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**TRANSFORMATION OF A PUBLIC SPACE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY İSTANBUL:
BEYAZIT MEYDANI**

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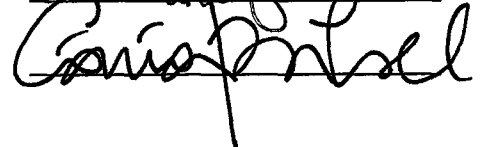
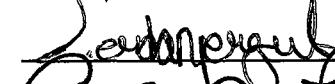
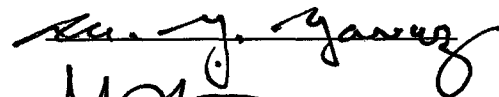
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ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF A PUBLIC SPACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY İSTANBUL: BEYAZIT MEYDANI

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This research aims to produce a comprehensive history of the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı related with the modernisation of the public realm in the Ottoman Empire. From a wide perspective, it proposes to understand space not only as an architectural or urban artefact but also as a social and political issue.

In opposition to the dominant view that the reshaping of urban spaces in İstanbul dates to the second half of the 19th century, this thesis argues that in fact, the transformation process began in the early 19th century.

By the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in 1826 (historically known as Vak'a-i Hayriyye), Sultan Mahmud II not only strengthened his authority in his empire but also eradicated the signs of the Janissaries from the landscape of the capital. The process of transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı, into Seraskerlik Meydanı (the square of new army's headquarter), constitutes a unique case reflecting this long power struggle. By the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, Beyazıt Meydanı became the centre of the new army and the notable stage of the military ceremonies.

The initial objective of the transformation was to provide space for the public appearance of power. This was realised at the expense of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, i.e. harem, which constitutes a significant part of Ottoman mosque architecture. Here, the demolition of the exterior courtyard is not only meaningful from the point of view of architecture or urban artefacts but also from social and political perspective.

The gradual demolition of the exterior courtyard signifies a conversion of the courtyard of the mosque (which was a *vakıf* land) to a public square; in other words a transformation from inside to outside. This spatial transformation went hand in hand with the political and social changes. New forms of public life, such as strolling, women's *promenade*, reading in *kıraathane*, going to theatres, were all staged in Beyazıt Meydanı and around, which became a true centre of attraction for these activities. The development of the modern urban landscape was parallel to the emerging modern public life. In Beyazıt Meydanı, widening of the streets, paving, lighting and tramway reshaped the area after 1860s.

Key Words: Public Realm, Public Space, Modernisation of the Ottoman Empire, Sultan Mahmud II, Janissaries, Square, Courtyard, Harem.

ÖZ

ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL İSTANBUL'UNDA KAMU MEKÂNININ DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: BEYAZIT MEYDANI

Yeşilkaya, (Gurallar) Neşe

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Bu araştırmada amaçlanan, Beyazıt Meydanında gerçekleşen dönüşümün Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda kamu alanının modernleşmesiyle ilişkili, kapsamlı bir tarihsel çözümlemesidir. Söz konusu araştırma, mekânı yalnızca mimari ya da kentsel bir nesne olarak değil tüm sosyal ve politik bağlamları ile bir arada ele almayı öngörür.

Bu araştırma, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına ağırlık veren yaygın görüşün aksine, İstanbul kent mekanının 19. yüzyılın başlangıcından itibaren dönüşüme uğradığını vurgulamaktadır.

1826'da Yeniçeriliğin kaldırılması (Vak'a-i Hayriyye) ile, II. Mahmud imparatorluk üzerinde otoritesini yeniden kurmakla kalmadı, Yeniçerilerin başkent üzerindeki izlerini de yok etti. Beyazıt Meydanı'nın, Seraskerlik (yeni ordunun idari merkezi) Meydanı'na dönüşümü bu erk mücadelesini yansıtan özel bir örnek teşkil

eder. Yeniçeriliğin kaldırılması ile Beyazıt Meydanı yeni ordunun merkezi ve askeri törenlerin prestijli bir sahnesi olmuştur.

Erkin kamusal görünümüne mekan sağlamak dönüşümün ilk hedefi idi. Bu Beyazıt Camii'nin, harem olarak da adlandırılan, Osmanlı cami mimarisinin önemli bir parçası olan dış avlusu pahasına biçimlendi. Burada dış avlunun yıkımı yalnızca kent ve mimarlık adına değil sosyal ve politik açıdan da önemlidir.

Dış avlunun zaman içinde yıkımı, vakıf arazisi olan cami avlusundan, kamusal meydana, başka bir ifade ile içten dışa dönüşüme işaret eder. Bu mekansal dönüşüm politik ve sosyal değişimlerle bir arada gerçekleşmiştir. Gezinti, kadınlar için yürüyüş, kıraathanelerde okuma, tiyatroya gitme gibi kamu yaşamının yeni biçimleri, gerçek bir cazibe merkezi olan Beyazıt Meydanı ve çevresinde sahnelenmiştir. Gelişen kamu yaşamına paralel olarak, modern kent peyzajı da şekillenmiştir. Beyazıt Meydanı, yolların genişletilmesi, kaldırımlar, aydınlatma ve tramvay ile 1860'lardan itibaren yeniden dönüşmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu Alanı, Kamu Mekânı, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, II. Mahmud, Yeniçeriler, Seraskerlik, Meydan, Avlu, Harem, Harâm.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of the Problematique

The concepts of public life and public space have attracted a great deal of attention within political studies and urban studies from a broad perspective. Nevertheless the literature about the transformation of public life and public space in Turkey and its Ottoman past is relatively weak. Deep empirical inquiries are required to develop the arguments on the issue of public, which is not only a critical aspect of democracy but also of modern city.

