

THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF ISTANBUL AND THE IDEOLOGY OF PRESERVATION

Space is nothing but the inscription of time in the world, spaces are the realizations, inscriptions in the simultaneity of the external world of a series of times...

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The building legacy of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul's historic peninsula has been the object of complex, often contradictory practices and policies during the republican period. To account for the continuities as well as the disruptions that mark the predicament of this patrimony, it is necessary to explore changing urban development policies and shifting functional, material, and visual meanings attributed to buildings from the past. Early years of the Republic were marked by a modernist architectural practice that renounced ties with Ottoman precedents, in opposition to an architectural historiography that venerated them.² Caught between these two, the field of preservation became a stage on which history was played off against modernity. Leading figures engaged with the survival of the Ottoman heritage faced the task of reconciling significations ascribed to historic buildings with priorities that guided contemporary agendas of urban renewal. Seemingly incongruous moments in time inscribed upon city space were coded and recoded to suit prevalent ideological priorities.³ Acts of construction, restoration, or destruction became powerful visual manifestations of cultural politics, addressing the religious and national sentiments of the public.

With the proclamation of the Republic, the status of Istanbul, the unrivaled primary city of the Ottoman Empire, was ceded to Ankara, which became the capital of the Republic and the symbolic site of the new order. Before long, the mission of modern architecture was explicitly connected to that of Kemalist reforms.⁴ The pure and abstract forms of modernism, purged of historicism, were tied up with such aspirations of the Republic as emancipation from Oriental identity and participation in contemporary

Western civilization.⁵ In this framework, Istanbul represented the forsaken Ottoman past. As the nation's scarce resources were allotted to the construction of Ankara, Istanbul was left in a state of despairing misery and devastation that had begun with the fires of the nineteenth century and continued with years of poverty and neglect.

Throughout the early years of the Republic, certain patterns emerge in the treatment of the timeworn city of Istanbul that refer back to its remaking as an Islamic capital after the Ottoman conquest. Among the heirs of the city, several scholars and architects stand out as persistent but at times inconsistent shapers of its preservation policies. Since the same persons who were involved with articulating architectural historiography in the early Republic were often also influential in formulating preservation principles, their endeavors shed light upon the complexities and contradictions of their positions as manifested by discrepancies between their practice and their discourse.

In the Ottoman period, until the nineteenth century, the esteem bestowed upon charitable and religious complexes as well as their expedience had ensured their continued maintenance and repair within the framework of their individual pious foundations. Their vital role as agents of city building had enhanced their prominent status for centuries. The decline and deterioration of the illustrious city, which started towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued into the 1930s, transformed its monuments into dilapidated, dysfunctional, and fragmented buildings surrounded by empty plots and derelict houses. The 1930s were marked by resignation to overwhelming decay, resulting in efforts to document the threatened architectural heritage with immaculate drawings—idealized representations that compensated for actual decrepitude. The redevelopment of Istanbul began in the 1950s, after the revolutionary fervor of the early Republic had subsided. Under the pretext of recuperating monuments from ruins and clearing their environs,

the crumbling city was modernized by opening roads from one end of the historic peninsula to the other. Roads replaced socio-religious complexes as regulators of urban form; demolition took the place of construction. Divested of their previous significance, monuments became isolated visual objects displayed in newly opened urban vistas. Sustained maintenance and repairs provided by pious foundations gave way to occasional restorations reduced to saving appearances. To fully understand these subsequent shifts in positions and policies regarding the Ottoman heritage, it is important to begin with the traditional order of Ottoman *imarets*.

OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF *IMARETS*

The transformation of the ruinous Byzantine capital into the thriving (*mamur*) city of the Ottomans was achieved through the construction of socio-religious complexes, or *imarets*. The urban image of Istanbul was Islamized by monumental mosques and their dependencies that crowned prominent sites facing the Golden Horn and distinguished lesser locations in the walled city. Built as imperial feats or as enterprises of lower-ranking patrons, *imarets* constituted the cores of residential settlements. Neighborhoods grew around them and were named after them. They not only served as indispensable public institutions and estimable monuments but also as signs of permanence amidst ephemeral gardens and precarious wooden mansions.⁶ The upkeep of *imarets* was ensured by their individual pious foundations (*waqfs*, Turkish *evkaf*), and substantial repairs of distinguished buildings were carried out by the corps of royal architects.⁷ Patrons endowed property not only for the management of *imarets* but also for their upkeep in perpetuity. Revenue from vast lands as well as innumerable buildings thus bequeathed provided for running and maintaining the charitable institutions. In fact, expenses pertaining to the care of *imarets* had precedence over the salaries of their staff.⁸ Each *waqf* was intended to be autonomous and permanent, as were its institutions and buildings.⁹ The terms of *waqfs* were absolute and unchanging, since their legal force relied on Muslim religious law, the shari'a. *Waqfs* were overseen by *kadis*—judges who enacted the shari'a in each of the four districts of Istanbul as well as being chief urban administrators.

Churches converted to mosques also acquired endow-

ments to run and preserve them as well as adjunct buildings to complement them. Primary among all such buildings was the city's first imperial mosque, the Hagia Sophia.¹⁰ Mehmed II converted six churches to mosques, one to a madrasa, and still another to a convent.¹¹ Transformation of churches and monasteries continued under Beyazid II and Selim I. Although the shari'a banned the construction of new churches in Muslim neighborhoods and restricted their repairs, arbitrary demolition or appropriation of a church or *masjid* that was intact and in use was discouraged. Only with imperial consent could it be replaced by a Friday mosque;¹² following this, a substitute sanctuary had to be constructed in a relatively uninhabited area, or an existing one in bad condition restored as compensation (*bedel*) for the place of worship that had been torn down.¹³ Dilapidated and deserted smaller churches, on the other hand, were subjected to a practice called *şenlendirme* (revitalization), whereupon they were either reused as neighborhood *masjids* or annexed to convents to avoid their total dereliction.¹⁴

The *imaret* bestowed welfare on its environment and was itself intended to thrive indefinitely. In fact, *imar* (to build), *tamir* (repair), and *imaret* all derive from the Arabic word *ʿumrān*, which signifies “bringing or returning to a state of prosperity.” *Imarets* regulated urban growth and encouraged settlement in scantily built districts.¹⁵ Residences eventually filled the spaces between *imarets*; streets took form as semiprivate, narrow tracts leading to houses.¹⁶ Contrary to *imarets*, timber dwellings were modest in dimension and transient by nature. Hence the cityscape acquired a dual character in terms of scale, status, and endurance. Contemporary depictions and descriptions of the city accentuated its monuments, with the uniform residential fabric interpreted as an uninterrupted neutral background (fig. 1). European visitors often remarked about the absence of street names, pointing to the function of *imarets* as reference points in identifying directions.¹⁷ On late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman maps, houses formed a continuous texture, without streets between them (fig. 2). In fact, streets were virtually unrepresented, and even the most significant thoroughfares were barely implied.¹⁸ Above all, this idealized cityscape was depicted facing the Golden Horn, its skyline crowned by imperial mosques (fig. 3). Istanbul was shaped to be viewed from outside, from vantage points along the coasts.¹⁹ This externally projected, idyllic view was lost to pedestrians who rambled along its cramped streets.²⁰



Fig. 1. Istanbul from the Süleymaniye Mosque, painted by the Austrian artist Hubert Sattler in 1844 for his cosmorama. (After Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* [Boston: Bulfinch, 1991], 298–99)



Fig. 3. The mosque of Beyazıt II, the Old Palace, and the Süleymaniye complex by Heinrich Hendorfski. (After Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul* [Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 2002], 40)

The nineteenth century signaled a rupture with tradition in the Ottoman city. The court, along with the grandees, left Istanbul for the suburbs.²¹ But with Muslim refugees arriving from southeastern Europe and



Fig. 2. Map of Istanbul by Matrakçı Nasuh, ca. 1537. (After Serpil Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* [Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006], 75)

southern Russia, the population nevertheless grew at an unprecedented rate.²² The immigrants settled in Istanbul, complying with the old custom of ignoring building regulations: houses invaded open spaces in and around monuments and encroached upon streets whose already narrow widths diminished even further (figs. 4 and 5), increasing the risk of fire not only for the densely packed houses but also for the public buildings they abutted. In fact, 117 great fires devastated vast areas of Istanbul between 1853 and 1906 (figs. 6 and 7).²³ Consequently, a third of the Muslim population—some 30,000 refugees in addition to fire victims—was homeless in 1882.²⁴ They provisionally resided in mosques, convents, and madrasas, an intrusion that further afflicted the already imperiled monuments.²⁵ In a survey conducted in 1920, *Constantinople Today*, many mosques were reported to be occupied by fire victims and refugees (figs. 8 and 9).²⁶ The congested residential fabric was no longer a neutral backdrop to the *imarets*, but a virtual threat.²⁷ Since houses continued to be hastily constructed and reconstructed, elaborate mansions slowly gave way to makeshift dwellings.²⁸ The recurrence of fires diminished the city's capacity to recover after each disaster.²⁹ A report prepared for Abdülhamid II in 1879, which compared the ruinous condition of Istanbul to the prosperity of Galata, indicated vacant plots left unbuilt for as many as fifty years after the fires.³⁰

Two institutions emerged in this climate. As depleted revenues and neglectful trustees were menacing the waqf system, pious foundations were brought under the jurisdiction of a central state authority, the Min-



Fig. 4. The immigrants' quarter along the sea walls near Yedikule, ca. 1880. Photograph by Guillaume Berggren. (After Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople*, 2 vols. [Istanbul: Aygaz, 2003], 1:294)



Fig. 6. The environs of the Hagia Sophia after the 1865 fire. Photograph by Abdullah Frères. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:587)

istry of Pious Foundations (Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun), in 1836.³¹ Not only was the legal autonomy of each pious foundation violated but its financial independence was also terminated, since collecting waqf funds soon became the responsibility of the treasury, with only a percentage, at the discretion of the state, returned to the waqf system.³² On the other hand, the regulation of urban life, which had been the responsibility of kadis, was entrusted to the municipality (*şehremaneti*) in 1855. Urban administration as well as preservation thus broke loose of religious authority. Henceforth, *imar* and *tamir* would no longer be complementary concerns but conflicting acts. City devel-



Fig. 5. Wooden houses surrounding the Hagia Sophia in 1854. Photograph by James Robertson. (After Çelik Gülersoy, ed., *Cumhuriyet'in Devraldığı İstanbul'dan Bugüne* [Istanbul: Türkiye Sanayi ve Kalkınma Bankası, 1999], 52)



Fig. 7. The aftermath of the 1908 fire at Çırcır. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 436)

opment, taken by progressive municipal officials to be synonymous with clearing operations and the opening of roads, would clash with the preservation of monuments, the urgent task of the conservative Evkaf Ministry functionaries, who tried to save them from being sacrificed. The unsightly residential fabric and deficient street network, in the meantime, would serve as the rationale for each overhaul in the old city.



