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Fig 1. Haydarpaşa German School at the beginning of the 1900s, students and parents stood in front of the western façade in the courtyard

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Modern Educational Building in Late Ottoman Istanbul: Haydarpaşa German School

colonial
educational buildings
Haydarpaşa German School
Istanbul, Turkey
late Ottoman period

In the late Ottoman period, foreign schools played a crucial role in educational modernization and cultural diplomacy. The Haydarpaşa German School, located in Istanbul and established as a branch of the Galata Bourgeois School, exemplifies Ottoman-German interaction in education and colonial architecture. Archival records reveal complex negotiations between the Ottoman administration and the German Embassy, reflecting broader geopolitical and cultural imperialist dynamics. The school follows the city school model, a disciplinary architectural approach emphasizing hierarchy, control, and efficiency, aligning with late 19th-century German pedagogical principles. A comparative analysis of the Galata Bourgeois and Yedikule German Schools shows that all three institutions adhere to the city school typology. Unlike the prevailing Neo-Ottoman or Orientalist styles, these schools adopted a rigid, regimented design, serving as tools of cultural imperialism. Its transformation after World War I and integration into the Turkish education system reflect shifts in foreign educational policies. Recent restoration efforts balance historical preservation with contemporary needs. This study positions the Haydarpaşa German School as both an architectural artifact and a colonial instrument, contributing to discussions on cultural imperialism, modernization, and education in the late Ottoman period.

INTRODUCTION

Foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire expanded significantly during the 19th century, spurred by the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) (1839-1876) and *Islahat* (Reform) edicts, which granted non-Muslims educational rights and property ownership. Protestant missionaries, initially targeting Muslims, later focused on non-Muslim communities, using schools for religious and cultural influence (Kılıç, 2005: 72).[1]

From a broader historiographical perspective, Foucault (1999: 16) critiques traditional historiography, arguing that historical analysis should move beyond continuity-based narratives, such as tradition and trace, and instead focuses on rupture and limit, highlighting how institutional transformations signify fundamental shifts in governance and ideology. Within this framework, the period from Tanzimat (1839) to the end of World War II (1945) represents Turkey's modernization phase, characterized by radical restructuring in education, architecture, and state policies. The proliferation of foreign and missionary schools during this period, including the Haydarpaşa German School examined in this study, reflects a break from pre-Tanzimat Ottoman educational traditions and aligns with the broader transition toward a centralized, European-influenced education system.

This study focuses on the Haydarpaşa German School, located in Istanbul's Kadıköy district, which exemplifies the intersection of foreign educational policies and urban modernization. It employs a multidisciplinary framework that integrates colonial imperialism, colonial architecture, and spatial politics to analyze the school as both an educational institution and a geopolitical instrument. Foucault's (1977: 141-195) concept of space as a political and ideological construct provides an analytical foundation for understanding how colonial architecture functioned as an aesthetic or functional entity and as a mechanism of governance, discipline, and cultural dominance. Within this framework, educational institutions in colonial contexts were not neutral spaces but instruments of power, reinforcing ideological structures through spatial organization, legal status, and administrative policies.

The Haydarpaşa German School's architectural layout, spatial organization, and diplomatic status can thus be interpreted as part of a broader strategy of modernization and social control, reflecting the Ottoman Empire's evolving imperial strategies of discipline and adaptation to European models. Colonial imperialism extends beyond economic and political dominance to include the built environment, whereby educational institutions played a central role in embedding Western ideological structures. The study's case Hardarpaşa German School, exemplifies how architectural forms and educational policies converged to reinforce social hierarchies, shaping both spatial practices and ideological control.

To analyze the spatial and ideological dimensions of colonial educational institutions within the broader context of modernization and cultural imperialism, this study employs the interpretive-historical method, which synthesizes narrative and analytical approaches to structure research findings (Groat, Wang, 2002: 138). This method relies on primary data, including archival documents analyzed and critiqued for the first time by the researcher (Bell, 1999: 125). A significant component of this research is the examination of archival sources from the *Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı* (Directorate of State Archives), which include government correspondences, licensing documents, and architectural plans. These materials provide critical insights into the bureaucratic negotiations and diplomatic tensions between the Ottoman and German states, particularly regarding the legal status, student composition, and educational policies of the school.

1 This article is based on a thesis study and represents an extended analysis of that research.

This study combines architectural historiography, archival research, and critical theory to examine the Haydarpaşa German School as a product of Ottoman-German diplomatic negotiations, modernization policies, and foreign educational strategies. By integrating archival documentation, architectural analysis, and theoretical insights, the research situates the school within the broader discourse on Ottoman-German educational relations, spatial organization, and modernization. Through this approach, the study explores how architecture, diplomacy, and power intersected in the late Ottoman period, shaping both the built environment and the ideological frameworks governing education and foreign influence. Additionally, by utilizing primary archival sources and architectural plans, the research highlights the Haydarpaşa German School's role as a cultural bridge between the Ottoman and German Empires, emphasizing its dual legacy as both a historical artifact and a living cultural institution.

Foreign Schools and Cultural Imperialism in the Late Ottoman Period

The Tanzimat Period marked a turning point in Ottoman modernization, enabling non-Muslims to establish schools aligned with their values (Ergin, 1977: 413; Aşkın, 2017: 977). Armenians, Greeks, and Jews founded schools emphasizing modern sciences, mathematics, and Western languages, fostering ties with Europe (Kaan, 2021: 357; Shaw, 2023: 86; Vahapoğlu, 1992: 70). The 1869 *Maârif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (1869 Public Education Regulation) secularized education and improved oversight of non-Muslim and Western schools, promoting coexistence and modernization across communities (Bozaslan, 2015: 313). The Ottoman Empire, although not a direct colony of Western powers, became a region of cultural influence, particularly from the second half of the 19th century onward, through architectural, educational, and economic projects. In this regard, the increasing presence of Western powers – especially Germany – can be analyzed within the framework of cultural imperialism.

Cultural imperialism is broadly defined as the process through which certain cultural products attain dominance in another culture due to the influence of political or economic power. This concept, though established, has faced criticism for oversimplifying cultural interactions by underestimating the agency of local cultures (Dunch, 2002: 303-305). As Tomlinson argues (1991: 25, 174-178), cultural imperialism is not always an intentional hegemonic project but often an outcome of global modernization processes. It operates through non-coercive means such as education, media, and cultural policy, thereby allowing dominant powers to assert influence over others without formal colonization (Moema, 1979).

Germany's approach to colonial expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries reflects this model of cultural imperialism. Rather than emphasizing territorial conquest, German policy revolved around economic penetration and infrastructural investment, notably via projects such as the Anatolian and Baghdad Railways. These ventures, supported by Deutsche Bank and firms like the Deutsche Handelsverein (est. 1880) and Deutsche Levantelinie (est. 1889), challenged British economic dominance and reinforced Germany's industrial ambitions (Christensen, 2017: 85-86). Labor hierarchies in these projects illustrated a multiethnic composition, with Germans occupying upper-level positions, while Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Italians, and Kurds formed the lower ranks. Between 1840 and 1906, German colonial ideology developed along two main axes: *emigration*-based cultural preservation and *economic colonialism*, the latter focusing on integrating colonies as extensions of the German economy rather than settlements (Smith, 1974: 641-645). This approach aligned with Germany's broader imperial vision, wherein economic infrastructure and cultural institutions operated in tandem to extend geopolitical influence.

Through these infrastructure networks, Germany institutionalized its presence in the Ottoman Empire, simultaneously projecting soft power via education. The Haydarpaşa German School, for instance, established in the early 20th-century Istanbul, symbolized Germany's broader geopolitical aspirations. Its architectural design and curriculum aligned with Germany's strategy of using educational institutions as instruments of cultural diplomacy (Kurmuş, 1974; Ortaylı, 1983; Yargıcı, 1972). As in other non-European territories, German schools in the Ottoman context operated as tools for ideological alignment, using education and architecture to assert hegemony and promote cultural values (Moema, 1979). These developments were closely tied to the Ottoman-German alliance, which gained momentum in the years leading up to World War I. The partnership was driven by mutual political, economic, and cultural interests, with Sultan Abdülhamid II and Emperor Wilhelm II fostering strategic cooperation (Gencer, 2003: 272). Recognizing the Ottoman Empire's economic and geopolitical vulnerabilities, Germany leveraged its investments in infrastructure, edu-

cation, and cultural institutions to institutionalize its presence within Ottoman modernization efforts (Baytar, 2010: 59).

