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The Construction Process of a School: The Antalya Kaleiçi Orthodox Christian Girls' School (Dumlupınar Secondary School) in Ottoman Archival Documents

ŞAMİL YİRŞEN*

Abstract

Occupied by the Ottomans since the last quarter of the 14th century, Antalya had a demographic structure by which Muslims obtained a quantitative superiority in the period that followed. However, non-Muslim communities contained to maintain a demographic and social presence. These communities, especially the Rums (Greeks), were a significant element of urban society with their living spaces *in-tramuros* and in the adjacent hinterland of Antalya. Their social conditions were redefined by the Edict of Gülhane and the Reform Edict. These edicts gave them the right to construct their own public spaces along with other social rights. Accordingly, from the 19th century on, there is a significant rise in the number of public buildings constructed by these communities, especially in the *vilayets*. The situation is similarly characteristic of Ottoman Antalya. Throughout this study, the construction process of the modern Dumlupınar Secondary School, originally built in the late 19th-early 20th century for female children of Antalya's Rum community, will be discussed in correlation with Ottoman archival documents. This study contributes to the literature on the Ottoman past of Antalya with its review of the original drawings

Öz

14. yy'ın son çeyreğinde Osmanlı egemenliğine giren Antalya, ilerleyen süreçte Müslüman unsurun niceliksel üstünlük elde ettiği bir toplumsal yapıya kavuşmuştur. Bununla birlikte, kentin Osmanlı öncesi döneminden kalma gayrimüslim toplulukların değişen oranlarda sosyal varlıklarını sürdürdüğü de izlenmektedir. Rumlar başta olmak üzere bu topluluklar, sur içi Antalya'nın belirli bölgeleri ile kentin yakın hinterlandındaki yaşam alanlarıyla kent toplumunun önemli unsurları olarak görünmektedir. Bu toplulukların sosyal koşulları, özellikle 19. yy'daki Tanzimat ve Islahat fermanlarının ortaya koyduğu çerçevede yeniden tanımlanmıştır. Bu kapsamda, bir dizi siyasi hak ve ayrıcalığın yanı sıra kendi topluluk ihtiyaçlarına göre çeşitli türlerde yapı inşa etme imkânına da erişmişlerdir. 19. yy'ın ikinci yarısından itibaren özellikle *vilâyet*lerde bu topluluklar tarafından inşa edilen kamusal mekânların sayısında önemli bir artış kaydedilmektedir. Bu genel vaziyetin Osmanlı Antalyası için de geçerli olduğu önerilebilir görünmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında, 19. yy sonu - 20. yy başında Antalya Rumları tarafından bir kız mektebi olarak inşa edilen ve halen okul binası olarak kullanılan Dumlupınar Ortaokulu'nun Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri ışığında

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of its plan and façade, which will be published for the first time.

Keywords: Antalya, Ottoman period, Rum girls' school, Dumlupınar Secondary School

inşa süreci ele alınacaktır. İçeriğinde ilk defa tarafımızca yayımlanacak orijinal plan ve cephe çizimleri yer alan çalışmanın, Antalya'nın Osmanlı geçmişine ilişkin bilimsel literatüre katkı sunacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antalya, Osmanlı, Rum kız mektebi, Dumlupınar Ortaokulu

Introduction

During the Seljuk and Ottoman periods in Antalya, the demographic structure was expectedly rearranged in favor of the Muslim population. However, this situation did not lead to the disappearance of the non-Muslim element in its urban demography, whose presence can be dated to Byzantine times. During these periods, the city continued to host a certain percentage of non-Muslim communities, namely Rums (Greeks), Armenians and Jews. However, of these non-Muslim entities, the Rums were the ones who came to the forefront in demographic and cultural matters. Both the contemporary texts - travel books, chronicles and expedition records - and such Ottoman official documents as censuses and *salnames* (yearbooks) justify this observation to a great extent. The new conditions emerging with the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 and the Reform Edict in 1856 seem especially to have supplied these communities much more visibility in the public sphere through architectural structures along with a wide range of social rights.¹ The edict of 1856 particularly led to the representation of the non-Muslim communities through the buildings performing various functions in the urban topography since it gave the community permission to repair and construct their necessary religious or functional spaces like churches and schools.² Thus, the presence of non-Muslim populations turned the city into a cosmopolitan space and diversified the urban architecture, especially under the influence of the aforementioned edict. Excluding the potential structures of Armenians³ and Jews⁴ since proper data seems not to be available for now, some kinds of public building by the Rum community can be still observed throughout the *intramuros* sections of Antalya, in a way designating the contemporary living spaces of the community.⁵ In this context, some

¹ For further details on what the edict brought to non-Muslim communities, see Gülsoy 1999.

² Karaca 2008, 40; Koyuncu 2014, 39-53. Though the Rums were granted freedom of faith and worship under Ottoman rule, they were not allowed to construct their sacred and public structures before the Reform Edict. Many *fetwas* seem to have generated remarkable jurisprudence, especially on the church construction. It is generally stated that this attitude did not regard only those to have been affected by such cases as fire or earthquake, which required any repair or reconstruction in the same location. Some exceptional cases seem to have been constructed under the special initiative of the Sultan.

³ Dinç 2017a, 37-45; Atmaca 2007, 13, 15. While handling the presence of Armenians in Antalya, Atmaca draws attention to the fact that they might have stayed under the shadow of the Rums since they constituted a tiny quantity in the urban demography. In addition, it is alleged that the Armenian community of Antalya prayed at its own church - attributed to Surp Hovhannes Garabed - in the *intramuros* space of Antalya, and whose location is not known in modern Kaleiçi.

⁴ Oral 2011a, 130-34; 2011b, 180-82; Türkoğlu 2012. Oral points out that the formation of the Jewish community in Antalya could be dated to the ninth-tenth centuries when Side was becoming unsafe due to the frequent Arab raids. Also, Mehmet II's policy to populate Istanbul with various communities may have led to the migration of the Jews in Antalya to the Ottoman capital to a great extent. He then adds that the Jews in Antalya might have remained under the shadow of the Rum residents so as not to be traced overtly both in the urban demography and in the built environment. Türkoğlu makes a broad review on the historic background of the Jewish community in Antalya and its vicinity, and offers more or less similar views made by Oral.

⁵ Dinç 2017b, 452-58.

official documents on the construction of the school building, today known as the Dumlupınar Secondary School, will enable us to comprehend the built environment of the Rum community, if not all, in Ottoman Antalya and to contextualize it under the contemporary conditions both in urban and in imperial scale.

The Demographic Situation of the Rum Community in Ottoman Antalya

As the most populous non-Muslim entity⁶ in Antalya, the Rum community along with its demographic situation under Ottoman rule can be traced through contemporaneous texts in various genres and in Ottoman official documents. The former mostly present an ambiguous picture regarding numeric data since they did not depend on any systematic counting, but on immediate personal observation and speculation.⁷ Thus, for accuracy it is more important to consider the official documents when analyzing the demographic characteristics of the Rum community in the city. In this context, census records come to the front with their relatively reliable data when compared with other similar records.

The population size of the Rum community can be almost precisely calculated through the figures of the censuses in the 19th century, unlike such official records from earlier periods such as the *tabrir defters* (poll-tax records),⁸ which were characterized by their limited demographic content.⁹ Of the censuses done by the Ottoman administration,¹⁰ the first conducted in

⁶ Though such other communities in Antalya as Armenians and Jews were referred in contemporaneous sources and official documents, these seem both to constitute a very narrow percentage in the urban demography and are accordingly not able to be traced in the public sphere and urban architecture as frequently as the Rum element. In this respect, the main focus will be only on the demographic characteristics of the Rum residents of Antalya.

⁷ Ibn Battuta, 6; Buch 1982, 532; Dörtlük and Boyraz 2008, 25, 28, 34, 38, 39, 40, 46-50, 52 [the records of Wild, Stohove, Paul Lucas, Bruyen, Katip Çelebi, Luigi Mayer, Beaufort and Wolff respectively]; Evliya Çelebi, 166-67; Lanckoroński [2005], ix. The earliest records among the texts on Antalya from the Ottoman period - Ibn Battuta and a travel book by a German author in 1400s - only mention, without providing any demographic details, the separation by walls of the *intramuros* space, and how Muslims, Jews and Christians lived in this isolated setting. More or less similar content was repeated in two 17th century texts. Another 17th century text, that of Evliya Çelebi, not only referred to the physical spaces divided with the walls, but also mentioned four districts and 3,000 houses throughout the whole *intramuros*. However, he did not list the social features of the households. Almost all the contemporaneous texts from the 18th century are silent on the statistical data of urban demography, apart from the various topics ranging from ethnographic practices to the city's natural beauty. The 19th century records seem to be comparatively more informative than the previous ones. Francis Beaufort, an English officer, points out in his exploration report that some 8,000 people lived in the city and that one-third of this cluster was Rum. Arriving in Antalya in 1831, Joseph Wolff asserts that 1,500 Rum and 150 Armenians dwelled in the city. In his study of 1890, Karl Graf von Lanckoroński, an Austrian archaeologist, records more than the others not only on the demographic features, but also on the public architectural edifices of the Rum residents in the city. In this context, while estimating a total population of 25,000-26,000 in the city, he emphasizes that 7,000 were Rums, 50 were Armenians, and 250 were Jews. Besides, he mentions that eight Rum churches were located in the city, along with another for the Armenians.

⁸ Gümüüşçü 2002, 1322; Afyoncu 2003, 270-71; Dinç 2017b, 459. While the poll-tax records depend on the demographic size of any community in a given administrative zone, it bears some insufficiency in two aspects. These records on the one hand target only the male population in the related district regardless of the number of females, and on the other they demonstrate that it was the male residents who paid taxes arising from land ownership.

⁹ Though it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the total population without conjecturing a figure, the poll-tax records of 1455, 1530 and 1568 can be still utilized to comprehend the potential situation and evolutionary pace of the population of the Rum community over time in Ottoman Antalya. Though four poll-tax records on Antalya are listed during the 15th-16th centuries, much of the poll-tax record of 1455 is missing. The other one numbered as TD107 seems to be silent about the population figures of the city. Thus, two other official documents, those in 1530 and 1568, remain to trace the potential size of the population during this period. Accordingly, the population of the Rum residents is shown as 582 and 685 in the poll-tax records in 1530 and 1568 respectively. For detailed knowledge see Karaca 2002.

¹⁰ For the early steps of Ottoman census policy, see Karpat 2010.

1830-1831 is generally considered not to have provided any figures about the size of the Rum community in Antalya.¹¹ However, Dinç suggests that the population of the community was recorded on census book numbered 3203, even if it lacks the figure of female Rum residents.¹² This census book shows that there was a Rum community of 1,093 males in Ottoman Antalya, which actually corresponds to the approximate 2,186 people when the recorded figure is multiplied by two to determine the potential population including the female residents. The census of 1840 reveals that the city had an estimated Rum population of 2,526 people, which indicates nearly a 15% increase in a decade.¹³ In the census of 1881-1882, which contains the most extensive data on the non-Muslim communities, the figure about the Rum community in central Antalya is shown as 4,059, which accounts for 6% of the population there.¹⁴ The other leading resource in Ottoman historiography to be utilized in determining the population of a given zone is *salnames*,¹⁵ published by any private or legal persons from 1847 on. While those dated to 1872-1873 and 1899-1900 seem to be less revealing on the exact quantity of the non-Muslim community living in Antalya,¹⁶ the one dated to 1906-1907 is much more informative on the issue. Accordingly, the latter records that 6,339 Rums, 58 Armenians and 155 Jews lived in Antalya.¹⁷ This figure includes the male and female residents together and reveals that the non-Muslim communities constitute some 6.8 % of the total population in Ottoman Antalya. This percentage remained more or less static until the population exchange in 1923.¹⁸

The statistical data on various contemporaneous texts and official documents related to the Rum community affirm the cosmopolitan nature of social life in Ottoman Antalya, even if they were mostly represented by tiny percentages within the total population. Such reformist movements as the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 and the Reform Edict in 1856 enabled the non-Muslim communities to be much more visible in the public sphere in Antalya, as it did in other parts of Ottoman State.¹⁹ In this context, public buildings fulfilling various functions were a social right entitled to the Rum community in 1856. These became one of the most significant agents of this visibility in the built environment of any urban settlement. The girls' school located in Kaleiçi is one such public building representing the Rum community in Antalya's urban topography.

The School Building in the Making: Tracing the Construction Process in Ottoman Archival Documents

The school building, which has survived to great extent in original outline, is located at the neighborhood of *Cami-i Cedid*. This coincides nearly with the neighborhood currently known as Kılınçarslan. It is generally accepted that this one of three living areas in which most of the

¹¹ Karal 1943, 122; Karpat 2010, 236, table I.1.

¹² Dinç 2017b, 459.

¹³ Dinç 2017b, 460.

¹⁴ Karpat 2010, 300, table I.8.A.

¹⁵ For further details on the variations and content, see Aydın 2009.

¹⁶ Güçlü 1996, 106-8. The figures about the population of Ottoman Antalya in these *salnames* are either not inclusive regarding the exact quantity of non-Muslim residents in the city or listed based on the administrative regions regardless of religious identities.

¹⁷ Dinç 2008, 353.

¹⁸ Dayar 2017, 45-50.

¹⁹ Anagnostopulu 2011, 1-18.

Rum community resided in *intramuros* Ottoman Antalya, as the official documents suggest.²⁰ This situation can also be verified through surviving Rum structures such as churches and a bath in this part of the city. Thus, the presence of the Rum population in this area must have been a strong parameter in shaping the built environment of the neighborhood. This is an expected outcome of the potential correlation between demography and architecture. In this context, the contents of some Ottoman archival documents enable us to confirm this general acceptance. Actually, the relationship between the demographical characteristics and architectural repertoire of some parts of Ottoman Antalya can be observed, if not completely, on the documents produced due to a social disaster.

At the end of the 19th century in 1895, a great fire broke out at the house of a Rum resident in *Cami-i Cedid*. On the official documents listing the material damage, it was reported that one mosque and four monasteries were completely burnt along with 417 Rum houses.²¹ The presence of the girls' school, the main topic of this study, is encountered among the correspondences for reanimating steps in the post-fire period between the local administration in the *vilâyet* and the Ottoman government. Accordingly, the land on which the school building is located was once the place of a monastery called Aya Leonidi (Leontios). This seems to be one of the burnt monasteries referred to above.²² Since some units of the religious spaces were allocated for educational activities, the loss of such spaces must have prompted the Rum community to repair damaged ones²³ or to construct a new building for their children, like the one discussed here. The more interesting aspect to be emphasized during the period was the necessity of a new school building within the Rum community. For most members complained about the slowly advancing procedures during the rehabilitation period in the fire's aftermath. Many Rum residents of the neighborhood could not get their houses constructed even after five years due to financial insufficiency and problems about the legal regulations, as the official documents mention.²⁴

Official correspondence on the school building between the local authorities - the official community representatives along with those of the Patriarchate and the Ottoman government - seemed to commence in at the beginning March 1900. The procedures for permission were not different from other similar cases in any Ottoman city.²⁵ In the first stage, the demand towards constructing a *müceddeten* (new) building for female children in the courtyard of Aya Leontios Monastery was conveyed by the Patriarchate along with some details on the technical conditions and financial calculations. According to the petition to the *Adliye ve Mezabîp Nezareti* (Ministry of Justice and Sects), the building would be of stone and measure 10 m high, 14 m deep and 20 m wide. Besides, it was estimated that the building would cost 700 liras, which was to be collectively compensated by the church and Antalya's Rum community.²⁶ The written official reply ordered the related bodies to conduct a broad examination on such issues as the population situation of the community,²⁷ the conformity of the land on which the school

²⁰ Dinç 2017b, 452-58.

²¹ Dinç 2018, 249-50.

²² BOA., MF.MKT., 480/15.

²³ Dinç 2018, 256.

²⁴ Dinç 2018, 250-55.

²⁵ Gölen 2001, 227-29.

²⁶ BOA., ŞD., 1744/11.

²⁷ Koyuncu 2014, 54-55.

building would be constructed,²⁸ and the method of financing. The same text requires that a drawing of the building plan be attached to the dossier. In the second phase, all the technical requirements requested by the government seem to have been completed, and the related documents were attached to the project dossier along with an *iâne defteri* (Subsidies Record),²⁹ a *kesf defteri* (Estimate Record),³⁰ and drawings of the building plan and façade.³¹ In the following stage, the scope of the dossier was negotiated at the session of *Şura-yı Devlet* (Ottoman Council of State)³² on October 27, 1900. It was accepted for presentation to the ultimate approval of the Sultan with the conditions that the construction zone not exceed the surrounding areas and that it conform to Article 129³³ of *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizâmnamesi* (Regulation of Public Education).³⁴ In the final stage, the proposal was approved by the Sultan on December 19, 1900.³⁵

In the aftermath of the correspondence spanning a nine-month period between the local administrative bodies and Ottoman government, the construction was launched in accord with the basic requirements on the official documents mentioned above. The school was inaugurated with a ceremony in 1905 by the local church authorities and the Rum community.³⁶ Utilized for a short period as a hospital before the Republic period, the school has survived in its original function. Our field survey on the site conducted in correlation with the official documents confirms the congruence to a great extent between the designed and the built edifice.

From the Sketches to the Masonry: the Architectural Characteristics of the Building

The school building bears a simple rectangular shape and sits in an east-west direction on a large piece of land (fig. 1). Currently in service as a public school, the building is a two-story structure constructed upon a basement (fig. 2). Though the plaster covering the surfaces of the walls makes it difficult to observe the building materials, it was built of stone, as confirmed by both the official documents and the thickness of the wall. Entry into the building is supplied through two doors opening onto the northern and southern façades of the building (fig. 3). These round-arched entryways were arranged with a triangular pediment resting on pilasters at either side with two flanking windows (figs. 4 and 5). The central parts of these façades, which also bear the entries, seem to have been designed as a module that slightly protrudes from the wall like a bay window or a simple balcony, which could possibly be utilized at the ceremonial events. The baldachin-like structure at the center of the northern façade must be a later annex since the cornice has been broken at the binding point (figs. 6 and 7). All the façades have been divided dismantled with a thick and profiled cornice of stone into two parts, and the windows have been superimposed above and below the cornice. While the upper windows have

²⁸ Güler 1998, 160-63.

²⁹ A table listed the volunteers who made donations to the construction.

³⁰ This record contains all the expenses to be paid at every stage of the construction ranging from the foundation to the roof.

³¹ BOA., İ. AZN., 40/33, lef 4 (*iâne defteri*), lef 5 (*kesf defteri*), lef 3 (the drawings of plan and one façade).

³² This is the juridical body in the Ottoman administrative system.

³³ Özalp and Ataüinal 1977, 570.

³⁴ BOA., İ. AZN., 40/33, 2.

³⁵ BOA., A. DVNS. KLS. D., 4, 36-37.

³⁶ Çimrin 2012, 1:422-23.

a lintel, those at the bottom have round arches. Thus, the southern and northern façades each bear twelve windows set in two levels at either side of the entrance module. Ten superimposed windows in the same order have been placed on the eastern and western façades (figs. 8 and 9). This abundance of windows must be an integrated resolution towards both lighting the interior and providing optimal climatic conditions. The eave line has been highlighted with a profiled cornice, similar to the one below.

The building bears a plan designed as a corridor from which space is distributed to the sides.³⁷ The classrooms and other service rooms on the ground floor were placed on the sides of the main axis in a south-north direction. There are four rooms on this floor: three were most probably designed as classrooms while the other provides space for school administration or other functions. A restroom with six stalls was placed just behind the classroom in the north-east in a way making an L-shape. The access to the first floor is supplied by staircases at the north end of the axis. Possibly due to the need for more space, a middle floor was constructed in the mid-1970s,³⁸ which provided several rooms for general use (fig. 10). The staircases, which seem to be on the axis on the original plan, must have been slightly shifted to the east, most probably during the construction of the middle floor. The first floor in the original plan was arranged in the same scheme as the ground floor.

The surviving building substantially seems to reflect the architectural characteristics referred to on the Ottoman archival documents. The numeric conditions given in the previous part about the dimensions of the building core have been confirmed to great extent with the measurements on our field survey.³⁹ Likewise, the spatial arrangement shown on the building plan attached to the documents was applied to the building almost exactly in the same scheme (figs. 11 and 12). The only discrepancy seems to be the restrooms. Though shown in the northeastern corners of both floors on the plan, the restrooms could not be observed in our survey. The lack of clues pointing to later arrangements at the related parts of the building suggests a revision about the placement of the restrooms during the construction process. The necessity for restrooms must have been provided by a separate building somewhere within the courtyard.

However, the current appearance of the main façades, namely the southern and northern ones, draw attention with several aspects differing from the designed façade.⁴⁰ The drawing reflects the central part of southern façade as a module slightly protruded from the wall and

³⁷ In some recent works on the architecture of late Ottoman school buildings, such terms as *sofa* or central sofa are frequently encountered to define the central space to which all the classrooms or other service spaces open. This term would be acceptable to some extent for such spaces designed along with a stage or corner at one of their sides, possibly for ceremonial events or cultural activities, such as in *iptidâi* of Tavlusun in Kayseri. However, *sofa* generally refers to the central space on the layout in domestic architecture, especially the traditional Turkish house. The space is not only a passage and place connecting the rooms, but also a meeting room in which the whole household gathers either for spending time together or attending a ceremonial event. In this regard, it often emerges as a living area equipped with significant cultural characteristics. Thus, to describe the central spaces of the school building's layout, the term "corridor" is preferred since the space mentioned is just for the passage or circulation of people. For further details on the function of *sofa* or *central sofa*, see Eldem 1954; Kuban 2017; Özbek 2011.

³⁸ This document is dated 26.10.2005 and numbered 674 in the inventory registration by the Antalya Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu. I am very grateful to architect Şebnem Alp for her generous aid in providing the related document.

³⁹ The building's core has an approximate measurement from the outside: 11 m high, 23 m wide and 13,5 m deep.

⁴⁰ Though there is only one drawing of the façade, most probably the southern one, within the scope of the dossier, this arrangement must be considered for both, since the Ottomans generally found a single façade drawing sufficient during the preparation.

crowned with a triangular pediment at the very top in a way that gives the whole building a monumental appearance (fig. 13). This portal-like entrance arrangement at the related façade on the original drawing must have been revised to be replaced by the surviving plan (fig. 14). Though any data explaining this revision on the documents is unavailable, whether for structural problems or restrictions by the Ottoman government, we observed that the order with the triangular pediment was transferred to just above the door openings. This plan seems to be contemporary with the building, since any damage leading to the loss and repair of this monumental gate has not been recorded in the aftermath. Meanwhile, the arrangement with a triangular pediment on the marble piers and panels in antique style at one of the courtyard gates, the one opening on today's Yenikapı Sokak, makes us think of any relations between here and the door openings on the façades (fig. 15). However, the lack of some elements hinders us to make further projections on the issue. The masonry technique observed today on either side of this courtyard gate (fig. 16) and that of school building could have been compared if the latter had not been covered with plaster. Currently it seems impossible to suggest any concurrence between the two gates of the school building and the courtyard. Though only speculative in the absence of the related evidence, if this courtyard gate antedates the school building, this might be a surviving piece of the burnt monastery once located on the same area.

