerned about their accessibility through the newspaper medium. Another reason for the fluctuation in page numbers also could be the struggle of including content in Latin in a short 3-month transition period, but this explanation is less likely compared to the former one, because of previous the experience with Latin as touched on earlier, and also because of the small amount of Latin content.[31] *Akşam* was another example that raised its number of pages from four to eight. However, this change occured due to the change in its size as mentioned in the next section. Only *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* remained as six pages after the implementation of the reform. As it is not possible to see many advertisements as in other newspapers, the change in the amount of advertisements might not have affected the number of pages in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* as in others.

Although the change is not dramatic, observing the slightest change in page numbers might give an implicit indication of how the transition period, affected newspapers during the transition and post-reform periods. For example, different from the newspapers analysed here, when we examine another newspaper, *Vakit*, from the period, it is possible to see the decrease in the number of pages after the reform *(Fig.6.8)*. It could be simply assumed that this fall is natural due to the struggle that all newspapers went through; but it will definitely make sense when we learn that this newspaper could not survive and closed down after a couple of years from the reform because, at the beginning of the 1930s, we also see a gradual rise in the number of pages up to 12 among newspapers mentioned here. This outcome could be simply the result of progress and stabilisation on newspaper printing, along with economic development; because it is known that the first typesetting machines were started to

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28 There was another reason for the low number of pages; that of the technical limitation of printing machines at that time. These limitations are mentioned in Chapter 5.3. 'Purchases of metal type and printing presses', p.139.

29 This is also because advertisements were mainly placed in the last pages and in some occasions, there was a use of one full page of ads, so this design decision must be decisive in the number of pages.

30 Bilal Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (Ankara:Turkish Historical Society Publications, 1992), p.226.

31 After the implementation, some themed pages also appeared, such as cinema and literature pages etc., which automatically raised the number of printed pages.
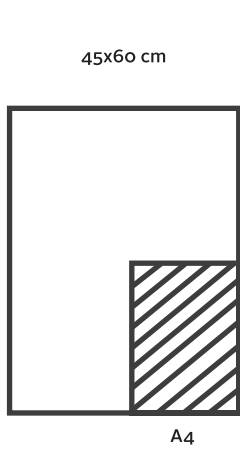
45x60 cm

46x60.5 cm

52x68 cm

A4

A4

A4

Figure 6.9 The average size of transition period newspapers, *İkdam, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, Son Saat, Hakimiyet-i Milliye, Vakit* (except *Akşam*).
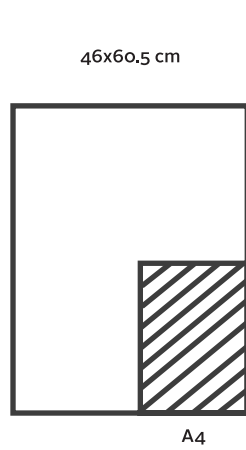
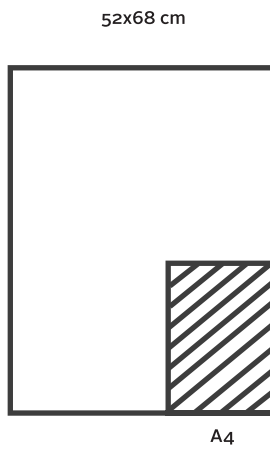**Figure 6.10** The measures of newspaper, The Times.

Figure 6.11 The size of *Akşam* and Al Ahdud Jadid.

be used in newspaper printing in 1930 by *Cumhuriyet*.[32] The use of Latin script, benefiting from the existing printing convention in Latin, and also using the new typesetting machines with the Turkish keyboards that were suitably designed for the new alphabet must have brought progress in publishing more pages. Another factor that determined the number of pages at that time was the size of newspaper page.

Page size

Like the other broadsheet newspapers from the era, transition-period newspapers used a large sheet format, sized around 45 x 60 cm *(Fig.6.9)*, with around six pages. This paper size was similar to European and American newspapers such as *The Times* and *New York Herald Tribune (Fig.6.10)*. However, there was one exception, *Akşam* newspaper, with its 68 x 52 cm size and four-page extent, which is a similar approach to the Middle Eastern newspapers.[33] However, this page convention of *Akşam* lasted until the 11th of December, ten days after the implementation, and the number of pages doubled, and the size of the newspaper became smaller than it used to be.[34] Thus, we see size and page relationship in this example *(Fig.6.11)*. Still, compared to the width of broadsheet newspapers today, all of the newspapers had a noticeably larger size. It is widely known that the determination of newsprint size before the offset printing was mainly shaped by the printing convention, as the result of different types of machines, due to their capacity and technical limitations. So, it is possible to date the use of large newsprints back to the 18th century due to the Stamps Act both by the US and England. The policy led the publishers to economise by using large newsprint instead of smaller one. Due to the successful mechanisation of papermaking to be able to produce larger sheets, the size of newspapers got bigger during the 19th century.[35] However, the average format of newspapers in the Ottoman Empire became wider after the Second Constitutional Era (1908).[36] This practice was not unusual but it is even late, as a large number of newspapers were printed at the same size long before the transition period newspapers. Thus, changing the alphabet and buying new printing presses that suitably work would not bring a change in paper size considering this fact. Despite the stability of format, the next section, layout, is one of the features that was affected due to the reform.

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32 The machines were from Linotype, see: Akçura, p.228.

33 To give an example, Syrian newspaper *Al Ahdud Jadid* was in 1928 one of the large-format papers and published in a four-page format like *Akşam*.

34 There is no way of confirming this claim, due to the no access policy for newspapers' physical copies in the Turkish archives/libraries. It can be concluded though by looking at whether there is a decrease in number of columns and in the scale of typefaces in same sizes.

35 Kevin G. Barnhurst, *Seeing the Newspaper* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), p.166.

36 Müzeyyen Buttanrı, "İkdam Gazetesinin Kültür Hayatımızdaki Yeri, Şekil ve İçerik Özellikleri (1894–1900)," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Osmangazi Üniversitesi,* vol. 1 (2003): p.81, accessed August 3, 2014, http://sbd.ogu.edu.tr/makaleler/4_1_Makale_5.pdf.

Layout [37]

Layout is the key factor in the organisation of content and in the effectiveness of page and design elements. It is possible to say that it is also another definition of 'consistency'. That is why, layout makes the task of designing a daily newspaper easier to some extent. It also helps to communicate information to the reader in a clearer way and defines the look and identity of a newspaper, differentiating it from others. Bearing in mind this important function, the transition-period newspapers were not particularly individual in design and identity, and were very similar to each other, as the design decisions for newspapers at that time generally belonged to type and page setters and not to designers, and were also the result of circumstances in printing and the limitations of technology. However, the shift from a different alphabet would certainly change the look of a page due to the differences in the Arabic and Latin scripts; apart from the typography, the layout could be the only other way to trace and identify this alteration.

Before determining the layout characteristics of these newspapers –such as column features, grid styles– and how the alphabet reform affected these features, it is important to know how editorial content was structured and whether it evolved after the alphabet change, as design and typographic decisions are not the only decisive factors that affect the layout design.

Change in the content

Turkish broadsheet newspapers shared a similar approach to content. The owners were all willing to support the new Republic and work for the benefit of the new nation. As mentioned earlier, some of them were the members of the parliament or worked together on governmental projects. This relationship influenced the notion of how a newspaper should be formed as a part of the modernisation process, and is why the contents of the period's mainstream newspapers were not noticeably different from each other. Even though the subject of the change was script, especially the use of pictorial content –rather than the textual content– had some interesting cases. During the transition period, we witness two kinds of changes to this particular category: a) the size and b) the amount of visual content. Before examining at the visual content of the transition period newspapers, the textual content in general will be mentioned briefly to understand how Turkish newspapers were formed at that time.

a. Textual content

Considering the two different content types, there were no significant changes in either the amount of regular content or its allocation in pages during the transition. However, new content was introduced in the form of announcements/news and critiques regarding the alphabet change. As it

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37 Even though some of the literature evaluates the position and the use of headlines within the layout decisions as they affect overall look, headlines will be analysed separately in the next section, due to the excessive transformation that came with the alphabet and script change.

Figure 6.12 The pictorial page in *Milliyet*, 10 December, 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library.

Figure 6.13 Line drawings in *Milliyet*, 10 January, 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library.

was pointed out before, due to the newspapers' leading role in the reform, alphabet lessons to teach readers the new alphabet and special articles for readers to practice what they had learned were published on a daily basis during the transition period. Right after the reform, with the notion of help for Nation's Schools, this instructive type of content was again published in broadsheets, as lessons and reading articles. This new content in some occasions affected the regular amount of news content, which would cause extra labor of typesetting that would be difficult to do at that time, and surely the page layout, as table features and practice sheets set in large point sizes required a considerable amount of space. The second important content type that affected the usual look of the newspapers was pictorial content.

b. Pictorial content

In parallel with Western newspapers (British and American) that introduced more visuals on their pages after 1920,[38] the transition-period newspapers were also illustrated before the reform even though the amount of pictorial content varied in each paper. As in their contemporaries, broadsheets had similar pictorial content such as: a) photographs and illustrations, b) cartoons, c) illustrated advertisements, d) illustrative section heads, e) decorative elements.

Photographs and illustrations

There was a significant rise in the use of photographs on *Akşam* and *Milliyet*'s front and inside pages during the transition and after the implementation. However, a new practice was introduced after the implementation day, which was placing pictorial featured pages. *Milliyet* could be the pioneer in this matter by publishing sole pictorial pages on last pages to exhibit news photography under the titles of 'Cinema of the Day and 1000 Words, 1 Picture' *(Fig.6.12)*. Furthermore, after one month from the implementation, a new page, called *Milliyet*'s public page with alphabet lessons and reading articles, was also introduced with a substantial amount of illustration *(Fig.6.13)*. Similarly, *Akşam* also introduced many featured pages filled with visuals under the titles of 'Cinema, Child World and Fun Articles'. So this practice automatically increased the number of pictorial content. This act slightly affected the amount of content and advertisements negatively, but as mentioned in the number of pages section, this could be the result of clients' choice, which is not giving advertisement during the transition period due to the concern on low circulation and the newspapermen might have wanted to create these pages as a measure. *İkdam*'s patch style photograph pages on the first days of implementation could also be a substitution for the labor of setting more pages, considering the struggle in the new script. However, one month later, a new pictorial featured page called 'Curious world news' was also introduced in the format of a last page with masthead that would remain for one month.

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38 Evans, p.28.

Newspapers	10 August	10 October	1 December	10 February	10 May
İkdam	6	5	23	9	10
Cumhuriyet	11	10	14*	15	8
Akşam	7	6	11	13	23
Milliyet	9	11	30	27	25
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	3	1	5	5	5

Figure 6.14 The number of visuals, including photographs and illustations and excluding section heads, advertisements and decorative elements, used in each listed issues. (*Even though the number of pages was four on that day)

Figure 6.15 Line drawing illustrations in *Cumhuriyet* (left) and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (right), 10 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library and Ankara University Online Newspaper Database

Figure 6.16 A two-column width cartoon in *Akşam*, 13 February 1929. Image source: Ankara University Online Newspaper Database

Apart from these pages, there was a slight rise in the amount of photos in other newspapers such as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Cumhuriyet* either throughout the transition or afterwards *(Fig.6.14)*. On the other hand, three newspapers, *İkdam*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, made a change to the size of photos, but only after the implementation day, 1 December 1928. However, this choice did not last even for two months, and they returned to the original proportions. The only newspapers that retained the big picture format after the reform were *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet*.

In *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Cumhuriyet*, illustrations existed before and after the reform, although in small quantities. On the other hand, the newspapers, *Milliyet*, *Akşam* and *İkdam* that lacked illustrations before the reform started to introduce more editorial illustrations after the implementation day, mostly in line-drawing form *(Fig.6.15)*.

When we examine the overall tendencies seen in all these categories, there is a rise in integrating the pictures with the content after the reform; this could be a coping mechanism to overcome the difficulties of setting the entire paper in Latin by placing pictures in bigger sizes to fill pages in order to leave less space for text. The publishers of newspapers might also have thought that the reader who struggled to learn the new alphabet or read the text hardly and slowly could take a break from reading trials and enjoy the illustrated pages. Hence, developing a more illustrative approach to graphic materials in the following decades is an indicator of this proceeding. There is another possible rationale behind this change, which is more psychological. Abandoning a script that they associated with backwardness and the eastern values and that felt ashamed of must have opened up ways to embracing and publishing more western-style visuals in publications.

Cartoons

It was not a common practice among these newspapers to publish cartoons regularly especially before the reform. But after the reform, it was possible to see the routine use of cartoons in one newspaper, *Akşam (Fig.6.16)*. Such content can also be seen occasionally in other newspapers. The reason why broadsheets newspapers did not publish more cartoons after the reform, as in the rise of pictures, could be the intention of leaving satirical comment and stand to the illustrated tabloids.

Illustrated advertisements

Advertisements had a huge presence in the period's newspapers either in typographical form only or a mixture of text and picture. It was common to see page-sized pictorial ads or many allocated ads in the final pages. Not the amount, but the format of advertisements did not change due to the reform.

Illustrative section heads

This practice was widely embraced among the transition-period

newspapers, though not to the same degree. They were most widely used in *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet*, which they were visually rich and more ornamental. Unlike these papers, others such as *Akşam*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Milliyet* preferred not to use this feature. Here, the form of section heads was small and tidy and not very significant visually compared with the ones in *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet*. Nevertheless, this feature did not vanish from these newspapers after the adoption of the Latin script. Some of these sections could not remain identical to the previous issues before the implementation though, because in general these sections tended to become more typographical after the reform.[39] There is also the important fact that, except *Milliyet*, no newspapers printed these pictorial section heads on the first days of the implementation, most probably because they did not have sufficient time to prepare the necessary clichés in the new script, Latin. This could be the case for preferring more typographical section heads after the reform because it was easier to set those parts with the new Latin types in bigger sizes, as this was not the case for Arabic metal type, which lacked big-size variations.

Decorative elements

These elements were mostly used to separate the content, and the most common elements were in the form of frames, boxes and decorative lines. Of the era's newspapers, *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet* used these elements frequently both before and after the reform. A particular frame was especially preferred in these papers before the reform and it was replaced after the reform by the use of more thin-lined boxes. Apart from these, there was only occasional use of these components in other newspapers, such as *Akşam* and *Milliyet*. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* followed a different path in the use of these elements; boxes were much preferred over frames before the reform, and 'cut-offs' were mainly used for the separation of the content. Probably due to the confusion on the first days of implementation, more frames were used, and they were thicker than previous versions, but this practice was abandoned almost immediately. Use of these elements could be more Victorian, and compared to their Western contemporaries, Turkish publications did not abandon this habit despite the Latin script/alphabet change. This shows that they did not fully mimic the look and the features of Western publications, probably due to the haste of the reform. Still, the need for separating the content is important, so, another helpful device for this purpose, which is columns, will be analysed in the next section.

Column features

Columns are one of the main elements in the determination of a layout style. They serve as building blocks and define the characteristics of a page, along with pictorial content. So, in order to trace whether this feature transformed due to the script change, the components of column, which are the number and the width of columns and the gutter space, will be reviewed in this context.

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39 For the typographic discussion on this feature, see Section heads on p.247-9.
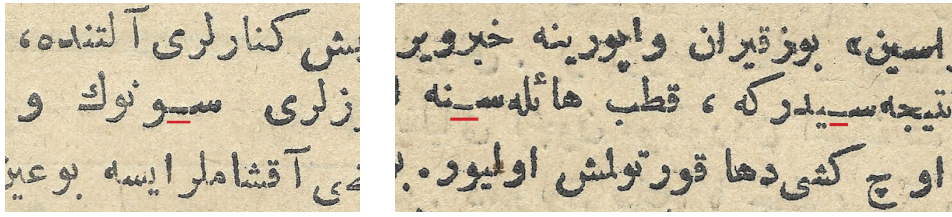
Figure 6.17 Examples for the use of kashida in *İkdam*, 14 July 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey.
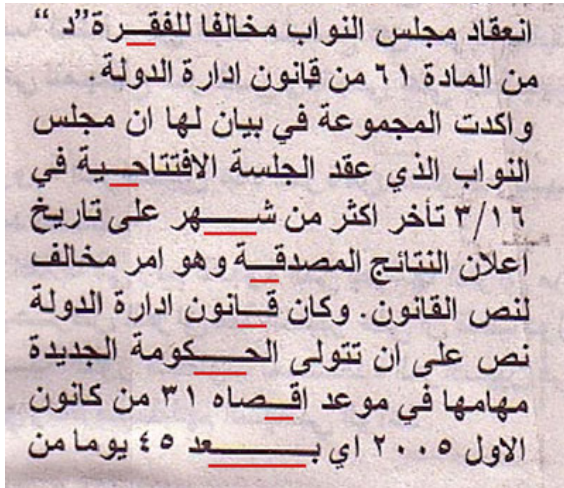

Figure 6.17a The use of kashida in a modern newspaper, *Al Sabah* (Iraq), 11 April 2006.

Figure 6.18 The rise in the number of columns in *İkdam*, before and after the reform (Left: 11 August 1928, Right: 1 December 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Before the implementation of the reform, transition-period broadsheet newspapers had columns in different quantities and sizes, but the six-column practice was widely accepted, except in *Akşam* and *Milliyet*, which were printed in a seven-column format. This approach was unusual because the common practice was an eight-column grid at that time in Western newspapers. According to Evans, this practice started to disappear among American newspapers after the 1960s, 'when a trend set in toward wider column measures'.

The rationale behind defining the number of columns becomes more interesting if we take the different nature of Arabic and Latin scripts into account. Nemeth's claim about the variation of the number of columns depends on the idea that 'in the newspapers set in Arabic script, the justification method allows narrower columns than it allows in Latin'.[40] The ligatures in Arabic types make it possible to stack letters in x-height and save considerable space in justification. And due to the letters and letter extensions in x-height, a rise in the leading space occurs and this normally should result in having narrower columns. But this situation was the opposite in transition-period newspapers, where the preferred number of columns was six and the column width was wider than it should be according to Nemeth's suggestion. So it can be concluded that the width of columns in Turkish broadsheets was wider than the ones in the West.

Nemeth also posited this idea based on the function of 'kashida', where an additional Arabic extension fills the unnecessary gaps between words occurring due to the justification in narrower columns.[41] Although it is possible to find its use in Turkish newspapers before the reform, the examples were unremarkable short pieces, easily missed without looking closely, and unlike the long extensions in contemporary Arabic newspapers *(Fig.6.17)*.[42] So, the function of this particular feature is debatable for these papers. But it is still worth thinking about the 'Cartesian space'[43] of the two different scripts and the illusions that they created in the overall look. Although the use of narrower columns would create a contrast with the horizontal movement of the Arabic script, the practice in Turkish newspapers was the opposite. Moreover, the fact that there was no change to the number and the width of the columns after the implementation of the Latin script in Turkish newspapers is more significant and indicates that either the newspaper men were aware of the different needs of the scripts (by not switching to a narrower column so considering the need of

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40 Titus Nemeth, "The Current State of Arabic Newspaper Type and Typography," (MA diss., University of Reading, 2006,) p.23.

41 Ibid, p.23.

42 Although long extensions have been used in modern Arabic newspapers, it started to be abandoned in recent years.

43 The definition of the term by Nemeth is: 'Cartesian space defines the area used by different script on x and y coordinates. The variations of use depend on writing direction (horizontal, vertical, left to right, right to left), writing system (for example alphabetic or syllabic) and the particular shapes a script employs to convey meaning'. Ibid, p.32.
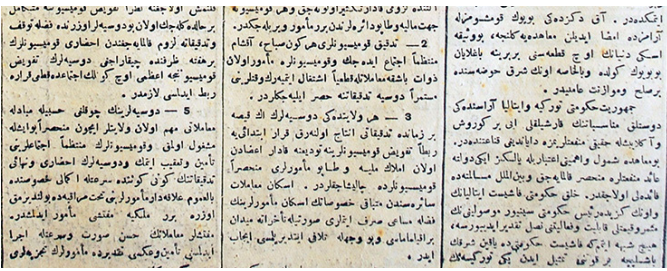
Figure 6.19 Gutter space in *İkdam* throughout the transition and post-reform periods. (From top: 11 August 1928, 11 October 1928, 1 December 1928, 15 January 1929). Image source: The National Library of Turkey
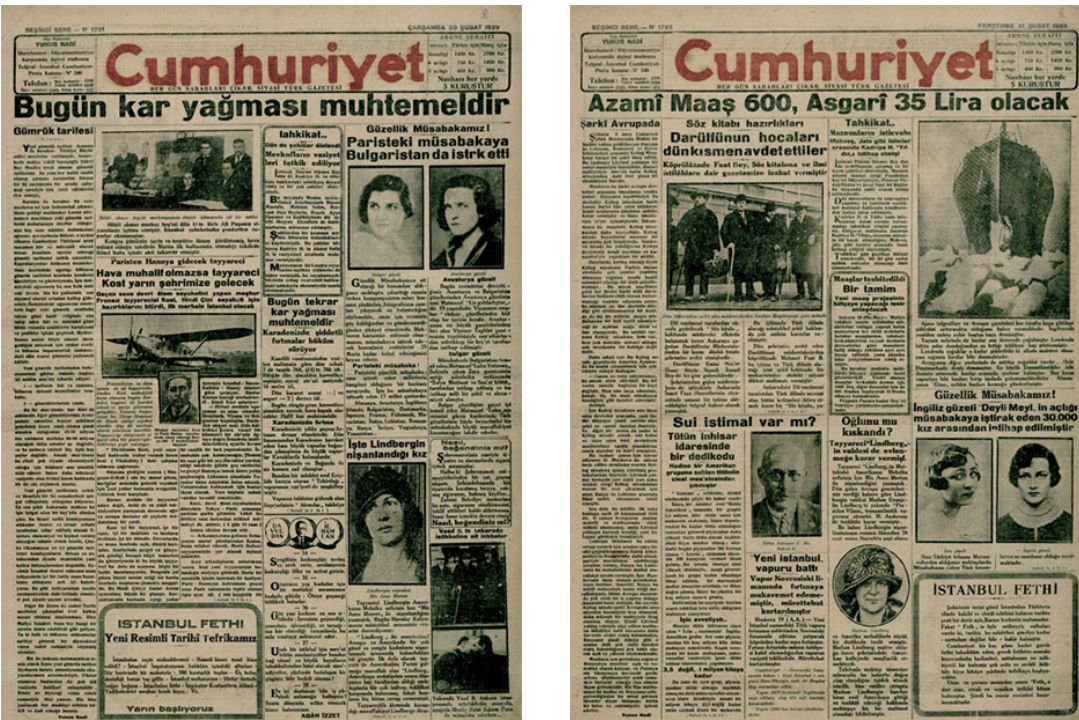
Cumhuriyet
Bugün kar yağması muhtemeldir

Cumhuriyet
Azamî Maaş 600, Asgarî 35 Lira olacak

Figure 6.20 The shift from a page without gutter space to a page with gutter space in *Cumhuriyet* (20 and 21 February 1929). The difference on the use of space can be seen clearly in the overall look. Image source: Atatürk Library

Latin script for wider columns), or that they even did not take the different anatomies of the scripts into account. Only in one case, in *İkdam*, did an alteration appear on the day of the implementation. The issue printed in all Latin on that day was set in seven columns, different from the others (former practice was six columns) *(Fig. 6.18)*. But this decision was abandoned two months later, with no reason indicated. Initially, they might mistakenly have preferred a narrower column in parallel with the vertical emphasis of the Latin letterforms. Apart from this exception, *Akşam* was also being printed as a five-column paper after the reform, simply because of a reduction in its size, not as a result of a conscious decision about the needs of the Latin script. This might be the case for others as well.[44]

Apart from the number of columns, there is another consideration, which is the width of columns that defines the text-setting variations, including type size and the gutter space. It is not possible to measure the exact size of the columns from different transition-period newspapers due to the restriction of physical availability and because the column numbers generally did not change due to the alphabet change. Also, the use of column rules remained the same after the reform. It is known that the creation of column rules was simply a caution 'to prevent the type from flying out of the rotating print drum' in the printing presses used during the 19th century.[45] But as Evans emphasised, they were not abandoned despite the invention of rotary press that does not necessitate the use of column rules and make the horizontal layout more possible. This clearly shows the function of separating columns and different contents. This also helps readers to group certain content.

In addition to these column features, a variability appeared in gutter space decisions. Only two newspapers, *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet*, showed inconsistency when the pages were set all in Latin. As it can be seen in *İkdam*'s example *(Fig. 6.19)*, on the day of switching to the new alphabet, there was no gutter space to separate columns apart from the rulers in these two newspapers. In *İkdam*, the shift to an increased number of columns, along with the changing justification, might have caused confusion for a while, but it was revised two months later, when the column number decreased to six again. Even though *Cumhuriyet* did not change the number of columns, a gutter space was only applied two and a half month after the implementation day *(Fig. 6.20)*. Certainly, this kind of inexperience in setting text is understandable considering the amount of time given to them to switch into Latin script. Moreover, for other newspapers, *Milliyet*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Akşam*, not having any issue regarding gutter space during the transition period and right after the reform shows that they were aware of the use of white space and did not ignore this need when they were rushed to cope with a completely different

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44 There is no evidence to prove the change in *Akşam*'s format, but considering the image of first pages before and after the reform shown in Appendix 4, the type size used in headline, headings, body text and also the decrease in the number of columns indicate this change.

45 Barnhurst, p.167.

Figure 6.21 Over flowing text examples in *Milliyet* (Left) before the reform and in *Cumhuriyet* (Right) after the reform (10 August 1928 and 5 May 1929). Image source: Atatürk Library
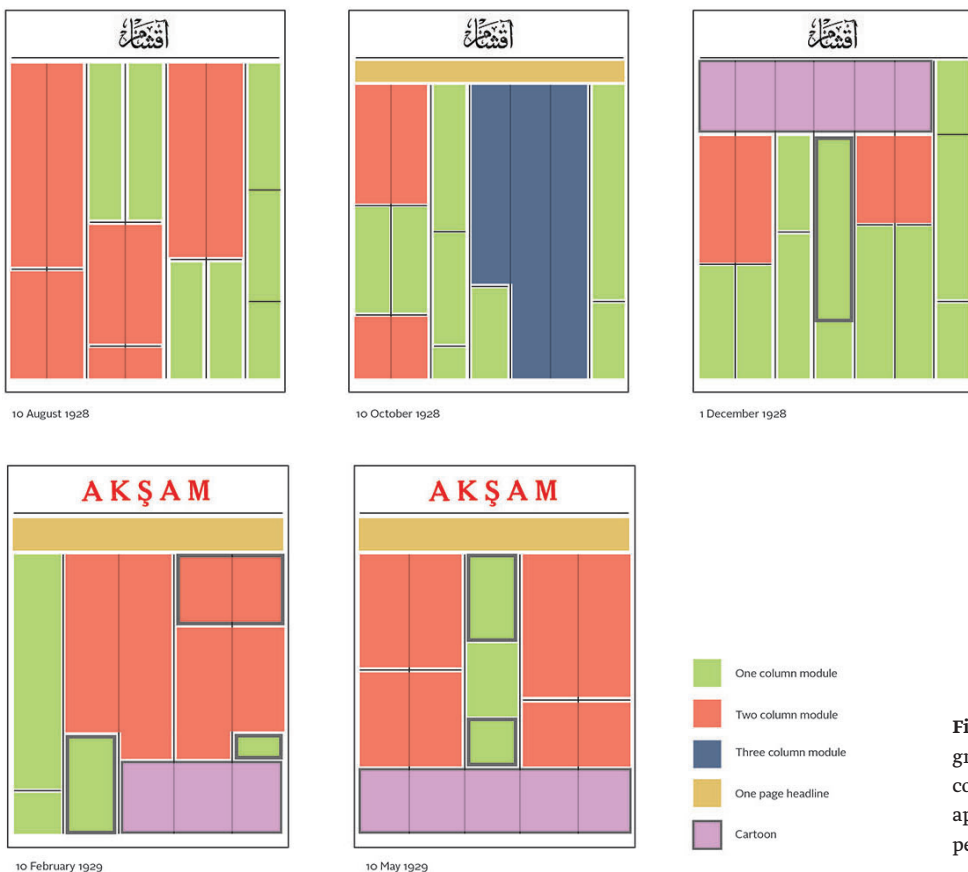

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

1 December 1928

10 February 1929

10 May 1929

One column module

Two column module

Three column module

One page headline

Cartoon

Figure 6.22 The evolution of grid in *Akşam* newspaper from columnar to a more modular approach throughout the reform period.

convention with a tight deadline. Though there was not a dramatic change in column features except for a few cases mentioned above, it is also worth examining if there is a change in layout due to the reform.

Grid style

Before exploring whether this feature evolved or not due to the change, it should not be forgotten that there were owned practices/trends on page setting among newspapers in Latin script at that time. Even though the development of Western and Turkish newspapers was not parallel and Turkish newspapers followed the convention and technology behind, partially because of the printing presses that were not capable of using the Arabic script, it was possible to see some shared features/practices before the reform. One of the features was the habit of setting newspaper with long news/stories. This type of content was longer than today,[46] and were positioned on front pages, often without leading readers to the inside pages for the rest of stories. This is the reason why the columnar grid was more common. When we look at the modular grid, it needs short stories to convey/maintain its box-shaped characteristic, while the columnar grid is practical to share long stories as it is a conventional practice. Therefore, before the reform, in particular, most of the newspapers had no effective way to deal with additional text flowing from one column into the bottom of neighbouring columns in order to fit the whole of the story in, as in the case of *Milliyet (Fig.6.21)*. Moreover, this practice did not change after the reform in all newspapers, except for *Akşam*, which is the only newspaper that completely embraced a modular grid after the reform. So, in the rest of newspapers, the text flowing issue shows that there was no well-established layout system at that time and creating a page was more of a spontaneous task. However, there were some attempts to shorten news/stories and use more modular approach in some issues after the reform. In some cases, the first page was used as an introductory page, where articles and stories were left incomplete, and it was pointed out that they continued on the stated pages inside. Still, considering the overflow texts, the use of vertical columns and two or three-column modules, it is possible to say that the use of columnar grid persisted after the reform in four newspapers, except *Akşam (Fig.6.22).*

The second factor that made the columnar module common among Turkish newspapers before the reform was the practice of locating the content in one direction because of the long stories, rather than from top to the bottom as in modular grid. As we learned from the various resources, this was a convention among Western newspapers before World War I:

> Newspapers did begin with the first column and fill in the others across the page. Although reading matter flowed from top to

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46 Barnhurst, p.14.

Figure 6.23 The use of horizontal module for the featured news/article in *Milliyet* on the implemtation day (1 December 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.24 The practice of merging of two columns without using a column rule on *İkdam* (Left) and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (Right) after the reform (7 January 1929 and 3 January 1929). Image source: The National Library of Turkey and Ankara University Online Newspaper database

bottom within each column, the dominant direction for all the columns and for the page as a whole was from left to right.[47]

And again according to Barnhurst, 'the tendency to design the entire front page as a visual unit became widespread' during and after the war[48] and the notion of positioning the content from top to bottom started to appear. However, it is hard to say that it was the case for transition period newspapers and magazines before the reform, as they were still setting pages from right to left according to the direction of the script. Positioning the news according to its importance was a conscious decision on transition period publications. Especially, in the case of the editorial articles before the reform, these were on the first right columns, where readers would possibly look at first due to the direction of reading in Arabic script (right to left). We see that this practice has changed after the implementation of the reform by putting this section on the left *(Fig.6.21)* due to the change in the direction of script. Only the newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* changed the position first during the transition period, as its front page was printed all in Latin at that time. It is possible to say that the printing convention of Latin script started to be applied after the implementation day, so during the transition period, we still see the execution of old convention due to the dominant integration of old script and the partial appearance of the Latin script.

Apart from these choices, there are two other variables that define the grid style before and after the reform. The first is the choice of column modules and the second is the size and shape of the visuals (square or rectangular, covering one or two columns) and their position, which determines the column use. Before the reform, we generally see the use of one or two column modules, both in the width of text and pictures.[49] Although the practice of using three-column modules was rare and mostly used on the inside pages only for section heads, as in *İkdam* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, we encounter its use for articles only in *Milliyet*. This convention started to change when Latin content began to be introduced. More newspapers, especially *Cumhuriyet*, introduced this type of module during the transition period. Even *Milliyet* used one-page-width horizontal modules for its featured news *(Fig.6.23).* However, within the two months after the implementation, it was abandoned, and the practice of using one- and two-column modules prevailed. We can assume the reason why the vertical format became preferable for especially front pages could be the dynamism that is brought to the page. As Evans claims, it is a more flexible system and allows for the simplest page organisation. The transition period newspapers at that time may not have aimed at grabbing the attention of readers, and rather preferred to ponder on the issue of setting the pages in Latin script properly. We see that they made this decision after making

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47 Ibid, p.171.

48 Ibid, p.175.

49 When I say three or two column modules for text, I mean they are not merged columns, since single column texts existed within these modules.

Figure 6.25 The practice of merging of two columns without using a column rule on Daily Express in 1928. Image source: Harold Evans and Edwin F. Taylor, *Editing and Design*, 1973, p.28.

Figure 6.26 Horizontal approaches on *Cumhuriyet* (Left) and *İkdam* (Right) newspapers before the reform (11 August and 30 November 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library and The National Library of Turkey

some experiments for modular grid during the transition and after the reform. An unusual practice for that was the merging of two columns without using a column rule on front pages. Only *İkdam*, *Milliyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* applied this new column form to their pages *(Fig.6.24)*. When we examine an issue of *Daily Express* from 1928, the same practice that the newspaper applied on its front pages could be seen clearly *(Fig.6.25)*. So, it is possible to conclude that these Turkish newspapers must have seen this application before and must have been inspired by those newspapers as well as each other. However, we do not see a continuation of this practice no longer than a couple months after the implementation. The reason why they did not continue is unknown, but they might have found it difficult to maintain this new approach (modular grid) in a time when they faced a big challenge like alphabet/script change.

Unlike the dominant use of vertical modules, we do not encounter horizontal modules in every newspaper before the reform, except for *İkdam*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, at the end of the inside pages *(Fig.6.26)*. This feature must have been used to break the monotonous look of the vertical columns, which were more dominant. In addition to these approaches, after type and white space, 'illustration is the third basic ingredient in the make-up of a newspaper page'.[50] So, the use of big rectangular and square pictures and editorial cartoons served the same function as other horizontal modules. *Akşam* was the only newspaper to introduce the use of wide-scale cartoons on its first page after the implementation of the reform and kept this approach afterwards. These kinds of choices show that people who set the layout of these newspapers were aware of the newspaper's primary function, which is attracting the readers' attention, and they had made a conscious decision to integrate more varied components in order to create more contrast and more assertive pages.[51]

On the other hand, despite a conscious approach to layout, there is no consistent and systematic modular system in the transition-period newspapers. The choices of column modules and their evolutions indicate a more irregular system in general *(Fig.6.27)*. In other cases, there was a more strict and planned layout system that allowed a freedom to set all content more systematically, as in the case of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.

To sum up all the tendencies throughout the period around the adoption of the Latin script, the common attitude of the newspapers did not really change either before or after the reform due to their primary focus on setting, which is also stressed by Albert Sutton:

> Although many newspapers try to follow a regular pattern, most

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50 Allen Hutt, *Newspaper Design* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1961), p.169.

51 However, this notion should be evaluated considering that the method of selling newspapers was not the same as it is today. Most likely there were not many news-stalls or any kind of display areas. We know that paperboys were recruited for the distribution and there was a subscription system.

	İkdam	Milliyet	Cumhuriyet	Hakimiyet-i Milliye*	Akşam
10 August	One-two column text&image - Three column page sections	One, two and three column text&image	One&two column text&image	One&two column text&image - Three column page sections	One&two column text&image
10 October	One, two-three column text	One, two-three column text	One&two column text&image	Same use as in previous + merged two columns introduced	+ three column text and a horizontal module on inside page
1 December	One&two column text - Three column image	One&two column text is more common. More one page horizontal modules, on first and inside pages	Two column text is more common – Three column image is existed	Besides one column, more two&three column tex&image and horizontal modules + merged two column	One&two column text&image + Three column text&image, more horizontal modules
10 February	Two column text&image (merged columns as well)	The introduction of merged two&three column modules besides one column use.	Two&three column text and image is more common than single column – four column text&image	No three column except headline, others remained same, two column is dominant	Two column is dominant + more three column text&image&section heads +horizontal module
10 May	Two column text - More horizontal modules	In contrast to previous date, no use of three column module, but more one&two column modules.	Not much horizontal module – one&two column is common – three column as section head	Same use as in precious one	Same as in previous one + one page width cartoon on first page

* Due to the missing issues of Hakimiyet-i Milliye from December 1928 (the first month of the implementation) I take the date of 2nd of January 1929 in place of the 1st of December.

Figure 6.27 A table showing the tendencies of using the column modules during the reform period.

of them allow enough latitude to take care of the more important news breaks. Consequently, it would be impossible to classify the styles followed into any well-defined categories.[52]

Furthermore, sometimes more than one style was used at the same time in these newspapers as a result of possible confusion. This makes it hard to observe and reveal an explicit and systematic change (as would happen if modern newspapers were subjected to change) between the issues before and after the reform, as they might have been following multiple approaches:

> [...] it should be remembered that a newspaper sometimes will shift from one method to another, and occasionally it will make use of a combination of two styles that overlap in its efforts to provide suitable display for the various situations that arise.[53]

To make a generalisation about the overall look of these newspapers in particular throughout this period, *Milliyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* were the only transition period newspapers with the most consistent style compared to others, little affected by the alphabet change, even though they struggled slightly and went through some changes in the early days of the implementation. *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet* on the other hand, were the only newspapers that adopted the most experimental style attempts when the integration of Latin script started. Yet, despite these trials, they seemed to maintain their initial style without an obvious reason. Among the others, only *Akşam* had a modular look before the reform and showed a consistent effort to change its layout throughout the reform period (also due to the change of its format) and developed a recognisable pattern for its look to be distinguished from others. It seems that the broadsheets did not pay enough attention to the layout, except for *Akşam*, due to their initial and urgent concern, which is the demanding typesetting job involving the integration of the Latin script during the transition and printing all in Latin after the implementation day. The next section reveals this effort.

6.3. Typographic evolution

It is evident that type is the backbone of a newspaper. It also determines the colour and general look of a page. As John Berry stated:

> Despite the importance of photography and various kinds of graphic images, the fundamental visual identity of a newspaper is set in its type. The text type is what we actually read, when we read a story; the display type is where we get the gist of what's there to peruse. The secret history of newspaper design [...] is in its typography.[54]

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52 Albert A. Sutton, *Design and Makeup of the Newspaper* (United States: Greenwood Press, 1948), p.349.

53 Ibid, p.359-360.

54 John Berry, ed., *Contemporary Newspaper Design: Shaping the News in the Digital Age - Typography*
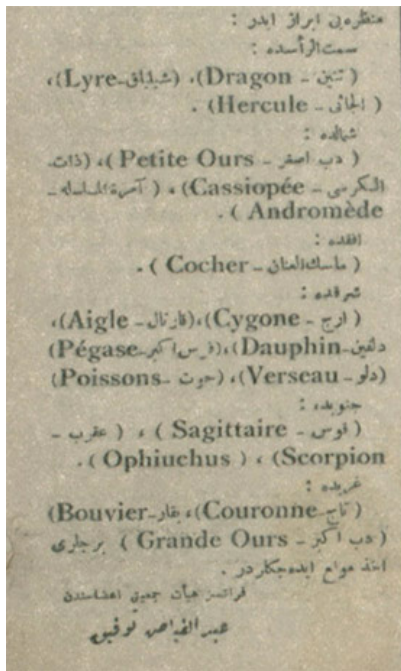
Figure 6.28 Non-Turkish names written in the Latin script within the text in *Cumhuriyet* (Left - 1 August 1928) and in *Milliyet* (Above - 28 July 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

In this case, the use of type is important and decisive in newspaper design for developing an identity or voice, it is therefore one of the most vital elements for observing and revealing the alphabet change process. From this point of view, the transition between two alphabets that have different nature of letterforms can bring a radical change of appearance of the page. So, before analysing the typographic changes in particular sections, such as headlines, body text, masthead etc, in detail, how the first adoption was in each newspapers and to what extent the newspapers integrated the Latin script during the transition period will be discussed.

Integration of the Latin script

In this section, first, a detailed account of the initial appearances of Latin will be presented in order to understand the similar approaches that were used in the transition period, and then the extent of the Latin integration in broadsheet newspapers during the transition period will be examined more briefly. By doing this, it is aimed to reflect how Turkish printers and publications dealt with the demand of the new Turkish characters that mostly lacked in the transition period typefaces. So this part reveals how they reacted to this first encounter with the new script and found the ways to cope with it.

Apart from one paper, *Milliyet*, which introduced its first content in Latin (a small article) on 3 August (seven days before the announcement) and continued this practice on daily basis, broadsheet newspapers started to set small parts of their content in Latin script, approximately between five and ten days after the announcement of the new alphabet. This attitute is remarkable and revolutionary when the short time to achieve this task is considered. So it makes one think that the preparations of broadsheets were earlier than the announcement day as considering the strong ties of newspapermen with the government and the reformers. Despite a possible early precautional preparations, still it should not be forgotten that the typesetters who knew how to set in Latin were very few in numbers; and they must have had this skill, which they probably gained from their previous experience with foreign publications long before the reform rumours.