This phenomenon was not unique to Germany. Western missionary schools across the empire also played a significant role in disseminating cultural values, promoting Western frameworks while serving imperialist ambitions (İnalcık, 2003: 181). They offered social services such as healthcare, but often clashed with state policy and raised concerns about national unity (Şahin, 1980: 124). The Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) brought reforms in native language education and women's schooling, marking an internal response to external cultural pressures and contributing to the formation of a national consciousness (Sonyel, 1999: 396; Karal, 1993: 18; Akbayar, 1985: 1444).

Educational institutions, therefore, must be understood as key instruments in the construction of ideological hegemony. As Bourdieu's (2015: 536-537) *Field Theory* suggests, educational institutions are central to the reproduction of cultural capital, reinforcing dominant ideologies and social hierarchies. Similarly, Martin Carnoy argues that capitalist education policies function as tools of both economic and ideological domination (Bowman, 1976: 833-841). Within this framework, Western-established schools in colonial and semi-colonial territories facilitated integration into global capitalist systems, promoting dependency and cultural assimilation (Koehl, 1975: 276-281; Herlihy-Mera, 2017: 33).

In the Ottoman context, these institutions shaped both individual identities and the built environment. Architectural choices were deeply symbolic; schools became visual markers of ideological presence and spatial manifestations of cultural imperialism (Arığ, 1999: 176). As Henry H. Hessup succinctly stated: "The basic condition for missionary success is schools" (Kılıç, 2005: 73). By the early 20th century, educational institutions had become integral to the social organization of non-Western territories undergoing modernization (Ünal, 2023: 241-242). Western and non-Muslim schools not only contributed to the economic mobility of their communities but also facilitated their integration into Ottoman modernization efforts (Ekinci, 2012: 319). However, insufficient state oversight allowed foreign curricula and religious doctrines to influence Ottoman students, raising concerns about cultural and ideological infiltration (Doğan, 2021: 79).

German schools in the Ottoman Empire exemplified this dual function. The *German Protestant Congregational School* in Beyoğlu (1850) initially served German-speaking settlers but later expanded its student base. The *German and Swiss Neighborhood School* (1868), later renamed the *Bourgeois School*, evolved into today's Istanbul Private German High School (Mutlu, 2020: 115, 117). Following Prussia's 1871 unification, Germany established eleven schools across Ottoman territories – including İzmir, Aydın, Jerusalem, and Jaffa (Atar, 2022: 220). Institutions such as the *Yedikule German School* (1875) and the *Bebek German School* (1896) – later relocated to Elazığ – further extended Germany's educational footprint (Mutlu, 2020: 117; Atar, 2022: 220). By 1915, Germany had expanded its presence to thirty-nine schools across the empire. These schools advanced a cohesive German identity and aligned with geopolitical investments such as the Baghdad Railway (Atar, 2022: 220). As extensions of German cultural policy, they played a key role in integrating Ottoman territories into a broader imperial vision, consolidating influence through education rather than conquest.

HAYDARPAŞA GERMAN SCHOOL AS A BUILDING OF COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE: DIPLOMATIC, ARCHITECTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FEATURES

According to Henry Lefebvre (1976), space is not merely a neutral container but a product shaped by historical and political processes, infused with ideological structures that serve specific power relations. Architectural spaces, including educational institutions, are produced as part of deliberate or subconscious political strategies, reinforcing dominant cultural and social hierarchies.

Colonial architecture, beyond its functional and aesthetic dimensions, operated as an ideological tool that reinforced the political and cultural dominance of colonial powers over indigenous societies. Djiar (2009) argues that the built environment does not merely reflect colonial authority but actively constructs cultural hierarchies and perceptions. Similarly, James-Chakraborty (2021) highlights that colonial powers employed architecture as more than just physical infrastructure; it functioned as a means of asserting cultural dominance, embedding Western narratives within local landscapes. This architectural framework symbolized Western modernity while simultaneously transforming indigenous identity perceptions. Furthermore, colonial architecture was intrinsically tied to economic exploitation, as Western capital and technology were integrated into local contexts, facilitating both material extraction and geopolitical influence. Rather than solely

enforcing spatial control, colonization introduced new administrative systems, construction materials, and spatial organization techniques, permanently embedding colonial influence into the built environment.

German colonial architecture exemplified these dynamics, serving as both a functional and ideological mechanism that reinforced racial and economic segregation through spatial organization. In colonial cities, European and indigenous populations were systematically assigned separate quarters, and these divisions were further entrenched through architectural planning (Bernbeck, 2024). The German administration actively employed urban design to materialize social hierarchies, ensuring the continuity of colonial dominance. By creating distinct living spaces for Europeans and indigenous communities, German colonial architecture transcended mere aesthetics, functioning as a structural instrument that institutionalized racial and cultural segregation. This spatial strategy was not limited to residential areas but extended to educational institutions, as foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire became more than centers of learning; they served as architectural manifestations of Western diplomatic and cultural influence, reinforcing geopolitical hegemony in the region. In this framework, foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire should not be regarded merely as educational institutions but as spatial projects reinforcing Western technological, economic, and cultural influence in the region.

The Kadıköy Haydarpaşa German School illustrates how German colonial strategies intertwined education with infrastructural expansion. Its location near Haydarpaşa Train Station (Fig. 2), a crucial trade hub, reflects Germany's broader geopolitical ambitions. Initially, German engineers and railway employees working on the Haydarpaşa-Baghdad Railway project sent their children to the German Bourgeois School in Galata, necessitating the establishment of a more accessible institution. Recognizing this need, the German Embassy proposed its establishment as a branch of the Galata Bourgeois School in 1903. By 1904, the school was fully operational, providing education aligned with German standards (Mutlu, 2020: 116; Salman, 1994: 30).

The school's foundation and early operations further reinforce its role within Germany's infrastructural and cultural expansion in the Ottoman Empire. Initially operating from a rented location at "Osmanağa Mahallesi, Rıhtım Caddesi," the school officially received its license on September 16, 1895, under the leadership of Monsieur Möhring. It started with ninety-four students and a teaching staff of five, including one Ottoman citizen responsible for teaching Turkish (Atılgan, 2021: 104). This integration of German educational policies with local administrative requirements underscores how colonial architecture and education functioned as intertwined mechanisms of cultural imperialism, embedding German influence into Ottoman modernization efforts.

Fig. 2 Haydarpaşa train station in 1908

With growing enrollment, on April 29, 1902, the General Assembly of the Bourgeois School Association approved the school's expansion as a branch of the Bourgeois School. A new building was planned on *Rıhtım Caddesi*, with permission granted in 1903 (Somel, 2021: 56).[2] Schwatlo(w), who also worked as the design architect for certain sections of the Bourgeois School, was responsible for designing the Haydarpaşa German School building (Fındıkgil, 2002: 323). Documents from the Railway Company, specifically from February 26, 1903, indicate that the German ambassador was asked to support the merger and provide financial assistance for the new school (Fındıkgil, 2002: 322). The cost of Schwatlo(w)'s project was calculated by architect Vallaury to be 2059 Liras. German newspapers from May 5 and 6, 1903, reported that 5,500 Marks were allocated from imperial coffers to support the school's construction. The Anatolian Railways also contributed 2,500 lira and provided the land on which the school was built (Fındıkgil, 2002: 323).

On March 15, 1904, the administration of the Galata German Bourgeois School informed the German Consulate that the Haydarpaşa

2 Today, Rıhtım Caddesi (Rıhtım Street) is referred to as İskele Sokak (Iskele Street).

German School (Fig. 1) officially opened on October 22, 1903, on the birthday of the German Empress, with the participation of the German ambassador. A report on October 28, 1903, confirmed that the building, including accommodation for the teachers, a nursery, and a nun to run the kindergarten, was completed (Somel, 2021: 58). However, a document from the Ottoman Archives, dated M-5 July 1904 (DSA, İ. AZN. 56/19), contradicts this opening date, stating that construction was only just completed at the time. Additional details regarding this discrepancy are discussed in the building description section. The final construction cost reached 135,000 Deutschmark, funded by German industry and the directors of the Galata Bourgeois School (Fındıkgil, 2002: 323).

