ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

RECLAIMING THE CITY SQUARE; SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE SULTANAHMET – BEYAZIT – TAKSIM REPUBLICAN SQUARES

Ph.D. THESIS

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Urban and Regional Planning Department

Urban and Regional Planning Programme

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KAMUSAL MEKANIN TOPLUMSAL ÜRETİMİ
SULTANAHMET – BEYAZIT – TAKSİM CUMHURİYET MEYDANLARI

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To my beloved parents,

"Democracy is never a condition but a struggle."

Henri Lefebvre

FOREWORD

As a child of a father who was a student at Istanbul University, I have known the stories of experiences and life that took place around Beyazıt Square after the late 1960s. When I was at the age of my father at that time, I realized that I was not able to experience both the space and the life that I have been told; it was almost disappeared within the span of a single generation, of course, leaving some traces behind.

Genuinely, the beginning of my journey on these papers was nothing more than a feeling to be handled, read and learned about, and to be defined, which eventually became a note that I wrote into my own personal history and obviously became my doctoral dissertation.

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July 2017

Meriç DEMİR KAHRAMAN
(Urban Planner)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	**:** Anno Domini
BC	**:** Before Christ
WWI	**:** World War I
WWII	**:** World War II
ICT	**:** Information and Communication Technology
CNA	**:** Cumhuriyet Newspaper Archive
USSR	**:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
RPP	**:** Republican People's Party
DP	**:** Democrat Party
JDP	**:** Justice and Development Party
UCTEA	**:** Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
JP	**:** Justice Party
WPT	**:** Worker's Party of Turkey
US	**:** United States of America
MP	**:** Motherland Party
TRS	**:** Taksim Republican Square
UNESCO	**:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
IMM	**:** Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

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RECLAIMING THE CITY SQUARE;
SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE
SULTANAHMET – BEYAZIT – TAKSIM REPUBLICAN SQUARES

SUMMARY

The relation between city squares and public space has been in an adventure since the rise of the term “public” during the Ancient Era and the existence of Agora in Greek city-states for the very first time. In this adventure, city squares have witnessed everyday life practices and all the transformations of the societies to which they belong. Each square set on the city scale has been the stamp and the shadow of the representation of the power. City squares appear as political; whatever constitutes the power (here church and palace or bourgeoisie and aristocracy, there a dictator or capital) they have been under the domination of the power. Besides, it is a timeless fact, which has not changed from the Athenian Agora to Place de la Concorde.

Contemporary social movements from the M-15 in Puerta del Sol Square – Madrid to the Egyptian Revolution in Tahrir Square – Cairo and to Occupy Gezi in Taksim Republican Square – Istanbul have been the reflections of this fact representing the similarities regarding their demands and their site selections; democracy and city squares. Whereas "public" spaces are described as highly democratic in the spatial sciences literature; “all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive including streets, open spaces and public facilities” (UN-Habitat, 2016).

The problem description of this study emphasises the contradiction between the idealised definitions of public spaces and the actual experiences of them; social and actual production of public space does not overlap with idealised definitions of them from the domain of the spatial sciences. It has been envisaged that the concepts of democracy and city square should be brought side by side and making an inter-disciplinary interpretation thereof inevitably requires establishing a common ground between social and spatial sciences. Hence, the main motivation of this study as to bridge the gap between social and spatial sciences and to facilitate an inter-disciplinary approach that will enable the ground to better decode, design and defend the city squares.

In accordance, the main aim of this study is to reveal the relation between the structural transformation of publicness in the sense of political representation and the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of the city squares. The most important contribution of this study to the city planning and urban design literature is to bring historical evolution of city squares up for discussion from the insights of both social and spatial sciences.

The research questions in the context of this aim and motivation are as follows:

(1) What are the relations in the discussions of the concept of publicness within the domains of social and spatial sciences?

(2) How does the social production of representational spaces of the dominant and counter publics occur?

(3) How has the city squares evolved throughout the history in the existence of transforming dominant and counter publics?

In this context, (in Section 2) the discussions on the concept of "publicness" within the domains of spatial and social sciences are revealed based on the concepts of "public space" and "public sphere". Indeed, there are important differences in conceptualising "public" from the perspectives of social and spatial sciences which Iveson (2007:2-3) frames also as "procedural and topographical approaches". Topographical approaches frame "public" spatially, as "a specific kind of place" in a city which can be coloured on a given map as "public space". On the other hand, procedural approaches use the term "public" in reference to "any place" used for "collective action and debate". The definitions of "public sphere" enable the complex and dynamic structure of "publicness" to be operated and the struggles between different publics to be understood. In such an understanding, the entire world has been considered as a potential setting for expression. The conditions of social inequality indicate a mass of competing interest groups, which express the existences of "dominant publics" and "counter publics" that are born out of the struggles among "multi-publics" (Fraser, 1990). Here, it appears that struggles between dominant and counter publics, produce and re-produce the public sphere itself.

The most important point here appears as the ignorance of spatial sciences that representation of the dominant requires the presence (access) of the other publics. In this sense, high degree of physical accessibility of any place also does not necessarily makes it "public". The simultaneous need for the absence and presence of other publics for the continuity of the representation of the dominant is explained by the "paradox of political representation". The only solution to the continuity of the domination in some kind of balance is explained as "non-objection criterion", which means "silence" (Pitkin, 1967 & Runciman, 2007). This theoretical discussion offers an idea about why city squares are closed for counter publics or "occupied". Since the act of "occupation" refers a temporary use of space, "occupy movements" could be consider as the temporary appearance of counter publics in "public" spaces.

In order to understand the social production of "representational space" Harvey (2012) reminds Lefebvre's (1970) definition of heterotopia; "anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis". Since this definition overlaps with former discussions, Lefebvre's multi-triads of spatiality have been reinterpreted and the concepts of isotopia and heteropia have been operationalised in order to offer answers to second research question. This re-interpretation revealed that what is lived, conceived, perceived in and on space does not overlap with each other; yet, they rather exist in tension with each other. This triad tension ends up with a dialectic tension between dominated/abstract space and appropriated/differential space in the capitalist mode of production, which indicates the social production of isotopias (of dominant publics) and heterotopias (of counter publics) and the spatialisation of the struggles between them.

In order to elaborate the theoretical discussion with reflections on real cases, an original historical periodisation has been introduced in six phases each characterized by changing relation between "publicness" and "city square" offering examples from European cities in the period between Hellenistic times and today. The results of this historical periodisation that based on literature research and mapping methods are as follows:

(1) As the origin of city squares, agora became important enough to be shaped within the conditions of democracy during the Hellenistic period of Western history.

(2) Athenian (Direct) Democracy that shaped agora was based on having citizen rights and limited with the publicness of only young free male Greek citizens excluding

women, slaves, old, children and foreign people. In other words, city squares have been restricted by the publicness of a limited spectrum of societies since their existence.

(3) The more authoritarian governments get, the more exclusive publicness become for a greater spectrum of societies and the more glorious city squares become getting greater in size. (Differences become crystallized in the shifts from Roman Republic to Roman Empire or from feudal oligarchy to absolute monarchy.)

(4) Spatial organizational practices have responded to the pragmatic demands of the power and have played an instrumental role in limiting publicness throughout history.

(5) City squares have always been the spaces of struggles for both domination and involvement.

(6) In contemporary conditions, city squares are dominated by the carriers of neoliberal urbanism and the paradoxical nature of representative democracy.

In order to confirm and elaborate the results and not to fall in hasty generalisation; it has been deemed necessary to investigate the transformation of publicness and city squares together in one specific city throughout its own development history. In accordance, Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares of Istanbul have been investigated based on 1) literature survey 2) newspaper archives 3) mapping 4) in-depth interviews with professionals from the domain of spatial sciences in the period between Hellenistic times and today (in Section 4). Integrating the knowledge from the former discussions, in this section, an original historical periodisation has been offered in four phases again each characterized by changing relation between evolution of the cases and transformation of multi-publics that Istanbul has sheltered. The results are as follows:

(1) Dominant representation does not always show itself at the conventional city squares; Hippodrome of Constantinople operated as a city square.

(2) Although Atmeydanı remained as a left-over space under Ottoman rule, socio-spatial memory of Hippodrome survived and Atmeydanı of Ottoman Istanbul operated also as a city square.

(3) Examples of both Hippodrome and Atmeydanı provide a definition of the city square as a socio-political fact beyond the conventional ones offered by spatial science studies, in the sense of the space dominated by the power.

(4) Despite their various spatial characteristics, functional relations of city squares with surrounding commercial and governmental units etc., which are part of everyday life and their central locations, have been the absolute conditions in their existence.

(5) Transportation Planning, which is considered as a field of technical sciences, becomes a sociological issue to the extent it blocks the appearances of different publics at the city squares (like in the examples of Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares).

(6) The use of Taksim Republican Square during Gezi Park Occupy Movement appears as an example for the production of heterotopic (differential) spaces by counter publics that reclaimed by the dominant.

(7) The use of Taksim Republican Square during Democracy Watch Rallies after the Military Coup Attempt of 15 July 2016 appears as an example for the spatial reflection of paradoxical nature of representative democracy.

(8) Consideration of Yenikapı Event Site as a "city square" appears as the perfect example of the production of abstract space by unsignified, unrepresented and troubled democracy of today.

This study offers an inter-disciplinary model integrating the knowledge from both the domains of social and spatial sciences. In addition, this study aims to draw attention to the importance of the socio-political dimension of spatial organization of city squares for further research studies and implementations.

ŞEHİR MEYDANI SAVUNUSU;
KAMUSAL MEKANIN TOPLUMSAL ÜRETİMİ
SULTANAHMET – BEYAZIT – TAKSİM CUMHURİYET MEYDANLARI

ÖZET

Şehir meydanları ile kamusal mekân arasındaki ilişki, "kamusal" kavramının tarihsel olarak ilk kez ortaya çıktığı Antik Çağ Yunan şehir devletlerinin agoralarından günümüze birliktelik içerisindedir. Şehir meydanları geçmişten günümüze dek ait oldukları toplumların gündelik pratiklerine ve geçirdiği tüm toplumsal değişimlere de tanıklık etmişlerdir. Esasen, şehir hayatına ait tüm coşkulu anlar; bazen büyük kutlamalar, bazen büyük kalabalıkların itirazları, eğlencesi, tüm kucaklaşmalar ve hesaplaşmalar tarihe not düşülmek üzere meydanlardan sokaklara yayılarak şehirlere nüfuz eder. Meydanlar, ait oldukları toplumların tüm sahnelerinin gerçekleştiği mekânlardır ve toplumların geçirdiği tüm dönüşümlerin mekânsal, işlevsel ve anlamsal izlerini taşımaktadır.

Şehir ölçeğinde düzenlenmiş her meydan egemen olanın temsil kabiliyetlerinin izi ve gölgesidir. Onun adını alır, ona adanır. Meydanın gerçekliği siyasal egemenin şehre kendi damgasını vurması ve şehirle beraber tüm sakinlerinin üzerinde de hakimiyetini ilanından doğar. Şehir meydanları toplumun ve siyasetin, egemenin ve karşıtının üretildiği ve yeniden üretildiği sonsuz bir döngü içinde yaşamlarına devam eder. Meydan politiktir, egemen olan her ne ve kim ise bazen bir diktatör veya kilise, bazen burjuvazi veya aristokrasi ya da sermaye veya saray onun hükmündedir. Üstelik bu tarihsiz bir gerçektir; Atina Agora'sından, Place de la Concorde'a bu gerçek değişmemiştir.

Günümüzdeki işgal hareketleri (occupy) Madrid-Puerto de Sol Meydanı'ndaki 15M Hareketi'nden, Kahire-Tahrir Meydanı'ndaki Mısır Devrimi'ne, İstanbul- Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı'ndaki Gezi Park Hareketi'ne; hepsi bu gerçeğin birer göstergesidir; taleplerinin yanı sıra yer seçimleri de benzeşir: demokrasi ve şehir meydanları.

Oysa "kamusal" mekânlar, mekânsal bilimler literatüründe son derece demokratik tarif edilmektedir; kamu mülkiyetinde ve/veya kamunun kullanımında, erişilebilir, kar amacı gütmeyen, tüm sokaklar, açık mekânlar ve diğer kamu tesisleri (UN-Habitat, 2016).

Bizim bu çalışmaya temel olan sorun tespitimiz kamusal mekânların, mekânsal bilimler literatüründe yaygınca görülebilecek olan idealize edilmiş tanımlamaları ile söz konusu mekânların gerçeklik deneyimleri arasındaki çelişki üzerindedir. Gerçekten de ne ait olduğumuz toplumların bireyleri olarak, ne de şehir planlama disiplini mensubu olarak mekânsal bilimler çerçevesinde ürettiğimiz yayınlarda veya

dinlediğimiz seminerlerde idealize ettiğimiz "kamusal" mekânları, gerçeklikte güçlükle deneyimleyebiliyoruz.

Söz konusu sorun tespitimizin yanıtlarını tespitimizin kendi içinde arayarak, demokrasi ve meydan kavramlarının yan yana getirilmesi gerektiği öngörüsüyle bu çalışmanın temel motivasyonu; sosyal bilimler ve mekânsal bilimleri bir araya getiren bütüncül bir yaklaşım ve düşünce biçiminin çerçevesini tarif etmektir.

Sorun tespitimiz doğrultusunda bu çalışmanın temel amacı, politik temsiliyet ifadesiyle kamusallığın yapısal dönüşümü doğrultusunda şehir meydanlarının işlevsel, mekânsal ve anlamsal evrimini ortaya koymaktır. Bu çalışmanın şehir planlama ve kentsel tasarım literatürüne en önemli katkısı, şehir meydanlarının tarihsel evrimini sosyal ve mekânsal bilimleri biraraya getirerek tartışmaya açmasıdır.

Bu amaç ve motivasyon çerçevesinde ortaya koyduğumuz araştırma soruları aşağıda belirtilmiştir:

(1) Kamusallık kavramının mekânsal ve sosyal bilimler çerçevesinde ele alınışları arasında nasıl bir ilişki vardır?

(2) Egemen ve karşıt kamusallıkların temsiliyet mekânlarının toplumsal üretim süreci nasıl gerçekleşir?

(3) Tarihsel süreç içerisinde şehir meydanları, değişen egemen ve karşıt kamusallıkların varlığında nasıl bir evrim geçirmiştir?

Bu kapsamda çalışmanın ilk bölümünde kamusallık kavramının sosyal ve mekânsal bilimler çerçevesindeki ele alınışları "kamusal alan" ve "kamusal mekân" kavramlarıyla betimlenmiştir. Sosyal bilimler çerçevesinde "kamusallık", politik temsiliyet kabiliyeti ve görünürlülükle (appearance), bir başka deyişle eylem ve söylem aracılığıyla toplumsal yaşama dahil olmak olarak tanımlanır (Arendt, 1998). Kamusal alan kavramı ise kamusallığın fiziksel sınırlarının ötesini ifade eder (Habermas,1991). Kamusal alan ve kamusal mekân kavramlarına dair birbirinden farklı ele alışları, Iveson (2007) eylemsel ve topografik yaklaşımlar ayırımıyla tanımlamaktadır. Buna göre topografik yaklaşımlar "kamusal" kavramını mekânsal boyutlarıyla herhangi bir şehir dokusu içerisinde, o şehrin haritalarında belirli bir renkle ifade edilebilecek yine "belirli bir mekân türü" olarak ele alırken; eylemsel yaklaşımlar ise kamusal olanı, kolektif eylem ve diyaloğun gerçekleşebildiği "her yer veya herhangi bir yer" olarak ifade etmektedir. Genel olarak, kamusal alan kavramı "kamuoyu yaratma" eylemi ile ilişkilendirilirken, kamusal mekân "mülkiyet ve erişilebilirlik" düzeylerinde tartışılmıştır.

Bu bağlamda kamusal alan kavramına dair geliştirilen tanımlamalar her ne kadar kamusallığın karmaşık doğasını, temsiliyetlerin mücadelesini anlamakta yardımcı olsa da, iletişimsel ve aracı bir fiziksel ortam gerekliliğinden bahsetmemekle mekânla ilişki kurmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda her yer ve ortam potansiyel olarak bir ifade kanalıdır. Oysaki ifade kanallarına erişim, düşünce, konuşma ve toplanma özgürlüğü liberal koşullarda dahi herkese sadece ideal olarak sunulmuştur (Iveson, 1998). Bu anlamda, toplumsal eşitsizlik koşullarında tekil bir kamusal alanın evriminden değil, çoklu kamuların (multi-publics) varlığı ve çoklu kamuların içerisinden doğan "egemen kamular" (dominant publics) ve onlara muhalif "karşıt kamuların" (counter publics) varlığından bahsetmek mümkündür (Fraser,1990). Bu anlamda kamusal alan, egemen kamular ve karşıt kamular arasındaki mücadeleler ile

yeniden ve yeniden üretilir; kamusal alan mücadelelerin savaş dışı yollarla karara bağlandığı ortamdır (Kluge, 1993).

Diğer taraftan, kamusal mekân kavramına dair geliştirilen tanımlardaysa kamusallığın politik ifadesiyle karmaşık doğası ve görünürlüğü (appearance) eylemsel ve söylemsel bir ifadeyle değil "gözle görünür olma" (visibility) ve "fiziksel erişim" (accessibility) ile sayısallaştırmaktadır. Burada mekânsal bilimlerin kavrayamadığı belki de en önemli nokta, egemenin temsiliyetinin karşıt kamuların da varlığına muhtaç olmasıdır. Zira temsiliyet, daima başkalarının varlığını gerektirir; görülmek ve duyulmak durumundadır. Dolayısıyla, fiziksel erişim her mekânı "kamusal" kılmayabilir. Kısaca her iki bilim alanı birbiriyle ortaklaşa bir zemin ifade etmese de, gerçek hayatta kamusallığın oluşmasının mutlak aracı konvansiyonel anlamda bile olsa "kamusal" mekândır.

Egemen olanın kendini temsil edebilmesi için diğer kamuların varlığına ve kendi hükmünün devamlılığı için onların yokluğuna olan eş zamanlı ihtiyacı "politik temsiliyet paradoksu" ile açıklanmaktadır. Aynı paradoksal yapı ile işlerlik kazanan temsili demokrasi sisteminde, halkı temsil etmek üzere ve halkın oyları ile seçilen temsilciler, seçilebilmek için onların varlığına, fakat onları temsil edebilmek için eş zamanlı olarak onların yokluğuna ihtiyaç duyar. Doğrudan temsil kabiliyetini ispat eden, kitlesel itirazlarla varlığını, dolayısıyla da kamusallığını kazanan topluluklar temsilcilerine ihtiyaçları olmadığı veya o kitleyi artık temsil etmediği mesajını verdiği ölçüde, temsili demokrasi sistemi çökmeye başlar. Bu eş zamanlı varlık ve yokluğun egemen olanın temsiliyetini sarsmadan bir çeşit dengede kalmasının koşulu "itirazsızlık kuramı" (non-objection), yani "sessizlik" ile açıklanmaktadır (Pitkin,1967 & Runciman, 2007). Aksi takdirde egemen olan hükmünü kaybetmekle karşı karşıyadır; ancak yine de bugünün "karşıt" kamusu, yarının "egemen" olanı haline gelebilir. Diğer taraftan, "itirazsızlık" hem "kamusallık" hem de "demokrasi" kavramlarının özü ile birebir çelişki teşkil etmektedir. Dolayısıyla buraya kadar geliştirilen kavramsal tartışmadan çıkan en önemli sonuç, şehir meydanlarının neden karşıt kamuların temsiliyetine kapalı olduğu veya "işgal" (occupy) halinde olduğu konusunda fikir vermektedir. Hem İngilizce'de hem Türkçe'de kelime anlamı ile de karşılığı "bir yeri geçici süre ile ele geçirme" olan "işgal" hareketleri, "kamusal" mekânın "geçici karşıt kamusallıklar" sağladığına işaret etmektedir.

Bu noktada, karşıt kamusallıkların temsiliyet mekânlarının toplumsal üretim sürecinin nasıl geliştiğini anlamak üzere Harvey (2012), Lefebvre (1970)'in heterotopik mekân tanımını hatırlatır; "düzendışı gruplar heterotopik mekânlar inşa eder, bunlar da nihayetinde egemen söylem tarafından ele geçirilir". Bu yönlendirmenin şu ana kadar geliştirdiğimiz tartışmayla birebir örtüşmesi nedeniyle ikinci araştırma sorumuza yanıtlar aramak üzere, Lefebvre'in mekân üretiminin çoklu/üçlü diyalektikleri yeniden yorumlanarak; özellikle heterotopik ve izotopik mekân kavramları, bu amaç doğrultusunda operasyonel hale getirilmiştir.

Bu yeniden okumada Lefebvre'in farklı çerçevelerde birbiri üzerine geliştirdiği, birbiriyle örtüşmeden değişen gerilimlerde varolmaya devam eden üçlü mekân diyalektiklerinin; kapitalist üretim biçiminde egemen/soyut mekân ve kendilenen/farklılık mekânı arasındaki ikili bir gerilimi işaret ettiği görülmektedir. Burada egemen/soyut mekân değişim değeriyle eşdeğer işaret ve kodlarla, kendilenen/farklılılık mekânı ise kullanım değeri, mekânsal deneyimler ve sahiplenmelerle tariflenmektedir. Egemen ve soyut mekânlarla eşleşen izotopyalar birbiriyle aynılaşmış, karakteristik özellikleri silinmiş, önceden varolanı reddeden,

homojen bir yapı sergilerken; kendilenen/farklılık mekânları eşleşen heterotopyalar egemen mekânın içsel çelişkilerinden doğarak geçici olarak bir şehir dokusunda varolan, heterojen ve nihayetinde egemen söylem tarafından ele geçirilen mekânlar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Açıkça egemen mekân ve farklılık mekânlarının toplumsal üretimi, egemen kamusallıklar ve karşıt kamusallıklar arasındaki mücadelelerin mekânsallaşmasını işaret etmektedir.

Buraya kadar geliştirdiğimiz teorik tartışma çerçevesinde, şehir meydanlarının evrimi ve kamusallığın yapısal dönüşümü; Antik Çağ'dan günümüze dek Avrupa örnekleri üzerinden, somut örneklerle altı karakteristik dönem içerisinde tanımlanarak zenginleştirilmiştir. Literatür araştırması, coğrafi veri üretimi ve haritalandırma yöntemleriyle sunduğumuz bu tarihsel dönemleme ile ulaştığımız sonuçlar aşağıda belirtilmiştir:

(1) Tarihsel olarak şehir meydanlarının kökeni olarak kabul gören Agora'nın mekânsal organizasyonu, ancak demokrasi koşulları altında önem kazanmıştır.

(2) Agora'nın içinde varolduğu, tarihin bilinen ilk "Doğrudan Demokrasi" modeli olan Atina Demokrasisi, "vatandaşlık" haklarıyla sınırlı olup; kadınlar, köleler, yaşlılar, çocuklar ve yabancıların dahil olmadığı sadece genç ve özgür Yunan erkeklerinin kamusallığı ile kısıtlı bir ifadesidir. Bir diğer deyişle şehir meydanları, varoluşundan itibaren değişen grupların kamusallığıyla kısıtlanmıştır.

(3) Farklı yönetim biçimleri altında gözlemlenebildiği üzere, şehir meydanları ezici büyüklüğü ve gösterişli olduğu ölçüde toplumun daha geniş bir kısmının kamusallığı kısıtlanmıştır (Roma Cumhuriyeti – Roma İmparatorluğu veya feodal oligarşi ile mutlak monarşi dönemlerine ait şehir meydanlarının mekânsal organizasyonunda bu fark billurlaşır).

(4) Tarih boyunca mekânsal organizasyon pratikleri, egemenin pragmatik taleplerine yanıt vermiş ve kamusallığın kısıtlanmasında araçsal bir rol edinmiştir.

(5) Şehir meydanları hem egemenin hâkimiyet hem karşıt kamusallıkların dahil olma mücadelesinin mekânlarıdır.

(6) Günümüz koşullarında şehir meydanları, neoliberal kentleşme politikalarının ve temsili demokrasinin paradoksal yapısının egemenliğindedir.

Bu çerçevede, her tarihsel dönem için farklı şehir örnekleri sunmuş olmamız nedeniyle çıkarımlarımızda bir genelleştirme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalmamak, bilakis doğrulamak ve detaylandırmak amacıyla şehir meydanlarının ve barındırdığı kamusallıkların evrimini; tek bir şehrin kendi tarihsel gelişim süreci içinde incelemek gerekli görülmüştür. Bu amaçla çalışmamızın son bölümünde yine Antik Çağ'dan günümüze İstanbul - Sultanahmet Meydanı (Hipodrom), Beyazıt Meydanı ve Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı örnekleri ele alınmıştır. Çalışmamızın bu bölümünde 1) literatür araştırması, 2) gazete arşiv taraması 3) coğrafi veri üretimi ve haritalandırma 4) mekânsal bilim profesyonelleriyle yapılan derinlemesine mülakat yöntemleriyle detayda geliştirilen bir araştırma sunulmuştur. Amacımız doğrultusunda dört karakteristik dönemde tanımladığımız bu bölüm, bir önceki bölümde daha genel olarak sunduğumuz çıkarımlarla beraber yorumlanmıştır. Bu bölümde ulaştığımız sonuçlar aşağıda belirtilmiştir:

(1) Egemen temsiliyet her zaman kendini sadece konvansiyonel anlamda şehir meydanı olarak tanımlanan mekânlarda görünür kılmamıştır; Konstantinopolis Hipodrom'u bir şehir meydanı işlevi kazanmıştır.

(2) Atmeydanı mekânsal organizasyonu sağlanmamış olmasına karşın, Hipodrom'un sosyo-mekânsal hafızasını korumuş; Osmanlı İstanbul'unun şehir meydanı işlevini kazanmıştır.

(3) Egemen olanın kendini görünür kıldığı mekân ifadesiyle Hipodrom ve Atmeydanı örnekleri, mekânsal bilimler çerçevesinde ele alınandan farklı biçimde, sosyo-politik bir gerçeklik olarak şehir meydanı tanımı sağlamıştır.

(4) Değişen mekânsal karakteristiklerine karşın merkezi konumu, ticaret ve yönetim gibi günlük hayatın parçası olan işlevlerle ilişkiselliği şehir meydanlarının değişmeyen özelliğidir. Zira temsiliyet kalabalıklara hitap etmektedir.

(5) Teknik bir bilim gibi ele alınan ulaşım planlaması, kamusallıkların şehir meydanlarında görünürlüklerini engellediği ölçüde (Beyazıt ve Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanları'nda olduğu gibi) sosyolojik bir konu haline gelmektedir.

(6) Gezi Park İşgal Hareketi ile Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı, karşıt kamusallıkların heterotopik mekân inşasına ve onun nihayetinde egemen söylem tarafından ele geçirilmesine örnek teşkil etmektedir.

(7) Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nın 15 Temmuz 2016'da gerçekleşen darbe girişimi sonrasında Demokrasi Nöbetleri süresince kullanımı, paradoksal bir yapı ile işlerlik kazanan temsili demokrasinin mekâna yansıması örneği olarak ele alınmaktadır.

(8) Yenikapı Dolgu Alanı'na "şehir meydanı" denilmesi, günümüzün işaretsizleştirilmiş, temsiliyetsizleştirilmiş mekânına ve kurulduğu günden buyana huzursuz demokrasisinin soyut mekân üretimine örnek olarak gösterilmektedir.

Bu çalışma, mekânsal bilimlerde gerçekleştirilen "meydan" çalışmalarının sosyal bilimler çerçevesindeki farklı bakış açılarıyla entegre edilmesi sonucunda, disiplinlerarası bir model geliştirmiştir. Aynı zamanda çalışma, şehir meydanlarının mekânsal organizasyonuna dair araştırma ve uygulama çalışmalarının sosyo-politik boyutunun önemine dikkat çekmeyi hedeflemiştir.

1. INTRODUCTION

The relation between city squares and public space has been in an adventure since the rise of the term “public” during the Ancient Era and the existence of Agora in Greek city-states for the very first time. In this adventure, city squares have witnessed everyday life practices and all the transformations of the societies to which they belong. Each square set on the city scale has been the stamp and the shadow of the representation of the power. City squares continue to live in an infinite loop where society and politics, the dominant and the counter are produced and reproduced. City squares appear as political; whatever constitutes the power (here church and palace or bourgeoisie and aristocracy, there a dictator or capital) they have been under the domination of the power. Besides, it is a timeless fact, which has not changed from the Athenian Agora to Place de la Concorde.

Contemporary social movements from the M-15 in Puerta del Sol Square – Madrid to the Egyptian Revolution in Tahrir Square – Cairo and to Occupy Gezi in Taksim Republican Square – Istanbul have been the reflections of this fact representing the similarities regarding their demands and their site selections; democracy and city squares.

Whereas "public" spaces are described as highly democratic in the spatial sciences literature; “all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive including streets, open spaces and public facilities” (UN-Habitat, 2016).

The problem description of this study emphasises the contradiction between the idealised definitions of public spaces, which can be widely seen in the spatial sciences literature, and the actual experiences of them. Indeed, as professionals and users, one might hardly experience public spaces as they have been discussed and idealised in papers and lectures; social and actual production of public space does not overlap with idealised definitions of them from the domain of the spatial sciences.

Searching for answers within this problem description, it has been envisage that the concepts of democracy and city square should be brought side by side and making an inter-disciplinary interpretation thereof inevitably requires establishing a common ground between social and spatial sciences. Here, the main **motivation of this study** is to bridge the gap between social and spatial sciences and to facilitate an inter-disciplinary approach that will enable the ground to better decode, design and defend the city squares.

In accordance, the main **aim of this study** is to reveal the relation between the structural transformation of publicness in the sense of political representation and the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of the city squares. The most important **contribution of this study to the city planning and urban design literature** is to bring historical evolution of city squares up for discussion from the insights of both social and spatial sciences.

The **research questions** that have formulated in the context of this aim and motivation are as follows:

(1) What are the relations in the discussions of the concept of publicness within the domains of social and spatial sciences?

(2) How does the social production of representational spaces of the dominant and counter publics occur?

(3) How has the city squares evolved throughout the history in the existence of transforming dominant and counter publics?

In this context, (in Section 2) the discussions on the concept of “publicness” within the domains of spatial and social sciences are revealed based on the concepts of "public sphere" and "public space". In the domain of social sciences, “publicness” refers to the human capacity for political representation and appearance, in other words, it is described as the involvement in socio-political life through action (praxis) and speech (lexis) (Arendt, 1998). Here, the term “public sphere” is used to describe aspects that reach beyond the physical limits of “publicness,” addressing its inherent political nature (Habermas, 1991). Indeed, there are important differences in conceptualising “public” from the perspectives of social and spatial sciences which Iveson (2007, p. 2-3) frames also as “procedural and topographical approaches”. Topographical approaches frame “public” spatially, as “a specific kind of place” in a

city which can be coloured on a given map as “public space”. On the other hand, procedural approaches use the term “public” in reference to “any place” used for “collective action and debate,” and typically refer to “public spheres” rather than “public spaces.” In the social sciences, the “public sphere” has been discussed concerning the act of “creating public opinion,” whereas in the spatial sciences “public space” has been deliberated on the level of “ownership and accessibility.”

Briefly, definitions of “public sphere” enable the complex and dynamic structure of “publicness” to be operated and the struggles between different publics to be understood. Yet, procedural approaches fail to discuss the spatialisation of publicness by making the significance of conventional public space in a city pattern questionable as a physical and communicative setting for the formation of public sphere. In such an understanding, the entire world has been considered as a potential setting for expression. However, despite legalization of free speech, press and assembly for everyone, the liberal public sphere appears as open to everyone only in principle (Iveson, 1998). These conditions of social inequality indicate a mass of competing interest groups rather than a single and comprehensive public sphere, which also indicate the existences of “dominant publics” and “counter publics” that are born out of the struggles among “multi-publics” (Fraser, 1990). From this point of view, it appears that relations between multi-publics, which are actually struggles between dominant and counter publics, produce and re-produce the public sphere itself; “the public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war” (Kluge, 1993).

On the other hand, definitions of “public space” reduce the complex and dynamic nature of “publicness” and “appearance” to “visibility” through their emphasis on the features of “accessibility” and “ownership”. The most important point here appears as the ignorance of spatial sciences that representation of the dominant requires the presence (access) of the other publics. In this sense, high degree of physical accessibility of any place also does not necessarily makes it “public”. Briefly, although both domains of science do not establish a common ground, “public” spaces appear as the absolute mediator setting for the production of public sphere in reality, even in the conventional sense.

The simultaneous need for the absence and presence of other publics for the continuity of the representation of the dominant is explained by the “paradox of

political representation". In the representative democracy system that requires the same paradox, representatives need the presence of people to be elected, however they need the absence of people to represent them simultaneously. Representation starts to break down when the explicit objections are voiced, in other words, when people prove their direct representation ability (publicness) giving the message that either they do not need representatives or elected representatives no longer represent them. The only solution to the continuity of the domination in some kind of balance is explained as "non-objection criterion", which means "silence" (Pitkin, 1967 & Runciman, 2007). Otherwise, the dominant confront with the possibility of losing control, yet, the counters of today might become the dominants of tomorrow. On the other hand, "non-objection" contradicts with the essence of both the concepts of "publicness" and "democracy". This theoretical discussion offers an idea about why city squares are closed for counter publics or "occupied". Since the act of "occupation" refers a temporary use of space, "occupy movements" could be consider as the temporary appearance of counter publics in "public" spaces.

At this point, in order to understand the social production of "representational space" Harvey (2012) reminds Lefebvre's (1970) definition of heterotopia; "anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis". Since this definition overlaps with former discussions, Lefebvre's multi-triads of spatiality have been reinterpreted and the concepts of isotopia and heteropia have been operationalised in order to offer answers to second research question.

This re-interpretation revealed that what is lived, conceived, perceived in and on space does not overlap with each other, in other words, "three moments of space" do not afford each other but they rather exist in tension with each other. This triad tension ends up with a dialectic tension between dominated/abstract space and appropriated/differential space in the capitalist mode of production. Here, production of abstract space implies the production of exchange value operating by signs and codes, whereas production of differential space implies a shift of use value over exchange value operating by experiences and appropriations. Since in his subsequent works Lefebvre defined isotopias in reference to "sameness" as being identical, homologous and analogous with heterotopias alongside them in reference to "difference" as being contrast and heterogeneous places, these twin concepts appeared as matching with dominated/abstract space (of dominant publics) and

appropriated/differential space (of counter publics). Obviously, social production of dominated and differential public spaces exactly reflects the spatialisation of the struggles between dominant and counter publics.

In order to elaborate the theoretical discussion with reflections on real cases, an original historical periodisation has been introduced in six phases each characterized by changing relation between "publicness" and "city square" offering examples from European cities in the period between Hellenistic times and today.

The term "public" was first mentioned during the Hellenistic period of Western history, and public life was centred in the Agora of the ancient Greek city-states. Tracing the Greco-Roman legacy, in terms of time, **this study has been limited** to the examination of the urbanisation process that the Western cities have witnessed throughout their historical accumulations during the period between Hellenistic times and today, and in terms of geography, examples from European cities have been offered in Section 3.

In accordance with the focus of this study on representational public spaces, **the cases offered have been limited** to the city squares since they have been the spaces that produced to afford the conditions for people to gather and appear politically. Squares are the spaces that can be classified in sub-categories in accordance with their functions, locations and volume, yet in general, they are focal points surrounded by built elements that enable people to come together for various purposes such as cultural, economic or administrative activities, and they gather and scatter the pedestrian flow. However, in terms of their scale and function; countryside squares, local neighbourhood squares and squares with a specialized transportation function like station squares and quay squares are also out of the scope since political representation historically take place in central city squares beginning from the Agora. Yet, it should be noted that the range of presented city square examples focuses on periodical characteristics, and many of them are representative of other squares of the same type.

In Section 3, it has been reached that despite their changing characteristics, major city squares have always been exclusionary spaces for some publics in history. They have remained "contested places, through wars, revolutions and upheavals, as their control meant the control of the common symbols of power, the control of the city

and of society" (Madanipour, 2003, pp. 207-208) and it appeared that contestation has become an essential part of social production of the major city squares spatially, functionally and semantically.

Here, it has been proved that whatever constitutes the dominant; (here church and palace or bourgeoisie and aristocracy, there a dictator or capital) there has been a sort of love and hatred relation between dominant publics and city squares. The power loved to show itself physically on and at city squares, indeed, this has been the reality, which occupies major city squares of every age both physically and psychologically. However, city squares full of counter publics arouse their hatred in turn, because, as history has witnessed, mass objections might threaten the powerful revolutionarily. Whatever constitutes the counter (workers, women, lesbians and gay men, minorities and the poor) their differences appear in exactly the space where the power is represented. They construct their differential spaces over the dominated spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis.

In this framework, since different city squares originated from different periods have been offered as examples in Section 3, in order to confirm and elaborate the results and not to fall in hasty generalisation; it has been deemed necessary to investigate the transformation of publicness and city squares together in one specific city throughout its own development history.

Since **the scope of this study is limited to the Western literature**, Istanbul has been analysed in Section 4 as an example with an uninterrupted history and as a crossing point where Asia and Europe touch, which was the capital of three big civilizations as Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, and is still the most populous city of the Republic of Turkey contemporarily.

Based on 1) literature survey 2) newspaper archives 3) mapping 4) interviews with professionals from the domains of spatial sciences, the social and actual production of Sultan Ahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares have been investigated in relation with each other from a novel approach combining descriptive and exploratory critical research. Integrating the knowledge from the former discussions, in this section, an original historical periodisation has been offered in four phases again each characterized by changing relation between evolution of the cases and transformation of multi-publics that Istanbul has sheltered.

This study, which might be seen also as a reading of urban historiography, emphasizes the necessity of combining data collection through both qualitative and quantitative research methods together in a mixed framework. Therefore, as one of the qualitative data collection techniques, semi-structured "in-depth interviews" have been conducted with professionals from the domains of spatial sciences whose areas of interest include public spaces, city squares and history of Istanbul, which are the themes of mutual interest of this study. Further, in order to provide qualitative data to deepen this reading of urban historiography and to reveal the change in the discourse with reflections on the cases, this study is supported with also newspaper archival research as an important information resource.

This study offers an inter-disciplinary model integrating the knowledge from both the domains of social and spatial sciences. In addition, this study aims to draw attention to the importance of the socio-political dimension of spatial organization of city squares for further research studies and implementations. Consequently, a number of conditions have been revealed to answer the research questions, which will enable the professionals from the domain of spatial sciences to better decode, design and defend the public spaces and city squares.

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN MULTI-PUBLICS AND THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Above, the main motivation of this study has been put as to bridge the gap between social and spatial sciences in terms of social production of public spaces and to facilitate an inter-disciplinary approach. In accordance, a theoretical discussion has been elaborated on the concept of "publicness" and social production of public spaces from the insights of spatial and social sciences in this section.

2.1 Public; Up In The Air (Public Sphere)

The roots of the discussion of publicness arose from insights of political theory rather than spatial studies. The term "public sphere" is used to describe aspects that reach beyond the physical limits of "publicness," addressing its inherent political nature. In its simplest form, the word "public" has been used in opposition to the term "private" in varying combinations such as; public sphere, public realm, public interest, public opinion, etc.

Today, contemporary definitions of "publicness" and "public sphere" refer to the most citied masterpieces of German political theorists, "The Human Condition" by Hannah Arendt, originally published in 1958, and "The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere" by Jürgen Habermas, originally published in German in 1962, and translated into English and published in 1991.

In Human Condition (1958), Arendt stressed the human capacity for political action and participatory democracy. She emphasized what Aristotle called "bios politikos," namely, action (praxis) and speech (lexis) (Arendt, 1998, p. 25). She saw biopolitics as a kind of obligation for human beings; in acting and speaking humans demonstrate whom they are and thus make their appearance in the world (Arendt, 1998, p. 179). According to her, action is never possible in isolation (p.188), and appearance always requires the presence of others, which is essentially "making the public realm"

though it is a matter of "to be seen and heard in the material human world" (Arendt, 1998:49-50).

There is more to this quotation than it seems, and here, the key word is "world." For her, the term "public" indicates the "world" itself, as it is common to all of humanity. Here the world is related to "the human artefacts and human affairs of those who inhabit the man-made world together" and "to live together in the world means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common." The world we live in is "common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it." (Arendt, 1998, p. 52). This understanding is based on the assumption that people have lived collectively since the era in which men began hunting, and thus the continuity of one's existence can only be realized by his/her togetherness with others.

The terms "public" and "private" were first mentioned during the Hellenistic period of Western history. Arendt idealised the origins of the public sphere in the ancient Greek polis as "the sphere of freedom" (Arendt, 1998, pp. 29-30), but as Martin highlights, without criticising the division of labour in which only young free male Greek citizens were involved in political life in the public space of the agora (Arendt, 1998, p. 160; Mitchell, 2003, pp. 51,131), it is basically because for her "the space of appearance is potentially ubiquitous" (Martin, 2013, p. 43). She considered not only the Agora but also the whole polis as public space; to be public was a matter of human capacity for political action so it was here and there, it was everywhere. It was up in the air to be actualised at any moment, so to speak.

In parallel to Arendt, Habermas also provided a framework about the term "public sphere," tracing its history. According to Habermas, "a portion of the public sphere is composed in every conversation performed by private individuals who assemble to form a public body" which "mediates between society and state" (Habermas, 1974, p. 49-50). However, his main interest was to question and criticise the transformation of the institutional character of the public sphere beginning from 18th century in Western society, which he called "Bourgeois Public Sphere" (Habermas, 1991 - 1974).

In the middle ages, although the distinction between the terms public and private had always been familiar dating back to the terms' origins back in the ancient period, there was not a common understanding of their usage. In comparison with the

ancient period, the distinction between private and public was blurred, forming an indivisible unity created by the same authority during the feudal mode of production. In this sense, the authority was neither public nor private; it was both, however, things that represent authority were public and ordinary people were considered to be in a passive position; as the spectators of what was represented. This emergence of "Representative Publicness" during the middle ages was followed by its consolidation during the Renaissance, and it was crowned by the Baroque festivity. Beginning from the 15th century, humanism led to the change of the palace lifestyle through the tutors who taught the princes and this humanist-educated royal type took the place of domination (Habermas, 1991, pp. 5-9).

These two studies of Arendt and Habermas were followed by "The Fall of Public Man" by Sennett (sociologist) in 1977 in which Sennett revealed how at the end of the 17th century the dichotomy of public and private had many shades, similar to the way the terms are used today: "public meant open to the scrutiny of anyone, whereas private meant a sheltered region of life defined by one's family and friends". In parallel to Habermas, Sennett expressed that the use of the word public has changed; now meaning "a special region of sociability." (Sennett, 2002, pp. 16-17).

The period between the end of the 17th and the mid-18th century was also the Age of Enlightenment; applying the scientific methods to their studies, philosophers criticised the existing situation of societies and developed new ideas of religious, cultural and economic freedom, representative institutions, and legal equality (Mason, 2015, pp. 429-552; Merriman, 2009a).

Out of these accumulated tensions with the ambitions of rising bourgeoisie for political power and positions of honour together with the inhuman conditions of the peasants came the rise of a new phenomenon, "creating the public opinion" or "making the public realm" that Arendt and Habermas emphasize (Habermas, 1991, p. 25, Mason, 2015, p. 563). A revolutionary wave of political upheavals happened and the whole socio-economic system of the Western world has changed over time. What happened during this period is that groups of people came together opposing the policies of the governments in power; that did not happen and end in a day; it was an accumulation of increasing social and political tension throughout history that we may say still continues to accumulate.

In this period, one might able to see the power of the act of writing and the press, the emergence of the literary public sphere in the creation of a critical public opinion, however, parallel to its power there was also extensive censorship on these political newspapers and journals (Habermas, 1991, p. 67; Merriman, 2009c). In fact, this conjuncture has been discussed as the rise of public sphere beginning from the 18th century on, which would fall due to the the rise of national industrial capitalism in the 19th and 20th centuries that characterised by the invasion of privileged private interests into the realm of politics and so the public sphere in the long run (Sennett, 2002, pp. 17-19; Habermas, 1991, pp. 141-143).

On the other hand, in terms of the evolution of the public sphere, a significant advancement of the 20th century has been the accelerating development and increasing worldwide use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in everyday life (Huurdeman, 2003). Booming ICTs brought up the question of the possibility of the phenomenon of a worldwide public sphere further (Habermas, 1996, pp. 360, 514). Today, the reality of worldwide mass objections or celebrations and the effect of instant communication tools on creating public opinion cannot be ignored and in fact, internet censorship and surveillance together with broadcast bans imposed and generated by governments are actually the evidence of the existence of a virtual worldwide public sphere and its contribution in creating public opinion.

Here, two important outcomes of the historical evolution of the terms publicness and public sphere, which are described as "Procedural Approaches" by Iveson (2007) appear. The procedural understanding of publicness (1) indicates the ability of political representation and action to exist without being reduced to a specific type of physical setting (Iveson, 2007, p. 10) and (2) although this approach does not underestimate the conventional existence of public spaces, it still draws attention that the matter of being public, to be included in the public sphere and public space as an act of discursive interaction, which is nothing but a struggle timelessly (Mitchell, 1995, p. 117).

On the other hand, as Fraser (1990) and Iveson (1998, 2007) indicate, the most important weakness of Habermasian understanding of the public sphere is embedded in the key words of "inclusion" and "struggle". Despite legalization of free speech, press and assembly for everyone, the liberal public sphere was open to everyone only in principle (Iveson, 1998, p. 26); in reality, society has been polarized by class

struggles so the public is fragmented into a mass of competing interest groups (Fraser, 1990, p. 59). In other words, out of the potential of creating "public opinion" to mediate between society and state, different "publics" were constituted in the liberal mode of production.

Fraser's (1990, pp. 62-63) discussion of the Habermasian public sphere is based on the critique of (1) the ignorance of social differences and assumption of social equality, (2) the preference of a single and comprehensive public sphere over "multi publics." Departing from this point of view, Fraser (1990, p. 67) reveals the terms "dominant publics" and "counter publics." In defining "counter publics", she refers to the counter-discourses expressed by the members of subordinated social groups as an opposition, a reaction to exclusions within dominant publics based on their differentiating "identities, interests and needs". From this discussion, it appears that relations between multi-publics, which are actually struggles between dominant and counter publics, produce and re-produce the public sphere itself. In other words, as it is summarized in Kluge's famous words (1993, p. ix); "the public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war."

Actually, before Fraser, in "Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere" which was originally published in 1972 in German and translated to English in 1993, Negt and Kluge offered the concept of the "Proletarian Public Sphere" as a form of counter-public against the "Bourgeois Public Sphere" and discussed the dialectic between them.

There are many aspects of the complicated structure of the notion of public sphere to be discussed, obviously. However, first it is important to understand that the public sphere itself is chaotic, dynamic, multi-dimensional and produced and re-produced by struggles among different publics. In this point, Iveson is right to complain that procedural approaches fail to reveal the spatiality of publicness; if different publics find their "proper location almost any time and anywhere" then what would public spaces possibly mean in an urban setting? (Iveson, 2007, p. 11). Further, it is also contradictory that since making an appearance in this world (in the sense of being public) always requires the presence of others (Arendt, 1998, pp. 49-50), then this indicates not a bedroom with an internet connected TV but rather a gathering place that is conventionally called "public space." Because, in such a bedroom one might be a part of public but it would be in a passive voice since there are two sides of

"publicness" as "to be addressed and/or to address". Hence, the concern of this study within this discussion is with (1) the spatial dimension of this complicated structure regarding the existence and affordances of public space and (2) its reflection in spatial sciences literature.

2.2 Public; In The Ordinal Scale (Public Space)

Following this evolving discussion on the public sphere from the domain of political theory beginning from the late 1950s, increasing numbers of studies dealing with geography, urban planning and architecture have focused on the issue of spatial requirements and desirable features of ideal public spaces since the 1970s.

To have a general understanding of the period, it should be remembered that economic recovery and reorganization was sustained in most conturies after the end of World War II based on Keynesian economics and the development of a welfare (social) state model which began to break down after 1960s and was no longer working by the mid-1970s, eventually abandoned and replaced by neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005).

In the long run, this new socio-economic and political turn reflected itself in urbanisation, which has been driven by the spatial organisation of the brutal capitalist system, especially by means of privatization of urban space. In all these developments, changing typologies and functions of public spaces in an urban pattern and their publicness have become an unavoidable and growing discussion in the domain of spatial sciences.

Here, some sort of influence of the conjuncture after the 1970s reflects itself in proposed definitions of public space in the spatial studies that Iveson frames as topographical approaches (2007, pp. 2-3).

Public spaces are considered as:

- composed of the presence of other people, activities, events, inspiration, and stimulation (Gehl, 1987, p. 15),
- a common ground for people to perform functional and/or ritual activities either as a part of daily routine or periodic festivities (Carr et al., 1992, p. xi),

- places that belong to a community not developers/investors or police and traffic wardens (Tibbalds, 1992, p. 14).

There are many similar definitions referring different terms such as urban open spaces, urban public space etc. Yet, there has been a consensus on the general characteristics of a given public space summarized also very recently by UN-Habitat as "all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive including streets, open spaces and public facilities" (UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 6).

Departing from this point of view, the main components/dimensions of public spaces have been described by many studies again sharing similarities as well.

Considering "the rights in public space" within the contradictory relationship between "freedom and control of the space," Lynch presented five dimensions of "spatial rights": "presence, use and action, appropriation, modification and disposition" (Lynch, 1981). In addition, to determine the essential components of public space, these dimensions have been redefined and renamed by Carr et al., after Lynch as "access, freedom of action, claim, change, and ownership and disposition" (Carr et al., 1992, p. 137). Furthermore, emphasizing human needs in public spaces, Carr et al. also defined five reasons and so the indicators "comfort, relaxation, passive and active engagement, and discovery" to assess the "success of public spaces" (Carr et al., 1992, pp. 90-92).

Benn and Gaus determined "access (dividing into four sub-dimensions as physical access to spaces, activities and intercourse, information and resources), agency and interest" as three dimensions of "publicness and privateness" (Benn & Gaus, 1983, pp. 7-11).

Referring to a broader urban context, Jacobs and Appleyard proposed a number of goals of public spaces as: livability, identity and control, access to opportunity, imagination and joy, authenticity and meaning, open communities and public life, self-reliance, and justice to create a "good urban environment" (Jacobs & Appleyard, 1987, pp. 115-116).

Similar to this broader context, offering "a cocktail of elements to produce good places," Montgomery has discussed three main "qualities of successful urban places": "activity, image and form" (Montgomery, 1998).

Evaluating thousands of public spaces around the world, PPS (The Project for Public Spaces) has offered four key attributes "in judging any place as good or bad": "access and linkages, uses and activities, comfort and image, and sociability" (PPS, 2000).

Gehl has defined twelve key quality criteria under three main components to create a "100% place" (a place that provides human comfort and pleasure) as "protection, comfort, and enjoyment" (Gehl, 2002, p. 11).

Following these attempts to define an ideal public space and desirable features of it, methodological studies have been conducted to measure and assess the degree of publicness of any given space, including the "Three Axes Model" (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007 - 2011), the "Star Model" (Varna, 2011), and the "OMAI Model" (Van Melik and Langstraat, 2013). Each of these models serves as a tool for analyzing the degree of privatization of public space in comparison to others.

Nemeth and Schmidt (2011) evaluated publicness in terms of three dimensions: ownership, management, and uses/users, and questioned whether a space is "more public" or "more private" based on these dimensions.

Varna (2011) also described five meta themes of publicness as "ownership", "physical configuration," "animation," "control" and "civility". In this model, each of the five dimensions ranges from 1 (the least public) to 5 (the most public) along an ordinal scale, except the control dimension; less controlled human activity is more public.

Following these studies, Van Melik and Langstraat (2013) proposed four dimensions of publicness: ownership, management, accessibility and inclusiveness (OMAI). Each of the dimensions are measured on a four-point ordinal scale that ranges from 1 (fully private) to 4 (fully public).

Briefly, in the answers to the questions of "what makes a place successful?", "how to measure the quality of space?" or "how to define a great place?" there has been a search for an ideal public space and the definitions of desirable features of it. The main reason why there has been a growing search to define what is "more / less / least / most / fully public and etc." is the argument that public space is under threat from the modern urban life that is characterized by the capitalist mode of production, consumerism, privatization, restrictive regulations on public space, controlling and

militarizing public space through security measures, police force and/or high tech security camera systems, social exclusion from public space and related politics (Sorkin, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Mitchell, 1995; Banerjee, 2001; Madanipour, 2003-2005).

From the perspective of spatial sciences, there has been a general consensus on the admission of what Sennett called "dead public spaces," as many public spaces still seem to be "intentionally designed to be looked at but not touched today; they are neat, clean and empty, as if to say, no people, no problem!" (Madden, 2001, p. 20). In other words, as Iveson (2007, p. 3) notes, there has been a growing concern that contemporary "public spaces are becoming more exclusionary and hence less accessible to those who make a connection between public-making and public space and seek to put public space to work in circulating ideas and claims to others." The combination of discussions that have arisen out of the domain of political theory and spatial reflections on neoliberal urbanisation conditions after the 1970s formed a very just and common concern in all the different areas of the still expanding spatial sciences literature to search for "how or to what degree public spaces contribute spatially to the production (and re-production) of the public sphere and to which extent they are public?"

Here, the research question might be rephrased as what are the weaknesses of the attempts from the domain of spatial sciences in dealing with the complex structure of production of the public sphere? In this point, two shared major problematics of topographical approaches in conceptualizing public space offered by Iveson (2007, pp. 5-8) should be considered regarding the discussion on public sphere revealed.

Iveson characterises the first problematic aspect of topographical approaches as "arguments for a better public space are articulated through narratives of loss and reclamation" and the condition of loss and reclamation is a relative one that differs from side to side; in his words, "the villains and the heroes change depending on who is telling the story" (Iveson, 2007, p. 5). What Iveson emphasises here is that one of the weaknesses of these approaches is that they are designed to define and classify publicness with a limited focus on physical and operational features only. Defining publicness is more than assigning a label to a space as public or private, or checking if a space meets some criteria (Kohn, 2004, p. 10). Any public space is expected to respond to the needs of its users balancing all complicated urban dynamics which

means also comprising inter-connected components and beyond of it. Regardless of the reality and the complexity of the fact that social, cultural, political process are spatial, there is a tendency in many current approaches to retreat into analysing qualitative and quantitative features of cities and public spaces partially (Harvey, 1973). Indeed, publicness, although it has been told that it has been lost in neoliberal urbanism, has always been a matter of struggles and so public spaces have always been exclusionary places for some throughout history.

Having this concern, Madanipour (2010, p. 237) also puts that the claims of different publics over space contest the others, and the struggle between them causes a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion, and this is why he asks "Whose public space?" Standing on this very spot, Robbins (1993, p. viii) also poses a fair question: "for whom was the city once more public than now; for workers, women, lesbians and gay men, in other words, for the differences, minorities and the poor?"

The result of this narrative loss has been "a degree of false romanticization of historic public spaces" (Madanipour, 2010, p. 7) which becomes "a phantom[1], never actually realized in history but haunting our frameworks for understanding the present" (Iveson, 2007, p. 6).

A second major problem of topographical approaches is the simplification of the relationship between publicness and physical space; in other words, it is the reduction of production of the public sphere to just physical visibility in spaces that conventionally considered as public like streets, squares etc. However, "appearance (in the sense that Arendt uses it) is not reducible to visibility" as it has been considered in these approaches (Iveson, 2007, p. 11). This critique emphasises that there are also other forms of making-publics and besides one could be a part of multi-publics in a place that is called "private" through varying comminication tools, and this also brings us to the discussion on the "ownership" as another key feature adopted in these approaches. That is to say, just because one seen in public does not always mean they are "a part of public", high degree of physical accessibility of any place also does not necessarily makes it "public".

[1] Kurt Iveson (2007) used the term "Phantom" after Walter Lippmann (1925) and Bruce Robbins (1993).

Briefly, topographical approaches fail to see that (1) public spaces have never been open to everyone at all in the sense of providing a welcoming atmosphere democratically for all different publics and so (2) although it is crucial and has been seen as the key feature of a public space, physical accessibility of a place alone does not make it "public" for all.

Although these two main problematics are profoundly valuable to see how complicated and difficult it is to do justice to the comparison of the notions "public sphere" and "public space"; the preference of anyone to be in public space in any sense should not be overlooked, because as it has been sees in history "making-public" is not a matter of moment in time, it is rather a cumulative process. In fact, passive acts of people in daily routine like just encounters with passers-by might contribute the awareness of the outside world and hence making publics, just as the active acts contribute to being a part of the public like joining a public rally or a discussion, etc.

Consequently, two important outcomes of this discussion on topographical approaches to public spaces are that (1) they fail to catch the complex and dynamic structure of publicness, they rather simplify it to some measurable criteria or lines on a map, and (2) they do not face the reality of the timeless struggle between publics and so the exclusionary nature of "public" spaces historically, they rather assume fictitious societies composed of equals in a fully democratic world.

2.3 Reclaiming the Public Space and the Paradox of Political Representation

In parallel with the emphasis on the struggle between different publics, Harvey (2012) contributes at the most level to the literature of spatial sciences considering the influential occupy movements around the world as the examples of reclaiming the city and so the public space. In the final chapters of "Rebel Cities", Harvey gives the examples of London 2011 and #OWS as social movements against feral capitalism and so the privatization of urban space.

Harvey (2012) begins his discussion with Lefebvre's vision of "right to the city" and mentions Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia as a clue for us to continue on the search for understanding what a public space as the place of appearance is. He leaves an important clue about heterotopia with a quotation from Lefebvre; "anomic groups

construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis" (Harvey, 2012, p. xviii; Lefebvre, 2003, p. 129). By anomic groups, Lefebvre obviously refers to the counter publics in opposition to the dominant publics and Harvey further considers the "occupy movements" as the spatialisation of the struggles between them.

The term heterotopia is introduced to the social sciences by Foucault in 1967 but developed and criticised by Lefebvre in 1970-Urban Revolution as radically different. However, the concept of heterotopia is also very rarely linked with Lefebvre or never operationalized based on his approach and again it is very rarely linked with the interpretations of public spaces (for examples, see Marco Cenzatti in Heterotopia and the City, 2008).

Although Lefebvre wrote his three masterpieces "Urban Revolution" (1970), "Survival of Capitalism" (1973) and finally "The Production of Space" (1974) just in the aftermath of the Paris uprising in May 1968, which he was also a part of; his studies have not been interpreted as a framework in the studies on public spaces as a whole. In fact, in a very recent study "Urban Revolution Now" Stanek et al. (2014) state that Lefebvre's works were seen mostly purely theoretical and therefore his concepts only effected his own studies especially until 1990s when "The Production of Space" was translated to English in 1991 (and even Urban Revolution was translated to English in 2003). However, there is still so much to interpret from Lefebvre since many studies remain limited with focusing on the three-dimensional concept of the production of space (Stanek et al., 2014, p. 5).

There appears a pre-assumption to investigate in the following chapters that heterotopias would be produced temporarily in any part of an urban context. The question of whether the occupy movements can be contextualized as heterotopias and the spatialisation of the struggles between multi-publics or not will be another subject of this study. One of main contributions of this section will be the operationalisation of Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia. However, before investigating the concept of heterotopia surgically, here it should be emphasised the paradoxical nature of the act of occupation of a public space turning back to theoretically idealised definitions of public space in topographical approaches. If they are open and accessible for all in practice, then why it is called as "occupy", or

should one understand the meaning of the act in the language like it is used on a toilet door writing “occupied” but meaning “in use” temporarily?

Since it indicates a paradox, this question brings the discussion back to the domain of political science to investigate “paradox of political representation” developed by Pitkin (1967) and after Runciman (2007) to deepen the discussion on production of heterotopias as public spaces.

In terms of the scope of this study, it is important to highlight that there are more than one type of political representation. It can be actualised in many different forms such as voting, joining a political party, signing a petition and other spatial campaigning tools like demonstrations and meetings. However, sticking with the boundaries of the research question, “paradox of political representation” has been tried to be interpreted only in terms of existence and use of public spaces considering also the importance and the necessity of physical representation of humans themselves.

As the existing governmental system of modern states of today, what mainly forms the “representative democracy” is the representative governments that had “the effect of making it materially impracticable for the people to play a part in government” and apparently even to be assembled. In fact, political representation has only been associated with the system of election today (Manin, 1997, p. 9).

Etymologically, the word representation derives from the Latin verb “repraesentare” of Roman law, yet, it was not an equivalent term used meaning “acting or speaking on behalf of someone else” as in the modern sense today. According to Skinner (2005), this basic meaning of the verb “repraesentare” was mainly “re-presenting something” which means “bringing something missing or absent back into the present” in the two main contexts of law and after art (Skinner, 2005, pp. 160-161).

Runciman explains the paradox of political representation based on representative democracy; although it is hard to know how democracy can work in practice, it is a purely political idea; however, representation is inherently ambiguous as it implies a presence and the absence that comes from the need to be re-presented simultaneously (Vieira & Runciman, 2008, p. 2).

Questioning the paradox beyond its etymology, putting it in the centre of the understanding of democratic politics; Runciman says; “it allows for the idea of

representation to be identified both with the view that representatives should take decisions on behalf of citizens, and citizens should issue their instructions to representatives." (Runciman, 2007, pp. 93-95).

In this very point, Pitkin (1967, p. 155) puts forward one possible solution to the paradoxical nature of representation as "non-objection criterion"; "the substance of the activity of representing seems to consist in promoting the interests of the represented, in a context where the latter is conceived as capable of action and judgment, but in such a way that he does not object to what is done in his name." Here "objection" allows a kind of "presence" for those who are represented. This presence is based on the ability to object to what is done on behalf of represented people. Interpreting the "silence" as a kind of confirmation whereas the "non-objection criterion" offers the "presence" for the represented, Runciman summarizes this point of view in a sentence; "Representation takes place when there is no objection to what someone does on behalf of someone else." He adds; "representation starts to break down when the explicit objections are voiced and it depends on seeing the voters as a series of individuals, capable of expressing their wishes for themselves." (Runciman, 2007, p. 95).

This brings the discussion back to what Arendt stressed as human capacity for political action. One might think of that whether the representation and so the representative governments are so fragile to be break down because of explicit objections or not. However, what is important here in terms of urban planning, thinking and observing the use and production of public spaces today; as why they are considered as "no people, no problem spaces" (Madden, 2001, p. 20) or "dead and alive public spaces" (Sennett, 2002, pp. 12-14) and why they are "privatized on every front" (Sheller and Urry, 2003, p. 1) or why eventually "occupied" becomes clearer. In such, why political power, the state or namely the representatives as the dominant discourse seek to reorganize, demolish, privatize, control, close or even militarize by police force those spaces of appearances becomes also cleaer.

Here, it is claimed that production of public spaces paradoxically boiled down to antagonisms that arouse from the relations between multi-publics, which is ignored by the topographical approaches. This claim requires reinterpretation of the production of space operationalising Lefebvre's triad further and linking the concept of heterotopia to understand better the spatialisation of relations between multi-publics.

2.4 Lefebvre's Multi-Triads of Spatiality and Social Production of Space

After Harvey (2012), Lefebvre's ideas will be re-read in terms of contemporary conditions of our cities expecting outcomes for the use and production of public spaces, especially considering them as heterotopias, which would be one of the main contributions of this study in the literature of spatial sciences.

First, it has to be mentioned that Lefebvre criticised Karl Marx repetitively in two specific points. Marx predicted that there would be an end of the capitalism; he believed that conflicts and struggles between working class and capitalists would change the mode of production to communism worldwide as the abolition of private property (Tucker, Marx, Engels, 1978, p. 484).

Hence, as the first, Lefebvre criticised Marx and his followers for not explaining how the "competitive capitalism" would end in any other way except from their proclaimed final catastrophe. Therefore, he focused on the relationship between space and reproduction of the means of production giving an answer to the question of how capitalism overcomes the contradictions and reproduces itself that "capitalism succeeded in achieving "growth" by occupying space, by producing a space" (Lefebvre, 1976, pp. 10-11, 21).

Second, he criticized Marx's two-term oppositions like bourgeoisie vs proletariat and wages vs capital, so he sought a three-term relation, which will affect each other simultaneously to explain the production of space. By extension, he saw three fields of life as physical – mental – social to build his triads on (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 11-39-325).

He started with the hypothesis; "Society has been completely urbanised" defining urban society as a result of industrialisation that absorbs agricultural production. The concept of urban was referred to the extension and dominance of the city over the countryside in which the peasant life also has been transformed (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 1-4).

However, he knew that space has been produced in every age of the history, in fact, his understanding of space, as a "product" does not refer an "item" or a "thing"; it is the physical reality of a set of social relations, which does not occur in a moment but requires a process in time (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 26-53). He considered space as a social product that serves as a tool of thought and of action, claiming that a given

space is both instrument and subject of production and it is a tool of control and dominant praxis, namely the power. Thus, he argued four implications and consequences of this already obvious statement to demonstrate his hypothesis through a systematic examination.

First, “natural space is irreversibly disappearing”; natural (absolute) space is the departure point of production of space which will eventually lost as long as it is seen as the raw material of the production. Second, “every society produces its own space”; this is important because, like him, this study also is dealing with the Western conceptualization of space. Indeed, physical space contains symbolic representations of the social relations, which transform and accumulate historically, in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art that differ in various geographies and cultures.

Based on this second implication, Lefebvre built the “first triad of spatiality” as “Spatial Practice”, “Representations of Space” and “Representational Space”.

“Spatial Practices” embrace “production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation”. “Representations of Space” refers to “the relations of production and to the order that those relations impose and so to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to frontal relations”. “Representational Space” embodies “complex symbolisms (coded or not) and is linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life of a society”.

Lefebvre elaborated this layer and built the “second triad” over it by his “third implication” that questions “the shift from things in space to the actual production of space”.

In this framework, containing daily reality (routine) and urban reality (land use; functions and networks) together “spatial practice” corresponds the “perceived space” which indicates the everyday life of a society. “Representations of space” refers to the “conceived space”; it is the designed space by the scientists, planners, architects, social engineers, namely the technocrats, it is constructed out of knowledge, which is always relative. As the last, “representational space” is the “lived space” of its inhabitants and users; it is the described space in imaginations to be changed and appropriated.

He also argued that by way of construction, “conceived space” has a practical impact on urban pattern and so a substantial role in the production of space while “lived space” products only “symbolic and temporary works” which are often “unique but run out of stream after a time”. Briefly, Lefebvre drew two-layered triad based on his two implications and three fields of life so far.

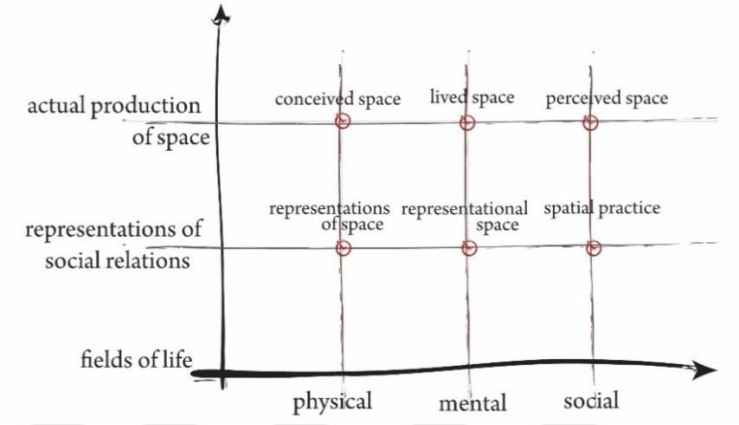


Figure 2. 1: Lefebvre’s Multi-Triad of Spatiality.

