

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES**

**RESISTIVE TRAITS OF TRADITIONAL BAZAARS IN THE
GLOBALIZED WORLD "ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR AND THE
MEDINA OF TUNIS BAZAARS"**



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ISTANBUL, 2017

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GLOBALIZED WORLD "ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR AND THE
MEDINA OF TUNIS BAZAARS"**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to convey the highest degree of my gratitude to my mother for her patience, guidance, faith and prayers at every step of this research work. She inspired me to achieve high goals and she has been the force behind the success of this thesis.

I am grateful to my thesis supervisor Dr. Cigdem Canbay Turkyilmaz for her valuable guidance and support during the entire course of my research period. She refined my research skills and enlightened me with useful knowledge. I would like to thank Dr. Yasemen Say Ozer for her support and encouragement during my studies. My appreciation also extends to the respectable jury members of my thesis committee. I express my gratitude for Dr. Mehmet Cengiz Can for his cooperation in matters of scholarly nature.

I am indebted to Association of Safeguarding of Medina (ASM) of Tunis, especially Dr. Zoubeir Muhli, for providing me maps of Central Medina of Tunis. I extend my appreciation for Dar Ben Achour library of Medina of Tunis for providing me scholarly articles for this study.

May, 2017

Yasmine TIRA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASM	Association of Safeguarding of the Medina
MEDNETA	One of the 95 projects implemented under the ENPI CBC Mediterranean Sea Basin Program



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ABSTRACT

RESISTIVE TRAITS OF TRADITIONAL BAZAARS IN THE GLOBALIZED WORLD; ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR AND THE MEDINA OF TUNIS BAZAARS

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MSc. Thesis

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Traditional bazaars are seen as in a risk in the present globalized word; their spatial configurations are under distinguishing threats because of several facts like wars, natural disasters, and fires. Their functional organizations are also mutating due to prerogatives of the capitalist world. However, despite the disturbing contradiction which is affecting their traditional allure, they still reflect an undying identity. They are still talking about the engraved cultural memory through several architectural traits and spatial experiences. This research aims to highlight the significance of the chosen bazaars' resistance against globalization. This study analyses the origin of resistive traits in traditional bazaars. The present study proposes a conceptual framing of cultural continuity model being a tripartite relation between identity, heritage, and collective memory. In order to approve the cultural continuity model, a comparative site reading is carried out. Thus an effort is made to have an insight into the spatial configuration, functional organization, urban context and cultural traits in two examples; the bazaars of the Tunisian Medina and Istanbul Grand Bazaar. The first is an old city center having a hub of bazaars and the second has functioned as a bazaar from its establishment. Through this research, it had been concluded that both of Istanbul Grand Bazaar and the Medina of Tunis are still showing a cultural continuity which is capable of countering the market capitalization.

Keywords: traditional bazaars, cultural continuity, identity, globalization.

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ÖZET

KÜRESELLEŞEN DÜNYA'DA GELENEKSEL ÇARŞILARIN DİRENÇ GÖSTEREN ÖZELLİKLERİ; İSTANBUL KAPALI ÇARŞI VE TUNUS MEDİNA ÇARŞILARI

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Mimarlık Anabilim Dalı
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Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Çiğdem Canbay Türkyılmaz

Geleneksel çarşılar, günümüzüm küreselleşen ortamında risk altında olan yapılardır. Savaş, doğal afet, yangın gibi olaylar, mekansal organizasyonlarını tehdit ederken, işlevsel organizasyonları ise, kapitalist düzenin egemenliği altında değişime uğramaktadır. Geleneksel kentlerin ayrılmaz bir parçası olan çarşılar, kent yapılaşmasının çeşitli zaman dilimlerindeki mimari özelliklerini yansıtan, aynı zamanda ticaret işlevinin yanı sıra kent içi iletişimin gerçekleştiği mekanlar bütünüdür. Çeşitli mekansal deneyimler aracılığıyla kent belleğinin kazındığı geleneksel çarşıların kültürel süreklilikleri, günümüzde kentlerin hızlı mekansal değişimleri karşısında tehdit altındadır. Bu çalışma, Dünya Kültür Mirası olan Tunus Medina çarşıları ve İstanbul Kapalı Çarşısının küreselleşme karşısındaki direnişlerinin önemini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Kimlik, miras ve kolektif belleğin üçlü ilişkisinden ortaya çıkan kavramsal bir kültürel süreklilik modeli ortaya konmuş ve bu modeli desteklemek üzere bir alan okuması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Sonuçta, Tunus Medina geleneksel çarşıları ve İstanbul Kapalı Çarşı, kapitalist ticaret karşısında, kültürel sürekliliği korumasına yardımcı olan ve direnç gösteren özelliklerini halen sürdürebilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: geleneksel çarşılar, kültürel süreklilik, kimlik, küreselleşme

YILDIZ TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Literature review

Previous literature shows the possibility of traditional bazaars being considered as a diplomatic resistance against the globalization's effects on traditional and historical infrastructure. In the current interconnected and unified world, it has become significant to conduct research about traditional architectural space's significance on such lines. Traditional architecture in general and traditional bazaars, in particular, have been affected by several disadvantages of the globalized world like the arbitrary significance concept. In fact, as argued by Handa Rumiko, Professor of Architecture at University of Nebraska, US, "*Arbitrary signification can cause cultural alienation and be detrimental to the conservation of culture, particularly under globalization*" [1] This means that under globalization, cultural continuity of traditional architectural spaces started to be affected.

In ancient times, traditional bazaars were an integral part of the city life; bifurcating from the city structure and reflecting each period of time's architectural characteristics [2]. It is also said that they are the source of life, of communications and trade activities. As described by the Iranian award winning and critically acclaimed international architect, Nader Ardalan, 'public gardens, pathways, streets and covered streets such as bazaars and souks, with their urban contexts are all considered as "*places of public gathering*". They are a significant part of the concentric planning concept bifurcating from the Friday Mosque and the place of government in Middle Eastern and North African Islamic cities [2]. Being a source of life, communications and trade activities, "*places of public gathering*" in general are according to Nader Ardalan "*patterns of compact, monolithic and continuous development*"; they are a reflection of cultural

attitudes to “*place making*¹” [2]. However, due to the quick changes in the cities’ spatial configurations that we are living in and the mutation of used materials and methods of construction, these traditional spaces started to run a risk of possible identity loss. In fact, as by the French anthropologist Marc Augé, places of everyday gathering, which he described as circulation, consumption and communication spaces are empirical non-spaces. They are spaces showing the existence of social relations. They define what is called ‘Globalization’ [3].

According to Marc Augé, the ideology of the world’s globalization supposes the borders and dissents eliminated. However, this implies that traditional covered bazaars’ identity is at risk. He explained that consumption and communication spaces’ urbanization in general, is supposed to be the expression of this systemic relation. Therefore there is a need to investigate the relation between traditional bazaars’ cultural continuity² and globalization. Is the latter one a real danger for identity and cultural memory of such spaces, as explained by the English construction engineer John Tomlinson [4]? Or is it evaluated the other way around and looked upon as a tool for a better identity enhancement? These questions will be addressed through literature references and field observations.

This research addresses issues of the interaction between modern and traditional; it is common to see the inclusion of small shops reflecting the pure modernity in the middle of traditional environments. A kind of disturbing contradiction started to appear affecting the charming allure of the aforementioned spaces. In fact, the anchor point in historical bazaars’ evolution over time is the ability to keep reflecting their identity. According to German Egyptologist Jan Assman, the synthesis of time and identity is the gauge of memory. This memory is itself either individual or social [5]. And if memory is evoked, it means past experience of the space is in debate; it means a perception of it is reinforced. According to the English architect, urban designer, and master planner Nathan Ward “*it is through the perception that a 'sense of place' is developed. The process of perception allows us to establish a relationship between ourselves and the things around us.*” [6]

¹ “The term ‘place making’ is used here to define conceptual approaches to the location and creation of architectural buildings, their urban context and the larger city form. [2]

² John Tomlinson talked about “*the corrosive power of globalization*” Towards architectural identity [4]

To do so, he suggested that this process calls two main components which are respectively the physical component and the immaterial components. In fact, presently in traditional bazaars, it is possible to find physical components which are depictive of the past experience of a space. Structural features like vaulted roofing or high thickness of walls are some traits specific to traditional trading spaces and thus specific to the past experience of traditional bazaars.

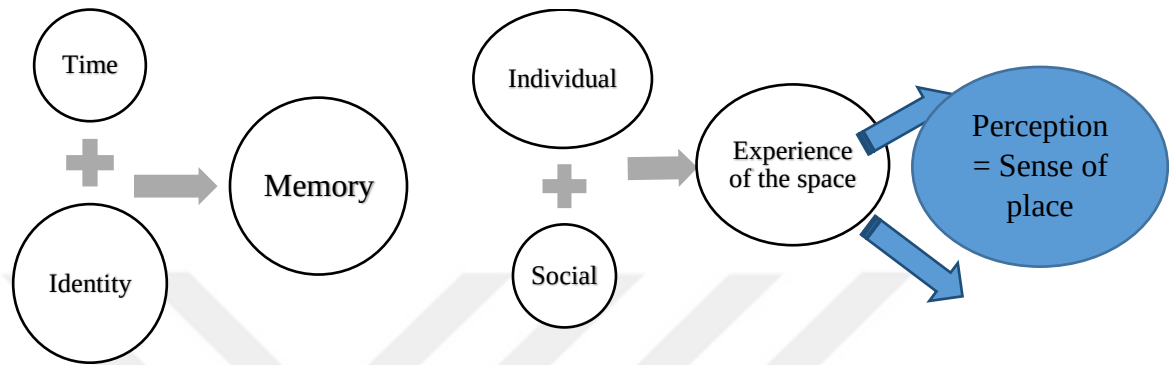


Figure 1.1 Sense of place/identity relation, developed by author

However, building materials are not always the same as in old times. Besides this, the functional organization is sometimes changing according to the era's needs which are influenced by the globalization concept. Thus, exchange of products can enhance the inclusion of new functions or the distinction of some others in traditional bazaars. This brings about the question; do traditional bazaars still reflect cultural continuity inside the mutating globalized world.

1.2. Objectives of the thesis

This research aims to investigate the cultural continuity and resistance to globalization in two examples of traditional bazaars which are, traditional bazaars of the Medina of Tunis and Istanbul Grand Bazaar. In fact, these two bazaars still exhibit both i.e. main socialization and shared remembering.

Since continuity concept implies the existence of a shared memory, cultural memory resistance traits in traditional bazaars will be studied in this research. In fact, according to the Italian architect, Francesco Siravo, memory ties with a sense of identity and is at the same time related to urban construct.

“Without memory and the sense of identity that comes with it, we spiral into violence, as recent riots in the French banlieues have shown. And without memory, there is no art, as the ancients knew all too well when they made Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory,

the mother of all the arts. Indeed memory lies at the core of the urban construct, undoubtedly the most complex human artifact, produced by the cumulative efforts of countless individuals across many generations.” (Siravo.2011, p4 [7])

It can be considered from this that a look into the resistance of traditional bazaars calls for an insight into several traits taking part in the physical and cultural continuity i.e. physical aspects related to spatial configurations whereas memorial traits related to identity and collective memory.

The similarities and differences that encouraged the choice of the two taken examples for comparison are several. To begin with, the Medina of Tunis was, from its primary establishment, conceived to be a city. It was planned to be a traditional capital formed around Al-Zaytouna Mosque. The bazaars, that currently surrounding Al-Zaytouna Mosque, had been formed starting from Hafsids Dynasty until the end of the Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul had been established to be a bazaar from its earliest days. Its primary purpose had been commercial from the time of its construction. Another fact that led to the choice of the two bazaars is their placement in port cities and the nature of trade they witnessed. Medina of Tunis was a point of trade for the cargo ships using the Mediterranean Sea route. Istanbul Grand Bazaar has proximity to the Golden Horn of the Bosphorus Strait between Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea. Another similarity between the bazaars under consideration is that both the bazaars witnessed some period in history under the Ottoman rule. However, it lasted for a short period of time in Tunis. Another connecting element is the around-the-globe interest of tourists in these two bazaars due to their traditional nature.

These factors combined with the survival of these two traditional bazaars and their prominent resistance against the globalized world makes one wonder whether this characteristic is due to the architectural nature or the initial spatial configuration. Is traditional bazaar's cultural continuity repercussion of its bifurcating hub of arteries in an old city center, like the Tunisian Medina, or to their being traditional bazaar built from the beginning for this purpose, like Istanbul Grand Bazaar?

1.3. Method and hypothesis

The main method that will be followed in this research is a comparison between two parts from two different traditional bazaars in terms of their functional organization, size, spatial configuration and urban context evolution with a specific interest in overall cultural resistance. The selected bazaars' analysis will have a specific focus on the

relation between, heritage, identity and ‘collective memory’ reflection through different experiences as recalled by their users and recorded for this study. In this respect, from one hand, collective memory traits can be reconstructed for analysis. From another hand, the prevalent identity resistance of those bazaars in the globalized world will be discussed. As it was previously mentioned, the main question of research revolves around the origin of the perceived resistance of those bazaars. Thus two different spatial configurations had been chosen for this purpose.

It can be safely assumed that the resistive traits of traditional bazaars are dependent on cultural continuity and that this continuity itself is not only related to the trading area’s spatial configuration or functional organization but it is also related to an engraved collective memory. Moreover, in consonance to the aforementioned tripartite relation existing between memory, identity and urban space of Francesco Siravo, it is hypothesized that collective memory itself is related to two other key concepts which are respectively identity and heritage.

1.4. Contribution to knowledge

This research addresses the gap in the existing literature regarding the resistive trait of Tunis’s traditional Bazaar and Istanbul Grand Bazaar against the enforced alteration in cultural continuity, caused by globalization. In other words, this research will further the knowledge about cultural continuity traits in both of the central Medina of Tunis and Istanbul Grand Bazaar.

For this purpose, several aspects of the mentioned bazaars will be considered with respect to their contribution towards the resistance against the effects caused by the modernization of the globalized world. Catastrophes, wars, and accidents which the chosen areas under research witnessed will also be taken into account. To summarize, the present research’s main purpose is to study the current resistive state of the two considered bazaars; it is not known whether the two bazaars will retain their identity or they will be subjected to enforced changes either due to natural catastrophes or to urban development demands.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL DIMENSION OF TRADITIONAL BAZAAR'S CONTINUITY

According to the French philosopher *Jean Baudrillard*, our globalized world subjected us to the obligation of consumerism and mass production which he labeled as a violence against many things including architecture: “*the violence of globalization also involves architecture, and hence the violent protest against it also involves the destruction of that architecture.*” [8]” In fact, he is seeing that all that is surrounding us is a number of singular objects; objects of a modern cultural system which are carrying ‘sign’ value as well. Architectural spaces are seen as singular objects as well. *Baudrillard*, calls some architectural spaces as absolute; he considers that it is not the sense of these buildings that captivates us but the story that they can translate. For this he gave the example of the *World Trade Center*; according to him it is a location which expresses, signifies and translates the context of a society already experiencing hyperrealism [8, p20].

Globalization’s threats to architecture had been clearly stated by *John Hendrix* too, who considers that architecture is on the verge of disappearing in the current global economic production. As he had explained, “*the future of the cultural role of architecture is cautionary, and changes need to be made in order for there to be hope for a future for architecture* [9, p151].” This means that globalization is considered as a threat for cultural aspects of architecture. However, in the present research, the focus is on the singularity of historical buildings in a generic way and places of public gathering (traditional bazaars) in a specific way.

Thus the question: what can make a traditional bazaar be significant and singular so that it is representing a society’s culture and context in our ‘violent’ globalized world? What can be a warranty for a traditional bazaar’s continuity?

2.1. Attempts to define culture and cultural sustainability

The anchor point of the present issue is the effect of globalization on traditional space's continuity and resistance against the flow of capitalist thoughts. This implies that there is no doubt in need of defining 'culture' in this context. In fact, according to John Hawkes, anthropologist and author of a widely read palaeoanthropology blog, "*the meaning of Culture puts forward a comprehensive definition of culture that focuses on its use as a concept to describe the community creation of values, meaning and purpose in life* [10]". However this point of view is as distinct as possible from the alternate view of culture as simply arts and heritage, and hence the two can create some confusion.

2.1.1. Cultural Continuity: Resultant trait from sustainability

Dennis Rodwell reports that according to the famous *Brundtland Report* of 1987, the term sustainable development had been defined for the first time by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED): "*Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs* [11, p56]". In other words, sustainability is a development attempt that aims to provide a better present without denying the future; it is a kind of security of a better future. And as it was described by David Brocchi, this sustainability which represents a balance between ecological, economic and social demands had been recently seen as lacking the fourth dimension ; the cultural dimensions with its interdependent and interactive solutions i.e. semiotic and normative notion, functional notion, eco-anthropological or cultural ecological notion [12, p3]. However, this study focuses on one part from cultural aspect; the cultural memory, the shared heritage and the thinking about memory being a part of culture.

To understand what cultural continuity and resistance are, recalling the meaning of culture is needed. In fact, according to David Frisby et al, culture is the refinement and the intellectualization of life [13, p 36]. To say it, in other words, David Frisby et al, brought forward the definition given by Guy Oakes saying that culture is "*the process in which life first reproduces itself as 'more life' and then transcends itself by generating forms that qualify as 'more-than-life'* [13]". Guy Oakes explained that Simmel represents the culture as a two-dimensional process; an objective culture meaning the

cultural form/artifacts and a subjective culture which means “*the life of the individual as a cultural being* [13]”. What is of interest in the definition of culture is the coordination and the reciprocal interaction between objective and subjective forms of culture. According to Simmel, this relation is viewed as conflicting and in crisis due to the disharmony of modern life enforced by capitalist thoughts and globalization’s principles [13]. This crisis implies urgency in the cultural continuity:

In other words, for Simmel, there is a sense of urgency present in this cultural analysis and diagnosis that highlights the tension between a break with the past to which we cannot return, a present that is in a state of crisis and a future that offers uncertain possibilities. (David Frisby et al. 2008) [13, p7]

Thereby, as explained by David Brocchi, “*the culture is a semiotic and a normative system we need for reducing and managing complexities. Not only religion, ethnic, scientific paradigms, collective memory, and lifestyle are important aspects of culture, but also the language itself* [12, p5]”. So if culture can be considered from one aspect only; i.e. the cultural social memory notion, what can be its relation to architectural spaces? And how can architecture be a challenging practice in cultural continuity?

2.1.2. The cultural role of architecture

According to John Hendrix, architecture is a way to represent the human psyche and the human condition; “*it is a complete expression of the collective psyche of a culture.* [2,208]”. In fact, he postulates that architecture is the expression and communication of ideas, values, and beliefs of a culture.

Nicholas Temple as well evokes architecture’s contribution to the development and redefinition of culture and with a specific way the values, beliefs, traditions and aspirations that culture brings to an age. The question which arises is that is architecture “*a “cultural act” that can shape or even challenge emerging practices* [14]” like Nicholas Temple had explained. He expressed an interest in “*architecture as “agent” of cultural renewal*”; in other words, the capacity of architecture to revivify or restore earlier cultural traditions.

This idea must necessary presuppose a certain continuity of culture itself, in respect of its historical transformations and its adaptive assimilation of certain long-held beliefs and practices from rituals to representational paradigms expressed in architecture and urban space. From our increasingly globalized perspective, however, the assertion of such a “substratum” of continuity seems on the face of it incongruous with the prevailing contemporizing views of the world, that treat culture as a largely

“progressive” (and by implication technologically/Media driven) endeavor. (Nicholas Temple 2012, prolog) [14]

Globalization enhanced further focus on “cultural industries”; marketing and branding as explained by Nicholas Temple became a dominant policy in planning around many cities. This fact revealed deeply problematic issues about the understanding of culture; *“the true meaning of the term in architecture and the built environment”*. Nicholas Temple claims that the globalized world shaped culture with an ‘instrumental’ aspect;

An important factor in this instrumental perspective of culture in the contemporary world is the role played by globalization, as both an actual and aspirational influence on architecture. Of a particular significance is the manner in which the social, technological, economic and cultural factors in globalization have tended to “subsume” the particular conditions or characteristics of a locale into “generalized” stereotypes or strategies that can be readily appropriated. We need only think of the experience of the commercial streets of our cities, with their familiar branding of retail outlets, to appreciate the scope of this globalizing influence. (Nicholas Temple 2012, prolog p. xx) [14]

Nicholas Temple evoked the impact of globalization on the perception and representation of cities in general. He mentioned that this can be seen through world expositions of the 19th century and then the late 20th century revisions, where a trial to convey a semblance of order was seen from the chaos brought by the industrial revolution and wars.

What is intriguing in this debate is the way globalization affected various strategies of planning and developing regional cities around the world. It becomes more and more evident that when seeking to form an international culture, cities are supposed to ‘re-invent’ themselves”? This implies that in areas requiring urban renewal, local practices or traditions neglect existing conditions or at worst they contribute to a collective amnesia of these histories and traditions.

Can it be said that the relation between architecture and culture which mutated in the globalized world, is a premise of nihilism threat of prevailing experiences or memories? As by Nicholas Temple, *“both culture and architecture involve interrelated and interdependent modes of “self-renewal [14].”*

The work of cultural renewal, however, is not an activity of resuscitating but rather of re-interpreting cultural practices [...] The resulting restorative role of architecture is precisely what we witness in the unfolding events that take place, for example, in ceremonial where this background condition (sustained through collective memories, traditions or recurring events) is periodically brought to the fore by means of collective

participation and representation. Architecture and public spaces provide the special temporal receptacle for recalling the “mythic-history” of a place. (Nicholas Temple 2012, Prologue) [14]

2.2. Cultural continuity of traditional architectural spaces: a tripartite relation between heritage, memory, and identity

As parts of culture, heritage, memory, and identity can be seen within the same framework that described a culture in three positions or roles towards sustainability. In fact, heritage is also considered as a pillar of sustainable development alongside with economic, environmental and societal aspects; it can have an influential role directly mediating between the other three components of sustainable development. Thus, the tripartite relation heritage, memory, and identity can in certain contexts play a role of fundamentals for development. Especially in complex urban situations, this tripartite view on heritage hints towards problems and possible solutions where heritage can contribute to sustainable development [15, p6]. In other words, this tripartite relation can be considered as an antidote to counteract the aforementioned nihilism threat of architectural cultural memories. However, to be able to grasp the importance of this tripartite relation, it is first needed to understand what identity, memory and heritage are.

2.2.1. Urban memory as a cultural remembering act

Cultural remembering or cultural memory had been described by Astrid Erll as “*an element of humans’ fundamental anthropological make-up* [16, p13]”; the history of creating a shared heritage and thinking about memory dates from antiquity with Plato and Aristotle. Thereby, the studies conducted around cultural memory takes their origins from Maurice Halbwachs’s sociological studies on *Mémoire Collective* and Aby Warburg’s art-historical interest in European memory of images (Astrid Erll, p13). By 1980’s, ‘new cultural memory studies’ emerged with Pierre Nora’s *Lieux De Mémoire* and Jan Assma’s idea of ‘cultural memory’ [16, p14].

Astrid Erll reported that Maurice Halbwachs theory of collective memory implies that the most personal memory is considered as a collective phenomenon dependent on social structures. He also distinguished two main concepts of collective memory; the first insinuates that individual memory depends on social structures; the second considers collective memory as the creation of shared versions of the past and which

results through interactions, communications and through the large cultural communities [16, p16].

However what interests us here is the second aspect of collective memory; it's being an intergenerational memory. The significant part in collective memory is the declared difference between history and memory. According to Halbwachs, these are two mutually exclusive forms of reference to the past; history starts only when tradition ends but collective memory is breaking up [17]. History deals with the past when collective memory is oriented towards the needs and interests of people in the present. It is more a transmission of cultural knowledge [16].

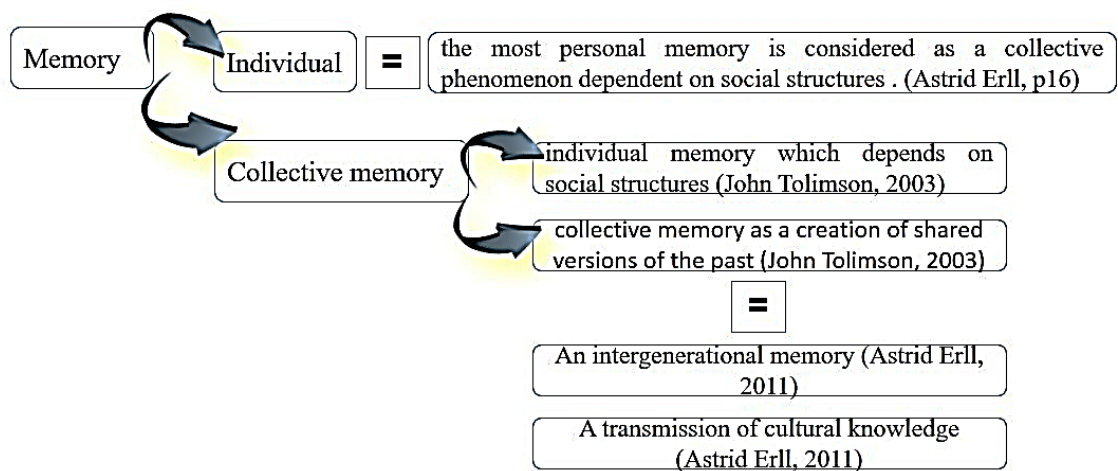


Figure 2. 1 Memory as a cultural remembering act, compiled and developed by author

What seems further related to our context is Pierre Nora's '*Lieux de mémoire*' (sites of memory) which Halbwachs also proclaims that history and memory are in fundamental opposition. In fact, according to him, such sites can be both geographical locations, buildings, monuments and works of arts, or historical persons, memorial days, philosophical and scientific texts or symbolic actions [16]. Thus, focusing on the urban memory which is our case equals to the fact of evoking Pierre Nora's concept of '*lieux de mémoire*'.

In this context, Nora explains the conditions which an object must fulfill in order to be identified as a site of memory. He distinguished material, a functional and symbolic dimension where the last one gives glimpses about the intentional symbolic signification of places; how they are shrouded with a '*symbolic aura*'. And as recorded by Astrid Erll, Nora's symbolic dimension of '*lieux de mémoire*' focuses on the fact that: "*it is this symbolic signification whether ascribed to the objectification already at*

the point of its creation or not until later that first makes a cultural object a site of memory. [16, p24]” Thus with an insight on Pierre Nora’s concept of ‘*lieux de mémoire*’, what can be related to the present subject of research is the memory gained through repeated recalls; through an exchange between eyewitnesses and descendants as he described [16]. However, the focus will not be on intergenerational memory in general but on the exchanged memory of urban sites. To be more accurate, this research concerns traditional bazaars being a specific case of the aforementioned sites of memory.

It had been explained that urban memory is a part of the sites of memory; it is a memory of buildings and monuments; an intergenerational memory reflective of a society’s heritage. This memory based on recalling actions means that there is a remembering act. And as by Astrid Erll, “*A central function of remembering the past within the framework of collective memory is identity formation [16].*” This means that the act of remembering within the framework of urban space corresponds to self-image and interests of the concerned group. In other words, a particular type of connection is existing between identity and architectural cultural heritage.

2.2.2. Identity and architectural cultural heritage

As by the Egyptian workshop engineer Ibrahim Mostafa Eldemery, “*place identity implicit psychological structure; it is also considered a cognitive structure that contributes to global self-categorization and social identity processes [18, p5].*” It means identity emerges from involvement between people and place. In other words, identity is a collective property of a given community; a property which, according to John Tomlinson is threatened by globalization:

*This identity was something people simply ‘had’ as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling, of continuity with the past. Identity, then, like language, was not just a description of cultural belonging; it was a sort of **collective treasure of local communities**. But it was also discovered to be something fragile that needed protecting and preserving that could be lost. Into this world of manifold, discrete, but to various degrees vulnerable, cultural identities there suddenly burst (apparently around the middle of the 1980s) the **corrosive power of globalization**. (John Tomlinson 2003) [4, p1]*

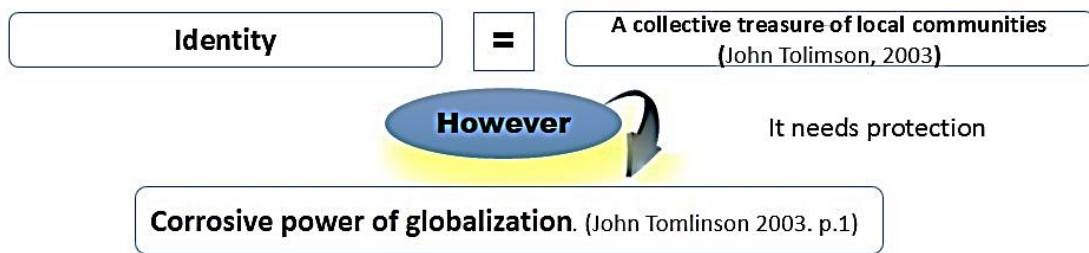


Figure 2.2 Globalization; threat for identity being a collective property, developed by author

Since the present research concerns traditional bazaars particularly, talking about the identity of architectural heritage means bringing through identity traits in traditional shopping areas. Those sites of memory considered as cities within cities can be seen as a resistance tool against globalization's flow of modernization.