Fig. 8. Refugees sheltered in a tower of the ancient Byzantine city walls, 1920. Photograph by Resne. (After Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, "Community Organization," in *Constantinople Today*, ed. C. R. Johnson [New York: Macmillan, 1922], 150)



Fig. 9. Refugees inhabiting a mosque in 1920. Photograph by Resne. (After Huntington, "Community Organization," 150)

The most noteworthy case of such discord concerned Cemil Pasha, a modernizing, secular urban administrator whose views were at odds with the pious concerns of the Evkaf ministers; as *şehremini* (mayor) from 1912 to 1914, then again in 1919–20, he was their most vocal critic. Making a case for the complete obliteration of old Istanbul except for its major monuments and the construction of a modern city, Cemil Pasha complained that neither he nor his successors would ever be able to evade Evkaf administrators.³³ Compelled by the urgency of a cholera epidemic among refugees arriving after the Balkan War (1912–13), he petitioned to collect the gravely ill at the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, and Şehzade mosques but was denied permission by Ziya Pasha, the Evkaf minister, on the grounds that a place of worship would be defiled by such use. Receiving subsequent consent from the Şeyhülislam, the supreme religious authority, Cemil Pasha nevertheless proceeded to deal with the crisis on his terms.³⁴ On another occasion, he cleared the surroundings of the Hagia Sophia, but his attempt to demolish Sinan's Ayasofya baths across from it was thwarted. He encountered the resistance of the minister Hayri Efendi when he removed a portion of a cemetery that was in the way as he widened the road from Sirkeci to Gülhane. Blamed for abusing Islamic monuments (*abidat-ı İslamiye*) when he also tried to remove a dervish convent and a sacred tomb, Cemil Pasha was forced by the ensuing outcry to resign.³⁵

Dispute over the preservation of waqf monuments had roused religious sentiments.

The Commission for the Improvement of Roads (İslahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu), established after the 1865 HocaPaşa fire, instigated the first clearing operation as part of the Tanzimat city reforms. Divanyolu, the "invisible" main street of the walled city, was widened from an average of 5 meters to 16 meters in order to accommodate trams (fig. 10). Not only did the street itself become visible, but the expanded space also revealed the monuments flanking it. Yet to this end, two rooms of the Atik Ali Pasha Madrasa and its entire public kitchen and convent (1496), half of the Köprülü Madrasa (1659), portions of the Çemberlitaş baths (1583) and the Elçi Hanı, and various tombs were also demolished; Köprülü's mausoleum was dismantled and moved elsewhere. Hence the integrity of two *imarets* was irrevocably lost. This was the earliest incidence of monuments being surrendered to roads in a quest for modernization. It would not be the last.

Destructions and disruptions in the city placed a certain distance between the Ottoman past and present. Disasters were taking their toll of monuments, and the Evkaf Ministry was overpowered by the scale of the task at hand, unable to deliver the day-to-day care that *imarets* had previously received.³⁶ Moreover, functional obsolescence emerged as a result of modernization efforts.³⁷ The poorly maintained *imaret* buildings were becoming aged and outdated. Ottoman buildings even began to be viewed as antiquities, a des-



Fig. 10. The Divanyolu in 1865, after it was widened. Photograph by Pascal Sebah. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:595)

ignation until then reserved for ancient Greek and Roman remains. To cite an early example, the minister of education Münif Pasha referred thus to the Çinili Köşk, in the precinct of Topkapı Palace, on the occasion of its conversion into a museum in 1880: “Even this building we are in is equal in rank to an ancient one.”³⁸ The statute regarding the opening of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1883 listed as a required course “Science of Antiquities” (*ilm-i asar-ı atika*), because of the notable failure to preserve mosques, mausoleums, and madrasas as well as an observed decline in the quality of architectural design.³⁹ The most apparent indication of the rupture with precedent was the Ottoman Revival style of architecture introduced in 1909, a concession that Ottoman monuments already belonged to an irredeemable past that could only be revived with new interpretations and references.

In 1912, a law for the preservation of monuments (*Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname*) was drafted, vaguely specifying that “places and works from any period whatsoever” be preserved as antiquities.⁴⁰ This law repeated articles of an earlier antiquities law (1906), which had focused on archaeological finds but counted all historical buildings among property to be preserved. Established in 1915, the Council for the Preservation of Monuments (*Asar-ı Atika Encümeni*) was an advisory body for the implementation of the law in Istanbul.⁴¹ However, two issues introduced with the new law paradoxically concerned demolition, not pro-

tection. By appealing to the council and following a complicated procedure, a government might indeed tear down a historic building; in fact, one of the main functions of the council was to decide which buildings were worthy of preservation. Moreover, if such a building were in a precarious condition and posed danger to its surroundings, it could be pulled down immediately, skipping the bureaucratic process, provided that any decorated and inscribed parts of it were preserved.⁴² This would prove to be an enduring and convenient pretext exploited by local administrators for demolitions. Thus the law can be interpreted as both an endeavor at protection and a recognition of the inevitability of loss. Another ambiguous and connected venture was the creation of a museum where precious items from mosques, masjids, mausoleums, and convents would be collected and displayed. Its venue was the public kitchen of the Süleymaniye complex, apparently in need of a new function.⁴³ As a concession that under the new law some buildings in the care of the Evkaf administration would soon cease to exist, the Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi (Islamic Endowments Museum) was founded in 1914 to save at least the holdings of these buildings, including such treasured components as tiles.⁴⁴

The reorganization of the Evkaf Ministry following the 1908 constitutional revolution raised Kemalettin Bey to prominence as an architect and restorer. A new department, the Technical Commission for Construction and Repairs (*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*), was created in 1909, and Kemalettin Bey was appointed its head.⁴⁵ He became one of the founders of the Revival style that turned to Ottoman monuments for inspiration and was in addition the main authority for their restoration. During ten prolific years in office, he restored several imperial mosques⁴⁶ and built numerous mausoleums, mosques, schools, and office and apartment buildings. Subscribing to the prevalent Turkish nationalist movement of the time, Kemalettin Bey contended that Turkish monuments, long neglected under Western influence (*Frenk tesir-ati*), should be treasured: “Every Turk should protect as his own these monuments of national civilization (*medeniyet-i milliye asarı*) and create his new civilization (*medeniyet-i cedide*) by enhancing them.”⁴⁷ At the Academy of Fine Arts, Kemalettin Bey taught a course comparing Ottoman monuments with other world masterpieces. More important, his workshop at the Evkaf functioned like a school for teaching and reviving Ottoman architecture that had “deteriorated after

the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ His so-called National Style was derided as the “Evkaf Style” because it drew on emblematic elements of Ottoman religious architecture,⁴⁹ but his students would continue to pursue the history and preservation of Ottoman architecture and deploy it as an architectural source. Among these students were Sedat Çetintaş and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. In retrospect, Çetintaş weighed an apprenticeship at Kemalettin Bey’s workshop against an education at the academy as follows: the former, in his view, was dedicated to an appreciation of Turkish architecture; the latter, under the tutelage of foreign instructors, to that of Greco-Roman and Renaissance architecture.⁵⁰ Kemalettin Bey was instrumental to imbuing Ottoman monuments with national significance beyond their obvious religious associations.

Kemalettin Bey’s career at the Evkaf also reflects the inherent conflicts between *imar* and *tamir* during the final years of the Ottoman Empire, even though his office sought to reconcile them. In 1910, the advent of a new minister changed the priorities of the ministry; increasing resources by either selling waqf land and ruinous waqf buildings or replacing them with revenue-generating edifices took precedence over repairs.⁵¹ Ironically, several buildings designed by Kemalettin Bey brought about the demolition of Ottoman monuments seemingly under his protection. Three madrasas, three public kitchens, a primary school, and a bath were razed to clear sites for seven of Kemalettin Bey’s buildings for the Evkaf. To open space for his First Vakıf Han near Eminönü, the seventeenth-century Vani Efendi Madrasa was pulled down and a substitute madrasa built nearby.⁵² Likewise, for the construction of his colossal Fourth Vakıf Han in the same district, Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen and school were demolished; its *sebil* and fountain were dismantled and assembled elsewhere, while the madrasa and mausoleum survived across the road. The substitute for Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen, for its part, was constructed on a site emptied by tearing down Selim I’s older building with the same function (fig. 11).⁵³ The Fethiye Madrasa, which had been built as an adjunct to the Pammakaristos Church when it was converted to the Fethiye Mosque in 1588, was knocked down by the Evkaf Ministry some time between 1911 and 1915 because it was dilapidated; Kemalettin Bey designed a new madrasa on the model of the old one.⁵⁴ Paradoxically, during roughly the same years Kemalettin Bey was writing newspaper articles strongly condemning the practice of “brutally cutting through” precious

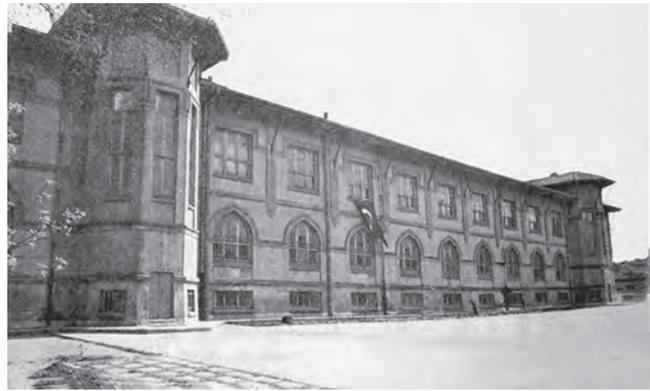


Fig. 11. Kemalettin Bey’s substitute for Abdülhamid I’s public kitchen. (After Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* [Ankara: ODTÜ, 1981], 230)

remnants of the past in order to build “sickly and ugly straight roads,” blaming this on ignorance and rancor.⁵⁵ His protest was apparently directed against the İslahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu for past crimes and at Cemil Pasha, then *şehremîni*, for vehemently trying to pull down the Ebu’l Fazl Mahmut Efendi Madrasa for the tramway.⁵⁶ A reverent Muslim as well as a fervent nationalist,⁵⁷ Kemalettin Bey asserted that “sacred places demolished, ancient trees cut, bones of the dead broken, their ruins will all be buried under broad and hideous, long and gruesome roads.”⁵⁸ Like legislation and institutions for preservation, his ambivalent attitude, torn between protection and demolition, was a legacy of the late Ottoman period to the Republic and would survive until the latter half of the twentieth century.