What does it all mean practically? Lefebvre called each contextualization of his triads as “moments of social space” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40) and one might try to imagine them like exact points in time or like a model of an atom that electrons hanging around the core; each has a gravitational force through its own direction (one more than the other) producing the space. Though the production of space requires a process, the power of each gravitational force of each context (electron) would change presumably in time.

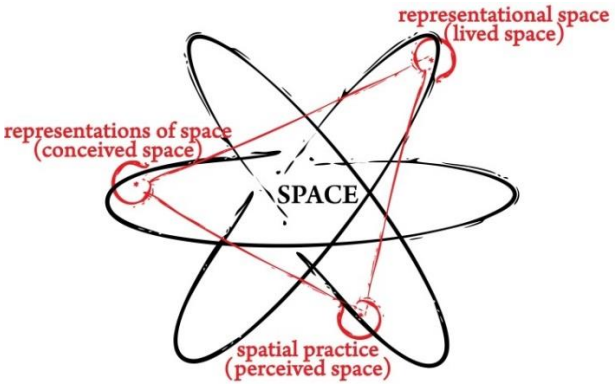


Figure 2. 2: Illustration of “Moments of (Social) Space”.

It gets clear in this schema that what is conceived is not the same with what is lived and perceived or else what is perceived is not the same with what is lived and conceived; they are different moments of the production of social space and in terms of practical life, it is nothing but a paradox.

In other words, what Lefebvre drew is both the political and paradoxical nature of social space. He does not use the terms public and private, instead, he use "social space" based on "social relations of production" and this relation grounds on struggle and so the space is a matter of politics rather than the property for also him. In brief, he schematized the dimensions of the paradox of (social) space; a question rises here, as "how would it be possible for these three moments of space to become one?

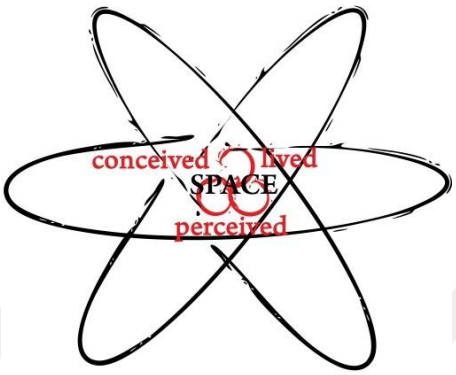


Figure 2. 3: Questioned Unification of "Moments of (Social) Space".

Fourth implication (works together with the first) is "if space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history". In conceptualizing of triads, Lefebvre did not mention any historical periodization, because they can be applied to any period. Here, he rather referred to the shifts between modes of production that each produces its own space to show the change of the multi-triad in the capitalist mode of production; and it remarks the simplification of the history of the Western cities.

First, there is the "Absolute Space"; advantageous fragments of natural space to settle which are soon populated. It is also the civil and religious space of agrarian population produced by peasants but managed by others (priests, warriors etc.). Later, the preservation of the notion of family and what is sacred, led the foundation of political state, which remarks the "Historical Space".

"Historical Space" reflects the rise of representational space including religious and political symbolisms that destroyed the absolute space and created the space of accumulation of the abstracts. However, the shift to the feudal mode of production built its own "Medieval Space" tracing the representational spaces of the preceding and medieval town dominated the countryside, so does the bourgeoisie. Hence,

“labour fell prey to abstraction” and capitalism realised its own relations of production creating its own space: “Abstract Space”.

“Abstract Space” functions as a commodity with its exchange-value as a set of things and materials that are formal and measurable; it is the instrumental space of authority, which erased differences, the space of capitalist mode of production. It is not only about constructing more or increasing the exchange value, it is also about destroying; not only the built environment but also the preceding social relations and differences composed of memories and identities eliminating the representational space.

In parallel to the final catastrophe of Marx, more than 40 years ago Lefebvre also imagined the “Urban Revolution” which would lead human to change what they have into a better life but only with the production of an appropriate space. Such an appropriated space would be realized by the dissolution of abstract space due to the rise of contradictions within it.

What are these contradictions? This phrase obviously needs a clarification; since competitive capitalism desirous of everything at the same time, it produce abstract space which is also contradictory space that characterized by contradictions; quantity vs quality, global vs local, use value vs exchange value (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 352-356). Contradictions of abstract space derive from the internal contradictions of capitalism that both produce and eventually dissolve it. This production is not stable, to avoid the general/global devaluation of capital, it creates a landscape in a productive moment and destroys it at a later point, which Harvey called (applying the term from Marx and Schumpeter) “creative destruction” (Harvey, 2007 – 2014). Herein, what remarks the dissolution of abstract space is the production of “Differential Space” that gathers differences towards the homogeneity of abstract space of contemporary capitalism (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 37).

Differential space potentially emerges from the internal contradictions of abstract space; contradictions cannot be totally resolved, thus abstract space cannot be achieved full domination and that creates differential space through appropriation and autogestion (Harvey, 2014, p. 33). In other words, “neither capitalism nor the state can maintain abstract space they have produced.” (Lefebvre, 2001, p. 190).

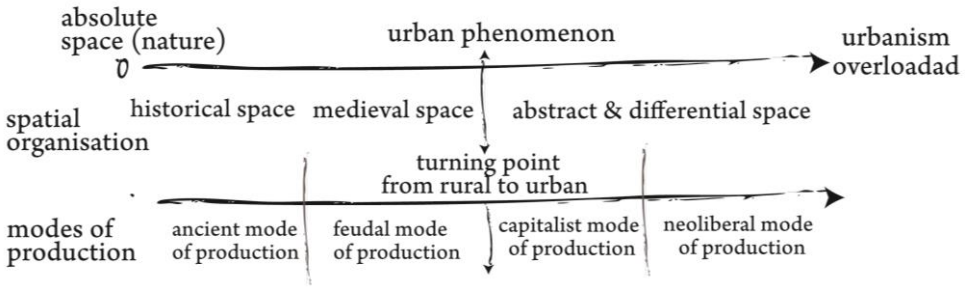


Figure 2. 4: Shifts between Modes of Production and Their Space.

Lefebvre uses the term autogestion to define social struggles as political resistance that transformed from economic concerns and demands into attempts to produce new spaces (Butler, 2012, p. 99). "Each time a social group refuses to accept and forces itself to master its conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring." (Lefebvre, 2001, p. 779).

Autogestion lies in the distinction between domination and appropriation of space. "Dominated Space" is the space transformed and mediated by technology; is a construction of the projects of technocrats; "closed, sterilized and emptied out" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 343, 164-165). Obviously, dominated space appears as the abstract space and it can be understood in opposition with appropriated space.

Appropriation of space is the modification of natural space in order to "serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group" and it requires the notion of property but in the sense of possession. Although he mentions that "a site, a square or a street" can be an appropriated space, Lefebvre emphasizes that it is often "a structure; a monument or building". Indeed, he develops the term referring the right to inhabitation; "right to the city" and "right to difference"; in this understanding, appropriation of space occurs in the form of squatting.

Shields draws particular attention to that Lefebvre suggested squatting; slums, favelas, barrios, ranchos as re-appropriation of space; birth of the tradition of "occupying" key spatial sites and buildings as a means of protest (Shields, 1999, p. 165; Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 373-374). Lefebvre gives the examples of squatting, because for him, differential space is the "socialist space" meaning the end of private property and domination of space by the state (Lefebvre, 2001, pp. 192-193). However, in terms of the scope of this study, squatting will be considered not in the form of inhabitation but in the form of demonstrative occupations on "public" space as a unique type of political representation.

There are two important distinctions between abstract and differential space. First, production of abstract space is the production of exchange value whereas production of differential space implies a shift of use value over exchange value. Second, abstract space operates by signs and codes, which are attributed to them but differential space operates by experiences and appropriations. Societies that produce differential space reflect their self-representation in it, which is a creative and political process.

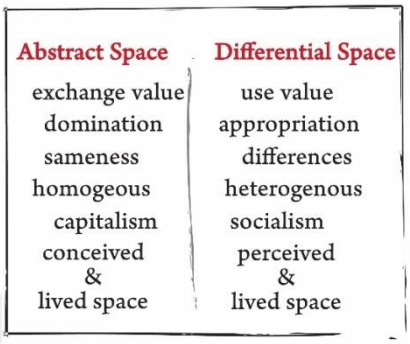


Figure 2. 5: Opposite Characteristics of Abstract and Differential Spaces.

Thereby, abstract space appears as a unity of lived and conceived spaces implying representations of space that coded by professionals and politicians, while differential space appears as a unity of lived and perceived spaces implying spatial practice that appropriated by its users, which would generate heterogeneous spaces and relations.

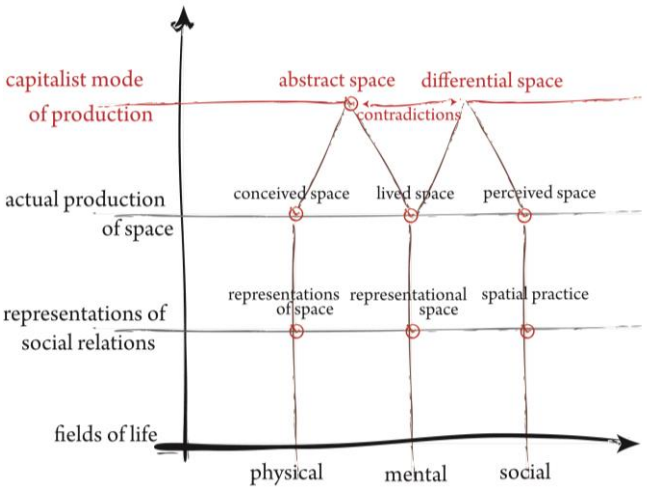


Figure 2. 6: Abstract and Differential Spaces of Capitalist Mode of Production.

Above, it has been seen that “three moments of space” that grounds on “three fields of life” exists in tension with each other based on economic and political modes of production, and this tension sides in favour of dominant praxis. In fact, domination

calls for its own space; abstract space of capitalism. In an abstract space, what is conceived does not overlap with what is perceived, it rather shapes what people live; in other words, it rather dominates the representational space. This domination is beyond the issue of ownership because how people represent themselves in space is beyond the notion of ownership and this is mainly why Lefebvre used the term "social space" instead of public or private. This approach does not deny the fact that there are of course public spaces, yet, it rather frames a bigger picture based on the fight for the right to the city, which is inherently both public and private.

Though this approach is still too theoretical to be tackled, the concepts of heterotopia and isotopia together will be focused to describe and criticize the assumption of Lefebvre on dissolution of abstract space and production of differential space operationalising his triads.

2.5 Urban Revolution on the Way from Contradictions to Heterotopia

The concept of heterotopia is a medical term that describes a phenomenon occurring in an unusual place or a spatial displacement of normal tissue, which does not affect the development or organism as a whole (Sohn, 2008, p. 41; Lax, 1997, p. 115). It is introduced to the social sciences for the very first time by French philosopher Michel Foucault, developed in "Des Escapes Autres" (1967) translated to in English as "Of Other Spaces" first in 1986 and as "Different Spaces" in 1998 by Hurley, however, he never mentioned this concept in any of his subsequent writings (Hetherington, 1997, p. 42; Saldanha, 2008, p. 2082).

"A heterotopia is different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to." (Foucault, 1998, p. 178). His understanding and interest are embedded into his definition of the term "emplacement". Foucault defines "emplacement" as "the relations of proximity between points or elements", which means "the action of making out a position" (Johnson, 2006, p. 77). As in its English translation, "otherness" rises from this positional logic as it creates the distinction between normal and abnormal (Sandin, 2008, p. 86). Clearly, the "other" is not the "unknown"; it is rather "different". Indeed, Hurley's translation is more successful in giving the meaning of the terms "emplacement" and "otherness".

Foucault was interested in certain emplacements, which both connect and contradict with all the others: utopias and heterotopias (Foucault, 1998, p. 178). Real and unreal; it is the main distinction between these two terms for Foucault; utopias are either a perfected or reversed form of societies but with no real place whereas heterotopias are of enacted utopias. What is common is that both utopia and heterotopia is a mirror effect. However, utopia is a mirror as being a placeless place whereas heterotopia is a mirror, which allows a visibility: "the mirror provides a metathesis of visibility that affects both the space represented in the picture and its nature as representation" (Foucault, 1998, p. 179; 1966, p. 9).

Foucault attempted to offer a systematic description of heterotopias in six principles as summarized below.

First, he claimed that every culture and human group establishes its own heterotopias, so there is no single and universal form of it, but there are the modern heterotopias of "deviation" like rest homes, psychiatric hospitals and prisons for those whose behavior is "deviant" from the "required" norms in a society.

Second, heterotopias may operate differently in function and meaning in different historical periods like the cemeteries' changing locations after the end of 18th century.

Third, a heterotopia is able to "juxtapose several emplacements in a single real place that are incompatible"; like theaters and cinemas.

Fourth, heterotopias are often linked to slices in time; they operate by means of breaking points in time. Time accumulates and heterotopias either "record" it as in museums and libraries or "periodize" it as in temporal festivals, fairs and trips.

Fifth, a heterotopia always opens and closes due to the systems or rituals that make it both isolated and accessible. "One cannot enter to a heterotopia like a public space"; it requires certain permissions or conditions as in his examples of prisons and Guest Houses in South America.

Finally, a heterotopia is always in relation with the remaining space reflecting them creating either real or illusional spaces; like brothels as illusional spaces or some colonial settlements and ships as real spaces (Foucault, 1998, pp. 180-184).

Although Foucault framed six principles to explain what is a heterotopia, it is still confusing when his very specific examples together with his very general definition

as “different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to” have been considered (Foucault, 1998, p. 178). This is mainly why there are Foucauldian approaches to the term and also opposing criticisms that might be called Lefebvrian though it is the earliest (1970) that followed by many like Edward Soja (1996) and David Harvey (2000).

Soja comments on Foucault’s work as “frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent and narrowly focused on peculiar micro-geographies, near-sited, deviant and deviously apolitical” (Soja, 1996, p. 162). Harvey also criticises him as “banal” due to his approach that positions heterotopias somehow outside the dominant social order and whatever happens in them is acceptable or appropriate in some sense (Harvey, 2000, p. 538).

Soja states that Lefebvre criticized Foucault as being failed to explore the “collective subject” which means also ignoring the politics of social spatiality and Marxian critique of capitalism. He also quotes Lefebvre saying that although Foucault’s examples of heterotopia, namely prisons, psychiatric hospitals and antipsychiatry have an importance in the critique of power, they do not compose integrity and they fall apart from each other in time and space (Soja, 1996, p. 146; Lefebvre, 1976, p. 116). On his foreword to “The Urban Revolution”, Neil Smith also mentions that Lefebvre’s discussion on heterotopia engages Foucault; in contrast to Foucault’s randomness Lefebvre envisaged heterotopias from a political and historical perspective (Smith in Lefebvre, 2003, p. xii).

Lefebvre pictured the idea of heterotopia detailed in “The Urban Revolution” (1970) right after Foucault (1967) in a historical formulation of “differentiation”. Lefebvre categorised three “topias” as the conceptual keys to solve complex spaces and explain the dissolution of abstract space; isotopia (analogous place), heterotopia (contrasting place) and utopia (places of what has no place) (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 163-164-366).

Lefebvre drew a distinction between heterotopia and utopia; utopia is a non-place but it seeks a place of its own and it is everywhere and nowhere, hanging in the air in an urban context embedded in the idea of monumentality. It is real and fiction, present and absent but it is not a realized heterotopia. Here, monumentality is “the fullness of a space beyond its material boundaries”; it is plurality without contradictions so it is here and there within a differential and contradictive reality of urban space as a

dream on the unity of differences. It might be one of his most remarkable and optimistic allegation on utopia based on the relation between isotopia and heterotopia that; he argued contradictions and passes between isotopias and heterotopias together might lead a society to think about the possibility of plurality and so the discovery of a utopia, which can be assumed as his ideal, imaginary, revolutionary and permanent thinking of socialist space (Lefebvre, 2003).

It might be still ambiguous that how these twin concepts fit into Lefebvre's approach. In terms of production of space, Lefebvre defined isotopia as identical places in neighbouring order and heterotopia as the other place both excluded and interwoven in distant order. Isotopias refer to "sameness" as being identical, homologous and analogous, alongside them there are different places as heterotopias (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 128). Considering the sequence of his works, apparently isotopia corresponds to the "dominated" and "abstract space" while heterotopia corresponds to "appropriated" and "differential space" in the capitalist mode of production of space.

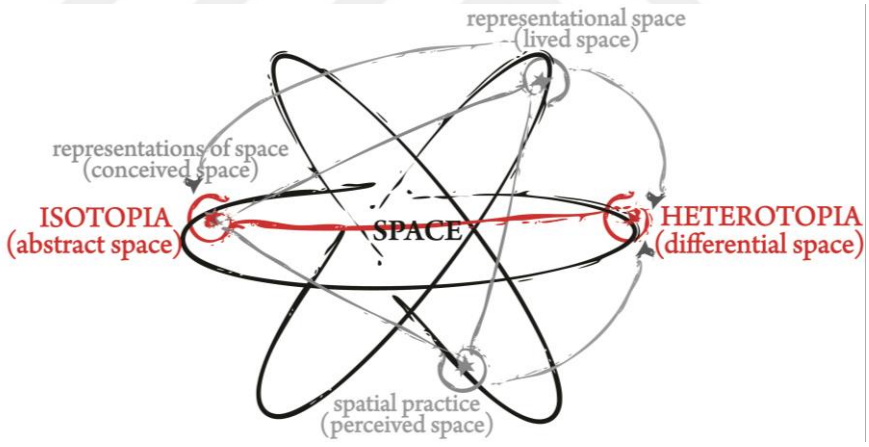


Figure 2. 7: Illustration of "Production of Heterotopia and Isotopia".

Although Foucault's effort on interpreting the term heterotopia from the domain of medical science is impressive, it does not fit in a comprehensive framework and as many authors say. It is not fertile to be applied and understand the politics of space. Indeed, Lefebvre developed the term further together in relation with isotopias and gave the chance to understand an urban context as a whole. Still, what is missing in his understanding of heterotopias is that it is only based on the right of inhabitation as a political reaction. As Harvey gave the clue in "Rebel Cities"; considering the contemporary conditions and influential occupy movements around the world, it is possible to say that explicit objections do not occur only in the form of squatting

today. If one picture the act of "squatting" as the birth of "occupying" (Shields, 1999, p. 165), then it is possible to say in Lefebvrian approach that public spaces might also become heterotopias (differential space) for a period of time. In another words, for Lefebvre an urban context is composed of either isotopias or heterotopias in the capitalist mode of production of space.

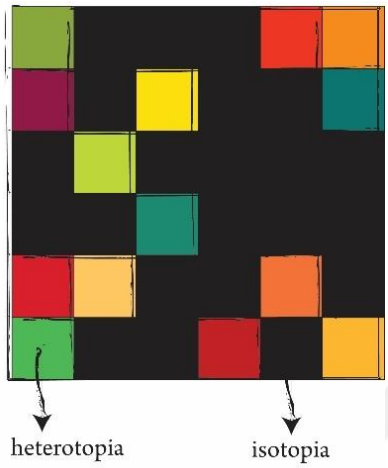


Figure 2. 8: Illustration an Urban Context in Lefevbrian Approach.

Here, what Lefebvre focused on is also the production of space as a standardized commodity, and its homogenous consideration in the capitalist mode of production. His critiques on the production of abstract/dominated/isotopic spaces overlap with the rising concerns after 1970s, which argue that expected heterogeneity of public spaces has been violated by the capitalist and neoliberal practices more than ever in history. Further, like Harvey (2012), it is valuable to see his consideration of the social production of heterotopias (differential spaces) in the form of an act of occupation as the only way left to the differences (counter publics) today to make themselves visible politically. In addition, it is significant to see that the struggles between dominant and counter publics overlap with the dialectic tension between isotopia (dominated space) and heterotopia (differential space). In fact, this study claims that what Lefebvre pictures is exactly the explanation of the social production of isotopias by the dominant publics and heterotopias by the counter publics producing their own representation through space.

3. EVOLUTION OF CITY SQUARE AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

In order to elaborate the former theoretical discussion with reflections on real cases as well as their consequences for the future of urban planning and design practices; in this section, it is aimed to reveal the relation between the structural transformation of publicness and the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of major and central city squares. In this section, an original historical periodisation has been introduced in six phases each characterized by changing relation between "publicness" and "city square" offering examples from European cities in the period between Hellenistic times and today.

3.1 The Origins of Publicness and the City Square

The transition from hunter to agrarian population remarks the end of the nomadic life and the dawn of permanent settlements so the city in history (sedentism). Paleolithic man took the very first step toward urbanization when they moved from their cave into the shelters made by boughs and leaves. After, Neolithic man cultivated plants and introduced agriculture creating possessions that brought the need for protection. That was the rise of agrarian population, which collected into groups and formed villages in a mutualistic relationship in terms of protection. In turn, the village brought two new things to the lives of human; first, the village provided a sheltered place for worship and a meeting place for assembly. Second, it introduced the necessity for mutual responsibility and co-operation; various interests were merged into a form of society, a social and political organization; it brought the dawn of urbanization and politics (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 3).

Life in those villages taught man to live in harmony with the community to which they belong. This Neolithic society was probably a community of equals; yet, production was so limited and created no surpluses on which social distinctions could be based (Hiberseimer, 1955, p. 18). Considering the circumstances that

techniques of soil fertilization and irrigation were not developed yet, this limited production, which could satisfy only the mere needs of life, had to be defended.

This situation can be explained by the surplus-product hydraulic civilization theory, which is one of the views explaining the emergence of urban life, city and state concepts. Obtaining surplus products in the Neolithic period, by the use of developed methods which enabled people to cultivate is accepted as the main reason of the emergence of cities (Murray, 1999); and the centre of the first settled civilizations based on agriculture, that forms the roots of the city and state concepts, is Mesopotamia. The social transformations occurred in this period at Egypt, Mesopotamia and Indus Valley are described as "urban revolution" (Childe, 1978). Accordingly, forming an organization for the irrigation of agricultural land brought building, frequently maintaining and the monitoring of the water canals and supply network.

Even in this agrarian population, man had the primitive instincts for self-preservation that caused personal rivalry to emerge. In fact, rivalry spread between villages and armed conflict ensued; one village came under the domination of the other and its leader became the ruler. In time, empires were established and rulers became emperors (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 3).

Based on this primitive instinct and the need for defence, this very progress led to new concepts like community, leadership, possession/ownership, war etc. to be flared together. However, their meanings and contents have changed in time through the history. In other words, this important breakthrough which started the history of cities, also led to the social and administrative organizations including cooperation, division of labour and specialization for finding solutions to common problems with a collective approach; and therefore to the emergence of authority and government concepts (Mann, 1986).

In terms of form and morphology the grid layout have risen from the invention of the plow, which is the major technical and economic change in man's history. Man put his very first lines on the earth's surface with plow and it is considered as the first evidence of agricultural practices in economically highly underdeveloped societies and it symbolize the beginning of agrarian population. The logic of the plow led to

rectilinear plotting; it was easy to divide and measure the land. Thus, man used the rectilinear / grid layout in the entire history of town building and created the concept of ownership (Spreiregen, 1965, p. 2).

As the Neolithic settlements needed to be defended, their structural patterns have changed. First, isolated houses with gardens behind them were built along a road. Such settlements were difficult to defend and it was not convenient for the development of community life. Then, man used circular form for settlements; which was the product of hunter population originally. Hunter population is measured from the existence of man until roughly 10.000 BC. It is mainly described as the period of man's nomadic life; little or no settlement was involved in the life of family tribe. In this period human were required to peruse their food and clothing; they were hunting or gathering herbs and edible roots to survive. They had only temporary encampment to protect themselves from the surrounding environment and therefore there was no community life (French, 1978, p. 25).

In this hunter population, man found an ideal form for fencing in cattle; it was the circular form for it enclosed a maximum of land with a minimum of fence. In the Neolithic culture, when man produced permanent shelters to meet their basic needs they used the circular form due its major role as a defensive one. The circular formation around a central space offered best for defence and the circular village appeared, also, it led the radiocentric pattern and fortress cities to emerge in time (Spreiregen, 1965, p. 2).

Although the terms "private" and "public" were mentioned during the Hellenistic period of history for the very first time the question of "where did the inhabitants meet together if there were no public spaces" must be considered here. Obviously, this central space was arranged for the purpose of providing space for meetings of human; settlements of every age have seen fit to make provision for open spaces that would promote community life. However, even though the history of early civilization was Eastern that spread along the fertile valleys of Nile, Tigris and Indus Valley (Mesopotamia, Egypt and India) where food, water and transportation were at hand, "Public Space" and "City Square" are often traced from the "Agora" of Archaic Greece in Western history.

According to the archaeological excavations, settlements of these early civilizations were beyond the mere construction of individual houses in 3000 BC, but there was still not a three dimensional area that called “square”. Zucker discussed the reasons for the absence of square from sociological and aesthetical perspective together. In terms of sociology, he highlights that gathering place became important enough to be shaped within the conditions of “democracy” where human being became “citizen”. In addition, he indicates that the spatial reflection of democracy was the consideration of human scale in growing concept of man in relation to his environment (Zucker, 1959, p. 19).

In parallel to the urban studies literature, (Zucker, 1959; Gallion & Eisner, 1963; Spreiregen, 1965 and many others) this study accepts the origin of the city square to trace from the Agora, 500 BC, which would developed from the need for a political and commercial centre.

3.2 Exclusive Publicness and the Rise of the City Square

As aforementioned, the terms “private” and “public” were first mentioned during the Hellenistic period of Western history. In this period, fully developed Ancient Greek city-states composed of three types of land-use; public, private and sacred. Here, Acropolis, a fortified area that was generally located on a hill overlooking the city corresponds to the sacred space containing the central temple, served as the nucleus of early Greek settlements (Carr, 1992, p. 52). “Koine” and “Oikos” were rising as two different spaces and strictly separated from each other; polis was public (koine) to all the free citizens while oikos was considered to be belonged to individuals representing the private life and domesticity (Arendt, 1958, p. 24; Habermas, 1991, p. 3). However, the public life was centred in the Agora for a limited amount of the population who were fortunate enough to be citizens (Carr, 1992, pp. 52-53; Mumford, 1961, pp. 138-139). As the Agora, literally meaning, “the gathering place" was the central point of public life in the ancient Greek city-states (Thompson, 1954, p. 9) the evolution of Western city squares will be traced beginning from this period.

Urban historians agree that Agora was the symbol of the “polis” and centre of the political life creating the sense of community, which was an important precondition for the emergence of democracy (Hilbersiemer, 1955; Mumford, 1961; Zucker, 1959

and many others). Here, another important term rises to be understand; the "polis". Although the general translation of the term polis is made as "city state in Ancient Greece", it is not sufficient to define what is behind it, as Hilbersiemer indicates that "the polis was more than a city" (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 42).

Polis emerged from Archaic Greece as a self-governing, small community governed by a sense of separate identity, with its own rule of law (Blackburn, 2008). According to Hilbersiemer, the origin of polis, what brought it into existence is still mystery. Nevertheless, many urban historians agree that the polis was the result of the process what Aristotle calls "synoecism"; "the condensation of a clan into a city involving a corporate decision to live together politically." (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 42; Lefebvre, 1991, p. 274).

Aristotle defines synoecism – literally "living together" – as a political transaction enabling tribal lives to be transcended and join up in a part of self-government. The decision to go urban springs from a conscious desire to replace the common law of tribe with the free, durable institutions of the polis, the setting for democracy (Kostof, 1991, pp. 59-60).

Indeed, the word "politics" derives from the word "polis" etymologically. Derivatives of polis are common in many modern western languages; polites, "citizen"; politikos as adjective, "social", "political"; politikos as noun, "politician"; politeia, "polity"; politike, "politics" (MacKendrick & Howe, 1959, p. 392).

The relation between the terms polis and politics is not a coincidence and not just etymological. Hilbersiemer states that; "in the territory of the polis no other independent community was allowed to exist, people (demos) might still be allowed to live in their old villages, but their rights and obligations now had to be exercised in the polis". To the Greek, life in the polis became the only form of human existence worth living, regarding the life in the villages as beneath human dignity (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 42-44).

Again etymologically, the word "Democracy" is derived from "Demokratia" composed of two Greek words; "Demos" (People) and "Kratia" (Power and Rule) meaning "Rule by the People". The first known democracy in the world is the "Athenian (Direct) Democracy" developed around the 5th century BC in the Greek

city-states (polis). Direct democracy was generally seen as paradigmatic enabling "talking and doing in political action" and the participation of all citizens in the decision-making process (Urbinati, 2006, p. 17). Although it has been considered as a participatory model of democracy, it is also often criticized as excluding women, slaves, old, children and foreign people from citizenship rights (Raaflaub, Ober and Wallace, 2007, p. 189).

Direct democracy is often identified with the assemblies where all "citizens" gathered to discuss and vote on policy. Today, as an implementation of direct democracy, citizens can vote directly on policy alternatives (referendums), but these are often limited to particular topics (Budge, 2001, p. 224).

Today, all modern states are representative states, in that they are all founded on the ability of their governments to speak and act in the name of the people (Vieira, Runciman, 2008, p. 4). Although the fact that many important powers and functions were in the hands of elected magistrates but not the assembled people in Athenian direct democracy, what distinguishes "representative democracy" from the "direct democracy" is that in representative governments there is no institutional role for the people to play a part (Manin, 1997, p. 9). In this sense, it is obvious that understanding of publicness of this period was clearly "limited and exclusivist" expression of political representation based on having citizen rights.

Considering Agora as the origin of square, it is obvious that the origin of square was urban but not rural in character and it was definitely political. This allegation is also important since it supports limitation of this study, as the cases will be only the city squares. Although there were common open spaces of every age to meet the need for gathering, it s not possible to mention neither the publicness nor the square during prehistoric age due to the lack of the notions of democracy, citizenship and politics.

The spatial development and meaning of Agora can only be understood considering the conditions of Archaic period ca. 7^{th}-5^{th} century BC until the beginning of the Classical Age. The early Greek towns had an irregular layout according to the topographical conditions and developed under the protection of a fortification; an Acropolis, which was not a part of the settlements that stretched beneath it. It also served as a gathering place during the earlier Archaic centuries, a function which it

transferred to Agora together with the growth of the town (Zucker, 1959, p. 27). Very little can be said about the Archaic (pre-classic) Agora; it was a void of irregular shape in connection with Acropolis, located in a topographical centre. This Archaic Agora was simple, small in extent, and modest in form.

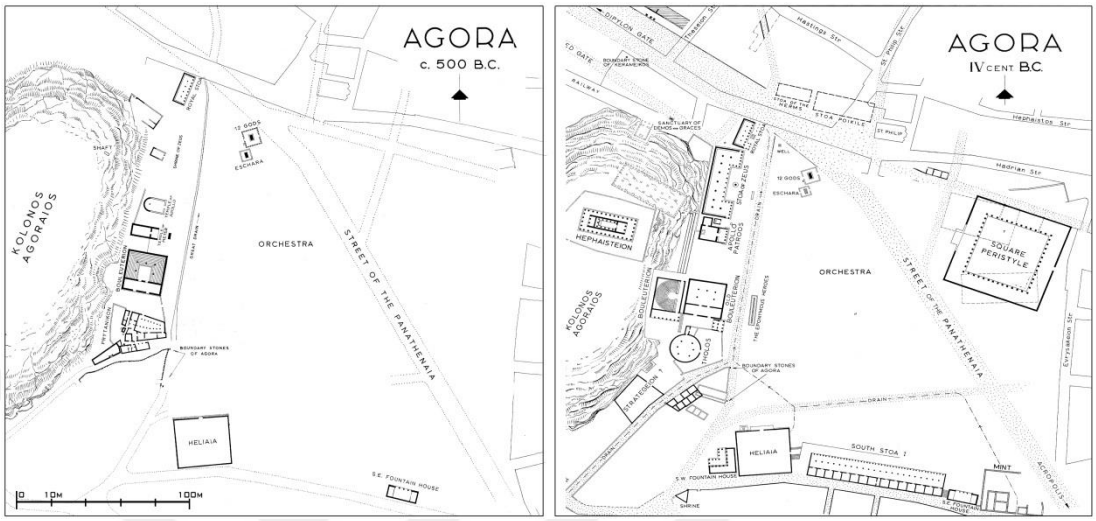


Figure 3. 1: The Athenian Agora in 5th BC (right) and 4th century BC (left) (by J. Travlos in Thompson & Wycherley, 1972).

Once the whole town had become walled, Acropolis lost its importance for defence and so became a religious area shifting its social, political and economic activities to agora (French, 1978, p. 51). The importance of Acropolis began to pale the importance of agora began to rise in contrast (Zucker, 1959, pp. 28-29). Agora, as a great centre of community life, was developed slowly in the Hellenistic period.

Indeed, etymological root of the term "square" is related to Ancient Greek planning after the 5th century BC. The decisive step forward regularity was taken when Hippodamus executed the plans for Miletus between 475 and 470 BC in his Hippodamic/gridiron scheme. Following this, from the 3rd century BC on, the late classical and Hellenistic agora was developed in a regular shape. In contrast to earlier times, agora was shaped based on the idea of the enclosed/defined space as a whole. The idea of enclosed space represents itself as peristyle agora, which is never completely enclosed, resembling rather a horseshoe form in this period (Zucker, 1951, pp. 33-37; Webb, 1990, p. 29; Wycherley, 1962, p. 33). Hippodamus was the first planner who considered agora that way, and in time, the word "square" became a generic term referring to such public spaces, regardless of their geometric shape.

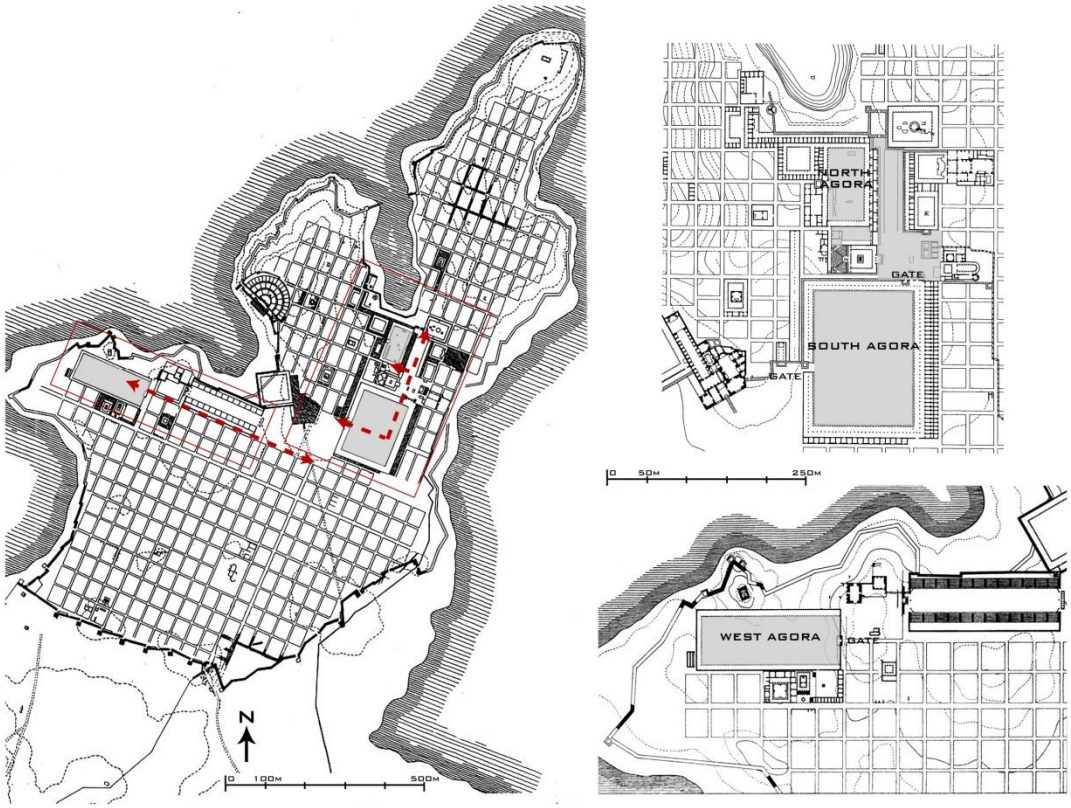


Figure 3. 2: Plan of Miletus – North & South Agora (above right) and West Agora (below right) (after Gerkan, 1924; Kleiner, 1986).

As the population grew, not one but many agoras developed in a city, so in some examples there were one main agora and other comparatively small agoras. The location of this main agora was the same as in Archaic times principally; at the heart of the city or close to the harbour if there was any. Agora served as a gathering place for political assemblies and surrounded by administrative buildings in time. The shops and stores came to be erected around the agora and were rented to merchants and artisans, and in time, more and more open space was taken over by business. Zucker emphasizes that the political function of the agora as an open space decreased and retreated into specific buildings like the assembly hall (ecclesiasteron), council hall (bouleuterion) and council chamber (prytaneum) as in the example of Athens (Zucker, 1951, pp. 35-36; Mumford, 1961, p. 148). Actually, this statement should be carefully understood and discussed. Commercial function of the agora increased and became evident in permanent structures (stoas) in Hellenistic period. However, agora was alive with people meeting, moving, talking and even just being present perpetually. In another point of view, this was realized due to the variety of surrounding functions.

There were important developments in terms of politics that began by the very end of the 5th century BC and continued through the 4th century BC. The power of money was spreading; agriculture was commercialized to an extent and even rhetoricians, advocates and artists were commercializing their talents. The gap between those with money and without money was growing and the abuse of liberty was increasing in favour of money. The more space taken by business in agora was the spatial reflections of these conditions of the 4th century BC. "The faith in democracy was questioning and oligarchy was rising; it was the time of struggle between democracy and oligarchy." (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, pp. 22-24).

Accordingly, it was synchronously the time of the great philosophers; Socrates (470-399 BC), Platon (428-347 BC) wrote "The Republic (a Socratic dialogue)" and Aristotle (385-322 BC) wrote "Politics". Yet, although Zucker's statement is important, considering the shifts between the modes of production historically, it should be noted that it might be too early to claim this, or at least one should not be mistaken to understand this statement in comparison of depoliticisation process of the city squares in the sense of conditions of our today.

Hellenistic period brought new city building; old cities flourished and new cities were founded. The city became the scene of luxury, ruddy with the display of Ancient Greece (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 24; Thompson and Wycherley, 1972, p. 21). In brief, Hellenistic period was the beginning of agora of being a symbol, a representational space of the wealth and power continued through the Roman period.

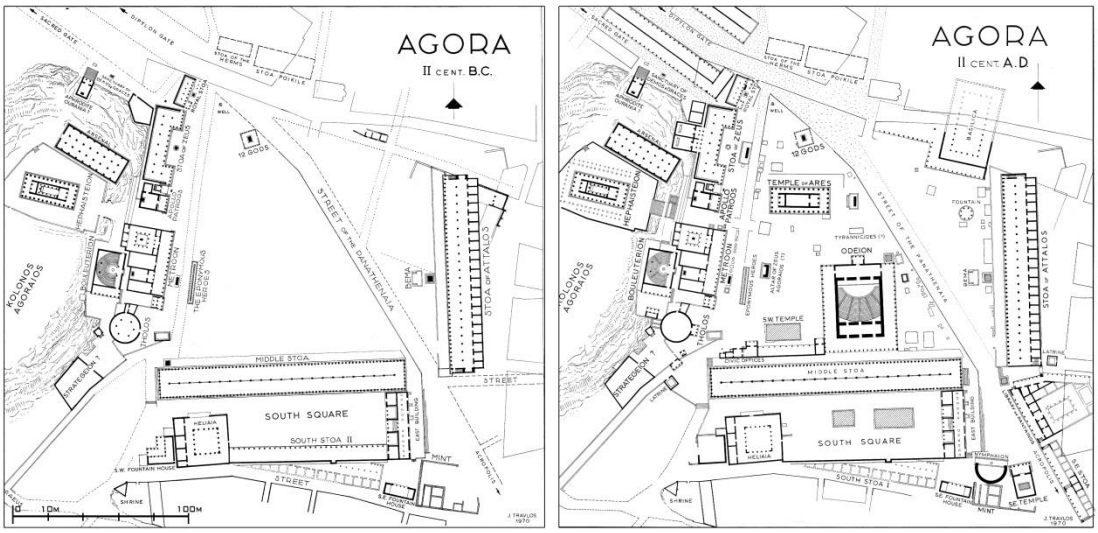


Figure 3. 3: The Athenian Agora in 2nd century BC (right) and in 2nd century AD (left) (by J. Travlos in Thompson & Wycherley, 1972).

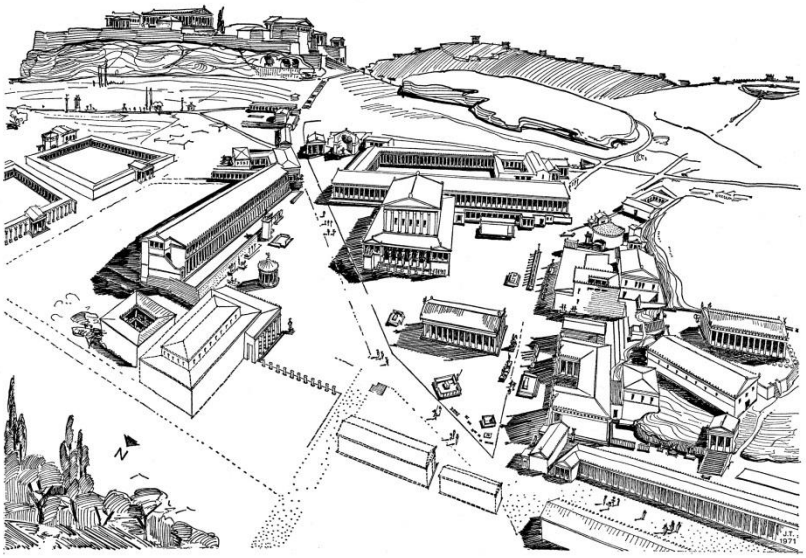


Figure 3. 4: The Athenian Agora from the Northwest, in late 2nd century AD Perspective (by J. Travlos in Thompson & Wycherley, 1972).

As the saying goes; Rome was not built in one day; first, it was a single city-state surrounded by a wall as the unification of three tribes into one on the Palantine Hill by synoecism with common social, political and religious institutions. The history of Roman Kingdom began with this new city-state founded in 753 BC was strong enough to struggle with any independent community within the Latin territory that grew in size and population in time and gradually developed as a national and political union (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 61-66).

Morey (1901) summarizes the development policy of Roman Kingdom in two words; "expansion" and "incorporation". The unification of the tribes was, in fact, the very first step in the process of incorporation, which afterward made Rome the most powerful city of Latium, of Italy, and of the world finally (Morey, 1901). However, Roman Kingdom was changed into a Republic due to several struggles against the kingship that became intolerable. Ultimately, Roman Republic was established in 510 BC (Morey, 1901). During this period, the forum of Roman Kingdom was just a topographical centre as in the Archaic Agora; a void of irregular shape.

After the establishment of Republic, Roman Forum underwent a change and gained its traditional pattern similar to Hellenistic Agora. In the Roman cities, it is the influence of the Hellenistic Greek cities, which have evolved simultaneously in Western history. After the 4th century BC, regularity and enclosure had become the norm in terms of spatial organisation of cities; especially Hippodamic/gridiron schemes of Greek cities were applied in Roman cities. As Favro (1988, p. 17)

indicates, “during the Republic, every Roman’s life revolved around the Forum and in this central space citizens received schooling, worshipped, conducted businees, attended ceremonies, gathered news and took part in history”.

This regular but crowded structure of the Republican Forum should be considered also with the governmental structure of the Roman Republic. After the kingdom came to an end the consular power emerged held by two consuls elected by the people every year together with the senate that composed of three hundred senators (Morey, 1901). In such, at least in theory, no individual could dominate the citizens. Hence, there were so many famous, victorious and important citizens to build statues and buildings for obviously. On the other hand, in terms of religion, there were also so many gods and goddesses of Paganism to build temples for. According to the archaeological excavations and existing ruins, this traditional pattern can be seen clearly in the example of Rome among many others.

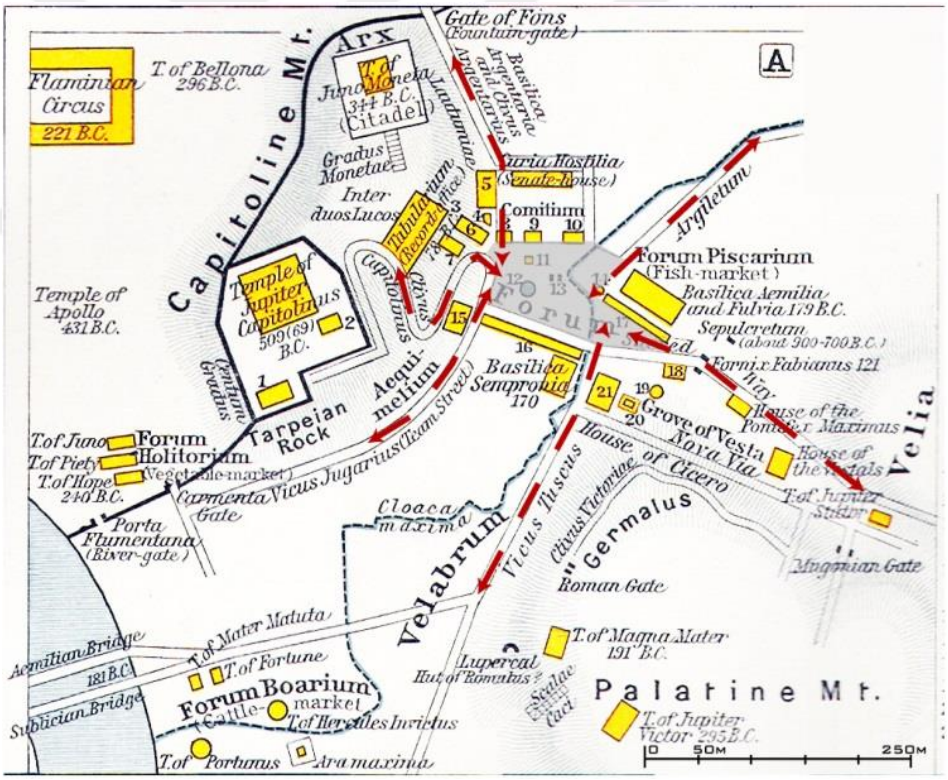


Figure 3. 5: Roman Forum at the Time of the Republic (after Shepherd, 1911).

Besides, “for the Romans of the Republic, every physical location had unique genius loci (spirit of place) that drew power from the site’s inherent forces and from the cumulative input of human interaction”. In other words, “every building, every space, every stone had a story and a moral; every individual named or depicted stood as an exemplar” (Favro, 1988, pp. 17-18). For almost five hundred years, the spirit of

the Forum was nurtured by the Republican ways, ideals and goals. Even Rome received its first written law code (known as "Law of the Twelve Tables") as the basis of all subsequent Roman private law that inscribed upon twelve bronze tablets in 451 BC and displayed publicly in the Forum of Rome, so all individuals could read and know them (Favro, 1988, p. 18; Jolowicz, 1972, pp. 13, 108).

Roman Forum underwent a great change and complete rebuilding during the period of the Roman Empire (27 BC – 476 AD) (Zucker, 1959, p. 51; Webb, 1990, p. 30; Favro, 1988, p. 18). Traditional regular but crowded pattern of the Republican Forum was due to the varying sizes and functions of the buildings and statues on and around it, and none of them was dominating the other. As the "Republic was transformed into an absolutist imperial state with political control concentrated in the hands of one man", his power reflected itself in the spatial organisation of forums turning them into "a museum of history and art, not a stage for contemporary action" (Favro, 1988, pp. 18-19).

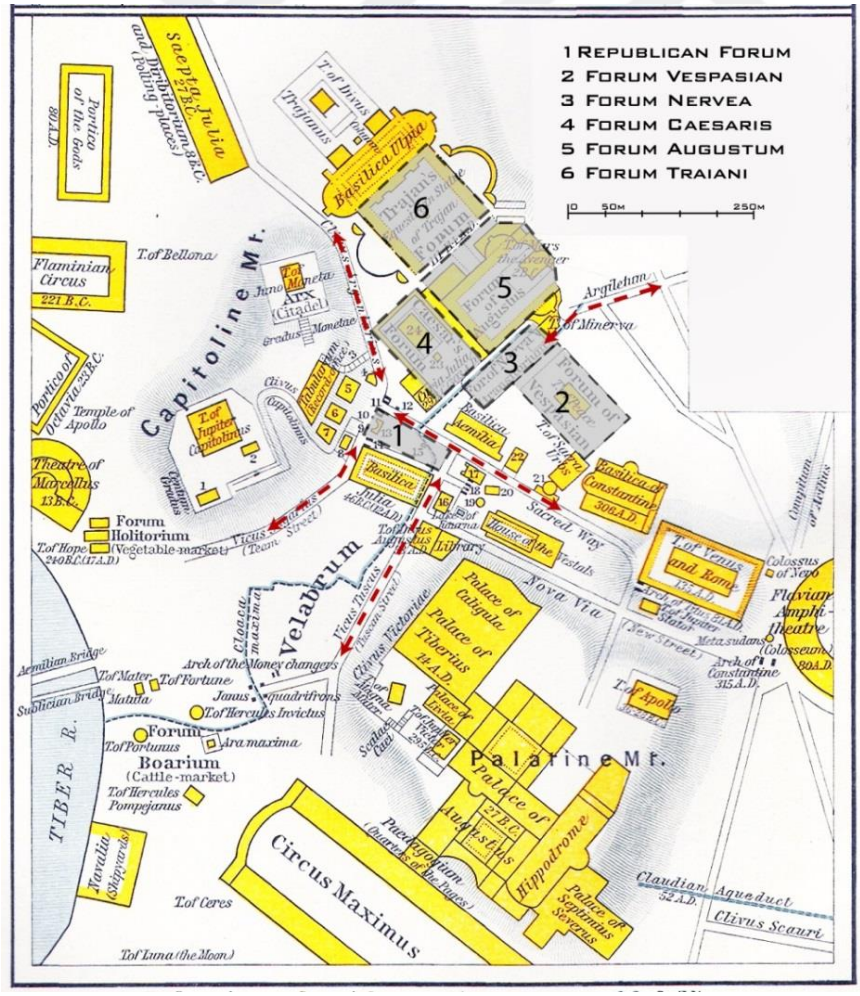


Figure 3. 6: Imperial Roman Forums (after Shepherd, 1911, p. 24).

The forums and temples now were bearing the names of the emperors symbolizing just one person and his power far above all others. From the example of Imperial Forums of Rome, it could be see that each forum after Forum Casearis was tended to be greater in size than previous ones so it seems each was tended to dominate the others. Although forums remained as gathering points and as the sites for traditional ceremonies and displays, and although they were embellished with new structures, they lost their civic importance under the shadows of the emperors (Favro, 1988, pp. 19-20; Webb, 1990, p. 31).

Imperial Forum was essentially different from the Republican Forum and the Hellenistic Agora; they appeared to be "closed, symmetrical, axial and monumental". What is remarkable in this period is that in terms of the historical development of the city squares, the types of "dominant and grouped squares" appears for the first time and the three-dimensional design was achieved by Romans. However, it is also possible to see for the first time that the political representation quality of the squares was abolished in this period (Zucker, 1959, pp. 55-59; Webb, 1990, p. 31; Favro, 1988, pp. 20-21).

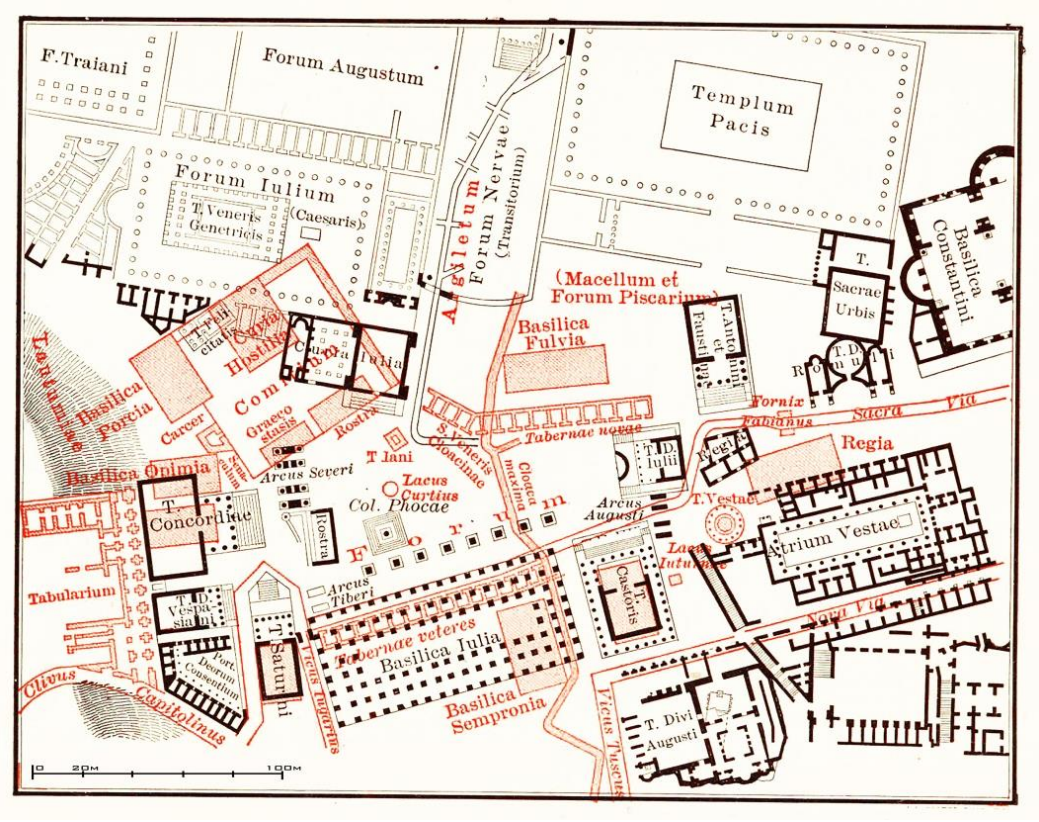
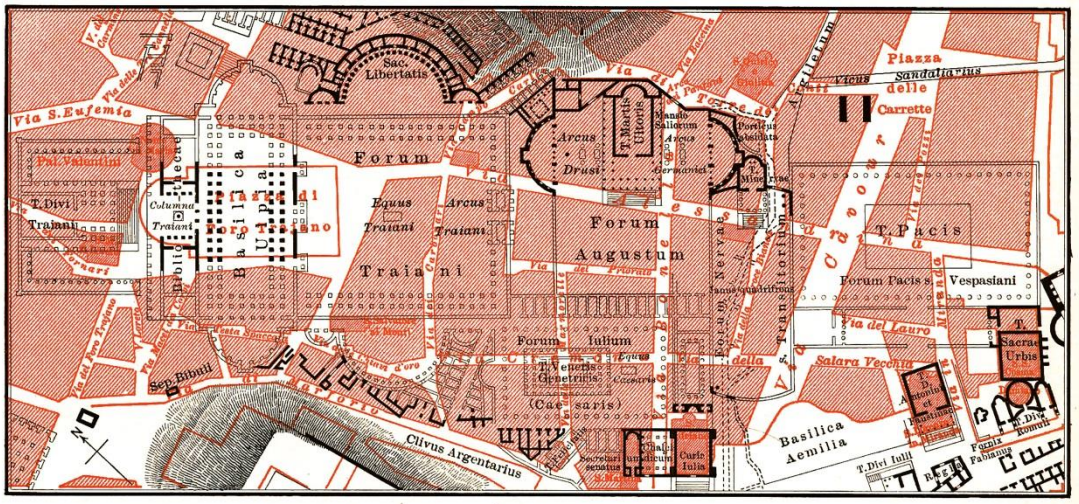


Figure 3. 7: Republican Forum and Imperial Roman Forums together –buildings in red belong to the Republican Period – (Platner, 1911, p. 169).


Via S.Eufemia
Sac. Libertatis
Forum
Basilica Ulpia
Equus Traiani
Arcus Traiani
Traiani
Forum Augustum
Forum Iulium
Venus Genetrix
(Caesaris)
Clivus Argentarius
Plazza delle Carrette
Vicus Sandaliarius
T. Pacis
Forum Pacis
Vespasiani
Via del Lauro
Salara Vecchia
Basilica Aemilia
Sacrae Urbis
Templum Divi Romuli
Fornix Fabianus
Via Sacra
Via Nova
Via Argiletum
Via Cassia
Via Flaminia
Via Lata
Via Recta
Via Appia Nuova
Via Labicana
Via Merulana
Via Tiburtina
Via Nomentana
Via Salaria
Via Quirinalis
Via Venusia
Via Alfonsina
Via Ostiensis
Via Ardeatina
Via Ostiense
Via Portuensis
Via Aurelia
Via Triumphalis
Via Cornelia
Via Aurelia Nova
Via Campana
Via Aurelia Vetus
Via Septimiana
Via Aurelia Antica
Via Gallica
Via Praenestina
Via Labicana
Via Latina
Via Appia
Via Appia Antica

more than a thousand years, however, Western Roman Empire fell in 476 and divided into many kingdoms (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 72-76).

The regime transitions in Roman period, first to republic and then to imperialism, caused the centralized structure and military power to grow stronger. It is also possible to trace this regime transitions in the replacement of Greek cities' organic pattern and human-scale by the divine scale and the artistic search of meaning in Roman cities. In the same period, agora was transformed into forum, in accordance with the continued importance of publicness. However, the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the imperial regime has reduced the importance of publicness. Accordingly, the change in the values in the conditions of imperial regime led all public activities to become duties for the Roman people in which they participated passively. This moral change in Roman society and the decline of the public activities, which are accepted as tasks and formal obligations had impact on the collapse of the empire presumably. Indeed, Sennett argues that this moral condition of Roman society led the search for a new focus, a new principle to be committed and to believe and this search resulted as the spiritual commitment in Christianity and in time Christianity itself became a new principle and regulator of public life (Sennett, 2002, pp. 3-4). Although there are not any parameters to deepen this argument in terms of the search for a new commitment, rising in this period, Christianity caused Roman Empire to be divided into two as Eastern and Western halves.

3.3 Emergence of Representative Publicness and the Revival of the City Square

Many Roman cities that once created everywhere in the vast empire, were destroyed during the barbarian invasions, many of them survived on the other hand. Eventually, the barbarians become Christians and Christianity became the spiritual idea and the power shaping the Western world. Long times of wars -with also the Moslems after Mohammed proclaimed the faith of Islam- ruined Europe leaving destruction and anarchy behind. In time, free peasants gave up their freedom to the lords of the large estates to be protected, which created the conditions that medieval feudalism emerged out of (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 77-81).

Traditionally, Medieval Period is defined as the period between the fall of the Western Empire and Renaissance from the 5th to 15th century. The term "Dark Ages"

also sometimes applied to define this period marking the intellectual darkness characteristic of the time, however, in recent studies historians more inclined to use the expression "early middle age" or "late antiquity" to mark this darkness between the 5th and the 10th centuries. This study will also use this periodisation sub-diving the Mediveal period into the Early, High and Late Middle Ages (Le Goff, 2006, pp. 13-16).

3.3.1 Early Middle Ages

In the conditions of invasions, wars and migrations, early middle ages was a period of tribal societies and semi-nomadic settlers, trade was dangerous and trade routes were broken, thus, early medieval settlements were rural and agricultural in character obviously.

Therefore, Pirenne questions the existence of the cities in this agricultural civilization, which Western Europe emerged out of in the 11th century. He argues that if one define "city" based on the presence of commercial activity and legal entity in a community, then the answer is no; cities did not exist in this geography during this period (Pirenne, 2014, p. 60).

In fact, although it is hard to penetrate into this period, Pirenne also indicates that the primitive need of providing space to get together, led people to use the empty military enclosures or other ruins in ordinary times, but they also used them seeking a refuge to be protected during wars. It is very important and remarkable to understand the two primitive needs of mankind and their relation with each other; gathering and protecting (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 60-61).

Foundation of the Charlemagne –*Carolingian*– Empire brought a degree of stability out of these chaotic conditions for a hundred year in the 9th century. However, at the end of the 9th century it was divided into conties, each headed by a count. As the political districts of the Empire, the counties were without their chief-towns just like the Empire itself without a capital. This trend reflected itself in the involvement of the church in public life that reached its highest level throughout the middle ages (Canning, 1996, p. 45).

Eventually, the empire was divided into three in 843 without any defined institutional structures but they pre-figured the three nations of the future Europe; France,

Germany and Italy. Seen in the long terms the Charlemagne Empire was too short-lived to be successful and a failure of a dream. Indeed, this dream was taken up by the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire with Rome as its capital in 962 and it long-lived compared to the Charlemagne Empire until its dissolution in 1806 (Le Goff, 2006, pp. 32-38).

Though the details of this governmental structure require a study, which is beyond of scope of this study, the general structure and a number of great events should be noted to really understand how the political and economic conjuncture of this period reflected itself spatially. Here, one should trace the development of the medieval city in the course of feudalism.

The settlements were no longer the administrative and commercial centres. As Hilbersiemer (1955) indicates, the economy was based on landed property and agricultural in character, there were only regional markets and trade with other counties was small and unimportant (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 83).

In the absence of a central authority after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the emergence of feudal lords as major landowners of this new social, economic and administrative hierarchy feeding the armed cavalry units (knights) ready to defend the lands, describes a period in medieval times in which the cities and the concept of publicity collapsed. Although this process started with the division of the Roman Empire and the subsequent collapse of the Western Rome, the institutionalization of the order and its spread to Europe continued until the end of the 9th century.

In terms of historical development of the city squares as aforementioned before, one might assume that there have always been a common space, a courtyard to meet the need for gathering. Of course, social life continued; people gathered and talked, but in the absence of a governmental order, they have lost the main reason for civic assembly; to be included in politics (Lennard & Lennard, 2007, p. 36). Thus, it is not possible to mention an organised public square in the sense of imperial forums of once in this period. In a larger perspective, one can assume that in the absence of stable governance and in the conditions of insecurity then there is no way and no reason left to represent the public and publicness.

3.3.2 Feudal (High Middle) Ages

The High Middle Ages have been defined with the conditions of increased population and territorial expansion until the Black Death in the middle of 14th century. During this period, population of the continental Europe increased from 35 million to about 80 million approximately (Jordan, 2001, p. 5). This study will trace this expansion and so the re-birth of medieval cities out of institutionalised feudalism as a socio-economic and political system and Christianisation.

The institutionalised feudal system first appeared in its definite form in the Frankish lands of the Charlemagne Empire in the end of the 9th century and it was based on contracts made among nobles; the count as the representative of the emperor once became the feudal prince –lord– of his own domain as a part of feudal monarchies (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 84).

The feudal system was clearly based on dependencies; until the dissolution of the imperial period, the supreme was the emperor as a secular figure and the kings paid him homage in a number of theoretical respects. However, independence from the emperor was a major political development for this period, which could be reached only in the 19th century (Le Goff, 2006, p. 68).

Kings were in complete control having a large land mass, which a grant of it was leased to the lords who were nobles and vassals to the king. The sizes of these lands were varying depending on the obligations of the lords usually in military character. This military service provided by the lords leasing also a grant of their land to the knights who would fight for him, and so the king. The rising domination of a minority of militaristic landlords made Europe a world of knights as warriors; however, the majority of inhabitants were peasants -serfs-. Knights also distributed a grant of the land to serfs for their free labour and service in turn. They were living on the lands that they never allowed to exchange or sell and even leave without any rights (Le Goff, 2006, pp. 34-36).

Certainly, in the political thought of this period, monarchy held centre stage until the feudal lords shake the power of monarchy creating a feudal oligarchy. Here was the feudal system that institutionalised in centuries as a social hierarchy; a political and economic system based on the waived freedom of the peasants in exchange for protection. In this point, it should be considered that this period defines the absence

of mobility, the absence of time for learning and leisure for peasants as the majority, there was the fear for their life absolutely until the revival of the disappeared commerce again in the 11th century.

In terms of the influence of the church in shaping the feudalism, a hierarchy paralleled to feudal hierarchy might be seen. The church owned much land given by nobles as donation or gift, held by monasteries, by church dignitaries, and by the churches themselves. Bishops were equal with counts in rank, which became feudal lords, thus they were much like seigneurs. On the other hand, as Hilbersiemer emphasizes (1955, p. 84) monasteries were the small centres of civilization, which became the nuclei of some medieval cities in time, serving as places of refuge for the peasants in the time of danger.

Domination of Islam in the Mediterranean beginning from the 8th century, made the commerce impossible, which was the base of certain activities in the settlements. Thus, the decline of the settlements was inevitable, though they were weakened; they survived (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 63-72).

Protection established by feudalism allowed population to increase and so led the settlement structure changed. As the new villages were established, the incomes of feudal lords were increased and this growth led the creation of medieval cities. Increasing income made it possible to encourage the improvement of craft together with agriculture. Artisans could more goods than needed so it could be exchanged with goods from other estates (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 85-86).

The breaking point of the 11th century was the conquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the First Crusade in 1096. From that time Mediterranean was opened to Western shipping, therefore, foreign communications were established again as in the period of the Roman Empire. Though the Kingdom of Jerusalem was reconquered by the Moslems in the 12th century, Mediterranean remained in the hands of Christians'. Disappeared trade was renewed when the foreign markets were re-opened. Eventually, by only the 12th century Western Europe was transformed completely and thus many medieval cities were either established or flourished in this century, in fact, prior to this century hardly any new towns were established in Europe (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 72-87).

This development was in favour of for both lords and artisans. In time, crafts became differentiated and production was diversified. It was the rise of a new kind of population and the creation of craft guilds, which individuals wanted to become a member of by the will for independence. These conditions remark also the division between rural and urban. In time, medieval towns became self-governing cities; seized the control of the market and established the first city halls (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 85-87; Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 33-40; Zucker, 1959, pp. 66-74; Webb, 1990, pp. 36-37).

The exchange between agricultural and non-agricultural products required a network between in a distance that merchants could travel in one day's time. In time, by the effect of growing organisation in trade, merchants settled and this new social class that integrated to the city and took the name "bourgeois" later, formed the core of the beginning of civil society and local governments under institutional structures called guilds. In this period, guilds, where the specialization in non-agricultural production was maintained, became an important institution of medieval cities (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 110, 129-131).

In terms of socio-economic conditions, after a long interruption, historical accumulation proceeded again after 12th century creating the factors that would underpin and shape the modern epoch. Lefebvre also remarks the 12th century as the rise of medieval town and indicates the guilds as its significant consequence as a setting-up for urban collectivity which led the arrival of a collective worker (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 255-256).

With the revival of trade, merchant colonies growing outside the fortifications led the cities to be expanded and fortifications to be extended. Merchants showed that wealth could be earned with wisdom and cunning, even though the nobility has passed through blood, giving the message that neither they nor the peasants need the patronage of feudalism (Pirenne, 2014, p. 96). Exchange between agricultural products and other goods shaped the spatial relation between existing settlements and newly founded ones. This exchange of goods had to be frequently, so the countryside and the city had to be integrated in terms of transportation and so the cities were also to be fortified to be protected. The need for a space to exchange goods was met by the weekly markets (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 88-90).