By 1905, the school had four primary classes, a kindergarten, and accommodation for four teachers. Despite improved facilities and reduced fees, enrollment remained lower than expected due to competition from a nearby French school (Somel, 2021: 62).[3] By 1910, reports confirmed the school's growth, reaching 126 students in 1905-1906, its highest enrollment rate (Mutlu, 2020: 117).

In 1914, 220 individuals participated in German language courses, including 40 Anatolian Railway Company employees, whose lessons were funded by the company to promote German linguistic influence (Sarı, 2011: 241). However, following World War I, the Ottoman government revoked foreign privileges on July 28, 1914, forcing the school's relocation to alternative venues.[4] During the Armistice period, Scottish troops occupied the school (Mutlu, 2020: 126).

In 1923, the Republic of Turkey purchased the building, renaming it *Osmangazi Primary School* in 1949 (Fındıkgil, 2002: 325). It continued to operate under the Ministry of National Education until its temporary closure for restoration in 2019.

THE LICENSING AND DIPLOMATIC PROCESS FOR THE HAYDARPAŞA GERMAN SCHOOL

Documents from the *Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı* (Directorate of State Archives) provide critical insight into the bureaucratic process of establishing the Haydarpaşa German School. The correspondence between the Ottoman State and the German Embassy follows a hierarchical structure, with approvals required from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hâriciye Nezâreti*), the Grand Vizierate (*Bâb-ı Âlî*), the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezâreti*), and the Council of State (*Şûra-yı Devlet*) (DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 1-3). The German Embassy's initial request in June 1903, driven by practical concerns related to commuting difficulties faced by German railway employees' children, marked the beginning of intensive bureaucratic deliberations (DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 1).

Despite initial approvals, significant cultural and administrative concerns surfaced, particularly regarding the potential establishment of a "German colony" in a predominantly Muslim neighborhood (DSA, İ. HUS. 17/126: 1). However, the absence of legal obstacles allowed the school's construction on land leased from the *Dârüssâde Ağa İbrahim Ağa Vakfı* (DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 3). The school site was bordered by Ahmed Bey's house and garden on one side, Emine Fitnat Hanım's house on another, the Nahlizâdeler garden, and the Dock Pier. The land, calculated at 1396 *zira*[5], was designated for a branch of the Galata Bourgeois School. According to official records, the school's final dimensions were 25 meters and 45 centimeters in length, 15 meters in width, and a total area of 325 square meters. The building, constructed in solid stone, was projected to be 12 meters high. The planned structure, strategically located adjacent to prominent local properties, symbolized the embedding of German influence within the urban landscape, aligning with theoretical insights from Djiar (2009) and James-Chakraborty (2021).

Throughout 1904, debate intensified around mixed education involving Muslim and non-Muslim students. Ottoman authorities repeatedly expressed reservations and mandated strict segregation policies (DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19: 5, 9). Despite these restrictions, diplomatic pressures from Germany influenced administrative decisions, culminating in a significant policy shift. Although a formal approval in May 1904 permitted diverse enrollments, persistent administrative concerns delayed final licensing, generating diplomatic tensions (DSA, BEO. 2334/174981: 1; BEO. 2531/189780: 5).

By July 1905, ongoing diplomatic pressure prompted the Ottoman government to officially authorize mixed education, marking a turning point in educational policy on July 22, 1905, officially finalizing the school's licensing process (DSA, BEO. 2627/196971: 1). The case underscores the complexities highlighted by Bernbeck (2024), demonstrating how German colonial projects deliberately institutionalized cultural and spatial segregation, yet were pragmatically adjusted due to diplomatic considerations.

However, the openness to mixed education faced renewed scrutiny after the Committee of Union and Progress came to power post-1913. Stricter regulations and taxation policies implemented in 1909 reflected the Otto-

man government's determination to limit foreign schools' cultural influence and assert national sovereignty (DSA, ZB. 340/86: 1-7; İ.DFE. 23/41: 1-3). The extensive archival record of the Haydarpaşa German School licensing process reveals the deep interconnectedness of educational, diplomatic, and cultural factors during the late Ottoman period. This institution emerged as a critical site for ideological negotiation, cultural tension, and administrative complexity, encapsulating broader colonial dynamics and highlighting the intricate balance Ottoman authorities sought between foreign influence and national integrity.

The detailed archival records discussed in this section are succinctly summarized through three tables provided at the end of this chapter. These tables outline the key developments in the licensing process (Table I), economic information regarding financial contributions (Table II), and a chronological summary of governmental negotiations (Table III).

Architectural Features of Haydarpaşa German School

The Haydarpaşa German School, situated in Rasimpaşa Neighborhood on İskele Street, is a registered second-degree cultural heritage building. It occupies plot 51, block 195, parcel 33 and faces İskele and Nemlizade Streets. The structure includes a basement, ground floor, first floor, and attic, with a 27×42-meter footprint and a 375 m² main area within a 1,134 m² parcel. The eclectic-style building has a visible basement, ground, first, and second floors at the entrance, while the rear façade only reveals the basement, ground, and first floors. Set 2.40 meters back from İskele Street, it has a 40 m² inner courtyard

Table I Key developments in licensing process of the Haydarpaşa German School

Date	Key developments	Archive reference
June 22, 1903	German Embassy formally requests permission to establish the school.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 1
June 25, 1903	Ottoman government approves site proposal at parcels 18 and 20, Rıhtım Caddesi, Kadıköy.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 2
July 23, 1903	Report raises concerns about creating a "German colony," but no legal barriers found.	DSA, İ. HUS. 17/126: 1
October 14, 1903	Ministry of Foreign Affairs finalizes lease and construction plans.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 3
March 7, 1904	General Directorate of Foundations confirms no objections. Final decision with Council of State.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 7
May 6, 1904	Grand Vizier permits the school, allowing enrollment of various nationalities.	DSA, BEO. 2334/174981: 1
June 11, 1904	Council of State approves construction but stipulates separation of Muslim and non-Muslim students.	DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19: 4
July 5, 1904	Construction officially completed.	DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19: 1
July 13-28, 1904	Ministry of Education reiterates objections to mixed student enrollment.	DSA, İ.AZN. 2368/177550: 1; BEO. 2380/178498: 2
July 31, 1904	School formally recognized under Sultan's earlier decree from 1902.	DSA, BEO. 2424/181768: 4
January 6, 1905	German Embassy raises diplomatic concerns about licensing delays.	DSA, BEO. 2531/189780: 5
July 22, 1905	Final decree permits mixed education, establishing operational framework.	DSA, BEO. 2627/196971: 1

Table II Economic information regarding financial contributions

Date	Economic information summary	Archive reference
July 23, 1903	Annual lease for school land (12,000 *arshin*[6]) established at 84,000 kuruş from M. Huguenin.	DSA, İ. HUS. 17/126: 1
October 14, 1903	Finalized lease arrangement with Dârüssâde Ağa İbrahim Ağa Foundation for school construction.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 3
April 8, 1909	Ottoman government issues regulations imposing new taxation on foreign schools, including Haydarpaşa German School.	DSA, ZB. 340/86: 1-7
September 25, 1909	Council of State mandates school taxation, explicitly rejecting exemptions.	DSA, İ.DFE. 23/41: 2-3
October 5, 1909	Government reiterates no tax exemption will be granted.	DSA, İ.DFE. 23/41: 3
October 20, 1909	Ministries instructed to enforce compliance with taxation policies.	DSA, İ.DFE. 23/41: 1