REPUBLICAN ISTANBUL: THE PRESERVATION OF RUINS

The 1906 antiquities law and the 1912 law for the preservation of monuments remained in force until 1973. The Council for the Preservation of Monuments, which had been established in 1915, was ratified by the republican government in 1925 and renamed Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni; its founding members, Kemalettin Bey, Halil Edhem (Eldem), and Celâl Esad (Arseven), maintained their positions.⁵⁹ It acted as the main advisory body on preservation in Istanbul until 1951.⁶⁰ Kemalettin Bey’s service was brief because



Fig. 12. Urban terrain abandoned after a fire: the environs of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in 1928. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 388–89)

of his death in 1927, but Halil Edhem and Arseven's preeminence as influential intellectuals in the fields of history, art, archaeology, architecture, and preservation continued throughout the early years of the Republic. Besides their collaboration on the council, they both became founding members of the Turkish Historical Society, which sought to establish the roots of Turkish history in the pre-Ottoman past of Anatolia. Halil Edhem had replaced his brother Osman Hamdi Bey as the director of Müze-i Hümayun, the Imperial Museum, in 1910; for twenty-one years he held this post, which also made him responsible for the supervision of monument preservation.⁶¹ It was he, in fact, who in 1915 had proposed the constitution of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, as a consultative body to the imperial museum. He presided over the conversion of the Topkapı Palace into a museum in 1924 as well as its ensuing restoration.

In 1909 Arseven had published *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul*, the first of his many publications on art, architecture, and urbanism. He wrote *Türklerde Sanat* (Art of the Turks) in 1932 as part of the ideologically driven Turkish History Thesis of the Turkish Historical Society.⁶²

The Evkaf Ministry was closed down in 1924, but its functions were transferred to the directorate of the same name. In 1925, Kemalettin Bey was once again appointed the director of its department of construction and repairs.⁶³ One of two significant restorations undertaken during these initial years of the Republic

was the repair under Kemalettin Bey of the dome of Hagia Sophia, thus sustaining its status as the foremost monument of Istanbul.⁶⁴ The other major restoration, ordered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, concerned the Sultan Ahmed Mosque.⁶⁵ These were the continuities, but there were also discontinuities.

Istanbul as it had been rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a view to creating a uniformly urbanized and densely populated city, gave way to abandonment in the 1930s. It suffered not only the loss of its longstanding eminence as the capital city but also the departure of its inhabitants. Since its population was almost halved, vast fire-stricken areas remained empty;⁶⁶ wastelands constituted about a third of its terrain (fig. 12).⁶⁷ In this context, in Halil Edhem's words, "ruins became more ruinous";⁶⁸ until the 1950s, "ruin" would be the term most frequently and consistently used to describe the old city.

Despite the discourse exalting national monuments, the building legacy of the past was suspended in a state of decay. Moreover, the inevitability of its loss was conceded even by those who were responsible for its protection. Three members of the Preservation Council used exactly the same words to voice their helplessness in the face of perishing monuments as well as houses. Halil Edhem wrote that "the most important Turkish architectural works are...doomed to be abandoned,"⁶⁹ continuing, "If we were to pass by one of the many burned areas in the city, we would see hundreds of mosque ruins, wrecked tombs, and cem-



Fig. 13. The baths of Beyazıt II surrounded by makeshift buildings, ca. 1935. (After Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarih-sel Topoğrafyası* [Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998], 389)



Fig. 15. The courtyard of the madrasa of Selim I filled with ramshackle structures. (After Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu*, 45)

etry remains. These are beyond being repaired and restored. Their presence in destitution, on the other hand, is a shame for our city; to cope with such ruins, it is necessary to abide by the preservation law," i.e., its article allowing demolitions. He added, "Today Istanbul is the greatest wasteland (*virane*) of the world... some buildings can be sacrificed to put an end to this situation."⁷⁰ Arseven asserted that "mansions and big houses are...doomed to disappear."⁷¹ The architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem reiterated that "the residential tradition of old times is doomed to disappear, in fact is disappearing, only too rapidly."⁷²

Decrepit residences surrounded dilapidated *imarets* (figs. 13–16). Disrepair and dereliction marked monumental public buildings as well as modest houses.



Fig. 14. The madrasa of Selim I in the 1950s. (After Cahide Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu* [Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 2002], 7)



Fig. 16. The Şehzade Mosque and its dilapidated madrasa in the early 1930s. (After Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz, Topkapı Sarayı* [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932], 32)

Imarets ceased to be indispensable functional cores of neighborhoods. Madrasas were closed down in 1924, followed by mausoleums, convents, and *zaviyes* (dervish lodges) in 1925. Their buildings were turned over to the Ministry of Education and the city administration, *İdare-i Hususiye*. Any with historical and aesthetic value were to be kept by the *Evkaf*, the rest sold for the construction of new school buildings.⁷³ Fountains and *sebils* along with their water sources were given to the municipality in 1926, as were cemeteries. Mosques were transferred to the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Reisliği*) in 1924, only to be retrieved and returned to the waqf administration in 1931.⁷⁴

Preservation came on the agenda of the republican government when in 1931 Atatürk drew attention to

the dilapidated state of historic buildings. Within a month, the Council of ministers decided to establish a preservation board, Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu, aiming at “the conservation of antiquities everywhere.”⁷⁵ Subsequently, the Ministry of Education prepared the bill for a law to replace the one enacted in 1906 and published a booklet titled *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korumağa Mecburuz* (We Are Obligated to Conserve Our Historical Monuments and Antiquities),⁷⁶ in which an article by Halil Edhem acknowledged the destruction of many such monuments, admitting that works from the Turkish era, like others, were in a “despicable state” of disrepair.⁷⁷ The bill was never brought to parliament for ratification, however, and therefore never enacted. The whole effort remained without consequence. The lack of maintenance that Halil Edhem had justified by financial insufficiency continued to impede the preservation of historic buildings.

Mosques and *maşjids* had become redundant for the sparsely populated city, and several that were crumbling and no longer attended were closed down. Consequently, a commission was constituted by the Evkaf administration to classify mosques, list them according to the population they served, and eliminate those that were unneeded. The ones retained would eventually be repaired.⁷⁸ The Evkaf assessed the state of certain buildings under its care as too dilapidated to be repaired and started selling their remains (*enkaz satmak*), thereby getting rid of superfluous buildings in its hands and also generating income for the upkeep of remaining ones. In the process, heritage was reduced to wreckage.⁷⁹ The public referred to such discarded buildings as *kadro harici*: literally, “dismissed from staff.”⁸⁰ One striking case of squander concerned the remains of the Balaban Ağa Mescidi, which were sold to a contractor.⁸¹ The officials of the Imperial Museum intervened and started what would be the first Turkish archaeological excavation of a Byzantine building.⁸² This stands in contrast to the Ottoman tradition of *şenlendirme*, the reuse of decaying and deserted minor churches to stop their further ruin and, at the same time, to encourage settlement around them. In these years, however, it was not only the smaller buildings but even imperial complexes that suffered from selectivity in the treatment of historic buildings. Zeki Sayar, working as an assistant architect in the city administration circa 1931, was asked to prepare a report for the demolition of the derelict school of the Sultan Ahmed complex and the sale of its stone. Filled with indignation, he applied for its restoration. In 1952,



Fig. 17. The rooms over the gate of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque before their demolition, 1863. Photograph by Abdullah Frères. (After Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 1:584)

the school was still unrepaired and its ruin occupied by the homeless.⁸³ Along similar lines, Halil Edhem, in an address to the first Congress of Turkish History in 1932, referred to the proficient repair work at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque but finished his talk with slides of one of its courtyard gates before and after the demolition of the rooms over it. The Evkaf had sold off the rooms and consequently could not prevent the destruction.⁸⁴ Auxiliary spaces of *imarets* that had formerly accommodated such functionaries of pious foundations as Qur’an reciters had apparently become obsolete (fig. 17); what were in actuality integral parts of monuments were interpreted as later additions and disposed of.⁸⁵

Even grand imperial mosques fell into disrepair, the Süleymaniye among them: although the Evkaf claimed to have repaired the monument in 1933, it remained in markedly poor condition.⁸⁶ In 1935, a front-page caricature in the daily *Cumhuriyet* represented the apparition of Mimar Sinan on the anniversary of his death, saying, “They speak praises to my memory at the Süleymaniye and the Selimiye, as I cry out in lamentation for each and every one of my thousand-and-one ruinous buildings” (fig. 18).⁸⁷ The next day, the paper published an article titled “The Condition of the Süleymaniye Monument” with a photograph showing the mosque courtyard filled with rainwater. The caption denounced the disastrous state of the building, in whose vicinity Sinan’s anniversary celebrations had been conducted that very day. Also in 1935, the preservation board acknowledged in a report that “monuments created by the Turk,” among



Fig. 18. “Mimar Sinan: ‘They speak praises to my memory at the Süleymaniye and the Selimiye as I cry out in lamentation for each and every one of my one-thousand-and-one ruinous buildings.’” Political cartoon by Ratib Tahir. (After *Cumhuriyet*, April 10, 1935)

them buildings belonging to the Fatih, Süleymaniye, Şehzade, and Topkapı Palace complexes, were about to collapse due to neglect. The Board admitted that the distribution of *imaret* buildings to various state agencies had been detrimental to their upkeep, leading not only to negligent disrepair but also to deliberate damage.⁸⁸ Ironically, the celebrated Ottoman architect Sinan was being hailed as a national hero while major Ottoman monuments—among them his buildings—were suffering.⁸⁹

*İmaret*s, originally envisioned as self-sufficient and integrated complexes, not only became functionally and administratively dispersed, but would also be physically divided. The Building and Roads Law of 1933 required that an open space with a radius of 10 meters be left around each monument.⁹⁰ It thus established as standard practice the previously random Tanzimat procedure, based on Haussmann’s model, of clearing the surroundings of monuments. Each building, individually encapsulated within a space of its own, was envisioned in isolation (fig. 19). The implementation of this law was delayed until the 1950s, however, simply because the buildings were derelict. In 1935, during discussions on a city development plan, proposals for



Fig. 19. The madrasa of Beyazid II, after its environs were cleared in the early 1940s. (After Gülersoy, *Cumhuriyet’in Devraldığı İstanbul’dan Bugüne*, 232)

clearing and opening the environs of monuments were rejected by Halil Edhem on the grounds that “they were all ruinous” and unfit to be exposed.⁹¹

Mosques and masjids, which had been the cores of Istanbul’s redevelopment, became signifiers of its downfall. The tight and continuous urban fabric depicted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps gave way to recurrent vacant grounds. Since there was no demand for new construction, converting empty urban land to green areas was the only remedy found to supplant the wrecks and ruins; Istanbul’s “legendary gardens” would be revived as compensation for the loss of its built environment.⁹²