The first content printed with Latin letters by newspapers was mostly the new alphabet tables.[55] In terms of the first Latin appearances in both alphabet lessons/tables and newspaper content, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* and *İkdam* were the first papers to introduce it. However, before the idea of the reform, apart from advertisements that were partially in Latin, we see non-Turkish names written in the Latin script within the text occasionally, as in the case of *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet (Fig.6.28)*. Among the papers *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* and *İkdam*, only *Milliyet* published a small article in Latin first,

and Image on Modern Newsprint (United States: Mark Batty Publisher, 2004), p.12.

55 These tables and lessons are examined in the next section thoroughly, so they will not be mentioned here. For the alphabet lessons, see section 6.4. 'Teaching the alphabet', p.253-67.
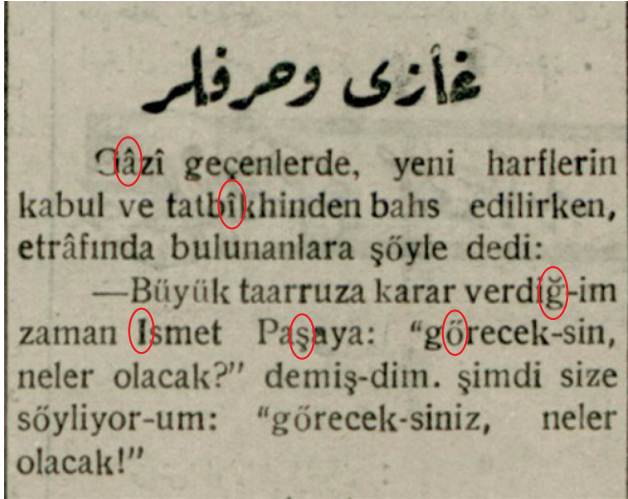
Figure 6.29 First content in the Latin script as body text in *Milliyet* (3 August 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library
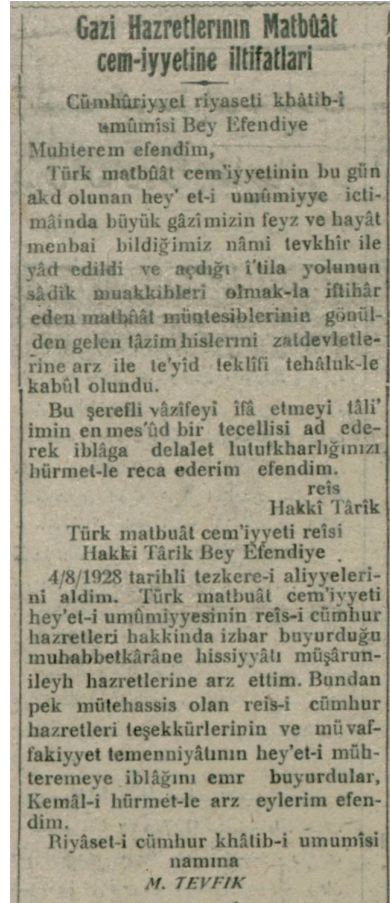

Figure 6.30 First content in the Latin script in *Cumhuriyet* (14 August 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.31 First content in the Latin script as headline in *İkdam* (20 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

whereas *Cumhuriyet* and *İkdam* only shared initial non-approved alphabet tables, starting from 1 August (*Cumhuriyet*) and 3 August (*İkdam*) until the announcement of the new alphabet on 10 August.[56]

Milliyet

Unlike all the other papers, *Milliyet* contained Latin content before the announcement both because of its speedy adoption and its accurate execution of the text, compared to the efforts of most other newspapers. Apart from the fact that the Latin type was used for the body text of a small article with a heading in Arabic script, one thing that stands out in this typeface was the presence of letters *ş* (*s* with cedilla) and *ğ* (*g* with breve). These were letters unique to the new Turkish alphabet and not present in some of the transition-period typefaces. They were therefore substituted throughout this period mostly with the use of the letter *g* without breve and a comma before and after the letter *s* (*Fig.6.29*). The typeface used for this initial content has broad inflected Latin letters, such as *â* and *î* (letter *a* and *i* with circumflex) and the letters *ö, ü* and *ŏ, ŭ* both as short and long umlauted vowels. Alongside the presence of the new Turkish letters, however, one letter was missing – *İ* (dotted capital *I*), also unique to Turkish. This clearly shows that the typeface was not designed for the new Turkish alphabet, even though it included most of the new Turkish letters. This particular typeface was used throughout the transition period, though it was not the most preferred typeface for body text.

Cumhuriyet

It was the only paper that showed its title in Latin letters for the first time on 1 August. Apart from the alphabet tables (mentioned in the next section), the very first Latin content appeared on 14 August, four days after the announcement, as a short article with a Latin heading and body text with different typefaces used. The execution of the body text was, like others, inadequate in using the additional Latin characters for the new alphabet, and as in *Cumhuriyet*, due to the lack of letters *â, î, ğ* and *ü*, they used the same typeface that was initially used in *Milliyet*. As shown in Fig.6.30, there was some hesitation around the use of space in the name and title of addressees in the article. On the other hand, punctuation was well executed for the practice of setting Latin script.

İkdam

The use of Latin alphabet for the first time appeared on 20 August, ten days after the announcement *(Appendix 5)*. The most apparent content printed in Latin was the one-page width headline (which is a quote from Atatürk)*(Fig.6.31)*. The typeface used for the headline/quote on the front page is *Robur*, a type released by the French type foundry 'Deberny and Peignot' around 1909, which was a typeface that was also used in French publications in Turkey before.[57] As can be seen, it is a rounded and semi-serif typeface. It is apparently acceptable that there is unusual typesetting

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56 These are shown in the section 'Teaching the alphabet', figure 6.78, p.254.

57 See the figure 3.7a on p.70 for this typeface use in a publication in French.

Figure 6.33 First content in the Latin script as heading in *İkdam* (10 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.32 First content in the Latin script as an article in *İkdam* (20 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey
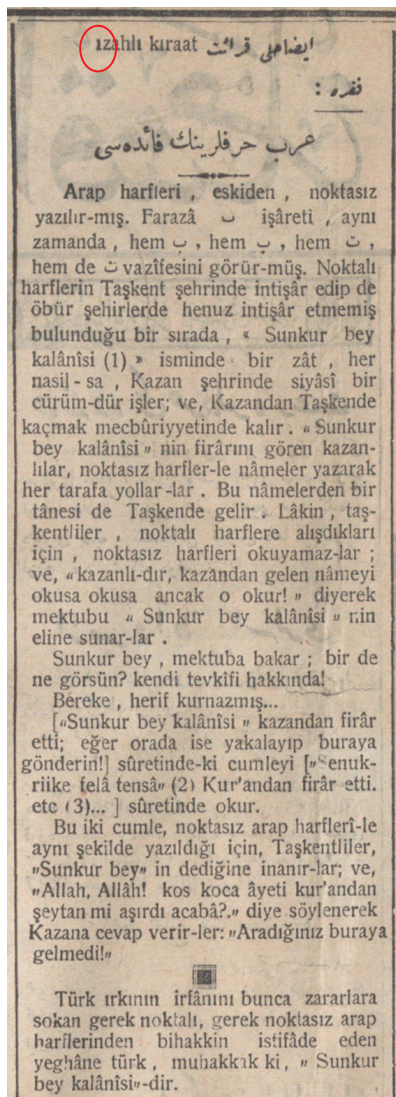

Figure 6.34 *Akşam*'s content in the Latin script as the body text of a small article – shows that the same body text typeface (20 August 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

on this headline. Some alien letters could be seen between the letters of *Robur* typeface due to the lack of type stock. But we also see the same invented usages[58] to supplement the new Turkish letters, such as *ş* or *ü*. Some other Turkish characters that differ from Latin were in stock, such as the letters *ü* and *ç* from Hungarian and French. Different from *Milliyet*'s typeface, a comma was used before the letter *s*, as a substitution for the letter *ş*. Also, for the letter *ö*, a circumflex was used instead of two points above it. Contrary to *Milliyet*'s and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*'s body texts, some misprints, such as putting an unnecessary space between the characters and not setting the type according to the baseline during the composition, also existed in this headline. On the front page, only half of one column was set in Latin for a piece of editorial content. The typeface use for heading was a sans serif *(Fig.6.32)*. This type was also used for setting some columnist names on the inside pages. The typeface used for the main text of this announcement is identified as *Clarendon*. However, the condition of the type is not good, probably because it was old, and was borrowed or bought in haste. As seen before, it is also possible to encounter the same misuse of type on this part of the announcement. The Turkish letters *ş, ö* and *ğ* are absent due to an insufficient type stock. In some lines, some letters from different type families were used in order to set these new letters. Also in relation to the lack of types, some letters were set as capitals, even though it is not the beginning of the sentence. The same problem also occurred with the types used on the second page. Different from these applications, there is another unidentified condensed, slab-serif typeface on the second and third pages that was used for headings *(Fig.6.33)*. This type was also used on the front page to set the name of the Atatürk after his quote and as one of the typefaces that was used in French publications before.

Akşam

It was another late introducer of Latin content like *İkdam*, though it differed in its low level of integration. Even though the newspaper published two alphabet tables/lessons on 5 August, the first content appeared ten days after the announcement on 20 August in the form of a headline and the hand-written note by Atatürk on the front page. This very short headline does not give any clue about the obstacles to the use of the new Turkish characters, except for the letter *a* with a closely attached circumflex. Similarly, an alphabet lesson with only a heading in Latin appeared on 22 August on the second page, but this time with a different typeface. However, another Latin appearance on 24 August – the body text of a small article – shows that the same body text typeface used in *Milliyet* was also used here with the same additional and missing Turkish characters *(Fig.6.34)*. Despite the slightly bigger Latin heading printed a few days previously, there is no similar execution here in this bilingual heading of the article, but rather a plain setting without the letter capital *İ* that the heading should have started with. Apparently, this paper was suffering from the lack of type stock for the new Turkish characters.

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58 This term is used to define the attempts of creating the new Turkish letters *ç, İ, ğ, ö, ş, ü* with cedilla, dot or breve.

Figure 6.35 First content in the Latin script as an advertisement in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (18 August 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
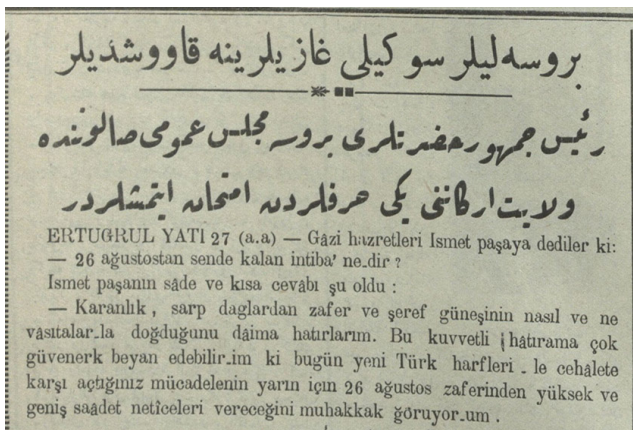

Figure 6.36 First content in the Latin script as body text in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (28 August 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
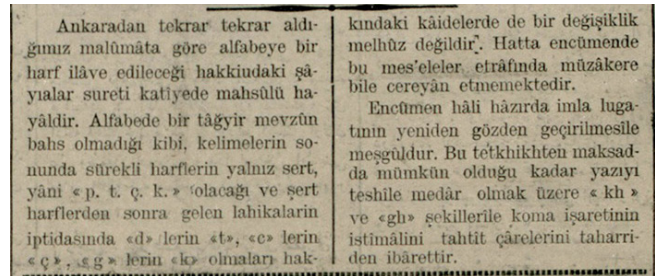

Figure 6.37 The use of same typeface with the additional Turkish characters within an article in *Milliyet* (28 September 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.38 An attempt at the equalisation with the Arabic alphabet in *İkdam* (24 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Hakimiyet-i Milliye

Apart from the first alphabet appearances on 18 and 23 August, the first Latin content in the newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was an advertisement, appearing as a short text set in italics *(Fig.6.35)*. It can be seen that despite the existence of the letter *a* with circumflex, it is not sufficient to complete the text, as the letter *ş* was substituted with *s* and a comma and the letter *â* in the same way with a regular type. Five days later, the newspaper introduced its first serious content in Latin script on the front page, though it was the last to do this. This content was similarly set with the attempt of hybridising its primer typeface with the additional Latin characters unique to the new Turkish alphabet, from the same typeface initially used in *Milliyet (Fig.6.36)*.[59] But as can be seen from the figure, this attempt created an unsettled text with letters appearing to move around the baseline. Interestingly, this primer typeface used by *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was used in *Milliyet* afterwards, but this time with the additional Latin characters *(Fig.6.37)*. This might show the relationship between these two newspapers, as they had a shared lead writer, Falih Rıfkı [Atay], who was also an MP. This situation suggests that while *Milliyet* made some early preparations by providing the missing additional Latin characters in this initial typeface before the official announcement, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* might have borrowed these characters from *Milliyet* after the announcement, considering the ties between them. The execution of the setting of this initial content also varies in these two newspapers. In the context of fast adoption, *Milliyet* set the text differently from the content in Arabic script, as it can be seen from the setting of the punctuation. However, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* imitated the previous experience with the Arabic script.

Summary

As can be seen from the explanations above, newspapers had their own way of presenting the first Latin content and they did this in different timeframes with a considerably ambitious attitude. However, despite starting to adapt to the alphabet change immediately and contrary to what might be expected – increasing Latin content gradually until making the content completely Latin – the general approach during the transition period was to publish only one or two columns of brief news and announcements in the Latin script, except for *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, which published its first and second page entirely in Latin *(Appendix 5)*. In other newspapers, we do not see an invasion of Latin alphabet use, but in some issues it is possible to see some attempts at the equalisation with the Arabic alphabet *(Fig.6.38)*, as in the cases of *İkdam* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. In addition to printing an entire article in Latin during the transition, the habit of printing headings in Latin on inside pages and one-page width headlines and quotes of Atatürk in Latin were common practices. On the other hand, writing author names in Latin differently from its content

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59 Although the quality of pictures is not good enough to confirm, it seems that they are the same typeface.

in the Arabic script was also seen occasionally. Nevertheless, first pages served as a display area, and were subject to the most alterations with the introduction of the Latin content – they became the most obvious, informative device through which the primary, visible indications of the reform could be observed.

Integrating the content in Latin script, both as headline, headings and body text varied day to day, and was not systematic at all. The general tendency was that while the introduction of the Latin script accelerated in September and increased dramatically in October, a slow decrease in its use was apparent in late October, and this continued in November until the full adoption on 1 December. The extent of this practice was also different in every newspaper.[60] If we look at them individually, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* introduced the most Latin content compared to the others by printing the half of the newspaper (three of six pages) in Latin *(Appendix 5)*. The front page along with two inside pages was printed entirely in Latin throughout the transition period.[61] Taking a similar approach, *Milliyet* followed *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* with its front pages all in Latin during October. In terms of the most and least Latin content, *İkdam* was in the middle, with its steady and balanced adoption on each page and use of different components, such as headline, headings, body text, author name, advertisement and section head. *Cumhuriyet* also had a similar approach in printing the different components in Latin script, but showed less willingness compared to *İkdam*. Despite *Cumhuriyet*'s increase in use in the beginning of September, there was a serious decrease towards the end of the month. In particular, the last page, with a Latin masthead, was allocated for the content in Latin, along with advertisements, on 29 September, moving Latin content from the other inside pages, except for some small headings gathered on inside pages. After 15 November, the last page started to be used as only an advertisement page again, and the integration of Latin content on inside pages increased, despite a decrease in the last of couple of days before the implementation day. Compared to all the newspapers, *Akşam* was the slowest and least enthusiastic in terms of integration *(Appendix 5)*. The reason for that could be the effort to change the format and layout and focusing on these issues rather than spending time in the integration of Latin content and solving related typesetting issues. Moreover, it did not show any consistency and plan in doing so and its efforts were variable over this period. But this does not mean that the newspaper failed to cope with the implementation in the later stages; the reason simply could be the lack of resources or saving time for the preparations needed for the big change, which is the format and layout change.

Problems regarding the integration of Latin script also appeared within this

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60 To observe the changes on all newspapers' appearances from selected dates, see also Appendix 4, p.353-7.

61 Unfortunately, the November and December issues of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* are missing in libraries, so it is not possible to trace the adoption until the implementation day. But it is possible to determine that the high integration of the Latin content must have remained in the further days, as there was a steady and decisive increase in the adoption.

Figure 6.39 The use of Latin numerals in various places in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (8 September 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
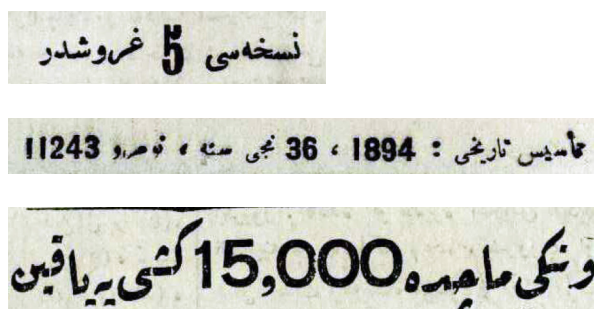

Figure 6.40 No attempt at harmonization of the type styles and sizes for Latin numerals in *İkdam* (2 September 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

period, such as the lack of harmony of Latin numerals within the content in the Arabic script (and even their disharmonious type styles within the Latin script content during the transition) and other typographical oddities due to the lack of type stocks and the inexperience of typesetters in setting Latin types. So before revealing the typographic changes, it is important to mention these problems, as they will enlighten the similar issues discussed in further sections of this thesis.

Latin numerals

Before the reform, Latin numerals started to be used in newspapers, such as in the masthead, headlines and body text *(Fig.6.39)*. This use was deliberate once the idea of alphabet change emerged. A law was passed in the parliament on 28 May 1928 for the use of Latin numerals in order to pave the way for the alphabet change. Up until the announcement of the reform and during the transition period, a typographic variation was employed for body text and headings, which is the use of Latin numerals and words alongside text printed in Arabic letters. Unlike the practice of contemporary Arabic newspapers that Nemeth mentioned,[62] this practice was temporary, so it was not taken seriously or carefully thought out. As a consequence, there were no attempts at harmonization of the type styles and sizes *(Fig.6.40)*. There are many identified styles for the numerals printed throughout the transition period, either in sans serif or serif styles. The typeface families they belong to could not be identified though, due to the same issue with the transition types.[63]

The state of typographic practice before the reform

In the Turkish context, the state of the newspaper type was one of the reasons to change the Arabic script and remove the hard labour of typesetting, which was a great obstacle considering the fast pace of the task. But not all concerns were related to productivity; the aesthetic of a newspaper page also mattered. When Titus Nemeth discusses the visual identity of contemporary Arabic newspapers, he observed the weak visual voice and homogenous look of these publications due to the lack of typeface choices and insufficiency of their production.[64] It is possible to say that this problem is also relevant to the newspapers before the reform.

Another significant issue is the choice of typefaces before the reform. Unfortunately, due to lack of literature on Arabic type production, it is not possible to identify every single typeface used in reform period

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62 Titus Nemeth, "The Current State of Arabic Newspaper Type and Typography," (MA diss., University of Reading, 2006), p.23.

63 To summarize, they were temporarily used types, so in general they had no type family or any other variations.

64 Ibid, p.27.

newspapers. However, an empirical approach can be followed to make a reasonable assumption on whether the typefaces were the same because, as stated earlier, there were only few typefaces widely used to print the publications of the era. When compared to others, only *İkdam* had the privilege to use a typeface cast for itself. The newspaper published an announcement in 1899 regarding the new types.[65] According to the article, the person who cut this type was Haçik Kevorkyan, an Armenian type cutter who was most prolific at the time. The type was not named, but was commemorated with its creator. There is no written statement that *İkdam* used the same types in the transition period, but following the type examples taken from Kevorkyan's work, it becomes possible to identify similarities between the types. Regarding the typefaces in other newspapers, it is likely that although the types are not exactly identical, there is a possibility that they were copied from the Kevorkyan's type used in *İkdam*.

Mastheads [66]

This particular part contains the most important core information about a newspaper. It would be fair to say that this is a section where readers initially look and get the first impression about the newspaper. So in a way, its function is to serve as a window on the newspaper, or as Sutton describes, 'it serves much the same purpose as the title printed on the cover of a book or at the beginning of an article: it identifies the newspaper and gives some significant facts about the publication.' A masthead mainly consists of the nameplate,[67] the ears[68] and the dateline, which contains the date, price and the number of the newspaper. Apart from these, there might be a slogan or the motto of the newspaper, which is generally situated beneath the nameplate. The ears could be used for more detailed information, such as the editorial board, subscription information, prices and contact details (address/telephone). On some occasions, it is also possible to see announcements, news and weather notices. The Turkish newspapers in the transition period shared these common features also seen in most European newspapers. Furthermore, the execution of a one page-width masthead, which was also a convention in the Western publications, remained the same before and after the Latin adoption.

After the decision of newspapers to introduce the Latin script, the search for a nameplate in Latin was one of the initial concerns of the newspapers.

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65 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın Ve Yayın* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayincilik, 2000), p.103.

66 Although different terms 'Title-piece' (Hutt) and 'Nameplate' (Sutton) were used in the old literature (around the 1930s), and 'masthead' referred to the 'section head' instead (in Sutton), I prefer to use 'masthead' as it is defined in some of the recent literature on newspaper design and also as in the newspaper terminology of *The Guardian*.

67 *Nameplate*: The name of the newspaper in the form of a logo or seal.

68 Ears are 'text or graphic elements on either side of a newspaper's flag'; see Tim Harrower and Julie M. Elman. *The newspaper designer's handbook.* (WCB, Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1997), p.224.

Figure 6.41 The nameplate of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 1 September 1928.
Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 6.42 The use of colour in the nameplate of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* during the transition period (Above: 30 August 1928, below: 23 September 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 6.43 The positioning of the old nameplate in the ears in *Milliyet*, 11 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk

However, not all of them shared the same urge for this change and took different paths. Still, it was one of the important precursors to the introduction of Latin during the transition.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye

The nameplate before the reform was in naskh style and was created by a cliché (plate) rather than setting types. The treatment on typesetting was not plain; the technique called *istif* [69] was applied *(Fig.6.41)*, so it looked more decorative than a regular setting. However, the quality of the execution was not very good; the letters were not cut properly, as can be seen in the uneven strokes. Two decorative boxes were placed in the ears. The masthead was printed in Latin for the first time on 2 September, but it was partially in the old script apart from the nameplate and the primary information. The style of the masthead was changed by abandoning the boxes in the ears and placing a dateline under the nameplate. On 23 September, this section was presented completely in Latin. The old version of the nameplate was often printed in red before, and we also see the same practice within the transition period *(Fig.6.42)*. Another interesting change was made during this period; the initial nameplate in Latin, which was also a white-lined blackletter, was changed and a nameplate in the same style (with the white-line in the type this time not functioning as shadow, but rather as part of the letters) replaced it on 23 October. The style of the masthead did not change until February, two months after the implementation. The boxes were placed in the ears again to allow for publishing one-sentence news headings or announcements.

Milliyet

Before the reform, plain typesetting in naskh style on the nameplate was preferred for this newspaper; no other decorative elements were used, and though information in the ears and a dateline existed, it was written plainly. On 27 August, an announcement appeared to present the new nameplate in Latin, which was a white-lined blackletter typeface. Two days later, the new and the old nameplates and the dates in two scripts were printed together for the next three days. Afterwards, on 2 September, the nameplate in the Arabic script was positioned vertically in an odd way situated on both sides of the Latin nameplate *(Fig.6.43)*. This practice lasted until 28 September and the masthead started to be written all in Latin from this date. But at the time of the implementation, the previously used nameplate was changed and the same blackletter typeface that was also used for *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was preferred. Apart from the changes in the nameplate, two decorative boxes were also placed in the ears *(Appendix 4)*. From this point, the masthead remained the same without any change.

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69 This is a technique where words and letters were set (either side by side, or as stacked) to create a more harmonised and decorative look.

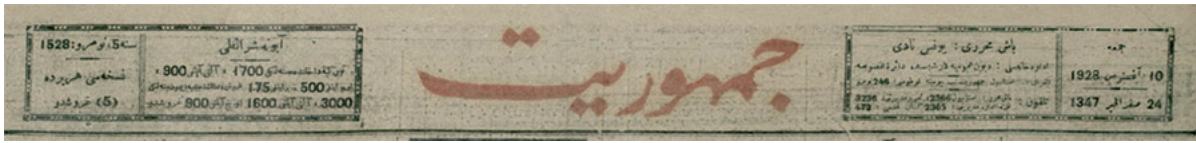**Figure 6.44** The masthead of *Cumhuriyet* before the transition period, 10 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.45 The announcement of the name in Latin, 1 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

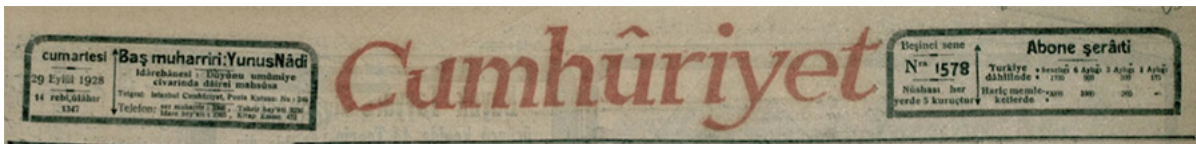**Figure 6.46** A reader survey for the new Latin nameplate, 1 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.47 The Latinised masthead in the last page (29 September 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.48 The masthead printed all in Latin (1 December 1928). Image source: Atatürk Library

Cumhuriyet

Apart from *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, this was the only other newspaper that had its nameplate printed in red. But unlike that newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* used this colour daily. Before the reform, a plain naskh type was used for the style of nameplate, as was the case for most newspapers *(Fig.6.44)*. The newspaper unexpectedly shared its nameplate in Latin within an article ten days before the alphabet announcement, on 1 August *(Fig.6.45)*. On 1 and 2 September, over half a month after the announcement, the newspaper published four different suggestions for its Latin nameplate, and asked its readers to choose one of them. In this selection, two nameplates were written in uppercase, and the other two in lowercase *(Fig.6.46)*.

The first Latin appearance in the masthead was in name of the head author on 20 August and nine days later, the title 'subscription conditions' was written in Latin as well. On 5 September, the newspaper asked its readers to choose a nameplate again. After the survey results, a new nameplate, in serif and italic styles and different from the ones in the survey, was released within an article on 23 September. Although they did not use the readers' selection, this act (doing a survey) points to an important but rare occasion at the time in that they valued the readers' opinion and tried to understand their preferences and familiarity on a design and typographic related issue. Within one week, this newly created nameplate was printed only in the last page's masthead *(Fig.6.47)*. This situation lasted until the implementation day, when the masthead was written entirely in Latin. Despite the existing Latin nameplate on the last page, a new one was introduced in a different style, not a serif and italic, but a sans serif typeface *(Fig.6.48)*. The content of the masthead including the nameplate was framed differently from the previous issues.

Akşam

Akşam was the only newspaper that did not make any change to this part during the transition. Not a single piece of content was changed into Latin before the implementation. As mentioned before, it could be the case because of focusing mainly on format and layout change for the post-reform period. The short period (between May and August) for the adoption of Latin in numerals must have worried *Akşam*'s newspapermen more and gave them a reason to print numerals in two scripts side by side. After the full adoption, all the content in the masthead was written in Latin. The typeface chosen for the nameplate was different from other newspapers, but similar in terms of its white-lined blackletter style.

İkdam

Before the alphabet reform, *İkdam*'s masthead consisted of a nameplate and two pictorial sections for information relating to communication, advertisement policy, issue date/number and subscription. The nameplate was clearly created with apparent influence from the calligraphic tradition

Figure 6.49 The masthead of *İkdam* before the reform (11 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.50 The masthead of *İkdam* during the transition period (11 October 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey

of Turkey *(Fig.6.49)*. When compared with other Turkish newspapers from the era, *İkdam* has more of a logo style, in the form of a circle filled with decorative elements alongside the letters of *İkdam*. This approach is not unusual though, considering the Ottoman craftsmanship of seals. The nameplate remained the same during the transition period, but changed on the day of the implementation of the alphabet, and was printed in Latin type. The new type is in blackletter style, as was a common practice among transition-period newspapers. The logotype was also accompanied by the image of a globe, unlike the other newspapers that used only typographical nameplates *(Fig.6.50)*. This brought a challenge for *İkdam*. Designs that use pictorial elements are a greater challenge than plain lettering as there is more to get in the way of a strong message. Jim Parkinson notes that the image needs to harmonise with the letters in terms of colour, size and prominence and that 'the illustration should read instantly, and it shouldn't attach too much attention to itself and away from the name of the paper'.[70] Considering this point, in the case of *İkdam*, the use of the globe integrated with the logotype as a whole piece might be linked to the previous design in the ears, most probably to sustain readers' familiarity with it after the reform as well.

Unlike the nameplate, the alphabet used in the two pictorial boxes changed during the transition period. Latin numerals were already being used before the reform, but the switch from Arabic to Latin in this part appeared first on 10 September 1928, one month after the announcement. After the implementation, all the information previously situated in the ears within a box, apart from the subscription information and price, was placed in a bar below the nameplate. The space in the ears was used only for the new slogan, the number of the issued pages and various announcements. In this way, they gained a clean and modern look and more space to publish extra content such as announcements or short weather notices.

Summary

In this particular section, there are both common occurrences and unique cases related to the design decisions made due to the script change. The first of these shared occurrences was the use of the same typefaces that were preferred for the body text. With this decision, we can conclude that there was no special treatment for the masthead style. The other occurrence was the change in the position of information in the masthead. Before the change, the box with contact details was placed on the right side and the box with subscription information and ads policy was positioned on the left side. This positioning of the content was the case for all transition-period newspapers. However, not all of them were willing to make a change to this part. First, *İkdam* positioned these pieces of content/boxes the opposite way round during the transition period. Then, by the day of the implementation, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* adopted the same practice.

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70 Jim Parkinson, "More Than You Ever Wanted to Know about Nameplates," in *Contemporary newspaper design*, ed. J. D. Berry (New York: Mark Batty, 2004), p.166.

This indicates that there was a motivation behind the positioning of boxes due to the different reading direction of scripts. The editors might have been aiming to instruct readers first with the contact information box.

Another similar experience occurred around confusion over the choice of the nameplate's typeface. If we exclude the change in *Cumhuriyet*'s initial nameplate used in the last page's masthead, during the transition, two newspapers changed their nameplates' typeface in Latin twice. These papers were *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Milliyet*. Considering this confusion and the attempts made, one might think that they were investigating the best solution for this part. However, this was not the issue.[71] Because both used the same two typefaces when they changed their nameplates twice. Hutt's warning on the choice of nameplate reveals an important consideration, however:

> There is the evident importance of association. A distinctive title line (nameplate), like a good trademark, helps to build a positive association in the minds of readers and potential readers.[72]

Apparently, the transition period newspapers were not aware of the importance of distinctiveness as they chose similar typefaces for their nameplates – except *Cumhuriyet*, which was the only paper to ask its readers to choose between the options for its new Latin nameplates. Furthermore, the option selected was typographically a unique choice compared to the blackletter typefaces widely used in the new nameplates of the other transition-period newspapers. The reason why readers chose the new nameplate for *Cumhuriyet*, written in a modern, sans serif typeface in contrast to other newspapers, could be its legibility and the desire for a new and modern look that would suit to this important reform.[73] In parallel with this, the reason why other newspapers chose their nameplates in blackletter style could be explained in many ways: one reason could be the conservative nature of the society, while another could be getting inspiration from the European newspapers that they always admired. A final reason could be the nation's significant calligraphic past, the familiarity, and making associations between these old and new nameplates even though they are in different scripts.

As in *Cumhuriyet*'s unique position with its nameplate typography, there were other exceptional cases such as the use of numerals in both scripts, as in *Akşam*'s masthead. As explained earlier, they might have had concerns about whether the public had not familiarised themselves with Latin numerals sufficiently. So, they may have thought that there was no logic in using Latin numerals only, when full Latin adoption was to be implemented in a few months' time in any case.

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71 We do not exactly know what the motivation behind changing the Latin nameplate twice was, due to the lack of further evidence.

72 Allen Hutt, *Newspaper Design* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p.240.
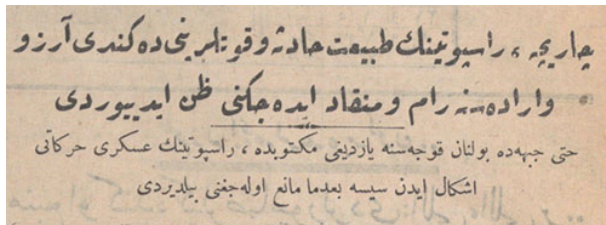
73 This version is still in use today with some minor alterations.
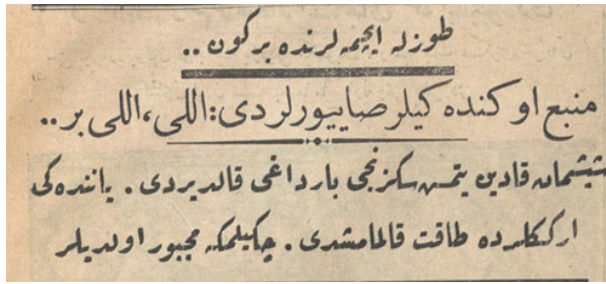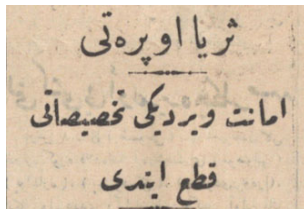
Ruq'ah

Naskh

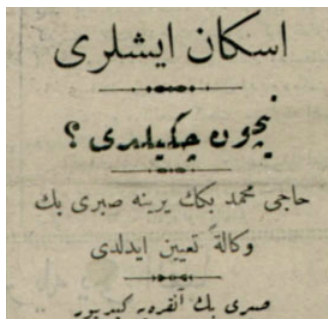Ruq'ah

Ruq'ah

Small sized Naskh

Naskh

Ruq'ah

Ruq'ah

Naskh

Small sized Naskh

Ruq'ah
Small sized Ruq'ah

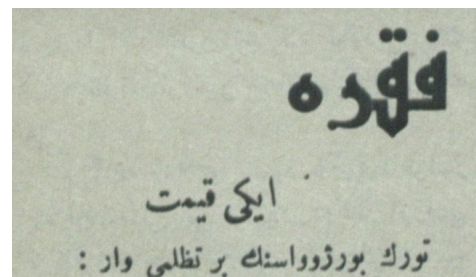Naskh

Ruq'ah

Small sized Naskh

Small sized Ruq'ah

Figure 6.51 Headline & headings variations, in *Akşam* (First three from the top), and *Milliyet* (last two), 10 August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.52 Kufic style heading, in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 10 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

In relation to all these issues, it is unsurprising that unwanted errors/ results occurred as well. Although no other mistakes related to the orthography or the detail of design of the mastheads were found during and after the reform, on one occasion, the nameplate in *Milliyet* was placed upside down six days after the full Latin adoption, most likely because of the haste of the implementation.

Headline and headings

Headlines and headings were the most obvious components where one could observe the integration of the Latin script and the most altered parts regarding their function and importance in newspaper design after the reform. This was due to the use of more diverse variants in Latin types, both in size and style. Contrary to previous parts, this section analyses the broadsheets in a comparative way under two main headings: 1) Variations and 2) Typefaces, in four different periods: a) before the reform, b) during the transition, c) after the implementation, and d) further changes.

Before the reform
Variations

Before the reform, we do not see headlines in large sizes (one page-width or less) in all the transition period newspapers, like we are used to seeing today, due to the lack of production of large-sized Arabic types before the reform year. Therefore, there was no single dominant headline, or even a hierarchy or level of importance between these parts. Moreover, they used decorative dashes/separators to differentiate the same size, and sometimes same style headlines and headings. But instead there are sub-headlines, which are not very different from the regular headings preferred for short pieces of content. So, there was no strong distinction between the typographic decisions for headlines and headings. The only differentiating factor was the difference in type styles.

Typefaces

News headings on the front page generally had the same weight as the subheadlines, but were less diverse in alphabet and type style. Similar to the type measures of subheadlines on front pages, the weight and size of the types used for the headings on the inside pages were the same. Of course, this was only true before the transition period. Even though the ruq'ah style dominated in headlines and headings, the naskh style was also used as another type choice in different sizes. This practice was valid for all the reform period newspapers, and we see many variations to overcome the differentiation problem *(Fig.6.51)*. Only the newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* used kufic style in headings, unlike the others *(Fig.6.52)*. Even though there were kufic style types in 12, 16 and 48 points by the typographer Kevorkyan, there is no sign that they were preferred in the newspapers' headlines or headings because this style has a more decorative use and do not fulfil the aim of newspapers' instant interaction with the reader and its state of being more ephemeral, compared to magazines, which had more ornamental typographic arrangements at that time.

Figure 6.53 Transition period newspapers headline and headings, 10 October 1928 (From the top: *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Akşam*, *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *İkdam*). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library, The National Library of Turkey
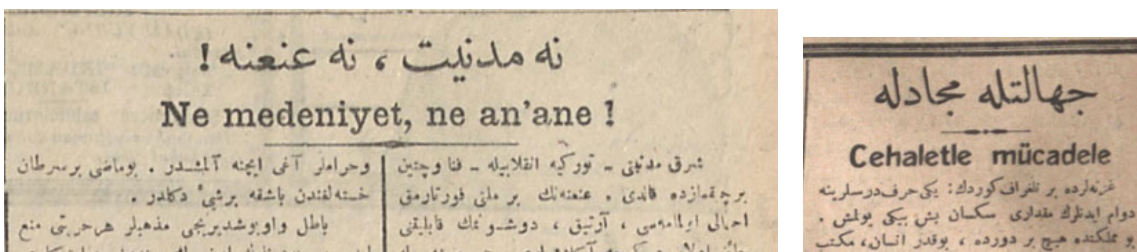
Figure 6.54 Headings in two scripts in *İkdam* (Left) and *Akşam* (Right), 10 October 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, The National Library of Turkey

During the transition period
Variations

During this period, due to the integration of Latin content, not every newspaper published their headlines and headings in Latin. To measure the Latin headlines and headings from the most used to the least, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* has the most headlines and headings in Latin, with its two pages printed all in the same script. However, this paper did not have a dominant headline, but instead one- and two-column-width headings were used. After this paper, *Milliyet* preferred Latin headlines and headings mostly on its first page, although there was no dominant headline, as in *Hakimiyet-i Milliyet*. However, two other newspapers, *Akşam* and *İkdam*, showed a similar approach and published one-page-width headlines different from the pre-reform period. So in a way, they showed the sign of embracing the approach of Western broadsheets printed in Latin, which has one-page width headline practice. Apart from this, while *İkdam* printed more headings both on its first page and inside pages, *Akşam* only had a heading in Latin on its second page. *Cumhuriyet* – unlike its Latin-embracing approach one month earlier – surprisingly did not set any of its headlines and headings in Latin on its initial pages, except on the last page, which had a Latin masthead.

With the introduction of Latin script use, the variety of these components changed in a very unusual way *(Fig.6.53)*. The two- or three-part headings harmonised both Latin and Arabic scripts, as was the most applied practice in *Milliyet*. On the first page, it was possible to see four different forms of this component. Only *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Cumhuriyet* did not apply this practice. Their headlines and headings were either only in Latin or Arabic. *İkdam* and *Akşam*, on the other hand, used two scripts together more moderately *(Fig.6.54)*. Although the exact reason why they had different approaches on this matter is not known, considering their close watch on each other, they still aimed to familiarise the reader with the Latin script with the integration in different forms eventually.

Typefaces

The Latin types used at this time were identical in all newspapers, except for *İkdam*. Even though the execution of headline/headings typesetting was full of typographical oddities, the typefaces in use were more well known and in a decent form, compared to the ones in other papers. There was only one typeface *İkdam* shared with other newspapers, but otherwise it exclusively used *Clarendon* and *Robur (Fig.6.53)*. For the other newspapers, there were three shared typefaces, two of which were sans serif types in big sizes and which looked alike. The other shared one was mainly used at the bottom of the heading stacks and was a condensed serif type in a smaller size. Apart from typeface choices, no capital letters were used, except for one heading in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. It shows that they were at least paying attention to common use and practice in this sense. It is clear that there was shared practice in using the same typefaces, as these were used only as a substitution of the newly purchased types that include new Turkish characters, during the transition period.

Göreceksiniz, neler olacak!

Gazi Mustafa Kemâl

1 Kânunuevel 1928

...yük Türk milleti yeni bir nur alemine girerken,
...rk gazetecilerinin bayrataralığı, Kutlu olsun!

ZÜHURAT

Efgan sefiri son rivayetleri tekzip etti

EFGANİSTANDA OLAN HADİSELERİN ASLI SADECE ÇAPULCU ADAMLARVAR

YAŞASIN İNKILÂP

Belli ki insanlar içinde yaşadıkları anların ehemmiyet ve hususiyetlerini idrak edemiyorlar.

1928 senesi Kânunuevelinin birinci günü... Şüphesiz tarih, bu günü inkılâbımızın mühim bir dönüm noktası olarak yadedecektir.