Above, it has been seen that Christianity and Feudalism as two important factors that shaped the city through high middle ages. In accordance, although city squares differ according to the development process of Western medieval cities which were either evolved from Roman origins or newly founded in an organic or gridiron scheme, there were usually two squares; one for the church (Parvis) and one for the market, sometimes (connected to each other) they formed grouped squares.

The streets were also developed as market-places in this period. It is possible to refer to the presence of small market squares forming the junction point of several streets located in front of the castle gates and inside the city walls, or market squares located and developed in city centres but not directly connected to churches or cathedral squares. Accordingly, in terms of their location and morphology, three types of market squares of medieval cities might be grouped as (Zucker, 1959, pp. 75-80; Morris, 2013, p. 101);

- a broadening of the main street,
- a regular / irregular and central void,
- an opening at the town gate.

In organic growth cities, market-places had differentiated forms; "More often than not… the market place would be an irregular figure, sometimes triangular, sometimes many-sided or oval, now saw-toothed, now curved, seemingly arbitrary in shape because the needs of the surrounding buildings came first and determined the disposition of the open space." (Morris, 2013, p. 102; Mumford, 1961).

For the third type, the immediate opening inside the town gate generally formed an irregular space, which dominated by a protective tower above or beside the gate. This opening sometimes served as a market square and sometimes only as a welcoming traffic hub (Zucker, 1959, p. 78). In terms of location, that practical for transportation distance of goods to be exchanged, the use of this opening as a market square was actually reasonable and so common (Morris, 2013, p. 102).

In contrast to market squares, medieval Parvis -the square (forecourt) of the church-, was dominated and defined by one building as its all elements refer to the church almost as a part of it. In the absence of a political authority, church or cathedral together with Parvis enabled monumentality representing the power forming a dominated space. Fundamental function of these medieval church squares was based

on faithful gatherings of people before and after religious meetings in the church; the outdoor sermons and the ceremonial church parades (Zucker, 1959, p. 80). Due to the lack of theatres, mystery plays were performed on the church steps to be watched from the square, and executions were also major social events. Sports and games were also held occasionally in these medieval squares (Webb, 1990, p. 65).

Although the medieval Parvis was more regular than the contemporary market squares usually, it rarely had a purely geometric form in this period (Zucker, 1959, p. 81). Parvis was never intended to compete with the market square; they have served for two different world. In this world protected by walls, market square was to business and to prosper in this life, whereas the church together with Parvis considered as the insurance for the next life (Webb, 1990, p. 40). This separation of two world and two squares often led the development of grouped squares. However, because of this separation the church had a visual domination and superiority over the market square, even in the examples of these two squares that were not connected immediately like in the examples of **Piazza del Duomo and Piazza della Cisterna - San Gimignano and Piazza del Popolo and Piazza Garibaldi – Todi.** Obviously, this spatial domination was based on the distinction between ethereal and material world(s) and the monumentality of the church's administrative power (Zucker, 1959, pp. 81-82).



Figure 3. 9: San Gimignano – Church and Market Squares; Piazza del Duomo, above right (Url-1) & Piazza della Cisterna, below right (Url-2).



Figure 3. 10: Todi – Church and Market Squares; Piazza del Popolo, above right (Url-3) & Piazza Garibaldi, below right (Url-4).

Although it is very rarely mentioned, there were also "civic squares" which function as also market squares in medieval cities, which defined by a city hall forming a grouped square always together with either market or the church square as in the examples **Piazza del Campo and Piazza del Mercato – Siena** (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 95-97).

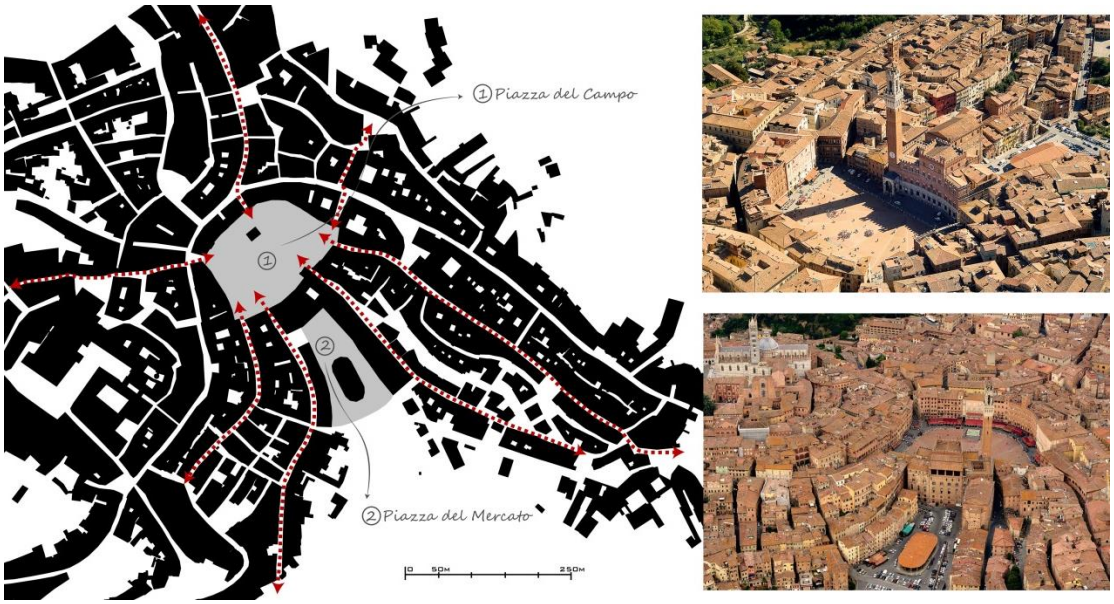


Figure 3. 11: Siena – Civic and Market Squares; Piazza del Campo, above right (Url-5) & Piazza del Mercato, below right (Url-6).

3.3.3 Early Renaissance (Late Middle Ages)

This period between 14th and 15th centuries might be defined as a transitional stage from Medieval to Renaissance Western history. At the beginning of the 14th century, agriculture was still primitive; however, though it was the main source of wealth together with animal husbandry, it was rapidly developing. Indeed, artisans and merchants were still a small minority. Because the profits of industry and commerce were higher than this unspecialized agriculture, this minority had a greater influence in politics and society. However, this developing conditions were about to change; the Great Famine (1315-1317) together with the Black Death (1346-1351) that each caused millions of deaths and later the Hundred Years' War (1336-1453) brought Europe misery, regression and disease as the three important breaking points (Hay, 2014, pp. 11-19; Le Goff, 2006, p.154).

Between 9th and mid-14th centuries, agricultural production of Europe had been pushed to its limits; however, since the increasing production was not directly proportional with the increasing population, there were no sufficient resources to support it. This is followed by climate a change of Europe between 1315 and 1317 with longer and colder winters and cooler and wetter summers. Although the climate had turned back to its normal, about then to 15 percent of the population of Europe had already died from starving and other consequential sicknesses and peasants as the poor had suffered the most. Due to surviving people and animals were too weak to work effectively, only about 1325 everything back to a relatively normal stage and population began to increase again (Le Goff, 2006, pp. 155-159; Nelson, 2001a; Hay, 2014, pp. 32-33). This relatively normalcy had not last too long to achieve a total recovery, Europe had struck by a devastating plague called as the Black Death in and after 1347. It is thought to have originated from Asia and spread to Europe with black rats that brought by merchant ships. The lack of hygiene conditions led the plague spread so rapidly. Although the most devastating wave of the outbreak in Europe was between 1347-1351, the Black Death, with its continued waves, have killed about 30-60 percent of Europe's total population between 1348 and 1420 (Le Goff, 2006, pp. 159-161; Nelson, 2001a; Herlihy, 1997, p. 17).

Nelson (2001a) indicates that though these breaking points seem like they were purely based on natural disasters, they were made all the worse by the inability of the

princes and clergy to handle and direct the elements of the society and to offer any leadership during these crises. Accordingly, consequences of these crises on the people of medieval Europe were profound that led the Renaissance start. It was a gradual shift in people's thought and attitude toward the universe, the death and value of life and their own place in this world. This shift flamed the class conflicts and triggered the loss of respect to the church; a turning to one's own capabilities and powers of observation and reason was emerged.

This period also staged a man-made catastrophe, a series of conflicts and wars called as the Hundred Years' War, between the Kingdoms of England and France from 1337 to 1453 fighting for fertile soil of France in terms of wine production that Scotland, Burgundy and the Kingdoms of the Spanish Peninsula were involved as allies. Kingdom of England was defeated at the end of the Battle of Castillon in 1453, which remarks the end of the Hundred Years' War (Nelson, 2001b; Hay, 2014, pp. 157-159). Although the details from the course of these series of wars are out of the scope of this study, it is important since together with other breaking points, Hundred Years' War contributed to the decline of feudalism.

Hundred Years' War gave rise to the realization of national identity in Europe (Hay, 2014, pp.164-169). It shifted the power from feudal lords to monarchs as they collected taxes to raise large professional armies; there had been great advances in military technology especially based on gunpowder (Rogers, 2010, p. 34; Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 42) and so the feudal knights and castles were thoroughly less useful than before (Nelson, 2001b).

During this period, there was one genuinely large city in Europe, Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (Hay, 2014, p. 17). However, it is globally important that Constantinople was affected also by these conditions of the period that led its fall and conquest by Ottoman Empire (modern Turkey) on 29 May 1453. The fall of Constantinople to the Muslim Ottomans was also a major threat to the domination of Christianity in Europe. Indeed, the conquest was a turning point in the world's history; it marked the end of the Eastern Roman Empire and even the end of the middle ages (Sphrantzes, 1980, pp. 189-197).

Although the city squares of medieval period did not changed in terms of their spatial organisation during this decline period, it is important to understand the socio-economic and political conditions of the late middle age to follow the evolution of city squares and publicness in Western history. Indeed, the rise of bourgeois society from the feudal mode of production and transformation of city squares under this process play a significant role in the picture of our contemporary understanding of publicness. It is possible to observe socio-economic and political transformation of Western societies through both the linguistic changes in the use of term public and the (spatial - functional and semantical) changes in the social production of city squares.

During the period when the feudal mode of production based on manorial authority was dominant, it did not make a distinction between public and private in the sense that the ancient period did. That is because (1) there was no status defined by private law for ordinary people to be included in the public sphere and (2) in the feudal mode of production that fully developed in the high Middle Ages; there was not a private landed property model for the peasants. Although this has changed in time gradually with the effect of especially peasants' revolts after the Black Death and the revival of commerce in Europe generally, this increasing political tension that brought private ownership resulted as a shift from feudalism to capitalism (Habermas, 1991, p. 5).

This blurred distinction between private and public was only visible in reference to the "communal elements" to the extent, which they could survive under these feudal conditions of production. What was common for all was public; namely, the fountains, the market and church squares were public. Habermas makes here a linguistic reminding that for the use of the term "common" in the sense of "ordinary". It is parallel to that the attributes of lordship – lordly things like the ducal seals, badges, arms, clothes; briefly, the codes of nobility – were used as a synonym for "publicly" in medieval documents. In this sense, the authority was neither public nor private; it was both. However, things that represent the authority were public; as the act of representation occur only in public. Habermas defines this evolution as the "Representative Publicness" and the feudal powers, the lord, the church, the prince

and the nobility as the "Carriers of Representative Publicness" to capitalist mode of production (Habermas, 1991, pp. 6-7).

Ordinary people, namely the peasants, were considered to be in a passive position; they were just spectators. They were expected as a respectful audience at manorial and religious ceremonies, which were considered as the examples of representative publicness. Representations of sovereignty and power were not acts made in the name of people; they were rather acts made in the presence of people. In other words, what was represented was not the people; it was the power.

As it has been mentioned before, Lefebvre saw the dispersal of feudal mode of production as a turning point in the history of urban phenomenon. In parallel with Lefebvre, this study reveals the socio-economic and political conditions that affect the evolution of medieval city square reflecting the rise of representational space of religious and political symbolisms eroding the absolute and historical space of antiquity (Lefebvre, 1991:49-50). Indeed, feudal mode of production of medieval age is a turning point for also the evolution city square that as Webb (1990) states "the city square was starting to lose its universal appeal in this age since religion, politics and commerce tightly interwoven in it." (Webb, 1990, p. 65).

3.4 Survival of Representative Publicness and Glorification of the City Square

The term "Renaissance" derives from the word "Rinascita" that Italian intellectuals of the late 14^{th} and the early 15^{th} centuries used to define their own age in the meaning "rebirth" as one in which culture, learning, literature, and the arts were reborn. Although Renaissance originated from Northern Italy, it spread to other parts of Europe by the early 1500s. Renaissance was basically the rediscovery of Greco-Roman legacy of the past; reinterpretation of the Greek and Roman history, law, literature, art and culture dominated this period (Sider, 2005, pp. xiii-xv).

Humanism was the defining intellectual movement of the Renaissance as the belief in that the literary, scientific and philosophical works of ancient Greece and Rome provided the best guides for learning and living. In time, humanism became institutionalised as a new form of education trying to teach the principles of living a moral, responsible and successful life on this earth. Europe staged increasing in the

number and quality of universities in this age; 46 universities were established between 1400 and 1601. Accordingly, science, medicine, philosophy and law developed mostly from the researches of these universities (Dewald, 2004b, pp. 177-180).

Renaissance replaced the mysticism of the middle ages with humanism, rationalism and clarity. The basic idea was that human is the centre of the world and the world is for human. Thus, human was the scale of all measurements that resulted in the application of centric space concept to buildings and squares and whole city (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 172).

However, Renaissance reflects also the ambitions of wealthy merchant families to show off their richness and power by improving their cities. For these wealthy merchants, the religious conventions of middle ages had little attraction, having the power of money they were tended to the issues of this world not the next. These Italian wealthy merchant families in Florence, Venice, Rome and Lombardy engaged in intellectual activities tracing their heritage of Roman period and desired to embellish their cities to display their power. Renaissance architecture has been considered as the essential precursor of modern urban planning as the spatial arrangement of buildings consciously into a pre-determined form. In this period, formalism dominated the medieval city; although the basic form, the general fortress characteristics of medieval cities did not changed, structures were either decorated or demolished to be rebuild to change the modest and anonymous character of them (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 43).

An important breaking point that realized in this period is the invention of printing press around 1450 by John Gutenberg, which affected the spread of the Renaissance. This invention enabled important writings of ancient Greece and Rome to be multiplied and reached by more people. Indeed, in terms of architecture and planning, monumental, axial, symmetrical and functional character of ancient period returned to the cities during Renaissance. This axial and centric character symbolized the growing concentration and consolidation of power (Morris, 2013, p. 158; Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 45).

In fact, the city was conceived as an architectural unity, of course in harmony with natural conditions like topography, climate etc. Every single element within the city was engaged to its unity (Hilbersiemer, 1955: 172). This revival of ancient concepts, together with the effect of the conquest of Constantinople by Ottoman Empire caused the birth of "ideal city" schemes that produced by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), Antonio Averlino – Filarete (1404-1472), Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1429-1502), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552-1616). Indeed, the fortification system was the determinant factor based on the defence necessity in all the examples of ideal city schemes. The only example of this search for an ideal city that actually implemented in practice is Palma Nova which was designed by Scamozzi and started to be built in 1593 (Morris, 2013, pp. 166-171, Zucker, 1959, pp. 101-108). As it has been mentioned before, European medieval cities were either expanded from their existing form or re-developed partly during this period. Morris (2013) details this classification of the development of European Renaissance cities in four categories as;

- **regeneration** of parts of cities by the creation of new public spaces and related streets,
- **restructuring** of existing cities by the construction of new main-street systems as regional routes,
- **expansion** with the addition of extensive new districts for generally residential purposes;
- **new site layout** as in the example of Palma Nova.

He also defines three main design components of these cities as (except fortification for military purpose); (1) the primary main street, (2) gridiron-based districts and (3) enclosed spaces as squares (Morris, 2013, p. 159).

Indeed, many urban historians emphasize that city squares of this period differ from medieval examples in scale, proportion and architectural frame as in the examples of **Piazza San Marco – Venice, Plaza Mayor – Madrid, Grand Place - Brussels** (Zucker, 1959, pp. 140-141; Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 45; Webb, 1990, pp. 68-69).



Figure 3. 12: Piazza San Marco – Venice (photos, Url-7; Url-8).



Figure 3. 13: Plaza Mayor – Madrid (photos, Url-9; Url-10).

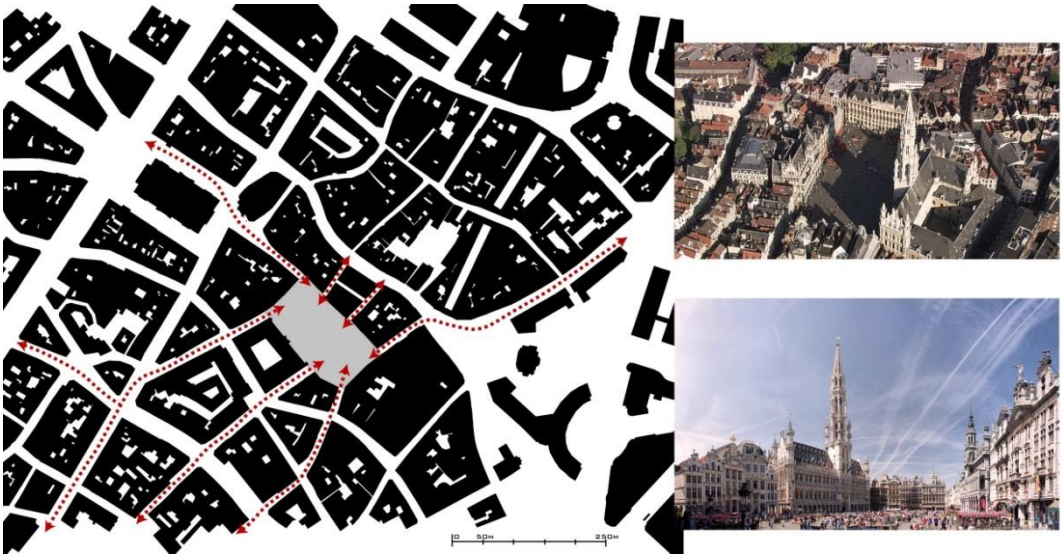


Figure 3. 14: Grand Place – Brussels (photos, Url-11; Url-12).

This intellectual movement has transformed into the Baroque concept gradually by the influence of important socio-cultural and political developments and remarkable breaking points after the 1500s, and this transformation created a new spatial order beyond the examples of Renaissance.

One of the two other important breaking points that shaped the socio-economic conjuncture of early modern Europe was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Columbus, a native navigator of Genoa, made four voyages to the Americas between 1492 and 1502 with the support of Catholic Spanish Kings (and later Portuguese) setting the stage for the European expansion, exploration and colonization of the Americas. His westward voyage was to reach India or China, so he thought he discovered Indies however, he had found the islands to be called the West Indies. After his return from the first voyage in 1493, he carried colonists during his following voyages to the West Indies (Hay, 2014, pp. 425-426).

There were two main factors encouraging these overseas voyages; (1) the search and the ambition for new trade routes, new supplies of metals like gold, silver and the search for new consumer goods to be exchanged, and (2) Renaissance spirit of inquiry and curiosity for the unknown (Arnold, 2012, pp. 5-11).

Already existing maritime technology and navigation enabled these voyages; however, developing explorations triggered further technical advances together with political and commercial organization. This period from 1450 to 1600 was an age of expansion; growing population and rising prices drove men into cities and into colonizing ventures overseas giving rise to the notions of nationalism and early trade capitalism. Monarchies profited from these developments increasing their power to expand their territory (Koeingsberger, 2014, pp. 90-93). Portugal and Spain were the pioneers of European expansionism, however, especially England and France, were eager to take over and continue this process after 1600s. Hence, it was also an age of violence; many people died or enslaved while others survived with fear or hope (Arnold, 2012, pp. 60-61).

Wealthy merchants were everywhere then, and they were regarded as strangers. Most of them were born as slaves presumably. Yet, they were not ascribed to a lord far away from their home and thus -unless otherwise was proven- they were treated as freeman according to laws; in other words, long-distance trade created free

merchants out of slave peasants (Pirenne, 2014, pp. 97-98). They were not noble in blood but they were not slaves anymore; they were in between; they were middle class, which would become bourgeois. Aristocrats' jealousy of the wealth of this middle class together with merchants' ambition and demand for equal rights with aristocrats has turned into a class conflict over time. This middle class of merchants gradually evolving towards the bourgeois became a part of the representation of power.

Habermas (1991, pp. 14-15) also emphasizes the rising of a new social order out of the conditions of the emergence of early finance and trade capitalism. The traffic in commodities and news that created by early capitalist (mercantilist) long-distance trade evolved according to rules of political power as a system of economic nationalism based on colonialism, however, mercantilism first stabilized the relations of feudalism and then dissolve them replacing the system with liberalism by the end of the 18th century.

Second important breaking point in shaping early modern Europe was happening in the mid-16th century as "Reformation" and "Counter-Reformation". In general, the term Reformation refers to the major religious changes that Europe experienced beginning from the mid-16th century transforming also politics, society and cultural patterns (Dewald, 2004b, p. 150). Although it is hard to explain the reasons of the changes in late medieval Catholicism, historians indicate that the "Reformation" was about class conflicts and accumulation of socio-economic tensions (Cameron, 2001, p. 87).

As aforementioned, Christianity was a powerful political, intellectual, and economic institution during the Middle Ages that while most people accepted its power. However, there was also a significant and growing minority who were dissatisfied with the church as an institution, and they were criticising its increasing wealth and becoming deeply involved in the politics and earthly affairs with the effect of Renaissance thought (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, p. 166).

This minority and their condemnations grew and consolidated gradually, and this consolidation resulted as the Protestant Reformation and so the foundation of Protestantism as one of the three major branches of Christianity. The movement of Protestant Reformation began by Martin Luther's (German professor of theology)

critique of doctrinal principles and church actions in his work "The Ninety-Five Theses" in 1517 and continued by John Calvin and other Protestant Reformers in 16th century. It should briefly noted that reformation caused religious war of more than a century beginning from Germany and Switzerland (1529-1555) and then spreading to France and the Netherlands (1560-1609) and nearly all of Europe during the Thirty Years War from 1618 to 1648; the longest, most destructive and deadliest European religious war (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, pp. 168-180; Wilson, 2009).

In terms of this study, it is important to note that Protestant Reformation was embedded to larger processes of socio-economic and political shifts including the emergence of nation-states and new relations with outside world (Dewald, 2004b, pp. 151-156). On the other hand, it is also important to mention the "Counter-Reformation" here to understand the background of the concept of the Baroque, and its physical reflections in spatial organization of city squares. Counter-Reformation is a process of Catholic Church's efforts directed against the challenges posed by Protestant Reformation toward its internal renewal. The main aim of these efforts was to re-emphasize traditional Catholic dogma, to re-shape its institutional character, and above all to win back the central power and the unity of the church (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, p. 185, 197; Cameron, 2001, p. 97; Dewald, 2004b, p. 145). Although Catholic Church felt into a decline, general structure of representative publicness survived during this period. Despite the fact that the social structure did not changed and independence from the emperors did not gain, the rising bourgeoisie out of wealthy merchants appeared gradually as a new element of representative publicness reflecting their ambitions, power and wealth improving their cities and so the squares.

3.5 Consolidation of Representative Publicness and the City Square as the Urban Theatre

The main aim of to re-emphasize traditional Catholic dogma became a significant cause of the change in artistic and architectural style from Renaissance to Baroque gradually. Historians and researchers agree on the continuity between the Renaissance and the Baroque emphasising the effect of Counter Reformation on the development of the Baroque especially as an architectural style (Wölfflin, 1964; Riegl, 2010 and many others). The word "Baroque" is accepted to be derived from

the Portuguese word “Barroco” meaning “deformed pearl” etymologically, signifying a visual form. Baroque art and architecture frames the period between the late 16th century and the late 18th century. It was characterized by a more rhetorical and theatrical interpretation of Renaissance art and architecture. Baroque style was thought to be monumental, metamorphic, manipulative, melodramatic and exaggerated (Dewald, 2004a, p. 227). As a fashion, Baroque was supported by the papacy intentionally to glorify the power of reformed Catholic Church so to monumentalise “the divine” and “the faithful” appealing to the emotions and the sense of individuals (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, p. 394; Cameron, 2001, p. 100; Dewald, 2004a, p. 227).

Although Renaissance and Baroque styles aim at different effect, in terms of architecture, planning and so urbanism, they both hold the same main vocabulary and characteristics; they are monumental, axial, symmetrical and functional. In contrast to relatively irregular, informal and dispersed medieval space, both Renaissance and Baroque reflect the desire for discipline and order and so the city was meant to impress by these characteristics (Morris, 2013, p. 159; Zucker, 1959, pp. 140-141, 233; Bacon, 1967, pp. 109-112; Koenisberger, 1989, p. 122).

Many urban and architectural historians refer to Heinrich Wölfflin as an art historian applying his considerations to explain the differences between Renaissance and Baroque spatial organization. Wölfflin briefly summarized evidentiary and commonly held differences between these two styles. In this explanation, two styles aim at different effects on individuals; Renaissance sought tranquillity, beauty and permanence and so its creations reveal the senses of easiness, vitality and continuity offering a liberating and pleasing expression of the artistic understanding of that age. On the other hand, Baroque desired for force, illusion and grandiosity giving the senses of agitation, mortality and domination. Its compositions are pressing and overwhelming which leave individuals with a feeling of inadequacy, anxiousness, momentariness and bring a state of anticipation as if something is about to happen or is happening (Wölfflin, 1964, p. 38).

Between the late 16th century and the late 18th century, Baroque cities were a part of theatrical application and reflection of the Counter Reformation and rising absolutist monarchies intentionally. The city and so the squares were then the stages; the settings for the display of the church, the princes, the nobility and the rich where the

rest were still considered as just the spectators (Koenisberger, 1989, p. 123; Webb, 1990, p. 130; Zucker, 1959, p. 233).

Gallion and Eisner say, "out of the cramped medieval town were carved –formal squares–" (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 45). In terms of architecture and spatial organisation, the foremost pioneering square examples of Baroque have been accepted as first appeared in Rome. Pope Paul III commissioned Michelangelo in 1536-1546 to build a symbol of Rome for the Emperor Charles V. Michelangelo designed the **Piazza del Campidoglio** on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. However, the square with its surrounding buildings were completed by Giacomo della Porta and Girolamo Rainaldi in 1640 following original drawings of Michelangelo by slight changes. Piazza del Campidoglio was a vision of a monumental stage accessed by majestic steps; it has been considered as the first introduction of dynamic and impressive motion of the Baroque concept (Zucker, 1959, pp. 147-148; Webb, 1990, pp. 130-132).



Figure 3. 15: Piazza del Campidoglio – Rome (photos, Url-13; Url-14).

However, **Piazza di San Pietro, Piazza Navona, Piazza di Spagna** and **Piazza del Popolo** are also considered as the best expression of the city squares of late Baroque in Rome (Webb, 1990, pp. 133-141; Zucker, 1959, pp. 150-157; Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 175-181; Bacon, 1967, pp. 117-129; Riegl, 2010, pp. 112-152; French, 1978, pp. 85-87 and many others).

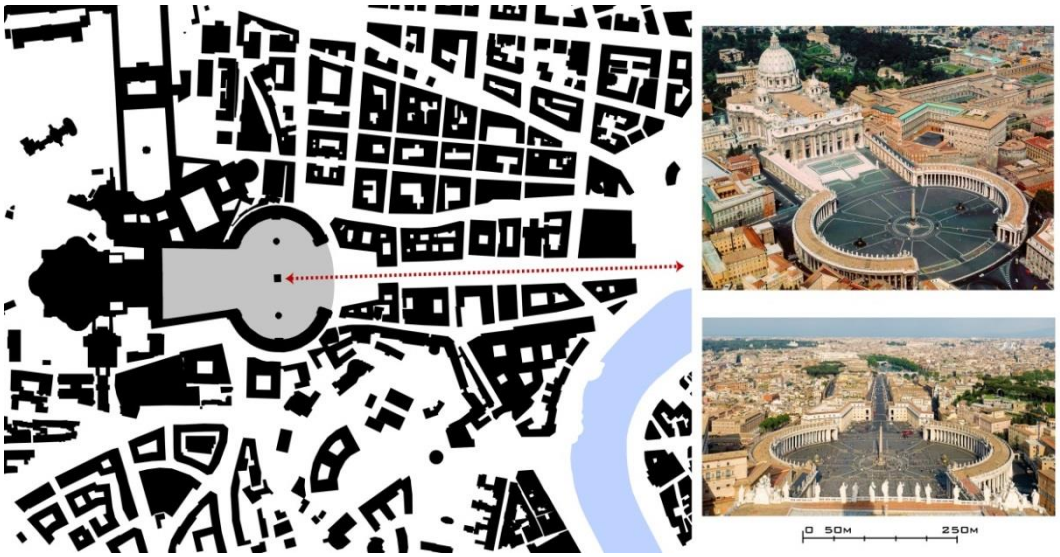


Figure 3. 16: Piazza di San Pietro – Rome (photos, Url-15; Url-16).



Figure 3. 17: Piazza Navona – Rome (photos, Url-17; Url-18).



Figure 3. 18: Piazza di Spagna – Rome (photos, Url-19; Url-20).

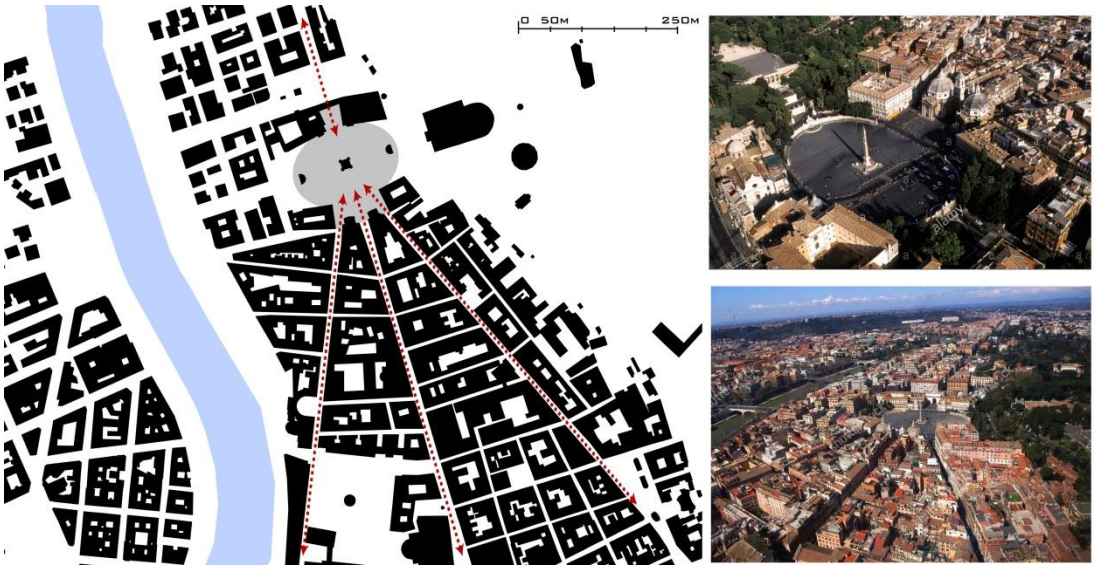


Figure 3. 19 : Piazza del Popolo – Rome (photos, Url-21; Url-22).

Despite the fact that all these squares were designed and built by different architects in different years, all these examples represent the intention of Baroque concept as to lead to the important focus in a dynamic and dramatic character. City squares of this period between the late 16th and the late 18th centuries designed as isolated in size dominating its surrounding. Yet, rather than the enclosed space of Renaissance, they were now less confined and more opened to recapture its surrounding by expanding the open space.

Counter Reformation reflected itself in architecture and spatial organization of Catholic Rome inherently that Vatican City, Rome would become the centre of Catholic Christendom ultimately. However, the idea of expansion and openness, the tendency towards the dynamic expression of space was widely inspired also especially in France. Secular rulers of Catholic Europe perceived soon that monumental and grandiose Baroque concept of space would reflect their authority and power just as that of the church. In such cases, they built majestic royal palaces that embellished with sophisticated gardens (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, p. 394; Zucker, 1959, p. 172; Webb, 1990, p. 156).

Beginning from the 1700s, absolute secular rulers were also seduced by the image the Palace of Versailles as the foremost pioneering example of such royal palaces. Versailles was a small village dating back to the 11th century when Louis XII built a royal castle in 1626 that enlarged to a royal palace by Louis XIV between 1661 and 1708. The newly founded town of Versailles, palace and its gardens were considered

as a unity and as an ideogram of power; it was hierarchical, entirely artificial and abstract (Zucker, 1959, p. 169; Webb, 1990, p. 157; Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 45; Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, p. 394).

The U-shaped layout of the palace dominates the gardens and the whole structure of the town by the central part of the palace together with two large buildings opposite it between the three radiating avenues traversing the town in a scale of incomprehensible size. Beside the palace and the gardens, the most magnificent expression of the Baroque concept is this network system that lead to the large square in front of the palace making it always in view (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 180-187).



Figure 3. 20: Palace of Versailles – France (photos, Url-23).

Gallion and Eisner (1963) says that "Here was the conception of a man who, having achieved domination over the lives of men, confidently set about to become the master of nature; the egotism of rulers knew no limitations." (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 45). Webb (1990) asks further; "What prince could resist a plan in which all roads converged on his palace, or radiated from it like the beams of the sun?" (Webb, 1990, p. 157).

Indeed, during the Baroque period, royal palaces changed in character becoming more open and dominant, built outside the old walled-in cities in connection with entirely new cities or new development. As aforementioned, with also the help of the advances in military technology, old walls for defence were not necessary then, in other words, there was no longer a space limitation (Hilbersiemer, 1955, p. 187).

The idea of open and dominant royal palace was soon internationalized all over in Europe until the late 18th century, as in the examples of Karlsruhe and Mannheim in

Germany, Bath in England and even in Russia with St. Petersburg (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 187-188; Webb, 1990, pp. 156-159; Zucker, 1959, p. 70).

In addition to the already existing functions as market, religious or secular governmental squares, with the emergence of Baroque concept, new roles were added to urban open spaces. As French notes that, city squares fulfilled the new roles as following (French, 1978, p. 84):

1. overall traffic coordinator
    a. as central hub in a radial network
    b. to facilitate approach and departure
2. as central element to the general urban structure
3. as a means of defining and structuring secondary urban centres and residential complexes
4. as a means of providing visual relief through
    a. open space
    b. variation in form and materials

"The Place de la Concorde in Paris is something more than a city square" says Hilberseimer (1955, p. 185) and "The Place de la Concorde definitely represents the climax of the places royales of the 18th century" says Zucker (1959, p. 183).

Indeed, **Place de la Concorde** is the largest royal square of Baroque concept of architecture and urban design in continental Europe. The square was named "Place Louis XV" dedicated to the king at that time. It was the desire of the merchants of Paris to honor Louis XV by erecting a statue of him and Louis XV himself supported this desire. A competition was held to design a square in order to locate the statue in 1748. Although a hundred proposals were received, none of them was realized because of the expense to clear the private property. In the end, the king himself decided the location of this new square; on the crown land between Tuileres Gardens and the Champs Elysees, which was outside the city boundries of that time. In 1755, Jacques Ange Gabriel was commissioned by Louis XV to create a synthesis of the 19 projects submitted. Briefly, all these efforts were behind the idea of to create a

monumental square for Paris to honor the King (Webb, 1990, p. 149; Zucker, 1959, p. 184).

The square is bordered by the Seine River at the south, by the Tuileres Gardens at the east and by the Champs Elysees at the west side. In order to define the square, Gabriel built a high terrace to separate the Tuileres Gardens from east side. In the north side, he built two large buildings symmetrically to enclose and define the entrance to the Rue Royale. These two buildings were used to be a royal furniture store and to house ambassadors or royal quests, which both serve as Hotels today (Hotel De la Marine and Hotel de Crillon) (Figure 3.21.) (Webb, 1990, p. 150; Zucker, 1959, p. 184; Hilbermeiser, 1955, p. 185).

In terms of its site selection and tremendous scale (measuring over 8 hectares), with also the equestrian bronze statue of Louis XV that completed and erected at the center of the square in 1763, and its axial form reaching through its three sides, Place Louis XV was the grandiose example of representative stages of the late 18th century on which France celebrated festive events like the marriage of the future Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette in 1770.

It has been mentioned that the distinction between private and public was blurred in the feudal society of the High Middle Age. The emergence of representative publicness during the middle ages refers to the social status of the feudal authority rather than to a political function. Consolidation of representative publicness survived during Renaissance; however, it was crown by the Baroque festivity. Habermas states that this courtly representative publicness reached its ultimate pure form at the French courts in the 15th century that educated royal type took the place of domination. In other words, Renaissance culture of the nobility reshaped the form of representative publicness beginning from first in Florence and then in Paris and later in London (Habermas, 1991, pp. 5-9).

Emphasizing the same period, Sennett also expressed that the use of the word public / le public has changed meaning “a special region of sociability”. In the middle of the 17th century, in France, “le public” referred to “the audience for plays”; this theatrical public (as Sennett named) was composed of an elite group, which was still very small in number then. Mercantile were adopting the codes of noble behaviour like symbols, attitude, posture and costume etc. to be included into this small group to

gain recognition and to be in connection with the court and with the aristocrats (Sennett, 2002, pp. 16-17).

Religious ceremonies, mystery plays and church rituals were also considered as the examples of representative publicness. It is the result of same understanding of publicness of this period that people were considered only the audience for these ceremonies such that they were performed on the church steps to be watched from the square. However, Protestant Reformation led the Church to lose its power to represent and so that led the religion itself to be become a private matter (Habermas, 1991, pp. 9-11).

Along with the Baroque festivities that arose after the Counter (Catholic) Reformation, there was also a change in palace life. All the elements of the representative publicness continued to exist, and remained concentrated in the life of the courts of kings and princes; ordinary individuals remained outside of this life as spectators. It was detached from the outside world but it required the presence of people to be seen and heard; thus, there were monumental and grandiose church squares and royal palaces with sophisticated courts and gardens. The idea of openness and dominance of the Baroque concept of spatial organization was intentional in that it created its own interface where civil individuals and aristocrats crossed each other's paths but never integrated. Representative publicness consolidated in church squares and courts of royal palaces that functioned as "show-off and display spaces" with their overwhelming scale.

Habermas says, "In the etiquette of Louis XIV concentration of the publicity of representation at the court attained the high point of refinement." Indeed, Baroque spatial organisation enabled a courtly life blocked off from the outside world composed of civil individuals as in the example of Versailles, which was the most inspirational example of royal palaces of this period. Worse, even the secular festivities of the middle ages and partly of the Renaissance like dance and theatre retreated from the streets into the courts, gardens and rooms of the palace. Eventually, representative publicness that emerged during the middle ages not only survived but also consolidated by the end of the 18th century (Habermas, 1991, pp. 9-11).

Indeed, during the 18th century, that even called French century, France was the most powerful and populous country in the Europe through the 18th century; she had a great military potential with a big population and had a great cultural force which was admired and influenced by the rest of the Europe (Roberts, 2000, pp. 372-377; Mason, 2015, pp. 410-413).

Europe in the 18th century was composed of almost entirely absolute monarchies that ruled by a king or queen as God's agents on earth. This old regime in also France was based on a social hierarchy determined by birth and organised into three classes after the king; the clergy, the nobility/arictocracy and the others. This third class was the 97 percent of the all population of 28 million inhabitants that 85 percent of it was composed of peasants. France, like rest of the world was rural and agricultural in character in terms of economy and society. Since the 17th century, along with this character, commercial trade was also expanding supported by royal policies, so that a new middle class was emerging out of this third class; small merchants, artisans called "petite bourgeoisie" (Mason, 2015, pp. 415-585).

This was also the Age of Enlightenment that raised out of the Protestant reaction against Counter-Reformation; forerunner philosophers like English John Locke (1632-1704), French the Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), Scottish Adam Smith (1723-1790), German Immanuel Kant (1724 –1804) that triggered the tendencies towards revolution in France and America and reform in England. Especailly, Adam Smith's opus "The Wealt of Nations (1776)" has been considered as the beginning of liberalism and the basis of capitalism, as he discussed an economic system considering the market as a self-correcting mechanism with a minimum governmental interference (Mason, 2015, pp. 429-552; Merriman, 2009a).

However, the Enlightenment was not directly the cause of French Revolution. It was rather a triggering factor, which enabled the circulation of new ideas and the creation of the "critical public opinion" by the help of rapid expansion in the publication of books, periodicals and pamphlets during 18th century. Even beyond the revolution, the sociological roots and origin of intellectual foundation of today's modern Western democratic societies are considered and discussed to be raised out of the Age of Enlightenment. Yet, as Mason notes that, "None of the philosophes was involved very directly in the revolutionary events of 1789 and so they should be

thought of as reformers rather than revolutionaries." (Mason, 2015, pp. 561-608; Zafirovski, 2010, pp. 7-14; Habermas, 1991, p. 25).

Furthermore, in terms of the production of space, Lefebvre also emphasized the importance of this period considering it as the rise of capitalism and so does the abstract space. For him nothing disappears completely; neither the social space nor its reflection in actual space; "what came earlier continues to underpin what follows in space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 229). Parallel to the discussion of this study, he indicates the conditions of 16th century that came along with the Counter-Reformation as an unmeasurable process of decisive importance that underpin the future Western societies, "something" that turned it upside down. It was not a certain point in time but it was obvious; it was the economic, practical and social domination of urban on rural cumulatively. Although it was still not in a centre-periphery distinction, town separated from the countryside in this period (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 268). "The space of a social order is hidden in the order of space," says Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 272). The site selection of royal palaces of Baroque outside the old walled-in cities and their monumental scale reflects this domination physically; in the sense of today, the space of 18th century was already politicized reflecting the social tension. Urban space became the stage of the socio-economic relations and the theatre of "the tool of terrifying power". As Lefebvre defines this was the first phase of spatial abstraction that enabled by "instrumental" architecture. It was the emergence of abstract space as a product of social violence (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 268, 284-285).

3.6 Rise of Literary Publicness and Politicisation of the City Square

Out of these new ideas of the Age of Enlightenment together with the ambitions of rising bourgeoisie for political power and positions of honour together with the inhuman conditions of the peasants came the rise of a new phenomenon, "creating the public opinion" or "making the public realm" (Habermas, 1991, p. 25; Mason, 2015, p. 563). The whole system of feudalism and colonialism was seriously challanged at the end of the 18th century, first by the US Declaration of Independence in 1776 and then by the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789. Although, 1776 marked the seperation of 13 American British colonies from Great Britan and 1789 marked the storming of the Bastille and the Declaration of the

Rights of Man, socio-economic system of Western world has changed over time completely.

As relatively short term results of these rising revolutionary movements, first the Holy Roman Empire – a confederation of mostly independent states of central Europe was dissolved in 1806 and then political upheavals happened especially throughout Europe in 1848 that known as the "People's Spring" or "Spring of Nations". It was a revolutionary wave in Western history that begain in Paris in which the social and political tension did not cease after 1789, and reached beyond France with no coordination between other estates. Briefly, both the domestic and the international system were seriously challenged during this period; even, many historians even call the period between 1776 and 1848 "The Age of Revolution" (Hobsbwan, 1992).

This period also staged the emergence of the Industrial Revolution beginning from Great Britain and expanding to all Europe between the end of 18th century and the mid-19th century. Inventions and innovations of this period led the developments of new production techniques based on machines and specialization. There were two major consequences of Industrial Revolution that even shape the today; (1) fewer people remained working the land leaving the countryside to find job in the cities, (2) efficiency of mechanised agriculture enabled the production of more food for the cities (Merriman, 2009b; Mason, 2015, pp. 841-843). In brief and general terms, Western civilizations were rising to be a world power contributing to the further development of liberalism, nationalism, industrialisation, capitalism, urbanisation and the urban working class –proletariat- that we still inherit the results.

Together with the rising political and social tension, ongoing impacts of Industrial Revolution were evolved; factory technology was changed and mass production was achieved by the end of the 19th century (Trebilcock, 2000, p. 798). This change in production of goods and flourishing science triggered important developments to be achieved in (1) transportation (2) communication and (3) infrastructure.

Development of the mass industrial production required the transportation of raw materials and final products. After the invention of steam engine, steamboats and steam railroads were operated by the mid 19th century. By the development of electric power, steam railroads were followed by the electric trams on first street

levels and then underground by the beginning of the 20th century. Further, following the invention of internal combusition engine in 1885 automobiles were then everywhere by the mid of the 20th century. Even the very first experimental aircraft was powered in 1903, although it was commercialized only after World War II (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, pp. 63-64; Herbst, 2006).

Second half of the 19th century was also revolutionary in terms of the evolution of communication tools; telegrapf (1837), telephone (1876) and radio (1897) were in common use by the end of the century. Although these developments enabled the invention of television (1927), its widespread commercialization was also achieved again after World War II (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, pp. 64-65; Huurdeman, 2003).

In terms of infrastructure, water supply, drainage and sewage systems, electrical street lighting were existed but especially improved in large cities. However, 19th century was the period of phenomenal (1) urban growth and urbanization, and (2) class segregation. Population of cities were increasing due to massive migration usually from the rural hinterland (Merriman, 2009d and many others). As aforementioned in the previous section, here the concept of urban appears as the extension and dominance of the city over the countryside (Lefebvre, 2003, pp. 1-4). Poor people were migrating to the cities to work as domestic servants, day laborers and industrial laborers. Out of this massive migration together unplanned and undirected growth, unhealthy places and chaos emerged in which the poor suffered at most and so there had been brutal class segregation (Gallion and Eisner, 1963, p. 65; Merriman, 2009d; LeGates & Stout, 1998).

Housing was the most crucial problem of these conditions. The worst and unhealthiest parts of the cities were where the population density was highest; slums appeared without sunlight and clean air (Hilbersiemer, 1955, pp. 105-108). Indeed, Friedrich Engels brought up the conditions that came along with the industrial revolution in detail and pictured the struggles, sufferings, hopes and prospects of the proletariat in his opus “The Condition of Working Class in England” in 1845 and further he discussed the transition to mass industrial production together with housing shortage in “The Housing Question” in 1872. As he pictured that while the working class were struggling both with the epidemics due to the lack of the necessary infrastructure and the heavy working conditions, bourgeois –as the owner of the means of industrial production- were able not to penetrate into these unhealthy

neighbourhoods and continue to live their "modernising" everyday life. The difference and tension between these two social segments that do not touch each other in the same city, has been gradually grew in time and hence social segregation reflected itself physically in city squares.

Who stormed the Bastille? Asks Merriman, and answers; artisans and craftsmen who were considering themselves as a class apart from unskilled workers since they were educated up to a point (Merriman, 2009b). Historians and thinkers discuss the history of French Revolution and Industrial Revolution as the history of the consolidation of the bourgeoisie. One should remind here that what is called bourgeoisie was not that homogenous; it was composed of intellectuals, wealthy merchants, artisans and craftsmen. It is important that, out of the medieval third class, new publics emerged in time with the effect of evolving trade. It is a process, it is not an exact moment in time; Marx discusses this process in which the class struggles of former periods of history were simplified in the capitalist mode of production, mainly divided into two opposing classes; the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Defining this process as the involvement of the proletariat in the political arena, Merriman also defines this period as the politicization of the ordinary man (Tucker, Marx, Engels, 1978, p. 481; Merriman, 2009c).

Based on democratic principles and parliamentary views, the idea of political equality and economic liberalism was rising. In addition, public space, namely the city square was also politicized and became the stage of conflicts between multi-publics.

In terms of evolution of publicty and the city squares, for example, it should be noted that **Place Louis XV** evolved over the next hundred years, carried on by the Revolution, continued by Nalpoleon and completed by Louis-Philippe. Here, it is also important to see that it evolved from a single plan that continued regardless of all the political upheavals, wars etc. and so it is important to see that it was before the stage of Baroque festivity, which became later stage of French Revolution of 1789. **Place Louis XV** was renamed **Place de la Revolution** in 1789 and later **Place de la Concorde** in 1830 (after the July Revolution). The statue of Louis XV was torn down and replaced with the guillotine that the king, queen, almost two thousands nobles and the revolutionary leaders were executed. Pont de la Concorde, the bridge across the Siene River, was build in 1791 by the stones of **La Bastille**, the prison

destroyed during French Revolution and turned into a city square, **"Place de la Bastille"** celebrating liberty in 1792 (Webb, 1990, p. 150; Zucker, 1959, p. 185).

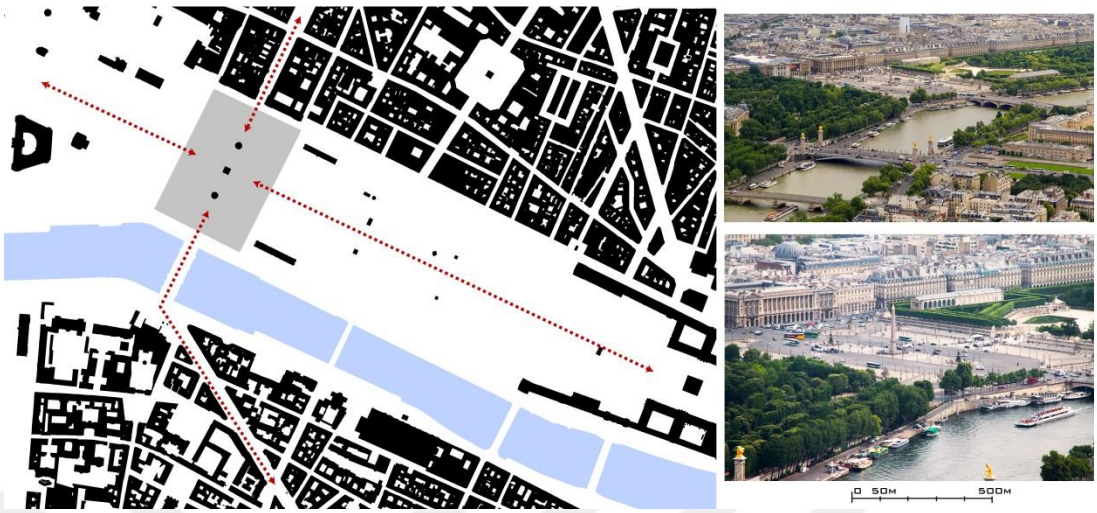


Figure 3. 21: Place de la Concorde – Paris (photos, Url-24; Url-25).

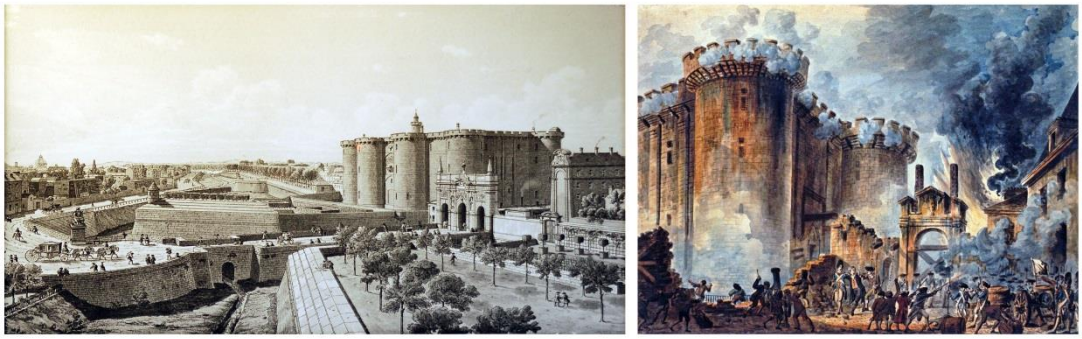


Figure 3. 22: La Bastille of Paris before the Revolution (left – anonymous engraving) Storming of La Bastille (right – drawing by Jean-Pierre Louis Houel).

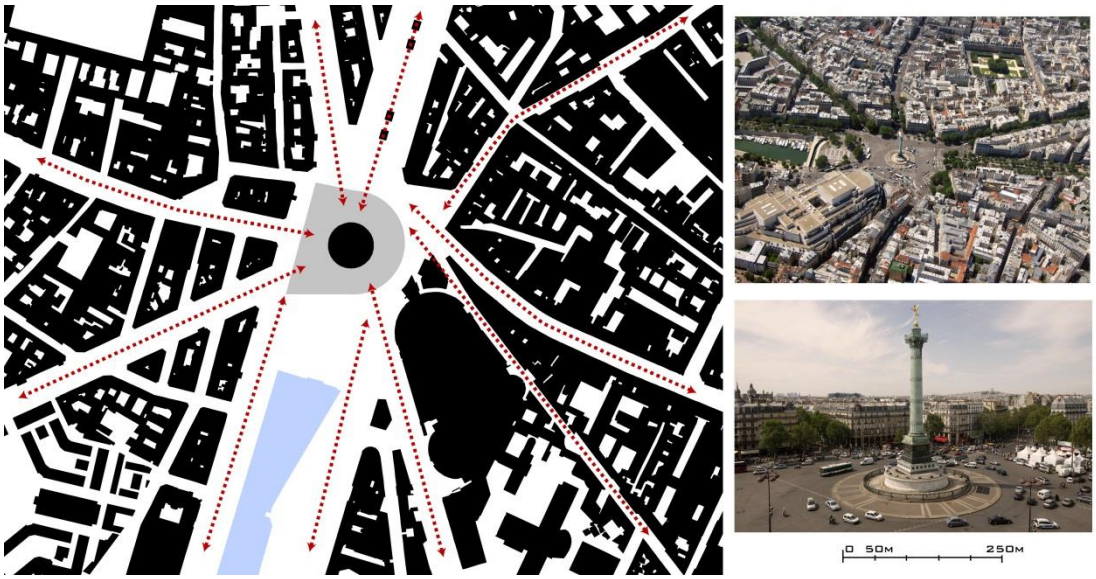


Figure 3. 23: Place de la Bastille – Paris (photos, Url-26; Url-27).

Here, the differences between the terms public sphere and public space becomes crystal clear. Public space contributes to the formation of public sphere, as a physical setting, yet, public sphere is obviously more than the space itself; it is "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" (Habermas, 1974, p. 49).

Habermas indicates two important developments during this period that contributed to the formation of the public sphere, and so that of public opinion, which is critically the spatialization of the bourgeois public sphere and the emergence of the literary publicness. First, by the end of the 17th century, there were coffee houses in Great Britain and salons in France as the new institutions and centers of literary and political criticism where aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals were engaged (Habermas, 1991, p. 32). Second, the rise of the traffic in news enabled them to become public by means of the development of regular press, political newspapers and journals appeared by the end of the 17th century (Habermas, 1991, pp. 16-20). Merriman also illustrates the effect of newspapers and political clubs on the way of politicizing ordinary people during this period (Merriman, 2009c).

Briefly, a public sphere began to emerge by the 18th century through the growth of coffee houses, salons (or clubs) and the growth of the press. However, the elements of this sphere were mainly in the hands of bourgeoisie society; somehow, it was the rise of literary publicness, of course, together also with extensive censorship on political newspapers and journals (Habermas, 1991, p. 67; Merriman, 2009c).

Beyond the rise of literary publicness, it should be considered here that "ordinary people" saw and heard the displays of both the church and the palace; thus one may mention the accumulative contribution of "seeing and hearing" into the need of "to be seen and heard" to be risen.

In fact, as aforementioned in the previous section, accumulation of these developments led the search for an end of the capitalist mode of production by Marx and his followers "The Communist Manifesto" was also published by Marx and Engels in 1848 in London ending with the phrase "Workers of all countries unite!" (Tucker, Marx, Engels, 1978, p. 500). As a political and economic doctrine, communism was based on the aims to replace private property and profit-based economy with public ownership and communal control of the means of production.

However, as it is known and as Lefebvre criticised in detail, capitalism overcame its internal contradictions and reproduced itself in time (Lefebvre, 1976). Although this study will not dig the doctrines down, it should be considered that the progressing developments after the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution, which enabled the creation of new city patterns with new issues to be handled by means of urban planning and design.

As a respond and consequent of these physical conditions of early industrial cities, the very first "professional" reaction was based on the search for more healthy and humane living environments. This search resulted as "The Parks Movement" by the mid-19th century; many public parks were opened to provide "lungs" for the western cities like Birkenhead Park in Liverpool and Victoria Park in London etc. (LeGates and Stout, 1998, p. 302; Jordan, 1994; Carr et al, 1992, pp. 61-63). As an extension of this movement but one-step further, Ebenezer Howard intended to reintegrate the city with countryside and idealised "The Garden City" model in "To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform (1989)" in London. Additionally, what is known as "Haussmannization" today was a large-scale physical intervention model, the emergence of very first example of "urban renewal" that actually implemented during the same period tearing down and rebuilding 60 percent of Paris between 1853 and 1870 according to the plan of Baron Haussmann. This massive "urban surgery" concentrated on the demolition of unhealthy neighbourhoods and the creation of new wide boulevards and parks (Kostof, 1992, p. 266; Spreiregen, 1965, p. 27).

Briefly, in the period between 1789 and 1914, there has been a dual process in terms of (social) production of public space including city squares; in one hand, they were political and in the other hand, they were recreational to meet the need of open spaces of the period. However, the first half of the 20th century including World War I (1914-1918), Great Depression in 1929 that continued through 1930s and World War II (1939-1945) was not a period of production, it was rather a period of destruction of space.

The last half of the 19th century had been a progressive and relatively peaceful one in the West; managed by the balance of power system of shifting alliances to prevent any country to become too powerful, until its collapse in 1914 (Mason, 2015, pp. 1966-1983). The balance of alliances was changed and the result was brutal; 8

million people were killed and another 20 million were wounded all around the continent. World War I had been also the absolute end of monarchies; out of four empires that collapsed after the war (Russian, Austrian, German and Ottoman) new independent democratic countries emerged including the Republic of Turkey based on the ideals of liberalism and nationalism. On the other hand, the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia in 1917 led the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922 as the first communist government of the world, which officially dissolved into 15 states in 1991 (Mason, 2015, pp. 2154-2170).

Although the 1920s witnessed democratic advances, over the still ongoing socio-economic effects of World War I, the West suffered at the most from the crashing of United States stock market in 1929, which led a worldwide economic depression that experienced until the late 1930s. The worse were the devastating consequences of World War II (1939-1945); in Europe alone, there were more than 15 milion military casualties and twice-civilian deaths (Mason, 2015, p. 2652). The destruction of war had flattened cities in not only Europe but also Asia and parts of Africa; some cities survived some did not.

There are many social, economic, political and spatial aspects to discuss in regards to the aftermath of these man-made catastrophes that emerged in the second half of the 20th century. Yet, it is worth to mention that from a broader perspective, Berman (1988) discuss the period beginning from the 16th century as "a vital experience shared by people" called "modernity". He describes what is called modernity as a dual process of being able to transform the world and ourselves and being under the threat of losing everything obliterating them all. He considers modernity as a paradoxical reality; while it unite all humankind in a sense "cutting across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology", it also divide humankind driving us into "maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish" (Berman, 1988, p. 15). In this understanding, the nature of modernity is dialectical; it promotes humankind to be both the objects and the subjects of their future giving them the power "to change the world that is changing them" or "to make their way through this maelstrom and make it their own" (Berman, 1988, p. 16).

This statement of Berman (1988) directly overlaps with Lefebvre's (1974) argument on the production of space in the capitalist mode of production and so the dissolution

of "abstract/dominated space" creating the "differential space": isotoia vs heterotopia. Considering the production of differential space (heterotopia) that operates by experiences and appropriations in which societies reflect their self-representation as a creative and political process; the shifts from Place Louis XV to Place de la Concorde and from La Bastille to Place de la Bastille appear as the earliest examples of the dissolution of abstract/dominated space (isotopia) and so the social production of differential space (heterotopia).

Above, it has been seen that as a prerequisite for the production of the differential space, one should be able to mention the conditions for the creation of public opinion, in other words, a discoursive public sphere. However, during the first half of the 20th century, under the devastating conditions of the two World Wars, one may only assume humankind in the levels of suffering through the untenable and constant fear of death or losses of relatives and friends, and suffering through hunger and homelessness. Yet, it is obvious that these conditions were the end of neither the public sphere nor the space; it was just an interruption in time, which might be assumed like the early middle ages all over again.

3.7 Emergence of Virtual Publicness and Privatization of the City Square

As it has been discussed in the Section 2 that the contemporary definitions of "public realm", "public opinion" and "public sphere" originate from most citied masterpieces of Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1962) and later of Sennett (1977). Very soon, Lefebvre wrote his three opuses "Urban Revolution" (1970), "Survival of Capitalism" (1973) and finally "The Production of Space" (1974). The rise of the discussion on publicness and social production of space after the 1950s from the insights of social sciences actually meaningful in terms of timing and obviously it is not coincidental. Here, it is worth to note the worldwide social, economic and political conjuncture of the period briefly to have a deeper and relational understanding about the subject.

Harvey (1990) illustrates the aftermath of World Wars as the advanced capitalist countries' facing off with widescale and austere economic, social, political and spatial problems. There was the explicit need for to build the worlwide peace and prosperity and not to return to inhumane pre-war and/or course of war conditions. Although both the postwar conditions and the politics were varied, the general

tendency was based on mass production and planning to achieve the reconstruction and reorganization of the urban pattern and everyday urban life (Harvey, 1990, pp. 68-69).

Economic recovery and reorganization was sustained in most countries after the end of World War II based on Keynesian economics and the development of welfare (social) state model that developed by British economist John Maynard Keynes in his book "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" published in 1936. Keynesian model was based on the state intervention to promote investment, production, employment controlling the inflation. Constructing of welfare systems on health, education, housing and the like by the governments enabled some sort of class compromise between capital and labor, which differ from place to place. However, by the end of the 1960s the system began to break down, suffering from crises of various states; it was no longer working by the mid-1970s both in international and domestic scale. The reasons in the background of the crisis of welfare state model are the subjects of many studies that have to be solved. Yet, it is significant that by the end of the 1970s a new turn towards neoliberalism emerged, questioning the extent of state intervention to promote investment, production, and employment and controlling inflation. The result was the withdrawal of the states from many areas of social provision; it was the rise of deregulation and privatization (Harvey, 2005).

Sennett (2002) discussed the period beginning from the 18th century on as first the rise and then the fall of the public sphere. According to Sennett, the rise was embedded in the formation of the 18th century cities of "becoming a world in which widely diverse groups in society were coming into contact". As he states, despite all of the "exceptions, deviations, and alternative modes" present in any period, a sort of consensus and a coherent culture could be constituted out of the tension between the claims of public and private spheres in this connection. However, this balance between what public and private was about to change in favour of what is private under the rise of national industrial capitalism in the 19th and 20th centuries (Sennett, 2002, pp. 17-19).

Beginning from the 19th century, this period was characterised by the invasion of privileged private interests into the realm of politics and so the public sphere eventually. Habermas defined this process as a kind of "refeudalization" of societies

and the "downfall of the public sphere." The distinction between "public" and "private" could no longer be applied due to (1) the transfer of conflicts of private interests onto the political level and adoption of these interests by the state authorities and (2) the transfer of public functions to private corporate bodies (Habermas, 1991, pp. 141-143).

What is remarkable here that Sennett also contributed to this discussion on spatiality and urban planning by defining "dead and alive public spaces." He criticised how instrumental urban planning and architecture create dead public spaces of capitalism which are not even open for all technically; they are places to only pass by or watch rather than to accommodate assembly and representation for all (Sennett, 2002, pp. 12-18). Moreover, Sennett also mentioned how the urban patterns of Western cities and habits of the labour class on using public spaces have changed in favour of leisure rather than politics.

As a sociologist, Sennett offered an analysis of the general evolution of the "public man" on both individual and massive scales. He claimed that in the capitalist mode of production, the absence of belief in publicness is based on (1) the consequence of being merely spectators for hundreds of years and so individuals' losing self-faith, the ability of judgement and self-representation, (2) the condition of denial as the act of trying to ensure self-protection by refusing to accept the truth; the self is bounded by restrictions. The condition of denial is taking the easy way out because "active expression requires human effort," and it will require even more than that, since "the problems become more intractable as long as they are not being confronted." In fact, the actual absence is to be shielded by silence, to stop feeling, or not to show them; in brief, the conditions of individualisation, impersonality, alienation, and apathy form the actual absence (Sennnett, 2002, pp. 259-262).

The rising turn towards neoliberalism after the end of 1970s overlapped with two intense phenomena as (1) the introduction and worldwide use of new information and communication technologies (2) transformation processes of cities induced by excessive privatization policies.

In terms of the evolution of the public sphere, a significant advancement of the 20th century has been the accelerating development and increasing worldwide use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in everyday life (Huurdeman, 2003, pp. 580 -583, 604-605). In a globalising world that time and space compressed

in (Harvey, 1990, p. 260), global structuring of communication industries has also created debates on topics such as national culture and identity. Although the public sphere was assumed as a realm, which was defined at the domestic/local level, booming ICTs brought up the question of the possibility of the phenomenon of a worldwide public sphere (Habermas, 1996, p. 360,514). Perspectives on the existence of a worldwide virtual public sphere, in general, can be framed as either part of a pessimistic or enthusiastic and optimistic approach to them.

Discussions that arose from the optimistic approaches consider ICTs as the tools for the worldwide concretization of the public sphere. These approaches argue that; (1) ICTs offer the possibility of large numbers of people participating on any issues that are under discussion, since participants are not categorized in terms of age, status, class, gender, etc. and (2) ICTs provide people instant access to information anywhere in real-time and this results as the expansion of knowledge for anyone with a smartphone or a computer and internet connection. From this optimistic point of view, the virtual public sphere is also (3) considered to be a democratic one, based on the arguments that say it is universal, anti-hierarchical, unforced, unrestricted by any agenda or any institutional structure or process and it works by the will of anyone (Buchstein, 1997; Loader & Marcea, 2011).

Conversely, pessimistic approaches emphasise that (1) today individuals have become the consumers of information and the internet became an area where people are bombarded with irrelevant or unnecessary information that causes waste of time and loss of personal effectiveness. In the long run, this consumption also results in the banalization of information and normalisation of traumatic social conditions. Another issue under discussion is based on anonymity: (2) the possibility of social media accounts being fake or automated by robots may cause the condition of disinformation or manipulation and a sort of illusion of reality, and accordingly, a feeling of insecurity, unreliability and loss of referentiality. Furthermore, (3) the pessimistic perspective emphasises that virtual interactions may substitute for face-to-face communications; the passive conditions of individuals in front of a computer, television or smartphone screen have been discussed as a threat in experiencing the real atmosphere of being included in something and by not making an effort at inclusion may also promote a kind of "denial," as Sennett underlined. Besides, the reality of being alone and having a sort of feeling of being a part of something at the

same time is inherently contradictory and it is not conceivable that they can be compatible. Finally yet importantly, the assumption that information is now available for anybody fails because the tools for accessing that information are not widely available free, so this "anybody" usually has to pay to be included in this virtual sphere and obviously, this is not equally affordable for the entire world (Brook & Boal, 1995; Dean, 2003). Finally, one should note that internet censorship and surveillance together with broadcast bans imposed and generated by governments are actually the evidence of the existence of a virtual publicness and its contribution in creating public opinion.

Although it is obvious that the ICTs' positive effects on creating public opinion and coordination between people anyhow, emphasis of this study is on the necessity of city squares as real-physical and spatial conditions together with their affordances on enabling democratic dialogue. Yet, keeping the unpredictable and unimaginable improvement of technology in mind, one might assume that humankind will somehow combine its conditions with the need of "to be seen and heard" as a creative action like in the example of world's first hologram protest that took place in Spain on April 10th, 2015 (Url-33).



Figure 3. 24: Hologram Protest in Spain (Tomlinson, 2015).

As the second phenomena, in the neoliberal form of urbanization, there has been a consensus on the fact that public spaces have been diminishing or not extending in parallel to the increase in urban population, and further their typologies and functions have been changing in favour of privatization. After the 1970s, changing typologies and functions, spatial requirements and desirable features of public spaces in an urban pattern and their publicness degree have become an unavoidable and growing discussion in the domain of spatial sciences.

Sorkin (1992, pp. xiii-xv) indicates that in modern cities and their public spaces these threats are (1) similarization and generic applications on space, (2) technological and physical surveillance for the purpose of security and (3) thematisation of space to create a sort of simulation of any desired and commercially tradable images by means of architecture and urban design.

Shopping malls and theme parks have been especially discussed as the new generation and privatized examples of public spaces that differ from traditional ones in regards to both their ownership and their operation. Since these privatized settings have been tailored for the benefit of private interests rather than the overall public, they have been considered and designed not for all but for a specific targeted user profile. As Loukaitou-Sideris says (1988, pp. 201-203;1993) "these new privatized spaces are not that equally open and accessible to everyone", indeed, "they are exclusive and segregative spaces".

Today, says Mitchell, production of public space centres on the appetite for "security rather than interaction" and for "entertainment rather than politics" more than ever (Mitchell, 1995, p. 119). On the other hand, considering the future of public spaces, Banerjee (2001, pp. 19-20) admits that "public life is flourishing in private places increasingly" and his emphasis here on the argument that there are also small businesses within these private places alongside chain stores, malls, theme parks etc. such as "coffee shops, bookstores and other such third places" which should be supported to improve both the local economy and public life together. In other words, he prioritises the possibility of social interaction over the issue of ownership.

From a larger perspective Madanipour (2003, 2005, p. 11-14) also discusses the change of public spaces, relating it to the general transformation of post-industrial cities. He also argues that there is more than one challenge to the traditional importance of public spaces; "their political role limited to the periods of crisis and their social role to providing leisure, however, the most significant challenge to public space is, rather, economic". Since private investment in public space tends to limit the access the space to control, and tends to decrease the use and maintenance costs which results as social-segregation, functional fragmentation and loss of meaningful usage. As it has been discussed in the Section 2, Robbins (1993) and Madanipour (2010) further emphasize that the social production of public space has always been a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion, a struggle between dominant and counter publics and their claim over space.

According to Madanipour (2003, p. 189; 2010, pp. 9-10), after the decline of the welfare state, the changing role of the public authorities led the rise of new urban spaces "like shopping malls, gated communities and protected walkways that increasingly developed and managed by private agencies in the interest of particular sections of the population". A combination of the search for lower costs to develop and maintain public places (safe investment) together with the supply and the demand for safe public environments (gated) led the rise of the instrumental approach, which see public space also as a commodity and consider its exchange value over its use value. This instrumental approach on public space overlaps exactly with Lefebvre's definition of "abstract space" that associated with constructing more or increasing the exchange value and destroying the preceding built environment together with the social relations, differences and identities (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 50-53)

This exclusionary type of production of space brought the inward-oriented and good-looking design approach for various types of contemporary urban functions. Together with the realities of increasing population and urban sprawl, transformation of everday life and urban pattern led (1) the development of gated communities in the urban periphery with their own open spaces, shopping malls and supermarkets isolated from the rest. Besides, (2) it caused the loss of residential population in the city center, and (3) rising need for private cars and so, the parking lots (Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 126; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Punter, 1990). Briefly, capitalist and neoliberal mode of production of space has undermined the notion of "public sphere" and its physical requirements and affordances.

In the meantime, the promotion of globalisation by the multi-national companies and the brutal conditions of competitive capitalism led the transformation of especially the city centres and so the public spaces which have been considered as the essential components of this transformation. Many contemporary Western cities appear to direct the private investments in their central and major public spaces as the more desirable and attractive locations for investors and tourists using them as show-off and display spaces. The result is often touristification, museumization and commodification of the historical cores of cities, which come along with consumption-oriented, uneven and speculative urban development, gentrification of the city centre and socio-spatial segregation eventually (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 186; Madanipour, 2010, pp. 112-113).

In parallel to Madanipour, Lennard & Lennard (2007, pp. 199-207) emphasize the same trends as the dangers to the semantical, functional and spatial evolution of the central and major city squares of former periods of history and to their contribution on the development of democratic dialogue in a given society.

Within these conditions, beginning from the mid-20th century on, there has been a tendency to produce new "attractive" city squares, which are considered mainly to afford the required openness in front of a single commercial structure to provide its visibility. These new-generation city squares are named after these buildings often embellished and thematised with special design elements as in the examples of **Theatre Square – Rotterdam, Place Georges Pompidou – Paris.**



Figure 3. 25: Schouwburgplein – Rotterdam (photos, Url-29; Url-30).

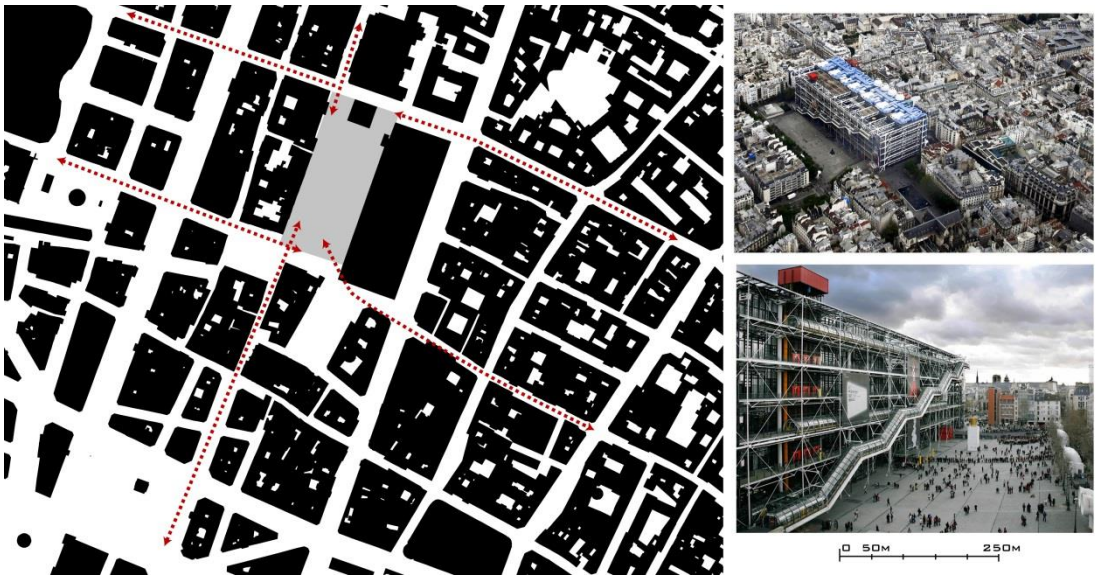


Figure 3. 26: Place Georges Pompidou – Paris (photos, Url-31; Url-32).

Very recent and disquieting news from the Centre Pompidou modern art museum is highly remarkable in terms of the issues that have been elaborated. As stated in the Agence France-Presse (1 April 2017), *"The Centre Pompidou modern art museum – one of the biggest tourist draws in the French capital – will remain closed this weekend because of a week-long strike by security guards, its management said. Around 100 guards walked out on Monday over a new law, which forces them to become civil servants rather than be employed under the terms of their previous contracts. Talks between the guards' unions and the French ministry of culture broke down Thursday. Management said Saturday that they had no option but to keep the museum's doors shut over the weekend when tens of thousands of visitors were expected. ... With up to 18,000 visitors a day passing through its doors, the state-funded museum stands to lose hundreds of thousands of euros (dollars) from the stoppage."* (Bonaventure, 2017).

In 1969, an architectural competition was held for the design of a new cultural centre in Paris. The construction of the winner project of British architect Richard Rogers and Italian architects Renzo Piano and Gianfranco Franchini was completed in 1977 including the Place Georges-Pompidou. The Centre Pompidou is an essential part of the square in front and is a consequence of its spatial organisation (Url-28). In terms of publicness, without a local research, one might not be able to comment on the degree of the square's exclusiveness or inclusiveness precisely. Yet, the news challengingly shows that as an inseparable part of the Centre Pompidou, Place Georges-Pompidou welcomes a massive crowd of people who compose a specific targeted user/tourist profile every day, secured by guards. Although a cultural centre with a square in front in Paris seems absolutely normal, it is worth to think about the historical evolution of what is conventionally called "square" and "public" and its beyond.

On the other hand, in these contemporary conditions, Harvey (2012) considers the influential occupy movements around the world as the examples of reclaiming the city and so the public space. Harvey (2012, p. 115) indicates "the forces/owners of capital and its innumerable allies" (dominant publics) has left the rest of the population behind as the members of subordinated social groups who constitute the counter publics and there anti-capitalist struggles of any sort are inevitably involved. This process, which Habermas (1991, pp. 141-143) defined as the "refeudalization of

societies", is likewise described by Harvey (2014, p. 292) as the "domination of oligarchic capitalist class privilege and power over societies".

Harvey's prospect is frankly on the social movements and civil protests against socio-economic inequality all around the world that it witnessed especially following the crisis of 2007-2008, however, he also emphasizes disquietingly increasing gap between the oligarchy and the rest of the populations. He also adds (Harvey, 2014, p. 292); "Political power backed by intensifying surveillance, policing and militarised violence is being used to attack the well-being of whole populations deemed expendable and disposable. Ruthless oligarchic power is now being exercised through a totalitarian democracy directed to immediately disrupt, fragment and suppress any coherent anti-wealth political movement (such as Occupy)."

It has been seen that democratic thought refers to the freedom of peaceful speech and assembly. However, in almost all democracies this right is limited today: governments can impose restrictions on the time, place, and manner of assembly. Following the recent wave of authoritarianism in all over the world, the authorities are increasingly exercising this right to serve narrow governmental interests and supress opposition. It is true that the representational function of public spaces seems eroding, city squares and streets appear as exclusive places where only a limited spectrum of society and ideas can be represented. In this very point, this study reminds that publicness in the sense of political representation has always been a matter of struggles and so public spaces have always been exclusionary places for some throughout history. As Madanipour (2003, pp. 207-208) says; "throughout their histories, public spaces have remained contested places, through wars, revolutions and upheavals, as their control meant the control of the common symbols of power, the control of the city and of society." Here, what Madanipour refers with "public spaces" is rather indicates the major city squares since they have been the spaces in which history has unfolded from Athenian Agora to Place de la Concorde.

These contemporary social movements represented similarities regarding their demands, their claims to the right to the city, as well as the ways in which they occupied the representational spaces in these cities. From the M-15 in Puerta del Sol Square – Madrid to the Egyptian Revolution in Tahrir Square – Cairo and from the OWS in Zuccotti Park – New York to Occupy Gezi in Taksim Republican Square –

Istanbul, counter-discourses are expressed, explicit objections are voiced and massive crowds gathered in the very heart of the cities.

Major city squares have always been the heart of the cities to represent the power of the dominant, in other words, representation does not take place in the urban periphery since it is never possible in isolation. The powerful and/or the privileged publics that dominate the public sphere spatialise their representation – just like animals marking their territories by emitting odors – as an instinctual or learned act assuming that "whatever belongs to everyone belongs to no one." Indeed, this has been the reality, which occupies major city squares of every age both physically and psychologically, and it neither invites nor welcomes "everyone" indeed.

Yet, it is extremely important to be aware of, is that whatever constitutes the dominant; (here church and palace or bourgeoisie and aristocracy, there a dictator or capital) there has been a sort of love and hatred relation between dominant publics and city squares. The power loved to show itself physically on and at city squares; however, city squares full of critical publics arouse their hatred in turn, because, as history has witnessed, mass objections might threaten the powerful revolutionarily. Whatever constitutes the counter (workers, women, lesbians and gay men, minorities and the poor) their differences appear in exactly the space where the power is represented. They construct their differential spaces over the dominated spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 129). Indeed, city squares has always staged the struggles between multi-publics and claimed, however, it seems this has become an essential part of their social production in turn.

4. RECLAIMING THE CENTRAL CITY SQUARES OF ISTANBUL

In this section, an original historical periodisation has been introduced in four phases again each characterized by changing relation between evolution of the cases and transformation of publicness and the relations between multi-publics that Istanbul has sheltered. Istanbul is a unique example with her uninterrupted history as a crossing point where Asia and Europe touch, which was the capital of three big civilizations as Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, and is still the most populous city of the Republic of Turkey contemporarily. She has staged different regime transitions and sheltered different civilizations, and what makes her unique in terms of this study is embedded in her uninterrupted unique history.

"Istanbul is the creation not only of its unique history but of its magnificent site that created and given life by the sea." says Kuban (2010a, p. 5). Indeed, its magnificent natural structure on the both sides of the Bosphorus located between Black Sea and Marmara Sea, makes Istanbul the only seaway connection where the continents Europe and Asia and so their culture meets. In fact, Istanbul has always afforded the need to shelter of human civilizations timelessly. There are many prehistoric sites known within the boundaries of greater Istanbul. During the excavations, numerous archaeological finds have been unearthed dated back to Palaeolithic times on both Asian and European sides of her (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 9-12).

The first and oldest traces of human civilization have been unearthed as old as 400.000 years within the boundaries of greater Istanbul (Dönmez, 2006; Başaran & Kızıltan, 2016). Even, recent archaeological excavations, which carried out in Yenikapı (Theodisius Harbour) and Sirkeci train stations for the construction of Marmaray – Metro Project in 2004, stretched the history of Istanbul Peninsula back to 8500 BC (Aytekin, 2009, p. 29; Başaran & Kızıltan, 2016). For this study, it is important to know that Istanbul Peninsula (today known as "Historic Peninsula" or "Intramuros") before the Byzantion of ancient ages was a place where human civilizations concentrated in.

However, due to (1) lack of resources to map and discuss the spatial organizations of those prehistorical settlements and (2) since this study is dealing the notion of "public" and its spatial organization, this section will be also investigated between Hellenistic times and today.

Based on 1) literature survey 2) newspaper archives 3) mapping 4) interviews with professionals from the domains of spatial sciences, social and actual production of Sultan Ahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares of Istanbul have been investigated in relation with each other from a novel approach combining descriptive and exploratory critical research.

The most important decisive factor in determining Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares as the case examples of this study is the capability of these three city squares to reflect the structural transformation of publicness and relations between multi-publics affording political representation since they exist in Istanbul.

Indeed, spatial, functional and semantical evolution of both today's Sultanahmet Square and Beyazıt Square can be traced back to the old city of Constantinople of Roman Empire as Hippodrome and Forum Tauri respectively. Although they continued to be existed as the representational spaces through the periods of Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, the existence of Taksim Republican Square can be seen only after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, which was mainly covered with vineyards and cemeteries until then. As it is aimed to reveal in Section 4 in detail, these city squares staged and represented different governmental systems and transformations of publicness and so the multi-publics and accordingly their social and actual production carry the traces of these transformations evolving in time. However, although this section includes three city squares, in fact, a wider geographical area beyond the physical limits of these squares has been addressed in social, political and economic terms.

This study, which might be seen also as a reading of urban historiography, emphasizes the necessity of combining data collection through both qualitative and quantitative research methods together in a mixed framework. Therefore, as one of the qualitative data collection techniques, semi-structured "in-depth interviews" have been conducted with professionals from the domains of spatial sciences whose areas of interest include public spaces, city squares and history of Istanbul, which are the themes of mutual interest of this study.

Our interviewees are; Ali Kılıç (Assist. Prof.), Cengiz Giritlioğlu (Prof.), Doğan Kuban (Prof.), Doğan Tekeli (Prof.), Haydar Karabey (Prof.), İpek Yada Akpınar (Assoc. Prof.), Korhan Gümüş (Lect.), Oya Akın (Assoc. Prof.), Semra Aydınlı (Prof.), Semavi Eyice (Prof.).

In the interviews, three open-ended questions have been asked in a flexible order according to the discussions opened up by the interviewees and offering supportive questions covering the same topics to get more details about the ideas, knowledge and experiences of the interviewees.

In accordance with the aim of this study, the questions asked to the interviewees are as follows;

(1) Would you please explain the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of Sultanahmet – Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares indicating breakpoints of their history?

(2) How would you comment on these three city squares' relationality with each other and the city as a whole during their evolution process?

(3) How would you evaluate the existence of these three city squares in terms of political representation throughout their history?

From the domain of spatial sciences there are numerous studies investigating these city squares in terms of physical characteristics and development of each. Asking these questions, this study aimed to contribute to the already existing literature by (1) addressing spatial, functional and semantical evolution of these squares together with historical transformation of social structures synchronously. Further, (2) it is aimed to describe evolution of them in relation with each other. Gathering the qualitative data from in-depth interviews was important in bridging the gap between spatial, functional and semantical evolution of these city squares in relation with each other historically.

The language of the interviews was Turkish since it is the native language of both the interviewer and the interviewees. In order to avoid from the loss of meaning, both transcriptions and translations of the interviews were made by the researcher. The interviews were analysed by using descriptive analysis and supported by in-text citations and direct quotations throughout in this section.

In order to provide qualitative data to deepen this reading of urban historiography and to reveal the change in the discourse with reflections on the cases, this section is supported with also newspaper archival research as an important information resource. As one of the main Turkish dailies, online archival of Cumhuriyet Gazetesi (Cumhuriyet Newspaper), which is available for keyword-based research since 1930, has been analysed for Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares without any period limitation until today. Gathered information has been offered by newspaper clippings evidentially through the relevant sub-section in terms of time to have a deeper understanding of the evolution of the cases together with the structural transformation of publicness and social discourse during the period after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey.

Briefly, integrating the knowledge from the former discussions and combining data collection through both qualitative and quantitative research methods together in a mixed framework, spatial, functional and semantical evolution of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares in relation with each other and together with the transformations of publicness and relations between changing multi-publics have been revealed in this section.

4.1 Evolution of the Forums and the Hippodrome as the Representational Public Spaces of Roman Constantinople

As the capital of the Roman, Byzantine (Eastern Roman) and Ottoman Empires, the city reflects the accumulative spatial, functional and semantical history of Byzantion, Constantinopolis and Istanbul. As the first core of the city that is known as Istanbul now, Byzantion was founded by Greek colonists from the Greek city of Megara in 695 BC at the south-western end of the Bosphorus on the site where Topkapı Palace (Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire) is today. The very first settlement of Megarian colonists, Khalkedon was established on a small plateau (Kadıköy) in Istanbul and according to Herodotos it was just 17 years ago from the foundation of Byzantion. According to Dionysios, there was another Greek settlement at the end of the Golden Horn (Haliç). Also, across the Golden Horn, just opposite Byzantion there was another settlement called Sycae (Galata). Another settlement, which was established in the Asian side of Istanbul, at the entrance of Bosphorus (Üsküdar) was Khrysopolis. In the same period, small villages were established by Megarian colonists along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. These small villages had survived as independent cities during

Byzantion period and formed the periphery of Constantinopolis later on. However, as Kuban (2010a, pp. 13-14) indicates the city of Byzantion of Megarian colonists exist only in written history today; there is no sufficient information to visualise a reconstruction of the city, yet, the topography of the peninsula offers a feasible spatial organisation to locate the basic functions and elements of the city that is known in a sensible but still suggestive pattern.

Urban historians have attempted to answer the questions regarding the physical appearance of the city from the writings of ancient times. Things that are known about Byzantion is mainly based on the accounts of the writers who actually saw the city at this period. Due to the foundations of the new cities layer by layer over the belongings to the earlier city, there are very limited archaeological findings dated back to the Greek-Megarian colony city of Byzantion. Yet, the natural topography of the site on which Byzantion was founded possessed all the qualities required by a commercial city in the ancient times; ancient writers and historians drew attention to the Golden Horn (Chrisokeras) as the main source and reason of the city's wealth; as Millingen (1899, p. 4) says "there is no other city owes so much to its site."

Still, there are several things that most of the urban historians agreed on about the spatial organization of Byzantion; the Acropolis of Byzantion was located roughly, where the courtyard of Topkapı Palace is now. Byzantion was covering the First Hill surrounded by the fortifications starting from the Tower of Acropolis proceeding westward till the Tower of Eugenius (later Gate of Yalı Köşkü in Sirkeci) through the Strategion (on the plateau of Bab-ı Ali) and making an angle towards Milion (which erected later in the 4th century) and joining the tower at the Seraglio Point (Sarayburnu) (Millingen, 189, pp. 5-7; Kuban, 2010a, p. 16; 1970, p. 27; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 16-18).

During this period, the boundaries of the city was covering an area of 70 hectares and there were two main open public spaces except the main Agora; one in the west of Strategion (where administration buildings were located) and the other in the south of Thrakion gate, possibly in the proximity of today's Hagia Sophia (Kuban, 2010a, p. 18; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 18). On the side where Hagia Sophia Square is now, there was the Agora surrounded on four sides by stoas with a monumental column of the god Zeuxippos at its centre (Kuban, 1970a, p. 27; Kuban, 2010a, p. 19).

There were two known harbours of Byzantion; the Neorion (Sirkeci) as the main harbour and just next to it on the east the Bosphorion (on the side of Sepetçiler Kasrı). Other major public and sacred buildings like several temples, stadium, theatre, gymnasium and baths were located within these boundaries, and necropolis (cemetery) of the city was located just outside the fortifications then (Millingen, 1899, p. 14; Kuban, 1970a, p. 27; Kuban, 2010a, p. 18; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 18).

Byzantion, as the very first core of today's Istanbul, having all traditional functional elements was a typical example of Greek city-states of its period. However, it is of interest that there are some spatial, functional and semantical references remained from Byzantion to the later ages. The location of Acropolis is equivalent of the palaces of later periods, and the site of the Agora was also served as a city square (as Forum Tetrastoon, Augustaion and later as Hagia Sophia Square respectively), the Neorion Harbour was used as one of the main port and the location of Strategion also served as the administrative region (Bab-ı Ali) under the Ottoman reign, and even today the buildings of Governorship of Istanbul, Revenue Office of Istanbul and District Governorship of Fatih are located on the same plateau where Strategion was built. These relations and traces indicate to some extent that the topographic features of Istanbul Peninsula, which drive the fate of the city, lived together with the spatial memory of previous functions during the subsequent ages.



Figure 4. 1: Map of Greek Colony City of Byzantion (after Millingen, 1899, p. 19).

After a long time of (214-148 BC) a series of Macedonian Wars between Roman Republic and Greek allies, Romans extended their control over the eastern Mediterranean and in 146 BC, Byzantion became a "dependent city-state" of the Roman Republic (Eckstein, 2008; Kuban, 2010a, p. 15). Due to the fact that the population of Byzantion complied with Emperor Pescennius Niger against Septimius Severus (successor), the city was invaded by Septimius Severus of Rome in 196 AD and renamed as "Augusta Antonina" and began to be reconstructed in time. The original fortifications and major public buildings of the Greek period were destroyed and new ones built; fortifications were expanded westward (Severan Walls) towards the Second Hill including the harbours. Severan reconstruction of the city of Augusta Antonina was the immediate predecessor of Constantinople rendering the core of spatial setting of the new capital substantially (Millingen, 1899, p. 9; Kuban, 1970a, p. 27).

Inside these new fortifications, new landmarks were also established; Forum Tetrastoon was built surrounded by four stoas and carved out of the old Agora of Byzation. A colonnaded street (Embolos) was built connecting Forum Tetrastoon to the main gate, which constitutes the first portion of Mese (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-III, p. 2028; Kuban, 2010a, p. 21; Mango, 2000).

The city was approximately covering an area of 110 hectares then, and also constructions of the Hippodrome (a typical Roman circus structure that served both as a sports arena and as a setting for the proclamation of emperors and celebrations, present-day Sultanahmet Square – Atmeydanı) and the Baths of Zeuxippus were begun, however, both are completed under the reign of Constantine the Great. (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-II, p. 934; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 21-22).

Severan fortifications of the city was starting from the immediate west of the Neorion Harbour (present day Eminönü Square) towards the main gate and although the southern direction is not certain, there is a general consensus that it was enclosing Hippodrome and reaching the shore of the Sea of Marmara following the topography of the plateau (Millingen, 1899, pp. 10-12; Kuban, 2010a, p. 20).

For what remained from the Severan city to the later spatial setting, there are three main traces that important for us; (1) this collocation of Hippodrome, Baths of Zeuxippus and Forum Tetrastoon (although their construction were not finished then) constitute the very core and heart of the following urban settings, and (2) Embolos

composed the backbone of the main later road system of the city. Finally, (3) the main gate was important in many sense; representing the pass beyond the limits of Severan city and the power of the new capital of Roman Empire and so the Emperor himself. Indeed, a Forum was immediately built over the side of the main gate bearing the name of the Constantine the Great: Forum Constantine.

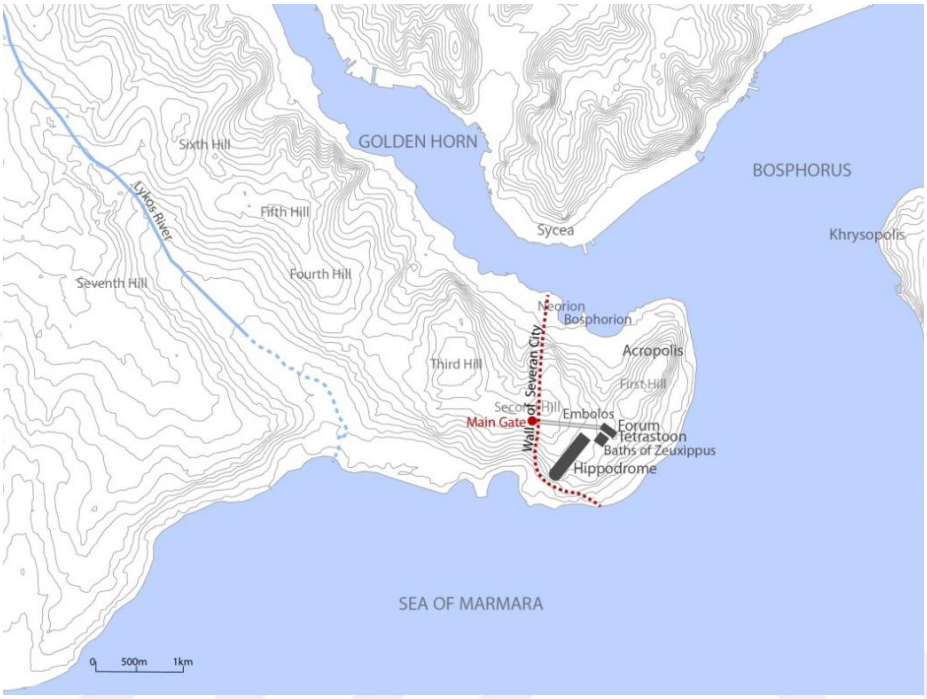


Figure 4. 2: Map of Severan City of Augusta Antonina (after Millingen, 1899, p. 19).

The city-state of Augusta Antonina of Roman Republic was declared as the capital of Roman Empire and renamed as "Nova Roma" in 330 by the Emperor Constantine the Great. While Romans were still so attached to Paganism, Constantine the Great was favouring Christianity and he left Rome in 326 never to return. As aforementioned in Section 3, the foundation of Constantinople, the city of Constantine[2], was a significant breaking point of the world history; it was the division of Roman Empire into two as Eastern and Western Rome, not officially but de facto (Millingen, 1899, p. 15; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 19; Kuban, 2010a, p. 25).

[2] Although the city had been declared as Nova Roma, it always named as Constantinople by the population and later on, even called as "Kostantiniyye" during the Ottoman suzerainty (Yerasimos, 2010, p. 24).

Constantine the Great found the city and framed the vision of an imperial capital until his death in 337. Thus, he enlarged the city westward building new fortifications almost three kilometres beyond the limit of old ones and when the construction was finished the capital was covering almost an area of 700 hectares including the Third and the Fourth Hills. Constantinian limits of the city was starting from roughly today's Cibali on the shore of Golden Horn passing through the east of the present Sultan Selim Mosque and west of the Sultan Mehmed II and Davutpaşa Mosques reaching to the Sea of Marmara at the western side of today's Yenikapı Event Site Project (Millingen, 1899, p. 18; Bassett, 2005, pp. 22-23; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 19; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 27-29).

Existing urban pattern of today that changed throughout its history, does not present a detailed idea on the schema of this new city plan founded by Constantine the Great. However, it has been assumed that the city was established based on a design schema in advance. The pattern of the city of Constantine has not been a schema that reflects the traditional orthogonal grid pattern of the Roman Empire. Contrarily, it represents a flabellate (fan-like) schema; this pattern was composed of diverging main avenues and streets intersecting them in accordance with the topography (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 19).

Likewise construction, populating the city was also an important task to create a new capital. Thus, especially attracting the notable families, Constantine the Great led the population, most of who are from the Balkans, to move and settle to his new capital. Population of the new capital grew steadily compared to the 20.000 people of Byzantion; estimated population of Constantinople was 300.000 people by the 5th century (Kuban, 2010a, p. 16; 1996, p. 26).

As Kuban (2010, p. 25) quotes from Krautheimer (1965, p. 28); "as a Roman emperor Constantine the Great was expected by tradition to place his stamp on public architecture." Indeed, in a 9 years of time until his death in 337, Constantine the Great embellished the new city with many of the same building types of old capital and brought the most valuable statues, columns and works of art to Constantinople. Under his reign, several administrative buildings and the Imperial Palace (Great Palace – Magnum Palatium that enlarged by his successors) were built and the constructions of the Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippus, which had begun in the period of Septimius Severus were completed (Ortaylı, 1977, p. 81; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 19; Çelik, 1993, p. 15; Kuban, 2010a, p. 30). However,

constructions of the fortifications, and many major buildings like the Imperial Palace, the Church of St. Irene and the first Hagia Sophia (demolished and rebuilt twice later) and even his own mausoleum – the Church of the Holy Apostles were completed by Constantius II (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-II, p. 940; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 20; Kuban, 2010a, p. 27).

For what was completed or in other words, for what was the stamp of the founding emperor on the city that named after him; it was the city squares. As a quadrangle enclosed open space surrounded by porticoes, **Augustaion** was built over the Forum Tetrastoon of Severan city; it was ascribed to Constantine the Great and his mother Helena with a column of her, which replaced with the Column of Justinian later, at its centre. However, it did not serve as a public forum; it was closed to people and used as a ceremonial place, a courtyard of restricted access of the empire. At the western entrance of Augustaion, there was the Milion, the monument served to mark the distances to the other cities of Roman Empire as the zero-mile marker and as the starting point of the main artery of the capital, the Mese (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-I, p. 232; Kuban, 2010a, p. 42; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 216).

Starting from the Milion, the Mese connected the major forums of the city of the later periods. Along the Mese, there were several religious and public buildings and it was serving as the main artery for both imperial processions and the commercial activities with the shops and stores located under its porticoes (partly two-storied) and in its environs (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 269; Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-II, p. 1347).

As it has been mentioned above, **Forum Constantine** was the commemorative and representative square of the city that built over the main gate of the Severan city. It was the symbol of the emperor's image, vision and regime. It was a public forum of oval or circular shape with a total diameter of about 100 meters surrounded by two-storied porticoes and had a column of Constantine the Great at its centre which is the only element still survives today (Çemberlitaş). Forum Constantine was the administrative centre of the capital; it was the square where announcements were made to the people, and even the official inauguration celebration of the capital was held at Forum Constantine on 11 May 330. Forum Constantine, with the shops under the porticoes was also the centre of fur trade (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-I, p. 517; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 34-36; Kaldellis, 2016, Mango, 2001, p. 35; Evans, 1996, p. 26; Millingen, 2003, p. 24). Forum was seriously damaged by several fire disasters

between 465 and 532, by the earthquakes of 542 and 869; the statue of Constantine was fell down during a storm in 1105 and was plundered during Catholic Latin invasion of 1204 (Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 255-256).

For purpose of this study, the **Hippodrome** is potentially of great interest; it has always been more than a circus, it was rather a focus for public life. Here, it is remarkable to note what Mango (2010, p. 37) indicates; Hippodromes were "the only spaces where the emperor, in all his pomp, met his people, received their petitions, and expected to be acclaimed by them." Thus, it was both practical and safe to co-locate Hippodrome with Imperial Palace. Indeed, Hippodrome of Constantinopolis was no exception.

Construction of the Hippodrome was completed with also the addition of the Kathisma –the Emperor's lodge– connecting the Imperial Palace under the reign of Constantine the Great for the ceremonial inauguration of the capital. Approximately covering an area of 120 m. in width and 450 m. in length, it had a capacity for holding up to 100.000 spectators (Mango, 2010, p. 39; Kuban, 2010a, p. 87). Obviously, located in the administrative hub of the new capital with its extremely magnificent dimensions and architectural details, Hippodrome was a glorious structure to be remembered with or to be the stamp of any emperor, which actually explains the special effort to complete the construction of the Hippodrome by the year 330.



Figure 4. 3: Map of Constantinian City (after Millingen, 1899, p. 19).



Figure 4. 4: Illustration of Central Constantinople (Antoine Helbert, Url-33).

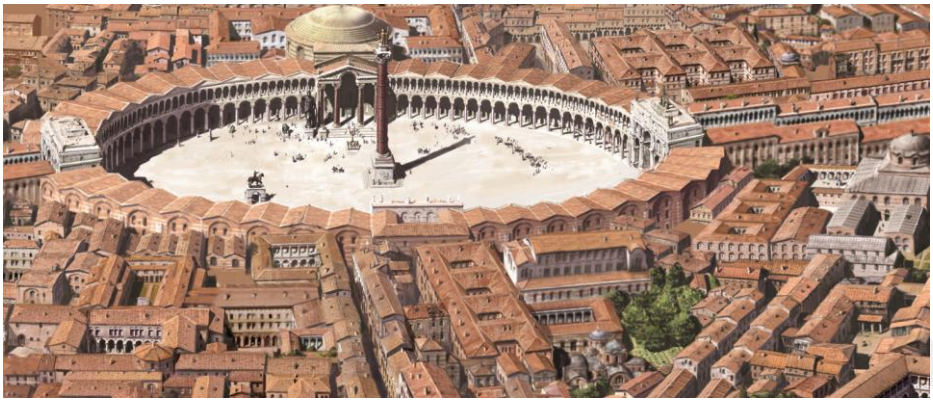


Figure 4. 5: Illustration of Forum Constantine (Antoine Helbert, Url-33).

Following the death of Constantine the Great in 337, his three sons divide the Roman Empire between them; middle brother Constantius was then the emperor of the eastern provinces, Constantinople was embellished further as the capital under the rule of him and his successors (Sarris, 2002, pp. 25-26). Christianity became the official state religion of Roman Empire under the reign of Theodosius I, however, violent process of Christianization and wars with barbarians led the official division of the Roman Empire by the death Theodosius I in 395 that separately ruled Eastern and Western halves. In 476, Western Roman Empire was abolished divided into many kingdoms while the Eastern Empire continued to prosper for more than a thousand years and became known as the Byzantine Empire.

According to historians, in this period there were three most important contributions of Theodosius II (408-450) to the development of the capital; (1) foundation of the University of Constantinople in 425, located in Capitolium Temple (the Third Hill, where the central campus of Istanbul University is now in Beyazıt) and (2)

compilation of the legal code after his name in 429; Theodosian Code (a collection of imperial enactments since the time of Constantine the Great) and (3) construction of the new fortifications (Bury, 1889, p. 231; Millingen, 2003, pp. 52-53).

The expansion of the new capital continued after the death of Constantine the Great and this building activity together with growing population led to the construction of the fortifications completed under the reign of Theodosius II. The city was enlarged westward once again surrounded by the fortifications that built almost two kilometres west of the Constantinian limits covering an area of about 1400 ha (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 20). Actually, fortifications of all periods and spatial organisation of the capital were developed in harmony with the natural and topographical affordances of the peninsula; a very definite valley between two crests determined both the development and the land-use of the city (Aktan, 2016, p. 30).

Glorious development of Constantinople as a Roman city-state since 146 BC was crowned by its declaration as the capital in 330 and continued until the end of Justinian I's reign in 565 and the beginning of the Byzantine iconoclasm. This development structured determined the spatial organisation of the later periods and even of the Ottoman (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 75-77).

Similar to the administrative structure of Rome, Constantinople was divided into 14 regions, which were constituted by Constantine the Great. Within the limits of these 14 regions, the most notable buildings and also details about the functional organization of the city have been explained in an anonymous Latin text written in 425-430 during the reign of Theodosius II; The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae. According to the Notitia Urbis, Constantinople was composed of 4388 houses, 5 palaces, 14 churches, 8 public baths, 153 private bathhouses, 5 warehouses, 4 cisterns, 17 docks, 5 slaughterhouses, 2 senate buildings, 2 theatres, 2 mime theatres, 4 forums, Augustaion, a hippodrome and a colosseum by the 5th century (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-III, p. 1496).

Indeed, after the Forum Constantine, Constantinople had three more forums along south branch of the Mese until 425; Forum Tauri/Theodosius, Forum Bovis, Forum of Arcadius and two more forums were built until the end of the 5th century; Forum Marcian and Forum Leo.

After Forum Constantine, the second city square of the capital was **Forum Tauri/Theodosius**. Firstly, it should be clarified here as Kuban (2010, pp. 92-93) notes that Forum Theodosius is a planned forum; however, Forum Tauri is the name of the surrounding area including Forum Theodosius. Accordingly, although some historians doubt that there has been a gathering space before the construction of Forum Theodosius, others indicate that this area was the necropolis of former periods. However, it is certain that the development of the forum started under the reign of Theodosius I and consecration ceremony of the forum was held in 393. General structure of the forum was very similar with Forum Trajan of Rome having triumphal arch on each side, a basilica and a gigantic column on its axis commemorating the military triumphs of the emperor against barbarians and it was the largest forum of the capital. Forum Theodosius was damaged several times by the earthquake and flood disasters that occurred during the 5th century and it was repaired or partially rebuilt accordingly. Subsequent emperors place their own statues on the column instead of Theodosius's, however, all the statues and sculptures were either damaged or destroyed later in time of invasions. In fact, according to the discoveries found in the area Forum Theodosius was already partly built over after the 8th century. Although Forum Theodosius was used for commercial activities and was a cattle market like the other forums, historians note that emperor Alexios V was condemned to death and thrown from the top of the Column of Theodosius just after the Catholic Latin invasion of 1204 (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-I, p. 517; Millingen, 2003, pp. 36-37; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 92-96; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 258-264).

In comparison with former forums of Constantine and Theodosius, very little is known about the next square along the south branch of the Mese; **Forum Bovis**. Yet, historians agreed on that its location corresponds to around present-day Aksaray. Although there is no certain information about the spatial characteristics of Forum Bovis, it is assumed as a typical example of forums of that period with porticoes around and statues, sculptures. A bronze cauldron was located at its centre in the form of the head of an ox that used as an oven to sacrifice people. Allegedly, it served as a space for executions afterwards, however, as Kuban (2010) notes since it was used essentially for commercial activities "there is no important building or historical event recorded in Forum Bovis" (Janin, 1964, pp. 69-70; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 253-254; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 97-98).

Forum Arcadius was the third and the last forum built along the south branch of the Mese, located in Haseki-Cerrahpaşa today. Forum Arcadius was built in 403 and consecrated in 421 officially; having a plan similar to Forum Theodosius it was surrounded with porticoes and defined by the memorial column of emperor Arcadius depicting his military triumph against Goths. It was a market-place and used for commercial activities essentially, like Forum Bovis there is no historical event documented in this forum. Forum Arcadius was heavily damaged by storm, fire and earthquake disasters and even the statue of Arcadius was destroyed by the earthquake of 740 (Millingen, 2003, p. 43; Kuban, 2010a, p. 98; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 250-253; Eyice, 1959).

Along the north branch of the Mese, there were one more forum built in the 5th century; **Forum Marcian** (450-452). This place was marked by the column dedicated to the Emperor Marcian (Kıztaşı) which still stands today almost completely except the statue on the top at the intersection of Kıztaşı and Dolap Avenues on the south of the mausoleum of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror. Although the history of the column and statue and so its surrounding structure is completely ignored, considering the distribution of the forums in the capital and their general structure that each marked by a column, historians indicate that there was probably a forum named after the emperor like the column itself (Janin, 1964, pp. 84-85; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 54; Mango, 2001, p. 31).

Although very little is mentioned about **Forum Leo**, historians also agreed that it was the last Roman forum which was built in 471 and it was located on the First Hill of peninsula, on the ancient Acropolis which represents a change of direction considering the locations of former forums (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-I, p. 517; Mango, 2001, p. 31). Yet, the latest and the most detailed investigation of Forum Leo, has been offered by Dark and Harris (2008). According to this study, it is shown that Forum Leo was located most likely on the Second Court of Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire (Topkapı Palace). There was a column dedicated to the Emperor Leo I (457-474) which fell probably during 1400s. Forum Leo is assumed as also an example of typical Roman-style forums; surrounded by porticoes with a monumental column on its axis (Dark & Harris, 2008, pp. 57-69).

Historians indicate two more squares along the Mese that actually did not mentioned as forums; (1) Philadelphion and (2) Amastrianon. Although they were poorly

documented, it is assumed that **Philadelphion** was approximately located at the intersection of two branches (south and north) of the Mese. This place was defined by a monument named Philadephion meaning brotherly love dedicated to the meeting of Constantine's three sons after his death in 337. Although the information is so limited about functional and spatial characteristics of Philadelphion, it should be mentioned here that Mango (2001) considers Philadelphion as an "ornamental plaza adorned as it was by several monuments (Mango, 2001, p. 35; Magdalino, 2001, p. 69; Kuban, 2010a, p. 96; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 267).

Although there is no precise information about the location of **Amastrianon**, however, there is a general consensus that it was located between Forum Theodosius and Forum Bovis. Amastrianon was a market-place for grain, cattle and horse trade and it was also a place where executions were held, and like any others it had a number of sculptures and statues. Today, nothing remained from Amastrianon above ground level, however, proposed locations also have not been excavated yet (Janin, 1964, p. 68-69; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 96-97).

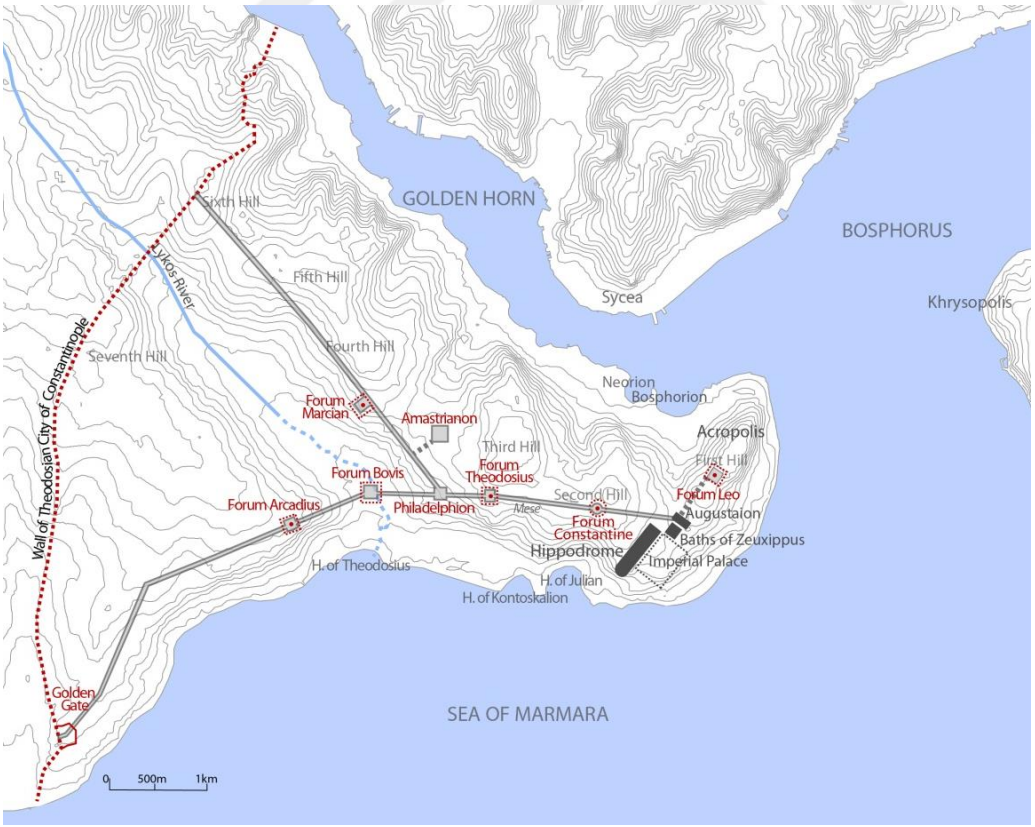


Figure 4. 6: Map of Constantinian City (after Millingen, 1899:19).

Heretofore, spatial organisation of Constantinople reflects the very example of imperial Roman cities; the city was not only enlarged but also the human scale of

Byzantion was then transformed into the divine scale, the city was embellished with monumental structures. This change was crystal clear in the organisation of forums, like the ones in Rome, forums were then bearing names of the emperors with always a column and a statue at the top of them that dedicated to the emperors; they were then "enclosed, symmetrical, axial and monumental" representing the power of one man above the others. While imperial regime caused to change of publicness to obligations and duties, which people participated passively, commercial function of forums was increased with the surrounding permanent porticoes, shops, and galleries under them. Yet, despite their changing semantical, functional and spatial character, as the centres of communities, it might be said that forums of Constantinople were also still contributing the production of public sphere.

The glory and wealth of Constantinople was laid on magnificent and shiny palaces, churches, forums, monuments, Hippodrome and other public structures; they were representing the lives of the rich and powerful. However, beyond this glory, there were the rest of the population in dark and dirty places. Even the stores and shops of chandlers, furriers, silversmiths as the producers of high-value goods were clustered at the core of the city as the front displays. Yet, they were of a small part of the entire population of Constantinople while the most of the rest were living in the dark and poor quarters. Everyday life was hard for most of the population but it was also mitigated by official religious and secular festivals as holidays and occasions for imperial processions. For example, on every 11 May, crowds were gathered in Hippodrome to celebrate the anniversary of the inauguration of the city in the presence of the emperor. Of course, there were also unofficial celebrations and festivals, which were specific to certain different groups like the guilds. However, none of them aroused the excitement of the population more than the chariot races in the Hippodrome (Harris, 2017, pp. 2524-2686).

On the other hand, among this large population, existence of different fractions, in other words, existence and inclusion of multi-publics in everyday life was another issue to be considered. As Harris (2017, p. 2913) summarized; the identity of a "Roman" was purely "male, heterosexual, orthodox Christian, physically able and Greek speaking." Women, for example, were outside of the public life by law; a woman was not allowed to go to the certain places like Hippodrome or baths without the permission of her husband and also they were not educated as much as men,

except empresses and women of Roman elite, wealthy and high-status families. Yet, although it could not be guaranteed, there had to be de facto and tacit balance and tolerance between the power and subordinated social groups of Roman Constantinople, since it is known that women, homosexuals, non-Christians somehow managed to live and prosper in the capital in the long run (Harris, 2017, pp. 2933-3325).

Ultimately, the Empire was an absolute monarchy and there was no legal mechanism for ordinary people of Constantinople to be included in government and politics. Democracy, "Rule by the People" was out of question, in fact, the very word was "regarded as synonym for anarchy." After all, aforementioned balance would be established, as even the emperors who were only answerable to God knew that despite of conditions their power could be challenged on the streets and squares.

Indeed, as Harris (2017, pp. 2766-2769) notes Constantinople was so affording for such possible movements and explicit mass objections; "with such a large population concentrated so tightly in an urban setting, news, ideas and resentments could spread very quickly and a large crowd be gathered in no time at all. The dangers of popular unrest were ever present and the tiniest spark could ignite a serious conflagration. If a large group of people decided to vent their feelings, there was very little that the emperor could do about it."

Still, except executions, there is no historical events recorded in Forums of Constantinople. On the other hand, Hippodrome, although it is a typical Roman style circus, rises as an important public space where different publics penetrate into each other and actually operates as a forum in terms of being appeared politically. Of course, Hippodrome also served as a space for executions of even the emperors, for example, Andronicus I Comnenus was overthrown and put to death in the Hippodrome in 1185.

Dagron (2012) offers the most detailed study on Hippodrome regarding its transformation from a space for sports/games to a space for politics. Hippodrome was the centre of Constantinople's social life, chariot races were the most popular, and dangerous games, indeed danger arouse its popularity. "Bread and Circuses: that's all the common people want" says the poet Juvenal to describe how the organized games excited people of Constantinople (Sharrock & Ash, 2002, p. 370).

However, in time, chariot races were politicized and so did the supporters; they were then associated with different social and religious identities. Hippodrome of Constantinople was in direct relation with the imperial institution in consolidating its absolutism and stability as a place in which people of Eastern Rome was divided into two as Blues and Greens[3] with their racing teams. Beyond the games, Hippodrome was a space in which pre-feudal class struggles and conflicts of two competing social groups for power were seen and heard; on one side Blues (large property and slave-owners who upheld Christian orthodoxy) and Greens (craftsmen and merchants who stood for Monophysitism) on the other side.

The most violent political upheaval in the history of Constantinople, Nika[4] Riots started during a chariot race at the Hippodrome on 13 January 532. Although there has been a story about the refusal of the demand of the Greens and the Blues from the emperor Justinian I to pardon two men who were condemned to death, the riot was rather a result of cumulative objection and growing political tension against emperor's policies. The riot was started by the Greens and soon the Blues and some of the senators were joined them. The command of the emperor to arrest the rioters brought the violence; rioters attacked and burned the administrative core of the city down. After five days, on 18 January, Justinian I appeared before people in Hippodrome, in his Kathisma to approve all the demands of the rioters, however, the crowd did not believe in him; the result was a bloody massacre in Hippodrome of 30.000-35.000 people. After this tragedy, games were forbidden for several years and in time, they turned into ceremonial displays (Dragon, 2012, pp. 162-164; Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-II, p. 1473).

Just as Hippodrome's operation like the main forum, it is also remarkable that not the forums (except Forum Constantine) but the ceremonial and administrative core of the city damaged or destroyed during Nika Riots. In other words, counter public appearance positioned itself where the representative spaces of dominant discourse were condensed. Indeed, among the destroyed structures were the Church of first

[3] In the period of Roman Republic there were four competing teams defined by colors; the Reds, the Whites, the Greens and the Blues, each dedicated to seasons of summer, winter, autumn and spring respectively. However, during imperial period they were consolidated into two as Blues and Greens (Mango, 2010: 40; Dagron, 2012: 219)

[4] Nika was the cry of rioters meaning "Conquer!" in English (Kazhdan & Talbot, 1991-II:1473).

Hagia Sophia, the Church of St. Irene, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Senate in Augustaion, and the entrance of Great Palace and great porticoes of Forum Constantine leading from the Severan core (Dagron, 2012, p. 163).

Kuban (2010, p. 117) considers Nika Riots' damage to Constantinople as a turning point, which presumably triggered the decline of Roman setting of the city gradually. Yet, after the destruction of the monumental centre, Constantinople experienced a re-development process; Justinian I ordered to rebuild or restore the old buildings or construct new ones when it was necessary (Bassett, 2005, p. 122). The reign of Justinian I was one of the most important periods of urban development between years 527 and 565; many major buildings were added to the existing urban setting, in fact, Constantinople gained some of its most remarkable architectural landmarks in this period.

This revitalization process of Constantinople involved the entire city comprehensively. All the damaged structures were rebuilt and new ones were constructed like the Great Cisterna Basilica (Yerebatan), the great colonnaded stoa, other governmental buildings and more than 30 churches either restored or built under the reign of Justinian I (Maas, 2005, p. 355; Kuban, 2010a, p. 128). However, reconstruction of the Church of Hagia Sophia was the first and the highest step of the renewal of Constantinople (Bassett, 2005, p. 122; Kuban, 2010a, p. 119). Indeed, Hagia Sophia was more than a church built as an example of late Roman structure type; "it was connected with the Palace of the Patriarchate and, through a raised gallery, with the Great Palace, thus, it was symbol of the whole system, in which the emperor, the vicar of God, the church as the framework of institutional life and Hagia Sophia, the seat of the spiritual, functional and ceremonial all composed a symbolic as well as a material unity expressed in this architectural and urban layout" (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 124-125). In other words, with all its architectural elements and decoration together its divine scale it was the stamp of the emperor Justinian I on public architecture and so of Constantinople, which is still the eye of Christendom. Like many other major buildings and the city itself, Orthodox Christian church of Hagia Sophia was also damaged during Catholic Latin invasion of 1204 (4^{th} Crusade) and as it is known, it was in bad condition when Eastern Roman Empire took over the city again in 1261. However, not surprisingly, it was renovated and converted into an imperial mosque following the conquest of the city by the Ottoman Empire in

1453, the symbol of the city and so the Christendom was then appropriated by the Muslims, yet, after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, it has been secularized and converted into a museum in 1935.

The increasing success of Christianity during the 4th and 5th centuries had also reflections on spatial pattern, however, the essential integrity and the basic spatial organisation of the city was remained; forums and streets that characterized the Constantinian and Theodosian development stayed the same (Bassett, 2005, pp. 123-132). However, the later emperors, after Justinian I did not embellished Constantinople with monumental public or religious spaces of this sort. Kuban (2010, pp. 117,72) says "Eastern Roman Empire never had the resources nor the imagination to build another Hagia Sophia" and this is mainly why he considers Constantinople rather as a medieval city where its Roman character began to be eliminated gradually by the end of the 6th century. Even, under the reign of Heraclius (610-641) official language of the empire was changed from Latin to Greek (Kaldellis, 2007, p. 65), in other words, the Empire with its capital was evolving into a medieval Christian state character.

By the end of the 6th century, public structures and the general physical setting of the capital were already neglected. The period between the mid-6th and 9th centuries of Eastern Roman Empire and so of Constantinople has been defined as a period of struggle for survival; it was a period of both man-made catastrophes and natural disasters. Due to military interventions and attacks of Arabs', great plagues of 542 and 747, famines, collapse of finance and economic regression, and decrease of population, Constantinople went into a sharp period of decline. Calculated population of Constantinople by the beginning of the 6th century was about 1 million people; however, the great plague outbreak of 542 caused enormous loss of life with 300.000 deaths only in Constantinople. After the second plague outbreak of 747, the city was like almost empty; population was decreased below 50.000 people again presumably. Withal, it was also the time of internal conflicts during the iconoclastic period in between 726 and 843, which also caused ravages on the view of the religious buildings as well as many open spaces (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 141-144; Bury, 1889, Vol 2, p. 55; Treadgold, 2002, p. 129; Mango, 1986, p. 128).

In the unhealthy and instable conditions of constant fear for life and hunger, one might not able to speak of neither production of public sphere nor appearance of different publics, in fact, in the time of great disasters all the differences might be erased facing the same catastrophe; death. Yet, after a period of decline, under the Macedonian dynasty by the beginning of the 9th century, there was political and economic stability back again with a rising population; it was the revival of Constantinople slowly and gradually (Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 23-24; Mango, 1986, p. 130).

Growing in time, Constantinople had a population of between 600.000 and 1 million people during the early 11th century, and now there was the attention for reconstruction of the city, which remained dilapidated for long years. For this study, it is of great interest that the attention to reconstruct the city was not focused on public structures like baths, streets, colonnades, monuments or imperial forums; it was rather focused on (1) imperial palace and other palaces, (2) churches and (3) reparation of fortifications. Further, old monuments were used as quarries, as sources of cut stone for the new buildings or reparation of the palaces and churches that considered necessary (Kuban, 2010a, p. 167). This is quite significant in terms of development of public life and its spatialisation; as Mango indicates "public life was now restricted to church and market-place" which overlaps with the conditions other feudal Western cities of the same period similar to the duality of the medieval Parvis (church squares) and market squares that discussed in Section 3.

Monumental public structures as the treasures of Roman legacy were fell into dilapidation or converted to other uses and as for the forums, Mango notes that (1986, p. 130) Forum Constantine with its disused Senate became the main retail centre, Forum Theodosius was a pig and hay market, and Amastrianon was a horse and donkey market. Hippodrome was used only for a few times a year for ceremonial events and lost its public character and briefly, all spaces of public life where people used to gather like were about to be lost then (Kuban, 2010a, p. 163; Mango, 1986, p. 163).

Dilapidation of monumental public structures was the expression of (1) the transformation of Constantinople from its Roman legacy to religious medieval character but (2) it was also the expression of absence of democracy or any other

right or tool to be appeared politically in the conditions of the autocratic rule of the Empire. Forums as the "show-off" spaces of the emperors where trade was dominant had lost its representative character gradually and common people were considered as just the audiences and spectators of imperial ceremonies, similar to medieval picture of the West stucked between church and market-place.

In the second half of the 11th century, the emperor Alexios I (1081-1118) built additional halls to the Blachernae Palace and began to live there, it was a remarkable step in terms of spatial development history of the city causing the Great Palace, Augusteion and so the centre to lose their significance (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 24; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 183-184).

The grief was brought in 1203 when Constantinople was besieged during the 4th Crusade and the Latin Empire was founded by the Emperor Baldwin I (Baldwin of Flanders). 57 years of Latin rule over Constantinople began in 1204, which continued as a period of overall decline, in fact, the fourth Crusade caused a great destruction and desolation. A Capital was plundered, burned and ruined, and a civilization was brought to an end (Necipoğlu, 2001, p. 277; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 190-191).

Approximately, 243 ha of the city, which was 1400 ha within the city walls, were reduced to rubble during the three great fires set by Catholic crusaders in 1203 and 1204. The northeastern region (51 ha) of the city was burnt down during the first fire in 17-18 July 1203. The eastern region along the Golden Horn wall (10 ha) was also destroyed during the third fire in 12-13 April 1204. It was the second fire that caused the most important damage, 182 ha of the city was burnt down in 19-20 August 1203. It was the largest fire set by crusaders and it was the one that caused destructions of public spaces. The Mese, Forum Constantine, Hippodrome periphery, buildings near Hagia Sophia were all destroyed and the Milion, Augusteion, Forum Theodosius were also damaged but survived the second fire (Madden, 1992, pp. 90-93). In 1261, the Latin Empire collapsed and the reign of Eastern Roman Emperor Michael VII began and it was a breaking point in terms of evolution of the city also; the emperor promoted restoration and re-population of Constantinople (Necipoğlu, 2001, p. 297).

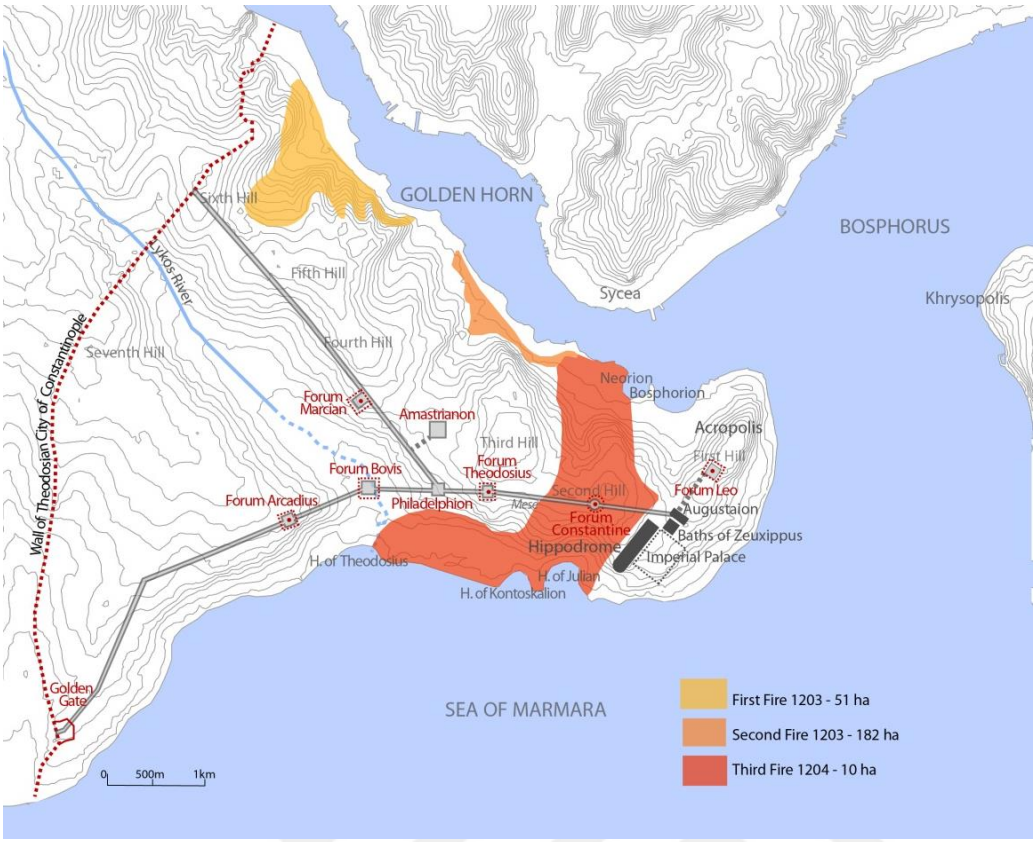


Figure 4. 7: Fires in Constantinople during the 4th Crusade (after Madden, 1992:93).

By the last century of Eastern Roman Empire, almost nothing remained of the old territory limits except the capital; the empire had shrunk to an area of Constantinople itself (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 27). The real rulers of the city's economy were the Venetian and Genoan merchants; the empire was no longer able to meet the demands of the city in terms of neither economy nor military efficiency. The empire also experienced five bloody civil wars (1321-1357), massive earthquakes and plague outbreaks in the 14th century. The population has decreased again and the Empire was not able to defend itself against even the Genoese colony of Galata (Sycae), indeed, by the beginning of 15th century the population of city was reduced to between 25.000 and 40.000 people again. Even, when the dome and parts of the arch of Hagia Sophia collapsed due to the earthquake partially in 1346, Grand Prince Simon of Muscovy provided financial support for the long years of restoration (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 197-198).

The fall of Constantinople was seemed inevitable under those circumstances. Indeed, the city was conquered by the Ottoman Empire under the command of Sultan Mehmed II (Mehmed the Conqueror) against the army of Eastern Roman Emperor Constantine XI after 54 days of siege in 29 May 1453. It was a turning point in the

world's history; it marked the end of both the Eastern Roman Empire and middle ages (Sphrantzes, 1980, pp. 189-197).

What remained from Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire were shadows and ruins of a great and magnificent Roman capital of once. At the beginning of the 15th century, says Kuban (2010, p. 204) "there was little to say about the down-trodden city." Indeed, Constantinople was defined in the first perspective plan of Christoforo Buondelmonte, "Urbis Constantinopolitanae" which was published in 1422 in, as "a city not more than a collection of villages despite of its surrounding walls."

In this perspective plan (Figure 4.8), Constantinople was considered together with Galata (Sycae – Pera) and partly Scutari (Üsküdar) and together the Lykos stream dissecting the city, which later named Bayrampaşa during Ottoman period and no longer, exists today. In fact, as it is seen from the plan, within the fortifications of Constantinople the strongest emphasis was placed on Hagia Sophia. On the other hand, Hippodrome was pictured almost as an element to indicate the location of Hagia Sophia adjacent to it. However, neither historical nor spatial importance of Hippodrome was emphasized and even the obelisks and columns, which some of them still stands in the middle of Hippodrome, were not drawn. Although this visualisation does not mean that Hippodrome was not existed by 1422, it still gives an idea about decreasing importance of the magnificent symbol of Roman capital of once.

This perspective plan shows a capital of its period, which was very low-dense and almost rural in character. Even, there is no line for the remains of Grand Palace, which was completely abandoned at that time, and although there were other palaces, only Blachernae Palace was pictured as the imperial one, but it was also drawn in an extremely inconspicuous and fuzzy manner. In addition, there is no sign of any porticoed streets or general spatial settings of forums except five columns of Justinian, Constantine, Theodosius, Arcadius and Marcian without the statues on the tops. In this representation of the capital, one do not see any lines for Forum Bovis, Forum Leo, Philadelphion, Amastrianon and any other public structures like the baths, theatres etc. (Yıldırım et al., 2008; De Villehardouin, 2010).

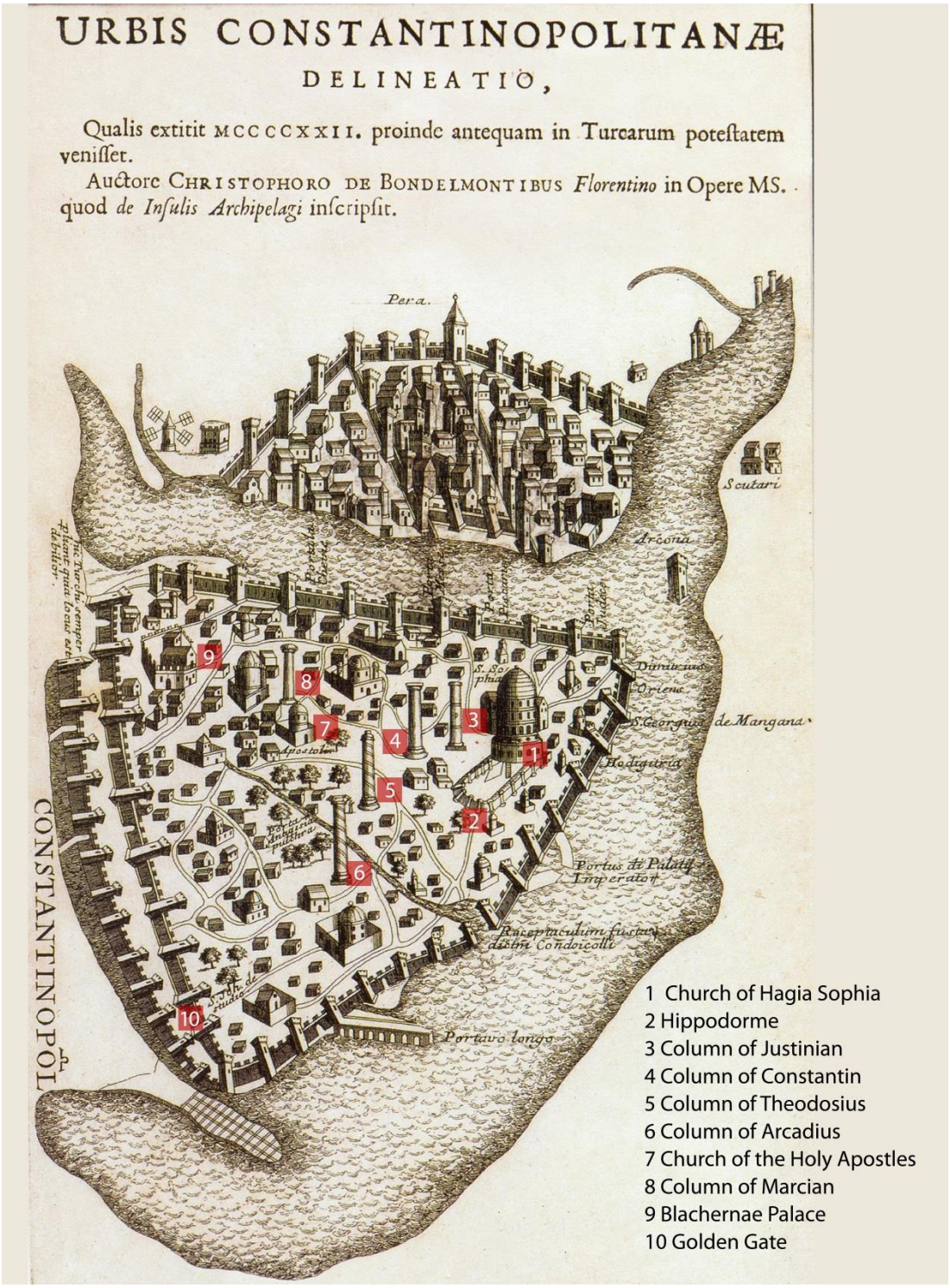


Figure 4. 8: Perspective plan of Constantinople – 1422 Urbis Constantinopolitanae (by Christoforo Buondelmonte, Kubilay, 2010:31).