Churches and city walls were not excepted from the overall dilapidation (fig. 20). Since lack of resources constituted the main justification for deficiencies of upkeep, however, priorities had to be set, and this was accomplished with recourse to the designations “national patrimony” and “national monument.” The 1931 draft of the law for preservation referred to “national monument” (*milli abide*) and prime ministerial decrees of 1934 and 1935 to “national and historical works” (*milli ve tarihi eserler*) and “superior monuments of Turkishness” (*Türklüğün yüksek abideleri*).⁹³ In the mid-1930s the Ministry of Education issued to every school the following decree: “All historic works in Turkey attest to the creativity and culture of the Turkish race, even if they are referred to as Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Roman, Byzantine, or Ottoman. Denomination only designates periods. All are Turkish, and hence it is the duty of all Turks to preserve them.”⁹⁴ The preservation board, for its part, acknowledged the histori-



Fig. 20. The Bodrum Mosque (formerly the church of Myrelaion) in 1935–36. (After Müller-Wiener, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 105)

cal and artistic merit of Byzantine works but declared that Turkish monuments had an additional political value, being “imperishable, petrified testimonies of our existence on this land.”⁹⁵ Consequently, it justified the maintenance of Byzantine structures in a round-about way, by asserting that these monuments attested to “the advanced level of Byzantine civilization and hence expose[d] the intensity of the Turkish struggle to defeat and replace it.”⁹⁶ In his speech at the Congress of Turkish History, Halil Edhem defended the city walls against attempts at demolition by claiming that Turkish repairs made them more Turkish than Byzantine.⁹⁷ Likewise, the architect Kemal Altan, who was also a member of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, referred to the Hagia Sophia as “this crippled, aged historic monument that owes its lengthy existence to our maintenance and hence has become ours in essence.”⁹⁸

Henri Prost, the French urban planner who completed a proposal for Istanbul in 1938, granted that the preservation of preconquest monuments, with the exception of the Hagia Sophia, awaited foreign resources, since the means of the country were hardly adequate to look after the Turkish monuments.⁹⁹ On the other hand, his plan was criticized for privileging the Byzantine heritage of the city, since he designated the area encompassing the Hagia Sophia, the Hippodrome, and Great Palace as an archaeological park



Fig. 21. Henri Prost, archaeological park, 1947. (After *Penser la ville, créer la ville: L'oeuvre d'Henri Prost à Istanbul 1936–1951 = Şehri Düşünmek, Şehri Yaratmak: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Üzerine Çalışmaları 1936–1951* [Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996])

and the environs of the land walls as a protected zone (fig. 21).¹⁰⁰ (In the 1950s the planner Hans Högg would be similarly blamed for overemphasizing Byzantine monuments.)¹⁰¹ One critic of Prost's conclusions was Sedat Çetintaş, who contended that his plan erased all traces of the Ottoman era in the so-called archaeological park except the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. He therefore questioned whether “the ‘monument,’ according to Mr. Prost, was limited to the Byzantine.”¹⁰²

Çetintaş took the approaching 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople (1953) as an opportunity to highlight Turkish heritage, in keeping with his training under Kemalettin Bey at the Evkaf. In 1939 he put together a celebration committee, the *Güzideler Komisyonu*, comprising the intellectual elite.¹⁰³ Employing the poet Yahya Kemal's slogan “Turkish Istanbul,” a comprehensive program of celebration was prepared and a considerable budget allotted for the restoration of Mehmed II's monuments. The aim was to draw attention to the Ottoman past, but the repair of the city walls and of Byzantine monuments

converted to mosques during the time of Mehmed II were also foreseen, to be financed by a separate budget.¹⁰⁴ The mayor of Istanbul, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, proclaimed that “this would show the entire world our respectful preservation of Byzantine works and, hence, our contribution to the culture and civilization of mankind.”¹⁰⁵ The program was given up in 1951, allegedly due to budget constraints.¹⁰⁶ But in 1950 the intellectuals of the celebration committee formed an institute, the Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, which still survives. Although the restoration of even the mosque of Mehmed II failed to take place, the institute issued a series of publications in time for the anniversary. The volume on the architecture of the period, *Fatih Devri Mimarisi*, was prepared by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, another student of Kemalettin Bey and the head of the institute for thirty years, whose works on early Ottoman architecture were inspired by K. A. C. Creswell’s *Early Muslim Architecture* and *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*.¹⁰⁷ More radically Ottomanist and Islamist than Çetintaş, Ayverdi voiced reactionary sentiments against revolutionary modernization efforts, accusing early republican bureaucrats and intellectuals of outright hostility against Ottoman culture and misplaced partiality towards “even the shards of the Romans and Byzantines.”¹⁰⁸

Republican administrations neither undertook extensive repairs of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments nor embarked upon outright demolitions. They perpetuated the dilapidated condition of Istanbul as handed down from the Ottoman Empire, since ruins provided a convenient pretext for treating its architectural heritage with ambivalence. Material vestiges of the Ottoman past were proclaimed as the national patrimony of the emerging Turkish state, supporting its claims over the land. Yet this same heritage was kept at a distance, abandoned in wreckage, since it also represented a disowned past. The seemingly inert neglect and oversight generated its own powerful symbolism of demythification. Decaying Istanbul was the reminder not of the Ottoman age of splendor and magnificence but of its later period of decline, disaster, and darkness. It represented a history that haunted the present and screened from view the earlier history of glory, which, for its part, was honored in historiographic texts and immaculate drawings.

SAVING APPEARANCES: METICULOUS REPRESENTATION AND MAJESTIC DISPLAY

In this climate of submissiveness, two separate but almost simultaneous endeavors stand out. Both were directed towards documentation—one of Ottoman monuments, the other of houses. In 1932 Sedat Çetintaş was commissioned by Atatürk to prepare measured drawings of Sinan’s Şehzade Mosque for exhibition at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair. (This echoed İbrahim Ethem Pasha’s earlier venture for the Vienna World Exposition of 1873, which included preparation of the official volume on Ottoman architecture, the *Uşûl-i Mi‘mār-i ‘Osmanî*, exalting Sinan.) Concurrently, Çetintaş wrote *Osmanlı Türk Mimarisi* (Ottoman Turkish Architecture) for the Turkish Historical Society’s venture of compiling a new history; Arseven had undertaken its section on Turkish art.¹⁰⁹ Drawing became Çetintaş’s lifetime occupation; nine exhibitions of his works were held over twenty-two years, and he published two volumes on the monuments of Bursa (fig. 22).¹¹⁰ His aim was “saving the monuments of our civilization from assaults, disguises, and destruction through ignorance, providing them with the means of scientific restoration.”¹¹¹ Although he mentions restoration as the ultimate aim, what he produced were not working drawings of ailing buildings but rather idealized depictions of perfect monuments (fig. 23).¹¹² Each drawing, in fact, had two versions: a draft of the building’s “current condition” and a meticulous rendering of its so-called original state, a timeless image that eliminated all traces of destruction and decay. According to a reviewer of one of his exhibitions, “The drawings exposed the noble past and the ignoble present state of our monuments.”¹¹³ Although Çetintaş worked as the first architect member of the preservation board and the chief architect of its survey office, he favored monumental and classical examples of the Ottoman heritage over “lesser” and later specimens, thereby illustrating the impact of an ideologically charged architectural historiography on the practice of preservation.¹¹⁴ He became influential in the selection of buildings to be preserved and was even instrumental in the demolition of several.

A prominent and prolific European-educated architect and a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts as well as a member of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments, Sedat Hakkı Eldem described Istanbul between 1925 and 1930 as distinguished by “vacated neighborhoods, but [with] houses, mansions,

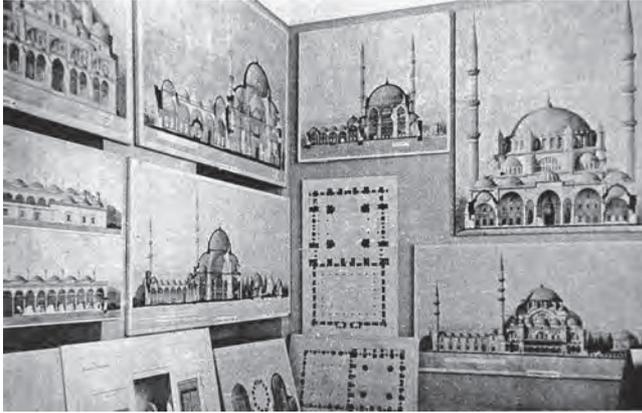


Fig. 22. Exhibition of drawings by Sedat Çetintaş, 1942. (After Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* [Istanbul: İTÜ Yayınları, 2004], 14)



Fig. 23. Sedat Çetintaş, drawing of the Süleymaniye Mosque, 1936. (After Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, pl. 100)

and seaside residences still standing as if living their final days.”¹¹⁵ He made beautiful charcoal drawings and watercolor paintings of idyllic houses and exhibited them in Paris in 1928 and Berlin in 1929–30.¹¹⁶ These were not depictions of specific buildings but hypothetical renderings of nameless and timeless structures. They would inspire him to start a new Ottoman Revival, this time based on the residential tradition, much as Ottoman monuments had motivated Kemalettin Bey in the 1910s. Ironically, one of Eldem’s early works, the Ahmet Ağaoğlu house (1936), was raised over the remaining ground-floor walls of a wooden mansion that had been dismantled for the construction of the new house. The discarded building’s material was reused to give the current one its “old Turkish character.”¹¹⁷ Coincidentally, in 1932, the same year that Çetintaş began his career, Eldem

initiated what he called “national architecture seminars” at the Academy of Fine Arts.¹¹⁸ His students prepared pristine representations of old and often run-down houses and mansions (fig. 24).¹¹⁹ These too were idealized depictions despite being called *rölöve*, “survey drawings.” Although a major portion of the archive was destroyed during a fire in 1948, Eldem’s sustained efforts resulted in several volumes of publications in which timber-frame houses were categorized according to plan types (fig. 25).¹²⁰

Neither Çetintaş nor Eldem took preservation as his aim. Rather, each was aspiring to compile the necessary documents to generate his version of national architecture. In fact, it was Arseven who had initially suggested the preparation of measured drawings of important monuments in order to establish the fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture, so that it might be distinguished from Arab and Persian architecture and utilized as a source for contemporary building practice.¹²¹ Çetintaş wanted to provide material not only for writing architectural history but also for “connecting modern Turkish architecture to its roots”;¹²² in his words, “The constructions of the Republic should rely on national traditions.”¹²³ Eldem referred to a lost tradition awaiting rebirth, one that would also awaken students of architecture to “beauties other than those of the West.”¹²⁴ Although both sought a national idiom for contemporary architecture, Çetintaş’s highlighting of Ottoman classicism as the singular site of Turkish identity was a nationalist reaction to the modernist break with the Ottoman and Islamic past in the early republican period, whereas Eldem’s interest in the traditional Turkish house was a modernist appreciation of the vernacular as a timeless source of that same identity. Çetintaş’s views were shaped by his education under Kemalettin Bey at the academy and at the Evkaf Ministry, while Eldem discovered the modern traits of the Turkish house during his stay in Europe.¹²⁵ Since their ideologies and agendas were divergent, Çetintaş could not refrain from criticizing Eldem’s efforts as futile. He wrote reviews for Eldem’s seminar exhibitions, declaring that it was impossible to achieve a national architecture based on the vernacular. In his two reviews of the 1942 exhibition, he voiced his disappointment at not finding any works of the classical period among the drawings. He denounced the “cubic architectural education” at the academy, claiming that “we impair the minds of our youth with foreign scrap,” and declaring that “in twelve years the seminar has not yielded

