ITALIAN ARCHITECTS AND ISTANBUL

A study of the contributions of Italian architects to the architecture of Istanbul has to cover a rather long period. This extends back to the 12th century when the Genovese community occupied a privileged area on the Golden Horn. After the Venetians arrived with the Fourth Crusade in the 13th century, the Genovese colony settled on the other side of the Golden Horn, at Galata.[1] From this time onward, the Italian presence directly or indirectly contributed to the architecture of Istanbul.

This article covers only a facet of this contribution.

The "Mooresque Derivations" in the architecture of Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century and the role of Italian architects in this will also be dealt with here.

The beginning of the period covered in the study of the Italian contributions to the architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean cities coincides with a milestone in the urban history of Istanbul. The first municipal organization in Istanbul was established in 1857. From this date through the second half of the 19th century, Istanbul seriously lacked any urban organization and services. However, it was a physically large city, an important trade center and an historical capital with a sumptuous past and a monumental architectural heritage. The construction of monuments enriching the city were continuing. But this unique city had a medieval texture with narrow and dusty or muddy streets, and a tradition of wooden construction which suffered serious damage as a result of numerous serious fires. This contradiction which already was making itself felt, became even more evident during the Crimean War (1854-56) with the arrival of the British and French allies who were used to expect municipal services. If nothing else, this situation was surprising for those who came from European cities with a municipal tradition.[2] The neglect of the city was expressed to the authorities sometimes discreetly and sometimes without paying much attention to diplomacy. Everybody was made to realize that the mysterious beauty of the city ended at the narrow dirty streets.

During the rebuilding period following the Westernization and the Tanzimat, cities had to be replanned and a certain amount of organization had to be established. Istanbul was divided into 14 "arrondissements" after the "Prefecture de Ville de Paris" models and the Altıncı Daire-i Belediyye (6th arrondissement), which included Galata and Pera, was established as a pilot application.[3] I am not going into a discussion of the model or success of this application in this paper. The important aspect for us is that the aim of the application was to secure for Istanbul a contemporary European appearance.

Naturally, this meant a vast potential for architects coming from Europe. The economical, cultural and social atmosphere also stimulated such undertakings.

The Crimean War, in which the Ottomans fought against Russia with her European allies, had ended only a year before and a period of peace was established by the Paris Treaty. For the first time in 1854, the Ottoman empire began to secure important loans from Europe. This financial connection, together with the acceptance of the Empire into European society following the Paris Treaty, made Istanbul more suitable for Europeans to work in. The Crimean War, which brought important charges to the treasury, was over and a large portion of the loans was transferred to the construction sector thus creating an appropriate setting.

The large numbers of Europeans who came during the war also meant a new way of life. The construction of facilities such as hotels, restaurants and cafes rapidly increased. What was more important than anything else, as far as we are concerned, was the emergence of European architects in a field which up to that time was mainly dominated by Ottoman architects usually of Armenian origin. While in the first half of the 19th century the Balyans were accompanied only by Melling and the Fossatis in the list of architects, after the middle of the century, the list of European architects became very long.

In my opinion, the Italian names came at the top of the list both in number and volume of work performed. The Genovese past of Galata and the fact that a large part of the population of Pera were still Levantines of Italian origin certainly played an important part in this.

Not much information is available in Turkish sources on Italian (or Italian origin) architects working in Istanbul during the second half of the 19th century. Even though all the Ottoman archives have recently been opened to the public, there is not yet any scientific and detailed catalogue. As to visual material, this is classified, but is not yet fully accessible for study. Therefore, there are some gaps in the information that I will present here and these must be checked against new documents as and when these are made public.

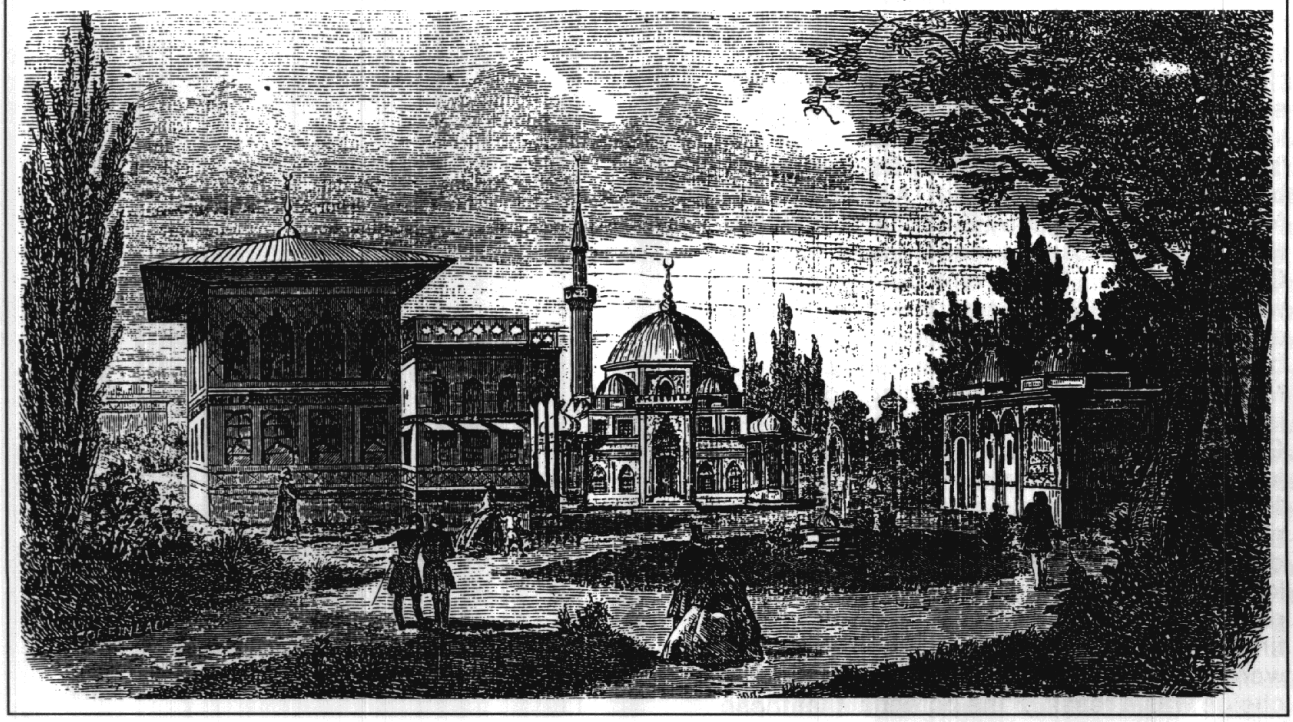
Most of the information used in this study was found by carefully going through periodicals and newspapers published (mostly in French) in Istanbul in the 19th century. However, newspaper articles on buildings and their usage do not give the names of architects unless they were very famous. The second difficulty arises from the fact that some of the buildings no longer exist and it is impossible to attain visual material. Therefore, the architects who I am going to present now have been chosen among those who have worked on public buildings which makes it possible to find their names in official records.

The activities of Italian architects in the Ottoman capital were carried out within a setting of various trends reflected in their works. Consequently, a kind of architectural pluralism was experienced in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century as a result of the different concepts of the architects who came from various European countries. It is observed that Oriental influenced designs came to the fore in the Ottoman atmosphere of Istanbul and that the Italian architects (together with the painters) played an important part in this.

It is a well known fact that the Oriental interest in architecture started in the 18th century with an exoticism based on Chinese and Indian influence. This developed into an Orientalism based on Islamic architecture in the middle of the 19th century. The relevant fact in our topic is the reason of the existence of an Orientalist influence as a product of the colonialist connections of European countries with the Istanbul setting.

The emergence of Oriental forms in Istanbul is connected to the characteristics of Ottoman architecture turning to the West in connection with the Empire's steps in the same direction. The attempts to Westernize the Ottoman Empire were quite different from those of the colonies of European countries. Even though the countries which were after new markets had a stimulating role, at least at the onset, the Ottoman Westernization attempts had been an independent political choice. It is impossible to say that the Westernization policy was not paradoxical. While trying to introduce the rationalist-positivist culture of West to the society, it was impossible, at the same time, to ward off the Colonialist discourse and Orientalist con-

ARCH. BARBERINI - TURKISH PAVILLON AT PARIS EXHIBITION, 1867



cept of the same Western societies. Throughout these periods, while the West defined and conceptualized the East in its image and for itself, the East was made to define itself according to the West. Within this contexts, the Orientalist discourse engaged Ottoman thinking as well, although not to the extent it did the colonies.

Deliberations on the Orientalist form in the architecture of Istanbul will make it possible to study the extent of this influence.

Westernization in architecture which was the most dominant field in Ottoman culture was an original experience.

During the Westernization process the first change in concept came into effect with the introduction of the Baroque style elements. A transition was observed from the Classical Ottoman concept of tectonic (structural) expression in architecture to the concept which assesses a building from the point of view of its plastic potential. In the 19th century, when the Classicist approach took over from the Ottoman Baroque[4] style which lasted about one century, some forms which had been used in anonymous architecture and had gained wide acceptance, such as wide and wavy eaves, bulging window railings and oval halls, continued to be used.

Krikor Balyan, Garabet Balyan, Melling, Smith and the Fossatis were the best known architects who shaped the Classicist tendencies of the first half of the century. Following the withdrawal of this generation (the Fossatis returned in 1858), it is observed that the Classic discipline lost its impact to a great extent. Schools, barracks, municipal buildings still had the neo-Classical lines, a pluralistic diversity was manifesting itself in the urban architecture of Istanbul. Among the different trends brought by European architects, there were trends that made use of forms of Oriental origin. These can be found along with other non-Classic trends within the general eclecticist repertory dominant in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century.

Maybe there were never buildings of exoticist character among those that made use of Oriental elements or possibly there were only just a few. For example, in a newspaper of 1866 there is an article stating that an Armenian banker, M. Karakiaia, had a large garden designed in Büyükdere with Chinese kiosks, bridges, rustic cascades and a ruined Gothic chapel (fashionable at the time).[5]. However, Islamic Orientalist designs were adopted very quickly. Probably this choice was a result of the potential that these designs had with Ottoman origins.

The earliest Orientalist building which can be traced in Istanbul is the Ottoman Industrial Exposition building built in 1863.[6] The design of the French architect L. Pervillé was orientalized by adding brick/stone masonry arches and cornices with muqarnas to the Classical schema. The use of Ottoman façade motives in all their simplicity turned this ordinary design into a prototype of Orientalist trends in Istanbul and this was later repeated in some other buildings.

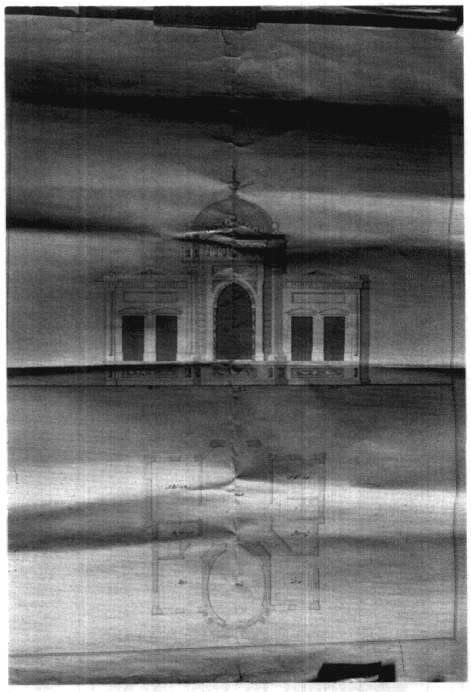
The earliest example to Italian contributions in designs reflecting Oriental influences are the Ottoman pavilions of the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition designed and built by L. Parvillé and Barberini (or Barborini) who worked with him. These pavilions are described in the *Illustration* of March 2nd 1867:"... l'ensemble offre une saisissante illusion. De Rome à Constantinople, il n'y a q'un pas, dans le parc de l'éxposition, du moins. La croix et le turban y confinent et n'y sont séparés que par l'allée de Syrie. Franchissons donc ce pas et entrons en Turquie. ... Le parc turc répresente une place publique limitée par trois édifices placés à