This dissertation aims to elaborate the changing of the Beyazıt Meydanı and public life in it and its surrounding area from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Beyazıt Meydanı, the centre of the Historical Peninsula, can be seen as a case to explore public life and public space for the period of early 19th century Ottoman Modernisation. How did the Ottoman Modernisation shape a physical space for its own? How was public life affected from this process or how did the public life affect the physical space? We will argue these questions by taking Beyazıt Meydanı as a critical example.

In fact, Beyazıt Meydanı had a significant role in the city of İstanbul's daily life and was a distinctive example of the influential changes, which took place in the urban space of the early nineteenth century. Understanding the spatial and social changes in the Beyazıt Meydanı might help us to understand it not only as an important urban element but also the structure of Historical Peninsula of İstanbul in the nineteenth century, the transformation of urban spaces and representation of Ottoman military power and city life.

Starting the scope of the study from the early nineteenth century is on purpose. From the late eighteenth century through the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire strengthened its rule and domination over the traditional Janissary Corps. Particularly Sultan Mahmud II's fight against the Janissary Corps (Vak'a-i Hayriyye in 1826) left its imprints on the urban space at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, Osman Nuri Ergin's and İlhan Tekeli's contributions set aside, the role of the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in the transformation of urban space was not studied in architectural or urban history of İstanbul. The process of transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı, into Seraskerlik Meydanı (the square of new army's headquarter), constitutes a unique case reflecting this long power struggle. By the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, Beyazıt Meydanı became the centre of the new army and the notable stage of the military ceremonies.

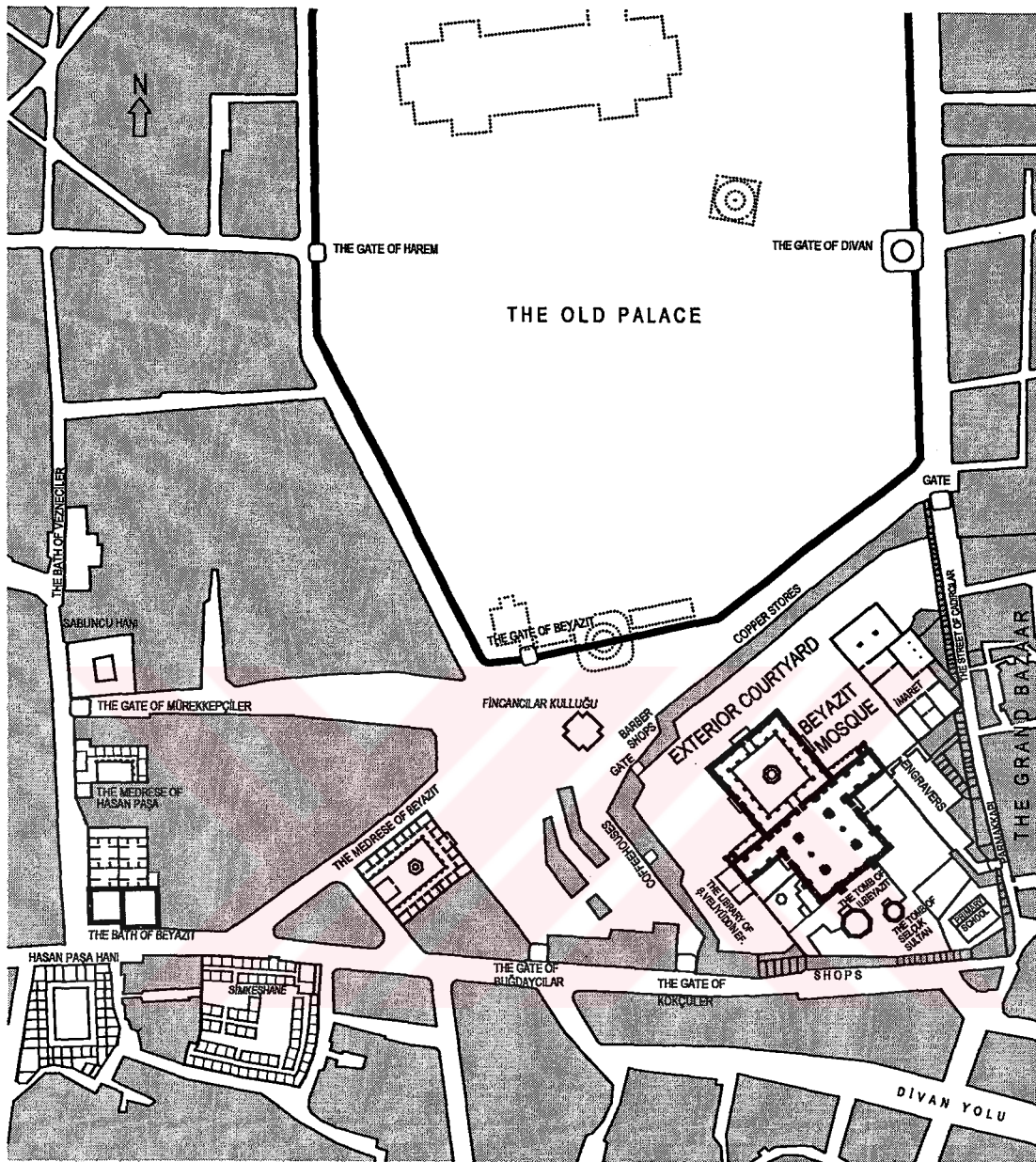
Nevertheless, Beyazıt Meydanı, as an ancient centre of city's daily life, was never a mere passive space for military parades and state ceremonies. New forms of public life, such as strolling, women's *promenade*, reading in *kıraathane*, going to theatres, were all staged in Beyazıt Meydanı and around, which became a true centre of attraction for these activities in the nineteenth century.

In the case of Beyazıt, the public space is reclaimed from the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, i.e. its harem, which constitutes a significant part of Ottoman mosque architecture. The exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, which has not been studied deeply in architectural and urban history, reveals the interventions that took place in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here, the demolition of the exterior courtyard is not only meaningful from the point of view of architecture or urban artefacts but also from social and political perspective.