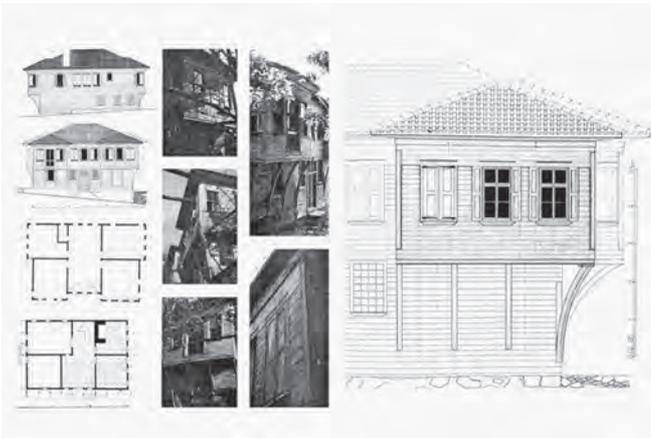


Fig. 24. Survey drawings and photographs of the Bekir Reis House, Büyükdere. (After Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi = Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, 3 vols. [Istanbul: TAÇ Vakfı, 1984], 1:236–37)

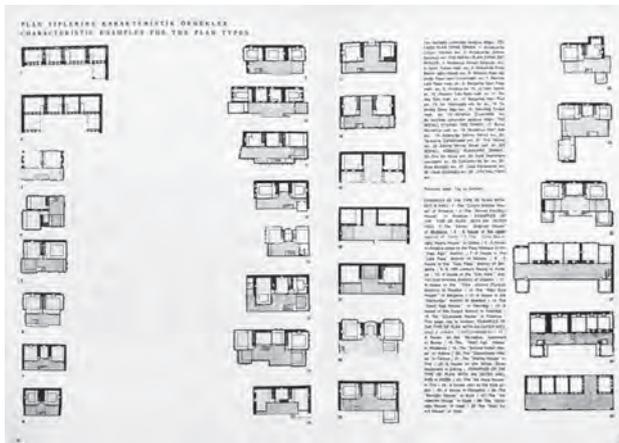


Fig. 25. Plan types of traditional houses. (After Eldem, *Turkish Houses*, 1:32–33)

any architects who appreciate and embrace national architecture.”¹²⁶

The refocusing of attention on the predicament of Istanbul in the 1950s coincided with the end of the revolutionary single-party regime of the Republican People’s Party and rise to power of the conservative Democrat Party. The new government called for the restitution of Istanbul to reestablish connection with the Ottoman heritage.¹²⁷ To make its politics visible, it initiated an extensive urban development operation in 1956.¹²⁸ In Prime Minister Adnan Men-

deres’s words, the time had come “to conquer Istanbul once again.”¹²⁹ The alleged aim was to reinstate the monuments that were surrounded and obstructed by ruins—to return them to their past majesty and display them in their new contexts.¹³⁰ Paradoxically, Istanbul was to reconnect with its past by being dramatically renewed through the construction of 50-to-60-meter-wide straight roads that cut through the historical peninsula (fig. 26).¹³¹ The street, conspicuously missing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of the city, was transformed into the highly prominent boulevard. As Menderes’s advisor, Hans Högg, conceded, the new scheme was nothing but a reproduction of Haussmann’s nineteenth-century model for Paris.¹³² During the overhaul, not only were the scale and texture of the traditional city irrevocably altered but countless buildings were moved to new locations, several were chopped off, some were half buried, others had their foundations exposed, and 7,289 buildings—among them mosques, masjids, baths, fountains, *sebils* and cemeteries—were demolished (figs. 27 and 28).¹³³ When the Patriarchate protested the demolition of a church in Karaköy, the complaint was received with indignation, since forty-six mosques had already been pulled down and this was the first church to be sacrificed.¹³⁴ Naturally, no substitute buildings were constructed to compensate for the losses, as had been the custom in Ottoman times; in any case, sanctuaries were being sacrificed to roads, not to grander places of worship.

The operation started at the city gate where Mehmed II had made his entrance to Istanbul: ironically, this symbolically loaded gate was demolished to make way for the impressive road (fig. 29). The towers flanking the road, on the other hand, were hastily repaired and reconstructed.¹³⁵ To mask the demolitions that were “wiping the city clean of its architectural and historical character,”¹³⁶ imperial mosques were glorified by being restored and displayed along the new avenues (figs. 30–32). Each would be viewed like a carefully framed easel painting, from vistas created along the roads and between the newly constructed buildings bordering them; the prospects created within the city would now rival the privileged panorama of Istanbul from the sea.¹³⁷ *İmar* and *tamir* were seemingly reconciled, but effort was concentrated on the repair of building exteriors rather than on interventions that would be conducive to structural survival. “Financial, scientific, technical, and aesthetic misdeeds” in restorations of the 1950s resulted in the 1960 dismissal of



Fig. 26. Vatan and Millet Avenues being opened in the 1950s. (After Yıldız Sey, ed., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* [Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998], 40)

the director-general of the Evkaf and his team.¹³⁸ The restoration of the Süleymaniye Mosque, for example, resulted in the removal of its original timber components and damage to its exterior stone surfaces¹³⁹—the aim having been to scrub it clean of all accretions of age and present it as a perfect, sublime object, much like Çetintaş’s timeless depictions. Likewise, faulty restorations deprived other monuments of basic maintenance but deeply abraded their stonework to expose clean surfaces. The fragmentary visual presence of *imaret* buildings in new urban contexts took precedence over the sustained permanence of their materiality and unity.

The use of lead in prominent monuments is a revealing indication of this change. One distinguishing sign of high status in Ottoman *imarets* was their lead-covered domes.¹⁴⁰ Sheathing roofs with lead also ensured the buildings’ impermeability and endurance. A lead foundry conceived as part of the foundation of the Fatih complex had made this indispensable material available for later repairs,¹⁴¹ and two craftsmen responsible for the repair of lead on its domes were among its permanent staff.¹⁴² Over time, constant maintenance apparently waned. Kemalettin Bey had recommended the revival of the old lead foundries in the draft of his preservation resolution, prepared in 1908.¹⁴³ In the 1930s, however, not only was lead frequently stolen

from the roofs of decaying monuments, but the Evkaf started selling it off—in one case, by auction.¹⁴⁴ Restorations of the 1950s frequently dispensed altogether with the use of this expensive material, substituting cement, which from a distance could not be visually distinguished from lead but which proved detrimental to the historic buildings.

The entire Byzantine heritage of Istanbul became the object of fleeting attention in the 1950s because the International Congress of Byzantine Studies would meet there in 1955. Yet again, interventions addressed appearances. Monuments that scholars would visit were hastily cleaned and patched up to avoid embarrassment.¹⁴⁵ More substantial repairs would wait until subsequent years.¹⁴⁶

Broad avenues that replaced the “invisible” narrow streets of earlier times opened up the interior of the city. Ruinous monuments concealed behind the shambles and wrecks were rediscovered and reconstructed.¹⁴⁷ Others, unornamented and of smaller scale, were “not considered worthy of being exhibited along asphalt roads,” and consequently were demolished.¹⁴⁸ Much as *imarets* had been generators of urban development in the Ottoman reconstruction of Istanbul, roads gave form to the “reconquered” city. The road became the new monument (fig. 33).¹⁴⁹



Fig. 27. Atatürk Boulevard in the making, 1950s. (After Sey, *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, 40)



Fig. 28. Widening Ordu Avenue towards the baths of Beyazid II. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı* [Istanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti, 1957(?)], 38)



Fig. 29. Millet Avenue crossing the city walls at the site of the Topkapı gate. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı*, 17)

CONCLUSION: CONNECTIONS AND DISCONNECTIONS

The radical redevelopment of Istanbul that administrators in the 1950s dared to undertake ultimately differentiated contemporary from traditional Istanbul. The rudimentary restoration of selected monuments, “made to sparkle like rare diamonds,”¹⁵⁰ merely masked

the audacious demolitions. In urban topography, the asserted aim of reconnecting with the Ottoman heritage resulted in disrupting continuity with the past more drastically than ever before.

In terms of the values that guided the treatment of the built legacy, the sweeping operations of the 1950s were tied up with a definitive break with tradition that had emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Incongruously, the turning point in urban development as well as preservation came about in the final years of the Ottoman Empire rather than the initial years of the Republic, when the Ottoman past was explicitly disowned. Introduced at that time were not only laws, institutions, and practices that shaped



Fig. 30. The Valide Mosque before the overhaul. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 543)



Fig. 31. Opening the road that crosses in front of the Valide Mosque. (After *İstanbul'un Kitabı*, 33)



Fig. 32. The Valide Mosque in its new setting. (After Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, 543)

preservation policies but also contradictory customs that would set the pattern for years to come. Above all, after the disintegration of the waqf system in 1836, the perpetuity ascribed to *imaret* buildings maintained by their individual waqfs gave way to the concession of their mortality. At roughly the same time, Ottoman monuments built in the past started being regarded as “antiquities”—an ambivalent label that conveyed the recognition of their obsolescence as much as the bestowal of esteem. Consequently, in the second decade

of the twentieth century, Kemalettin Bey became as instrumental to demolitions as to the restoration of historic buildings, while the 1912 law for preservation provided the alibi for eradicating monuments precisely at the same time that it ordained the terms of their safeguarding. Along these lines, members of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments would concede in the 1930s that, given their desolation and redundancy, historic buildings were destined to disappear. The Evkaf administration’s policy of generat-



Fig. 33. The old road and the new highway, Londra Asfaltı, connecting Istanbul to the West. (After *Istanbul'un Kitabı*, 13)

ing revenue at the expense of waqf property between 1910 and 1920 prefigured the 1930s practice of selling the remains of historic buildings, much as the prioritization of roads over monuments during the urban reforms of the Tanzimat period constituted a precedent for the Democrat Party's overhaul of Istanbul in the 1950s.

