

FROM THE OTTOMAN PROVINCE TO THE COLONY: LATE OTTOMAN EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS IN NICOSIA

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INTRODUCTION

As many cases in the history of urbanization in the East and West, relations between the centre and the periphery represent unilateral transactions. This was also the case in Cyprus. The Island with its strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean became the scene for many conquests, some of which were stabilized as long lasting administrations. Thus, the central powers had the opportunity to import and disseminate their architectural preferences.

After the collapse of the Byzantine domination, it was during the crusades that medieval Europeans discovered the importance of Cyprus as a strategic island. Feudal administrations founded in Syria and Antioch, as well as in Edessa County, were organized in order to control the military and commercial routes through the landownership. Among the crusaders, a French dynasty called the Lusignans, the nobles of a minor degree, colonized Cyprus, imitating the Frankish political and religious institutions. During the Lusignan period (1192-1473), two cathedrals and several churches were constructed in the manner of the French Gothic style, especially in Nicosia and Famagusta; as well as palaces, monasteries and other religious edifices which were allocated to different communities and sects. The primary emphasis of the Lusignans was to convert the Island into a naval base of the Catholics.

There ruled other sea powers in Cyprus: the Genovese occupied the Island in 1373; Mamlukes plundered the cities in 1426. Finally the Venetians took the land (1489) to fortify their naval dominance. Using the contemporary military engineering methods imported to Cyprus around 1490s, triangular bastions were added around the Nicosia walls, to defend the city against possible Ottoman attacks. Administrative palaces in Famagusta and Nicosia, as well as private residences, all richly ornamented in the Venetian Renaissance style, contributed to the Island's

1. Among various concise books on the medieval architecture in Cyprus were: Enlart (1899, 1987); Jeffery (1918, 1983); Gunnis (1936); Gürkan (1989); and Keshishian (1990). On the explorations of antiquity: Tatton-Brown (2002). Two books in the Ottoman Turkish were printed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Ziver (1312: 1896) is more descriptive than the booklet of İbrahim Hakki and Mustafa Mithat (1338:1922).

2. See, Orhonlu (1971,91-103). Two classic essays by Barkan provide the information on the relationship between the Ottoman neighborhood settlement and the charitable organizations: Barkan (1942, 279-304) and Barkan (1962, 239-296).

architectural substance. The coats of arms of St. Mark's Republic, some of which can still be observed on the historical fortress walls of Famagusta and Nicosia, reflected one of the invincible powers of the Mediterranean basin (1).

After the conquest of Nicosia in 1570 by Lala Mustafa Pasha, Ottomans built a row of strongholds and fortifications established foremost at the southern shores of the Island, such as in Larnaca, Baphos and Limassol. Nicosia appeared as an important commercial centre on the eastern Mediterranean trade routes, between Egypt and Caramania on the north-south direction, as well as between the Syrian ports and the western part of the Mediterranean. Ottomans brought in their life style, molded in the economic domain, as they did in other provinces. Majority of public structures in Nicosia displayed a religious character. Main mosques were converted from the Gothic churches, and educational institutions, namely the *medreses*, had been established around the mosques. The "founding pashas", who conquered the Island or who ruled in the early period of the Ottoman administration, besides converting cathedrals and churches into mosques, established charitable foundations in towns, organized the transportation of immigrants from Anatolia in order to increase the Muslim population and developed certain measures for improving the economic situation on the Island. Commercial buildings, such as Kumarcılar Hanı, Büyük Han, Bedesten, stores, shopping streets and numerous shops of the artisans in Nicosia, attest to the development of economic facilities (2). Evidently, the charitable foundation (*waqf*) organization in Cyprus sustained close ties with economic and social life. Charitable works provided the basis for the foundation of a residential quarter. The cultural effect of the *waqf* appeared as a means in the transfer of the Ottoman social system produced in the centre to the provinces. Typical plans of the Ottoman traditional architecture, such as public bath, fountain or *tekke*, sustained in Cypriot towns as significant products of the social life.

The transfer from the centre to the periphery went on with the British regime in the late nineteenth century. The colonial administration brought some measures related to the British overseas interest, as well as their life style. Cypriot architecture was inevitably influenced by the current developments. The railroad system, post offices and storehouses reflected the British emphasis on the communication systems and the naval trade.

Educational activities also represented rulers' aspirations. First, *medrese* institution as an integral part of the charitable foundation belonged to the Ottoman traditional life style. The Ottoman administrators took the traditional *medrese* as an inevitable device for public instruction. Later, modernizing efforts in the educational area extended far to the distant provinces of the Empire. Between 1882 and 1908, construction of school buildings was realized and disseminated from Rumelia to Iraq. In this period, a concern for the education of women was seriously taken into consideration.

This study deals with the architectural characteristics of the schools in Nicosia, built during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The Ottoman administration, though replaced by the British control, continued to exert its influence on the social life of the Muslim inhabitants. This new situation was not without an Ottoman accent. The degree of the gradual change in the school architecture, as influenced by the educational thoughts and architecture of the two countries, which

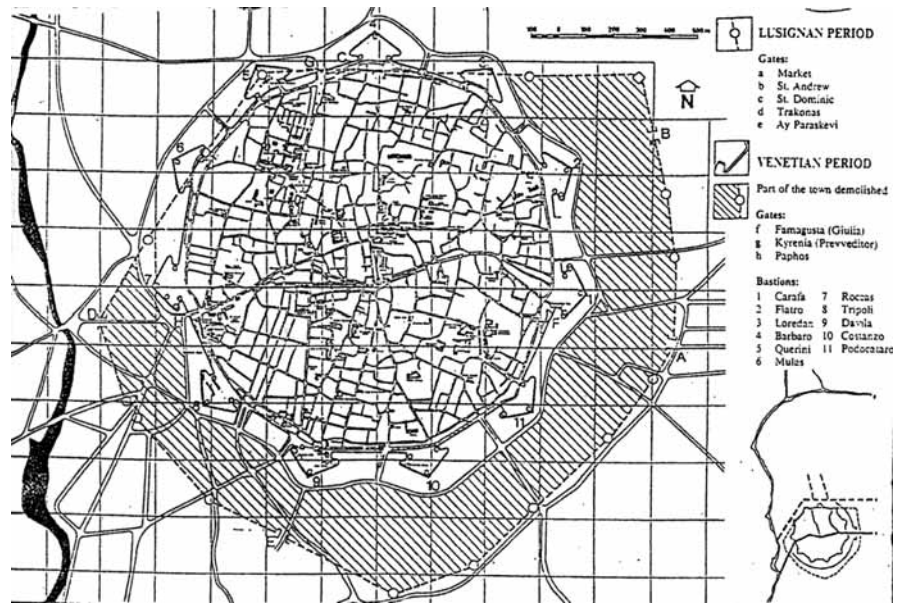


Figure 1. Medieval City Walls of Nicosia (from: Perbellini)

imposed their styles on the Island, appears as a question. Apart from stylistic details, also the intra-mural urban development represented a unique character. (Figure 1)

The British city plan which was prepared by the Colonial Land Registration and Survey Department (CLRS) in 1927, was apparently revised later, but provides an important documentary source to help examine the problem. Intending to include the Muslim and Greek quarters within the city walls, the city plan was arranged as a portfolio, where buildings were shown as to note the original identifications (3).

VIEWS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION AND SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: FRENCH, BRITISH AND OTTOMAN EXPERIENCES

Two main ideological streams confirmed the justification of European ideas in the field of public education in the nineteenth century: first was the nationalism and the second, establishment of the middle-class elite. Nationalistic ideas took the school organization as a tool of spreading the national language and common cultural characteristics, e.g. customs, religious instruction, as well as the standard behaviors for the socialization of labor or middle class members (4). Secular education for the middle-class elite became crucial for the establishment of generations of educated civil servants. Another characteristic point was that the central authority played crucial role at organizing the educational field, like in France, England and the Ottoman Empire.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the French Ministry of Education demanded the construction of a series of schools, designed by eminent architects, such as Emile Vaudremer (1829-1914) and Julien Guadet (1834-1908). Contemporary views on education, such as the segregation among the ages and according to gender, were reflected by school architecture. Administrative control became primary element in the formation of buildings. As an example, in Lycée de Grenoble designed by Guadet, three main courtyards arranged according to age, surrounded the classrooms. Necessary equipment, as well as a playground and separate

3. I am thankful to KKTC Eski Eserler Müdürlüğü (Office of Historical Monuments) and its director Dr. İlkay Feridun for providing a copy of the city plan.

4. For Hobsbawm, national tendencies at the education were represented through the widespread of national language: "Small elites can operate in foreign languages; once the cadre of the educated becomes large enough, the national language imposes itself. Hence the moment when textbooks or newspapers in the national language are first written, or when that language is first used for some official purpose, measures a crucial step in national evolution." Hobsbawm (1996, 135)

gardens for administration, infirmary and kitchens were provided. The linear administration block remained in the middle of the complex, in order to control pupils' activities (Guadet 1909, 233). The scheme was renewed at the Ecole des Arts et Métiers and Grand Séminaire de Rennes (Guadet 1909, 247-248). On the other hand, Vaudremer's designs, such as the Lycée Buffon and the Lycée Moliere in Paris, reflected his stylistic concern rather than the educational requirements (Hitchcock 1987, 205-206).

In England, schools would be classified according to the social class and status. Until the Education Act of 1870 that enabled to extend the power of public education, secular schools were regarded as media for "regulation of distribution of wealth among the several classes of the society" (Thompson 1988, 144-145). The result was construction of "chapel-like" buildings for the middle-class where the furniture was not suitable, sanitary conditions were limited and where severe discipline ruled. Segregation of gender became evident from the early years on: separate entrances, schoolrooms and playgrounds prepared the younger people for traditional gender roles and standard social behavior, peculiar to the middle-class (Thompson 1988, 150-151). However, according to upper and middle-upper classes, schools were "instruments for conditioning their boys into becoming upright, manly characters who could lead without being needlessly cruel to animals or servants. That was largely successful, and the public-school type was pretty easily recognizable by speech, manner, dress, and behavior" (Thompson 1988, 145). "The cult of manliness" and compulsory games nearly dominated instruction of the upper class children (Watkin 1997, 165), which prepared pupils for the competitive career of higher ranks. Consequently, these schools, called as 'Public Schools', were equipped with large playgrounds, laboratories and necessary furniture. Another type of these schools, called the 'Board School', was "large, remote, and forbidding though clean and efficient" (Thompson 1988, 141). They were constructed in urban areas, and mostly in London.

There existed also 'Parish schools', with one or two classrooms in villages which were described as "small, familiar and accessible, even if dirty and inefficient" (Thompson 1988, 141-142). The 'Ecclesiologist' movement aimed at the re-organization of the 'Parish schools', especially in the field of architecture. William Butterfield published a series of 'Parish School' designs, where the simplified medieval character played role (Dixon and Muthesius 1993, 236-7). An exception among the small 'Parish Schools' might be St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Northern District School in London designed by J. W. Wild in 1849-50 (Dixon and Muthesius 1993, 238).

The change in approach towards education and discipline was reflected by the school designs. During the Victorian period, the emphasis was on socializing within the lines of middle-class values accompanied by discipline and control. Thanks to the pedagogical views which established later, pupils obtained less control, but more reliance by the instructors. A critic in the 1940s, William Newton summarized the different practice between the nineteenth and twentieth century as:

"When the development of school building until today was investigated, the first point to be noticed should be the emphasis laid on establishing sense of community, e.g. the planning of the classrooms around a courtyard. Adding to this, entrance to the building and wardrobe rooms played role in the school plans..." (Newton 1944, 257-259).

According to Newton, the wardrobe rooms previously located at the center had been the only entrance points to the building that enabled the control of pupils, but now that mentality of school administration changed, the directors pointed out that pupils could discipline themselves and obeyed the regulations. Newton points out the development in the British school architecture:

“Towards the end of the nineteenth century the schools in France and England were so firmly built that they could be hardly modified in accordance with new designs. Because of our respect to old edifices we omitted to investigate the issue, however the development at the educational field carried on.”

From the point of stylistic choice, imitation of the Romanesque and Gothic details was frequently used in Victorian school architecture. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields' North Italian Gothic with its arcade, was highlighted by Ruskin as a 'secular' design. Gothic style was *à la mode* at the Board-Schools, where the medieval rationalism was considered as the primary approach to design. Gothic was used also at the elevation of the 'Public School' for the upper class. The chapel remained as the dominant element among the complex. The revived medieval manner was best evident at the Oxbridge college buildings, such as St. John's College, New Court (1825-31) in Cambridge or Chapel range of Keble College in Oxford, by Butterfield (1867-83). The castellated decoration at the King's College (Cambridge) exemplified the revived chivalry taste. Although the highest examples of the Gothic Revival in England were designed by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), a French convert to Roman Catholicism, Emile Vaudremer in France who preferred the Romanesque image for his schools, stood closer to the "medievalizing rationalism of Viollet-le-Duc" (5).

Late nineteenth century witnessed the school reform also in the Ottoman Empire, introducing the western methods of instruction and eventually the school architecture in the French manner. The Ministry of Education prepared the architectural plans for the secondary schools and distributed them to the Ottoman provinces in a bureaucratic way of organization where governors undertook construction procedure in the provinces. Educational regulations (*Maarif Nizamnamesi*) specified the standard to be satisfied in a western type of instruction and expectations from a generation, equipped with necessary information for a westernized life-style.

After 1880s, the goal was to reach the standards of the western education, however by still pertaining to the Ottoman cultural and social conditions. Like with the French and English experiences, Ottoman education tried to reinforce the national identity, e.g. 'Ottomanism' through a curriculum, where the national language and liberal arts took place (6). It was also intended to prepare the students for official positions. The development pioneered by Küçük Said Paşa, the grandvisier of Abdülhamid, was challenged radically with the traditional *medrese* institution, and gradually degenerated within decades. Secondary education was re-organized by establishing the institutions like Rüştiye and İ'dadi. The widespread organization of the İ'dadis especially, contributed to the outcome of the modern educated elite in the late Ottoman period and the early Turkish Republic.

İ'dadi School and Governmental Hall were regarded as prestigious official projects in the Anatolian cities. The fact that governors entered into rivalry

5. For further examples, see: Dixon and Muthesius (1993, 239). Watkin (1997, 163-167). Castellated decoration imitates crenellations at medieval castles.

6. For the curriculums: M. Cevad (1328:1912, 478).

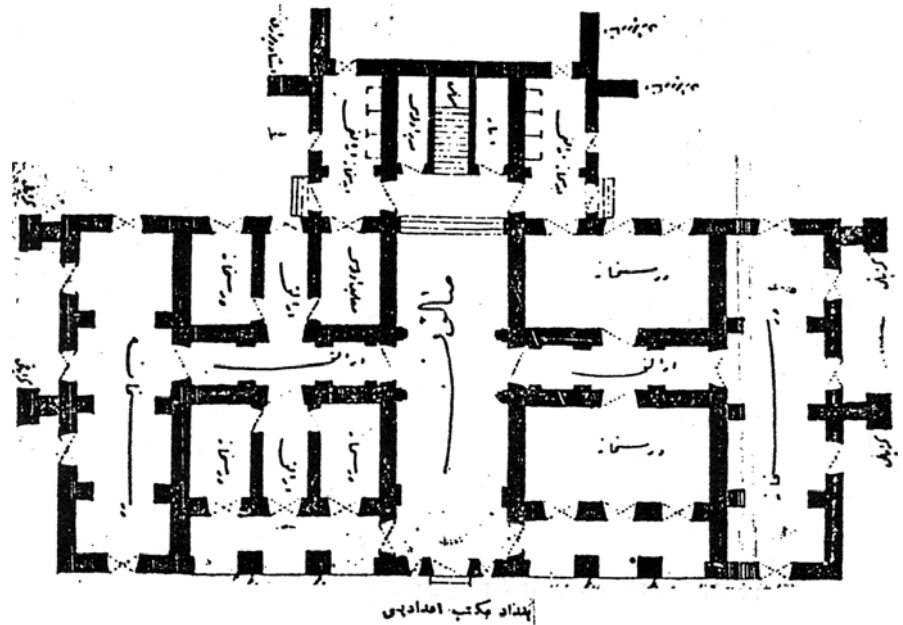


Figure 2. Plan of *Baghdad İdadisi* (Bağdad Mekteb-i İdadisi), from *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye* (1321: 1905) Dersaadet.

with other provinces indicates that state supported buildings became motivating sources for prestige of an administrator and for pride of a province. Plans of the İdadı buildings, in general, were designed in İstanbul as three types: small, middle and large, considering the provincial and local conditions, such as the total population and availability of the site. The plans and façades displayed similar features, as reflected in the late Ottoman Neo-Classical style of the official architecture. Although imported from Europe, the Neo-Classical style had been used frequently at the palatial structures, mosques and administrative buildings. Portico with freestanding columns; arches with engaged columns; pilaster on the façade; quoin; balustrade line; cornice; symmetric flanks; rustication; simplified orders and other relevant details reflected the Neo-Classical language of the Ottoman official architecture. Said Pasha, who emphasized the need of a new style other than the traditional, personally preferred this modest version of the Neo-Classical, probably as a rational style, which recalled universal design principles, like symmetry, balance and proportioned singular parts. Plan of the Baghdad İdadı exemplified the symmetric organization with the arched entrance, with the main hall (described on the plan as *salon*) and the side flanks with classrooms (*dershane*) (Figure 2). Considering that Victorian architects accepted the 'Italianate' and the Neo-Classical as liberal manners that were destined to fulfill the middle-class demands in urban conditions, a parallel approach were to be observed also with the Ottoman administrators who were responsible to demonstrate the official architectural style (Özgüven 1990, 44-47; Said Paşa 1328: 1912, 156).

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN NICOSIA UNTIL THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Before the advent of modern schools, Cypriot Turks were instructed in the *medrese*, founded by the charitable foundation. The Cypriot *medreses* were at the level of secondary education (*musila-ı sahn*). According to a list prepared by Ali Süha, the *medreses* and their founders in Nicosia were as follows (Ali Süha 1971, 223): Küçük Ayasofya Medrese by



Figure 3. Mahmud II Library. (B. Özgüven)

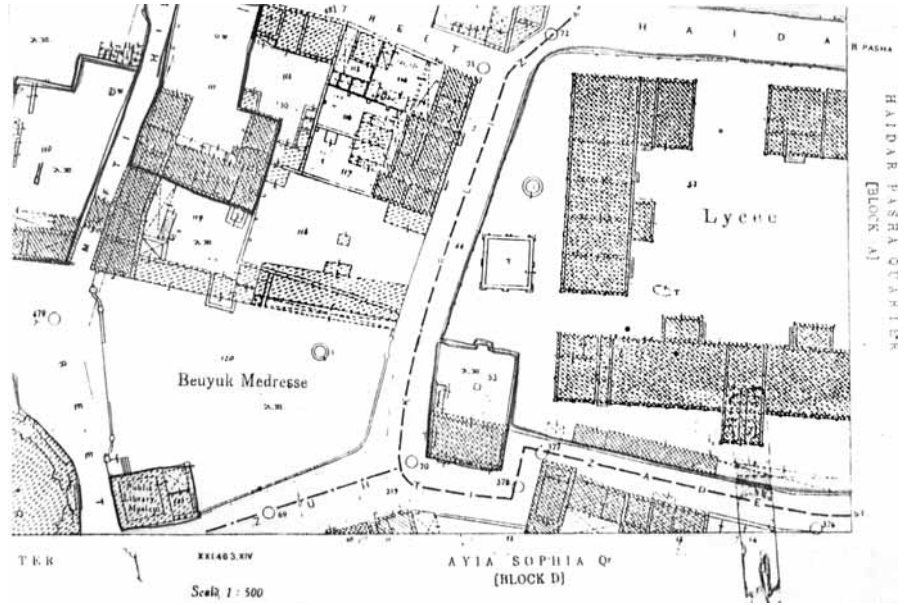


Figure 4. Fragment of the Nicosia Plan (hence LRSD Plan) prepared by the 'Land Registration and Survey Department' (1927), Sheet XXI, 46 3.XIV; shows the relationship between the Büyük Medrese and its vicinity including the Mahmud II Library and the 'Moslem School' (indicated as Lycee on the map).

Saadettinzade Müftü Ahmed Efendi in 1640; Arab Ahmed Medrese by Seraibzade Elhac Osman Efendi İbni Ahmed Ağa in 1718-19; Sarayönü Medrese by Bekir Paşa in 1748; and Laleli Medrese by Muhassıl Ali Ruhi Efendi in 1827-28. Another large *medrese* constructed by Hacı Osman, known as Sezaizade, took place next to the Arab Ahmed Paşa Mosque (1791). Others were Hamidiye (1799) and Ahmed Reşit Medresesi (1820). There were also numerous primary schools (*sibyan mektebi*); one of them was Abdülkerimzade Hacı Hüseyin Mektebi built in 1713. Büyük Medrese and Küçük Medrese exemplified the traditional education that exerted its influence almost until early twentieth century. It is interesting to note that majority of the religious institutions in Cyprus took place in buildings constructed earlier by the Christians.



Figure 5. The road leading towards the Mahmud II Library and the Ayia Sophia Mosque. (B. Özgüven)

Büyük Medrese, founded by Hacı İsmail and Hacı Ramazan in 1632, faces the northeastern walls of Ayia Sophia representing an important institution in Nicosia (Figure 4). The main building was destroyed in 1936, and in its place, the Office of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Dairesi*) constructed a religious school (7). Formed by several buildings and arranged in an irregular manner, the Medrese did not represent the archetypal features of classical counterparts in the Ottoman provinces, but it was rather organized as an arbitrary agglomeration of the medieval Christian buildings adhered to the Ayia Sophia complex. The spacious courtyard with a small fountain in front of the Medrese served for the distinction from the Library and Ayia Sophia. The fountain, dating to the term of Ali Ruhi Efendi, administrator of Cyprus, became a component of the building complex. On the other hand, the large area allocated to the Medrese and to the Sultan Mahmud II Library next to Ayia Sophia, signals its significance in the city. It seems that the Medrese was not considered as an integral part of the building complex; otherwise it would be identified as 'Ayia Sophia Medrese'.

7. Alasya (1939, 135). I thank Mr. Harid Fedai for providing the book from his private achieve.

8. The tughra of Sultan Mahmud II on the Famagusta Gate of Nicosia belongs again to the term of Ali Ruhi Efendi.

During his short term Ali Ruhi Efendi afforded building activities like the 'founding pashas' did almost two centuries ago (8). He planned the arrival of Sultan Mahmud to Cyprus, which never happened, and on this occasion he took the responsibility of the construction of the Mahmud II Library (Figure 3, 4, 5). Integrated with the Büyük Medrese, it was



Figure 6. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 46, 3.X; shows Küçük Medrese and Victoria School.



Figure 7. Former Küçük Medrese.(B. Özgüven)

organized on the southwestern part of the courtyard in 1829. The layout is based on a square plan (9m x 9m) covered by a dome. A small portico having two cupolas provides access to the entrance. There used to have been a rich collection, including precious manuscripts and lithographic works kept on shelves and bookcases, donated by the Sultan and religious people, but according to Hikmetağalar, a local witness in mid-twentieth century, they were removed by the colonial administration for restoration

9. Hikmetağalar observes that the books were transported to the British Library. Hikmetağalar (1996, 94-95).

10. The poem starts with the couplet: 'Kitâb-ı kâinata sebt olub evsaf-ı şâhâne; okunsun haşre dek ayat-ı hayrât-ı mulukâne'.

purposes, and were never returned again (9). There is a poem inscribed on the interior wall, written by Müftü Hilmi Efendi who was honored by Mahmud II as the 'Sultan of the Poets' (10). The gilt inscription on the inside of the drum of the dome belongs to Feyzi Dede, one of the leading masters in the early nineteenth century, who was educated in Cyprus (Yıldız (1995, 526). From the point of general outlines, the building has common features with the eighteenth century libraries in İstanbul, such as the Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa Library (1720) and the Ragıp Efendi Library (1762). Nevşehirli's plan signals one of the earliest use of the square-domed libraries with a surrounding portico on two sides. Ragıp Efendi; on the other hand, it displays a further development in library architecture, where four smaller cupolas at each corner supported the central dome covering the square deposit for books with a porch of three arches. The Küçük Efendi Library in Yedikule, İstanbul, built around 1825, could be listed as a contemporary of the Mahmud II Library. A single chamber with portico reflects the plan type of small library buildings (Goodwin 1971, 396). Library construction in Nicosia reflected the Ottoman interest in the educational activities and involvement with cultural enlightenment among the Cypriot people.

Another traditional institution in the late Ottoman period was the Küçük Medrese, located at the junction of Sarayönü and Küçükmedrese Streets. Established by Menteşzade Hacı İsmail in 1835, the building was originally a two-floor residence, in the style of traditional mud-brick houses with projecting upper floor (Figure 6, 7). Today the building houses a professional association, where the high entrance hall opens to symmetrical rooms. Garden walls and a small elegant fountain, built in 1828, delineate the inner courtyard. Covered by a small dome, the fountain is called the Küçük Medrese or the Ali Ruhi Efendi Fountain. Again, it belongs to the charitable works of Ali Ruhi Efendi who was

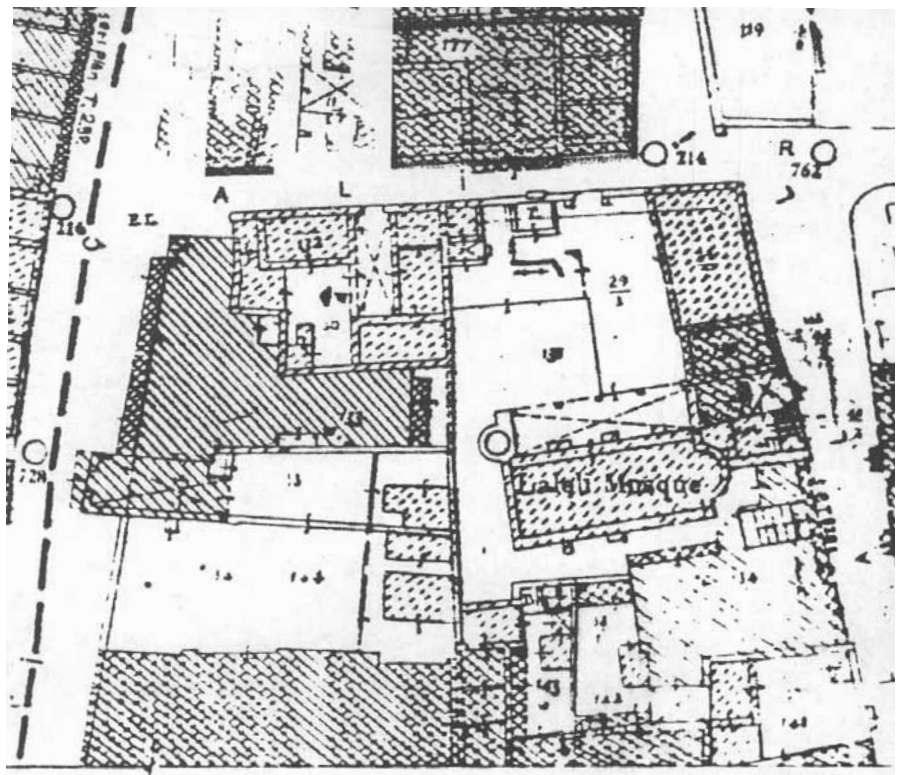


Figure 8. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 46, 3.V; shows Laleli Mosque and its surrounding.

appointed as the administrator of Cyprus, with the title *muhassıl*, between the years 1825/26-1828/29 (11). Other waterworks patronized by Ali Ruhi were the fountain of the Laleli Mosque (1827/28), added to the courtyard of the building complex and the Büyük Medrese fountain, mentioned earlier. He founded a *waqf* including the Laleli Mosque and the Laleli Medrese around the Sarayönü Quarter (Figure 8). According to the British city plan, the mosque seems to be converted from a basilical church, as it was enlarged towards the north direction, possibly in order to add the mihrab. Similarly, the Medrese building displays characteristics of the probable original structure of a former monastery.

As underlined before, classical *medreses* in the Ottoman Empire were generally organized around a religious complex. The archetypal establishment of the *medrese* was formed on the base as a formal articulation of the cells lined up around a courtyard with a larger room on the main axis where pupils were instructed (*dershane*). The cupola of the *dershane* reflected the well-known integration of cube and dome construction. The fact that the *medrese* appeared as one of the main parts of the religious complex, could well be traced back in the formation of series of Nizamiye Medreses during the Seljukid period. The basic idea behind the formation of a religious complex was that public instruction could not be separated from the religious practice. All the constituent buildings of the complex, e.g. the mosque, the medrese, the fountain, the soup kitchen, the hospital, the public bath, etc., should be afforded by a charitable *waqf* foundation which supplied the income from its estates or from those integral buildings of the complex, like the local bath which was aimed to earn money. It is remarkable that during the Ottoman administration in Cyprus, charitable building groups, except for fountains, public baths and the library, were established on existing medieval ecclesiastical structures. Could this fact be explained as the result of the shortage of budget, or of the limited term of the administrators, or of the lack of available building areas for the religious complex?

LATE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY SCHOOLS IN NICOSIA AND THEIR ARCHITECTURE

The effects of the modernization effort in the Ottoman Empire reached Cyprus during the late nineteenth century, long after the Abdulhamid treaty with the British Empire. The Ottoman Empire, forced to cooperate with the British against the threat of Russia, transferred its rights on Cyprus to the British administration, with a *Mukavelename* dated July 4th, 1878, signed between Saffet Paşa, the foreign minister and Layard, the British ambassador. At the outset this situation did not mean that Ottomans completely ceased to own the rights they had and to desert the Island. Sultan Abdülhamid II agreed with the British control over the Island, only under the circumstances that his domination on the legal issues would never be defected (12) Following the treaty, the annual tax of the island, as usual, was transferred to the Sublime Port, as the religious law and the public life of the Muslim community remained under the protection of the Sultan. The charitable foundations (*waqf*) formed a grave chapter among the religious law, which also affected establishment of the traditional schools, *medreses* and primary schools in Cyprus.

11. The inscribed verse on the structure can be read with difficulty today: 'Ali Ruhi Efendi mazharı feyz-i hüda olsun; baharistan-ı ömrü devlet-i behçetnümâ olsun'. The complete version can be found in Alasya (1939, 141).

12. Original statement: 'Hukuk-u şahâneme asla halel gelmemesi şartı ile muahedenameyi tasdik ederim', from Gazioğlu (1997, 6-8).

A council was established by a group of prestigious citizens in Cyprus among the Turkish community, according to a decree sent by the Ministry of Education (1884), and it was named as the Islamic Council of Education

(*Islam Maarif Encümeni*), acting as the Cypriot branch of the late Ottoman educational modernization movement. We are informed that before the foundation of the Council, the first trial towards a modernized education arrived with the foundation of a school at the Rüştiye level (a level between the primary school and the lycée), opened around Ayia Sophia in 1862 (13). Following the efforts of the Council, an İ'dadi in Nicosia and several Rüştiye schools in different places of the Island were organized.

The Ottoman Empire and Britain fought in the opposite camps during the First World War, thus, the British Crown annexed Cyprus unilaterally in 1914. Proclaiming that Cyprus was brought to the 'Crown Colony' status in 1925, the colonists eliminated wealthy Turkish citizens out of Cyprus (14). The British governor remained as the only authority for the legislative matters. This change affected also the educational facilities on the Island. According to the Act of 1933, the governor undertook the task of organization of the Muslim schools, instead of the 'Council of Education' (15). The colonial administration decided to limit the facilities undertaken by twenty-one Rüştiye schools on the Island, by allowing only one İ'dadi and one Rüştiye open, where the latter had to be re-organized as a preparatory school of the İ'dadi. Although activities of the traditional *medreses* were prohibited in the Turkish Republic due to the educational reforms (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*), this did not affect the Cypriot schools under the British control. Büyük Medrese and Küçük Medrese continued their instruction until the 1930s (Ali Süha 1971, 224).

There rises a question if the Cypriot charitable foundations supported the modern İ'dadi and Rüştiye schools in the absence of the 'Council of Education', that had been apparently removed in the first years of the colonial regime. The general system in the Ottoman Empire was as follows: Beyond the allocation of the official budget, wealthy citizens of the town and local taxes provided the financial support for the westernized schools. A generation of the late nineteenth century governors organized the financial foundation of an education reform in the Ottoman provinces and especially in Anatolia (16). Therefore there was no need of the traditional *waqf* system, which had already ceased to take part in social life in the late nineteenth century. In Cyprus, on the other hand, the situation appeared to be unique. The British administration tried to re-generate a social system based on the religious communities. This was especially visible among the Turkish community, which was 'classified' under the Muslim identity, a fact pronounced by the religious law of the previous Ottoman administration. The colonists' re-classification might also reflect a manipulation against the idea of national education which had started with the Ottoman modernization.

Replacing the 'Islamic Council,' the support of education was realized through the charitable foundations. Cypriot-Turkish schools were constructed on the *waqf* estates, which enabled to endure the connection between the *waqf* system and the modern school formation. Among the Turkish schools of the early twentieth century were the Primary School, the Rüştiye, the Moslem school, the three schools for women, besides a school of languages and a professional school.

Through the efforts of the former Council, twenty-one Rüştiyes and the İ'dadi, the higher secondary school, had been established, partly in their original buildings (17). When the colonial administration reduced the number of Turkish schools, the buildings were also re-organized. The school house presumably built for the İ'dadi (next to the Haydarpaşa

13. Ali Süha (1971, 224). The name 'Islamic Council' is noteworthy from the point of British politics, which categorized the Cypriot population on the base of religious laws.

14. Hikmetağalar, as a child, witnessed the tragedy of wealthy Muslim citizens eliminated by the British administration (Hikmetağalar, 1996, 90).

15. The acts of 1920, 1929, 1933 and 1935 display that the Cypriot education was gradually manipulated by the British administration. See, Hüsnü Feridun (n.d., 75). For legislative matters: Gazioğlu (1997, 11).

16. Özgüven (1990, 45-46). For the educational regulations in the late Ottoman Empire, see Özalp (1987, 165-197) and M. Cevad (1328: 1910, 478 f).

Figure 9. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 46, 3.X – XI; shows Haydarpaşa Mosque and Rüştîye (indicated as School-Boys) with the 'Moslem School' (as Lycee).

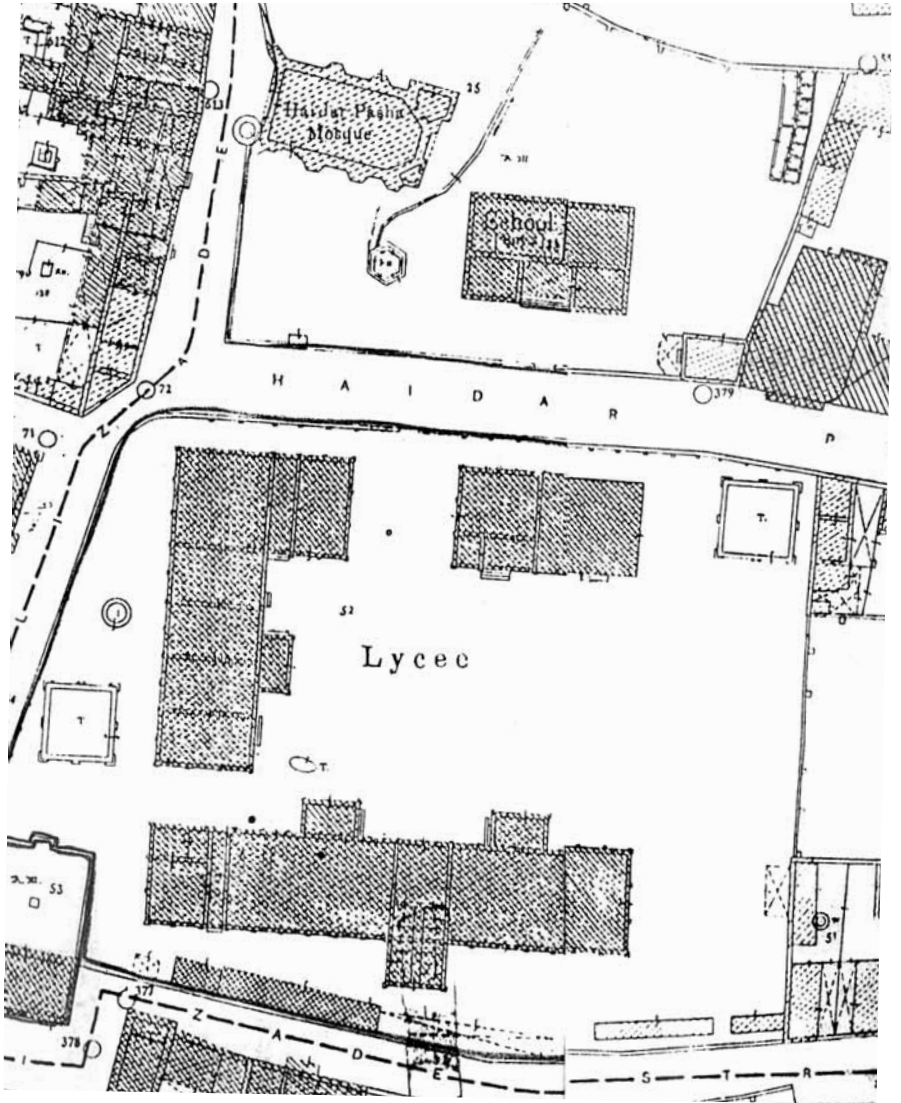


Figure 10. Rüştîye, Detail from the Entrance. (B. Özgüven)

Figure 11. Rüştîye, today's TRNC Office of Historical Monuments. (B. Özgüven)



Mosque) was allocated to the Rüştiye. The İ'dadi changed its name as the 'Moslem School' and moved to a new building complex constructed as school.

The building next to the Haydarpaşa Mosque (on the Haydarpaşa Street, which intersects Kirlizade Street opening to the Ayia Sophia Square) where today the 'Office of Historical Monuments' takes place, certainly once housed the Rüştiye, since the city plan prepared by the British colonial administration indicates that the block was used as a 'School (for Boy's)' (**Figure 9, 10, 11**). There is a neighboring 'İ'dadi Street' in front of the Haydarpaşa Mosque, which runs next to the Office, extending from the Hagia Sophia Square towards the back of Kumarcılar Hanı.

Considering this information, confirmed also by the British plan, the building recalls that the block occupied by the Rüştiye might originally be built for the İ'dadi. The street could have only been named on the occasion of a prestigious construction project at that time. The İ'dadi School was opened on November the 14th, 1896, as the highest educational institution in Cyprus (**18**). Taking the foundation date into account, the building must be dated to the early period of the British control, when there occurred minor intervention in the construction of Muslim schools. The simplified Neo-Classical language of the schoolhouse displays common features with the Ottoman İ'dadi schools in Anatolia.

The building boldly represents the Ottoman architectural language, used at the standard designs practiced in other provinces. The hall and a corridor next to the entrance of the two-floor building give access to two symmetrical rooms. A portico of three arches stress the entrance, where one of the windows next to the gate seems to have turned to blind. The white cornice on the elevation delineates the ceiling, and the eaves, window frames, quoins at the corner of the building and the wall rustication points out the simplified Neo-Classical language. The Ottomans tried to submit a message that the buildings belonged to a western type of educational system, as they were repeatedly built in other cities in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Middle East. The manner also reflects the changing trends from the traditional towards the western mood in architecture, as mentioned before. Basic idea behind the Ottoman schools was a simplified and rational 'Palazzo' (**19**). As mentioned before, the Ottoman manner rather represents a set of design principles, which aimed at a structure that is durable, rational, practical and easy to construct, as well as with a formal aesthetic value. The Rüştiye, the former İ'dadi in Nicosia points out the same manner of the Ottomans, whereas the later schools for girls, the primary school and the 'Moslem School' complex reflects the colonial taste.

The Rüştiye's, presumably former İ'dadi's, surrounding appears as a historical area where archaeological remains from the Lusignan period were discovered. Original name of the Haydarpaşa Mosque was St. Catherine's Church, from the Lusignan period (**20**). Hizber Hikmetağalar, who was born in a house next to the Rüştiye and spent his life around the Haydarpaşa Mosque, provides valuable information on the site. Hikmetağalar's father bought the family house as an almost ruined medieval residence, probably dating from the Lusignan period, and taking place at the other corner of the present structure. During an excavation in the fifties, female bones and skulls, as well as column and sculpture fragments were discovered at the site, which confirmed the information that a medieval monastery allocated to women, adhered to the

17. Feridun explains that before the re-organization of the colony administration, Rüştiye schools were founded all over the Island. Hüsnü Feridun (n.d., 4, 75).

18. A photo depicting the İdadi students with Derviş Paşa, a member at the Council of Education displays that the school was active at 1899. Hikmetağalar (1996, 57).

19. Kastamonu İdadi (today Abdurrahman Paşa Lisesi), built by Governor Abdurrahman Pasha around 1885, was especially characteristic from the point of displaying the Ottomans' stylistic preference. The elevation was divided into three parts, with one entrance section, and two side wings. Doric portico, double windows, cornices, hidden roof and a recognized contrast of solids and voids were organized with the balanced shape. For details, Örik (1955, 35-38).

20. As one of the most important buildings in Cyprus, it was restored by the Office of Pious Foundations in 1905. Jeffery (1918, 1983, 90-91).



Figure 12. Partial View to the 'Moslem School', today's Bayraktar Lisesi. (B. Özgüven)



Figure 13. Front view of the 'Moslem School'. (B. Özgüven)

St. Catherine's Church, once existed on the area. Hikmetağalar posits that also the family house, as a medieval residence, might have originally served as part of the women's monastery. The houses entrance with pointed arches gave access to a hall where the stairs reached to the upper floor, and through the arcade to rooms at a lower level (Hikmetağalar 1996, 221). He also describes in his memoirs the building used by the Rüштиye:

"...The large school next to the courtyard of the Haydarpaşa (or Ağalar) Mosque was once known as 'Rüştiye'. It was popularly named as 'Tarakçı Mektebi' because of its director's nickname. Tarakçı Ahmet Salahaddin Bey who largely contributed to the Cypriot education was appointed as the director. Later, this building was used as Haydarpaşa Primary School. At the time when the school was turned into the primary school, I was studying there (1941-42). Towards the end of the 1950s 'Haydarpaşa Ticaret Lisesi', the first School of Commerce on the Island, started instruction there.

21. Hikmetağalar (1996, 219). We do not have any information if the lunatic asylum was a traditional Ottoman building, within the lines of classic hospitals for mental illnesses.

Between 1969-1975, this building was allocated to the British School, and it was used later as the Hostel of Immigrants that provided shelter to the foreigners. Thereafter, the building was turned into a store of the Ministry of Public Works, and finally it was deserted" (Hikmetağalar 1996, 218-219)..

When the British administrators re-formed the Turkish schools and instigated new regulations of education in the early 1930s, İ'dadi changed its name which recalled the Ottoman educational reform, and it became 'the Moslem School - İslam Erkek Lisesi' allocated to boys, however, this time in a new building (**Figure 9, 12, 13**) The instruction commenced at a complex including three blocks. The city plan of 1927 describes the building group as 'Lyceé', today's 'Bayraktar Türk Maarif Koleji'. It includes three blocks surrounding a courtyard, in the style of British barracks. The flanks extending from the entrance gate, have small rooms at the end. Previously, there had been a lunatic asylum on the site of the building complex. George Jeffery, who took position as the architect and the director of Office of Historic Monuments in Cyprus at the turn of the century, notes the site of the hospital (Jeffery 1918, 1983, 93)). It is said that the lunatic asylum has been identified on the 1914 plan of Nicosia, however, after the hospital moved to another building, this building was totally destroyed. Finally the 'Moslem School' was constructed on the same site (21).

The building complex of the 'Moslem School', in general, recalls the British colonial office architecture, from the point of plan and composition. Like the English College designed by Jeffery in 1900, it displays the scheme of colonial schools, and combines three symmetrical blocks with a large courtyard and main axis, extending from the courtyard gate towards the school entrance. The British Government Hall which had burnt down during the revolt in 1931, repeats the U-shape arrangement of blocks encircling a large courtyard (**Figure 14**). It was constructed from pre-fabricated walls, and the projecting pitched roof signified one of the features of colonial architecture. Another barrack design from 1880s demonstrates the pitched roof and lattice girders among other significant elements (Keshishian 1990, 216). The main entrance to the building complex was articulated by a low structure where the elevation was surrounded by massive walls with local yellow sandstone. When the entrance gate, administrative control and introverted planning of the

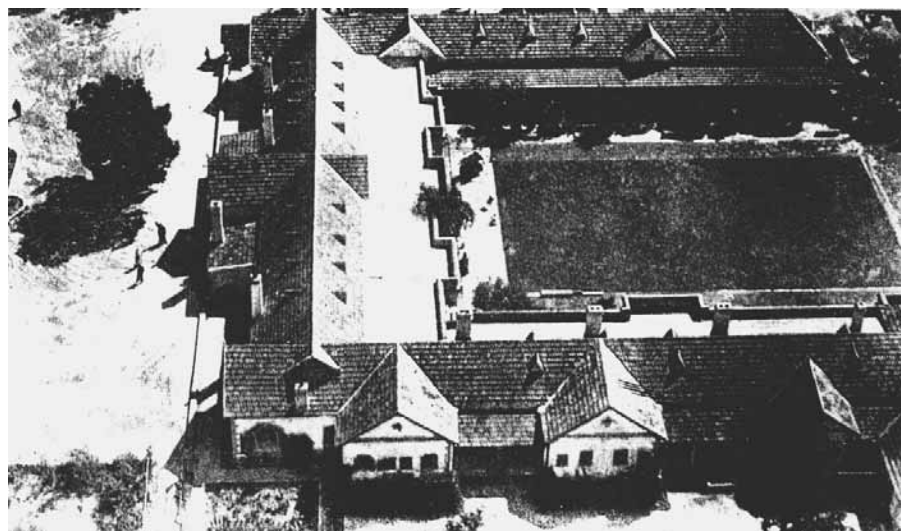


Figure 14. An aerial view of the pre-fabricated wooden Government House (From Keshishian (1990, 720), taken from the Illustrated London News, III. 7.11.1931)

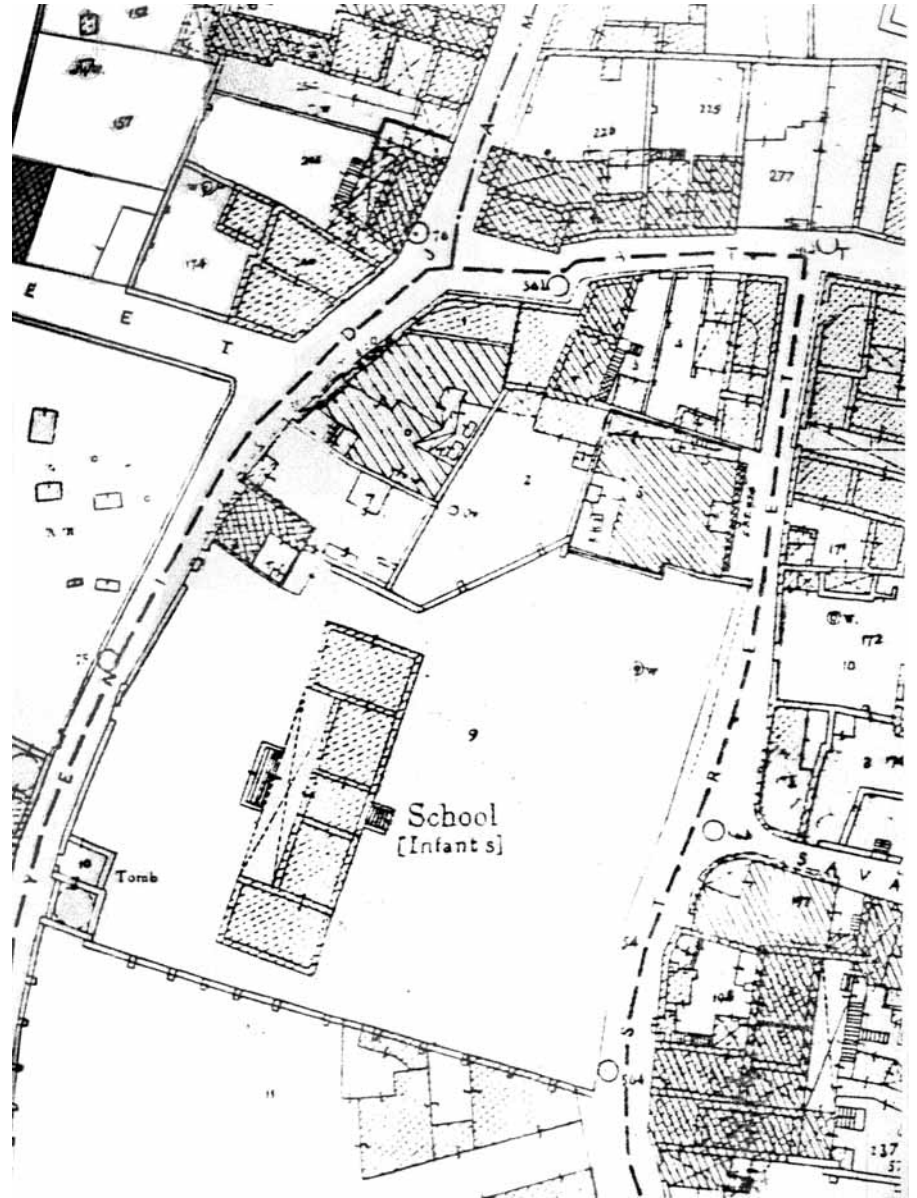


Figure 15. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 48, 3. XII; shows the Primary School (indicated as 'School - Infants' on the map).

school complex are taken into consideration, the 'Moslem School' could be regarded as the follower of the nineteenth century British school architecture.

The Primary School around the Haydarpaşa Quarter was titled on the map as the 'School (Infant's)'. Its location was on a large area between the Yenicami and Karabuba Streets (**Figure 15, 16, 17**). The two-floor block was probably constructed as a school building. There was a small tomb with a cupola at the corner of the area, for which one could suggest that the building lot once belonged to a certain charitable foundation. The structure can be dated to early twentieth century.

There had been a strong demand towards the education of women in the late Ottoman Empire, resulting in a series of women's schools, most of them of professional character. The schools aimed at raising a generation of skilled women who would be ready to contribute to the family economy. Inspired by the current tendencies, 'İslam İnas Sanayi Mektebi'



Figure 16. Primary School. (B. Özgüven)



Figure 17. Primary School, Partial Elevation. (B. Özgüven)

(Professional School for Moslem Girls) in Nicosia, later called the Victoria School for Girls, was founded with the fund raised by the local inhabitants, as well as with the donation of fifty sterling provided by the colonial administration, on the occasion of the jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1901 (Hüsnü Feridun n.d., 76). The Victoria School was a lower grade secondary school, e.g. at the *Rüştiye* level; and the curriculum was formed to provide instruction of handicrafts, reading the Koran, writing and English lessons (22). The expenses were to be supplied by the wealthy inhabitants of the Island, as well as from the pious foundations. According to a 'blue-book' that could be regarded as the equivalent of the Ottoman 'yearbook' (*salname*), the British administration regularly supported the school for girls after 1906. The first director of the school was Binnaz Hanım, brought from İstanbul with the reference letter of the British consulate. Thereafter, Seher Hanım from the Biga Girls' School was appointed between the years 1907-1924 (Dedeçay 1985, 20-21, 31).

22. Dedeçay (1985, 13-14). I am grateful to Dr. Neticce Yıldız for providing the book.

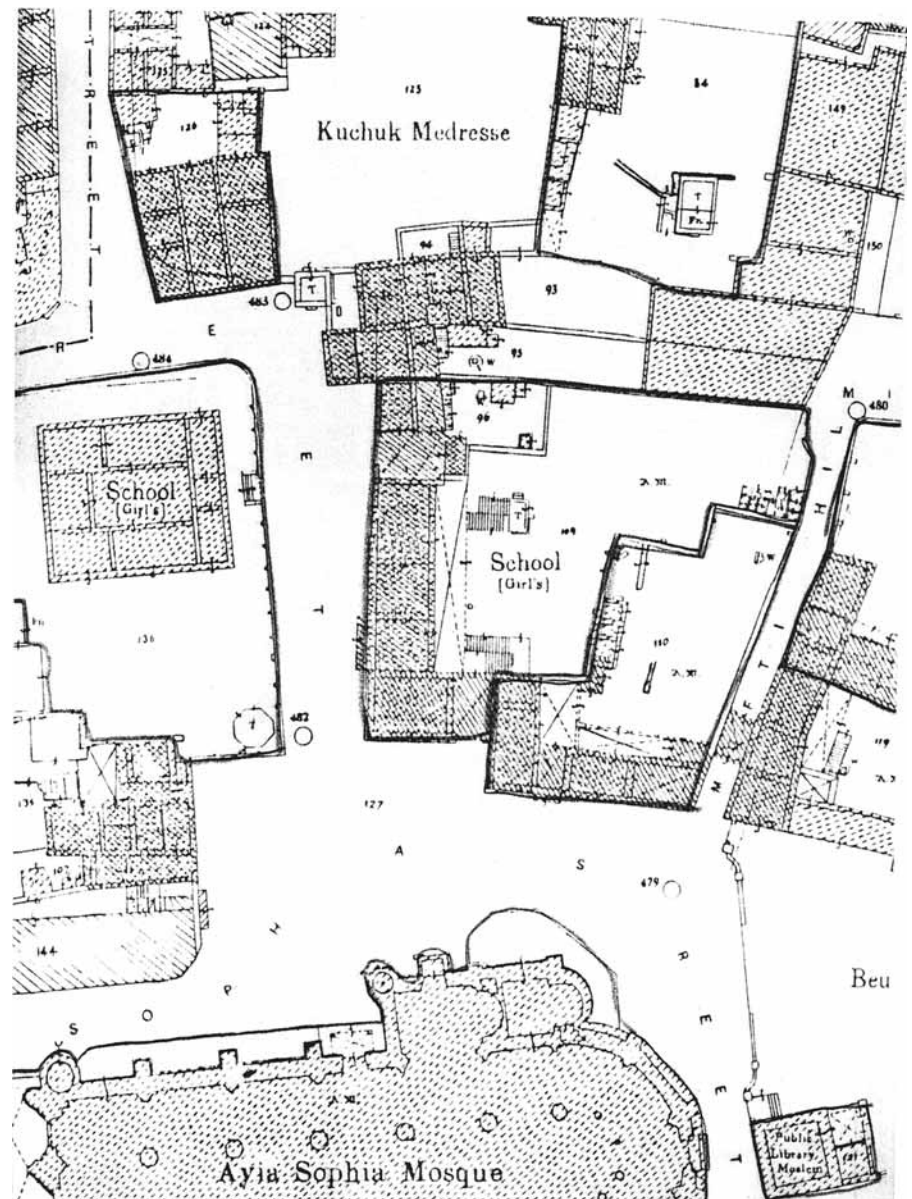


Figure 18. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 46, 3.X; shows two girls' schools around the İdadi Street.

Victoria School is a two-floor, longitudinal building (10m x 45 m) where the classrooms are arranged almost symmetrically (**Figure 6**). There is a main entrance in the middle, however the classrooms on the ground floor have separate exits towards the garden. Küçük Medrese and Eskişaray Streets surround the building where the subsidiary structures around seem to be dispersed. It was constructed as an extension to the primary school, established within the Bostancı Foundation. According to the Cyprus 'blue-book' of 1910, quoted by Hasan Behçet (Dedeçay (1985, 13-14). Hasan Behçet (1969, 317), a lunatic asylum also took place within the Bostancı Foundation in the 1910s. It can be concluded that estates of the pious foundation were allocated to the charitable works, e.g. modern schools, such as the Victoria and the 'Moslem School' (23).

According to the 1927 map, two more buildings allotted to the education of women could be identified (**Figure 18, 19, 20**). The first school (identified on the map as School (Girls'), hence the School for Girls-1)



Figure 19. The Idadi Street including two Schools for Girls. (B. Özgüven)



Figure 20. The Wide Arch Entrance Gate towards the School for Girls-I. (B. Özgüven)

23. One of the retired directors of the Office of Pious Foundations - Evkaf Dairesi personally commented that the colony administration aimed at the gradual degeneration of the waqf system, by convincing the board of trustees to sell the estates should originally be allocated to charitable facilities.

24. According to Jeffery (1918, 1983, 64-65), the building was first established by Archbishop Eustorge de Montaigu (1217-1251) and later completed by Archbishop Giovanni del Conte who arrived in Nicosia in 1319. The consecration of the cathedral took place in 1326, however raids in 1373 and 1426, and several earthquakes caused some damages inside the building.

occupies an area next to the Ayia Sophia Square, in front of the mosque. The house, known as the 'The Archbishop's Palace', was originally built as a subsidiary building of the Ayia Sophia Cathedral (24). The Palace was constructed during the Venetian period, but except for the wall bearing the Coat of Arms of the Republic, the structure was completely re-erected (Jeffery 1918, 1983, 80-83). After the Ottoman conquest, the upper floor was renovated by Kadı Menteşzade, and was finally restored in 1984. It is allocated today to the Organization of Turkish Municipalities- Belediyeler Birliği. The building is arranged from two L-shaped blocks surrounding an inner area, separated from each other by a wall. One of the L's was the school. The other L-shaped part was a private house, and has been used as a modest guesthouse until recent times (25). After the Ottoman conquest, the ecclesiastical offices were converted into the 'Küçük Medrese', within which the Sultan Mahmud Library later took place. The



Figure 21. The Girls' School, today's School of Fine Arts. (B. Özgüven)

walls that once surrounded the *medrese's* courtyard have been removed today in order to provide pedestrian access, extending from the Kirlizade Street towards the direction of Aya Sophia Square.

In front of the above-mentioned building, another one, allocated today to the Fine Arts School, can again be identified on the city map as School (Girl's) (hence the School for Girls-2) (**Figure 18, 21**) The plan of the single floor building has been partially changed today. It has a symmetrical plan where the entrance is organized in the middle and opens to the classrooms on both sides. A similar scheme can be observed also among the Rüştiye schools (**26**). An Ottoman tomb on the corner, with a circular plan and covered by a dome, commands the view of the Aya Sophia Square. According to popular belief, this belongs to an anonymous martyr killed during the conquest of Nicosia (Hikmetağalar 1996, 282). On the other hand, Küçük Medrese was placed in the middle of three women's schools, and there appears a question if the *medrese* was directed to female students. One could eventually suggest that the educational quarter in Nicosia was formed as to allocate the blocks on the northern side of the Aya Sophia, e.g. Eski Saray Street extending towards the Aya Sophia Square to girls, and the eastern side, e.g. the Kirlizade Street direction to boys, so as to locate two genders in two hemispheres of the city.

25. Jeffery underlines that the Archbishop's Palace might possibly represent a sort of internal communication between the Episcopal palace, next to the Cathedral and certain offices. It is also probable, as Hikmetağalar suggests, that hidden passageways mined under the earth enabled the secure communication between the Cathedral, Episcopal palace and the subsidiary offices, as well as with St. Catherine's church. According to his memoirs, an underground way extending towards the Haydarpaşa Mosque was explored during an excavation in the 1930's. Hikmetağalar (1996, 221).

26. Among the Rüştiyes were Davudpaşa and Kadıköy Rüştiyes, which were allocated today to the primary schools.

There were alternative educational institutions in Cyprus, which represented the civil initiative, but not the official organization. Dr. Hafız Cemal who was popularly known as 'Lokman Hekim' founded the Professional School (*Kıbrıs Sanayi Mektebi*) (Harid Fedai 1997, 1-18). He first founded a short-lived private clinic in Nicosia (*Hafız Cemal Afiyethanesi*) in a large residence that once belonged to the Kirlizade's. Thereafter he pioneered to found a School of Languages (*Osmanlı Lisan Mektebi*) in 1906, which apparently was a counterpart of the School of Languages (*Elsine Mektebi*) in İstanbul founded in 1883 around Cağaloğlu. Cypriot Turks were to be instructed in English, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek and French at the *Osmanlı Lisan Mektebi*. The school building was a modest mud-brick house facing towards today's Atatürk Square, and it was demolished around 1991. Because of his Jeune-

27. A native of Cyprus, Hafız graduated from the Beirut İdadi and Medical Academy in Istanbul. After some years' practice, he escaped to Europe because of Jeune-Turc ties. In 1904 he returned home as an energetic physician, ready to dedicate himself to social problems of the Cypriot Turks. Harid Fedai (1997, 25).

28. Fedai notes that Hafız Osman used to live around Divanyolu, Istanbul and died in 1967. Harid Fedai (1997, 29)

Turc past, Hafız remained in the black list of the Hamidian regime; the Cypriot Council of Education and the majority of the Turkish press severely criticized his enterprises (27).

The Professional School, as mentioned above, was opened in 1907 and closed down in 1909. The instruction here aimed at the education of craftsmen in various branches, such as tailor, mason, shoemaker or ironsmith. In only within two years of time, Turkish, English and Persian experts educated 170 students. Quoting the memoirs of Hafız, Fedai underlines that the name of the school was not *Hamidiye Mektebi*, like the contemporaries in other provinces, because Osman hated the Sultan whose agents followed him and forced him to escape. However it is clear that he abided by the scheme of the Hamidiye schools, where crafts were instructed in provinces. The Professional School in Nicosia gave instruction in the same building with the school of languages, and was active during the evening. After the coup in 1909, Hafız left the Island and returned to İstanbul, so his educational projects in Cyprus remained unfinished (28).

Unlike the official schools (İ'dadi, Rüştiye and women's schools), the expenses were supplied only from local citizens and from Hafız himself. Therefore the instruction took place in a simple local building, built as a residence and with no special characteristics. The short lived educational activities in Nicosia displayed that the Abdulhamid regime still influenced the daily life of the Muslim inhabitants who were considered to be Ottoman subjects. Schools organized by others rather than the official Council could not find any further support from the society. The British position towards Hafız remained, however, unmentioned in the memoirs.

It was mentioned before that the administrative idea of the colony regime based upon the social compartmentalization according to the religious belief was represented through the names of schools. During the turn of the century, religious communities on the island were classified as Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Maronite and the Italian Catholics. Among the high schools that belonged to the Christian communities, there were the Greek Orthodox Schools, especially the Greek Gymnasium that was financially supported by the Ambassador of Greece. The others were the Armenian Melkonian Institute and the Italian Catholic School '*Terrasancta*' (Hüsnü Feridun n.d., 22). The English High School, however, was not based on a religious community system.

The Greek Cypriot secondary schools were classified as '*Gymnasion*' (first step of the secondary school) and '*Lykeon*' (higher secondary school). According to the 1927 city plan prepared by the British, there appears a group of Greek buildings, including a School for Boys, School for Girls, Infants' School and the Ayios Yeoryios Church (Figure 22) The streets were named according to the Ayios Kassianos and Khrysaliniotissa Churches. The latter was believed to have been built by Helena Paleologos around 1450s. Jeffery points out that Khrysaliniotissa Church had a monastic enclosure in the Venetian '*rustico*' style of the sixteenth century, which suggests that the building lot must have been an ecclesiastical property (Jeffery 1918, 1983, 95-96). The site was not far from the Haydarpaşa Quarter inhabited mostly by the Muslims. Ayios Yeoryios Street, a part of the Axiothea Street and Theodora Street surrounded the building area including the schools. The schoolhouses could be dated to the first quarter of the twentieth century. The area of the building complex is approximately 90m x 100 m. The Girls' and the Boys' Schools were



Figure 22. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 48, 3. XVI; shows Greek school complex including the blocks for boys and girls and a primary school with the Ayios Yeoryios Church.

arranged symmetrically, but separated from each other by a linear wall. In between was the Ayios Yeoryios Church with a simple basilical scheme, where the nave was enlarged towards the North. Considering the Laleli Mosque, the church recalling Ottoman interference as a usual practice when being converted into a church. On the plan, the Infants' School may be seen behind the Boy's School, which was also divided from the former by a wall. Both Greek Cypriot schools have a central entrance hall approached by impressive stairs opening to a corridor behind the classrooms and to the courtyard at the back. The symmetrical flanks include two rooms on each side that seem to enlarge the block towards the northern direction, and two additional rooms were placed only at one flank. The buildings' setback was ten meters and the distance between two blocks was twenty meters. Judging by stairs, buildings were raised about one meter from the ground. Considering the number of stairs the façade might have some parallel features with a former *Gymnasion* in within the fortress of Famagusta, where an impressive entrance with pediment, classical portico and majestic stairs are evident.

Although the Greek quarter was separated from the Muslim quarter in Nicosia at the turn of the century, there appears the question, whether the Greek building plans had some similarities with those built for the Muslims. The longitudinal plan of the building with symmetrical flanks,



Figure 23. The Courts of Justice, built during the Colonial Period. (B. Özgüven)

mark some common features with the Muslim schools, especially with the Moslem Infants' School around the Haydarpaşa Mosque and the Victoria Girls' School. Today the small Ayios Yeoryios Church remains beyond the UN Green Line, and the schools apparently have lost their function.

As mentioned before, among other Christian schools, there were Armenian Melkonian Institute founded by Garabet and Kirkor Melkonian in 1926, *Terra Sancta* School of the Italian community and a school for the blind, founded by the Greeks in the early twentieth century.

29. According to the Victorian architectural language, the 'Neo-Classical' or 'Italianate' reflected the Whig attitude, opposite to the conservative style of the Tories. Because Tories, as members of one of two political parties, preferred an architectural taste recalling their conservative manner they used to choose the sixteenth century Elizabethan style or the romantic landscape design, among the past styles. On the contrary, the Whigs were for the cultural encounters, between the Britain and the Continent. Their stylistic preference was Palladianism and Baroque houses in the eighteenth century, Renaissance clubs in the nineteenth, all originated by the foreign architectural traditions. (For further information: Watkin (1997, 121-124). The mannerist rustication, at the massive walls of Cypriot office blocks, however, remains far from creating a late sixteenth century North Italian palazzo in a liberal manner.

30. For example, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), one of the last representatives of the British classical architecture in the twentieth century, designed monumental office buildings in India, such as Viceroy's House in New Delhi (1912). Watkin, (1997, 185-190); Hitchcock (1987, 548-550). For further information on the work of Lutyens: Irving Robert Grant (1981) *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. New Haven.

STYLES OF THE BRITISH AND THE OTTOMAN SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN NICOSIA

The stylistic taste preferred in the colonies of the Great Britain was described as colonial architecture. There were political influences on the Victorian design in England, but this obviously did not extend to the architectural style practiced in the colonies (29). Colonial architecture in India and in the Asian countries was generally based on the revived styles, which was also the case in Cyprus (30). The colonial architecture in Cyprus intended to reinforce the authoritarian image of the British administration. The building size was usually larger than those in the vicinity. Impressive courtyards were destined to create a comparison between the native inhabitant and the official grandeur in people's mind. Rustication might be taken as to contribute to the massive form and serious effect of the building.

The administrative center of the colony ruled in the area of office buildings, the Courts of Justice, Nicosia District Court with a large inner courtyard, the Police Barracks and the Post Office on the Sarayönü Street. The Courts of Justice with its massive arcade, reminiscent of the *Rundbogenstil* and characteristic lattice girders became one of the impressive structures of the colonial architecture (Figure 23). The Post Office with the imposing engaged columns, however, represented the Neo-Classical manner on the façade, but not on the plan composition. Barclays Bank (today's İş Bankası) again reflected the classical manner with its rustication and logical emphasis on the corner that was directed



Figure 24. Fragment of the LRSD Plan, Sheet XXI, 46, 2.XVI; shows the Evkaf Office (Office of Pious Foundation) and Atatürk Square including the Barclays Bank.

towards the Sarayönü Square (today's Atatürk Square) (**Figure 24, 25**) Another official building, the District Court in Famagusta consisted of two symmetrical flanks with pediment and a large arcade on the ground floor, where the upper floor in the middle was designed with a balcony with wooden lattice girders. When we consider that the Courts of Justice,

Figure 25. Barclays Bank. (B. Özgüven)

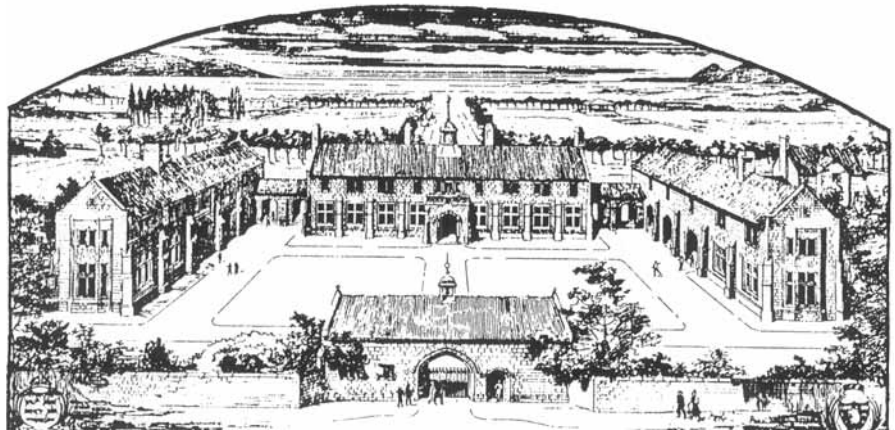


Figure 26. 'Design for the new [English] School Buildings', by Jeffery (From Keshishian, 1990).

Nicosia District Court, other official buildings on the Greek side (Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and also the Famagusta District Court repeated the same characteristics at the elevation, this reminds us the standard design. The identity of the official buildings was decided apparently not by the architect, but by the central authority in England and it was imposed to the province.

Although the medieval revivalism became fashionable in England, “à la mode at the Board-Schools” and although there was a strong reason for using Neo-Gothic details in Cyprus, the colony administrators refrained from cooperation with the local historical style. The wide arch of the medieval buildings was also occasionally added to entrances.

Rev. F.D. Newham founded the English School, under the control and support of the British administration in 1900. George Jeffery designed a building complex (**Figure 26**), that is today called the Wolseley Barracks (**31**). The general outline of the original design consisted of three blocks, arranged symmetrically, surrounding a courtyard where the entrance was provided by a small, but rusticated guardhouse. The wide arch of the entrance gate recalls the Girls' Schools' arcade. The lower, covered passageways gave access to the connection between the two-floor blocks. The central block with a pitched roof had a lantern above the entrance, strengthened by a projected gate, by a rusticated arch and a terrace surrounded by a balustrade over the entrance. Classrooms were arranged on the corridors, as to be oriented inwards, towards the inner courtyard. Jeffery's design followed a simplified Neo-Classical language amalgamated with colonial architecture. Pilasters with Doric capitals on the ground floor; the wide arch; yellow sandstone; rustication at the ground floor; passageway enriched with pointed arches; the wooden lattice girders peculiar to the Cypriot colonial architecture and quoin at corner were among the architectural details.

Gothic details became part of the Muslim schools built under the British administration. The wide arch with the porch of the medieval structures was used at the Primary School (**Figure 20**). Again, School for Girls-1 is a linear, two-floor building where the entrance is through a wide arch, recalling the colonial structures. Victoria Girls' School as well, reflects partly the colonial taste with its yellow sandstone rustication. The architectural language of the colonial school buildings may be identified from the symmetrical plan scheme with projected end rooms, the additional exit towards the inner garden, the sandstone wall coat and

31. The Courts of Justice of the Greek Nicosia occupy today the English School. The ownership of the school was eventually transferred to the War Office and the buildings were called Wolseley Barracks. Keshishian (1990, 216). Today's British School remains on the Greek side. The large arcade on the ground and upper floors represented similar features of the British colonial architecture.



Figure 27. Evkaf Dairesi – Office of Pious Foundations. (B. Özgüven)

quoins at the corner observed on the façade. These buildings that reflected the colonial taste were apparently built under the guidance of the British administration.

However it is difficult to propose that the Rüştüye was built in the same style as the Victoria school, since the scale of the portico arches at the entrance was similar to those of the Rüştüyes and İ' dadis in other Ottoman provinces of the same period. Its general appearance is closer to an official building, the Office of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Dairesi*), near the Sarayönü Mosque and Sarayönü Square (**Figure 24, 27**). As the square was previously named as 'Konak Meydanı', it can be concluded that there might have been a Konak, probably the residence of the Ottoman Governor. The Office of Pious Foundations was built as the residence and office of the Chief Religious Authority of Cyprus (*kadı efendi*) around 1880s. Apart from the entrances with pointed arch, recalling the local Gothic, the strict symmetrical composition of the oblong block with no inner courtyard represents the Ottoman provincial administration buildings (*Hükümet Konağı*), designed with standard plans again in many cities of the Ottoman Empire. The building probably symbolizes the Ottoman Government's particular link with the Turkish Cypriot community, since the Office's basic activities were construction of schools and mosques, as well as financing religious and educational activities (Keshishian 1990, 217). The entrances with pointed arch might have been added after the Ottoman dominance. Gothic Revival was an alien style to the Ottomans, rarely used in large projects.

EDUCATION QUARTER IN NICOSIA

The feudal background transferred by the French and the English knighthood in Cyprus had been reinforced by the cooperation with the Catholic Church. European type of medieval city planning organized the city within a heavy enclosure, where the palatial complex of the local ruler took place, and the main cathedral symbolized the tie with Rome. The Venetians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fundamentally renovated the Cypriot defense system, as many Venetian military

engineers collaborated also with other European feudal lords, for example with Hungarian landlords in the same period (32).

From the point of city planning, there might be a parallel between Nicosia and the rest of the Ottoman lands, which display a striking resemblance. Settlements in Hungary developed under the Turkish rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were almost contemporary with Cypriot towns (Özgüven 2001, 171-176). In both, the Ottoman 'founding pashas', who were responsible to create post conquest settlements through the *waqf*, inherited already established towns with an existing built environment originating from the medieval period.

The Ottoman administrators after the conquest did not establish new settlements, but rather preferred to re-organize existing ones. Conversion of churches with their subsidiary offices was arranged within the *waqf* system. Estates that provided financial support, e.g. existing buildings, were rented, or if they were in public use and were revenue of villages, they were documented, as the *waqf* income should be allocated to social charity. As for the newly built structures, certain components of the civic settlement such as the public bath, the infrastructure of water provision or fountains were later included within the settlements, as their archetypal schemes were introduced. The founders built tombs of dervishes or of those who sacrificed themselves during the war at the key points of the city, as symbols commemorating their souls and indicating the Ottoman authority. *Medreses*, on the other hand, occupied the existing structures and sustained also the building lots inherited from the medieval planning. The fact that traditional institutions of education followed the neighborhood settlement pattern was current for many provinces in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Hungary, where the town identity reflected a two-fold cultural heritage after the conquest. It is clear that the Ottoman system recognized the existing heritage of the built environment, gradually converted into the Ottoman usage.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the study of educational buildings in Nicosia is the dense placement of the schools, traditional or modern, in a certain area in the city where Haydarpaşa and Ayia Sophia Quarters included the majority of them. Street names, still surviving, reflect the schools' importance for the public such as the Küçük Medrese and İ'dadi Streets. The Victoria School, Küçük Medrese, School for Girls-I (today's Organization of Municipalities), the School for Girls-II (today's Fine Arts School) all take place around the Ayia Sophia Mosque. On the other hand, the primary school, the Rüştüye, the Moslem School, the Büyük Medrese and the Sultan Mahmud Library were organized between the Ayia Sophia and Haydarpaşa Mosques. As pointed above, the northeast direction of the central mosque was apparently allocated to girls and the northwest to boys, who had to be separated from each other. There were many schools for girls in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century, but the founders preferred either an enclosed area and heavy walls surrounding the school, like in the professional school for girls within the walls of Yedikule fortification, or the intimacy and control were provided when the building was constructed at a special area (Ayverdi 1958, E-1). It would be an exaggeration to say that Ayia Sophia Quarter had been completely allotted to girls and Haydarpaşa Quarter to boys, but there is evidence that certain buildings, supported by women benefactors in İstanbul and in

32. For the Venetian city walls in Nicosia: Perbellini (1994, 3-16). For the Venetian military architects in Hungary busy in the sixteenth century: Marosi (1975, 195-215). Among the Italian military architects, Paolo Mirandola designed the defensive plan of Gyula (1562) and of Eger (1561); Giulio Turco prepared the fortification plans of Kanizsa (1569); Ottovio Baldigara again re-organised the fortress of Eger (1572-1596). In the seventeenth century these towns were taken by the Ottomans.

33. Haseki Quarter included Haseki Hürrem Sultan's religious complex built by Mimar Sinan, as well as many other buildings supported by women (Keyci Hatun, Selçuk Hatun, Gülbahar Hatun and Gevher Sultan), and such as 'the Hill of Women' in Jerusalem sustained the women's heritage beginning with the Byzantine period. Peirce (1998, 267, 272) refers to Stephan (1944,170-199).

Jerusalem have been founded within a certain area close to buildings financed by other women (33).

Just as in other centers within the Ottoman Empire, Nicosia was organized according to functions each allocated to a certain part of the city, as the religious quarter and the commercial district. As Cyprus became a bridge on the commercial and military route towards the Middle East, commercial facilities played an increasing role in the social life, as was reflected by the construction of market places and *hans* in Nicosia and other cities. On the other hand, the religious quarter, including the converted mosques of Ayia Sophia, Haydarpaşa Mosque, Laleli and Yenicami with the *medreses* and subsidiary buildings were created within charitable building complexes. The westernized public institutions, especially schools in the early twentieth century, changed the character of the traditional pattern. Modern schools did not necessitate religious focal points to be constructed around. Therefore the primary criterion for school building became the available area that provided necessary conditions for a westernized instruction. Classrooms with large windows that allowed enough light to the interior, available entrances for the groups of students, a courtyard for social facilities and set-back from the street exemplify the current educational standards practiced in the buildings. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the building areas were mostly among the *waqf* estates, which gave access to build the modern schools through the Ottoman educational Council under the control of Abdülhamid regime.

When we compare the modern schools in Nicosia with the counterparts in Anatolia, there appear some differences. Inhabitants of the Anatolian cities considered the official schools as means of new opportunities, from the point of individual instruction, as well as from the point of urban development. Secondary schools in the Anatolian provinces have been occasional projects for creating a new settlement identity. In many towns, old city walls were destroyed, in order to extend the intramural settlement; even the stones of the enceinte could be used for the new schools' construction (Ortaylı et.al. 1984, 3-15). For instance in Diyarbakır and Edirne, inhabitants demanded that the İ'dadi be constructed out of the city walls, preferably on a high hill, so that the students could benefit from available sanitary conditions (Günkut 1938, 128-129; Peremeci 1939, 357). Location of the school in a distant area was also a kind of encouragement for the development of new neighborhood quarters of the city. Schools in Nicosia, on the other hand, remained in the old town, loyal to the traditional settlement pattern. The reason for that might be the lack of energetic late-nineteenth century governors, such as Abidin Paşa, Abdurrahman Paşa, Sırrı Paşa and especially Ahmed Vefik Paşa, who coordinated the limited state budget with the local economic capacity and who undertook many official projects that gave the stimulus of the modernization to the Anatolian towns, like in Ankara, Kastamonu, Trabzon, İzmit, Sivas and Adana. Turkish Cypriot schools in Nicosia transferred some common architectural principles from those in the Ottoman cities, controlled by an educational committee, but from the point of their role at the town development, the schools remained rather insignificant.

CONCLUSION

Cypriot education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was mainly formed by the complex course of political developments. The Ottoman Ministry of Education extended to distant provinces, where regulations were practiced according to the centralized system. In doing so, the effect of the traditional *waqf* system and the *medrese* education would be replaced by the westernized educational methods. The architecture was to follow the regulations of the modernized education. However, the practice in Cyprus represented a different course than other provinces, due to its special political status. Because the situation was not clear until the British 'Crown Colony' status, the administration on the Island was two-fold. On the one hand, the Ottomans' Muslim law still defined a large portion in the social life; on the other hand, the British rule gradually exerted influence. A significant practice of the Muslim law by the colonists was the *waqf* system, which played role through the landownership and economic surplus. Moreover, the pious foundations continued to affect the educational system until the 1940s when some *medreses* in Nicosia were still active. The Cypriot 'Council of Education', however, played a transitory role in Cyprus, between the *waqf* system and the British regulations, in educational terms.

From the point of political status of Cyprus, secondary school architecture reflected a unique character, represented by the amalgam of the Ottoman and British administrative systems. Stylistic characteristics of the school buildings confirm this two-fold situation. Westernized education was introduced first with the building that was named 'Rüştiye' next to the Haydarpaşa Mosque. Its Neo-Classical appearance was in accordance with the rest of the secondary schools in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Later, the Victoria school and the schools for girls rather reflected the colonial taste, and finally the Moslem School was shaped in accordance to the British standards.

The British colony rather used the Neo-Classical style in official buildings with stone rustication that signalled an impressive and massive appearance. However this was not challenging with Ottoman Neo-Classical architecture, which was exemplified by rare buildings in Cyprus, the Rüştiye and the Office of Pious Foundations. The British and Ottoman Neo-Classical aimed at rational compositions, impressive outer appearance and fundamental design ideas. Moreover, both styles were results of decisions made by the central authorities in the late nineteenth century. Politics of education and the architectural identity that reflected the politics were represented by both countries in Cyprus, however within different political frameworks.

Another striking characteristic visible in Nicosia was the physical formation of educational buildings, traditional and modern. Büyük and Küçük Medreses with the Sultan Mahmud Library reflected the traditional Ottoman cultural mission, as the Rüştiye, the İdadi and the Schools for Girls represented the tendencies of modernization in the Ottoman society. Although the urban development remained limited, Nicosia's street pattern and building lots reflected the historical continuity through the *waqf* estates, which were transformed from the traditional towards the modern. The charitable foundations of the Turkish Cypriot community took the principal role in urban decisions.

First the Lusignan dynasty and the Venetian domination, then the Ottoman Empire, and finally the British Colony regime imported their building preferences from the centre to this strategic periphery. As the gradual change in school architecture reflected, Nicosia became the scene of dramatic relations between local conditions and central authorities.

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OSMANLI EYALETİNDEN SÖMÜRGEYE LEFKOŞA'DA GEÇ DÖNEM OSMANLI EĞİTİM YAPILARI

Kıbrıs, coğrafi konumu nedeniyle çağlar boyunca çeşitli güçlerin egemenliğine sahne olmuştur. Ortaçağda Lüzinyan Hanedanı, daha sonra Ceneviz ve Venedik, 1570 yılından sonra Osmanlılar ve 1876'dan itibaren İngiliz yönetimi Ada'ya yalnız kendi siyasi hedeflerini değil, aynı zamanda mimari ve kentleşmeye yönelik geleneklerini de taşımışlardır. Merkezden çepere yönelik, tek taraflı davranış gösteren mimari yaklaşım, Lefkoşa'daki fiziksel biçimlenmenin de temelini oluşturur. Makalede, Osmanlı mektepleri kapsamında kurulan Lefkoşa eğitim yapılarının Osmanlı'nın geç döneminden İngiliz sömürge (koloni) yönetimine doğru geçişi incelenmektedir. Zira Osmanlı Devleti Kıbrıs'taki haklarından tamamen vazgeçmese de, Ada'da adım adım örgütlenen bir sömürge yönetimi mevcuttur. Gelişimi gözlemek için dönemin eğitim tarihine ve okul biçimlenmesine kısaca bakmak gerekecektir: Ondokuzuncu yüzyıl eğitim tarihi Fransa, İngiltere ve Osmanlı gibi farklı ülkelerde benzer bakış açılarıyla yola çıkar. Bu ortak yönler, ulusalcılık akımı doğrultusunda tek tip (*uniform*) bir toplum yapısı oluşturmak gayreti ve bunun sonucu olan merkezleşmiş eğitim politikası ile devletin çeşitli birimlerine görevli yetiştirmek gereksinimi şeklinde özetlenebilir. Merkezleşmiş eğitim politikasının yansıması olarak, merkezi otorite tarafından belirlenen mimari kimlik çeper ülkede uygulanmaktadır.

Lefkoşa'daki eğitim yapılarının geçmişine bakıldığında ise, Osmanlı'nın klasik dönem kentleşme ve buna bağlı eğitim siyasetinin çeper ülke olarak Kıbrıs'ta uygulanageldiği görülebilir. Ada'nın fethinden sonra her Osmanlı vilayetinde olduğu gibi sayım (tahrir) yapılır ve varolan binalar yerleşimcilerin kullanımına açılır. Kurucu paşalar tarafından yeni fethedilen araziler ve binalar iktisadi ve toplumsal kurumlar olan vakıf mülküne dönüşür. Vakıflar, Osmanlı mahallesinin çekirdeğinde bulunan medrese, sebil gibi hayır kurumlarını inşa edip desteklemek gibi toplumsal işlev yüklenmişlerdir. Kıbrıs'taki medreseler de yine Osmanlı eğitim düşüncesi doğrultusunda müslüman cemaatin eğitim ihtiyacını karşılamaya yönelik kurulurlar.

Osmanlı eğitiminin ondokuzuncu yüzyılda geçirdiği reform süreci İmparatorluğun çeşitli vilayetlerinde inşa edilen resmi okul binalarıyla kendini gösterir. Bu süreçte Kıbrıs da bir 'mutasarrıflık' olarak yerini almaya hazırlanır. Ancak 1876'da gerçekleşen Kıbrıs'ın İngiliz yönetimine devri, Ada'daki eğitimin gelişimini etkileyecektir. Osmanlı Maarif Nezareti tarafından her vilayette kurulan 'Maarif Encümeni' Lefkoşa'da da oluşturulur. Böylece Osmanlı Maarif Nizamnamesi'nde öngörülen tarzda batılılaşma yolunda eğitim veren ve devlet kademelerine bürokrat yetiştiren bireylerin yetişmesi sağlanacaktır. İlk girişim olarak Lefkoşa'da, ortaokul düzeyindeki rüştiye ve lise düzeyindeki idadi mektebi kurulur (1896). Daha sonra Ada'nın birçok yerinde onbir adet rüştiye ile çeşitli kız meslek liseleri de bunlara eklenir. İdadinin ilk kurulduğu bina bugün KKTC 'Eski Eserler Dairesi' binası olmalıdır, ancak daha sonra rüştiyeye ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bina iki katlı, neo-klasik tarzda inşa edilmiş, Osmanlı idadi tiplerinden farklı olmayan bir kurguya sahiptir. Böylelikle Osmanlı mimarisinin Ada'daki etkisi henüz farkedilmektedir.

Kıbrıs okulları Evkaf Dairesi tarafından vakıf arazileri tahsis edilmek suretiyle desteklenmekte ve giderleri de vakıf gelirleri ile Kıbrıs'ın varlıklı kişilerinden 'Maarif Encümeni' aracılığıyla toplanan bağışlardan sağlanmaktadır. 1901 yılı ve sonrasında kız öğrencilere yönelik olarak

Kraliçe Victoria'ya atfen Viktorya Kız Sanayi Mektebi adını alan okul ile iki okul daha inşa edilir. Binalardan biri Ayasofya Camisi'nin karşısında ufak bir binada, diğeri yine aynı bölgede 'Piskoposluk Sarayı'nın bulunduğu alandadır. Aynı dönemde bir de ilkokul inşa edilir. Kız okulları ile ilkokul, İngiliz sömürge mimarisinden izler taşımaktadır.

Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında İngiltere, Kıbrıs'ı tek taraflı olarak ilhak eder ve 1925 yılında burada bir sömürge yönetimi kurarak Ada'daki Türk toplumunu 'İslam cemaati' olarak tarif eder. İki yıl sonra Lefkoşa'nın halihazır yapılarını ve sokaklarını gösteren haritası hazırlanarak bir tespit çalışması yapılır. Yönetimdeki değişim Kıbrıs maarifini derinden etkiler. Ada'nın çeşitli kentlerinde kurulan rüştiyeler kapatılır, sadece Lefkoşa'da tek bir rüştiye ve bir idadi kalır. Önceden idadi olarak inşa edilen bina, rüştiyeye çevrilir. Yirmili yıllarda (1927'den önce) binanın karşısında bulunan mülkiyeti Bostancı vakfına ait araziye 'İslam Erkek Mektebi' adıyla yeni bir lise inşa edilir. Lise, İngiliz sömürge mimarisinin özelliklerini yansıtan bir binadır. 1933 yılında yönetim, Ada'da yeni eğitim yasalarını yürürlüğe koyar. Osmanlı'nın batılılaşma dönemi ile başlayan modern mektep mimarisi, İngiliz koloni yönetimine özgü bir bileşimle yoluna devam eder.

Lefkoşa'da ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu ve yirminci yüzyıl başında inşa edilen okullar sadece resmi olanlarla sınırlı değildir. Dr. Hafız Osman, kısa dönem faaliyet gösterebilen bir dil okulu ile bir meslek okulu kurarak Kıbrıs'ta eğitime katkıda bulunmayı amaçlar. Bunun dışında ilkokul binasıyla ortak özellikler gösteren Rum okulları ile İtalyan ve Ermeni okulları da Lefkoşa'da yer almaktadır. İngiliz yönetimi de kendi yarı-resmi eğitim kurumunu inşa eder. Okulun mimarı Jeffery aynı zamanda Kıbrıs Eski Eserler Dairesi müdürü olduğundan Ada'daki ortaçağ yapılarını yakından tanımaktadır. Ancak yapı, adanın tarihi özelliklerini, ya da Gotik birikimini yansıtmayıp sömürge yönetiminin neo-klasik tarzını örneklemektedir.

Kıbrıs'taki İngiliz sömürge yönetiminin mimarisi, sadeleştirilmiş neo-klasik düzene dayanır. Ayrıntılarda neo-klasik elemanlar vurgulanmış ve bütünde klasik kompozisyon kurallarına bağlı kalınmıştır. Yapı cephelerinde Ada'ya özgü sarı kumtaşı bloklar, çapraz korkuluklar, Gotik canlandırma (Revivalist) geniş sivri kemerler, yapılara eklenen yeni unsurlardır. Diğer yandan Rönesans tarzı taş kaplama tekniği, köşe taşları, kemerli portikler, simetrik yan kanatlar ve kanatların üzerindeki üçgen alınlıklar gibi neo-klasik ayrıntılara da yer verilmiştir. Sömürge mimarisinin örnekleri Lefkoşa'da ve Gazimagosa'nın çeşitli yerlerinde resmi binalar olarak karşımıza çıkar. Sömürge idari yapılarında geniş orta avlular ile masif taş kaplamadan anlaşıldığı üzere, halkı etkilemek, hatta otoriter izlenim uyandırmak istenmiştir. Okul yapılarında da yine bu neo-klasik mimari unsurlar biraraya gelmektedir.

Lefkoşa'da Türk toplumuna ait eğitim yapılarının bir diğer özelliği de birbirlerine yakın konumlarıdır. İlkokul, rüştiye, İslam Erkek Lisesi, Viktorya Kız Mektebi, diğer kız okulları ile faaliyete 1940'lara dek devam eden Küçük ve Büyük Medreseler ile Sultan Mahmud Kütüphanesi, birbirine yakın sokaklarda ve meydanlarda yer alırlar. Buradan yola çıkılarak Ayasofya Camisi çevresinin tarih boyunca bir eğitim alanı olarak geliştiği varsayılabilir. Civarındaki vakıf arazilerinin modern okullara tahsisi, kentin bu tarihi bölgesindeki yapı adalarının kültürel sürekliliğini gündeme getirmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı ve İngiliz döneminde inşa edilen Kıbrıs Türkleri'ne ait eğitim binaları, yönetimlerin merkezîyetçi politikalarını, bunun sonucu olarak eğitim ve mimarlıktaki görüşlerini ortaya koyarlar. Ancak okulların bulunduğu arazilerin vakıflara ait olduğu düşünüldüğünde, kentte arsa tahsisinin vakıflar yönetimince kararlaştırıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Merkezi otoritenin tutumu mimari kimlikteki değişimde göze çarparken, vakıfların belirleyici kararları da kentteki arazi yönetiminde ön plana çıkmaktadır.