In this research, the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque is comprehended as a gradual process that initiated after Vak'a-i Hayriyye (1826). Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 provides a cartographic summary of the spatial transformations that we could identify in and around Beyazıt Meydanı. In Figure 1.1 we see the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque prior to the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. In

Figure 1.2. we see that the Old Palace was assigned as the headquarter of the new army-Seraskerlik, a new gate for Seraskerlik was built and the northern part of the exterior courtyard was demolished. In Figure 1.3 we see that Beyazıt Meydanı was enlarged through the Divan Yolu and only the southern part of the exterior courtyard was remained. The thesis will provide a summary of these transformations.

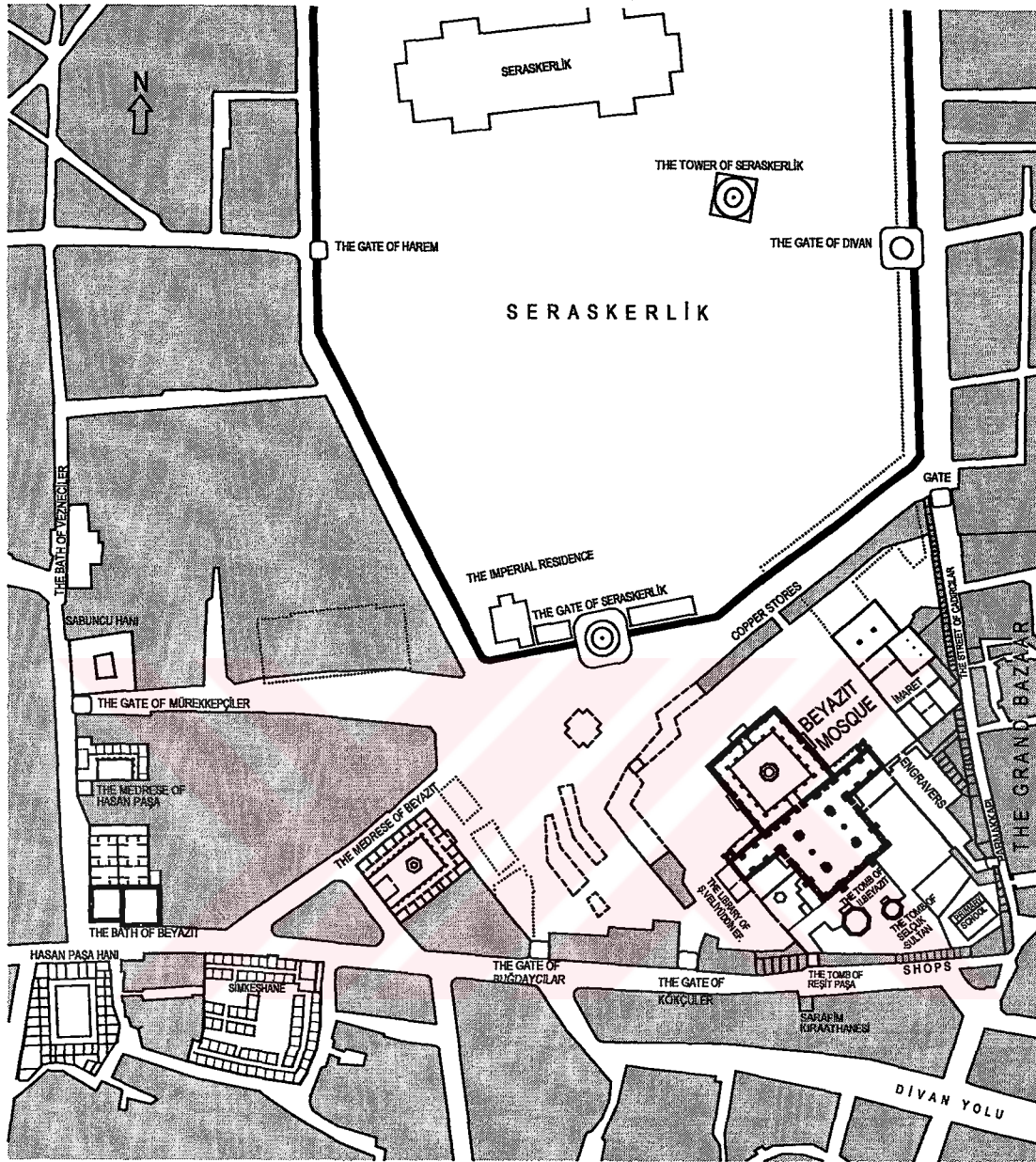
As we stated, the period studied in this research begins from the early 19th century, where drastic changes started to shape the city and daily life. However it is difficult to give exact dates for the end of our term. After 1860s Beyazıt Meydanı achieved a temporal final shape, which would be sustained till the Early Republican Period. At the same time, the end of the 19th century represents the settling of a new way of city life especially during the Ramadan. Even though we will mention some occasions from the early twentieth century in order to explain the meaning of the Beyazıt Meydanı in the public life of İstanbul, the analysis ends in 1880s, the Constitutional Period, when the signs of a modern public life such as newspapers, coffeehouses, and theatres could be seen largely.



 Additions

Figure 1.1: Beyazıt Meydanı prior to Vak'ai Hayriye (1826)

SOURCE: Compiled and drawn by the author from the following cartographic sources: Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813), The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, No: 3339. Published in Kâzım Çeçen, 1997. *II. Beyazıt Su Yolları Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İSKİ); Map of Beyazıt Area, *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması*, 1987, İstanbul: İBŞB; Contemporary map of Beyazıt Area, Municipality of İstanbul, No: İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-2-d, İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-3-a.



 Additions
 Demolitions

Figure 1.2: Beyazıt Meydanı After the Vak'ai Hayriye (1826) – till 1860s.