Ironically, the architectural patrimony of the Ottomans was squandered as it was venerated. From the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, endeavors at preservation were linked with the quest to find a national idiom in architecture. The two were connected because the decline in the design quality of new buildings came to be associated with submission to Western influence and the denunciation of tradition. The course titled "Science of Antiquities" introduced into the curriculum of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1883 is emblematic of their correlation: it was foreseen as a remedy to both the deficiency in protecting the architectural heritage and the failure in creating distinguished architectural works. Hence Kemalettin Bey would call for the preservation of the monuments of national civilization in order to create a new civilization. Prominent protagonists of preservation also engaged with historic buildings in their pursuit of a national iden-

tity for contemporary architecture. A search for roots in the Ottoman past to stimulate the present permeated Arseven's discourse and Kemalettin Bey's efforts at the Evkaf, as well as the ventures and projects of Çetintaş, Ayverdi, and Eldem, whose writings offered the classical monuments of the Ottomans and Turkish houses as alternatives to Western models. With these buildings given such an abstract, inspirational role, their materiality was quite readily relinquished; their immortality was sought in the drawings that documented them—idealized images, meticulously drawn on paper and published in architectural history texts. Çetintaş' first volume of *Türk Mimari Anıtları* (Turkish Architectural Monuments), published in 1946, would be introduced as a work that bestowed "immortality to our monuments."¹⁵¹ The images of monuments in their perfected form covered up their actual wretched state in the 1930s. On the other hand, the superficial restorations and reconstructions of the 1950s simulated the idealized drawings by treating monuments as views and displaying them like framed paintings.

During the 1930s, at the height of the revolutionary zeal for nation building, Istanbul was ignored as the ruinous site of the abandoned Ottoman and Islamic past, while Ankara was prioritized as the modern and secular site of the emerging nation-state. Istanbul's dilapidation, inherited from the Empire, was sustained for decades, its decadence conveniently serving as a foil for modern and pristine Ankara. While material vestiges of the Ottoman past waned in the historical center of Istanbul, its masterpieces epitomized by Sinan's works were exalted in the discourse of the nation-builders as signifiers of Turkish identity and creativity. They simultaneously dissociated the new, modern nation-state from its predecessor, the diseased Ottoman Empire of the recent past, and took pride in the remote heroic age of that empire. The 1950s return to Istanbul signified an end to the role of the city as the site of abandoned history. Urban renewal prioritized the modernization of old Istanbul, the cursory restoration of its monuments serving merely to adorn drastically altered inner-city spaces.

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NOTES

Author's note: Some of the data used in this paper, including references to the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, are taken from my dis-

sertation, "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları, İstanbul 1923–1973" (Circumstances Specific to Turkey in the Conservation of the Historical Environment, İstanbul 1923–1973), completed in 1998 at İstanbul Technical University. The framework for this paper is partially the result of research conducted at Harvard University in the summer of 2000 with a post-doctoral fellowship from the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture

1. *Writings on Cities*, ed. and trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 16.
2. See Sibel Bozdoğan's article in this volume.
3. Henri Lefebvre conceptualizes space as the inscription of time: see n. 1 above.
4. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architecture, Modernism and Nation-Building in Kemalist Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 10 (1994): 45.
5. Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 137.
6. Osman Ergin, a historian of the city and its administration, refers to the Fatih and Süleymaniye complexes as "each a flourishing monument, like a citadel amidst low wooden buildings," and to *imarets* in general as "each a product of prosperity, of civilization among ruinous buildings of cities." Osman Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi, 1936), 37, 38.
7. Ömür Bakırcı, "Vakfiyelerde Binaların Tamiratı ile İlgili Şartlar ve Bunlara Uyulması," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973): 113, 126.
8. Ömer Hilmi Efendi's 1891 work on waqf deeds is cited both in Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 9 (1971): 17, and Emre Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde 'Eski Eser' ve 'Onarım' Üzerine Gözlemler," *Belleter* 49, 195 (1985): 519, 533.
9. The word "waqf" derives from the Arabic verb *waqafa*, "to stop, to stand still," as noted by Nazif Öztürk, *Mense'i ve Tarihi Gelişimi Açısından Vakıflar* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1983), 27.
10. Mehmed II granted invaluable property to its pious foundation: land around the site of the Topkapı Palace besides numerous buildings, shops, and a major portion of the Kapalıçarşı, the covered bazaar. A madrasa was only the first of the several dependencies that would be added in time. See Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977), translated into Turkish as *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, trans. Ü. Sayın (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 91.
11. Halil İnalcık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 4.
12. For instance, three Friday mosques built by Sinan supplanted masjids, and two took the place of churches. See Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 57, 58, 118.
13. Ahmet Refik, *Türk Mimarları*, ed. Z. Sönmez (İstanbul: Sander, 1977), 68, and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 57–58, 118.
14. Eyice counts the Sancaktar, Toklu İbrahim Dede, Sekbanbaşı İbrahim Ağa, Lala Hayreddin, Şeyh Süleyman, Manastır, Şeyh Murat, and Kasım Ağa masjids among churches reused in this manner. Semavi Eyice, "Tarih İçinde İstanbul ve Şehrin Gelişmesi," in *Atatürk Konferansları*, vol. 7 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 114.
15. Masjids were evenly spaced at about 150–200 meters from each other, and permission for the performance in them of Friday prayers was granted by the sultan according to the population served: Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 47–50.
16. Yerasimos construes that streets were not meant for use by the public at large but merely by residents to reach their homes. He regards blind alleys as essentially private spaces shared by the people living on them. Stefanos Yerasimos, "Müslüman Uzmanında Sınır Çizgisi ve Geçit," trans. Ö. B. Albayrak, in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. F. Keskin and Ö. Sözer (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 165–71.
17. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 110.
18. Orbay draws attention to the conspicuous absence of streets on maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where even the main street, Mese/Divanyolu, is merely suggested by the symmetrical alignment of monuments along an invisible course, rather than specified as a visible path. She also points to a "symbolic tension between the viewing place along the Golden Horn and the inner city space." İffet Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001), 57–59, 310.
19. Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed," 309, 315.
20. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 110.
21. Yahya Kemal, a renowned poet, would write in 1922: "Ever since the throne moved to the suburbs, İstanbul is like a forsaken house." Yahya Kemal, "Sayfiyede Payitaht," in idem, *Aziz İstanbul* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1989), 149.
22. The population more than doubled, increasing from 382,376 in 1882 to 873,575 in 1885: Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of İstanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, 2 (May 1979): 266, 276.
23. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, 9 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 3:1228–35.
24. Shaw, "Population of İstanbul," 276.
25. Ibid.
26. Elizabeth Dodge Huntington, "Community Organization," in *Constantinople Today*, ed. C. R. Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 150. This temporary solution to a pressing problem apparently became a surviving custom. In 1931 Eldem would point to minor monuments thus utilized: "... in order not to hinder the repair of valuable monuments, buildings of inferior worth are left to ruin; in other words, either refugees are settled in them or they are abandoned." Alişanzade Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," *Mimar* 1 (1931): 2. In later years, squatters would inhabit vacant historic buildings.
27. Fires were viewed ambivalently. Apparently destructive, they were also considered opportunities for opening up the stifling city. For instance, Osman Nuri Ergin claimed in 1914 that the Hocapaşa fire (*harik-i kebir* of 1865) brought more gratification than grief to İstanbul: *Mecelle*, 3:1222. The prominent poet Ahmet Haşim would voice similar sentiments in a newspaper article published in 1928: "The inhabitants of İstanbul should feel gratitude for fires that accomplish the duties of the municipality." Ahmet Haşim, "Yeni Mimari," in *Bize Göre, Gurebahane-i Lakkakan, Frankfurt Seyahatnamesi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969): 26–27.
28. Writer Falih Rıfkı refers to pre-1908 İstanbul as follows: "... with the downfall of the inhabitants of İstanbul, old mansions

- also fell, to be replaced by small, ramshackle houses...their furnishings barely filling two horse-carts...this Istanbul would also disappear in 60 years' time." Falih Rıfki Atay, *Batış Yılları* (Istanbul: Bateş, 2000), 13. The mansion burned or torn down is repeatedly used as a metaphor for the diminishing empire in Turkish novels from the late nineteenth century on: see Nur Gürani-Arslan, "Kaybolan Konağın İzinde," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Y. Sey (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası and Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 325–42.
29. Eyice recounts that the city recuperated within a couple of months after each disaster due to the facility of timber construction with the help of workers brought in from Rumelia and Anatolia. Eyice, "Tarih İçinde İstanbul," 118–19.
 30. Cited in Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 158.
 31. *Cumhuriyetten Önce ve Sonra Vakıflar* (Istanbul: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü, 1937), 9–12.
 32. Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde," 509–11, and Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2000), 82–84. Over time individual waqfs dissolved within the ministry. Even then, there were two kinds: *mülhak* waqfs continued to be administered by their trustees under the supervision of the ministry, whereas *mazbut* waqfs were directly managed by it.
 33. Sabih Alaçam, *Eski Şehremizi Cemil Topuzlu'nun Başından Geçenler* (Istanbul: A. Halit Kitap Evi, 1939), 71, 110, 171.
 34. *Ibid.*, 103–5.
 35. İlhan Tekeli, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning* (Istanbul: IULA-EMME, 1994), 60.
 36. Centralization had dubious results: the first ministers of Evkaf admitted they could not even determine the total amount of revenues due to waqfs, and fraud ensued within a short time: Çizakça, *History of Philanthropic Foundations*, 83.
 37. For instance, eighteen out of twenty public kitchens in Istanbul were closed down in 1909; schools, hospices, and hospitals of socio-religious complexes had to compete with their modern counterparts.
 38. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1971), 180. Yerasimos refers to a report in 1894 designating the Kapalıçarşı, the covered bazaar, as an antiquity after the damage it suffered during an earthquake (*mezkur çarşının asar-ı atikadan olarak muhafazası*) and cites it as one of the first Ottoman buildings labeled as such: Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Türkiye'de Kültürel Mirası Koruma Söylemi," *İstanbul* 54 (July 2005), 45–46. It is ironic that, after a fire, a public debate would ensue in the 1930s about whether the Kapalıçarşı was a historic building worth restoring or not: see *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 13 and 14, 1934. It would take years to finally reach a resolution to keep and repair it: *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 21, 1938.
 39. Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış*, 447, 449.
 40. *...herhangi devre a'îd olur ise olsun kaffe-i emakin ve asar... asar-ı atikadan ma'duddur*: Ergin, *Mecelle*, 4:1784.
 41. The council became a permanent body in 1917: *Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*.
 42. *Asar ve emakinin mail-i inhidam bulunmasından dolayı civarındaki emakin bir tehlike-i karibeye maruz bulunduğu...* Ergin, *Mecelle*, 4:1784.
 43. Public kitchens were no longer in use: see n. 37 above.
 44. This museum is in some ways similar to the Musée des monuments français, established by Alexandre Lenoir in 1795 to save artworks from churches and monasteries confiscated after the French Revolution. W. Shaw interprets the founding of the Evkaf Museum as a means of nationalist expression, divesting objects of their religious value at home and resisting European cultural supremacy abroad: Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 209–11. But given the 1912 law, creating a place to keep prized possessions and components of razed waqf buildings had probably become an exigency.
 45. It was Kemalettin Bey who prepared a report in 1908 directed towards the creation of a new department at the ministry. He called for constant maintenance (*nezaret-i mütemadiye*) and extensive repair (*tamirat-ı esasiye*) of *asar-ı aliye-i İslamiye*, or the superior monuments of Islam. See his "Evkaf-ı Hümayun Tamiratının Suret-i İcrası Hakkında Mimar Kemalettin Beyefendi Tarafından Nezarete Takdim Olunan Layiha," in *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, ed. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin (Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı, 1997), 89–92.
 46. The mosques of Sultan Ahmed, Fatih, and Yeni Cami, and also the Hagia Sophia, the repair of which he undertook once more after his reappointment in 1925: Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1981), 16.
 47. Mimar Kemalettin, "Eski İstanbul ve İmar-ı Belde Belası" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 113–15.
 48. Sedat Çetintaş, "Mimar Kemalettin Mesleği ve Sanat Ülküsü," *Güzel Sanatlar* 5 (1944): 164–66.
 49. İnci Aslanoğlu, "Birinci ve İkinci Milli Mimarlık Akımları Üzerine Düşünceler," in *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri* (Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1984), 41.
 50. Çetintaş, "Mimar Kemalettin," 165.
 51. The restructuring in 1909 had been conducted by Hama-made Pasha. Hayri Efendi (1910–16) and Sait Pasha (1911), his successors, reoriented the ministry's activities. See Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 16. In 1909, the state owed the waqf system 1,737,602 *kurus*: Çizakça, *History of Philanthropic Foundations*, 84. This is an indication of the failure to reform the waqf system through centralization and, possibly, a reason for seeking to generate funds for it.
 52. Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 147–48.
 53. Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, 62–69, and Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 173, 227. The new public kitchen bears an inscription with the date of both the original and the substitute, 1780 and 1917.
 54. Other replacements were his Harikzedegan Apartments for fire victims, constructed in the place of the decaying Laleli Madrasa (eighteenth century); the unrealized Sixth Vakıf Han, for which the public kitchen of the Atık Ali Pasha complex was demolished; and a school for judges, the Medresetü'l-Kuzat, built on the site of a bath: Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 222, 271, 314, 232.
 55. "İmar-ı Belde Fikrinin Yanlış Tatbikinden Mütevellid Tahribat" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 117.