Bugün harf inkılâbının matbuat cephesinden tatpikatına geçiyoruz. Acaba bu yeni merhale istikbal için Türk milletine neler hazırlıyor? Neticeyi tahmin için kehanete lüzum yoktur. Pek uzun bir tarihin malum cereyanı bize gösterdi ki, Türk milleti Arap harfleriyle yaptığı tecrübede muvaffak olmadı. Bu harfler, halkı karanlıktan ışığa çıkarmadı. Ya bu tecrübede muvaffak olacak mı? Hüküm vermek için tecrübenin neticesini beklemeye mecbur değiliz. Aynı yoldan yürüyenlerin misalleri gözümüzün önündedir.

En medeni milletlerin tecrübeleri ve nihayet Garp medeniyetinin tarihi, son harf inkılâbının

Türk milletine ne kadar nurlu bir âti sakladığını gösterebilir.

...

Tekrar edelim: Lâtin esasından alınan yeni harflerimizin kat'i olarak tatbikatına başlanması, inkılâbın başlı başına mühim bir hadisesidir.

...

Biz burada, matbuat cephesinde, inkılâbın kat'i zaferi için kudretimizin vardığı derecede çalışacağımıza söz veriyoruz.

...

Yaşasın inkılâp!..

Siirt meb'usu
Mahmut

Çok mühim bir hadise
Bu 600 bin lira nereden çıktı?

D. umumiyeye verilen paraların tekrar piyasaya çıkarılmış olması muhtemeldir

Bu çok mühim hadise hakkında müfettişler tarafından hemen tahkikata başlandı

Bugün!
Harf inkılâbı

Tek ekmek
Emanetin ayrı tecrübesine lüzum var mı

TAHKİKAT
HAKSIZLIK MI OLMUŞ?
İSKÂN İŞLERİNDEN ŞİKÂYETLER ÇOĞALDI

HEKİMLER
Avrupa seyahatından çok memnun olmuşlar

KADINLARIMIZ
BİR YABANCI KADIN GÖZÜ İLE NASIL GÖRÜNÜYOR
MİS FLORANS İLE MÜLAKAT

Türk Matbuat hayatında tarihi bir gün: 1 Kânunuevel 1928

Yeni yazı

Bulgar ha. nazırı
M. Burofun beyanatı
Bulgar hükûmeti sırplardan müştekidir
Türk - Bulgar münasebatı güzeldir

Dünkü Kongralar ve içtimalar
Dün hukuk ve tıp talebe cemiyetleri kongraları toplandı. Bakkallar da toplanarak kooperatife girmeye karar verdiler

Sadullah bey geldi
Vapur ücretleri artmayor
Bu sene yeni vapurlar alınması muhtemeldir
İdarenin buseneki bütçesi 5 milyon liradır

Mühim bir haber
Takriri sükûn kanunu Kalkacak mı
Memleketin her tarafında asayiş mükemmeldir

Bir ölüm

Dün Memleketin her köşesinde binlerce Millet Mektebi açıldı
MEKTEPLERE TAHMİNİN FEVKİNDE TEHACÜM OLMUŞTUR. YENİ MEKTEPLER AÇILMASINA LÜZUM HASIL OLDU

Necati'yi kaybettik
Halkın ve inkılâbın bu asil çocuğu daha 36 yaşında idi. Cenazesi bugün on buçukta Numune Hastanesinden kaldırılacaktır

Figure 6.55 The headlines and headings in the implementation day, 01 December 1928. From the top: *İkdam*, *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (10 September 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library, The National Library of Turkey

After the implementation
Variations

On the first day of the implementation of Latin, *İkdam* and *Cumhuriyet* used one-page-wide headlines. However, while there were only inconspicuous headings in *İkdam*, *Cumhuriyet* set its page in a more sophisticated way by following one pattern for this part, even though the choice of style for heading was italic. So, it can be said that *Cumhuriyet* developed a more typographical awareness after the transition period among others. In the case of other newspapers, there was no dominant headline in *Milliyet*, but a one-page-sized box was placed at the top of the page to announce and celebrate the day. The rest of the page consisted mainly of one-column headings. Another newspaper notable for its early Latin use, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, had a weaker typographic voice despite the expectations and effort to include Latin content.[74] No one-page-width headline was used, but the size of the two headlines was considerably larger than previous use. Apart from that, there is not such a difference between the uses on the first page and inside pages in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye (Fig.6.55)*. The most surprising and unexpected occurrence was that *Akşam* was not set all in Latin on the first day of the implementation, unlike its contemporaries. Only two headings in Latin were used on the first page. Ten days after this date, with the change in the format, the headline and heading variations did not change, but five different typefaces on the same page were used in these components *(Fig.6.56)*. Also, the use of capitals for this part shows a more traditional approach which is more Victorian. No other newspaper used capitals as they were clearly aware of the fact that this execution is old-fashioned.

Typeface

When the new alphabet was implemented, the variety of types used for headlines and headings was also changed. At this time, transition period newspapers preferred serif types mostly for headlines. Of the newspapers, only *İkdam* announced its new typeface – *Bodoni*, bought from the Berthold Type Foundry in Germany. All the newspapers had new typefaces, but they differed in the execution of the different styles. While the variations of headlines and headings in *İkdam*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* were more moderate, with the use of one typeface and its different sizes, the choices in *Akşam* and *Milliyet* were more random and indecisive in this sense.

Unlike in the transition period, the differentiation of this section was also created using different type sizes. Setting the headline and headings in different sizes created a hierarchy in the contents according to their importance. However, we can see that most of the time, this practice – attempts at differentiating different pieces of news – was not successful and consistent. In *Akşam* and *Milliyet* especially, many uses of different

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74 Unfortunately, it is not possible to know exactly what the first December issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* looked like because of its absence from the archives and libraries. The earliest existing issue after the implementation is dated 2 January 1929.

Figure 6.56 The variation of type styles in the Latinised issue of *Akşam*, 11 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library

Figure 6.57 Headline and heading variations in *Akşam* (13 February and 9 May 1929). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

weights and the uppercase and lowercase choices show typographic trials and experiments on the new convention *(Fig.6.55)*.

Further changes

The greatest change in the headline/headings approach was in *Akşam*, which used a dominant large-size headline and stronger headings, both in size and clarity; no other paper used this kind of bold treatment at that time *(Fig.6.57)*. In contrast to this, the newspaper that did not show a significant effort in the execution of headlines throughout its transition was *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, which kept its typeface choice and headline/headings style and variations exactly the same after the reform. Apart from *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the use of one-page width headline became a norm among papers, even though it is not seen in every single issue. Apart from these two papers, others, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* and *İkdam*, followed a similar approach in this period. *Cumhuriyet* abandoned its italic headings used in the first days of the implementation; instead it embraced a less prominent execution and used the same semi-serif type in every section, only with a change in size. On the other hand, *İkdam* introduced italic in headings differently compared to the first days of the implementation, as it had used this style only in one-page headlines. Unlike the day of the implementation, there is no continuity in headline/headings variations in these three papers. We see many different styles combined. One reason could be that they did this with the purpose of making them stand out from their competitors; or because of the rich variety of purchased types, they simply wanted to use them all to distinguish different sections *(Fig.6.58)*. Despite the active use of majuscule and minuscule as the only style in the first months of the implementation, we see a completely different execution on headline and headings in the later issues, such as the ones in May –this is not a good execution in the creation of a typographic style for the newspapers. Combinations of many styles, such as condensed semi-serif type, sans serif and serif types both in italic were seen in these issues. In general, it seems that they could not agree on a particular style for this part. What is more, these trials continued in the long term *(Appendix 4)*. The use of large-sized Latin types compared to the previous small-sized Arabic types created a substantial contrast between large-sized headline/headings and small-sized body text, and made newspapers look more appealing visually. Also, compared with their Western contemporaries, the active use of sans-serif type shows the influence of modernism and indicates that they were following the design and typographic developments in Europe at that time.[75] Although there were still some old-fashioned executions, such as centered headlines/headings and the use of separators in heading levels (dashes etc.) in all broadsheets both before and after the reform, the setting of headlines/headings and the use of space seem progressive in that period.

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[75] Another reason why they chose to use sans-serif typefaces could be the type purchases that they were made from the European type foundries.

Figure 6.58 Headline and heading variations. From the top: *Cumhuriyet*, *İkdam*, *Milliyet*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (10 February 1929). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library, The National Library of Turkey
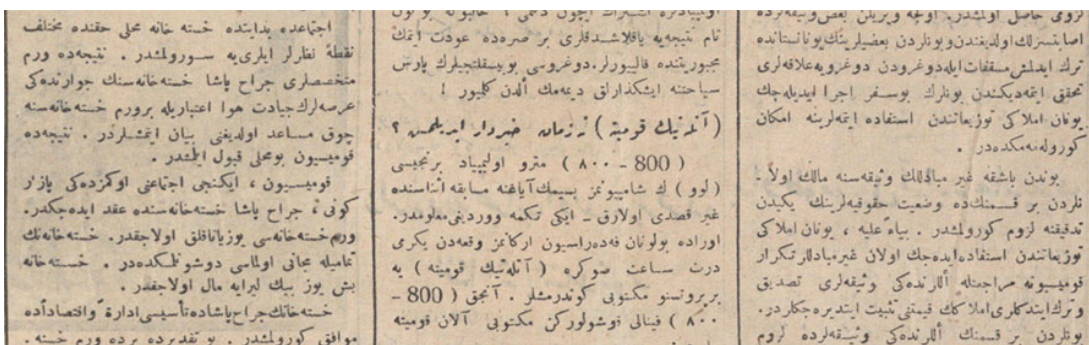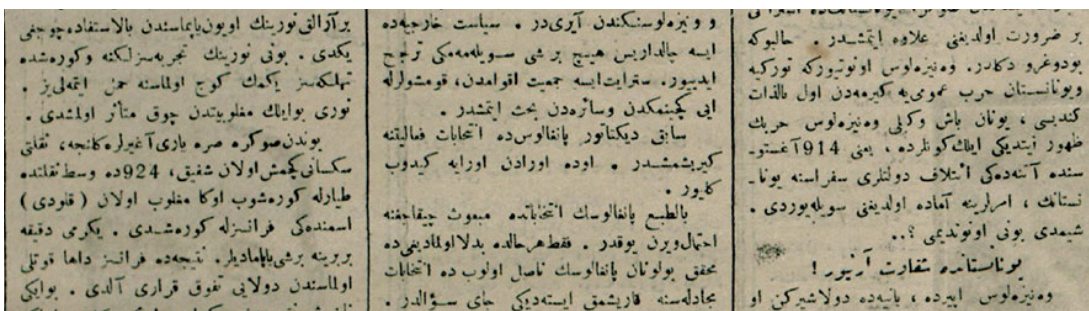
Figure 6.59 Body text examples, 10 August 1928 (From the top: *Milliyet*, *İkdam*). Image source: Atatürk Library, The National Library of Turkey

Body text

Unlike headlines and headings, the decisions and typesetting for body text were not remarkably distinctive among the reform period newspapers. The reason could be the use of the same typefaces among the newspapers during the transition period. Another factor could be related to the issue of hand compositors who had the experience in setting Latin and who taught this skill to other people in the profession. On the other hand, it is obvious from the articles published during the transition period that newspapers were closely monitoring each other for new developments in order to see how they coped with the reform. So in this case, there could be some 'copying' and 'being influenced by' issues. That is why, the changes mentioned below are mostly valid for all the reform period newspapers. Also, it should not be forgotten that the typographic decisions made at that time depended on the experience of typesetters.[76] Furthermore, it is likely that these decisions were more conventional, rather than intentional.[77]

Before the reform

Due to the small sample size and the poor quality of printing, it is not possible to determine the typefaces in the Arabic script used in newspapers. Metal types in Ottoman-Turkish script were not in a good state, mostly worn out or broken. Other issues related to printing also led to poor results, such as uneven inking and the low quality of paper.

As mentioned earlier, the lack of types and size variations resulted in less sophisticated text and a more homogeneous look to the newspaper while the Arabic alphabet was in use. When we look at the issues printed with Arabic letters, generally a standard size and style were preferred for the body text, though sometimes we see smaller sizes within the text as it could be a solution to distinguish different parts of the content. The preferred style was naskh and it was a common style for body text in that period *(Fig.6.59)*. Similarly, we also encounter the same type at a larger size in the body text for differentiation. The only other variation in body text is the use of the ruq'ah type, which is generally used for quotations.

During the transition period

When Latin content started to appear in the transition period, the Latin

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76 There is no specific archive or information about the non-Ottoman-Turkish typesetters and the publications they set, when there is also not so much information about Turkish typesetters and literature about them. But as mentioned earlier, there is some information that can be extract from the Turkish printing history books that Levantines had their own printing presses and publications (Greek, Armenians, French and including Sephardic-Jews as one of the important minorities within the society). So it is possible to conclude that there were naturally typesetters among them. But there is no way to determine their presence in numbers, as there is no comprehensive research/source around this. But it can be said that Turkish typesetters mostly worked in publications in Turkish; Ahmet Ali Gazel, *1923 Mürettipler Grevi,* (İstanbul: İdeal Kültür ve Yayıncılık, 2016).

77 Also, an issue must be kept in mind that there were many different dialects in body text settings due to the various typesetters and the lack of standard in the issue. But, this linguistic problem was not taken into consideration here, as it is not the focus of this study.

Figure 6.60 Harmonised body text in *Milliyet*, 10 October 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.61 Harmonised body text in *İkdam*, 10 October 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
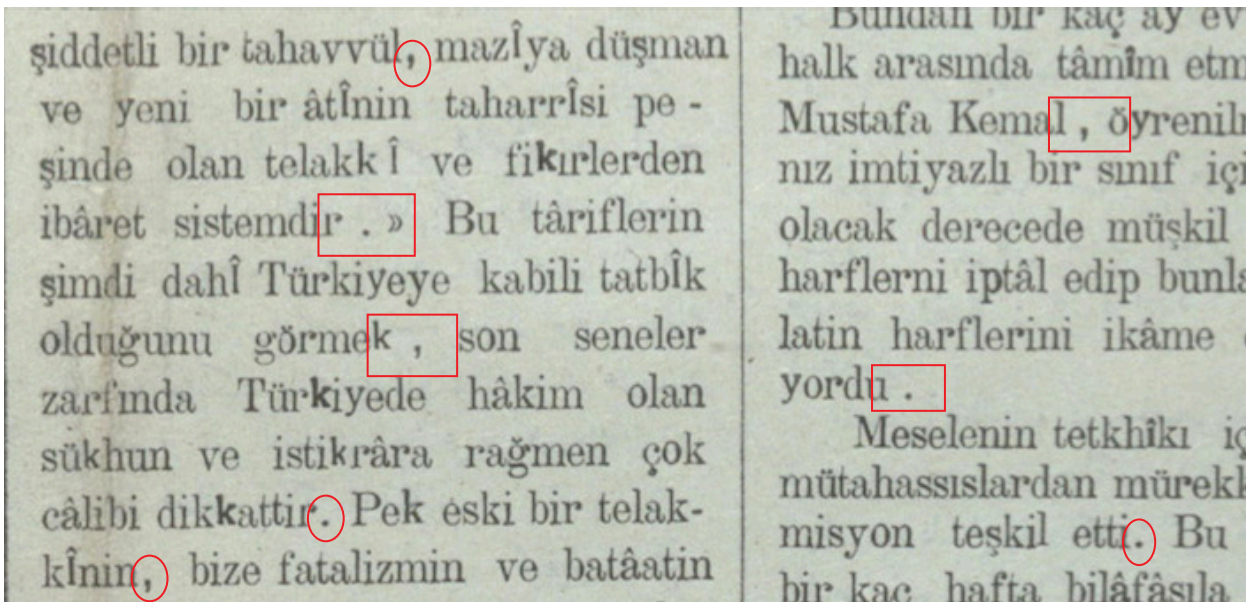
Figure 6.62 The variation in setting punctuation marks in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (2 September 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

typefaces were also in a poor condition most probably because they were old and used types that were left from the typesetting of foreign publications that were printed in Latin. In addition to that, they mainly had only one size or style from one type family and were mostly used before in publishing French publications. The extent of the body text in the Latin script compared to headline and headings was considerably low, thus, in some issues, the Latin parts have a weaker 'voice' and even seem lost between the columns set in Arabic *(Fig.6.60)*. There were rare occasions though when the use of Latin was treated more equally *(Fig.6.61)*.

The body text in all newspapers had been indented and justified before and after the reform, and the leading was the same as in contents set in the Arabic script. Another important component, punctuation, was exactly like in the Arabic typesetting before the reform, which was inspired by the use of French punctuation that inserts a quarter-em space around punctuation marks. In the middle of the transition period, this use was still common, and even it was possible to see the two uses, with or without a space, in the same text *(Fig.6.62)*. Only *Milliyet* is distinguished by not using the space, as frequently as others. Punctuation marks also vary in all, as it can be seen in both the guillemet (« and »), which is French quotation mark and probably used as a result of previous experiences and the regular quotation mark (" and "), as a possible consequence of lacking guillemet. But still, using different alternatives and no space could indicate two possibilities: these may be trials in a new convention, or it is simply the result of different typesetters and their experience on this particular matter. Also, the lack of established or accepted punctuation system could have caused this kind of differences.

Apart from punctuation, one of the biggest problems about the transition period body text was the use of new additional Turkish characters borrowed from different type families. This naturally creates an unpleasant look, as the letters do not sit together on the baseline and make an unsteady and loose text. The body text in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* is a good example for this. On the other hand, *Milliyet* again, was a rare case that does not mostly have this kind of body text treatment during the transition. Due the same reason, many different typefaces in different styles, weights and sizes were used as the body text type, even italic in some occasions *(Fig.6.63)*. In addition to this, the bigger-sized typefaces that were used for headings were also used in poems, announcement and quotes, as body text typefaces.

Considering others and the considerable amount of Latin content, *Milliyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* are the most successful ones in the execution of typesetting. But even in these papers, it is possible to see some minor issues, such as not using a capital letter at the beginning of a sentence or using a smaller type from a different typeface *(Fig.6.64)* due to the problem in type stock, as mentioned earlier. *İkdam* was the worst among newspapers with lots of mistakes and poor hybridisation of additional Latin characters.
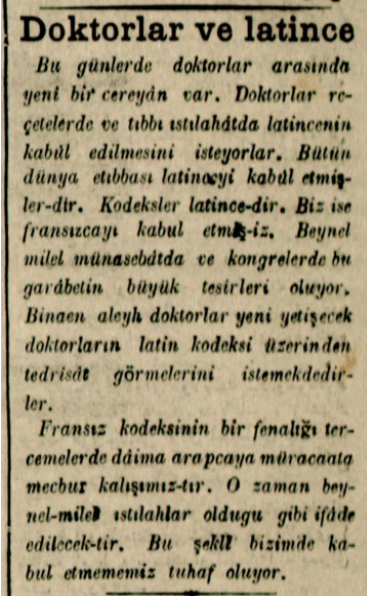
Figure 6.63 The use of italic style in body text in *İkdam* (26 August 1928). Image source: The National Library of Turkey
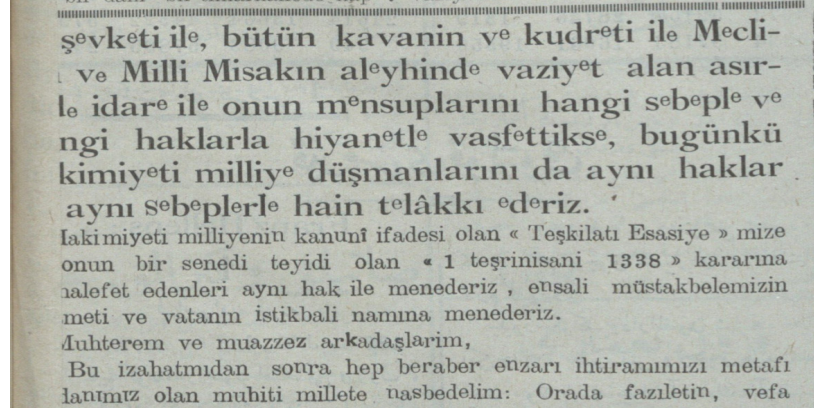

Figure 6.64 The substitution of letter *e* in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (13 October 1928). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
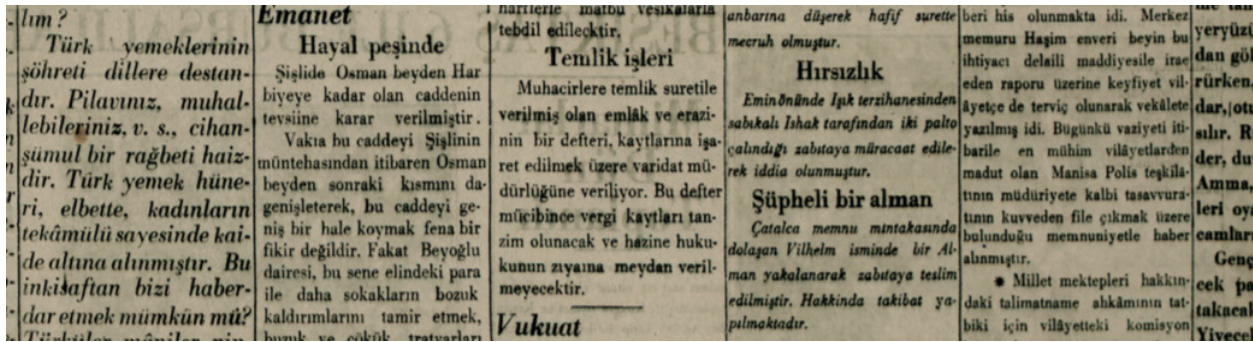

Figure 6.65 An example of unsteady body text in *İkdam* (05 January 1929). Image source: The National Library of Turkey
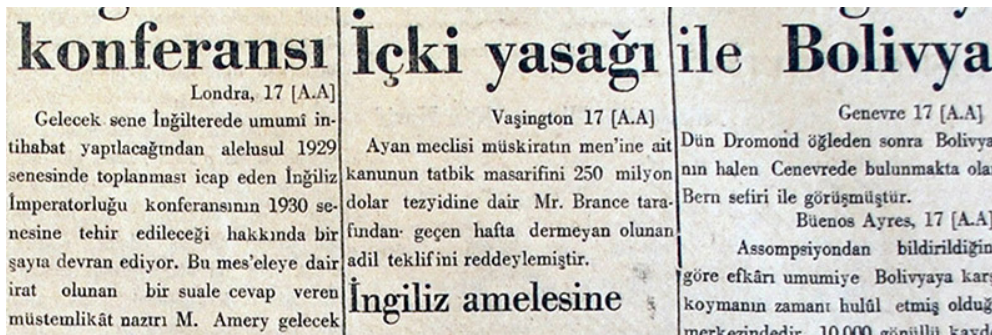

Figure 6.66 The mimicry in the execution of body text in *İkdam*, 10 February 1929. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

After the implementation

By the day of the alphabet change, we see a rich variation in text, due to the different styles and sizes, despite the use of only one typeface. Much variation in body text is apparent, which is at different sizes and in different styles, such as italic and bold. This practice for the body text did not change after the reform and can be seen in the later issues printed in Latin. However, leading and justification – and gutter space as a result – was not consistent in all stages. The shift in the alphabet did not provide a progression in this particular arrangement. As a consequence of ignoring these issues, the creation of an unsteady look in the body text became inevitable *(Fig.6.65).*

Further changes

After a short, hesitant period lasting two months, the newspapers seemed more confident of their typographic choices in body text, and certainly, a remarkable revision in setting text suitable to the orthography was evident in the later issues, also because of the newly published orthography guide 'İmla Lugatı' in January 1929. Apart from the differentiation of body text and the improvement to orthography, the general approach to the adjustment of body text did not show a significant change. For instance, before the reform, body text was always justified and paragraphs had been indented at first lines as in traditional layout. These features remained the same when the Latin columns appeared during the transition and did not change after the implementation of the new alphabet. Moreover, when we look at the body text closely before and after the reform, we can see the attempts at mimicry in the execution of the text *(Fig.6.66).*

Other parts of the newspaper

Running heads[78]

A regular running head consisted of the name of the newspaper, date and page number accompanied by a page-width line at the top of the every page. The main function of the running head is to help readers to navigate the content. In particular it is a vital tool in the common practice of leading readers to the inside pages for the rest of a news story, a teaser which is initially presented on the first page.

It is possible to see this feature in all the newspapers of the period, but naturally with some slight differences in style. For instance, before the reform, only *Cumhuriyet* printed its name in kufic style *(Fig.6.67),* while others preferred a plain naskh type. Another unique case in this part was that *Akşam* used both scripts for numerals and French-style brackets in its name *(Fig.6.68).*

Unlike the main newspaper content, Latin lettering was not used in all

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[78] Although Allen Hutt named this part the 'page folio' and claimed that it is the equivalent of a 'running head' in books, I prefer to use the term 'running head' as Albert A. Sutton did in his book, as it sounds more inclusive and considers the whole part, not only the page number style.
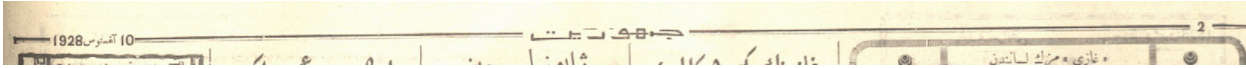
Figure 6.67 The running head of *Cumhuriyet* before and after the reform, 10 August-1 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
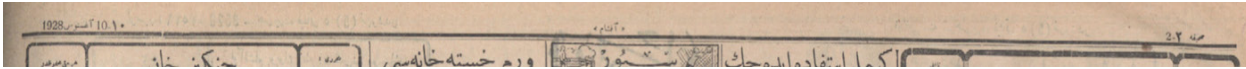

Figure 6.68 The running head of *Akşam* before and after the reform, 10 August 1928-13 March 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 6.69 An example of pictorial section head in *İkdam* before and after the reform. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
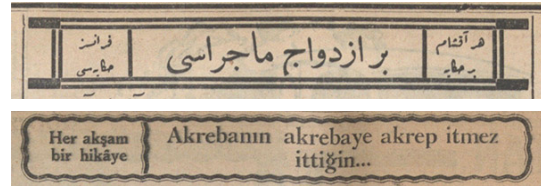

Figure 6.70 Examples of typographical section head in *Akşam* (Left) and *İkdam* (Below) before and the reform. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.71 The evolution of 'Telegrams' section in *İkdam*, which was also printed only typographically right after the implementation day. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

of the newspapers' running heads during the transition. However, Latin numerals were in use, as in the rest of the content. Running heads only started to be printed using the new alphabet after the implementation day. Only *Milliyet* was three days earlier in its Latinisation of this part. Regarding the practice of Western newspapers, Sutton states the ideal setting of this part as:

> The same style of type used in the date line on the page one ordinarily is used, and the words generally set in full-capitals. The type selected should harmonise closely, both in design and weight, with the rest of the head-dress, and it should be in a size small enough so that it does not attract undue attention.[79]

Comparing practice with this advice, three out of five transition-period newspapers set this part with the types they used in their mastheads and kept the small type size due to the same concerns mentioned above, but did not set the words – or even the name of newspaper – in full capitals and did not position the content as was usually done in European newspapers. Only *Milliyet* and *İkdam* used similar settings to European newspapers. While *Milliyet* preferred all the words in this part in uppercase, *İkdam* capitalised its name only to distinguish it from other information. In the same way that errors occurred in other parts due to the haste of the adoption, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* sometimes printed the position of page numbers and date in the wrong direction. Apart from this occurrence, there were no other issues related to this part.

Section heads

These are also called 'boxed heads' or 'feature heads' and are the components that help categorise the different newspaper content and create a familiarity and continuity for the permanent sections. In transition-period publications, two different kinds of section heads were identified before the full adoption of the Latin script. As a result of the newspapers' rich pictorial content, one of the styles was pictorial, where typography was accompanied by ornaments or images *(Fig.6.69)*. The other kind was the plain type treatment, generally framed with a box or being left as plain *(Fig.6.70)*. In these sections, different type styles were applied before and during the transition period, ranging from ruq'ah to naskh styles, which were also mainly used in body text, in addition to other hand-lettered calligraphic approaches. On both of these kinds of section heads, a partial shift is observed in the transition period. After the implementation day, some of the pictorial sections were substituted with a plain type treatment due to the haste of adopting a new alphabet. But almost in one month, some of the pictorial heads were prepared in Latin with the same or similar pictures *(Fig.6.71)*. However, in the meantime, some sections, both pictorial and typographical, were abandoned. Still, it became possible to see the introduction of more section heads in one-page or narrower headline

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[79] Albert Alton Sutton, *Design and Makeup of the Newspaper* (United States: Greenwood Press, 1948), p.393.

Figure 6.72 One-page width feature headlines as replacements of sections heads in *Milliyet*. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.73 The use of 'kashida' in typographical section heads of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
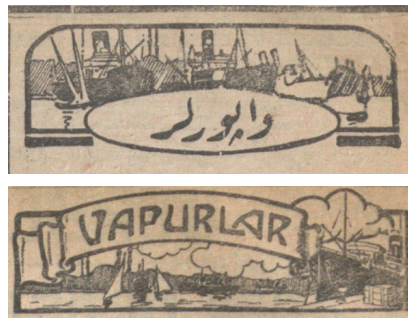
Figure 6.74 The pictorial section heads of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* that quickly adopted to the Latin script. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 6.75 Examples of foreign brands' name in Latin, before and after the reform, 'Cresival' in *Milliyet*. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.76 The use of random types from different type-families due to the lack of transition period types, *Cumhuriyet*. Image source: Atatürk Library

form, suitably created for the feature/editorial sections. It appears that this was an upward trend among Western newspapers over the following decade.[80]

Like in other parts, there were also exceptional cases in this part of the newspaper. Even though they were uncommon in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, pictorial section heads were abandoned and the use of plain typesetting instead increased with the transition, unlike most of the other transition-period newspapers. The reason for this could be the new Latin type stocks that allow printers to create section heads in bigger sizes and in different type styles that Arabic types lacked before the reform. Also, abandoning a script in a more ornamental and organic shape could aid to abandon more decorative and pictorial approach in these parts, especially, considering the more formal tone of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Apart from these reasonings, they might not have wanted to create another new lithographic cliche for these parts, when metal type in rich variations could be used for this task. Besides this paper, *Milliyet* also had a different notion on the treatment of this part. The use of page-width section heads and a related approach –feature headlines – can be seen, especially during the transition period *(Fig.6.72)*. The lack of Arabic types in big sizes must have previously restrained this convention. *Akşam* was the most reluctant to Latinise these parts, although it did not have many pictorial section heads as they were mostly set by hand, and used the *kashida* style to make these sections more decorative *(Fig.6.73)*. However, it unexpectedly kept its pictorial section heads and adapted them in the Latin script more quickly than other newspapers, only a couple of days after the implementation *(Fig.6.74)*. As in the other parts due the confusion of a fast implementation, we also come across section heads printed upside down, especially in *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*.

Advertisements

Advertisements played a huge part in the period's newspapers. It was common to see page-sized ads, or many allocated ads in the final pages in contrast to contemporary European newspapers. Before the alphabet reform, due to foreign-origin advertisements, the use of Latin letters was not unusual. This was particularly the case for special or brand names, which were written in Latin *(Fig.6.75)*. This practice could be the result of using the same printing plates, probably from a country where Latin was used, or simply being loyal to the brand's image. However, advertisements started to be Latinised for the first time at the end of August, and during the transition period, especially in last two months, most advertisements were published in both alphabets. In this temporary situation, the transition period typefaces used in this section were varied. For instance, we clearly see an effort in a typewriter advertisement in *Cumhuriyet*, as the typesetter could not find all the letters in the type family and replaced them with others *(Fig.6.76)*. We cannot, therefore, talk about a special design or consideration for this part of the newspaper. The main concern

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80 Sutton, p.318.

Figure 6.77 The designs of 'Fiat' ad in *Milliyet* after the reform (Left) and the 'Chrysler' ad in *Akşam* during the transition period (Right). Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library

was printing these sections in Latin as soon as possible. As a result of this, there are different attempts at presentation, as can be seen in these two one-page car ads. While the Fiat cars ad in *Milliyet* was written using only Latin letters, without showing any design considerations, the Chrysler ad in *Akşam* seems to have been created after a deliberate design process *(Fig.6.77)*. In particular, the use of different typefaces in ads for the same company or brand in two different newspapers proves this point. However, we do not see the same willingness to adopt Latin in all transition-period advertisements, as many other newspapers still printed everything in the Arabic script. This was most likely the decision of those placing the advertisements, and some remained in Arabic right up until the full Latin adoption. This could be the result of customers' decisions and their fear of being unnoticed and unread during the transition. As with all content, on the day the newspapers shifted to the new alphabet, all the advertisements started to be printed in Latin. In the post-reform period, there was no big changes in this part as using Latin script was a part of setting these sections.

Summary

Considering the unvarying text elements and design decisions throughout the transition period, we cannot see a very dramatic change in the look of the newspapers, especially when the most grey area, the body text, did not show a substantial change. Even the adoption of Latin content during the transition did not produce a significant alteration, as the content in Arabic script had still a substantial place on pages. But after the full adoption, when all the factors related to design elements and typographic variations touched on above are taken into consideration, it can be concluded that the alphabet change created more black and white space interaction, and a dynamism on the page came with that. While the Arabic script was in use, broadsheet newspapers had a more homogeneous look and a grey tone. But, after the alphabet change, with the help of the new typefaces and size variations, the hierarchy between the sections became apparent and pages started to look more distinguished from its competitors, despite many amatuer executions. Especially, right after the implementation day, the active use of headlines/headings and announcements and quotes in big sizes brought dynamism to pages. Nevertheless, this did not prevail in the next two or three months, and the newspapers, except for *Akşam*, mostly returned to their conservative looks with more modest typographic choices, as in before the reform. It is not known why they made a decision in this way. However, the typographic execution in the transition period was more promising with its diversity and richness in style and content. They also showed a unique creativity and resilience by attaching external components, such as dots, commas and breves to the old Latin types they had in order to create the new Turkish characters. Even though we see the same practical approach – substituting different letters for missing ones – in Victorian typography, the solutions of Turkish typesetters were superior both in the execution and the purpose. It should also not be forgotten that, although the executions were judged here considering some kinds of

standards, the efforts of the people who prepared these newspapers were great, considering the short time and lack of the resources.

This period also was significant in giving a big chance to publish alphabet tables/lessons and reading columns for practising regularly. In the following section, these sections will be explained broadly.

6.4. Teaching the alphabet

As a result of being one of the efficient advocates of the new alphabet, broadsheet newspapers willingly accepted the duty of preparing daily sections for alphabet lessons. It is not exactly known whether these lessons succeeded in teaching the new alphabet, but they definitely raised awareness and served as the first public schools by publishing such lessons for teaching people how to read and write with the new letters, prior to the opening of *Millet Mektepleri* (Nation's Schools). The ABC booklet that was published immediately after the official announcement, with the intention of publicising the new alphabet, has limited circulation, as it was printed for the members of parliament and other political figures. No detailed grammar and orthographic rules related to the new script were shared in these booklets, mainly because not all the rules had been clearly defined at that point. For this reason, the lessons in the broadsheets served as the first basis to deliver these principles publicly.

However, not every newspaper was keen to promote the new alphabet. While *Milliyet*, for example, was making a serious attempt to create a rich variety of lessons in many different forms, others, such as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Akşam*, did the minimum and published very basic alphabet tables, a couple of lessons and reading articles. Besides its alphabet lessons were presented in many different forms *Cumhuriyet* also announced that they were publishing an additional ABC booklet, suitable for everyone – women, men and children[81] – and even allocated a corner for its readers to ask their questions related to the new alphabet.[82] It seems then that, some of them shared this content only to familiarise the public with the alphabet and its basic orthographic rules, while others paid great effort to teach the public how to read and write by publishing consistent lesson series.

As it is the case for the general content, the lessons were published in both the Arabic and the Latin scripts during the four-month transition period.[83] Only *Cumhuriyet* made an exception and created a lesson series all in Latin. By the implementation day of the reform, all the lessons started to print in Latin. Even though there was shared initial content among the newspapers, the majority of tables and lessons were prepared for each newspaper individually.[84] This content can be categorised into five types:

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81 *Cumhuriyet*, 26 August 1928.

82 *Cumhuriyet*, 16 September 1928.

83 The introductory information and explanations regarding certain rules, especially, were written in Arabic script in the transition period.

84 Apart from the newspapers' editorial board, which consisted of members of parliament and

Figure 6.78 The very first attempts of creating alphabet tables, *Cumhuriyet* 1 August (Left), *Milliyet* 2 August (Right) 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.79 *Akşam*'s first alphabet table, 14 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 6.80 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*'s first alphabet table, 23 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

- First alphabet tables/lessons
- Plain descriptive lessons
- Illustrative lessons
- Handwriting practice sheets
- Reading columns

First alphabet tables/lessons

These tables were seen mostly in the beginning of the transition period. Their purpose was to introduce the new letters in a more organised way, while also keeping the aim of helping readers to memorise them. Compared to other subsidiary text, the type size of the letters was bigger and bolder, most probably to distinguish this content from the newspapers' regular content. The choices of type style also ranged from sans-serif to serif, most likely without any reference or conscious decision.

The issue of first alphabet table/lesson appearances could initiate a discussion on its own.[85] It is possible to divide newspapers into two groups here. The first group includes the ones who were impatient waiting until the official announcement and who published some alphabet forms predicted and created by themselves beforehand. The most enthusiastic newspapers in this respect were *Cumhuriyet*, which was published on 1 August and *Milliyet*, which was published on 2 August *(Fig.6.78)*. It is certain that the newspaper staff achieved this by using their own judgment and existing experience with French publications. Compared to the state version, naturally there were mistakes about showing the new Turkish letters in Latin. To be more precise, the vowels with circumflex were introduced as a part of the original alphabet differently from the official (state) version. After the official announcement on August 10, the circumflex mark was solely presented without letters in the lessons along with other punctuation marks, such as apostrophe and hyphen.

The others, *Akşam*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *İkdam* published this material after the announcement of the reform, in a more expected way. *Akşam*, published an organised text on 14 August showing the new letters and some words as examples, under the title *Yeni Harfler ve İmla* (New letters and spelling)*(Fig.6.79)*. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* announced the new alphabet on 23 August by using a table showing the whole alphabet in two parts, as vowels and consonants along with their vocalisation in Arabic script, and most

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era's political figures, there were also other anonymous people who prepared these lessons and who chose the sound of old letters as nicknames, such as 'Kaf-Sad' and 'Va-Nu'. Though it is known that 'Va-Nu' is the short version of Vâlâ Nureddin.

85 There were some unexpected attitudes regarding the effort of publishing these initial lessons and the newspapers' performance during the transition period. For instance, even though *İkdam* seemed more serious about this task during the transition, with its illustrative/instructive approach and one-page reading articles, unusually it published its first lesson on 23 August, while *Akşam* acted earlier and published its first lesson on 14 August, but did not share a serious lesson series during this period. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* also published its first alphabet table on 23 August as *İkdam* did, but did not appear to make an effort, unlike other more ambitious newspapers.

Figure 6.81 The first alphabet table of *İkdam*, 23 August 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.82 *İkdam*'s second alphabet table, showing both printing and handwriting letters, 29 August 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.83 Examples of different uses in positioning the content due to the different nature of the scripts, (From left) *Milliyet* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library

Figure 6.84 An example of positioning the words vertically in *Milliyet*, 18 October. Image source: Atatürk Library

likely set with metal types, as the letterforms were fairly identical. The same table also appeared in *Milliyet* three days later *(Fig.6.80)*. So here again, there is an indicator for the relationship between these publications.

In *İkdam*'s first table appearance on 23 August, the section heading was written both in Latin and Arabic types, advising, 'Follow these lessons carefully'. There is a picture showing a boy holding a blackboard with the new alphabet written on – this approach is the only example to use an illustrative approach in the first instance *(Fig.6.81)*. In the blackboard image, the Latin letters were handwritten, instead of printed with metal type, and thirty-one new Turkish letters were shown on, only as minuscule letters. However, the new Turkish alphabet was created with 29 letters. Apparently, there were spare letters with circumflex, as it happened in the example of *Cumhuriyet*, besides the missing letter *ğ*. This execution shows the newspaper's own attempt to introduce the new alphabet, rather than an official authorisation. Still, it is interesting to see this confusion after 13 days from the official announcement.

İkdam's second alphabet table, called *Türk alfabesi levhası* (The plate of the Turkish alphabet) consisted of both printing and handwriting letters, published on August 29 *(Fig.6.82)*. On this plate, all letters were presented completely (including the missing letter *ğ* in the previous one) in both capitals and small letters and in two different styles, serif and cursive handwriting letters. This was the first appearance of examples for hand-writing version of letters. Later, this table was also published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Considering the changing approach throughout the transition and some shared lessons, it is possible to see a more cautious publishing emerge, as opposed those initial disorganised attempts.

Plain descriptive lessons

Although this lesson format was common, as it was not in the table form and was easy to set as free text, organising and placing words by following a pattern and order could be an issue. In these sections, the use of two scripts to teach the new alphabet meant that differences in positioning the words in Latin and Arabic scripts occurred, and this could cause a slight confusion in reading directions *(Fig.6.83)*. We also see a different typesetting convention, most probably due to concerns over saving space while sharing wide-spaced lessons. As a result, on a few occasions *Milliyet* printed some of the words in these sections vertically to save some space and fit all the words into the lesson box *(Fig.6.84)*.