MONTANI AND SERKIS BALYAN, VALIDE MOSQUE

égale distance autour d'un point central: une mosquée, un kiosque de Constantinople, une maison de bain. La mosquée est construite suivant les régles des beaux édifices musulmans de l'Asie mineure. Des réductions très precises de la mosquée de Brousse ont été appliquées à l'intérieur de l'édifice, décorent la coupole, proviennent également de la méme source. L'autel, haut de cinq mètres environ, sera construit entièrement en briques émallés et cloisonnées à la façon des Persans. Le kiosque, espèce de villa du Bosphore, d'une facture originale, possède une salle splendide, ornée de vitraux de couleur d'une grande rareté. Au milieu de cette salle, que doit entourer un grand divan, une fontaine projettera une gerbe d'eau destinée à y entretenir une grande fraîcheur. Quand au bain, élevé sur une très-petite échelle, c'est un spécimen qui, exécuté d'après les meilleurs types du pays, donne une idée complète de cette sorte de construction en Orient."[7]

It is obvious that these pavilions were not built to reflect their real functions, but were designed and used to fulfill their functions in relation to the Exposition. Therefore, both the mosque and the mansion were stripped of the function brought by their forms and were turned into objects/forms giving a message about the culture to which they belonged. It is not really necessary to conform to the authentic model for this function. The fact that the model is conceptualized and turned into a symbol within the framework of an Islamic reference and that the messages giving elements (dome, minaret, wide eave) exist, are considered sufficient.

MONTANI. VALIDE MAUSOLEUM



M. Barberini, who was appointed to work on a project representing the Ottoman empire in the Exhibition, was a well known architect in Istanbul. His earliest known work is the restoration and environment planning carried out after the fire of 1865 around Çemberlitas, which was surrounded by ordinary buildings. Barberini was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works and Commerce to carry out the restoration of Çemberlitas, also known as the *Colonne Brulée*, which had suffered numerous fires, earthquakes and was quite worn and which was located at the ancient Forum of Constantine.[8] Repairs were carried out in 1866 after taking the advice of G. Fossati who had made an earlier study of the monument.[9]

Other works of M. Barberini — as far as can be traced today — are quite removed from the Orientalist trend of the Exhibition of 1867. Therefore, some brief information will be given on his designs and works without going into stylistic details.

Barberini built numerous buildings in Pera and three of these were theatres. Probably the earliest one of these was the French Theatre built in 1861.[10] The theatre which was also known as the *Palais de Cristal* belonged to an Italian named Giustiniani who was a popular social figure of his time. The theatre, which had an entrance hall all lined with glass and crystal, which was also referred to as the Casa Giustiniani, was described in the newspapers as a theatre in the Italian style.[11]

Barberini's Municipal Theatre which was also referred to as the theatre of the *Petit Champs des Morts* was probably built in 1874. The third theatre designed by Barberini was the Odeon Theatre, also located in Pera. According to the descriptions in the newspapers, this was opened on November 11th 1875; it was a beautiful building with white and gold decoration and two balconies.[12]

Thus far it was not possible to discover visual documents for any of the theatres. The only

information that we are able to get from the newspapers of the time which constantly published articles on the mostly Italian actors, actresses and groups performing here, is that these theatres had a marked impact on the social life of the period.

Barberini's only work which is still standing in Istanbul is the VI Daire-i Belediyye (6th Arrondissement Municipal Hall) building designed and constructed in the Classicist concept. Among his finest works following the establishment of the VI. Daire-i Belediyye is the planning of the small square in front of the Municipal Hall and the small boulevard, the removal of the tombs from the Petit Champs des Morts and the construction of the long and only Promenade of the city. The Promenade ended at Barberini's theatre. Although no documents on the architect of the promenade have thus far been found, the said planning, together with the Municipal building, was probably realized by Barberini.

The first monumental example of Oriental eclecticism in Istanbul is the Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Complex whose construction started on March 31st 1870 and ended on April 9th 1872. The Complex consists of a mosque, a fountain, a mausoleum, an imaret, a library and a school. The designers of the project, according to Ottoman sources, were Pietro Montani, known as Montani Efendi, Sarkis Bey Balyan, and G. Cocifi. It is known for a fact that the fountain was designed by Cocifi.[13] But, so far, there is no significant information on the extent of the contributions of Montani and Balyan either to the design or to the realization of the project.

There is no doubt that both Montani and Sarkis Bey were thoroughly familiar with Ottoman architecture from a professional as well as an intellectual point of view. Sarkis Bey was a talented architect honoured with the title of Chief Imperial Architect. Montani, who was awarded the title "Effendi", made the most extensive contribution to the work called *L'architecture Ottomane* commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works on the occasion of the 1873 Vienna Universal Exhibition.[14] He prepared the first measured drawings of monumental Ottoman architecture and drew numerous decorative designs.

Therefore, the formation and accumulation of the architects of the Valide Complex was quite unlike that of the European architects who produced pseudo-Islamic designs on general ideas and without really being aware of the particularities and diversity of Islamic architecture. The concept was presented in *L'architecture Ottomane* as a work in the neo-Turkish style. This is a very interesting claim when we consider the authors of this work.

Despite its being qualified as neo-Turkish in style, the mosque, which is the major unit of the Complex, has neither the tectonic priorities of the Classical Ottoman conception, nor the plastic impact of the Baroque derivation of Ottoman architecture. The only Ottoman or Turkish references here are the plan scheme of the mosque and to some extent the decoration programme.

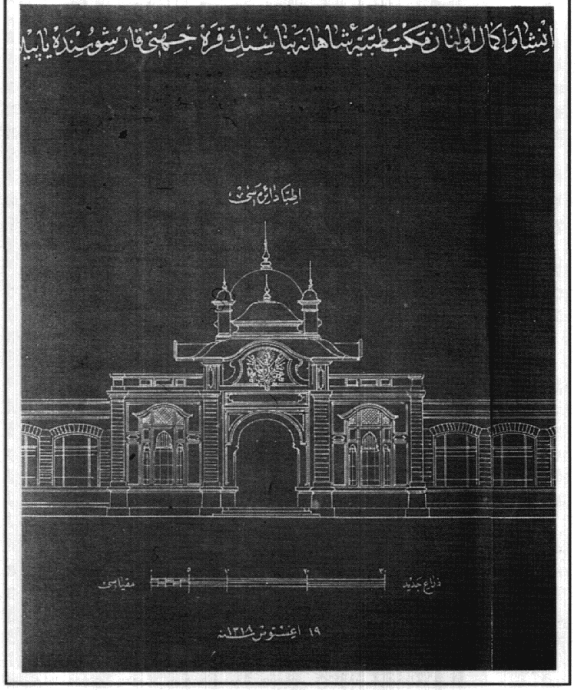
The mosque consists of a square prayer hall with an adjacent last prayer hall and a Sultan's lodge and is a repetition of the characteristic 19th-century schema. It should be noted that the location of the Sultan's lodge in this mosque is peculiar to the 19th century and the result of Westernization.[15] However, this is where all the connection with the past ends. The corners of the square space are supported by elements which have no tectonic function; they are heavily decorated, being reminiscent of the towered elements of Indian origin. The walls of this space have been pushed beyond the wide arches and the dome is in the middle, inside the arches, without any apparent connection with the body walls. The tectonic connection between the walls and the dome can no longer be perceived. Moreover, the dome which sits on a high drum no longer reflects the "à l'Ottoman" look.

The walls which come foreward have become surfaces on which decoration is applied. The Gothic forms of the windows, the Gothic effect of the column groups which support the edges of the surfaces and the onion shaped finials, the intense decoration of the minarets refer to some examples in England where Gothic and Indian elements were used together, rather than to Ottoman architecture.

As will be recalled, the Valide Complex together with the Çiragan Palace are presented in *L'Architecture Ottomane* as works in the neo-Turkish style. Although they are qualified as applications of the revivalism — in the sense of reviving one's own architectural past — observed in the European countries, this reference is questionable. Calling this eclecticism, which consisted of Gothic, Indian and "Saracenic" elements superimposed on an Ottoman scheme, "Neo-Turc" is an interesting example of defining ones own architecture according to the West or of being

dependent on the Orientalist discourse.
Another example of the use of the Orientalist vocabulary in the description of style in those days is related to the design of the Istanbul City Hall. A newspaper article of the time states that the City Hall project had been prepared by Cosifi and that it would be in an "Gothic and Arab" style.[16]
Another Italian architect who worked in Istanbul is P. Bellò.[17] P. Bellò, who had no regular education as such, arrived in Istanbul after travels full of adventure, started to work doing sets in theatres and later joined the office of A. Vallaury, who was one of the most famous and talented architects of Istanbul. Together they worked in the construction of the Imperial Museum which was Vallaury's project. Upon the establishment of the Fine Arts Academy, he worked with A. Vallaury as his assistant and was the workshop teacher in the department of architecture.[18] In Istanbul, Bellò was better known as a watercolour painter and the projects which were exhibited at the end of the year exhibitions stressed the fact that he directed his students to works reflecting Orientalist trends.
Undoubtedly R. D'Aronco was the architect

R. D'ARONCO AND A. VALLAURY
IMPERIAL SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AT HAYDARPAŞA

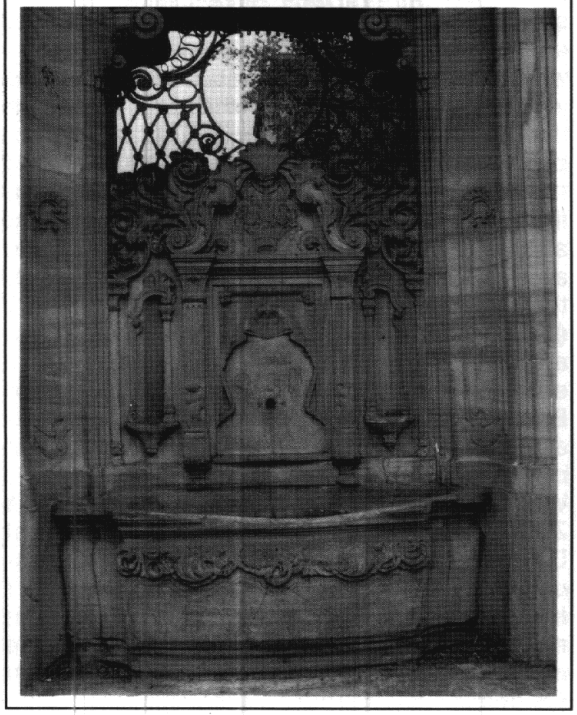


who assessed the Istanbul setting the best and combining this with the trends of the period created original, very personal and high quality designs. Some examples and elements characteristic of D'Aronco's architecture will be dealt with briefly to establish the peculiarities of his contributions which exceed the limits of this study.[19]
Just like Montani Effendi, D'Aronco was very well versed in Ottoman architecture. The restoration work that he undertook following the earthquake in 1894 must have given him a chance to become familiar with Byzantine and Ottoman architecture. It is evident that D'Aronco used this opportunity of taking a close look at the architecture of Istanbul and made an effort to experiment with it and interpret it. What in my opinion is even more interesting, is the fact that D'Aronco's source of inspiration, unlike almost all other architects, was not the Ottoman Classic style but the architectural heritage and physical environment concept of the Ottoman Baroque period. Reminiscences of 18th-century Istanbul, when the late Ottoman Classic period went through a period of introduction to the French Baroque style, must have seriously influenced D'Aronco. At the beginning of my paper, I stated that some Baroque elements and forms were still being used in the anonymous architecture of Istanbul. It is observed that D'Aronco was well aware of this fact and made use of it. Wide eaves creating dark shady areas, wavy, undulating cornices, curved consoles, bay windows supported by wide curved brackets were used by D'Aronco within a new concept and interpretation in the Fountain of Abdülhamit II (1896) in Tophane, the Janissary Museum (1900 ?) and the Nazime Sultan Palace (?). Moreover, unlike other architects, D'Aronco was inspired and influenced by the urban line and civil architecture of Istanbul. Although the miniature bay windows of the Sheik Zafir Library (1902-1903) and those of the Cemil Bey House, and even the wide consoles and monumental eaves of the summer residence of the Italian Embassy were definitely new (or contemporary) forms which, nevertheless, constituted references to the architecture of Istanbul.
We know through his projects of the Sheik Zafir Library and the Military Museum that D'Aronco also worked on Orientalist or modern versions.
In short, D'Aronco's concepts, though reminiscent of Orientalist examples, did not make use of the handiness of the Orientalist/ Colonialist discourse. In other words, D'A-

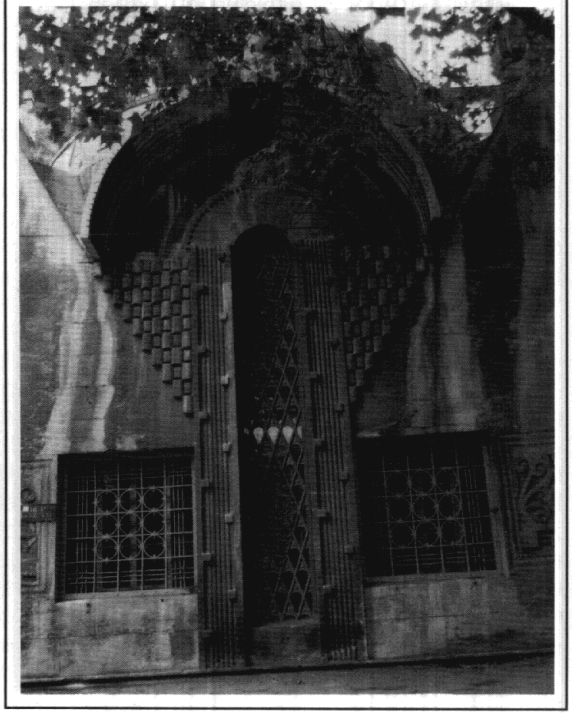
ronco seems to have wished to contribute to the continuity of the architecture of Istanbul without making use of the ordinary models or symbols of Orientalism.
The most typical Orientalist work of D'Aronco is the Haydarpaşa Mekteb-i Tıbbıye-i Şahane building (Imperial Faculty of Medicine) on which he worked with A. Vallaury in 1900. It is thought that D'Aronco was responsible for the application of the project and that, therefore, his share in the work was greater than that of Vallaury. However, as this building looks quite different from his other works, it can be deducted that the major decisions concerning the design were probably made by Vallaury or the administration. Though the building basically sets off around the Classical schema of a rectangular courtyard plan, the Indian influence has somewhat affected the plan, but this same influence is very evident in the facade elements and the formation of the roofing, so much so, that it is reminiscent of the "Fatehpur Sikri oriental palaces."[20]. These exoticist associations were combined with Ottoman or Islamic motifs such as windows with pointed or Bursa type arches, entrance arcades and façade divisions with wooden latticework.
The Düyun-u Ummumiye (Public Debts) Building, on which he once more worked with Vallaury, is a monumental building reflecting Ottoman Revivalism through the use of the Classical lines of the period and within the Classical discipline.
Undoubtedly, the Italian architects who worked in Istanbul during this period have not all been mentioned here. There are numerous other professionals whose names we come across in guide books or annuals but to whom we are not able to relate any projects or buildings. On the other hand, there are quite a few buildings in Istanbul whose architects are said or known to be Italians. The fact that these buildings are numerous also points towards an abundant anonymous Italian production. This, in my opinion, should be considered as part of the whole Italian existence which, through the works of known and unknown architects, actively contributed to the artistic existence of the city throughout the 19th century in the realms of painting, music and theatre.

Afife Batur

D'ARONCO. FOUNTAIN AT MAÇKA (1892)



D'ARONCO. ŞEYHAFIRKÜLLIYESI (1905)



[1] Semavi Eyice, "Istanbul", *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, MEB publ., 5/2, p. 195.
Semavi Eyice, *Galata and its Tower*, TTOK, Istanbul 1969, p. 47.

[2] It is known that the tradition of civil organization in European countries underwent serious changes and development in the first half of the 19th century. Urban organization and services were also developed while the foundations of modern urbanization were being laid to counter-balance the serious problems brought about by industrialization and urbanization. L. Benevolo, *Histoire de l'architecture moderne. I. La revolution industrielle*, Dunod, Paris, 1978, p. 81. The author states that an organization model which he calls "l'urbanisme néo-conservateur" (neo-conservative urbanism) and which was developed by authoritarian conservative regimes was applied not only in European countries but also in colonial cities in the secondo half of the 19th century.

[3] There is an extensive literature on this subject. The main sources of information were: Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-u Belediye*, Istanbul, 1922, and Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye' de Sehirciligin Tarihi inkisafı*, Istanbul, 1936.

[4] The first study and most important source on Ottoman Baroque style: Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, Istanbul, 1954. An important research analysing the issue within the framework of Westernization: Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci yüzyıl Istanbul Mimarisinde Batılılasma Süreci*, ITU Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul, 1975.

[5] The garden of Karakiaia the banker must be the most characteristic and the only known example of the exoticist trend in Istanbul. *La Turquie*, 1st August 1866.

[6] Rıfat Önsoy, "Osmanlı imparatorlugunun katıldıgı ilk uluslararası Sergiler ve Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani (1863 istanbul Sergisi)," *Belleten*, XLVII, TTK, 1984, No. 185, pp. 195-235.

[7] Attention should be paid to the manner of the description which coincides with the Orientalist discourse: An informative text on the illusions, standardization of the examples, message giving elements and models.

[8] *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, No. 360, 1865; Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılıs ve Osman Hamdi*, T. is Bankası, Istanbul, 1971, p. 85.

[9] Tito Lacchia, *I Fossati, Architetti del Sultano di Turchia*, (no date), (from the same article published in *Il Giornale di Politica e di Letteratura*, XXI, 1942), pp. 96-98. A document containing detailed information on Çemberlitas and its restoration. Also refer to: *Journal de Costantinople*, 25th March - 3rd April 1866.

[10] *Revue de Constantinople*, 23rd March 1875, pp. 371-372, and Metin And, *Tanzimat ve istibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu 1839-1908*, T. I ş Bankası, Ankara ,1972, p. 200.

[11] M. And, op. cit., also for the Petit Champs des Morts theatre refer to *Levant Herald*, 16th March 1874, and for the Odeon theatre, *Levant Herald*, 1st July, 20th September, 5th November and 11th November 1875.

[12] *Journal de Constantinople*, 30th March 1872.

[14] *L'Architecture Ottomane*, ouvrage autorisé par Iradé Impérial et publié sous le patronage de Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, Ministre des Travaux Publics, Président de la Commission Impériale Ottomane pour l'Exposition Universelle de 1873 à Vienne, texte français par M. de Launay, dessins techniques par Montani Ef., Paris, Vienne, 1873.

[15] For information on the changes in the placement of the sultan's lodge in 19th-century mosques and the new schemes refer to: Selçuk Batur, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın Büyük Camilerinde Son Cemaat Yeri ve Hünkar Mahfili Sorunu üzerine", *Anadolu Sanatı Arastırmaları 2*, Istanbul, 1970, pp. 97-128.

[16] *Journal de Constantinople*, 27th April 1871.

[17] Caroline Juler, *Les Orientalistes de l'école italienne*, ACR, Paris, 1987, p. 38. In this book Bellò is referred to as "Pietro Bellò". A. Thalasso, *L'Art Ottoman, Les Peintres de Turquie*, Paris, 1910. In this work he is referred to as "Philippe Bellò".

[18] The project photographs of P. Bellò's students for the 1902 Year End Exhibition: *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Cazetesi*, no. 16. The projects of the 1903 Exhibition: *Malumat*, 2nd May 1903, no. 388.

[19] A long list of sources can be given for the works of Raimondo D'Aronco. For a bibliography refer to: Manfredi Nicoletti, *D'Aronco e l'architettura liberty*, Laterza, Roma 1982, pp. 237-240. For those concerning Istanbul refer to: Afife Batur, "L'Art Nouveau d'Istanbul et ses particularités" Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest, 1975, pp. 147-159; Afife Batur, "Les Oeuvres de Raimondo D'Aronco à Istanbul" *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi su "Raimondo D'Aronco" e il suo tempo*, Udine 1st-3rd June 1981, pp. 118-134, and Zeynep Nayır, "Raimondo D'Aronco and Ottoman Revivalism", ibid., pp. 135-149.

[20] Zeynep Nayır, "Istanbul' da Italyalı bir mimar, Raimondo D'Aronco," *Turing, TTOK Belleteni*, November 1982, no. 69/348, pp. 10-15.

BUILDING ON THE ISTIKLAL CADDESI BY R. D'ARONCO