SOURCE: Compiled and drawn by the author from the following cartographic and visual sources: Moltke's Drawing, 1839. Municipality of İstanbul, The Library of Atatürk. No: 956.101 – 563, MOL 1268; Stolpe's Map, 1866. C.Stolpe, 1866, *Plan von Constantinopel, Plan de Constantinopel*, Berlin. ; Map of Imperial Engineering Department (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyün), 1845, Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko), p.116., Map of Imperial Engineering Department, (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyün), 1847, *Dar'ü Saadet*, published in Cahit Kayra, 1990, *İstanbul Zamanlar Mekanlar*, (İstanbul: Ak Yayınlar); Bartlett's Engraving, 1835, Miss Julia Pardoe, 1997, *18.yy'da İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi) , Photographs by Robertson, 1853-1854, Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko), Map of Beyazıt Area, *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması*, 1987, İstanbul: İBŞB; Contemporary map of Beyazıt Area, Municipality of İstanbul, No: İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-2-d, İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-3-a.

1.2. Public Realm and Public Space

The term “public”, as associated to the politics, has been mainly developed in political and social sciences. Related to these issues, “public space” is the subject of architectural theory / history, urban history and urban geography. However, the term “public space” is not only bound with democracy and political activities but it also covers social activities and daily routines of people in the cities. Before going on into the discussions on “public space”, we first need to look for the sources of the term “public” which has, in fact, very contradictory meanings.

Hannah Arendt, in her celebrated book, *The Human Condition*, developed a comprehensive argument on the public and private realms. According to her the term “public”:

[It] means, first, that everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity. For us, appearance – something that is being seen and heard by others as well as by ourselves- constitutes reality. [...]

Second, the term “public” signifies the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it.¹

In Arendtian sense ‘a private dinning room’ can also be a public space.² In her account, to have a “public appearance” outside the domain of private life is necessary to be “fully human”.³

¹ Hannah Arendt, 1958, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp.50-58.

² Seyla Benhabib, “Models of Public Space. Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas”, in Craig Calhoun (ed.), 1992, *Habermas and Public Sphere*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press), p.78.

In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas argues:

A public sphere that functioned in the political realm arose first in Great Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century. Forces endeavouring to influence the decisions of state authority appealed to the critical public in order to legitimate demands before this new forum. In connection with this practise, the assembly of estate became transformed into a modern parliament – a process that was, of course, drawn out over the entire century.⁴

His idea of rational political debate has been criticised for supposing an “egalitarian” view and presenting a bourgeois public sphere as “a normative ideal”.⁵

Habermas analyses the emergence of bourgeois public sphere in European context. However, his explanations of different types of public spheres help us to conceive the term from a wide perspective. Here, it may be convenient to mention the type “representative publicness”. With the type “representative publicness” he explains the public presentation of ruler’s power that we can observe in Ottoman Empire as well. For Habermas “representative publicness” is a display of power before the audience. As Habermas claims, “He [manorial lord] displayed himself,

³ Ted Kilian, “Public and Private, Power and Space”, in Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith (ed.) 1998 *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), p.120.

⁴ Jürgen Habermas, 1992, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. (Trans. Thomas Burger), (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press), p.57.

⁵ Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy”, in Craig Calhoun (ed.), 1992, *Habermas and Public Sphere*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press), p.136.

presented himself as an embodiment of some sort of ‘higher’ power.”⁶ According to him, “representative publicness” remained to the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷

In fact, the Turkish phrase “*kamusal alan*” [public area] is rather problematic. Although the words of “*Öffentlichkeit*, public sphere and public realm” could be translated into Turkish as “*kamu alanı*”, the content of the term “*kamu*” is quite elusive.⁸

In Turkish, the term “*kamu*” connotes “state” such as in the cases of public buildings, state economic enterprises (*kamu iktisadi teşebbüsleri*). It also means “whole, entire, people, general” as a word coming from the *old* Turkish.⁹ For instance the meaning of the words of “*kamu âlem*” means “everybody”. In fact, in the period of conducting this study, the idea of ‘to be open to public’ was described

⁶ Habermas, p.7.

⁷ Habermas, p.12.

⁸ The actual discussions on ‘headscarf in public sphere’ illustrate these definitional problems. When the President of the Republic of Turkey, Necdet Sezer, claimed “there is no place for headscarf in public sphere”, many of the authors and intellectuals raised the question of “where is public sphere?” Some of the authors argued that Necdet Sezer used the word as a way, which connotes “state”. See, Can Dünder, 26 November 2002, “Kamusal Alan mı? Neresi Orası?”, *Milliyet*, p.15. However some of them argued that his using of the word brings the “*kamu hizmeti*” (public service) into mind. See, Mehmet Y. Yılmaz, 29 November 2002, “Türbanda, ‘Kamusal Alan’ Nerede Başlar?”, *Milliyet*, p.2. In another article, it can be noticed that, Hasan Bülent Kahraman does not use the term “kamusal alan” and he prefers to use “toplumsal alan” (social sphere), see Hasan Bülent Kahraman, 22 November 2002, “Demokrasi mi?, Liberalizm mi?”, *Radikal*.

⁹ In the Etymological Dictionary of Turkish, the meanings of the “*kamu*” are “*bütün, tüm, toplum, genel*” and its origin is “*kamag, kamuğ, kamu*”. See, İsmet Zeki Eyüpoğlu, 1988, *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*, (Istanbul: Sosyal Yayınlar), s.v. “*kamu*”.

with different words. In Ottoman language, the terms *âmm* / *umûm* (general, public) and *hass* (particular or private)¹⁰ were used in the meanings ‘to be open to public’ and ‘secluded into private’. The words of *umûm* and *hass* and the relations between them should be studied in a historical perspective from written documents, which lies outside the scope of this thesis. The replacement of the word *umum* with the Turkish word of *kamu* should also be discussed from this perspective.