Another revision deserving to be highlighted is the entrance in the north of the building. The northern gate must have been opened afterwards since the drawing lacks such a gate in that direction.

In sum, the data on the Ottoman official documents about the architectural characteristics of the building has been substantially verified on site. Its continual utilization with various purposes over time as a hospital on the eve of the Republic Age and later a school suggest this as the most significant factor behind its survival in almost a original situation.

Contextualizing the School Building in Urban and Imperial Scale

According to the official documents, the school building, currently in service as Dumlupınar Ortaokulu, suggest its construction in a five-year period between 1900 and 1905. The drawings of the plan and façade attached to the dossier seem to have been applied to a great extent along with minor revisions discussed previously. The seal at the bottom of the drawing plans indicates that the building was designed or simply examined by *Veled-i Vasil/Vasili Efendi*,⁴¹ the *ser-mimar* (chief architect) (figs. 17 and 18). He is listed in the parts related with the *daire-i belediye* (municipality) of the *sanjak* on the *salnames* of the *vilâyet* Konya.⁴²

Several documents in the dossier show us that some preliminary steps were taken before the construction. In this context, a kind of feasibility report, the *keşf defteri*, was prepared. This report projects the total cost of the project around 90,397.02 *gurusub* (piasters). Another document within the dossier, the *iâne defteri*, records the names of Rum residents making donations to the school building along with the amount given. Accordingly, forty people, the metropolitan himself in the lead, made donations of varying amounts from one to 50 *lirayı Osmani* (Ottoman Lira), and some 402 *lirayı Osmani* was gathered in this way. This figure equals nearly 58% of the total amount - 700 *lirayı Osmani* - required for the cost of construction, as

⁴¹ I would like here to express my gratitude to Asst. Prof. Dr. Remzi Aydın for his kind aid in deciphering the scripts on the seal.

⁴² 1317 Konya Vilayeti Salnamesi, 184; 1322 Konya Vilayeti Salnamesi, 147.

referred on the document. Thus, the rest of the construction cost, some 298 *lirayı Osmani*, must have been compensated by the church, as the financing method on the document points out. Meanwhile, those with the patronymics of Karayorgioğlu, Mazıcioğlu or Mağazacıoğlu and Kirmizoğlu on the *iâne defteri* must have been among the leading families of the Rum community since several people from these families appear as members of the city's *Heyet-i İbtiyar* (community council), one of the five bodies administering the Rum community in accordance with the legal regulation of 1911.⁴³ The financial contribution to such construction projects for education by prominent members of the Rum community can be observed in various other Anatolian cities.⁴⁴ This attitude can be considered not only a philanthropic choice but also a reflection of the rising bourgeoisie as a separate institutional entity within the Rum community, especially under the social conditions of the 19th century.⁴⁵

When it comes to the *iâne*,⁴⁶ it seems to have been the common method in financing construction activities for the *iptidâi* (primary school), especially in the provinces. The worsening economic conditions during the 19th century required the Ottoman government to act cautiously in spending the budget reserved for educational activities. Though such steps as tax regulation for promoting education were taken by the government in the last quarter of the century, it seems that the expected outcomes could not be accomplished mostly due to the harsh economic factors.⁴⁷ Thus, the method of the *iâne* in financing the construction cost of this school is compatible with contemporary procedures determined for building schools, whether for the Muslims or not, in the age of Abdulhamid II.⁴⁸

The spatial arrangement and façade design of the school building is compatible with other contemporary structures with similar functions in various parts of Ottoman lands. The spatial order with a corridor comes into prominence in such buildings as schools, prisons and so on, due to its ergonomic utilization of space. The corridor-centered plan can be observed at other types of school buildings ranging from the military *rüşdiye mektebi* (secondary school) to the *iptidâi* and *idâdi* (lycée). Such cases as the military *rüşdiye mektebi* in Fatih, Kocamustafapaşa and Beşiktaş of Istanbul,⁴⁹ the Ertuğrul Mektebi in Çankırı,⁵⁰ the girls' school for the Rum community in Güzelyurt of Aksaray,⁵¹ and the *iptidâi* in the village Tavlusun of Kayseri⁵² reveal the prevalence of this spatial arrangement throughout Ottoman lands. Regarding façade design, common tendencies were shared generally as in the spatial arrangement, even if some distinctions were based on the structural modeling. The façades of the school building under discussion and those of the other examples mentioned share similar features that can be defined in neo-classical architectural language, since they are mostly arranged with symmetry, a portal with a triangular pediment, and a frieze surrounding the whole building.

⁴³ Kechriotis 2010, 44-45.

⁴⁴ Benlisoy 2010, 230-42.

⁴⁵ Ozil 2003, 17-18.

⁴⁶ For more details on the historic evolution of the *iâne* from the 16th century to the 19th century, see Özcan 1999.

⁴⁷ Somel 2010, 183-94.

⁴⁸ Kodaman 1991, 69.

⁴⁹ Parmaksız 2008, 122-27 (Fatih), 128-33 (Kocamustafapaşa), 134-40 (Beşiktaş).

⁵⁰ Aydın 2020, 36-37.

⁵¹ Saraç 2020, 324.

⁵² Özbek 2011, 120-22.

The type of educational system and the number of students projected to study at the school remains is unmentioned in the official documents. Though the documents describe the school for the *etfal* (children) of the Rum community, the building's size suggests an integrated educational service towards students in various age groups, as at the Ertuğrul Mektebi in Çankırı.⁵³ However, this assumption cannot be verified now with the documents in hand, since any detail about the capacity and the age groups of the students is not available. In spite of the data reporting there were 395 female students studying at the three girls' schools in the *sanjak*,⁵⁴ it is difficult to determine how many of this number were enrolled in the Kaleiçi school. Likewise, Kechriotis, quoting Hatzipetro, states that the building was designed for 700 female children,⁵⁵ which seems possible if a system of educating in two shifts was implemented. Another point worth highlighting is to what extent their school attendance exhibits sustainability when many of their peers were part of the agricultural or mercantile workforce in other regions in Anatolia.⁵⁶ However, we doubt Hatzipetro's assumed number since he dates the building to 1896 by falling into anachronism. Besides, it should be considered that some kind of coeducation involving Muslim and non-Muslim students within the same building in peripheral regions might have been a policy to encourage the identity of Ottomanism, as Kodaman reports.⁵⁷ Similarly, some *bükküms* commanded Antalya's local authorities that non-Muslim students could attend the public *iptidâi* and *rüştiye* in the city.⁵⁸ Even so, the total number of female students given above is a significant statistic in revealing the rate of schooling among Rum female children in a given place.

The Rum girls' school in Antalya should not be evaluated apart from the contemporary conditions throughout the Ottoman lands in the 19th century. The newly emerging liberal public arena supported by successive reformist initiatives, namely the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 and the Edict of Reform in 1856, introduced a series of social rights and privileges to non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman State. The legal status of these communities in the *millet* system was reorganized to provide an autonomous, ethnic-based identity before both the state and other communities.⁵⁹ This situation expectedly influenced the status quo in the educational sphere in a significant way, and led to the sharp increase in the number of schools established by these communities in many Ottoman cities.⁶⁰ The issue of keeping one's national identity alive among these related communities could best be accomplished through educational initiatives. As a matter of fact, the transforming power of education among the Rums can be observed in Ottoman Antalya along with many other Ottoman cities.⁶¹ It seems that this tendency toward education among the non-Muslim communities accelerated remarkably in the last quarter of 19th century throughout the whole of Anatolia, as it did in other parts of the Ottoman world.⁶² The reign of Abdulhamid II is particularly the time when the construction

⁵³ Aydın 2020, 32-33.

⁵⁴ Statistics of the Greek Schools and Churches of the Asia Minor in 1912. I am very thankful to Prof. Dr. Oya Dağlar Macar for her kind generosity in sharing this document with me.

⁵⁵ Kechriotis 2010, 46-47.

⁵⁶ Ozil 2016, 77-79.

⁵⁷ Kodaman 1991, 69.

⁵⁸ Somel 2010, 295-96.

⁵⁹ Bozkurt 1996, 111-70; Küçük 2017.

⁶⁰ Koçak 1985, 485; Somel 2004, 387-88.

⁶¹ Erten 2012, 11-12.

⁶² Haydaroğlu 1990, 16-17; Augustinos [2013], 232-41.

of educational buildings proliferated under his modernization policy, both in the capital and throughout the peripheral regions. However, their precise number is not available for several causes.⁶³ Another aspect deserving attention is the educational initiative among Rum communities in this period to establish schools for their female children. Accordingly, such several factors as the social changes in Europe and the Ottoman State, the significance of woman in this process, and the rapidly increasing necessity of training teachers seem to have supported the sharp rise in the number of such schools.⁶⁴ Even if some regulations made by the Ottoman State towards inspecting the basic procedures in these institutions, especially the *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* in 1869, the Rum communities, contrary to the others, seem to have been exempt from many of the liabilities in Article 129 of the referred *nizamname*.⁶⁵ This is another factor to be considered on the issue of the rising quantity of Rum schools.

Conclusion

Although administered for some six centuries by the Ottomans, Antalya hosted several non-Muslim communities throughout this period, with the Rum community being the majority. Even if granted freedom of faith and worship before, the Rums were given much broader social rights from the 19th century on. The school building for Rum female children in Antalya should be considered a representation of this new period onto the built environment, as observed in other parts of Ottoman State. Thus, the building with its significant size points to the “soul of age” in one sense.

Its construction process, evaluated above in light of contemporary works and Ottoman official documents, bears some characteristics compatible with the general conditions of the time. Both the drawings of the plan and façade, and the financing method are among those frequently encountered in similar cases throughout Ottoman lands. The documents reveal the *iâne* to have been the leading method in covering construction costs, as it was for nearly all *iptidâi* and *rüşdiye* to be built whether for Muslim or non-Muslim children.

The presence of such a school in Antalya is indicative of the fact that the cultural awareness that had spread among the non-Muslim communities through all the Ottoman *vilâyets* was shared by its Rum community as well. Another aspect to consider is the high rate of schooling among the female children of the Rum community. Thus, the girls' school under discussion (along with the other Rum structures in the city) is a living monument displaying to modern viewers both the cosmopolitan socio-cultural fabric of Ottoman Antalya in the built environment and the evolution of the Late Ottoman period in favor of the non-Muslim communities.

In conclusion, today's Dumlupınar Ortaokulu is one of the few public structures built by the Rum community to survive from the Ottoman past of Antalya. Even this aspect alone is sufficient to attribute a certain importance to this building as one of the spaces in the Ottoman topography of Antalya.

⁶³ Duymaz 2003, 209.

⁶⁴ Dağlar Macar 2010, 784-88.

⁶⁵ Dağlar Macar 2010, 777-78.

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FIG. 1
Aerial view of
Dumlupınar Secondary
School.



FIG. 2
General view of the
school, southern
façade (by author).



FIG. 3
General view of the
school, northern
façade (by author).



FIG. 4 Gate, southern façade (by author).



FIG. 5 Gate, northern façade (by author).



FIG. 6 Subsidiary structure at the northern façade (by author).

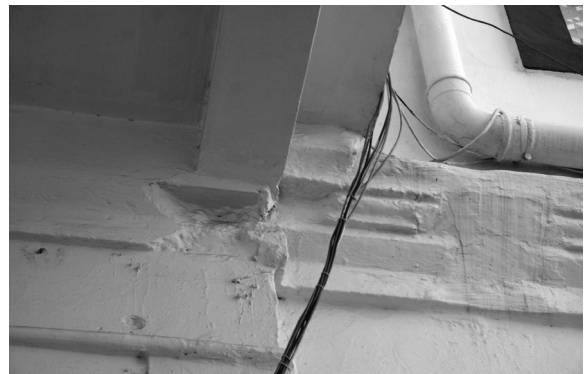


FIG. 7 Broken frieze at the binding point, north (by author).



FIG. 8 Western façade (by author).



FIG. 9 Eastern façade (by author).



FIG. 10 Middle floor added in mid-1970s (by author).

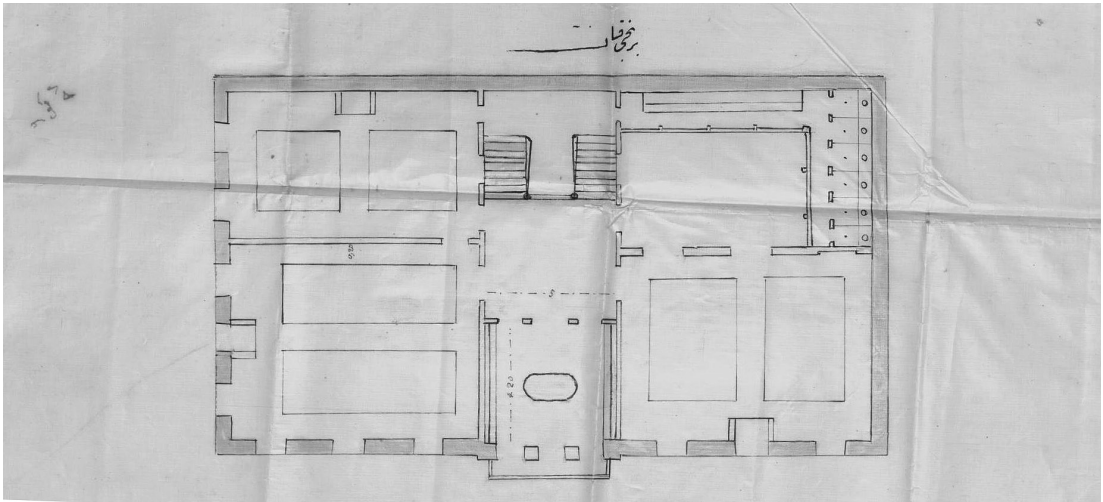


FIG. 11 Drawing plan of the ground floor; BOA., İ.AZN., 4033, leaf 3.

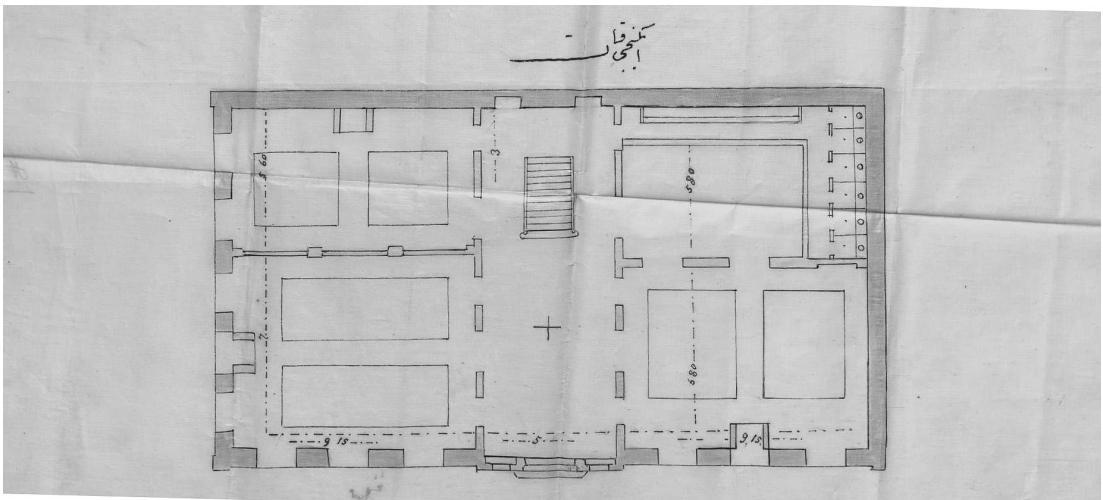


FIG. 12 Drawing plan of the first floor; BOA., İ.AZN., 4033, leaf 3.

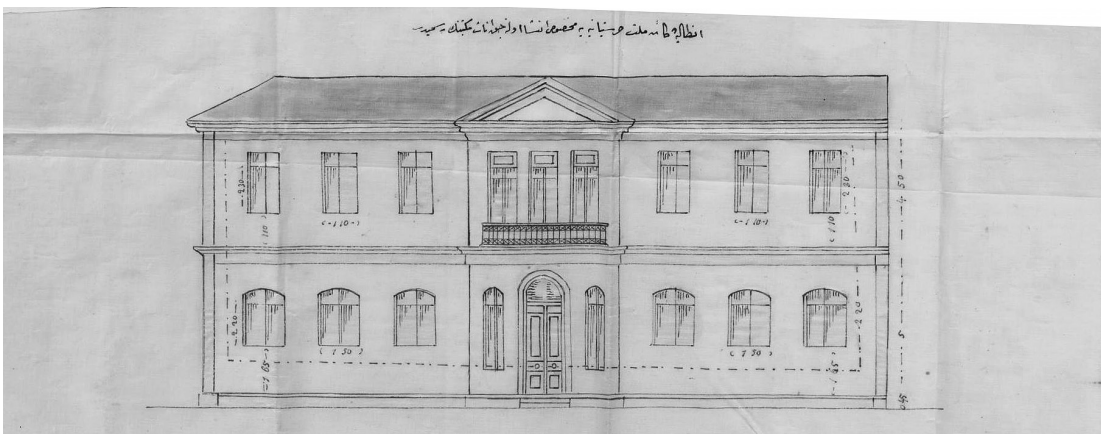


FIG. 13 Drawing of the southern façade; BOA., İ.AZN., 4033, leaf 3.



FIG. 14
Gate on the southern façade (by author).



FIG. 16
Masonry technique at either sides of the gate (by author).



FIG. 15 Courtyard gate opening to Yenikapı Sokak (by author).

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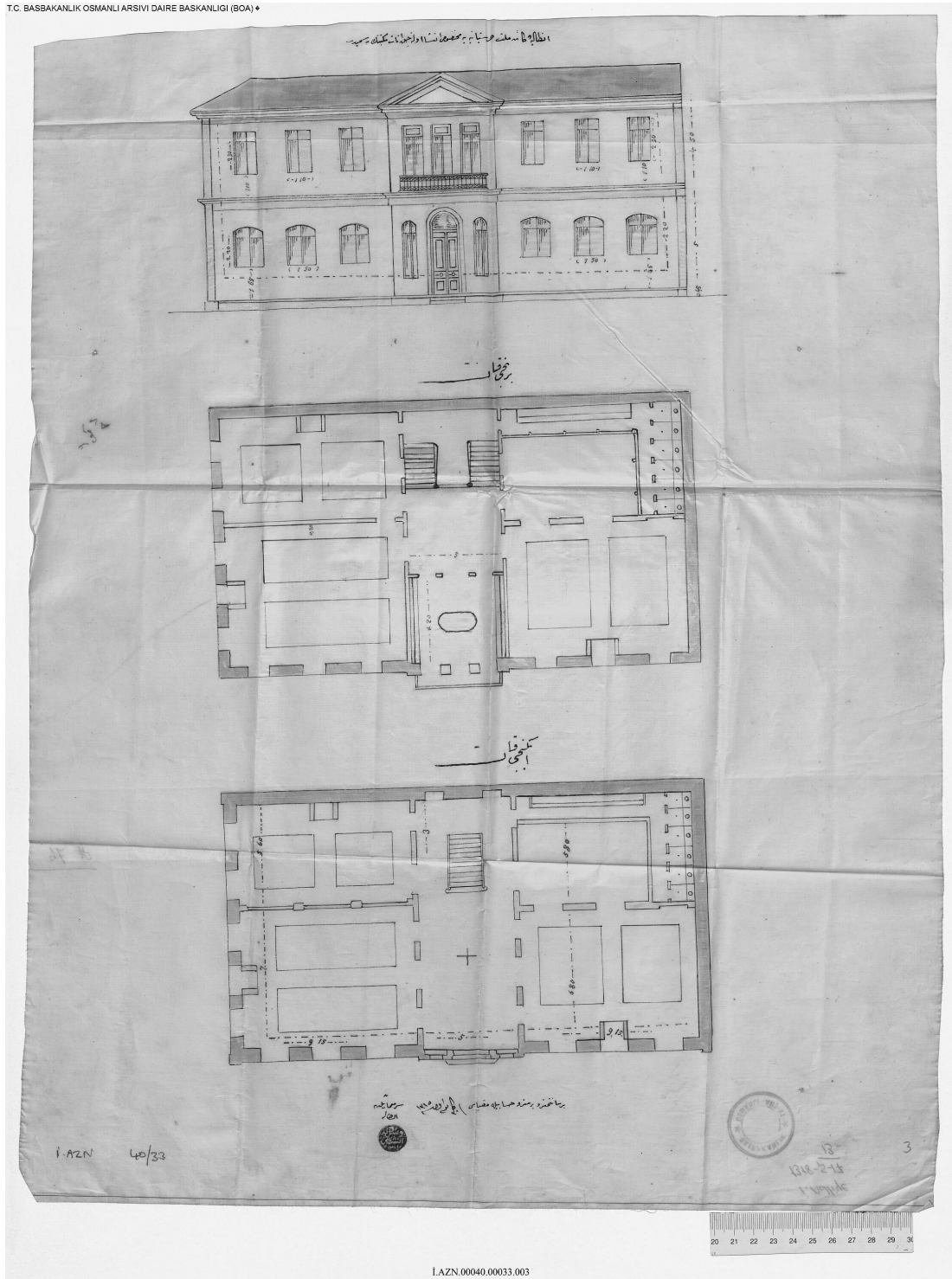


FIG. 17 Drawings of plan and façade on the official document; BOA., İ.AZN., 4033, leaf 3.

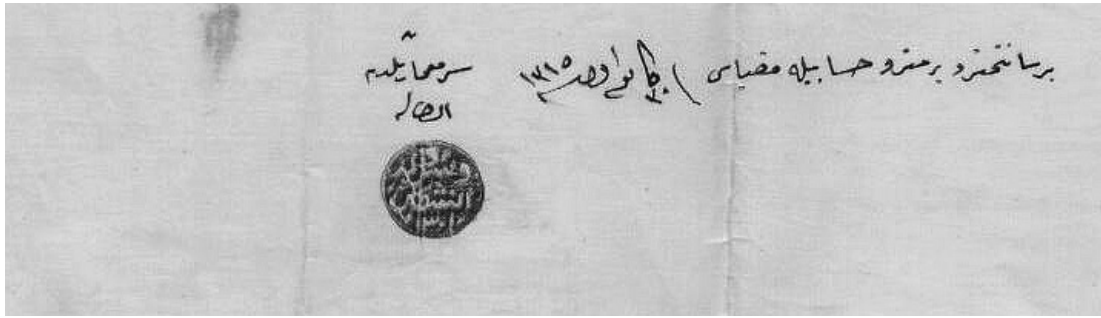


FIG. 18 Seal of Vasili Efendi at the bottom of the drawings; BOA., İ.AZN., 4033, lef 3.