Illustrative lessons

It is mentioned that there was only one alphabet table in *İkdam* containing a picture within the first lessons *(Fig.6.81)*. After this lesson, only *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* apart from *İkdam*, generously embraced an illustrative approach in some of their lesson series, unlike *Akşam*, which only used a couple of images to illustrate words in the new alphabet *(Fig.6.85)*. Only the Ankara newspaper *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* did not publish pictorial lessons.

Figure 6.85 *Akşam*'s illustrative lesson series, 12 October 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
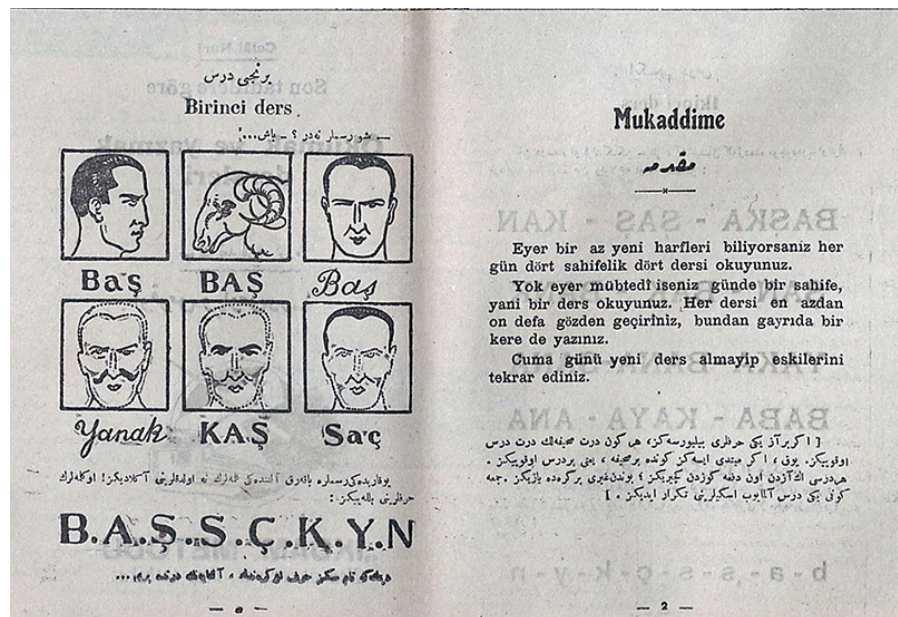

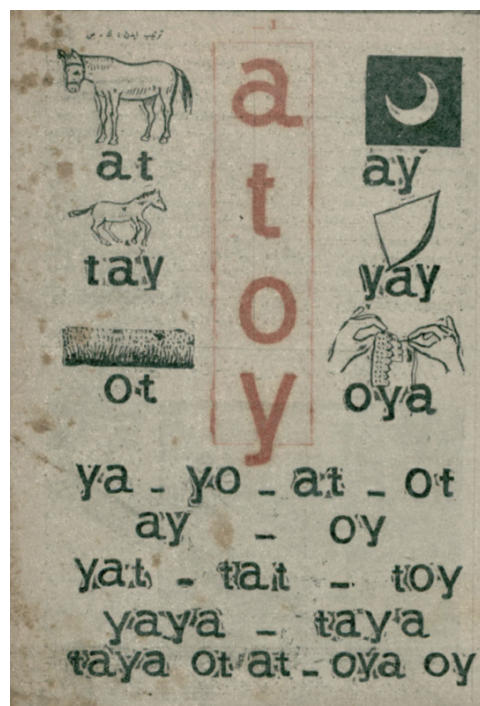**Figure 6.86** *İkdam*'s illustrative lesson series, 3 October 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.87 *Cumhuriyet*'s illustrative lesson series, 15 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.88 *Milliyet*'s illustrative lesson series, 1 January 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Although there is no reason or explanation behind this approach, it seems reasonable considering that the newspaper does not integrate much visual in general, as in other broadsheets. We also know that *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was not interested in publishing extensive alphabet lessons and had the least lesson content among the other broadsheets. *İkdam* in particular called this illustrative approach 'the method of İkdam' with a slogan 'both theoretical and practice' and started to publish these lessons on 3 October 1928 *(Fig.6.86)*. These lessons were placed on the inside pages and lasted one month; the format was a horizontal rectangular, divided into two parts ready to be cut and folded as a booklet. There is no precise indication or explanation to do this, but considering the format, this idea of cutting and folding lessons as booklets occurs. There was some advice given by some of the newspapers, encouraging readers to cut out and keep the lessons for the purpose of repeating them later, instead of throwing them away with the newspaper. Instructive illustrations are seen as beneficial for teaching the new alphabet and for this reason, some of the letters and words were produced within images, so there was no need for metal types, unlike most of the content.

While *İkdam* published this section in a larger format, *Cumhuriyet* kept its simple approach by publishing only limited words accompanying a couple of images in a small box *(Fig.6.87)*. Unlike its competitors, most of these illustrative lessons did not contain Arabic script. Later, these lessons were combined and printed as a poster.[86] Very different to these two cases, *Milliyet* published daily illustrative lessons on the same days the lessons were taught in Nation's Schools – in a way, giving a clue to the readers about what they would be taught on that day. So naturally these lessons appeared after the implementation of the reform, and had a distinctive visual style due to the familiarisation method of using the shape of objects to visualise the new letters *(Fig.6.88)*. The illustrative approach could be the result of keeping these lessons as simple as possible, to be accessible to people of all age groups from children to the elderly.

Practice sheets

Milliyet was the only paper that published practice sheets for teaching handwriting. These sheets appeared on 5 September and were published for eight days. The first few days were reserved for writing the new letters *(Fig.6.89)*. On other days, some short words up to four letters, using both vowels and consonants, were published. Surprisingly there was no writing line in this content, but some tracing marks to make copying the letters/ words easier were included *(Fig.6.90)*. However, the uniqueness of this special content does not mean that the other newspapers ignored writing. For instance, *Cumhuriyet* advised its readers to do exercises by writing the lessons they published, and even told them to carry a pen and notebook in their pockets.[87]

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86 Mustafa Duman, "Latin Harfli Türk Alfabe Levhaları," *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol 229 (Ocak 2003): p.21.
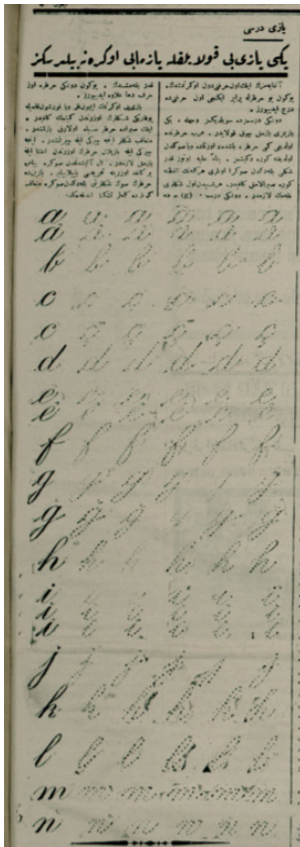
87 *Cumhuriyet*, 28 August 1928.

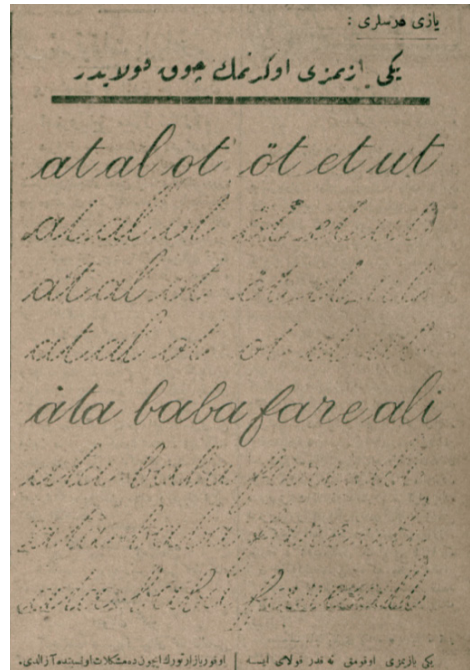**Figure 5.89** *Milliyet*'s practice sheets, 6 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.90 *Milliyet*'s practice sheets, 8 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.91 *Milliyet*'s lesson showing handwriting letters, 8 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

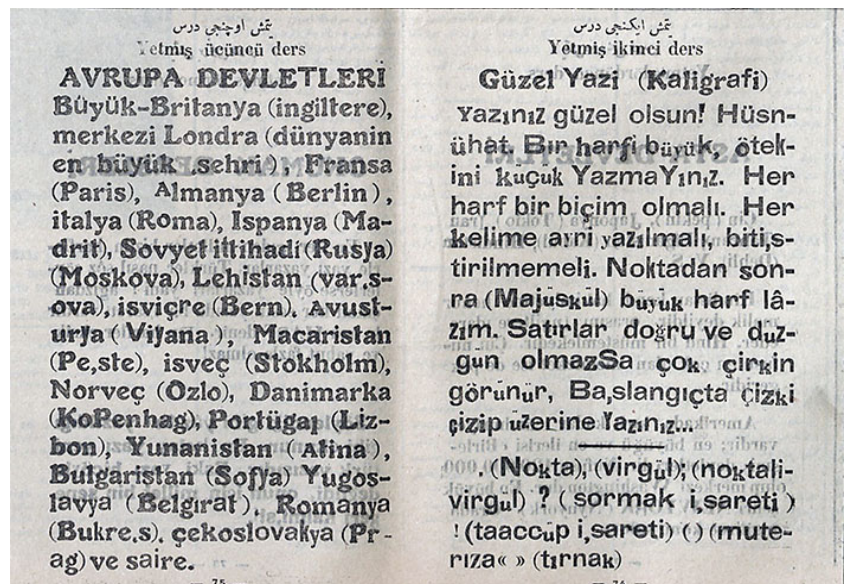**Figure 6.92** No use of writing line in *Cumhuriyet*'s lessons, 21 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.93 Poor typesetting occasion due to the low type stock in *İkdam*, 21 October 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Another feature of the lessons regarding writing is sharing the handwriting letters alongside printing types. Printing types were preferred for the purpose of teaching people to read and the cursive handwriting types for showing how Latin letters could be written by hand. Apart from *Cumhuriyet*[88] and *Milliyet*, there was no explanation in other papers for the distinction between printing and handwriting letters, as they have different natures in spacing, letterforms and style. *Akşam, İkdam* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* only shared those letters in alphabet tables; no specific separate content was shared later. With a conscious division and explanations, *Cumhuriyet* published this part in August 28 and *Milliyet* followed it in October 6 *(Fig.6.91)*. Later, *Milliyet* broadly shared these two types of letters in its illustrative lessons, which aided 'Nation's Schools' starting from January 1. These parts were not in the form of practice sheets, but only a writing line was used to situate handwriting letters, indicating the fact that these letters necessitated a guide as they were to be written by hand. This was combined with the standard four parallel lines, 'the two middle ones containing the body of the letters and the outer ones serving as markers for the ascenders and descenders' as suggested by Palatino[89] *(Fig.6.88)*. On the other hand, in another occasion of *Cumhuriyet*'s illustrative lesson in September 21, no writing line was used to show handwriting letters, but more space was embedded between the letters, which were placed rather randomly *(Fig.6.92)* unlike the printing ones published earlier.

Reading columns

In this section readers could practice what they had learned from the lessons by rereading. This approach was also advised by the newspapermen who prepared this content.[90] It is possible to divide this part in two sections: 1) reading articles during the transition period and 2) reading columns after the implementation of the reform to assist the Nation's schools.

Before the implementation, only *Cumhuriyet* (22 September), *İkdam* (21 October) and *Milliyet* (18 October) published reading articles along with regular alphabet lessons. These lessons, except for the one in *Milliyet*, included orthographic mistakes. Even though this was an educational section, we also see some seriously irregular typesetting due to the problem with the newspaper's type stock and inexperience hand-compositors *(Fig.6.93)*. As the stock was in use for the issues throughout the transition, there was no amendment in this aspect. Surprisingly, *Milliyet* paid a great attention to both typesetting and punctuation, considering that these pieces would represent the right version of text in Latin script and readers would see these as an example *(Fig.6.94)*.

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88 Ibid.

89 Osley 1972, cited in Sue Walker, *Typography & Language in Everyday Life: Prescriptions and Practices* (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2014), p.62.

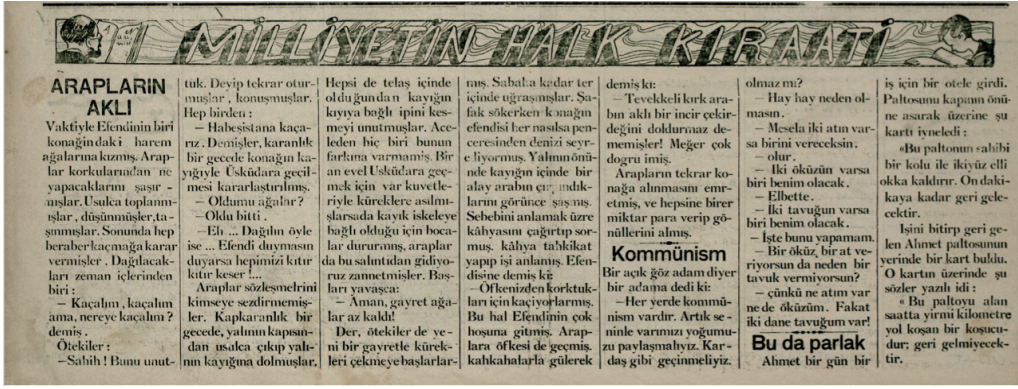**90** *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1928.

Figure 6.94 *Milliyet*'s reading column during the transition period, 18 October 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
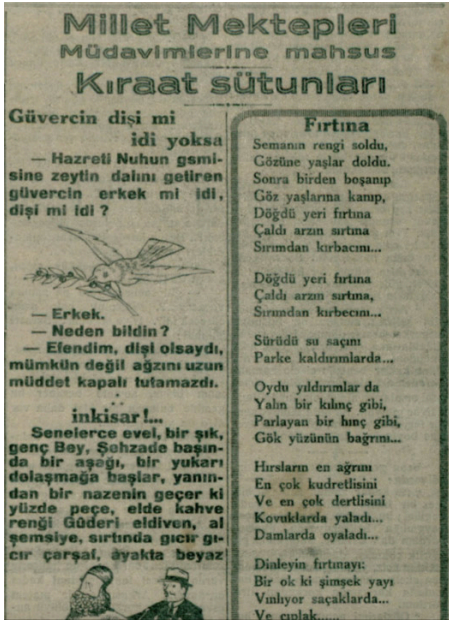
Figure 6.95 *Cumhuriyet*'s reading column, 3 January 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
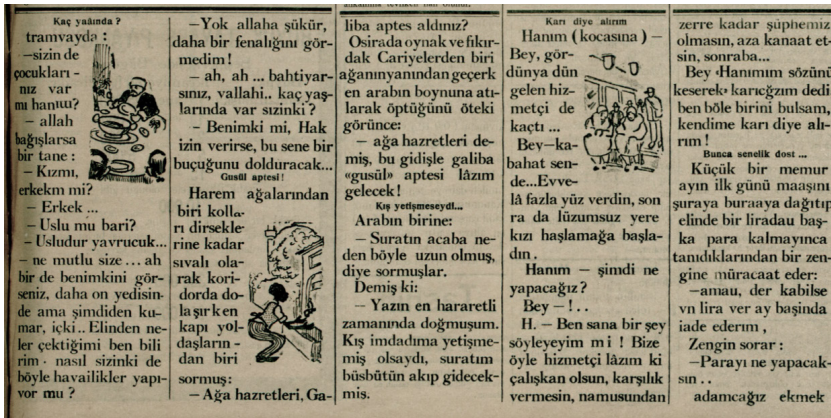
Figure 6.96 *Milliyet*'s reading column with small-sized headings, 11 December 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

The most distinctive feature of this content was the use of large-sized and bold types and on some occasions even the use of bold style. The reading columns published after the implementation day, also shared this distinctive feature. *Cumhuriyet* was one of the papers that used bold in its reading columns, on 3 January *(Fig.6.95)*. However, size or styles were not applied consistently across all newspapers. For instance, *Akşam* did not use a large size in its first reading columns, but rather published only a small part in larger sizes after the implementation, starting from 3 January. There was an explanation in *Milliyet*'s section on 1 January, called *Milliyet*'in Halka mahsus sahifesi (*Milliyet*'s special public page) on why they chose to print in this way: 'There are some people who are not able to read small newspaper types; what do these people read everyday?' In *Milliyet*'s reading articles 'Tuhaf Fıkralar', the headings were ironically set smaller than the body text for a couple of days *(Fig.6.96)*.[91]

Only *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* did not specifically publish reading columns in large type sizes, except in one case, which was the issue on 29 September. One reason could be that it was the official voice of the government, being the capital's only newspaper. So it had no intention of publishing 'informal' content to engage with the public, but instead published articles to be read in the same type size as its other content, most probably because it depended on public schools for teaching the alphabet, and reported on the developments in relation to the reform in its capacity as an official channel.

İkdam was the only newspaper to publish full one-page reading articles and had the most interesting case in its typesetting approach. This section, called *The Reading Page*, consisted of stories and was published as one page in two columns. Considering the dimensions, the type size was quite large for the body text and there was also no consistency in it. The leading of the text was also oversized. The reason for this choice could probably be an attempt to fill the whole page *(Fig.6.97)*. When we look at the same section on 15 January, there is still no adjustment to the text features. Although the number of columns increased, the size of the text increased gradually, and the leading was still unnecessarily wide *(Fig.6.98)*. It was not possible to determine why the text size and leading were exaggerated, but there are some possibilities. The text size could be the result of the lack of types. This low stock might result in the use of different or inappropriate type sizes. When it comes to the leading problem, there could be two possibilities. One of them is helping readers to read a large-sized text easily while teaching the new alphabet. The other could be the need to fill the entire page with text, as mentioned before. In the same section in a later issue (1 February 1928), we see a remarkable alteration in the text. The text size and leading are more appropriate, although they are still quite large, considering the size of the newspaper's body text *(Fig.6.99)*. In comparison, other newspapers did not have a serious issue regarding the execution of this part, as they kept it small and simple.

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[91] There could be two reasons for this; one is that there is not enough space due to the large size of the body text. The other possibility is the lack of type sizes in the same type family.
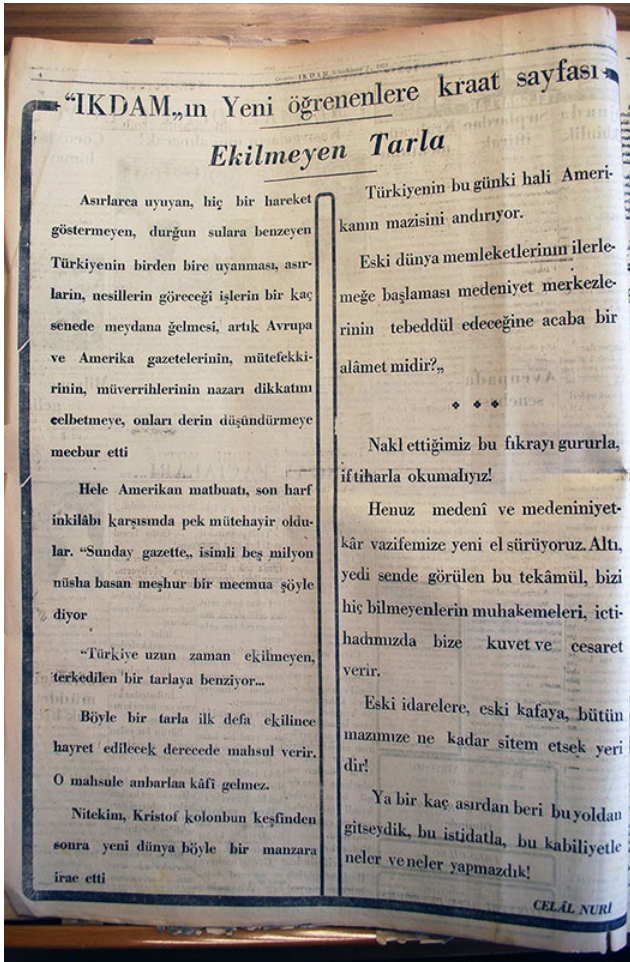
"İKDAM„ın Yeni öğrenenlere kraat sayfası

Ekilmeyen Tarla

Asırlarca uyuyan, hiç bir hareket göstermeyen, durğun sulara benzeyen Türkiyenin birden bire uyanması, asırların, nesillerin göreceği işlerin bir kaç senede meydana gelmesi, artık Avrupa ve Amerika gazetelerinin, mütefekkirinin, müverrihlerinin nazarı dikkatını celbetmeye, onları derin düşündürmeye mecbur etti

Hele Amerikan matbuatı, son harf inkılâbı karşısında pek mütehayir oldular. "Sunday gazette„ isimli beş milyon nüsha basan meşhur bir mecmua şöyle diyor

"Türkiye uzun zaman ekilmeyen, terkedilen bir tarlaya benziyor...

Böyle bir tarla ilk defa ekilince hayret edilecek derecede mahsul verir. O mahsule anbarlaa kâfî gelmez.

Nitekim, Kristof kolonbun keşfinden sonra yeni dünya böyle bir manzara irae etti

Türkiyenin bu günki hali Amerikanın mazisini andırıyor.

Eski dünya memleketlerinin ilerlemeğe başlaması medeniyet merkezlerinin tebeddül edeceğine acaba bir alâmet midir?„

Nakl ettiğimiz bu fıkrayı gururla, iftiharla okumalıyız!

Henuz medenî ve medeniyetkâr vazifemize yeni el sürüyoruz. Altı, yedi sene görülen bu tekâmül, bizi hiç bilmeyenlerin muhakemeleri, ictihadımızda bize kuvet ve cesaret verir.

Eski idarelere, eski kafaya, bütün mazımıze ne kadar sitem etsek yeri dir!

Ya bir kaç asırdan beri bu yoldan gitseydik, bu istidatla, bu kabiliyetle neler ve neler yapmazdık!

CELÂL NURİ

Figure 6.97 *İkdam*'s reading column, 02 January 1929. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
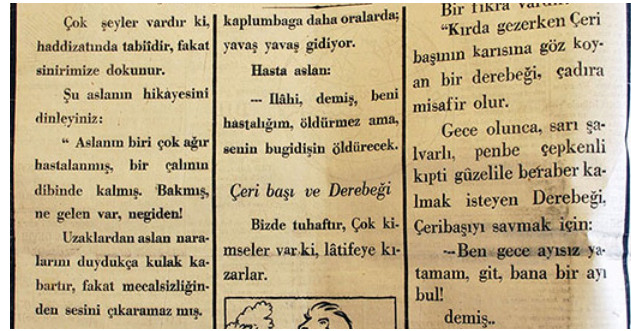
Figure 6.98 *İkdam*'s reading column, 15 January 1929. Image source: The National Library of Turkey
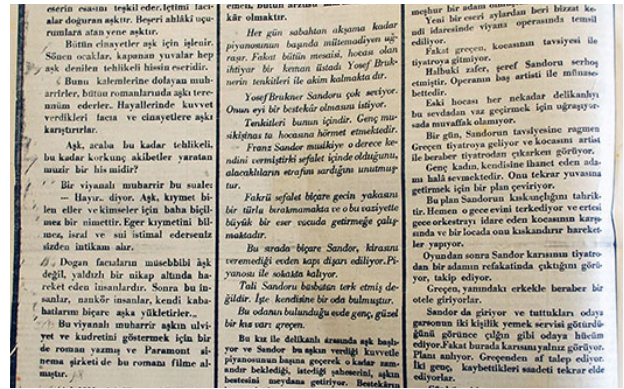
Figure 6.99 *İkdam*'s reading column, 01 February 1929. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

bütün harflarımız

harfların hepsini on gün içinde öğrendik. bu günlük şurıları sıraya koyup şöyle doya doya seyredelim

a b c ç d e f g ğ
h i i j k l m n o
ö p r s ş t u ü v
y z

Figure 6.100 An example of using non-metal type in alphabet lessons, *Cumhuriyet*, 16 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Aa = آ Tt = ت
at
At
AT
at ata atta tat

Figure 6.101 The use of metal type in alphabet lessons, *Akşam* 12 October (Above), *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September (Right) 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database, Atatürk Library

Benim Kırâatim

Sevgili Gâzîmiz.
Ezilmiştik, bitmiştik.
Uzaktan görenler bizim artık ölmüş sanıyorlardı.
Kim derdiki bir gün dirileceğiz.

İşte bugün diriyiz; her zamankinden canlıyız.

ölmedik, yaşıyoruz; hem de eskisinden daha şanlı yaşıyoruz.

Şimdi daha hızlı nefes alıyoruz. Gözlerimiz daha fazla parlıyor.

Neoldu? Bu büyük mu' cizeyi kime borçluyuz?

Bize bu büyüK eyiliği yapan, bizi yok olmaktan Kurtaran, bize yeni can veren yuca gâzimizdir, yuca ve sevgili Gâzîmiz Mustafa Kemaldir. Bunu büyük küçük hep biliyoruz, hep dünya biliyor.

Issues regarding typography and production

Metal type versus lithography

From the typographic point of view, the use of type depended on two different conventions: the first one was either wood block or engraved into lithographic plate. It is apparent that the details of the Latin letterforms – strokes, counters, etc. – are not identical to each other, so this suggests that they are not metal types, but only cut once for the purpose of display *(Fig.6.100)*. Also, the parts showing handwriting letters were clearly hand-drawn, therefore, it supports the argument. The second and most common practice was creating these lessons by using metal movable types. This can be seen mostly in the regular lessons, which is content set as text, not a table or plate. In some cases, the same metal types were used in different newspapers *(Fig.6.101)*.

Availability problem of type

Besides the irregular typesetting in *İkdam*'s illustrative lessons mentioned earlier, there were only minor incidents regarding this section, and moreover, it is even possible to say that the newspapers were more cautious typographically, and they were keen to present the language correctly by applying the initial orthographic principles. However, we do see some mistakes regarding typesetting in a most cautious paper, *Milliyet*. These minor mistakes were not like those in *İkdam*, which mostly happened due to the low type stock, but were the result of confusing similar letters and their sounds (i.e. letters *i* and *ı*). In terms of lack of type stock, the use of minuscule letters at the beginning of sentences particularly highlights this problem. Also the use of double acute or long umlaut from Hungarian for the Turkish characters *ö* and *ü* proves this situation *(Fig.6.80)*. Another important issue, which is the lack of Turkish characters during the transition period, also appears in this particular part. The difference in cedilla styles among the letters *ş* and *ç* points to the deficiency of type stocks. While they could find the letter *ç* from their type stock that they used for previous French publications, they could not apply the same practice for the letter *ş*, as it only belongs to the Turkish language *(Fig.6.102)*. Additionally, the common use of lowercase letters in the initial lessons might be the reason for low type stock, or it could simply be an indicator of their lack of notion on uppercase letters, which are absent in the Arabic script. Thus, we can also explain some unsuccessful examples of punctuation due to this confusion which came with the introduction of new practices in the Latin script *(Fig.6.103)*. This confusion can also be seen in the *Milliyet*'s illustrative lessons. Even though the letters were not printed with metal type, there is no consistency on style, as it is possible to see both serif and sans-serif use in the same lesson *(Fig.6.104)*. This example clearly indicates that the issue was not merely the type stock problem, but also the difficulties of getting used to a completely different alphabet and its printing convention. However, they perfectly succeeded in publishing these lessons and instructive content daily in the most accurate way.
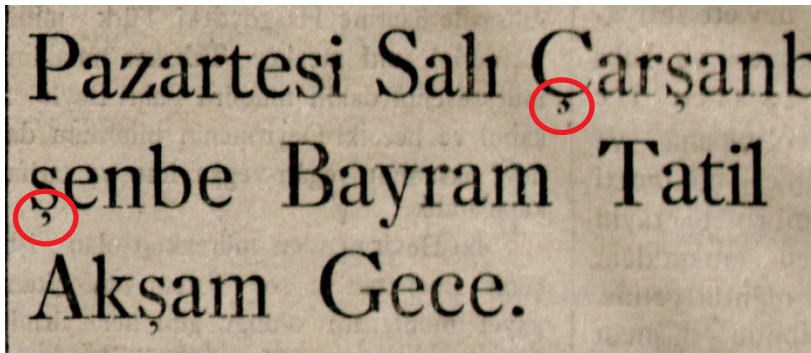
Figure 6.102 The difference in cedillas between the letters *ş* and *ç* in *Milliyet*, 23 January 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 6.103 The confusion in punctuation, *İkdam*, 3 October 1928. Image source: The National Library of Turkey

Figure 6.104 The use of serif and sans-serif letters in the same lesson, *Milliyet*, 10 January 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

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Along with broadsheets, another important supporter of the reform was tabloid newspapers. Their role in the implementation of the reform and the changes regarding their design and typographic choices throughout the reform period are analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Illustrative tabloid newspapers: visual propagandists

The two major tabloids examined here, *Yeni Köroğlu*[1] and *Karagöz*, survived through the transition process, in part because they were among the papers and magazines subsidised by the state.[2] Although these two were separate publications, their appearance was almost identical, most likely because of the editorial approach of the new head columnist of *Yeni Köroğlu*, who was also the former head columnist of *Karagöz*.

It is apparent from their content that they were the supporters of the reform and did not show any kind of resistance/opposition or sarcasm in their content. On the contrary, it is possible to see mockery towards the old script and the old letters. Additionally, for example, showing old people as a student or the students of their grandchildren in their cartoons was not sarcasm; it is clearly a content, which provides encouragement for old people who had difficulty in learning the new alphabet/script by praising the studentship status, which represents progress and enlightenment. Thus, the satirical tabloids played an essential role in the acceptance of the new alphabet and the act of learning it. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the satirical approach of these publications was not solely sarcastic, especially in the case of Turkish ones. They also had a didactical style and publishing approach to promote the ideas and notions that they support in the way to Turkish modernisation cause. This active support was the reason why they were included in the publication analysis to see the reform from the satirical aspect and through the design of tabloids. Before the analysis of these publications, it is important to detail their role in the alphabet reform as the title indicates.

One of the newspapers, *Karagöz*, had a longstanding and important place in the history of illustrative political publications, dating back to 1908. In line with the broadcasting policy of *Karagöz*, the public[3] was targeted with simple language, with the help of political cartoons to commentate on current political issues, and with the personalisation of two important cultural figures, *Karagöz* and *Hacivat*, in a humorous way.[4] We observe the same approach – 'state-centric humour' as defined by Turgut Çeviker[5] – in

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1 It is important to note that the name *Yeni Köroğlu* is sometimes referred to only as *Köroğlu* by abandoning 'Yeni', which means 'New', in the newspaper, so the same approach could be applied here in this study in some occasions.

2 For more detail, see Chapter 5.2, p.139.

3 Even though the reader segmentation of all newspapers seems 'public', there was a division between 'public' and 'elites/intellectuals'. So, these papers basically aimed at the majority of the population, which is mainly referred to as the 'public'. In particular, *Yeni Köroğlu* indicated this in its masthead by calling itself a 'Political public newspaper'.

4 The detailed information about these two figures and their relationship with the newspaper was given in the section 'Karagöz' in Chapter 1.1, p.19.

5 Turgut Çeviker, *Karikatürkiye: Karikatürlerle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi 1923-2008,* Vol.1 (İstanbul: NTV Yayınları, 2010), cited in Bülent Akbaba, "İnkilap Tarihi Öğretimi İçin Bir Kaynak: Karagöz Dergisi," *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi 22,* no. 2 (2014): 731-742, http://79.123.169.199/ojs/index.php/

Figure 7.1 The front page cartoon of *Köroğlu*, using a vulgar image to emphasise the national victory of the alphabet reform, 1 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.2 *Karagöz* informs the readers about the exams in Nation's schools on its front page cartoon, 2 March 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.3 The news of Nation's schools' opening on *Köroğlu*, 26 January 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

publishing content supportive of the new Republic, which is also pointed out by Kılıç:

> Preservation and maintenance of the world peace was the primary concern and main theme of the news and commentary relayed during the interwar period; however, after the declaration of the Republic, papers also contained domestic news concerning the progress of social and political reforms. It has been noticed that, as these were the early years of the declaration of Turkish Republic, fragility of the new regime was taken into consideration and based on this reality, harsh criticism of governance was avoided. Countrywide reforms and progression movements have been relayed with positive mood and commentary in order to help establish the new regime and gain public acceptance for it.[6]

It is possible to see the same type of support in many forms for the alphabet reform and for the government who actualised it. The newspaper *Yeni Köroğlu* was newly founded on April 1928, and it showed a much greater enthusiasm for and participation in supporting the reform than *Karagöz*.

The contents conveying positive support for the reform were mainly cartoons, pictures, announcements, competitions, encouraging articles/ slogans and reader letters. Cartoons were most effective, and there were two kinds – the big ones printed on the front and last pages, and other examples that were very small and printed on the inside pages. These cartoons – apart from visualising current topics – had two functions: promoting the learning of the new alphabet and reporting the news about the reform. To give an example of front-page propagandist cartoons, the one-page-width cartoon in *Köroğlu* on the implementation day (1 December) is a striking image that expresses the success of the reform with the accompanying title, 'The new alphabet is the victory of the [Turkish] nation' *(Fig.7.1)*. Compared to this direct and powerful visual approach, *Karagöz* chose to use a softer voice in cartoons at a small scale and mostly in black and white; this approach is apparent in Figure 7.2. While they inform the reader about the exams in Nation's Schools,[7] they also present their message on the blackboard, written in a more indirect way, by saying that 'We learned ABC, succeeded in syllabication, so the sun of the knowledge has come up, and changed the night into the day'. Below the cartoon, there is a warning for the public stating that if they do not take these exams and get their certificate, they will certainly not be able to find a job anymore. Similar to this format, we also see some informative cartoons on the front page of *Yeni Köroğlu*, announcing the opening of new schools *(Fig.7.3)*. On

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Kefdergi/article/view/197/108.

6 Sibel Kılıç, "Contribution of Karagöz humour magazine (1908–1955) to sociocultural transformations of the Turkish society which derives its sources from the Karagöz humour practices and its importance through the perspective of the Turkish cultural history," *The Journal Of International Social Research 4,* no. 16 (2011): p. 244–5.

7 Nation schools, opened on 1 January 1929, operated nationwide and were obligatory, particularly for adults.

[Yetmişlik ihtiyarlarda okuyup yazmayı öğreniyor!]

— Ay, siz majeskül harflerini nerden tanıyorsunuz?
— A kızım, biz gençliğimizde onlarla mendil markası işlerdik!

[İhtiyar bacılar bile oknyup yazmak istiyor!]

Karagöz — Bacı bu susamlar kaça?
Bacı — Bir harf öğretene bir susam veriyorum, Karagöz çelebi!

Figure 7.4 The scenes that show older people learning the new alphabet in *Karagöz*, 16 January 1929. Image source: Hakkı Tarık Us Collection.

Yeni Harfleri bilmenin işte böyle faydası var

Figure 7.5 A last page cartoon of *Köroğlu*, to encourage public about learning the new alphabet, 29 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

MİLLET MEKTEPLERİ HER TARAFTA AÇILIYOR!

Haciyvat — Karagözüm, bayram mı, düğün mü var? bu alaylar ne?
Karagöz — Bugün cehaletten kurtuluş bayramı var, Haciyvat, her tarafta Millet mektepleri açılıyor, Millet için bundan büyük düğün, bayram mı olur?

Figure 7.6 An example of both informative and propagandist cartoon in *Karagöz*, 29 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Anadolu köylüsü bakın nasıl okuyor.

(Arbaa) nın (Endik pınar) köylüleri açıkta yeni harfleri öğreniyorlar.
Muallim Tahsin bey hocaları. Arbaa Foto KÖROĞLU. C. Y.

Figure 7.7 A photograph in the front page of *Köroğlu*, showing people gathered on the village square to learn the new alphabet, 16 March 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

the inside pages, there are also scenes that show older people learning the new alphabet and showing great enthusiasm and keenness to participate *(Fig.7.4)*. The last-page cartoons were more implicitly promoting the reform, with some short stories beneath the cartoons.

To give an example of this, *Yeni Köroğlu*'s cartoon shows a boy with a ball next to his friend, and the conversation indicates that his father had bought him a ball – he had refused to buy it before as he thought it was a waste of money – instead teaching the new alphabet to him first *(Fig.7.5)*. In the *Karagöz* example, the opening of schools for the new alphabet was named as the 'Nation's festival of the public overcoming ignorance' *(Fig.7.6)*. As can be seen from all these cartoons, their aim is mainly to encourage people, either dictating the message directly or making the characters promote it in an indirect way. Apart from some examples occasionally published in broadsheet newspapers, these cartoons actively promoted the benefits of the reform and its social and educational effects on citizens using the power of image. Another visual element used to inform readers about the developments was photograph. Two papers both published such content regularly both on the front and inside pages and *Yeni Köroğlu*, unlike *Karagöz*, introduced a completely new page by turning its last page into a picture page and calling it 'the cinema of Köroğlu' *(Appendix 6)*. In some cases, it is possible to see photos on front pages beneath cartoons, mostly showing the scenes from Nation's Schools and people trying to learn the new alphabet *(Fig.7.7)*. These few examples indicate why it is easy to name these newspapers as visual propagandists.

Apart from visuals, different kinds of texts, including news/announcements, encouraging articles/slogans/poems and competitions, were integrated more into the inside pages after the reform announcement. While the news and announcements were not present in such large amounts as in broadsheet newspapers, the proportion of content to encourage engagement with the new alphabet was much greater compared to them. For instance, reminders of how many days were left to the implementation day and why readers should learn the new alphabet quickly were common inclusions.[8] It was even emphasised that the police would escort the people who refused to attend to the Nation's Schools.[9] Another type of content that aimed to help readers to make reading practices aloud was poems written with the new alphabet *(Fig.7.8)*. The two papers published this content regularly, both in the pre- and post-reform periods. The last thing that distinguished tabloids from the broadsheets was the way of engaging their readers to participate in learning the new alphabet and promoting it. This was done by publishing enthusiastic reader letters written in the Latin script and also calling readers to re-write a particular piece of content, originally published in the Arabic script in Latin and send it to the paper to be published and earn some rewards

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8 For the content mentioned, see *Köroğlu*, 17 November 1928, p.2.

9 *Karagöz*, 19 January 1929.

Yeni yazi bu milletin gözlerini açacak,
Memlekete nurlarını ateş gibi saçacak,
Arap harfi baykuş gibi uça uça kaçacak,
Yedisinden yetmişine hep efendi olacak,
Türk milleti o zaman saâdeti bulaçak,

★

Harp zamanı ordu nasıl vazifeyi gördise
Düşman safı arasına demir gibi girdise
Bu sayede koca millet muradına irdise,
Siyasiler karşı karşı çene çalsın bakalım
Biz uzaktan seyr idelim, çubukları yakalım
Yoksâ sen de cahilgibi afal afal bakdınmı,

BİR KÂNUNU EVVEL
İşte size güzel söz
Bir kânunu evvelde
Yeni harflı karagöz
Dolaşacak her elde
Gazeteler çıkacak
Yeni türk harflerile
Okuyacak her bucak
Kadınıyle, erile
Karagözle Hacivat
Yine hizmet edecek
İkisi de hayatın,
Her yolunda gidecek
Şimdiden hep çalışın
Bu harfleri öyrenin
Okumağa alışın
Şu cahilliği yenin
HACİVAT

Figure 7.8 Poems in *Köroğlu* (left) on 3 October and *Karagöz* (right) on 24 October being used for teaching to read from Arabic to Latin script. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Köroğlunun bu günkü nushasında ikinci sahıfasında üçüncü sütununda «Bastım ona samsâyı» serlavhalı bir fıkra var. bu fıkra-yı yeni Harflerle yazıp bir Hafta zarfında bize gönderenler arasında kura çekecek, Beş kişiye birer büyük şişe kolonya vere-ceğiz. Haydi bakalım marş.

Figure 7.9 A calling for readers in *Köroğlu* to re-write a particular piece of content, in order to gain a reward, 26 September 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.10 Position of content and layout in *Köroğlu*, 18 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

(Fig.7.9). Despite this enthusiasm, especially shown in *Köroğlu*, the changes throughout the transition period and the engagement in teaching the new letters were not as considerable as in the broadsheets. Still, these tabloid papers were important allies of the reformers. They were the ones who would participate the reform and go through a considerable change. To see the extent of changes and contributions, the two papers are analysed typographically in the following sections. Before the analysis, the visual attributes of tabloids, which are different from broadsheets, are mentioned briefly to comprehend the analysis.

7.1. Visual attributes of tabloid newspaper

Tabloid-format newspapers during the reform period were not exactly identical to the ones outside of Turkey at that time, as defined earlier.[10] The papers analysed here were not dailies, but illustrative periodicals published twice a week. The number of pages was also less compared to the Turkish dailies at that time, as they comprised only four pages and the size was smaller than the broadsheet newspaper format. The allocation of the components on pages was also different compared to broadsheets, as reform-period tabloids used cartoons and photographs extensively and the textual content was shorter *(Fig. 7.10).* The first page with the masthead was designed as the cover, accompanied by a whole-page illustration, related headline and dialogues beneath it. The second and third pages were more integrated units, containing short news items and articles with some pictures. The last page was designed mostly to be illustrative and for leisure, and also contained readers' letters and short notices. The main components are:

Masthead: Unlike the broadsheets, there are no wide 'ear' sections to place extra information. There is only the nameplate/logo and subscription information, with the publication date placed beneath the nameplate/logo. These are formed both from the name of the publication and the caricaturised characters who are associated with newspapers.