Even though, a historical survey about the use of the term ‘kamu’ has not been done, attention to the different aspects of public life in Turkey is growing.¹¹ In political sciences and social sciences such issues like the appearance of Islamic identity or appearance of women in public is being discussed¹² but little has been said on the matter of urban public spaces in Turkey.¹³

¹⁰ For the meanings of the words of *umûm* and *hass* see Ferit Devellioğlu, 1970, *Osmanlıca – Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, (Ankara: Doğu Matbaası) and *Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Redhouse Sözlüğü*, 1998, (İstanbul: SEV Matbaacılık).

¹¹ A special issue of an academic journal *Doğu Batı* was devoted for the discussions on “Kamusal Alan”. See *Doğu Batı*, 1998-99, no:5. For a historical surveys about the development of public sphere and public opinion in Ottoman Empire, see, Nadir Özbek, 2002, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sosyal Devlet Siyaset İktidar ve Meşruiyet, 1876- 1914*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları). For the representations of empire in the public domain, see, Selim Deringil 1994, “Abdülhamit Dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Törenselleşme ve Simgesel Doku: Görünmeden Görünmek”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no: 62. pp.34-56. Besides, Selim Deringil, 1998, *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (New York: I.B. Tauris).

¹² About the Islamic identity and woman in public domain, See, Sevdâ Alankuş Kural, 1997, “Türkiye’de Alternatif Kamular / Cemaatler ve İslamcı Kadın Kimliği”, *Toplum ve Birlik*, no:72, pp.5-44. On the relations of “national identity” and “islamic identity” in public domain, see, M. Hakan Yavuz, “Cleansing Islam from the public sphere”, *Journal of International Affairs* v. 54 no1 (Fall 2000) p. 21-42.

¹³ On this issue, see, Gürsel Korat, 1997, *Kayseri’de ve Şehirlerimizde Sokakların Ölümleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları). And a very recent book, Güven Arif Sargın (ed.), 2002,

The term “public space” is also a complicated term in Western theories.¹⁴ Although there is a tendency to divide “public” and “private” according to ownership regulations, it is not adequate to explain the complexity of the concrete situations. For instance, a publicly used shopping mall is privately appropriated. Even a third definition emerged as “privately owned public space”.¹⁵ In a broad sense public space can be defined as a space “to which all citizens are granted some legal rights of access”.¹⁶ Thus the definition of the term public according to its level of “accessibility” explains how a private space can be a public space as well. An interior space of a house can have a public role as we mentioned in Arendtian sense.¹⁷ On the contrary a public space can be the place for private actions. For instance a square is a place of private conversations in telephone boxes.¹⁸ Here, Ted Kilian, aims to reply these diversities. Kilian’s method of analysis offers not to define space in the dichotomy of “public” or “private” but to understand space as a

Başkent Üzerine Mekân – Politik Tezler, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları).

¹⁴ For instance, Ted Kilian draws attention to the contradictory explanations of the term of “public space” and questions “how can an empirical project be undertaken without identifying the ‘object of analysis’, i.e. public space?”, See, Ted Kilian, p.115.

¹⁵ The City of New York initiated the term in 1962. See: Jerold S. Kayden, 2000. *Privately Owned Public Spaces: The New York Experience*, p.1.

¹⁶ Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith, “Introduction: Geography, Philosophy and Public Space” in Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith (eds.) 1998 *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), p.3.

¹⁷ For instance, Ayata analyses how a Turkish family act in the living room, which is a public side of a house. Sencer Ayata, 1988, “Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no:42, pp.5-55.

¹⁸ An artist, Ian Pollock, uses telephone boxes in his performances, which creates “intimate” spaces in public space. See, Ian Pollock, 1998, “Local 411: Private Conversations in Public Space”. *Leonardo*, v. 31, no:4, p. 295-7.

side of both “publicity” and “privacy” depending on the “power to include (to gain access)” and “power to exclude”.¹⁹

John Gulick also criticizes commentators for not presenting “a coherent and consistent definition of *public space*”.²⁰ He defines three “connotations” of public space as “public property”, “semiotic” and “public sphere”.²¹ These three “overarching connotations of public space” are:

(1) physical property formally owned by state, such as streets, parks, vacant government-owned buildings, and plazas, used by marginal social groups to fulfill basic subsistence needs; (2) those urban sign –systems that, according to semioticians and other specialists who decode relationships between representations of power, do not govern or surveil the desires and actions of subjects; and (3) the ‘public sphere’ of settings where diverse citizens can see and be seen by one another, engage in enlightened political discourse, and encounter the bond of social solidarity”²²

In the western thought, as Gulick claims above, the idea of public space (streets, squares, open urban areas) connotes an ownership, which belongs to state. It is not possible to adapt these definitions for the case of Ottoman Empire. For instance, in Ottoman tradition *vakıf* (pious foundation), which was a kind of private authority, had open spaces accessible by the public. Therefore, we may not talk about

¹⁹ Ted Killian, p.124-125.

²⁰ John Gulick, “The ‘Disappearance of public Space’: An Ecological Marxist and Lefebvrian Approach”, in Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith (eds.) 1998 *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), p.135.

²¹ Gulick, p.136.

²² Gulick, p.135-136.

a public property but a public use of *vakıf* – which represents a kind of private-property.

For the definition of the word of “public” what matters most in this research is the meaning of “appearance”, to “be seen and heard by everybody” as it was defined by Arendt above. With the term public space we mean, spaces, which are, “accessible” by any one. Squares, streets, mosque courtyards are those kind of public spaces, which are the stages of “publicity” and the places of “appearance” outside the domain of private houses. Here, besides the meaning of the political arena, daily routines of the city life are largely included.

