

Abstract

As of nineteenth century, the inadequacy of the Ottoman Imperial Architects' Guild, triggered efforts to replace it with a new and modern institution. From among many proposals to the Sublime Porte, finally Osman Hamdi Bey's repeated and detailed petitions reached the conclusion and the royal order dated January 1, 1882, sealed the establishment of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi or today's Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Osman Hamdi Bey added Alexandre Vallaury, who had returned to Istanbul after his architectural studies at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and his architectural work in Paris, to his team. The school was inaugurated on March 3, 1883. By the turn of the century, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi would be institutionalized to a considerable extent. And the architecture department increased its student body in both number and diversity of origin and nationality. Its graduates were realizing significant works of architecture as state architects or as freelance professionals.

The aim of this study, is to first elucidate how an institutional Fine Arts Administration with Turkish-Ottoman elements was established in the Ottoman Empire. Then the focus is on early period of the Architecture Department of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, a duration delimited by 1928 when the institution would be renamed Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi. Finally the paper attempts, owing to a heavy scrutiny of archival documents, to introduce the identities of the architect graduates of this period, as well as their works and careers.

Keywords: Sanayi-i Nefise School of Architecture, Osman Hamdi Bey, Alexandre Vallaury, Ecole des Beaux Arts, First National Architecture Style.

Ottoman Imperial School of Fine Arts' Department of Architecture: Foundation Years and Early Graduates

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Fenn-i Mimari Şubesi Kuruluş Dönemi ve Mezunları

 Seda Kula

Gezbe Technical University Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture, Kocaeli, Türkiye

Başvuru tarihi/Received: 18.03.2023, Revize tarihi/ Revised: 29.11.2023, Kabul tarihi/Final Acceptance: 30.11.2023

Genişletilmiş Özet

Osmanlı Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı'nın yetersizleşmesi ve ardından lağvedilmesi, ondokuzuncu yüzyıl başından itibaren, sistemli bir eğitimle yetkin mimarlar yetiştirmek amacıyla yönelik çabaları tetiklemiştir. Neredeyse bir yüzyıl süren bu girişimler, nihayet Osman Hamdi Bey'in tekrarlı ve ayrıntılı dilekçelerine cevaben Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin kuruluşuna karar verildiğini bildiren 1 Ocak 1882 tarihli irade-i seniyye ile sonuca ulaşmıştır. Osman Hamdi Bey, mevcut Müze Müdürlüğü görevinin yanı sıra yeni kurulacak okulun müdürlüğüne de atanırken hızla ekibini oluşturmaya girişmiştir. Kurucu ekibinin bir başka üyesi ise, Ecole des Beaux Arts'taki mimarlık eğitimi ve Paris'teki mimarlık işleri sonrası İstanbul'a yeni dönmüş olan Alexandre Vallaury olacaktır. 1882 yılı boyunca yapılan hızlı çalışmalarla, Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahâne, yani bugünkü Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin resim, heykel, fenn-i mimari, hakkaklık ve tezminat bölümleri için ilk yönetmelik ve müfredatının hazırlanmış, okulun idari ve akademik kadrosu oluşturulmuş, bir yandan da okul binası tasarımı, finansman, yapım ve donatım işleri tamamlanmıştır. 3 Mart 1883'te törenle açılışı yapılan okula öğrenci kabul edilerek, resim şubesi ile beraber mimarlık şubesi de hemen eğitime başlamıştır. Böylece Türk mimarlık eğitimi ve meslek pratiğinde yeni bir sayfa açılmış olur.

Dönemin siyasi ve ekonomik bağlamı çerçevesinde, ülkenin mevcut bayındırlık ve nüfus profili ile mimarlık eğitiminin yeniden yapılandırılması için verilmiş layihalar, hazırlanmış yönetmelikler ve Osman Hamdi Bey'in dilekçeleri incelendiğinde, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi ve mimarlık bölümünün kurulmasındaki temel motivasyonlar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Osman Hamdi Bey, dilekçelerinde sanata dayalı bir Osmanlı kültür politikasının yanı sıra, ülkenin kültürünü ve özelliklerini bilen, yeni ve özgün Türk Sanatı üretebilen yetenekli profesyonellere ihtiyaç olduğunu özellikle ifade etmiştir. Diğer bir motivasyon ise yeni teknoloji ve malzemeleri bilen, Osmanlı şehirlerinin inşaat ve altyapı işlerini üstlenebilecek yetenekli mimarlar yetiştirmekti. Çünkü İstanbul ve özellikle Osmanlı liman şehirleri, dünya ticaret ağındaki konumlarını kaybetmemek için acilen modernizasyona ihtiyaç duyuyorlardı. Nihayet, yeni bir Türk mimarisinin yaratılabilmesi ve sürdürülebilmesi için özellikle Osmanlı tebaasının ve o güne dek mimarlık mesleğine mesafeli duran Müslüman Osmanlıların teşvik edilmesi ve mimarlık bilgisi ile donatılması gerektiği de vurgulanmıştır.

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, kurucusu Osman Hamdi Bey için, yeni Osmanlıcılık ideolojisine paralel belli bir doğrultuda süregelen kariyerinde yeni ve tamamlayıcı halkayı oluşturmuştur. Paris Ecole des Beaux Arts'ta resim eğitimi ile başlayan bu süreç, Osmanlı pavyonu için 1873 Viyana sergisi hazırlıkları, Usul-ü Mimari-i Osmani mimarlık tarihi kitabının derlenmesi, arkeolojik çalışmalar ve Müze-i Hümayun Müdürlüğü ile devam eden çalışmaları içermektedir. Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin ilk ve uzun yıllar tek mimarlık atölyesi profesörü olacak olan levanten Osmanlı mimarı Alexandre Vallaury ise, Ecole des Beaux Arts'ta aldığı uzun mimarlık eğitimi ve Paris'te profesyonel deneyiminin ardından İstanbul'a yeni dönmüştü. Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'ndeki kurucu mimarlık profesörü pozisyonu, Vallaury'nin bilgisini ve deneyimini kullanması ve bunları öğrenciler aracılığıyla yayması için bir fırsattı. Bu açıdan, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nde, Ecole des Beaux Arts'ın yönetmelik, müfredat ve atölye sisteminin uygulanması, onunla benzer kampüs yapısının kurgulanması ve yeni Osmanlı mimarlık eğitiminin de müzeler, arkeolojik çalışmalar ve sergilerle bütünleşik olması şartıydı değil. Ayrıca, Paris örneğinde olduğu gibi, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin mimarlık öğrencileri ve mezunları da, çok geçmeden hocaları eşliğinde ülkenin belli başlı mimarlık işlerinde yer alacaklardı. Öte yandan Vallaury'nin bu yeni okuldaki mimarlık atölyelerini, 1840'lardan itibaren Paris ve Ecole des Beaux Arts çevrelerinde hakim olan eklektizm söylemi çerçevesinde yürüttüğünü savlamak da mümkündür.

20. Yüzyılın başı itibarıyla, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin mimarlık bölümü, hem sayı hem de köken ve milliyet çeşitliliği açısından öğrencilerini büyük ölçüde artırmıştır. Akademik bünyeye de yeni profesörler eklenmişti. Okulun mimarlık mezunları, çeşitli kurumların çalışanı veya serbest meslek erbabı olarak dikkate değer mimarlık işleri gerçekleştiriyorlardı. Birçoğu yapılar ve dökme demir strüktürün yanı sıra dönemin yeni teknolojisi olan betonarmeyi de uyguluyorlardı. Neoklasik ve eklektik üslupların yanı sıra Art Nouveau ve 1. Ulusal Mimari üsluplarda eserler vermişlerdir. Mezunların ülkenin mimarlık mirasına dair belgeleme ve koruma çalışmaları da dikkati çekmektedir. Böylece okulun kuruluşunda etkili olan saik ve hedefler büyük ölçüde gerçekleştirilmiş ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi kurumsallaşmıştır.

Bu çalışma büyük ölçüde arşiv belgelerine ve birincil kaynaklara dayanmaktadır. Araştırmanın amacı, gözlemlenebilen ve belgelenebilen Sanayi-i Nefise İdaresi ve Mektebi kuruluş motivasyonlarından hareketle, öncelikle Osmanlı Devleti'nde Türk-Osmanlı unsurlarıyla kurumsal ve kapsamlı bir Güzel Sanatlar İdaresi'ni oluşturma çabasını ve yeni mimarlık eğitiminin bu idarenin içindeki yerini aydınlatmaktır. Ardından kuruluş sürecinin üstünde durularak, 1928 yılında Namık İsmail Bey yönetiminde Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi adımı aldığı döneme dek, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin Mimarlık Bölümü'nün erken dönemlerindeki işleyişe odaklanılmaktadır. Nihayet, makale, yoğun bir arşiv belgesi taraması eşliğinde, bu dönemin mimarlık mezunlarının kimliklerini, çalışmalarını ve kariyerlerini tanıtmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Fenn-i Mimari şubesi, Osman Hamdi Bey, Alexandre Vallaury, Ecole des Beaux Arts, 1. Milli Mimari Akımı.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi is the core institution leading to today's Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. This paper, relying on archival documents and primary sources collected gradually over the course of a decade, aims first to elucidate the initial conceptualization of the school. Then the focus is on how the school contributed to the emergence of a modern Turkish architect identity. This focus needs a scrutiny of the establishment process and early functioning of the Architecture Department. This analysis is then further developed by a section attempting to introduce the identities of the architect graduates of this period, as well as their works and careers. The paper's time scope is delimited by 1928 when the institution underwent radical change to become Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi.

1.1. The Ottoman State Needed A School Of Architecture

Following the 1826 abolition of the Yeniçeri Army and the forced closure of the Ottoman Imperial Architects' Guild ("Hassa Mimar'an Ocağı"), being one of its regiments, the Ottoman state was devoid of an establishment that would train architects. Actually, even prior to its abolition it was deemed insufficient and in 1801, forty-five foremen of the Hassa Architects' Guild were sent to the Imperial Military School of Land Engineering, to have them further trained. (BOA Cevdet Maarif-3964, 1801) (Cezar, 1995, p. 116).

In 1834, the last Chief Architect of Hassa Abdülhalim Efendi, presented a petition (BOA HH-23977 sandık-92, no-60, 1834), stating that two-thirds of his foremen were incompetent. He suggested the establishment of either a School of Architecture or a department of architecture within the School of Engineering (Cezar, 1995, p. 118,119). There was a noteworthy unfulfilled attempt in 1877 to establish a School of Fine Arts with painting and architecture sections (BOA İMMS 2666, 1877). Another significant but unrealized initiative was in 1880 for a school of fine and fine arts and higher sciences, with its detailed regu-

lation prepared by the eminent architect Serkis Balyan (BOA İ.DH 65013, 1880) (Cezar, 1995, p. 454,455). Following four preparatory years, it offered higher education in architecture, mining, and chemistry (Ürekli, 1997, p. 79,80,87,88).

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi would be founded following a long and detailed application by Osman Hamdi Bey and by an imperial order dated January 1, 1882 (10 Safer 1299), which would also appoint him as the school's director next to his director position in the Imperial Museum (BOA İ.DH-67709, 1882).

1.2. Founders of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi

Osman Hamdi Bey (1842, Istanbul - 1910, Istanbul), and Alexandre Vallaury (1850, Istanbul - 1921, Grasse), the first professor of architecture in the school, are the two main founder figures collaborating for the school's operation until 1909, after which Osman Hamdi Bey passed away and Vallaury left the country.

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, actually constituted a new and complementary ring in Osman Hamdi Bey's career, starting with painting education in Paris and orientalism, then continuing with the 1873 Vienna exhibition preparations and the compilation of the Usul-ü Mimari-i Osmani architectural history book, then proceeding with archaeological excavations and the Directorate of the Imperial Museum.

As for the Levantine Ottoman architect Alexandre Vallaury, he was just back in Istanbul after his long Paris years of architectural education at the École des Beaux Arts and some professional work. A professorship in Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi must have been a very suitable opportunity for him to put his knowledge and experience into good use and to disseminate them through his students, while also being introduced to Istanbul circles as a collaborator of Osman Hamdi Bey and acquiring recognition as a capable architect. On the other hand, École des Beaux Arts, which was a model for the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and where Vallaury was

educated, was an institution that created eclecticism in architecture and maintained it both in the national and international arena. This eclectic discourse was built on the idea of an optimal architectural composition, where the technical, historicist, and political debates of the period would be reconciled and resolved (*Épron, 1997, p. 21*). As was, these debates having triggered the eclectic discourse in the 1830s in Paris were being increasingly felt Ottoman architectural agenda especially as of the beginning of the 1880s, as similar expectations arose, such as the use of new technologies in architecture, the creation of a new Turkish architectural style that could be positioned in history, the creation of optimal architectural designs that would meet different user demands. These demands not only incited the foundation of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and its architecture department but also paved the way for implementing the Beaux Arts-based eclectic architectural design approach (*Kula Say, 2014, p. 97*).

In short, Istanbul was already in demand for the architectural and academic activity that Vallauray could offer. And obviously, Osman Hamdi Bey needed a competent architect to start the Sanayi-i Nefise project. Why he or his father Edhem Pasha did not cooperate instead with the famous architect of the Sublime Porte Serkis Balyan neither for the 1873 Vienna exhibition nor for the new School of Fine Arts are questions open to interpretation. On the other hand, young Vallauray's professional competence, his Beaux Arts affiliation, and his swift provision of architectural services for the construction of the school building and the museum must have strengthened the confidence placed in him.

1.3. A Discussion of the Initial Motivations

In comparison to pre-1882 attempts, where the primary aim was to train competent architects equipped with modern technical knowledge, the repeated and detailed statements of the school's founder Osman Hamdi Bey in his petitions, reflected some additional motivations (*BOA İ.DH-67709,*

1882), apparently in alignment with early Tanzimat reform policies. His first goal was to keep the indigenous arts and crafts alive and to pass them on to future generations, assuring the continuity of the country's culture. He asserted that sure indicators and main components of a country's culture and history were works of art and buildings. The school would train competent architects and artists who could skillfully manage the craftsmen and workers, and would definitely stop the regression in Ottoman architecture and arts. The expressions "nation", "national", and "Turkish Art" in his petitions, point to an initiative to reproduce a national culture that was no longer referred to as Ottoman, but instead as new Turkish art, which would enliven and make use of the time-honored culture, experience, and skills to produce a novel art by harnessing country's own cultural resources and human sources and providing quality education inside the country, not by sending students to foreign schools. A discernable expectation in this new endeavour was that the achiever of these goals should be Ottoman and Muslim subjects, and institutions, who would eventually develop a Turkish artist and architect identity. Furthermore, terms such as "Specialized Organizations" and "Administration of Fine Arts" imply that the ultimate goal was a comprehensive institution that would implement a Turkish cultural policy based on art and architecture, and museums, exhibitions, and heritage preservation systems would also be included in this institution next to the school.

Ersoy defines the cultural policies of the Tanzimat as creating a new and modern Ottoman identity based on historical foundations by adapting traditional Ottoman values to liberal and progressive European ideals and directing Muslim subjects toward the goal of modernization and integration with Europe. In this quest, the efforts to protect and research the Ottoman artistic and architectural heritage, instead of the European classicism that emerged in the early Tanzimat period, resulted in a new type of eclecticism called the

Ottoman Renaissance (Ersoy, 2000, p. 339,340,357). The goals set for Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, align with this Tanzimat cultural policy indeed. However, what is noteworthy in Osman Hamdi Bey's statements is the inclusion of expressions of "Turkish art" and national arts, replacing those of Ottoman subjects, Ottoman art. It can be argued that a major expectation was the inclusion and active participation of Ottoman subjects especially Turks and Muslims to fulfill these goals including building up a Turkish architect identity.

2. FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL AND ITS DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE ("FENN-İ MİMARİ ŞUBESİ")

2.1. Establishment, Regulations and First Campus

The formation of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi in 1882 was carried out very swiftly. Owing to the efforts of Osman Hamdi Bey and his team, regulations and curriculum, the construction and equipment of the school building, and the recruitment of the administrative and academic staff were completed in a year. The inauguration ceremony took place on March 3rd, 1883. Students were enrolled and the education started immediately in the architecture and painting sections.

The official document of justification for the school signed by Grand Vizier Sait Pasha also included a section detailing school regulations (BOA İ.DH-67709, 1882) (Cezar, 1995, p. 457), similar to that of Paris Ecole des Beaux Arts. Jury evaluations, two-class layout, workshops system, awarding medals and honorable mentions, Grand Prize, exhibitions, and museums to be created stand out as parallel implementations. The school would teach painting, etching-engraving, architecture, and carving/sculpture. Courses to be taught were art history, ornamentation techniques, perspective, concise calculation, design geometry, accounting, history, ancient works or archaeology, and anatomy. The education would be carried out by an Assembly chaired by the headmaster

and composed of an artist, an engraver, a sculptor, an architect and five other craftsmen. The first modest staff of the school comprised of main branch teachers who were generally of European origin and/or education¹.

In accordance with the aim of creating a comprehensive Administration of Fine Arts, the school would be integrated with the museum, exhibition, and collections so that the director would be in charge of the staff of both Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and the museums. The school council would organize an exhibition every year and the works would be accepted and rewarded by a jury formed by the council. Apart from the existing Imperial Museum ("Asar-ı Atika Müzesi"), a museum dedicated to paintings and sculpture and a National Arts Museum ("Sanayi-i Milliye Müzesi") would be established. The Grand Assembly ("Meclis-i Ali"), to be established within the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, would be the only authorized institution for the preservation and repair of old buildings and national monuments.

A news dated March 16th, 1882, reported that the first stone-laying ceremony of the new Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi building would be held in the vicinity of the Imperial Mint, while a large public park arrangement was being made in the neighboring area opposite the Imperial Museum (Stamboul, 1882). It was designed and built by Vallauray in 1882 and included five classrooms and offices (Cezar, 1995, p. 533,534). Halil Edhem Bey mentions in his book "Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu" (Halil Edhem, 1924) that later on, a workshop for preparatory classes, a large hall for exhibitions, and two workshops, one for engraving and the other for sculpture, were added to the building (BOA MF.MKT 94-112, 1887). And finally, two more rooms would be built to combine the school building and the new hall (BOA MF.MKT 149-21, 1892) (Cezar, 1995, p. 471). First Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi campus was also modelled after École des Beaux Arts². Similarly the neoclassical-style Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and the following new neoclassical Imperial Museum building across the 15th century Tiled Kiosk , all

1. Foreign teaching staff were Salvatore Valeri (oil painting), Warnia-Zarzecki (drawing), Napier (etching/engraving), Aristoklis Efendi (history), Alexandre Vallauray (architecture), Oskan Efendi (sculpture and the interior management), the District Governor Hasan Fuat Bey (Mathematics), the Kolağası Yusuf Rami Efendi (anatomy) were Ottoman subjects (Cezar, 1995, p. 11). In addition to these people, the names of "dessin linéaire" teachers Teufik Efendi and Margosyan Efendi are mentioned in a French article dated 1890 (Lepage, 1890).
2. Duban, its architect, had designed this Parisian Ecole des Beaux Arts campus based on the concept of a promenade through the history of architecture (Van Zanten, 1977, s. 164).

in the backyard of the medieval Topkapı Palace full of byzantine and antique remains comprise a promenade in history of architecture.

2.2. The Functioning of the Architecture Department of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi in the Early Period

Alexandre Vallauray served as the school's professor of architecture for twenty-five years, from the establishment of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi on March 2nd, 1883 until his resignation on August 10th, 1908 (Cezar, 1995, p. 68). Other professors who contributed were Ahmed Hamdi Efendi (Gençel, 2021, p. 78), replacing Tevfik Bey shortly in 1886, August Jasmund (BOA DH.MKT 1791-82, 1890) for a limited period after 1890³, Vedad Bey, who taught History of Architecture as of 1899, and painter Philippe Bello (Cezar, 1995, p. 60,68,69), who worked as an assistant to Vallauray in his workshop after 1902⁴. Bello was replaced, during his illness in 1904 and with Vallauray's suggestion, by Giulio Mongeri (İAMA Dosya 16, 1904). Vedad Bey is known to have conducted the architectural project workshop between 1908 and 1910. Then, Vedad Bey had to leave due to his business and Giulio Mongeri was appointed as professor of architecture at Sanayi Nefise Mektebi (Stamboul, 1910)⁵.

Information about the school's project topics can be found in the anecdotes and news about school's annual exhibitions held after the year-end exams (Halil Edhem, 1924, p. 39)⁶:

- In 1888 exhibition, the second year students of the architecture department participated with a train station, the third year students with a hospital, and the fourth year students with a museum project. (Gençel, 2021, p. 97).
- In December 1891 exhibition, a theater project, post office-telegraph building drawings, an oriental-style fountain project and a palace project surrounded by pools were exhibited (Stamboul, 1891).
- Servet-i Fünun magazine issue, dated November 16, 1893, included

an illustrated news for the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi exhibition ("*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*," 1893).

- Servet-i Fünun magazine issue on March 15, 1894 (Ürekli, 1997, p. 181,182) referred to projects by students sent to France for complementary education and student projects for a Dar'ülaceze⁷ building. Monumental portal designs were also exhibited in the 1894 exhibition (Stamboul, 1894).
- In 1898 exhibition, the third class students exhibited hospital and fourth class students a Post Office Project (Gençel, 2021, p. 97). In issue 130 of Servet newspaper in 1898, there is a mentioning of modern hospital project models displayed (Cezar, 1995, p. 562).
- In 1900, senior students Kiryakidis, Neokosmos (Yenidünya) and others received awards in the year-end competition for "Great Train Station" (Şenyurt, 2002, p. 94).
- In 1901, seniors designed a barracks with annexes large enough for two battalions of soldiers, and sophomores designed a school. In 1902, senior students designed a multifunctioned apartment house with 200 bedrooms, as well as concert and theater halls; the third year's theme was a town hall, and second year students prepared a mansion and a private hotel drawing (Gençel, 2021, p. 97,98).
- Plan and elevation drawings of a bank building were exhibited in September 1903 exhibition (Stamboul, 1903).
- 22nd exhibition of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi was detailed in September 21, 1906 issue of Sabah newspaper. It referred to Dar'ülaceze building projects drawn by senior students and private mansion drawings by third year students (Ürekli, 1997, p. 199).
- September 27, 1907 issue of Sabah newspaper described the senior students' subject as a customs house on the coast with a centrally placed administration part flanked by export and import offices. Third year stu-

3. In 1890s, Jasmund wrote many petitions harshly criticizing Vallauray especially about the warehouses in Eminönü and Sirkeci (Kula Say, 2016); in this respect, their cooperation at Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi might not have been longlived.

4. Some sources state that the painter Philippe Bello joined the department of architecture in 1886 (Gençel, 2021, p. 77,78). But this contribution was initially informal. But as of 1902, he is referred to as a professor of architecture.

5. It was alleged on Vallauray's resignation in 1908 that, Bello had already been forced to resign some time ago on the grounds that he was a foreign national; following, Bello died in Istanbul in 1909. (Stamboul, 1909).

6. As of 1901, "Salon de Stamboul" exhibitions in Beyoğlu (Halil Edhem, 1924, s. 39) held, under the patronage of Osman Hamdi Bey and in cooperation with Alexandre Vallauray and Régis Delbeuf also hosted school's year-end projects (Thalasso, 1906)

7. The Dar'ülaceze project was indeed realised by Vasilaki Kalfa following a competition in 1894 and completed in 1897 (BOA Y.A.HUS-265-109, 1894) (BOA Y.A.HUS-336-28, 1897).

dents worked on a school building for boys and girls; second year's project was a police station elevation and plan, and the first year students prepared drawings and plans of a portal and a corridor showing the interior spaces (Ürekli, 1997, pp. 200–202). Thalasso, also wrote that he observed the architecture students at the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi working on Istanbul Customs House project (Thalasso, 1907).

Given the long professorship of Vallauray in the department of architecture, architecture workshops must have been carried out with an eclectic architectural vision that reigned in Paris and the Ecole des Beaux Arts circles. The fact that the year-end competition project topics were taken from the real life, shows that students were educated in compliance with the actual architectural agenda of the country, as in the case of Ecole des Beaux Arts. On the other hand, successful students may have worked with their professors in the real project workshops, also reminiscent of the Paris model. Traces of such teamwork and the extent of architecture professors' influence on students and graduates are found in some primary sources:

- In 1929, many years after his studentship in 1894, architect Alexandre Raymond mentioned on his book's cover that he was a graduate of Sanayi-i Nefise and a student of Vallauray (A. Raymond, personal communication, 2011).
- İstevan İstevanyan (diploma 1899), mentioned in his application for a job years later in 1945 that he worked in the construction of Haydarpaşa Medical School alongside his school's architecture professors, Vallauray and d'Aronco between 1899 and 1902. He also stated that he worked with the architect Vedad Bey in the construction of the Grand Post Office in 1906-1907. In this job application, İstevanyan attached a reference letter signed by Vallauray on 12th February 1902 and two other ones signed by Vedat Bey on 29 Teşrinievvel 323 and 18 Teşrinievvel 1326 (VGM Personeli

İstevan İstevanyan Dosyası, n.d.).

- Vallauray's assistant in the Istanbul customs project, Leon Efendi, was possibly a student or a recent graduate (BOA ŞD 603-16, 1908).
- 1904 graduate Othon Andreadis, stated in his resume that he worked as a supervisor at Haydarpaşa Hospital construction carried out by d'Aronco and Vallauray. Andreadis also worked with Vedad Bey in the construction of the Sirkeci Grand Post Office and with Kemalettin Bey in the construction of the 4.Vakıf Han. (Yerusiyaştı, 1934) (YTB Othon Andreadis Dosyası, n.d.).
- It is highly probable that one of the first graduates Belisarios Macropoulos, who declared that he worked as an architect at Düyun-u Umumiye headquarters construction between 1890-1908, was a collaborator of Vallauray (YTB Belisarios Macropoulos Dosyası, n.d.).
- Karabet Ekmekciyan/Bogosyan (diploma 1893), worked with Vallauray and Bello at the Düyun-u Umumiye building site between 1891 and 1896. In his job application in 1945, he submitted the reference letter written by Bello in 1897 as a proof (VGM Personeli Karabet Ekmekciyan/Bogosyan Dosyası, n.d.).
- In his petition dated 7th December 1905, Mehmed Asım Efendi, who had graduated first in his class, stated that he had been attending the architect Vedad Bey painting studio for three years (İAMA Karton 2 Mektep no 336 ve eki, 1905).

The architectural education at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, was profoundly related with archeology⁸. However, though Sanayi-i Nefise students were taught about ancient architecture, there is no concrete information⁹ that they participated the archaeological excavations of the Imperial Museum. It was actually the architectural heritage of Turkish-Islamic periods that had inspired to establish an integrated Sanayi-i Nefise Administration. However, for many years the Imperial Museum

8. Classical architecture was considered the source of both architectural proportions and ornamental elements. (Kula Say, 2014, pp. 40–46). For Ecole des Beaux Arts architects, participating archaeological excavations, were a part of their education and work.
9. The Imperial Museum is known to have worked with some unregistered collaborators who may have been from among Sanayi-i Nefise students or alumni.

solely concentrated on archaeological artifacts and excavations¹⁰, while Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and its department of architecture also dealt predominantly with western and greco-roman architectural references. The focus on indigeneous Turkish-Islamic arts seem to have taken effect only towards 1890s:

- Vallaury, whose career as a practitioner architect had also taken a steep rise starting in late 1880, could be observed to adopt an eclectic architectural language that included increasingly more Seljuk, Ottoman and local architectural references (*Kula Say, 2014*). This attitude was probably reflected in his classes as well.
- A new course on Ottoman architecture was added to the curriculum in 1895. Also, as October 17th, 1895 issue of *Servet-i Fünun* magazine informed, two students sent to Cairo had learned the Arabic architectural style there, returned and were appointed to teach it in a specialized class named on Arabic style carpentry (*Ürekli, 1997, p. 185*).
- In 1901, architecture student Mehmet Hikmet petitioned to be given permission to examine and make drawings of mosques, masjids, hayrats, etc. in Istanbul (*BOA BEO 1689-126654, 1901*).
- Mehmed Asım Efendi, who graduated first in his class, applied for work to the Ministry of Foundations (“*Evkaf Nezareti*”) in 1905, stating that he had talent for both Ottoman and Western architectural styles and that he had studied Arabic and Turkish architecture in particular (*İAMA Karton 2 Mektep no 336 ve eki, 1905*).
- A newspaper article of September 1906 praised Mehmet Nihad Bey’s and Tahsin Bey’s third year drawings of a mansion project for their arabesque style (*Ürekli, 1997, p. 199*).
- The Imperial Museum included Turkish and Islamic artifacts within the scope of the official Heritage Regulations (“*Asar-ı Atika nizamnamesi*”)

in 1906 (*Muşmal, 2009, p. 55*).

As of 1903, Vallaury, too busy with his architectural commissions, began to delegate his responsibilities in Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi to Bello and later to Vedat Bey and Mongeri¹¹. On the other hand, Osman Hamdi Bey, who had not initially been much involved in the architecture department’s functioning, began taking actions to prevent the absence of teachers, to promote public image of the department of architecture, and to protect the rights of graduate architects (*İAMA Dosya 16, 1904*) (*BOA ŞD 220-26, 1905*).

Nevertheless, the real changes would occur after the 1908 Second Constitution. In 1910, Vallaury had already left for France and Mongeri was appointed as the professor of architecture, (*Stamboul, 1910*). Mongeri’s partnership with De Nari to implement Hennebique reinforced concrete systems (*Uras, 2012*), must have aroused an interest in reinforced concrete implementations in Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi circles¹². Mongeri was dismissed twice, in 1911 and in 1915, due to tensions with his home country Italy. After the 1911 incident, Vedat Bey taught architecture for a while (*Gençel, 2021, p. 161*). In the other instance, school’s own graduates Asım (*Kömürçüoğlu*) Bey, Terziyan Efendi and Zare Efendi, served as architectural professors and assistants; so, the institution was capable of recruiting its own alumni as architecture professors. The curriculum also underwent some interventions by an irade in 1908, when new courses about construction and structure were added. Strength of materials, construction materials and construction science courses were taught by the history teacher Vedat Bey. Descriptive Geometry, Perspective and Wooden structure courses were given by mathematics professor Major Ziya Bey (*Ürekli, 1997, p. 203*) (*İAMA Karton 4, 1908*). In addition, senior students’ projects and surveys became more involved in Turkish and Ottoman art (*Koyunoğlu, 2008, p. 90*). As for the Imperial Museum, after the death of Osman Hamdi Bey in 1910 he was replaced by his brother Halil Edhem

10. It was only in 1889 that the Islamic Arts section was established in the museum; but it developed very slowly (*Shaw, 2000*).

11. He was also probably preparing to leave for France, having already completed the procedures for his naturalisation (*Kula Say, 2014*).

12. Bulletins of the Hennebique reinforced concrete company, reflect that the reinforced concrete applications in the Ottoman cities gained momentum between 1902 and 1912 (*B.A.H., 1913*).

Bey who finally opened the section of Oriental Works. In addition, Anatolian cities such as Bursa and Konya, home to significant artifacts of the Turkish-Islamic heritage, were under focus; several survey visits were organized to make an inventory of heritage there. Kemalettin Bey, who collaborated the Museum in these efforts and stood out with his sensitivity to Turkish-Islamic architectural heritage, began giving Architectural Theory courses¹³ of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi as of 1911 (Cezar, 1983, p. 69). On the other hand, the political alliance with the German Empire becoming effective in cultural arena fostered this sensitivity. 1910 Participation in the Munich exhibition (Başak, 2016) titled 'Masterpieces of Islamic art' must have been an indicator of this reorientation in cultural policies. Gençel states that the German-Turkish Association founded in Berlin in February 1914 aimed at an education reform in Turkey, and that the association's board member and director of the Imperial Museum, Halil Edhem Bey, was considering appointment of a new and German director for the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (Gençel, 2021, p. 204,205). Imperial Museum and Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi premises were separated in 1916 and in 1917 their management and budget became separate, ending the original integral Sanayi-i Nefise Administration idea. In place, were founded in 1917, a committee of experts and learned people ("Sanayi-i Nefise Encümeni"), and a new Directorate of National Heritage ("Asar-ı Milliye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi") both reporting to the Ministry of Education ("Maarif Nezareti"). This new directorate would administer the National Ethnography Museum, to be newly established, the National Library, the National Historical Heritage Museum, the National Archives and an Institution for Preservation of Monuments (Gençel, 2021, p. 211,213). Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi moved to the old Language School building. A significant change in the curriculum in this post-war period was the rather late introduction of a course on reinforced concrete¹⁴. Mongeri was reinstated after the First World War and continued at

Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi as a professor of architecture until 1928 (Cezar, 1983, p. 68).

3. EARLY GRADUATES OF ARCHITECTURE

3.1. Student profile by year and alumni list

List of architecture students who graduated between 1882 and 1928 can be established to a considerable extent based on data from primary sources (see Table 1). Until at least 1894, education was free, lectures were given for seven hours a day, and there were no prerequisites for student admission (Stamboul, 1894). Majority of the 180-190 architects trained in 25 years were Greek and Armenian subjects. Architectural education hardly had any popularity among Muslim subjects initially, but their demand increased in the 1900s and reached significant numbers during the Second Constitutional Period. Still, Koyunoğlu complained that , majority of the students in 1908-1909 were Armenians who eventually went abroad and did not contribute to the progress of the country or the school at all (Koyunoğlu, 2008, p. 299,300,318,319). However, by 1913, the society's regard to the architectural profession must have changed positively; an official document about the implications of the lycée ("idadi") diploma prerequisite stated that this obligation diminished the demand for painting and sculpture departments, because diplomad candidates opted for more promising professions such as architecture or engineering (İAMA Karton 91 belge no:27,1a ve 1b, 1913). There was a great decline in student numbers in after-1914 war period. Finally, by 1928, there were almost no non-Muslim and foreign students.

13. Sedat Çetintaş (diploma 1918) relates Kemalettin Bey's Architectural Theory classes where his emphasis of Turkish-Islamic architectural heritage was attaining a much more nationalistic tone (Yavuz, 1981).
14. In September 1922, Director of the school Cemil Bey, decided to open a reinforced concrete course to be given by architect Vedat Bey and mathematician Şükrü Bey in order to improve the courses of architecture and decorative arts (Stamboul, 1922).

Table 1. Architecture graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise School between 1882-1928. All students whose existence is ascertained based on primary sources were included, and the number of graduates per year reflects only the totality of the thus confirmed students.

YEAR OF GRADUATION	NAMES OF GRADUATING ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS	# GRADUATES	NAMES OF AWARD WINNERS
1889	Periklis FOTIYADIS, Belisarios MAKROPULOS, Feysi Efendi, Leon (or Levon) HARCİYAN(or ZARAFÇİYAN), Nizamettin Efendi, Jacques ROSOLATO	6	1st: Feysi Efendi , 2nd: Nizamettin Efendi
1891	Agop KİGORKYAN, Antuvan TEDESCHI, Francesco Efendi, Aram PABUCCUYAN, Menelas KASTURYADİS	5	1st: Antuvan Tedeschi
1892	Garabet İnhıya MARDİROSYAN, Karabet Ağya ETMEKÇİYAN, Toros TORONYAN, Araşes TERBAKYAN, Araşes DENOYAN veya Leon DEROKIAN	5	
1893	Karabet EKMEKÇİYAN/BOGOSYAN	1	1st: Karabet Ekmekciyan
1894	Alfredos PSALTİS, Harutyun (or Artin) ARSALANYAN, Aram FETVACİYAN, Agop PAPASYAN	4	
1895	Bogos HİDIRYAN, Eduardo VUCCINI, Onnik BEZİRCİYAN, Mehmet Alaettin ÖZAKTAŞ, Leon EKSERÇİYAN	5	
1896	Avedis SARRAFYAN, Yorgi Efendi, Nikoli Efendi, Vahram Efendi (possible surname:MURADYAN), Osin Efendi, Yorgi ZAHARYADİS	6	
1897	Süleyman Efendi, İstefan Efendi, Vasil Efendi, Onnik Efendi (possible surname:ÇIRACİYAN), İstefan Efendi (possible surname:OSGİYAN), Honato Efendi, Fernando ZAROMDO, İstavro YERASİMOS	8	
1899	Yani Efendi (possible surname:VANİKLİ), Aram ŞEKERCİYAN, Arsen Efendi, Mihal Efendi (possible surname:YAZICİYAN), İstefan İSTEPANYAN, Kleanti Efendi, Yorgi Efendi, Hüseyin Hüsnü + student enrolled in 1894 and expected to graduate in 1899: Alexandre RAYMOND	9	
1900	Yani VANİKLİ, Dimitri NİKDİ, CANIKYAN, Tresso ÇUBER, Kleovulos (Kasoboydos) KLONARİDİS, Yorgi Efendi, Ioannis (Jean) PİRİPİNYAS, Ohannes Efendi, Nerses ZARYAN, Konstantin KİRYAKİDİS, Antuvan RATİSKİ, Dimitri PEÇİLAS, Hrant KARAGÖZYAN, Aleksandır YENİDÜNYA(NEOKOZMOS), Yani Efendi, Simon AGOB, Simon LOKMAGEMEZ	17	
1901	Yako Efendi, Yorgi SALEMON, Hrant YAKUPYAN, Reşit (Raşit) Efendi, Mihran AZARYAN, Kornelyus VALAVANİS, Aleksandır TZONİS, Mehmet Ferit, Dimitri Efendi, Konstantin Efendi, Nikolaki Efendi	11	1st: Reşit Efendi 2nd: Mihran Azaryan
1902	Dimitri Efendi, Mehmet Hikmet, Antuvan HARUN, Yervant SİNEMYAN, Miltiyadis Efendi (possible surname:MYRIEDES), Hüseyin Kamil, Mehmet Salih, Antuvan JANİNİ	8	
1903	Edhem Bey, Odiseas PÜSKÜLÜ, Niko HARALAMBİDİS, Hayik KESARNİK, Hosif Efendi, Hüseyin Kazım, Tanaş Efendi, Toma AGLİYADİ, Dimitri Efendi, Armenak Efendi, Petro TZİOTİS, Mehmet Sabit, Yakovis Efendi, Dimitri TSİLENİS	14	

YEAR OF GRADUATION	NAMES OF GRADUATING ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS	# GRADUATES	NAMES OF AWARD WINNERS
1904	Ermenak Efendi, Yervant KALFAYAN, Othon ANDREADİS, Todori AMIRADAKİS, İbrahim Adil, Nazmi, Ahilya MAVROMATİS, Batıralı Efendi, Orosi Efendi	9	1st: Ermenak Efendi 2nd: Othon Andreadis
1905	Karabet Efendi, Mehmet Resid, Hrant BOŞNAKYAN, Zare, Osman Fikri, Filipidis Efendi, Hrant TERZİYAN, Mehmet Asım (KÖMÜRÇÜOĞLU), İstevan Efendi	9	1st: Mehmet Asım Kömürçüoğlu 1st in competition: Zare Efendi 2nd: Hrant Boşnakyan
1906	Simon MİLONAS, Panayot Efendi, Vahram KRİZEPE, Dimitri Efendi, Tayat TANAS, Simeon DİMİTRİ, Toma Efendi, Kosti Efendi, Foti Efendi, Anton Efendi, İspiro KHURİ, Manuso Efendi, Vahram PAPAZYAN, Stefan LİMONCİYAN, Simon SAPUNİDİS, İzhak MİZRANİ, Yervant KALPAKCIYAN, Vahan KATİRCİYAN, İsak Efendi, Yervant Efendi	20	1st: İspiro Khuri
1907	İstevan KALFAYAN, Bogos OTOCYAN (or UTUCUYAN), Ahan HİZİRİYAN, Mehmet Nihat NİGİZBERK, Tanas İSTAVROPULOS, Jak DARMİ, Panayot ANDON	7	
1908	Panayot EPİVANİTOS, Thrasivulos RİZOS (HACİRİZOS), Zacharias HANOPULOS, Aristo KATOPULOS, Yakobin BESAT, Tahsin (Ziya) Sermet, Ardon ARAM, Lusyan JEZEZ, Zahami Efendi, Mihran MESREPOĞLU (MESROBYAN), Jan TULBENDCİYAN, Fazıl, Ahmet Hafı, Andriko Efendi, Ahmet Kemal, Konstantin LAMBRİNOS, Konstantinos YİOTOPULOS, Ohannes TAŞCIYAN, Mehmet, Mehmet Kasım, Mihalaki DİMİTRİ, Nikolaos ZUBULİDİS, Kemalettin, Ahmet Kemalettin, Konstantin MİHAL, Niko VASILİADİS, Hanri KONSOLİ, Nikolaki PAVLOS	28	
1909	Nikolaki TOMBAKİDİ, Vasil KALİNOĞLU, Yorgo ZARİFİS, Kosmo PİSTİKAS, (Abdulahad) Farihi, İbrahim Etem, Himayak Efendi, Alkiyiviyadi CELEPAS, Hasan Tahsin, Hazaros Efendi, Hristo ANDONİ. + those who were listed in student lists and who could thus be expected to graduate in 1909: Mehmet Sırrı, Mustafa Vasfi, Ali Haydar, Aşud AGOB, Neşa BEZCİYAN, Kenan, YUNİDİS, KUNDURACİYAN, Agob KATİRCİOĞLU, Artin TAŞCIYAN, KARAKAŞYAN, Andonaki Efendi, İsak ANJEL	11+13 =24	
1910	Nikoli KALFAOĞLU, Agop PAPASYAN, Hüseyin Halit, Artin NAZARET, İspiro Efendi, Koço Efendi, Anastas BİRDAS, Teohar FİSTO, Aleksan Efendi + student enrolled before and expected to graduate in 1910: Halil İbrahim, İsmail Selahaddin, Ahmet Süreyya, Mehmet Nazım, Mehmet Hayri, Mehmet Celalaeddin, Oskar LAMBER, Nikola LİVBANOVIÇ, Kostaki DİMİTRİYADİ, Papa İLİYADİS, Arvanipolo Efendi, Veramusbuh DAYIOĞLU, Kostaki AĞARCİOĞLU	9+13 =22	
1911	Ali KAYALAR, Hafız Yakup, Leonidas PALALİOGOS, Dimitri Efendi, Hrant KUYUMCUYAN, Gabriel GRANSABUH, Haryana AHARON, Hrant Efendi, Mehmet Nuri, Yunus Mukbil Kemal, Vangel RANOZ, Hristo ZAFİCORGİS, Apostol PİSTİKAS	13	1st: Mukbil Kemal
1912	Abdülmeccit Efendi, Yani EKŞERTZİS, Abdülkerim, Mehmet Emin, Hüseyin Daniş, Kahros Efendi, Mehmet Ali, Ekrem, Ösep VAHRAM, Diran Efendi, Velittin, Ahmet Şikrî, Mehmet Halim, Hüseyin Arif ŞAYLAN, Ali Kazım, Mustafa Şemsettin ŞENİZ, Ali Vasfi EGELİ, Rusen, Ali Seyit, Torkom ÇUBUKCUYAN, Simon Efendi, Maximilyanos RUBENS	22	
1913	Mehmet Ali Efendi, Piyer Efendi, İstilyanos, Ali Rasim, Vasil MELAGİOS, Ömer Sırrı BİLEN, Kemalettin Efendi, Mazhar Efendi, İsmail Necmettin, Mişon Efendi, Osman Tufik	11	1st: Mehmet Ali Efendi
1914	Anastasio IOANNİDİS, Salih Suphi, Antramik Efendi, Agop Efendi	4	
1915	Onnik KAVARCIYAN, İsmail Zühütü	2	
1916	Arif Hikmet KOYUNOĞLU, Mıgırdıç NUBAR	2	

Table 1. (Continued) Architecture graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise School between 1882-1928. All students whose existence is ascertained based on primary sources were included, and the number of graduates per year reflects only the totality of the thus confirmed students.

Table 1. (Continued) Architecture graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise School between 1882-1928. All students whose existence is ascertained based on primary sources were included, and the number of graduates per year reflects only the totality of the thus confirmed students.

YEAR OF GRADUATION	NAMES OF GRADUATING ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS	# GRADUATES	NAMES OF AWARD WINNERS
1917	Kırım Efendi	1	
1918	Mehmet Sedat ÇETİNTAŞ, İsmail Necati, Persah Hamam	3	
1919	Stelyo KSENAKİS, Mehmet Muzaffer, Kegam Efendi, Yahya Efendi	4	
1920	Hamparsun HRANT	1	
1921	Persah DEMİRCİOĞLU, Abdülkadir Mesut	2	
1922	Hüseyin Hüsnü	1	
1923	İsmail Sadi, Şahabettin UZLUK	2	
1924	Mehmet Celal, Servet Efendi, Hasan Adil, İhsan Efendi, Ömer Sırrı NAZMI	5	
1925	İdris Cemal	1	
1926	Salih Süreyya YÜCEL, Muzaffer Efendi	2	
1927	Mehmet Sinan MİMAROĞLU, Vahram, Arif Hikmet, Hüseyin Avni, Naci Efendi	5	
1928	Mehmet Macit Rüşti KURAL, Simon, Mehmet Aziz, Veyssel, Abdurrahman Sami, İsmail Samih, Ahmet Nedim, Mehmet Naci, Mehmet Zeki, Hüseyin Hüsnü, İbrahim Cemil, Faruk Efendi, Joseph Ösep, Erpi, Zeynelahidin, Hüseyin Avni, Seyfettin Nasih, İzzettin TAŞÖREN, Mehmet Şevki, Ali Naim, Mehmet Zeki, Mazlumzade Süleyman, Ömer Sedat H.ELDEM, Mehmet Burhaneddin	24	

3.2. Institutionalization of the Architectural Profession

In 1905-1906, Osman Hamdi Bey made efforts to have alumni employed in government investments, municipalities and the Ministry of Foundations. In his petition dated March 25, 1905, signed as the Director of the Imperial Museum, he complained that although many skilled architects had been trained in Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi in twenty years, the constructions in Dersaadet and the provinces were tendered to ignorant workers, resulting in ugly and unstable buildings and letting these inapt people also repair ancient edifices caused great destruction. He also asserted the necessity to prefer the Ottoman style in newly constructed buildings and the diplomed architects as builders. He further demanded that if non-diplomed architects were to be employed, they must first pass a test prepared by a commission in Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi and receive a certificate depending on their success level. He insisted that architects without diploma or certificate should never be employed in any construction work. The certificate receivers should pay fees based on their grading; fees should be 10 liras for 1st, 5 liras for 2nd and 2 liras for 3rd graders. Carpenters, painters, masons and other construction masterworkers to be employed in the ancient building repairs should also pay fees; even the simple workers should pay 1 kuruş fee; and all fees thus collected should be transferred to Imperial Museum by the relevant municipalities. Osman Hamdi Bey reminded that this demand was justified by the 15th article of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi regulations issued by the irade in 1882, which declared that the responsibility for the preservation of the architectural works belonged to the Imperial Museum ; stressed that the museum could not perform this duty, as its budget was insufficient for repairs; so additional resources were needed (*BOA ŞD 220-26, 1905*). This petition was discussed in the Council of State (“Şura-i Devlet”) (*BOA BEO 2576-193195, 1905*), but not accepted and forwarded to the city council

(“Şehremaneti”) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (“Dahiliye Nezareti”) (BOA DH.MKT 960-84, 1905). Upon this rejection, Osman Hamdi Bey submitted a second and more bitter petition repeating his propositions and demanding protection of the rights and liability of architects and craftsmen, addressed to the Ministry of Education, which in turn forwarded it to the Grand Vizier (BOA ŞD 221-6, 1906).

In parallel, Turkish and Islamic works were included in the scope of the Museum’s Asar-ı Atika regulation in 1906 (Muşmal, 2009, p. 55); which was a move to protect antiquities from interference by unqualified persons. Following, in August, the museum’s requests for architect authorization were accepted and put into effect according to a newspaper article (Stamboul, 1906). And already in 1907, architecture graduates could easily take important commissions in Istanbul or the provinces with their diplomas or certificates, as opposed to graduates of painting, sculpture and other Sanayi-i Nefise graduates (Thalasso, 1907). However, alumni Alexandre Raymond discussed this issue in his 1908 book and complained that many employers, at the expense of the architect’s copyrights, outsourced some construction works to foremen who bidded cheaper, but possibly compromised the quality of the construction (A. Raymond, 1908, pp. 92–96).

The definitive enactment of regulation on employing authorized architects was actually only after the declaration of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, and on 4th February 1909 (BOA BEO 3497-262214, 1909). Thus, at the end of a 4-year struggle, the architectural activities of unqualified and undiplomed craftsmen were prevented and the rights of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi architecture diploma were protected. These developments must have also affected the Ministry of Foundations, which had been in charge of managing and repairing foundation edifices all along. The budget memorandum of the Ministry of Foundations for 1909, included a long section for the Repairs and Constructions Office (“Ta’mirat ve İnşa’at Kalemi”), which

had been established in 1880, where were noted projections for recruitment of a number of new qualified and diplomed architects and engineers (Kahraman, 2006, pp. 140–146). Kemalettin Bey would be appointed to the head of this Office on 14.5.1909 (Yavuz, 1981).

On the other hand, with the Constitutional Reform period, the Law of Associations was enacted on 16th August 1909, legitimizing the one-year old initiative of Kemalettin Bey, the Ottoman Architects and Engineers Society (“Osmanlı Mimar ve Mühendis Cemiyeti”) established on 28.8.1908 (Ünalın, 2009, p. 11,36). Primary purpose of this association was to protect the rights of Ottoman engineers and architects. Except for Kemalettin Bey and Terziyan Efendi (diploma 1905), all other founders were engineers. The architects in its first Board were Kemalettin Bey, Vedat Bey, Aram Karakaş and Edhem Bey (diploma 1903). Only Ottoman subjects could become members. But, contrary to the efforts made since 1906, those who did not have a certificate or diploma, but had proved themselves in architectural and engineering services as skilled professionals could also become member. During the lifetime of the society, only 33% of the members, were architects. The society’s activities were interrupted between 1912-1919, after which it revitalized but the number of architects decreased and it continued as an engineer association (Günergun, 2009, pp. 44–57).

In the meantime, a new society was founded on 11th November 1913, with the French title ‘Association des Architectes et Ingenieurs en Turquie’. Among the founders, there were many Sanayi-i Nefise architecture graduates and professors such as Tedeschi, Mongeri, Raymond, Terziyan. The members also included many architect alumni of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, as well as Kemalettin Bey and Edhem Bey, who were also in the first Board of the Osmanlı Mimar ve Mühendis Cemiyeti. The difference of this new association from the aforementioned one was that its members could be from different origins

and nationalities. The journal ‘Génie Civil Ottoman’, published by Raymond, the secretary of the association, served as its publication (*Günergun, 2009, pp. 62–64*). The attitude of the association on diploma issue is unknown.

3.3. Early Graduates’ Careers

By compiling and cross-checking the information obtained from a large number of primary sources, the post-diploma occupations of most, if not all, of the architect graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi until 1928 can be traced (*see Table 2*).

Almost all here seem to have worked as freelance architects or contractors as part of their careers. The most productive ones may be listed as Perikles Fotiyadis, Konstantin Kiryakidis, Tahsin Sermet, Karabet Ekmekciyan/Bogosyan, Istepan Istepanian, Arif Hikmet Koyunoglu, Kozmo Pistikas. Especially successful and long-term teams have been formed such as Kiryakidis-Yenidunya, Edhem Bey-Nouridjian, Dimitri Peçilas-Odisias Puskulu partnerships. A large number of Greek graduates, built mostly for the Greek community and its patrons. A substantial number of the graduates of the first 20-30 years were recruited in municipalities, or ministries of Foundations, Education and Public Works, or Railroad Companies and similar state institutions. Restoration jobs were also very popular among early graduates. On the other hand, there was almost no specialization in a particular subject. Architects dealing with restorations or historical research could also offer engineering services and work as contractors simultaneously.

Regarding new materials and construction techniques, Eduardo Vuccini (*diploma 1895*) is noteworthy as the first known Hennebique practitioner in Istanbul, building the first Karaköy Mesadet Han in 1902 (*Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2010*). Hennebique reinforced concrete systems have indeed become widespread especially in Istanbul in a short time (*B.A.H., 1913*). Sanayi-i Nefise graduates, seem to have built increasingly more multi-storey buildings. Among the wide range of building

programs applied, educational buildings, libraries and hospitals stood out. Late 19th century works are mostly eclectic, and those by Greek graduates display an abundant use of Neogreek references and neoclassical elements. Towards the 1900s, Art Nouveau became popular among graduates, especially Klonaridis, Yenidunya and Kiryakidis. In parallel, 1st National Architectural style emerged, and was fast adopted. Especially Kiryakidis, Azaryan, Rizos, and Tahsin Sermet have taken the lead in this style (*Kula Say, 2014, pp. 368–377*).

Only three graduates seem to have worked on archaeology and collaborated with the Museum: The first was the son of Osman Hamdi Bey, Edhem Bey (*diploma 1903*), who worked in the Tralles excavations in Aydın (*Eldem, 2010, pp. 185–187*). Another was Alexandre Raymond, who had prepared a dictionary on ancient mythological personalities, and was drawing restitutions of Byzantine artifacts and architectural heritage (*A. Raymond, personal communication, 2011*)¹⁵. Third was Thrasivoulos Rizos. He introduced himself as the Museum collaborator. Rizos did archaeological research while he was working in the Konya municipality (*YTB Thrasivoulos Rizos / Hacirizos Dosyası, n.d.*) (*Rizos, 1907*).

15. Raymond applied to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for permission to excavate in Maltepe, Istanbul and was accepted (BCA 30-18-1-2-39-66-20, 1933).

Table 2. Professional activities of architect graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi between 1882-1928

GRADUATION YEAR	NAME OF ARCHITECT	RECRUITED IN	FREELANCE WORK LOCATION	PARTNERS (if any)	RESTORATION	ARCAEOLOGY	HISTORICAL RESEARCH	ENGINEERING
1889	Periklis FOTİYADİS	Greece Ministry of Social Security, Greece Ministry of Transportation	İstanbul	1.Marco Langas, Demost. Paraskevas and Const.Pavlidis; İstanbul 2.Fotunato Pusterla and partners, İstanbul	YES			
1889	Belisarios MAKROPULOS	Anatolian Railways Company, private architect of sultan Abdulhamid II	İstanbul, Athens	A.Dimitrakopulo, İstanbul				
1889	Jacques ROSOLATO		İstanbul	1. G.H.Grischti, İstanbul 2. Eduardo Vuccino, İstanbul				
1891	Menelaos KASTURYADIS	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations						
1893	Karabet EKMEKÇİYAN/ BOGOSYAN	Construction site of A.Vallaury, Construction site of İsteypan Hamamçıyan, Turkey Republic's General Directorate of Foundations in Ankara and İstanbul			YES			
1894	Artin Harutyun ARSALANYAN		İstanbul					
1895	Eduardo VUCCINI		İstanbul					
1895	Mehmet Alaettin ÖZAKTAŞ	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations, Turkey Republic's General Directorate of Foundations	İstanbul	1. Stephan İZMİRLİYAN, İstanbul 2. İsmail Hakki, İstanbul	YES			
1896	Yorgi ZAHARYADİS	Municipality of Alexandria, Egypt; Bank of Ethniki Trapeza of Greece, Greece Ministry of Transportation	İstanbul, Cairo					YES
1899	İsteypan İSTEPANYAN	Offices of architects: Joseph Aznavur , A.Vallaury, Serkis Balyan, Vedad Bey, Joseph Eminyan, Alaattin-Edhem-Nuridjian partnership, Mongeri , Seyfi Arkan, Pappa, Fikri Santur, Zeki Aksöyek office and construction sites, Ottoman Ministry of Interior Affairs, Ottoman Ministry of Foundations	İstanbul	Architect Vahan	YES			
1899	Alexandre RAYMOND		İstanbul, France	V.Krisep and A.Antranik		YES	YES	
1900	Kasaboydos KLONARİDIS		İstanbul, Athens	1. M.Vlassiades, İstanbul 2. E.Faracci, İstanbul				
1900	Ioannis PİRİNYAS	İstanbul Docks Company	İstanbul, Athens	Constantin Pappas				
1900	Konstantin KIRYAKİDIS		İstanbul, Athens	1. Neocosmos (Yenidünya), İstanbul				
1900	Dimitri PEÇİLAS		İstanbul	Henri Vuccino and U.Puskulu, İstanbul				
1900	Aleksandr YENİDÜNYA (NEOKOZMOS)		İstanbul	1.Kyriakidis 2. Emile Faracci				
1901	Hrant YAKUPYAN		İstanbul	1. Levon Parseghian				
1901	Mihran AZARYAN	Municipality of Izmid	İstanbul					
1901	Kornelyus VALAVANİS		İstanbul, Athens, Piraeus, Volos, Kavala, Chios					
1901	Aleksandr TZONİS		İstanbul, Thessaloniki	Michel Georgiadis				
1902	Mehmet HİKMET	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations						YES
1902	Hüseyin Kamil	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations						
1902	Mehmet Salih	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations						YES
1903	Edhem Bey	Ottoman Imperial Museum, Paris Headquarters of Ottoman Public Debts Administration	İstanbul	Nouridjian		YES		

Table 2.(Continued) Professional activities
of architect graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise
Mektebi between 1882-1928

GRADUATION YEAR	NAME OF ARCHITECT	RECRUITED IN	FREELANCE WORK LOCATION	PARTNERS (if any)	RESTORATION	ARCAEOLOGY	HISTORICAL RESEARCH	ENGINEERING
1903	Odieşas PUSKULU		İstanbul, Athens	Henri Vuccino and D.Petsilas				
1903	Nikolaos HARALAMBİDİS		Turkey, Athens					
1903	Toma AGLİYADİ		İstanbul					
1903	Petro TZİOTİS		İstanbul, Athens					
1903	Dimitri ÇİLENİS		İstanbul					
1904	Othon ANDREADİS	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations, Municipality of Atikoviyyotiya, Greece Directorate of Thracian Refugees	İstanbul					
1904	Teodor AMIRADAKİS	Cairo Piroglezi company, Egyptian Railways, Greece Ministry of Maritime, Municipality of Piraeus						
1904	Ahiya MAVROMATİS	Greece Institute of Humanitarian Aid, E.A.P. Tekton company Korinthia organization for earthquake victims(AOSK) İ. and D. Yeorgopoulos company	İstanbul, Athens, Piraeus, Greece provincial areas					YES
1905	Zare	Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi						
1905	Hrant TERZİYAN	Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi						
1905	Osman Fikri	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations						
1905	Mehmet Asım KÖMÜRÇÜOĞLU	Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, Ottoman Ministry of Foundations	İstanbul		YES			
1906	Simeon MİLONAS	Egypt Ministry of Religion, Municipality of Athens, Greece Ministry of Transportation, Greece Ministry of Social Security, Macedonia Directorate of Refugees	İstanbul, Selanik					
1907	Mehmet Nihat NİGİZBERK	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations			YES			
1908	Panayot EPIVATİNOS	Greece Administration of Refugee Settlements	İstanbul, Athens, Xanthi					YES
1908	Thrasivoulos RİZOS (HACİRİZOS)	Municipality of Konya, Ottoman Imperial Museum- as collaborator, Turkish republic Thracian railways, Greece Ministry of Public Education	İstanbul, Crete Chania, Beyrouth, Athens		YES	YES		YES
1908	Zaharias HANOPOULOS	Yunanistan Sosyal Yardımlaşma Bakanlığı	İstanbul, Selanik					
1908	Tahsin Sermet	Ottoman Municipality of 6th Arondissement	İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir					YES
1908	Konstantin LAMBRİNOS	İstanbul Municipality Halkideon Municipality E.A.P.	İstanbul, Athens					
1908	Konstantin YİOTOPULOS		Thessaloniki					
1908	Nikolaos ZOUBOULİDİS	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations Berlin Ludovigo Hoffman office Berlin Museum Volos Municipality Ethniki Trapeza Bank of Greece Greece National Office of Technical Services	United States					
1909	Vasil KALINOĞLU	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations, Ottoman Ministry of Public Works, Kavala and Xanthi Council of Refugee Settlements	İstanbul, Komotini		YES			
1909	Yorgo ZARİFİS	Atikoviyyotiyo Municipality						
1909	Kozmo PİSTİKAS	Ottoman Anatolian Railways Company Siemens- Schukert Company Greece Ministry of Public Health	İstanbul, Osmaniye, Athens					YES

GRADUATION YEAR	NAME OF ARCHITECT	RECRUITED IN	FREELANCE WORK LOCATION	PARTNER (if any)	RESTORATION	ARCAEOLOGY	HISTORICAL RESEARCH	ENGINEERING
1909	Alikis CELEPİS		France, Athens					
1910	Anastas BİRDAS		Thessaloniki					
1911	Leonidas PALAILAGOS		Thessaloniki					
1911	Mukbil Kemal	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations -also possibly-Ottoman Ministry of Public Education						
1911	Vangel RANOZ		İstanbul	Mehmet Nail				
1911	Apostol PİSTİKAS		İstanbul					
1912	Yani EKSERTZİS		Athens					
1912	Mustafa Şemsettin ŞENİZ	Ottoman Ministry of Public Works İstanbul Municipality Adapazarı Factory Ottoman Ministry of Public Education						
1912	Ali Vasfi EGELİ	Ottoman Ministry of Foundations			YES			
1912	Torkom ÇUBUKÇUYAN		İstanbul	Hüsnü Tümer				
1912	Maximilyanos RUBENS		Thessaloniki					
1913	Mehmet Ali	Ottoman Museum of Muslim Foundations						
1913	Vasil MELAGIOS	Turkish Ministry of Maritimes, İstanbul Municipality, architect of Ottoman sultan's palaces, Greece Macedonia Directorate of Refugees, Serres Municipality	İstanbul, Thessaloniki					
1913	Ömer Sırrı BİLEN		İstanbul					
1914	Anastasio IOANNİDİS	Ottoman Ministry of Warfare, İstanbul company of real estate, Greece Macedonia Directorate of Solidarity, Greece Ministry of Public Education	İstanbul, Thessaloniki	1. Malamas 2. S.Pandelides				
1916	Arif Hikmet KOYUNOĞLU	Ottoman Ministry of Warfare, Ministry of Foundations	İstanbul Ankara		YES			
1918	Mehmet Sedat ÇETİNTAŞ	Turkish Republic Ministry of Public Education Turkish Republic Parliament membership Turkish Republic Office of Heritage and Surveys ("Eski Eserler ve Rölöve Bürosu")			YES		YES	
1919	Stelyo KSENAKHİS		İstanbul, Athens					
1923	Şahabettin UZLUK	Berlin H.Jansen office, Konya Military School as teacher, Konya Association for Monuments					YES	
1926	Salih Süreyya YÜCEL	İstanbul Trustee of Prince Islands, Trabzon Trustee of Education, Ankara Municipality, Afyon Special Provincial Administration, Maraş Municipality, Turkish Republic Directorate of Foundations			YES			
1928	Mehmet Macit Rüstü KURAL	Turkish republic Ministry of Public Education Directorate of Historical Heritage ("Asar-ı Atika Müdürlüğü")			YES			
1928	Ömer Sedat H.ELDEM	Academy of Fine Arts	İstanbul				YES	
1928	İzzettin TAŞÖREN	Turkey republic Ministry of Public Education, İstanbul Municipality						

Table 2.(Continued) Professional activities of architect graduates of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi between 1882-1928

As for the works in relation to the Turkish-Islamic architectural heritage, a very early name would be Periklis Fotiyadis (*diploma 1889*), whose interest was limited to his appointment to support the post-1894 earthquake restorations in Istanbul. As for Alexandre Raymond, he is known to have done historical researches and surveys on early Ottoman edifices and later published them (*A. M. Raymond, 1924*). Thrasivoulos Rizos (*diploma 1908*) also did restorations of Seljuk monuments for Konya municipality. Interest in this field increased considerably after 1906; those working on architectural history are Sedat Çetintaş (*diploma 1918*), Şahabettin Uzluk (*diploma 1923*) and Sedad Hakkı Eldem (*diploma 1928*). This interest is also manifested in their architectural works designed in the 1st National Architectural Movement style. On the other hand, on assignment of Kemalettin Bey as its administrator, Ministry of Foundations Repairs and Constructions Office recruited many architects. Following, a comprehensive knowledge accumulation about the Ottoman-Turkish architectural heritage and a crowded restoration experts group was formed there. Mehmet Asım Kömürçüoğlu (*diploma 1905*), Mehmet Nihat Nigizberk (*diploma 1907*), Vasil Kalınoglu (*diploma 1909*), Ali Vasfi Egeli (*diploma 1912*), Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu (*diploma 1916*), Salih Süreyya Yücel (*diploma 1926*) specialized in restorations in this office. As for graduates Karabet Bogosyan/Ekmekciyan (*diploma 1893*), Mehmet Alaettin Özaktaş (*diploma 1895*) and Istepan Istepanian (*diploma 1899*), they have done both restoration works in the Ministry of Foundations, and freelance architectural works beforehand. Mehmet Sedat Çetintaş (*diploma 1918*) was working at Antiquities and Survey Office (“*Eski Eserler ve Rölöve Bürosu*”), and Mehmet Macit Kural was working for Heritage Directorate (“*Asar-ı Atika Müdürlüğü*”) while working on restorations.

4. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

The primary motivation behind Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi was to establish a Fine Arts Administration that would effectuate

a cultural policy based on cultural heritage elements, and the school was envisaged as an important component of it. This ideal could not be fully realized; and its initially functioning core, the integrated Museum-Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi system, embodied in the personality and position of Osman Hamdi Bey, was impaired after his death. Instead, the Ministry of Foundations, restructured under the leadership of architect Kemalettin Bey, and in cooperation with the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, emerged with its new cultural policy emphasizing Turkish-Islamic edifices, to which the Museum agreed, but maintained a more isolated and passive position. The biggest difference between the two initiatives was the intense nationalist conduct of Kemaleddin Bey and the Ministry of Foundations under his influence, in comparison to Osman Hamdi Bey’s rather international vision. As is, this duality is also felt in the emergence of disparate Architect-Engineer Associations, one with Turkish and the other French names.

On the other hand, in its initial 45 years, the architecture department of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi succeeded in drawing a respectable and modern ‘architect’ profile to replace the common laborer image in the eyes of the Ottoman society. Much progress was achieved in terms of both the architectural education and the prestige of its diploma; which was instrumental in the establishment of a professional association and the making of professional publications. Whereas positive discrimination was in effect to employ Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi graduates in state institutions, the profession in general ceased to be just a service done under the auspices of the sultan, and architects were no longer laborer subjects who could do business only owing to the grace of that patronage. Despite the war and chaotic atmosphere since 1912 and the serious loss of people and architects, Turkish architecture had already become an independent professional group balancing its own dynamics in the changing socioeconomic conditions as of the first years of the Republic.

Thanks to the motivation created by the competition-based structure of education and by the opportunities to work with professors and workshop managers such as Vallauray, Vedat Bey and Mongeri, new graduates were able to adapt to new building programs and multi-storey building constructions in line with the requirements of the new century and especially the rapidly developing service sector in Istanbul. Within this framework, the weak belly of the Architecture Department of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi seems to be the mastery of new materials and modern construction technology. Curriculum would not be reorganized to cover these subjects until 1908. The lack of domestic production of iron and steel components and their high costs must have negatively affected the attainment of this expertise. As for reinforced concrete, there were initially reservations about its robustness. For both new technologies, cooperation with engineers was necessary, which explains the dominancy of engineers in the Ottoman Society of Architects and Engineers, pioneered by Kemalettin Bey. On the other hand, the early 20th century graduates embraced the 1st National Architectural Movement, a derivative of Vallauray eclecticism, promoted by Kemalettin and Vedat Bey, as the architectural discourse of the post-Constitutional freedom period, with an emphasis on indigenous historical references increasingly merging with nationalist sentiments. In parallel, Art Nouveau, another modern style that was not nation-specific in attitude but defended individual freedom regardless of origin and socioeconomic status, also found many supporters among newly graduated architects. Altogether this is another manifestation of the previously mentioned duality of universal or nationalistic cultural policies. In this sense, the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi environment must have served as a medium for discussion and reconciliation, similar to the Ecole des Beaux Arts of perhaps fifty years ago.

As a result, Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi

played an important role in the institutionalization of the architectural profession in the country, as well as the evolution of the architect from the subject to the individual, and the transition of the built environment from the eclectic to the modern. Through cooperation with the Museum and the Ministry of Foundations, the School, with its academic staff, student and alumni presence, has been instrumental in the development of modern cultural policies, where tangible cultural assets and architectural heritage assumed significant roles.

REFERENCES

- B.A.H., (Béton Armé Hennebique. (1913, May). La Turquie Dix Ans de Bétonarmé (1902-1912). Le Béton Armé. CAA.
- Başak, B. (2016). Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun 1910 Münih "İslam sanatının Şaheserleri" Sergisi'ne katılımı: Arşiv Belgeleri, eserler ve Etkileri. In Geç Osmanlı döneminde sanat mimarlık ve kültür karşılaşmaları (pp. 279–292). İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- BOA BEO 1689-126654. (1901). BOA BEO 1689-126654 (BEO 1689-126654). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA BEO 2576-193195. (1905). BOA BEO 2576-193195 (BEO 2576-193195). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA BEO 3497-262214. (1909). BOA BEO 3497-262214 (BEO 3497-262214). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA Cevdet Maarif-3964. (1801). BOA Cevdet Maarif-3964 (Cevdet Maarif-3964). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA DH.MKT 960-84. (1905). BOA DH.MKT 960-84 (DH.MKT 960-84). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA DH.MKT 1791-82. (1890). BOA DH.MKT 1791-82 (BOA DH.MKT 1791-82). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA HH-23977 sandık-92, no-60. (1834). BOA HH-23977 sandık-92, no-60 (DABOA HH-23977 sandık-92, no-60). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA İ.DH 65013. (1880). BOA İ.DH 65013 (İ.DH 65013). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA İ.DH-67709. (1882). BOA İ.DH-67709 (İ.DH-67709). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA İ.MMS 2666. (1877). BOA İ.MMS 2666 (DABOA İ.MMS 2666). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA MF.MKT 94-112. (1887). BOA MF.MKT 94-112 (MF.MKT 94-112). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA MF.MKT 149-21. (1892). BOA MF.MKT 149-21 (MF.MKT 149-21). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA ŞD 220-26 (ŞD 220-26). (1905). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- BOA ŞD 221-6. (1906). BOA ŞD 221-6 (ŞD 221-6). T.C.

- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
BOA ŞD 603-16. (1908). BOA ŞD 603-16 (ŞD 603-16). T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.
- Cezar, M. (1983). Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nden 100.Yılıda Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi'ne. In *Güzel Sanatlar Eğitiminde 100 Yıl* (pp. 5–84). Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi.
- Cezar, M. (1995). Sanatta Batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi (Vol. 2). Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı.
- Eldem, E. (2010). Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.
- Épron, J. (1997). Comprendre l'éclectisme. Norma.
- Ersoy, A. (2000). On the Sources of the "Ottoman Renaissance": "Architectural Revival and its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861-1876)" [Doktora Tezi]. Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.
- Gençel, Ö. (2021). Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (1882-1928) [Doktora Tezi]. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Günergün, F. (2009). Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimarları Arasında İlk Cemiyetleşme Teşebbüsleri. In Ünalın, Çetin (Ed.), *Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti: Belgeleriyle* (1. baskı, pp. 41–74). TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi.
- Halil Edhem. (1924). Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu- Doç. Dr.Muharrem Kaya transkripsiyonu. Maarif Vekaleti.
- Hastaoglou-Martinidis, V. (2010). 20.Yüzyılın Başlarında İstanbul'a Betonarme Teknolojisini Getiren Rum Mimarlar. In *Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Rum Mimarları. Zoğrafyon Lisesi Mezunlar Derneği*.
- İAMA Dosya 16. (1904). İAMA Dosya 16 (Yabancı dilde yazışmalar arşivi). İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi).
- İAMA Karton 2 Mektep no 336 ve eki. (1905). İAMA Karton 2 Mektep no 336 ve eki (Karton 2 Mektep no 336 ve eki). İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi).
- İAMA Karton 4. (1908). İAMA Karton 4 (Karton 4). İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi).
- İAMA Karton 91 belge no:27,1a ve 1b. (1913). İAMA Karton 91 belge no:27,1a ve 1b (Karton 91 belge no:27,1a ve 1b). İAMA (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi).
- Kahraman, S. A. (2006). Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti. Kitabevi.
- Koyunoğlu, A. H. (2008). Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e bir mimar: Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: anılar, yazılar, mektuplar, belgeler (1. baskı). YKY.
- Kula Say, S. (2014). Beaux Arts Kökenli bir Mimar Olarak Alexandre Vallauray'nin Meslek Pratiği ve Eğitimciliği Açısından Kariyerinin İrdelenmesi [Doktora Tezi]. İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi / Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
- Kula Say, S. (2016). Belgeler Işığında 19.Yüzyıl Sonu-20.Yüzyıl Başı Türk Mimarlığında Teknik İçerikli Tartışmalar. In G. Çelik (Ed.), *Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sanat, Mimarlık ve Kültür Karşılaşmaları* (pp. 161–190). İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Lepage, A. (1890, Juin). Les Beaux Arts a Constantinople. L'Artiste, 439–448.
- Muşmal, H. (2009). Osmanlı Devleti'nin eski eser politikası: Konya Vilâyeti örneği, 1876-1914 (1. baskı). Kömen Yayınları.
- Raymond, A. (1908). Notes Pratiques et Resumés sur l'art du constructeur en Turquie. Typo-Lithographie Centrale I.Della Rocco.
- Raymond, A. (2011). [Interview in person].
- Raymond, A. M. (1924). L'Art islamique en Orient. 2eme partie, Fragments d'architecture religieuse et civil. Librairie Raymond.
- Rizos, T. (1907, January 26). Lettre de Konia , Konia 17 Janvier. Levant Herald and Eastern Express, 54.
- Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi. (1893, November 16). Servet-i Fünun, 140.
- Şenyurt, O. (2002). 1800-1950 Yılları Arasında İstanbul'da Faaliyet Gösteren Rum Mimarlar [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
- Shaw, W. (2000). Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923. *Ars Orientalis*, XXX, 55–68.
- Stamboul. (1882, March 16). Nouvelles de l'Interieur. Stamboul, 1.
- Stamboul. (1891, December 1). L'Exposition de l'Ecoles des Beaux Arts. Stamboul, 1.
- Stamboul. (1894, April 4). A L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. Stamboul, 1,2.
- Stamboul. (1903, September 29). Au jour le Jour: L'Ecoles des Beaux Arts. Stamboul, 1.
- Stamboul. (1906, August 9). Le Musée Imperial. Stamboul, 1.
- Stamboul. (1910, January 10). La Poignée des Nouvelles. Stamboul, 2.
- Stamboul. (1922, September 20). La Poignée des Nouvelles. Stamboul, 2.
- Thalasso, A. (1907, Mai). Orient. L'Art et Les Artistes, 5(Avril-Septembre 1907), 220–221.
- Ünalın, Ç. (2009). Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti (OMMC) Ortamı. In Ünalın, Çetin (Ed.), *Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti: Belgeleriyle* (1. baskı, pp. 9–40). TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi.
- Uras, B. (2012). İtalya'dan İstanbul'a Uzanan Bir Yaşam Öyküsü Edoardo De Nari (1874-1954). In *Değişen Zamanların Mimarı Edoardo De Nari 1874-1954* (pp. 18–63). İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü.
- Ürekli, F. (1997). Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nin kuruluşu ve Türk Eğitim Tarihindeki Yeri [Doktora Tezi]. İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- M Personeli İstapan İstepanyan dosyası (D.1740). (n.d.). Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Personel arşivi.
- VGM Personeli Karabet Ekmekciyan/Bogosyan dosyası (D.1738). (n.d.). Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Personel arşivi.
- Yavuz, Y. (1981). Mimar Kemalettin Bey (1870-1927). *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7(1), 53–76.
- Yerusiastyu, N. K. (1934). Yunanistan Teknik Bürosu Yıllığı (Vol. 2). Yunanistan Teknik Bürosu Yayınları.
- YTB Belisarios Macropoulos dosyası. (n.d.). Yunanistan Teknik Barosu arşivi.
- YTB Othon Andreadis dosyası. (n.d.). Yunanistan Teknik Barosu arşivi.
- YTB Thrasivoulos Rizos /Hacırizos dosyası. (n.d.). Yunanistan Teknik Barosu arşivi.