56. Ebu'l Fazl Mahmut Efendi Madrasa, built before 1648, had been damaged during the 1894 earthquake, partially demolished for the tramway between Şehzadebaşı and Edirnekapı, and listed in 1914 as too ruinous to be conserved.
57. See Yıldırım Yavuz, "The Restoration Project of the Masjid al-Aqsa by Mimar Kemalettin (1922–26)," *Muğarnas* 13 (1996): 158–59, 162–64.
58. He also announced that if demolishers were to prevail, only the iron rails of trams bought from European factories would be left to bequeath to future generations: "Eski İstanbul" (1913), and "Mektuplar ve Cevaplarımız" (1913), in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 114 and 111.
59. Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi I," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, 1–2 (1996): 64.
60. The Gayrımenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu, or Superior Council of Monuments, replaced it, headed by Celâl Esad Arseven until 1953.
61. Aziz Ogan, "Halil Edhem," in *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı = In Memoriam Halil Edhem*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1947–48), 1:81–104.
62. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Sanat ve Siyaset Hatıralarım*, ed. E. Işın (Istanbul: İletişim, 1993).
63. Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 20.
64. Kemalettin Bey mentioned some details of the repair in a letter to his wife dated to September 10, 1926: Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin*, 16, 75; also, Kemal Altan, "Ayasofya Etrafında Türk San'at Ekleri," *Arkitekt* 9 (1935): 264–65. The crack in Hagia Sophia's dome was considered significant enough to be discussed at a session of the Council of Ministers: *Cumhuriyet*, May 12, 1925. Lead placed on its dome during repairs constituted a major portion of the Evkaf's budget in these years: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 4, 1926, and Jan. 30, 1928.
65. Again, lead on its dome was renewed: *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 18, 1929.
66. By 1927 the population, which had reached 1,150,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century, had fallen to 690,857. The decline was more acutely felt in the historic peninsula, since its neighborhoods were no longer in demand. See Tekeli, *Development*, 50.
67. Alişanzade Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," 1.
68. Halil Ethem, "Abidelerimizin Hali," in Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korumağa Mecburuz* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933), 5.
69. *metruk kalmağa mahkum olmuşlardır*: Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz, Topkapı Sarayı* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932), 11.
70. *Ibid.*, 13, 15.
71. *ortadan kalkmaya mahkumdu*: Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Yeni Mimari* (Istanbul: Agha Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931), 18.
72. *ortadan kalkmağa mahkumdurlar*: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, "Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı," *Arkitekt* 4 (1936): 106.
73. Disparate uses were foreseen for madrasas that were retained; for instance, five madrasas of Mehmed II and the Beyazıt II and Şehzade madrasas were turned over to the university, Darülfünun, to be converted to student hostels: *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 3, 1929; the madrasa of Mihrimah at Edirnekapı would be utilized as a children's home: *Cumhuriyet*, June 8, 1931; that of Rüstem Pasha for film storage: *Cumhuriyet*, July 6, 1931; and that of Sultan Ahmed for the storage of treasury documents: *Cumhuriyet*, Mar. 25, 1934. The hospice of the complex of Mehmed II was used for gasoline storage: Ali Saim Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943), xiii. "The Evkaf disowned the madrasas; the city administration only contemplated benefiting from them; the museum recognized its obligation to preserve them but did nothing except watch them": Kemal Altan, "Eski Medeni İzlerimiz," *Arkitekt* 7–8 (1935): 225–26.
74. Other religious and pious buildings, waqf properties whose ownership and use had been transferred to various institutions, would be returned to the Evkaf administration in 1957.
75. *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 16, 1931.
76. Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide*.
77. Halil Ethem, "Abidelerimizin Hali," 5, 8.
78. More than 500 mosques were under consideration at this point: *Cumhuriyet*, April 18, 1933 and February 14, 1934. A regulation was issued in 1932 and a law in 1935 for the classification of mosques and masjids and the sale of those unclassified. The reasoning behind this was either that unclassified mosques and masjids no longer had congregations and had *mamur* counterparts nearby, or that they were in a state of ruin or such condition that they might be given up for future roads. Three hundred eighty-six waqf buildings were sold in Istanbul alone, the sales peaking in 1938: Nazif Öztürk, *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi* (Ankara: Türk Diyanet Vakfı), 473–93.
79. The municipality, on its part, sold abandoned cemeteries, *metruk mezarlıklar*, apparently not counting the dead as inhabitants: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 3, 1931. It announced that it would pull down derelict houses and finance the venture by selling their wreckage: *Cumhuriyet*, May 11, 1935.
80. Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz*, 11.
81. *Cumhuriyet*, May 17, 1930.
82. Arif Müfit, "The Excavation of the Balaban Agha Mesdjidi in Istanbul," *Art Bulletin* 15 (1933): 210–29, cited in Müller-Wiener, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 99.
83. Zeki Sayar, "Bu Harabe Ne Olacak?" *Arkitekt* 1–2 (1952): 31.
84. Halil Ethem, "Müzeler," in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları* (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1932), 562, 566.
85. Edhem Eldem, "Necdet İşli'yle Vakıflar Üzerine," *İstanbul* 13 (1995): 87.
86. The impairment by lack of maintenance of such monuments as the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, and Fatih in addition to the Süleymaniye became the subject of a newspaper editorial by Yunus Nadi: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 3, 1933.
87. Ratib Tahir, *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 10, 1935.
88. Kültür Bakanlığı, Antikitelere ve Müzeler Dayresi, Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu, *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933–1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 17–20, 9.
89. See Gülru Necipoğlu's article in this volume.
90. A resolution similar to the article of the 1912 Preservation Law that allowed the immediate demolition of dangerously damaged monuments was also included in this law, and like its predecessor it was freely utilized as justification for getting rid of historic buildings in the way of development: "Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu," *Mimar* 5 (1933): 192, 196. Yet again,