Table III Summary of governmental negotiations

Date	Negotiation issues	Archive reference
June 22, 1903	German Embassy formally initiates negotiations with Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs for school establishment.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 1
June 25, 1903	Ottoman Prime Ministry confirms initial approval and starts administrative inquiries.	DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 2
May 6, 1904	Grand Vizier grants permission, allowing diverse student enrollment; administrative debates intensify.	DSA, BEO. 2334/174981: 1
June 11, 1904	Council of State officially permits construction but mandates segregation of Muslim and non-Muslim students.	DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19: 4
January 6, 1905	German Embassy escalates diplomatic pressure due to administrative delays in final licensing.	DSA, BEO. 2531/189780: 5
March 14-29, 1905	Ottoman Ministries emphasize Sultan's approval required for educational policies involving mixed religious student groups.	DSA, BEO. 2607/195481: 4; BEO. 2542/190648: 2
July 3, 1905	Grand Vizier finally approves licensing, reinforcing exclusion of Muslim students despite diplomatic pressures.	DSA, MF.MKT. 783/22
July 22, 1905	Final decree issued, explicitly allowing mixed education and ending prolonged diplomatic negotiations.	DSA, BEO. 2627/196971: 1
April 8, 1909	Regulations introduced to curb foreign educational institutions' influence, affecting German-Ottoman relations.	DSA, ZB. 340/86: 1-7

3 By April 26, 1905, a report from the German Consulate to the German government indicated that 74 of the 94 students were Turkish. 34 of these students were native Turkish speakers and followed Islam. Additionally, 40 adults employed by the Anatolian Railway Company received German language lessons, financed by the company, to promote the spread of German (Atar, 2022: 225).

4 This led to the relocation of the Haydarpaşa German School to different locations, including the Söğütlü Ali Şamil Mansion and a building on Altıyol Rıhtım Street.

5 *Zirâ* was another measurement unit used in the Ottoman world and architecture. Various types of zirâ existed, and in some sources, it is described as the Arabic equivalent of the arşın (Erkal, 1991).

6 The masonry *arşın*, averaging 75.774 cm in length (1 mason's arşın = 24 parmak = 240 hatt), was progressively phased out between 1931 and 1933 following the adoption of the metric system in Turkey (Özdural, 1998).

FIG. 3 SCHOOL'S NORTH FACADE FROM ISKELE STREET

that illuminates the corridor, staircase, and one room (Fig. 3).

The Haydarpaşa German School, despite being constructed in 1905, does not align with the dominant architectural trends of the late Ottoman Empire, which were shaped by eclecticism and Orientalist aesthetics. As Simone Schalz (2015) notes, rigidly disciplined schools were constructed in German cities during the 19th century, commonly referred to as "Schools in Cities". In this context, it would be appropriate to categorize them as *city schools style*. The architectural and pedagogical framework of these institutions was deeply influenced by the rigid school model, which emphasized discipline, hierarchy, and teacher-centered learning. This educational paradigm was reflected in the spatial configurations of school buildings, particularly in Prussia and other German territories, where architectural planning reinforced strict educational control and regimented order (Schalz, 2015; Herrmann, Oelkers, 1994).

City schools were characterized by long, narrow corridors lined with uniformly arranged classrooms, emphasizing centralized teacher authority and student supervision. The spatial organization minimized student interaction and encouraged a controlled learning environment, mirroring military barracks both in layout and function. These schools adhered to principles of efficiency, uniformity, and rigid discipline, with structural elements such as large windows for surveillance, minimal decorative details, and a hierarchical distribution of spaces that placed administrative offices and teacher quarters in dominant positions (Kähler, 2004).

This rigid German pedagogical influence is evident in Haydarpaşa's structured layout, where circulation patterns were meticulously designed to facilitate supervision and order. Like the Trier-West School and other city schools, it features long, narrow corridors flanked by uniformly arranged classrooms, reinforcing teacher-centered education and strict spatial hierarchy. This approach starkly contrasts with the contemporary Ottoman schools, which increasingly incorporated Neo-Ottoman motifs, Art Nouveau elements, and a blend of European styles (Kuban, 2010: 606-607, 617-618).

Although some ornamental elements appear in the eaves and pediments, these are superficial additions and do not influence the core architectural organization of the school. The rectangular layout (25.45×15.40 m), symmetrical composition, and controlled circulation patterns reflect a strictly German approach, aligning more with the Trier-West School than with contemporary Ottoman educational buildings. While Ottoman civic buildings of the period embraced ornamentation and stylistic eclecticism, the Haydarpaşa German School remains fundamentally a city school, designed for functionality, efficiency, and discipline rather than aesthetic appeal.

Nevertheless, the school does incorporate minor local adaptations, particularly in the eaves and pediments, which feature subtle Orientalist decorative elements. However, these remain secondary to the dominant German architectural framework, confirming that the school was not a direct adaptation of Ottoman styles but rather a German import with selective ornamental concessions.

Claims suggesting construction materials from Haydarpaşa Train Station were used in the school have been refuted. Fındıkgil (2002: 320) confirms that these materials were instead used for the Valpreda Apartment Building, designed by Valaury and now called "İtalyan Apartmanı", located opposite the school.

Originally, the land extended 2 meters beyond Nemlizade Street, but later, adjacent land was incorporated into the school's garden, leading to the relocation of the WC and an outbuilding. The 1906 Goad map (Fig. 4) shows a rectangular plan, a retracted front façade, and a courtyard providing natural light. However, the 1936 Pervititich map (Fig. 5) reveals new construction reduced the courtyard's light intake, and a single-story wet area structure was added. These modifications defined the current building boundaries, providing multi-access points via the garden.

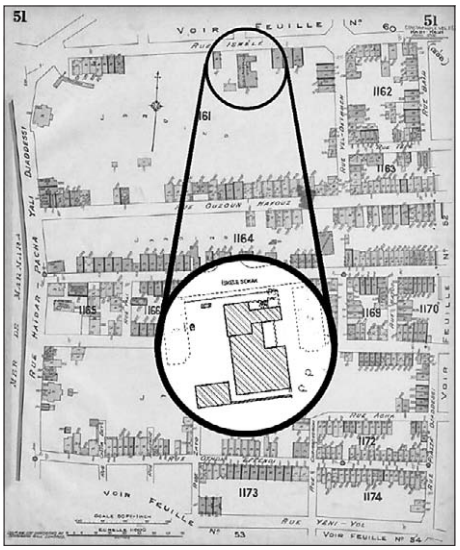
According to the restitution project, the basement originally housed three classrooms, a

coal cellar, and a boiler room, while Fındıkgil's research suggests it also contained service units, storage for teaching tools, and servant quarters. Given the high density of chimneys and the fact that Kadıköy lacked electricity until 1928, the building likely relied on stove heating (Esenduran, 2010: 136).

Material analysis during restoration revealed "Malta Stone" cladding, different from Haydarpaşa Train Station's materials (Palo, 2016). Volta floors were built with masonry walls and blended bricks, using steel "I" profiles spaced 90 cm apart. Mortar-filled cavities formed flat slabs, with plaster applied underneath. Reinforced concrete was used for stairs, which were covered in marble, while lead stair railings were installed. Lime mortar mixed with brick powder, sand, and stone dust was applied for walls and plastering. The terrace roof features 1.05-meter-high brick parapet walls set between 1.45-meter-high concrete pillars. Decorative cast concrete elements embellish the parapets, and 1.80-meter-high chimneys are positioned throughout.

The 1904 plans offer insights into the original design and function of the building, documenting only the ground and first floors, while the basement and second floors are absent from archival records.

The basement floor (Figs. 6 and 7) comprises eight rooms arranged along a central corridor (38 m²), reinforcing the hierarchical and controlled circulation typical of city school architecture. The design of the basement reflects a strict functional zoning, where each room is designated for a specific task, minimizing student movement and promoting teacher authority. Room one (29 m²) and room two (17 m²) have windows facing the side garden, with access to the latter only through the former. This demonstrates a sequential access arrangement that limits free circulation, ensuring controlled movement within the space. Room three (3 m²) and room four (2 m²) have side-garden-facing windows, likely used for auxiliary functions, reflecting the compartmentalized nature of space allocation. Room five (9 m²) includes a door to the back garden, which may have functioned as a service or maintenance area, an example of how city school architecture separated educational spaces from operational areas to maintain strict order. Room six (29 m²) has a window overlooking the garden and direct access via a ramp, suggesting a deliberate control of access points, potentially for logistical purposes rather than unrestricted student use. Room seven (25 m²) features two windows opening to the inner courtyard, which spans 41 m² and provides light and ventilation to the basement and upper levels.