The object of this study “public space” is analysed according to two different modes of publicity: political activities and routines of daily life, which are both related with the physical materiality of space. When we are talking about a political activity, Beyazıt Meydanı is used as a stage for these activities. Either official ceremonies (realised by the will of power: the nation-state or the empire, as in the sense of Habermas’ “representative publicness”), or meetings, demonstrations, rebellions (political activities of people) take place in Beyazıt, which is a space for such activities. In that case Beyazıt Meydanı is a space for representations of power or people in political purposes. When we are talking about ordinary routines of daily life, the same square can be used as a place of daily activities, shopping, walking etc. These two modes are not separated realms. An ordinary space of daily life, for instance a public bath can be a space for a revolt as it happened in the case of Beyazıt (the revolt of Patrona Halil). By the nature of the issue, these two modes overlap or intersect. In order to grasp the full potential of public space, we should understand space as a palimpsest of different social activities and also and active agent in the shaping of social relations. With the purpose of studying the transformation of “public space” in the modernisation period of the Ottoman Empire, we should regard its different aspects from this perspective.

In this research, the term ‘public space’ is neither limited to its architectural qualities nor to its political connotations and roles. Traditionally the Beyazıt Meydanı, even though it was not a designed area, is a public space of appearance and

publicity. Besides, the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, i.e. its *harim* was also an accessible public space of a private authority, i.e. Beyazıt Vakfı. However we need to distinguish the transformation of public spaces in the early nineteenth century examples from the pre-existing public spaces of the Ottoman city. In other words instead of claiming that “there is no public space in traditional Ottoman city” as it is repeatedly stated, we prefer to point out to different modes of public space practices before and after the process of modernisation of the urban society. The pre-modern public spaces of our case (Beyazıt Meydanı and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque) altered in the early nineteenth century in accordance with the social and political changes of the Ottoman Empire. We are trying to investigate this alteration and its motivating grounds and their consequences.

The term “public space” does, not only cover the outdoor spaces, but also indoor spaces such as libraries, coffeehouses, theatres etc. We shall refer to some public buildings such as theatre buildings and coffeehouses at Beyazıt even though those indoor spaces are beyond the scope of this research since our aim here is not their interior quality. There is an abundance of such spaces in and around Beyazıt, which contributes to the liveliness of this area. The dynamic atmosphere at Beyazıt contributes to the livelihood of that kind of indoor public spaces and vice versa. In Jane Jacobs’ terms “The social life of city sidewalks”²³ and the quality of life owes a lot to interior public places, i.e. paper stores, coffeehouses, etc in the nineteenth century.

Before going on to discuss public and private domains of Islamic and Ottoman cities, it would be pertinent to present a brief overview on the debates about the modernity and public spaces in western context.

²³ Jane Jacobs, 1961, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Random House), p.55.

1.3. Modernity and Public Spaces

The Agora of the Ancient Greek city is generally regarded as the origin of public space and public realm.²⁴ Here, we will make a review of the relations between modernity and public spaces.

As J.B. Jackson explicitly states that the difference between traditional city and modern city stems from the presence of public spaces.²⁵ J.B. Jackson suggests that “the creation of public spaces-roads, streets, avenues, squares”²⁶ played essential roles restructuring of the modern city. Jackson finds the origins of public spaces in the medieval age. He argues that in the 11th century “The market place” was the starting point for the “emergence of the city as a system of public squares and streets”²⁷. For him,

These public spaces [market places], undoubtedly the first planned and designed public spaces to appear in the European city, were of course the creation of the civic authorities – a recognition not only of the importance of the mercantile and craft interests, but also of the fact that they demanded recognition in terms of space. [...]
The emergence of the market place in the 11th Century was significant of several developments in the medieval landscape: the importance of the merchant and craftsman in the economic life of

²⁴ We need to mention this issue again, while we will produce a brief history of square in western urban history. See, Chapter 2.

²⁵ J.B. Jackson, 1980, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics*, (Amherst: The University of Massachusettes), pp.55-66. An extract, “The Discovery of the Street”, was re-published in Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (eds.), 1987, *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, (New York, Mac Millian), pp.75-94.

²⁶ J.B. Jackson, 1980, p.75.

²⁷ J.B. Jackson, 1980, p.76-78.

the town was thereby recognized and given form; the self awareness of the town or city fostered an awareness of environments, of the feasibility of planning and creating environments for special activities or groups of people.²⁸

In his book, *The Fall of Public Man*, Sennett discusses that the idea of “public” became common for the bourgeois people of both Paris and London in the eighteenth century. He says:

‘Public’ thus came to mean a life passed outside the life of family and close friends; in the public region diverse, complex social groups were to be brought into ineluctable contact. The focus of this public life was the capital city.

These changes in language were correlated with conditions of behaviour and terms of belief in the eighteenth century cosmopolis. As the cities grew, and developed networks of socialibility independent of direct royal control, places where strangers might regularly meet grew up. This was the era of the building massive urban parks, of the first attempts at making streets fit for the special pedestrian strolling as a form of relaxation. It was the era in which coffeehouses, then cafes and coaching inns, became social centers; in which the theatre and opera houses became open to a wide public through the open sale of tickets rather than the older practice whereby aristocratic patrons distributed places.²⁹

As Sennett lists above, parks, streets, coffeehouses, theatre and opera buildings, became popular places for the bourgeoisie “to see” and “to be seen”.³⁰

²⁸ J.B. Jackson, 1980, p.79 and p.80.

²⁹ Richard Sennett, 1977, *The Fall of Public Man*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p.17.

³⁰ Ibid.

Among these public spaces, as Sennett mentions, one must also pay attention to the urban parks. Olmsted designed vast urban parks for public health and enrichment of the urban life.³¹ He had large contributions to the creation of public parks in 1860s American cities. In the sense of modernity, to define a green area as a park, it requires to be coming “from efforts to ornament the city or to establish settings for light, pleasurable amusement”.³² From this perspective Olmsted’s Central park in New York had significant place in the history of public spaces.