4.2 Spatialisation of the Representations of Ottoman Istanbul; From Hippodrome to Atmeydanı

The origins of Ottomans can be traced back to the nomadic Shaman tribes from Central and East Asia. However, their existence in Anatolia begins in the 11th century as Muslim principalities (Beylik) of Seljuk-Turcoman origins. As one of those principalities, Ertuğrul Bey established a tribe in districts of Söğüt and Domaniç (Northern Phrygia), and after his death in 1280, his son Osman established Ottoman principality (the name Ottoman derives from Othman-Osman). In 1326, when Osman's son Orhan took Prusa (Bursa in Southern Marmara) from Eastern Roman Empire, the domination of Ottomans changed considerably and Ottoman Principality became a real state with a newly conquered capital. Successors of Orhan occupied most of the remaining lands in Anatolia and Thrace, in 1361, Adrianople (Edirne) was also captured and declared as the new capital. The principality that had become a real estate was expanded into an empire with different nations who lived under the absolute monarchy of Ottoman Sultans. After more than hundred years, when Constantinople was conquered in 1453 by the Ottoman Empire, the most significant political aim of the empire was fulfilled (Shaw, 1976, pp. 1-55; İnalcık, 1980, pp. 71-79).

Despite its dilapidation, Constantinople was the symbol of the domination of Christianity in the West and the resistance to the expansion of Islam; thus its fall was an epic and the beginning of its history as an Islamic capital (İnalcık, 1990:1). In fact, the very first act of Sultan Mehmed II upon the conquest of the city was to directly go to Hagia Sophia and to declare this symbolic centre as the Imperial Mosque (Selâtin Camii)[5]. This was the very first step of appropriation of Roman legacy and its monumental structures by the Ottomans before they place their own stamps on the city (İnalcık, 2001, p. 220; Kafesçioğlu, 2009, p. 18; Kuban, 2010a, p. 221). Constantinople was also declared as the new capital of the empire; however,

[5] Ottoman Mosques built by sultans and other members of imperial family were called as Selâtin Camii meaning Imperial Mosque (Bozkurt & Önkal, 1993, p. 47). In the Ottoman period, it was meticulously respected that only imperial mosques could have more than one minaret, and Sultan Ahmed Mosque has been the largest one among the imperial mosques in Istanbul with six minarets. However, in recent years, there has been no limitation or measure in the number of minarets and balconies (şerefe) in modern mosques (Eyice, 1993, p. 57).

obviously it would take time for Constantinople to acquire the image of an Islamic capital city. New capital was also officially renamed by Sultan Mehmed II as "Islam-bol" meaning "Islam abounds" as a reflection of the dedication of the city to Islam, (the very name which became Istanbul in Turkish) yet, the city also continued to be called in its popular name as "Kostantiniyye" (İnalcık, 2001, p. 220; 1990, p. 5).

Following the conquest, the Ottomans plundered Constantinople for three days; now the city had to be re-populated, re-constructed and re-vitalized. Historians agreed that the Ottomans followed the policy of tolerance toward non-Muslims; they had the same rights with Muslim population for the protection of their "lives, properties and religions" in exchange for acceptance of Ottoman rule and tax payment (İnalcık, 2001, p. 222; Shaw, 1976, p. 19). In accordance with this repopulation policy so many measures were being taken to encourage the return of the old population who had fled the city by giving them houses or offering temporary tax exemption; however, the most effective measure was the forced migration of Christians, Jews, Armenians, Slavs and Muslims from different parts of the Empire. (İnalcık, 2001, p. 221). In other words, members of various different publics were settled in the city in time. Yet, by the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1481), the population of the city was not more than 100.000 people. Distribution of population in residential areas was based on the clustering of different ethnic groups in general. On the other hand, there was no strict separation between the settlements of different ethnic and religious groups during the first a couple of decades after the conquest; the very conception of citizenship (hemşehrilik) was above all. However, especially in commercial areas these varying ethnic and religious groups as different publics penetrated into each other without any separation (İnalcık, 2001, p. 222; Kuban, 2010a:232).

After the conversion of Hagia Sophia into the imperial mosque, the very second step on the path to construct an Islamic capital included (1) the restoration of damaged Theodosian fortifications, (2) building a citadel by the Golden Gate (Yedikule), (3) construction of an imperial palace on the northern side of Forum Tauri (Saray-ı Atik-i Amire) towards Golden Horn, which were all completed by 1455 (İnalcık, 2001, p. 221).

As to the first, it should be mentioned that the most important change of the spatial organisation of the city during the Ottoman period was the development outside the

fortifications, although the fortifications were restored, the city was not defined by them; in fact, three administrative districts of Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar were under the Ottoman rule outside the fortifications called Bilad-ı Selase meaning three cities (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 234,260). Second, the new citadel was built by the Golden Horn enlarging the already existing structure of former period in good condition to defend the treasury of the city, which became a prison in time. For the third, Saray-ı Atik-i Amire was never considered as the permanent imperial residence and as soon as it was completed, Sultan Mehmet II ordered the construction of New Palace (Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire) over the Acropolis of Byzantion, which completed in 1478 upon an area of 70 ha surrounded by walls, and what became "Old Palace" was used as a secondary building for imperial harem; residence of imperial ladies by the early 16th century (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 254-255,259).

Following them, Sultan Mehmed II commanded to build a Kulliye dedicated to his name in 1463, which was completed in 1470 on the side of the Mausoleum of Constantine and the Church of the Holy Apostles. Sultan also commanded to build a very large and strong market-place, bedesten which is typical Ottoman commercial structure and the first core of present-day Grand Bazaar (İç Bedesten or Cevahir Bedesteni in Turkish), on the northwest of Forum Constantine that completed in 1481 (Eyice, 1995, p. 244; 1992a, p. 306). In time, northern side of the area between Forum Constantine and Forum Theodosius towards Golden Horn became a thriving and central commercial district of the city in relation with the roads leading up from the city gates, commercial quays and harbours (İnalcık, 2001, p. 223).

Principally, all the major tasks in terms of construction efforts; improving trade and commercial activities and increasing the population of the city were the main aims that support each other, in other words, they were all parts of a bigger vision and cause; the creation of a new Islamic capital. As an important step towards this vision, Sultan Mehmed II also commanded the notables "to choose an area which would be called after them and build there a mosque, a khan, a bath and a market" in 1459 (İnalcık, 2001, p. 224). Indeed, many notables, grand viziers, pashas built their own mosque-complexes (Kulliye) in different quarters of the city encouraging spatial development and serving for prosperity. Indeed, by the death of Sultan Mehmet II in 1481, Istanbul had acquired the first core image of an Islamic capital with its imperial palace, mosque complexes, more than hundred mosques, baths, khans and

markets and with its growing population. According to the official records of the period, 17 churches were converted to mosques and 190 mosques, 24 madrasas, 32 baths and 12 khans and markets were built in the capital under the reign of Sultan Mehmet II (Barkan & Ayverdi, 1970, p. xi).

To have a better and further understanding of spatial development and everyday life of Istanbul as an Islamic Ottoman capital, here the concepts of "Kulliye" as mosque-complexes and "Vakıf" as pious foundations/waqfs should be considered as an Islamic institution briefly. Waqf system as an Islamic institution was directly related with the Ottoman type of spatial organisation and providing financial sources for it.

Waqf is a pious foundation, is an assignment of property to a religious institution in the name of God that consisted of two parts; (1) a charitable institution and (2) the sources of revenue. Here, the first part composed of a mosque and madrasa, library, hospital, public kitchen, school, fountain etc. as the charities around the mosque. The second part consisted of immovable properties that generate an income like bazaar (bedesten), khan, trading hall (kapan) shops, warehouse, bath etc. Waqfs were essential to Ottoman everyday life since public services had been considered as a matter for private enterprise and they were given supported by the Sultan legally (Yenen, 1988; İnalcık, 1996, pp. 32-33).

The very word "Kulliye" has been used to define aforementioned first part of the waqf system. Although there is no such a term in Islamic architecture this word has been used since the early 20th century to define such groups of charity structures located around a grand mosque generally named after Sultan and other members of imperial family or notables based on their financial support for the construction. Before the 20th century, these social complexes were defined as "imaret" which is a derivative of the word "imar" meaning "improvement of the life standard of a place and help the community who live there to prosper by means of new construction" (Kuban, 2010a, p. 243; 2010b, p. 169).

A Kulliye or Imaret as a social and religious complex was similar to the monasteries of Western history functionally of that period in a larger context. In brief, the waqf system as an Islamic institution was of also a territorial and municipal one as well as being religious. Indeed, these social complexes were the centres of the communities of different neighbourhoods and quarters in Ottoman Istanbul. Indeed, in parallel to

the Constantine's division of the city into quarters, 13 quarters (Nahiye[6]) were established by Mehmet II that developed around these social complexes built, extended and embellished by his successors in accordance with the Ottoman tradition of city-building.

Similar to the Roman Forums, an Imperial Kulliye was also the stamp of the Sultan bearing his name on the Ottoman cities, his power and his generosity. Sultan Mehmet II as the conqueror placed his stamp on Istanbul with his imperial social – religious complex Kulliye of Fatih (the name Fatih means "the conqueror" in Turkish) on the very site of Mausoleum of Constantine – the Church of the Holy Apostles (Havariyyun) between 1463 and 1470 spanned in area of 10 ha. It comprised a mosque, eight large and eight small madrasas on both side of the mosque, a hospital (dârüşşifâ), a bath, a guesthouse (tabhane), a khan, a great bazaar (Sultan Pazarı) with 280 shops and mausoleum of Sultan Mehmet II, which were greatly damaged during the earthquake of 1766 and rebuilt under the reign of Mustafa III based on an entirely different plan. The site selection for the construction of Kulliye of Fatih was (1) a symbolic and political one, it was a representation of the replacement of the Christian Emperor by the Muslim Emperor as the conqueror. However, it was also (2) an act of urban planning, considering the concept of "imaret", Kulliye of Fatih enabled the distribution of social facilities outside the core of the city, which were already condensed around Forum Constantin and Forum Theodosius of once, especially after the construction of Kulliye of Mahmut Paşa (grand vizier of Sultan Mehmet II) in 1462 closed to this district (Eyice, 1995, p. 244; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 29; Kuban, 2010, p. 246-247).

Kulliye of Fatih was a significant role model for his successors and other notables (1) as an act of distribution of wealth and prosperity to the city, (2) as a symbol and stamp of their power and generosity and as a (3) social complex for ordinary people where they gather and everyday life concentrated in. Indeed, almost all Sultans and many notables including members of imperial family established their own waqfs and built several Kulliyes, which named after them and triggered urban development shaping the centres of neighbourhoods and quarters in Ottoman Istanbul. On the

[6] According to the official records, 13 quarters were composed of 219 neighbourhoods (mahalle) in 1546 (İnalcık, 2001: 225: Barkan & Ayverdi, 1970).

other hand, in the presence of these multi-functional social – religious complexes, there was obviously neither a social desire nor a necessity to encourage the development of city square(s) as the main public spaces like former Western-originated Agora and Forum until the 19th century.

Like the space itself, the conceptual and semantical history of the terms "public" and "private" is considerably different in Ottoman understanding from the Western world. As Tanyeli (2005, p. 199) offers a lexicographical search from English / French-Turkish dictionaries of the 19th century for the definition and conceptualisation of these terms; "public" (kamusal) meant to either "things that belongs to the state or at the service of the state" or "things that known by all, obvious" whereas "private" (özel) meant to "seclusion, hidden and intimate" in Turkish. In other words, the concept of "public" was not considered as a "portion of life which mediates between society and state." This determination is remarkable for understanding the topographical correspondence of these terms in spatial organisation of Istanbul as an Islamic Ottoman capital.

In Ottoman spatial organisation of Istanbul, a neighbourhood (mahalle) with a mosque as its centre has been an urban social and physical unity, which might be considered as a larger form of family formation. Although it was not limited with physical borders, it was defined and decided by the usage of people who live there from the same social background. The most important principle of this unity was the intimacy of the households that it was composed of namely the seclusion of women of this unity. Spatial reflection of this formation in urban scale was the dead-end streets that used only by the householders of any given street, as it was their own property. These dead-end streets and doorsteps together with fountains were the foci points of social interaction of non-elite womenfolk isolated from the rest of the city who had to be secluded. Although there were also thoroughfares as continuous main streets reaching the centre, organic layout of Ottoman Istanbul was mainly based on these numerous dead-end streets (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 241-243, 275).

Topographically, it is true that one might not be able to speak off a gradually connected open space pattern, which would serve to the public in this inward-oriented spatial organisation of Ottoman Istanbul. Indeed, neither medieval Constantinople of Eastern Roman Empire nor Istanbul as the Islamic capital of Ottoman Empire were in the search for Greco-Roman legacy of its past;

contemporary Renaissance movement of Western world was consciously ignored. On the other hand, although is too complicated to interpret on the relation between Sultan and society in today's understanding, and even though it was not defined in the contemporary dictionaries as "public", still it does not mean that there had never been a public opinion to be created procedurally or appeared spatially. Yet, a sort of relation between society and Ottoman state somehow could be established for centuries obviously.

Besides, it is quite interesting that despite the general discourse arguing city squares as a fundamental element of Western cities tracing it from Greek Agora and Roman Forum, urban historian Doğan Kuban (1970b, 1976, 2010a, 2010b) and cultural historian Ekrem Işın (1999) consider and discuss imperial mosque-complexes as a sort of Imperial Roman Forums where ordinary people as members of the communities they belong gather at specific times and operate as the centres of communication and everyday life.

Especially Kuban (2010a, pp. 247-249) contributes to this discussion at its most based on the example of Kulliye of Fatih. He considers the outer courtyard of Fatih Mosque as a Turkish Forum which has been also called Fatih Meydanı[7] (Fatih Square in Turkish) recognizing its grand and three dimensional spatial organisation as a clue of "the concept of forum in the sense of an architecturally organized urban space was still alive." Although he agrees with the critique that not every mosque – kulliye represents the magnificent, monumental and three dimensional understanding of spatial organisation like imperial forums in a harmonic relation with its surrounding by means of porticoed and large street layout, still he emphasize that they could offered the expected amenities and functions of an urban environment.

The argument of this study also supports this view further since it is quite significant in terms of their political representation ability that imperial mosques with their outer courtyards, by tradition, were the spaces where sultans appeared and met people regularly on each Friday prayer, which is called "Friday Salutation" (Cuma

[7] Here, during the Ottoman period of Istanbul as Kuban notes (2010a, p. 441) it is quite interesting that courtyard of Fatih Complex was the only one called "Meydan" among the other complexes' courtyards. In Turkish, "Meydan" means "a large open space, in the city or outside the city, convenient for all sort of outdoor activities, sports or markets."

Selamlığı). Friday Salutation was mainly sultan's procession form his palace to the imperial mosque on horseback via Divan Yolu (Mese) together with other uniformed officials. The most important point that should be emphasized with regard to Friday Salutation is, of course, the fact that they offered the opportunity for ordinary people to make their wishes and complaints aloud or written as petitions to sultan in person, and in turn, it was also an obligation for the sultan. Actually, in terms of Islamic law, the ability of the people to express their complaints and wishes directly to the sultan has constituted a very important issue in terms of relations between the ruler and the society. Therefore, these processions during Friday and Eid prayers, which end at the imperial mosques, are considered as occasions for the people to be able to see and hear the ruler and to direct their complaints and requests to him precisely, and of course contributing also the wish to be seen and heard politically (İşpirli, 1993, pp. 90-92). Besides, although the site selection of grand imperial mosques-complexes were based on the development direction of the city, and even they were the indicators of the direction actually, especially mosques-complexes that built until the mid-18th century, which most of them are imperial, were located on the very side of Roman forums of Constantinople (Kuban, 2010b, p. 223).

As aforementioned, the northern side of between Forum Constantine and Forum Theodosius became the main commercial district of the city in time; during Ottoman period the northern site of Forum Constantine was used as a chicken market, houses and khans were built around it. Under the reign of Sultan Beyazid II, in 1496, a kulliye was built on the very site of **Forum Constantine** by Hadım (the Eunuch) Ali Paşa who was the grand vizier of the Sultan Beyazıd II; **Kulliye of Atik Ali Paşa**. Forum was already damaged after Catholic Latin invasion of 1204, yet, it is unknown exactly when it was ruined. However, it is recorded that columns of the porticoes surrounding the forum have been used in the construction of the Atik Ali Paşa Mosque (Eyice, 1991b, pp. 65-66; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 255-256).

After the conquest of the city, Sultan Mehmed II commanded to build a palace for himself on Forum Tauri (Saray-ı Atik-i Amire) partly where the central campus of Istanbul University now. Following this, **Sultan Beyazid II** (1481-1512) also commanded to build an imperial kulliye including a mosque, a public kitchen, a madrasa, a bath, a guesthouse, khans and his own mausoleum over the location of **Forum Theodosius** which was completed 1505 and repaired after the great

earthquake disaster of 1509 which referred as "the Lesser Judgment Day" seriously damaged also other parts of the city. The Column of Theodosius was collapsed during a hurricane in 1517, it is also noted that its remains were used during the construction of the Bath of Bayezid II. During the widening construction of present-day Ordu Caddesi (Army Avenue), remnants of the forum were discovered arrayed along the both sides the avenue in late 1950s, however, mostly destroyed by bulldozers (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 92-96; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 30, 258-264; Eyice, 1992b, pp. 45-49).

On the site of **Forum Bovis**, **Kulliye of Murat Paşa** was located which named after the vizier of Sultan Mehmet II and completed in 1472. The kulliye was damaged by the storm of 1640 and fires of 1660 and 1693, and in 1936 its madrasa, in 1958 the bath have been demolished and very few of its structures survived until today (Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 253-254; Kuban, 2010a, p. 253; 2010b, p. 223; Kurtbil, 2006, pp. 191-192).

During Ottoman period, the location of **Forum Arcadius** was partly occupied by wooden houses and was used partly as **"Avrat Pazarı"** (Women's Market) on every Sundays where only females engaged commercial activities as both sellers and buyers. Haseki Hürrem Sultan, wife of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, sponsored the establishment of Avrat Pazarı closed to the **Kulliye of Haseki Sultan** built between 1538 and 1551. After more than a thousand years, the only element left from the forum, the damaged column of Arcadius was taken down in 1715 to avoid its collapse. Avrat Pazarı does not exist today and cannot be traced after the very beginning of 19th century. Today, what remains from Forum Arcadius is a part of column's pedestal between houses built there afterwards (Kuban, 2010a, p. 98; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 250-253; Eyice, 1959; Ertuğrul, 1991).

It is also recorded that **Forum Marcian** was remained in the neighbourhood of the Janissaries called Yeni Odalar (the New Barracks) between Aksaray and Fatih which built under the reign of Sultan Mehmet II. As Kuban quotes (2010, p. 361) from Pakalın (1971, p. 631), the New Barracks of the Janissaries was "a huge wooden complex composed of 368 dormitories, 130 garden pavilions, 60 rooms for social gatherings, 90 rooms for study or exercises, 20 independent pavilions, four convents, 158 stables, storerooms, a mosque, kitchens and services, all arranged around a courtyard." At the main gate of the barracks, there was an important square called

Etmeydanı (Meat Square) since it was the place where meat was distributed to the kitchen of the barracks. However, it was also the place where rebellions of the Janissaries used to start, and in fact, these rebellions were called "raising the cauldron" which happened several times in the history of the city. It is known that their mosque (Orta Mosque) was built in 1527 on this square and rebuilt after the fire of 1918, which was renamed as Ahmediye Mosque, and still exists today, approximately 205 m away from the Column of Marcian (Kıztaşı) (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 54; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 360-362; Özcan, 1995:, pp. 497-498; Erzincan, 2007, pp. 399-400).

As aforementioned, **Forum Leo** was located on the **second court of Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire** (Topkapı Palace). The second court, which has been called **Divan**[8] **Meydanı** (Divan Square), was the administrative centre of the Ottoman Empire; it was completed under the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, enlarged and embellished under the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. Although it is called as a square, like Augustaion, Divan Meydanı did not operate as a public space; it was a court of restricted access of the Ottoman Empire. However, it should be mentioned here that spatial organisation of the palace was arranged around three main courts. The **first court**, after the Imperial Gate (Bab-ı Hümayun) was the first and the largest and the only one that was open to everyone called **"Alay Meydanı"** meaning "Official Ceremony Square." It was the starting point of the imperial processions and a gathering space for all the important events, and it was also a space where any citizen could enter and leave a petition. Although this court was accessible by the society, the Sultan himself was invisible behind a grilled window above the entrance arch of Imperial Gate (Bab-ı Hümayun) which is even called "the invisible gaze of Sultan." The third and the last court was the **"Inner Square"** which was called **"Enderun Meydanı"** used by only Sultan, his harem and imperial family. Divan Meydanı, as the second court between them was surrounded by arcades on all four sides, which directly access to Divan-ı Hümayun (Imperial Council) on its left side (Kuban, 2010a, p. 257; 2013, pp. 57-69; Ertuğ, 2012, pp. 256-258; Necipoğlu, 1993, p. 304). There were types like sub-committees of Divan that gather in different places, on

[8] The council and the state offices which are in charge of the official affairs of the Islamic states; operates like advisory body of senior statesmen headed by the Sultan in person (ed-Duri, 1994, p. 377).

different days of the week. However, Divan-ı Hümayun (Imperial Council) was the highest authority headed by Sultan himself that held on every Wednesday. Wednesday Divan sessions were continued with the **"Büyük Kol"** (Grand Inspection); it was "the deictic inspection tour of the city." The grand vizier led the inspection tour and sultan himself often joined these regular tours of the city disguised not to be seen and recognized. The tour would run through especially the commercial districts to check the quality of both the environment and the products. However, these tours enabled sultan to be aware of the issues of everyday life of ordinary people and to see and hear them as the way they are (Sakaoğlu, 2016, pp. 12-23).

Although they were not recorded as forums in detail and their locations are not that certain like the others, it has been estimated that **Philadelphion** and **Amastrianon** were most probably around the place occupied by today **Şehzade** and **Laleli Complexes**, which were built in 1746 and 1548 (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 96-97; 2010b, p. 223). On the other hand, **Augustaion**, after the conversion of Hagia Sophia into an Imperial Mosque, was mostly occupied by the three imperial mausoleums in the 16th century, which still exist today in the area called **"Hagia Sophia Square"** and even the Column of Justinian was also demolished during these new constructions (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 249; Kuban, 2010a, p. 335).

Above them all, it is of great interest that **Hippodrome** of Roman Constantinople preserved its social importance as the centre of every day and public life during the Ottoman period and indeed as Kuban (2010a, p. 111) emphasizes it was the only public space of Istanbul for mass gatherings. Despite its central location, Hippodrome was the only urban open space that neither fully occupied by new buildings nor re-organised and planned but rather consciously maintained, called **Atmeydanı** (Kuban 2010a, p. 441). Iconographic and monumental organisation of Hippodrome that inherited by Atmeydanı was not echoed in Ottoman period, it was not considered as a symbolic and the representational organised space of the new sovereignty (Işın, 2010, p. 14), and rather *"remained as a left-over space in the core of the city"* (D. Kuban, personal communication, October 5, 2016, S. Eyice, personal communication, February 2, 2017). Here, why and how such a focal, valuable and prestigious point of the city was left-over is another questioned to be asked.

The name Atmeydanı meaning **"Horse Square"** might be considered as the Turkish translation of Hippodrome, which reflects the functional memory of it, since it was also the horse market of Ottoman period. However, the assumption of Atmeydanı as a continuity of the Hippodrome and so the name actually derives from the similarity between chariot races of Roman period and the jereed (cirit) games of Ottoman period. Jereed is an ancient battle game originating in Central Asia that played on horseback throwing a wooden javelin at horsemen of opposing team. It was a popular game and even the sultans were playing it. Jereed was the main game and training of the Janissaries and so it has lost its significance after the disbandment of Janissary Crops in 1826, which is known as the Auspicious Incident (Vaka-i Hayriye) (Sakaoğlu, 1993, p. 414; Halıcı, 1993, pp. 26-27).

Despite this general functional similarity, there were several differences in detail of how the space was used during these games. Yet, the most important difference was that Atmeydanı has never been organised in the sense of a city square or rather a circus, which mainly reflects the perception of "square" as a "left-over open space" in Ottoman period. Yet, as historians indicate, it was the only urban open space in the sense of a more secular and free one in contrast to the outer courtyards of mosque-complexes or the first court of the palace. It was opened to everyone, the relation between the state and the people was established even denser than the Hippodrome since the most ceremonial, and commemorative events of imperial family were held in Atmeydanı. The survival of Atmeydanı was a spontaneous one; it was not evolved out of a plan or spatial organisation and this evolution was so related both the surrounding constructions and the functions that it acquired with them. Until the 16th century, Atmeydanı was left as it was in 1453; the only new construction in its vicinity was the Firuz Ağa Mosque, which held the northern side, built in 1491 and still exists (Sakaoğlu, 1993, pp. 414-418; Işın, 2010, p. 15, Kuban, 2010c, pp. 21-25). The main reasons of this were (1) the extension of Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire and so the final transfer from the "Old Palace" lasted until the mid-16th century and (2) 16th century was the period of growth and enrichment for both the empire and its capital under the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (see Appendix A-1, Url-35).

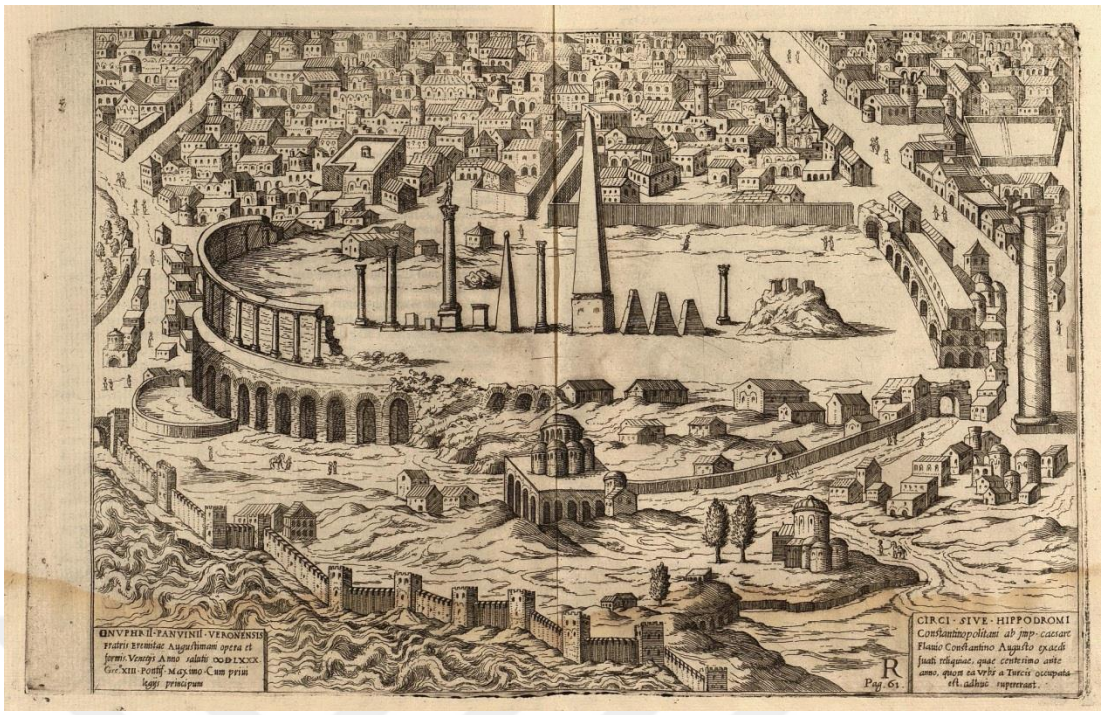


Figure 4. 9: Engraving of the Hippdrome at Istanbul – late 15th c., De Ludis Circensibus (Onuphrius Panvinius, 1600, p. 61-62).

The 16th century has been a great time of building activity; the city gained many outstanding monuments of the Great Architect Sinan (1490-1588). Great Sinan built about 120 monuments only in Istanbul. The first imperial commission of Great Sinan was the Kulliye of Suleyman the Magnificent as a huge socio-religious complex consisting of a mosque, 5 madrasas, a hospital, a medical school, a public kitchen, a caravansary, mausoleums, shops and fountains, built between 1550 and 1557 on the site of the Old Palace partly. After the change of administrative centre to Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire, the development of the vicinity of Atmeydanı accelerated. After the construction of Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa's palace on the western traces of Hippodrome's row of seats in 1521, the palaces of following viziers surrounded Atmeydanı during the 16th century (Sakaoğlu, 1993, pp. 414-418; Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 464, 494; Eyice, 2000, pp. 345-347).

However, except the Palace of İbrahim Paşa, all the others were destroyed for the construction of the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet in the early 17th century. Indeed, the Palace of İbrahim Paşa is the only stonework vizier palace from 16th century, which still exits. By the construction of the Palace of İbrahim Paşa, Atmeydanı acquired another function; after the wedding ceremony of İbrahim Paşa with Hatice Sultan (sister of Sultan Süleyman) in 1524, which lasted 15 days, other imperial weddings of Sultan's daughters and circumcision ceremonies began to be held for days and

weeks in Atmeydanı, all called Sur-u Hümayun. The longest and the most grandiose one was the circumcision ceremony of Mehmed (the son of Murat III) which celebrated for 53 days in 1582. These celebrations were the very rare events that Sultan publicly appeared and they were very carefully staged parades actually; Sultans were watching spectacles from orieled salon-balcony of the Palace of İbrahim Paşa just as Roman emperors' sitting in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome, which is very well depicted in the miniatures of 1582 called Surname-i Hümayun (Figure 4. 10). After the execution of İbrahim Paşa in 1536, the palace used by other viziers who became related to the Sultan through marriage and for other several purposes and underwent many changes throughout the centuries, and still exists (Kuban, 2010a, p. 324; 2010c, p. 30; Necipoğlu, 1993, p. 304; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 494). These celebrations served (1) to show the strength of the empire and the power of the sultan and (2) to bring Sultan and his reign with ordinary people since they were all feasts that all the people invited to as the personal guests of Sultan.



Figure 4. 10: 1582 Festivities at Atmeydanı, Surname-i Hümayun (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1344, 75a – 14b).

Other significant building complexes newly constructed or inherited from Roman period and allocated to other functions in the surrounding vicinity of Atmeydanı until the 17th century were (1) the Lion House and Armory (Arslanhane & Cebehane), (2) the Baths of Haseki Sultan, (3) Kulliye of Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Tanman & Çobanoğlu, 2010, pp. 36-43).

On the northeastern side of Atmeydanı, the Roman Church of Khristos tis Khalkis was converted to the Lion House, where the lower floor was used to as the shelter for the palace's wild animals and upper floor was used to as the imperial painting studio (nakkaşhane). Imperial Armory was also next to the Lion House that all were demolished in 1804 and replaced by the Darülfünun (Ottoman Institution of Higher Education) building, designed by Swedish architects Gaspare and Fiuseppe Fossati and completed in 1862 (Eyice, 1991a, pp. 403-404).

Just across the Lion House and the Armory, on the very side of the Roman Baths of Zeuxippus, the Baths of Haseki Sultan was designed and built in 1556 by Great Sinan, named after Haseki Hürrem Sultan, wife of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent and referred also as Ayasofya Hamam (baths) due to its location and it still exists (Eyice, 1991c, pp. 211-212).

On the southwestern corner of Atmeydanı, also on the side of a Roman religious structure (most probably the Church of St. Anastasia), Kulliye of Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (grand vizier) was designed and built again by Great Sinan in 1571, which also still exists (Tanman, 2009, p. 360).

Above all the other building complexes, without no doubt, the most magnificent, prestigious and dominant monument of Atmeydanı was, of course, the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet. During the first decade of the 17th century, Sultan Ahmet I purchased and demolished five vizier palaces just across the Hagia Sophia, on the very site of Roman Great Palace of once, and commanded to build a mosque-complex for his own name. Composed of a mosque, an imperial pavilion, a madrasa, a Koranic school, a primary school, a hospital, a public kitchen, an arasta (bazaar), storehouses, guesthouses, khans, a bath, fountains, bachelor apartments and a mausoleum, the construction of the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet was completed in 1619. Built on a massive scale with six minarets, the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet was considered to represent the power of empire, the sultan and so Islam, which would compete with the Hagia Sophia. Although some units of the complex, like kitchen and hospital (together its own bath and masjid) were built away from the others, above the sphendone of the Hippodrome, the general layout of Atmeydanı only changed to a certain degree, and its ground level became 5m higher than it was in Roman period due to the soil dumping from surrounding constructions. However, Atmeydanı was never fully occupied always serving the need of a space, which could accommodate

massive crowds. Further, all the religious processions were then transferred to Sultan Ahmet Mosque from Hagia Sophia and in this spatial relation Atmeydanı gained its representational quality thoroughly. Indeed, Atmeydanı became known as **"Sultanahmet Square"** after the disbandment of Janissary Crops in 1826 (Sakaoğlu, 1993, pp. 414-418; Kuban, 2010c, p. 27; 1996, p. 53; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 470).

Atmeydanı became the only ceremonial place and the main stage of the everyday life of Ottoman Istanbul. It was the place where spectacles and parades were organized, feasts were given and all the ceremonies and processions were held; a training ground for soldiers, a game arena for jeered players, and a market-place for everybody and the first stop for the newcomers with their sacks and loads on their back. This multi-functional quality of Atmeydanı is very well pictured together with the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet on the left and the Palace of İbrahim Paşa on the right side, in the drawing of Jean-Baptiste Hilaire, dated back in 1782.

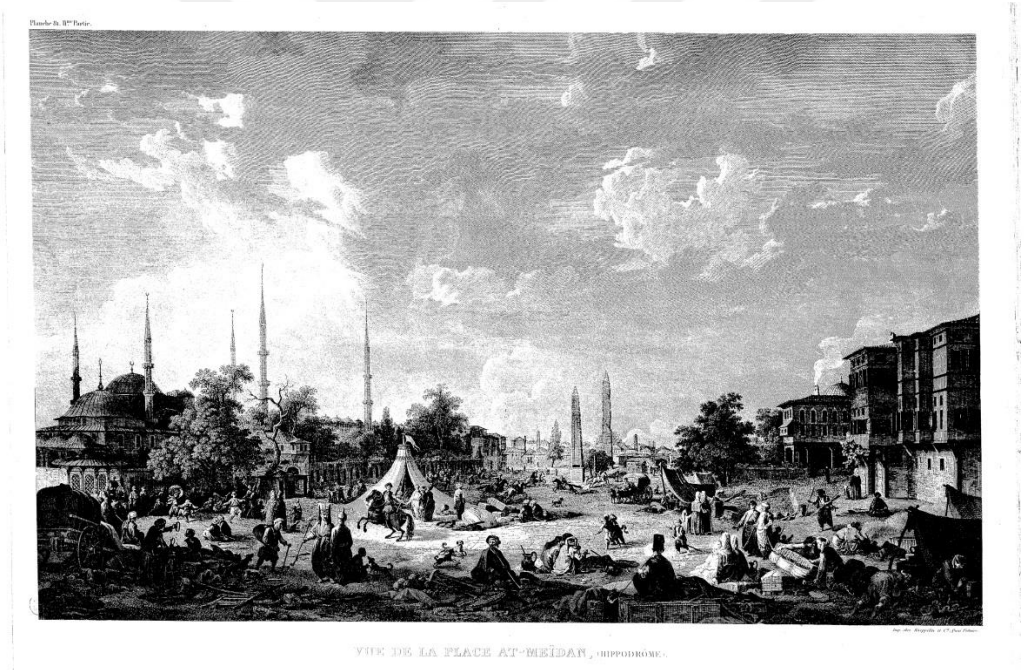


Figure 4. 11: Engraving of Atmeydanı (by Jean-Baptiste Hilaire), Vue de la At-meidan – Hippodrome (Choiseul-Gouffier, 1842, p. 325).

On the other side of this shiny coin, similar to the Roman period, Atmeydanı was the square of social unrest where people gathered for mass objections and uprisings and hanged there in turn. Due to its representational quality together with (1) its location and (2) surrounding functions, Atmeydanı was not the place where the Sultans only acclaimed by the people, it was also the stage of political actions, appearance and objections against the Sultans. Besides, although it was not spatially organized as an

city square, still it was convenient for mass crowds to be gathered that most of them were the janissaries and soldiers from the other units of Ottoman Army. Although there are discretely recorded executions from 15th and 16th centuries that were held at Atmeydanı, most of the bloody uprisings, revolts and executions were experienced continuously between the mid-17th and 19th centuries. These uprisings and revolts of janissaries and other soldiers that Atmeydanı staged during this period resulted with the dethronement of the Sultans Mehmed IV (1687), Mustafa II (1705) and Ahmet III (1730) and with the executions of Osman II (1622), İbrahim I (1648), Selim III (1807) and Mustafa IV (1808). Among these revolts most known are; Atmeydanı Incident (1648), Çınar Incident (1656)[9], Patrona Halil Rebellion (1730), Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion (1807), Alemdar Incident (1808) and Auspicious Incident (1826) (Shaw, 1976, pp. 203-297; Sakaoğlu, 1993, p. 418; Sinanlar, 2009, pp. 64-67).

4.3 Evolution of the Topography of Power: From Atmeydanı to Sultanahmet Square

In the meantime, during the course of 18th and 19th centuries, the impact of Western civilizations upon Ottoman Empire and so the society brought about radical changes in many fields including everyday life and publicness, which also reflected itself in the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of Atmeydanı.

These radical changes were the reflections of the transition of Classical to a Baroque Istanbul. Of course, these reflections were not based on the Catholic Church-oriented Baroque spatial organisation. The changes of 18th and 19th centuries in everyday life and space might be considered as some sort of Ottoman interpretation or appropriation of the main characteristics of Baroque style. As Kuban notes (2010a, p. 288), although it was not in the same sequence and it was rather with a time lag, there has been a cultural and technical parallelism between Western cities and Ottoman Empire, which especially becomes clearer after the 18th century gradually.

İ. Akpınar emphasizes that; *"This transition was marked by the period between 1718 and 1730 during the regime of grand vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa, son-in-law of*

[9] Çınar Incident (Plane Incident) is also known as Vaka-i Vakvakiye (Vak-Vak Incident) that named after a mythical tree which bore human fruit since the rebels were hanged from the plane threes at Atmeydanı (Ortaylı, 2015, p. 45)

Sultan Ahmet III; this period later called "Tulip Period" (Lale Devri) after the precious flower as the symbol of period. Although it was too short in the long story of Istanbul, it was a paradigm-shifting period in terms of everyday life and spatial organisation, which indicates a socio-cultural accumulation beyond this specific period. Yet, spatialisation of this accumulation began with the grand-vizierate of Damat İbrahim Paşa who was an innovative pioneer in many senses." (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

Damat İbrahim Paşa was "the first Ottoman minister of any importance to believe that knowledge of Europe was important to Ottoman foreign policy" (Shaw, 1976, p. 233). In accordance, for the very first time, he sent Ottoman ambassadors to Paris, Vienna, Moscow and Poland for both diplomatic purposes and getting information about European diplomacy and military power. As it has been mentioned earlier, the 18th century was even called the French century due to its great military and population potential that also admired culturally by the rest of the Europe and even by Russia. Not surprisingly, the first ambassador, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi was sent to Paris (1720-1721) "to visit the fortresses, factories and works of French civilization generally and report on those which might be applicable" in the Ottoman Empire. However, with particular attention to military schools, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi wrote about all his experiences and observations on also built environment and architectural elements of the city; gardens, pools, fountains, exotic plants, palaces and of course Versailles and also everyday life of French society; the manners of the king and other notables, the position of women and the wide use of printing press. It was the beginning of "Ottoman Baroque" and the first step of embracing the Western architecture and lifestyle (Shaw, 1976, p. 235; Kuban, 2010a, p. 404; Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet, 1970).

During this period, a form of countryside life has emerged in Istanbul; as an interpretation of Versailles as the foremost pioneering example of Baroque style display-oriented royal palaces and intention to emulate the courtly life of French king and elite, Sa'dabat (Place of Happiness) Palace was built in 1722, located on the shore of Kağıthane stream (Barbisos) outside the fortifications, surrounded by gardens, fountains, pavilions, baths and statues, and also other notables built their own luxurious mansions, palaces and other summer residences around Kağıthane,

along the both sides of Golden Horn. (Shaw, 1976, p. 234; Ortaylı, 1977, p. 92; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 401-410).

This was the beginning of the process called Westernisation and it is also very remarkable that Sultan himself gained a more accessible image; he was not behind the grilled windows or on an elevated balcony; in other words, publicness became an increasing flavour from the reign of Ahmet III onward. Seclusion of the Sultan as an Ottoman court protocol was about to be changed gradually. This was the transition from an introvert to extrovert lifestyle based on secular attitudes rather than religious ones for all the society. Imperial women were then enjoying the leisure life in the gardens of Sa'dabad Palace; and it was an important step towards liberation and public presence of women as an important population of society and the publics. In time, beginning from the 18th century, public gardens and promenades have been the important locations of everyday life where women and children became visible (Figure 4.12) (Hamadeh, 2008, pp. 49-51, 110-111; Kuban, 2010a, p. 49; Necipoğlu, 1993, pp. 306).

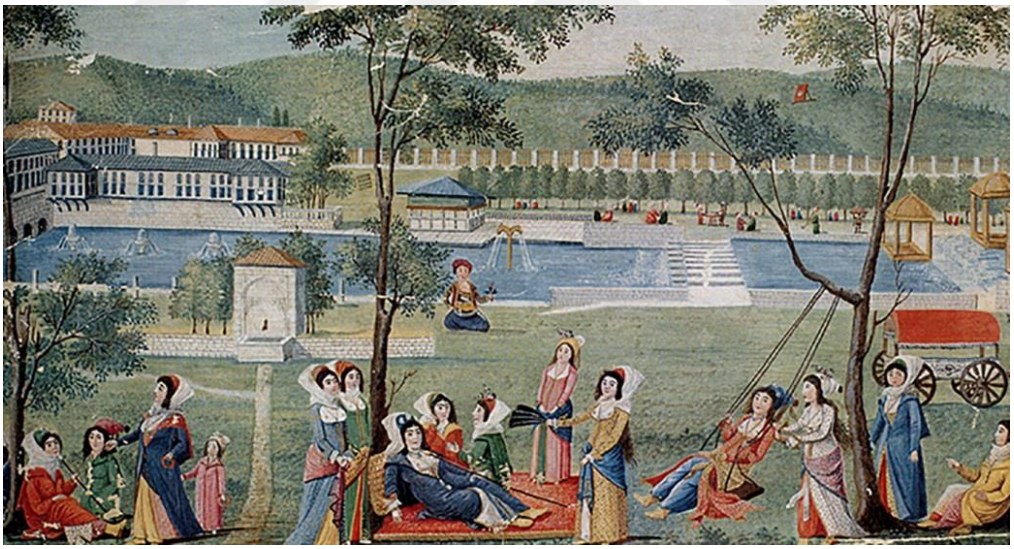


Figure 4. 12: A view from Sa'dabad Palace (Fazıl Bey Enderuni, 1793; Url-36).

In terms of evolution of Atmeydanı, one of the most important outcomes of this period is that the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus have become alternative places for all the imperial celebrations and ceremonies (Hamadeh, 2008, pp. 49-51; Atıl, 1993, p. 182). Yet, Atmeydanı was still the main representational space for mass gatherings and uprisings. In fact, these changes arouse the reaction of conservative Muslims as the dominant praxis of the period and caused the Patrona Halil Rebellion that Atmeydanı staged in 1730 which resulted with the dethronement

of Sultan Ahmet III and the downfall of İbrahim Paşa as well. Although the end of the "Tulip Period" was remarked by this rebellion, as history proved social and cultural accumulations cannot be reversed.

One of the most important long-term developments of this continuity was the foundation of the printing press by the Turks in 1727 that introduced by the son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, Said Efendi together with İbrahim Müteferrika, which would change the intellectual vision of the society during latter periods. In fact, the very first printing press was founded in Istanbul in 1494 by the Jewish community, this adaptation was important since Turkish was the most common language among the many languages which were spoken in Istanbul (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 357,365,404; Kut, 1994, p. 10-11).

With a certain time lag, after the invention of printing press around 1450 by John Gutenberg in Mainz, this was also the rise of literary publicness in Istanbul. As a clue of this, D. Tekeli mentiones that *"Communication with the messengers called Münadi, which informed the public with a loud voice about the official news of the state to be announced, has been replaced gradually with the official newspaper called Takvîm-i Vekâi."* (personal communication, February 20, 2017), which is first published in 1831 in Turkish (Yazıcı, 2010, pp. 490-492).

Besides, with the adaptation of printing press, coffee-houses of Istanbul, in which the first one established in 1550 and there were about six-hundreds by the end of the 1500s located mostly in the commercial areas around Tahtakale, became the important spots of everyday life where literary publicness and critical public opinion was created, in other words where public sphere was (re)produced (Kömeçoğlu, 2005; Akyazıcı, 2007; Işın, 1999).

Second important long-term development of the Tulip Period was the constructions of military establishments and barracks that also marked the limits of Istanbul until the early 20th century. After the suppression of Patrona Halil Rebellion, Mahmut I was brought to the throne and he adopted the traditionalistic reform policy establishing some sort of delicate balance between the different publics. He rather focused on technical reforms in military sciences and brought French advisers who later converted to Islam. New training grounds and barracks were built in the peripheral areas of the city soon as the examples of contemporary French

architecture which actually built with the supervision of also French engineers; Halil Paşa (Topçu) Barracks at Taksim (1780), Kalyoncu Barracks at Kasımpaşa (1782), Humbaracı Barracks at Halıcıoğlu (1795) and Selimiye Barracks at Haydarpaşa in 1803 (later rebuilt by Mahmut II in 1829) (Shaw, 1976, pp. 240-241; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 418, 427).

These military buildings were the expressions of early modernity of Istanbul and modernisation policies of Ottoman state, besides they were the focus points leading the development directions with a contemporary French architecture reflection on the landscape of the city outside the fortifications of Istanbul Peninsula. Further, they were the precursors of the near future of the permanent functional change of Atmeydanı; janissaries' training ground of once was about to be dysfunctional for the military gradually.

In the meantime, development of the settlements outside of the fortifications of Istanbul, which were already embellished with mosques and mansions of the chief admirals on the shores of Bosphorus especially towards Beşiktaş in the course of the 16th century, accelerated due to the increasing population and the new constructions of summer palaces and gardens. Soon, villages became dense on the both sides of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn following the Tulip Period, over the 18th century (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 317-318, 406; Ortaylı, 1977, p. 92).

Indeed, the population was increasing and the city was growing; estimated population was about 200.000 people in the beginning of the 15th century, and it was about 700.000 people that 40 percent of was composed of non-Muslims in the 17th century. This increase resulted as the higher population densities in peninsula, even in Kasımpaşa and Tophane on the northern side of the Golden Horn and in Üsküdar (Khrysopolis) on the Anatolian side (Kuban, 1970, p. 31; 2010a, p. 354)

This period was the time of the growth for Galata (Sycae), which survived as a cosmopolitan harbour town having different urban pattern characteristic from the peninsula. Although it had been an administrative district of Ottoman Istanbul and integrated economically, Galata and its northern extension Pera had always been considered with a European image in terms of its both social and physical structure forming a duality between the opposite sides of Golden Horn. Yet, its cosmopolitan and European image was further enhanced and consolidated by the establishment of

the foreign embassies in Galata and Pera (Beyoğlu) after the 16th century. Pera began to develop with the extension of new non-Muslim neighbourhoods surrounding these embassies towards the north with a more residential character extending from the commercial Galata (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 267-271; Akın, 1993, p. 212).

The water supply system also indicates the growth of Galata and its surrounding during the 16th and 17th centuries that new water distribution and reservoir facility "Maksem" was built on the highest point of the region, at the northern end of the Grand Rue de Pera in 1732-1733 under the reign of Mahmut I. It was the very first building on this area that even the region acquired its name "Taksim" meaning "to divide" after Maksem in Turkish (Gülersoy, 1986, pp. 8-15; Kuban, 2010a, p. 421; Üsdiken, 1993, pp. 265-266)

However, this region experienced a rapid growth mainly after the second half of the 19th century in parallel to the new modernisation policies of Ottoman state. In fact, the empire turned its face outside the peninsula and the fortifications (see Appendix A-2, Url-37). The most obvious indicator of this is the move of Sultan Mahmut II into Beşiktaş Palace in 1815 spending also the winters and then the permanent transfer of imperial residence to Dolmabahçe Palace in 1856 under the reign of Sultan Abdülmecit, which was built over the former wooden Beşiktaş Palace after its demolition in 1853 and still exists (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 483-484; Tuğlacı, 1990, pp. 20-22).

Together with this transfer of imperial palace, the most important fact that triggered the beginning of the spatial, functional and semantical transformation of Atmeydanı was the disbandment of Janissary Crops during the events called Auspicious Incident in 1826. Historians discuss that the reasons in the background of the disbandment of Janissary Crops were mainly based on (1) their conservative opposition to modernist military reforms and (2) their struggle for power, which became clear with the executions of Sultan Selim III (1807) and Mustafa IV (1808) one after the other. Sultan Mahmut II had been prepared for the elimination of the Janissary Crops for 18 years and on June 14, 1826 Janissaries overturned their cauldron for the last time marching from Etmeydanı through Beyazıt to Atmeydanı via Divanyolu; they were eventually either killed or exiled and erased from the empire, from the capital and even from the language. Disbanding the Janissaries meant to demolish the places associated with them; Yeni Odalar (the New Barracks) and Etmeydanı (Horse

Square) were all demolished except Orta Mosque. The neighbourhood and so the mosque renamed as "Ahmediye" and even Atmeydanı that identified with Janissaries was also renamed as "Ahmediye Meydanı." Yet, as it has been mentioned before, in the official records of the beginning of the 20th century, Atmeydanı acquired the name **"Sultanahmet Meydanı"** (Sultanahmet Square) after the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet (Shaw, 1977, p. 19, Sakaoğlu, 1993, p. 418, Özcan, 1995, p. 498, Beydilli, 2012, p. 457, Yeşilkaya, 2003, p. 84).

Destruction of the Janissary Corps as an old institution both enabled and required new forms and institutions to be introduced. Janissary Crops were immediately replaced by a new modern army called Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye (The Trained Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad). Since old central neighbourhood of janissaries was already demolished, establishment of new army required new barracks to be built in the capital. Old Barracks that dated back to 18th century were renovated or rebuilt and new barracks were also built, which all of them were outside the fortifications. Newly added ones were dense between Taksim and Maçka through the valley behind Dolmabahçe Palace. In addition to Taksim Barracks built over the old wooden Halil Paşa Barracks under the reign of Sultan Mahmut II, Maçka and Gümüşsuyu Armories, Taşkışla and Harbiye Military Hospitals were built in this region until the mid-19th century and soon Taşkışla was converted to also a barrack and Harbiye was converted to the Mekteb-i Harbiye (the War Academy). In the peninsula, Old Imperial Palace at Beyazıt was allocated to the Headquarter of the Commander in Chief (Bab-ı Seraskeri) which re-institutionalised as the Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti) in 1879 (Shaw, 1977, pp. 22-23; Özcan, 1991, p. 364; 1997:119; Tuğlacı, 1990, p. 268; Kuban, 2010a, p. 474).

Disbandment of the Janissary Corps not only changed the functional, semantical and spatial accumulations of Sultanahmet Square, it also resulted with the establishment of Bab-ı Seraskeri, which changed the spatial organisation of the Kulliye of Beyazıt next to the Old Imperial Palace. Tracing the emphasis of Eyice (1992b, p. 47) on the outer courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque as a central location close to the main commercial site of the city surrounded by shops, coffee-houses where shop-keepers and artisans gathered, Yeşilkaya (2003) reveals the spatial change of this site after the 1820s in detail. After the establishment of Bab-ı Seraskeri, the new Baroque style "Seraskerat Gate" was immediately built over the main "Divan Gate" of the Old

Palace in 1827 as a stamp of the Sultan Mahmut II on the city representing the power of the new army and challenging the memories of the old. Further, a new road was also opened to connect Bab-ı Seraskeri with the first wooden bridge over Golden Horn between Unkapanı and Azapkapı that built in 1836, and accordingly, the outer courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque and the surrounding coffee houses and shops were demolished gradually in time forming the **"Seraskerat Square"** in front of this representational gate. That gate also altered the overall image of the square and changed the axiality of the Beyazıt Mosque.



Figure 4. 13: Seraskerat Gate – An Ordinary Day in Beyazıt in the late 1800s (Anonymous, Url-38).



Figure 4. 14: Beyazıt Mosque and "Küllük" Coffee House (Anonymous, Url-39).

Indeed, during the 1860s Bab-ı Seraskeri was surrounded by the residences of grand viziers and pashas; Zeynep Hanım (wife of Yusuf Kâmil Paşa), Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa, Fuad Paşa Mansions were built in 1863, 1865 and 1867 respectively. After the death of Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa, his mansion was used for several purposes and lastly as the Headquarter of General Staff. However, S. Eyice notes that *"Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa mansion was destroyed during the Mercan district fire of 1911 and on the same site, a multi-storey parking garage was built that proposed by the Mayor Abdullah Tırtıl in 1982-1984."* (personal communication, February 2, 2017). In addition, after the death of Fuad Paşa in 1868, his mansion also used as the Ministry of Treasure, and it still serves as the Faculty of Pharmacy since the allocation of the site of the Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti) to Darülfünun in 1923, which re-institutionalised as Istanbul University in 1933. Mansion of Zeynep Hanım was also used as the Faculty of Letters, destroyed during the fire of 1942 and new buildings of Faculty of Letters and Faculty of Science were constructed on its site in 1943 that designed by Turkish architects Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat, which still serve. Further, the public kitchen and khans section of the Kulliye of Beyazıt II was converted to the first Ottoman Public Library (Kütüphane-i Umum-i Osmani) in 1884, extended in 1984 and still serve as the Beyazıt State Library (Yeşilkaya, 2003, pp. 146-147; Ayvazoğlu, 2012, pp. 113-114, 149; Koç, 1993, p. 189).

In fact, after the Auspicious Incident, Ottoman Empire experienced a period of an overall economic and socio-political transformation aimed at modernisation and Westernisation. Two important facts of the period towards modernisation of Ottoman Empire were (1) the Anglo – Ottoman Treaty of 1838 and (2) the Tanzimat-ı Hayriye (Auspicious Reorderings) in 1839. Anglo-Ottoman Treaty was a formal trade agreement signed with England and other commercial powers of the period. This agreement is important since it facilitated international trade and enabled foreign merchants to come and settle down especially in Istanbul. However, during this period trade meant actually importation; besides, it was also the economic invasion in favour of laissez-faire as a global result of Industrial Revolution and with the effects of the French Revolution of 1789. Ottoman industrialization was also an importation process; machines, technicians, engineers and even workers were imported from Europe (Shaw, 1977, p. 122; Çelik, 1993, p. 35; Clark, 1974, p. 65; Tekeli, 2013, p. 38).

Declaration of the Tanzimat in 1839 was a major step towards legal regulations and reforms. It was an attempt to replace old institutions with new ones, and to redefine the relation between society and state. Here, Çelik (1993:32) notes that this redefinition of the relation between state and society was based on the concepts of "equality, liberty and human rights, which were also quickly and superficially adopted from the language of French Revolution." Yet, in the long run, this redefinition enabled the transformation of military originated ruling class to a secularly educated bureaucrats and the subject class (tebaa) to a more confident urban middle class composed of merchants and artisans from all religions (Shaw, 1977, p. 55, 105-106, 123).

In terms of spatial organisation and administration, as the capital Istanbul also experienced the results of these Western based reforms. In the field of construction activities, a process of systematic organisation and western style institutionalisation was began by the establishment of first the Council of Public Works (Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü) in 1831 and then the Ministry of Public Works in 1849. In 1855, the Municipal Council was founded and then Istanbul with all its peripheries divided into 14 district municipalities (Daire-i Belediye). The Sixth District (Altıncı Daire-i Belediye), the municipal district of Pera (Beyoğlu) was privileged among the others. In 1857, the Sixth District declared as the experimental region for new urban implementations. This decision was not by coincidence, it was rather mainly based on increasing popularity of Pera especially after 1838 with its mostly non-Muslim European population. On the other hand, it would be operational not to experience new implementations on peninsula as an urban pattern that accumulated around the dead-end streets for centuries. Yet, like many other fields of the period, spatial implementations were designed and operated by foreign professionals following the European examples who most likely lived in Pera (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 458-461; Çelik, 1993, pp. 48-51; Tekeli, 2013, p. 51).

As Shaw (1977, p. 241; 1979, pp. 266-268, 276) offers the details, Istanbul with its peripheries experienced a rapid and steady population increase after 1840s; the overall population with a total of 391.000 people in 1844, approximately increased to 430.000 in 1856 and to 547.437 in 1878 and then to 873.575 people in 1885. In 1885, 44 percent of the population was composed of Muslims with 384.910 people and 70 percent of them were living in the older sections of the capital, peninsula and

Üsküdar. On the other hand, the rest non-Muslim population with a total of 488.665 people were living in Pera – Dolmabahçe, Kadıköy and other villages along the both sides of Bosphorus. Particularly, 38 percent of non-Muslim population, which was 185.455 people, were living in Pera – Dolmabahçe composing the 81 percent of total population of the district. Briefly, Pera was the Western face of Istanbul and it was growing with its new apartment-style stone buildings and non-Muslim population and of course Muslim social groups that adopted the Western lifestyle symbolizing the birth of the modern urban middle class. Concentrated along the main artery Grand Rue de Pera, the region itself eventually became the symbol of the Republic of Turkey after 1923 still forming a duality with the wooden single houses and Muslim population of peninsula (Kıray, 1998, pp. 138-141).

In general, the new spatial implementations of the second half of the 19th century were focused on (1) regularization of the traditional organic street pattern and organisation of small-scale public spaces, (2) improvement of transportation systems and other related facilities, and (3) other grand urban projects that mostly failed to be implemented.

Based on the Regulations for Buildings (Ebniye Nizamnameleri) of 1848 and 1849, the streets were classified according to width with a minimum of 7.60 m for the main avenues, which extended to 11.50 m in 1863, the dead-end streets were forbidden and the need for open spaces was strongly emphasized. In accordance, the construction of a new wide road with sidewalks and trees was completed in 1869 between the northern end of the Grand Rue de Pera and the War Academy in Pangaltı, which soon extended towards Şişli (present-day Cumhuriyet and Büyükdere Avenues). The Sixth District also planned two public squares; one in Karaköy and the other in Şişhane with the Municipality Building of Pera at its centre. Further, two parks were also completed one in Tepebaşı and the other at Taksim, on the left side of Taksim Topçu Barracks, which became the main promenade of Pera in time (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 461-462; Çelik, 1993, pp. 69-72; Tekeli, 2013, p. 49).

However, the regular grid streets would only be implemented in the Peninsula after the fires of 1856 in Aksaray and 1865 Hocapaşa. Especially, Hocapaşa fire of 1865, (the west of Eminönü) spread toward the south reaching the shores of Marmara and covering a vast area limited between the Kulliye of Beyazıt in the west and Sultanahmet Square in the east. In between these limits, both sides of Divanyolu

were destroyed during the fire and soon this artery was extended and became an avenue with sidewalks. Additions around the Column of Constantine and wooden houses surrounding Hagia Sophia were demolished and a square between Hagia Sophia and the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet was established, which later organized as a park during the office of Mayor Cemil Topuzlu (1912-1914) known as "Millet Garden", "Sultanahmet Park" or "Hagia Sophia Square" (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 465, 495; Çelik, 1993, pp. 51, 67; Tekeli, 2013, p. 47).



Figure 4. 15: Hagia Sophia Surrounded by Wooden Houses before the 20th century (Anonymous, De Agostini Picture Library Collection; Url-40).

On the other hand, growing functional and demographic relations between the opposite sides of Golden Horn led the constructions of bridges and the improvement of different transportation systems. As it has been mentioned before, in 1836, the very first wooden bridge crossing the Golden Horn, Mahmudiye Bridge, was built between Unkapanı and Azapkapı, which later replaced with an iron bridge in 1872 and again replaced with the old Galata Bridge that served until 1936. The next wooden bridge over Golden Horn was built in 1845 between Eminönü and Karaköy known as Galata Bridge, which replaced with a wider wooden bridge in 1863 and with an iron bridge in 1875, also replaced again in 1912 that served until 1992 (Kuban, 2010a, p. 468; Çelik, 1993, pp. 87-90; Tanyeli & Kahya, 1993, pp. 357-359).

In the meantime, to improve sea transportation with ferries that operated along the Bosphorus departing from Eminönü, first the company Fevaid-i Osmaniye established in 1845 which followed by the foundation of Şirket-i Hayriye in 1851.

Intra-city transport was also enhanced by first horse-drawn trams in 1869 operated in Eminönü-Aksaray, Karaköy-Ortaköy and Karaköy-Pera lines, which later extended with the electric trams after 1914. In fact, the most important transportation investment was the underground railway tunnel between Karaköy and Pera that opened in 1874 and designed by the French engineer Eugene Henri Gavand, which was the second metro system in the world after that of London. International transportation was also developed by the openings of European railroad system, Orient Express in Sirkeci in 1872 and then the Baghdad railroad in Haydarpaşa in 1873 (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 469-470; Çelik, 1993, pp. 84-103).

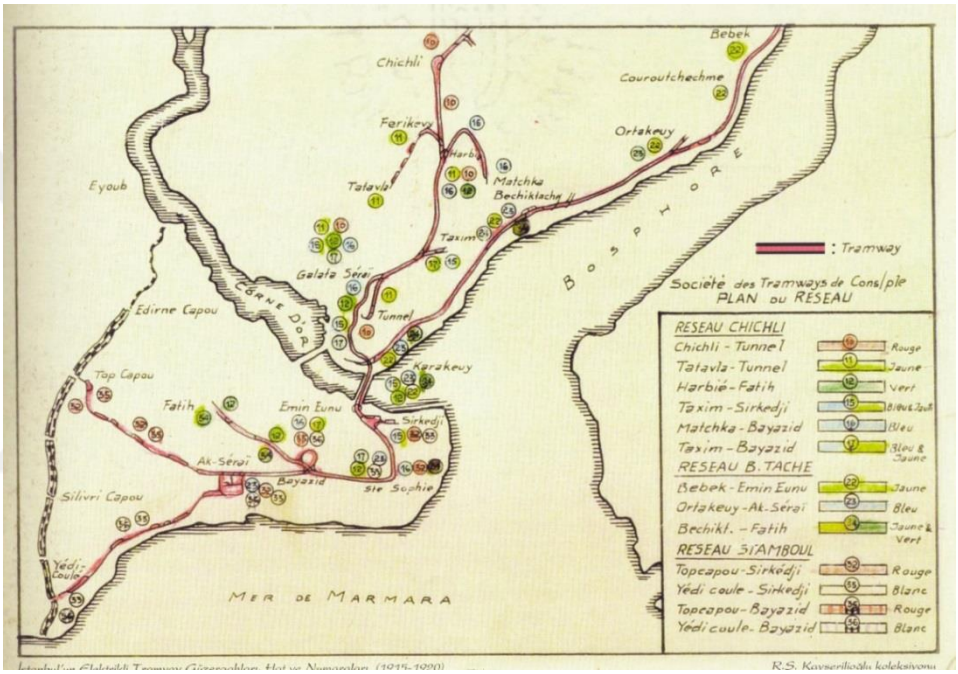


Figure 4. 16: Map of Istanbul Electric Tram Lines – 1920, Société des Tramways de Constantinople (R. S. Kayserilioğlu Archive, Url-41).

There were also other grand and utopic urban projects all developed by foreign professionals, like exotic bridges crossing the Bosphorus that were not realised, in fact, the first bridge over Bosphorus built almost hundred years later, in 1973. Yet, it is remarkable that, among these projects there were three contemporary Haussmann-style grand city square projects all designed by French architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard. Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) commissioned Bouvard to prepare a master plan for Istanbul. Since he was working for also the French government, he could not visit Istanbul but rather he developed avant-projects for the locations he chose based on the photographs and maps he ordered. Bouvard proposed utopic projects and sent perspective drawings depicting his proposals for Sultan Ahmet

Square, Beyazıt Square and Valide Sultan Square (Eminönü) and Galata Bridge. Although his drawings were admired by the Ottoman bureaucracy and satisfied the desired Western image for the capital, they could never been implemented since (1) all his proposals required vast demolitions and ignored the already existing urban pattern with its relations in everyday life practices and the topography, and also (2) the empire could not afford the expenses that his grandiose projects also required (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 490-491; Çelik, 1993, pp. 110-123; Tekeli, 2013, pp. 90-91).



Figure 4. 17: Avant-Project Place de l'Hippodrome (by Joseph A. Bouvard, Url-42).

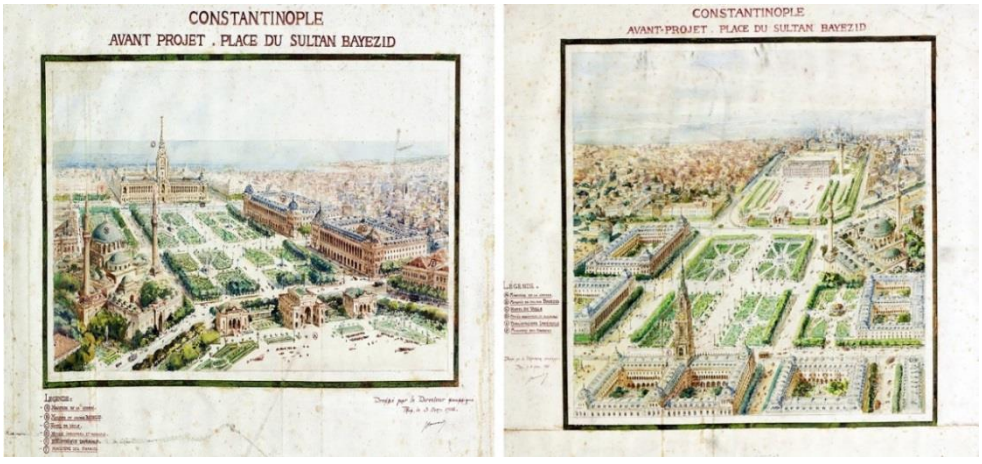


Figure 4. 18: Avant-Project Place du Sultan Bayezid (by Joseph A. Bouvard, Url-42).