- the Building Law of 1956 would also not only allow but oblige municipalities to demolish such buildings. The Superior Council would issue decisions in 1956, 1958, and 1970 to keep historic buildings from being subjected to this article: Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye’de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunları* (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1977), 42–43. The demolitions of 1956–60 in Istanbul would be legitimized with this article, as noted by Behçet Ünsal, “İstanbul’un İmarı ve Eski Eser Kaybı,” in *Türk Sanat Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri II* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 6–61.
91. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 6, 1935.
 92. The 1927 census recorded 50,965 vacant plots, 685 vegetable gardens, and 949 gardens: Tekeli, *Development*, 52. Fifty thousand grapevines and ten thousand saplings were distributed to the populace in 1935 for the creation of vineyards and orchards in empty plots: *Cumhuriyet*, April 25, 1935. Building lots in fire areas were left unclaimed because they were in plentiful supply and not in demand—therefore, quite worthless. Their owners abandoned them to avoid taxation: *Cumhuriyet*, April 13, 1934. In 1950, the editorial of *Cumhuriyet* dwelled on the same issue: “While lettuce is being grown on land within the city, houses are being constructed way out in the outskirts”: *Cumhuriyet*, April 22, 1950.
 93. Maarif Vekaleti, *Tarihi Abide*, 21; *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 4, 1934, and Oct. 8, 1935.
 94. Cited in Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında,” 74. In 1943, the minister of education, Hasan Ali Yücel, conceded the confusion over identity: “All antiquities, whether bequeathed to us from our ancestors or from people whose ancestry is still uncertain, are worthy of our care as our indisputable patrimony.” See the preface to Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması*, xiii.
 95. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Anıtları Koruma*, 17. Arık would voice similar sentiments in 1953, citing “monuments over this land to be utilized as title deeds of the nation”: Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1953), 36.
 96. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Anıtları Koruma*, 17.
 97. *Cumhuriyet*, July 11, 1932. When their restoration was finally decided in 1936, its cost aroused concern: *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 1, 1936.
 98. Altan, “Ayasofya Etrafında,” 264–67.
 99. Henri Prost, “İstanbul’un Arkeolojik Durumu ve Tarihi Abideleri,” *Arkitekt* 9–12 (1948): 235.
 100. Such criticism was also based on Prost’s long allegiance to the Byzantine heritage of the city, which had begun when, as a scholar at the Academy of Rome, he had come to Istanbul in 1904–7 to study the Hagia Sophia. At the time, he had found the edifice in a lamentable state. See Aron Angel, “Henri Prost ve İstanbul’un İlk Nazım Planı,” *Mimarlık* 222 (1987): 35. Prost aimed to clear the environs of monuments and also to preserve the precious silhouette of the city by limiting to three stories the height of buildings to be constructed on land with an elevation above 40 meters—a measure that proved to be particularly effective for its preservation. Yada Akpınar interprets Prost’s public spaces around monuments as a return to the pre-Ottoman, Greco-Roman tradition and as a quest to open up the introverted neighborhood bound by religious ties: İpek Yada Akpınar, “Pay-i Tahtı Sekülerleştirmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı,” *İstanbul* 44 (Jan. 2003): 20–25.
 101. *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 2, 1957.
 102. *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 2, 1939.
 103. Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* (Istanbul: İTÜ Yayınları, 2005), 14. In retrospect, Çetintaş’s friend and colleague Behçet Ünsal would interpret this venture as a “grave mistake” and note that Çetintaş was ousted in a short time: “Behçet Ünsal ile Çetintaş Üzerine,” *Arredamento* 37 (1992): 111.
 104. *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 22, 1950.
 105. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 14, 1950.
 106. *Cumhuriyet*, May 26, 1951.
 107. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Makaleler* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1985), 488.
 108. *Ibid.*, 408.
 109. Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 13.
 110. The minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel described Çetintaş’s forthcoming books as “a corpus of Turkish architecture” and referred to his drawings as attempts to capture the original state of monuments that had been lost through centuries of misuse: see the preface to Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması*, xv.
 111. Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 48. The exhibitions were held in Istanbul, Ankara, and Bursa, and in Paris.
 112. Ödekan, who compiled his drawings and writings in two volumes, interprets them as “not technical drawings but attempts to nostalgically raise the fallen remains of a glorious age long since lost.” *Yazıları*, 59.
 113. *asaletli mazileri ile fecaatli halleri: Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 25, 1951.
 114. In its report pertaining to the years 1940–41, the Council for the Preservation of Monuments criticized Çetintaş’s deviation from objectivity in listing historic buildings because thirty buildings in the Süleymaniye neighborhood had been omitted, a condition that could have been conducive to their demolition: cited in Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında,” 81. Ünsal noted, “He valued mosques and grand buildings, not really *hans* and mansions; he considered *sebils* as Baroque, shoddy structures”: “Behçet Ünsal ile Çetintaş Üzerine,” 110. Çetintaş regarded any building constructed after the eighteenth century as worthless. For instance, he campaigned to have the Beyazıt Bath and the Archaeological Museum pulled down but to save the İbrahim Pasha Palace from demolition: Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 49.
 115. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi = Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: TAÇ Vakfı, 1984), 1:10. The so-called oldest surviving timber building, which belonged to Beyazıt II’s pious foundation, was pulled down by the waqf administration: *Cumhuriyet*, Dec. 1, 1933. Eldem counted this demolition among the incentives for his undertaking: Sedat Hakkı (Eldem), “Amca Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı,” *Mimar* 11–12 (1933): 377. He referred to the houses surveyed as “extant for the time being but fated to disappear in the near future”: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, “Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı,” *Arkitekt* 4 (1936): 106.
 116. Sibel Bozdoğan, Suha Özkan, and Engin Yenil, *Sedat Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Istanbul: Literatür, 2005), 26–33. Eldem’s “Boğaziçinde Bir Yalı,” about a seaside mansion on the Bosphorus, includes measured drawings but specifies neither

- the name nor the location of the building, “a representative example of the centralized plan type”: 106, 110.
117. Sedat Eldem, “Maçkada Prof. A. A. Evi,” *Arkitekt* 10–11 (1938): 277–83.
 118. Yunus Nadi, editor-in-chief of *Cumhuriyet*, hailed Eldem’s endeavor and connected it to Mustafa Kemal’s initiative for preservation: *Cumhuriyet*, Dec. 30, 1931. Eldem himself explained his position as “a double rebellion against the Neo-Turkish and the international cubic.” Sedat Hakkı Eldem, “Son 120 Sene İçinde Türk Mimarisinde Millilik ve Rejyonalizm Araştırmaları,” *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri 11–12 Haziran 1984* ([Istanbul]: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), 57.
 119. One of his former students, Asım Mutlu, reminisced that Eldem would urgently send them to houses about to be pulled down and added that he does not recall any initiative to save the buildings or to protest their demolition. Eradication of traditional buildings seemed to be considered natural. Asım Mutlu, “Asım Mutlu,” in *Anılarda Mimarlık* (Istanbul: YEM, 1995), 54.
 120. Sedat H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (Istanbul: İTÜ, 1968) and idem, *Turkish Houses*.
 121. Celâl Esad (Arseven), 1906 and 1907, cited in Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 121.
 122. From the preface to his 1952 book, *Türk Mimari Anıtları*, cited in Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 48.
 123. Sedat Çetintaş, “Cumhuriyet Yapıcılığı Milli Geleneklere Dayanmalıdır,” *Mimarlık* 3 (1948): 27–29.
 124. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 12.
 125. Sibel Bozdoğan, in her *Modernism and Nation-Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 240–94, interprets Eldem’s efforts as part of an endeavor to “nationalize the modern.”
 126. Cited in Ödekan, *Yazıları*, 30, 24.
 127. For a comparison of Istanbul and Ankara in terms of the politics of the founders of the Republic and their successors see Nur Altinyıldız, “Eskiye Muhafaza/Yeniye İnşa, İmparatorlukla Cumhuriyet Arasındaki Eşikte Siyaset ve Mimarlık,” *Muhafazakarlık*, Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2003), 179–86.
 128. At this point, in 1950, Istanbul’s population had reached 983,000, with more refugees arriving in the following years: Ruşen Y. Keleş, “Şehirleşmede Denge Sorunu,” *Mimarlık* 11 (1966): 27.
 129. *Cumhuriyet*, Feb. 27, 1957.
 130. *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 24, 1956. The sum set aside for the *Evkaf* to repair major monuments amounted to a mere 2.6% of the supplementary budget allotted for the redevelopment of Istanbul in 1957 (3 million out of 115.6 million liras): *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 8, 1957.
 131. This operation was equated with disasters in both its implementation and its consequences: “Istanbul acquired the appearance of a city that had been bombed” after “the devastating assault that struck it like lightning”: Zeki Sayar, “İmar ve Eski Eserler,” *Arkitekt* 2 (1957): 49; “Istanbul’un İmarında Şehirli Mimarın Rolü,” *Arkitekt* 3–4 (1956): 97. “Urban development operation like an earthquake in Istanbul”: *Cumhuriyet’in 75 Yılı*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: YKY, 1998), 408. “... What the explosives of wartime combatants had done in malice for the clutter of London and Berlin, the peaceful but restless ambition of Premier Adnan Menderes was doing for Istanbul. Night after night, all summer long, the sleep of tired Turks has been interrupted by the blasts of dynamite...”: “Benevolent Bomber,” *Time Magazine*, Aug. 12, 1957.
 132. “Istanbul is about to become a brand new, modern, and grand city, like Haussmann’s Paris”: *Cumhuriyet*, Jan. 1, 1957. Like Prost before him, Högg would also be blamed for eradicating Turkish monuments while exposing Byzantine works, an accusation he vehemently denied: *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 2, 1957.
 133. The operation, personally conducted by the prime minister, did not rely on any plan. A great many losses could in fact have been avoided. One example of the randomness of the operation was the futile demolition of the Friday mosque of Kazasker Abdurrahman Çelebi, designed by Sinan. It had been repaired in 1951. Then, assumed to be on the course of Millet Caddesi, it was torn down. However, the new avenue bypassed the site of the mosque. Its plot was sold, and apartment buildings were later constructed in its place. Behçet Ünsal, then a member of the incapacitated Superior Council, later recounted the demolitions: Ünsal, “Istanbul’un İmarı,” 13.
 134. *Cumhuriyet*, May 11 and 12, 1958. Prior to 1960, almost a hundred historic buildings were demolished, including forty-eight mosques and masjids, eleven madrasas, and eighteen baths: Ayverdi, *Makaleler*, 407.
 135. Zeynep Ahunbay, “Surlar Nasıl Korunmalı?” *Istanbul* 13 (1995): 74–75; Cahide Tamer, *Istanbul Bizans Anıtları ve Onarımları* (Istanbul: TTOK, 2003), 13–27.
 136. Sayar, “İmar ve Eski Eserler,” 50.
 137. A distance of at least 100 meters was foreseen between 14-to-16-story tower blocks: *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 13, 1958.
 138. *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 1, 1960. Şehsuvaroğlu criticized the repairs of the 1950s as being applied to only the most significant monuments and even in those cases being defective: *Cumhuriyet*, May 3, 1961.
 139. “The crime and mistake was committed of removing the gray color formed on its countenance over centuries”: *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 4, 1960, and Eldem, “Necdet İşli’yle,” 88.
 140. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 72, 179.
 141. Ergin, *Türkiye’de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, 38.
 142. Cited in Bakırer, “Vakfiyelerde,” 118–19.
 143. Published in Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin’in Yazdıkları*, 91. Today manufacturers of lead plate are the only craftsmen among the permanent staff of the Evkaf administration (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü): Emre Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi-II,” *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 17, 1–2 (1997): 80.
 144. “No lead remains on the roof of Yeni Cami”: *Cumhuriyet*, Nov. 16, 1932. Meriç recounted in 1938–39 that lead from the roofs of waqf buildings was being stolen: cited in Ülken, “Vakıf Sistemi,” 37. “The waqf administration auctioned lead at Edirne”: *Cumhuriyet*, June 30, 1935. According to Ülgen, the primary cause of deterioration of monuments was the theft of building materials and the commercial dealing of stripped lead: *Anıtların Korunması*, 7.
 145. Already in 1722, a decree banned constructions atop the city walls in order to avert criticism by European travelers and

- ambassadors. Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze," 43.
146. Başar Başarır, "30 Yıl Restorasyon: Cahide Tamer," *İstanbul* 13 (1995): 97–98, and Tamer, *İstanbul Bizans Anıtları*, 121.
147. Cahide Tamer, *Sultan Selim Medresesi Restorasyonu* (Istanbul: TTOK, 2002), 7.
148. Ünsal, "İstanbul'un İmarı," 40.
149. Menderes had visited Tehran in April 1956 and was impressed by the new boulevards opened there: Burak Boysan, "Politik Hummanın Silinmeyen İzleri," *İstanbul* 4 (1993): 85, and *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı*, 408. However, equating the modernizing of the city with the opening of roads is a legacy of nineteenth-century Tanzimat reformers.
150. *İstanbul'un Kitabı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti, 1957[?]), 7.
151. *Anıtlarımızı ölmeliğe kavuşturan eser*: *Cumhuriyet*, Oct. 13, 1946.