One of the most significant achievement of modernisation in cities and creation of public spaces can be seen in boulevards. As Marshall Berman analyses, “the new Parisian boulevard was the most spectacular urban innovation of the nineteenth century and the decisive breakthrough in the modernization of the traditional city”.³³ Napoleon III and Haussmann carried out the wide and long axes in the medieval city. Parallel to the boulevards, there were extremely large sidewalks, on which coffeehouse, shops and restaurants lined on the street level.³⁴ From Baudelaire’s poem “The Eyes of the Poor”, Berman observes, how “the boulevards created a new primal scene: a space where they could be private in public” (p.152). For Berman on the one hand, the emergence of this “new private and public world” is the beginning of “the modernization of public urban space” (152). On the other hand with the help of Baudelaire’s poem “Loss of a Halo”, Berman perceives, the

³¹ Frederick Law Olmsted, 1870, “Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns” American Social Science Association (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside), pp.1-36, re-published in Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (eds.), 1987, p.222-261.

³² John, A., Peterson, November 1985, “The Evolution of Public Open Space in American Cities”, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.12, No:1, pp. 75-88.

³³ Marshall Berman, 1988, *All That is Solid Melts into Air The Experience of Modernity*, (New York: Penguin Books), p.150.

³⁴ Ibid, all references hereafter, as noted by pages numbers in parenthesis are to *All That is Solid Melts into Air*.

“risky” and “frightening” boulevard life, which was created by modern traffic and he comments on the contradictions of modernity (158).

Berman clarifies the distinctive histories of modernizations in the world. In fact, as Berman elaborates, Petersburg’s story of modernization (in his words “the modernism of underdevelopment”) entirely differs from Paris (“the modernism at home”). As we are going to study another case of modernisation, it is worth to pay attention for Berman’s analysis of Petersburg.

According to Berman, open spaces of Petersburg “incarnate the paradox of public space without public life” (189). Berman explains how Peter I constructed a new capital, as “a window open to Europe” from the beginning of the eighteenth century. As Berman introduce us, this planned city had geometric order, system of canals and a city center (177). Equestrian statue of Peter the Great was erected in Senate Square in 1782 and instead of the traditional Russian style the building are adorned by western facades.

He focuses on the Nevsky Prospect, which was “the city’s longest, widest, best-lit and best – paved street” as “ a distinctively modern environment”(193-4). He also describes the features of this modern landscape:

“a focus for newly accumulated material and human forces, macadam and asphalt, gaslight and electric light, the railroad, electric trolleys and automobiles, movies and mass demonstrations” (194).

By comparing “two modes of modernism in the streets” from the cases of Paris and Petersburg, Berman observes that “the modern city works as a medium in which personal and political life flow together and become one” (229). Nevertheless he also points out significant differences. While the boulevards of Paris are tools for dynamics of modern economy for the bourgeoisie and the arena of modern politics, Nevsky Prospect of Petersburg:

[it] may be more splendid than any Parisian boulevard is a kind of stage set, dazzling the population with glittering wares, nearly all imported from the West, but concealing a dangerous lack of depth behind the brilliant façade (230).

Thus, Berman points out to “a larger polarity in the world history of modernism” by comparing Paris and Petersburg.

We will observe that different examples of modernisation never present the same process. The modernisation of İstanbul is certainly different from that of Petersburg. Before looking at the particular history of modernisation of İstanbul, we will trace the definitions of the public and private domains within the traditional city pattern of the East.

1.4. Public and Private Realms in Islamic City and Ottoman City

Public and private domains of Islamic city have been mostly discussed in the dichotomy of West and Islam. However many authors attacked recently the opposition between the concepts of Western city and those of the Islamic city. Against the West and Islam dichotomy, which was especially drawn by Max Weber, Martin J. Daunton discusses that English labour class created a “domesticated life-style” which found its spatial form by “courtyards and alleys”, like in a Islamic city.³⁵

³⁵ Martin J. Daunton, “The Social Meaning of Space: The City in the West and Islam”, 22-28 October, 1989, *The Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT)*, Vol.1, (Tokyo: Research Project “Urbanism in Islam”, a Comparative Study” & The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan), pp.26-58.

While Dauntton blurs the boundaries between Western and Islamic cities, Janet L. Abu-Lughod rejects the title of “Islamic city” which covers, as she says, “a large body of literature about an intellectual construction of reality”.³⁶ According to her:

“Western ‘Orientalism’ constructed this particular category in order to bracket ‘Islam’ and to collapse its variety into a stereotypic and static ‘other’, most useful as a foil against which to highlight the variegated and developmental image of western cities.”³⁷

Although the theoretical framework of the concept has not been established yet, there are arguments on the issue of public and private domains in Ottoman cities and their similarities with the concept of “Islamic city”.

Doğan Kuban, in his book, *İstanbul An Urban History* defines the urban spaces of Ottoman İstanbul and the domains of private and public:

Design of urban space was not part of the Turkish and Islamic city concept. The Turks came closer to it when they built large fountains surrounded by open spaces, a characteristic feature of the Tulip Period. As it is easily observed in the configuration of the streets, the conflict between private and non-private space seemed to have been resolved in favour of the private, thus left to the spontaneous activities of the citizens.³⁸

³⁶ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, “What is Islamic About a City? Some Comparative Reflections.” 22-28 October, 1989, *The Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam (ICUIT)*, Vol.1, (Tokyo: Research Project “Urbanism in Islam”, a Comparative Study” & The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan), pp.193-218.

³⁷ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, p.194.

³⁸ Doğan Kuban, 1996, *İstanbul an Urban History, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, (Istanbul: The economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey,). p. 368.