It can be reclaimed that "*local shopping streets support the cultural ecosystem of cities within cities* [19, p2]"; they can be considered as a crucial part of the urban cultural heritage. On one hand, this expands the interpretation of "*intangible cultural heritage*" [19] to the social practices developed there. On the other hand, it offers the possibility of devising realistic public policies to safeguard local practices against the spiritual displacements brought by economic modernization and global consumer culture. This means that traditional shopping areas like covered bazaars are a local solution for a global problem; a space of resistance against the globalization-induced consumerism. And not only can the economic trait be considered here but also the intangible one i.e. the authentic socialization and the engraved identity.

The architectural identity of a particular local culture represents a living landscape with a common sense of place that is produced by the community's accumulated efforts over time to contain meanings and ways of life that form the national architectural identity. (Hoshiair Nooraddin 2012) [20, p2]

According to Ashraf Salama, the need to search for identity in architectural spaces enhanced a kind of irony; a shaping of cultural identity in a world of interconnection between modernity and tradition. In fact, interrogating the identity notion in the presently contemporary literature divulges several positions. As recorded by Ashraf Salama, Correa defined identity as a process and postulates that the search for identity could lead to a greater sensitivity to the society in which we live. At the same time, Castells argues that identity is a process of meaningful construction giving the priority to cultural attributes [21].

Ashraf Salama himself considers that determining the presence of identity in a physical object is a tripartite relation between three qualities which are respectively; permanence, recognition, and distinction [21]. Thus, it can be deduced from the previous voices that identity can be a collective aspect by which the built environment is definitely recognized.

What seems appealing in the relation between identity, architectural heritage and cultural continuity is that shaping of architectural identity is to some extent dependent on heritage:

Scholars argue that as many nations are resorting to heritage, the re-invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition; the questioning of the role of tradition and heritage in the shaping of architectural identity has become a necessity. (Ashraf Salama 2012) [21, p179]

It can be concluded that heritage *“is a concept that cannot be defined beforehand. It is the result of a cultural process that must be thought through and carried out [22, p 324]”*; heritage is a notion interrelated to architectural space’s identity shaping. This idea was reflected in Azmat Ali Khan’s concerns too: *“Cultural heritage always adds a distinctive character and gives a sense of history and memory of a place, time and space [23, p16].”* However, the selection criteria of this said cultural heritage have changed: while initially, the historic and artistic values were the only parameters, other additional ones have now been added; the cultural value, its value of identity and the capacity of the object to interact with memory [23]. Thus a deeper insight will be given to this interaction between memory and cultural heritage in a general way and memory in public gathering spaces with a specific way.

2.3. Memories of public gathering spaces and globalization

In the first part of this chapter (cultural role of architecture), we talked about the interaction between culture/globalization’s effects on architecture in general. However, in this level of the research the focus will be on the resultant influence of globalization on traditional bazaars with a specific way. As said by Ibrahim Mostafa Eldemery, *“place exists not only physically but also in peoples' minds as memories. The identity becomes interesting when it brings about a certain experience, evoking associations or memories. [4, p3].”* This part of the research tries to address globalization as a distinguishing trend of the present moment and its consequences on the architecture of

traditional bazaars; how is it possible that globalization trends can change certain experiences and memories of such spaces?

2.3.1. Is globalization beneficial for the cultural continuity of traditional bazaars?

Dealing with globalization process raises a key question; what does it mean in architectural terms in a general way and what does it mean in traditional bazaars' continuity with a specific way?

Cities and regions are facing great challenges as a consequence of globalization. The term "globalization" was adopted in the latter half of the 20th century, but its concepts did not spread throughout popular consciousness until the latter half of the 1980's [18].

The tension between "*anti-global* [18]" and "*pro-global*, [18]" forces has long existed, with two opposing architectural globalization. Ibrahim Mostafa Eldemery, reclaimed that globalization implies the presence of two main forces; one force encourages safeguarding and focuses on establishing indigenous traditions, forms, decorative ornamentations and technologies. It advocates historical continuity, cultural diversity and preservation of identity, all symbolized by a particular architectural vocabulary, languages and local dialects related to identity. The other force promotes invention and dissemination of new forms using new technologies and materials in response to changing functional needs and responsibilities. It places the focus on systemization and unifying.

This implies that for some, globalization entails the westernization of the world. Some others see it as generating increased homogeneity; others see it producing diversity and heterogeneity within architectural spaces [18]. What is in debate in the present research is the contraction between globalization and traditional bazaars; till what extent had trading activity been influenced by globalization's flows? And how had it been reflected on traditional bazaars?

Scott Lash, professor of sociology and cultural studies at Goldsmiths University talked about extensive and intensive culture. By *extensive* he means the ever extensity of today's capitalism and our global society: "*Capitalism, society, culture, politics are increasingly extensive. It is not only multinational corporations that are driving this increasing extensity of contemporary social relations. It is international, intergovernmental organizations such as International Monetary Fund, the World Bank,*

the World Trade Organization, the United Nations [24, p1].” Scott Lash means with extensive culture, its extensive universalization.

He also claimed that, *“this growing extensity has meant, first, a gain in geographical spread [24, p1].”* It has at the same time brought homogenization. *“Thus the urban homogenization based in Corbusier’s identical units of habitation and the city grid model has spread from New York and Chicago to Shanghai and Guangzhou, to India and Africa and Latin America. [24, p2].”*

As by Scott Lash, this increasing global extensity has conquered not just space but also time and thus there will be a spread of future exchanges all over the world; *“the size of a global corporation is no longer measured in terms of its assets or its revenues but in terms of its **market capitalization**, its stock market value, which is its expected future profits [24, p3].* However, ‘market capitalization’ means production’s unification and traditional trading activities’ shifting towards a ‘homogenization’ of the world’s bazaars.

This implies that the cores of several traditional bazaars recognized as world heritage are in risk. Example of the Medina of Tunis bazaars can be given; one of the two chosen study cases of the research. In fact, according to MEDNETA [25, p59] ³ project overviews, the Medina’s bazaars are running a risk of artisans’ migration to other jobs due to the degradation of products’ quality and business profitability. This happened due to competing Asian low cost products and the random availability of raw materials. This is without forgetting the shift of some craftsman from shops to old *Fonduks* and to some residential buildings. The Bazaars of the Medina of Tunis can be a tangible witness of the globalization’s flows of ‘market capitalization’ and historical sites’ urban homogenization’s threats.

It became unknown whether globalization can be considered as a risk or a sustainability reinforcement for traditional bazaars; from one hand capitalizing markets is a good point for economy, from another hand, homogenizing products is a threat for crafts’ continuity and thus for their architectural spaces’ resistance. It can be said that the traditional role of architecture as “bearer” of cultural meaning brings with it challenges in the modern world. Thus it becomes confusing whether architecture of the globalized

³ MEDNETA is a project enhancing cross-border cultural dialogue and cooperation among multiple stakeholders and it aims to support creativity in the art, crafts and design and concerning some communities inhabiting the historical cities in the Mediterranean Basin.

world will set out to support the built heritage or demolish to prepare a platform for a better urban development?

2.3.2. Globalization challenges against traditional bazaars

Globalization threats to traditional covered bazaars' cultural continuity can be highlighted through several traits; production homogenization, trading virtualization trends, complexity of architectural restoration's attempts with modern building materials, immigration from bazaars to shopping malls and commercial companies, heavy traffic in old city centers, etc.

The invasion and succession in cities is a phenomenon that affects the functions of the bazaar. Heavy traffic in downtown areas, air pollution in cities, the transformation of the structure of economic activities, the flow of immigrants on the market, the transfer of certain functions of the bazaar to commercial companies etc has created problems for the bazaar. (Marzieh Azadarmaki 2012) [26, p1]

It can be said that globalization's new trends in different fields affected traditional architectural spaces' cultural continuity. Globalization has led cultural identities to touch other cultural identities in a virtual way, more than before. It is predicted that in future, globalization will lead to a further hybrid trading culture; people's current way of life implies that they be directed to virtual communication [27] and to technological device based transactions. There will be no need to reach the bazaar space for shopping.

It was mentioned in the introductory chapter of this research that traditional places of public gathering like bazaars used to be a source of life, communication and trade activities. However, the shift from a culture of bazaars to a culture of modern shopping malls should not be neglected. It is true that the appearance of shopping malls passed through several evolutions of trading from antiquity until presently, however this cannot deny the fact that globalization can be sometimes seen as a pulse to sustain traditional bazaar's culture.

Projects like The Avenues shopping mall in Kuwait, which was opened in 2007 and since then has been continually enlarged and extended, must be considered as one example from the noticeable proliferation of semi-traditional shopping areas.

As mentioned in Pulse magazine, the aforementioned bazaar is an opportunity of immersion in the world of the souk: "*Despite all its contemporary qualities, one of the*

areas of The Avenues is to be based on the traditional Arab shopping streets, souk [28].”



Figure 2.3 (a) The Avenue shopping street in Kuwait, (b) Entrance of the avenue
(a) (Adrian Welch2009), (b) Printest.com

This present example translates the vacillation that we are living between an obsolescence of the past and an attachment to it; like it can be noticed in the figure (2.1) an attempt to create a shopping street resembling to the Arab *Souk*'s concept which is a real witness of belonging to the past. However, *Starbucks* shop which is one of the global brands could not be absent. As explained by Francesco Siravo:

While we proclaim the obsolescence of the past and the need for change, we continue to recognize the ever-shrinking and increasingly besieged old centers as the only truly presentable parts of our cities. (Francesco Siravo, 2009) [7, p3]

This means that we are living paradoxical relation between attempts to modernize and senses of belonging to the past and to the traditional space.

2.4. Chapter's Conclusion

In the beginning of this chapter, attempts to define culture and cultural continuity were made. It lead to show that architecture in general has a prominent cultural role as it is the expression of the Psyche of culture (John Hendrix, 2012), a cultural act that supposes continuity of culture itself (p9, Nicholas Temple, 2012).

Through this part of the research it had been explained that urban memory is a part from sites of memory (p 12) (Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, 1980); a memory of buildings and monuments; an intergenerational memory reflective of society's heritage.. This implies that a particular type of connection exists between identity and architectural cultural heritage. However, shaping of architectural identity is to some extent dependent on heritage (p14) (Ashraf Salama, 2012).

It was announced that selection criteria of architectural heritage has changed which made it based on the cultural value, its value of identity and capacity to interact with memory. (p15) Those findings made us shift the interest from cultural continuity of architectural spaces in general to cultural continuity of public gathering spaces which are the subject of our research. Thus, by means of Scott Lash interests on extensive and intensive culture and how it lead to ‘*market capitalization*’ (p16), it has been described how it became confusing whether architecture of the globalized world will set out to support the built heritage or demolish to prepare a platform for a better urban development (p17).

By the end of the chapter an insight into globalization’s challenges was given. In fact, it had been seen as a paradoxical relation between attempts to modernize and senses of belonging to the past and to the traditional space was given. (p18)

It can be said that we are living a shift from vernacularism to globalism in traditional covered bazaars due to the market globalization. However, a magnetic relation to the engraved identity in traditional spaces is still enforcing its existence. What can be concluded from the present chapter is that traditional architectural spaces in general and traditional bazaars with a specific way, are from the important places fit to represent our culture, our identity, and collective memory.

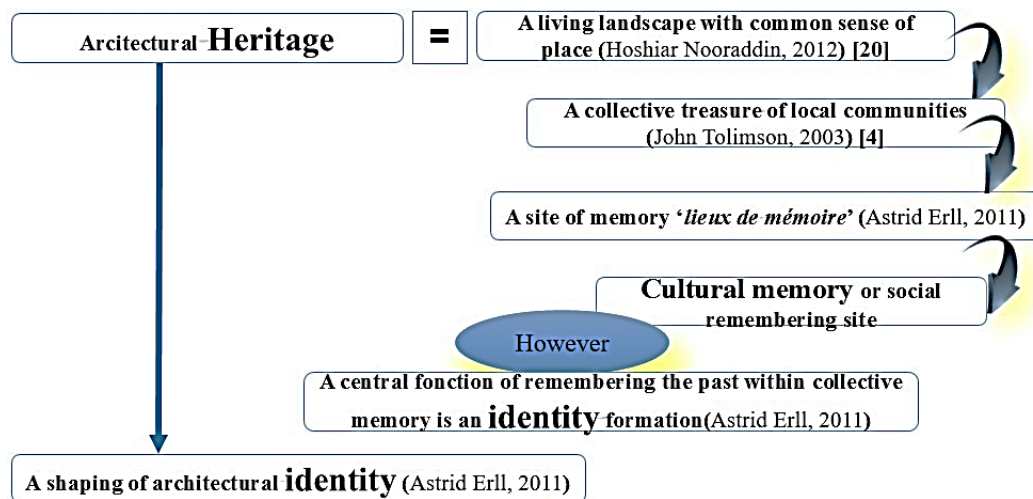


Figure 2.4. The tripartite relation heritage, identity, cultural memory’s conceptual framing, compiled and developed by author

It can be deduced from the previous study that the resistive traits of the two chosen bazaars can be translated within the tripartite relation heritage, identity, collective memory or social remembering; vicious circle turning around cultural continuity

concept. As it's described in the (figure 2.4), social remembering of architectural heritage is itself a shaping of architectural identity. This means that lived experience of the bazaar's space is an architectural identity shaping. Thus, despite the changes that globalization is enforcing in public gathering spaces, both of Tunis' bazaars and Istanbul Grand Bazaar are still keeping their identity and cultural continuity.

The present conceptual framing enhanced a specific site reading based from one hand on the architectural features like the special configuration functional organization, urban context and size and from the other hand on cultural remaining traits.



MEDINA OF TUNIS: FROM A CITY CENTER TO A COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

Despite the absence of historical documents and official records, the relative conservation of Tunisian urban fabric is enough to permit serious research in the field. It is true that there are a large number of buildings in ruins that made the Medina look different from its old state. However, it is still possible to reconstitute traditional urban structures from contemporary analysis and oral testimony. Its formal configuration has undergone relatively few transformations since ancient times but it still reflect a remarkable typo-morphological continuity spanning several centuries.

3.1. History of the Medina of Tunis:

From the 7th century till nowadays, the Medina had lived different mutations especially in its core: the collection of Souks.

3.1.1. From the 8th till the 16th century: the structure of the Arabic city

The history of the Medina dates from the establishment of ‘Zaytouna’ Mosque in 695 AD, by the first coming Arabs who could force out the last Byzantines. At that time Tunis was a peaceful city ready to start building its history. However, it was proved after some archaeological excavations that the city existed even before Arabs’ conquest [29]. It was even mentioned that the city had a neutral urban structure ready to be rebuilt; a city with destroyed city walls.

Starting from 711 until 909 under the Aghlabids, the Medina of Tunis underwent through different evolutions like the reconstruction of the city walls and the redefinition of the center and principle *souks* around ‘Zaytouna’ mosque. It can be said that there was a double construction attempt which had greatly defined the city structure; marking the city’s limits with walls and giving the city a specific religious center which is the

said 'Zaytouna' mosque. According to those two main structures, bazaars or what it is called 'Souk' started to appear following a logically defined tracing of the city structure [29].

Around 945, Tunis lived the sever interlude of Kharidjits with Abu Yazid, "The man with donkey", who destroyed the entire mosque's surrounding bazaars. However, after 949 a Saint man named Sidi Mehrez, built again the Medina's walls and 'Souks' joining to them the Jewish district, 'El Hara'[29].

In the middle of the 11th century, the Medina became under Khourassanid; and it is at that time when Tunis became an important trade center. Supported by its geographical location, it was the meeting point of traders coming from the different surrounding coastal countries like Normans of Cecilia [30].

Around 1147, the Medina's structure changed again under Almohads regency. Coming from Morocco, they started to construct new buildings reflecting their own identity. The most important and remaining till this day is the 'Casbah' which was defined as the center of military and political power. However, it has affected the image that the central Medina with its bazaars used to have; it became what was called 'the lower city'; the city of traders and artisans which is opposite to the 'Makhzen city'; city symbol of power [31].

After 1228, the Hafsids regency started and lasted three and a half century. Their regency reflected a great development of the urban fabric, the economic and social sectors. In fact, it is with this regency that luxury product markets appeared; leather and textile bazaars with a specific way [32].

3.1.2. Medina of Tunis from the Ottoman Empire till the French protectorate:

Starting from the Ottoman Empire until the French protectorate several political facts influenced the urban planning.

By September 1574, Ottoman soldiers coming from Istanbul with Sinan Pasha's fleet took control of 'La Goulette', coastal part of the capital Tunis. A pasha belonging to Algeria was nominated to represent it and who became in direct relation with the Sultan from 1587. First Beylerbeys of the regency like Haydar, Rajab, Jafar, Mustafâ, Hasan, Mouhammed, Husayn Pasha, had not left any important architectural realization. From 1587 till the end of the century, the Medina suffered from conflicts between Spanish and Turks over the annexation of the region. Slowly it had been totally taken by Sinan

Pasha, Don John of Austria, Khay al-Din and Charles Quint. After that they started by repairing the city walls, renovated 'Al Kasba' which was transformed to 'Diwan', the Pasha and Dey's residence [31]. And as by Ahmed Saadaoui, Pashas regime finished by 1597 and it is at that time when the Medina's reconstruction started under 'Uthmân Dey'. After him started the power of Yûsuf Dey whose regency lasted 27 years. It is said that the Deys' domination attended its apogee with him. [31]

The end of the Ottoman Empire can be considered as an important phase in the Medina's urban evolution. In fact, the 'Ulema'⁴ [33] status's change under Ottoman 'Beylik' had marked a stagnation period in the urban development of the central Medina. In fact, it was under Ahmed Bey regency that the 'Ulema's role started to change. He made them further submitted to the political force when he changed their status to religious officers taking monthly regular salaries. Although their dependence, they were refusing to interfere in the political issues. They were more interested in state matters. However, as announced by Abdelkafi, those religious intellectuals had participated unintentionally in the political life and in an effective way because they were concentrated in the 'Zaytouna' mosque which was the studying, praying and political mobilization area: *"People were considering the big Mosque like their Hotel de Ville, they used to meet there protected from the power's supervision. They deliberate and take decisions. The mosque is the city dwellers' forum in the Maghreb cities."* [33]

After the starting of the French protectorship of Tunisia by 1881, a second new westernized city, inhabited by Europeans started to evolve right next to the Medina. This new city named *"La ville nouvelle"* or *"Ville européenne"* had a different morphological and functional form from the old Medina [33]. As it was mentioned by Anton Escher and Marianne Schepers, *"during the French protectorate, the Medina was viewed by all actors at that time as the antithesis to the Ville nouvelle. This difference is based on morphological opposites [34]."* In fact, for the French government, the old Medina was a symbol of Tunisian people's socio-economic backwardness. Thus, they had identified a proper French way of life in the new city. This attempt made the Tunisians be further attached to their religion and national and cultural identity. In short, it became the symbol of the resistance against colonial attempt. It was from the central Medina's cafes, mosques, madrasas and souks that main Tunisian leaders of the resistance succeeded to overcome the French protectorate.

⁴ 'Ulema' : religious scholars

3.2. Urban context of The Medina: symbol of the old city:

In this level of the research the distribution of bazaars inside and around the Medina will be described.

3.2.1. City limits and gates:

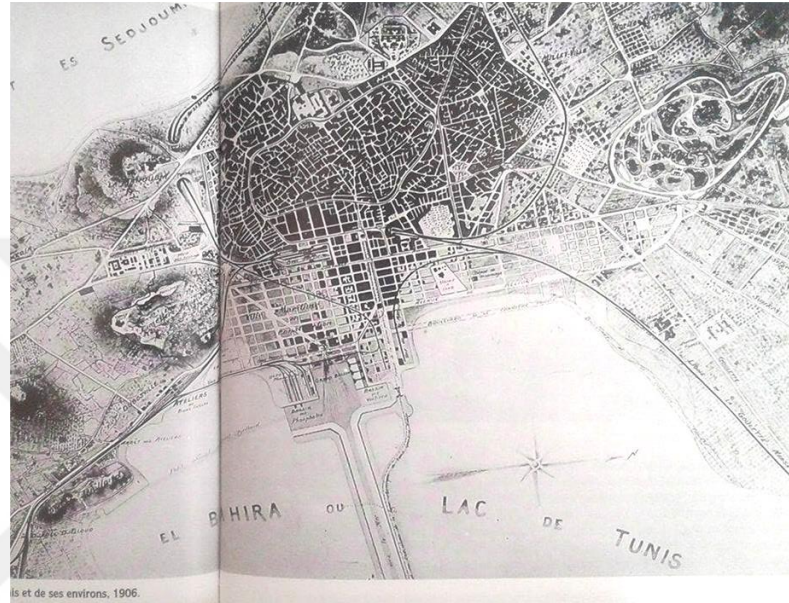


Figure 3.1 Tunis in 1906 [29]

From the middle of the 11th century, under the Khourassanids as mentioned before, the Medina had five main gates which opened during the day and closed during the night: Bab-Dzira opening to its south towards the old capital Kairouan, Bab-Bihar in its east from the sea side, Bab-Carthagena from the north, Bab-Es-Sakkaine in the north too and finally Bab-Arta in the west.

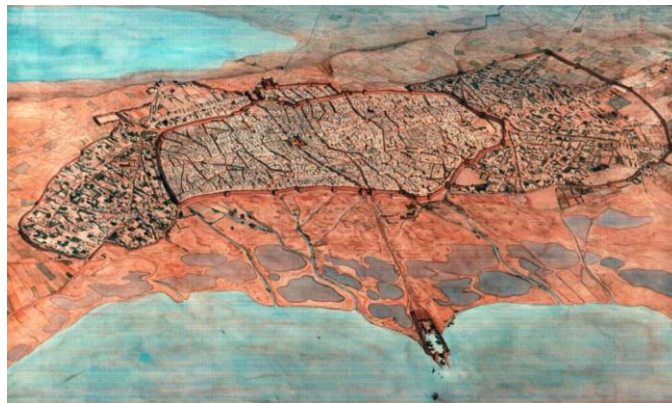


Figure 3.2 Engraving of the old Medina before destruction of its ramparts in the 11th century [35], Aquarelle of Jean-Claude Golvin

In fact, connection axes between those doors were according to cardinal directions and leading in their intersections to the centre which is the Zaytouna mosque and its surrounding bazaars. However, originally the Medina had fifteen different doors as explained in the present figure (2.3) (1) Bab Behar, (2) Bab-Carthagena, (3) Bab-Souika, (4) Bab-Benat, (5) Bab-Menara, (6) Bab-Jedid, (7) Bab-Dzira, (8) Bab-el-Khadhra, (9) Bab-Sidi-Abdesselem, (10) Bab-Sadoun, (11) Bab-el-Akwass, (12) Bab-el-Allouj, (13) Bab-Sidi-Abdallah, (14) Bab-el-Fella, (15) Bab-Aleoua [29].

The oldest gate in the Medina of Tunis is “Bab-Dzira”, it owes its name to the Arabic term “Jazira” which refers to “Jazirat Choraik”, the old denomination of the “Cap Bon” region of Tunisia which is the nearest point to the European sides. This gate leads to the southern suburb of the Medina [37].

Nowadays, some of them still exist and some were destroyed in favour of new urban configuration of the capital. However, city walls do not exist presently and the current Medina’s principle gate is ‘Bab-Behar’. It represents a low arc supported by a parapet with slots. In fact ‘Bab-Behar’ means the sea gate, an emphatic term meaning, the lakeside zone. This gate is also called “Porte de France”, France gate since it gives a direct access to the European new city which still exists but in its transformed shape. This monument had been an enclave in the middle of several constructions which were neighbouring its left and right sides until half of the whole gate’s height as it can be seen in the figure (2.3).

However, after the Second World War and during the French colonization, authorities enforced a perforation in this area to make the access from the old center till the “Ville Nouvelle” convenient [25]. By 1931 [36] this gate’s neighbouring constructions had been removed and the transformation decided just after the Second World War could be enforced after the long anecdotic resistance of the traditional donuts shop. In fact, as described by Chadly Ben Abdallah, this donuts maker “*could continue to elongate the process during years till his shop could survive in the middle of surrounding residences* [37].”

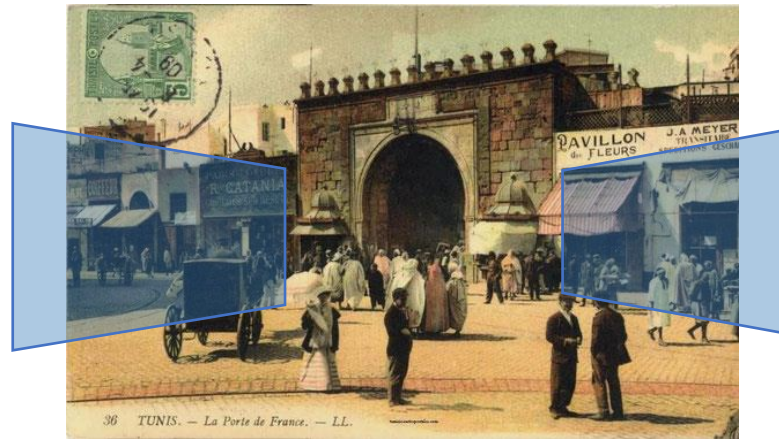


Figure 3.3 “Porte de France”, the main gate of the central Medina⁵ 6th of April 1909



Figure 3.4 ‘Bab-Behar’ gate in 2014 [36]

Every gate’s nomenclature has a meaning related to the surroundings or commercial activity present there. ‘Bab-Souika’, the third gate, for example, means the gate of the small bazaar. Its name originates from its neighbouring *souk* which represents number of small bazaars exempt from paying taxes and which are not under the ‘Habous’ organism and dating from the times of the Saint man ‘Sidi Mehrez’ [36]. This gate had been demolished by 1861.

⁵ Taken from the Medina’s Librarians, first library in ‘Sidi Ben Arous’ avenue.

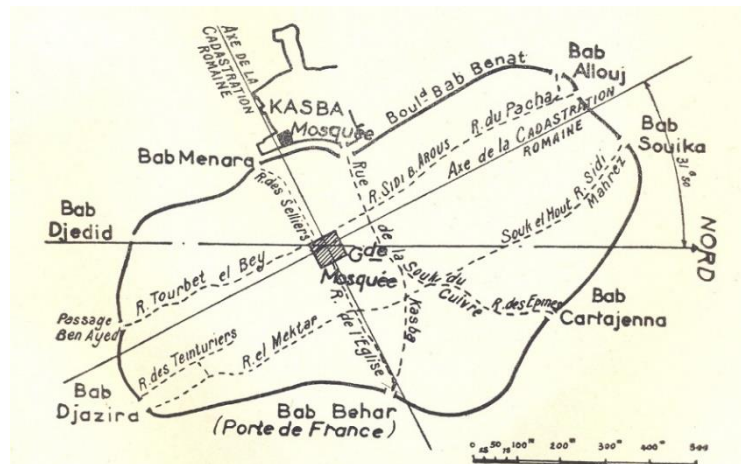


Figure 3.5 The Medina's main gates and axes⁶

As it can be noticed in figure 3.6, two main axes intersecting in *Al-Zaytouna* mosque defined by Avenue *Al-Pasha* and avenue *Turbet Al-Bey* (axis north-south), and a second one passing from the Prime Ministry's building and following towards Bab-Bhar (axis east-west).

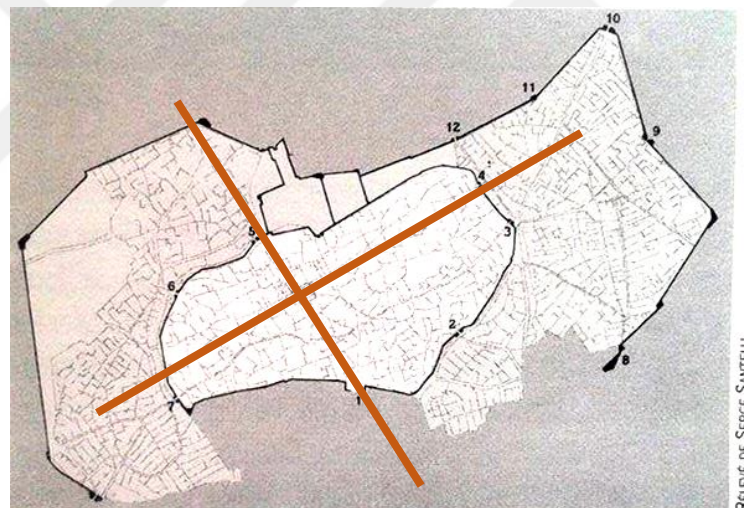


Figure 3.6 The city's 15 gates in the 11th century, drawn by Serge Santelli in 1995 [29]. When describing the Medina's surroundings, Serge Santelli mentioned that this city was evaluated according to a north-southern axis from 'Bab-Souika' (3) till 'Bab-Dzira' (7). Then, from the Medina's eastern borders the Lake of Tunis can be found. And as it is marked in the figure (9) the central Medina where some bazaars still exist, even in their transformed state, can be found around the intersection of the two main axes; an aureole surrounding the seven first gates of the old city.