Headline/picture caption: On the front page, a headline also functions as a picture caption that sets the day's agenda and also explains the image used on the cover. Compared to the headlines in broadsheets, this component is set in smaller sizes without limitations on type style, as it could be set as italic, bold, condensed, etc. However, headlines are mostly centred to the cover image and there is no concern about the column width as in broadsheets.

Headings: This part is very similar to that in broadsheet newspapers.[11] One-line and short headings on inside pages are more common in tabloids. Taking the different contents into consideration, there are some differences

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10 The confusion around the genre and its definition for the newspapers analysed here were explained briefly in Chapter 2.3. Identifying newspapers and magazines for the study, p.33.

11 See Chapter 6.1. Visual attributes of broadsheet newspaper, p.179.

in type size and type styles between the headings on spreads. It is possible to follow a hierarchical order with the consideration of different contents.

Section heads: The function of this type of heading in tabloids is as defined in the broadsheet section.[12] In the analysed tabloids, it is possible to see characters such as *Karagöz* and *Köroğlu*, which are associated with the newspapers, pictured alongside the title.

Body text: In addition to the definition in the broadsheet section, the body text in tabloids is set in bigger type sizes, and the leading (line spacing) is wider than that in broadsheets. This is because the news/articles are shorter compared to broadsheets.

Running heads: This part also exists in tabloids as in broadsheet newspapers. In contrast to broadsheets, there is more use of decorative elements/dashes in this part, placed before and after the name of the tabloid.

Advertisements: While it is possible to see this kind of content in the period's tabloids in Europe and America, the tabloids which are analysed here do not consist of any commercial advertisements apart from the ads/announcements of publishing/printing houses.[13]

Pictorial components: As mentioned earlier, this type of content is dominant in tabloids, compared to the textual content. It includes cartoons, photographs, and line drawings. Mostly, an explanation was placed beneath the dominant visual as image/figure caption. The cartoons in these tabloids, unlike other pictorial components, were mostly framed with a thick line/frame.

Column features and layout/grid style: In contrast to broadsheet newspapers, also due to the smaller format/size, the number of columns in tabloids is generally fewer than four. The use of gutter space and column rules is the same as in broadsheets. Likewise, the grid style can be modular or columnar as well as asymmetrical or symmetrical. Compared to broadsheets, the layout is more flexible because of the short textual content.

7.2. Format and production issues

These two tabloids had the same page size, the same page plans and comprised only four pages before and after the reform. Only the direction of the pages, opening from left to right to be suitable for the Arabic script convention, changed and was set to open the other way around after the implementation day. Apart from this change, it is not possible to see a change in the format due to the reform.

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12 Ibid, p.171.

13 Especially in the case of *Köroğlu*, its printing house ' Burhan Cahit Matbaası' was advertised in the space between the spreads.

Change in content

In *Karagöz*, before and after the reform, there was no increase in textual content, but more replacements with supportive content in favour of the alphabet change. Still, some of the featured parts remained the same during this period. On the other hand, *Yeni Köroğlu* seemed less determined to keep its textual content stable. Compared to *Karagöz*, this paper was not old and well established, so the content was more flexible, as we know from an announcement by *Köroğlu* that they decided to keep the news short to make readers read the content easily. But it is still not possible to talk about a considerable content change due to the reform. As mentioned earlier, only the illustrative concept on the last page changed and was replaced with a photographic theme. However, regarding the pictorial content, as was the case in the broadsheet newspapers, the use of line drawings was introduced in a different way with the implementation of the reform and we see more small editorial illustrations placed within the articles. There could be two possible rationales for this change; the first could be the visual recovery of quality lost due to the haste of the adoption and the other could be that the reader who gets bored with trying to read the content in the new letters could enjoy visuals more, and thus newspapers (including tabloids and broadsheets), which had a decreasing circulation during the transition could attract readers in this way.

Column features and grid style

No change was seen in the number of columns – three in both papers – and no adjustment in gutter space or grid style was observed throughout the transition and after the reform. Only *Karagöz* abandoned the decorative frames that used to cover the whole spread after the implementation. Instead, specific, less dominant frames were used to distinguish different content. *Yeni Köroğlu* used these small frames from the beginning also to separate various pieces of content, so its approach did not change, in contrast to *Karagöz*. Up until the reform, the grid style in the two inside pages was more columnar in each newspaper, and their overall layout was identical. To break the monotonous look of vertical emphasis with the columnar grid, cartoons or pictures were situated at the bottom of the pages as horizontal modules. They also had symmetrical layouts. This shared approach did not change at all in these two tabloids before and after the reform. Because of few pages, the initial aim would not be column features, grid and layout, but typography with the concern of being read. So, it is most likely that they preferred to deal with the integration of the Latin script and the typographic arrangements, rather than spending time on making substantial changes in the newspapers' format and layout. Besides, they were also more interested in integrating more visuals, including cartoons, photographs and textual content. So this issue brings us to the most important change, which was the chance in typographical features.

Figure 7.11 The first Latin appearance in *Karagöz* as the alternative of the original title in Arabic script, 15 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.12 First Latin appearance on inside pages of *Karagöz*, to show the Latin version of some words and important people from the period, 15 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.13 The first Latin-inscribed cartoon in *Karagöz*, 15 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.14 The first Latin appearance in *Yeni Köroğlu*'s heading as biscript on the second page, 18 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

7.3. Typographic evolution

Adoption of Latin content – first appearances

Although we have the information about where these two heavily illustrated newspapers were printed, it is hard to conclude whether these two printing facilities borrowed from or lent certain typefaces and decorative elements to each other.[14] For the tabloid newspapers, it is possible to see a parallel pace with the broadsheet papers on sharing the initial Latin content with the public. Although the amount is not comparable to that in the broadsheets, which were pioneers on the matter in so many ways, they were quick to respond *(Appendix 6A)*. Of the two tabloid newspapers, the very first Latin use appeared in *Karagöz*'s masthead on 15 August, 1928. The title was printed in small-sized capitals with a quirky thin-stroked typeface called *Romana*,[15] as positioned beneath the nameplate *(Fig.7.11)*. Compared to other publications, it was an unusual place for the first appearance of Latin. However, on the second page, many words in Latin script were introduced as examples along with their Arabic inscription, in a bold sans-serif typeface that was used also in broadsheets – which is *Mediäval Grotesk* from the type foundry *Stempel AG – Milliyet*, *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet* during the transition period *(Fig.7.12)*. Also in the same issue, the first Latin-inscribed cartoon was published on the last page at an unexpectedly early stage *(Fig.7.13)*. While *Karagöz* initiated the first Latin adoption, *Yeni Köroğlu* published its first Latin three days after *Karagöz* on 18 August *(Fig.7.14)*, but only shared one heading as biscript on the second page, saying that 'The new Turkish letters are very easy' by using the same typeface, *Romana*, used for the nameplate of *Karagöz*. Although they were early like broadsheets, these initial Latin appearances in small amounts show that tabloids were not completely comfortable at integrating Latin content. Considering they only had three pages (not including the cover page) and were being published quarterly, this tendency is understandable.

The amount of Latin integration fluctuated somewhat during the transition period. While it was possible to see an ambitious use of Latin script in one issue, the same enthusiasm could be less apparent in the next issue. For instance, *Köroğlu* showed a very stable Latin adoption process until 20 October, and the peak for the use of Latin was seen on 24 October, but in the next issue, a considerable decrease occurred *(Appendix 6B)*. In *Karagöz*, the amount of integration was low and not to the same degree as *Köroğlu* despite its quick start, but it showed a more steady increase throughout the transition period. It is more likely that these newspapers published Latin content only with the aim of familiarising readers with the script; thus, the Latin content generally appeared as short announcements/reminders about the reform and some modest alphabet lessons that were less significant in content and amount than those in the broadsheet newspapers. Apart from

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14 *Karagöz* printed in 'Milliyet printing house' and *Yeni Köroğlu* printed in 'Burhan Cahit printing house'.

15 *Romana* typeface was designed by Theophile Beaudoire and Gustav F. Schroeder in 1860.

Figure 7.15 *Köroğlu*'s masthead with the slogan written in the istif style before the reform, 15 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.16 The first Latin masthead of *Köroğlu* appeared on the last page, 6 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.17 After the minor changes in the masthead of *Köroğlu*, 24 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

the content about the reform, the components printed in Latin were mainly the big titles (equivalent of headlines) of cartoons, small headings on inside pages, poems and some author names. The most distinguishing feature of integrating content in Latin was its use as an alternative to the content in the Arabic script, which created a biscript approach. So, because of the less integrated Latin content, they were probably more concerned about a decrease in circulation and losing their loyal readers.

Masthead

Before the reform, the mastheads of the two tabloids were very similarly structured, as the name of the newspapers were printed in ruq'ah style and situated between the two illustrated characters of the publications and framed. Further, the boxes that contained the relevant information for readers were situated in the ears of the mastheads. Even the text within and the other information below and above the boxes were similarly executed. Moreover, the use of decorative elements, such as long dashes and fleurons to separate the detail of dates, was identical with just a slight difference in size. Only the slogan of *Köroğlu* was present in an *istif* [16] style *(Fig.7.15)*. This masthead arrangements show the similarity between these two tabloids.

After the announcement of the new alphabet, the very first change appeared in *Karagöz* on 15 August, as mentioned in the previous section, 'first appearances'. For *Köroğlu*, the first Latin masthead appeared on the last page of the 6 October issue *(Fig.7.16)*. This appearance signalled the Latin version of this part in the later issues, as it was printed all in Latin and identical to the front-page version that appeared on 24 October *(Fig.7.17)*, except for its colour (black) and the more graphic approach of the illustrations. Even though there were no significant changes between these two, it is obvious that they reconsidered some of the executions and enhanced the visibility to some degree. They changed the shape of the box beneath the nameplate and the position of the text in it. The price of the publication, which was 3 'kuruş' (pence) and placed in the middle and boxed in the first version, was now positioned on both sides at a bigger size to be differentiated from other material. The same practice was applied for the slogan, which was written at the same size with the texts in other boxes. Also, the additional part of the name 'Yeni' (New) was resized and repositioned in the newer version; it was made bigger and placed closer to the name *Köroğlu* maybe as a result of the minimised nameplate box. The new nameplate in Latin was all in capitals, and the typeface choice was a sans-serif, unlike most broadsheet newspapers which used a blackletter-style typeface. This choice clearly shows that they were aware of their informal, humorous approach, one that would be reflected by the nature of

16 This is a technique where words and letters were set (either side by side, or stacked) to create a more harmonised and decorative look in the Arabic script and convention. And the slogan simply says that *Köroğlu* is a political and humorous public newspaper published on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Figure 7.18 *Karagöz*'s masthead remained in the Arabic script until the first day of implementation, 8 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.19 *Karagöz*'s new masthead in Latin after the reform, 29 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.20 After the change in the initial Latin masthead of *Karagöz*, 13 March 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey
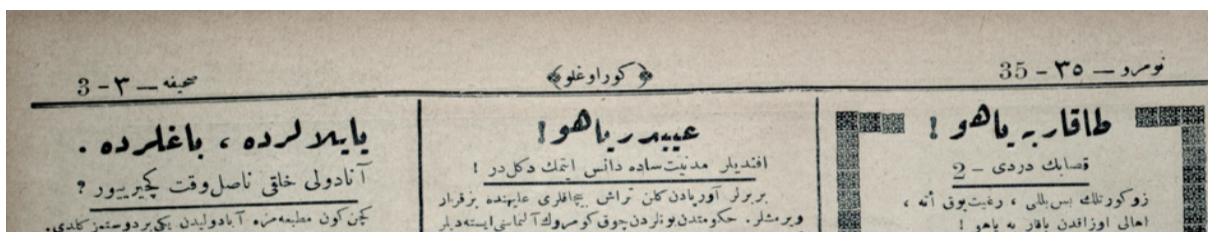
Figure 7.21 An example of the initial preference for primary headings in *Köroğlu*, which was the ruq'ah style type, 25 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

typeface they used. Nevertheless, the use of capitals in the title/nameplate indicates the influence of traditional convention and the small amateur diacritical mark of letter ğ, which is unsuitable to the size of the letter, indicates that they were not completely comfortable with the new Turkish characters and still lacking the type stock suitable for these characters. Apart from the nameplate, other typefaces in the masthead were the same ones used both in these tabloids and the broadsheet newspapers of the transition period. The lack of the letter İ (dotted I) in the word 'idarehanesi' supports this observation *(Fig.7.17)*.

Despite the quick start by *Karagöz*, they did not change any part of the masthead during the transition, and apart from the tiny newspaper name being in Latin, this part remained entirely the same in the Arabic script until the implementation day *(Fig.7.18)*. On this day, they printed exactly the same structure in Latin, only with small changes in the size of information below the nameplate. As in *Köroğlu*, they also chose to print the nameplate in capitals *(Fig.7.19)*. Only on 13 March did a completely new masthead appear *(Fig.7.20)*. In this design, the boxes were mostly abandoned except for the one for reader information, and the characters, *Karagöz ve Hacivat*, were positioned on both sides and the nameplate was printed at a larger size by using lower-case letters. So, this time they must have realised that using capitals is not striking and legible as in lowercase setting because otherwise, they would leave the title as it was or influenced by the execution of *Köroğlu* and made in the same way. Unlike this late revision, the quality of the Latin nameplate was very poor, as the letter shapes were not even and well drawn. This indicates that they still were not comfortable with the Latin letters. The use of the colour red in the nameplates is the only feature that remained from the pre-reform period. It is not known whether they were influenced by the new typographical movement in Europe at that time, but their choice of sans-serif titles was superior compared to the reform-period broadsheets, which mostly preferred 'blackletter.'

Headline and headings

Before revealing the changes in these sections, it is important to clarify the notion and the functions of the headline and headings in this particular genre. As mentioned, the main cartoons were situated on both the front and last pages and these cartoons had one heading with some short anecdotes/dialogues. Considering the position of this content, it would be logical to call these headings on the front-page headlines – even though they were placed beneath the cartoon – as they provide the first interaction with and agenda to the reader. Apart from this type of heading, there were the small regular ones for the short articles on the inside pages.

Before the reform

The initial preference for headline and primary headings was the use of the ruq'ah style type in one size in both newspapers *(Fig.7.21)*. In the secondary headings, naskh style was substituted as another variation in a smaller

imami, muhtari, Hacisi, Hocasi, yeni Harfleri öyrenmege başladi

امامی، مختاری، حاجیسی، خوجاسی یکی حرفلری اوکرنمكه باشلادی .

كوراوغلو — هايدی امام اقدی، هايدی ممبزبك، هايدی مديرافقدی مكتبه كچ قالورسكز، قاريشمام صنفده قالورسكز ها !
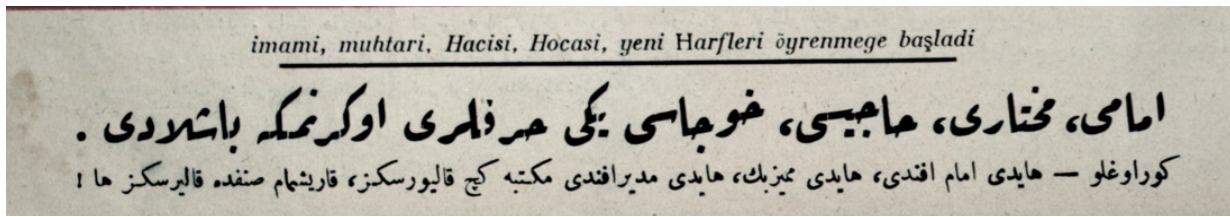
Figure 7.22 *Köroğlu*'s first headline in Latin in the form of small underlined headings, 25 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
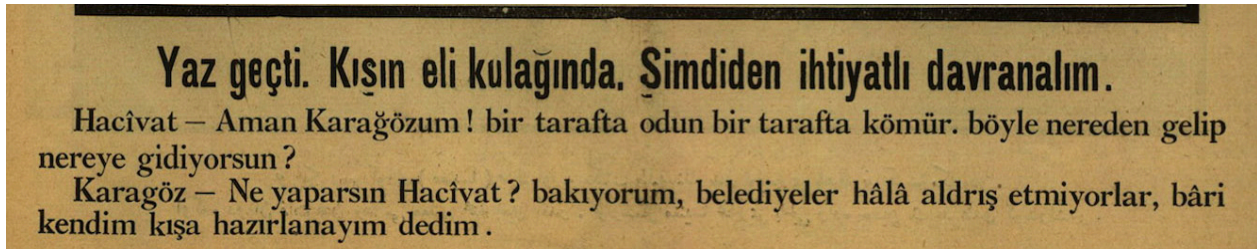
Figure 7.23 *Karagöz*'s headline in Latin for the first time in three-sentence form and using a full stop, 29 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.24 The change of headline typeface in *Köroğlu*, 3 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.25 Inside page headings of *Karagöz* appeared in Latin for the first time as biscript, 25 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.26 An attempt of increase the visibility of the Latin headings in *Köroğlu* by underlining them 5 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

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size. Even though *Karagöz* applied the same approach in cartoon headlines, the headings on the inside pages were mostly in naskh style in a small size and ruq'ah style types were used in section heads. These components were always positioned centred to the main text.

During the transition

Köroğlu printed its first headline in Latin on 25 August in the form of small underlined headings, and this was also applied later on the inside pages *(Fig.7.22)*. However, the execution of the typesetting was poor, as the headline began with a small letter and a small-sized, serif typeface in italic style was chosen. This most likely happened due to the lack of type in this style, as can be seen from the regular *H*, which was set differently. The underlining issue could be also because of the need for emphasis of this insignificant type choice. Compared to *Köroğlu*, *Karagöz* was late in making changes to headlines, printing them in Latin for the first time on 29 September in three-sentence form and using a full stop *(Fig.7.23)*. A sans-serif and condensed typeface was chosen for this headline. Because of the larger-sized type and the same problem of availability of necessary types, the inventive use of letters was seen, as in the letters *ş* and *ğ* by using a comma beneath the letter and a very thin breve externally attached. However, they did use capitals at the beginning of sentences. The use of Latin in *Karagöz*'s headlines did not appear again until the implementation of the reform. On the other hand, *Köroğlu* continued to Latinise headlines until the implementation day, but altered its execution by using more of a 'display' typeface that would be preferable for headlines and headings, which is *Stempel*'s *Mediäval Grotesk (Fig.7.24)*. With this choice, they might have started to realise the function of headlines, which is attracting the reader.

For the inside page headings of *Karagöz*, the first Latin example appeared as biscript on 25 August *(Fig.7.25)*. Three different typefaces in different styles and sizes were used for this appearance, both lower case and capitals. This could indicate two things; that they used every typeface they had at that time, or simply that they thought that using multiple typefaces at once was good for distinguishing the different sections, rather than using variations of a single typeface, as they were not experienced in using the Latin script. Surprisingly, this exact execution remained until the implementation day. They did not seek alternative ways to set these parts in a better way. In *Köroğlu*, the headings in Latin script, along with section heads, were situated at the tops of the inside pages on 5 September. However, they seem insignificant and dull compared to *Karagöz*'s headings and its own version with the bold ruq'ah style in the old script. It is therefore likely that they tried to increase the visibility of these Latin headings by underlining them *(Fig.7.26)*. Nonetheless, they abandoned this execution of the inside headings on 8 September, and then adopted it again in the next issue, on 12 September, even though they had already applied this in the secondary headings of their old issues when the Arabic script was in use *(Fig.7.23)*. So, this clearly shows that they were simply trying to discover ways to
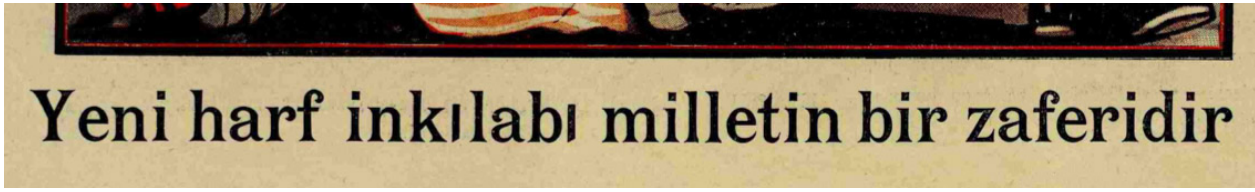
Figure 7.27 A serif typeface in lower case and in a fairly big size used in *Köroğlu* on the day of implementation, 1 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
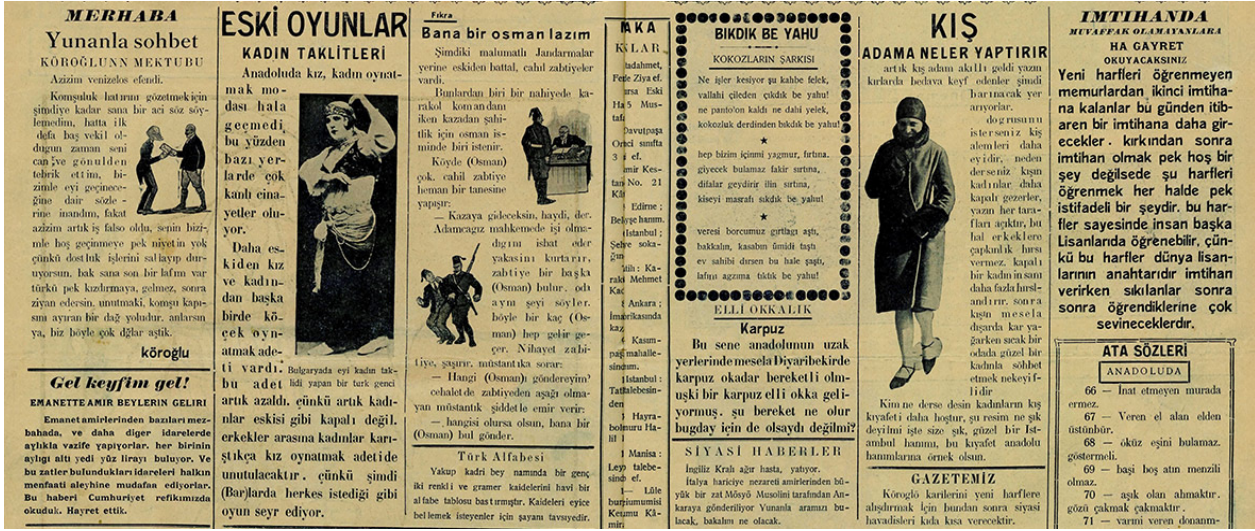
Figure 7.28 The use of six different typefaces in the inside page headings of *Köroğlu* on the day of implementation, 1 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.29 *Köroğlu* replaced its initial heading typefaces with a less decorative, but a similar serif typeface, mainly appeared as lowercase, 26 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.30 The introduction of a new sans-serif typeface in capitals, preferred in the headings of *Köroğlu*, 27 March 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

create variations for setting headlines/headings in the Latin script. On 24 October, when the amount of Latin content dramatically increased only for this issue of *Köroğlu*, the new heading variations with different typefaces in different sizes appeared *(Appendix 6B)*. Even though a consistency was present in the mirroring of the biggest headings on facing pages, there was confusion around the setting of these headings with their equivalent in the Arabic script. Furthermore, it is possible to see both all-capital and lower-case headings in the same spread for the aforementioned reasons of low type stock or because of not being experienced enough typographically.

After the reform

On the day of implementation (1 December), *Köroğlu* printed its headline on the front page with a new and different Latin type – a slightly decorative serif typeface in lower case and in a fairly big size, compared to the old script headlines and inside page headings *(Fig.7.27)*. However, this size was not used on the inside pages, so it must have been chosen for display purposes only. On the inside pages there is clearly confusion about the choice of typeface and style variations. It is possible to see six different typefaces used in the same page *(Fig.7.28)*. Further, the variations of these types changed according to the importance of the content. This was not an unusual practice, however, as it also existed in the pre-reform period, so the same logic was followed. Nevertheless, it is apparent that due to the speed of the implementation, the papers used nearly every typeface they had in different styles and sizes to distinguish different parts. Moreover, the Turkish characters, such as *İ* and *ğ*, were missing due to the use of transition-period types. After five days, both in the headlines and headings, we see that the newspaper changed its initial typeface choices by replacing them with a less decorative, serif, but a similar typeface, in the same style and size, and retained this in ongoing issues *(Fig.7.29)*. The choice of typeface in front-page headlines was lower case and this was also preferred for the inside page headings; unlike the other content, these were mainly coloured red. Compared to the issues published in the old script, the attempt at creating a hierarchy between the different heading levels is also apparent after the reform, despite the single type variation – something which partially brought consistency to heading style. However, there was no obvious practice of stacking headings at three levels or more, which occasionally appeared right after the reform. After two months from its appearance, the colour red was abandoned in headings, and furthermore, a new sans-serif typeface in capitals was introduced for certain parts of the paper, such as letters, announcements and the reading section *(Fig.7.30)*. Perhaps it was felt that the use of lower case was not enough to create a sensational effect on readers; hence, the use of another typeface to make some sections stood out. The papers were also more careful to provide the Turkish characters, so there was no issue with this aspect.

On the first day of the implementation, *Karagöz* chose a sans-serif typeface which appeared as lower case for its headline. Beneath the headline with cartoon dialogue, there is an announcement placed within a box and

Figure 7.31 The headline section of *Karagöz*, on the day of implementation, 1 December 1928. Image source: Hakkı Tarık Us Collection
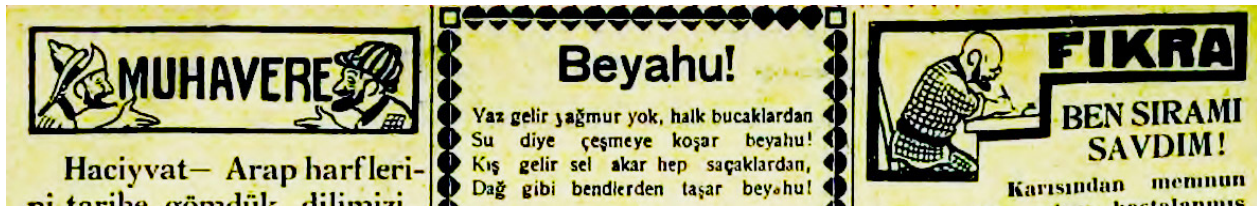
Figure 7.32 The use of both lower-case and upper-case headings in both serif and sans-serif typefaces in inside page headings of *Karagöz*, 1 December 1928. Image source: Hakkı Tarık Us Collection

Figure 7.33 A fairly decorative, serif typeface appeared both in headings of *Karagöz*, 2 February 1929. Image source: Hakkı Tarık Us Collection
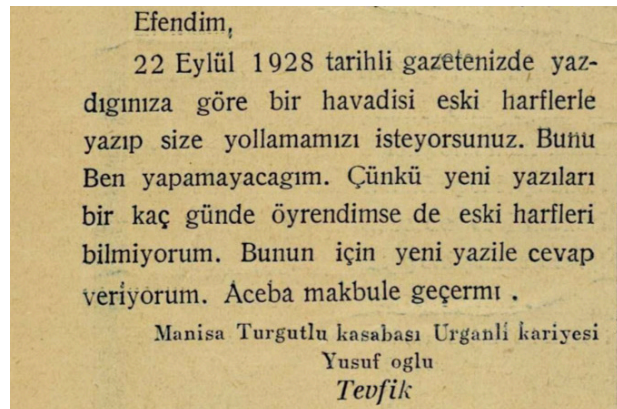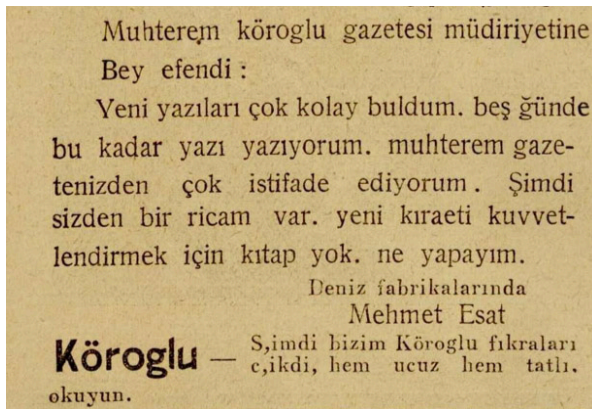
Figure 7.34 The progression in the differenciation of the different sections in body text appeared in Latin in *Köroğlu*, 29 September (left) and 3 October (right) 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
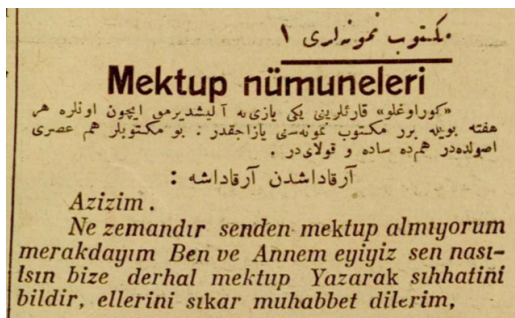
Figure 7.35 The use of italic to differenciate the reader letter from the rest of the content, 24 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

printed in the most common typeface of the transition period in a bigger size than the headline *(Fig.7.31)*. Similarly, the use of old fashioned boxes or frames shows the paper's traditional and conservative approach compared to *Köroğlu*. On the inside pages, there is a dominance of Latinised section heads with pictures. Although the typefaces were sans-serif, they were hand-drawn (not typed) and appeared in capitals to keep the traditional approach. In the rest of the paper, we again see the use of both lower-case and upper-case headings in both serif and sans-serif typefaces *(Fig.7.32)*. As in *Köroğlu*, there is a hierarchy between the primary and secondary headings from the top to the bottom of the pages, but unlike that paper, there is the issue of underlining secondary headings set in small sizes. At least they were paying attention not to use italic, as in the case of *Köroğlu*. This approach remained for two months, when the new, fairly decorative, serif typeface appeared both in headline and headings, and again the inconsistency in style appeared, probably for the same reasons as in *Köroğlu (Fig.7.33)*. The use of small-size type for the secondary headings also disappeared as the same size typeface was used for these. In May, *Karagöz* changed its type preference for the secondary headings again by introducing a sans-serif typeface and showed that they were clearly seeking the best way of setting the paper by trying different typefaces.

Summary

Turkish characters were not completely present in the headlines and headings of these two tabloid papers, despite now being in the post-reform period. This shows that they were not as prepared as the broadsheet newspapers in this period, possibly also because of the small amount of financial aid received from the government. Despite a mono and consistent look due to the use of one or two typefaces in headings in the early days of implementation, they seemed to change their approach by using many typefaces in the following few months, probably due to the new type purchases. There was one thing that *Köroğlu* differed from *Karagöz* though. While *Köroğlu* abandoned the old-fashioned hand-drawn section heads after the reform, *Karagöz* continued to print these sections, also in capital letters, as in the Victorian typography. But still, they had a more modernist mindset in general, as they mostly preferred sans-serif typefaces. Also, their efforts to become a contemporary publication was evident, as there is an announcement on competing with the quality of European newspapers by indicating that the newspaper *(Köroğlu)* would be (visually) superior to classy European newspapers, with the use of newly purchased Latin types from the German type foundry, *Bauersche Giesserei*.[17]

Body text
Before the reform

Both tabloids used an unknown naskh typeface in a single size for body text. Only *Karagöz* used a ruq'ah style typeface as another variation to

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17 "Yeni Harflerimiz (Our new letters)," *Yeni Köroğlu,* 10 November 1928.
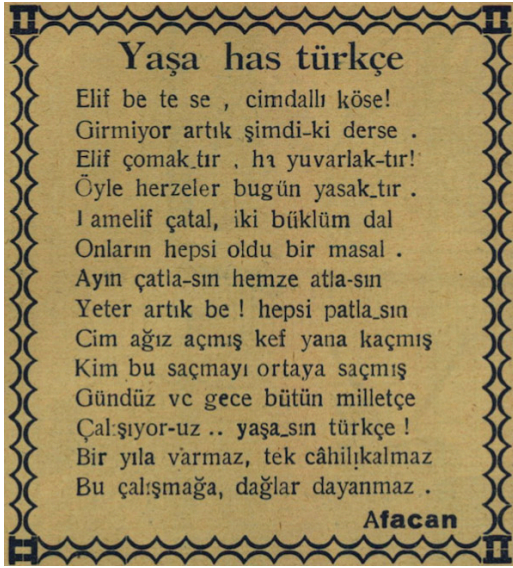
Figure 7.36 The first long body text in Latin in *Karagöz* appeared as poem, 11 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
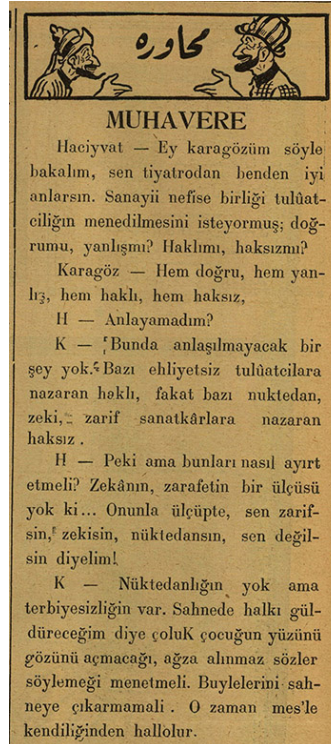
Figure 7.37 The amended body text execution in *Karagöz*, 17 November 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
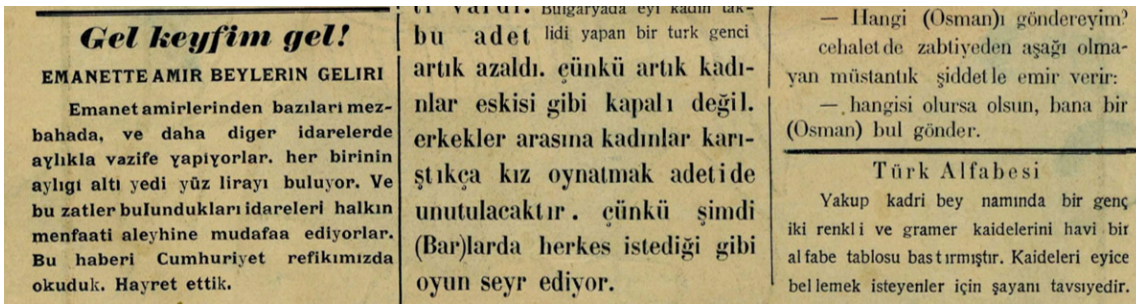
Figure 7.38 The use of four different typefaces in the body text of *Köroğlu*, 1 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
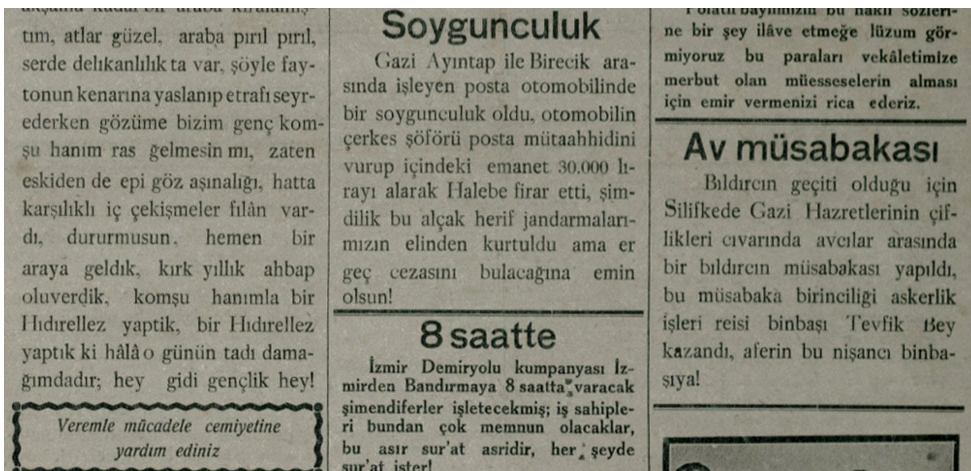
Figure 7.39 An example of using two different typefaces in *Karagöz*'s body text, 8 May 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

separate different parts within the text. Compared to the broadsheets, the text-setting approach was similar, as the text was always justified, first line indented, as in traditional approach and the French punctuation system was used, where a space applied before punctuation marks. When the Latin started to be integrated, the first typeface preferred by both papers was the one used initially in the broadsheets, *Romana*.

During the transition

Köroğlu's first use of a long section of body text in Latin appeared on 8 September, in the form of a poem. As usual, the typeface *Romana* was used. Even though the Turkish characters are present, the poor orthography and the lack of punctuation were the main issues in this setting. On 29 September, the execution of the body text in Latin was unsophisticated but in the next issue (3 October) it seems that they noticed the need for a more diverse approach to distinguish different elements *(Fig.7.34)*. We also see the attempt at using a comma under the letter *Ş* as a result of the lack of specialised type. In the same issue, *Köroğlu* does not have the letter *ğ* on the inside pages. The same typeface but in a smaller size was also used on the last page, and a letter *ğ* was created although the diacritics does not seem to belong to the letter. Interestingly, we see Turkish characters such as *ö* and *ş* in the same typeface. On 3 October, the attempts to equalise the Latin part with the old scripted text in a poem can be seen. There are also some minor incidents regarding typesetting. On 20 October, a new Latin typeface for body text emerged. The use of italic for a published letter on 24 October shows the typesetter's notion of differentiation of text from other pieces *(Fig.7.35)*. Still there is the issue of a lack of type, as the body text is sometimes set in bigger sizes. Confusion on typographic choices in body text is evident.

After the initial appearance of Latin on 15 August in *Karagöz*, as mentioned in the 'first appearance' section, the first use of Latin in the body text appeared on 18 August, in the form of words to show the Latin versions of names and objects, compared to the ones in the Arabic script. In this section, various transition-period typefaces, which had problems with Turkish characters, were used. Therefore, unlike the early attempt by *Köroğlu*, the first long body text in Latin in *Karagöz* was printed on 11 September as a poem *(Fig.7.36)* with many orthographic and punctuational mistakes. However, a body text in Latin appeared on 17 November, just two weeks before the implementation, and the execution of the text was clearly amended *(Fig.7.37)*. Despite some orthographic issues and the inconsistency of punctuation marks, the setting seems refined with its precise justification and leading. From this date to the implementation, this approach remained constant.

After the reform

In both tabloids, there is confusion again in setting body text, shown in the use of up to four different typefaces in different sizes in serif and sans-

Figure 7.40 *Köroğlu* Latinised and printed its running head as biscript for one day, which is 24 October 1928, during the transition period. Image source: National Library of Turkey

2150 — نومرو ❧ قره‌كوز ❧ محیفه — 2

No. — 2205   Karagöz   Sa. — 3

Figure 7.41 *Karagöz* abondoned the decorative paranthesis and shortened the words in its running head after the reform, 24 October 1928 (top) and 4 May 1929 (above). Image source: National Library of Turkey

Iskhan idaresinden işler zor çikar :

Seyr-i sefainin işi ğöz boyamakdır :

Vedek zahîre tedârikine bakalim :

Hacîvadı suya ğötürdüm susuz ğetirdim :

Bu mezbaha varken et ucuzlamaz :

şerif bey şehir - emânetinin bülbülüdür :
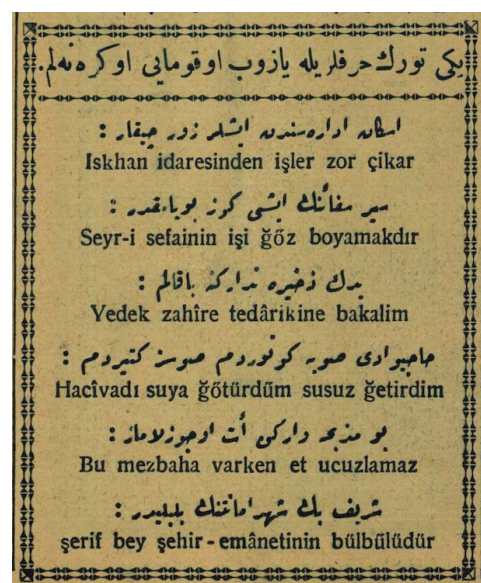
Figure 7.42 The very first example of a lesson showing some sentences in two scripts in *Karagöz*, 18 August 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
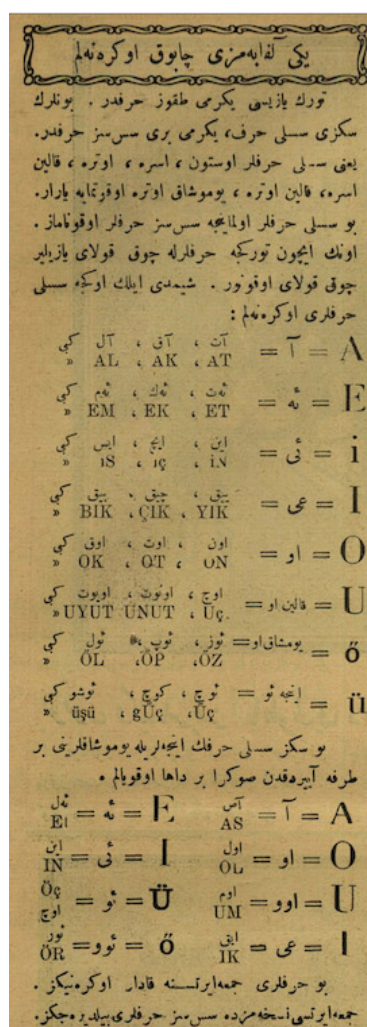
Figure 7.43 The first serious lesson revealing the vowels in *Karagöz*, 12 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey
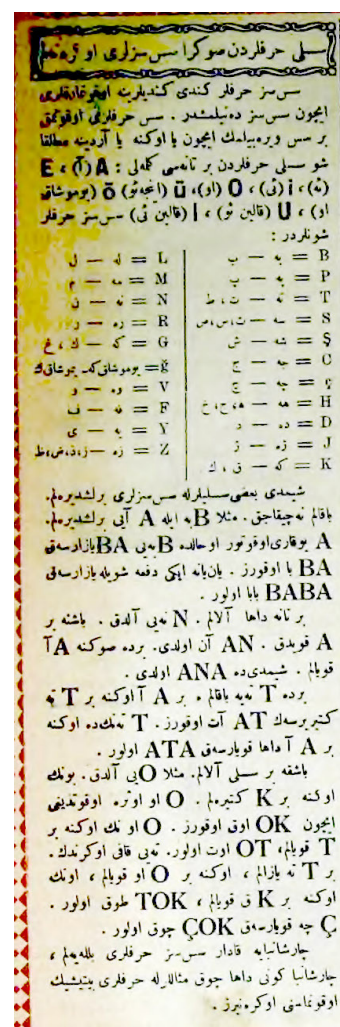
Figure 7.44 The use of two different typefaces in the lesson section, due to the lack of metal type, 15 September 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

serif on the same page *(Fig.7.38)*. Compared to *Köroğlu*, which used different styles, *Karagöz* preferred only serif typefaces for body text, which seems to be a conscious decision. However, after a couple of months, *Karagöz* changed its approach and used more than one typeface for this part, most probably to distinguish different contents *(Fig.7.39)*.

Post-reform period

One of the typical issues unique to the post-reform period was the setting of some body texts in large-sized typefaces. Though the aim of this approach was to differentiate between various sections, it created a shifting and amateur look. Problems with leading also contributed to these amateurish executions. Over the next few months especially, we still see orthographic and punctuation issues, particularly in *Köroğlu*, as typesetting in *Karagöz* was more well-considered with fewer mistakes and the leading inconsistency. Apart from the variations discussed, the tabloids use more decorative serif types than the broadsheet newspapers in the post-reform period, so it can be concluded that these newspapers are closer to the magazine format, and also because of their illustrative approach. Nevertheless, the same typefaces were also used both in tabloids and broadsheets, so there may have been a relationship, or these Latin typefaces simply represented the few types available in the country at that time.

Other parts – running heads [18]

Before the reform, this part was identical, with decorative parenthesis, in both of these newspapers, except for the use of Arabic numerals in *Köroğlu*, alongside the Latin one. During the transition period, only *Köroğlu* Latinised and printed this as biscript for one day, 24 October, when there was an unusually high quantity of Latin content *(Fig.7.40)*. The running heads in *Karagöz* were Latinised at the implementation of the reform. We see that the decorative elements were abandoned and the words were printed smaller in the following period, and the shortening of words – 'sayfa' as 'Sa.' (page) and 'numara' as 'No' (number) – was also observed *(Fig.7.41)*. The papers might have abandoned decorative parts to suit the nature of non-decorative Latin types or might have concluded that it seemed crowded and too dominant compared to the rest of the page.

7.4. Familiarising with the alphabet

Unlike the broadsheets, the alphabet tables and lessons in both tabloids were not progressive and systematic to encourage readers to enhance their learning experience, but they were rather simple reminders to maintain enthusiasm and encourage familiarity in the public throughout

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18 The section heads were excluded here as they are insignificant in terms of quantity and design, and also because of being mostly typographic, they are considered as a level of headings and mentioned already in the tabloids' headline/headings section. Also unusually, there are no advertisements in these newspapers – unlike the broadsheets – apart from the newspapers' publishing house small advertisement in the middle of pages. So, only running head will be discussed here.
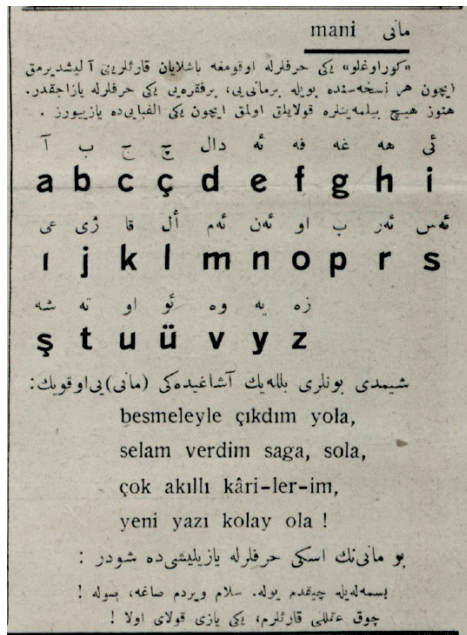
Figure 7.45 The first alphabet table in *Köroğlu*, named as Turkish poem, even though it also shows the new alphabet, 15 September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library.
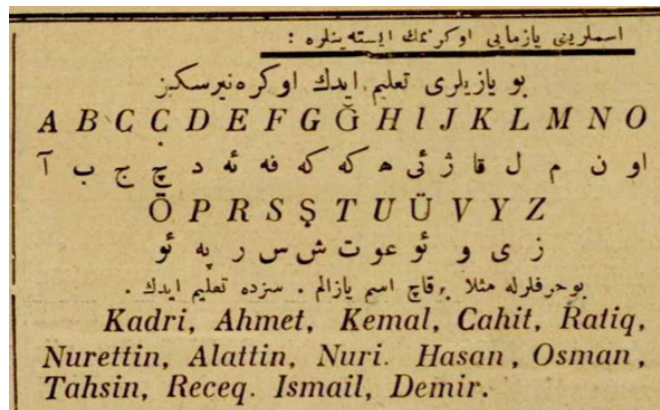
Figure 7.46 Another alphabet table of *Köroğlu* appeared in a different typeface, a serif and in capitals with all the characters, despite some Turkish characters borrowed from another typeface, 24 October 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.47 *Köroğlu*'s complete alphabet in capitals positioned at the top of the inside pages on the day of implementation, 1 December 1928. Image source: National Library of Turkey.
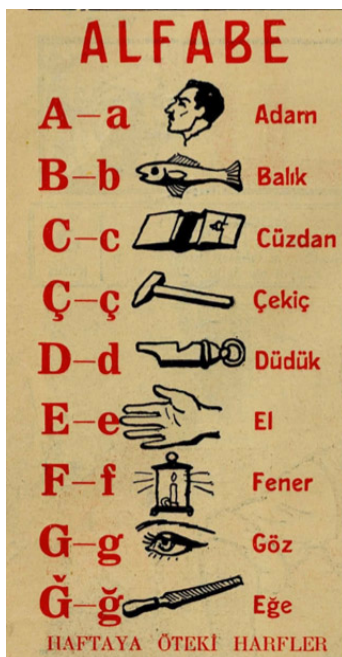
Figure 7.48 *Köroğlu*'s illustrated partial alphabet table, 5 January 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.49 An example of *Köroğlu*'s small reading corners for practice with some illustrations, 26 January 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

Figure 7.50 A new section appeared in *Köroğlu*, as both news and reading section for practice, 27 February 1929. Image source: National Library of Turkey

this period. They were simply sections to present the new alphabet and some words/sentences for practice. The amount of this content was quite small, especially in *Karagöz*. If we do not count the very first example of a lesson showing some sentences in two scripts during August *(Fig.7.42)*, the first serious lesson revealing the vowels for the first time appeared on 12 September *(Fig.7.43)*. Due to the lack of Turkish characters in the transition period typefaces, they apparently borrowed characters in various sizes from different typefaces. The same problem occurs in the next issue, as two different typefaces were used *(Fig.7.44)*. Apart from these, some poems were published for readers to practice, but this was not permanent and they only appeared during the transition period.

In *Köroğlu*, the first alphabet table appeared on 15 September, even though the section was not named as a table but as a Turkish poem, 'mani'. The typeface used was one of the most popular transition-period typefaces, a sans-serif and lower case. Although it is possible to find these characters in the typeface elsewhere in the paper, the two Turkish characters *ö* and *ğ* are missing in this table *(Fig.7.45)*. However, on 24 October, another table appeared on the last page, and this one appeared in a different typeface, a serif and in lower case with all the characters, even though the Turkish *Ğ, Ö, Ş* and *Ü* were borrowed from the other typeface, *Romana*. Despite this attempt, on 21 November, only the character 'ö' was added to the table, whereas 'ğ' was still missing *(Fig.7.46)*. This clearly shows that they were not paying close attention to this content in the way that the broadsheets were. Up until the implementation day, this table was printed occasionally, with some announcements and reminders regarding the reform. On the first day of full Latin adoption, *Köroğlu* printed the complete alphabet in capitals positioned at the top of the inside pages *(Fig.7.47)*. This time, the Turkish characters were all present, printed with the same typeface used in the first table. On 5 January, an illustrated partial alphabet table appeared *(Fig.7.48)*, with the rest published in further weeks. The previous sans-serif and the serif typeface used in headings were preferred for this section and printed in red to highlight and separate it from other content. After publishing the whole alphabet with some syllables, small reading corners for practice started to appear on 26 January with some illustrations and pictures *(Fig.7.49)*. One month later, this corner turned into both a news and reading corner and was sometimes named as only a 'reading corner' *(Fig.7.50)*. Because of its insignificance within the paper, especially compared to the broadsheets, these reading practice pieces might seem insufficient, but the other texts printed in big point sizes were also serving as reading practice, even in *Karagöz*, which did not publish a specific reading section.

<div align="center">*</div>

As can be concluded from the analysis, tabloids were the second most important supporter of the reform after the broadsheets and succeeded in this role by using their visual power. Magazines were the last publications subjected to this immense change.

Serveti Fünûn — **HAVADIS VE ILAN KISIMLARI** — 1676—202 Perşembe, 27 Eylûl 1928

Gazi Hazretleri seyahatle-rinden Ankaraya avdet buyur-muşlardır.

.•.

Gazi Hazretlerinin son emir-leri yazımızı kolaylaştırmıştır ; Dil Heyeti Ankaraya gitdi.

.•.

Hiç tereddüt etmeden diye-biliriz ki, en yakın noktasın-dan en uzak noktasına kadar bütün Anadoluda ve vatanın her parçasında yedisinden yet-mişine kadar herkes yeni hârf-lerinizi öğrenmekde dir. Bu, mühterem Başvekilimizin de-diği gibi: Cahil kalmaktan kur-tulmak isteyen bir milletin kurtuluş hamlesidir.

.•.

Biumum resmi orta mektep ve liselerin Teşrini evvelin bi-rinci günü ve ilk mekteblerin Teşrini evvelin on beşinde açıl-ması tekarrür etmiştir.

Ecnebi ve ekalliyet ilk ve orta mekteplerîle liseleri ise Teşrini evvelin birinci günü açılacaklardır.

Yeni kurslara devâm etmek-te olan muallimlerin imtihan-ları da Eylûl nihayetine kadar hitam bulacaktır.

.•.

5 Teşrini evvelde Ispanya-nın Sevil şehrinde Beynelmilel şehirler kongresi toplanacaktır. Şehremanetimizin davet edilmiş bulunduğu bu kongreye henuz kimin ve ya kimlerin iştirakh etmek üzere gönderilecekleri tekarrür etmemiştir . Emânet murahhaslarını bu günlerde tâ-yîn edecektir.

.•.

Istanbul maârifinde Boğaziçi Anadolu mantıkasında Paşabah-çede açılan muallimlere mahsus yeni hârf kursları bu kerre ni-hâyet bulmuştur. Tedrîsât 1 Eylûlden 18 Eylûle kadar de-vâm etmiş ve müfettiş Kıymet hanımın muallim talebeleri ilk defa olarak büyük bir muvaffa-kıyetle imtihanlarını vermişler dir.

Kurslar mektep usûlile alt-mışar dakhîkalık olarak günde üçer sâatten haftada dörder gün devâm etmiştir. Hanımların bu muvaffakıyeti türk halkının ye-ni hârfleri kavramaları îtibârîle her türlü taktirlere sezadır.

.•.

Yunan başvekilinin fikrine göre, aramızdaki muallak işleri îtilâf zemînini salâhiyettar Türk ve yunan mütehassıslarının biz-zat hal ve tesviye edebileceği bir haylı teknik mesâilden te-mizlemek lâzımdır.

Figure 8.1 The news section in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine, reporting the news regarding the reform, 4 October 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

Chapter 8: Magazines: late and slow adopters

While the harmonisation of Latin content was very explicit in both broadsheets and tabloids during the transition period, magazines did not show a considerable change; nevertheless it was possible to encounter attempts at revision in layout and typographical attributions a little while after the day of implementation. That is why the focus will be more on the issues of the post-reform period in this analysis. The reason for being late in integrating content in Latin compared to the newspapers could be the magazines' publishing frequency, which was monthly (in the case of *Resimli Ay*), twice a month or weekly (in the case of *Servet-i Fünun*) – that would not have allowed for making immediate and regular changes for fear of losing readers, even though the magazines had the advantage of having spare time to plan changes compared to the frequently published periodicals. In addition to this, the low amount of financial aid from the government was a factor in magazines being slow adopters. There was even a danger of closure for the reform-period magazines, and a sharp decrease in circulation was observed,[1] as in the case of *Resimli Ay* magazine, which took a break for three months after the implementation day. Not every magazine was in this situation as *Servet-i Fünun* was printed regularly during the change and perhaps was the least affected of comparable publications.[2]

These two magazines, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Resimli Ay*, which were subject to the analysis here, were perhaps the most famous magazines at that time. They were more interested in and focused on the social and cultural issues of Turkish society, but they still paid attention to political issues and published related content in favour of the change. In particular, *Servet-i Fünun*'s news coverage during the transition period of the alphabet courses, the trips of Atatürk to the Anatolian cities to introduce the new alphabet and the activities of the Language Commission and the State Printing House served as an informative and supportive tool *(Fig.8.1)*. During this reform period, even though broadsheets and tabloids were fierce defenders of the reform, they seemed more conservative, public-minded and convention-friendly, whereas magazines were more the representatives of the new, the modern and the Western-facing partly because of the personal background of their owners.[3] The leading article by the owner and the founder of *Servet-i Fünun*, which was published on 6 September 1928, is a good example of this approach. In the article, he praised the reformers because of the change that would help Turkish journalism and

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1 This decrease in circulation was mentioned in the leading article of *Resimli Ay*; see *Resimli Ay*, May 1929.

2 It is important to note that these magazines had their own printing facilities and as in the case of *Servet-i Fünun*, which was always a pioneer in printing; it is understandable that they were less affected compared to the other small-scale magazines. This is also why they sought ways to change their design after the reform.

3 The owners and their backgrounds will be mentioned more in the further pages. In these two cases, the owners of these magazines were also the editor-in-chief and leading authors. This situation partly explains why it was easier for them to have such a role.

Figure 8.2 The shape of the agreed typecase for the new Turkish metal types in *Servet-i Fünun*, 8 November 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

Figure 8.3 The alphabet table with missing letter *ğ* in *Resimli Ay*, November 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

publishing industries to function as they did in Europe.[4] And most likely because of that, the owner, Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], also started to publish his own printing experiences as a series during and after the reform. The alphabet reform could have been a trigger that encouraged him to pass his experience on, explaining why the Arabic printing convention was not easy and productive compared to printing in Latin. It is apparent from an article that *Servet-i Fünun* also pioneered in the creation of a plan for the new metal type cases.[5] According to the article, the head of the typesetters in *Servet-i Fünun* was the first person who realised this need and initiated a three-day meeting in order to create a new plan with the heads of typesetters from many printing houses dealing with both book and newspaper printing. In this meeting, the members of 'the Turkish Typesetters Association' (Türk Mürettipler Cemiyeti) were also present.[6] After reviewing the proposals from the people in the meeting or who were absent but sent their proposals, a new plan was created and approved on the last day *(Fig.8.2)*. We see that new type cases were created according to this plan and started to be used in İstanbul and many other cities. Not only printing issues were discussed. *Servet-i Fünun* shared the same view as the reformers, namely the desire to abandon all Arabic and Persian influence in the Turkish language. Thus, the Arabic-rooted name of the magazine 'Servet-i Fünun', meaning 'Wealth of knowledge' was replaced with the Turkish-originated word 'Uyanış', meaning 'Awakening'. The magazine explained this change in an article on 13 December.

Apart from the announcement and news about the reform, they did not publish alphabet lessons like the newspapers did, but presented the new alphabet to their readers during the transition period *(Fig.8.3)*. In the alphabet table in *Resimli Ay*, the missing *ğ* tells us something about the role of magazines in the reform period. Publishing this incomplete

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4 "Artık gözüm arkada kalmaz," *Servet-i Fünun*, 6 December 1928.

5 "Türkçe yeni hurufat kasasının şekli," *Servet-i Fünun*, 8 November 1928.

6 Unfortunately there is not so much information or archive about this association, except for one book on the strike of the association's typesetters in 1923. According to the book, this association, *Mürettibîn-i Osmanlı Cemiyeti*, was founded with 5 members in 2 August 1908 after the announcement of the *Second Constitution* (İkinci Meşrutiyet) and only for the typesetters who work at the printing houses and newspapers of İstanbul and set in Turkish. Until the 1912 regulation, the association accepted other printing workers as well, besides typesetters (p.33-35). During the war period (Balkan Wars and WWI), the association had to be closed down many times due to the negative effects of the wars. In 1919, a gathering was arranged and the association was founded as the fourth time (p.39-41). In 1922 annual meeting, the name of the association was changed into 'Türk Mürettibin Cemiyeti' and the emphasis of 'Ottoman' in the name was abandoned (p.42). In 1938, all different printing workers were also included in the scope of the association and its name was changed accordingly as 'Matbaa İşçileri Birliği' (Printing Workers Union) (p.47-8). After several changes, it is named as 'Basın-İş' (Türkiye Basın Yayın Matbaa Çalışanları Sendikası) in 1963. After 4 years, it was affiliated with other labor unions that formed 'DİSK' (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu) and still carries out its activities under this formation (p.50). We learn from the source mentioned here that the foreign typesetters (the ones who set in Greek and French) were not the members of this association, so they had one called 'Rum Mürettipler Cemiyeti'. But we do not know more about this association (p.63-5). We also see that there is another typesetter association in İzmir. So the typesetters in Turkey must have organised from time to time in different cities (p.203); Ahmet Ali Gazel, *1923 Mürettipler Grevi*, (İstanbul: İdeal Kültür ve Yayıncılık, 2016.)

table so late in the period of transition shows that they did not have a mission to teach the new alphabet to the public as the broadsheets did. One of the reasons could be the fact that they had a limited and targeted audience compared to newspapers, and so did not reach the majority of the population. The relative infrequency of the issues must also have prevented them from publishing regular lessons. Still, they tried to create awareness among readers about the reform by publishing opinion pieces. During the transition, even *Resimli Ay* conducted interviews with important figures and reformers about the benefits and the implementation details of the reform (In September and October volumes). In September, *Resimli Ay* also published a three-page long lesson series, advising readers to study the new alphabet every day. Apart from these, they did not publish lessons regularly. They focused more on the period after the reform, in order to create a brand-new and Westernised look. To understand this mission, the next section will present the changes in layout. Before this, the visual attributes of a magazine will be mentioned briefly to comprehend the analysis of magazines.

8.1. Visual attributes of magazine

A magazine can be formed/created in many formats/forms and sizes as it has more freedom and less formal tone than a broadsheet or tabloid newspaper. It also has more pages compared to newspapers. At the time of the alphabet reform, there was no considerable difference in relation to European's magazines from the same period. As mentioned above, magazines –like the ones also analysed here– were closely monitoring European publications and paying attention to staying up-to-date print-wise. Even some of the clichés (line blocks) were imported from Europe, along with some printing presses and equipments. Compared to newspapers, which need big sized printing presses (rotary press at that time), magazines were being printed in small sized printing presses and being created by folding big sized printed-paper as spreads. A magazine consists of a cover, inside pages and back cover. Covers are mostly published on a thicker paper/carton than the paper used for inside pages. Apart from a dominant one image (either photograph or illustration) and a heading or image caption on the cover page, there is a nameplate/logo and other information about the issue/volume.

Masthead: Contrary to broadsheets and tabloids that have a masthead part, magazines do not have an organised one, as the information about the issue/volume on this part can be placed on any space around the nameplate/logo.

Headings: As there is no headline in magazines in contrast to broadsheets and tabloids, headings are one of the most explicit and dominant components in magazines, especially in large sizes and in different styles. They are appropriately designed according to the content. While the main headings could be designed as mentioned above, subheadings within the text are in a similar size and style with the body text.

Section heads: As in newspapers, there are some section heads in magazines for specific content that is regularly published to remind readers by using the same design. Features of this component are the same as in newspapers.

Body text: If the magazine is heavily illustrated, this section is generally set after the allocation of visuals on page, as it has priority. The type size preferred to set regular articles is slightly bigger than in broadsheets, but it also depends on the type of content. The type style might be more decorative, rather than formal and classic as would appear in broadsheets.

Page numbers/folios: Unlike broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, running head is not often preferred in magazines. Instead, printing only folios is a common practice.

Pictorial components: Photographs and line illustrations are the main pictorial elements that mostly determine the design of page. At the time of the alphabet reform (1928), in addition to these, decorative elements such as frames, dashes and swashes were used in page layout.

Column features: Magazines are not very text based like broadsheet newspapers; as a result of this, more than three columns are hardly seen. The overall layout and the use of space and visuals are more important. Additionally, there are no column rules as in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers.

Layout and grid style: Similar to broadsheets and tabloids, a magazine page/spread is also designed in different grid styles, such as manuscript, columnar, modular and hierarchical. Additionally, all the components on the spread (textual and pictorial) are placed to form either a symmetrical or asymmetrical layout. Compared to the layout in newspapers, a magazine layout is more flexible and artistic, as their initial function is to attract and please readers' eyes.

8.2. Decisions on format and layout
Format

Before analysing the changes in textual and visual content, it is beneficial to look whether there was a difference in page size and in the number of pages. Due to the physical unavailability of these magazines, it is not possible to determine the change in their sizes as a result of the reform. However, as in the broadsheets and tabloids, there was some fluctuation in the number of pages, but only in *Servet-i Fünun*, due to the integration of more textual and visual content regarding the reform. This was also the result of integrating more announcements and an inside cover. During the transition, the number of pages in this magazine was usually 24, but in two volumes, this number increased to 32. Right after the implementation, the published pages were fixed at 28 and this lasted for three months. After this point, the magazine was published as 24 pages. On the other hand, *Resimli Ay* did not review its number of pages. Despite its new design approach,

Figure 8.4 Main text was set according to the places of pictures and the remaining space in *Servet-i Fünun*, 4 October 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.
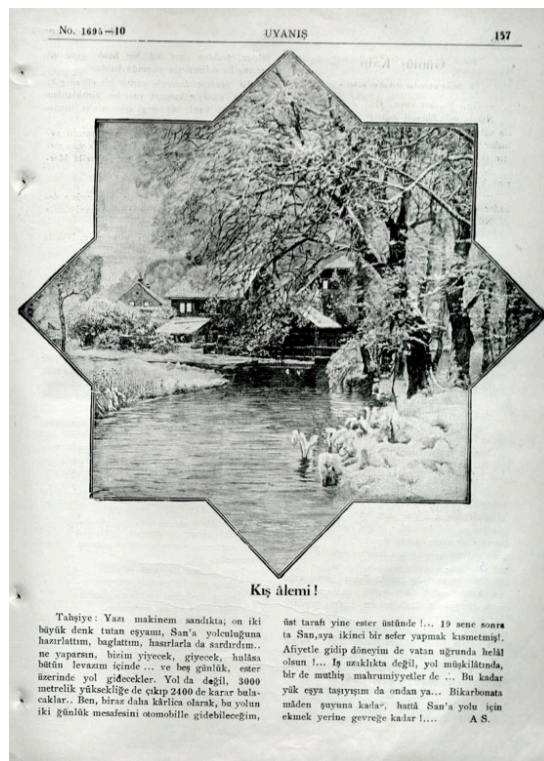
Figure 8.5 The use of large images on page in *Servet-i Fünun*, 7 February 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

the number of pages remained steady at 42, between the volumes of August 1928 and May 1929.

Regarding the changes in format, while *Servet-i Fünun* did not make a significant change in its visual format (although it was announced that the quality of visuals was going to be better), there was a clear attempt to increase the contribution of the textual content. The assumption about why there were no great visual changes was the magazine's mission to be the Turkish equivalent of *L'Illustration* and *the Illustrated London News* at that time and its success of being the oldest magazine in the history of Turkish publication. It already had a European – specifically French – influence on its publishing policy, and it was always a high-quality illustrative magazine, so it kept this approach after the reform and the amount of pictures remained the same even though some slightly different approaches to the visual size and composition were applied. Furthermore, the magazine remained up-to-date print-wise because of the owner, Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], and his knowledge and cultural interests based on his frequent visits to Europe.

In *Resimli Ay*, the original intention for a format change was abandoned after the reform in a leading article on March 1929, when the magazine came back into print three months after the implementation day. The people who created this magazine did not want to reduce the quality – being under pressure due to the low circulation and the financial strain – but to go against the spirit of new alphabet enthusiasts by publishing more visually appealing magazine. In this article, they also explained why they did not want to end the publication. It appears that they intended to make the format smaller, but abandoned this idea because of the magazine's reputation. Another reason why they did not change the format was that they also did not want to make this decision, especially at the time that the alphabet reform was enacted. This was indicated by their statement that this was not the right decision for a time when readers would have lost their joy of reading. Thus, it was also emphasised that the new version of the magazine integrated more visuals – if the reader was getting tired as a result of reading trials, they could find nice illustrative pages to look at. So, there was a clear rise in the integration of images. By doing this, the creators of the magazine tried to make this publication look like a European magazine and claimed that they partially succeeded in this. The owners and editors of *Resimli Ay*, Mehmet Zekeriya and Sabiha [Sertel] as a couple, had also lived and worked in New York for a while before publishing this magazine. As James Ryan indicated, it is likely that they took substantial inspiration from the American *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue* magazines.[7]

Layout

Before the reform, *Servet-i Fünun* published its content in three columns,

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7 James Ryan, "The Glamor of the New Turkish Woman in 'Resimli Ay,'" in *Stambouline* (July 29, 2013), Accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.stambouline.com/2013/07/the-glamor-of-new-turkishwoman-in.html.

Figure 8.6 Example for symmetrical compositions in *Servet-i Fünun*, 8 November 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

Figure 8.7 An example of placing a large image on spread in *Servet-i Fünun*, 21 March 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

though this appeared as two on some occasions. There are some irregular settings of columns as in the 30 August issue, although there was no use of column rules, as in traditional approach. Even though it seems that the layout has a more vertical approach, the use of many horizontal images breaks this monotonous look. During the transition period, it is possible to see full-page-width images as horizontal modules. There are also cases in which they set the text around the images. It seems that in some spreads and sections, positioning the pictures was more important and thus, they were placed first on the page and the text was set according to this arrangement and remaining space *(Fig.8.4)*. In terms of the layout style, it is possible to come across mostly symmetrical compositions, where pictures and texts are positioned according to this arrangement *(Fig.8.5)*. After the reform, we see that there is a dominant use of two columns, instead of three as before. It is even possible to see full-page-width text as in the first leading article in Latin, with only the page of news in three columns, most probably mimicking the newspaper approach. Unlike in the pre-reform period, the magazine also printed large and dominant images *(Fig.8.6)*. They were still paying attention to the symmetry of the image/illustration positioning on facing pages. Also, it is possible to see blocks as centered and rules around them both before and after the reform. Although *Servet-i Fünun* started to abandon these rules in the late post-reform period (around May), it was still used in some occasions. After the reform, it is apparent that more illustrative pages, containing a huge image placed in the middle of the spread, were introduced with some decorative motifs/elements *(Fig.8.7)*.[8] The attempt at placing a page-width photograph vertically also appeared for the first time in May, as commonly found in European illustrative magazines. To summarise, even though there was no significant change in the layout of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, they made an effort to increase the number and size of images while generally maintaining their usual layout style. The content of the images did not change due to the reform, as the magazine was publishing images from different categories, which had been always progressive compared to other magazines at that time.

On the other hand, the decisions made about layout after the reform were the most significant for *Resimli Ay.* The desire to publish a better illustrative magazine and having a break for three months might have forced them to make such brave decisions on layout, even though they had claimed that they did not want to change the format and appearance. While the layout seemed fairly plain and predictable before the reform *(Fig.8.8)*, a new approach appeared in the first issue after the three-month break. Before the reform, the approach in *Resimli Ay* was more illustrative compared to *Servet-i Fünun* and it already had large-sized images in some irregular grid arrangements, such as image-and-caption-only pages or image-collage-only pages *(Appendix 7)*. Apart from this irregular style and the new approach

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8 Though the common use of decorative elements and frames to separate content in *Servet-i Fünun* started to disappear after May, *Resimli Ay* did not use this kind of elements both before and after the reform, as it had a more minimal and modern approach.

Figure 8.8 Page layout in *Resimli Ay* before the reform, August 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.9 An example of a spread in *Resimli Ay* before the reform, April 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

after the reform, the general tendency was to stay with the three-column grid. In contrast to the period before the reform and during the transition, the magazine generally considered the two facing pages independently, focusing on the composition, the position and the size of images accompanying the typographic experiments and expressions *(Fig.8.9)*. After the transition, the general order in a page was that big headings were at the top, pictures positioned beneath them, with the body text as the last component, generally set in three columns. This arrangement was a new approach, as the page design was different before and during the transition period. These page designs indicate that the magazine was searching for ways to adopt the Latin convention typographically and also to find a consistent layout style that would suit the Westernised-look they wanted to embrace with the new alphabet. It is also possible to see sole pictorial pages without articles, just as before and during the transition period *(Appendix 7A)*. There were also still some symmetrical page designs, where picture blocks were centered, despite the experimental and irregular arrangements. But, contrary to the pre-reform period, the use of rulers around blocks was abandoned after the reform and magazines gained a more clean and fresh look. However, it should not be forgotten that the changes in layout -apart from the use and position of various pictures – were mostly realised because of the new typographic compositions and increased size and style options available in Latin metal types. This brings us to the next issue, which is the typographic change brought about by the reform.

8.3. Typographic evolution

Adoption of Latin content – first appearances

As emphasised earlier, the integration of Latin content started at a late stage of the transition period, and as was the case for the newspapers, the amount of integration varied in these two magazines. Compared to *Resimli Ay*, *Servet-i Fünun* introduced an early and more regular Latin integration in certain components. *Resimli Ay* did not start doing this until the end of transition period. However, the integration was far better than in *Servet-i Fünun* both in quantity and in terms of typography. However, there is no established reason for the late integration of Latin content.

Examine more closely, it is observed that *Servet-i Fünun* introduced the very first Latin content in the 23 August issue by writing the names of the authors in Latin. The same typefaces, *Romana* and *Mediäval Grotesk*, used in the transition period newspapers, were also used to print these names *(Fig.8.10)*. There is no explicit mention that reveals the relations of people who published the reform period publications (apart from being MP), so it is not possible to say why the same typefaces were also used in magazines. But still, this situation indicates that there might be a connection between them. Another possible rationale could be that the representatives in the country might mostly have imported these types and sold them to all the publications printed in Latin-based languages long before the reform. This could partially explain how the reform-period publications provided these particular typefaces. Apart from this first appearance, by 30 August 1928,
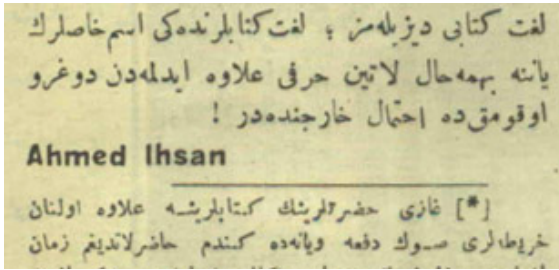
Figure 8.10 Authors' name in Latin script in *Servet-i Fünun*, 23 August 1928. *Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.*
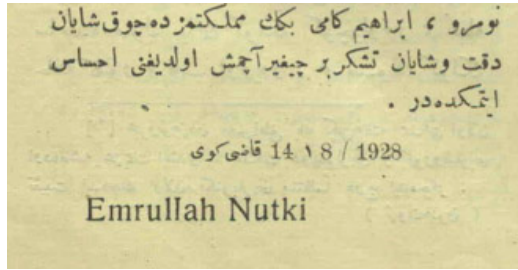
Figure 8.11 Heading appeared in Latin, printed with a blackletter-style typeface along with decorative Latin initials in *Servet-i Fünun*, 30 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

Figure 8.12 A new masthead at the end of the magazine – the back cover – appeared all in Latin in *Servet-i Fünun*, 6 September 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.
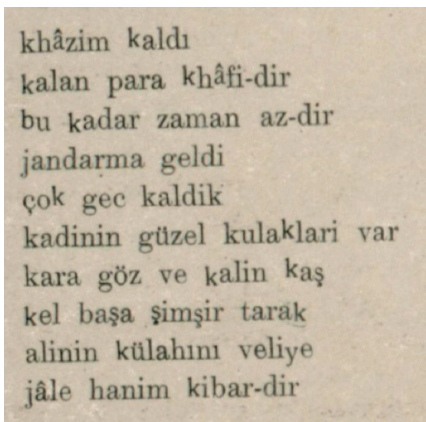
Figure 8.13 Substitution of missing Turkish characters in *Resimli Ay*, September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
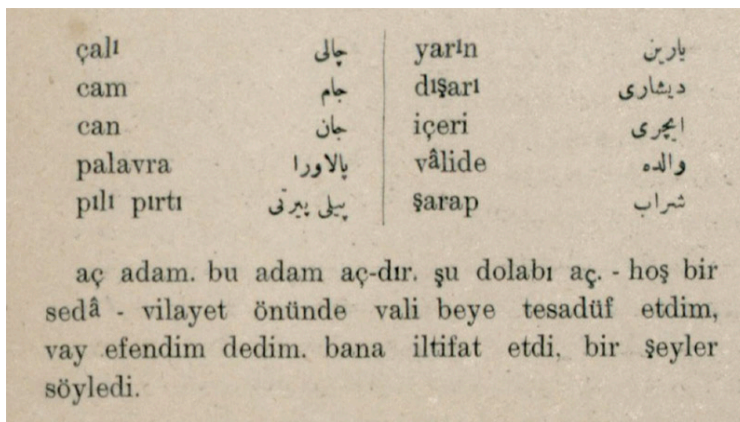
Figure 8.14 The letter ç with both cedilla and comma in *Resimli Ay*, September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

only a heading appeared in Latin, printed with a blackletter-style typeface along with decorative Latin initials, though this typeface and style was never seen before in any other publications and there is no information about how it was stopped being used here *(Fig.8.11)*. In the body text, the first appearance was in the leading article, which was published first in the old script in the initial pages of magazines and then all in Latin in the last pages in the same issue; some poems were also published in Latin on 6 September 1928. The typeface was *Romana* again for both of these content types. This issue of *Servet-i Fünun* was the turning point in the integration of Latin. A new masthead at the end of the magazine – the back cover – appeared all in Latin *(Fig.8.12)*. The choice of the typeface for the nameplate was more decorative with its unusual serif style and it seems like a condensed type with its long and thin x-height measure. In the same issue, the running heads were also printed in Latin, but with many typographical mistakes, such as switching letters or missing numerals.

In *Resimli Ay*, no Latin content appeared after the reform announcement, except some already-familiar special and foreign names in Latin within the body text, and the advertisements of foreign brands/companies. In the September issue, there is a detailed alphabet explanation on pages 36–38, like a small lesson, partially written in Latin with a sans-serif typeface, as mentioned in the introduction of the magazine analysis. Here, there is an issue with the new Turkish characters. The magazine apparently tried to substitute some new additional Turkish letters, such as, *ı, â, ç, ş, ğ, ü* and also another character *k* from a different sans-serif typeface, due to the lack of type stock *(Fig.8.13)*. The use of the letter *ç* with both cedilla and comma can be seen *(Fig.8.14)*. Apart from this first lesson, the very first Latin appearance occurred in an article in the October issue, with a Latin heading, introductory part and one-and-a-half-page-long body text *(Fig.8.15)*. A modern typeface with thick and thin strokes and straight serifs was used for the heading. This type clearly does not include the new Turkish characters, as the letter *ş* is formed with a comma, as in the Romanian alphabet. For the introductory part and the body text, two different serif typefaces were used. Here it is also apparent that the typeface used in the body text does not include all the Turkish characters, such as the capital *Ş* and the letter *ğ* with breve *(Fig.8.16)*. It is not possible to apply this claim for the typeface used in the introductory part. But it is likely that they were all transition period typefaces that were supplied from the publications printed in foreign languages in Latin. These instances represented the initial appearances of Latin in both magazines. Considering the initial appearances of Latin in other reform-period publications, it can be said that the same solution of sourcing the missing new Turkish characters from different typefaces was the case. Thus, it seems that *Resimli Ay* did not invest its time in the integration, but rather in the preparations for the post-reform period.

Covers

As is the case for all illustrative magazines, these magazines have a picture
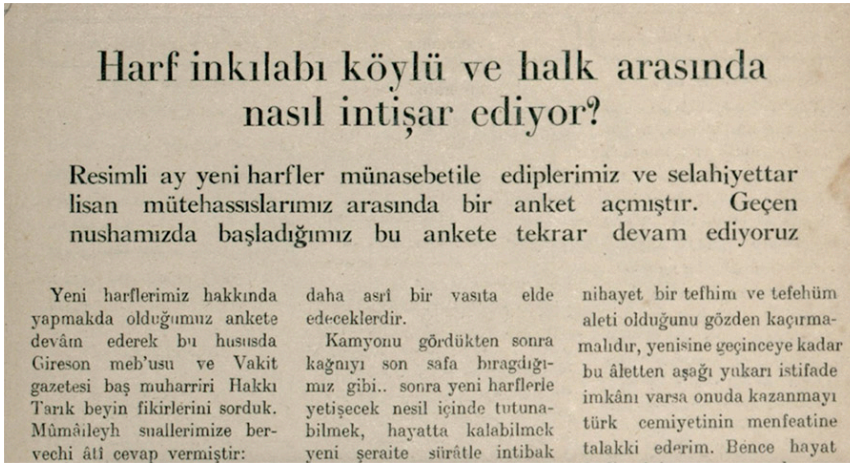
Figure 8.15 Latin appearance in article in *Resimli Ay*, September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library
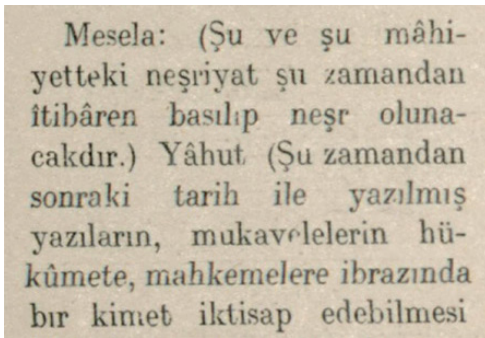
Figure 8.16 The substitution of letter *Ş* in *Resimli Ay*, September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.17 The cover of *Resimli Ay* before the reform, September 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.18 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* before the reform, 16 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.19 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* in the implementation day, 6 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

on their covers and their nameplates in calligraphic styles. Although the nameplate *Resimli Ay* echoed the approaches of its Western contemporaries *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, *Servet-i Fünun* also used a similar approach, gathering all the information regarding date, price and subscription into the masthead, as seen in *L'Illustration* and *the Illustrated London News*. *Resimli Ay* placed this information at the bottom of page, beneath the cover image. While *Servet-i Fünun* attached a (usually small-scale) caption beneath the cover picture as in those Western magazines, *Resimli Ay* used a plain large-scale picture in a more artistic style *(Fig.8.17)*. As in the nameplates of the broadsheets, these components are not formed with movable type, but lithographic plates that would enable calligraphic styles. *Servet-i Fünun*'s nameplate was more calligraphic, owing to the use of the 'istif' technique *(Fig.8.18)*, compared to *Resimli Ay*'s nameplate, which was a plainer design, formed by using a long extension *kashida*.

As mentioned in the section about the first appearances of Latin, *Servet-i Fünun* introduced a back cover that was all in Latin for the first time on 6 September 1928. After one issue, some amendments were made to the orthography on the cover of the 23 September 1928 issue, as can be seen from the nameplate (abandoning dashes) and changing the name of the owner according to the new orthographic rules (from Ahmed – which was the more Arabic form of the name ending with *d* – to Ahmet, which applied a new Turkish rule ending words with *t* instead of *d*). At least the publishers were aware of the new orthographic uses and eager to apply them immediately during the transition period. A new cover all in Latin appeared on 6 December 1928, after the implementation day, but with the new magazine title 'Resimli Uyanış' *(Fig.8.19)*. A note was also attached to the title: 'Servet-i Fünun yerine çıkar' – 'replacing Servet-i Fünun', which appeared in all issues (until August) that were reviewed for this analysis. The new name was written half in blackletter style and half in a sans-serif type, using a calligraphic approach. It is possible to explain these choices of typefaces with the more conventional and traditional approach of the magazine. Apart from the nameplate, the typefaces in the cover were still the same ones that were used in the transition period.

Compared to the issues before the implementation day, the layout of the cover of *Servet-i Fünun* was almost same after the reform, with the masthead approach, one dominant image and image caption. In the next issue on 13 December 1928, a new practice was developed – publishing an inside cover with the same design – and thus, the design of the main cover was then changed. The nameplate was made bigger and the magazine information, which was gathered in the masthead before, was now spread around the cover picture. The picture caption was also separated with a rule at the bottom of page, along with the price. On 3 January 1929, a new design for the nameplate appeared *(Fig.8.20)*. This time, a sans-serif typeface was used to create a more modern look, but it did not have the new Turkish character *İ*, which indicates that the previous efforts to keep up with the developments ceased due to the rush change. Even though this issue was
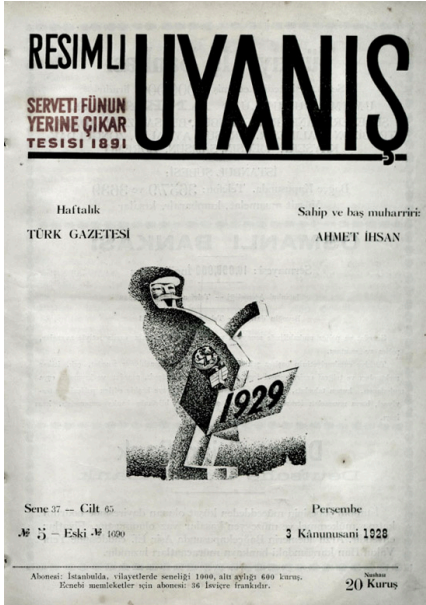
Figure 8.20 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* on 3 January 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.21 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* on 14 March 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.22 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* on 25 April 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.23 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* on 30 May 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.23a The inside cover of 30 May 1929, *Servet-i Fünun*, Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.24 The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* on 21 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

partially revised on 7 February 1929 by putting dots on letter *I*, other parts of the magazine were still suffering from the lack of type. In the issue of 14 March 1929, attempts to re-locate the magazine information are seen, as well as experiments in writing the motto and the name of the owner in a different way *(Fig.8.21)*. Despite these changes on the front cover, the inside cover surprisingly remained much the same in the arrangement of magazine information, with few changes. On 28 March 1928, it is apparent that a new composition for the main cover's nameplate, which also contains the magazine motto, the name of the owner and the frequency of the publication, was created, paying attention to the new Turkish characters. However, the inside cover was not changed. But this approach only lasted for two issues, and was then replaced with the previous one. The confusion around the design and function of the cover continued on 25 April 1929, when the front cover was used to make announcements, such as the arrival of the new offset machine at the magazine's printing house and the new editorial contributors for the coming issues *(Fig.8.22)*. For this new cover approach, a new design was created for the nameplate and the magazine information. The typeface choice was again sans serif, but more elegant and clean, using thin strokes and condensed, as often seen in fashion magazines. On 30 May 1929, both on the front and the inside covers, the initial Latin version of the title *Servet-i Fünun* appeared again beneath the new title, in a bigger size, different from the previous issues *(Fig.8.23)*. Finally, on 21 July, one design was used both on the front and inside covers, and was one of the previous designs *(Fig.8.24)*; the old title was rendered at a small size again, and the composition of the magazine information became set from this point. As can be seen from the observations above, the magazine clearly tried to create different variants for the cover after the reform in order to find the ideal identity for itself, which led to a confusion and uncertainty in many components, such as the choice of typeface, the design of the nameplate and the location of the magazine information. But apparently, they may have found their style and agreed on nameplate design on the cover.

For *Resimli Ay*, owing to it being published less frequently compared to *Servet-i Fünun* (Resimli Uyanış), the changes to the cover were slower and less significant. The very first Latin to appear on the cover of the September issue was the name of the month *(Fig.8.17)*. A decorative display typeface was used for the Latin part. In the October issue, the cover was printed all in Latin, including the nameplate and the magazine information *(Fig.8.25)*. The typeface choice for the nameplate was a bold serif, which had a slight problem with the varying stroke-width and appeared as capitals. On the cover of November issue, partial use of the old script reappeared, as only the numerals were in Latin *(Fig.8.26)*. The reason for this could be the same explanation for the amount of Latin integration in newspapers in November. The publishers might have thought that there would be no harm in using the old script during that month, as it would be completely abandoned on the first day of the next month. Another reason could be the first-time back cover, printed all in Latin, which was also in a format that usually appeared in newspapers *(Fig.8.27)*.

Figure 8.25 The October (1928) cover of *Resimli Ay* all in Latin. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.26 The November (1928) cover of *Resimli Ay* all in partially Latin. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.27 The back cover in *Resimli Ay*, November 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

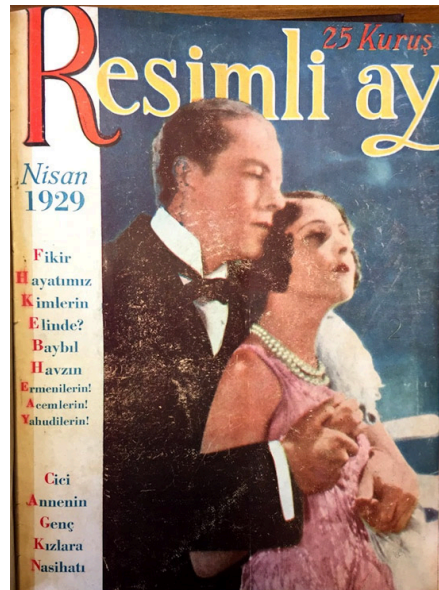**Figure 8.28** The March (1929) cover of *Resimli Ay*. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.29 The April (1929) cover of *Resimli Ay*. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.30 The July (1929) cover of *Resimli Ay*. Image source: Atatürk Library

After the reform, with a three-month break, we see that *Resimli Ay* still preferred the same nameplate and layout in the cover that were used before the implementation day *(Fig.8.28)*. This time, however, there were differences – the use of two big headings in italic with a bold serif typeface, and the position of the magazine information, which was pushed to the bottom-left corner, next to the headings. In the next issue *(Fig.8.29)*, the typeface and the size of nameplate were changed. This time, the title was written in a lowercase serif typeface and the initial letter *R* was printed bigger and in red to stand out from the rest. So, it is possible to say that they were at least paying attention to not using capitals in the title. The available space next to the cover image would also necessitate this arrangement. Unlike the previous covers, the price was also included above the nameplate, also printed in red as a compliment to the letter *R*. In addition, the date was written beneath the nameplate at a larger size. The two headings were placed on the left side, mirroring the style of the nameplate by printing the initials in red. These choices show that they were experimenting with colour, type and layout and trying to establish relationships between them. The search for ways to create a permanent cover approach continued in the following issues. For instance, the magazine introduced more headings in the next issue (May) and created a hierarchy between them by putting one big heading forward and printing it partially in italic and colouring its initials in red (echoing the magazine title), and keeping the rest of the headings small and in different colours, mostly because of the concern for differentiation. Surprisingly, the approach of colouring the initials as red and the use of a dominant heading were abandoned in the next issue for the sake of the cover image and the title appeared as a negative space. The different heading levels (lines) were still printed in different colours and that might have caused confusion for perceiving headings as a whole. Apparently, the publishers thought that this execution was not right, so they changed it and coloured the headings word by word in the July cover *(Fig.8.30)*. Also the use of a dominant heading came back with this issue, but still they were struggling with the position of components in the cover, as the price was positioned beneath the title in this issue. The minor differences in the nameplate also raised a question about whether the lettering was created with a lithographic plate or a movable type that had different variations. After the reform, *Resimli Ay* seemed more consistent in layout style and the choice of type on its covers in contrast to *Servet-i Fünun* even though it had made a huge compositional shift within a month. But despite this change, *Resimli Ay* was slower and less receptive compared to *Servet-i Fünun* in changing the design of the cover right after the implementation. Considering the three-month break of *Resimli Ay*, this approach seems feasible.

Headings
Before the reform

To clarify the features of headings in these two magazines before the reform, there was again the problem of the lack of variation of styles and

اىکى نسل ناصل اكله نيدى ، شيمدىكى نسل ناصل اكله نيور ؟ Ruq'ah

قاميلرده ناصل ياشارلر ؟ Ruq'ah

Ruq'ah

كيلبيوس قامينده كون ناصل كچر ؟ Ruq'ah

Naskh

استانبولده ده كيز سپورلرى Naskh

Ruq'ah

Ruq'ah

Ruq'ah

Figure 8.31 The heading variations in *Resimli Ay* before the reform. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.32 The use of decorative initials in *Servet-i Fünun* before the reform, 2 August 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database.

Mesut zannedilen
bir
rakkasenin
duyduğu acı
ve
iztırap

Muharriri:
Nahil Sırrı

Figure 8.33 Experimenting with the heading in *Resimli Ay* before the reform, November 1928. Image source: Atatürk Library

sizes in Arabic type. So, the execution of this part was modest, using small-sized types and the two styles naskh and ruq'ah. It was possible to see both styles as the primary and secondary choices, as there was no alternative *(Fig. 8.31)*. As a result, the headings did not have a significant enough presence on the pages to be able to affect the page design to attract the reader. While there were some one-line headings, heading decks consisting of many levels were also used. Contrary to their use in broadsheets, in magazines, lithographic plates were not used to create bigger headlines, headings and section heads as a way to work around the need for larger-point Arabic metal types. Some big decorative initials were used next to these insignificant headings, as in the case of *Servet-i Fünun (Fig. 8.32)*.

The transition period

There was no significant integration of Latin at this time compared to the broadsheets and tabloids and no bi-script approach appeared in headings (unlike in broadsheets and tabloids), except for one case in *Resimli Ay*. Still, *Servet-i Fünun* started to publish some particular headings in Latin one month after the reform announcement and steadily kept to this approach until the implementation day (1 December 1928). While *Resimli Ay* did not print its headings with the new letters as immediately as *Servet-i Fünun*, it gradually increased the amount of Latin use in this part and revised the presentation. Here we can see the signals of a further typographic change that can be observed after the reform in the integration of Latin content in *Resimli Ay*. Even though the amount of integrated Latin content in *Servet-i Fünun* was greater and the pace of integration was quick during the transition period, the magazine did not attempt to create typographic solutions for Latin, as *Resimli Ay* did in its November issue *(Fig. 8.33)*. As can be seen in the figure, the Latin letters were created in a form of light bulbs to indicate the entertainment world and support the image of the woman dancer.

To mention the choice of transition-period types in this part specifically, it is possible to see the same stock problem with the new Turkish characters as was seen in broadsheets and tabloids. In the October issue of *Resimli Ay*, the letter ş seemed to have been created with a big comma, as in Romanian alphabet, rather than a cedilla *(Fig. 8.15)*. In the next (November) issue, the heading in Latin also lacked some of the Turkish characters, but this time not the letter ş, but the letter ö. In *Servet-i Fünun*, even though there was no big issue with the new Turkish characters in headings – except for minor occasions –, it seems that the cedillas of the new letters were attached externally, as shown by the differing distance of the dots and breves attached to the letters *(Fig. 8.34)*. Obviously, they were creating solutions to overcome this difficulty.

The choice of transition typefaces for headings in these magazines was similar and mostly serif and lowercase, but in their execution and differentiation of heading levels and hierarchy, they were different. In *Servet-i Fünun*, different levels of headings were distinguished using
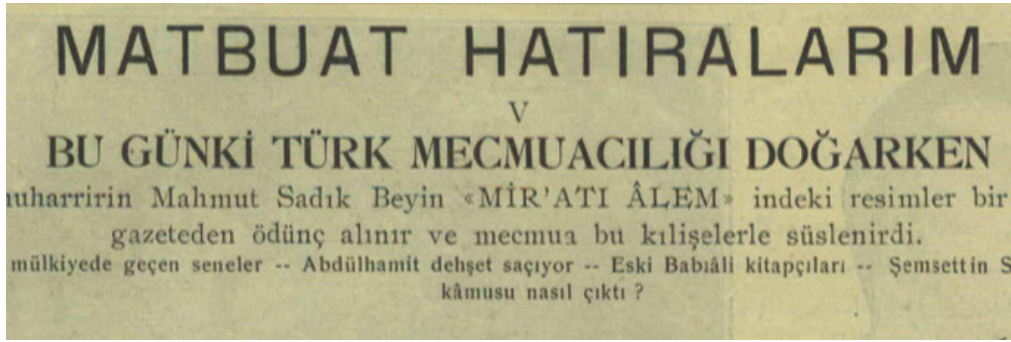
Figure 8.34 Attached diacritics in the heading of *Servet-i Fünun* before the reform, 29 November 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
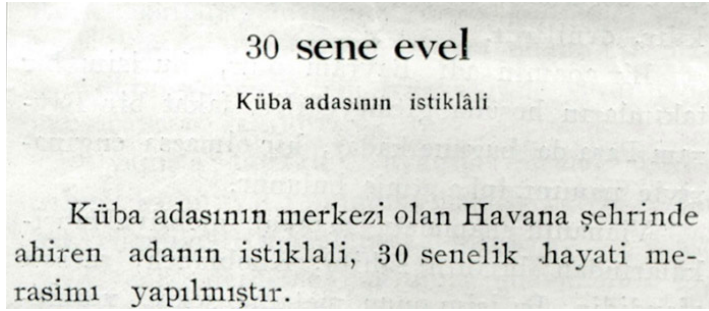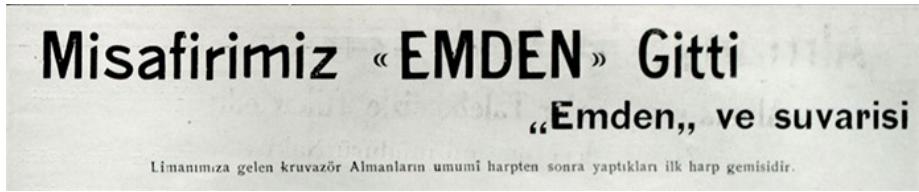

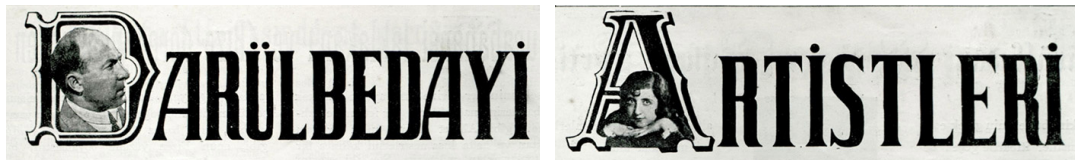**Figure 8.35** The lowercase heading in *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 13 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
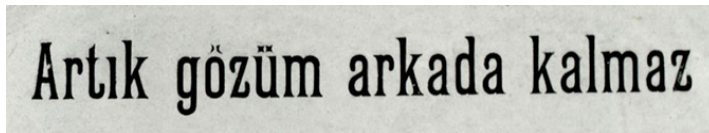
Figure 8.36 Attached diacritics in the heading of *Servet-i Fünun*, after the reform, 6 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.37 Different use of quotation marks in the heading of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 28 February 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.38 A decorative approach in the heading of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 18 April 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
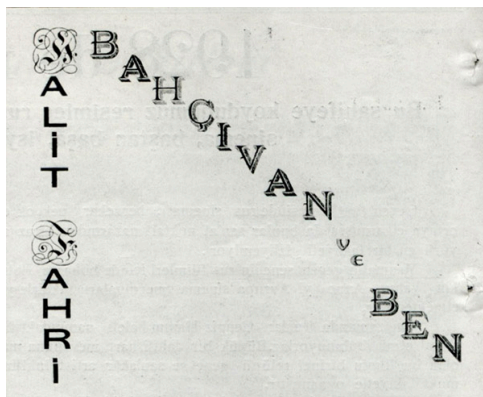
Figure 8.39 The staircase approach in headings of *Servet-i Fünun*, after the reform, 28 March and 4 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

different type sizes and weights, bold and regular. Both capital and lowercase letters were used to further distinguish the heading levels and headings which were generally centred. On the other hand, *Resimli Ay* did not use many heading levels, preferring explanatory parts beneath the headings instead. Headings were also generally lowercase, but still centered as in *Servet-i Fünun*.

After the reform

Although, the other publications, broadsheets and tabloids overcome the issue of Turkish characters' availability with the purchases of new types, there was still an issue regarding the new Turkish characters in *Servet-i Fünun* and the lack of stock and typefaces that included these specific letters. It is apparent that they tried to attach the necessary points and cedillas above and below the letters. By contrast, *Resimli Ay* printed all its headings with new types that included the new Turkish characters. The three-month break in its publication schedule (unlike *Servet-i Fünun*, which continued to publish regular issues during the transition period and afterwards) might have been beneficial for *Resimli Ay* in that it had time to acquire and become familiar with these new metal types.

Examining the progress in this part closely, it is apparent that *Servet-i Fünun*, in the first month of the full Latin adoption, struggled to set these parts in a certain style, as well as having difficulties with the new Turkish characters. So, it set these parts plainly, using mostly one lowercase, serif typeface in small sizes, as it had during the transition period *(Fig.8.35)*. The magazine also introduced a new display typeface besides this serif typeface, but it seems that the dots were placed externally to form the new Turkish characters *(Fig.8.36)*. In the further issues, confusion around the use of punctuation was also evident, as both French guillemets and quotation marks were used at the same time *(Fig.8.37)*. After this date as in this issue, many different typefaces were used – for example, it is possible to see 10 different typefaces used in headings in only one issue (28 February 1929). In addition to the variety of typefaces used in headings, we also see the use of italic in this section. In the issue of 28 March 1929, attempts at creating experimental and decorative headings can be seen *(Fig.8.38)*. The vertical and diagonal (like a staircase) heading composition with initials is a striking example of this approach, which continued in later issues *(Fig.8.39)*. In the following month's issues (April 1929), more typefaces and decorative headings were introduced, and the use of different typefaces, also in italic, in heading levels was evident *(Fig.8.40)*. In the following months, especially in July 1929, the understanding of heading position also changed, and many of the headings were placed around or according to the shapes of pictures *(Fig.8.41)*. In the next month (August 1929), new pictorial and typographical section heads appeared and were used in many places as headings. These heads consisted of more display and decorative types created by copying or lettering and reflect the period's design influences, such as Art Deco style. But still, the magazine kept its conservative approach by using the transition-period typefaces, including *Mediäval Grotesk (Fig.8.37)*. So, for
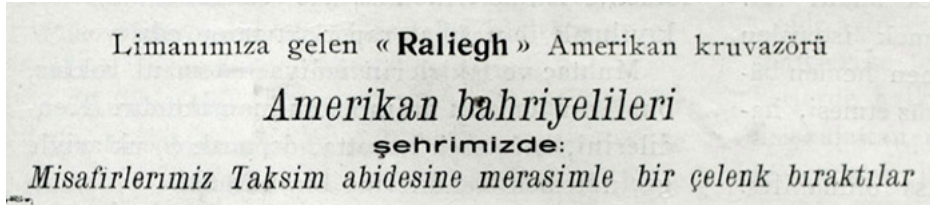
Figure 8.40 The use of different typefaces and italic in the heading of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 4 April 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
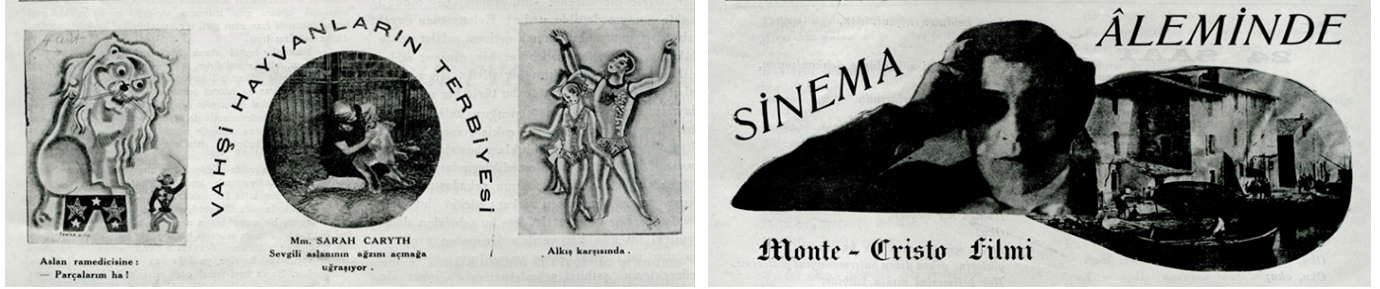

Figure 8.41 Examples for shaping headings according to images in *Servet- Fünun* after the reform, 11 and 18 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.42 A new typographic approach in the headings of *Resimli Ay* after the reform, May 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library
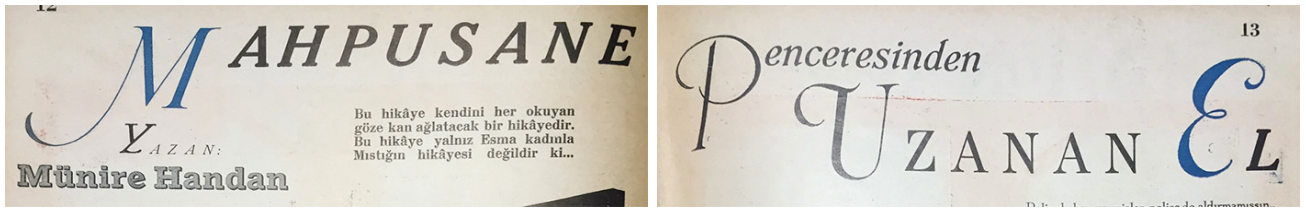
Figure 8.43 The use of cursive and swash characters in the heading of *Resimli Ay* after the reform, June 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library
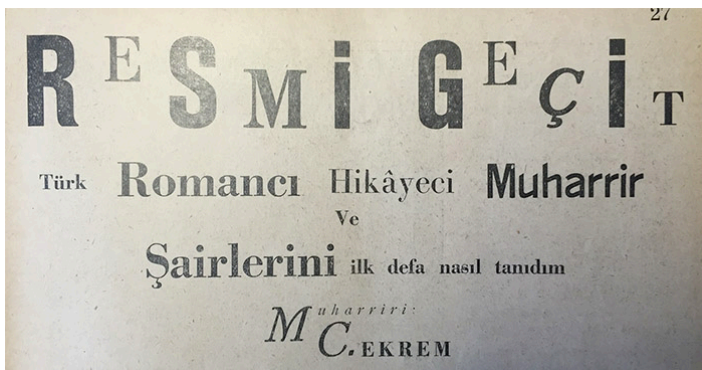
Figure 8.44 The use of multiple typefaces and style in the heading of *Resimli Ay* after the reform, March 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.45 Different composition of headings in *Resimli Ay* after the reform, April 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Servet-i Fünun, even in August 1929, the issue of lacking the new Turkish characters remained. These trials show the efforts and struggles of the magazines to adapt to a new printing convention and to find a style or visual voice in headings.

While *Servet-i Fünun* sought ways to create headings in different styles in the post-reform period, this experiment did not affect layout considerations dramatically. In *Resimli Ay*, however, the new and the brave typographic approach in headings aided in shaping the layout of the magazine spread, along with pictures *(Fig.8.42)*. The main approach was printing the first letters of headings in a different typeface – mostly cursive, swash characters – style and colour and applying these all at once *(Fig.8.43)*; even some of the subheadings are subjected to this treatment. It should be noted that this was the case for the big articles that were situated in spreads. The headings of small articles were printed in one style and at a modest size. In these hybrid arrangements, both sans-serif and serif typefaces were used together. Unlike *Servet-i Fünun*, the use of italic and large-sized headings was common in *Resimli Ay*. Apart from this practice, on some occasions, multiple typefaces were used at once *(Fig.8.44)*. Headings were generally positioned at the top of the page and mostly centred, though occasionally they were shaped according to dominant/large pictures on the page. To add dynamism to the page, experiments with composition, such as staircase, deck, and vertical arrangements, were applied in some headings *(Fig.8.45)*. It is known that the Victorian period typography (1837-1901) also had a similar experimental approach: "extreme variations of type size and weight crammed within a single headline – was an invention of expedience allowing the printer to utilise every inch of precious space."[9] But there is no information about whether they were influenced by this approach.

Putting the heading in the middle of the spread or dividing the heading in half was another treatment; the use of the spread as a whole unit was a common practice in *Resimli Ay.* To trace the developments monthly, in March (the first issue after the break), the magazine was more conservative in the execution of headings and used fewer typefaces and at moderate sizes. But in the following months, in April and May, new approaches in the composition of headings and typographic experiments appeared, as the variety of typefaces, styles and sizes increased. But this approach did not seem to last long, as there was more use of a single typeface and style for headings in June and July. Despite this moderation, some experiments with the positioning of headings continued in the July edition. Unlike in the previous editions, some of the headings were placed behind the main text in the colour red, rather than separately *(Fig.8.46)*. The use of a large image in certain shapes, such as square or rectangular, must have been the reason for this decision. Still, it is not possible to name a reason why it ended its experimental approach mostly in the further months after the reform.

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9 Steven Heller and Seymour Chwast, *Graphic Style: From Victorian to Post-Modern,* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988), p.15.

Figure 8.46 Example for putting the coloured heading behind the text in *Resimli Ay* after the reform, July 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library
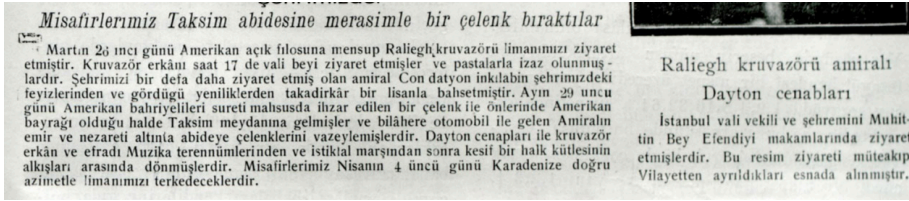

Figure 8.47 The difference in leading in body text in *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 4 April 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
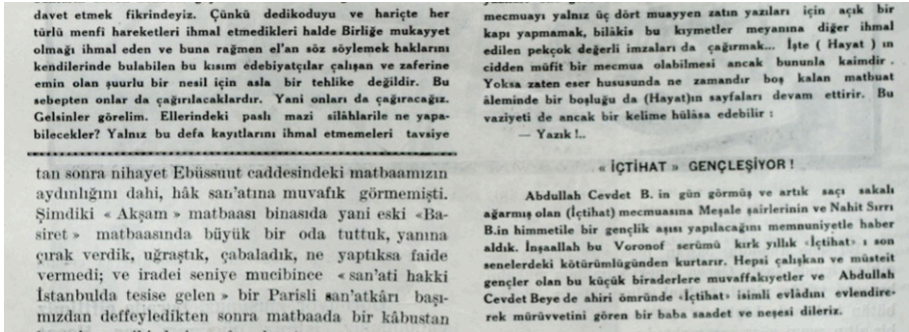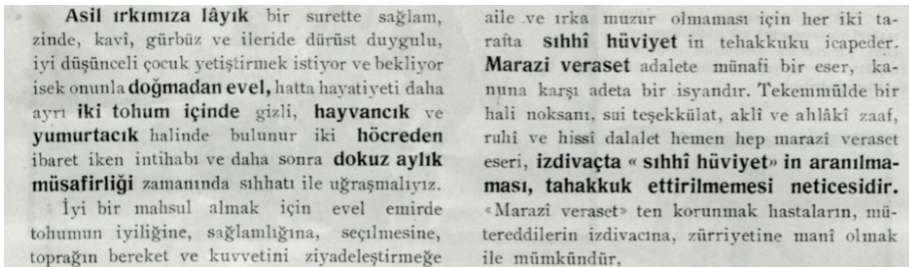

Figure 8.48 The use of more than one typeface and sizes in body text in *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 11 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Figure 8.49 Special names and terms were highlighted within the text by making them bold in *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 11 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
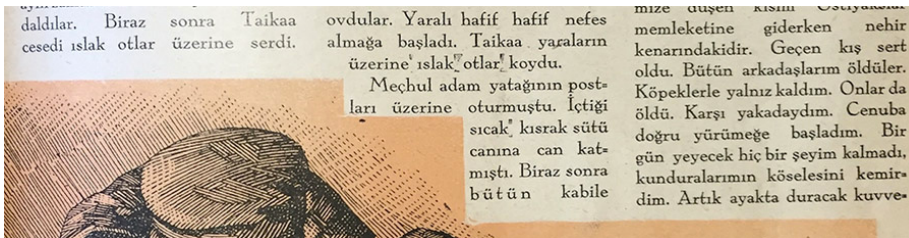
Figure 8.50 The body text shaped according to the picture in *Resimli Ay* after the reform, June 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Compared to the newspapers, which took a more conventional and conservative approach, the magazines used the freedom and opportunity that came with being less formal in their content to experiment more with typographic and layout arrangements despite the downside of looking more unstable in their appearance and identity. It seems fair to conclude that time in their publication schedules allowed the magazines a useful preparation period, and that the genre itself also aided magazines in taking this more experimental approach.

Body text

Before the reform, the two magazines had similar executions in body text, as in broadsheets and tabloids. Again, not so many style and size variations existed in Arabic metal type, so there is no differenciations within the text. Paragraphs start with indents, as in traditional setting. As in other publications, writing foreign names and terms in Latin script differently from the old script was a common practice in these magazines as well. So, we see a parallel approach and practice before the reform. However, considering the poor execution of body text in newspapers after the reform – due to the haste of the implementation and the great demand of printing many pages daily – magazines were more successful in setting body text, the inconsistency in leading space being the only issue they struggled with *(Fig.8.47)*.[10]

The approach to setting the Latin script in body text was exactly the same in *Servet-i Fünun* during the transition period and right after the reform. No dramatic changes were made in the position and the composition of this part. The same problem regarding the use of French punctuation – the guillemet – and putting space before the punctuation marks was evident in some cases. In terms of the choice of typefaces, from the transition period until the end of March 1929, *Servet-i Fünun* used only one typeface for body text. After this, it became possible to see it rendered in many typefaces and in many sizes *(Fig.8.48)*. Sometimes special names and terms were highlighted within the text by making them bold, although this was a very unusual practice *(Fig.8.49)*. They must think that it is a good way to use every typeface they provided in order to distinguish between different parts in the text. This approach could also be the result of enthusiasm for the availability of rich variations of Latin types.

After the reform, setting body text in *Resimli Ay* was mainly determined by the position of pictures/illustrations, or by headings on some occasions *(Fig.8.50)*. Unlike *Servet-i Fünun*, there were some attempts to form this part with a defined arrangement, such as the staircase approach. However, apart from these kinds of considerations and compositions, body text was mainly set as three columns on the lower part of pages in the post-reform period.

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10 Because of the insignificant participation of magazines in the integration of Latin during the transition period, it was not mentioned here, as the state of the integrated Latin parts is analysed in the section of 'Adoption of Latin content: first appearances' earlier.
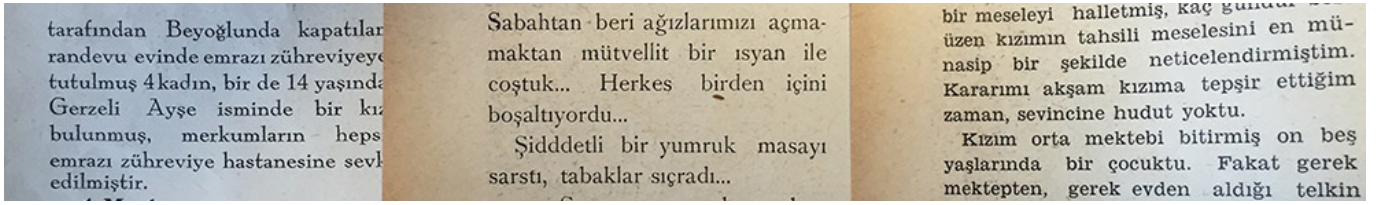
Figure 8.51 The use of different typefaces in the following pages in *Resimli Ay* after the reform, May 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library
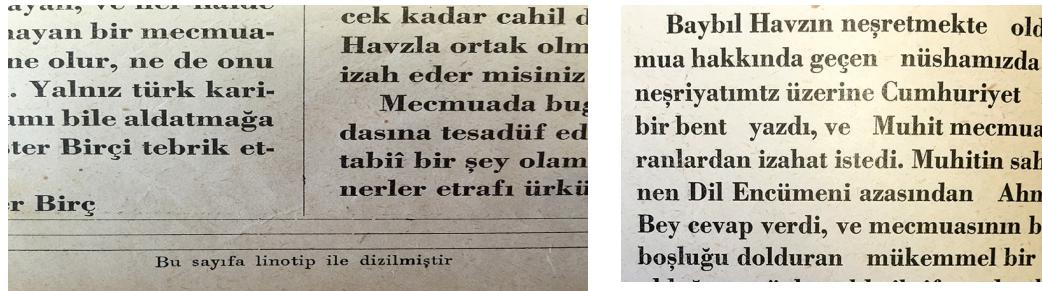

Figure 8.52 The body text set by Linotype machine in *Resimli Ay* after the reform, May 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.53 An advertisement published in two scripts in the same volume of *Servet-i Fünun* before the reform, 29 November 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
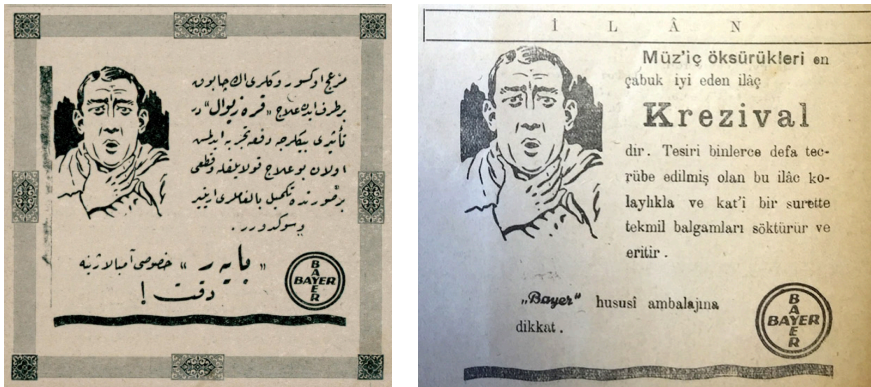

Figure 8.54 Exact design and the lithographic plate that was used before the reform was preserved and used in advertisements of *Resimli Ay* after the reform, September 1928 and April 1929. Image source: Atatürk Library

Figure 8.55 Setting the diacritics of letter *ş* with a comma in an advertisement of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 13 December 1928. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

Until May, *Resimli Ay* used only one typeface for setting this part, as the main typeface that it had used before the reform was already changed. This monotone approach in the March and April issues did not last long, and the number of typefaces rose to three in May *(Fig.8.51)*. As in the case of *Servet-i Fünun*, they must have provided more typefaces in time and found this practice beneficial to find their own style with some trials.

A rare practice in body text appeared in the May issue of *Resimli Ay*, where an article was set using a Linotype machine, as indicated by a brief note below the article *(Fig.8.52)*. Although the heading contained the letter *ş* with a cedilla, this letter appeared in the body text with a comma, as in the Romanian alphabet. Moreover, all the new and unique Turkish characters, including letters *İ, ğ*, were present within the article. It is hard to determine whether the typesetting machine used was a new one specifically prepared for the new Turkish alphabet, or an old machine, not necessarily suitable for the new characters.[11]

Other parts – running heads and advertisements

As in the newspapers, running heads were used in *Servet-i Fünun* as mentioned in the section on initial Latin appearances. Since the change from Arabic to Latin script during the transition period, no changes were observed in running heads. *Resimli Ay* did not use running heads before and after the reform, so only page numbers were present and these remained in their usual place in the top corner of the pages. Running heads in magazine design were not very usual at that time and were even considered as old-fashioned, but we do not know whether these two magazines were aware of this notion when they used them.

Advertisements showed a similar pattern to broadsheet newspapers and no significant change in the integration of the new script during the transition period was observed. While *Resimli Ay* only printed advertisements with the new letters after the implementation day, *Servet-i Fünun* published some of them in two scripts as different versions during the transition period *(Fig.8.53)*. In *Resimli Ay*, after the implementation day, 1 December 1928, the exact design and the lithographic plates that were used before the reform were preserved, while the content of the advertisements was printed in Latin script with the new letters *(Fig.8.54)*. The setting of this part in Latin script was also similar to the newspapers' approach in that the metal types used were substituted in the creation of this content. However, the execution was not as precise as in the newspapers, as typographical oddities and issues due to the lack of Turkish characters can be seen in the both magazines *(Fig.8.55)*. To create the new Turkish characters that were lacking in the transition period typefaces, cedillas and dots were also added in *Servet-i Fünun (Fig.8.56)*. It was not only dots or commas that were added to the letters – it is even possible to see the number *5* used as a cedilla to create the letter *ş (Fig.8.57)*.

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11 "Türkçe yeni hurufat kasasının şekli," *Servet-i Fünun*, 8 November 1928.

Figure 8.56 An example of adding dots externally in an advertisement of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 25 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database
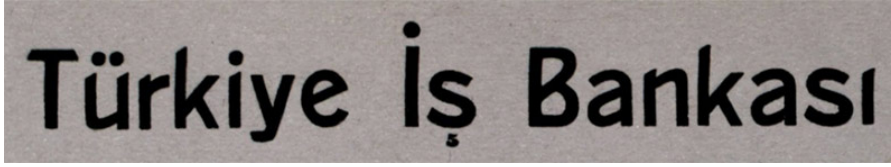

Figure 8.57 The number 5 used as a cedilla to create the letter *ş* in an advertisement of *Servet-i Fünun* after the reform, 25 July 1929. Image source: Ankara University online newspaper database

To sum up, as in newspapers, similar design and typographic issues due to the haste of the alphabet change were mostly seen in magazines despite their publishing frequency which would allow them to overcome the problems of adapting to a new printing convention. However, they were definitely more brave and experimental in creating layout and headings variations, compared to the reform period broadsheets and tabloids, and were pioneers in this matter at the time.

Conclusion

It is known that the Turkish alphabet reform was implemented in a very short period of time, and newspapers and magazines had to be published in the new script/alphabet within four months, while integrating Latin content during the transition period. However, it was not known when they started to integrate Latin into their pages and to what extent they did this and with which motives. Also, their specific roles in the implementation and promotion of the reform, as they were assigned as helping tools by the reformers, are not well established. Also considering the satirical illustrated approach, the use of the satire or other pictorial elements in supporting reform was not elaborated before.

This research documents the pace of the reform and the transition of design and typographic features of newspapers and magazines due to the script/alphabet change that no other studies pondered on. It also reveals the beginning of a significant era, which is the first encounter of Turks with the Latin printing convention and shows how they (printers, publishers, publications) reacted to this change and coped with it. Also, up to today, there is no study that reveals the typographic features of Turkish publications both in the past and the present. So, this study also discovers and reveals an unknown territory that opens the opportunity up for making a typographic comparison of the publications in the country and abroad. From a universal point of view, it also seeks the answers to the questions of how integrating and shifting into a different script in a short time affected the design of a page layout and its look, and how easy or difficult it was to learn and apply a different printing convention in a short-period. Apart from these, it gives hints about the further effects and implications of the reform on the design and typographic journey of Turkey and reveals the issues with Turkish libraries and archives for typographic research.

After a comprehensive review of reform period publications, five broadsheets, two tabloids and two magazines were chosen according to some developed criteria and were subjected to the design and typographical analysis in a certain framework to unfold the issues mentioned above.

Roles of newspapers and magazines in promoting and implementing the reform
The power of the media was used actively during the transition and post-reform periods. Publishers, many of whom were MPs or had close connections with government, were prepared to take the risk of implementing the alphabet reform despite the associated risks of losing readers and facing closure. Although they received financial aid from the government, it was not in the amounts they requested. At least, they benefited from the tax exemption for printing machines and equipments and metal types imported from abroad for one year. The circulation rates of publications declined due to the integration of the new alphabet/script. Despite this, the newspapers and magazines were specifically chosen

for this study, as they became frontiers among other institutions on implementing, promoting and teaching the new alphabet. They were called 'cavalry', 'vanguards' or 'mobile schools' because of their contribution. They succeeded in this by 1) integrating content in Latin script along with content in the old script during the transition, 2) publishing news content that praises the reform 3) publishing cartoons to condemn the old script/alphabet, 4) becoming a forum to discuss reform-related changes, 5) publishing alphabet lessons and reading articles for readers to learn and practice the new alphabet, and lastly 6) showing ambition to being printed all in Latin after four months from the official announcement and purchasing new types, printing presses and adapting to a new printing convention.

To detail their roles, the broadsheet newspapers played a key role in promoting and teaching the new alphabet among others. They integrated a substantial amount of their content in Latin into their pages during the transition period. Apart from the praiseful content and reporting about the implementation in streets, they published anti-Arabic script cartoons to promote the reform to the public, and encouraged readers to learn the new alphabet by publishing daily or regular lessons. The illustrated tabloids used their visual power to promote the reform and encourage readers to accept and learn the new alphabet. They published encouraging images and satirical cartoons. Especially, associating the old letters/script with death, skeleton, and camel (against automobiles) was the common approaches in cartoons. Not only satirical but also encouraging cartoons, such as showing children and the elderly learning the new alphabet, were also present in tabloids. Unlike the broadsheets, they published less teaching content, instead including some illustrative alphabet tables and short stories for reading practice, to familiarise the public with the new alphabet. Magazines assumed a different role compared to the newspapers though they were also the enthusiastic defenders of the reform. They published less news and fewer supportive articles about the reform and no alphabet lessons at all – except showing the new alphabet once – and focused more on visual and content quality to prevent possible loss of readers.

One of their most important acts, integration of Latin content, started to appear approximately five to ten days after the alphabet announcement and varied in each publication and between publication types throughout the transition period. While the broadsheets took this issue seriously and even sometimes tried to equalise the amount of the two different scripts, tabloids published a less amount of material in Latin script and magazines did not favour its use at all and published only a couple of articles with the new alphabet in the last months of the transition period. During the transition period, broadsheets and tabloids published one or two columns of brief news and announcements in the Latin script. In addition to printing an entire article in Latin on the front page, printing headings in Latin on inside pages and one-page width headline and quotes of Atatürk were other common practices. Integrating the content in Latin script,

as headlines, headings and body text varied day to day, and was not systematic at all, as it was possible to see rises and decreases within this period. Apart from the advice of reformers encouraging newspapermen in particular to become pioneers in the implementation of the new alphabet immediately, the initial aim of integrating some of the content in Latin script was simply to help readers get used to the new alphabet. This also explains why we do not see a growing use of Latin content throughout the transition period in general. We can conclude that the restrained use of the Latin alphabet was more likely a tactic for introducing the new letters to the readers slowly and trying to make them familiar with the Latin alphabet with gentle encouragement. Adopting the new alphabet suddenly or changing the whole visual character of the newspaper may not have been so effective for fulfilling this aim. Moreover, the need for a substantial period of time for supplying the new metal type families that include the new Turkish characters both from abroad and within the country and developing a new typographic look to build a character/voice for a newspaper should be considered as a reasonable demand.

Effects of the reform on design and typographic choices in newspapers and magazines
There was little change in the format and layout of the newspapers and magazines due to the reform, apart from two publications: the newspaper *Akşam* and the magazine *Resimli Ay*. While it was possible to see a more modular approach in *Akşam*, most of the broadsheets remained in columnar grid style, although some of them, *İkdam* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* briefly used the modular units within the first two months from the implementation day. Also, *Resimli Ay* designed its spreads as a unit and made experiments by cropping and positioning large images. Nevertheless, this was not the prevailing approach over the next two or three months, and especially the broadsheet newspapers mostly returned to their conservative look with more modest typographic choices similar to their approach before the reform. Although there was a new approach, which is introducing more images into pages during the transition and post-reform periods, this choice was most likely a coping mechanism to avoid the labour of more typesetting job in the new script and help readers, who learn to read in the new script, to enjoy and ease their eyes after difficult reading trials. Except for *Akşam* and *Resimli Ay*, the format and layout design was not affected due to the script change, so the transformation was more typographical in publications.

While the Arabic alphabet was in use, newspapers and magazines had a more homogeneous look and a grey tone due to the few Arabic type production, type style and size at that time. This was the case for all kind of typographical components, such as body text, heading and headline. However, during the transition period, typographic execution and the search for a convention were more experimental, with a diversity and richness in style and content because of the substituted Latin types that were used in the publications before the reform. Not being an expert in

Latin printing practice resulted in experimenting with multiple typefaces and styles and even using them all at once in some occasions. After the alphabet change, with the help of the new typefaces and size variations, the hierarchy between the sections became visible and pages started to look more individual despite some unsuccessful executions. In particular, right after the implementation day, the active use of headlines/headings and announcements in big sizes brought a distinguished appearance to pages.

Due to the haste of the reform, newspapers and magazines did not have much time to purchase new Latin metal types that include the new Turkish characters. Thus, they had to use the Latin types that were previously used in publications in French and other languages that have Latin-based alphabets. As a result, during the transition period, they had to find a solution to being able to print the new Turkish characters, so they came up with the idea of attaching external components in order to substitute diacritical marks of these characters, such as umlaut, breve and cedilla of the letters, *ü*, *ö*, *ş*, *ğ* and *İ*. These components consisted of points (above the letters, *İ*, *ö* and *ü*), commas (before and after the letter *s* to create *ş*), and in some rare occasions, the Arabic letter و (vav) and even the number *5*. Considering the short period of transition (four months) and the problem of lack of resources, this kind of solutions could be considered as creative and as a sign of resilience towards the obstacles although it caused uneven and inharmonious lines and some alienated typographic looks. After the implementation day (nearly four months after the official announcement), most of the newspapers and magazines found enough time to purchase new metal types that include the new Turkish characters and mostly solved this problem and abandoned the previous made-up uses mentioned above. However, some of the newspapers and magazines, such as *Servet-i Fünun*, continued to use the transition period Latin types even after the reform.

The alphabet lessons published in the broadsheet newspapers are another important component to observe typographic changes due to the reform. In these lessons, sans-serif typefaces were mostly preferred with a possible notion of simplicity that allows readers to perceive easily. Also some script fonts were used to imitate the handwriting version of new letterforms and the type sizes were deliberately made bigger in reading articles to aid the reading practices of readers who still struggled to learn the new alphabet. Despite many typographic misprints and unusual substitutions of new Turkish characters, broadsheet newspapers paid more attention to the design of regular alphabet lessons, especially the typesetting and the right use of orthography, as this content is a substantial part where readers interact with the new letters initially. Apart from the design and typographic changes, many differences in the orthography of the various pieces of content written with the new alphabet in the early months of the transition period occurred due to the different dialects and experience of typesetters across all newspapers and magazines. But this issue was overcome a short time after the official implementation as the dialect of İstanbul was accepted as the norm right before the transition period.

To sum up, broadsheets paid substantial attention to the purchase of new metal types that included the new Turkish letters – which could be seen from the short announcements and advertisements of these purchases in newspapers. Tabloids showed a similar approach to that taken with the broadsheets though they were more focused on the use of typographic variations in headlines and headings by trying many different approaches, including changing sizes and styles with lower case, capitals, italic, bold, etc. There was literally no change in their layouts. Magazines were more concerned about their format and layout, integrating pictures and creating impressive pages in terms of layout as they were determined to publish their magazines in European and American standards.

However, the pursuit of creating visually Western-influenced publications was not new. It existed since the first appearances of publications in Ottoman Empire years, so the reform was not the only condition and a starting point for actualising this goal. Yet, it psychologically helped to internalise this practice. Due to the modernisation agenda and the strong ties with Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, the publishers and printers had a close watch on the printing developments and technologies, as they had the luxury and wealth to make frequent visits to Europe and even to attend printing fairs, as the owner of 'Servet-i Fünun', Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz] did. It is also known that there were printers, such as Ebüzziya Tevfik, whose works were rewarded in Europe. Also, the multicultural printing environment in the Empire helped to familiarise with the Latin printing convention and being up-to-date print-wise. Especially after the print boom in the Second Constitutional Era, the printing scene showed a great progress in publication design. The new Republic brought stability and adopted European ideals, which helped to accelerate the quality of printing. Although the tendency of modernisation and later Westernisation started with the Tulip Era (1718-1730) and accelerated with the Tanzimat reforms (1839) as a request of the Palace, it was not forced or imposed directly by the state, but rather was cultivated by statesmen and intellectuals as a result of seeking solutions for society's problems. Even though this process seems interrupted by the Hamidian Era (1876-1909), the idea was sparked already and remained in minds and actions during the Republican period as well.

Apart from the difficulty of typesetting in the Arabic script, the notion of publication design was not very different from the West, and the printing convention was not isolated or old-fashioned either. Moreover, starting from the 19th century, the existence of illustrated publications with human pictures and even modern woman image in publications was not unusual at all as a result of this modernist mindset. The only difference between the Turkish and Western printing scenes could be the understanding of typesetting in Latin. There is no literature or apparent proof that they observed the Western typography and were influenced by the movements in various periods. However, the use of many typestyles and sizes in one-line heading/headlines and the practical substitutions of different components for creating diacritics, for example, point out the Victorian

approach. On the other hand, no use of capital letters – despite the Victorian typography– and the wide preference for sans-serif types in headlines and headings in all the period publications indicates a more modern understanding, as in New Typography, which emerged in the same years. Some of the publications, *Köroğlu*, *Resimli Ay*, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, started to abandon border rules around the images on their pages. However, because of the centred headlines, headings and picture blocks that still commonly existed and the paragraphs that always started with indents, it is hard to conclude that they were aware of the New Typography movement. However, they had their own style mixed with traditional and modernist understandings, and were progressive in adopting the new printing practice, as they inherited the Empire's multi-cultural legacy and the accumulated knowledge on printing in different scripts. Also, leaving the unresolved problems of Arabic printing convention regarding the type and script inconsistency behind must have aided this progression. In the case of the reform, they consciously searched for an understanding of a new convention, which is setting and designing pages in Latin script/ letters, as the change in the period's newspapers and magazines did not seem to be a sole script change.

Libraries and archives in Turkey for typographic research

After doing some archival visits for this study, it was also concluded that there is a potential for typographic research in the libraries and the archives of Turkey, but these institutions and their staff must be updated about the needs of a typographic researcher. The lack of interest and awareness in typographic researches in the country also negatively affects this potential. This research aims to create awareness about this issue. Also, because of the digitalisation projects that were going on in these facilities during this study, original materials were inaccessible, which made it quite difficult to study this topic. For the digitalised newspapers and magazines both in Arabic and Latin scripts, asking to see actual copies is not permissible due to the policies of the libraries, so taking pictures personally is out of discussion. Even though the quality of facilities' images are good enough to read the periodicals' content, it is not possible to observe typographic details, especially in small sized sections.[1]

Further effects and implications of the reform on the design and typographic journey of Turkey

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[1] This problem can only be solved by creating awareness for typographic research and emphasizing the importance of artifacts that need to be examined closely and evaluated physically. Until the last months of this study, to obtain a digital copy of newspaper or magazine pages from the National Library of Turkey was only possible by paying for each page (since then they have changed this policy and gave free access to researchers). In the thesis' case, nearly 20 periodicals of transition period published within 10 months were examined; this simply means hundreds of pages, and the most important thing is that not even all of them that were paid were going to be used in the study. As a typographic researcher who has to look at every single page of these periodicals in high resolution, this was a significant downside.

Figure 9.1 The front pages of *Milliyet* (Left) *Cumhuriyet* and *Akşam* (Right)

It is evident that the printers and owners of newspapers and magazines during the reform period showed a great interest in the new Latin convention and enthusiasm at the time by practicing and implementing the new alphabet, but this did not last for long as there were still problems with the design and the use of the diacritics in Turkish characters and the design of newspapers *(Fig.9.1).*[2] However, the solutions that were found for printing in the new script by the people who published these publications show a good account of how these issues were dealt with. Even though the old convention do not exist anymore – as the desktop publishing is used for the mass printing jobs –, the basics of printing convention which shape the design and the typographic features of graphic materials could give us good hints about the fundamentals of typographic problems today and the roots of our printing journey, by acknowledging the scene and the practice from the very beginning of the new convention.

Compared to the case of printing with Latin letters, a strong writing culture and a calligraphy tradition could not be established after the reform, as it was accomplished in the Arabic script before. Apart from the manuscripts, during the Empire period, streets were full of artistic calligraphic panels on various places, such as buildings, fountains and mosques as a result of a strong tradition on writing. The denial and the abandonment of this common art, also due to the script/alphabet change, and hunger for a visual culture –because of a poor painting and sculpture tradition contrary to the West– might have pushed writing and typography into the background and caused the Western-style art and illustration to become more popular and in demand. While it is possible to read Turkish graphic design history through the journey of Turkish illustration, it is not possible to trace it sufficiently through typography. The dominance of illustration and the use of typography as a subsidiary element in Turkish graphic design history are evident from that period up until today.[3] This may be an indication that Turks did not fully embrace this new Latin-based alphabet after a long and rich calligraphic tradition that was left behind and destined to remain only as a decorative object. The political aspect of the reform also still overshadows typographic discussions, and thus, it also feeds the negative thoughts and prejudices towards the old script, which also I think prevents genuine acceptance of the new script. As a result, no national styles and not many important typographic works created with the new alphabet have come into existence today.[4]

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2 There is no doubt that the shifts in the type technologies affected this journey, especially the freedom and the flow that came with digital typography.

3 There are many dissertations and theses about the history of graphic design in Turkey, but they mostly cover the period right after the reform. Still, these are one of the main sources that reveal this journey. In addition to my own knowledge as a Turkish designer and researcher, I have benefited from these theses to reach this conclusion. This is also the result of the illustration-centred education of the first Turkish graphic designers who went to Europe in the early years of the Republic.

4 We should definitely highlight one of the greatest calligraphers and bookbinders, Emin Barın, who tried especially to revive the old calligraphic convention by experimenting with the new Latin alphabet after 1940. But still even today, there are few type designers who consider

Figure 9.2 The calligraphic banner in İstanbul, created for the art biennial in 2005.
Photo credit: Mehmet Üstek

Nevertheless, the reform succeeded in creating negativity towards the Arabic script, the letters, and the script's relationship with the Arabic culture in the long term. The printed media played a substantial role in this. Even today, a contemporary incident regarding the negative reaction of the public to the use Arabic letters or even calligraphy is one of the best examples to prove this point. As a part of an art biennial in İstanbul in 2005, two sentences in Arabic script in calligraphic styles were created, turned into a building-sized banner and displayed on one of the well-located buildings in Galata district, where the most diverse society using many languages and scripts lived in the late Ottoman period. Within a few days, a number of people had made official complaints to the municipality of İstanbul about this Arabic-scripted banner, assuming that it represented religious insurrection belonging to a terrorist organisation that invited people to call for backwardness. The owner of the building at that time, the Turkish Postal Service (PTT), took the banner down as a result of these complaints. However, it turned out that these two sentences were two old Turkish idioms from the Ottoman Empire years – 'Gel keyfim gel', which could be translated as a way of showing the sarcasm for a person's enjoyment and pleasure (literal translation: come my joy come) and 'Bu da geçer Ya Hû', meaning 'This too will pass, my Lord' *(Fig.9.2)*. The well-known and old versions of these idioms were written by the two famous Ottoman calligraphers, İsmail Hakkı Altunbezer and Halim Özyazıcı, just before the Republican period.[5] The majority of the population today do not recognise the difference between the Ottoman-Turkish and Arabic alphabets – not just the people who complained about this banner. Furthermore, the art of calligraphy, which is their national treasure and cultural inheritance, is not even appreciated. Besides revealing the role and the transformation of newspapers and magazines in the alphabet reform, this study also tries to show that there is no harm in recognising and appreciating the old (past), while embracing the new (future). Furthermore, it could open up discussions about the subsequent effects of the reform on the design and typographic journey of Turkey and help researchers to enlighten relevant issues since this tremendous change by being a starting point for further studies.

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the needs and the nature of the Turkish alphabet while designing their typefaces.

5 It is a tragicomic fact that the idiom 'This too will pass' written in the Ottoman-Turkish script was displayed in the shop window of the calligrapher İsmail Hakkı Altunbezer during the entire period of the occupation of Constantinople by British, French and Italian forces between the years 1918–1923, as a sign of resistance and was an equivalent of the 'Keep calm and carry on' phrase in England. After the end of occupation, another famous calligrapher, Necmettin Okyay, wrote 'Come my joy come' on a panel and displayed this to celebrate the liberation of Constantinople. For details on this anecdote, see the newspaper article "Cehalet esaretten beterdir" by Beşir Ayvazoğlu in Tercüman newspaper (29 September 2005), at http://kulturbahcesi.blogspot.co.uk/2005_09_01_archive.html, accessed April 24, 2017. It is even known that the idiom 'This too will pass' in the Ottoman-Turkish script was the only old calligraphic panel that Atatürk kept in his presidential palace in Ankara. Unfortunately these anecdotes are mostly unknown to the majority of the public. For the incident regarding the 2005 biennial, see the news article "İstanbul'un işgalinde bile vitrindeydi", on http://www.haber7.com/kultur/haber/113099-istanbulun-isgalinde-bile-vitrindeydi, accessed April 24, 2017.

Appendix 1

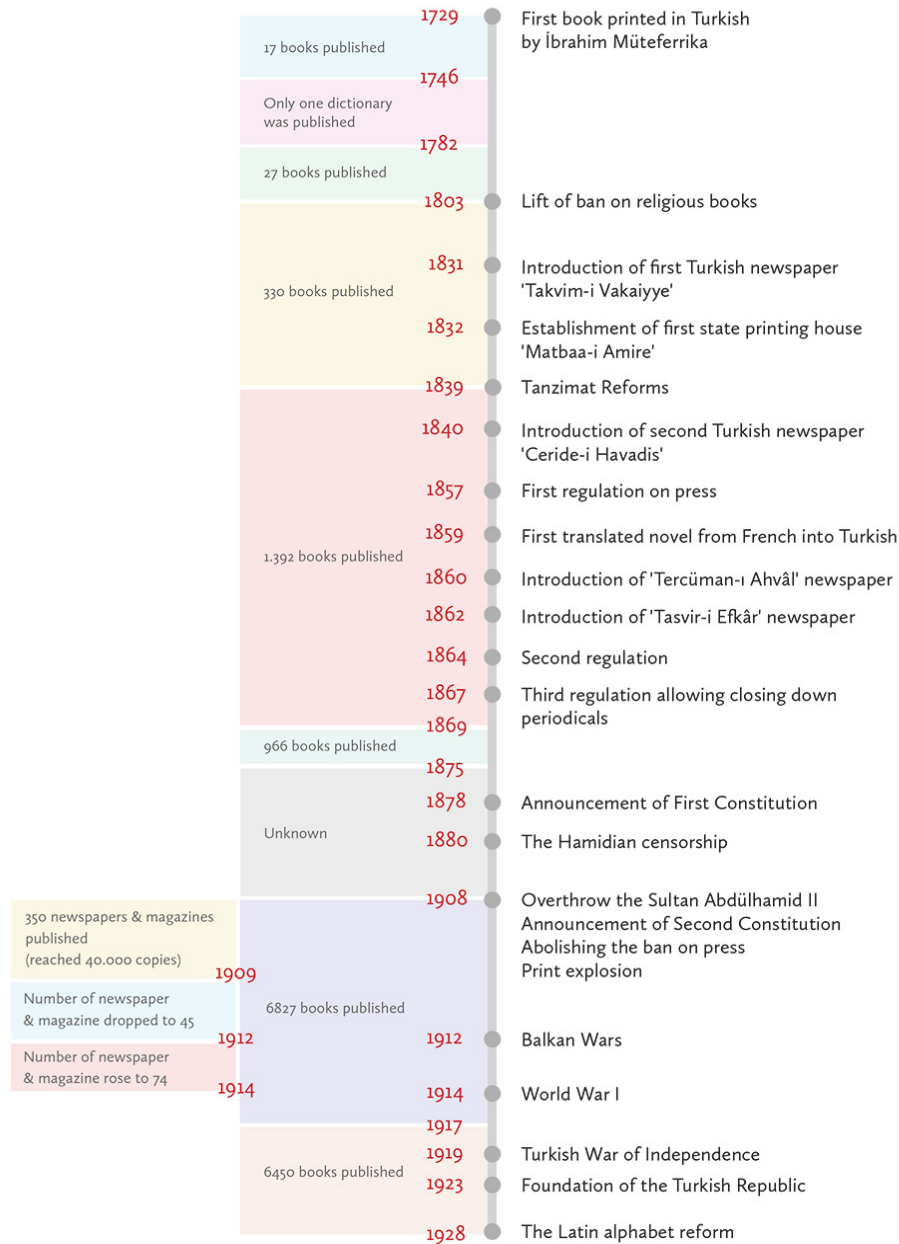

Pages from an initial ABC primer shows the later-abondoned uses: 'gh' and 'kh'. Image source: Personal collection

Appendix 1A

GA GA GAK

G KARGA G

GAGA KARGA SARGI
KAVGA DALGA MANGAL
—
KARGA KAÇTI
MANGAL YANDI

ÇARŞIDA YANGIN VAR
ARABACI KAVGA EDER
ORMANDA KARGALAR VAR

— 24 —

U

U KUŞ U

UN UÇ UŞAK URGAN
UY KU U YU U YAN
—
KUŞ UÇAR BU BARDAK
DU MAN DU DAK
DAVUL KAVUN KULAK

KUŞLAR   HAVADA   UÇARLAR
DALDAN   DALA   KONARLAR
ÇOCUKLAR SOKAKTA OYNARLAR

— 25 —

fil   fare

raf, lâf, fal, fil, sofra
kalfa, kılıf, kafes, fener.
—
Fil kocamandır. Kafeste
kuş var. Falcı fala bakar.
ben, sen, biz, siz, diz, kız.

Bilmece:

Biz biz idik, biz idik.
Otuz iki kız idik.
Ezildik büzüldük,
İki duvara dizildik.
                DİŞLER

fil zil otuz iki dizi

— 36 —

han   hane

horoz

sabah olunca horozlar
öterler. Bizi uyandırırlar

yol yok yarım yardım

para paça parça tepe

BİLMECE :

Tarlada biter,
Makina büker,
Sabah sabah
Yüzünü öper.

                HAVLU

han hane yayan parmak

— 37 —

Spreads from an illustrated ABC primer. Hilmi Kitaphanesi, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1928. Image source: Personal collection

Appendix 2

Publishing activities between early 18th century and early 20th century*

Year	Event	Books/Periodicals published
1729	First book printed in Turkish by İbrahim Müteferrika	17 books published
1746		Only one dictionary was published
1782		27 books published
1803	Lift of ban on religious books	330 books published
1831	Introduction of first Turkish newspaper 'Takvim-i Vakaiyye'	
1832	Establishment of first state printing house 'Matbaa-i Amire'	
1839	Tanzimat Reforms	
1840	Introduction of second Turkish newspaper 'Ceride-i Havadis'	1.392 books published
1857	First regulation on press	
1859	First translated novel from French into Turkish	
1860	Introduction of 'Tercüman-ı Ahvâl' newspaper	
1862	Introduction of 'Tasvir-i Efkâr' newspaper	
1864	Second regulation	
1867	Third regulation allowing closing down periodicals	
1869		966 books published
1875		
1878	Announcement of First Constitution	Unknown
1880	The Hamidian censorship	
1908	Overthrow the Sultan Abdülhamid II / Announcement of Second Constitution / Abolishing the ban on press / Print explosion	350 newspapers & magazines published (reached 40.000 copies)
1909		Number of newspaper & magazine dropped to 45
1912	Balkan Wars	6827 books published / Number of newspaper & magazine rose to 74
1914	World War I	
1917		
1919	Turkish War of Independence	6450 books published
1923	Foundation of the Turkish Republic	
1928	The Latin alphabet reform	

* The numbers of published books and periodicals stated in the table are approximate, and taken from J.Baysal's and A.Kabacalı's studies. There is an unknown period regarding the number of printed items between 1875 and 1908, due to the lack of study, also recognised by the research authorities.

Appendix 3

20-10-928

No 4076   Suret

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURIYET ARŞİVİ
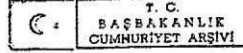
13/10/928 tarih ve 3085 numerolu arizeme zeyildir.

Gazetelerin kânunu evvelden itibarla büsbütün yeni harflerimizle çıkmaları imkânını temin için matbuatı şimdiden ikaz etmeyi münasip görmüştüm. bir çok taraflardan şimdi müracaat karşısında kalıyorum aldığım mektup ve istidalar hemen ayni mahiyette olup, hukûmetçe matbuata yardım edilip edilmeyeceği ve edilecekse bu yardımın ne suretle olacağı sorulmaktadır. basılan ve yerli ehaliyi okutmak, ayni zamanda da hükûmetle fırkanın propagandasını yapmak hususlarında hizmet eden bu gazetelerin hemen hepsi devletten yardım görmedikleri takdirde kapanmağa mahkûmdurlar. Hükûmetin gazelerinden biri de halkı okutmak ve yeni harflere çabuk alıştırmak olduğuna göre, cümhuriyetin kuruluşundan beri adetlerinin artması şükranla görülen ve çoğunun sermayesi sahiplerinin meslek aşkından ibaret olan bu gazetelerin böyle bir akibete uğramaları gerçekten yazık olur kanaatindeyim. Eğer zâtı devletiniz de bu kanaatime lûtfen iştirak buyuruyorsanız, o halde şimdiden bazı tedbirler almak lâzım gelir ki bunları gerek Heyeti vekileye ve gerek yakında açılacak olan Büyük millet meclisine vaktile arz edip bir an evvel memleketin her tarafında, bütün gazetelerin bir tevirde yeni harflerle çıkmalarını temin etmek mümkün olabilsin.

Bu tedbirlerin ne gibi şeyler olabileceğine gelince, hatıra gelenleri müsadenizle arz edeceğim:

= Çoğu küçük şehirlerde, bin zahmetle kurulmuş ufacık matbaalarda

030	10		83	547	16

2

Fon No: 30 10 0 0 - Kutu No: 83 - Dosya No: 547 - Sıra No: 16

Appendix 3A
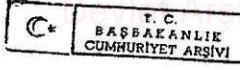
1 - Matbuat umum müdürlüğü büdcesine 200,000 lira tahsisat koymak ve bu parayı Hükümetin tensip edeceği gazetelere dağıtmak.

2 - Tarih ve nümrosu yukarda yazılı olan tezkeremde arz etdiğim gibi yabancı memleketlerden yeni matbaa harflerini bir sene gümrük resminden af etmek.

3 - gazete kâtlarından, evvelce olduğu gibi, keza gümrük resmi almamak.

4 - Gene bir sene muddetle gazete ve mecmualari posta ile bedelsiz nakl. ettirmek.

Tabii arz ettiğim bu dört maddenin birden tatbikine imkân yoktur. Hangileri mümkün görülür ve kabule şayan attedilir, ve yahut zatı devletlerince daha başka tedabir düşünülürse, lazım gelen makamlar nezdinde teşebbüste bulunarak neticenin lutfen tarafıma bildirilmesini derin hürmetlerimle istirham ve bahis ettiğim müracaatlardan iki tanesinin tevsik eden istid'aları leffen takdim ederim efendim hazretleri.

Aslına mutabıktır

Cenap

| 030 | 10 | | | 83 | 547 | 16 |

3

Appendix 4 - Changes in *Milliyet* throughout the reform period

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

1 December 1928

10 May 1929

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

1 December 1928

10 May 1929

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

1 December 1928

10 May 1929

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

1 December 1928

5 May 1929

Appendix 4 - Changes in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* throughout the reform period

10 August 1928

10 October 1928

5 January 1929

11 May 1929

Appendix 5 - The integration of Latin content in *İkdam*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Milliyet* throughout the reform period

İkdam - 10 August 1928

Back

20 August 1928 - First appearance

Front

10 October 1928

Back

Front

1 December 1928

Back

Hakimiyet-i Milliye - 28 August 1928 - First appearance

Back

Front

10 October 1928

Back

Front

Miliyet - 20 August 1928 - First appearance

Back   Front

10 October 1928   Front

Back

■ Content in Arabic script   ■ Content in Latin script

Appendix 6
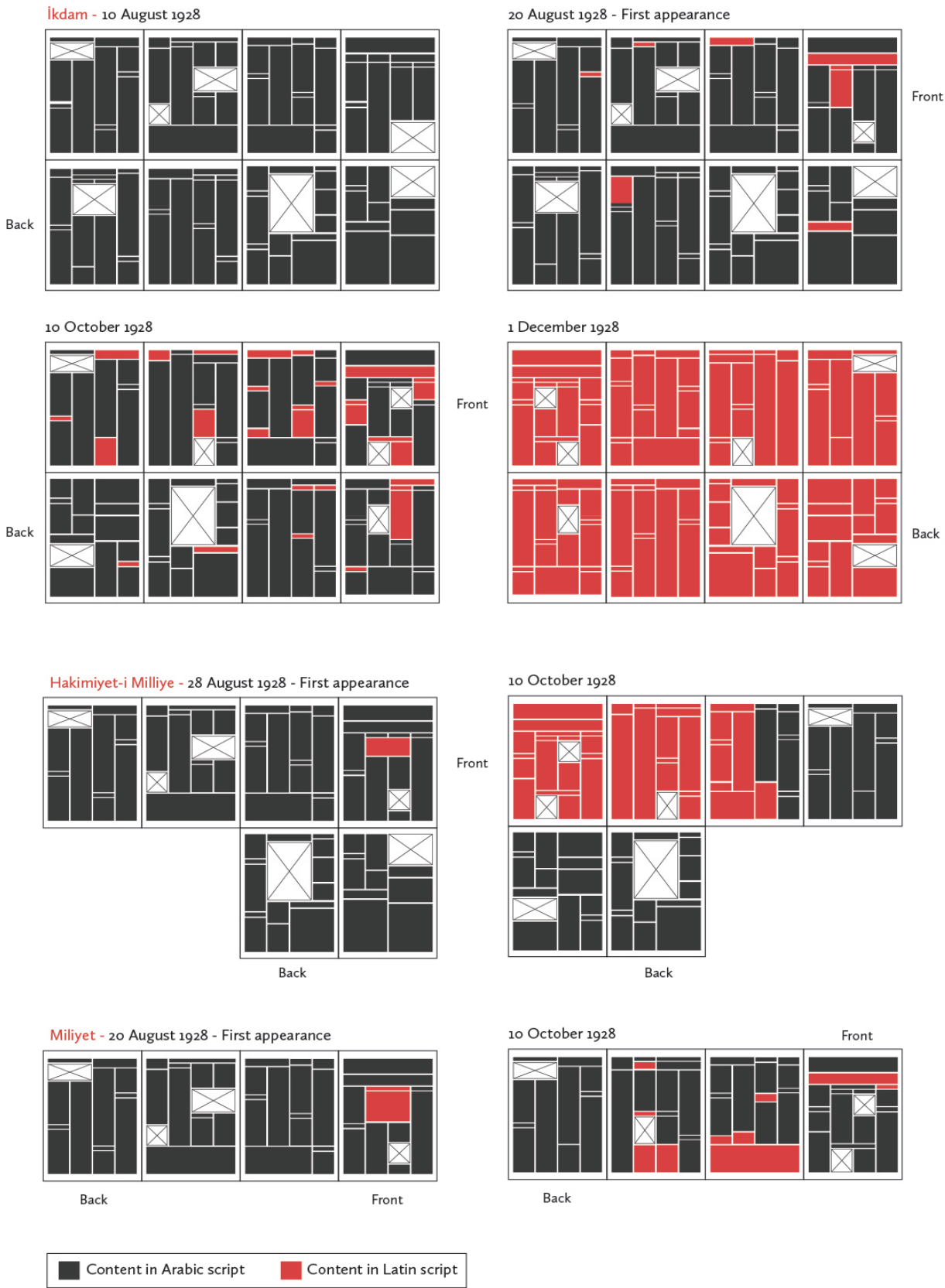
KÖROĞLU SİNEMASI
Millet mekteplerine kimler gidiyor

Seferberlik günü genç kızlar
yeni harf levhalarıla

İstanbulda harf seferbnrliği
sokaklarda mektepliler.

Seferberlik günü herkes, kadın erkek mekteplere gidip nasıl yazıldılar?

Çankırı Gazi paşa ilk mektebi
yavruları muallimleri hanımla.
Foto K. Kadri

Gireson türk ocağında, açılan kursda imtihan veren gençler, Müfettiş Cemil
ve (Gireson) gazetesi M. Nuri beyle beraber. Foto güzin, Cevat

Seferberlik gecesi İstanbul mekteplerinde musamereler yapıldı. Galatasaray lisesile Beyazıt ilk mektebindeki şenlikler
Mesul müdür: Bürhan Cahit

Appendix 6A - The integration of Latin in *Köroğlu*

15 August 1928

Back   Front

05 September 1928

17 October 1928

Back   Front

1 December 1928

Back
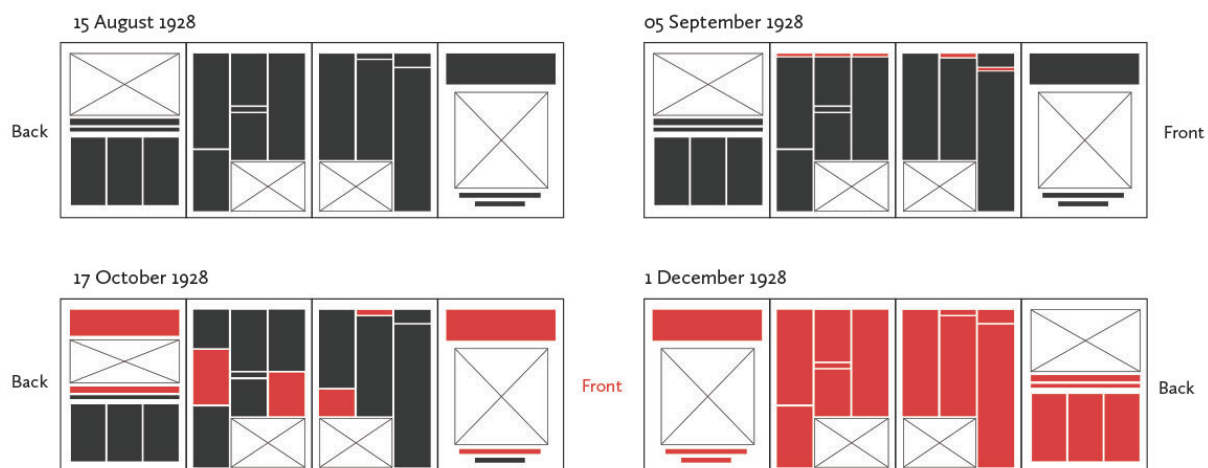
Appendix 6B

24 October 1928 - Köroğlu

a b c ç d e f g h ı
i j k l m n o ö p r
s ş t u ü v y z

Hay gidi hay
Yağmur fena kurak fena

Bir zamanlar Konya tarafında müthiş sıcaklar oldu, mahsuller yandı ve köylü aç kaldı. Şimdide Trabzon taraflarına dehşetli yağmurlar düşmüş, her yeri su basmış, .ehalinin malına mülküne zarar vermiş, bu neden biliyor-musunuz, hep bizim iş bilmemezliğimizden. Avrupada olduğu gibi su yağmurdan istifade ediyoruz, nede nihirden, dereden. Allahu teala nasıl yarattısa bizim memleket öyle kalmış. Şimdi bu sene İsmet paşamız sularımızdan istifade etmek için bütçeye para ayırdı. İnşallah hayırlı faydasını görürüz.

Haydi bakalım iş başına

Ata sözleri

11 — itin kuyruğu kaldığa girmekle doğrulmaz.

12 — Sekiz ölür dokuz olur tosun büyür öküz olur.

13 — aç it fırın yıkar.

14 Deveyi yardan uçuran bir tutam ottur.

15 — kapını sağlam kilitlede komşunu hırsız tutma

16 — Sofrada yemek, yatakda avrat beklemek göçtür.

Fıkra

Bir baba kendisini zehirledi

Trabzonda bir kunduracı sefaletten, parasızlıktan lokmanı içine zehir koyup hem kendi yemiş, hemde çocuklarına yedirmiş. Çocukların biri derhal ölmüş, kendisi ve öteki yavruları ağır hasta imişler...

1.300.000 okka rakı

Muskirat inhisarı mudiriyeti bir hesap çıkarmış, bu hesaba nazaran -yalnız İstanbulda ve dokuz ay içinde tamam bir milyon üç yüz bin okka rakı içilmiş...

Muhterem Köroğlu gazetesine

Yeni harfleri Köroğlu alfabesinden ve bölük komandanımız Ahmet Sureyya beyin yardımile on günde öğrendik, kendisine gazetenizle teşekkür ederiz.

İzmir, (Urla) okçu 172 bölük 8 efrazı

Ahı tutmuş
İnsan oh olsun diyeceği geliyor

Dün köprüden para vermeden geçmek isteyen bir fakir kadının arkasından koşan bir memura almış...

Manisada hanımlar kursunda öğrenen hanımlar

OLDU YAHU

Ekmeyi peynire katık etmekden Benzimki sarardı kül oldu yahu, Ne yelekden hayır nede gömlekden Sırtımızdakiler çul oldu yahu !

Bir palto istesen almış liraya, Hanımın mantosu girdi araya, Adeta biz çıktık yine daraya, Erkekler kadına kul oldu yahu !

Herkesin bozuldu bak fiyaksa, Bir araya koyduk iki yakası, Üç yuze çıkmaz Yağın okkası, Tahtalı köylere yol oldu yahu !

Kör oğlu

Bak keyfine
Dünyanın zevkını çıkarmalı

Artık intihar hastalığı köylere kadar salgınlaştı. Geçenlerde bir gün anadolunun bir köyünde Şilede bir kız nişanlısı kendisini bostan kuyusuna atmış. Körpecik vücudu pis sular içinde çamur gibi olmuş.

Be kızım, nişanlın seni bıraktı diye canına kıyacak ne yardı. sen şimdi toprak altında çürürken O belkide bir başka kıza gerdeye girmiştir. Tatlı canına kıyacak yerde sende bir yavuz delikanlı bulup evlenseydin olmazmıdi.

Diyorlarki aşk insana dünyayı zindan eder. Ben buna inanmam. Böyle giden aşıklar çok değil bir ay kadar sabr etseler o çabuk unuturlar. Onlar unutmasalar bile sevdikleri insanların hiyanet ettiklerini görüp kızar, intikam duygusu ile kızar nefret ederler. aşıklara Köroğlunun nasıhatı. Çok değil bir ay sabr edin bakın nasıl unutursunuz.

İzmirin altı tramvaylan

Çok şükür işe başladı

İzmirliler tamam beş yıldan beri ha bugün ha yarın diye bir turlu başlayamayan memura karpdan gelen bir otomobil çarpısa alma almış. Memur şimdi keşki kadının arkasından koşmasaydım, fakırın ahı tuttu diyormuş.

Köroğlu — İzmirlileri çok sevdiği için bu işden dolayı onları tebrik eder.

Mektup nümuneleri

Azizim,
Ne zamandır senden mektup almadığım merakında? Ben ve Annem eyyiz sizi nasıl eksik? İyiz aramızda ...

Azılı bir eşkiya kahraman jandarmamızın elinde

---

27 October 1928 - Köroğlu

a b c ç d e f g h ı
i j k l m n o ö p r
s ş t u ü v y z

Bir abam var atarım,
Yan gelirim yatarım,
İşler kesat olunca,
Sinek avlar tutarım.

12 — Hayvanın eyisi pazarda, insanın eyisi mezarda belli olur.

13 — Vokluğu ne ocak sever ne bucak.

14 — gelin, erine göre sakin.

15 — Sıcak aş, ağzını ne dişi hiç eder nuz poyraz kışı hiç eder.

Kemal paşa kazası aralık köyü iname İskender efendi ve rufekası tarafından.

Bize yeni harfleri öğreten muallim mzı Bay Nizamettin ve belediye kâtibi mahmut Beylerle malü reis Osman efendiye vasıtanızla teşekkür ederiz.

Appendix 7 - *Resimli Ay* - January 1928

Appendix 7A - *Resimli Ay* - June 1929
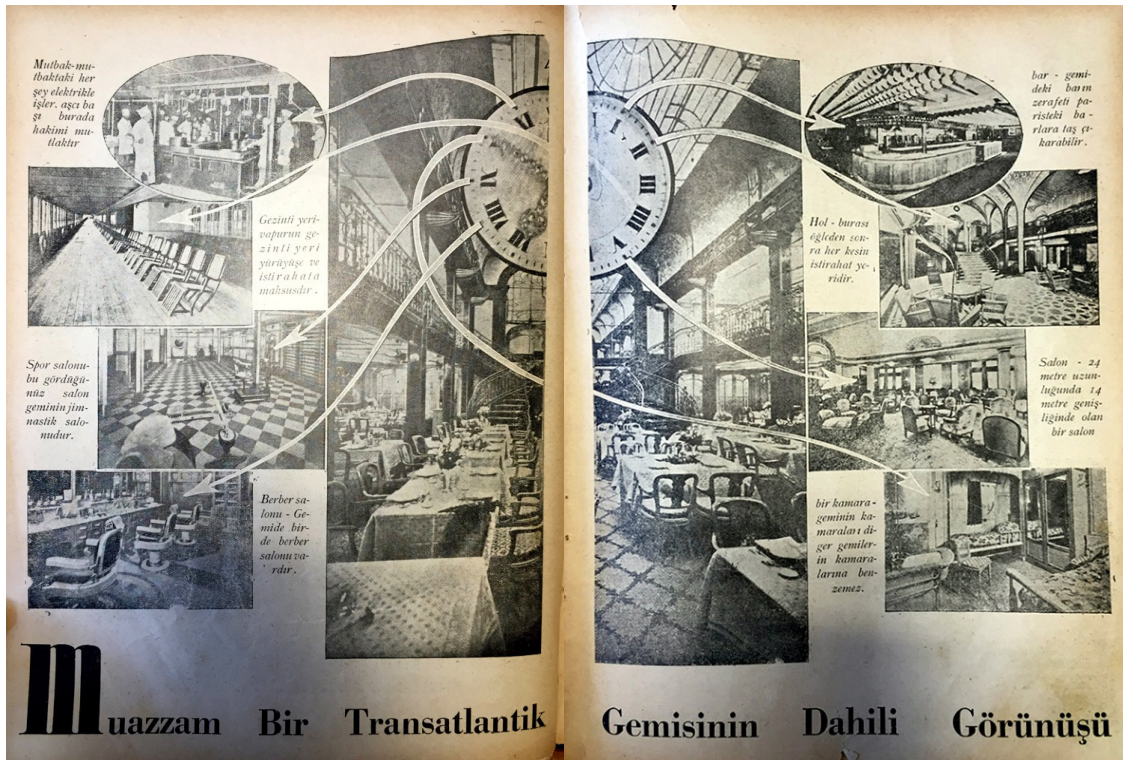
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