Stefan Yerasimos discusses that the Ottoman administration had a limited role in the reshaping of urban spaces before the proclamation of Tanzimat (1839).³⁹ For Yerasimos the Ottoman administration tried to rule the urban spaces with the help of building codes, land use regulations etc. in the pre-modern period. Even though there were such regulations, the absence of “authority” in the implementation of the decisions, prevented the state’s control over space. For him, by the proclamation of Tanzimat, Ottoman administrative system was reformed according to the western model. Yerasimos explains the weakness of the authority in the control of the urban space with its inability to resist *şeriat* (religious laws). For Yerasimos despite the fact that there are different geographic and climatic conditions, we have to accept the idea of “Islamic city” in some degree. For him, there is no public space in an Islamic city. Besides the areas, which belonged to private ownerships (persons, Sultans or pious foundations), there were “common areas” of communities. Instead of the idea of western “boundary” that depended on Roman law, he defines the limits of a land by the term “*fina*”, which indicate a transition from private space to common space.⁴⁰ Thus, a street was a commonplace of a community, which get more privacy through the house of the family. The *cul-de sacs* and even the neighbourhoods had gates, which were closed in order to control the area.⁴¹

However Mustafa Cezar defines the Ottoman public space in a different sense. In his recent book *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, he argues that even though the Ottoman tradition had neither a city administration nor the concept of public realm (*kamu alanı*) as in western countries, the *vakıf külliyesi* can be seen as a kind of

³⁹ Stefan Yerasimos, 1999 “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine”, in Paul Dumont and Francis Georgeon (eds.) *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), p.6-8.

⁴⁰ Yerasimos, 1999, p.10-11.

⁴¹ He also elaborates this argument in Stefanos Yerasimos, Aralık 1997, “Sınır, Uç Ve Duvar”, *Fol*, no: 7, pp.34-38.

public realm, which works for public benefit (*kamu yararı*).⁴² He claims that in İstanbul one cannot talk about planned ceremonial squares in western sense, however *vakıf* lands provides public spaces for people.⁴³

Cezar questions also the relevancy of the concept of Islamic city for İstanbul, which presumes a city in which neighbourhoods are separated by gates.⁴⁴ He claims that such arguments mostly depend on a document dated 1578, which was published by Ahmed Refik. Even though, this historical document ordered the building of gates between neighbourhoods, we need to consider its historical context. According to Cezar the historical context of this document was largely ignored in the contemporary comments about the city and street life of İstanbul. For him, this order was announced when the terror of the *suhte* revolts threatened the city life and these gates were never constructed as their counterparts in a typical “Arabic city”. Although his emphasis on “Arabic city” has a nationalist tone, we have to consider his warnings about this particular context of the written documents.

The pre-modern Ottoman cities may share some common points with other Islamic cities; nevertheless, we have to avoid discussing them under an extensive title of Islamic city. We need to consider particularities of the cases instead of applying over generalized categories into the cases.

After these arguments on the issue of public and private domains in the Ottoman cities, we will now review the nineteenth century urban history of İstanbul and figure out the limits of contemporary literature on the issue.

⁴² Mustafa Cezar, 2002, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı Yayını), p.155-156. Actually, he largely develops this argument in his previous book: Mustafa Cezar, 1983, *Typical Commercial Building of the Ottoman Classical period and the Ottoman Construction System*, (Trans. Ahmet Edip Uysal), (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları).

⁴³ Cezar, 2002, Ibid.

⁴⁴ Cezar, 2002, p.161.

1.5. Re-organisation of Urban Institutions and Transformation of Urban Space in the 19th Century İstanbul.

In Wallerstein's term "different parts of the world were all on parallel roads to modernity or capitalism".⁴⁵ By the proclamation of Tanzimat in 1839, Ottoman Empire was announcing his desire to join (in Wallerstein's term) "the modern world-system".

The proclamation of Tanzimat reforms is generally accepted as a symbol for the start of the modernisation of İstanbul and other cities of the Ottoman Empire in the urban history writing. Planning and administrative organisations are regarded as the main issues to understand the re-shaping of İstanbul. In this context, particular attention is paid to the second half of the century.

The main issue of the second half of the 19th century was about widening old narrow roads, eliminating *cul-de sacs* and opening new roads. The characteristics of the ancient Roman city, such as forums and wide streets had disappeared since new neighbourhoods were settled on them. However, as Osman Nuri Ergin pointed out, wide streets and squares were tried to be re-inserted in the city after the Tanzimat regulations.⁴⁶ After the big fires, which devastated large areas in the city, it was possible to make room for straight, wide boulevards and squares.⁴⁷ Consequently, the urban structure of İstanbul was changed to a great extent.

⁴⁵ Immanuel Wallerstein, 1999, *The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science For the Twentieth- First Century*, (Mineapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press), p.182.

⁴⁶ Osman Nuri Ergin, 1995. *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları), p.203.

⁴⁷ Zeynep Çelik, 1993, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press), pp.52-67.

Briefly, we will review the new administrative organisations of the nineteenth century aiming to meet the requirements of the city. Osman Nuri Ergin, in his book, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, emphasises the significance of the year of the abolishment of the janissaries, i.e. 1826 (1241), when the establishment of a new order in the place of the traditional system was possible.⁴⁸ Tekeli also points out the “former changes” before the organisation of the modern administrative system.⁴⁹ As Tekeli explains, the traditional importance of the *kadı*, who was charged with administrative duties in collaboration with janissaries, was reduced after the abolishment of the corps of Janissaries.⁵⁰ İhtisap Nezareti (Office for the Control and Regulation of Urban Economic Affairs) was established in 1826 and in 1831, Sultan Mahmud II, integrated two traditional systems i.e. Şehremini (mayor) and Mimarbaşı (head of Architects) into one organisation named Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Royal Buildings).⁵¹ In fact, Şehremaneti (municipal administration) was established in 1855 to replace this centralised organisation found by Mahmud II.⁵² In 1857 İstanbul was to be divided into 14 districts. The Sixth District (Beyoğlu, Pera) was the most European part of the city with its population as well as its urban pattern. In 1878 the number of municipal departments was reduced to 10. