

# Interventions in the Historic City

## *The role of three women conservation-architects during the 1950s*

BURCU SELCEN COŞKUN

State-led heritage conservation which initially started to be institutionalised in the Tanzimat Period (1839–1876) in Ottoman Empire continued throughout the 1950's in the Republican period. The general approach of these early years towards architectural conservation was the maintenance and safeguarding of symbolic historic buildings that had been considered monuments. During the foundation years of the Republic, there was limited activity in the construction industry and the nation lacked enough economic resources in all fields. The few conservation activities were targeted to save the lives of symbolic buildings, such as mosques, inns or caravanserais in Anatolia. Only a small group of architects and technicians were commissioned in the restoration projects of these monumental buildings, some of which were turned into state offices and others like Hagia Sophia or the Topkapı Palace complex were given new functions as museums. Whilst founding a new state in the post-first world war period, the focus was on the capital city and surroundings, which undoubtedly carried new meanings for the nation building process. Cana Bilsel suggests that İstanbul, as the former Ottoman capital city, might have been intentionally deprived of public funds in the early republican period. On the other hand, no matter how scarce the resources had been, there was still a continuous effort to rescue significant buildings from demolition.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Bilsel, Cana. "Les Transformations d'Istanbul: Henri Prost's planning of Istanbul (1936–1951)", *AIZ İTÜ Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 8, no.1, (2011), 100–116. Giving historic buildings a new function as museums was a preference that the state favored in the early years of the Republic, while this allowed the state to select and easily visualize a particular past, construct an identity out of it and then represent it to its people. This also helped clear off all the other (perhaps contested?) narratives these buildings used to house.; Shaw, Wendy. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. argues that this may reflect the general perception of the past in the modern era, when museums as institutions became more established and expanded. Coşkun, Burcu Selcen. "Scraping the layers: Tahsin Öz and his stylistic restorations in Topkapı Palace Museum", *AIZ İTÜ Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 15, no. 3, (2018), 1–12.; Açıkgöz, Ümit. "On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican Istanbul (1923–1950)", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1, no. 1:2, (2014), 167–185.

The actors of these early restorations such as Nihat Niğizberk, Macit Kural and Sedat Çetintaş, were architects who had special interest in historical structures and became experienced working with ancient buildings on site. It was an advantage when it came to restore ancient buildings that traditional building techniques were still living and there were enough qualified craftspeople who could still work on traditional details.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's telegram to İsmet İnönü from Konya during his Anatolia trip in March 1931 highlighted the issue of neglected monumental buildings in the country which needed urgent care. The telegram can be considered as a warning for the dilapidated state of architectural heritage in central Anatolia. The telegram created the motivation to establish a commission for the protection of historic buildings. The commission published a report which drew attention to issues like the need for a central institution managing the facilities related to the conservation of monuments and the significance of raising public awareness for the protection of historic buildings.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, in Istanbul, the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni), founded in 1917<sup>3</sup> was still active in the decision-making processes for the preservation of historic monuments.<sup>4</sup> A central governmental body which would be dealing with historic buildings throughout the country was first established in 1951 and would undertake the duties of this institution.

This article initially aims to highlight state led interventions in the historic urban core of the city of Istanbul in the 1950's, which led to the destruction of this historic urban fabric as part of the public space. Ironically these years also marked a visible increase in the number of restorations of monumental buildings in the city. Getting ready for the commemorative celebrations of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople, the government and the municipality were occupied with commissioning new conservation projects to safeguard the monumental Ottoman heritage.<sup>5</sup> These buildings were symbolic monuments of the public space, which all had established meanings in the collective memory. Although there were severe consequences of the urban interventions in late 1950's, which significantly damaged the architectural heritage of the city, simultaneous activities in the conservation field are worthy of mention. Among the conservation experts who were involved in these activities during 1950–60s are Cahide Tamer, Selma Emler and Mualla Eyüboğlu, three women architects of the period. They took active roles in the restoration of Istanbul's monumental heritage and oversaw many important restoration projects conducted by state institutions. By coincidence, all three took part in the restoration project of Rumeli Fortress, another important project of the government in the 1950s, while prime minister Adnan Menderes' urban development activities were taking place in the historic core and transforming Istanbul. This chapter will shed a light on the women's early years

<sup>2</sup> Madran, Emre. *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800–1950*, (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi yayını, 2002).

<sup>3</sup>See Aykaç, Pınar. "The Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities and its role in the appropriation of İstanbul's diverse heritage as national heritage (1939–1953)". *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 62 (2020). 75–99, for a detailed reading of the Commission.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*; Neriman, Şahin Güçhan and Kurul, Esra. "A History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the Mid 19th Century until 2004", *METU JFA*, no. 2 (2009). 19–44.

<sup>5</sup> Alunyıldız, Nur. "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları (İstanbul 1923–1973)", Phd diss., (Istanbul Technical University, 1997).

when they built up their careers and then will intentionally focus on Rumeli Fortress restoration in the post-war period to offer an evaluation of one of their most important works. The chapter will conclude with remarks on the efforts and achievements of the three women architects, who reflected the professional image of women in society during the 1950s–1960s.

## Interventions to the architectural heritage of Istanbul

Towards the end of the 1940s, *Arkitekt*, a popular architectural journal of this period and some newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet* started to spotlight the emerging urban issues concerning the city. Having borrowed this critical discourse immediately before the local elections in 1950, Democrat Party members were declaring that they were willing to change the “neglected and miserable appearance of the city”.<sup>6</sup> The single party period in Turkey lasted until the end of the Second World War and the transition from the single-party system to a multiparty one occurred in 1945. Although Turkey hadn’t taken part in the Second World War, the nation was in an economically shaken state due to emerging global economic and political programs in the aftermath of the war. Searching to be connected to world markets, the economic politics of the country shifted direction and the market economy encroached on all parts of life. This is regarded as a milestone in architecture and building production.<sup>7</sup>

The elections of 1950 marked the end of the early Republican period and brought in a series of liberal socio-economic changes that were to shape Istanbul’s urban form. In 1950, the Democrat Party government was announced and Adnan Menderes was appointed as the prime minister. This change in politics introduced the country to concepts such as liberalism, industrialisation, and rapid urbanism. Beginning from the 1950s, large numbers of people from rural parts of the country and from small towns were drawn towards urban centres in search of better employment and more decent living conditions. As the residential preferences of the middle and upper classes were modified, they preferred to move outside the historic areas of Istanbul. As a result, historic buildings in “the dense urban fabric of narrow, meandering streets”<sup>8</sup> of old Istanbul were either abandoned, sold or became the home of poor migrants from small Anatolian cities. Historic quarters of the city which had by chance been preserved intact until the 1950’s started losing their unity due to the uncontrolled increase in population.<sup>9</sup>

The first official governmental institution of the Republic which dealt with the preservation of historic buildings was established in 1951. The mission of the High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve

<sup>6</sup> Akpınar, İpek. “İstanbul’u (yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı”, In *Cumhuriyet’in Mekanları/ Zamanları /İnsanları*, ed. Elvan Altan Ergut and Bilge İmamoğlu, (Ankara: Dipnot yayınları, 2010),107–124.

<sup>7</sup> Sey, Yıldız. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Mimarlık ve Yapı Üretimi”, In *75 Yılda değişen kent ve mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 33; Tekeli, İlhan. “1839–1980 Arasında İstanbul’un Planlama Deneyimleri, İcabında Plan”, *İstanbul*, no. 4, (1993), 33.

<sup>8</sup> Açıkgöz. “On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation”.

<sup>9</sup> Altınyıldız, “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları”, 7; Tekeli, “1839–1980 Arasında İstanbul’un”, 33; Tanman, Baha. “İstanbul’da Tarihi Eser Kaybı”, *Mimarist*, no. 20 (2006), 17–22; Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*, (New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2009), 127; Aygen, Zeynep. *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*, (USA: Routledge, 2013); Açıkgöz. “On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation”.

Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu) was to determine the principles of protection, repair and restoration of architectural and historical monuments in the country and to organise programs related with these principles. The Council primarily acted as the chief advisor to the government on the realisation of these principles. It commented on the issues and conflicts related with historic monuments and provided a scientific point of view in the decision-making process. The council continued its duty until the beginning of 1980's. It sought to introduce concepts such as documentation and listing and was influential in setting various regulations for the safeguarding of historic buildings. Its biggest achievement can be considered suggesting necessary regulations which later turned into acts on heritage protection throughout the country.

Starting from the early 20th century, Istanbul had been a stage for a number of significant interventions that had transformed the structure of the city. The coming to power of Adnan Menderes as the head of the Democrat Party overlapped with the establishment of the High Council. He was apparently keen on leaving his mark on the urban form of Istanbul. He considered the urban transformation of the city as the most important activity and would respond to the labour force which had been amassed in Istanbul in the post-war period. The government started seeking various tools to realise this goal. Within the period 1952–1956, a commission (the Committee of Advisors) was charged with the preparation of an urban plan for the whole city of Istanbul. Having been unable to complete this task, they could merely work on partial urban plans, such as the plan for the Beyoğlu region.<sup>10</sup>

The most crucial motivation of the Democrat Party (DP) for modernising the city was the accommodation of motorised traffic. The DP set their goals as “opening new boulevards and squares, making a more beautiful city and restoring the religious monuments in Istanbul”,<sup>11</sup> whereas Adnan Menderes, personally declared in 1956 that “Istanbul was to acquire an entirely new face and be turned into a modern city”<sup>12</sup>. So as to achieve these goals, the French urban-planner Henri Prost's proposals were undertaken during 1954–1958 by a group of planners guided by Menderes himself. These plans were almost completed and even extended in some parts.<sup>13</sup> These urban transformations, disassociated from Prost's initial vision, destroyed much of the older urban fabric and displaced large segments of the population until the coup-d'etat in 1960, which eventually terminated the period of the ruling party.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel and Akcan, Esra. *Turkey, Modern architectures in History*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 133.

<sup>11</sup> Altınyıldız. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları”.

<sup>12</sup> Akpınar, İpek. “Urbanization Represented in the Historical Peninsula: Turkification of Istanbul in the 1950s”, In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. Meltem Gürel, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 82–83.

<sup>13</sup> Gül, Murat & Lamb, R. “Urban Planning in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period”, *Architectural Theory Review* 9, no.1 (2004): 59–81; Gül. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*; Bilsel, Cana. “Les Transformations d'Istanbul”: Henri Prost's planning of Istanbul (1936–1951), *AIZ İTÜ Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 8, no.1 (2011), 100–116; Bozdoğan and Akcan. *Turkey*; Aygen. *International Heritage*, 106; Akpınar. “The Rebuilding”, 87.

<sup>14</sup> Akpınar. “İstanbul'u (yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı”.

## Simkeşhane, Hasan Paşa Hanı and Bayezid Bath along the Ordu Caddesi

The creation of new public spaces in the city was among the ambitious goals of the urbanisation project in the 1950s. The re-design of Bayezid Square and the re-evaluation of historic buildings around the square was one of the controversial cases for creating public squares. There were different and constantly changing opinions about how to transform the square<sup>15</sup> and according to Zeki Sayar, a Turkish architect and the editor of one of the most popular architectural journals of the time, *Arkitekt*, this indicated “the lousiness”<sup>16</sup> of Menderes’ urban transformations. The decision to enlarge the 9,5 m. wide tram road that passed by the former Bayezid Square (along Ordu Caddesi) initially to 12 m. and then to 30 m. caused significant changes to historic buildings that stood along this route, such as the Simkeşhane and the Hasan Paşa Hanı (fig. 1).

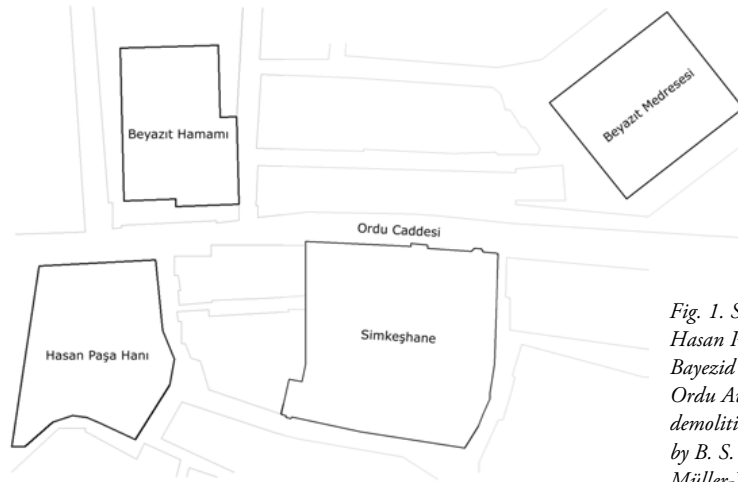


Fig. 1. Simkeşhane, Hasan Paşa Hanı and Bayezid Bath along Ordu Avenue before demolition. Graphics by B. S. Coşkun after Müller-Wiener 1977.

The Simkeşhane (sometimes referred as Simkeş Hanı) is one of the most characteristic buildings of Ottoman architecture along Ordu Caddesi. Used as a public library today, it was one of the imperial buildings that strengthened the central location of Bayezid in the 18th century. Designed by Mehmed Ağa and built in 1707, the Simkeşhane consisted originally of a *han* and a bazaar. The han also had a small mosque. The building used to be a workshop which produced *simkeş*, a silver thread and wire. It was dilapidated and abandoned after 1913. Thus, in 1926 the building was closed to public access due to severe safety reasons. During 1920–1928 parts of the Theodosios Arch had been unearthed on the building’s courtyard which brought an additional value to this interesting masonry structure.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Tanyeli, Uğur. “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent: Türkiye’de Planlama ve Çifte Bilinçlilik”, In *İlhan Tekeli İçin Armağan Yazılar*, ed. Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier and Murat Güvenç, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Zeki Sayar *quoted by* Altınyıldız. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları”, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Cantay, Gönül (a). “Simkeşhane”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 6, (1994), 561; Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *İstanbul’un topografyası*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi yayınları, 2001), 354.



Fig. 2. The 18<sup>th</sup> century elaborate façade of Hasan Paşa Hanı, picture taken around 1920s From Gurlitt, 1912.

In 1958–59, while the building was already in need of severe restoration, discussions about the building's future began. Another important historic structure along Ordu Caddesi was the Hasan Paşa Hanı, next to the Simkeşhane. The *han* was known to be built in 1740,<sup>18</sup> by Mustafa Çelebi, the imperial architect of the era. It was one of the sections of Hasan Paşa Complex, which used to house a medrese, a primary school and a fountain in Vezneciler.<sup>19</sup> The upper floor of the han was demolished in 1894. According to Doğan Kuban and Uğur Tanyeli, it was one of the most interesting structures of the Ottoman baroque period (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup>

On the plot at the opposite corner to Simkeşhane stands

Beyazıt Bath, a unique Ottoman structure which is regarded as one of the best examples of its type in Istanbul.<sup>21</sup> The building, which today houses a museum, had long been neglected and used for various functions. Another hot debate that started even before the enlargement activity in 1950's was to demolish the Bayezid Bath and in that way, as expressed in newspapers; "get rid of this dilapidated structure"<sup>22</sup>. Journalists, members of the Architect's Chamber and various writers of the time defended the Bath and protested the demolition decisions. With opposition from its members, the High Council finally decided that in order to compromise the planning project proposed by the local authority, the Simkeşhane's front façade (northern wing of the han) could be demolished. However, it was then announced that the road (Ordu Caddesi) would need to be even larger, 30 m., which introduced more challenges for the realisation of the planned demolitions. As further discussions on how to create extra space for the new road were keeping the agenda of the people responsible for Istanbul's urban development busy, architects and planners published a booklet campaigning against the project and any damage that it would bring to the so far intact Ottoman architectural heritage. The booklet suggested other solutions such as dividing the road into two directions and safeguarding the historic buildings between these two

<sup>18</sup> Cantay (1994b, 566), referring to the Pious Foundation records, states that the building was built in 1745.

<sup>19</sup> Kuban, Doğan. *İstanbul Yazıları*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Kuban. *İstanbul Yazıları*; Tanyeli. "Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent".

<sup>21</sup> Eyice, Semavi. "Bayezid Hamamı" *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2, (1994), 95–96.

<sup>22</sup> Altınıyıldız. "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları".

roads.<sup>23</sup> However, state planners regarded these solutions as being far too impractical and too costly to be realised. During the new arrangements conducted between 1957–1958, the levels of the former square changed, which caused the foundation levels of the remaining parts of the Roman arch in the courtyard of Simkeşhane to drop back to their original level and introduced new problems for the foundations of the Bayezid Bath; damaging the building even more than having been deserted for years, even before the arrangements had started to be implemented. In addition to this, 120 shops that surrounded Bayezid Mosque including the beloved cafe, Küllük Kahvesi, where the intellectuals of the city used to meet and interact, were abruptly knocked down.

After the enlargement process finished in 1958–59, the front façade (northern wing) of the Simkeşhane was completely demolished to make space for the new road.<sup>24</sup> Like the Simkeşhane, the northern wing of Hasan Paşa Hanı had to be totally destroyed, in accordance with the enlargement works conducted at Ordu Caddesi.<sup>25</sup>

Urban transformations directed personally by Adnan Menderes were ambitious acts and led to serious loss in the urban fabric of historical Istanbul and thus important consequences on the historic environment. Opening large boulevards between Unkapanı and Yenikapı was the starting point, followed by Millet Avenue connecting Bayezid, Topkapı and Vatan Avenue. Another new road was connecting Sirkeci to Yedikule which destroyed the pedestrian access to the seaside. Some more arrangements were also carried out to connect Bayezid to these roads.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout 1950–1960s, architectural heritage primarily meant monumental buildings. Preserving dense Ottoman street patterns as cultural heritage was unlikely. Many of the hundreds of buildings which were destroyed during the transformation process were historic structures of all scales such as small mosques, Turkish baths or fountains, all giving character to the traditional neighbourhood.<sup>27</sup>

The High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments was the main governmental body of the period and was active during the urban transformations in the historic centre. It advocated the protection of historic buildings threatened by the implementation of projects.<sup>28</sup> However, this was surely not an easy task, considering that the group of people who supported and personally took part in the demolition process were in the service of the state. These public servants were backed by the government and when accused of demolitions of historic buildings at judicial inquiries, none were found guilty.<sup>29</sup> Around the same time while the hot debate on the urban transformation of the city continued, the International Congress of Byzantine Studies (1955) took place in Istanbul.<sup>30</sup> This was taken as a rationale to start the restorations of the dilapidated Byzantine monuments in the

<sup>23</sup> Altınyıldız. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları”; Eyice. “Bayezid Hamamı”; Cansever, Turgut. *İstanbul’u Anlamak*. (İstanbul: İz yayınları, 1998); Tanyeli, “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent”.

<sup>24</sup> Cantay (a). “Simkeşhane”, 561.

<sup>25</sup> Cantay, Gönül (b). “Hasan Paşa Hanı”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 4 (1994): 566; Tanyeli. “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent”.

<sup>26</sup> Kuban. *İstanbul Yazıları*.

<sup>27</sup> Tanman, Baha. “İstanbul’da Tarihi Eser Kaybı”, *Mimarist*, no. 20, (2006), 18.

<sup>28</sup> However, Ekinci (2000) criticises the Council for not being firm of purpose against the demolitions.

<sup>29</sup> Çal, Halit. “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Devri Taşınmaz Eski Eser Tahribatı ve Sebepleri”, *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 1–2, V. 34, (1990). 353–378; Gül. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*.

<sup>30</sup> Kılıç Yıldız, Şule. “A Review of Byzantine Studies and Architectural Historiography in Turkey”, *METU JFA*, no. 28/2, (2011), 68.

city.<sup>31</sup> The celebration for the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople was also among the main targets of the government. Therefore, there was also an exaggerated interest emerging in the restoration of Ottoman monumental buildings such as different parts of the Topkapı Palace Museum, for instance the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, together with historic Byzantine structures like İmrahor Mosque and the Yedikule Golden Gate. It can be argued that the visible increase in the number of extensive restorations in Istanbul may reflect the intentions of the state aiming to hinder the reactions of the public towards demolitions.

These were the years when conservation architects were experiencing new methods and techniques in restorations. The experienced state architects of earlier periods were chief architects of different institutions responsible for the conservation of architectural heritage and they were passing on their knowledge on conservation methods and principles to younger generations who had become their apprentices. Among the most ambitious apprentices were three women who were ready to take on responsibility and in the 1950's their names were more often found alongside their male counterparts.

## Women conservation architects on the stage

Cahide Aksel Tamer (1915–2005) was one of these women architects who left her mark on the conservation field in 1950–1960s. She was born and raised in Istanbul. She attended in 1935 the Art Program in Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul. Having a keen interest in traditional Turkish arts like calligraphy, paper marbling and miniature painting, she decided to study architecture in 1938.<sup>32</sup> After her graduation in 1943, she started her career in the Office of Works of Architectural Surveys (*Rölöve Bürosu*), whose first director was Sedat Çetintaş, a well-known architect of the period, who had devoted his life to the conservation of historic monuments. As a young architect Cahide Aksel took responsibility for the restoration works of Hagia Sophia in 1943 and later in 1945 of the Chora Museum.<sup>33</sup> She worked in the General Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Museums under the Ministry of Education during 1943–1956, where she was one of the members of the team responsible for important historic structures such as Topkapı Palace Museum<sup>34</sup> and later starting from 1956, worked for the General Directorate of Pious Foundations Office of Monuments and Construction Works until her retirement towards the middle of 1970s. There, she worked with Ali Saim Ülgen, another very eminent conservation architect of the period whose professional guidance resembled a school for many young architects. During 1958–1961 she controlled the restoration of the Byzantine structure, the Golden Gate (Porta Aurea) in the Yedikule Fortress; one of her most significant works. Her approach was a particularly structural consolidation of the authentic parts of this valuable building. It is easy to fully comprehend her passion for architectural conservation from these words:

<sup>31</sup> Altınyıldız. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları”.

<sup>32</sup> Başarı, Başar. “30 Yıl Restorasyon: Cahide Tamer”, *İstanbul* (2005), 94–95. Tarih Vakfı Yayınları; Akkent, Olcay. “Hatırladıklarım ve Hatırlamadıklarım”, July 23th 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Akın, Nur. “Koruma Alanının Büyük Kaybı: Cahide Tamer”, *Mimarlık* no. 328, (2006), 10.

<sup>34</sup> Aydemir, Olcay. “Bir Kadın Vakıf Mimarı: Cahide Aksel Tamer”, *Restorasyon*, VGM yayını (2016), 37–43.



On high heels I climbed on the domes of Ayasofya, I wore my jump suit and worked on the masonry walls of Gebze Çoban Mustafa Paşa Complex. I enjoyed restoration works and what I did, I did them all with passion and love.<sup>35</sup>

Besides on-site experience, her desire to be informed on the theory of conservation is worthy of mention. Tamer's first study abroad was in Paris at the Department of Monuments Historiques in 1952. During a 2 months visit, she made technical observations on different restoration sites and made short term visits to historic sites in Italy and Spain. She stated later that she was especially influenced by the Italian approach to conservation and tried to adopt their principles on the restorations she had undertaken.<sup>36</sup>

Another woman conservation architect of the same period was Mualla Eyüboğlu Anhegger (1919–2009) who was born in Sivas, but due to her father's occupation was raised in Trabzon where her family had temporarily moved. With their artistic characters her two older brothers (Bedri Rahmi and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu) were idols for Mualla. As soon as she finished high school in Istanbul, she was registered to study architecture at the Fine Arts Academy where Bedri Rahmi, her elder brother was already teaching in the Arts (Painting) Department. She finished her studies in 1942 and was encouraged by her brother Sabahattin Eyüboğlu to get involved in the Village Institutes.<sup>37</sup> In 1943, Mualla Eyüboğlu went to Anatolia as the head of the Hasanoglan Village Institute Department of Building Skills.<sup>38</sup> Village Institutes scattered in different parts of rural Anatolia as one of the ideals of the young Republic government played an important role in the first years of the career of Mualla Eyüboğlu. She willingly worked in different village institutes, was involved in their architectural designs and met there the intellectuals of Turkey teaching at Village Institutes. In 1947 while working in Aydın Ortaklar Village Institute, she caught malaria and under difficult conditions had to quit working in Anatolia and return to Istanbul for her recovery.

As soon as she recovered from her illness in 1948, she started an academic career as a research assistant in the Fine Arts Academy (Urbanism), a period in her professional life which didn't last long. While working at the university, she spent her summers in Anatolia, attending the excavations at Ephesos and Yazılıkaya (directed by Albert Gabriel). From her words "If I hadn't seen Anatolia, hadn't learnt what I had learnt or worked with archaeologists at excavations, ... I wouldn't have been able to do what I have achieved. For I have no diploma for restoration", we understand that these had been significant experiences for her emerging career. It should also be noted that she became close friends with Halet Çambel during

<sup>35</sup> Sanal Mimarlık Müzesi. "Kubbelerde Yüksek Ökçeler", (Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Akın. "Koruma Alanının Büyük Kaybı: Cahide Tamer", 10.

<sup>37</sup> Village Institutes, as one of the national development projects of the early Republican era were established to modernize the rural parts of the country. At Village Institutes, there used to be practical (agriculture, construction, arts and crafts etc.) & classical (mathematics, science, literature, history etc.) courses to the young people living in villages. The topics of the education system focused on culture, arts, social sciences and economy. İsmail Hakkı Tonguç was both the head of the primary school education under the Ministry of Education and the founder of Village Institutes. He was a close friend of Mualla's older brother, the author and translator Sabahattin Eyüboğlu. Following her graduation from the architecture department in the Academy, Mualla received a call from Tonguç, inviting her to take responsibility at Village Institutes.

<sup>38</sup> Coşkun, Burcu Selcen. "Koruma Uzmanı Üç Kadın Mimar ve Türkiye Koruma Tarihindeki Yerleri", In *Kültürel Miras ve Kadın*, ed. Gökçe Şimşek, Mustafa Aslan, Dilşen İnce Erdoğan, Ayten Can and Birsen Erat, (Aydın: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi yay., 2017).

the Yazılıkaya Excavations, who was another important and ambitious woman character of the early republican period.<sup>39</sup>

In 1951, Albert Gabriel with whom Eyüboğlu worked at the Yazılıkaya excavations, recommended her to the newly established High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments of which she consequently became the first rapporteur. However, Mualla always preferred working on site than in an office. When she had the opportunity, she chose to be a state architect responsible for restoration sites of different monuments. Due to her passion for historic structures, she travelled long distances to control various restorations around the country. The works she undertook brought her experience, knowledge and skills. Throughout her career as a conservation architect, Eyüboğlu was the controller of the restorations of many Ottoman buildings such as Barbaros Tomb in Beşiktaş, Siyavuşpaşa Köşk (kiosk) and Sultan Tombs in the Hagia Sophia Complex. Her bold decisions she had taken for the restorations of the Harem section in Topkapı Palace (especially those of Velihaht Dairesi/Twin Kiosks) in early 1960s brought her work both approvals and discussions.<sup>40</sup>

Selma Emler (1920–92) whose name deserves to be mentioned among these three women conservation experts was born and raised in Çanakkale, where her father had worked as a doctor. She suffered from infantile paralysis at the age of 10, which gave her difficulty walking throughout her life. Like Tamer and Eyüboğlu, she attended the architecture department of the Fine Arts Academy and graduated in 1944. She started her career at the Ministry of Education as an architect and was involved in public school building designs for seven years. Being keen on ancient buildings, she preferred to continue her career in Topkapı Palace Museum. With her hard work at the Palace Museum starting from 1951, Selma Emler attracted the attention of Albert Gabriel, who later recommended Emler to French academic figures on conservation. Having received a bursary from the Turkish Government she went to Paris in 1957 for further studies. Emler stayed there two and a half years and completed a master's program on the conservation of historic buildings. Ten years later in 1969, receiving another scholarship (this time from UNESCO), she attended a programme at the University of Rome and carried her studies further. Selma Emler is also known to have attended the International Venice Congress in Italy (1964) together with Doğan Kuban, an architect, historian and academic at the Istanbul Technical University. She represented the Turkish state at the conference with her works that she had just accomplished at the Topkapı Palace Museum. In the same year, Emler also opened a photography exhibition on the same topic at the San Giorgio Maggiore Island close to Venice.<sup>41</sup>

There is not sufficient information on Selma Emler's personal life and she had not been in close touch with her colleagues as much as Tamer or Eyüboğlu. However, the long article she published on the restorations she had conducted at Selim IInd's Chamber in the Harem of Topkapı Palace,<sup>42</sup> is a valuable document. Having graduated from the same university and starting their careers around the same time, the three women had simultaneous practices in Istanbul during the 1950s and 1960s. Tamer and Eyüboğlu were both occupied with the Hagia Sophia

<sup>39</sup> Çandar, Tuba. *Hittit Güneşi Mualla Eyüboğlu Anbegger*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Coşkun. "Koruma Uzmanı Üç Kadın Mimar".

<sup>41</sup> Tanyeli. "Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent".

<sup>42</sup> Emler, Selma. "Topkapı Sarayı Restorasyon Çalışmaları", *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, 1 (1963), 211–312.

restorations at different periods. All three were controllers of different parts of Topkapı Palace Museum as state architects. At the Rumeli Fortress, they worked simultaneously completing each other's works. After the restoration, Afet İnan (1959) mentioned the three women and praised them in a magazine article with the title: "Rumelihisari was restored by three Turkish ladies" (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Picture of İnan (1959)'s article in the *Hayat* magazine praising the work of the three architects. Source: Tamer, 2001, 31, reprinted with kind permission from the publisher.

## Restoration of Rumeli Fortress as a national monument, 1955–1958

Located at the narrowest part of Bosphorus, Rumeli Fortress was built by the order of Mehmed II in 1452 and played a vital role in controlling the commercial and military traffic of Constantinople. The fortress was useful for a short period of time and while Constantinople was conquered several months after its construction, its massive appearance has always been reminiscent of a powerful Ottoman Empire and the building has been associated with the conquest of Constantinople. It also attracted the attention of different scholars. Albert Gabriel, the French archaeologist made a research on the building and worked on the reconstruction drawings of the fortress in his early career.<sup>43</sup> Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi also wrote about its history.<sup>44</sup>

In her research on international theory of architectural conservation, Zeynep Aygen (2013) writes on "the role of heritage in creating national myths". Rumeli Fortress is an appropriate case for Aygen's theory<sup>45</sup>. Being a fortress that Mehmed II constructed, it was one of the symbols of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. In the 1950s the imposing structure was once more used to remind citizens of a glorious Ottoman legacy. As the government aimed to realise the 500<sup>th</sup> anni-

<sup>43</sup> Gabriel, Albert. *İstanbul Türk Kaleleri*, (İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser serisi, 1941).

<sup>44</sup> Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, 855–886*, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1974), 1451–1481.

<sup>45</sup> Aygen. *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*.

versary of the conquest of Constantinople in 1953, it started a rapid opening of public spaces, mentioned at the first part of this article, and started a series of restorations, especially of those that had been erected in Mehmed II's era. The Ministry of Education and Istanbul Municipality together decided that as part of the framework of the commemorative program of the conquest, monuments of great importance should be restored, citing the Anadolu Fortress, Rumeli Fortress and Fatih Complex as the first projects.<sup>46</sup> However, the Rumeli Fortress' extensive restoration could only start in 1955. It was closely followed by Celal Bayar, the president of the period who was also present at the opening ceremony when the restoration was completed.

The restoration which lasted three years was regarded as one of the major and most meticulous state led restorations in the 1950s.<sup>47</sup> The major criticism for the restoration was for the condemnation and demolition of 23 timber houses within the walls of the fortress at the beginning of the restoration works. The houses which dated to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, almost consisted a small neighborhood. As a result of the decision to scrape the fortress off all other layers that had reflected sub-narratives in order to maintain its appearance as a symbol of victory, the fortress was cleared of these timber houses in 1953. Cahide Tamer expressed her regret much later by stating that she would have preferred to preserve some of these timber houses inside the fortress, because they actually had unique characteristics.<sup>48</sup>

The restoration project of Rumeli Fortress has been considered as one of the most significant works in the careers of the three women architects. As soon as High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments declared the principles to be followed in the restoration, Selma Emler was the first architect on the site controlling the ongoing works. She was soon followed by Cahide Tamer, who was going to lead the works until the end. Tamer acted as the chief supervisor of the restoration. She was responsible for the Fatih Tower; whereas Emler was responsible for the Çandarlı Halil Paşa Tower (Picture 4).<sup>49</sup>



Fig. 4. Letter showing the distribution of works by Directorate of Topkapı Palace Museum (signed on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1955 no. 732.21-620) Tamer, 2001, 96, reproduced with kind permission from the publisher.

<sup>46</sup> The commission responsible for the celebrations of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Conquest declared that 12 monuments had been chosen to be restored and for this task, 6 million liras spared and transferred from different ministries' budgets would be used (Altınyıldız. "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları").

<sup>47</sup> Altınyıldız. "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları".

<sup>48</sup> Başarı, "30 Yıl Restorasyon: Cahide Tamer".

<sup>49</sup> Tamer, Cahide. *Rumelihisarı Restorasyonu, Belgelerle ve Anılarla, 1955-1957*, (İstanbul: TTOK yayını, 2001).

When the fortress was announced to be ready for public visits in 1958, Mualla Eyüboğlu got involved in the project as the controller of the environmental design inside the fortress, which was a project achieved by an architectural competition in 1958. She worked on the site for another 3 years controlling the realisation of the environmental design project by Site Mimarlık Bürosu (Tekeli-Sisa-Hepgüler).<sup>50</sup> As for the theoretical approaches for the restoration, there is information to be gathered from what the three women architects had told and written. We understand that they followed the conserve as found principle. Cahide Tamer declared in her report (1956) that the restoration team didn't aim to scrape any historic layers off the fortress, but was to consolidate the building without ruining its original character<sup>51</sup>. The conservation team decided to leave the towers as they were and didn't reconstruct the spires as what had previously been suggested in reconstruction drawings by Gabriel. They also tried hard to decide on different mortars for the masonry walls and tried more than 30 samples before they decided on which one to use.<sup>52</sup> Mualla Eyüboğlu talked about her approach to the restoration later in an interview: “when you look at Rumeli Fortress today, it doesn't really look like it has been restored. We tried to freeze what was historic. We reproduced only the details that already existed, nothing else”.<sup>53</sup>



Fig. 5. General view from the front part of Fatih Tower, overlooking Bosphorus, after the environmental design was completed. Tekeli & Sisa, 1973, 17, reproduced with kind permission from Doğan Tekeli.

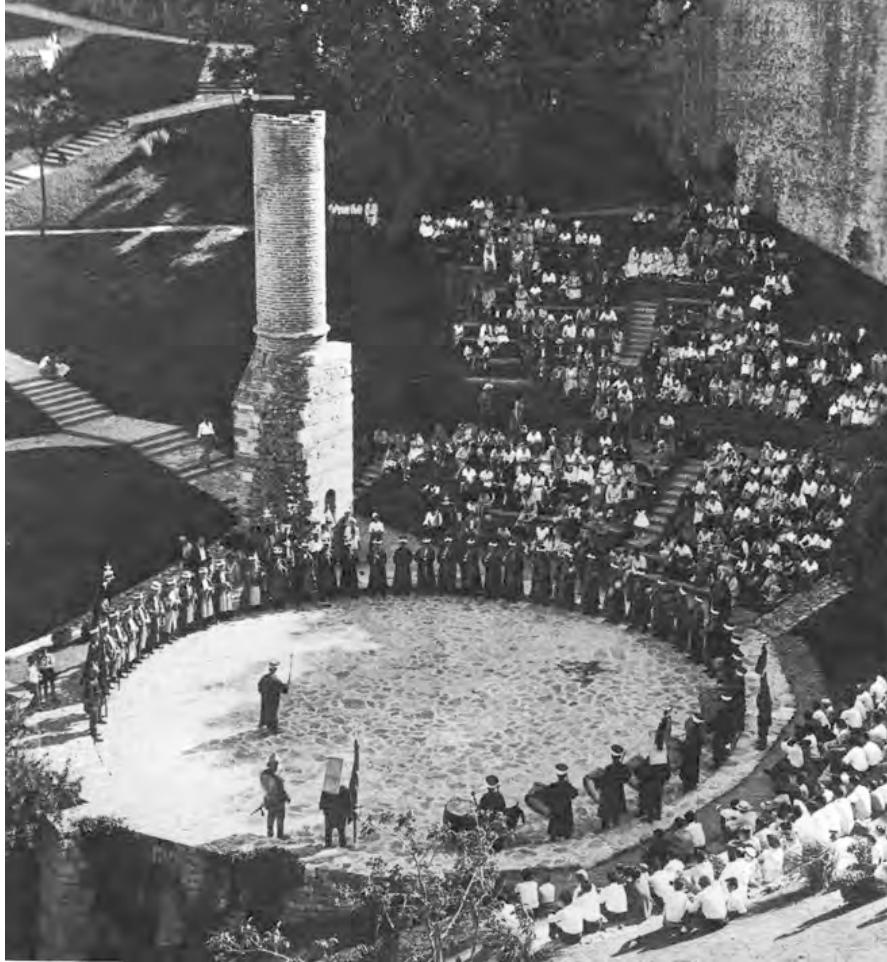
<sup>50</sup> Tekeli, Doğan. and Sisa, Sami. *Architectural Works 1954–1974*, (İstanbul, 1973).

<sup>51</sup> Tamer. *Rumelihisari*, 14–15.

<sup>52</sup> Altınyıldız. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları”; Tamer. *Rumelihisari*.

<sup>53</sup> Çandar. *Hitit Güneşi*, 103.

During Mualla Eyüboğlu's control, the public space<sup>54</sup> within the fortress which had been cleared from the ruins of a small mosque, was decided to be used as a performance space (fig. 5). Later she defended this decision stating that they decided to freeze the parts of the original minaret, which was the only architectural element that had remained from the original mosque and not to restore the whole mosque as it wouldn't be practical or suitable for the contemporary use of the fortress, when there was no settlement left. The space was then used only for concerts and plays.<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 6.)<sup>56</sup>



*Fig. 6. A performance on the stage inside the fortress, designed by Site Mimarlık Bürosu. Tekeli & Sisa, 1973, 18, reproduced with kind permission from Doğan Tekeli.*

<sup>54</sup> It should be noted that although it was neither a cultural-political arena of democratic engagement, nor one of the major centers of the city, this place is regarded as a 'public space', because there has been a strong interaction between people, visitors and performers at this place for a long period of time at a cultural dimension.

<sup>55</sup> Çandar. *Hitit Güneşi*; Coşkun. "Koruma Uzmanı Üç Kadın Mimar".

<sup>56</sup> This opinion changed in time and a small mosque was reconstructed inside Rumeli Fortress recently, in 2016, whereas the performance space by Site Mimarlık Bürosu (Architecture Practice) which used to serve public concerts and plays was completely demolished.

## Conclusion

The 1950s marked the years of rapid change in the urban fabric of Istanbul of which the historic environment had been kept untouched until then. Although there was serious progress at the state-led institutionalisation of conservation at the beginning of the decade, the ambitious urban transformation project during 1956–1959, supported vigorously by the prime minister Adnan Menderes, gave harm and caused a respectable amount of loss at the historic fabric of the city. Decisions taken by the authorities and protests raised by the intellectuals of the period couldn't stop the interventions and demolitions. These spatial transformations affected the formation of the historic public spaces in the city, the way people used these spaces and thus, in the long run, caused the weakening of people's memory of these areas. On the other hand, there was also an increase in the restoration activities as part of the beautification process of the city started by the government and municipality of Istanbul. Many state-architects took part in these restorations with remarkable efforts to protect historic buildings. The works of three women architects are certainly worthy of mention.

The three women who have been subject to this article were born and raised in the early republican era, which seemingly encouraged women<sup>57</sup> to be seen and recognised in the public sphere and participate in professional life. All three studied in the Fine Arts Academy, probably got influenced by the same teaching figures such as Celal Esad Arseven (teaching the module “Turkish Art and Architecture”) and Sedat Hakkı Eldem (organising the “National Architecture Seminar”) and graduated as young architects around the same years. Right after graduation, they worked for the state and developed their careers at the same state institution. They were remarkably successful in the works they undertook, always working on equal footing with their male counterparts. The common characteristics of these women were apparently their passion for historic buildings. Unlike their predecessors Leman Tomsu and Münevver Belen, who devoted themselves to architectural design,<sup>58</sup> they chose to work in the conservation field. Alongside their meticulous work in the field, they (especially Selma Emler and Cahide Tamer) also tried to widen their understanding of the science of conservation by further studies abroad. By coincidence, all three took part in the 1955 restoration of Rumeli Fortress and later, at different times, in the Topkapı Palace Museum Harem section restorations. All wrote long articles explaining their completed works in detail, which today shed light on the conservation history of Turkey. We might assume that throughout their careers, they experienced conflicts, sometimes even competing with each other. However, there is no doubt, they deserve to be remembered as leading figures of architectural conservation in Turkey.

---

<sup>57</sup> For another perspective that challenges this idea, see Arat, Yeşim. “The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey”, In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 95–112.

<sup>58</sup> Erdoğan Erkarıslan, Özlem. “Turkish Women Architects in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Era 1908–1950”, *Women's History Review*, 16, no. 4 (2007), 555–575.

## Bibliography

- Açıköz, Ümit. “On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican Istanbul (1923–1950)”, *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association 1*, no. 1:2 (2014), 167–185.
- Akkent, Olcay. “Hatırladıklarım ve Hatırlamadıklarım” July 23th 2010. <http://akkentolcay.blogspot.com.tr/2010/07/163-mehmet-osman-once-aliye-ile-sonra.html> (Accessed: 31.01.2019).
- Akın, Nur. “Koruma Alanının Büyük Kaybı: Cahide Tamer”, *Mimarlık*, no. 328 (2006), 10–11.
- Akpınar, İpek. “İstanbul’u (yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı”, In *Cumhuriyet’in Mekanları/ Zamanları /İnsanları*, ed. Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoğlu, 107–124. Ankara: Dipnot yayınları, 2010.
- Akpınar, İpek. “The Rebuilding of Istanbul revisited: Foreign planners in the early Republican years”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 50 (2014), 59–92.
- Akpınar, İpek. “Urbanization Represented in the Historical Peninsula: Turkification of Istanbul in the 1950s”, In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. Meltem Gürel, 56–84, New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Altınyıldız, Nur. “Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları (İstanbul 1923–1973)”, Phd diss., İstanbul Technical University, 1997.
- Arat, Yeşim. “The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey”. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 95–112, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Aydemir, Olcay. “Bir Kadın Vakıf Mimarı: Cahide Aksel Tamer”, *Restorasyon*, VGM yayını (2016), 37–43.
- Aygen, Zeynep. *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*, New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Aykaç, Pınar. “The Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities and its role in the appropriation of İstanbul’s diverse heritage as national heritage (1939–1953)”. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 62 (2020), 75–99.
- Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, 855–886*, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1974, 1451–1481.
- Başarır, Başar. “30 Yıl Restorasyon: Cahide Tamer”, *İstanbul*, no. 13, (2005), Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 94–95.
- Bilsel, Cana. “Les Transformations d’İstanbul: Henri Prost’s planning of Istanbul (1936–1951)”, *AIZ İTÜ Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 8*, no.1, (2011), 100–116.
- Bozdoğan, Sibel. and Akcan, Esra. *Turkey, Modern architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books, 2012.
- Cansever, Turgut. *İstanbul’u Anlamak*, İstanbul: İz yayınları, 1998.
- Cantay, Gönül (a). “Simkeşhane”, In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 6 (1994), 561.
- Cantay, Gönül (b). “Hasan Paşa Hanı”, In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 4 (1994), 566.
- Coşkun, Burcu Selcen. “Koruma Uzmanı Üç Kadın Mimar ve Türkiye Koruma Tarihindeki Yerleri”, In *Kültürel Miras ve Kadın*, ed. Gökçe Şimşek, Mustafa Aslan, Dilşen İnce Erdoğan, Ayten Can and Birsen Erat, 43–58, Aydın: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi yay., 2017.



- Coşkun, Burcu Selcen. "Scraping the layers: Tahsin Öz and his stylistic restorations in Topkapı Palace Museum", *AIZ İTÜ Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 15, no. 3, (2018), 1–12.
- Çal, Halit. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Devri Taşınmaz Eski Eser Tahribatı ve Sebepleri", *Ankara Ünv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 1–2, Vol. 34 (1990), 353–378.
- Çandar, Tuba. *Hitit Güneşi Mualla Eyuboğlu Anhegger*, İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2003.
- Ekinci, Oktay. "Türkiye'de Korumama Politikaları", *Mimarlık*, no. 292, (2000), 56.
- Erdođu Erkarşlan, Özlem. "Turkish Women Architects in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Era", 1908–1950, *Women's History Review*, 16, no. 4, (2007), 555–575.
- Eyice, Semavi. "Bayezid Hamamı", In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2, (1994), 95–96.
- Emler, Selma. "Topkapı Sarayı Restorasyon Çalışmaları", *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 1, (1963), 211–312.
- Gabriel, Albert. *İstanbul Türk Kaleleri*, İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser serisi, 1941.
- Gurlitt, Cornelius. *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1912.
- Gül, Murat & Lamb, R. "Urban Planning in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period", *Architectural Theory Review* 9, no.1, (2004), 59–81.
- Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2009.
- İnan, Afet. "Rumelihisarı'nı 3 Türk Kızı Restore Etti", *Hayat*, October 9, (1959), 41.
- Kılıç Yıldız, Şule. "A Review of Byzantine Studies and Architectural Historiography in Turkey", *METU JFA*, no. 28/2, (2011), 63–80.
- Kuban, Doğan. *İstanbul Yazıları*, İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2010.
- Madran, Emre. *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800–1950*, Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi yayını, 2002.
- Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *İstanbul'un topoğrafyası*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi yayınları, 2001.
- Sanal Mimarlık Müzesi. "Kubbelerde Yüksek Ökçeler", Yapı Endüstri Merkezi (2000), [http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/Gallery/kubbelerde-yuksekokceler\\_8.aspx](http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/Gallery/kubbelerde-yuksekokceler_8.aspx) (Accessed on 17.10.2019).
- Şahin Güçhan, Neriman and Kurul, Esra. "A History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the Mid 19th Century until 2004", *METU JFA*, no. 2, (2009), 19–44.
- Sey, Yıldız. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Mimarlık ve Yapı Üretimi", In *75 Yılda değişen kent ve mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey, 25–38, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.
- Shaw, Wendy. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Tamer, Cahide. *Rumelihisarı Restorasyonu, Belgelerle ve Anılarla, 1955–1957*, İstanbul: TTOK yayını, 2001.
- Tanman, Baha. "İstanbul'da Tarihi Eser Kaybı", *Mimarist*, no. 20, (2006), 17–22.

- Tanyeli, Uğur. “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite olarak Kent: Türkiye’de Planlama ve Çifte Bilinçlilik”, In *İlhan Tekeli İçin Armağan Yazılar*, ed. Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier and Murat Güvenç, 503–537, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004.
- Tanyeli, Uğur. *Mimarlığın Aktörleri Türkiye 1900–2000*, İstanbul: Garanti Galeri Yayını, 2007.
- Tekeli, Doğan. and Sisa, Sami. *Architectural Works 1954–1974*, İstanbul, 1973.
- Tekeli, İlhan. “1839–1980 Arasında İstanbul’un Planlama Deneyimleri, İcabında Plan”, *İstanbul*, no. 4, (1993), 33.