Still, all his drawings are valuable reflecting the tendency of the period to adopt everything as it was in the West without even any attempt to reinterpret them. Besides, it is impressive to see that in contrast to the general tendency towards privileging Pera – Beyoğlu for all the public investments that so-called experimental, Bouvard's site selection for his projects still indicates the representational quality of

the existing pattern of Istanbul peninsula instead of new developing sections of the city. It is also contradictory to see that despite all the libertarian and egalitarian discourse of the French Revolution of 1789, a French professional would tailor the new living spaces of a foreign city just meeting whatever its commissioner asked for, without even experiencing this given city, and the everyday life of its inhabitants. On the other hand, it is not that surprising considering the contemporary Haussmannization of Paris, which erased the 60 percent of the historical city. In fact, subsequent politics and implementations of the 20th century in both Paris and Istanbul – like the rest majority of the world – caused and justified the search for the "right to the city" like Lefebvre did as a Parisian in the end.

Despite the rise of the **"Seraskerat Square"** at Beyazıt as an alternative in the Peninsula, **Sultanahmet Square** was still the main representational space of Istanbul, which also experienced a transformation after the second half of the 19th century. First, the foundations of the three survived monuments on the main axle of the old Hippodrome (spina) were excavated and fenced in by the railings of today. Because of Industrial Revolution, World Expositions began to be held first in London (1851) and then in Paris (1867) followed by Vienna (1873) and Chicago (1893). As a significant reflection towards industrialisation, the first Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani (Ottoman Public Exhibition) was also opened at Sultanahmet Square in 1863, and a temporary exhibition building was constructed there which designed by two French architects Auguste Bougeoiis and Leon Parvillee (Ortaylı, 2015, p. 44; Ergüney & Pilehvarian, 2015).



Figure 4. 19: Southern Façade of the Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani Building (Anonymous, Url-43).



Figure 4. 20: An Ordinary Day at Sultanahmet Square -1882 (La Place de l'At-Meidan a Constantinople by Fabius Brest, Url-44).

In 1866, on the southeastern side of Sultanahmet Square, over the old kitchen, workshops and guesthouses of the Kulliye of Sultan Ahmet, the very first Industrial School (Sanayi Mektebi) was built. However, it was damaged during the great earthquake of 1894 and rebuilt by Italian architect Raimondo D'aronco in 1899 and functioned as the Ministry of Agriculture, Mines and Forests (Ziraat, Maadin ve Orman Nezareti) and the Janissary Museum, whereas the kitchen section of the Kulliye remained as the Industrial School which is still in-use as Sultanahmet Industrial Vocational High School. After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, this Ministry building was used as the Academy of Economic and Commercial Studies (İktisadi Ticari İlimler Akademisi), restored after the fire of 1977, and was allocated to the Rectorate of Marmara University. In 1910, the building of Ministry of Register of Title Deeds (Defter-i Hakani Nezareti) was built partly over the Palace of İbrahim Paşa designed by Turkish architect Vedat Tek, which still serves as the Deeds Office of Istanbul.

As aforementioned, Darülfünun (Ottoman Institution of Higher Education) building was completed in 1862 on the north-eastern side of Sultanahmet Square, over the old Imperial Armory and the Lion House. Soon, in 1864, Darülfünun was first allocated to the Ministries of Justice and Mortmain Estates (Maliye, Adliye ve Evkaf Nezareti), however, between the proclamations of the First Constitutional Era (1876-1878) and the Second Constitutional Era (1908) the building served as the Ottoman Parliament and eventually it was re-allocated to the Ministry of Justice, which destroyed by the fire of 1933. In addition, in 1919, Sultanahmet Prison was built next to this Palace of Justice, which served as a prison until 1986. Together with all these

new developments, the inauguration of the German Fountain, a gift from Emperor of Germany Wilhelm II, that was erected on the north-eastern section of the axis of Hippodrome in 1901, also reflects the changing prestigious and representative quality of Sultanahmet Square and its surrounding in favour of modernisation (Ortaylı, 2015, p. 44; Kuban, 2010c, p. 28; Tanman & Çobanoğlu, 2010, pp. 56-59; Eyice, 1991a, p. 403, Batur, 1993, pp. 562-563; Arlı, 1993, pp. 65-66; Ahunbay, 1993, p. 60).

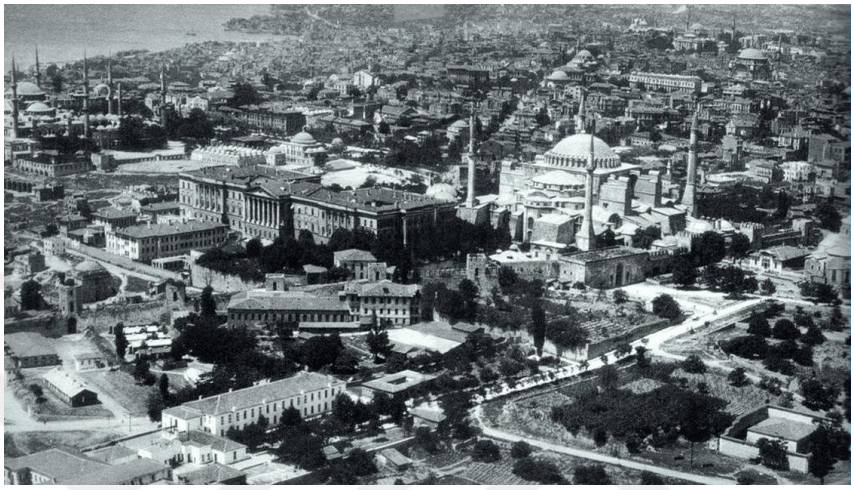


Figure 4. 21: Darülfünun Building and Hagia Sophia (National Geographic, 1928; Url-45).

As it is seen from the drawings of the period, Sultanahmet Square served as a market-place in ordinary days until the early 20th century, besides, it was the heart of the political life staging all the uprisings and incidents that accelerated after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 led Sultan Abdülhamid II to recall the Constitution and so the Parliament. In the meantime, the freedom of press and political association enabled the strong rise of literary publicness and critical public opinion experienced in the empire. However, the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy also caused a long wave of mass counter-demonstrations. These conservative reactions demanding the end of the Constitution caused the counter-coup of 1909, known as the Revolt of 31 March. Rebellious soldiers of the First Army together with the students of religious gathered at Sultanahmet Square and marched to the Parliament (old Darülfünun), however, they were put down by the arrival of the "Operation Army" (Hareket Ordusu) from Salonika to Istanbul commanded by Mahmut Şevket Paşa and other several officers including Mustafa Kemal who would later found the Republic of Turkey. Sultan Abdülhamit II was dethroned and replaced with Sultan Mehmet V Reşat and the leaders of the revolt hanged at Sultanahmet Square in 1909 (Shaw, 1977, pp. 266-281).

Substantially, this period was the rising fall of Ottoman Empire after its defeat in World War I (1914-1918). Following the WWI, the boundaries of Ottoman Empire were occupied by the Allied Forces including Istanbul, which was the beginning of the Turkish War for Independence (1918-1923) that was led to success by Mustafa Kemal (Shaw, 1977, pp. 329-340). Yet, it is remarkable that Turkish protests for independence were staged at Sultanahmet Square, known as Sultanahmet Meetings including the famous speech of Halide Edip on 23 May 1919, which has been considered as the beginning of the Turkish War for Independence, which then spread to Anatolia.



Figure 4. 22: Celebrations for the entry into World War I of the Ottoman Empire in front of the Ministry of War – Beyazıt (Berliner Verlag Archive, Url-46).



Figure 4. 23: Halide Edip at the Sultanahmet Meetings (Cengiz Kahraman Archive, Hippodrome / Atmeydanı Vol 2, 2010, p. 345).

Actual occupation of Istanbul by the Allied Forces, mostly by English and French troops, continued between March 1919 and 1922. Kuban (2010a, p. 496) notes that the most important features of this three-year occupation period were (1) the

activities of the underground resistance and (2) the excessive hatred shown by the former non-Muslim population of the capital to the others. Parallel to him, Shaw (1977, p. 329) notes that Allied Forces were demonstrating the essential superiority of Western civilization over that of Islam once again. With also the effect of global tendencies after World War I towards liberalism and nationalism, this deepened, accelerated and hidden struggle between Muslims and non-Muslims together with the after-war conditions of unequal scarcity became visible in the increasingly polarization of already existing duality between the opposite sides of Golden Horn; peninsula and Pera.

In fact, S. Eyice (2017) emphasizes this duality as *"The foreign soldiers that arrived during the invasion of Istanbul marched up along the hill from Karaköy in regiments, came to Pera and paraded the streets. In many photos taken at the time, it is possible to see English, French, Italian and Greek flags put up on the façades of all buildings starting from Galatasaray down to Taksim. The French commander-in-chief Franchet d'Espèrey, for instance, paraded before the English Embassy on a white horse (which is the sign of victory) with troops behind him. And small number of Turkish citizens gathered right next to Galatasaray, in front of the stone police station building at the time, now it's a small square; Galatasaray Square. Toward the end of the Turkish War for Independence, there were attempts to remove the Allied Forces stationed there and accordingly the name "Grand Rue de Pera" was immediately replaced by "Istiklal Avenue" which literally means and also represents the "Independence" after the abolishment of Ottoman State and foundation of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October 1923."* (personal communication, February 2, 2017).



Figure 4. 24: Allied Forces marching along the Grande Rue de Pera (Anonymous, Url-47).



Figure 4. 25: Sultanahmet Square and the Allied Fleet Behind (Anonymous, Url-48).

Along with this accumulative duality, all the characteristics, institutions, conventions and practices of everyday modern life penetrated into both the whole population and the city as well. Above all, it is important to see the constitution of dominant and so the counter discourses out of different publics, which produce and reproduce their own representation through space; marking, shaping, naming and claiming the space, eventually sharing it to reclaim again as in the example of Pera – Taksim region. Indeed, everyday life of the Allied troops concentrated around Pera – Taksim region, and even Taksim Topçu Barracks was allocated to the foreign soldiers and renamed as Macmahon Barracks that later converted into the Taksim Stadium in 1921 and sold. Taksim Topçu Barracks of once became the first football stadium where the soldiers of Allied Forces organized sport activities during the occupation period. The building remained as a stadium after the War for Independence until its fully demolition in 1941 according to the design of the Taksim Republican Square and Inonu Esplanade (Gezi Park), which proposed by French architect Henri Prost there (see Appendix A-3 for the map showing mentioned structures and regions) (Atabeyoğlu, 1993, p. 199).

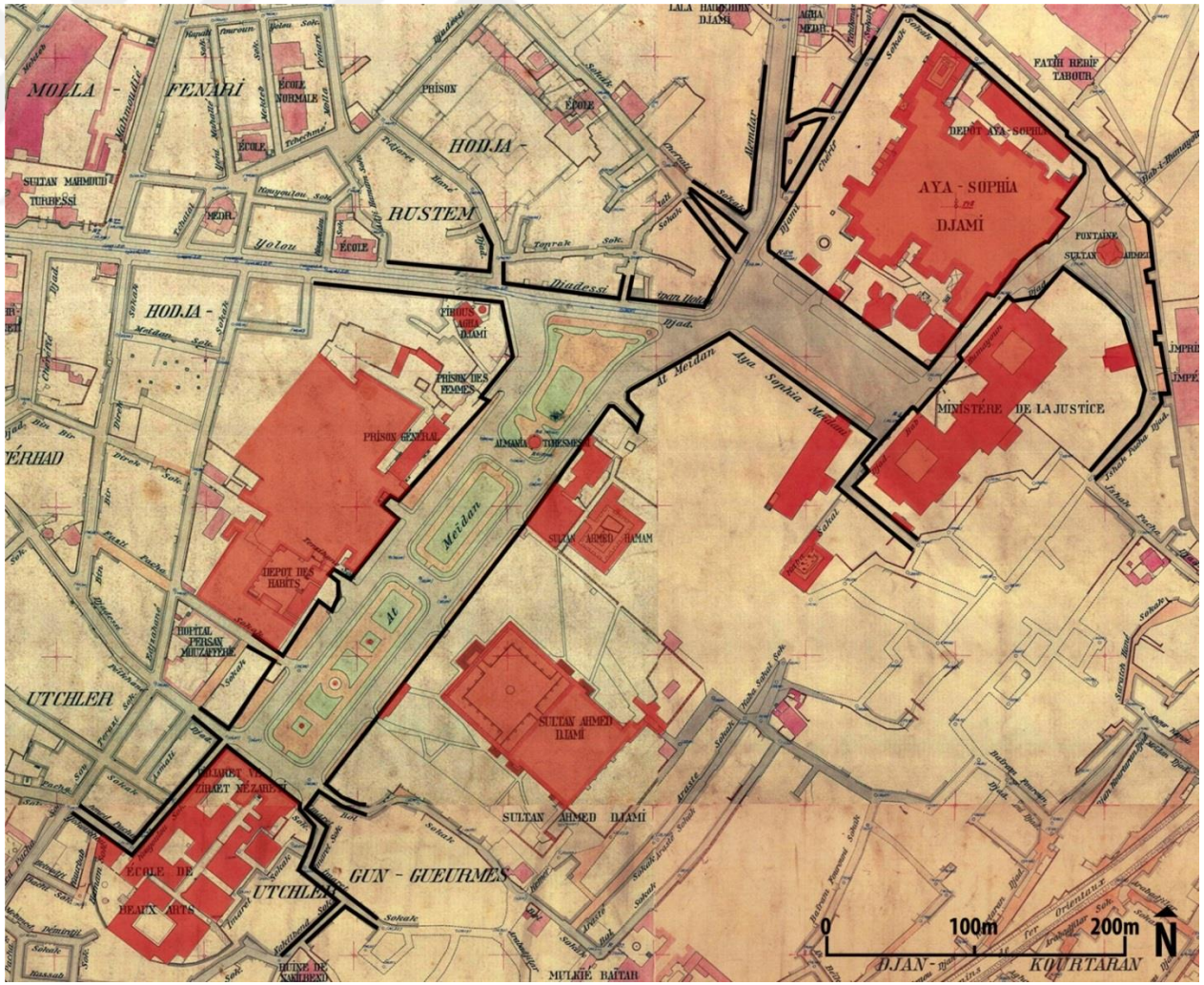


Figure 4. 26: Map of Sultanahmet Square and its surroundings in the early 20th century (on German Blues Maps –Alman Mavileri Haritaları–).

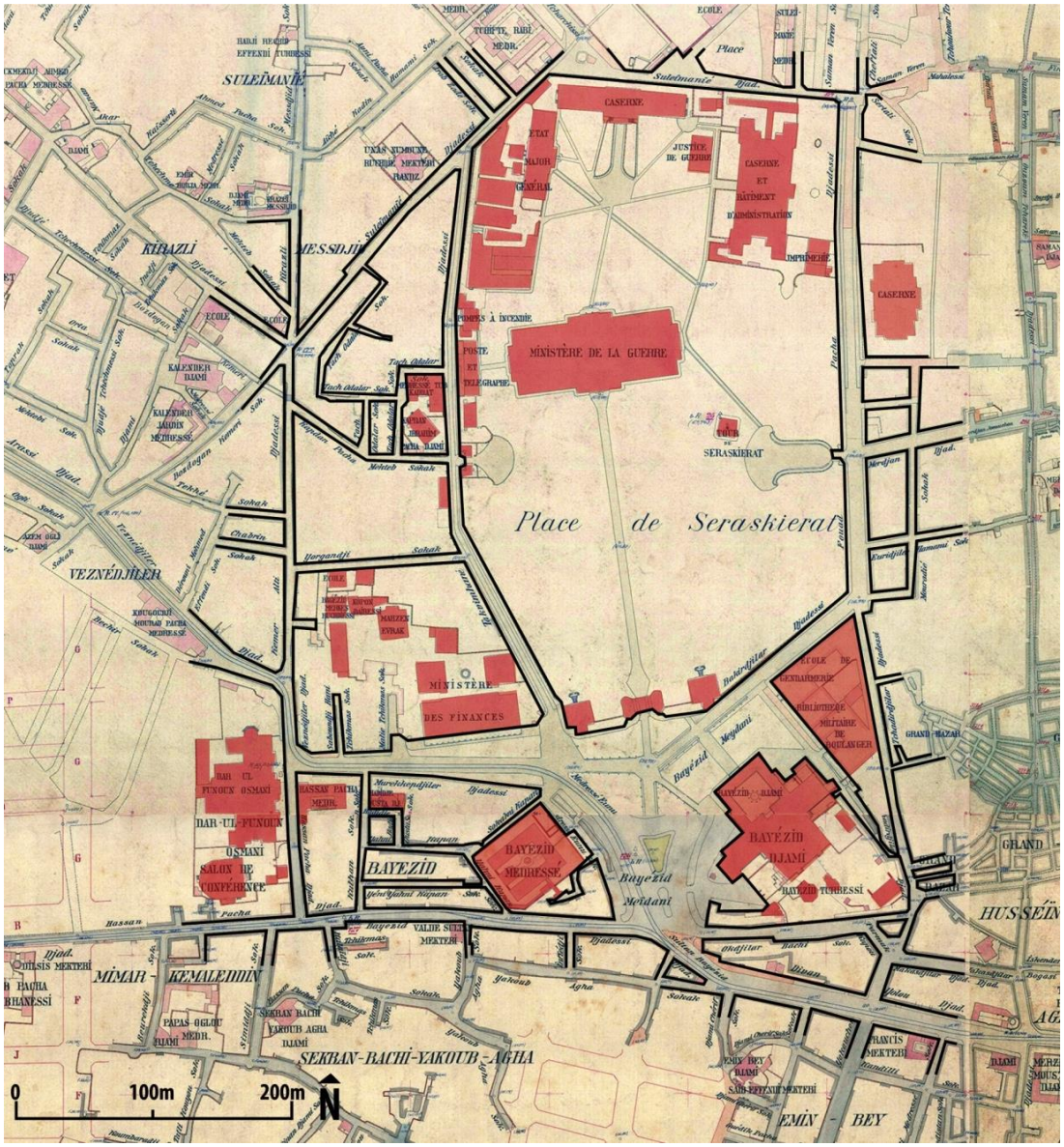


Figure 4. 27: Map of Beyazıt Square and its surroundings in the early 20th century (on German Blues Maps –Alman Mavileri Haritaları–).



Figure 4. 28: Map of Taksim and its surroundings in the early 20th century (on German Blues Maps –Alman Mavileri Haritaları–).

4.4 Spatialisation of the Representations of Republican Istanbul; Sultanahmet – Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares

In terms of both the transformation of publicness and the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of city squares of Istanbul, foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 is an important breaking point since its remarks the regime transition from a monarchy to a republican form of government and democracy. Yet, the republican period has not been a stable one in terms of neither the relations between multi-publics nor the evolution of Istanbul and so the city squares; dominant publics and their discourses have transformed and their representations have been spatialised. Although this is an accumulative process, yet, this study defines and discusses the republican period in three characteristic phases in relation with each other; (1) spatialisation of early republican ideology, (2) rise of liberal discourse and domination struggles and (3) consolidation of neoliberal and religious discourse.

4.4.1 Spatialisation of Early Republican Ideology

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the post-war conditions of the country did not allow much for the renewal of Istanbul; population had decreased and economy had shattered. In addition, the capital of the new state was transferred from Istanbul to Ankara, and all the resources of the state were directed to Ankara and the rest of the Anatolia. Indeed, Istanbul experienced dramatic population decrease and homogenisation after the wars; the overall population was about 1.1 million people in 1897, which decreased to 690.857 in 1927 with 67 percent of Muslims (Tekeli, 2013, pp. 108-109; Kuban, 2010a, p. 501). Although the period between World War I and World War II (1939-1945) has been defined as one of stagnation for Istanbul, still the new Republican vocabulary as the dominant discourse of the period spatially reflected itself in the old capital producing its representational spaces.

It is quite significant that the rise of **"Seraskerat Square"** at Beyazıt during the late 19th century was immediately utilized. The renewal project of the square that proposed by Ali Haydar Yuluğ, the first mayor of Republican Period (1923-1924) was a result of this rise. **As the interviewees agreed;** together with the move of the other ministries to Ankara, the allocation of the site of the Ministry of War to Darülfünun in 1923, which became Istanbul University in 1933, triggered the

transformation of the **"Seraskerat Square"** to **"Beyazıt Square"** as a cultural centre identified with the university to be experienced and remembered by the subsequent generations.

D. Tekeli also emphasizes *"the design proposed by Mayor Ali Haydar Yuluğ that first turned Beyazıt into a square"*. He further adds, *"It was perhaps the first square envisaged by the Republic as a public space in Istanbul. On the other hand, surrounding functions has been very important; there are second-hand bookshops on one side of Beyazıt Square and on the other side there is the University, which inevitably brings its own dynamism to the square, and the bookshops have a lively energy as well; so it is a whole with all of these combined."* (personal communication, February 20, 2017)

During the office of Mayor Ali Haydar Yuluğ, according to the design of Turkish architect Asım Kömürcüoğlu, Beyazıt Square was re-organised in the form of a roundabout with a tram line and also an elliptic pool and a fountain at its centre, surrounded by the coffee-houses and great trees, which kept its image until the widening construction of Ordu Caddesi in 1957. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Küllük (Ashtray), located under the trees in front of the Beyazıt Mosque, was a famous coffee-house where the literati and intellectuals met. The Küllük, also called the Teachers' Garden or the Academy, together with other coffee-houses around the tram stop were continuing the tradition of the old coffee-houses in Beyazıt (Kuban, 1993, p. 187; Hasol, 2014, p. 36; Ayvazoğlu, 2012, p. 269).



Figure 4. 29: Beyazıt Square during 1930s (Doğan Hasol Archive, Url-49).

In time, Beyazıt Square with its surrounding functions became the central space where the critical public opinion and also the literary publicness was created and represented.

İ. Akpınar especially considers the contribution of Istanbul University to the creation of public opinion and so the identity of Beyazıt Square as; *"The presence of Istanbul University is very significant in Beyazıt Square; it has a totally different role, all the humanities departments are situated there; law, political sciences, letters, foreign languages, sociology, philosophy, art history etc. there is a space where an entire intellectual community is brought together along with as many student societies and clubs."* (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

In fact, as it is seen from the newspaper headline of 1933, Beyazıt Square was indeed envisaged as the symbol of Republican Period that even renamed as **"Republic Square"** as the place where the people gathered for the celebrations of all the official days and other parades.


24 Teşrinievvel 1933

Beyazıt meydanının adı Cumhuriyet meydanı oldu

Büyük bayramda İstanbulda üç gün geceli gündüzlü yapılacak tezahüratın programı

Figure 4. 30: Renaming Announcement of Beyazıt as Republic Sqaure on 24 October 1933 (CNA).



Figure 4. 31: Republic Day Celebrations of 1934 at Beyazıt Square (Anonymous, Url-50).

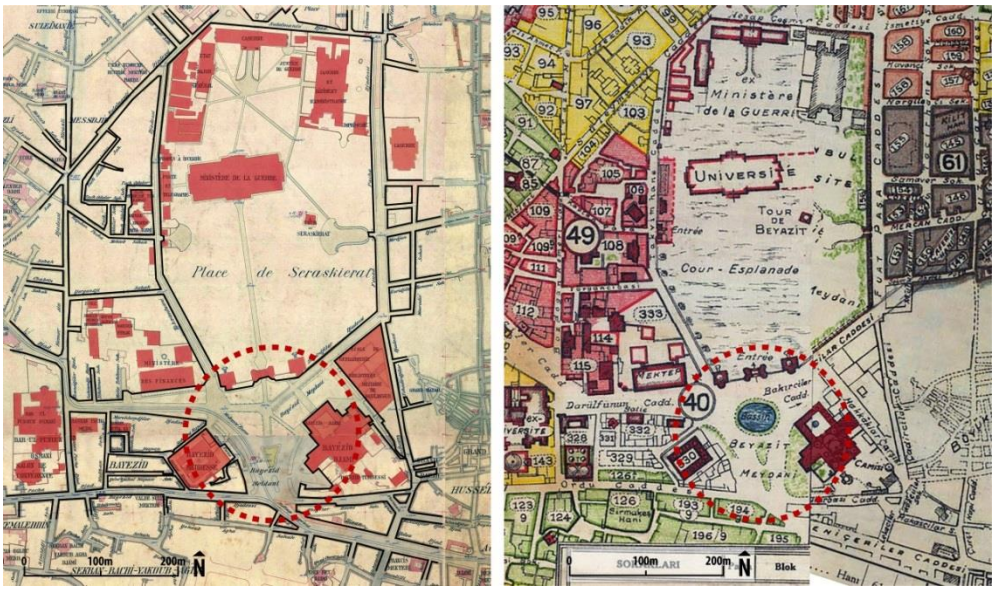


Figure 4. 32: Beyazıt Square in 1914 (German Blues Maps) and in 1934 (Pervititich Fire Insurance Maps).

In the meantime, the idea of organising Sultanahmet Square as a park was also realized; surrounding roads were paved and the axis defined by the monuments of Hippodrome was arranged in the form of a symmetrical park.

Consideration of Sultanahmet as a park rather than a square was also the reflection of a larger imagination; the new symbols of modernisation intended to transform the old into a museum; Hagia Sophia Mosque was secularized and converted into a museum in 1935, even converting Sultanahmet Mosque into a library was brought into question during 1930s. Eventually, Sultanahmet Square with all surrounding buildings became an open-air museum.



Figure 4. 33: Sultanahmet Square in 1930s –view from Hagia Sophia (Anonymous, Url-51).



Sultanahmet kütüphane oluyor

Ankaradan akşam gazetelerine bildirildiğine göre Sultanahmet camisinin kütüpane olmasına karar verilmiştir. Buraya şehirdeki diğer kütüpanelerde mevcut kitaplar nakledilecek ve millî bir kütüpane meydana getirilecektir.

Ayasofya müze oluyor

Ankara 8 (Hususî) — Ayasofyanın tamamının Bizans eserlerine ve eski âsara mahsus müze haline ve Sultanahmet camisinin de bir kütüpane haline ifrağı kararlaştırılmıştır.

Figure 4. 34: Converting Announcements of Sultanahmet and Hagia Sophia Mosques as Library and Museum on 07-09 September 1934 (CNA).

Above all, the experience towards Westernisation and modernisation for more than hundred years had already driven the development of Taksim region as the Western face of Istanbul with its non-Muslim population and building characteristics. After the occupation period of Istanbul by the Allied Forces the development of Taksim region was shaped by the nationalistic thought of the new Republic. Not only the name Grand Rue de Pera was replaced by the name "Istiklal Avenue", the surrounding region as a whole with its new public buildings, neighbourhoods, avenues, parks etc. acquired the names from the vocabulary of Republican Period in time, reflecting the semantic accumulation there; Atatürk Cultural Centre, Atatürk Library, Cumhuriyet (Republic) Avenue, İnonü Esplanade (Gezi Park), İnönü Stadium, İnönü Avenue, Democracy Park, Kurtuluş (Independence) Neighbourhood, Harbiye (Military) Neighbourhood etc. (Karabey, et al., 2015).

The very first step towards the spatialisation of this semantic accumulation of republican ideology became visible in the selection of Taksim as the location for the "Republic Monument" that was opened in 1928 in dedication to the foundation of the Republic designed by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica. Obviously, this site selection was a reflection of a change and a new period as the spatial project of the new central symbol and ceremonial place of new Republican Istanbul. Here, it is important to consider that except the ones inherited from the Roman period; there was no monument in the city that erected during the Ottoman period, presumably due to the idea of Aniconism in Islam. Besides, except Sultanahmet and Beyazıt, the organic layout of Ottoman Istanbul peninsula would not afford the required openness around such a monument to provide its visibility, on the contrary, the scales and semantics of Sultanahmet and Beyazıt would presumably overwhelm the Republic Monument (Gülersoy, 1986, pp. 20-27).



Figure 4. 35: Inauguration Celebration of the Republic Monument in 1928 (Url-52).

Nevertheless, this causality was not only due to such operational reasons. Revolutionism was the philosophical basis reflecting the change of the early republican period. Social, educational, legal, economic and political reforms that were enacted until the end of 1930s were basically targeted to transform Ottoman society into a modern one within the span of a single generation (Shaw, 1977, p. 384). It was also a process of the creation of a new and a modern publicness with all its coded attributes penetrating into both the society and so the practices of everyday life; it was a creation of a new dominant discourse, which actually came along with its counter discourse produced by conservative population in time.

On this production of a new dominant discourse and a representative space for it, K. Gümüş comments that; *"When compared to Taksim and Beyoğlu, Beyazıt-Sultanahmet region has always been perceived from an orientalist view. In the absence of Taksim, Sultanahmet is the place where all things that relate to a city unfold. The publicness and appearance in Sultanahmet or Beyazıt was not there in Taksim in the pre-Republican era. With the foundation of the Republic, Sultanahmet was left aside for a new representational space which was Taksim because Sultanahmet was always the space for Islamic conception (in fact it is not but it is considered to be so). Taksim, on the other hand, represents the more European, neoclassical, modern, capitalist world and they assumed that representative capacity through this fundamental distinction in the 19th century. In the course of re-organising the public sphere and space, Taksim Republican Square and the Republic Monument is a representative space of Istanbul's allegiance to the government. It is a space where the people of Istanbul declare their acknowledgement of Ankara and connect to the new ideology as a nodal point. The fact that Taksim assumed such significance is in itself a part of the process commonly named Westernisation. Yet, that sort of distinction such as calling one place orientalist and another Western is pretty synthetic; they do not reflect the actual truth."* (personal communication, February 8, 2017).

H. Karabey further says; *"It is the Fatih-Harbiye contradiction described by Peyami Safa in his novel and there is the famous painting by Nazmi Ziya Güran; women, Ford cars, gentlemen in tuxedos and Republic Monument… Taksim was so loaded with what the Republic represents in every detail."* (personal communication, December 21, 2016).



Figure 4. 36: "Taksim Square" by Nazmi Ziya Güran – 1935 (Url-53).

S. Eyice says that in fact, *"Taksim was not a place with much of a presence prior to the Republic Period; it was practically a cemetery for non-Muslims. The French Consulate today was in fact the plague hospital build by the French and the cemetery of the hospital is still there. The French called Taksim as "Le Viene de Pera"; "Pera" is Beyoğlu's French name, so it translates as "The vineyards of Pera".* (personal communication, February 2, 2017).

Indeed, during the first quarter of 20th century, Taksim was still a developing region mainly composed of non-Muslim and Muslim (Ayaspaşa) Cemeteries, gardens, orchards and military barracks and training site (present-day Talimhane) (Akın, 1998, p. 197; Gülersoy, 1986, pp. 6,104). At the end of Istiklal Avenue towards Maksem, there was also the Hagia Triada (Holy Trinity) Greek Orthodox Church in a dominant position there completed in 1882 and just opposite to it, behind the Consulate General of France there was the Surp Hovhan Vosgeperan Armenian Catholic Church also completed in 1863 that both are still in-use today (Çelik, 1993, p. 144; Tuğlacı, 1991, p. 291).

After the 1920s the military training site (Talimhane) that was just opposite to Taksim Topçu Barracks, (after the conversion of the Barrack into a stadium), and Ayaspaşa Muslim Cemetery towards Dolmabahçe was replaced by the 6-storey apartment buildings. Together with the erection of Republic Monument, first the stables of the old Taksim Topçu Barracks were also demolished to provide a space for the monument (Gülersoy, 1986, p. 69; 1993, p. 199; Üzümkesici, 2010, p. 40).



Figure 4. 37: Demolished Stables of Topçu Barracks and Taksim Republic Monument in 1930s (Ali Saim Ülgen Archive – left– & Anonymous– right–).

Beginning from the early years of the Republic, Taksim has been the symbol of the new type of government. O. Akın says; *"When a foreigner arrived in the country, they would go to Taksim first, visit the Republic Monument and place a wreath on it. There was the issue of prestige brought about by the conditions of that time, it became the space of prestige by being the symbol of innovation, opening out to and reconnecting with the outside world with Teşvikiye, Gümüşsuyu and Nişantaşı around it as another social spectrum, a living space of newly developing modern neighbourhoods."* (personal communication, December 26, 2016)).

In this period, a dual relation was established between Beyazıt and Taksim; Beyazıt was the gathering point for all the celebrations, whereas Taksim was the reaching point where the celebrations were ended with laying wreath ceremonies to pay tribute to the monument and so the state. As S. Eyice says; *"Especially in the Republic Day celebrations, a procession of soldiers gathered in Beyazıt would parade the streets towards Istiklal Avenue to the Republic Monument in Taksim and all people of Istanbul would watch the procession standing in both sides of the Avenue having the message that place belonged to the Turks after all."* (personal communication, February 2, 2017)



Figure 4. 38: Celebrations of Women's Suffrage, 08 December 1934 - Beyazıt Square, (CNA).

Here, it is important to see that the Ottoman topography of power, which draws a line between Etmeydanı and Atmeydanı via Divanyolu after the Mese, was then transformed into a new line between Beyazıt and Taksim in time. However, beyond the erection of the Republic Monument, spatial organisation of Taksim as a Republican Square and the development its surrounding was shaped mainly after the Master Plan of 1937 prepared by Henri Prost and his team.

French architect and urban designer Henri Prost was invited to Istanbul in 1936 to prepare a master plan and projects for the city until 1951, and many of them were implemented in years. Even, invitation of foreign professionals during that period itself shows us the Westernisation project of the new republic. In the process of structuring the new modern Turkish nation-state, Prost was one of the foreign professionals who have been the part of the transformation of a Muslim community into a secular and national society (Akpınar, 2010a, pp. 107-108). In 15 years of time, Prost with his team completed the Master Plans of European and Anatolian Sides (1937), the Plan of the Bosphorus Shores (1939-1948), the Decennial Plan Program (1943-1953) and many urban design projects for the public spaces of Istanbul. In this process, open public spaces were considered as the main elements of the modernization, they were the representational spaces of a modern social life and its new everyday practices (Bilsel, 2010a, pp. 101-102).

İ. Akpınar says; *"After the Tanzimat, the second transition took place after the declaration of the Republic which saw a much more radical change. It is possible to observe this in the spatial sense as well in Prost's Plan. The rationale behind it was to review and reveal the human heritage centred on a Greco-Roman and Ottoman emphasis. Henri Prost was the figure doing the task of spatially bringing it to light and presenting it as a monument, a magnum opus of cultural life. He said Istanbul lacked a Place de la Republique as Paris had and there was this amazing urban open space in Taksim which was then considered as the Republican Square."* (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

In fact, Prost observed that Beyazıt Square was not organised to serve as a representational public space to hold ceremonies creating a grandiose impression and first he considered to transform Sultanahmet Square into a Republican Square, which would even compete with the Red Square in Moscow. His proposal for the Republican Square in Sultanahmet was included in the Master Plan Program of 1937

and even in the Decennial Plan of 1943, which reflects that how much he insisted on that idea (Bilsel, 2010b, pp. 353-355).

In fact, in the Master Plan of European Side (1937), tracing the limits of old Acropolis and Hippodrome, Henri Prost considered Istanbul Peninsula as the Archaeological Park (Park No.1). In this park, he proposed to re-emerge the principal monuments after the approaches for the Sultanahmet Square and archaeological researches were revealed and decided. The western side of the old Hippodrome including the Palace of İbrahim Paşa was not in the limits of this park (Pinon, 2010b, p. 296).



Figure 4. 39: Project for the Archealogical Park proposed by Henri Prost (Atatürk Library Archive).

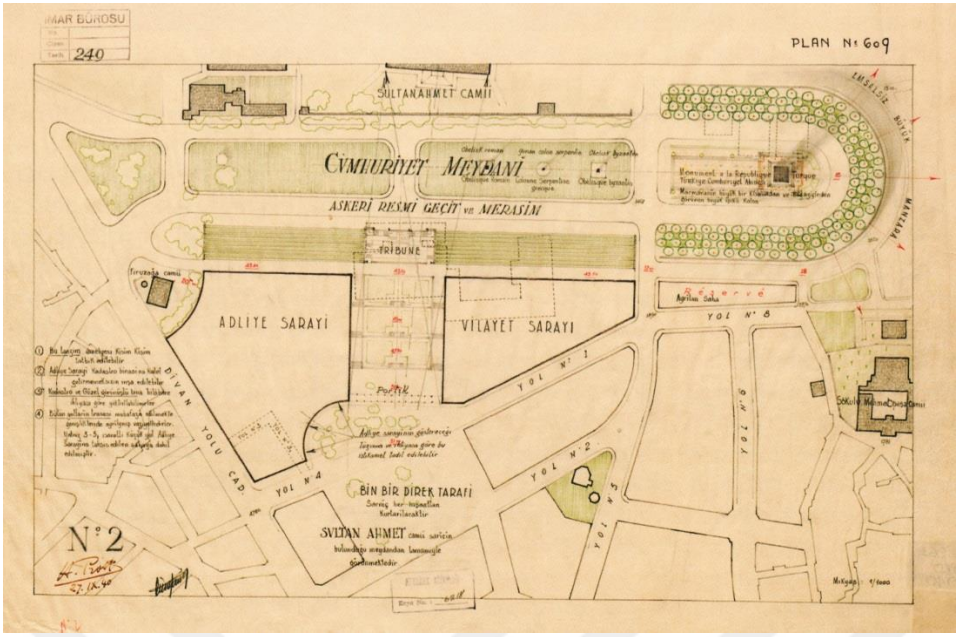


Figure 4. 40: Project for the Sultanahmet Republican Square proposed by Henri Prost (Atatürk Library Archive).

Indeed, his 1:1000 scale design for Sultanahmet, dated back to 1940, was requiring the demolition of the Industrial School and the Academy of Economic and Commercial Studies that designed by Raimondo D'aronco and the Palace of İbrahim Paşa. Such a radical design would not be realised soon and it would be expensive, so the proposal has never been realised. The only thing realised that Prost proposed in Sultanahmet is the construction of the new Palace of Justice after the destruction of the old one by the fire of 1933 (Pinon, 2010a, p. 279).


Adliye Sarayı dün gece tamamen yandı

Yangının en dehşetli bir anında, itfaiye neferleri Ağırceza mahkemesinin altında yangına su sıkarlarken

Adliye binasının orta kısmi alevler içinde yanarken

Harp ile sulh Arasında tereddüt

Bu müthiş yangında Adliyenin evrakı da kül oldu

Figure 4. 41: Destruction of the old Ministry of Justice by the fire of 04 December 1933 (CNA).

Prost considered the northwestern side of the old Hippodrome as the site for the construction of the new Palace of Justice and prepared 1:500 scale detailed design in 1942, which conserved the Palace of İbrahim Paşa partly this time and revealed an enormous complex composed of four large building blocks next to it (Pinon, 2010a,

p. 281). In fact, some sections of the Palace of İbrahim Paşa were already demolished for the future construction (Eyice, 2000, p. 347; Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 494).

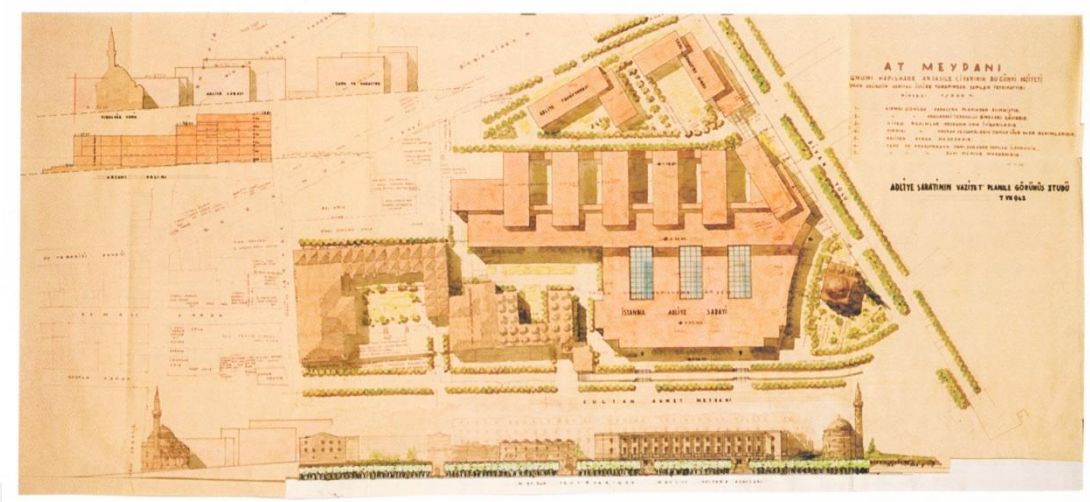


Figure 4. 42: Project for the Palace of Justice at Sultanahmet Square proposed by Henri Prost (Atatürk Library Archive).

The government approved the location but decided to organise a competition for the design of the building in 1946. Competition specifications were declared in 1949 and the project designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat was selected, it was similar to the one that Prost proposed requiring significant modifications due to the archaeological remains in the region, and hence its construction could be completed in 1955 (Pinon, 2010a, pp. 283-284).

In the meantime, Prost proposed another city square project at Taksim, which would be larger than Beyazıt Square and operational to be implemented soon. His proposal for Taksim Republican Square conserved the Republic Monument as the way it was; however, it was a part of a larger imagination. He designed Taksim Republican Square with Inonu Esplanade (Gezi Park) over Topçu Barracks, which was integrated with Park No.2 stretched through the valley between Dolmabahçe, Maçka and Harbiye by a pedestrian bridge on the northeastern corner of the Esplanade. An equestrian statue of President İsmet İnönü was proposed at the enterance of the Esplanade, which would never be installed there. In fact, Gezi Park was the starting point of a 1500-meter long and approximately 30-hectare green zone called as Park No.2 proposed also in the Master Plan of Beyoğlu and Reference Plan of Istanbul. Park No.2 was considered as the lungs of surrounding residential area; it would be the recreational and cultural center for the European side of the city. The first design proposal of Park No.2 was revised in 1940 including the addition of Dolmabahçe

(Inonu) Stadium, Sports and Exhibition Hall and the Amphitheather (Bilsel, 2010b, pp. 360-362). As a part of this secular life scenario, three of the other surrounding military barracks in the region were then allocated to Istanbul Technical University (Maçka, Gümüşsuyu and Taşkışla) and the one in Harbiye was converted into a military museum during this period. İ. Akpınar says; *"Sports activities, buildings, sports and exhibition centres, open-air theaters, family nightclubs which were the major works of the modern era, tea gardens, tennis court (still exists), the old registry house and little cafés which took up a significant part in Henry Prost's "recreation and culture valley" scenario as spaces that would be used by public and youth more frequently. The registry house, for instance; there is always someone getting married and you are supposed to go there; these functions are important. Prost envisioned a scenario where these architecture, planning, urban life and daily life practices were more worldly and mundane."* (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

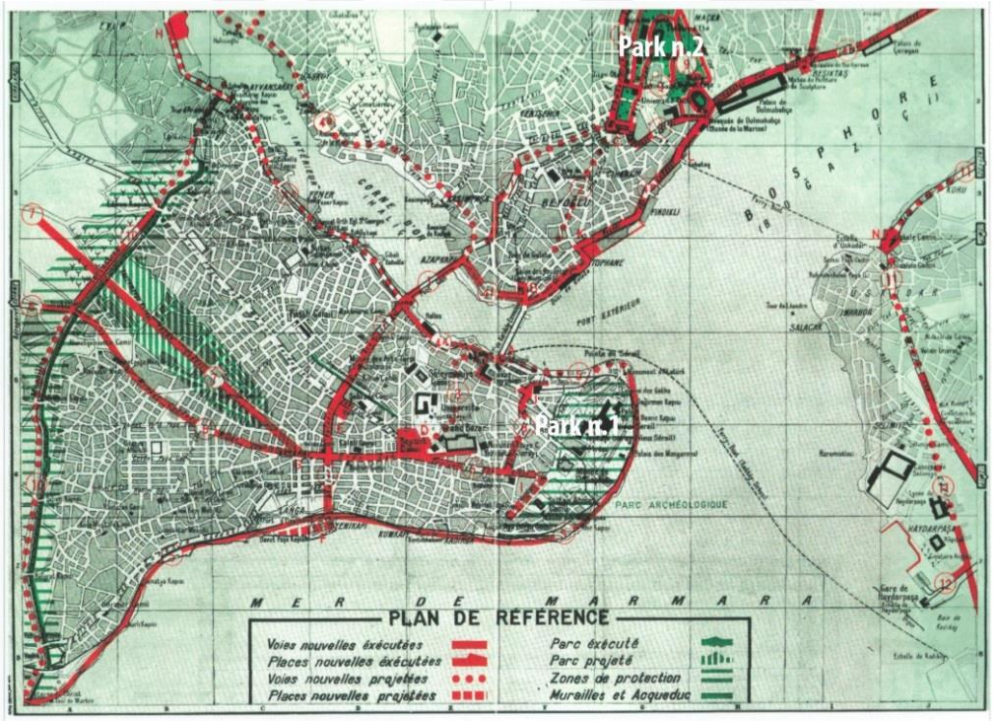


Figure 4. 43: Park No.1 and No.2 in Reference Plan proposed by Henri Prost (Atatürk Library Archive).

Prost's design for Inonu Esplanade and Taksim Republican Square of 1939 included two rows of building blocks along the both sides of the park which were removed from the design of 1942 to obtain a larger green area with terraces. The only structure shown in this design of 1942 was the Taksim Municipal Club on the

northeastern corner of former Taksim Garden, which was already designed by Rüknettin Günay and built in 1939 (Istanbul Municipality, 1943, p. 50; Bilsel, 2010b, pp. 356-359). As another symbol of the rising new everday life Kristal Club was also opened on the southern corner of the Talimhane blocks in 1939.

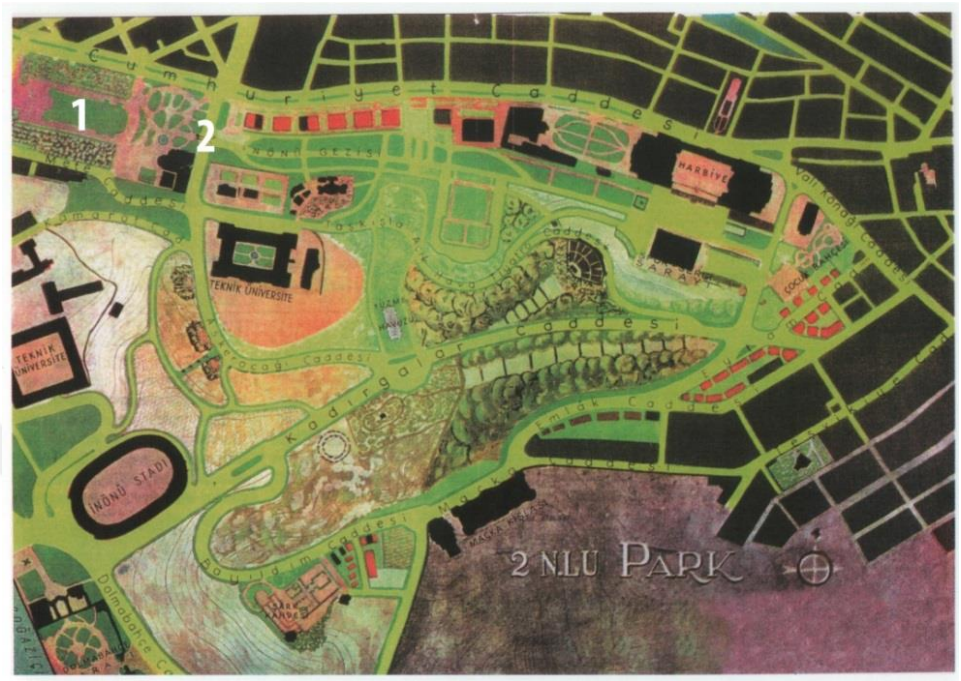


Figure 4. 44: Gezi Park (1) and Pedestrian Bridge (2) in Revision Plan of Park No.2 of 1940 by Henri Prost (Atatürk Library Archive).

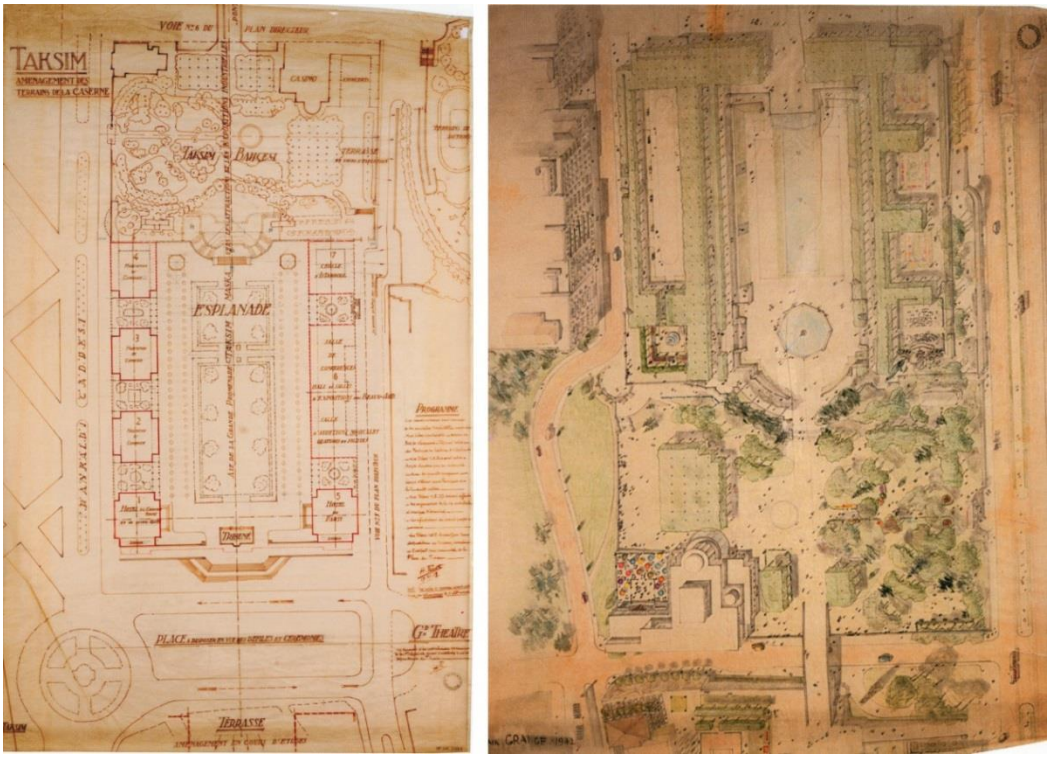


Figure 4. 45: Projects for Gezi Park (Inonu Esplanade) in 1939 and Axonometric drawing of Revised Project of 1942 (Bilsel, 2010b, pp. 375-378).



Figure 4. 46: Taksim Municipal Club and Gezi Park (Anonymous, Url-54) and the Club Building (Annoymous, Url-55).

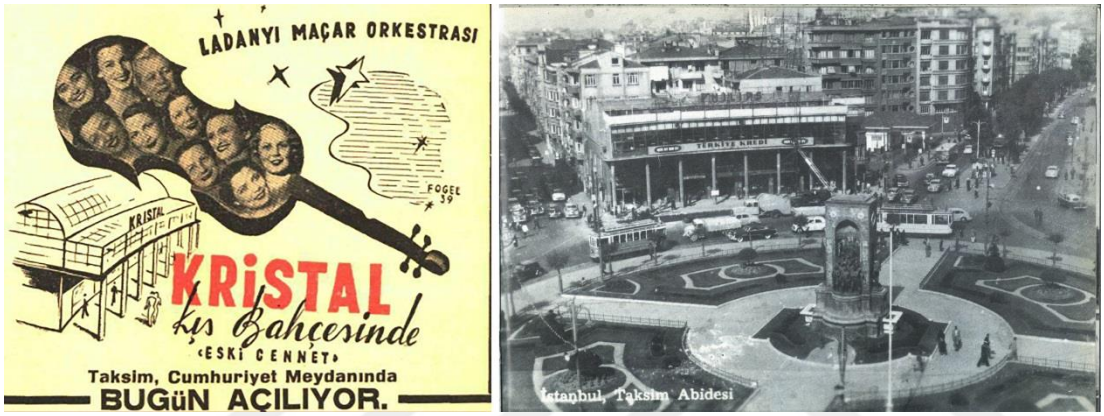


Figure 4. 47: Opening Announcement of the Kristal Club in 1939 and its building in 1950s (CNA - left & Gülersoy, 1986, p. 63 - right).

After the demolition of Topçu Barracks, Inonü Esplanade was opened in 1942; however, the implementation of Park No.2 was mostly completed by the end of 1948. As Bilsel (2010b, p. 360) notes Taksim Republican Square and Inonu Esplanade received both positive and negative reviews from the society; these new implementations were criticized as being at the heart of new developing neighbourhoods around Taksim, rather than the Peninsula, besides, the purposes of these spatial arrangements were also questioned. In reply to those negative reviews, Prost indicated women and children walking at Gezi Park on a Sunday (Figure 4.48); one of the main purposes was obviously to make women appear in the everyday life. Yet, this shows (1) within the span of 20 years after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, society still had not internalise the practices of modern life as a whole and (2) the duality between the opposite sides of Golden Horn was still existed.



Figure 4. 48: An Ordinary Sunday in 1944 at Taksim Gezi Park (by Henri Prost, Url-56-57).



Figure 4. 49: Taksim Republican Square during the demolition of Topçu Barracks (by Henri Prost, Url-58).

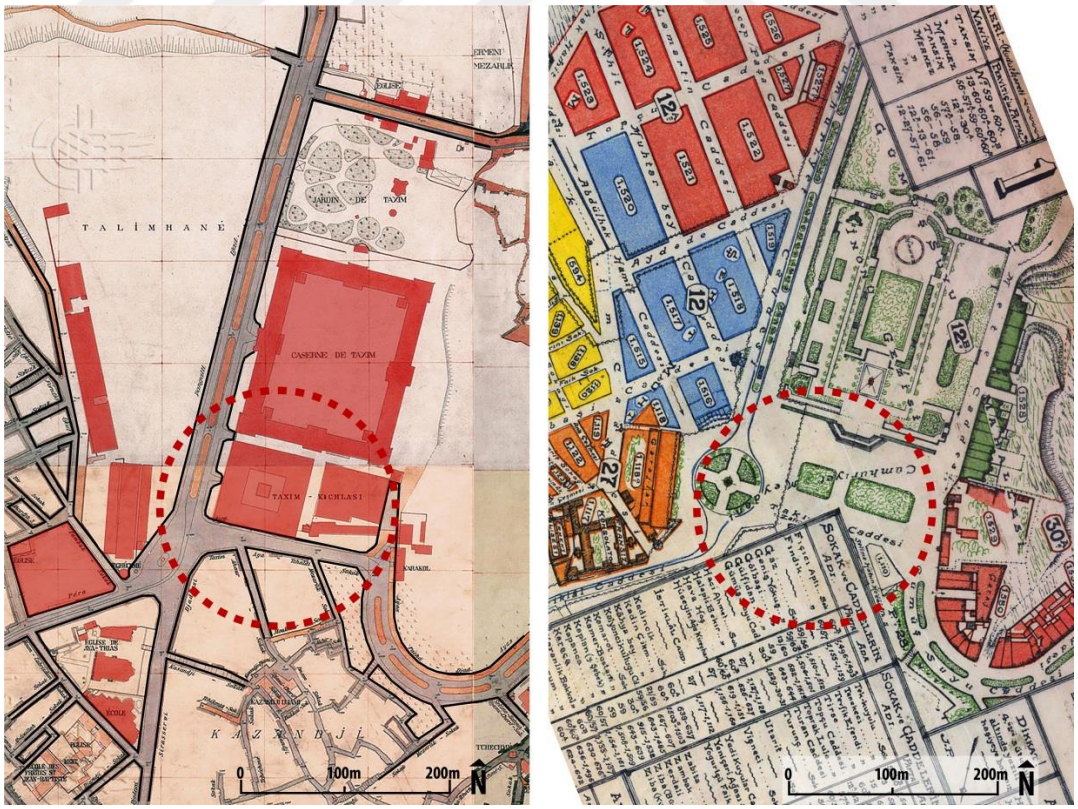


Figure 4. 50: Taksim Republican Square in 1914 (German Blues Maps) and in 1943 (Pervititich Fire Insurance Maps).

Another representative and iconic implementation project that proposed by Henri Prost at Taksim Republican Square was the "Grand Theatre" (Figure 4.58). At the western side of the square, over the former electricity company property the "Palace of Culture" was built between 1946 and 1969. Although the construction of the building was began in 1946 according to the design of Feridun Kip and Rüknettin Güney and continued with the design of Hayati Tabanlıoğlu after 1956, it could only be completed 23 years later in 1969. However, the fire of 1970 seriously damaged the Palace of Culture, and after 8 years for repair, it was opened for the second time as Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM) on 6 October 1978. After 30 years of operation, it was closed in 2008 for renovation (Derviş, 2014; Url-59).



Figure 4. 51: Palace of Culture construction site taken from Gezi Park in 1953 (electricity company building at the front) (Hayati Tabanlıoğlu Archive, Url-60).

Although it is hard to penetrate into the various living conditions, habits and needs of different social groups, considering especially the socio-economic conditions during the period between the two world wars, it is still not hard to say that these newly established amenities and functions were addressing to a limited and privileged amount of the population. In fact, photos taken by Prost (Figure 4.48) frankly show the realisation of Nazmi Ziya's famous painting (Figure 4.36) that loaded with representative symbols.

4.4.2 Rise of Liberal Discourse and Domination Struggles

Although Turkey did not directly participate in the World War II; yet, it suffered from the postwar socio-economic conditions. In this conjuncture, Marshall Plan was

announced in 1947, providing military and economic assistance, it was actually the start of growing American involvement in the development of Turkey. Cooperation with the West required also reforms in political structure; particularly single-party democratic government system was no longer satisfactory for the society. Indeed, struggles between multi-publics reflect itself in the opposition to the Republican People's Party (RPP) founded by Atatürk, and soon in 1946, the opposing deputies Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü, Refik Koraltan and Adnan Menderes established Democrat Party (DP). Democrat Party won the second multi-party election of 1950 receving 53.3 percent of the vote while the RPP received 39.9 percent.

The DP representatives were different from those of the former government; they were younger and less educated, rather they had a background in commerce or in law. The RPP representatives with a bureaucratic and/or military background were then replaced by this different section of the society. The results of the election of 1950s remarked a turning point from a statist, self-sufficient and controlled economy to a liberal free-market economy. The economic policy of the Democrat Party was not complicated; they aimed to jump-start economy and high level of growth with quick results by means of foreign investment and mechanisation of agriculture.

Democrat Party (1) promised rapid economic growth (2) imported the American image[10] in every detail of life and the motorised city image with high-rise buildings and (3) gave the rise of populist conservative and religious discourse blended with Turkish idendity. Eventually, a broad stratum of the population supported this liberal and populist discourse of Democrat Party (Kuban, 2010a, p. 509; Akpınar, 2010b, pp. 167-168; Shaw, 1977, pp. 400-413; Gül, 2012, pp. 120-127; Zurcher, 2004, pp. 221-226).

In terms of urban planning, the period between 1950 and 1960 has been defined as "Menderes Operations" due to personal interest and involvement of then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in reconstruction. He especially considered Istanbul as the representative stage of the power of Democrat Party government, symbolic capital of the change and vote potential. The most important problems of Istanbul during this period were (1) rapid urban growth, (2) great rural migrations from Anatolia, (3)

[10] In 1952, Turkey became a full member of NATO and ally of United States of America (Zurcher, 2004:234).

squatting, (4) transportation and other infrasturcutre and (5) land speculation. The overall population of Istanbul with 975.000 people in 1950 approximately increased to 2.141.000 in 1965. In addition, the number of registered motor vehicles had risen from 3000 in 1945 to 35.000 in 1960 and to 100.000 in 1970 (Tekeli, 2013, pp. 162-164; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 509-511).

Henri Prost was dismissed in 1951 and instead Turkish architects and planners were commissioned to revise the Prost's plans between 1951 and 1956. Then in 1956, Adnan Menderes acted like the self-declared mayor and chief-planner of the city and began to direct personally the reconstruction of Istanbul expanding the boulevards in the former plans of Prost and his team. In terms of spatial organisation of Istanbul, implementations of the DP government, namely Menderes, were different from those of the former mayor Lütfi Kırdar. During the next four years, until the Military Coup of 27 May 1960, intensive road construction, street expansion work, and the destruction of old buildings and construction of new ones continued. Since the ground level was organised for vehicles, a number of underground passages with commercial functions were to be organised for the pedestrians (Kuban, 2010a, pp. 513-515; Akpınar, 2010b, pp. 171-176).

Although there are many aspects of Menderes Operations to discuss, the effects of the period on the evolution of the city squares are of great interest of this study. **As the interviewees agreed;** Beyazıt Square received the biggest blow from Menderes Operations, which turned it into a huge motorway junction rather than a city square during the widening construction of Ordu Caddesi (Army Avenue) in 1957. The avenue was widened from 9.5 m to 30 m, the pool with tram loop around and more than 120 surrounding structures including small shops and coffee-houses were all demolished then. Further, two Ottoman edifices enclosing the southern façade of the square were trimmed and the square was levelled out; the remaining buildings were left in a higher level than the avenue. Accordingly, the level of the square was reduced by 3.5 m in the south, a slope ascending towards the university gate was created, and retaining walls were built to separate the square from the avenue during following the excavations of 1958-1959. However, due to the rising public debate against the undefinable condition of Beyazıt Square and never ending up and down of the levels that were calling for the pedestrianization of it, the need for a design

project was brought to the agenda (Kuban, 1993, p. 187; Kuban & Kahya, 1987, pp. 23-25).



Figure 4. 52: Beyazıt Square in 1957-59 (Kuban & Kahya, 1987, p. 25).



Şehir haberleri

Beyazıt meydan bugün trafiğe açılıyor

Beyazıt meydanının alacağı yeni şekil

Beynelmilel şehircilik mütehassısı profesör Högg'ün hazırladığı plâna göre Beyazıd camii - Üniversite ve medrese arasındaki saha 4 metre yükseltilerek, betonarme döşenecek ve 80 bin metrekarelik bu sahanın altına 300 dükkân yapılacak

İstanbulun imarı ile ilgili etüdler yapmak üzere Belediye tarafından angaje edilmiş bulunan Beynelmilel şehircilik mütehassısı Prof. Högg'ün Beyazıd meydanına aid çalışmaları sona ermiştir. Hazırlanan etüdler önümüzdeki günlerde tasdikten geçtikten sonra hemen tatbikatına başlanacaktır.

Hannover ve Münich şehirleri İmar Müdürlükleri vazifelerinde uzun seneler bulunmuş olan Prof. Högg İkinci Dünya Harbinde tahrip edilen Stettin şehrini yeniden imar etmiştir.

Prof. Högg'ü dün Türk mimarlarile birlikte etüdlerini hazırlamakta olduğu bürosunda ziyaret ederek, kendisinden Beyazıd meydanının tan-

— Arkası Sa. 3, Sü. 6 da —

Beyazıt plânı gene değişiyor

Belediye Meclisinin bundan bir müddet evvel kabul ettiği Beyazıt meydanı plânının yeniden tâdil edilerek onlaşılmaktadır. Bahis mevzuu plân, bir sene müddetle yapılan çalışmaları takiben, iki ecnebi şehircilik mütehassısı tarafından hazırlanmıştı.

Bildirildiğine göre, kabul olunan şekle meydana aynen tatbiki halinde Beyazıt Camiini, Üniversite kapısını ve Beyazıt Kütüphanesinin büyük bir kısmını yoldan görmeğe imkân kalmıyacaktır. Zira altında dükkânların bulunması düşünülen iki katlı meydan, yolun seviyesinden bir hayli yüksekte bulunacaktır.

Diğer taraftan Taksim - Azapkapı yolunun inşası ile alâkalı hazırlıklar tamamlanmaktadır.

Beyazıt meydanı 2.60 metre yükseltiliyor

Evvelki projede bulunan yeraltı çarşısı fikrinden vazgeçildi

Beyazıt meydanının tevsii projesinde son olarak üç büyük değişiklik yapılmıştır. Yeni projede meydanın yüksekliği 4 metreden 2,60 metreye indirilmiş, yer altı çarşı fikrinden vazgeçilmiştir. Ayrıca meydan iki kısımda tanzim olunacaktır. İstanbul Üniversitesi ve Beyazıt Camiinin bulunduğu mahallin önünde cenaze törenleri ve toplantılar için kullanılacak biraz yüksekçe bir alan meydana getirilecektir. Beyazıt Kütüphanesinin bulunduğu sahanın önü ise yeşillendirilecek bir lokanta ve kahvehane ile park tesis edilecektir.

Beyazıt meydanının alacağı yeni şekil

Figure 4. 53: News collage about Beyazıt Square between 1957 and 1959 (CNA).

In the meantime, there were also transformation projects directly affecting Taksim Republican Square similar to Beyazıt Square. A new avenue between Azapkapı and Taksim Republican Square was to be opened, pedestrian flow was to be taken underground, Republic Monument was to be relocated, and a series of shops were to be built on the eastern façade of Gezi Park.



Figure 4. 54: Announcements of the projects for the new road (left – 23 May 1959) and relocation of Republic Monument (right – 11 August 1957) (CNA).

Although the avenue project had to wait for more than thirty years and not realized at that time because of the surrounding private property, still Kristal Club was already demolished and the curvilinear façade of the squate was destroyed. On the other hand, 40 shops were built on the eastern façade of the Gezi Park in 1965. However, relocation of the Republic Monument was never realized. Yet, the aim of to attract the foreign investment reflected itself with the constructions of new luxury hotels in Taksim region shredding the Park No.2. Despite the objections, the very first privatization examples on turning Taksim – Park No.2 into the hotels region was realised by the constructions of Hilton Hotel in 1954 and Divan Hotel in 1956, which were followed by the other hotels, luxury residences and a mall (Baysan, 1999, p. 34; Göğüş, 2014; Özsavaşçı, 1999).



Figure 4. 55: Aerial View of Hilton Hotel in 1960s (Anonymous, Url-61).

In brief, spatialisation of the DP government's ideas and discourses was more condensed at Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares in parallel with their rising representative character. However, the dual relation between Beyazıt and Taksim had become more obvious and stronger after the Military Coup of 27 May 1960.

In these conditions, İ. Akpınar emphasizes not to forget; *"There has been a variety of ways people get organized; in 1952 a trade union confederation called Türk-İş was founded, Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) and the Chamber of Architects was established in 1954."* (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

However, the period after the election of 1954 staged (1) an economic downturn, and (2) growing authoritarianism, which began to erode support for the DP government and strengthened the opposition. In fact, opposing press, universities, the RPP and other parties had begun to be suppressed, and the political freedom and democracy in Turkey had begun to be threatened. This period staged increasing social and political tension, which showed itself first in the "Istanbul Pogrom", a government-organised series of riots against the Greek minority of Istanbul, known as also the "Events of September 6-7, 1955". Already ongoing conflict over Cyprus had led the rise of nationalistic thought and public opinion against the Greek minority that supported by the DP government and so the mainstream media. As it has been revealed later, an explosion had been organised at the Turkish Consulate in Thessaloniki and newspapers had blamed the Greeks directly and instantly. The result was devastating; the Greek, Armenian and Jewish districts of Istanbul, especially the Istiklal Avenue and its surroundings, were either damaged or destroyed. Within hours, religious places, houses and shops of the minorities were plundered, 37 Greeks were killed and more than 200 Greek women were raped by the organised Turkish rioters. Further, according to the Greek government, estimated cost of economic damage was of 500 million USD, in other words, both material and spiritual damages were dreadful. One of the important results of the Pogrom was the acceleration of the emigration of the minorities from Turkey and Istanbul particularly. An essential part of the society and multi-publics, the oldest inhabitants of the city were lost then; indeed, the Greek population of Istanbul alone decreased from 65.108 people to 35.097 between 1955 and 1965. After the fall of the government and the abolishment of the Democrat Party by the Military Coup of 1960, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister faith Rüştü Zorlu and Economy Minister Hasan Polatkan were put on trial

and executed in 1961, and other authorities of the period were sentenced to life-time imprisonment being accused as the organisers of the Pogrom (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 229-230; Shaw, 1977, pp. 410-416; de Zayas, 2007; Vryonis, 2005; Url-62).



Figure 4. 56: Istiklal Avenue and Republic Monument during the Events of September 6-7, 1955 (Anonymous, Url-63).

The second address of this increasing social tension was Beyazıt Square in Istanbul. Indeed, the Military Coup of 27 May 1960 has been considered as being started actually on 28 April at Beyazıt Square. The Incidents of 28 April, known also as "Bloody Thursday" began with a student revolt against the DP government, ended up with the deadly shooting of Turan Emeksiz, student of Istanbul University by a police officer at Beyazıt. All the universities were closed immediately; still, on 27 May 1960 the coup officially began by the declaration read by Colonal Alpaslan Türkeş, which was broadcasted on radio. Sıddık Sami Onar, rector of Istanbul University and five other law proffesors were commissioned to prepare a new constitution on the very same day by the National Unity Committee (Milli Birlik Komitesi) headed by General Cemal Gürsel. Large student crowds and intellectuals at Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares celebrated the coup. In fact, the famous picture with Atatürk flag on the university gate and the celebrations for the re-opening of the universities on 13 June at Beyazıt Square became the symbol of the coup. Soon, it was renamed as **"Liberty Square"** (Hürriyet Meydanı) and "Liberty Monument" was erected there in memory of Turan Emeksiz. The Bayonet Monument was also erected at Taksim Republican Square in dedication to the coup, yet, both the monuments were removed and "Liberty Square" was officially renamed again as Beyazıt Square after the Military Coup of 12 September 1980 ironically (Ayvazoğlu, 2012, pp. 303-309; Zurcher, 2004, pp. 241-242; Shaw, 1977, pp. 414-416).

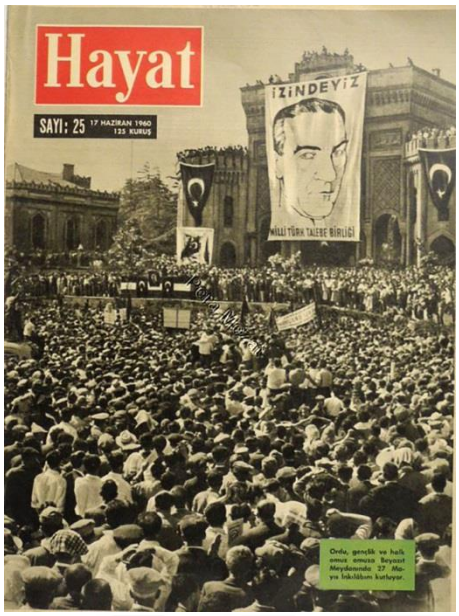


Figure 4. 57: Beyazıt Square on June 1960 (Hayat Magazine of 17 June 1960, Url-64).



Figure 4. 58: Celebrations for the re-opening of the universities at Beyazıt and Taksim (CNA).



Figure 4. 59: Bayonet Monument at Taksim Republican Square (Anonymous, Url-65).

It is true that the transition from single-party to mutli-party democratic system came along with a series of economic, social and political changes; (1) it brought to the society the opportunity to appear politically and to utter their wishes and preferences. In addition, (2) it also brought a new function to the city squares; meetings and campaigns of political parties were then involved in their uses. Yet, squares and streets of this period with full of violence, police and soldiers reflect not a fully developed but rather a troubled democracy.

İ. Akpınar notes here; *"This period saw many great protests starting the second half of 1950s; the period after 1956 is divided into two parts, economic failure, depression as well as increasing constitutional pressure and censure and of course the outbursts of the students of Istanbul University. An atmosphere of freedom brought about by the Constitution of 1961 after the military coup, a more colorful, multi-voiced Turkey despite all the conflict and squabble; those years until the end of 1970s was an interesting period and apparently someone gave it a stir."* (personal communication, January 4, 2017).

As the interviewees agreed; what happened on 1960s has been closely associated with Beyazıt Square as a meeting point because there is a function that triggers those meetings nearby; Istanbul University. As K. Gümüş notes *"Beyazıt was taking up a new meaning with Istanbul University; it was now turning into a thoroughly political square surrounded by local cafés, literature circles, rightists and leftists, student dorms around rather than a mere representational space just in front of the Serasker gate."* (personal communication, February 8, 2017).

D. Tekeli and H. Karabey emphasize further; *"This was somewhat true for Taksim at the time but the crowd to feed Taksim was essentially in Beyazıt related with the existence of the University there. Taksim had no such function around; students and professors of surrounding architecture and engineering faculties of Istanbul Technical University were not involved in creating critical public opinion as much as those of Istanbul University."* (personal communications, February 20, 2017; December 21, 2016). Yet, it is paradoxical that Beyazıt Square was more of a road extension rather than an inviting public space to represent Istanbul and its multi-publics.

As aforementioned, the need for the spatial organisation of Beyazıt Square had already arisen after the widening construction of Ordu Avenue in 1957. Despite of these socio-political conditions, in 1961, Istanbul Municipality made three design

alternatives for Beyazıt Square to be prepared by Hans Högg, Luigi Piccinato and Turgut Cansever, and Cansever's alternative was chosen to be implemented eventually. Although many objections have been made especially by the Chamber of Architects based on the argument that there had been a need for a compherensive master plan of Istanbul primarily to better consider the spatial connections and functional relations of the square, the implementation of the project started in the same year. However, the debate and opposition was (and still) so great that as soon as the military administration was replaced by a civil one by the end of 1961, Cansever was dismissed and Beyazıt Square was left unfinished due to reasons that were said to be economic (Kuban, 1993, pp. 187-188; Kuban & Kahya, 1987, p. 27; Hasol, 2014, p. 24).

In response to the critics, Cansever wrote an explanation in 1964 about the insides of the situation as the designer of the unfinished project; "Up to now, one of five of the construction work required to complete the project has been implemented. Therefore, only an outline of the project has been launched. By leaving the construction unfinished, the public have been left with a false opinion about the actual content of the project. The responsibles of this situation are a few who have kept the Ministry of Development and Housing and the Municipality of Istanbul in every political period, and have led to the fall of Istanbul to its current situation." (Cansever, 2015, p. 302).

As the interviewees also indicate; one will not be able to develop a proper evaluation of Cansever's project since it has been left unfinished. Yet, as it is seen from both the drawings of the project and the implemented outline in accordance; the project took the east-west connection in front of the university gate underground (Darülfünun Avenue) keeping the Ordu Avenue tangential, and introduced different levels each connected by staircases. Although the intention of the project to pedestrianise Beyazıt Square seems obvious, the most crucial and vital decision appears as the undergrounded connection, which destroyed the old surrounding topographic relations and the pedestrian flow irreversibly.

Since the project has not been finished or another proposal has not been developed and implemented regardless the public debates and the evidential need for more than fifty years, so-called economic excuses of the period today appear as self-destructive, groundless but rather political and intentional. As H. Karabey notes; *"Beyazıt still preservers its political character and those in power have always been very much aware of it; and this awareness might even have a role in its spatial idleness even today."* (personal communication, December 21, 2016).

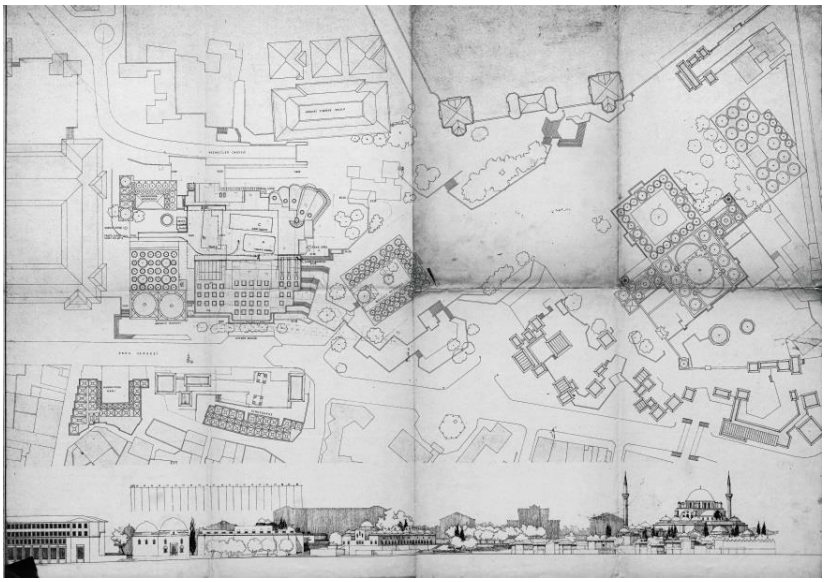


Figure 4. 60: T. Cansever's proposal for Beyazıt Square (Edhem Eldem Archive, Url-66).



Figure 4. 61: Beyazıt Square during the implementation of Cansever's Proposal (Anonymous, Url-67).

Further, a design competition was held in 1964 for Istanbul University Central Library to be established between the bath and the madrasa on the southern edge of Beyazıt Square. Yet, the winner project of Şandor Hadi, Sevinç Hadi and Hüseyin Başçetinçelik could only be completed in 1985 as the last building that added to the Beyazıt Square (Kuban & Kahya, 1987, p. 28). The fact that only a single building has been completed after more than 20 years is essentially an important clue to the approach to Beyazıt Square as such a historic and representative place of the city.

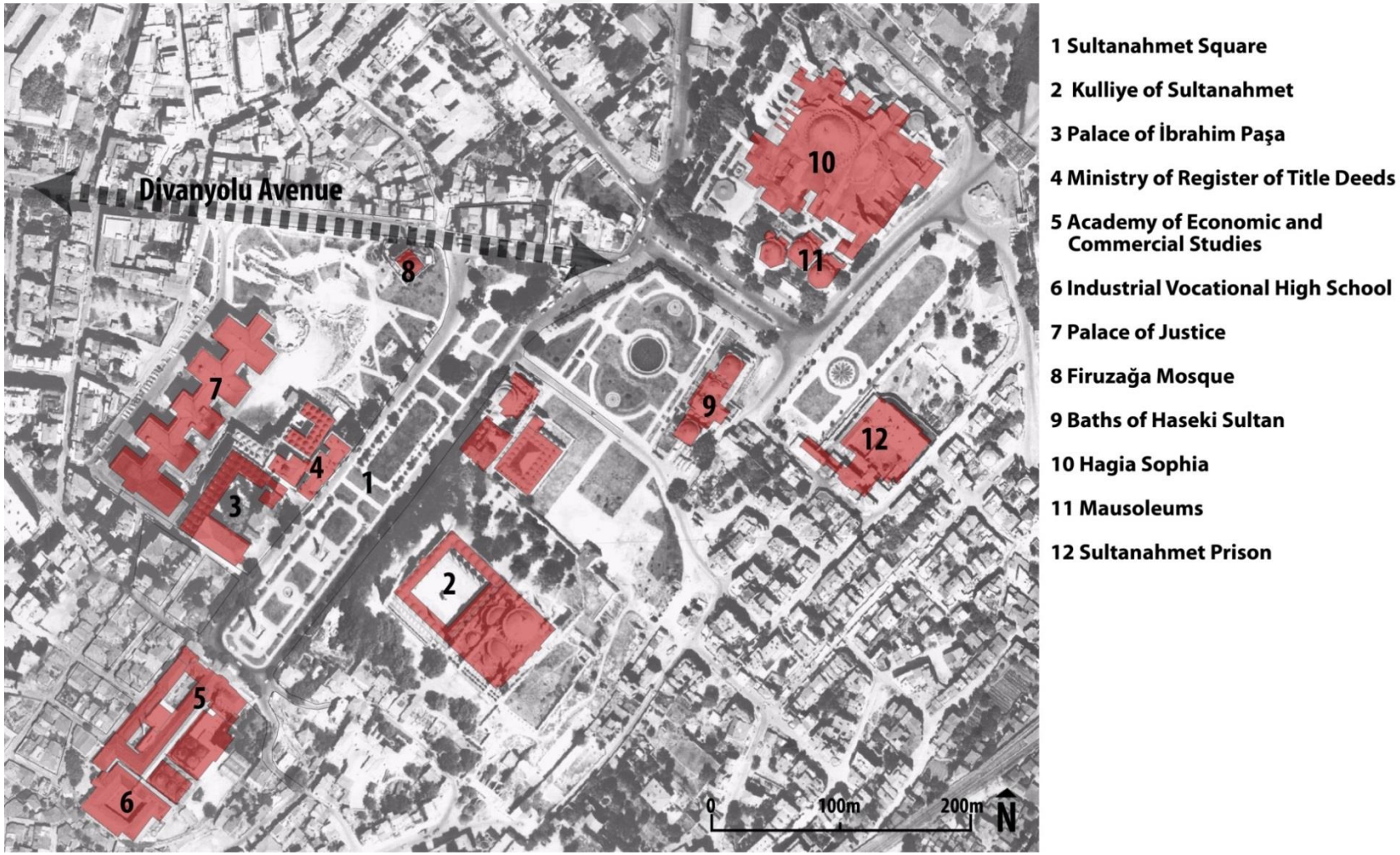
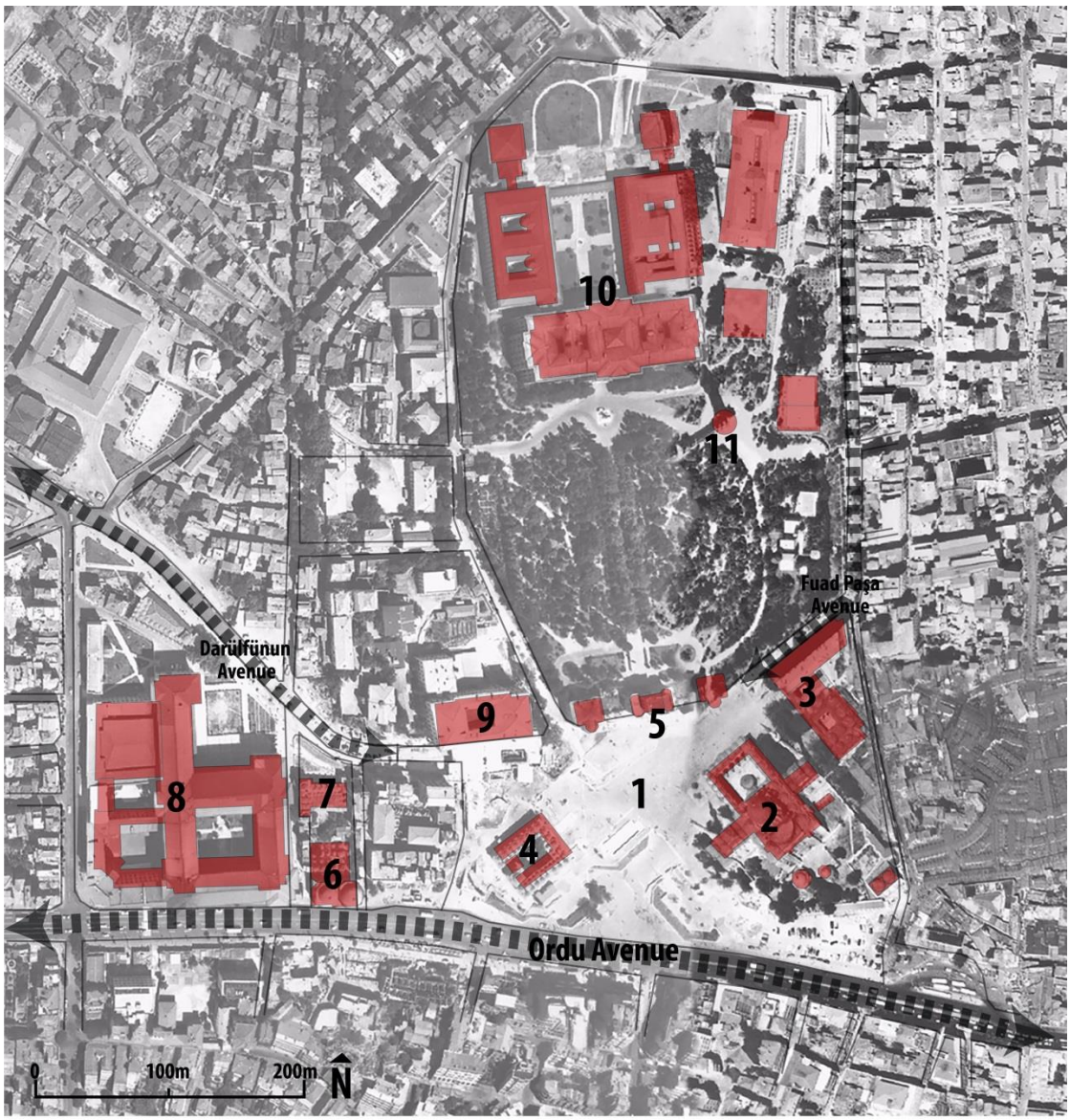


Figure 4. 62: Sultanahmet Square and its Surroundings in 1966.



1 Beyazıt Square

2 Kulliye of Beyazıt II

3 Beyazıt State Library

4 Madrasa of Beyazıt

5 University Gate

6 Bath of Beyazıt II

7 Madrasa of Seyyid Hasan Paşa

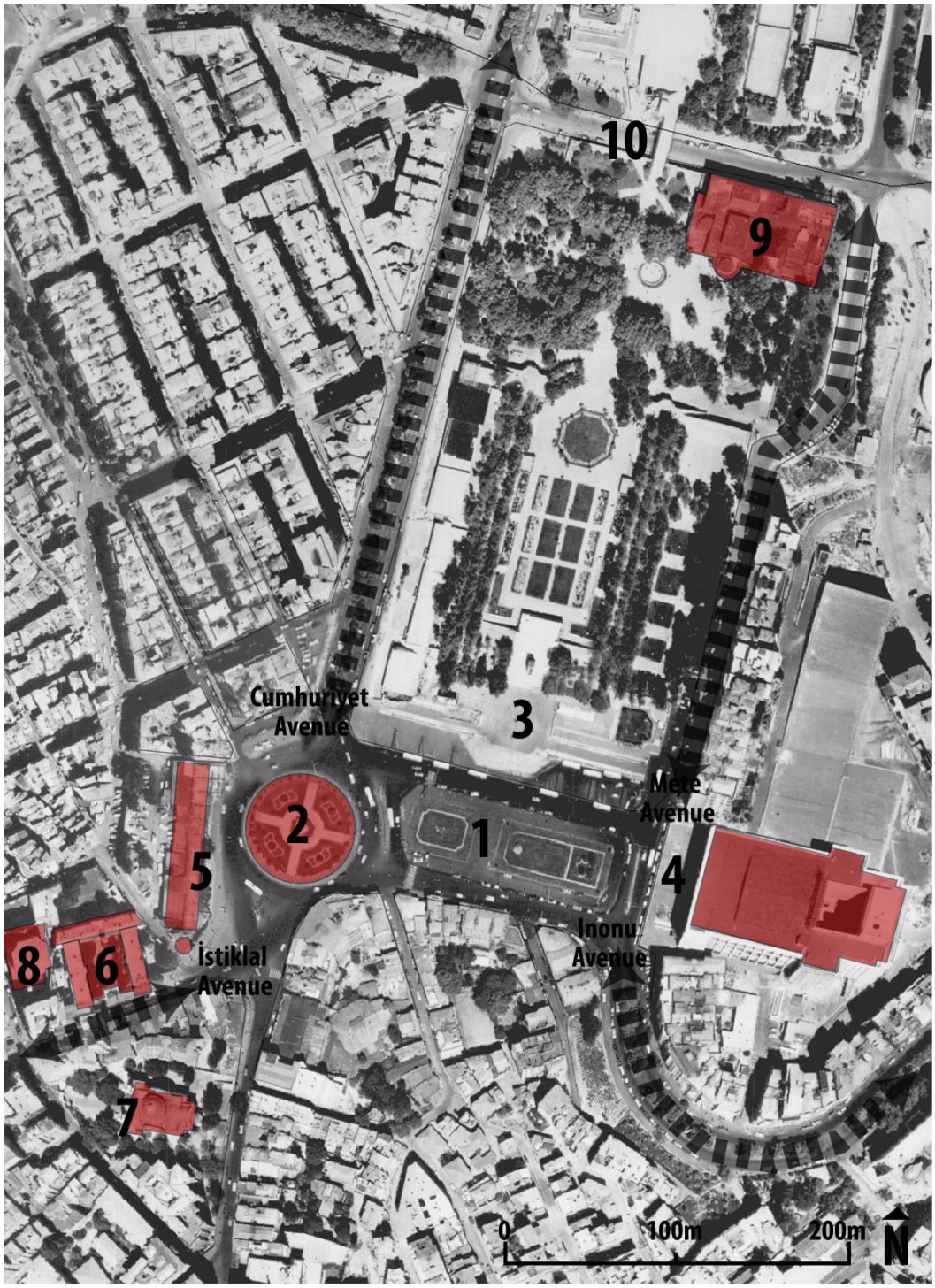
8 Istanbul University - Faculty of Letters & Faculty of Science

9 Istanbul University - Faculty of Pharmacy

10 Istanbul University - Faculty of Law & Faculty of Politics

11 Beyazıt Fire Tower

Figure 4. 63: Beyazıt Square and its Surroundings in 1966.



1 Taksim Republican Square

2 Republic Monument

3 Gezi Park

4 Palace of Culture

5 Maksem

6 French Consulate

7 Church of Hagia Triada

8 Church of Hovhan Vosgeperan

9 Taksim Municipal Club

10 Pedestrian Bridge

Figure 4. 64: Taksim Republican Square and its Surroundings in 1966.

After the Military Coup of 1960, new constitution enabled a wider spectrum of political activity than the old one. Indeed, before the election of 1961, both new left-wing and right-wing political parties were established. Among them, The Justice party, which had been considered as the continuity of the former Democrat Party, became in power after the election of 1965. On the other hand, a number of trade unionists established the Worker's Party of Turkey. As Zurcher (2004, pp. 246-247) emphasizes, although it never got more than 3 percent of the vote, the importance of the WPT in this period lay in the fact that "it was the first ideologically based party that also forced other parties to define themselves more clearly in ideological terms."

Indeed, during the period between 1960 and 1980, there were new domination struggles in which the army was constantly in operation and populism has become a basic method to gain the support of society. On the other hand, this was a period, in which political ideology has changed and political ideologies have diversified by the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation process of Turkey. In this period of deregulation, which has been based on import-substitution, industrialisation and growth, power is exchanged between the centre-right and center-left parties, creating a picture of nationalist, conservative and leftist trends (Çavuşoğlu, 2014, pp. 147-148).

In other words, in this period between 1960 and 1980, differences of Turkish society were fragmented and polarized into two main competing ideological positions as left and right. Beginning from the early 1960s, leftist politics became a mainstream movement not only in Turkey but also in the world. Further, the recent memory of Turkish society was still very fresh. As aforementioned, before and after the Military Coup of 1960, students and professors had played significant roles in shaping the public opinion. After the 1960s, they continued to consider themselves as the triggering force among the multi-publics. Besides, beginning from 1968, student movements around the world, especially the May 1968 protests in France influenced the left-wing youth of Turkey. On the other hand, as the rulling one, the Justice Party was representing the growing proletariat. By the end of the 1960s, criticising the JP's policies, other right-wing movements appeared with their strict nationalist and conservative religious discourses; representing those discourses respectively, the Nationalist Action Party (former Republican Peasants' Nation Party) and National Order Party were established. In the meantime, there were violent clashes between left and right-wing dominant powers that cities but especially Istanbul staged.

Central streets and squares, and of course universities became the battlegrounds of polarized multi-publics for domination. Those clashes were rather street fights with guns; obviously, they were not the protests in the form of peaceful speech and assembly (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 253-257).

These violent clashed were followed by the military ultimatum of 12 March 1971 that demanded the end of the anarchy in streets. This unstable governance blended with military meddling, social unrest and political violence were followed by the economic crisis in parallel the economic conditions of the rest of the world during 1970s. Eventually, the Military Coup of 12 September 1980 occurred and Turkish Armed Forces ruled the country for the next three years (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 257-278).

The real reasons and powers in the background of the violent political clashes are the subjects to other studies, which should be discussed further in order to deeply understand the potential manipulation of public opinion and so the multi-publics. For this study, even in these conditions, it is important to see that the restless and troubled democracy and the struggles of the period reflected itself spatially again in both Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares of Istanbul.

Already existing problems of Istanbul in terms of urbanisation not only unsolved but also accelerated during this period. As Kuban (2010a, p. 537) notes, "47 percent of Turkish industry was concentrated in the Istanbul metropolitan area." This unequal distribution of the investment throughout the country led an unpredictable migration flow and population growth in Istanbul. Registered population of the Istanbul metropolitan area with a total of 2.293.823 people in 1965, increased to 3.904.588 in 1975 and then to 5.842.985 people in 1985 (Turkish Statistical Institute, Url-68). Rapid urban growth of Istanbul resulted as the construction of the first Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, which would be followed by the second in 1988. Yet, despite of the urban growth, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares have maintained their importance in this period in terms of representations of multi-publics.

Until the end of 1970s, Taksim was still a reaching point; the political youth were gathering at Beyazıt Square and the route from Beyazıt to Taksim and so the semantic relation between them was still symbolic and attached to each other (Batuman, 2015, p. 11). "Heading to Taksim" meaning "Taksim'e Çıkmak" became an idiom in Turkish since then. In fact, Beyazıt and Taksim, and the route between

them have staged the violent clashes, public tragedies and traumas of the period between 1960 and 1980.

The first tragedy was at the end of the route from Beyazıt to Taksim on 16 February 1969 known as "Bloody Sunday". During a university students' rally against the US Sixth Fleet visiting Istanbul, students were attacked when they were about to reach Taksim by an unknown group; two students died and more than one hundred were wounded (Batuman, 2015, p. 12). Again, on 23 September 1969, Taylan Özgür, a wanted left-wing university student leader, was the deadly shot by a police officer in Beyazıt Square during the Student Union Congress, which he was attending at Istanbul University. The left-wing students of Istanbul University were attacked with a bomb at Beyazıt Square on 16 March 1978, the unsolved incident is also known as "Beyazıt Massacre" in which 7 students died and 41 were wounded.

Here, İ. Akpınar and K. Gümüş say; *"It is important to note that Beyazıt and Sultanahmet Mosques were also a gathering point for also conservative, anti-secularist population and rising conservative and religious discourse in this period. Demonstrations right after the mass Friday Prayers at Beyazıt or Sultanahmet were important events, in other words, they were the examples of the appropriation of these spaces by also the religious discourse. The more right-wing communities had been related more to Sultanahmet and Beyazıt Squares rather than Taksim. However, together with the touristification of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt Square has appeared as a space essentially appropriated by both right and left-wing, also by conservative and secularist publics."* (personal communications, January 4, 2017; February 8, 2017).

Briefly, the existence of Beyazıt Mosque and Istanbul University together led different student fractions to be appeared at Beyazıt more actively and frequently and these overlapping, simultaneous oppositions have been what actually forms the spatial memory of Beyazıt Square. On the other hand, the relation between Beyazıt and Taksim was more secular one. Indeed, Taksim has always been a secular space; still, it has been a space for the good days and bad days, a peace-loving space, where the different public practices like celebrations for New Year's Eve or football championships were realized.

As the interviewees agreed; one of the most important breaking point, which has been closely associated with Taksim Republican Square and recorded in social memory giving also the space its left-wing character has been the Massacre of May 1, 1977. 1 May Labour Day celebrations were allowed between 1910 and 1912 under

Ottoman rule, and in 1921–1923 during the Republican period. After more than 50 years, for the very first time Taksim Republican Square staged the Labour Day celebrations in 1976 without any incident. 1 May Labour Day celebrations of 1977 was organised by the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK). Estimated number of the participants was approximately 500.000 people coming from not only Istanbul but also across the country, especially from the Marmara region where industry was dense. The crowd was composed of members of various unions, associations and confederations. The celebrations had started in a festive mood, ended abruptly and deadly. Crowds marched along different routes dancing and singing songs, and shouting political slogans and demanding democratic rights. After people were gathered at Taksim Republican Square and Kemal Türkler gave a speech (president of DISK at that time), unknown assailants with gunshots attacked the crowd; 34 people were died and uncountable people were wounded (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010, pp. 58-63).

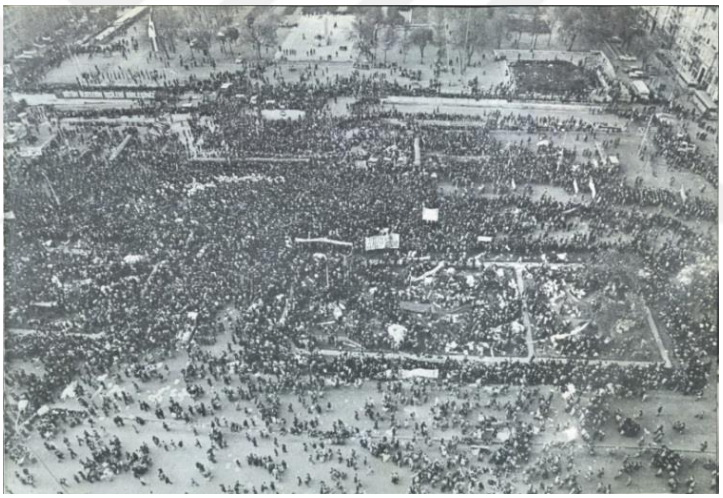


Figure 4. 65: TRS just after the gunshots on 1 May 1977 (Gülersoy, 1986, p. 59).



Figure 4. 66: TRS just after the gunshots on 1 May 1977 - 2 (Anonymous, Url-69).

After the incidents of 1 May 1977, which is also known as "Taksim Square Massacre", leftist publics targeted Taksim Repulican Square for all the mass protests and celebrations more actively, in other words, this tragic day enabled the manifestal identity of the square to be realized finally. However, Taksim, Beyazıt, Sultanahmet and all other city squares of Istanbul were closed to all celebrations and demonstrations on 31 March 1978 by the government. Despite of this ban, Labour Day celebrations were held again at Taksim without any incident in 1978, but again it was prevented in 1979 by the government. Although this ban became invalid after the next government change, still the Labour Day celebrations were prevented until it became an official holiday in 2009 as "Labor and Solidarity Day" (Law No. 5892, 2009).

Indeed, accumulation of the social experiences and political violence of the period between 1960 and 1980, especially the Massacre of 1977, contributed in the social production of Taksim making it a city square in the sense where differences struggled to be seen and heard. Further, "the square became more than what it has been codded to it; more than a designed space that represents modernism, nationalism and the state itself." (Demir Kahraman, et al., 2016). In time, it became a space more than a reaching point to pay tribute to the monument and so the state; producing its manifestal identity it became a space appropriated by secular and left-wing publics tightly.

In terms of this study, it is quite significant that appropriation of Taksim by the secular and left-wing publics in fact came along with its counter; conservative and religious discourse began to search for its representation spatially at Taksim Republican Square synchronously in 1977. The coalition government of the period, in which Süleyman Demirel was the Prime Minister, made an official application to the High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities to approve a concept project of the Taksim Mosque only 12 days after the "Taksim Square Massacre", on 13 May 1977 (Ekinci, 1997, p. 14).

As it has been mentioned before, Taksim had already loaded with the codes of nationalism and modernism of early republican period. Herein, its appropriation by the more secular publics, in fact, triggered a process of struggle to dominate it spatially. As in the example of Beyazıt Square, the diversity of the functions surrounding it, like Beyazıt Mosque and Istanbul University, actually contributes to

the appropriation of the space by a wider spectrum of the society. In accordance, the desire to build a mosque at Taksim Republican Square is not surprising absolutely, yet it is purely political. In fact, beginning from 1977, the discussions on the construction of a mosque at Taksim continued to occupy the agenda of each government during the following years as much as the discussions on where to hold the 1 May Labour Day celebrations did.

In the meantime, Taksim became a subject of capitalist mode of production especially after the 1970s. Privatization policies as the practices of neoliberal urbanism began to occupy Taksim Republican Square together with Gezi Park and Park No.2 constantly and increasingly. In 1975, Intercontinental Hotel (present-day the Marmara Hotel) was built on the southern side of Taksim Republican Square and Sheraton Hotel (present-day Ceylan Intercontinental Hotel) was built on the northeastern corner of Gezi Park over the Taksim Municipal Club (Gülersoy, 1986, p. 119).



Figure 4. 67: TRS and the Marmara Hotel during 1980s (Gülersoy, 1986, p. 120).

4.4.3 Consolidation of Neoliberal and Religious Discourse

After the Military Coup of 12 September 1980, a wave of arrests began immediately; 122.600 people were arrested by the end of 1981. Hence, political and social violence that had spread in big cities, especially in Istanbul, was cut like a knife then. Although there had been a bias against the left, the members of both the militant left and militant right were arrested and sentenced to death or life-time imprisonment. However, not only the responsibles of the violence were punished; especially the leftist publics were more likely to get troubled. Therefore, it has been a period in which everyone who was potentially opposing had been suppressed, detained, and

punished rather than a fair judgement process. The parliament was dissolved, the cabinet was deposed, all political parties were suspended, their leaders were arrested or banned from politics for ten years and a state of emergency was declared. On the other hand, some trade unions and newspapers were closed, the activities of the professional chambers were stopped, strikes were banned, and the May 1 and May 27 were officially unrecognized as a holiday. Further, the Higher Education Council (YÖK) was established to control all the universities appointing their rectors and deans. Indeed, more than 2000 academics were dismissed by the end of the 1983. A new constitution was also prepared and subjected to a referendum in 1982, and enacted with a 91.4 percent affirmative vote of all. The Constitution of 1982 limited the freedom of the press, and the trade unions, and so the rights and liberties of individuals. Although the freedom of speech and assembly was included, it could be also limited on the grounds of national interest and security (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 279-281; Çavuşoğlu, 2014, p. 181).

In brief, at the end of a period of political and social violence, which had been intentionally supported and escalated by some, all the differences were suppressed and silenced by spreading fear and a sort of passive form of silence. Worse, 91.4 percent of the individuals approved it; in other words, ordinary people gave up their freedom in exchange for their security as in the conditions in advance of the emergence of medieval feudalism.

Since the former political parties had been suspended and politicians had been banned from politics, new political parties were to be established then. Among them, the Motherland Party (MP) won the general election of 1983. The MP was a complicated coalition of different interest groups and ideologies except the leftists. Nevertheless, what they had common was that these groups were composed of industrialized bourgeoisie and small businessmen. Between 1983 and 1991, the MP government adopted rigid neoliberal policies that made peasants and proletariat out of sight; the differences between rich and poor were greatly increased and while there was very real poverty, a very wealthy class with fortunes made in imports, exports and construction arose. Migration and unplanned urbanisation continued with all its speed and ruthlessness in this process. This period was also characterized by a process of penetration of conservative religious discourse into both local and central politics slowly.

Within a span of ten years, the MP government declined due to a number of nepotism and corruption scandals. In accordance, the period between the general elections of 1991 and 2002 was characterised by coalition governments and again political unrest, which enabled the rise of religious discourse to power in the general election of 2002. In fact, by the end of the 1980s, the polarization between secularists and Muslim conservatives became more apparent. The rise of religious discourse reflected itself most on the issue of the headscarf ban, which had been introduced by the "Public Clothing Regulation" enacted in 1982 under the rule of Turkish Armed Forces (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 282-312; Çavuşoğlu, 2014, pp. 181-185).

Beginning from the end of 1980s, Istanbul has become the subject of these rigid neoliberal policies more brutally. In 2009, the built-up area of Istanbul reached 1016 square kilometres, which was almost 19 percent of its total urban area of 5401 square kilometres (IMM, 2009, p. 146). In addition, registered population of the Istanbul metropolitan area with a total of 7.309.110 people in 1990, increased to 11.076.840 in 2000 and then to 14.804.116 people in 2016 (Turkish Statistical Institute, Url-68).

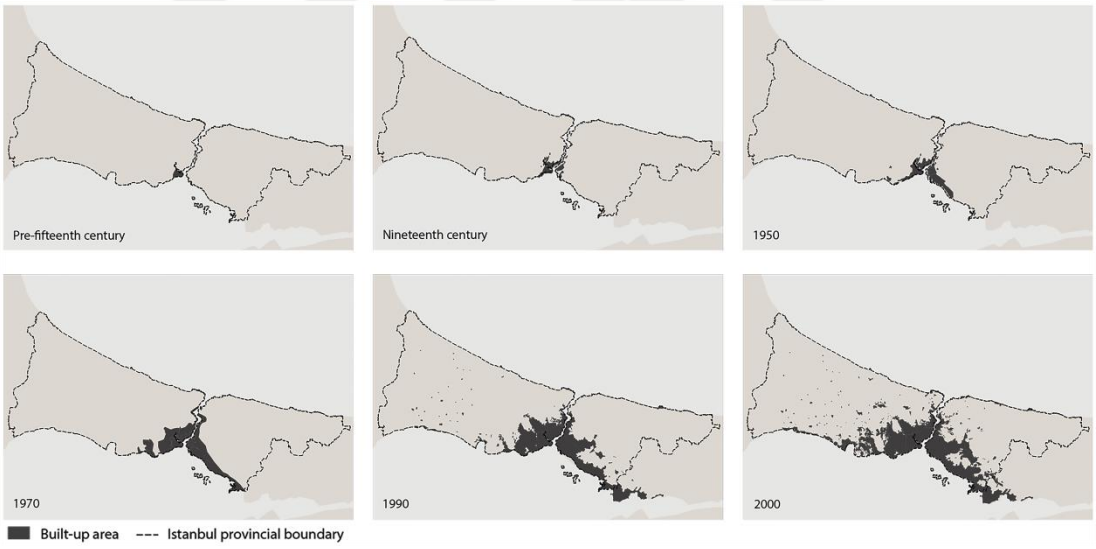


Figure 4. 68: Historical Evolution of Istanbul's Urban Footprint (LSE Cities, Url-70).

After the end of 1980s, the main aim of politicians and business circles was to integrate Istanbul into the global economic system rapidly and to upgrade her to "world city" status. Especially, the laws and regulations enacted beginning from that period seduced the capital owners promising great profit. Indeed, consideration of Istanbul as a commodity enabled increasing land speculation and urban rent that came along with many social and spatial problems. Public lands have been exploited and privatized, privileged development rights have been offered for new investments

in order to market the tangible and intangible values of Istanbul. Among many problems, it is important that although they were already introduced to Istanbul starting from Taksim with the Intercontinental and Sheraton Hotels, skyscrapers have been concentrated, shopping malls and gated neighbourhoods were also introduced to Istanbul beginning from the end of 1980s (Tekeli, 2013, pp. 431-433; Kuban, 2010a, pp. 540-545).

In other words, in terms of evolution of social production of space, conditions of Istanbul during this period overlap exactly with Lefebvre's definition of "abstract space" of capitalism. This exclusionary and inward-oriented development practices, in fact, sharpened the already existing differences between rich and poor more both socially and spatially. The genuine result has been the "transformation of the megalopolis surrounding the known Istanbul into an unkown entity" (Kuban, 2010a, p. 546). In brief, all of the contemporary dangers to the semantical, functional and spatial evolution of the public spaces have been experienced in Istanbul even more rapidly and brutally. Those aforementioned dangers are (1) consumption-oriented, uneven, speculative urban development and privatization, (2) touristification, museumization and commodification of the historical core, (3) the loss of residential population in the city center, and (4) gentrification of the central Istanbul and socio-spatial segregation.



Figure 4. 69: Istanbul – the Peninsula and Beyoğlu with its environs from space in 2014 (European Space Agency, Url-71).

These socio-economic accumulations and adaptation of neoliberal urbanism policies, together with the gradual transformation of public sphere in favour of capital and conservative religious discourse, reflected itself in functional, spatial and semantical evolution of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares.

As for the first, in 1985, Sultanahmet Square and its environs declared as the "Tourism Development Region" in accordance with the "Law for the Encouragement of Tourism" no 2634 that enacted in 1982. In fact, after the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a museum in 1935, Sultanahmet Square and its environs had already been a focal point for the foreign visitors. Beginning from Prost's "Project for the Archealogical Park", there had always been planning efforts to preserve the region. Even, the region has been declared as the "Archaeological Park Site" by the Supreme Council for the Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu) on 14 November 1953, and registered in the World Heritage List by UNESCO in 1985 (IMM, 2011, p. 146; UNESCO, 1985).

However, these decisions were not enough to preserve the region against neoliberal urbanisation policies obviously. Sultanahmet began to be referred to as a Touristic Square by the 1980s, and the problems, which still continues today, for example the need for parking lots even started at that time.



Turistik Sultanahmet Meydanı

Tarihi eserleri ile ünlü Sultanahmet Meydanı turistler için ilginçliğini her zaman korumaktadır. Biz de bu ilginç meydanı çirkinleştirmek için elimizden gelen yapmakta yarış ediyoruz. Bunların sonuncusunda da, Yerebatan Caddesi girişinde bulunan Turizm Polisi'nin karşısına hurda otomobilleri koyarak Yerebatan Sarayı'nın girişini «otomobil mezarlığı» haline getirdik..

Figure 4. 70: News on parking lots problem at Sultanahmet Square, 10 April 1980 (CNA).

The main difference of the period after the 1980s was the privatization of the environs of the square; immediately after the enaction of Law no 2634, old mansions surrounding the square began to be converted into boutique hotels. Even, new hotel constructions have been approved by means of the relations between capital owners and politicians at the risk of demolishing historical pattern (Akyıldız, 1985).



Turizm Bakanı Taşçıoğlu'nun iş ortağı kolları sıvadı

SİT alanında otel için yıkım başladı

ERHAN AKYILDIZ

Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'nun, Sultanahmet'teki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayı kalıntılarının bulunduğu arsaya, **"otel yapımı"** izni verdiği, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı **Mükerrem Taşçıoğlu**'nun iş ortağı **Hüseyin Kocabıyık**, belediyenin henüz ruhsat vermemesine karşın yıkım çalışmalarına başladı.

Sultanahmet Camii'nin hemen arkasına düşen 3 bin metrekarelik arsanın üzerinde bulunan **Rufailer Tekkesi**'nin bir bölümü yıkıntıldı, tekkenin zemininden çıkarılan insan kemikleri mezarlığa nakledildi. Hüseyin Kocabıyık, arsa üstündeki ahşap bir evde 7 yıldır karısı ve 6 çocuğuyla birlikte oturan, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri bekçisi **Ahmet Akıncı**'dan, en kısa sürede evi boşaltmasını istedi.

Eminönü Belediye Başkanı **Tahir Aktaş**, **"Hüseyin Kocabıyık'ın Sultanahmet'teki arsada otel yapabilmek için, bir teklif projesiyle belediyeye başvurduğunu, ancak kendisine henüz ruhsat verilmediğini"** belirterek

Sultanahmet Meydanı'nda yapılacak otel için belediyeden henüz izin alınmadı. Eminönü Belediye Başkanı Tahir Aktaş, konu ile ilgili şunları söyledi: Burada otel yapmaya ruhsat verileceğini sanmıyorum. Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu nasıl böyle bir karar aldı, aklım ermiyor.

***3** bin metrekarelik arsanın üstünde bulunan Rufailer Tekkesi'nin bir bölümü yıktırıldı, tekkenin zemininden çıkarılan insan kemikleri mezarlığa nakledildi.*

***Y**üksek Kurulun bu kararıyla, 33 yıl önce korumaya alınıp "arkeolojik park alanı" ilan edilen Sultanahmet Meydanı'ndaki yapılaşma yasağı da kalkmış oldu.*

"Hüseyin Kocabıyık'ın ruhsat başvurusunu aldık. Konu Belediye Meclisinde görüşülüp karar verilecektir. Karar iki aydan önce çıkmaz. Ancak ben burada otel yapmaya ruhsat verileceğini sanmıyorum. Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu nasıl böyle bir karar aldı aklım almıyor. Belediye Meclisinden çıkacak karar yüzde 99 olumsuz olacaktır. Ben kişisel olarak Sultanahmet Camii çevresine otel yapılmasına karşıyım. Meselâ biraz ileride Turing'in yaptığı Konak Oteli var. Gayet güzel bir yapı ama çirkin işliyor.

Etrafında medreseler var.Burada da olacağı bu.Sultanahmet Camii'ne gidiyoruz namaz kılmaya, cemaat biz, ne biçim belediye başkanıdır, cami çevresinde içki içiliyor diye şikâyette bulunuyor. Konu Belediye Meclisimize görüşülürken süt de çıkarıp detaylı biçimde izlemenizi sağlayacağız."

Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı Mükerrem Taşçıoğlu ile çok eski arkadaş olan KOTAŞ adlı bir firmada da Bakan'la iş ortağı olan Hüseyin Kocabıyık, altında Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayı kalıntıları bulunan Sultanahmet Tercan Sokak'taki arsayı **Doç. Dr. Mustafa Ertan Üçer**'den 40 milyon lira para ve Celaliye'de bir yazlık karşılığı satın almış satış sözleşmesine **"Satışın Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'ndan olumlu karar çıkması durumunda gerçekleşeceği"** koşulunu koydurmuştu.

2 Şubat 1985 tarihinde toplanan Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu söz konusu arsada **"Restorasyon ve yeniden yapılaşma yapılabileceği"** kararı almıştı.

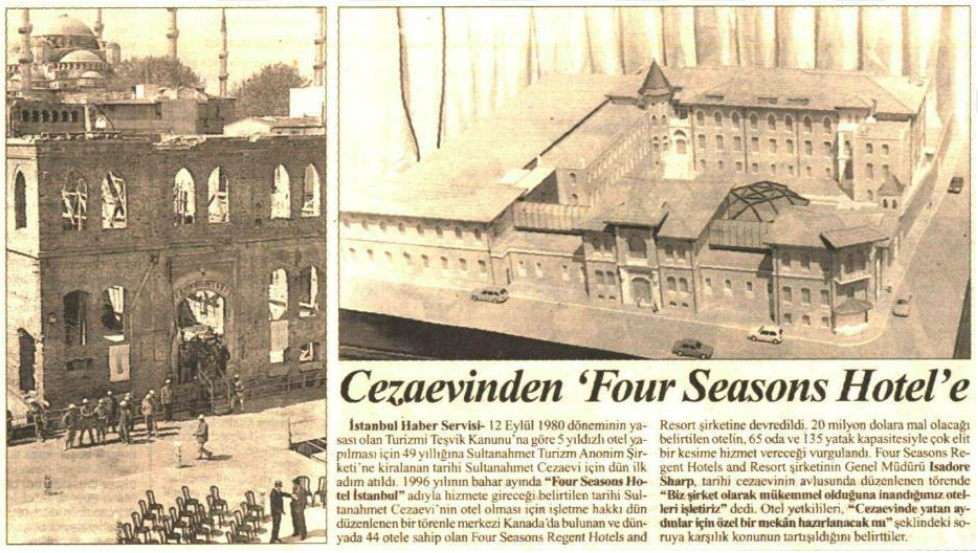
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müsteşarı **Kemal Gökçe**, Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürü **Nurettin Yardımcı**, Turizm Genel Müdürü **Oktay Ataman**, Planlama ve İmar Genel Müdürü **Ünal Tankut**, Orman Genel Müdürü **Mehmet Ali Karadeniz**, Vakıflar Genel Müdür Vekili **Kemal Kahraman**, Müsteşar Yardımcısı **Gültekin Özkan**, **Feridun Akozan**, **Tahir Aktan**, **Mehmet Çebuk**, **Kutlu Emre**, **Halük Karamağaralı**, **Gönül Öney**, **Yusuf Boysal** ve **Gönül Tankut**'tan oluşan, ancak Ünal Tankut, Mehmet Ali Karadeniz ve Tahir Aktan'ın katılmadığı toplantıda alınan bu kararla, 33 yıl önce korumaya alınıp **"Arkeolojik Park Alanı"** ilan edilen Sultanahmet Meydanı'ndaki yeni yapılaşma yasağı da kaldırılmış oluyordu.

Yüksek Kurulun kararından sonra görüştüğümüz Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı **Mükerrem Taşçıoğlu** ise **"Yüksek Kurulu etkilemem söz konusu olamaz. Kurulda benim bakanlığımdaki görevlilerin yanı sıra, bir sürü yüksek bürokrat ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı'nca atanan üyeler bulunmaktadır. Bu kurullara tesir etmek çok güç. Neden başımı belaya sokayım? Arkadaşım öyle açıkta kalmış biri değil, ahir ömründe bir otel yapmak istiyor hepsi bu"** demişti.

ARSANIN ALTINDA SARAY VAR — Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı Taşçıoğlu ile çok eski arkadaş olan KOTAŞ adlı bir firmada, bakanla iş ortağı olan Hüseyin Kocabıyık, altında Bizans imparatorluk sarayı kalıntıları bulunan Sultanahmet Tercan Sokaktaki arsayı Doç. Dr. Mustafa Ertan Üçer'den 40 milyon lira para ve Celaliye'de bir yazlık karşılığı satın aldı. Kocabıyık, satış sözleşmesine, "Satışın Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Yüksek Kurulu'ndan olumlu karar çıkması durumunda gerçekleşeceği" koşulunu koydurdu ve söz konusu kuruldan daha sonra gerekli izin belgelerini almayı başardı. Yukarıdaki fotoğraflarda, arsa üzerinde bulunan bazı tarihi kalıntılarla arsanın altında kalan İmparatorluk sarayı kalıntıları ve aynı arsa üzerinde küçük bir evde otarmakta olan altı çocuklu Akıncı ailesi görülüyor. Ne var ki, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri bekçiliği yapan Akıncı ailesinin en kısa sürede evi boşaltması istendi.

Figure 4. 71: News on a hotel construction at Sultanahmet, 01 August 1985 (CNA).

In time, some of the buildings that form the physical limits of Sultanahmet Square converted into museums; (1) Palace of İbrahim Paşa was allocated to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works and Arts in 1983 (2) a section of the Rectorate building of Marmara University was functioned as Republic Museum in 1998. The Sultanahmet Prison was also closed in 1986 and later renovated and converted to a luxury hotel (Four Seasons Hotel) opened in 1996.



Cezaevinden 'Four Seasons Hotel'e

İstanbul Haber Servisi- 12 Eylül 1980 döneminin yasası olan Turizmi Teşvik Kanunu'na göre 5 yıldızlı otel yapılması için 49 yıllığına Sultanahmet Turizm Anonim Şirketi'ne kiralanan tarihi Sultanahmet Cezaevi için dün ilk adım atıldı. 1996 yılının bahar ayında **"Four Seasons Hotel İstanbul"** adıyla hizmete girecceği belirtilen tarihi Sultanahmet Cezaevi'nin otel olması için işletme hakkı dün düzenlenen bir törenle merkezi Kanada'da bulunan ve dünyada 44 otele sahip olan Four Seasons Regent Hotels and Resort şirketine devredildi. 20 milyon dolara mal olacağı belirtilen otelin, 65 oda ve 135 yatak kapasitesiyle çok elit bir kesime hizmet vereceği vurgulandı. Four Seasons Regent Hotels and Resort şirketinin Genel Müdürü **Isadore Sharp**, tarihi cezaevinin avlusunda düzenlenen törende **"Biz şirket olarak mükemmel olduğuna inandığımız otelleri işletiriz"** dedi. Otel yetkilileri, **"Cezaevinde yatan aydınlar için özel bir mekân hazırlanacak mı"** şeklindeki soruya karşılık konunun tartışıldığını belirttiler.

Figure 4. 72: News on conversion of Sultanahmet Prison into a hotel, 20 April 1995 (CNA).

Sultanahmet region has experienced a transformation in terms of both function and social structure, which continued through the following years; tourism and service sector have occupied the old building stock replacing the residential use principally. **As the interviewees agreed;** beginning from 1980s, a process of touristification and museumization led the everyday life practices of ordinary people to retreat from the region substantially. In accordance, Sultanahmet has been characterized by the use of

a specific user profile composed of local and foreign tourists, becoming "a ghost town" at the end of working day (Ergun, 2010). It is important to see here that Sultanahmet Square and its vicinity became a "public space" in which only particular publics appear mostly. Even, S. Eyice and D. Kuban emphasize; *"The relation between ordinary people and the Square has been limited with Ramadan periods when iftar tents are set up at Sultanahmet."* (personal communications, February 2, 2017; October 5, 2016).

Of course, this process has been experienced gradually; in fact, during the period between 1980 and 2000, pre-election meetings of political parties were still taking place at Sultanahmet Square, however, those meetings have begun not to be allowed due to the the critics of Chamber of Istanbul Tourist Guides especially. As a continuity of this, the building of Palace of Justice allocated to the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education in 2011. Hence, tourism has been the major factor, which determines the appearances at Sultanahmet Square erasing its former social and functional relations while increasing its exchange value, and eventually turning it into the abstract space of capitalism; an isotopia.

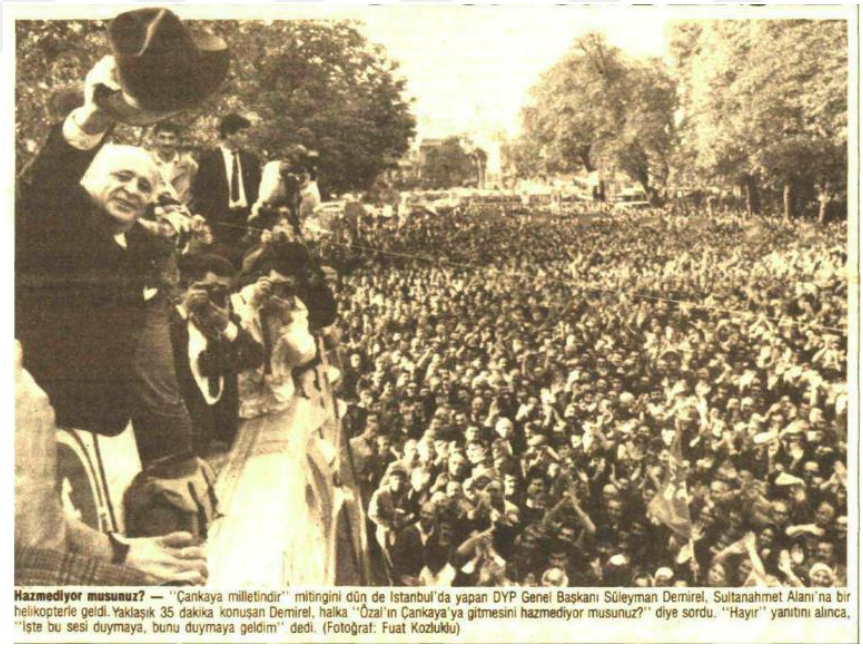

Hazmediyor musunuz? — "Çankaya milletindir" mitingini dün de İstanbul'da yapan DYP Genel Başkanı Süleyman Demirel, Sultanahmet Alanı'na bir helikopterle geldi. Yaklaşık 35 dakika konuşan Demirel, halka "Özal'ın Çankaya'ya gitmesini hazmediyor musunuz?" diye sordu. "Hayır" yanıtını alınca, "İşte bu sesi duymaya, bunu duymaya geldim" dedi. (Fotoğraf: Fuat Kozluklu)

Figure 4. 73: Süleyman Demirel during a political meeting at Sultanahmet Square, 28 October 1989 (CNA).

As it has been mentioned above, the period between 1980 and 2000 experienced a gradual transformation of public sphere in favour of capital and conservative religious discourse, which reflected itself both Sultanahmet and Beyazıt Squares as

the spaces appropriated by conservative publics. Demonstrations right after the mass Friday Prayers continued during this period, in parallel to this appropriation, the rising opposition to the headscarf ban became apparent at Beyazıt and Sultanahmet.



Sultanahmet'te tekbir sesleri

Geçen hafta Ankara'da gerçekleştirilen Kuranlı eylemi desteklemek ve türban yasağını protesto etmek amacıyla camide toplanan yaklaşık 400 kişi koro halinde tekbir getirdi. Polis, eylemcileri zorla dağıttı.

İstanbul Haber Servisi — Ankara'da geçen salı günü yapılan "Kuranlı-tekbirli" türbanlı eylemi sırasında 50 kişinin gözaltına alınmasını protesto etmek ve üniversitelerde türbanın serbest bırakılmasını sağlamak amacıyla çoğunluğunu kara çarşaflı kadınlar ve çember sakallıların oluşturduğu İslamcı bir grup, dün cuma namazından sonra Sultanahmet'te gösteri düzenledi. Yaklaşık 400 kişinin katıldığı korsan gösteri, çevik kuvvet tarafından dağıtıldı. Olayı gö-

(Arkası Sa. 19, Sü. 3'te)

20 GÖZALTI — Üniversitelerde türbanın serbest bırakılmasını sağlamak amacıyla eyleme hazırlanan yaklaşık 400 kişi Sultanahmet Camii'nde toplandı. Çoğunluğunu kara çarşaflı kadınların ve çember sakallıların oluşturduğu kalabalığın korsan gösterisi çevik kuvvet tarafından dağıtıldı. Olaylarda 20 kişi gözaltına alındı, olayı görüntülemek isteyen iki gazeteci hafif yaralandı. Bu arada yetkililerin çevik kuvvet görevlilerini "Sakın adam almayın", "Kimseye vurmayın" diye uyardıkları görüldü.

Figure 4. 74: Demonstrations against the headscarf ban at Sultanahmet Square, 25 November 1989 (CNA).



Erbakan'ın İstanbul'daki cuma namazı mitinge dönüştü

Gövde gösterisi

2'si İranlı 7 kişi gözaltına alındı

ERBAKAN NELER DEDİ?

İRTİCA VE TÜRKİYE

Figure 4. 75: Demonstrations against the headscarf ban after Friday Prayer at Beyazıt Square, 17 January 1987 (CNA).

It is worth to think about the suppression of the leftist discourse here; during this period, various leftist demonstrations and commemoration ceremonies were usually banned or ended up with police intervention. It is also necessary to consider that the Labour Day celebrations were not allowed and even the day itself was not recognized as official holiday. In accordance, although conservatives appear as a counter discourse opposing the headscarf ban, they were somehow allowed doing that while

the leftist publics were not. In fact, this unequal conditions offered to different publics were so obvious that even the press was asking the same question of Madanipour's (2010, p. 242) for Sultanahmet Square as "Whose Public Space?"


Şeriat özlemlerini gizlemek için Türk bayrağıyla takiyye yapan gösterici, pazar günü Sultanahmet Meydanı'ndaki asırlık kestane ağacını da yerle bir ettiler. (Fotoğraf: KEREM ILGAZ)

Sultanahmet kimin meydanı?

'Ayrımcı tutumdan vazgeçilsin' İmam-hatipleri bahane eden şeriatçıların pazar günü düzenlediği gösteriden sonra savaş alanına dönen Sultanahmet Meydanı'nın kimlere açık olduğu tartışılıyor. CHP, DİSK, KESK ve TYS adına yapılan açıklamalarda "ilerici, demokrat ve Atatürkçülere" kapatılan meydanın gericiliğe açıldığı belirtilerek devletin ayrımcı tutumundan vazgeçmesi istendi. CHP ve DİSK, Sultanahmet'te mitinç için başvuruda bulunacaklarını açıkladı. ■ *19. Sayfada*

'Şişirilmiş şeriat gösterisi' Sultanahmet Meydanı'nda yapılan 'İmam-Hatiplerime Dokunmayın' mitingine tepkiler büyüyor. 154 sivil toplum örgütünün oluşturduğu STK Birliği Koordinasyon Kurulu adına bir açıklama yapan Prof. Dr. Jale Baysal, 8 yıllık kesintisiz temel eğitime karşı olanların şeriat özlemi çektiklerini belirtti. CHP Grup Başkenvekili Önder Sav, "Geride bıraktığımız yıllarda, Cumhuriyete karşı başkaldırların, gerici ayaklanmaların böyle başladığını görüyoruz" dedi. ■ *6. Sayfada*

Figure 4. 76: "Whose Square is Sultanahmet?", 13 May 1997 (CNA).

Beyazıt Square was also affected by the rising touristification of the historical core; Beyazıt Madrasa was converted into the Museum of Turkish Calligraphy Art in 1984, and Bath of Bayezid II was converted into the Museum of Turkish Bathouse Culture in 2015. Contrastingly, D. Tekeli and H. Karabey emphasize; *"After the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Beyazıt Square has turned into the Russian, Poland etc. market where shoddy goods were sold, which even still continue occasionally."* (personal communications, February 20, 2017; December 21, 2016).


Beyazıt Meydanı — 'Doğu Bloku' ülkeleri turistleri aracılığıyla mallarını Çınaraltı'nda sergiliyor (Fotoğraf: Mehmet Demirkaya)

Çınaraltı'nda 'Doğu Bloku' pazarı

Tarihi meydanları işportacılar işgal etti

Figure 4. 77: Shoddy goods sellers at Beyazıt Square, (left) 16 May 1989 – (right) 31 July 1997 (CNA).

Of course, allocation of shoddy goods stands at Beyazıt Square might be identified with its spatial relation with Grand Bazaar as the historical trade centre of Istanbul. Yet, transformation of a centre where high-value goods had been sold as the front display of Constantinople into a space where fake, illegal and shoddy goods were sold then, even indicates that Beyazıt Square was fallen into dilapidation and it was neither the Forum Theodosius nor the Republican Square of once anymore. As A. Kılıç and O. Akın indicate; *"This is also related with the change of the focal point of Istanbul and the reposition of capital in the city; investments were directed towards skyscrapers, malls and supermarkets in the new development districts then."* (personal communications, December 26, 2016).

In brief, beginning from the unfinished spatial organisation in 1961, Beyazıt Square has been treated as if it was an ordinary space; left behind, disidentified and dememorized, turning it into an abstract space also.

Nevertheless, first of the two positive spatial developments of this period affecting both Beyazıt and Sultanahmet Squares was the declaration of all Istanbul Peninsula as the "Urban and Historical Site" by Istanbul No 1 Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Council in 1995 (IMM, 2011, p. 35). Second positive development has been the use of trams for the public transportation on Istanbul Peninsula since 1992. Nevertheless, Sultanahmet Square has been closed to traffic and pedestrianized only in 2010.

Considering the conditions of the period between 1980 and 2000, it seems bizarre that two urban desing competition were organised for Beyazıt (1988) and Taksim Republican Squares (1987) during the office of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan (1984-1989) consecutively. Vedia Dökmeci and Yaprak Karlıdağ's proposal for Beyazıt Square, Vedat Dalokay and his team's proposal for Taksim Republican Square took the first prize in the competitions (Url-72, Url-73). However, both have never been implemented which make them not that bizarre. As D. Kuban says; *"Nobody had the will to organise a city square spatially".* (personal communication, October 5, 2016). In fact, Istanbul was celebrating the foundation laying ceremonies of hotel constructions over the Park No.2 with fireworks at that time and this rapid urbanisation so the "creative destruction of neoliberalism" (Harvey, 2007) were not allowing to produce a "public space" spatially resisting against privatization.



Taksim'de havai fişekli otel temeli İstanbul'da yeni bir 5 yıldızlı otelin temeli daha atıldı. Yap, işlet, devret modeli ile yapılacak olan otelin temel atma törenine Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı Mesut Yılmaz, İstanbul Valisi Nevzat Ayaz ve Anakent Belediye Başkanı Bedrettin Dalan'la çok sayıda davetli katıldı. Taksim'de Tenis Eskrim ve Dağcılık Kulübü'nün bulunduğu alanda kurulacak olan otelin temeline harç konulurken bu kez değişik bir yöntem uygulandı Dalan'la Yılmaz'ın, ıslak bir çimento tabletinin üzerine isimlerini yazarak imzaladıkları parçanın daha sonra temele yerleştirileceği bildirildi. Yapımını bir Hollanda firmasının üstlendiği otelin temel atma töreni havai fişek gösterileri ile sürdü, ancak bu gösteriler sırasında meydana gelen patlamalar kentte heyecana yol açtı, gazeteleri arayan okurlar patlamanın nedenini sordular. İşletmeciliğini Amerikan Hyatt Regency firmasının yapacağı otel 60 milyon dolara mal olacak. Otelde 402 oda ve bin yatak bulunacak, yap, işlet, devret formülüyle 40 yıllık kira anlaşması yapılarak inşa edilecek otel 1990 yılında bitirilecek. Otel 40 yıl sonra İstanbul Belediyesine devredilecek. (Fotoğraf: TARIK ERSOY)

Figure 4. 78: Foundation laying ceremony of a hotel construction at Taksim, 18 October 1987 (CNA).

Taksim Republican Square and it environs have also been one of the most demanded subjects of the rising neoliberal urbanism practices after 1980s. **As the interviewees indicate;** one of the most destructive implementation of this period, which affected the spatial evolution of the Taksim Republican Square, was the construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard in 1988. Developed mainly during the 19th century, Tarlabaşı was formerly a Greek and Armenian residential neighbourhood adjacent to TRS. After the accelerated emigration of the minorities from Turkey and Istanbul since 1950s, Tarlabaşı has been populated mostly by the marginalized publics, including Kurds, Romans, African refugees and transsexuals, which first triggered the ghettoization process of the neighbourhood. In order to link the developing investments with the Atatürk International Airport that was opened to international air traffic in 1953, starting from Taksim Republican Square, construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard began in 1986 and completed in 1988 during the office of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan (Osterlund, 2014, p. 171; Ünsal & Kuyucu, 2010, p. 61).

As it has been mentioned before, by the end of the 1950s, the construction of an avenue along this direction had been brought to the agenda, which could not be implemented due to the surrounding private property at that time. After a slight change in its route, this was eventually the realisation of the former project (Figure 4.54) of 1950s. The construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard caused then (1) the

demolition of more than 300 historic buildings, (2) acceleration of the ghettoization process of the neighbourhood, and (3) destruction of the spatial integrity of Taksim Republican Square.

S. Aydınlı particularly emphasizes; *"Before the construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, it was a narrow road as wide as Istiklal Avenue and there were buildings on the corner of Maksem. Taksim, with its surrounded position and spatiality, had a completely different expression and it suddenly changed afterwards; Tarlabaşı Boulevard pulled away from one end of Taksim Republican Square and destroyed its spatial integrity."* (personal communication, February 27, 2017).

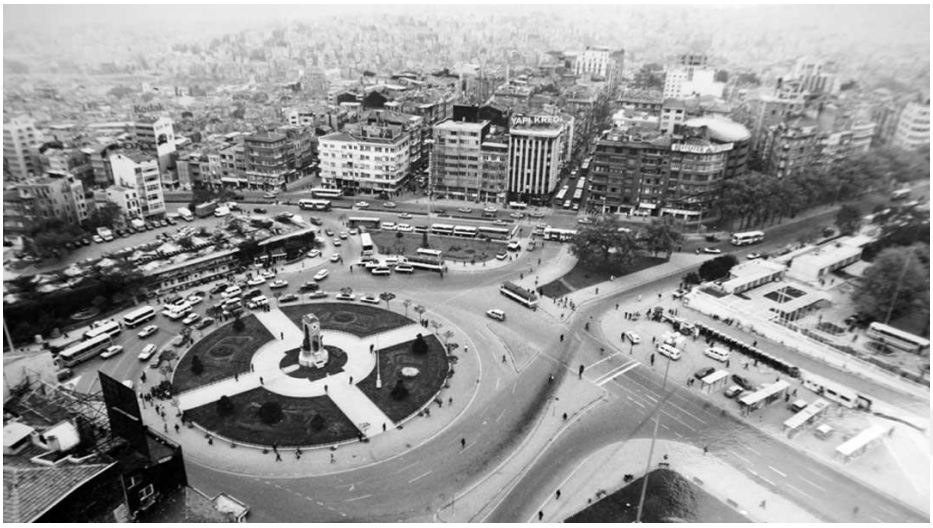


Figure 4. 79: TRS after the consturcion of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, 1990 (Anonymous, Url-74).

In parallel with the construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, Istiklal Avenue has been converted into a pedestrian thoroughfare with two lines of trees alongside and the old Taksim – Tünel tram line was re-established then, which had been closed by the end of 1950s. However, these implementations did not last very long and came along with other problems. Indeed, 35-meter wide Tarlabaşı Boulevard strictly separtaed Talimhane (military training site of once) and Tarlabaşı neighbourhoods from Istiklal Avenue. Hence, while Istiklal Avenue was getting prestige as the main pedestrian thoroughfare of Taksim, Tarlabaşı and Talimhane became dilapidated in time. Although Taksim – Beyoğlu region was declared as an "Urban Site" including Taksim Republican Square and Gezi Park (except Park No.2) by Istanbul No.1 Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Council in 1993, concentration of tourism activities at Taksim led the declaration of Talimhane as the "Tourism Site" by the Council of Ministers in 1994, which later became known as "Hotels Region".

Tarlabaşı has been declared also as a "Regeneration Site" by the Council of Ministers in 2006. Becoming a gentrification project, regeneration of Tarlabaşı generated a rising public debate, yet, the project continued to be completed in 2018. In fact, even the trees alongside Istiklal Avenue were uprooted on the grounds of improvement of pedestrian flow in 2005. Here, A. Kılıç and O. Akın also note; *"Following the construction of Tarlabaşı Boulevard, the opening of Taksim – Levent metro line in 2000 with exits at the square together with already existing bus stops in front of Gezi Park, led the Republican Square of once became huge traffic hub where all modes of transport connect."* (personal communications, December 26, 2016).

Briefly, functional and spatial transformation of the environs of Taksim Republican Square was in favour of a limited and privileged amount of the population. Yet, despite of this transformation process of Taksim Republican Square into another abstract space, it was still the representative space for more secularist and leftist publics. It was nurtured by the Republican codes, ideals and goals, and it was still full of leftist memories and claims; all Labour Days were demanded to be celebrated at Taksim each year without exception between 1979 and 2009, which were never allowed. At the same time, the will to build the Taksim Mosque was also never faded. Accumulation of these claims over Taksim Republican Square were about to clash to each other soon.



Figure 4. 80: "The contest for identity at Taksim", 25 June 1994 (CNA).

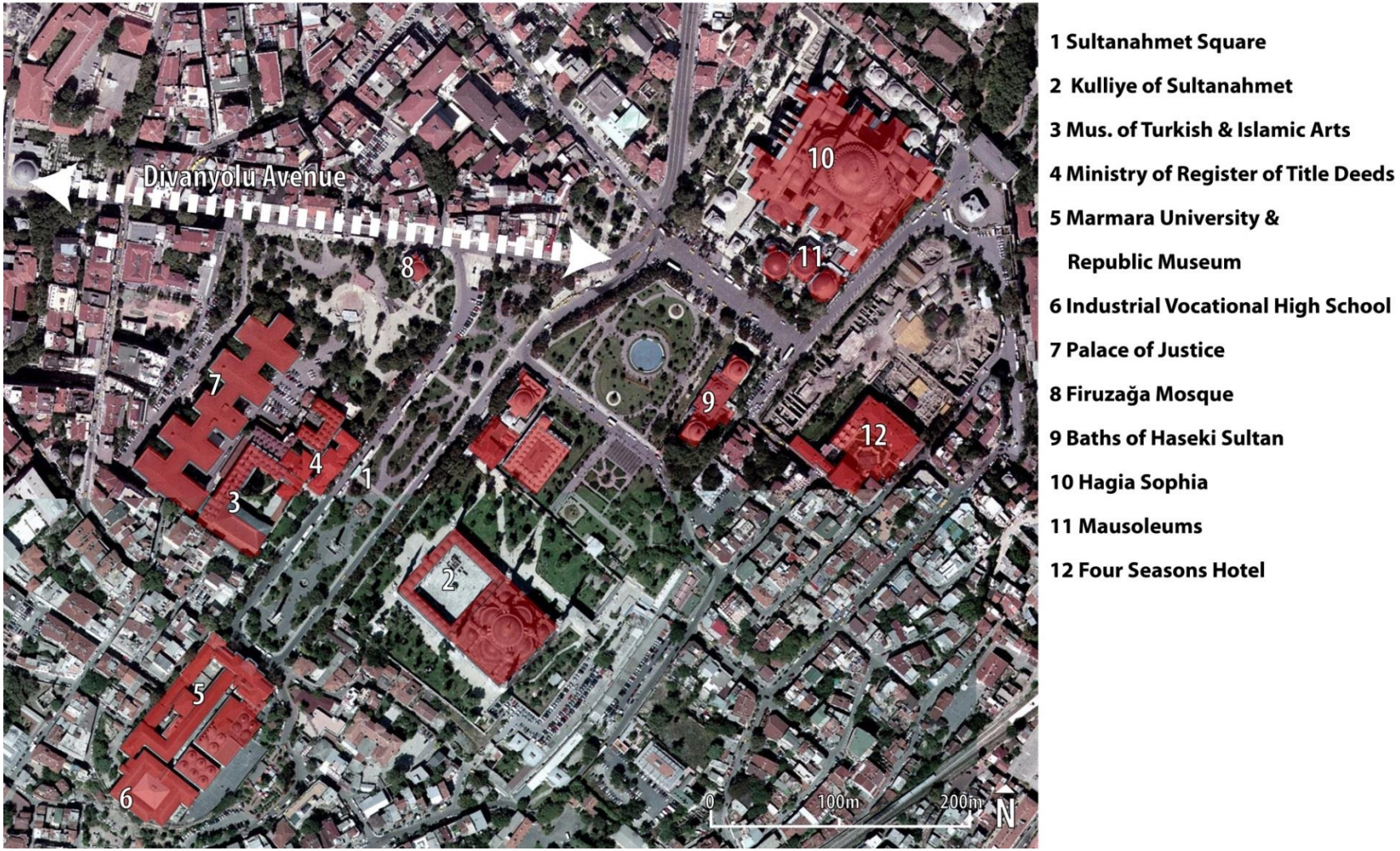


Figure 4. 81: Sultanahmet Square and its Surroundings in 2002.



1 Beyazıt Square

2 Kulliye of Beyazıt II

3 Beyazıt State Library

4 Museum of Turkish Calligraphy Art

5 University Gate

6 Bath of Beyazıt II

7 Istanbul University - Eurasia Institute

8 Istanbul University - Faculty of Letters & Faculty of Science

9 Istanbul University - Faculty of Pharmacy

10 Istanbul University - Faculty of Law & Faculty of Politics

11 Beyazıt Fire Tower

12 Istanbul University Central Library

Figure 4. 82: Beyazıt Square and its Surroundings in 2002.



1 Taksim Republican Square

2 Republic Monument

3 Gezi Park

4 Palace of Culture

5 Maksem

6 French Consulate

7 Church of Hagia Triada

8 Church of Hovhan Vosgeperan

9 Ceylan Intercontinental Hotel

10 Pedestrian Bridge

11 The Marmara Hotel

Figure 4. 83: Taksim Republican Square and its Surroundings in 2002.

As the result of the local election of 1994, Tayyip Erdoğan, who was the candidate of the conservative religious, right-wing Welfare Party, was the most prominent sign of the upcoming rise of religious discourse to power. The WP was banned by the constitutional court in 1998 on the grounds of its "acts against the principle of the secular Republic". A number of representatives of the WP were prosecuted and sentenced; among them, Tayyip Erdoğan was also sentenced to ten months in prison being accused of inciting religious hatred. Conservatives reorganised in time, and eventually the Justice and Development Party was established in 2001 under the leadership of Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül. Soon, in the general elections of 2002, the JDP of Tayyip Erdoğan gained the absolute majority in the National Assembly, and it still holds power. In general, the JDP government has maintained the neoliberal and anti-laborist model, but the main difference is that it has created religious clientelist mechanisms within the society (Zurcher, 2004, pp. 301-306; Çavuşoğlu, 2014, p. 226).

Beginning from the second half of 15 years of power, political dominance of the JDP government came along with the increasing authoritarianism, which extended to both the tools of literary and virtual publicness, namely the local press and popular social media platforms on the internet such as Twitter and Youtube etc., as intermittent bans imposed by the government. This growing authoritarianism reflected itself as the aim to replace the parliamentary system with a strong presidential one, which was subjected to a referendum on 16 April 2017 and realised with a 51.4 percent affirmative vote of all (Brennan & Herzog, 2014; Supreme Election Council of Turkish Republic, Url-75). In fact, only this voting rate itself represents an important clue for the polarising structure of the society in Turkey.

This authoritarianism and so the increasing socio-political tension that come along with it, reflected itself in also the "public spaces". Among the cases, Taksim has staged the polarization of the society at its most; accumulations of socio-political tension and the claims of discourses over Taksim Republican Square led the Gezi Park Occupy Movement in 2013. **According the interviewees;** it has been an important breaking point in semantical, functional and spatial evolution of TRS. Meanwhile, as İ. Akpınar, K. Gümüş and H. Karabey note here; *"Conservative religious demonstrations against the headscarf ban or the mass Friday Prayers of former periods at Sultanahmet and Beyazıt Square do not take place anymore since all their demands were eventually met by the government"*. (personal communications, January 4, 2017; February 8, 2017; December 21, 2016). In other

words, after a long time of consolidation period, this remarks the transformation of conservatives as the counter publics of once into the dominant publics of today.

For the period just before Gezi Park Occupy Movement of 2013, İ. Akpınar says, *"Turkey had a short period when all squares were open to all sort of meetings because of the negotiations for the EU membership that had been going on since the mid-90s. 1 May Labour Day celebrations were even allowed between 2010 and 2012 to be celebrated, which recognized as an official holiday in 2009."* (personal communications, January 4, 2017).

Indeed, those were the fundamental rights that had been gained gradually. After 32 years, Taksim was allowed for the celebration of May 1 in 2010. Between 2010 and 2012 celebrations were held in peace, however, in 2013, Taksim was again banned for security reasons due to the construction works of the new pedestrianization project declared in 2011 together with a shopping mall project. In the meantime, Turkish architect Ahmet Vefik Alp was commissioned in 2012 to design a mosque at Taksim by the Taksim Mosque Culture and Arts Foundation, which was actually established on 5 November 1991 to provide financial support for the construction of the mosque. Further, Atatürk Cultural Center was still closed years after since its close for renovation, which is still not started. Synchronously, including Park No.2, Taksim was still the subject of privatization, which had been already occupied by private investments in 2011. Hence, there were triggering factors as the causes of escalating social-political tension, which were being reflected in literary and virtual public platforms.

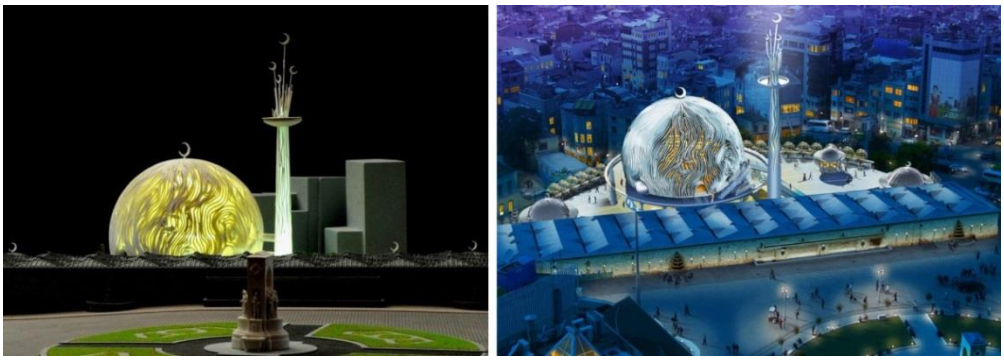


Figure 4. 84: "Taksim Mosque of Republic and Museum of Religious" (Ahmet Vefik Alp, Url-76).

As it is seen, Taksim has been under the pressure of both neoliberal urban development policies and also the search for spatially breaking its semantical making. Establishment of several local district associations and other social foundations, innumerable continuous lawsuits and protests that are filed and

organized by professionals,, also the crowds trying to head to Taksim for other celebrations or demonstrations have been the first signs of this rising social accumulation process. This social tension has been also nourished by the general oppressive and discriminative socio-political discourses of the JDP government. However, it is consolidated bringing together the crowds under "Taksim Solidarity" in May 2013 during "Gezi Park Occupy Movement" for 19 days spreading all over the country and resounding on an international scale. This double process can be defined from Lefebvrian perspective; domination called for appropriation making the heterotopia.

As briefly mentioned above, on 6 June 2011, the JDP government declared a pedestrianization project including the construction of a shopping mall re-constructing Taksim Topçu Barracks over Gezi Park. Just after the project was announced to the public with a few digital renders, a civil organization was established called "Taksim Platform" starting a petition for the cancellation of the project.



Figure 4. 85: Renders of Taksim Pedestrianisation Project (IMM, 2012, Url-77).

It was an environmentalist reaction and an ecological movement defending that the project would both damage the nature and the collective memory of the square. The reaction was also against privatization of a public space, in other words, people were reclaiming their rights to the city (Taksim Platform, 2012; Url-78).

Taksim Platform, composed of only 18 civil society organizations including local associations, environmentalist foundations, artist unions and professionals' chambers, turned into a larger movement called "Taksim Solidarity" in 2013 with 125 constituents eventually. In a 2-year period, Taksim Platform, with also individual supporters, organized protests and declarations to public opinion, repeating their objection. Istanbul Branches of Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Landscape Architects filed a lawsuit applying for the

revocation of the project and stay of execution. Simultaneously, construction works for the pedestrianization part of the project were begun by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality regardless the lawsuit and court's decision as the stay of execution.



Figure 4. 86: Starting of the Petition, 5 February 2012 (CNA).

Bulldozers were in Gezi Park on the night of 27 May 2013, people who have been actively speaking out started gathering at Taksim. Next morning, still, there were not more than hundred people trying to stop the bulldozers with a peaceful sit-in protest. However, they have been attacked by police using excessive force with tear gas and pepper spray, and the news were spread rapidly by means of social media. By the noon, hundreds of people gathered for a sit-in protest in the square but the police violence intensified. Yet, protestors held their ground staying in Gezi Park with their tents despite the police force to dislodge them.

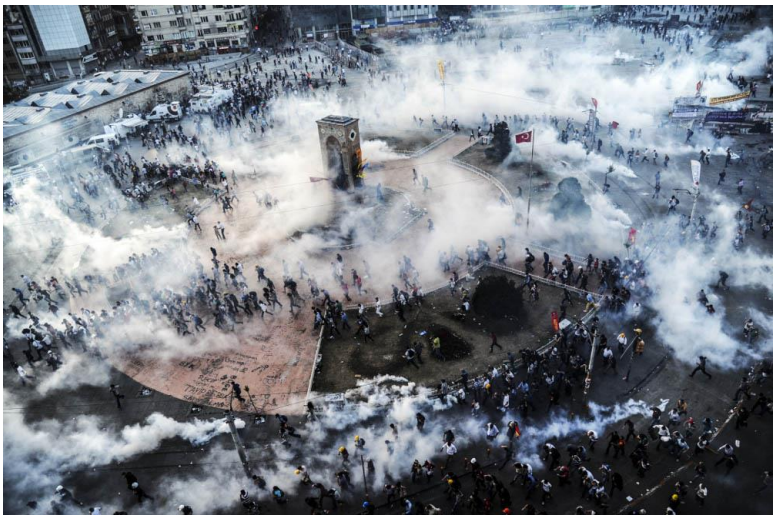


Figure 4. 87: Taksim Republican Square on 31 May (Kılıç, 2013).

On 29 May, the JDP government declared that the project would be implemented, "no matter what the protestors do". Indeed, at dawn on 30 May, all the tents were burned down in Gezi Park. Burning down the tents attracted more attention from all the country, protestors made a call through social media to #Occupy Gezi Park. It

was getting crowded each day; it was a heterogeneous crowd of people regardless their nationalities, ideologies, religions, sexualities, income or education level and age acting in the form of a multiple leadership, collaboratively. By 31 May, the movement was already spread all over the city and the country; thousands of people gathered on Anatolian side of Istanbul marched to Taksim passing first Bosphorus Bridge on foot, closing the vehicle traffic on 1 June.


Anadolu yakasından sabaha karşı yola çıkıp desteğe geldiler

Kıtaları aştılar

İSTANBUL UYUMADI

İstanbul Haber Servisi

Anadolu Yakası'nda geç saatlerde toplanan bir başka grup, kortej oluşturarak yürüyüş yaptı. Bağdat Caddesi'nde trafik durdu, araçlar yolları kesti. Yoldan geçmekte olan araçlar da kornalarla yürüyen protestoculara destek verdi. Gece saatlerinden itibaren şehrin farklı noktalarında toplanan gruplar, yürüyüşlerle Taksim Gezi Parkı'ndaki çevre katliamına tepki gösterdi. Halkalı, Teşvikiye, Kartal ve Fulya başta olmak üzere İstanbul genelinde pek çok semtte protestoya destek eylemleri yapıldı.

Gece boyu başta Bağdat Caddesi'nde gösteri yapan halk, sabaha karşı Boğaziçi Köprüsü'nü yaya olarak geçti. Polis grubu, Barbaros Bulvarı'nda sert bir şekilde müdahale etti. Kadıköy D-100 Karayolu Acıbadem Mevkii'nden sabaha karşı 05.00 sıralarında yürüyüşe geçen binlerce kişi yolu trafiğe kapadı. Boğaziçi Köprüsü'ne gelen grup, burada bir süre bekledikten sonra yeniden yürüyüşe geçti. Ellerindeki tencere ve tavaları birbirine vurarak "Taksim'de buluşuyoruz" sloganları atan kalabalık gruba, CHP milletvekili Mahmut Tanal da destek verdi. Tanal, "Vatandaş haklı olarak yürüyor. Meydanlara biber gazı sıkan hükümete tepkilerini dile getiriyorlar" diye konuştu. "Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş" sloganıyla yürüyen grup, Beşiktaş'a ulaştığında polisin gaz bombası ve tazyikli suyla saldırısına maruz kaldı.

Figure 4. 88: Protestors Passing the Bosphorus Bridge, 2 June 2013 (CNA).

Since it was a grassroots movement, protestors developed their makeshift practices; they made solidarity tables; Gezi Park and the Taksim Republican Square were transformed into a place for political expression, representing a wide range of actors and diverse forms of living (Pak, 2016). While some occupiers built a library in the park using found materials, other protesters built barricades on every artery leading to the Gezi Park to avoid the police cars and water cannons. Other makeshift spaces included a wishing tree out of the leftover construction materials, free cell phone charging stations, art and photo galleries, collective vegetable gardens, an infirmary and a veterinary clinic, an art workshop for children, memorials and murals, an open-air hotel and a live stream TV-media center. Social events like open yoga classes, concerts, dance and other theatrical performances also took place in Gezi Park.



Figure 4. 89: Makeshift Practices during Gezi Park Occupy Movement (Hattam, 2013).

People who are in their home joined the protests banging their pans and turning their lights off and on synchronously or drowning out the sound of car horns. People with a regular job attended to the protests after or before their work. Even, supporters of Turkey's rival "Big Three" football clubs marched together to Taksim Republican Square on 8 June 2013 (Erhart, 2014). All differences were erased and people got united saying; "United we stand, divided we fall". 8 June 2013 was the most crowded night of the movement; thousands of people were at Taksim and there were no police force able against such a crowd.



Figure 4. 90: Crowds Protesting at Taksim on 8 June 2013 (left) Front Façade of AKM Covered with Flags and Banners (right) (Anonymous, Url-79).

Actual occupation of park ended on 15 June, when police used its force at most with tear gas, water cannons, and plastic bullets to empty out the occupied park and prevent protestors from re-entering. However, different types of demonstrations were held until the end of the August. According to the Ministry of the Interior reports almost 2,5 million people were participated in protests in 79 province of 81; 12 people died between age 15 and 88, many people were wounded losing their eyes and having brain traumas from being hit by tear gas cartridges, 4,900 people had been taken into custody for various periods of time (Amnesty International, 2013). However, what is called "Gezi Spirit" survived and public forums are established in almost every park all-around of Istanbul and other provinces.

Turkish people and the world faced an ecological movement turning into a political call for direct democracy within 19 days. Taksim Republican Square and Gezi Park have been appropriated by diverse groups from various ideological backgrounds against domination of neoliberal urban policies, but it was a massive objection not only to these policies but also all the current oppressive socio-political structure ignoring the demands of people. In fact, this was not just a struggle between dominant and counter publics; this was also a call for to recover the troubled democracy.



Figure 4. 91: Demands of Taksim Solidarity (Boynudelik, et al., 2014).

Objective demands unified the people; 2 years after the declaration of the project, constituents of Taksim Solidarity reached to 125 in number during the Occupy movement. Although there were also a substantial amount of individual protestors, distribution of the constituents offers an idea about the distinct diversity of the protestors. Based on the official list of Taksim Solidarity (Url-80), the constituents have been grouped under six main categories to map the network considering also their formality as in the figure below.

This distribution indicates two important things (Figure 4.92). First, only 26 constituents of 125 were informal organizations, considering the amount of the protestors, it might be seen that individuals preferred represent themselves in person. Second, considering the number of "Political Parties and Organizations" as 24 of 125, one might question the role of political opposition in democracy in Turkey.

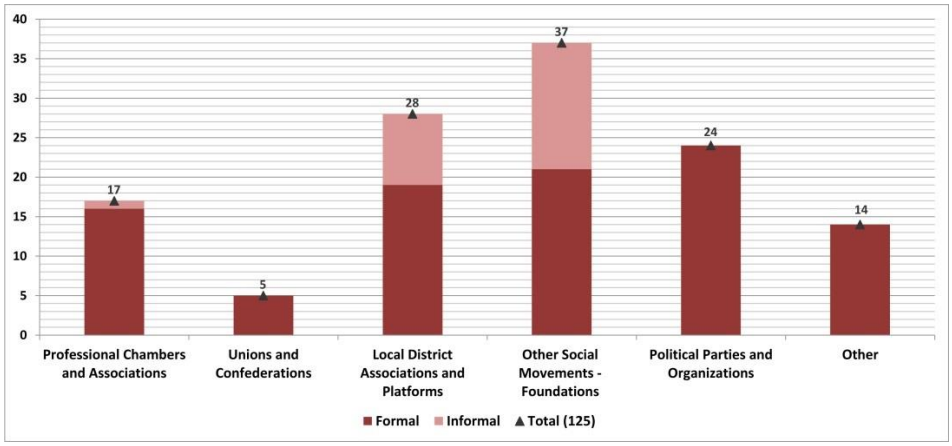


Figure 4. 92: Distribution of Taksim Solidarity's Constituents.

Pedestrianization part of the project had been completed on September 2013 re-routing traffic underground via tunnels and Taksim Topçu Barracks has not been built since then. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality introduced new project renders and videos showing Gezi Park as preserved on September 2014 (Url-81).



Figure 4. 93: Renders of Taksim Pedestrianisation Project (IMM, 2014, Url-81).

Yet, on 19 July 2016, four days after the Coup Attempt of 15 July, Tayyip Erdoğan, current president of Turkey since 2014, declared that Taksim Topçu Barraks will be built and function as a museum "whether some people want it or not" (Url-82). While landscape planning works still continue today, it is hard to be sure whether the Barracks will be rebuilt or what its function will be. Considering also the fact that there were always some "projects on the shelf", which never cancelled exactly but rather implemented even decades later, one cannot surely state that the demands of the movement have been met. In fact, as one of those "projects on the shelf", the foundation stone of the Taksim Mosque has been laid on February 2017. Further, Taksim Republican Square is still banned for all the mass demonstrations and 1 May Labour Day celebrations particularly.



Figure 4. 94: Renders of Taksim Mosque Project (IMM, 2017, Url-83).

In other words, Taksim Republican Square was also reclaimed by the capitalist and conservative religious discourse turning into also an abstract space; and here Lefebvre seems purely right by now as saying "anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis" (Lefebvre, 1970).

Further, **the interviewees criticise** the construction of Yenikapı Event Site, which has been considered as an alternative to major city squares by the JDP government, especially to Taksim Republican Square. Beginning from 2014, the government began to allow mass demonstrations and celebrations to take place at Yenikapı Event Site, which is a huge filling area of 70 ha on the southern shores of Istanbul Peninsula, referred as "Yenikapı Square". Regardless of all the critics, objections and lawsuits due to the historic nature of Istanbul Peninsula, the Environment and Urban Ministry approved the project on October 2012 and its construction was opened rapidly for the rally of the JDP on 23 March 2014 (Url-84).

Yenikapı Event Site appears out of the scope of this study since it is dealing with "city squares" as "public spaces". Here, this artificially created filling area of an undefinable scale, which has no socio-spatial memory and no entrance without security control during rallies, as the perfect reflection of today's understanding of democracy essentially; it is absolutely not a city square but a unique example for an unsignified and unrepresented space of troubled democracy.

As aforementioned, on 15 July 2016, people of Turkey experienced a Military Coup Attempt, which began in Istanbul and Ankara and caused 248 people dead. Immediately after the Attempt, President Tayyip Erdogan appeared live on a TV channel via mobile video call and said, "I urge my people to convene at public squares, come to the squares to give our best answer to them. There is no power higher than the power of the people." (Url-85). After his call, state-sponsored mass demonstrations called "Democracy Watch Rallies" began to support the government against the Coup Attempt. For 27 days, the authorities made an exception in the demonstration ban and promoted a specific range of thoughts to be voiced. "Democracy Watch Rallies" were ended with "Democracy and Martyrs Rally" which was held at Yenikapı Event Site in Istanbul on 7 August 2017 and then in Ankara on 10 August 2017.

However, Taksim Republican Square was the first address of the "Democracy Watch Rallies" for 27 days. People of Turkey listened to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's declaration of "State of Emergency" in live broadcast from Taksim on 21 July 2016, 10-article "Taksim Manifest" against the Coup Attempt was announced by the RPP as the main opposition party on 24 July 2016, and demonstrations continued at TRS for 27 days.



Figure 4. 95: TRS during "Democracy Watch Rallies", 25 July 2016 (CNA).

Here, it is important to distinguish the understanding of "democracy" as the support to the state. In such an understanding, the main prerequisite for a city square to be open for everyone appears as the support but not oppose to the state since the politicians are very well aware of the power of people, and so the city squares indeed.

As K. Gümüş summarizes; *"The process in which the different publics come forward in the public sphere has always been problematic since the transition from the capitalist system to modernity in the 19th century in Istanbul, and more so today. It is something that followed by the encounters rather than involvement in the public sphere but, although all aspect of modernity have been experienced, one cannot talk about a political involvement. Neoclassical publicity has been a setting that takes hold and transforms. As a matter of fact, the only way to be able to define publicness today is to analyze those major city squares as nodal points and ensure plurality. In this sense, it is possible to define the public sphere and public space as all sorts of non-violence; somewhere anyone is represented, is able to establish their own presence and representation without resorting to violence. However, appearance, being represented in the public sphere has never followed a linear track; it has always tended to be complex and paradoxical."* (personal communication, February 8, 2017). (See Appendix A-4-6 for the maps showing contemporary situations of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Drawing attention to the importance of the socio-political dimension of spatial organisation of city squares, the main contribution of this study to spatial sciences literature is revealing the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of city squares in relation with the structural transformation of publicness and so the societies to which they belong. In this sense, for the future of urban planning and design practices, main conclusion of this study emphasizes that (1) the future of city squares is directly related to what kind of organization the societies will have. Yet, (2) under any circumstance(s) whatsoever, city squares will sustain their existence and become the stages of these social transformations as history proved. Since, (3) as long as humankind exist and their need to appear – *to be public* – in this material world continue, this need will be spatialized to be seen and heard transforming both the public sphere and the city squares.

As it appears from the theoretical discussion revealed (in Section 1), in conceptualising "public sphere", procedural approaches (1) enables the complex and dynamic structure of "publicness" and also the concepts of literary and/or virtual public spheres to be operated; (2) it legitimizes the discussions on quasi-public, fully public etc. However, procedural approaches fail to discuss the spatialisation of publicness (1) by making the significance of conventional public space in a city pattern questionable, (2) by risking the active voice of being a part of public and (3) ignoring the spatial dimension of the struggles between dominant and counter publics.

Although the claim that the world in which we exist is common to all of us might be justified from many perspectives (e.g., global warming affects all of us), in this specific context, it is a naive approach to the reality of the present day in which the private property described by the law and especially the reality that private capital occupies the physical space which belongs to everyone a little more each day.

Also, the idea of accepting any place in an urban setting as having the potential to make publics requires the assumption that any place, whether they are squares or

screens, is equally available any time for anyone for those who wish to be seen and heard politically.

On the other hand, as topographical approaches reduce “appearance” to “visibility” through their emphasis on the features of “accessibility” and “ownership”, and they fail to overlap with the discussions that arise out of social sciences (1) by simplifying complex structure of “publicness” to lines, colours and numbers, (2) ignoring that “appearance” requires the presence (access) of other publics but it does not necessarily makes a place “public” and in this sense (3) by assuming a fully democratic world composed of equals.

As the assumption of social equality repeats itself in the discussions of “public space,” it appears as a common failure of both procedural and topographical approaches. Indeed, from ancient times to today, it is practically impossible to identify examples of an unrestricted, unobstructed or uncensored publicness; spatially, literarily and even virtually.

In conditions of social inequality, involvement in the public sphere and so the public space has always been a matter of struggle. That is to say, in the existence of produced biological, sociological, economic etc. identities and ideological differences –multi-publics– a fully democratic world in which all the differences make their own representation in equal conditions has never been realized.

The powerful and/or the privileged publics, which dominate the public sphere both in individual and mass scales, spatialise their representation – just like animals marking their territories by emitting odors – as an instinctual or learned act assuming that "whatever belongs to everyone belongs to no one."

Sudjic (2011:12-14) points out that as professionals and users, we tend to interpret architecture and planning in terms of its technical and structural qualities, considering the space as the material product of a construction process; in other words, we are more concerned with “how the space existed rather than why in fact”. In reality, the execution of actual production of space has always been under the initiative of representatives of the powerful rather than professionals. Every political and governmental system has produced its own representational space to mark a symbolic point by means of architecture and planning regardless of time and geography. The ambition of unsatisfied egos to leave a trace in the material world and to glorify their power becomes an addiction to build larger and higher. Since

this addiction requires the “appearance” then it should be “public” and here the primitive formula is; the more spacious and the higher you build the more visible it becomes. This is the reality that occupies “public space” of every age both physically and psychologically and it neither invites nor welcomes “everyone” indeed.

Yet, although both domains of spatial and social sciences do not establish a common ground on “publicness”, public spaces appear as the absolute mediator setting for the production of public sphere in reality, even in the conventional sense.

As professionals from the domain of spatial sciences, we are more comfortable in defining public spaces by just claiming that they are open, accessible and enjoyable by all for free. From our privileged position, it may seem that way, but the truth is, they are not. Although the attempts to define the spatial requirements and desirable features of public spaces are valuable to the extent that they open different parameters to discussion, and the methods to measure the degree of publicness are also valuable in indicating that public spaces are not that public after all, we are still left with the question of how to achieve a public space that is democratically available to all.

Is this question a self-destructive one or is it possible that a truly democratic public space can be realized? To answer this question first we should admit that “democracy itself is never a condition but a struggle” (Lefebvre, 2001:780). In the end, Madanipour (2010:242) also answers his question of “Whose Public Space?” on the basis of the importance of social production of public spaces that “embody the principles of equality through democratic and inclusive processes”.

Contemporary contradiction between the idealised definitions and the actual experiences of public spaces and undemocratic socio-political conditions become visible today in the form of “occupy movements”, which are actually the spatialisations of the struggles between dominant and counter publics. Since the act of “occupation” refers a temporary use of space, they remark the temporary appearance of counter publics in “public” spaces, which is a paradox from the perspective of topographical approaches.

The simultaneous need for the absence and presence of counter publics for the continuity of the representation of the dominant can be explained by the “paradox of political representation”. The only solution to the continuity of the domination in some kind of balance is explained as “non-objection criterion”, which means “silence” (Pitkin, 1967 &

Runciman, 2007). In fact, this point remarks a greater problem that representative democracy as the existing governmental system of modern states of today itself appears paradoxical since “non-objection” contradicts with the essence of both the concepts of "publicness" and "democracy".

In the conditions of representative democracy, occupy movements appear as the examples of social production of heterotopic spaces (Lefebvre, 1970) that occur during periods of crisis of domination when the counter publics appear capable of representing themselves and expressing their objections.

Re-interpretation of Lefebvre’s multi-triads of spatiality (revealed in Section 2), shows that (1) three moments of space end up with a dialectic tension between dominated/abstract space and appropriated/differential space in the capitalist mode of production, and (2) internal contradictions of capitalism dissolve the abstract space and produce heterotopias which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis.

Here, two important distinctions between abstract and differential space are (1) production of abstract space is the production of exchange value whereas production of differential space implies a shift of use value over exchange value. In addition, (2) abstract space operates by signs and codes, which are attributed to them but differential space operates by experiences and appropriations.

Considering subsequent works of Lefebvre, this study reveals (1) social production of heterotopias and isotopias alongside them as matching with dominated/abstract space and appropriated/differential space, and claims (2) what Lefebvre pictures is exactly the explanation of the social production of isotopias by the dominant publics and heterotopias by the counter publics producing their own representation through space.

Historical investigation of the relation between the structural transformation of publicness and the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of major city squares (introduced in six phases with reflections on real cases in Section 3) proves that struggles between multi-publics produce and reproduce public sphere spatialising their own representations through major city squares; marking, shaping, naming and claiming, and eventually sharing them to reclaim again. This reflects exactly the spatialisation of the struggles between dominant and counter publics. Dominant publics spatialise their representation in major city squares by signs and codes as abstract spaces, which are later claimed by experiences and appropriations of counter

publics and becoming differential space to be eventually reclaimed by the new dominant publics.

This investigation shows that developing a comprehensive understanding of democracy has taken hundreds of years of human history unfortunately. However, the recent wave of authoritarianism in all over the world obviously proved that we are still far away from utilising it. Public spaces and city squares of today still appear as exclusive places where only a limited spectrum of society and ideas are allowed to be represented. In our contemporary age, forces/owners of capital with their allies appear as the dominant publics while the rest appears as the counter publics, who have been left as subordinated social groups.

Although city squares have always been exclusionary places for some throughout history, they have been the spaces in which history has unfolded from Athenian Agora to Place de la Concorde and this is the only fact that has not changed. Major city squares have always been and will the heart of the cities to represent the power of the dominant, in other words, representation does not take place in the urban periphery since it is never possible in isolation.

The power loved to show itself physically on and at city squares; however, city squares full of critical publics arouse their hatred in turn, because, as history has witnessed, mass objections might threaten the powerful revolutionarily. Whatever constitutes the counter (workers, women, lesbians and gay men, minorities and the poor) their differences appear in exactly the space where the power is represented. As a proof of this, contemporary social movements represented similarities regarding their demands, their claims to the right to the city, as well as the ways in which they occupied the representational spaces, namely the major city squares in these cities. From the M-15 in Puerta del Sol Square – Madrid to the Egyptian Revolution in Tahrir Square – Cairo and from the OWS in Zuccotti Park – New York to Occupy Gezi in Taksim Republican Square – Istanbul, counter-discourses are expressed, explicit objections are voiced and massive crowds gathered in the very heart of the cities, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant publics. Indeed, city squares has always staged the struggles between multi-publics and claimed, however, it seems this has become an essential part of their social production in turn.

Yet, it is remarkable here to see that no matter what the physical conditions and affordances of the city squares are, the public sphere continues to evolve and publics

are still to be created especially by means of literary and virtual communication tools. As an example, the consideration of the aforementioned Baroque concept of spatial organisation in the 18th century together with the political upheavals of the period that they staged reflects the way that any given "public space" might be more complicated than it has been intended to do so.

This is because neither publics nor their spaces have been immune to change over time; dominant publics of one kind or another are born out of the struggles among multi-publics and create other counter publics, but what remains is that they oppress, mark and shape the "public" space to enable their appearances, determining the requirements and affordances of that space. This has been mainly the process of the social and actual (re)production of both public sphere and public space.

The main results of this historical periodisation that offered based on literature research and mapping methods are as follows:

(1) As the origin of city squares, agora became important enough to be shaped within the conditions of democracy during the Hellenistic period of Western history.

(2) Athenian (Direct) Democracy that shaped agora was based on having citizen rights and limited with the publicness of only young free male Greek citizens excluding women, slaves, old, children and foreign people. In other words, city squares have been restricted by the publicness of a limited spectrum of societies since their existence.

(3) The more authoritarian governments get, the more exclusive publicness become for a greater spectrum of societies and the more glorious city squares become getting greater in size. (Differences become crystallized in the shifts from Roman Republic to Roman Empire or from feudal oligarchy to absolute monarchy.)

(4) Spatial organizational practices have responded to the pragmatic demands of the power and have played an instrumental role in limiting publicness throughout history.

(5) City squares have always been the spaces of struggles for both domination and involvement.

(6) In contemporary conditions, city squares are dominated by the carriers of neoliberal urbanism and the paradoxical nature of representative democracy.

Integrating the knowledge from the former discussions, historical investigation of the transformation of publicness and the evolution of city squares of Istanbul based on the cases of Sultan Ahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares (introduced in four phases in Section 4) proves that there have been various ways to be appear politically for ordinary people even under different types of regimes.

From the former discussions, it has been revealed that city squares became important enough to be shaped and the concept of public appeared within the conditions of democracy during the Hellenistic period of Western history. However, under the following conditions of absolute monarchy, when there was no mechanism for ordinary people to be seen and heard politically, city squares appeared as the spaces of encounters not the involvement of ordinary people and as the spaces of domination which were dedicated to the emperors. Indeed, Imperial Forums of fully developed Constantinople as the capital of Roman Empire was no exception; they were the gathering points with commercial functions where everyday life of ordinary people took place but not to be included in government and politics. Yet, the example of Hippodrome of Constantinople proves that there were other ways to appear for ordinary people.

Hippodrome of Constantinople was located in the administrative hub of the city as a glorious structure as the stamp of the founding emperor. Although it was a typical Roman style circus, Hippodrome raised as an important public space, where different publics penetrate into each other and actually operated as the main city square in terms of being appeared politically even under the conditions of absolute monarchy. Hippodrome, as the only place where the emperors show themselves and receive petitions expecting to be acclaimed, became the representative space of domination, which brought its appropriation by the counters to position themselves in turn and staged the pre-feudal class struggles and conflicts among the population, yet, eventually reclaimed by the power; the emperor.

After the transition of Constantinople to Istanbul as an Islamic capital under the rule of Ottoman Empire, which was also an absolute monarchy during much of its existence, a sort of relation between society and state somehow could be established for centuries obviously again when there was also no legal mechanism for ordinary people of Istanbul to be “public”, as it had been established in Roman Empire.

As the spatialisation of this relation, Imperial Kulliyes of Ottoman Istanbul, which were the multi-functional social – religious complexes and the stamps of the Sultans that named after them, appeared as the centers of everyday life and representational spaces where sultans met people regularly on each Friday prayer. Friday Salutations were the opportunity for ordinary people to make their wishes and complaints aloud or written as petitions to sultan in person; to be appeared.

Yet, as an important part of the core, Hippodrome of Roman Constantinople preserved its social importance as the centre of everyday life during the Ottoman period, which operated again as the main city square now then called Atmeydanı. As the continuation of the socio-spatial memory of Hippodrome in an Islamic capital; Atmeydanı became the representational space of the power and its domination called again for its appropriation in turn.

Here, it is important to see that each socio-political transformation produce a new dominant discourse and its representational space that carved out of the former one.

Indeed, one of the important results of the interviews is the emphasis on the socio-spatial impacts of early Westernisation and modernisation process of Ottoman Istanbul during 18th and 19th centuries, which remarks a transition for both the transformation of publicness and the evolution of city square.

Beginning this period, Sultan himself gained a more accessible image and publicness became an increasing flavour of everyday life. It was the transition from an introvert to extrovert lifestyle based on secular attitudes rather than religious ones for all the society and an important step towards liberation and public presence of women as an important population of society and the publics. In time, public gardens and promenades have been organised outside the peninsula as the important locations of everyday life where women and children became visible. One of the most important long-term developments of this period was the rise of literary publicness in Turkish and coffee-houses of Istanbul where critical public opinion was created.

This transition remarked social production of Sultanahmet Square out of Atmeydanı and the rise of Seraskerat Square as the representational space of the changing dominant discourse. Surrounding buildings of Sultanahmet Square were mostly allocated to new institutions experiencing a functional and semantical transformation in favour of modernisation and despite the rise of the "Seraskerat Square" at Beyazıt

as an alternative in the peninsula, it remained as the representational space of Istanbul.

Following regime transition from a monarchy to a republican form of government and democracy in the conditions after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, new republican and revolutionist discourse produced its own representational space; Taksim Republican Square.

In fact, during the early Republican period, open public spaces were considered as the main elements of the modernization, they were the representational spaces of a modern social life and its new everyday practices.

As the interviews emphasized, first, the rise of "Seraskerat Square" at Beyazıt was immediately utilized. The establishment of Istanbul University in 1933 triggered the spatial, functional and semantical evolution of "Seraskerat Square" into "Beyazıt Square" as a cultural centre identified with the university, which became the central space where the critical public opinion was created and represented in time.

In the meantime, Sultanahmet Square was re-organised as a park, which was the reflection of a larger imagination; the new symbols of modernisation intended to transform the old into a museum secularising its former memory.

After the erection of "Republic Monument" in 1928, semantic accumulation of republican ideology became visible at Taksim. Indeed, Taksim was loaded with the codes of nationalism and modernism of early republican period. Yet, the target to transform Ottoman society into a modern one within the span of a single generation and the creation of a new and a modern publicness came along with its counter discourse produced by conservative population in time.

In fact, the Ottoman topography of power was then transformed into a new line between Beyazıt and Taksim in time. In this period, a dual relation was established between Beyazıt and Taksim; Beyazıt was the gathering point for all the celebrations, whereas Taksim was the reaching point where the celebrations were ended with laying wreath ceremonies to pay tribute to the monument and so the state.

An important breaking point of the republican period was the transition from single-party to mutli-party democratic system, which came along with a series of economic, social and political changes; (1) it brought to the society the opportunity to appear politically and to utter their wishes and preferences. In addition, (2) it also brought a

new function to the city squares; meetings and campaigns of political parties were then involved in their uses. Yet, squares and streets of this period with full of violence, police and soldiers reflect not a fully developed but rather a troubled democracy.

The results of the election of 1950s remarked a turning point from a statist, self-sufficient and controlled economy to a liberal free-market economy. Spatialisation of the new government's ideas and discourses was more condensed at Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares in parallel with their rising representative character.

As the interviews underlined, Beyazıt Square received the biggest blow during the widening construction of Ordu Caddesi (Army Avenue) in 1957, which turned it into a huge motorway junction rather than a city square cutting its both topographical and functional relation with surrounding.

Besides, the aim of to attract the foreign investment also reflected itself with the constructions of new luxury hotels in Taksim region shredding the Park No.2. However, the biggest blow for Taksim was the "Istanbul Pogrom", which caused the emigration of non-Muslim population of the region and so the loss of an essential part of the multi-publics.

Indeed, the second half of the 1950s experienced a growing socio-political tension; those who were opposing to the socio-economic policies of the government had begun to be suppressed, and the political freedom and democracy in Turkey had begun to be threatened. Eventually, the Military Coup of 1960 occurred..

Beyazıt Square became the symbol of the coup. Soon, it was renamed as "Liberty Square" (Hürriyet Meydanı) and "Liberty Monument" was erected. The Bayonet Monument was also erected at Taksim Republican Square in dedication to the coup, yet, both the monuments were removed and "Liberty Square" was officially renamed again as Beyazıt Square after the Military Coup of 12 September 1980 ironically. Yet, the dual relation between Beyazıt and Taksim and their representational quality had become more obvious and stronger after the Military Coup of 1960.

The period between 1960 and 1980 was a stirred one. The Constitution of 1960 enabled a wider spectrum of political activity than the old one. On the other hand, this was a period, in which political ideology has changed and political ideologies have diversified by the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation process of Turkey

and the power is exchanged between the centre-right and centre-left parties, creating a picture of nationalist, conservative and leftist trends.

During this period, there were new domination struggles in which the army was constantly in operation. In fact, there were violent clashes between left and right-wing dominant powers that cities but especially Istanbul staged. Central streets and squares, and of course universities became the battlegrounds of polarized multi-publics for domination. This unstable governance blended with military meddling, social unrest and political violence were followed by the economic crisis in parallel the economic conditions of the rest of the world during 1970s and resulted with the Military Coup of 12 September 1980.

The restless and troubled democracy and the struggles of the period reflected itself spatially again in both Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares of Istanbul. A series of tragedies that known as Bloody Sunday of 1969, Taksim Square Massacre of 1 May 1977, Beyazıt Massacre of 1978 targeted at left-wing publics, which occurred at Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares.

As another result of the interviews, Beyazıt Square has appeared as a space essentially appropriated by both right and left-wing, also by conservative and secularist publics due to the existence of Beyazıt Mosque and Istanbul University together. Sultanahmet Square was also appropriated by conservative religious discourse in relation with the existence Sultanahmet Mosque. On the other hand, Taksim was purely a secular space appropriated by left–wing publics especially after the Massacre of 1 May 1977.

Unlike the others, appropriation of Taksim by more secular and left-wing publics in fact came along with its counter; conservative religious publics began to search for their representation spatially building a mosque at Taksim Republican Square synchronously in 1977. In fact, beginning from 1977, the discussions on the construction of a mosque at Taksim continued to occupy the agenda of each government during the following years as much as the discussions on where to hold the 1 May Labour Day celebrations did as a reflection of this struggle.

The last transition in republican period reflects the conditions of rising authoritarianism and neoliberal urbanism together with consolidation of conservative religious discourse after the 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, the polarization between secularists and conservatives became more apparent. Especially, the period after the

general elections of 1991 was characterised by coalition governments and again political unrest, which enabled the rise of conservative and religious discourse to power in the general election of 2002.

Despite of changing structure of the governments, after the end of 1980s, the main aim of all the politicians and business circles was to integrate Istanbul into the global economic system rapidly. Consideration of Istanbul as a commodity enabled increasing land speculation and urban rent that came along with many social and spatial problems. Indeed, all of the contemporary dangers to the semantical, functional and spatial evolution of the public spaces (discussed in Section 3) have been experienced in Istanbul even more rapidly and brutally.

These socio-economic accumulations and adaptation of neoliberal urbanism policies, together with the gradual transformation of public sphere in favour of capital and conservative religious discourse, reflected itself in functional, spatial and semantical evolution of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares turning them it into the abstract spaces of capitalism.

Until 2002, what remained the same was the sharing of the squares by different publics tracing the socio-spatial memory of the struggle between Muslims and non-Muslims and polarization between the Peninsula and Pera since 19th century. After the general election of 2002, conservative and religious government (still in power) has maintained the neoliberal and anti-laborist model, but the main difference is that it has created religious clientelist mechanisms within the society. In fact, this remarks the transformation of conservatives as the counter publics of once into the dominant publics of today after a long time of consolidation period.

In time, political dominance of the government came along with the increasing authoritarianism, which extended to both the tools of literary and virtual publicness, namely the local press and popular social media platforms on the internet such as Twitter and Youtube etc., as intermittent bans imposed by the government. This authoritarianism and the increasing socio-political tension reflected itself in also the "public spaces". Among the cases, Taksim has staged the polarization of the society at its most; accumulations of socio-political tension and the claims of discourses over Taksim Republican Square led the Gezi Park Occupy Movement in 2013.

This social tension has been also nourished by the general oppressive and discriminative socio-political discourses of the government. However, it is

consolidated bringing together the crowds under “Taksim Solidarity” in May 2013 during “Gezi Park Occupy Movement”. This double process can be defined from Lefebvrian perspective; domination called for appropriation making the heterotopia.

Taksim Republican Square and Gezi Park have been appropriated by diverse groups from various ideological backgrounds against domination of neoliberal urban policies; it was a massive objection to not only these policies but also a call for to recover the troubled democracy.

Considering also the fact that there were always some “projects on the shelf”, which never cancelled exactly but rather implemented even decades later, one cannot surely state that the demands of the movement have been met. In fact, as one of those “projects on the shelf”, the foundation stone of the Taksim Mosque has been laid on February 2017. In other words, Taksim Republican Square was also reclaimed by the capitalist and conservative religious discourse turning into also an abstract space; and here Lefebvre seems purely right by now as saying “anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis” (Lefebvre, 1970).

Here, an important results of the interviews is the emphasis that Yenikapı Event Site (although it is often referred as “Yenikapı Square”) is the perfect reflection of today's understanding of publicness essentially; unsignified and unrepresented space of troubled democracy.

In fact, the experiences after the Military Coup Attempt of 2016 offer an answer to this discussion on the paradoxical nature of representative democracy system. Following the Coup Attempt of 2016, “Democracy Watch Rallies” began to support the government after President Tayyip Erdogan’s call the people to convene at city squares. This time, Taksim Republican Square was the first address of the “Democracy Watch Rallies” for 27 days, which is still banned for all the mass demonstrations and 1 May Labour Day celebrations particularly.

In this point, it is important to distinguish the understanding of “democracy” as the support to the state. In such an understanding, the main prerequisite for a city square to be open for everyone appears as the support but not oppose to the state, since the politicians are very well aware of the power of people, and so the city squares indeed.

Consequently, it has been proved that dominant publics are born out of the struggles among multi-publics, and create their counter publics, which might also become dominant in time. In fact, this is exactly the production of public sphere. On the other hand, the structural transformation of public sphere has always reflected itself at major city squares. Owners of the codes of representation dominate both the society and the city that they belong, in other words; they produce dominated spaces. It has been also proved that social production of Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares became the subject of the struggles between dominant and counter publics. In our contemporary age, all of the cases appeared as dominated by the carriers of neoliberal urbanism and conservative religious discourse. Briefly, the main results offered based on the cases are as follows:

(1) Dominant representation does not always show itself at the conventional city squares; Hippodrome of Constantinople operated as a city square.

(2) Although Atmeydanı remained as a left-over space under Ottoman rule, socio-spatial memory of Hippodrome survived and Atmeydanı of Ottoman Istanbul operated also as a city square.

(3) Examples of both Hippodrome and Atmeydanı provide a definition of the city square as a socio-political fact beyond the conventional ones offered by spatial science studies, in the sense of the space dominated by the power.

(4) Despite their various spatial characteristics, functional relations of city squares with surrounding commercial and governmental units etc., which are part of everyday life and their central locations, have been the absolute conditions in their existence.

(5) Transportation Planning, which is considered as a field of technical sciences, becomes a sociological issue to the extent it blocks the appearances of different publics at the city squares (like in the examples of Beyazıt and Taksim Republican Squares).

(6) The use of Taksim Republican Square during Gezi Park Occupy Movement appears as an example for the production of heterotopic (differential) spaces by counter publics that reclaimed by the dominant.

(7) The use of Taksim Republican Square during Democracy Watch Rallies after the Military Coup Attempt of 15 July 2016 appears as an example for the spatial reflection of paradoxical nature of representative democracy.

(8) Consideration of Yenikapı Event Site as a "city square" appears as the perfect example of the production of abstract space by unsignified, unrepresented and troubled democracy of today.

From this perspective, one should remind Kluge's words (1993:ix): "the public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war." Indeed, it has been seen that social and actual production of major city squares have always been a matter of politics rather than design.

Hence, this study offers three absolute conditions at their most basic level that are necessary to contribute in achieving "public spaces" as it has been discussed and idealised in papers and lectures:

(1) internalisation of "the principle of non-violence" both physically and psychologically, which is difficult to be measured in a ordinal scale and coloured on a map,

(2) being aware that (as professionals and users) we are also a part of this continuous struggle among multi-publics,

(3) challenging ourselves constantly to better decode, design and defend public spaces more effectively.

In order to be more specific, this study also offers three absolute principles to be adopted by professionals in spatial organisation of public spaces:

(1) "pluralitarian" design instead of "majoritarian" design, which means not to target a specific user profile,

(2) being not just technocrats but also activists, which indicates to defend the right to the city,

(3) using the knowledge in favour of the rights and social justice, which also means not to respond to pragmatic demands of power.

Finally, it should be considered that taking hold of the major city squares may not always mean absolute domination since public sphere always continues to evolve, and therefore all squares appear as important as the major ones.

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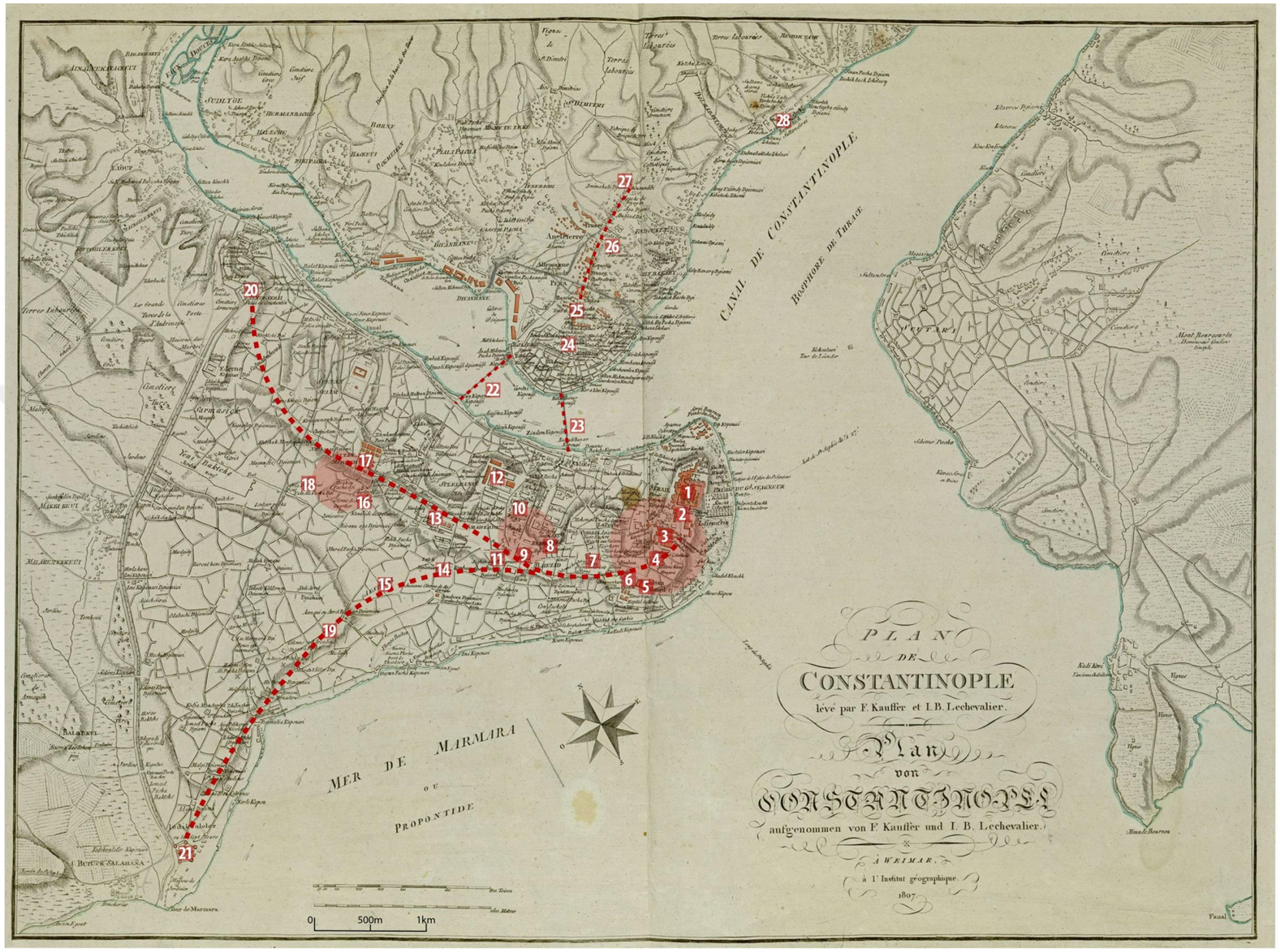
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Maps



1 Hagia Sophia
2 Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire
2a Alay Meydanı
2b Divan Meydanı
2c Enderun Meydanı
3 Atmeydanı
4 Column of Justinian
5 Firuz Ağa Mosque
6 Kulliye of Beyazıt II
7 Kulliye of Atik Ali Paşa
8 Column of Constantin
9 Bedesten
10 Kulliye of Mahmut Paşa
11 Saray-ı Atik-i Amire
12 Column of Theodosius
13 Etmeydanı
14 Kulliye of Murat Paşa
15 Kulliye of Fatih
16 Tekfur (Blachernae) Palace
17 Column of Marcian
18 Column of Arcadius
19 Golden Gate
20 Yedikule Citadel

Figure A. 1: Perspective plan of Istanbul – 1520 Byzantium sive Constantineopolis (after Giovanni Andrea Valvassori, Url-35).



1 Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire
2 Divan Meydanı (fForum Leo)
3 Hagia Sophia
4 Hagia Sophia Sq. (Augustaion)
5 Kulliye of Sultanahmet
6 Sultanahmet Square (Atmeydanı - Hippodrome)
7 Kulliye of Atik Ali Paşa (Forum Constantin)
8 Grand Bazaar
9 Kulliye of Beyazıt II
10 Bab-ı Seraskeri (Saray-ı Atik-i Amire)
11 Seraskerat Square (Forum Theodosius)
12 Kulliye of Suleymaniye
13 Kulliye of Şehzade (Amastrianon)
14 Kulliye of Laleli (Philadelphion)
15 Kulliye of Murat Paşa (Forum Bovis)
16 Column of Marcian
17 Kulliye of Fatih
18 Ahmediye Mosque (Etmeydanı)
19 Kulliye of Haseki Sultan (Forum Arcadius)
20 Yedikule Citadel
21 Golden Gate
22 Unkapanı Bridge
23 Galata Bridge
24 Galata
25 Tunel
26 Grand Rue de Pera
27 Maksem
28 Beşiktaş Palace

Figure A. 2: Map of Mentioned Structures and Regions in the early 19th century (on Plan de Constantinople by F. Kauffer and I.B. Lechevalier, Url-37).

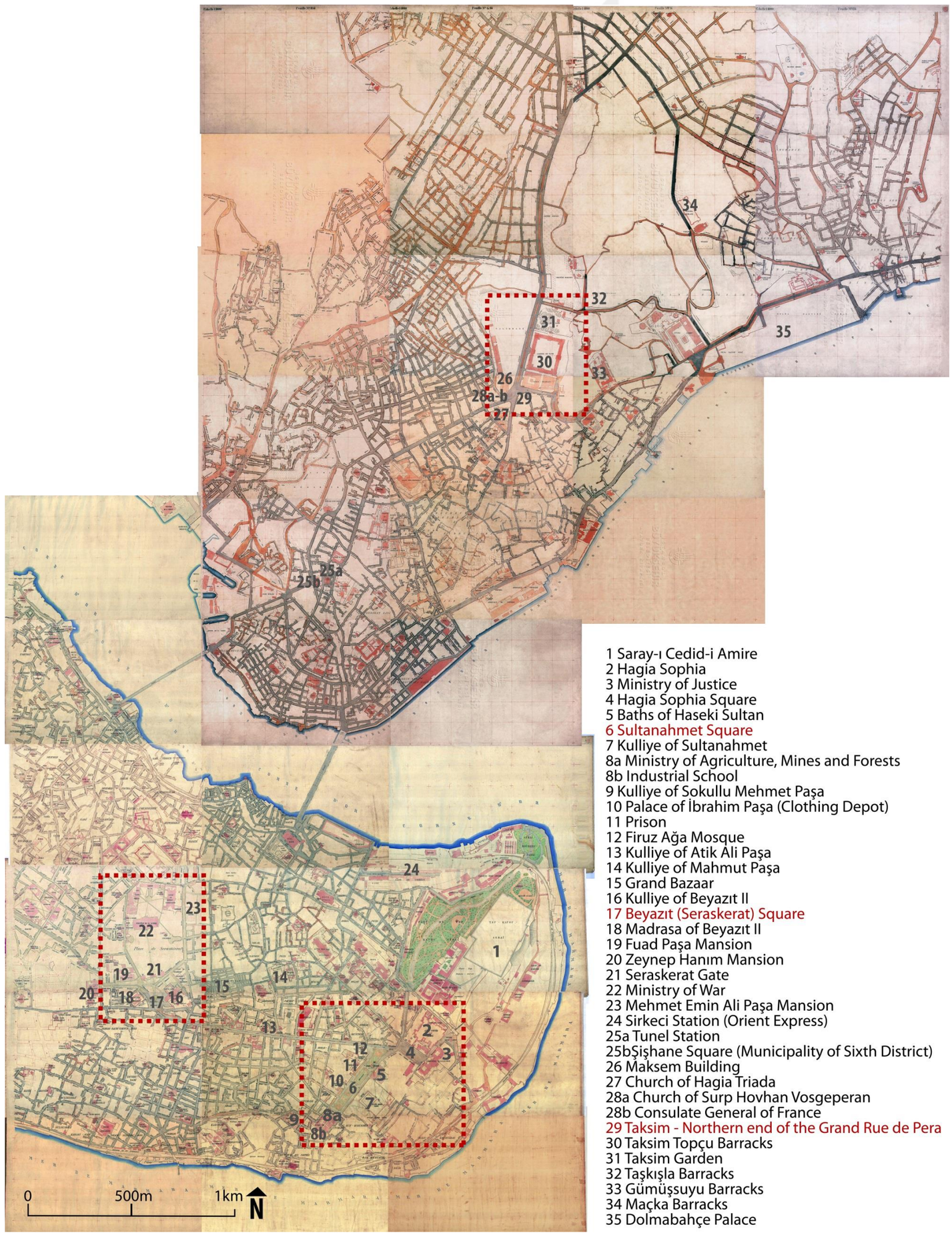


Figure A. 3: Map of Mentioned Structures and Regions in the early 20th century (on German Blues Maps –Alman Mavileri Haritaları–).



Figure A. 4: Sultanahmet Square and its Surroundings in 2017.



Figure A. 5: Beyazıt Square and its Surroundings in 2017.

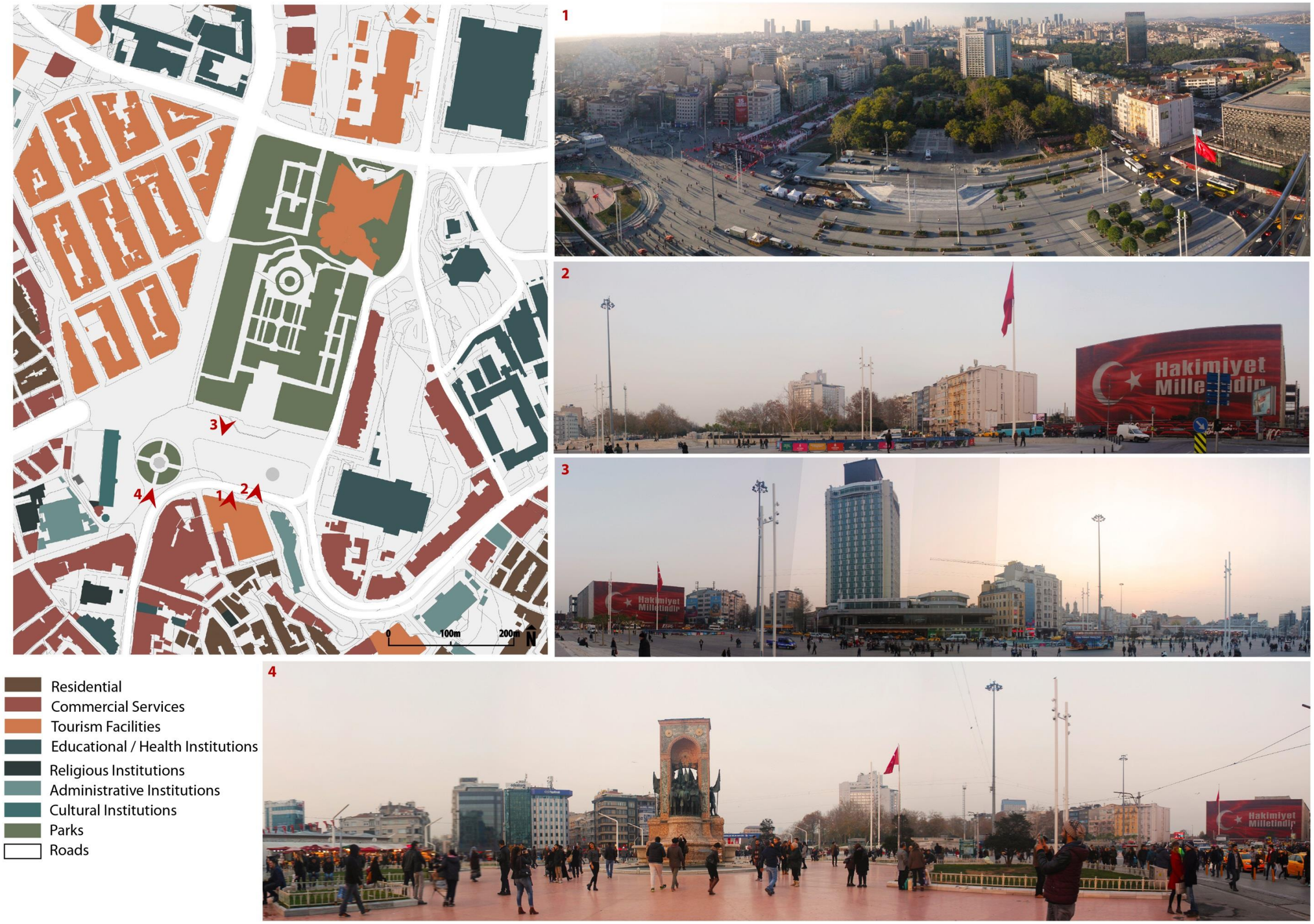


Figure A. 6: Taksim Republican Square and its Surroundings in 2017.

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