⁶ <http://fr.academic.ru/dic.nsf/frwiki/783406> seen on 22nd of February 2017

3.2.2. The central Medina:

According to studies conducted by the Association for the safeguarding of the Medina of Tunis, the central Medina currently has an area of 100 hectares.

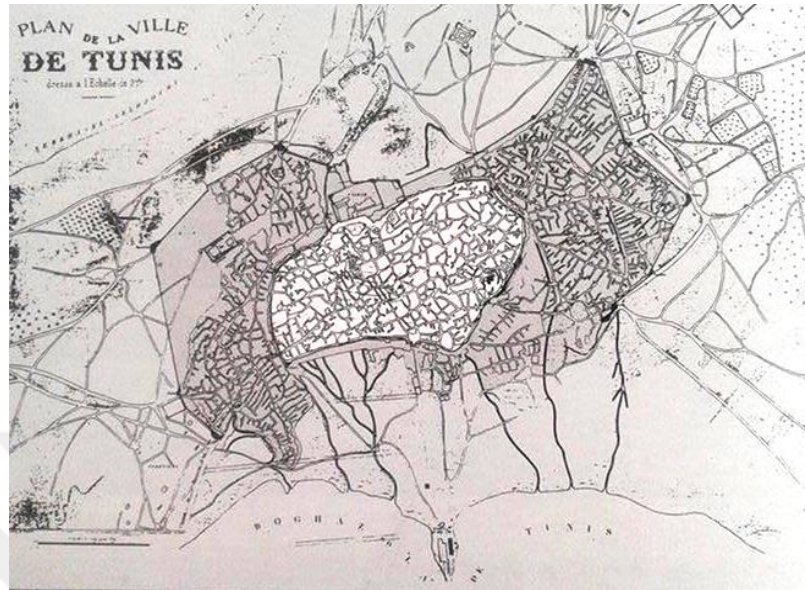


Figure 3.7 The central Medina in the middle of the 11th century under khourassanide, presented by Santelli in 1995 [29]

Under the Hafsids regency, the textile industry developed several new practices like silk, wool and cotton weaving, spinning wool, trimming and dyeing. This enhanced the emergence of new bazaars which can be defined in three circles; the first is ‘El Attarine, el Chammaine, el Saffarine, el Rbaa, el Kachchachine, el Koutbia, el Qmech, el Sayghiyya’, situated in the heart. In the second circle, ‘el Najara (wich still exist with the same function), el Haddedin, el Sabbaghin, el Qsaderjiyya’, in the peripheral districts of the Medina. And finally, the third circle, ‘el Qallalin, el Halfaouin, el Tabbabin, el Jazzarin, Souk el Hout (fish market), located outside the city walls [25].

3.3 Typology of the Medina: archetype of oriental bazaars melting the city centre

The progressive growth and development of the Tunisian Medina is to be viewed within a stable morphological framework. As it can be noticed from figure 3.8, the central Medina presents a maze of passageways arranged around the great Al-Zaytouna mosque.

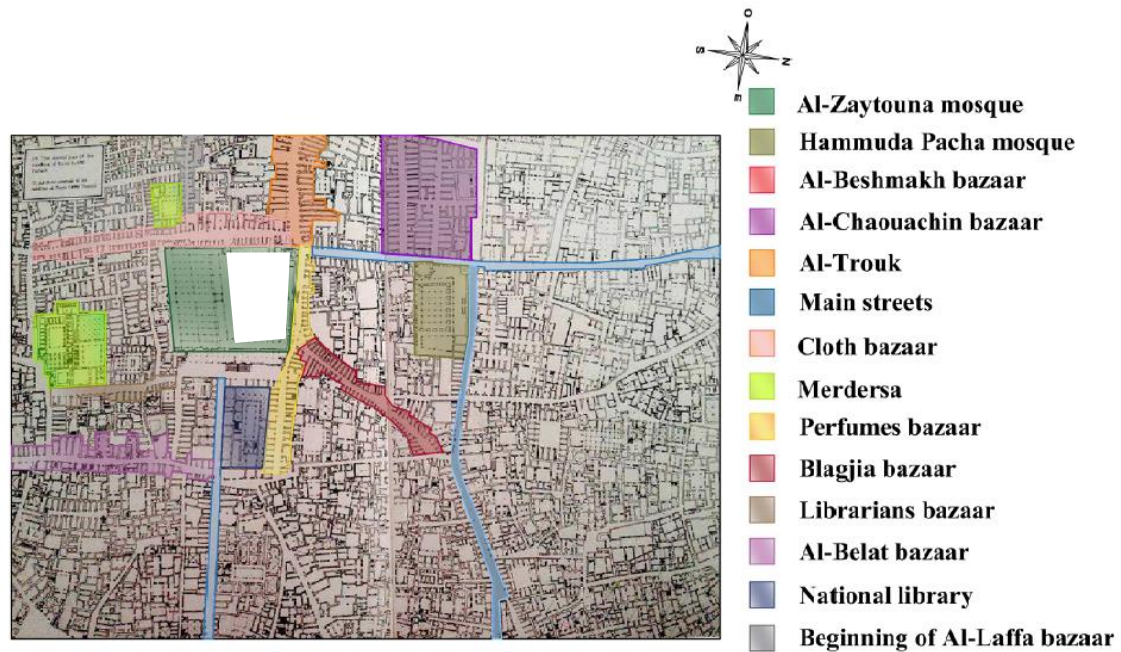


Figure 3.8 Spatial configuration of the central Medina, by author after Santelli

3.3.1. Souks, Founduqs and Hammams:

The term 'souk' owes its origin to an Arabic term meaning 'drive' or 'go ahead' [38]. Names based on profession had an important influence on the urban nomenclature which proves the importance of craftsmen and tradesmen in the Tunisian social life. According to Arthur Pellegrin, 37 different souks existed in the 8th century. Their names were referring to the various existing commercial activities. The whole had a long and narrow artery form, defined with shops on borders. Those shops are at the same time workshops and selling points. Almost all of them have the same aspect, covered with a planked roof made from palms or vaulted masonry with small voids for natural lightening [39].

Most of those souks were established in the 13th century however as announced by Arthur Pellegrin, some craftsmen existed from the Hafside empire [39]. After that souks became further developed firstm with the Ottoman Empire's coming then with the Husseinites. But as by Chedly Ben Abdallah, the souk's atmosphere was extremely picturesque especially before the end of the Second World War [37]. The whole spatial configuration of the central Medina was in a spider form of several interconnected functions; it was common to find graves in the middle of the city centre. To say it in another way, religious functions were an integral part from the city life. Subsidiary or vital functions were all arranged around the great Al-Zaytouna mosque.

The spatial configuration of the Medina's bazaars hasn't changed but the functional organization has undergone some changes. In fact, the noblest products are piled in the immediate vicinity of the great mosque while less noble souks were located farther from it. As reported by Serge Santelli two types of souks exist in the central Medina:

I have already distinguished between two types of souks: those which result from a spontaneous, progressive accumulation of shops along the principal thoroughfares of the Medina, and those designed and built as identical units. In the first type, shops of widely built dimensions are built along the main thoroughfares, occupying the urban fabric irregularly. [...] In the second type, all the shops are of the same breadth and depth, and are built in regular fashion along the street. (Santelli, 1992) [30, p 96]

From progressively accumulated spontaneous shops the example of Al-Kotbia souk (Librarians bazaar, figure 2.5) can be given. As example of designed and built units from the souks, the samples of 'Al-Shashia' souk (figure 2.6) and 'Al-Grana' souk (cloth bazaar, figure 2.7) can be given.



Figure 3.9 (a) Librarians bazaar (Al-Kotbia Souk) in 1903⁷, (b) Librarians bazaar (Al-Kotbia Souk) presently



Figure 3.10 (a)⁸ Al-Chachia bazaar in 1906, (b) Al-Chachia bazaar presently

⁷ <https://www.tunisie-cartespostales.com/la-m%C3%A9dina-de-tunis/> seen on 12th of April 2016, (b) by author on 15th of August 2016

⁸ <http://jamaity.org/2015/08/la-petite-histoire-de-la-chechia/> visited on 10th of Mai 2016, (b) by author on 20th of July 2016

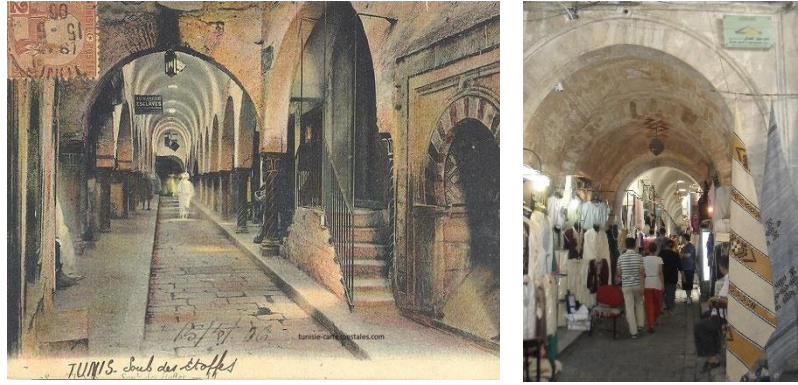


Figure 3.11 (a) Cloth bazaar (El-Grana Souk) in 1906⁹, (b) Cloth bazaar (El-Grana Souk) presently

Composed souks are organized around the central zone in orthogonal grid following the walls of the great mosque; “they constitute an isotropic fabric deployed in a uniform, homogenous manner around the mosque” [30]. And there is no rule to their configuration other than continuity. This trait enforces the melting of isolated souks in the urban fabric; all the souks merge with each other in a multidirectional way [30]. The souks streets are at the same time of a linear character since they form a direct link between the gates and the central Medina. In fact, day-to-day activities and ‘dirty’ or disagreeable activities are located in proximity to the gates.

As described by Serge Santelli, a clear distinction appeared between the dense city centre and the day-to-day trading activities located at the edge of the city [30]. Thereby, this distribution which accentuates the existing distinction between the centre and the peripheries defines the location of the *Founduq* within the Medina. Founduq is in fact a sort of hotel subjected to traders coming from other cities.

As by the Tunisian architect urban designer, Adnen El Ghali, the *Founduq* is either a diplomatic representative space of European nations or a hosting space for trades’ men coming from other countries or cities; “this term is originally Greek Arabic (*pandakeion* = *hostel*) and it has its equivalent in western Mediterranean languages: *fondech* in Catalan, *pendique* in Provençal French, *fondaco* in Italian and *fonticus*, *fondigus* or *fonticum* in Latin [40]. This specific architectural space is particularly used in North Africa and it represents a small hotel for merchants. It is said that some diplomatic treaties and correspondences shows that the term *Oukela* had also been employed

⁹ <https://www.tunisie-cartespostales.com/la-m%C3%A9dina-de-tunis/> seen on 12th of April 2016, (b) by author on 20th of July 2016

during the Ottoman period without specifying whether it is for the consular building or for the general public [40].

In general they are built with a ground floor and an upper storey. The animals and merchandise are housed in cells organized around a central courtyard at the ground-floor level, and the merchants' bedrooms are reached by means of a balcony or gallery on the upper storey. (Santelli, 1992) [30, p99]

Every *Founduq* was subjected to one specific kind of commerce within the Medina. Some were of noble products like the case of *Founduq Al-Attarine* (the perfume *Founduq*), some are of trade like the wool *Founduq*. As it is presented in the figure (2.8), there is a big structural similarity between the *founduq's* courtyard and the Tunisian Palaces.

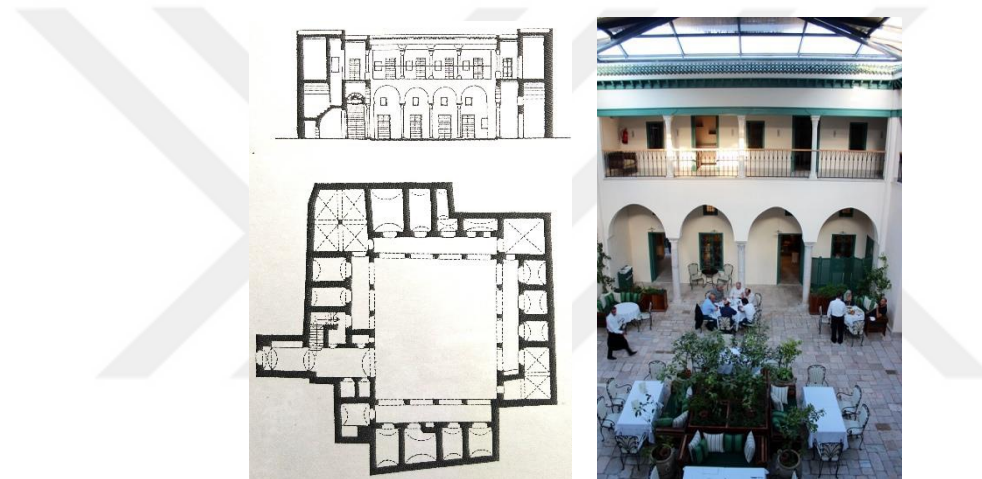


Figure 3.12 (a) Plan and section of Founduq Al-Attarine, (b) Vue from Founduq Al-Attarine¹⁰ (a) [30, p 100]

As by Serge Santelli, “the more modest and rural *founduq* was invariably oblong in plan. [...] In contrast, the nobler *Founduq* close to the centre was square in plan and much larger [30].” It generally has a covered gallery which leads to the ground-floor and first-floor.

According to Jaques Revault, French singer named as inspector of artisanal work during the colonial times, the French *Founduq* was the stimulus of the new city's construction, “la Ville Nouvelle” or the French district as it was described [41]. The French *Founduq* had been established by 1577 when French authorities under Henri III offered the support for the Ottoman great leader Suliman against Charles Quint [41].

¹⁰ <https://www.tripadvisor.com> seen on 24th of November 2016

It can be said that the French *Founduq* had been the first attempts for colonization; it was from that point that French habitants started to increase till they became an integral part of the Medina. In fact, it had been created to defend French traders' interests. This partnership between western Christian states and the Ottoman Empire lasted more than three centuries. This agreement of "capitulations" organises the commercial activities and the daily presence of Christians in Islamic cities through several transit points around the Mediterranean [42].

However, *Founduqs* were not the only European organism present in the Medina; there was English, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, German and Swiss consulates defending their traders' rights. All were located close to 'Bab-Behar' gate as it is the nearest to the lake, the meeting point of marine trade.

Founduqs had the right to use the public baths; *hammams*, which were spread in different locations of the Medina's streets. One of them is still functioning until presently; *Hammam Al-Kasheshin*, which has been established from old times, has been restored around 1754 under Ali Pasha, whose regency marked the Medina's urban development. In fact, he had transformed it to one *Hbous* (Vakif) establishment subjected to maintain the surrounding religious buildings. It has one reception hall, one dressing room, two cold rooms, one cool room and one warm room [31].

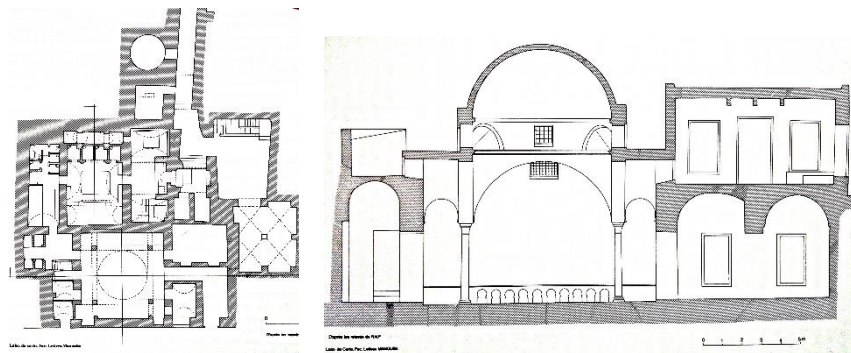


Figure 3.13 Plan and section of *Hammam Al-Kasheshin*, Ahmed Saadaoui 2010, after INP (Institut National du Patrimoine Tunisie)

Presently, 50 historical existing hammams had been recorded, 26 from them are still following their function, 17 from them had been demolished, and 7 had been closed [43]. However what stayed engraved in Tunisian thoughts is that *hammam* used to be an important place of socialisation and an anchor point in the French colonization's end. In fact, as pointed out by Sana Sboui, Journalist founder of Inkyfada journal, *hammams* as well as mosques used to be a menace for French colonists as they are the only places

where Tunisians could discuss about politics [43]. Besides, *hammam* is a place taking part in the yearly rhythm of the Medina's Muslim habitants. The Ramadan, Muled ¹¹, *Aid Kabir*, *Aid Saguir* each one has its traditional *hammam* sequences. These are in addition to bridal hammams and baby birth hammams.

Besides Founduqs and hammams, the central Medina of Tunis had several religious buildings like mosques, masjid, Quranic schools (*madrasa*) and graves (*turba*).

3.3.2. Mosques, “turba” and “madrasa”:

The most important Friday Mosque around the central Medina's bazaars is ‘Al-Zaytouna’ Jami which was established around 863 AD under Aghlabids. It has an area of about 5000m²; 0.5 hectares which is about 0.50% from the whole central Medina's area. An inscription written on the base of the dome of the *mihrab* says that Fathallah, slave of the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir, directed the works [44].

The Zaytuna building was an important defensive post facing the sea. Two control towers at the northeast and southeast corners remain intact. The Zaytuna Mosque is of the same type as those at Córdoba and Kairouan; a vast courtyard leading to a stone-pillared hall with a roof supported on wooden beams. The roof spans an area of 1,344m². Around 160 columns and ancient capitals divide the mosque into 15 naves and 6 bays. It is clear that the ancient material comes from the ruins of Carthage. [44] (Ben Mami, 2016)

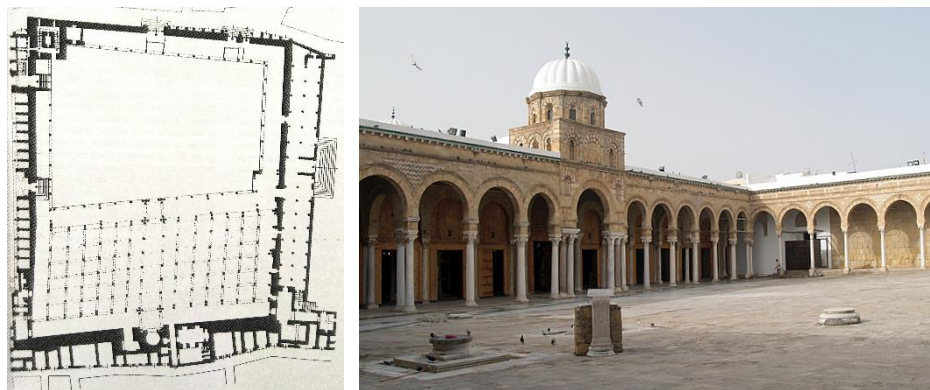


Figure 3.14 (a) Al-Zaytouna mosque's plan, (b) View from Al-Zaytouna mosque, (a) , (b)¹²

Another important mosque in the central Medina facing the *Shaouashin souk* is Hammouda Pacha mosque with its thin Turkish-style minaret, built in 1665 to honour

¹¹ Mevlid is Birth of the Prophet_Aid Saguir is the Ramadan feast_Aid kabir or Eid al-Adha is the ‘sacrifice feast’.

¹² https://archnet.org/sites/3765/media_contents/87657 seen on 12th of January 2017

an Italian who had converted to Islam [31]. Its style presents a mixture between Andalusian and Ottoman architecture.

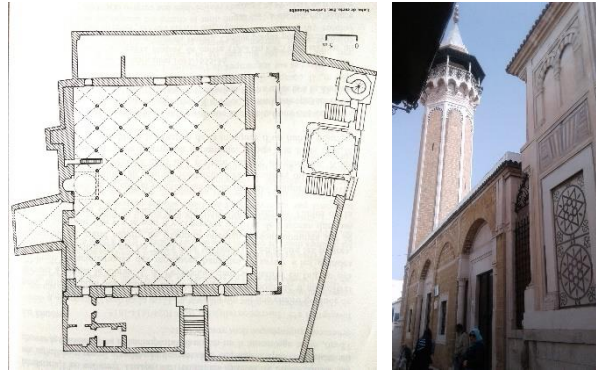


Figure 3.15 (a) The plan of Hammouda Pacha mosque, (b) View of the mosque from Sidi Ben Arous avenue (a) [10] (Saadaoui, 2010, taken from ASM), (b) by author on 26th April 2016

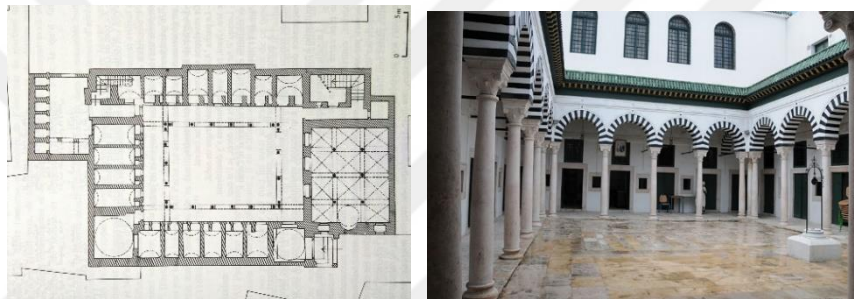


Figure 3.16 (a) The plan of Madrasa Slimania, (b) View from the madrasa (a) [30], (b) Wikipedia put online on 22nd of September 2008

Turbet el Bey in *Turbet el Bey* Avenue is a royal mausoleum built in the late 18th century for the Husaynid princes [31].

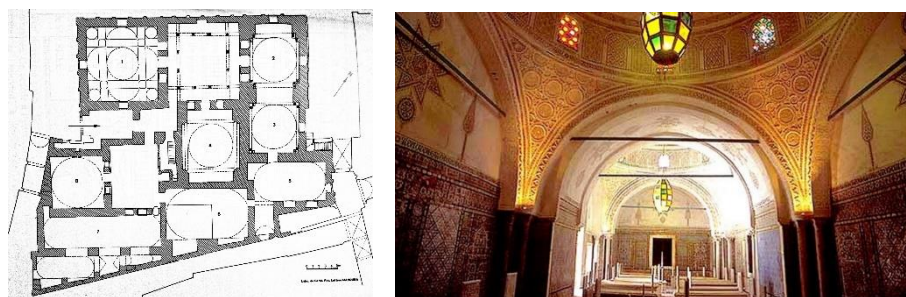


Figure 3.17 *Turbet Al-Bey*'s plan, (b) view from *Turbet Al-Bey*, (a) Saadaoui, 2010 and taken from INP, (b)¹³

¹³ <http://tunisiens-de-france.com/tourbet-el-bey-lauguste-pantheon-de-la-dynastie-des-husseinites/> put online on 16th of June 2016 and seen on 25th of February 2017.

3.3.3. The Medina of Tunis as a symbol of engraved collective memory: Cultural authenticity appealing for modern day events

The normal processes of change in today's modern societies endanger a community's ritual practices and skills as well as built cultural forms. This implies a strong norm that both singular architectural expressions and significant group traditions should transcend the socially-shaped limits of time. However, this seems achieved in the Medina of Tunis with its different hubs of bazaars. The Medina's bazaars could preserve traditional patterns of individual ownership and an unusual longevity of shops and streets. Today, the medina of Tunis is an architectural symbol that has a considerable significance for the Tunisian national identity. It has an influential role in the shaping and understanding of living-world reality for the Tunisian history. However, as by Anton Escher and Marianne Schepers, this trait didn't ever exist, it was formed slowly [34].

Several habits existed in the Medina in old times but disappeared presently. What remained is only perceptual memories recorded through oral testimonies. One of the most detailed descriptions of traditional disappeared habits and small trading activities is the Tunisian poet's, Chadly Ben Abdallah's, notes. According to his descriptions several authentic habits existed in old times like 'Al-Guerbeji' (figure 21) who is a water seller who used to hang around the Medina's streets selling water by calling habitants of the locality. His name is taken from 'Guerba' which means the jug of water that used to be transported from one home to another. Beside this function, Chadly Ben Abdallah talked about the 'black gold' seller; the petrol seller who was once distinguished by his typical outfit 'Al-Kadroum'. This figure also disappeared in the modern world (figure 21).



Figure 3.18 (a) Al-Guerbeji, water seller [37, p.17], (b) Petroleum seller and his 'Kadroum' [37, p.20]

It is true that such traditional functions and such traditional rituals disappeared from the Medina's physical scene, however, they stayed engraved in Tunisians' memories. Thus, the Medina's authentic traditionalism is still resisting; it is still reflected upon through recalls actions which are according to Astrid Erll, 'an identity formation processes like it had been explained in the second chapter [16]. It is this collective remembering which is still enforcing the sense of place in the Tunisian Medina. As claimed by Ibrahim Mostafa Eldemery; place exists spiritually in people's minds as memories. He also thinks that identity becomes interesting when it is related to experience, evoking memories [18].

This undying identity of the traditional Medina appealed several modern artists who saw on it the ideal physical platform for modern artistic events. It became common to live international artistic events inside the spiritual city walls of the Medina. Two examples of events, which ravished the original mixture between modernity and traditionalism were organized in central Medina, i.e. 'Dream City' and 'INTERFERENCE'.

The first one of the mentioned events is a modern art biennial considered as a beneficial alternative in the Medina's resistance. In fact, under 'L'art Rue' association, the Medina has succeeded in forging a new type of relationship between artistic work and the general public which, in turn, contributed to the realisation of a reconciliation between the people and contemporary art. This modern event housed in the traditional Medina had also supported the economy by stimulating commerce in Tunisian cities and towns whether through increased patronage of restaurants and or the sales of traditional handicrafts [46].



Figure 3.19 (a) Dream city event¹⁴, (b) INTERFERENCE event¹⁵

The second mentioned event which was recently initiated and which had marked the Medina's traditional aspect is known as INTERFERENCE. In fact, it is an international light art festival based on series of improvisations combining video footage, sound and recited texts and it is considered as the first and biggest light festival held in north Africa. The audience as well as light designers and urban planners were invited to join in.

This light art festival was based on using the Medina's streets and blind ways as well as its traditional architectural monuments to compose artistic pieces. As described by Sabina Von Kessel, an INTERFERENCE artist, culture can be transmitted from one generation to the next through the city as a social organism; *"in a city population is concentrated and unavoidably gives rise to, and depends on, certain features of social organization that are described as "urban"* [47]. Sabina Von Kessel saw in the Medina's traditional allure a stimulus to combine visual and acoustic monuments to compose a multimedia piece. In fact the main purpose from choosing the Medina as platform for such event was to transmit a message; *"lights will illuminate the Medina's walls and will give a shining image of Tunisia, the country where people's will cannot be stopped because of need and where none is ready to leave* [48]."

It can be opined that the Medina of Tunis is nurturing an identity mixture, where modern day artistic events are shaping new experiences inside the spiritual city walls; modern arts are expressing the community's 'psyche' of culture. Different lived experience vacillating between modernity and attachment to traditionalism inside the Medina's peripheries can be brought forward. In fact, besides aiming to avoid slow down degradation, the Medina's safeguarding attempts are turned to a considerable interest on cultural revalorization; *"All the Medina with its monuments must radiate like a cultural pole of great value* [50]."

3.4 First site reading: A part from the Tunisian Medina's bazaars

Since the area of the Medina is considered as relatively big according to the two main bedestens of Istanbul Grand Bazaar, only a specific area will be studied. As it was

¹⁴ <http://mawred.org/uncategorized/stories-along-the-journey-2012-2013/>>, visited on 15th of January 2017

¹⁵ <http://intunis.net/portfolio/kurt-laurenz-theinert/>>, seen on 15th of January 2017

mentioned in the first chapter, what stimulated this study is the changes that were noticed in the bazaars functional organization and immaterial traits with a specific way. In fact, lived experiences in traditional covered bazaars are also influenced by the quick development of universality concept or what is in general called globalization. The Tunisian Medina had seen its spatial configuration changing slowly affecting the bazaars initial state.

What enhanced the choice of this site reading with a specific way is that in the times of their establishment, the bazaars of the Medina didn't have to adjust to the problem of circulation of important flows of people neither of cars trying to pass even if the streets are narrow. The whole spatial configuration of the Medina was done in a spider form having the Zaytouna mosque as an anchor point. In fact, streets were intentionally made exaggeratedly narrow to provide a kind of privacy of the area. None from exterior can easily cross the city walls to get to the heart of the souks. However, slowly after some changes resulting from the great urban development under the Ottoman Empire and followed by the French protectorate, first coach started to be used followed by cars. Thus, it became problematic to think about getting inside the central Medina using a vehicle. It became difficult to move inside souks even by walk during the day. On one hand, traders' carriages full of products are creating a big problem in pedestrian's circulation, whereas on the other hand, the number of visitors is increasing day after day. Besides all of this, due to the historical trait of the surrounding exterior area of the bazaars, no parking place could be provided.

Apart from that, the medina's history is a mirror of collective memory; it is there where the Ottoman Empire started to build a new urbanity following a mixture between Hafsid architectural principles and Ottoman ones. It is also there where the influential French colonization started and finished. Besides this it's being a residual space, the Medina is also a "particular space": it is one cradle of Islam's Arabic trait.

Jallel Abdelkafi described it as a "the historical space" [33] of Tunisian agglomeration. And it was just after the end of the 19th century that a new city had been established beside the old Medina, a new centre of Tunis which was defined as the colonial centre.

3.4.1. Urban context of the Medina's chosen area

The access ways to the central Medina are local roads easily accessible for pedestrians. The whole central Medina is connected to the outside by its pedestrian arteries.

Therefore, a sense of continuity between the Medina and its immediate urban context is present through pedestrian experience. It can be said that the structure of the bazaars has continuity to the city structure. There is no exterior facade creating a separation between the new capital established in the colonial period and the old city center arranged around the Zaytouna mosque.

The main connection points between interior and exterior are the central Medina's two main gates, "Bab Bhar" from the east and "Al-Kasba" from the west. These main entrances control the passage, select the view and choice of being exposed. However, only "Bab-Bhar" gate is still remaining in its traditional appearance. Other gates have also been kept, like "Bab-Bnet", "Bab-Alkhadhra", "Bab-Laasall", "Bab-Souika" but only the previous two main gates are objects of interest in this study since the chosen area is located in their axe.

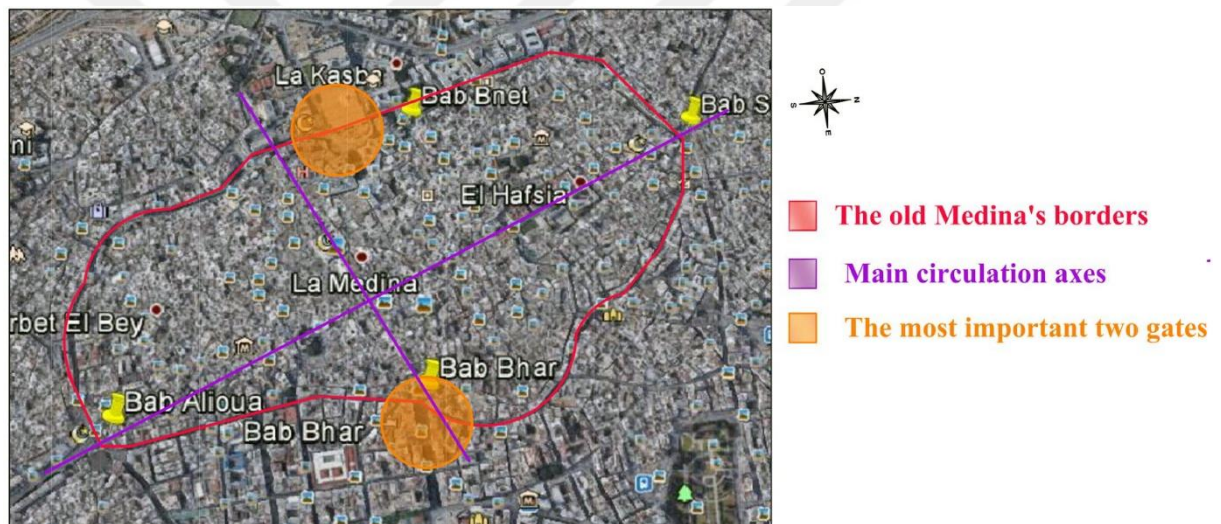


Figure 3.20 Borders and main gates of the central Medina, developed by author after Google earth

The chosen area is located in the 1/3 part of the axe passing from "Al-Kasbah" and reaching "Bab-Bhar", around "Al-Zaytouna" mosque and where most of the covered streets are concentrate. The area's location is considered as a sensitive place since it is joined to the Prime Ministry's building, "Dar-Al Bey" which has kept its function from the time of its establishment by the first Mouradit Beys in the 16th century [31]. This border is known as "AL-Kasbah" which was established by Almohads from the mid of the 12th century. This regency palace was considered as a separate small city because of its important size; 1/14th from the whole Medina's area at that time [32].

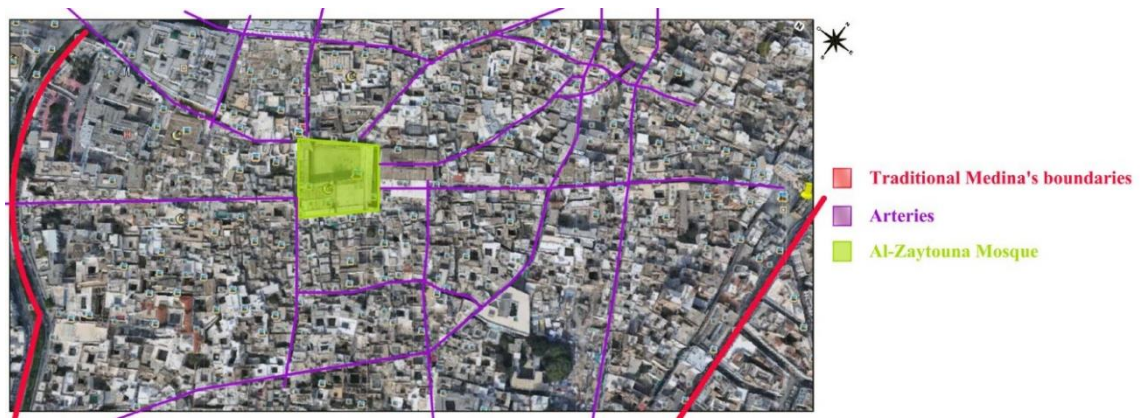


Figure 3.21 Immediate urban context of the chosen area, developed by author, taken from Google earth



Figure 3.22 (a) The bazaars area (b) Boundaries of the central medina in 1906

(a) developed by author, (b) [29]

3.4.2. Spatial configuration of the chosen area

The method that will be followed in analysing the two chosen cases is based on Kevin Lynch's linkage theory: [51]

About the linkage theory, Maki defines three different formal types of urban space: compositional form, mega-form, and group form. The compositional form consists of individually tailored buildings in abstract patterns that are composed on a two-dimensional plane. In this type of urban form, spatial linkage is implied rather than overt and is typical of functionalist planning methods. In mega-form, structures are connected to a linear framework in a hierarchical, open-ended system where linkage is physically imposed. A group form results from an incremental accumulation of structures along an armature of communal open space, and linkage is naturally and organically evolved. (Trancik Roger, 1986) [52, p107].

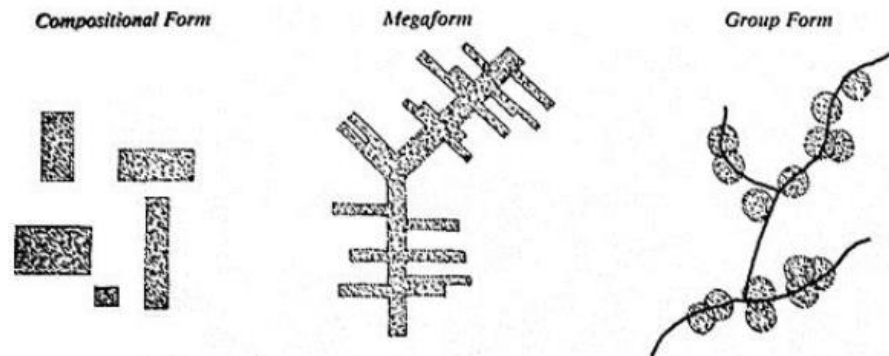


Figure 3.23 Spatial linkage's three types. Trancik, R. 1986, p. 107.

The chosen sites and their visits make up just a part from the central Medina's sites that can be included. It has kept its original spatial configuration which is in a spider form; showing both "mega-form" and "group-form". Being under control and safeguarding of the Association for Safeguarding of Medina or ASM, the whole surrounding area of "Al-Zaytouna" mosque had kept some traits from its traditional aspect. Thus it can be noticed that its arteries remained almost intact. And as described by Abdelkafi, the traditional urban weaving was in a specific time of the Medina's development and was not suitable for traffic and was presenting an obstacle for the capital modernization attempts. Thus, many urban renovation attempts had been enforced like breakthroughs, cuttings, aerations and demolitions [33].

Some of those modifications had been useful and contributed to the improvement of the historical urban space. Some, however, were found to be counterproductive and were hence discarded. As he said *"Despite dilapidations, smashing and mutilations, historical space is yet asserting its existence."* It being still a habitation, work and consumption space which is enough alive to prove the improbability of its disappearing. *"A social and economic dynamic is inside, enhancing a new urbanity of the historical space [33]."* And as it can be noticed in the figure, the Medina is still showing a centrality around "Al-Zaytouna" mosque, from which several pedestrian arteries are bifurcating.

As it can be noticed from the figure 3.23, most of the Medina's bazaars are concentrated around "Al-Zaytouna mosque". However, not all of them are covered.

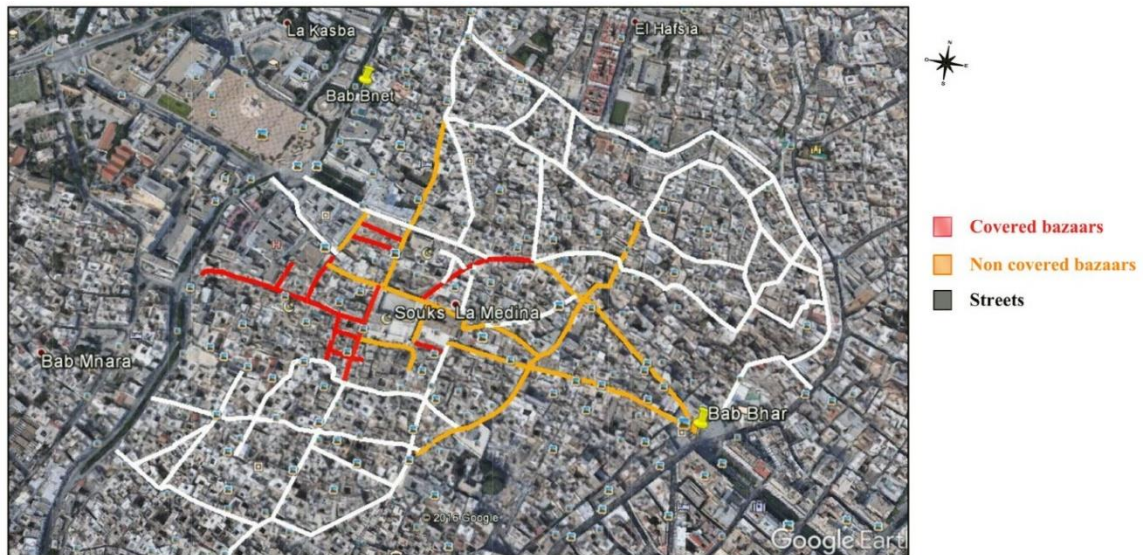


Figure 3.24 Spatial configuration of the central Medina

Developed by author after Google earth

3.4.3. Functional organization and noticed changes

According to Zoubeir Moulhi, several parts from the central Medina started to change function since 2000 when a better interest was given to the area's value in the touristic field. Thus, many damaged homes, workshops and depository spaces took another function [45].

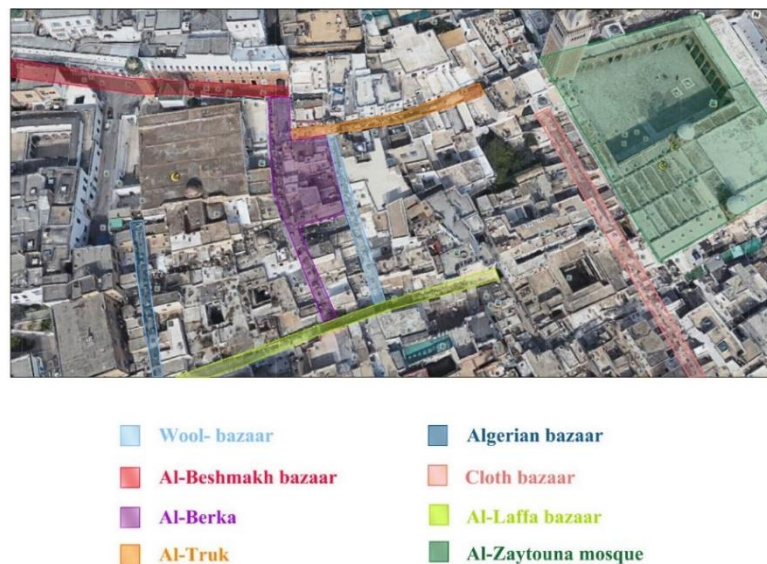


Figure 3.25 Functional organization of the chosen area, developed by author after Google earth



Figure 3.26 The chosen areas and the associated different bazaars, developed by Ahmed Saadaoui. Mapped by author

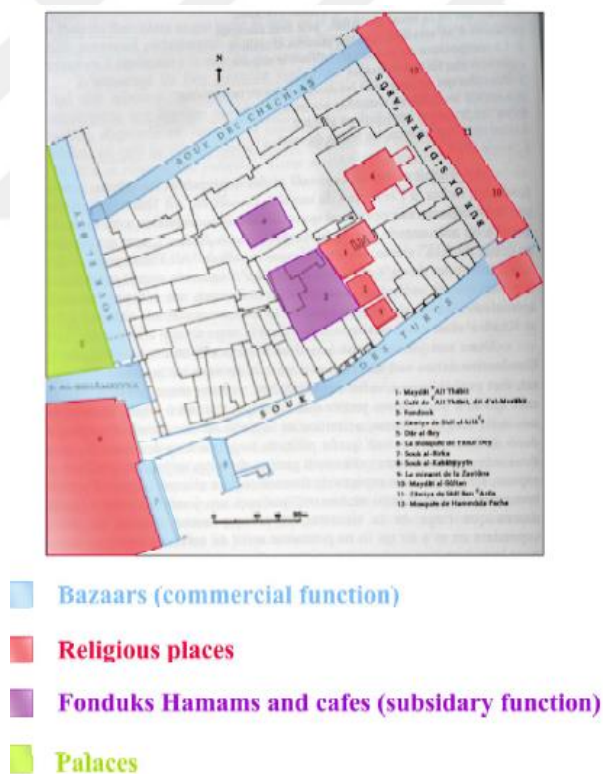


Figure 3.27 Functional organization of the chosen case, developed by Ahmed Saadaoui. Mapped by author

A lot of facilities subjected to tourists appeared like cafes. Many old homes became luxurious guest houses or restaurants like “Dar-Eljild” which was once an old Ottoman “Dîwân” [31]. As it can be noticed in the previous plans, the chosen area has several

religious places, hammams and cafes and several public services that are making the artery a space full of life.

Although the covered streets of the Medina's bazaars existed from the Hafside times, they flourished the most during the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the evolution that will be explained in this site will be starting from the first Ottoman Deys and Beys.

By September 1574, Ottoman soldiers coming from Istanbul with Sinan Pasha's fleet took control of 'La Goulette', coastal part of the capital Tunis. A pasha from Algeria was nominated to represent it and who became in direct contact with the Sultan from 1587. First Beylerbeys of the regency like Haydar, Rajab, Jafar, Mustafâ, Hasan, Mouhammed, Husayn Pasha had not left any important architectural realization.

From 1587 till the end of the century, the Medina suffered from conflicts between Spanish and Turks over the annexation of the region. Slowly it had been totally taken by Sinan Pasha, Don John of Austria, Khay al-Din and Charles Quint. After that they started by repairing the city walls, renovated 'Al Kasba' which was transformed to 'Diwan', the Pasha and Dey's residence [31].

As by Ahmed Saadaoui, Pashas regime finished by 1597 and it is at that time when the Medina's reconstruction started under 'Uthmân Dey'. After him started the power of Yüsuf Dey whose regency lasted 27 years. It is said that the Deys' domination attended its apogee with him [31].

The chosen area had been mostly defined under Yüsuf Dey's regency, between 1610 and 1637. This study focuses on the same period. In fact, one of the most important changes in the Medina under Yüsuf Dey's power is that he tried to use Andalusians' knowledge in crafts and urbanism. In fact, it was from them that the famous traditional Tunisian wool cap was taken and for which 'Chechiya' *souks* were established. It dominated the local economy and enhanced exports to close countries. Besides this new craft, with Andalusians' coming, even silk weaving owed a bazaar. They brought ornamented ceramics and excelled in plaster decorations too.



Figure 3.28 Bank branch in Al-Trouk bazaar

Many of them exit nowadays especially in Yūsuf Dey's mosque which developed the urban organization of all its surrounding area. Thereby, it is around this monument that till nowadays existing bazaars were established.

‘Al-Trouk’ Souk: One of the chosen area's bazaars is ‘Al-Trouk’ souk, the Turkish bazaar is one of the most important covered bazaars of the Medina. It is relatively long and is relates the Zaytouna mosque to Yūsuf Dey mosque. In the times of its establishment it was 6m wide, a paved street with a median gutter. It is in this bazaar that tailors can be found in a continuous number of shops, in a street covered with bulrush.

As mentioned by Ahmed Saadaoui, by 1670 under Shabân Khûja Dey, the cover was replaced by a wooden frame. This frame had been recently replaced by vaults. However, those vaults as it can be noticed in the figures, had not totally kept the old traditional aspect since electricity and air cooling cables are placed with a hazardous way.

Although it can be noticed in the figures that some traditional aspects could be conserved like the doors of the shops, some new traits are figured out. In fact, some old shops or depository spaces were transformed to bank branches or to new touristic shops.

All the shops were preceded by built benches supported with columns from identical structure and joined to Yūsuf Dey's mosque. However, it was noticed that those bunches were blocking the circulation fluidity in the bazaar, thus under Hammuda Pacha by 1800, they had been totally removed [31].



Figure 3.29 (a) Left: entrance of “Al-Trouk” bazaar, (b) right: electricity and air cooling cables in the bazaar’s roofs, developed by author taken on 20th of July 2016

In the beginning of the 16th century, this souk was considered as the most beautiful and most organized. It is noticed that this part of the Medina’s bazaars has components subjected to the public use like the two fountains. In fact, one of them was placed in the beginning of the bazaar, connected to the minaret of ‘Al-Zaytouna’ and the second was in the end of the bazaar connected to an aqueduct.

Thereby, it is said that ‘Yüsuf Dey’ restored ‘Al-Nugra’ capture of water which was established in the surroundings of the capital from the 15th century. People came to know about the existing fountain of this bazaar through a transcription found in the ‘Belvédère’ park, out of the central Medina. However, this fountain is not existing anymore and although it was an important part of the whole bazaar’s traditional image, it had been removed.

As said by Saadaoui, ‘Yüsuf Dey’s minister ‘Âli Thâbit’ established in the same artery of the Medina, a ‘maydât’, a public lavator and ablution place and beside it he opened a cafe which was subjected to ‘Habous¹⁶’ [53].

This cafe still exists in the same bazaar and with a renovated aspect. What is special in this space is the existence of one saint’s grave in the middle of the space, covered with bulrush [31].

¹⁶ As explained by Khalfoune Tahar, The “Habous” is a “*part and parcel of the Islamic Shariah, Habous is the legal act through which personal property or realty, either from individuals or from the State, is bequeathed to a charitable or public interest organization.*”



Figure 3.30 (a) entrance of Al-Mourabit cafe restaurant, (b) The cafe from inside¹⁷

‘Al-Bshâmkhiya’ Souk

Beside ‘Al-Trouk’ Souk, Yûsuf Dey established ‘Al-Bshâmkhiya’ souk. This bazaar surrounds Yûsuf Dey’s mosque from three sides, east north and west. It is considered as a part from ‘Al-Trouk’ souk. It was formed from 10 shops only all subjected to the production of traditional Turkish boots ‘bashmakh’, derived from Turkish ‘pashmak’. This kind of product is wore by women, men and ‘fakîh-s’ religious men. It is also called ‘Kaysarî’, when its colour is yellow. However, nowadays it has moved to ‘Al-Zaytouna’ avenue.

This artery from the Medina was a habitation area which became the traditional bazaar and the symbol of the main touristic way leading directly to the Medina’s centre. The original location of this bazaar became just a passage street free from any kind of commercial activity. And being extremely close to the government’s locals, it remained maintained and well protected from all interventions that can affect its historical sense of place.



¹⁷ www.tripadvisor.com seen on 16th of August 2016

Figure 3.31 (a) View of Yüsuf Dey's mosque from "Al-Bshâmkiya" bazaar, (b) Location of the bazaar according to "Al-Zaytouna" mosque, (a) provided by author on 16th of July 2016; (b) Edited by the Tunisian national tourist office

'Al-Laffa' Souk

This pass bazaar is under people from Jerba Island. In fact this city was known for wool and silk production. This bazaar specialized in wool clothing and covers like, 'Buros', 'Haïks', 'Jubba', scarfs and belts made from wool. It has also a 'Founduq', residence place for those who come from the island for their business in the capital. Due to the extinction of woollen traditional clothes, the commerce in this bazaar lived a crisis. Thus, less workshops survived. Most of them became jewellery shops and others kept selling the famous 'Jubba', which can never lose its value.



Figure 3.32 (a) Souk "Al-Leffa in 1929"¹⁸, (b) Souk "Al-Leffa" presently (b): Provided by author on 23th of July 2016

'Al-Berka' souk

It is situated in the heart of the Medina and established after 1610, under Yüsuf Dey. In that time it was a black slave bazaar where plugs can also be found. It still exists but in its transformed function. In fact, by 1846, a decree about the slavery abolition had been announced by Ahmed Bey the First. After that, 'Al-Berka' had been converted to a jewellery and auction point. It remained in its old state till nowadays; only its eastern entrance opening to the 'Kasbah' had been renovated by 'ASM' after 2000 [45].

¹⁸ <http://tunis-et-region.com/villesgolftunis/tuniscapitale/tunis1929souk.html>>(b): Provided by author on 23th of July 2016

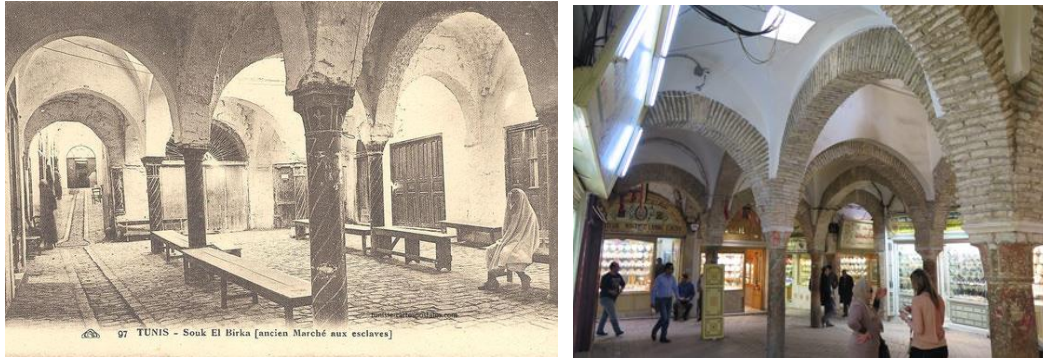


Figure 3.33 (a) “Al-Berka” bazaar in the end of the 19th century¹⁹, (b) “Al-Berka” presently²⁰

This souk is a crossroads of four streets. Their intersection forms a small area divided by three pathways marked by two rows of columns. Those columns are supporting the vaults covering the space. Shops are all around the central area.

As was described by Ahmed Saadaoui, *“the bazaar of such commerce is always ornamented with human products since unsatisfied owners of slaves decide to resell them easily [31].”* And sometimes it’s the slaves themselves who ask about being resold and retaken to the bazaar. This had animated the souk’s movement; it was an active bazaar where commerce was properly working. Although it was at a time when 10% from the Medina’s population were Jewish and Christians [33], and they were not allowed to own slaves. This kind of commerce concerned Muslims only. Selling slaves used to be according to auctions and with an emulating manner; every chosen slave had to be showed to all the bazaar taken by hand and walking in all the area.

By 1846, Tunisia lived the slavery abolition under Ahmed the First. Thus, the bazaar was transformed to a silver and precious metals trading place.

However, it kept its spatial configuration. Even marks of ropes with which they used to tie the slaves still apparent on the columns.

¹⁹ <https://www.tunisie-cartespostales.com/la-m%C3%A9dina-de-tunis/>

²⁰ <http://www.delcampe.net/>



Figure 3.34 (a) Central area of the covered bazaar, (b) Ropes marks in columns, provided by author on 20th of July 2016

As it can be noticed in the figure 3.33, the old existing benches were removed to make the circulation easier but the whole structure remained the same. Even the four gates are kept and they still been used till nowadays. Since the products sold are precious, at nights the gates close. And like the other covered bazaars, it has a problem of electricity cables hanging out from all sides, making it risky. In this area, even pavement has been changed since it is one of the oldest existing covered bazaars in the Medina.



Figure 3.35 (a) Restored roof of one street from “Al-berka” bazaar, (b) Newly restored roofs, (a) provided by author on 20th of July 2016; (b) [45]

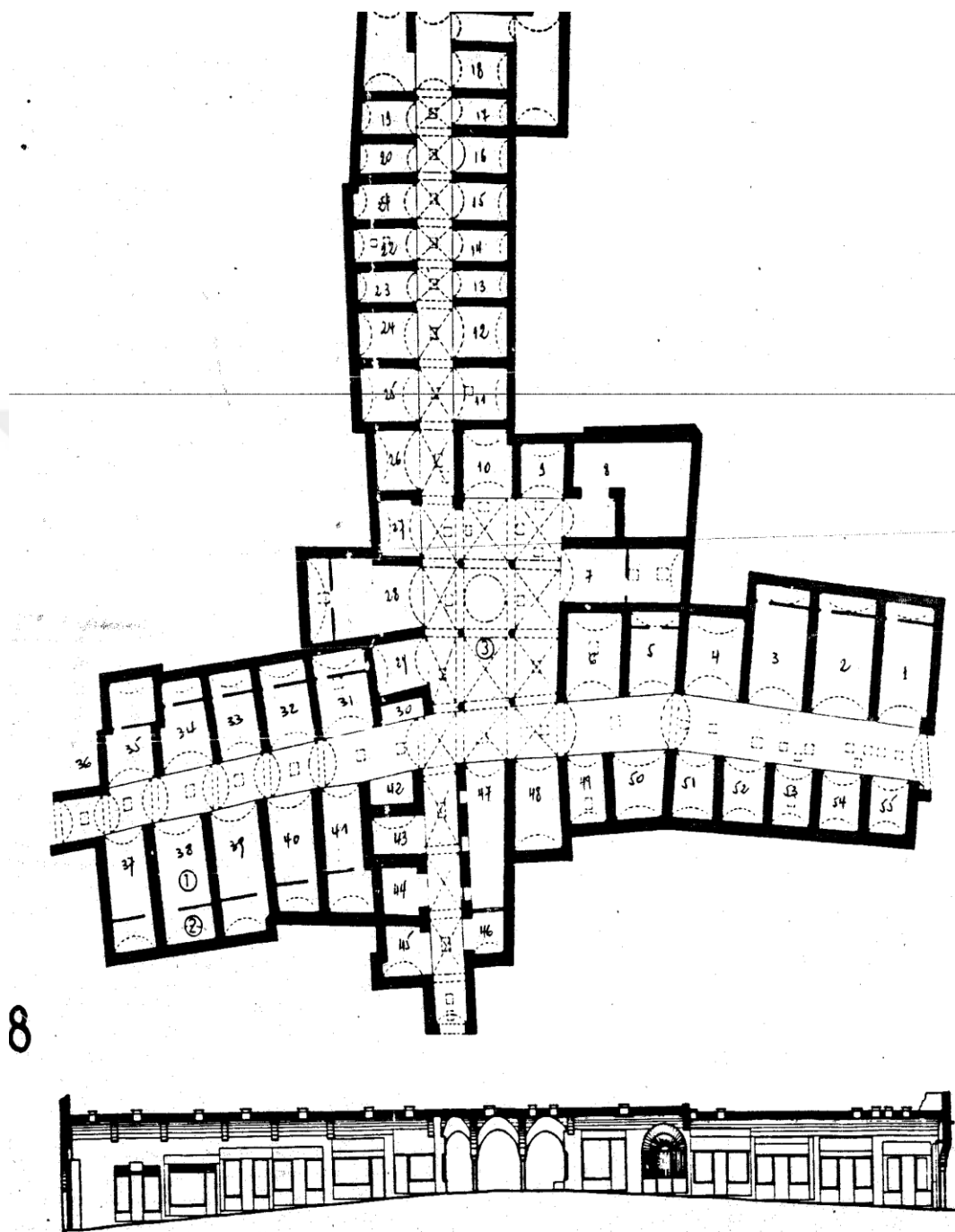


Figure 3.36 Plan and elevation of “Al-Berka” bazaar established in 1987

Provided by ASM (Association of safeguarding of the Medina. This plan is provided in full scale in Appendix at the end of the document.)



Figure 3.37 (a) A small artery from “Al-Berka” bazaar, (b) Main entrance from “Al-Trouk” bazaar, provided by author on 20th of July 2016

3.5 Chapter’s conclusion

According to MEDNETA²¹ project overviews, the Medina’s bazaars are running a risk of artisans’ migration to other jobs due to the degradation of product quality and business profitability. This happened due to competing Asian low cost products and the random availability of raw materials. This is without forgetting the shift of some craftsman from shops to old *Founduqs* and to some residential buildings. Despite those facts, several bazaars like ‘Al-Berka’ or ‘Al-Truk’ still reflect upon a collective treasure of local Tunisian community; an engraved collective memory forming the bazaars’ identity.

It can be concluded from this chapter that although the Medina’s main bazaars changed with a relative way, they are still reflecting social lived experiences like slavery and its abolition, the cafes and their role in socialization, the Zaytouna mosque and its being the most prominent religious center in the whole Medina. In fact, although the spatial configuration of several arteries has changed in the central Medina, it is still showing a potential power of place; it is a living landscape with common sense of place. Subsequent sections indicate that it had been noticed that Istanbul Grand Bazaar’s streets are also still hiding the same traditional atmosphere inside the series of shops.

This fact is resulting from the Medina’s being a site of memory or like Pierre Nora calls it, a significant ‘lieux de mémoire’. It is a site of social remembering, as Asrid Erll qualifies it, a site of ‘intergenerational memory’, reflective of a society’s heritage [16].

²¹ Explanation about MEDNETA project can be found in Appendix-A

The medina's history looks like a mirror of collective memory; it is there where the Ottoman Empire started to build a new urbanity following a mixture between Hafsid architectural principles and Ottoman ones. It is also there where the influential French colonization started and finished.



ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR: A REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE OF TRADITIONAL COVERED BAZAARS

“This world of roads is neither symmetrical nor geometrical It is a disorganized, or if the idiom fits a ‘romantic’ structure.” - Çelik Gülersoy

4.1. Typology of Turkish covered bazaars and history of Istanbul Grand Bazaar

Being the world biggest covered Bazaar, Istanbul Grand Bazaar marked the history of Turkey’s trade activities. *“Established in 1454 under Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (1451-81), the Grand Bazaar has for centuries served as Istanbul’s commercial center and continues to operate as an important civic hub, [54]”*. With the beginning of the Turkish dynasty, it was considered as a new appearing identity under the leadership of the court over a Byzantine background. However, some recorders consider that its history has not completely been recorded and that there are only sparse accounts and sections about the subject. Several historians and theoreticians in architecture had talked about Turkish covered bazaars. Some had seen that there is less recorded information about ancient bazaars dating back to the Uyghurs times. Gündüz Özdeş can be given as an example. As reported by Çelik Gülersoy [55], according to Gündüz Özdeş there is less information about squares and marketplaces of ancient Turkish cities since those last ones haven’t been archeologically studied like Greek and Roman civilizations.

However, one important fact distinguished about Turkish covered bazaars is that they include three type of buildings which are respectively, Bedesten, Arasta and Han. However, since the present research will be based on just one type of building, ‘bedesten’, it will be further described in detail. As classified by Mustafa Cezar, bedesten has several different types.

Bedesten with cells: in this type of bedesten, the interior space is divided into numbers of rooms similar to Medresa rooms (cells). These cells have doors which open to the

middle section of the bedesten. The bedesten of Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul (Eski, yeni and Galata bedesten), are considered as the main bedestens with cells in Turkey [56].

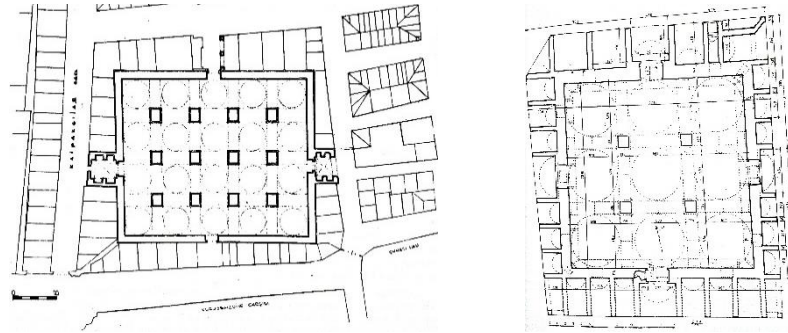


Figure 4.1 (a) Sandal bedesten in Istanbul Grand Bazaar, (b) Galata bedesten in Istanbul

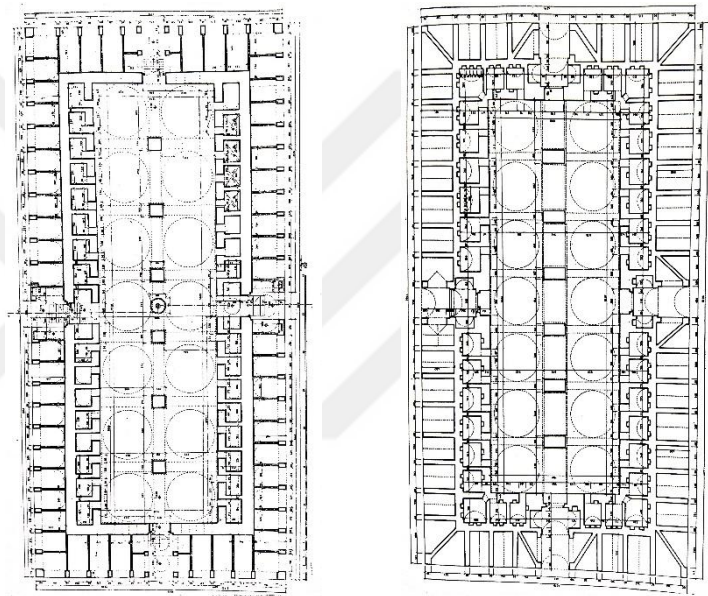


Figure 4.2 (a) The Yıldırım Bayazıt Bedesten, Bursa, (b) Edirne Bedesten, Cezar, M. 1983, p. 169, p. 173

The bedesten with shops outside: Such bedestens comprise the likes of the bedestens of Manisa and Tekirdağ, Serez bedesten. This type of bedesten has an empty inner space and shops outside. The interior spaces of these buildings functions as a bedesten and the shops arranged along the outside of the main walls are subjected to retail business [56].

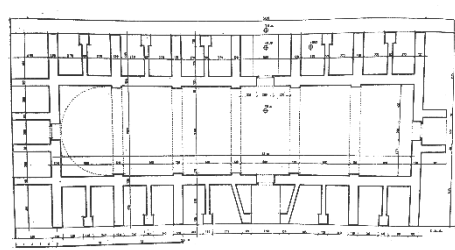


Figure 4.3 Rum Mehmet Pasha Bedesten, Manisa, Cezar, M. 1983, p. 128

The Arasta- Bedesten has two rows of shops standing face to face on both sides of a street. It is possible to qualify them as arastas if they were not used as bedestens. One such example is Geldik Ahmet Pasha Bedesten in Kutahya [56].

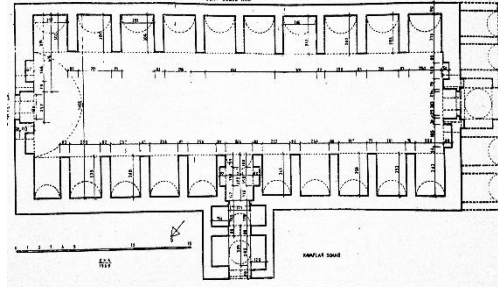


Figure 4.4 Geldik Ahmet Pasha Bedesten, Kütahya, Cezar, M. 1983, p. 182

The bedesten with arasta is a building completely surrounded by arasta or an arasta occupies one or two sides of the bedesten. These establishments are architectural units consisting of both a bedesten and a bazaar section in the form of arastas like Mahmut Pasha Bedesten in Ankara, the bedesten of Vezirköprü and the bedesten of Tokat [56].

The floor bedesten, bedestens which are not built as independent buildings, generally the bedesten is in the upper one. One such bedesten is Rustum Pasha Bedesten in Erzurum, Turkey.

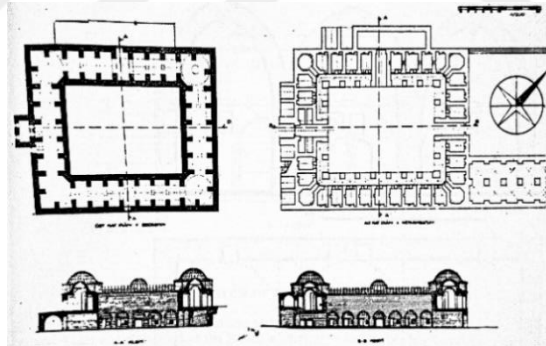


Figure 4.5 Rüstüm Pasha bedesten Erzurum, Cezar, M. 1983, p. 173

The plain and simple bedesten: generally built in small cities which has less commercial activities. The bedesten of Amasya, the bedesten of Trabzon and the bedesten of Bayburt are typical examples of this type [56].

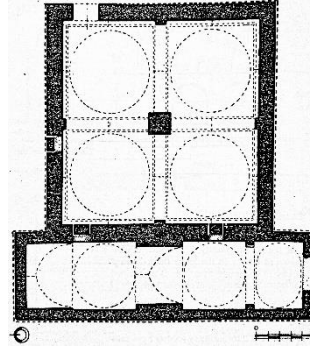


Figure 4.6 Bayburt bedesten, Cezar, M. 1983, p. 173

Arasta: The aforementioned second type of existing Ottoman commercial buildings is Arasta which “consists of a row of shops or two rows on both sides of central street or passageway”, and it can be whether a single building like the Egyptian market or within the hub of market streets in a covered bazaar [57].



Figure 4.7 Sultanahmet Arasta, Istanbul²²

A deeper insight on the Grand Bazaar’s establishment history will be presented in this part of the research. As it can be noticed through the figure (47), by the end of the 19th century, the main covered streets around the old Bedesten, were already defined. One can therefore safely assume that the Grand Bazaar was a great institution and urban fabric established precisely in the center of the empire and which continuously played the role of a manufacturing site. The exact number of shops in the Bazaar cannot be quantified as it is continuously changing but according to Sharon Whol, “in approximately 75 acres it contains roughly 4,000 shops and 61 streets [54].”

This trading area is daily visited by a number of people varying between 250.000 and 400.000 [58].

²² <http://www.gezilmesigerekenyerler.com>> put online on 2015 and seen on 24th of February 2017

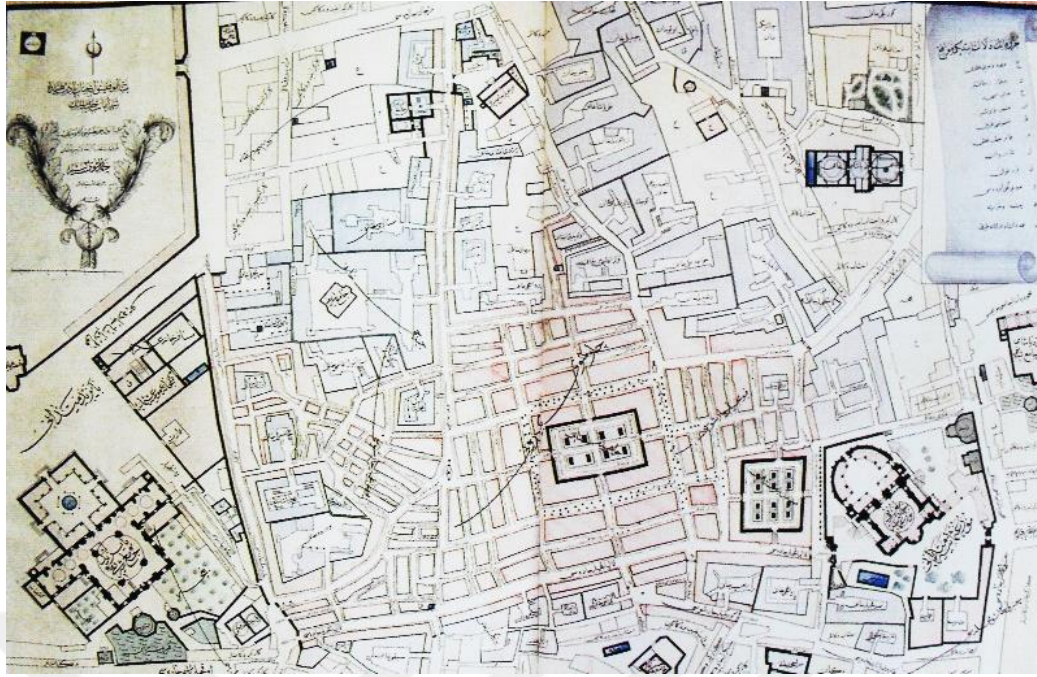


Figure 4.8 A layout of Istanbul Grand Bazaar in the 1880's, By Mostafa Cezar (Cahit Kaya Istanbul Haritaları, s.128, TSKB publications, 1990) [59, p296].

4.1.1. Trading activity in Turkey from Assyrians until the beginning of the Turkish Ottoman empire

The trade history of Turkey in general and Istanbul, in particular, dates from the Assyrians' colonial age, the pre-Hittites who had established several trading colonies at several Anatolian cities and where the main business was metals [60].

It is true that they had started with agriculture only, however, around 1300 B.C an emergency for other new activities like craftsmen and merchants had been felt. And to make the trading easier, they started recording on clay tablets the details pertaining to their activities. Then they started the exchange of valuable goods and after that they excelled in algebraic operations [59]. All those aspects made Assyria, which is extending from Euphrates and Tigris River, a corner stone in the history of Turkish trading activity. As by Önder Küçükerman and Kenan Mortan, *"the Assyrians occupied a position of prominence as the first representative of organized trade in Anatolia [59]."*

As mentioned by the United States representative Gregory McMahon, it is by the 18th century B.C. that Hittites dynasty started and followed the trade activities which had previously flourished under Assyrians [60].

After that Uyghur, settled between China and Persia, constituted the bartering²³ activity. And it is believed that those commercial activities were reflected on the old Turkish cities' structures. From Mesopotamian civilization, temple courtyards and areas created outside town gates were subjected to barter and trade [59].

After Hittites trades activity, the Seljuk one started to flourish. Powering over 11th -13th century, they began from Konya and provided a transition into the Ottoman synthesis. As it is mentioned by Mustafa Cezar, there is no specific information saying that Istanbul Grand Bazaar was from the beginning covered.

It is also said that this commercial district had existed even before Turkish conquest of the end of the 14th century. As by Cezar, information on Constantinople during the 7th and 8th century showed that city streets and commercial centers were always provided with 'Revaks' but they were not a structure forming a covered bazaar [56, p97].

The concentration of the central Bazaar of Istanbul around a bedesten is a Turkish feature in which shops were having a wooden structure. Thus due to the nature of the materials used for its construction, the bazaar lived several destroying fires. With the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, the Bazaar had lived structural changes preventing from fire damages.

4.1.2. From the Ottoman empire until after westernization of 1839

The Grand Bazaar evolved over a period of two hundred and fifty years. The core was the 'Cevahir' Bedesten or the 'old Bedesten'. Its construction started in 1456, by Fatih Sultan Mehmet and the building was endowed to the Waqf of the Hagia Sophia [56]. The first part which had been built was the 'İç Bedesten' (Inner Bedesten). At the same time many shops were built around 'Cevahir' Bedesten, a domed building forming the core and the oldest part of the Bazaar. Around it were established several 'Caravansarais' or Hans. The second Bedesten 'Sandal' had been established under Suleyman the magnificent whose regency lasted from 1520 until 1566 [61]. And it can be said that it is in the times of this Sultan that the bazaar had been officially established.

It was throughout the 18th century that the word 'çarşı' started to be used as meaning 'covered bazaar' [56]. As per Cesar , *"on the basis of historical records it is possible to confirm that the famous bazaar of Istanbul was turned into a covered bazaar in 1701"*

²³ Bartering: exchange (goods or services) for other goods or services without using money.

[56]. As by Mathilde Pinon-Demirçivi [62], it is at this time when the bazaar had been covered with masonry domes. This change had been decided by authorities after the damaging fire of the 3rd of December 1701 [56].

In fact, as it is reported by Cezar, the Kaymakam of Istanbul held a meeting with the notables of the city to discuss about possible solutions preventing the bazaar from fires. And it had been decided that the place should be constructed of stone and bricks instead of wood and covered with vaulted roofs. After approval of the Sultan, the Bazaar was ready by September 1701 [56]. However, although its structure had totally changed to brick and stone, it lived other destroying fires. The first was on 31st of March 1750, then two others were in 1766 and in 1791 [59].

It was announced by Cezar, that “*the reconstruction of the bazaar in masonry and as a covered bazaar would naturally reduce the risk of fires*” Although they won’t reduce damages through earthquakes [56]. In fact, this traditional building lived two damaging earthquake in 1766 and in 1894. After them several vaults melt and left some streets and Hans out of the Bazaar. After the earthquake of 1894, the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul faced a major renovation that transformed its plan and dimension; the number of its vaults has also decreased and the remaining one had been reinforced with iron plugs. New gates had been added during this renovation which made the Bazaar at once, safe and adapted to the new role of Istanbul in broader context of world economy [63].

A significant portion from the bazaars’ vaults had been restored by 1898. Although its structure had been changed, it again lived two other destroying fires in the beginning of the 20th century, in 1943 and in 1954 [59]. The damages, however, had been quickly repaired without changing the spatial configuration of the Bazaar.

In the nineteenth century, the influx of European machine made devastated local manufacturing and at the same time treaties allowing cheaper circulation of foreign products were advanced. Thus the trading center of Istanbul became open to the capitalist world [63].

As reported by Andrea Duranti, in 1838, a treaty facilitated the connection of Istanbul to foreign capitals which animated the Grand Bazaar’s activities [63].

Zafer Toprak also talked about the Anglo-Ottoman treaty for the “underdevelopment” or the “dependency” of the late Ottoman Empire. It can be considered as the turning point in the making of modern nation-state. In fact, according to him, the Tanzimat

economy can be integrated into Turkey's modernization paradigm, which is reflected in terms of urbanization [64].

What can be deduced is that this new regime had created duality in the Ottoman Empire's economy which reflected upon the changes in the trade activities inside the Grand Bazaar. Thereby, mass consumption started, the quality of consumer goods increased and public amenities in urban centres improved [64]. This means that the 1838 treaty opened new perspectives to commercial milieu. As a result, the Grand Bazaar's functional organization had to adjust to the modernization waves; a libertarian atmosphere dominated commercial activities which affected positively the urban and bourgeoisie life in port cities with Istanbul being one of them [64].

4.2. Urban context of Istanbul Grand Bazaar: from Ottoman trade center to a touristic attraction centre

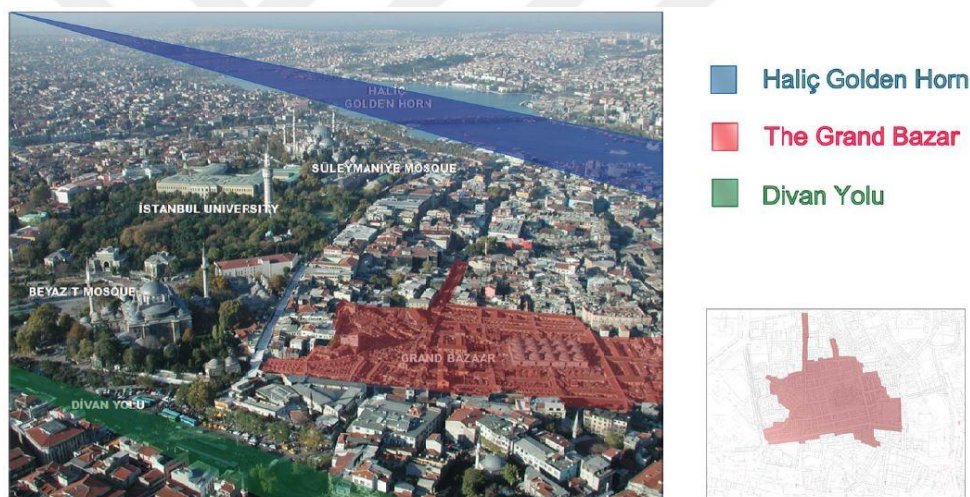


Figure 4.9 Istanbul Grand Bazaar's urban context, developed by author

Under Mehmet II, Istanbul was endowed with the traditional building associated with social life within Islamic urban centre [63]. In fact, the Istanbul historical district is formed from three subdivisions that vary in character and which had been mentioned by Önder Küçükerman as the port area, the Khan districts which starts from port and moving south and the third lies between Nurosmeniye and Beyazıt encompassing the Grand Bazaar district [59].

Starting from Eminönü and reaching Divan Caddesi, this business district remains in the same place from the beginning of its development until presently; and it is connected to

the most important port in Istanbul. It is also in direct connection to the two bridges of Galata and Golden Horn.

4.2.1. Istanbul's urban development from the Bazaars' establishment till nowadays

Istanbul's Historic Peninsula has been at the center of the 8500-year-old capital city through the Byzantine and Ottoman empires and modern times. Its urban structure had always reflected an Islamic lifestyle [59]. Istanbul historical city was concentrated in the European side; nearly all of it was located on a peninsula to the south of the Golden Horn, an inlet off the Bosphorus [65]. And as mentioned by the American urban planner Wendell Cox, by the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, the city's urban development marked a peak especially in the area neighbouring the Golden Horn:

By 1550, the population had risen to 660,000. At the time only Beijing was larger (690,000). At that point, the city walls (the present district municipality of Fatih) and urbanization north of the Golden Horn amounted to an estimated six square miles (15 square kilometres), for a population density of approximately 110,000 per square mile (42,500 per square kilometre). [65]

In fact, the Ottoman period which lasted from 15th till 19th century, is seen as a big span in time; it is certain that during this course beside the urban growth, trade activity underwent changes in Istanbul. Nevertheless, it is still sensible to view this time frame as a unified one in comparison to the later periods of Turkish history.

It is within this period that Istanbul became a cluster of trade activities; the capital had started to face an urge to restore the whole urban planning especially after the official establishment of Istanbul Grand Bazaar in the middle of the 16th century.

In fact, with the moving of the capital from Edirne to Istanbul, the state structure underwent reorganization and the core of artisans was one of the elements which was assigned an extreme importance [59].

By the 17th century, as Europeans took control of new sea trade routes passing the Middle East and diminishing the transits through Ottoman lands, the Ottoman Empire's trade balance got affected. What made things be further damaged is that the empire lived wars with Iran during the same span of time which interrupted the silk trade [66].

Losses and wars during the 17th century resulted in an attempt to reform during the 18th century by Selim III. In fact, it was considered as the first conscious borrowing of European culture and art which is known as 'The Tulip period'.

Then, in the beginning of the 19th century, this same reform had been again applied under Sultan Mahmud II [66]. This period presented an anchor point in the urbanization flourishing in Istanbul; this ‘Tanzimat’ attempt presented a new shaping opportunity for the urban sphere and social relations in the Ottoman territory. Thereby, cultural structure, communication and transportation systems adopted a Western lifestyle [67].

As it was mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, by the 19th century and after the ‘Tanzimat’ of 1838, Istanbul saw several devastated fires. This fact had opened the way to the rebuilding of neighbourhoods according to the new regulations pre-screened by the westernization attempts. In fact, as mentioned by Sevin Aksoylu, Istanbul was the first city to feel the consequences of the ‘Tanzimet’ reforms in urban development. In fact, it has been seen that the damaged areas after fires are ideal empty space where a new Istanbul’s urban image can be implemented (Aksoylu, S, 2016) [67].

Around the middle of the 20th century, Istanbul saw a rapid urbanization, industrial growth and important flows of illegal immigration which made it impossible to create holistic plans for the area. Traffic volume was high, especially on the roads along the coastline and surrounding the peninsula [68].

Urban development of the capital Istanbul was noticeable from after the Second World War until 2010. It can be said that the westernization movement had effects on the rapid transformation of the urban fabric in Istanbul. The fusion of the westernization along with the centralizing reform into the city structure was by means of urban management and physical reformation of the urban fabric which had to follow the modernization principles of the 19th century. And as described by Sevin Aksoylu, the whole country was transformed by the new network of railways and roads:

The application of the reform regulations and projects in Istanbul resulted in the imitation of the straight and wide arteries of Paris and patterns adopted from contemporary European trends [67].

It makes it easy to conclude that the reform attempts had prepared a better immediate urban context for Istanbul Grand Bazaar as it became further accessible with several transportation ways

4.2.2. The bazaar’s gates and immediate urban context

Istanbul Grand Bazaar is situated in Beyazit district, in direct connection with the old Topkapı palace.

Founded four hundred years ago, the bazaar entrance at Beyazid, which is the main one, is graced by the imperial emblem of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, as described by Önder Küçükerman, “*God loves the one who conducts trade*” [59]. Subjected from the times of its first construction to trade activities, the Bazaar still show an eagerness for a flourishing commerce.



Figure 4.10 Istanbul Grand Bazaar’s immediate urban context, (Google Earth)

The Bazaar can be accessed through 21 gate²⁴. As it can be noticed in the figure (3.5), several gates are surrounding the Bazaar’s four borders which is giving it a direct connection with its immediate urban context.

It can be opined that the bazaar’s urban context enhanced a better access for touristic flows of people. According to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, around 2013 Istanbul was one of the main touristic destinations in Turkey, (10.5 million). This implies that Istanbul Grand Bazaar saw a peak of tourists during this same period.

²⁴ Although the number of gates is giving with a different way in several references; some are saying it is 19, some others are saying it is 21. Field works showed that 21 gates are existing in the Bazaar.



Figure 4.11 Istanbul Grand Bazaar's 21 gate and the two bedestens, (Google Earth. Mapping by author)

4.3. Spatial configuration and functional organization of Istanbul Grand Bazaar: from the two “bedestens” to the extended bazaar

Istanbul Grand Bazaar is a building complex consisting of sixty-one roads and having an area of nearly 30.7 hectares divided over three sections, the Inner Bedesten (the Old Bedesten or İç Bedesteni), the Sandal Bedesten and the remaining parts like the surrounding Hans, the fountains or the mosques [55].

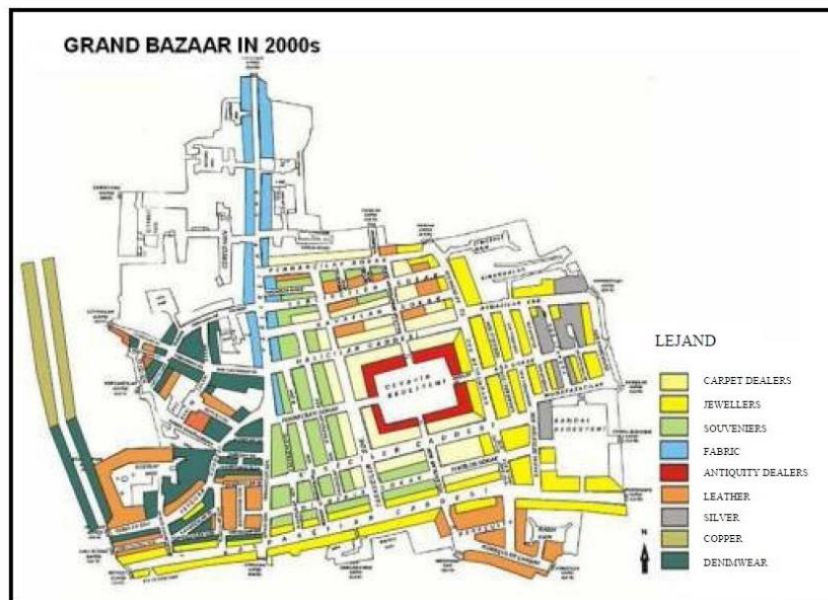


Figure 4.12 Functional organization of Istanbul Grand Bazaar in 2000²⁵

²⁵ <http://www.whereist.com/eminonu-grand-bazaar-walking-tour/>, seen on 20th of April 2016

4.3.1. The two bedestens and the hub of labyrinthine streets

Known as the Cevahir and Sandal Bedestens respectively, the two bedestens became the hub of Istanbul's commerce, and numerous stalls and shops were built around them. Actually, besides the hub of streets and the multiple shops, the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul includes ten wells, four fountains, two mosques, and several cafés and restaurants. Adding to that, around 25,000 people are permanently employed there [69].

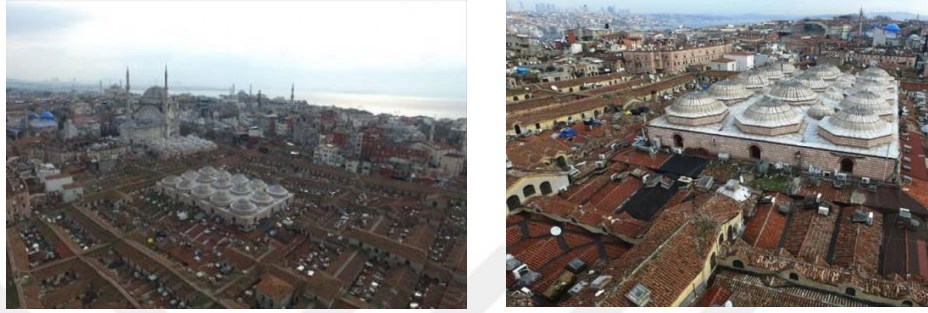


Figure 4.13 (a) Top view of Istanbul Grand Bazaar, (b) Top view of Cevahir Bedesten²⁶

Taking in consideration that ‘Cevahir Bedesten’ is a part from the chosen study case, the example of Sandal Bedesten only will be given at this level of the research. In fact, as reported by Çelik Gülersoy ‘Sandal Bedesten’ owes the name of ‘Small Bedesten’ too due to its dimensions being 40 x 32 meters.

The building is covered by twenty cupolas supported by twelve elephantine feet of 2.25x2.63 meters and four walls of 1.30 meters thickness. The number of cupolas is the highest among such Ottoman markets. The cupolas are similar to each other and have a height of 12.70 meters [...] the columns are of hewn stone, the walls of rubble and the arches and cupolas of brick. The drums of the cupolas are blind and low. (Çelik Gülersoy, 1980) [55]

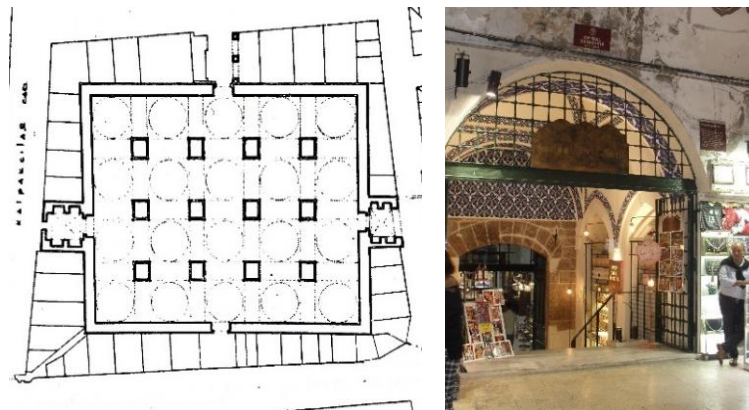


Figure 4.14 (a) Plan of the ‘Sandal Bedesten’, provided by Dr. Prof. Oğuz Ceylan [59], (b) New built stairs crated in the side of an old gate, taken by author on 18th of October 2016

²⁶ <http://www.mistikalem.com/>, put online on 14.07.2016



Figure 4.15 (a) View of the succession of cupolas, (b) Details of the building materials used, taken by author on 18th of October 2016

The bedesten's nomenclature is related to one kind of cloth woven in silk and cotton, which used to be sold there [58]. However, according to recent field visits²⁷, it has been noticed that the inner space of the Sandal bedesten contains, small shops and stands for souvenirs and delights and one neighbouring floor plan is functioning as a café.

In the middle of the 19th century, the 'Sandal Bedesten' was affected by the collapse of the local textile industry. As European industry took power at that time, Ottoman Empire's customs decreased. It is also said that even artisan's order was removed by 1912 [59], which enforced the Bedesten's transformation by the municipality to an auction room. The building was accessed by four gates, but now there are only two entrances left, one from the interior of the covered market and one from Nurosmaniye entrance. The other two gates were blocked; stairs, rest rooms and lift were placed in front of them.



Figure 4.16 (a) Lifts made inside the 'Sandal Bedesten', (b) Details of the built stairs created in the side of an old gate, taken by author on 18th of October 2016.

²⁷ Visited on 02.06.2016, 18.10.2016, 09.11.2016 and 18.01.2017.



Figure 4.17 Gate of the Sandal Bedesten, taken by author on 18th of October 2016

Through several visits to the Grand Bazaar, many modern day trends had been noticed; besides new building materials and techniques like it is presented in the figure 4.16, some capitalist marketing prerequisites can also be observed inside the bazaar's streets. As it is in the figure 4.16, although the space is authentically traditional, its reception area contained two models with modern leather works.

Besides the Sandal bedesten many other animated streets are still operating actively until presently. The example of the Sandal Bedesten Street, Bodrum Han Street, Tuğcular Street, can be given.

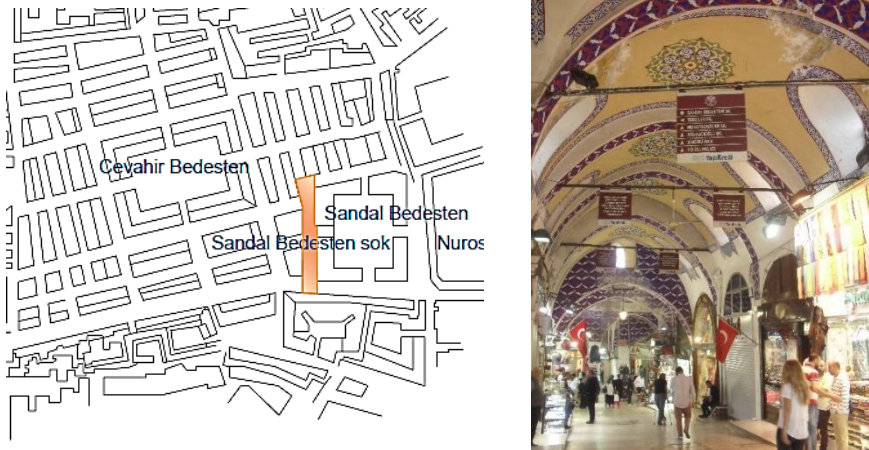


Figure 4.18 (a) Location of Cevahir Bedesten street (b) Sandal Bedesten street, developed by author on 18th of October 2016

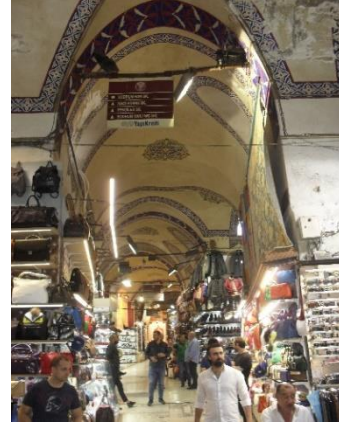
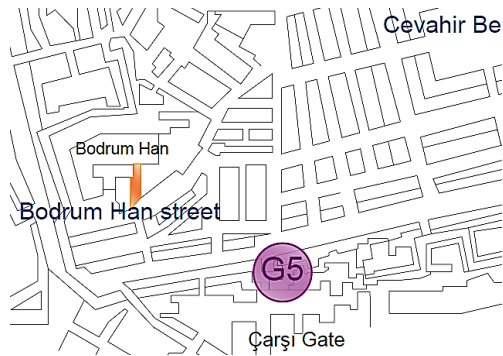


Figure 4.19 (a) Bodrum Han Street's location, (b) Bodrum Han Street

In Tuğcular Street, figure 4.20, some shops showed a capitalist world influence; products sold are neither traditional nor typically Turkish, sometimes in separate cells, sometimes in divided ones and includes products like traditional Iznik, carpet and silk works' shops.

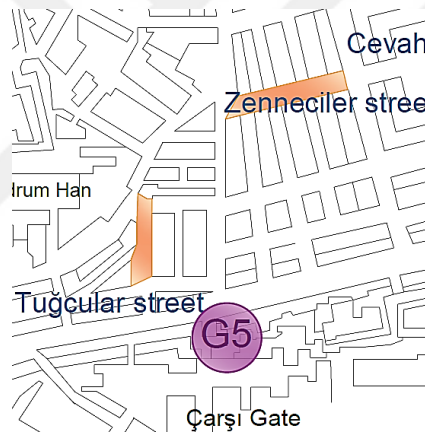


Figure 4.20 (a) Tuğcular street's location, (b) view from Tuğcular street, (a) by author after Mostafa Cezar, (b) taken by author on 7th of June 2016

4.3.2. Hans, hammams and mosques

In medieval Turkey, guest-houses were available for every class of person. Situated in the cities and at the intervals of a day's journey on the road, Caravanserais also called Inns or Hans (Khans), are typical traditional motels of Seljuks and which had been adopted later by Turkish people.

According to Behçet Ünsal, during Seljuk and Beylik periods:

In the khans and caravanserais the travelling merchant would attend to the safety of his goods and wares, to the repair of his vehicles and the needs of his camels and horses,

do his buying and selling, perform his ablutions and devotions and, a day or so later pursue his journey. (Ünsal, B, 1973) [70, p47]

Moreover, hans has two types, commercial and hospitality hans and both are translating the Ottoman Empire's kindness and generosity. In times of wars these buildings become a storage space for goods and munitions. And as it can be seen in the figure 4.21, this kind of buildings had specific architectural features according to which architectural plans are devised; the example of the strong gateway can be given. In fact, all the Hans decoration is concentrated upon it. As it can be noticed from the example of the Zincirlihan, the gateway led into a hall with vaults supported on columned arcades and covered with a flat roof.

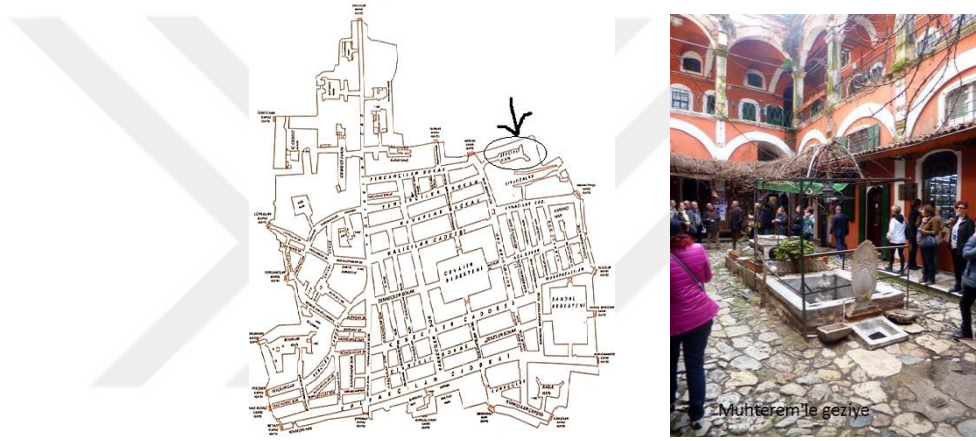


Figure 4.21 (a) Plan of Istanbul Grand Bazaar, (b) View from Zincirlihan²⁸

Ottoman Hans, which are the subject of the present case, consist of rooms arranged around a courtyard behind open arcaded galleries. Rooms are generally well lightened and equipped with shelves and resting areas. Generally Ottoman Hans buildings have two storeys made from stone or bricks. The upper is occupied by rooms and the lower is for shops and storerooms. In the middle of their courtyards, there's usually a mosque made over a water-basin (Şadıvan). It is also believed that Istanbul Grand Bazaar's Hans are market-Hans regarded as factories [70].

As it is presented in the figure 4.22, Istanbul's Hans can have three storeys. However their plans are often irregular due to winding streets.

²⁸ <http://www.muhteremlegeziye.blogspot.com.tr>, put online in 03. 2015 and seen on 17th of October 2016

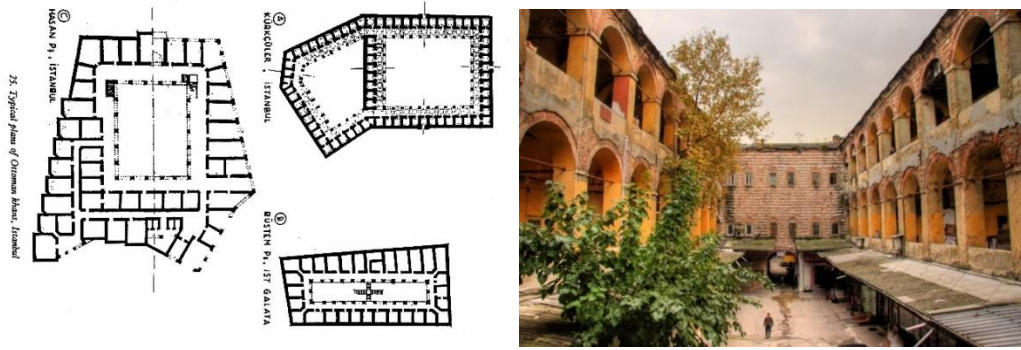


Figure 4.22 (a) Typical plans of Ottoman Hans, (b) Büyük yeni Han²⁹, (a) (Ünsal, B, 1973)

Those business buildings (Hanlar), were adjacent to the immediate surroundings of the bazaar. The major ones, as reported by Çelik Gülseroy, are Paçavracı (Rag dealer) Han, Sarnıççı (cistern) Han, Ali Paşa Hanı, Camili (Şosaue) Han, Çuhacı (Broadcloth) Han, Inner and outer Cebeci (armourers) Han, Yağcı (oil dealers) Han, Rubi Hanı, Baltacı (axe makers) Han, Sorguçlu (Crested) Han, Yolgeçen Hanı, Mercan Ağa Hanım Tarakçılar (comb makers) Han, Sepetçi (basket weavers) Han, Pastırmacı Hanı, Perdahçılar (polishers) Han, Kızlarağsı (chief black Eunuch of the harem) Han, the great and small Kebeci Hans, the great and small Safran (saffron) Hans, Evliya (Muslim Saint) Hans, Sarraf (Goldsmith) Han, Kuyumcular (jewellers) Han and Yarım Taş (Half stone) Han[55]. After the earthquake of 1894, most of those Hans had been destroyed and with restoration works, just 13 Inns remained accessible from inside the Bazaar and with no outside doors [55].



Figure 4.23 Location of the Bazaar's surrounding Hans (Google Earth)

The location of the remaining bazaar's surrounding Hans can be seen through the (figure 4.23).

²⁹ <http://www.geziko.com>, seen on 28th of February 2017

In the early 19th century, Hans were built purely as business palaces and their lodging function had been totally replaced by hotels. It can be opined that, presently the Hans acquire a more commercial character; it is more subjected to the practical needs of commercial life [70].

Besides Hans, other buildings presenting subsidiary functions are also existing in the Bazaars' surroundings; *hamam* is one such space. In fact, *hamams*³⁰ were financed by vakıf, a charitable endowment like *habous* of the Tunisian Medina that had been mentioned in the third chapter. It was a common practice of old times in the Ottoman Empire to provide income for maintaining the Sultan's establishments. Financial resources of vakıf were usually collected from non-Muslim residents of Istanbul. It was a mean with which an estate can be protected against confiscation and it is also a way to "keep property as much as possible within the paternal group".

Generally, vakıf is a practice, aiming to maintain a property, provide regular income; it is a way to have economic and political stability in the realm of the Sultanate [71].

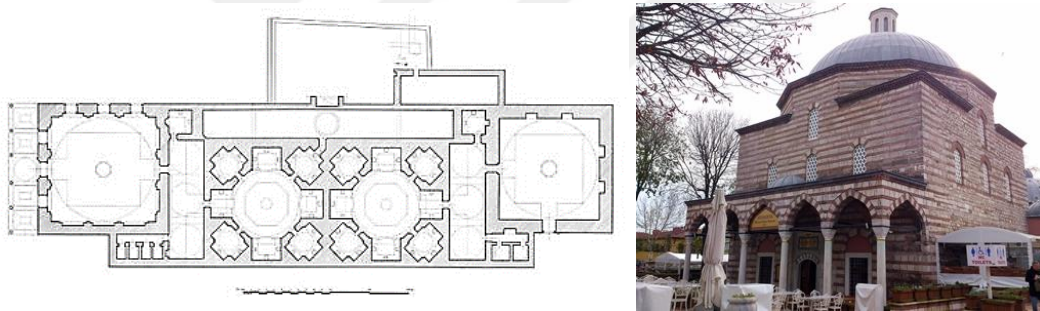


Figure 4.24 (a) Plan of Hürrem Sultan *hamam*³¹, (b) Exterior view of Hürrem Sultan *hamam*³²

Hamam used to be a distinctive part from the Turkish way of life. Thereby, Turkish women used to attend a bath in groups and celebrate all the significant events of life with friends, family members and even strangers creating a truly bathing culture of women in *hamams*.

³⁰ "Turkish hammams consist of a certain number of rooms. The main spaces are *soyunmalık*, the undressing room; *soğukluk*, a cold room (literal translation from Turkish) that in winter can be used as a dressing room. *Soğukluk* is situated between *soyunmalık* and *sıcaklık*. The next section, *sıcaklık* or 'inner hamam' is a hot room of a bath." (Kristina Smolijaninovaitė 2007, p23)

³¹ <https://www.pinterest.com>, seen on 27th of February 2017

³² <http://www.fotokritik.com/3053316/hurrem-sultan-hamami>, seen on 27th of February 2017

Besides, architecture of Turkish baths adapted some technical innovations from Romans like the gradation of rooms based on temperature. However some Islamic influences can be clearly noticed like the emphasis on undressing and bathing rooms [71, p29].

Several religious buildings existed in the vicinity of the Grand Bazaar, some of them are still functioning until presently. The example of Nurosmaniye mosque can be given; accessible through the bazaar's first gate, this religious complex has been established around 1755 under Sultan Mahmud I and Sultan Osman III. This mosque is one of the most important buildings of the Ottoman-Baroque style [72].

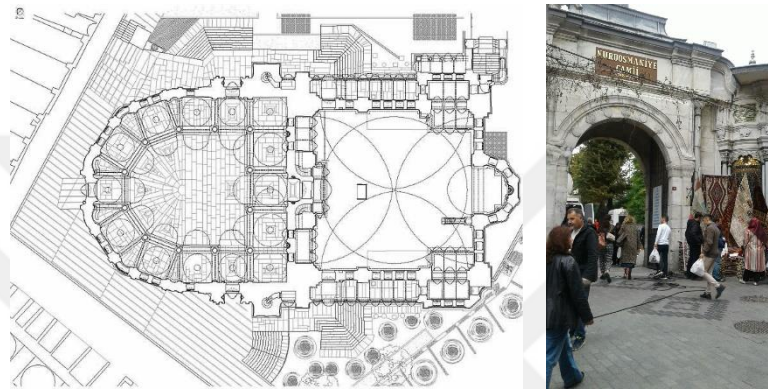


Figure 4.25 (a) Nurosmaniye Mosque's plan, (b) Nurosmaniye Mosque's gate from the Grand Bazaar, (a)³³, (b) by author on 9th of November 2016

Besides its being an important religious center, this complex had one of the rare surviving *Sebil*³⁴. Sebils were kiosks where water was distributed to pedestrians. During event celebrations, sweetened fruit drinks known as “sherbet” and fruit juice were also served. In order to serve as many persons as possible, sebils have been placed in the crowded pedestrian areas. *Sebils*, like *Hans*, again represent a witness of Turkish hospitality and altruistic behaviour which stayed engraved in patriots and visitors' memory [73].

4.3.3. Istanbul Grand Bazaar between practice and sense of place:

Istanbul Grand Bazaar had always reflected the economy, society and life outside the Bazaar whereas its architecture, its furniture, its preferences, had always echoed inside its massive walls and domes. According to Çelik Gülerseroy “*the mood of Istanbul in each period was also showed in the Grand Bazaar* [55].”

³³ <http://web.fomgrup.com>

³⁴ “The word “sebil” means “the water dispensed for the sake of god” or “the place it is dispensed” in Turkish. But, in the course of time, the word “sebil” has been transformed to a general concept for the things done for the sake of God. (Sağlar Onay et al. 2010, p2).”

As he described, when gold poured down on the throne city, the covered bazaar was also filled with gold, silver, silk and jewellery. And with the same way, when the empire fell, it was reflected in the bazaar's activities. It was once a pale mirror and once a shining one. This means that the beauty of Istanbul could watch itself through the Grand Bazaar.

As by Avni Ozgurel, Istanbul Grand Bazaar is a place full of meaningful social memory; it has been during some time a competition place between German and British.

"The Grand Bazaar remained as the focus of information trade until the World War II. During the war years, the Grand Bazaar was the place in which the employees of the German and British new organizations competed ruthlessly with each other." (Avni Özgürel) [74]

Adding to the aforementioned example, Hans' role in the Grand Bazaar's identity shaping should also be considered. In fact, several Hans existed around and inside the Grand Bazaar as it was mentioned previously, however some had left an undying collective memory. The example of 'Valide Han' can be given as it had survived during a considerable period of history of the bazaar.

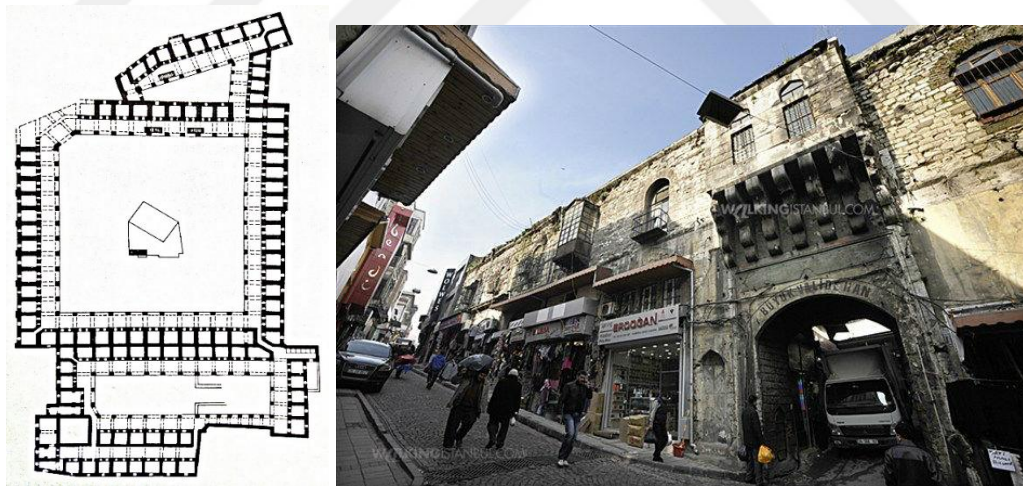


Figure 4.26 (a) Valide Han's plan, (b) Gate of Valide Han in its current state, (a) Duranti, A, 2012, p235), (b) ³⁵

Valide Han or Khan of the mother was established by Kösem Mahpeyker Sultan (mother of Sultan Murat VI (1640-1648)) before her death in 1651 [62]. Valide Han is the largest Han in Istanbul and is accessible from Çakmakçılar Yokuşu through a massive portal.

³⁵ <http://www.walkingistanbul.com>, seen on 06th of March 2017

After passing through an irregularly shaped forecourt as it is in the figure 4.26, a large courtyard centring on a Shiite mosque can be found. This mosque was built when the Han became the centre of Persian trade in the city by the 19th century [63].

As reclaimed by Andrea Duranti, the 19th century is seen as the Golden age of the Valide Han; it is at that time when the resumption of commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and Persian-Azribijani started. In fact, a bilateral trade's treaty had been signed in Erzurum by 1823. Then, Persian silk trade has been enhanced through the restoration of the route Tabriz-Trabzon-Istanbul by 1830. Few years later, in 1847, consulates were allowed to settle in key cities which transformed the Valide Han to an Iranian consulate and business center at that time. Slowly the number of Iranian' increased to reach 4000 families in the beginning of the 20th century. Then with the flux of westernized thoughts brought by the Tanizimat period, Persian living in Valide Han got influenced and attempted to reflect this in the modernization movement of Iran. It is described by Andrea Duranti that western political ideologies that determined the birth of the Iranian constitutional movement started from Valide Han.

Besides the influential role of Persian merchants on the Iranian political regime in the beginning of the 20th century, powerful ambassadors introduced even the celebration of the *Ashura* as a striking ritual. It became a kind of useful diplomatic tool as several ambassadors of different countries took part in the celebration. Thus, it can be opined that Valide Han played a pivotal role in the Persian community's culture spread [63].

Recently, Valide Han has experienced renewed interest from researches from many disciplines who are seeing in it a building worthy of protection for future generations. The example of one recent project, provided by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), can be given; a study implemented by four Turkish academicians³⁶ from different universities. In this study of place making where Valide Han has been analysed, restoration proposals of five students has been given.

Istanbul Grand bazaar operated over five centuries and left an engraved collective remembering act furnished with different events and rituals. And as said by Attila Özbey:

³⁶ Project Leader: Prof. Ayşegül Baykan, Yıldız Technical University; Project Team: Assoc. Prof. Belkıs Uluoğlu, İstanbul Technical University; Assist Prof. Zerrin İren Boynudelik, Yıldız Technical University; Researcher: Burak Sevingen, Doğuş University. (<http://buyukvalidehan.yildiz.edu.tr>)

“ ... and I became exhausted. I am tired! How neglected I look and how sick I am inside ... However, I can raise you up from the place you knelt down. I can put the dress of culture on you and make you join to the dance ... All you have to do is to remember ... ” (Attila Özbey) [75]

However, although its resistance, Istanbul Grand Bazaar is living a risk of “*corruption of identity* [75]”. In fact, due to the globalized way of life, people became less interested and dealt in purchasing only what they need for daily use; they are submerged by waves of big shopping malls’ tendency.

As reported by Oktay İkinci, current tradesmen of the bazaar are still loyal to the site’s cultural resistance. They even arranged a conference titled “*The Grand Bazaar is searching its future*” under the Grand Bazaar Tradesmen Association in İstanbul Chamber of Commerce on February 11-12 of 2005. During this event, the worrisome effect of modern shopping malls on the Grand Bazaar’s resistance had been discussed. Despite this capitalist world threat, it can be reclaimed that the Grand Bazaar is an undying source of alive memories; several traders are seeing in it a self-identification realm.

4.4. Second site’s reading: “Cevahir” Bedesten and its surroundings, Istanbul Grand Bazaar

Istanbul Grand Bazaar is originally built to be used as a trading center. Since the present site is a part from an already described area; the focus in this part of the research will be only on the functional organization and spatial configuration of one bedesten and its surrounding in Istanbul Grand Bazaar.

4.4.1. The chosen space’s special configuration and ‘bedesten’ nomenclature’s meaning

As by Gündüz Özdeş the origin of the word bedesten comes from bezistan or Bezzazistan which changed by time to bedesten or bedestan; “*bez=bezze means fabrics of goods taken as spoils of war* (Gündüz Özdeş, 1998)”. Bedestens are said to be covered ‘çarşıs’ built for sale of fabrics or textile and transformed later to purchase and sale of antiques and precious goods [76].

Bedestens owed a great importance during the Ottoman Sultanate. Bedesten was the place where merchants’ valuable imported wares, textiles of value were safely stored and sold.

It is also the center where the resident merchants conducted their financial transactions and organized their caravans and commercial sea trips. It is the place where all sorts of valuables belonging to individuals like jewellery and money were safely guarded under state protection [57].

‘Cevahir’ bedesten or ‘Eski bedesten’ is a bedesten with cell; the oldest type of bedestens built in the large cities with intensive commercial activity. In this type of bedesten, the interior space is divided into numbers of similar small rooms (cells). These cells, have doors which open to the middle section of the entire space, large enough to be convenient for shopping or displaying of goods. Thereby, the Eski Bedesten of Istanbul, is classified as one of the main Ottoman bedestens with cells [56].

It is true that there was a doubt in determining the architectural features origin of the old Bedesten as some historians tried to proof that this building was Byzantine. One of them is Osman Nuri Ergin whose postulations had been recorded by Çelik Gülersoy [55]. According to him, Mehmet II the conqueror took Byzantine buildings and established them as pious foundations. However, last contemporary historians of art are admitting that the two Bedesten are works of Ottoman architecture. As it can be noticed in the figure 4.27, Cevahir Bedesten or the Inner Bedesten (Eski Bedesteni) is a building covered by three rows of fifteen domes resting on pointed archs supported by 8 tetragonal bases. *“The cupolas rest on four walls of 1.5 metres and on eight massive columns of 4.35x2.45 metres and also on the vaults covering these.”* (Çelik Gülersoy 1980) [55, p14]



Figure 4.27 (a) Plan of Cevahir Bedesten, (b) Cevahir Bedesten's main gate, (a) Mostafa Cezar 1983, p176, (b) taken by author on 09th of November 2016

The columns are from hewn stone, walls are from one layer of brick and one layer of smooth rubble stone. The height of the cupolas are similar to each other, only a difference of few centimetres. The height of the central cupola is 14.89 meters. The inner area of the building is 1336 m²; 45.3x29.5 meters and it has four gates; Sahaflar (second hands book sellers), on the northern side, Takkeciler (skullcap sellers) on the southern side, kuyumcular (jewellers) on the southern side and Zenneciler (women's clothes sellers) on the western side [55, p14].

As described by Çelik Gülersoy, in the old classical order of settlement, forty-four cells or shops existed, these were called “mahzen” (cellars). They were ventilated through one hole at the highest point of the four sided inner vaults [55]. In fact, the building was naturally lightened and ventilated through single window of 1.5x1.75 metres, found in a high level in the walls as it is in the figure 4.28. However, artificial lightening ways enforced a new appearance in the Grand Bazaar's roofs and shops' facades.



Figure 4.28 (a) Lightening tools inside the bedesten, (b) Cevahir Bedesten's windows, (c) electricity cables in the bedesten's one leading street, taken by author on 18.10.2016

Presently, the aforementioned cellars turned into shops arranged with a regular way like it is marked in the figure 4.29. However, shop configuration is continuously changing which created confusion in counting the existing number of shops. In fact, it can be possible to find one shop taking the space of three shops and numbered for example 95-97. Understanding this fact³⁷ is drawn and presented in the figure 4.30.

³⁷ It could be possible to understand this fact after a confusion which lasted several hours of observation which ended by a recommendation of one craftsman there. He reclaimed that the number of shops is always changing and that it is not frequently updated. It means the aforementioned existing number of shops is approximate.

What had been noticed through the field study is that several shops were empty; as described by the existing shopkeepers, due to the high renting prices, some shops had been abandoned.

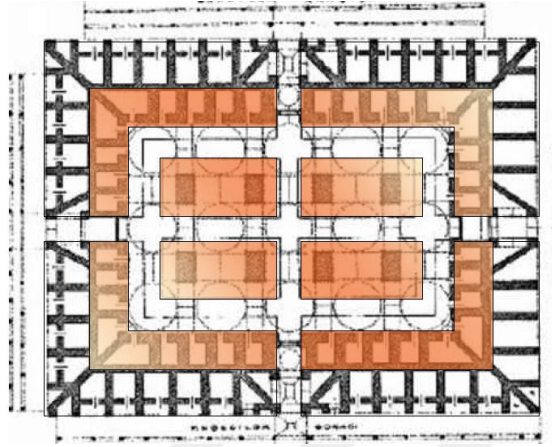


Figure 4.29 Spatial organization of Cevahir bedesten, by author after Mostafa Cezar

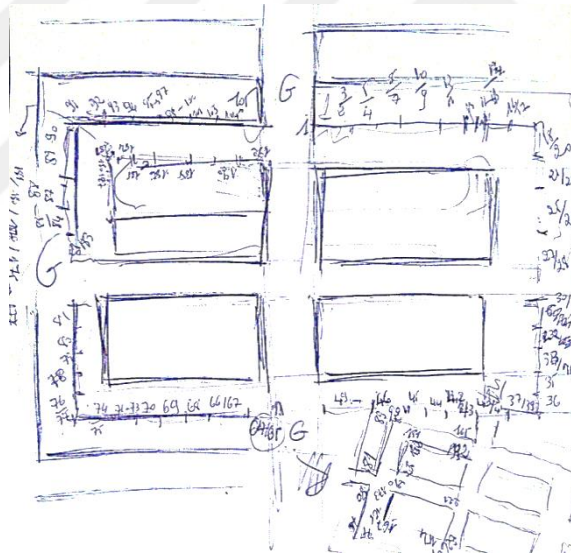


Figure 4.30 Current spatial configuration principles inside the old bedesten, by author

Referring to Kevin Lynch's linkage theory previously explained, one can say that the chosen site has features of both "group-form" and "mega-form" partly based on a grid pattern. As it is was described in the beginning of this chapter, a sense of order is created in all the bazaar's area as a result of the continuity throughout all circulation spaces. And this trait resulted from space orientation of the whole bazaar which follows two main axes: a north-south one which connects the street to the Süleymaniye Mosque and an east-west axe between Nuruosmaniye and Beyazıt streets.

4.4.2. Functional organization

According to the field study established, it has been noticed that in the whole bazaar almost each street is devoted to a particular trade activity, so the streets' nomenclature reflect the dominant function in it. The considerable number of shops in Istanbul Grand Bazaar implies the dominance of commercial function rather than other subsidiary functions. As it is presented in the figure 4.31, functions present in Cevahir bedesten are basically goldsmith, carpet and antiquity dealers.

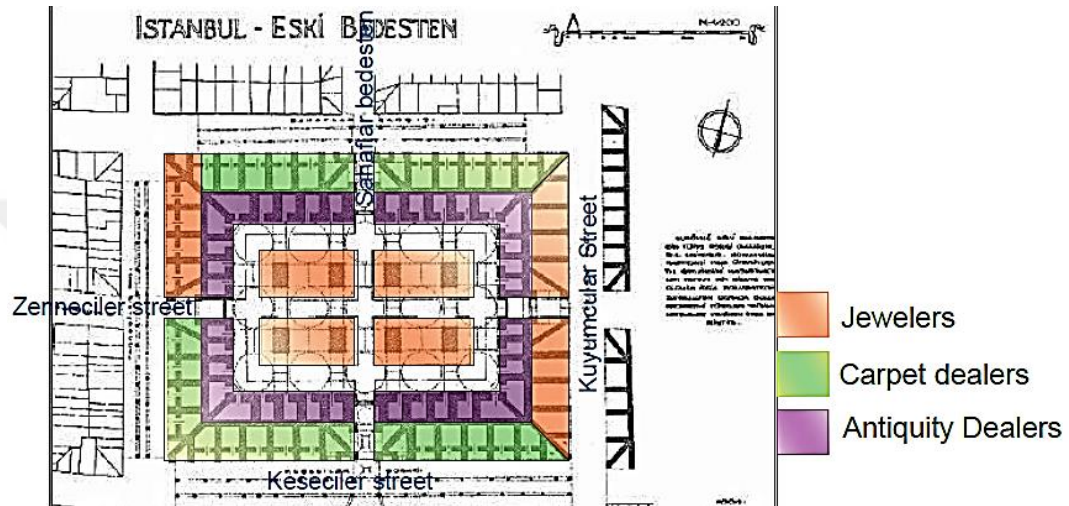


Figure 4.31 Recent functional organization in the Inner Bedesten (Mostafa Cezar)



Figure 4.32 Cevahir bedesten from inside, taken by author on 18.10.2016

In old times, the central area of the inner bedesten was not containing shops like it is the case presently. As it is in the figure 4.32, narrow passage streets are left between arrays of shops with height a bit more than half of the whole space's height. It is true that glazed facades and shining jewelry are giving the space a glance of modernity, but the

conservation of the same cupolas and walls gives the space an authentic traditional allure. Combined with the auditory perceptual experience, a complete immersion in the past can be seen. In fact, as long as once pass inside Cevahir bedesten, sounds of hammers on copper, carvings on wooden objects can be heard. The bedesten as well as its surrounding streets are having similar atmosphere and functions. Thereby, many streets' main function mutated like it is the case of *Terziler Street*; it is not for tailors anymore, it became a multifunctional street where jewelers, souvenirs and different fabric shops can be found.



Figure 4.33 (a) Terziler street in the 19th century, (b) Terziler street recently, (c) Terziler street in the 19th century, (a) by author (b) by author taken on 3rd of June 2016, (c) Çelik Gülersoy, 1980

Besides, *Terziler Street*, several other surrounding streets to Cevahir bedesten presented a similar atmosphere and a similar functional organisation. One of them is *Zenneciler* which was subjected to sellers of shoes and clothes for women. Presently this street includes shops of souvenirs, some jewelers, some antiquity dealers and *Iznik* sellers (colorful pottery and ceramic tiles produced in Iznik, a town in Turkey). *Kolancılar* Street is another neighboring street to Cevahir bedesten which is famous for different kinds of souvenir shops.



Figure 4.34 (a) *Zenneciler* Street's location, (b) *Zenneciler* Street, (a) by author, (b) by author taken on 3rd of June 2016

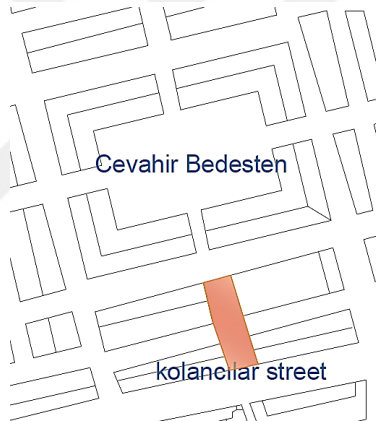


Figure 4.35 (a) *Kolancılar* street's location, (b) *Kolancılar* street, (a) by author, (b) by author taken on 3rd of June 2016

4.5 Chapters' conclusion

On July 14, 2016 a restoration of the Grand Bazaar's roofs has started after six years of project preparation. After seven months of meticulous efforts, water tanks, were lifted from the roof and the process of replacing air conditioners and satellite dishes were done carefully and in accordance with plans to avoid causing visual pollution and damage to the architectural identity [77]. This implies that a prospection for planning the physical existence of the covered bazaar is in process.

Besides, after analysing the bazaar's spatial configuration and functional organization, it can be opined that although some globalization noticed threats like the sold products' change and the vanishing of some other products; lived experiences are still resisting. In other words, the shopkeepers and craftsmen's collective remembering act is still giving to the space an authentic traditionalism that cannot distinguish under the capitalist word. In fact it has been noticed during several visits that a lot of craftsmen are refusing to move from the bazaar; they reclaimed that the bazaar's lived atmosphere projects them into the past. In fact, some discussions with curious craftsmen showed that they are seeing the bazaar as an identification space. One from those crossed people is M. Can Kubilay shop N°187's owner said "I cannot see myself somewhere else". (Kendimi başka yerlde düşünemiyorum). He reclaimed that the bazaar's attachment to the past keeps him and the special relation between shopkeepers and tea rituals between shops are such small details that are making him still attached to his shop inside the inner bedestens, although the current crisis and the low selling rates affected him financially.

**COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN TWO AREAS FROM
ISTANBUL GRAND BAZAAR AND THE MEDINA OF TUNIS
BAZAARS****5.1. General comparison between Istanbul Grand Bazaar and bazaars of The Medina of Tunis**

Through this part of the research, a general overview about the differences and common points in the two cases will be presented. As it had been mentioned in the first chapter, the present comparative study is mainly based on analysing the both cases in terms of urban context, spatial configuration following Lynch's theory, functional organization and size.

Table 1. General overview about the two cases

	Istanbul Grand Bazaar	The central Medina of Tunis
Urban context	Interwoven into the city	Interwoven into the city
Spatial configuration	Grid and labyrinthine plan	Spider form and labyrinthine plan
Functional organisation	Commercial, entertainment, religious	Commercial, entertainment, religious, administrative
Size	307000 m ²	1000000 m ²

The effect of globalization on both the subject bazaars is evident from more than one phenomena that were noticed during site visits. The following Table 2 gives some of these observed effects.

Table 2. Effects of Globalization on the two bazaars

Medina of Tunis	Istanbul Grand Bazaar
Abundance of commercial banking branches can be observed.	Abundance of commercial banking branches and foreign currency exchange offices is noticed.
Mutation of functional organization of some streets due to extinction of specific trades/products under the influence of globalization of local trades and markets. For example, Al-Beshmekh Bazaar disappeared along with its once famous traditional Turkish sleepers.	Several shops were found closed due to high renting prices as global brands make the competition tough for local shop owners. For example jewelry shops have overtaken many traditional businesses.
Several depots, Fonduks and old homes were transformed to shops selling modern day products of global brands that are not original to the bazaar.	Many shops are renovated with glass being the most commonly used material for show-casing purposes, replacing the traditional wooden shop-fronts.
Presence of marketing prerequisites like dummies for showcasing garments dilutes the traditional outlook of the bazaar.	Presence of marketing prerequisites like dummies and mascots for showcasing garments dilutes the traditional outlook of the bazaar.
Electricity cables and air-conditioning ducts can be seen at many places in the bazaar.	Although hidden in some portions of the bazaar, electricity cables and air-conditioning ducts can be seen in many streets of the bazaar.

According to Arthur Pellegrin, Arab cities' streets layout is always irregular and it deviates to all senses to create small blind alleys. However, streets' names could not be defined through signals and written indications; they are registered only in an official directory and orally denominated by habitants and craftsmen [39]. Moreover, nomenclature was classified according to specific categories: topographic origin, botanic origin, artisanal of professional origin and Islamic origin [39]. This same fact had been observed in Istanbul Grand Bazaar; names of streets or blind ways are reflecting the existing professions there or taking saint men's names sometimes.

The present table illustrates the similarities between shopping streets' nomenclature in both cases.

Table 3. Comparison between streets' nomenclature in the two study cases

Istanbul Grand Bazaar	The Medina of Tunis	The street's existing function
Yağlıkçılar caddesi	<i>Souk Al-Kmesh</i>	Cloth bazaar
Koyumcular caddesi	<i>Souk Al-Berka</i>	Goldsmiths
Terlikçiler sokağı	<i>Souk Al-Beshemkhiya</i>	Turkish sleepers' bazaar
Terziler sokağı	Nahj Al- Khayatta ³⁸	Tailors
Aynacılar sokağı	<i>Souk Al-bellar</i>	Glaziers
Zenneciler sokağı	<i>Souk En-Nsa</i>	Sellers of products for women
Kavaflar sokağı	<i>Souk Al-Kasheshin</i>	Used items' sellers
Shaflar bedesten	<i>Souk Al-Kotbia</i>	Librarians
Takkeçiler sokağı	<i>Souk Al-sheshia</i>	skullcap sellers
Kazzazlar Sokağı	<i>Souk Al-Kbebjia</i>	Silk sellers

Names of streets remained identical in both cases which shows that they were an important commercial centers where shops were distributed by sectors according to the nature of soled products (Istanbul Grand Bazaar) or according to habitants' main professions (The Medina of Tunis). But in both cases, the nomenclature had been maintained although the functional mutations in most of the streets.

The streets nomenclature is not the only fact reflective of the two societies' culture, but gates' names are also a similar observed fact; assigning names in both cases had a similar process.

³⁸ Arteries nomenclature in the Medina of Tunis is dependent either of the existing bazaar's nature (souk), or of some habitants' profession when it is a blind way (Zanqa). Same thing had been noticed in Istanbul Grand Bazaar, however, in this space the residential function is only in the Hans' area so nomenclature of streets is sometimes following the function (Bodrum Han sokağı).

Table 4. Gates' nomenclature in both cases

Istanbul Grand Bazaar	The Medina of Tunis
Nürosmaniye kapısı	<i>Bab-Behar</i> (1)
Beyazıt kapısı	Bab Bab Carthagina (2)
Kürkçüler kapısı	<i>Bab Souika</i> (3)
Çarşı kapısı	<i>Bab- Bnet</i> (4)
Yorgancılar kapısı	<i>Bab Menara</i> (5)
Sandal bedesten kapısı	<i>Bab Jdid</i> (6)
Hacı Hüsnü kapısı	<i>Bab al-Djazira</i> (7)

In this case the nomenclature does not have similar meanings like it is the case of streets. However, the way of subjecting names is similar; it is depending on the neighboring area's name or nature. In the Tunisian Medina for example, Bab-Behar, which means the seaside gate reflects the presence of direct ways leading to the harbor. Besides, in Istanbul Grand Bazaar, Nürosmaniye gate for example refers to the proximity to Nürosmaniye complex. The difference point between the Tunisian Medina and Istanbul Grand Bazaar is that, the Medina's gates disappeared³⁹ from before the French colonization of 1881, only Bab –Behar had been kept as an accessory. However, Istanbul Grand Bazaar's gates are all standing until presently and functioning with a same way.

³⁹ As by Arthur Pellegrin, almost all the Medina's gates had granting offices that organises farmers' trading and entering rights and collected money from such passing transactions was collect 'Mahsoulats'. [39, p24]

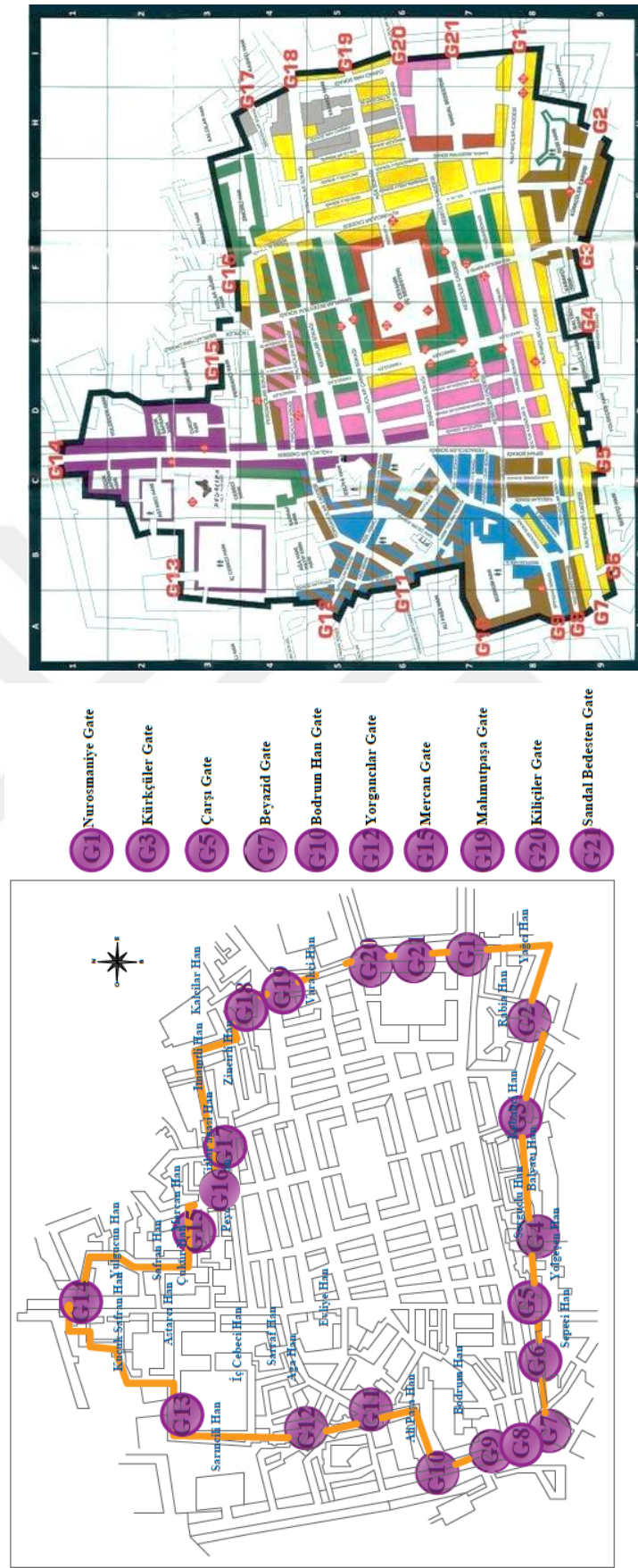


Figure 5.1 Istanbul Grand Bazaar's gates, (a) provided by author, (b) <https://www.pinterest.com>, seen on 25th of March 2017

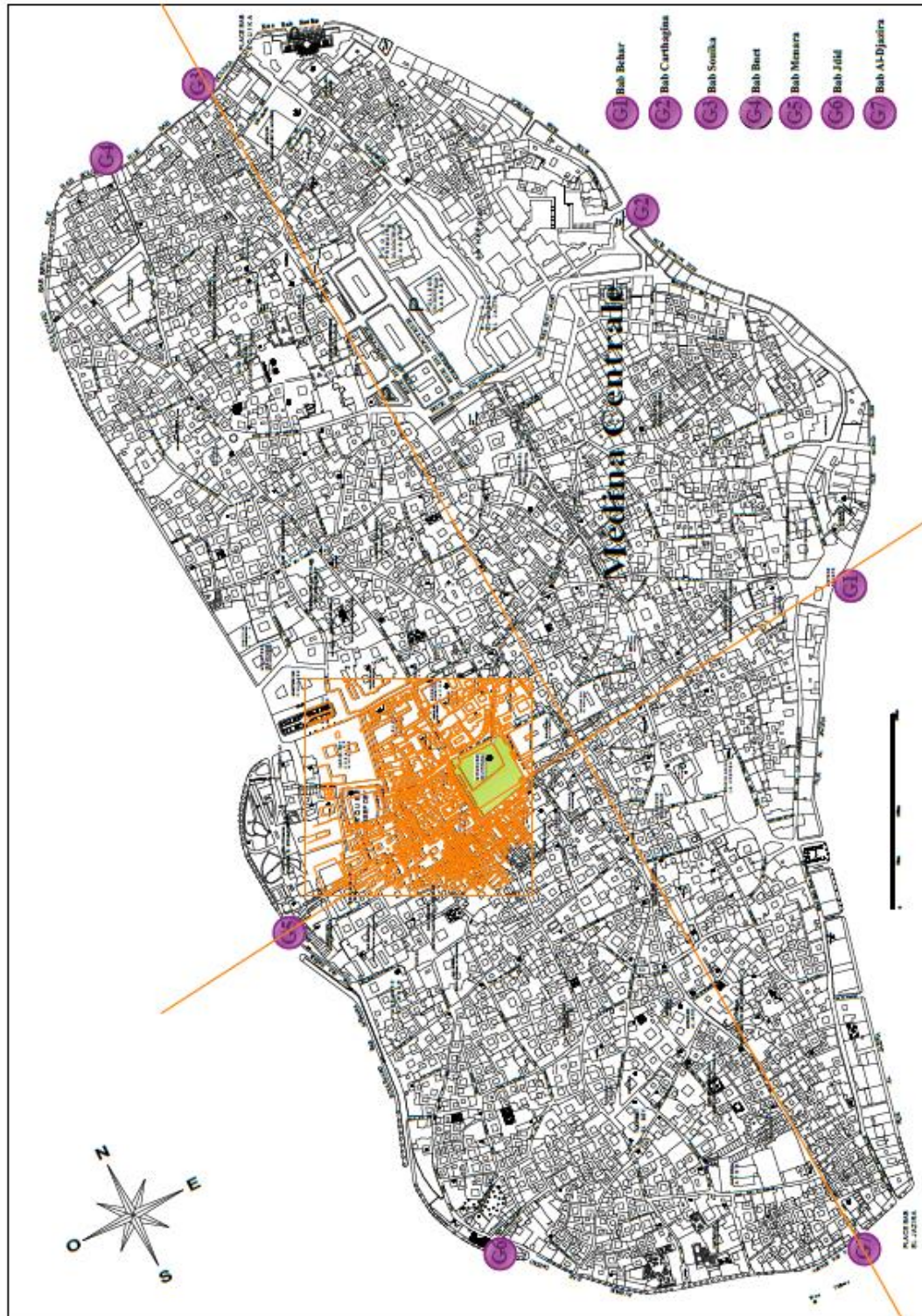


Figure 5.2 The central Medina's main gates

Knowing that the area of Al-Zaytouna Mosque in the Medina of Tunis is around 5000 m², and the area of the Inner bedesten in Istanbul Grand Bazaar is around 1360, it could be possible to draw the two cases in the same scale.



Figure 5.3 Comparison between sizes of the two cases drawn in the same scale



Figure 5.4 Comparison between Khans' locations in both cases, drown in the same scale

As it is presented in the above figures, in the two bazaars, Hans are existing however, in the Medina of Tunis when they are subjected for tradesmen they are located inside the bazaars streets, when they are consulate buildings they are found close to ‘Bab-Behar’, the gate

directed to seaside and from where main traders used to come. In the chosen part from the Tunisian Medina, they are not presented but they can be found in Appendix-A.



Figure 5.5 Comparison between functional organizations in both cases drawn in the same scale

As it is presented in the figures, in both hubs of bazaars, commercial and religious functions are existing being connected to some open spaces. However, in the Medina of Tunis, religious function is more prominent as a lot of Koran schools are spread all over the central area. Besides, several mausoleum and small mosques are everywhere inside the spider form of streets. What had been concluded is that religious function in the Medina of Tunis is spread everywhere, however in Istanbul Grand Bazaar it is in peripheries. This criteria is in fact dependent on the nature of the whole spatial configuration; the Bazaars in the Tunisian Medina are inside a city center and conceived to fit an existing urban framework, however in Istanbul Grand Bazaar it is the opposite. In Grand Bazaar, religious functions and other subsidiary functions are conceived to fit the bazaar's existing configuration. One other difference is that Istanbul Grand Bazaar does not contain administrative buildings when the Tunisian Medina does.

At this level of the research, a detailed comparison between two chosen areas from the two cases will be given; a deeper insight on the urban context, functional organization and spatial configuration will be presented. Adding to that, the commercial value of the two cases is discussed. Then, cultural continuity traits will be illustrated.

5.2. Comparison with a close look at Istanbul Grand Bazaar and The Tunisian Medina’s bazaars

Table 5. Detailed comparison between Cevahir bedesten and its surrounding and Al-Berka Bazaar and its surrounding

		Cevahir Bedesten and its surrounding	Al-Berka Souk and its surrounding
Urban context	Immediate urban fabric	High density of residential and public functions	High density of residential and public functions
	Relation to the city	Related to the city structure	Related to the city structure
	Dominant access	Local roads with pedestrian dominance	Local roads with pedestrian dominance
Spatial configuration		Grid form and labyrinthine orientation	Spider form and labyrinthine orientation
		Group form, megaform	Group form, megaform
Functional organisation	Functions	Commercial, religious, entertainment,	Commercial, religious, Entertainment, administrative
	Spaces	Bedesten, han	Covered and non-covered commercial streets
	Organization	Similar functions connected in sequence	Hub of commercial streets surrounding several religious buildings
Size	Scale of use and impact on the city	Local	Local
	Measures	Around 5750 m²	Around 3242 m²
Commercial value		The Grand Bazaar of Istanbul is an important trading center attracting tourists as well as Turkish people. About 1000 kg of gold is the value of daily transactions in the bazaar [78].	According to existing shopkeepers in the Medina of Tunis, several shops and depots are needing restoration and the amount of sales in general is not so important expect for jewellery in Al-Berka souk.

This table illustrates that in both cases, the bazaar's area is interwoven into the urban fabric; the Tunisian site beginning from a city center and Istanbul Grand Bazaar being a center according to which the surroundings had been planned. In both cases the bazaars are easily accessible by pedestrian roads. The two trading centers have a unique spatial configuration; in Istanbul Grand Bazaar it is in a grid form and having labyrinthine orientations, in the Medina of Tunis it is in a spider form emerging from the city center which is Al-Zaytouna mosque.

Table 6. Comparison between the cultural continuity resistive traits in the 2 bazaars

Cultural Continuity Traits		
S. No.	Istanbul Grand Bazaar	The Medina of Tunis Bazaars
1.	Conservation of fountains inside and outside the bazaar (Sebil of Nurosmaniye and its meaningful role)	Conservation of slavery marks in the bazaar's columns. (Souk Al-Berka)
2.	Conservation of the gates' aspects in the whole bazaar.	Conservation of the gates' traditional aspects (Souk Al-Berka)
3.	Conservation of streets' names although their functions had changed.	Conservation of Saints' graves inside cafes (Souk Al-trouk)
4.	Shooting for James Bond's film "Skyfall" in 2012. And event which stirred Istanbul and animated the bazaar [78]	Conservation of streets and some souks' names although their function had changed.
5.	Concert of "Sonsuz Aşk" 04th of June 2017 in Kalpakçılar Street, Istanbul Grand Bazaar.	Artistic modern day events taking place inside the Medina of Tunis which is enhancing an increase in tourists' flows (Dream-city And Interference)
6.	Proposal for restoration of some Khans like the Valide Han project described in the end of chapter 4.	MEDNETA project, ideas for the revitalization of the creative industries in the Medina. Restoration of some Founduqs like Founduq Al-Attarin mentioned in chapter 2, it has been changed to a luxurious restaurant. And some other main Founduqs had been transformed to hotels.

In the two cases, sense of order is under the orientation system's influence; in the Grand bazaar's case, the whole Beyazıt area had been planned according to covered bazaar's orientation as it has been explained in the 4th chapter. In the Medina's case, the surrounding urban changes followed the old city's initial form as explained in the 3rd chapter.

The third part from the comparison, functional organization, showed that both cases have similar subsidiary functions. However in Istanbul Grand Bazaar, the religious function is around the bazaar whereas it is everywhere inside the commercial streets in the Medina of Tunis. After analysing both cases in detail it had been noticed that several cultural traits are still remaining and in a similar way in the two areas.

Several traits are still showing an undying cultural thinking about the bazaar's space. Modern artistic events, restoration projects or even proposals for restoring are all enhancing a better cultural continuity. Thereby, when bringing again the residential function in some Founduqs or Hans, and implementing some modern day events, the two bazaars' spaces witness great tourist inflow. This contributes to the two cultures' promotion.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The present research's main purpose is to witness the two chosen sites' current resistive state against globalization trends; it is still unknown whether those historical sites will remain and resist again in the coming years, or they will distinguish slowly. In the beginning of this research it had been announced that the study will be based on two main hypothesis; the resistive features of traditional bazaars are dependent on cultural continuity and that this continuity itself is not related to the trading area's spatial configuration or functional organization but it is related to an engraved collective memory. Moreover, it has been hypothesized that collective memory itself is related to two other key concepts which are respectively identity and heritage, all together form the cultural continuity.

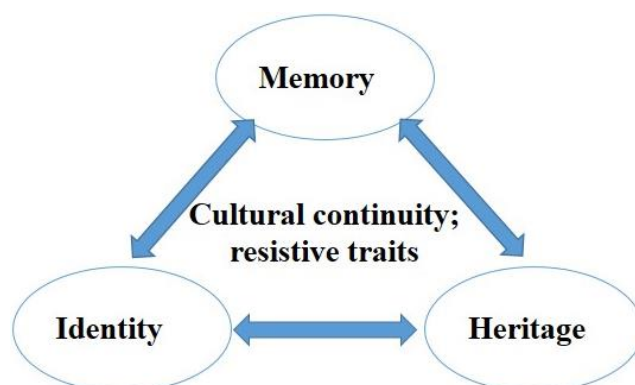


Figure 6.1 Heritage, identity, collective memory: Cultural continuity; resistance tripartite relation, developed by author

In the second chapter attempts to present a conceptual framework for the research had been presented. In fact, the exploration of cultural continuity concept and its relation to the cultural role of architecture p (22), lead to conclude that resistance is reflected upon through cultural continuity. Cultural continuity being the fourth pillar of sustainability, is a tripartite relation between heritage, identity and collective memory (figure 6.1).

Defining culture lead to show that architecture in general has a prominent cultural role (John Hendrix, 2012) being a cultural act that supposes continuity of culture itself (p9) (Nicholas Temple, 2012).

Through the second chapter it had been explained that urban memory takes part from sites of memory (p 12) (Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, 1980); a memory of buildings and monuments; an intergenerational memory reflective of society's heritage. According to principles of Astrid Erll, it has been proved that (p13) collective thinking about memory is an identity shaping. This implies that a particular type of connection is existing between identity and architectural cultural heritage. However, shaping of architectural identity is to some extent dependent on heritage (p 14) (Ashraf Salama, 2012). Findings of the research's conceptual framing showed that selection criteria of architectural heritage has changed which made it based on the cultural value, its value of identity and capacity to interact with memory (p 15). It can be safely concluded that the existing literature exploration about globalization's challenges lead to face a paradoxical relation; there is a vacillation between attempts to modernize and senses of belonging to the past and to the traditional space (p 19).

It can be said that we are living a shift from vernacularism to globalism in traditional bazaars due to the market globalization. However, a magnetic relation to the engraved identity in traditional spaces is still enforcing its existence. It can be concluded that traditional architectural spaces in general and traditional bazaars in particular, are entities fit to represent the culture, identity, and collective memory. No matter whether globalization trends are influencing or changing those spaces' continuity, it is the gauge of cultural memory to enhance architectural heritage's resistance. Thus, it proves that resistance of the given bazaars is related to cultural continuity which had been represented through interrelated 3 concepts; identity, collective memory and heritage.

In the third chapter, a brief history about the Tunisian Medina's development had been presented. Together with the research work and exploration of the existing literature about the Medina, it had been concluded that some threats the Medina's bazaars are still resisting. In fact, as it had been illustrated in the third chapter's conclusion that the Medina's bazaars are running a risk; competing Asian low cost products and the random availability of raw materials enhanced artisans' migration to other jobs. Some craftsman has shifted from shops to old *Founduqs* and to some residential buildings.

The memory of the slave market Al-Berka for example, is a memory of an anchor point in Tunisians' history; the slavery's abolition. No conflict existed between presently shopkeepers, current users of the city and slaves. But keeping slavery traits in the bazaar's space is a kind of continuous celebration of a community's freedom. It can be opined that those kept traces witness a compassion with the slaves' lived memory. The Medina of Tunis bazaars embrace two different remembering stimuli; the first are remembered experiences which disappeared and had been shared through people's testimony, like the water and petroleum sellers. The second remembering stimuli is existing in architectural traces of Al-Berka (the slave market previously). It is true that two remembering shapes are stimulating different collective thoughts; one is fostering a nostalgia feeling, the other is nourishing compassion and celebration of a turning point in the Tunisians' history.

What has been concluded about the Medina's bazaars is that although main *souks* changed with a relative way, they are still reflecting social lived experiences like slavery and its abolition, the Zaytouna mosque and its being the most prominent religious center in the whole Medina, Founduqs' prominent role in the Tunisian colonization and Hammams' role in Tunisians' ritual. From another hand, it had been noticed that Istanbul Grand Bazaar's streets are also still hiding the same traditional atmosphere inside the series of shops. Collective remembering act is still giving to the space an authentic traditionalism that cannot distinguish under the capitalist word. On one hand, people's testimony is enhancing and attaching to the bazaar's shaped identity. This was crosschecked with local shopkeepers and most of the shopkeepers said that they are not planning to shift from the bazaar. On the other hand, architectural spaces descriptive of a collective memory still exist like the fountains, the gates, the succession of cupolas is the two bedestens and of course the lighting voids in several areas of the roofs.

This described resistance is resulting from the two bazaars' being sites of memory or like Pierre Nora calls it, a significant 'lieux de mémoire'. They are site of social remembering, as Asrid Erll qualifies it, a site of 'intergenerational memory' reflective of a society's heritage (Erll, 2011).

The medina of Tunis and Istanbul Grand bazaar's history look like sites of combination between forensic architectural traces and lived experiences reported through generations. In fact, it is in the Tunisian Medina where the Ottoman Empire started to

build a new urbanity following a mixture between Hafsid architectural principles and Ottoman ones. It is also there where the influential French colonization started and finished. Istanbul Grand Bazaar as well presented the first important linkage center between Topkapı place and the city center, through *Divan Yolu*. It is also inside the bazaars' Hans that several foreign cultures like Persian could be known. What had been noticed through Istanbul Grand Bazaar and the Tunisian Medina's site readings is that although some functions do not exist anymore, streets names remained the same. It is what makes disappeared functions to be always present in observer's eye.

It can be concluded by the end of this research that the tripartite aforementioned relation representative of cultural continuity/resistive traits, could be proved in more than one way. It had been observed that both spaces are vacillating between nostalgia and celebration of marked points in the past. As per the figure 6.2, it can be deduced that both supposed hypothesis had been proved through this study; the resistive trait of traditional bazaars is dependent on cultural continuity and that this continuity itself is not only related to the trading area's spatial configuration or functional organization but it is also related to an engraved collective memory. The collective memory is interdependent on two other key concepts which are identity and heritage.

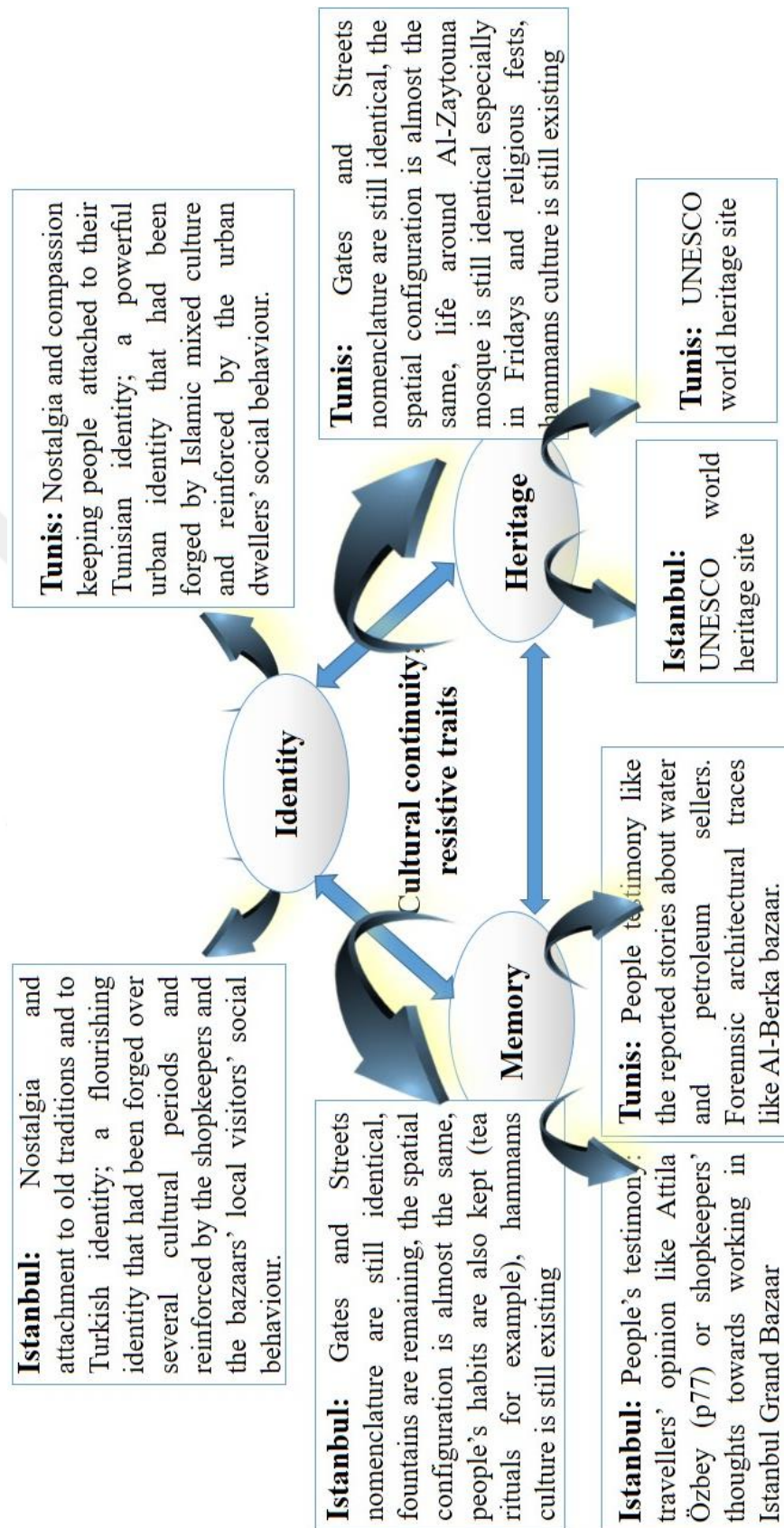


Figure 6.2 Cultural continuity's tripartite relation's manifestation in the two chosen sites, developed by author

Both of the Medina's bazaars and Istanbul Grand Bazaar can be a tangible witness to globalization flows of 'market capitalization' and historical sites' urban homogenization threats. The traditional role of architecture as "bearer" of cultural meaning brings with it challenges in the modern world. Recently it had been announced that a Turkish cultural center will open in 'Al Rashidiye', an old Andalusian traditional home for traditional music learning and shows⁴⁰. As explained previously, the Medina's Founduqs were partly subjected to consulates, so can it be said that diplomatic concessions will make it possible that regeneration of old consulates start? Besides, it had been explained how both of Istanbul Grand Bazaar and the Medina of Tunis are hosting modern day artistic events like lights festivals and film shooting. Finally, until which extent can those two historical sites withstand an onslaught of European and American culture against an engraved local cultural memory?

⁴⁰ Tunisian TV shows and social Media announced the fact in the beginning of March 2017.

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GLOSSARY

1. Arabic Terms

- Al-Berka: The place where they used to thigh slaves in the current jewelers' bazaar, in old times it had a stage. The Term *Berka* refers to stage meaning in Tunisian dialect.
- Al-Beshmakh: Turkish sleepers (footwear)
- Al-Trouk: It was referring to the Turkish bazaar in the Medina but since the street was transformed to antiquity trades, it started to mean 'left objects' in the Tunisian dialect.
- Al-sheshia: *sheshia* is a traditional wool cap adopted from Andalusia. It is generally red. Its shape and length depends on its owners' profession and social belonging. For example for *Ulema* and governors it be a long half-iconic form ending with *Nawara* (a wisp of black threads).
- Bab: Gate.
- Souk: Bazaar
- Ulema: religious men
- Zaytouna: Olive tree
- Mahsoulats: the money collected from traders' entrances to the Medina from several gates.
- Madrasa: Koranic School

2. Turkish Terms

- Cevahir: Turkish form of Jawahir in Arabic ultimately from Persian گوهر (gohar) "jewel, essence"
- Han: Khan or Kervansaray, an inn for travelers, built around a central courtyard.
- Hamam: bathhouse, Turkish bath
- İç bedesteni: the inner bedesten
- Eski bedesten: The old bedesten
- Mahzen: Cellar, a storage area

Medrese: Koranic shcool
Sandal: Small Boat
Vakıf: An endowment made by a Muslim to a religious, educational, or charitable cause

3. French Terms

La ville nouvelle: The new city
Lieux de mémoire: Spaces of memory



COMPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ABOUT THE MEDINA OF TUNIS BAZAARS

1. MEDNETA project

ENPI CBC Mediterranean Sea Basin Programme 2007/2013

The multilateral cross-border cooperation» Mediterranean Sea Basin Program» is part of the new European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and of its financing instrument (European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument – ENPI) for the 2007 – 2013 period: it aims at reinforcing cooperation between the European Union (EU) and partner countries regions placed along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

14 participating countries, which represent 76 territories and around 110 million people, are eligible under the Program: Cyprus, Egypt, France, Greece, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Palestinian Authority, Portugal, Spain, Syria and Tunisia.

The Operational Program, approved on August 14th 2008 by European Commission decision C (2008) 4242, establishes a strategic framework of 4 Priorities jointly defined by the participating countries:

- Promotion of socio-economic development and enhancement of territories
- Promotion of environmental sustainability at basin level
- Promotion of better conditions and modalities for ensuring the mobility of persons, goods and capitals
- Promotion of cultural dialogue and local governance

Public and private actors organized in Mediterranean cross-border partnership are invited to submit projects proposals following the launch of public calls, which will be largely publicized. Main beneficiaries include regional and local public authorities, NGOs, associations, development agencies, universities and research institutes, as well as private actors operating in the fields of intervention of the Program.

As main decision-making body, the Joint Monitoring Committee, composed of the representatives of the participating countries, supervises and ensures the quality and effectiveness of Program implementation and approves projects for funding. The Joint Managing Authority, the Autonomous Region of Sardinia (Italy), is responsible for the operational and financial management of the Program. It will be supported by a Joint Technical Secretariat, an international bureau also located in Cagliari while a network of National Contact Points contributes to the promotion of Program opportunities and results in the eligible territories.

The ENPI CBC «Mediterranean Sea Basin» Program has a budget of 173 million, coming from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Heading 4 – “EU as global partner” – of the EU budget. Projects can be funded up to a maximum of 90% while partners have to provide a minimum of 10% co-funding.

Source: <<https://medneta.eu/>>, seen on 10th of April 2016.

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE MEDNETA CONCEPT COOPERATION AMONG MULTIPLE STAKEHOLDERS

The promotion of cultural cooperation among multiple stakeholders involved in the creative industries and local government units it is estimated important and necessary. On the one hand, MPC cities, such as Tunis, Beirut and Hebron ,where the traditional artistic professions and production is still alive, can offer the ‘essence’ and ‘memory’ of traditional products and techniques, becoming a source of inspiration for EUMC cities that over time lost part of their productive base and as a result part of their authenticity. In addition a contemporary regeneration of the crafts and creative sector represents a renewal of a long tradition and economic role that are imbedded in the cities of MPC history and traditions. On the other hand, EUMC cities as Athens, Valencia, Florence, which have successfully used their heritage and legacy as base for their continuous

economic vitality and tourism identity, can share and transfer scientific and technological knowledge, providing strategies to MPC cities to process in small scale their traditional products, using quality assurance practices for manufacturing unique products of local brands.

The EUMC cities, at different degrees have relied more and more on the knowledge economy, on creativity and the arts and crafts to regenerate their urban historic quarters.

RELEVANCE OF THE PARTNERSHIP The MEDNETA partnership includes a mix of different competences as heritage specialists, urban planners, and economists and provides a comprehensive experience and knowledge that ensure the expected success of the project. We are convinced that this partnership brings an innovative approach to historic cities revitalization.

MEDNETA study in the Medina of Tunis focused on the urban environment at which the artisans operate, which revealed that 34% of artisan workshops are currently located in abundant residential homes, converting them into ‘Oukala’ (Founduq) or multi-workshop spaces. Most oukala are badly maintained; artisans work in unhygienic environmentally unfriendly spaces, located near Medina’s UNESCO registered historical monuments, causing an urban threat to Medina and historical monuments.

Surveyed artisans highlighted several issues threatening their business sustainability, but 2 issues were common to all interviewed ACD⁴¹s: know-how documentation and know-how transfer.

⁴¹ ACD : Arts crafts and design

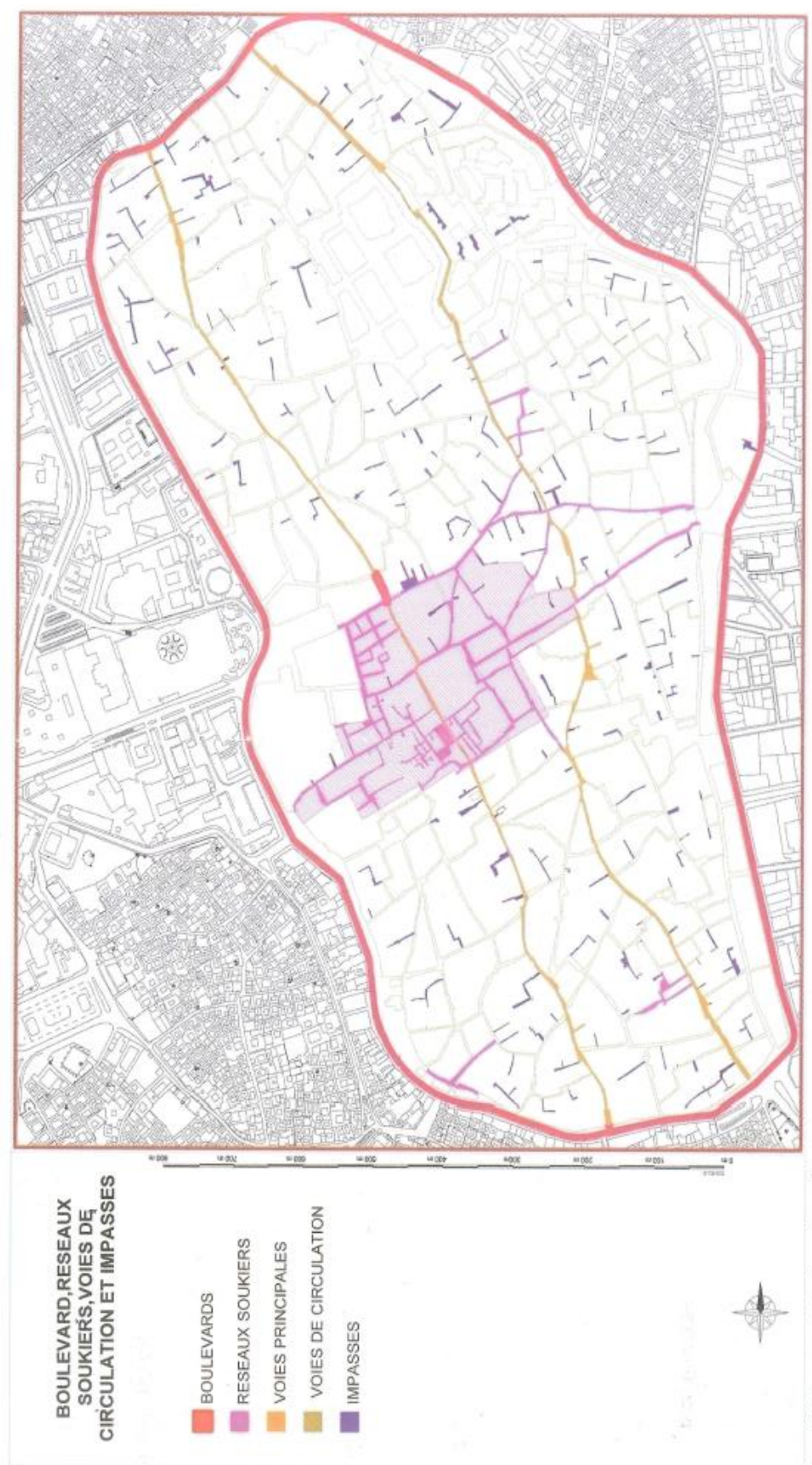


Figure 1. The bazaars' area defined by MEDETA project, by ASM

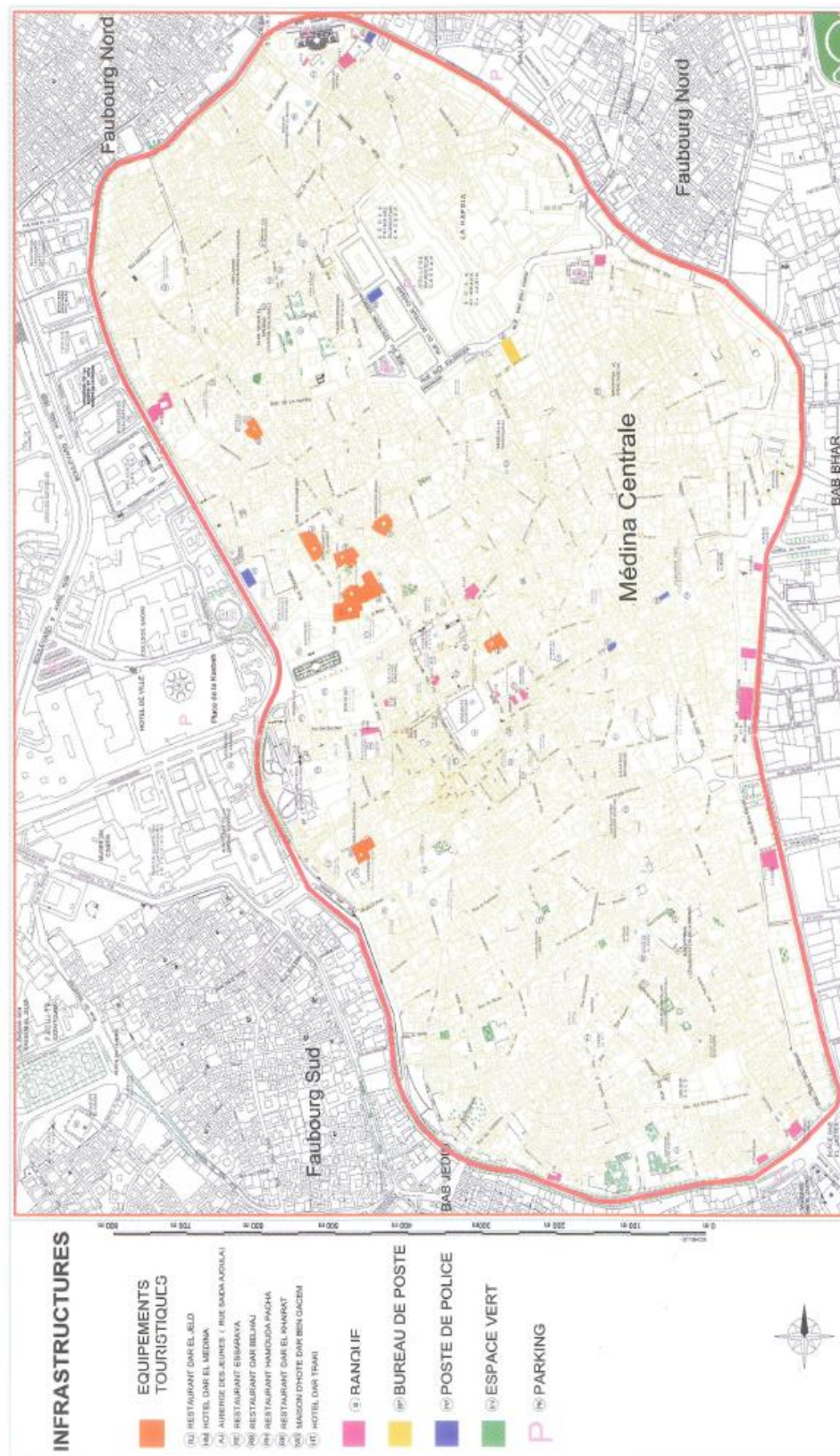


Figure 2. Touristic equipment's dominance in the central Medina (orange) banks (pink) and post offices (yellow), by ASM

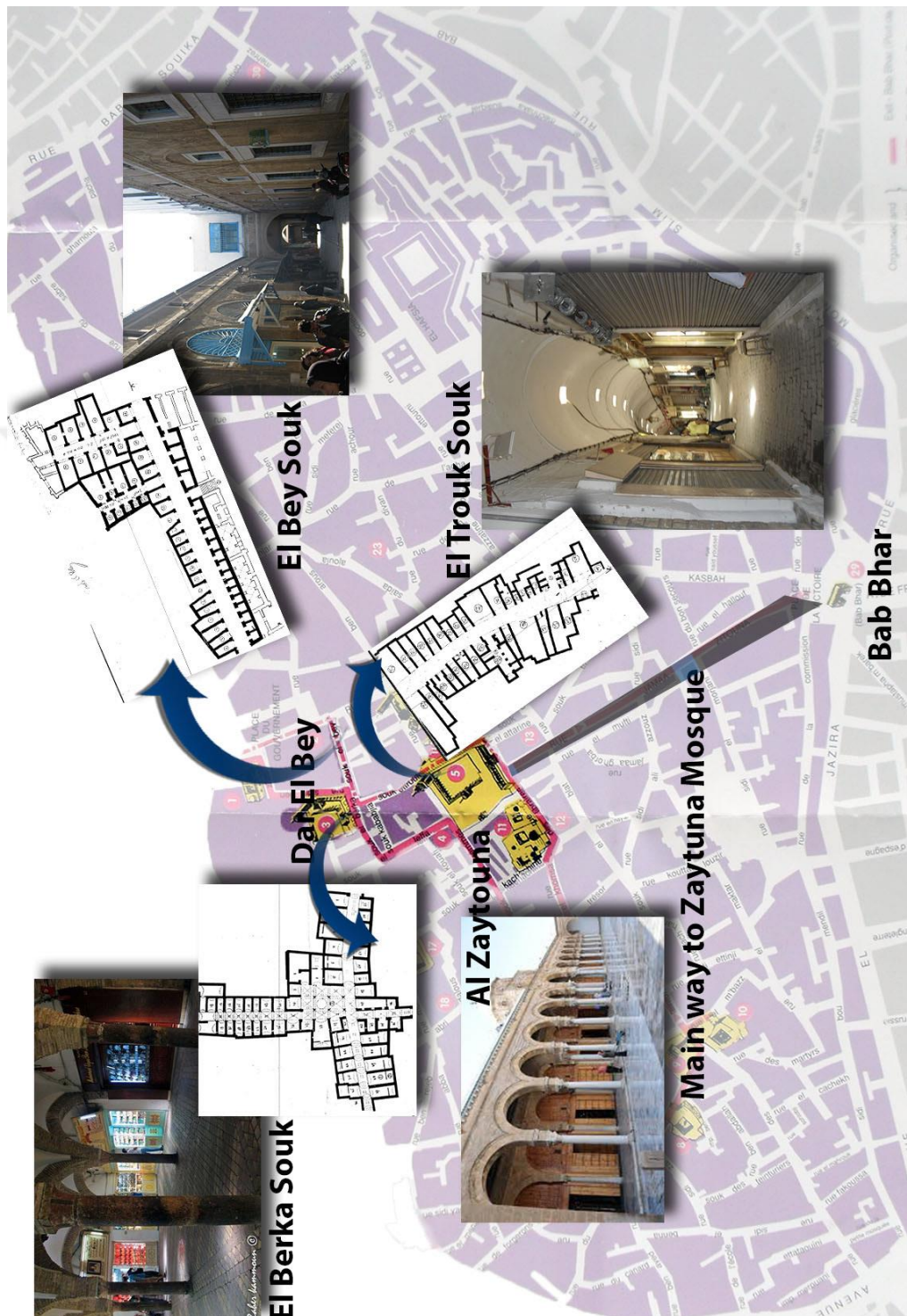
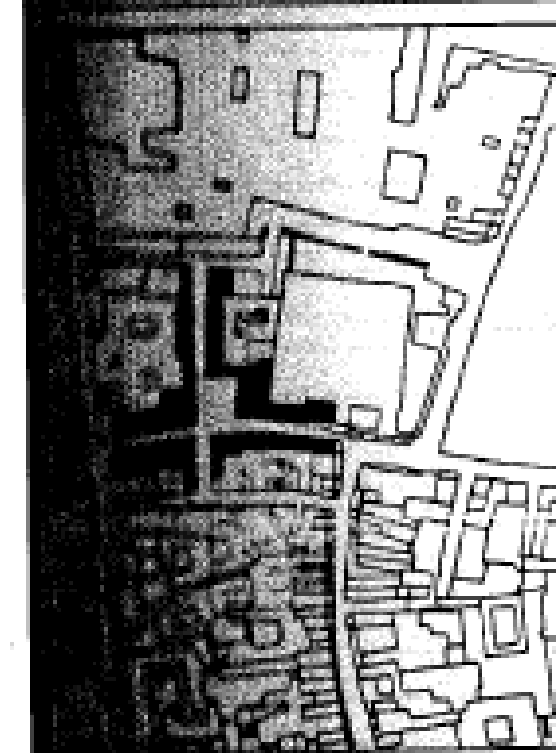


Figure 3. First phases of the Medina of Tunis exploration, Developed by author

MOULIN, BIERKA
سوق المبر
MAIRE de production
Range de LUXE



Boutique
Sous boutique
Sous couverture

enquête Souk
du 03.07 au 10.04.1987

 Ech. 1/250



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2011	Internship - CESARDS Interior Design, Tunis, Tunisia.	July 2011
2010	Internship - CORPUS Architecture, Tunis, Tunisia.	June 2010
2008	Internship - DNA LILLE, Patron: Mr. Mbarek Ghazi, Tunis, Tunisia.	June 2008

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Paper

Tira, Y., Canbay Türkyılmaz, Ç., (2017). “Resistive traits of the Tunisian Medina Bazaar’s Architectural Spaces in the Globalized World”, Megaron Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Architecture E-journal, 12 (1).

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