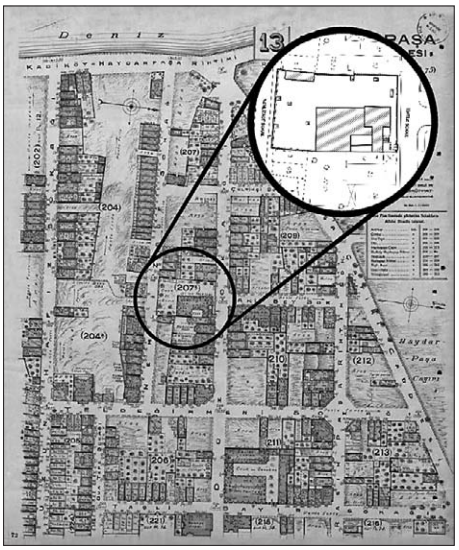


Fig. 4 The 1906 goad map depicting the Haydarpaşa Rihtim District and the site plan of the school

Fig. 5 The 1936 Pervititch map depicting the Haydarpaşa Rihtim District and the site plan of the school

The placement of this inner courtyard follows the efficiency principles of city schools, where natural lighting was strategically utilized to maintain visibility and teacher oversight while minimizing decorative or leisure-oriented spatial arrangements. Room nine (9 m²), located under the staircase, has two windows facing İskele Street. This suggests a designated service or storage area, following the typical city school model of spatial hierarchy, where non-academic functions were confined to marginal spaces to avoid disrupting the regimented classroom environment.

The restitution project reveals functional alterations: room one became a computer lab, while room two was divided into a storage area and an instructor's room. Room three was split into a science lab and staff lodging, and room four was restructured to include kitchen and bathroom facilities. Room five remains intact but now serves as storage. A newly added wall in front of rooms four and five created an 11 m² entrance hall. Room six was converted into a workshop with entry via room seven, which now functions as a heating room.

In the inner courtyard (Space Eight), separate male and female student toilets, along with a teacher's toilet, were installed. The parapet walls of the corridor-facing windows were replaced with doors for direct toilet access. Room nine was converted into a tea room. The staircase remains in its original form, ensuring the historical integrity of the structure.

Drawn at a 1:100 scale (Fig. 6), the ground floor plan differentiates wall types through hatching, highlighting façade and load-bearing walls (DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19: 1). The building measures 25.45 meters in length and 15.40 meters in width, adhering to the rigid, hierar-

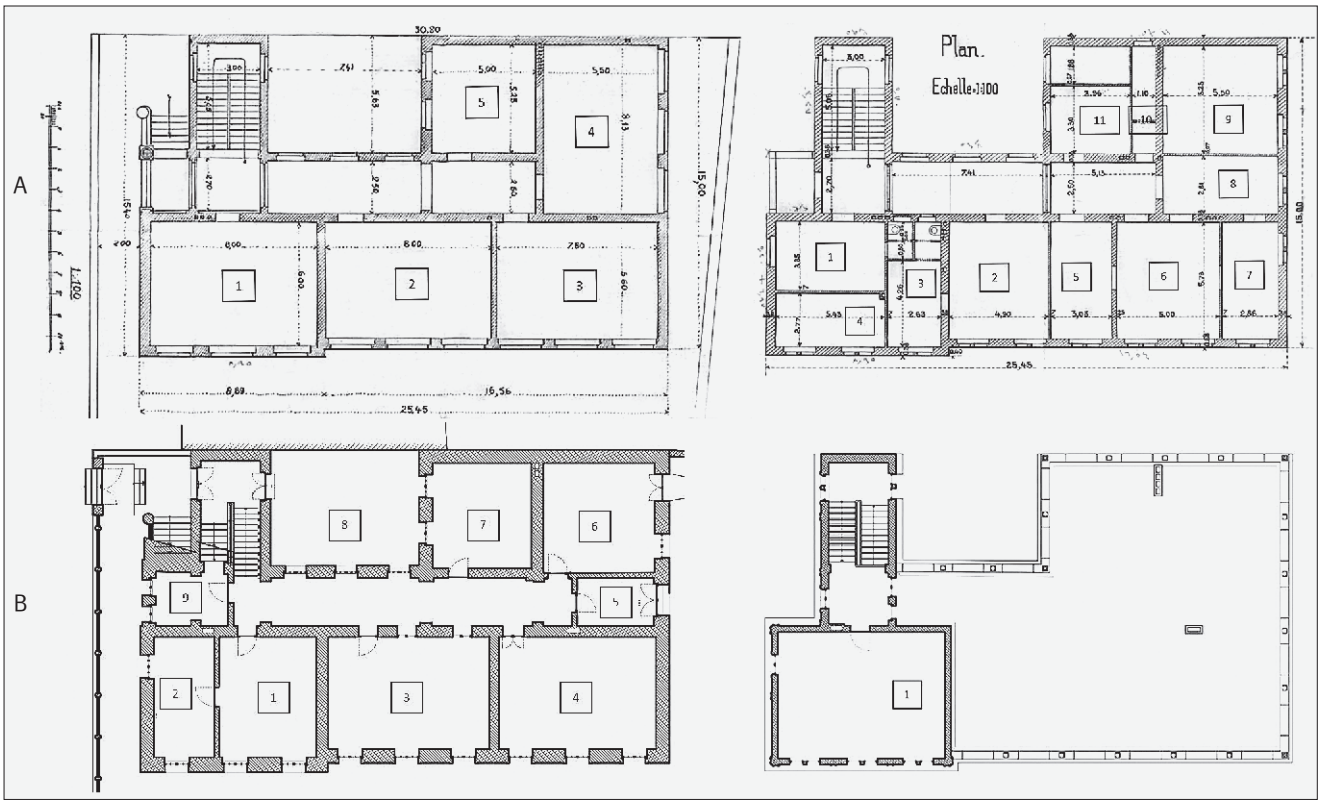


FIG. 6 A) THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF THE HAYDARPAŞA GERMAN SCHOOL, DATING BACK TO 1904, ARE PRESERVED IN THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES: THE GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF THE BUILDING AT THE LEFT AND THE FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE BUILDING AT THE RIGHT; B) THE RESTITUTION PLANS: THE BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN AT THE LEFT AND THE SECOND FLOOR PLAN AT THE RIGHT.

chical spatial organization typical of city schools. Positioned 2 meters from the garden wall on İskele Street, it features a rectangular layout with an inner courtyard that enhances ventilation but also serves as controlled, enclosed space rather than an open, interactive area, reinforcing the pedagogical emphasis on discipline and order. The symmetrical rear façade spans the full 15 meters, further reflecting the formal, regimented design principles associated with German educational institutions of the period.

The main entrance, accessible through a garden gate, leads to a seven-step terrace with a vaulted cover, supporting a first-floor balcony, a feature reinforcing the formal hierarchy of the building. The main door opens into a stair hall connected to the central corridor, which serves as the primary axis of movement, ensuring direct teacher supervision over student circulation. Five primary rooms/classrooms are arranged along this corridor. On the right, three rooms (48 m², 45 m², 44 m²) each feature three windows facing the side garden, allowing ample lighting but maintaining the segregated, enclosed nature of the interior learning environment. The uniform classroom sizes and placement indicate a standardized, non-flexible approach to education, mirroring the regimented structure of city schools. On the left, one 45 m² room faces the back garden with three windows, while the inner courtyard provides light and ventilation. Haydarpaşa's spatial structure strictly separates each classroom, limiting informal interactions among students.

The staircase, aligned with the İskele Street façade, connects the basement and first floors. In city schools, staircases were often positioned strategically to regulate movement and minimize unsupervised student congregation (Schalz, 2015). The entrance structure, initially open on three sides between the façade and garden wall, was later modified to be open on two sides and moved closer to the basement-level entrance (Fig. 8), reinforcing its controlled, structured access system.

The staircase and corridors retain their original dimensions, while certain rooms underwent functional alterations to adapt to changing educational needs. However, these changes did not alter the core hierarchical organization of the space. Room three was subdivided into a classroom and an assistant manager's office, demonstrating the enduring importance of teacher oversight and administrative presence within the school environment. Room four was split into a hall (9 m²) extending toward the backyard and a principal's office (29 m²), emphasizing the

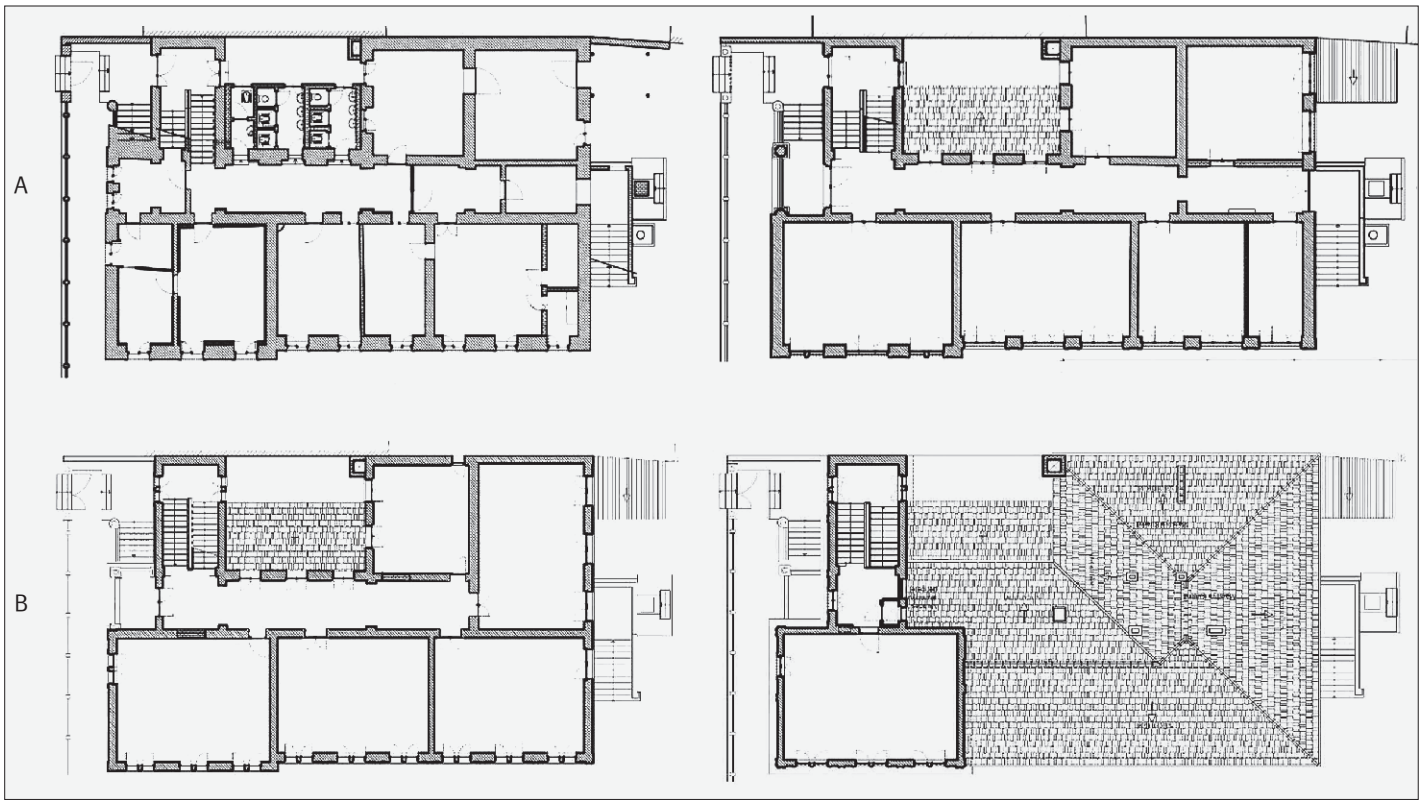


Fig. 7 The survey plan drawings of the Haydarpaşa German School building: A) the basement floor plan at the left and ground floor plan at the right; B) the first floor plan at the left and second floor plan at the right

spatial hierarchy where administrative spaces occupied dominant, central locations, ensuring teacher authority remained a central pillar of the educational framework. A parapet wall of an existing window was replaced with a door, facilitating access to the backyard via a newly added staircase and landing, yet this modification still adhered to the rigid circulation control system that defined city school architecture. Room five (26 m²) remains unchanged as a teacher's room, reinforcing the pedagogical principle of centralized teacher authority. Despite these modifications, the original configuration of the staircase linking the floors has been preserved, maintaining the building's historical integrity and ensuring that its original spatial hierarchy remains intact.

The 1904 first-floor plan of the Haydarpaşa German School (Fig. 6) featured a highly structured and compartmentalized layout, designed to reinforce the hierarchical, teacher-centered educational approach characteristic of city schools. The spatial configuration ensured strict discipline and controlled student circulation, reflecting the pedagogical principles of efficiency, uniformity, and regimented learning environments. The long corridor provided a clear supervisory axis, with classrooms symmetrically arranged on either side, reinforcing the centralized authority of teachers while minimizing student autonomy and informal social interactions.

Over time, significant modifications have been made to adapt the space for contemporary educational needs (Fig. 7), yet the building's core hierarchical organization remains evident. Several original walls were removed to create larger classrooms, shifting from the small, regimented learning spaces of the city school model to a more open, flexible arrangement. However, these alterations do not change the fundamental circulation system, which still follows the linear, supervision-oriented layout typical of German disciplinary schools. Room one (18 m²), room three (11 m²), and room four (15 m²) were merged into a single 49 m² classroom, eliminating partitioning walls and reducing internal divisions. This modification moves away from the rigid, small-group instruction model of the city school and reflects modern educational preferences for larger, collaborative learning environments. Similarly, the wall between room two (28 m²) and room five (17.5 m²) was removed, forming a 45 m² space. However, room five's corridor access was walled up, reinforcing controlled circulation and limiting student movement to predefined pathways, a feature retained from the building's original hierarchical design. Rooms six (29 m²) and seven (16 m²) were combined

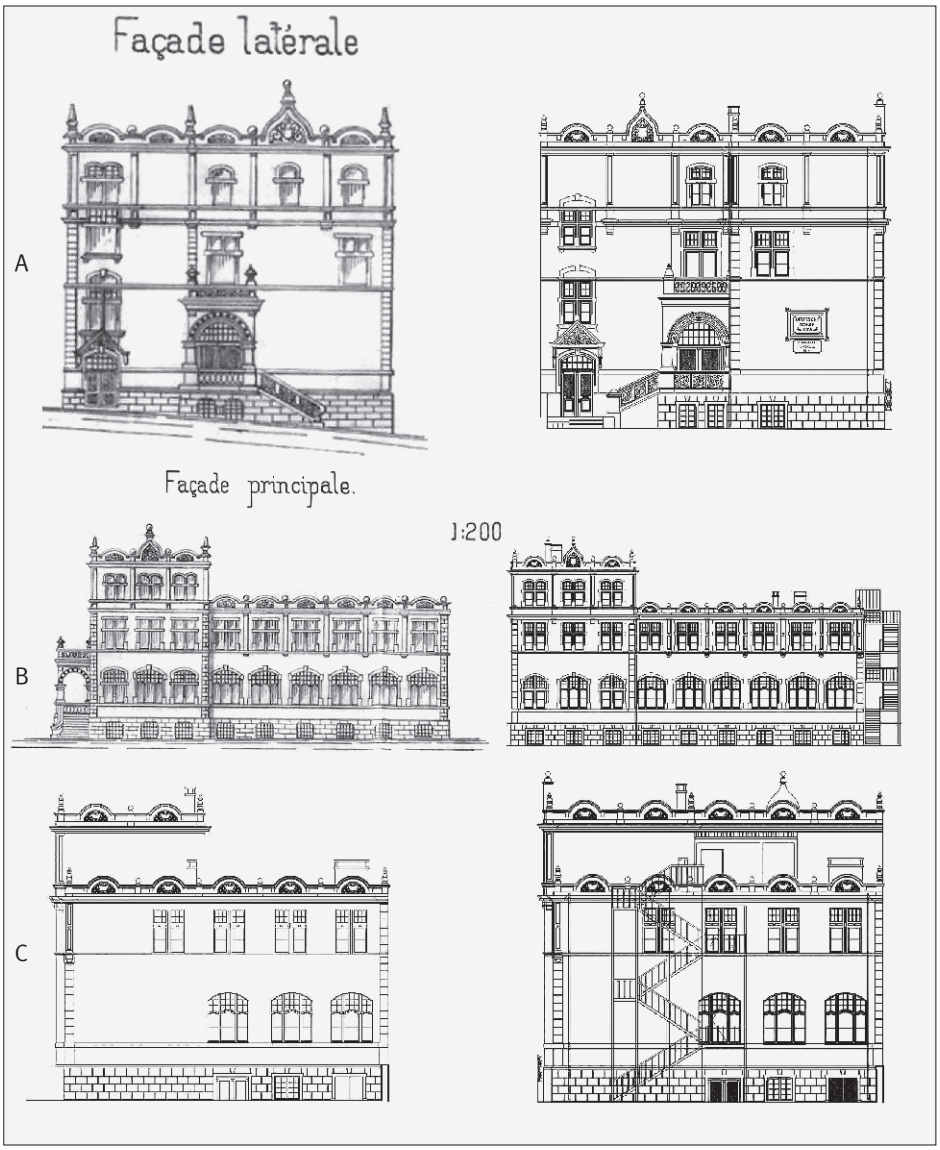


FIG. 8 A) THE NORTHERN FAÇADE IN THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF 1904 AT THE LEFT AND THE CURRENT RESTORATION FAÇADE AT THE RIGHT; B) THE WESTERN FAÇADE IN THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF 1904 AT THE LEFT AND THE CURRENT RESTORATION FAÇADE AT THE RIGHT; C) THE RESTITUTION DRAWINGS OF SOUTHERN FAÇADE AT THE LEFT AND CURRENT RESTORATION FAÇADE AT THE RIGHT

into a 45 m² classroom, and their original connections to room eight (15.5 m²) were closed off, emphasizing the school's preference for centralized access points over interconnected learning spaces. The partition between room eight (15.5 m²) and room nine (29 m²) was removed to create a unified 46 m² classroom, reflecting a shift toward open-plan educational spaces, yet maintaining the traditional corridor-based circulation system. Additionally, rooms ten (6 m²) and eleven (13 m²) were merged into a 30 m² classroom, while the direct connection between rooms eleven and twelve (7.5 m²) was eliminated, reinforcing segmentation and structured student organization.

While the classrooms have expanded, the overall organization of circulation and supervision has remained consistent with the original hierarchical approach. The addition of a modern fire escape to the rear façade introduces a practical update for contemporary safety regulations, but this alteration does not disrupt the rigid, pre-planned movement patterns embedded in the school's architectural DNA.

The partial second floor (Figs. 6 and 7) consists of a single 52 m² room, with windows facing the İskele Street and the side garden. The terrace roof has been restored to its original modular parapet walls and decorative elements, maintaining the building's architectural coherence while ensuring it remains functional for contemporary educational use.

The exterior walls, measuring 38 cm in thickness with 25 cm load-bearing interior walls and 7 cm partition walls, reinforce the structural robustness required for institutional control and supervision. As in many 19th-century German disciplinary schools, the façade design prioritizes function over decoration, ensuring a clear visual hierarchy and controlled circulation. Comparative analysis between the original 1904 plans and the current state (Fig. 8) reveals distinct architectural elements and alterations.

The western façade, designated as the "Main Façade" in archival documents, was drawn at a 1:200 scale and retains its defining features. It incorporates cut-stone cladding at the base and roof molding, with square single windows and railings on the basement level. The ground and first floors feature arched double and triple windows, while parapet walls on the first-floor roof maintain a rhythmic modular design. Though largely preserved, modifications include a fire escape staircase added for zoning compliance and the reconfiguration of the first-floor corner column as vertical cladding.

7 In 1871, a dedicated school building was constructed near Galata Tower. However, the structure suffered significant damage in the 1894 Istanbul earthquake, leading to the school's relocation in 1897 to a new building, which continues to house the institution today (Geser, 2011: 22). The construction of the school's main building commenced in June 1896, under the architectural supervision of Kapp von Gültstein, with financial and administrative support from Wülfing, the director of the Ottoman Bank (Somel, 2021: 45). The building, completed in September 1897, featured 15 classrooms and a conference hall. The school received its official license on January 9, 1897 (Mutlu, 2020: 115). During his visit to Istanbul in 1898, German Emperor Wilhelm II granted the institution the right to issue the same diploma as German high schools, making it the first school outside Germany authorized to do so.

8 Another German school in Istanbul, the Yedikule German School, was established in 1875 by the Rumeli Railways Company. One of its founding figures was O. von Kühlmann, the then-director of the Eastern Railways. Lacking a dedicated building in its early

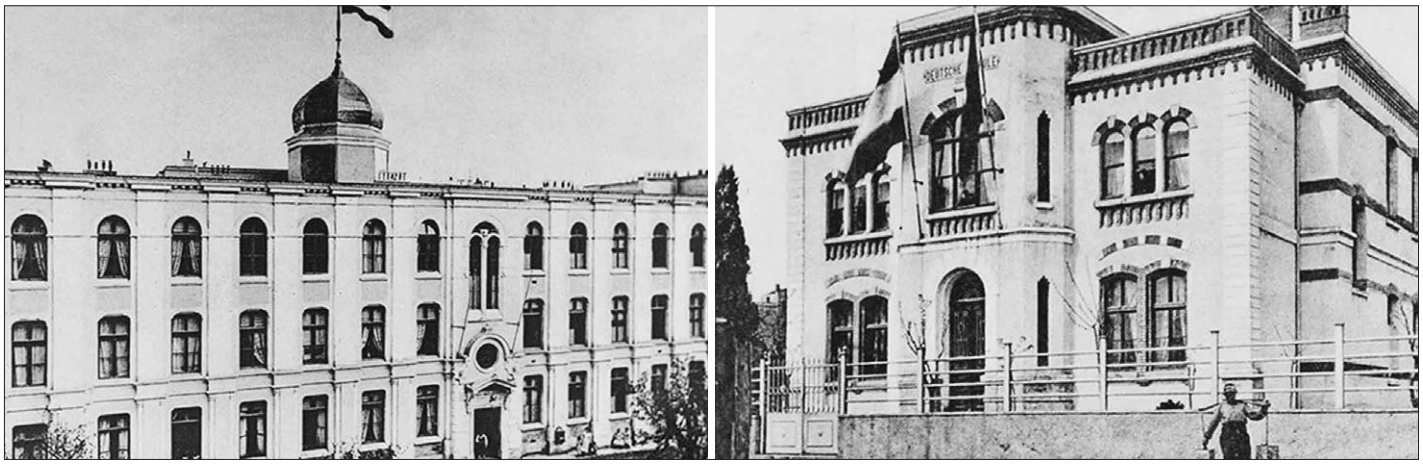


Fig. 9 Images of Galata Bourgeois School (left) and Yedikule German School (right) during the 1900s

The northern façade, identified as the "İskele Street Façade" or "Side Façade" in 1904 plans, serves as the main entrance. Its design includes a seven-step staircase leading to a terrace and a first-floor balcony supported by semicircular Roman arches and decorative columns. The basement features barred single windows with cut-stone cladding. While originally open on three sides, the entrance now has two accessible sides, repositioned closer to the basement-level door. The windows on the upper floors, intended for stairwell illumination, have undergone minor alterations.

The eastern façade, or "Courtyard Façade," absent from archival records, is characterized by plain plastered surfaces framed by cut-stone corner columns. The second-floor parapet walls align with the ornamental rhythm of the structure but are less elaborate, emphasizing functionality over decoration.

The southern façade, or "Rear Façade," also undocumented in archival records, includes two square basement windows and a garden exit door. The ground floor has three arched windows, while the first floor features four windows with flat lintels, linked by continuous moldings.

The parapet walls continue the eclectic decorative rhythm seen on the other facades. Restoration efforts maintained the façade's original dimensions and stylistic elements while incorporating a fire escape staircase to meet modern safety regulations.

The western and northern facades largely retain their 1904 design, preserving original dimensions and decorative elements. In contrast, the southern and eastern facades, absent from archival records, display a more utilitarian aesthetic, emphasizing function over ornamentation. Modern additions, such as fire escape staircases, balance historical authenticity with contemporary safety regulations, allowing the building to meet present-day requirements without compromising its architectural integrity.

Comparative Analysis with Other German Schools

Constructed as a branch of the Galata Bourgeois School (DSA, ŞD. 2732/6: 2), the Haydarpaşa German School exhibits architectural similarities with other contemporary German schools. Given their historical significance and shared mission, a comparative architectural analysis of the Galata Bourgeois School[7], the Haydarpaşa German School, and the Yedikule German School[8] is highly relevant (Fig. 9).

Due to the lack of accessible architectural documentation on the Galata Bourgeois School, a detailed spatial comparison cannot be made. However, as restitution drawings of the Yedikule German School are available, a

years, the school frequently changed locations. In 1897, the newly established School Association prioritized securing a permanent facility, and with the support of the railway company, construction was completed on November 5, 1899 (Mutlu, 2020: 120; Somel, 2021: 64).

Although official reports describe the building as single-story, contemporary photographs and the current structure-now used as Fatih Yunus Emre Middle School-suggest that it was, in fact, a two-story building. Ottoman archival records provide crucial details regarding the acquisition of construction permits and the intended physical features of the structure. Official authorities saw no objections to the school's establishment in this neighborhood, which was surrounded by roads and primarily inhabited by Christian residents.

The Yedikule German School was also included in a 1902 list of 53 German institutions operating within the Ottoman Empire, prepared by the German Embassy and approved by Ottoman officials. In this document, it was registered as *École allemande à Yédi-Koulé*, ranking second on the list (Utkaner, 2009).

FIG. 10 YEDIKULE GERMAN SCHOOL RESTITUTION PLANS (UP) AND FAÇADES (DOWN) DRAWINGS

comprehensive architectural comparison between the Haydarpaşa and Yedikule German Schools is feasible. Thus, the evaluation of the Galata Bourgeois School will be limited to its façade characteristics.

Despite its larger scale, the Galata Bourgeois School shares façade similarities with the Haydarpaşa and Yedikule German Schools. All three buildings reflect the eclectic style that became widespread during the late Ottoman period. Their façades feature a repetitive arrangement of low-arched, rectangular, and molded windows, creating a uniform visual rhythm. The influence of the *École des Beaux-Arts* is evident in the symmetrical façade compositions, horizontal string courses separating the floors, and particularly in the eclectic cornices and eaves of the Haydarpaşa and Yedikule schools. Furthermore, all three schools feature centrally projecting entrance sections, though the Haydarpaşa German School distinguishes itself with a small *loggia* at its entrance.

The floor plans of Haydarpaşa German School and Yedikule (Fig. 10) German School reveal distinct yet complementary spatial approaches that align both schools within the disciplinary city school architectural model prevalent in late 19th-century Germany (Schalz, 2015; Herrmann, Oelkers, 1994). Both schools follow a compact, symmetrical layout centered around a corridor, emphasizing strict discipline, centralized control, and teacher authority through rigid classroom alignments and controlled circulation.

Both schools allocate educational spaces to the ground and first floors, with basements serving as service areas. Haydarpaşa's basement is enclosed and internally focused, consistent with the disciplinary school's emphasis on enclosed, controlled spaces. Conversely, Yedikule's basement establishes slightly stronger outdoor connections, although the general spatial organization remains controlled and hierarchical.

On the ground floor, Haydarpaşa maintains a linear organization, concentrating classrooms along a central axis, reinforcing teacher-centered education and systematic student monitoring. Yedikule, while slightly more expansive, still emphasizes disciplined student circulation through clear spatial separations. The staircase configurations in both schools reflect the hierarchical control typical of city schools (Schalz, 2015).

The first floor at both Haydarpaşa and Yedikule mirrors the ground floor, maintaining uniform corridor-based distributions and reflecting a strict adherence to systematic organization. Their layouts maintain disciplined spatial arrangements with clear separations between classrooms and administrative areas.

In the attic, Haydarpaşa's design remains functional and minimal, maintaining the practical and disciplinary character of city school architecture. Yedikule's attic exhibits a slightly more pronounced architectural character yet still aligns closely with the structured disciplinary model.

In summary, both Haydarpaşa and Yedikule German Schools exemplify structured, enclosed planning characteristics of traditional disciplinary city school models, emphasizing discipline, hierarchy, and controlled spatial organization. Both schools clearly reflect the prevailing architectural and pedagogical trends of their period.

Conclusion

The Haydarpaşa German School exemplifies the intersection of architecture, education, and diplomacy in the late Ottoman period. As a product of Ottoman-German collaboration, it functioned as both an educational institution and a medium for cultural diplomacy. Its architectural organization, following the city school model, reflects the disciplinary ethos of German pedagogical traditions, emphasizing hierarchy, control, and centralized supervision.

A comparative analysis of Haydarpaşa, Yedikule, and Galata Bourgeois Schools suggests that all three institutions adhered to the city school typology, characterized by corridor-based spatial arrangements that structured circulation and reinforced teacher authority. While the Galata Bourgeois School displayed a more monumental design, its core spatial organization remained consistent with that of Yedikule and Haydarpaşa, where order and efficiency were prioritized.

The bureaucratic licensing process of the Haydarpaşa German School highlights the negotiation of cultural sovereignty between the Ottoman state and the German Empire. While Ottoman authorities aimed to regulate foreign schools, European powers leveraged educational institutions to maintain influence. The licensing process and school design reflected broader European architectural trends and strategic efforts to integrate ideological control within education.

Following World War I, political transformations led to the gradual nationalization of foreign schools, with Haydarpaşa eventually becoming part of the Turkish educational system. Its transition to a state-run institution marked a shift from foreign-affiliated education to national integration.

Today, the school stands not only as a preserved architectural heritage site but also as a potential locus of urban memory. As a former space of diplomatic negotiation and ideological assertion, it invites reflection on how built environments may continue to embody traces of their complex historical and political functions. Its presence in the cityscape offers an opportunity to consider the enduring impact of imperial and educational legacies within modern urban contexts. This study underscores how educational institutions serve as sites of cultural negotiation and modernization, offering insights into the role of architecture in shaping ideological and political processes in colonial and post-colonial contexts.

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Abbreviations

DSA: Directorate of State Archives
BEO: Bâb-ı Ali Evrak Odası [Sublime Porte Documents Office]
İ.AZN: İrâde Adliye ve Mezâhib (Azınlıklar) [Imperial Decrees on Minorities]
İ. HUS: İrâde-i Hususiye [Special Imperial Decrees]
İ.DFE: İrâde-i Defter-i Hâkâni [Imperial Decrees from the Ottoman Land Registry Office]
MF.MKT: Maârif Nezaret-i Mektubu Kalemi [Ministry of Education Correspondence Office Documents]
ŞD: Şurâ-yı Devlet [Council of State Documents]
ZB: Zaptiye Nezareti Belgeleri [Gendarmerie Ministry Documents]

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Fig. 8 DSA, İ.AZN. 56/19; Palo, A. (2016) *Osmangazi Primary School Survey, Restitution, and Restoration Report*. Unpublished restoration report, Önde Design Architecture Consultancy Construction Contracting Building Materials Industry and Trade Co. Ltd., Kadıköy/Istanbul.

Fig. 9 Mutlu, Ş. (2020) *Missionary Schools in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: Gökkubbe Publications.

Fig. 10 Utkaner, Y. (2009) Survey, Restitution, and Restoration Implementation Project of Istanbul Fatih Yunus Emre Primary School. Republic of Turkey, Istanbul Governorship, Provincial Special Administration.

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Conceptualization: Ç.Ç. and A.K.; methodology: A.K.; validation: A.K. and Ç.Ç.; formal analysis: Ç.Ç.; investigation: Ç.Ç. and A.K.; resources: Ç.Ç. and A.K.; data curation: A.K.; writing – original draft preparation: Ç.Ç. and A.K.; writing – review and editing: A.K.; visualization: Ç.Ç.; supervision: A.K. Both authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.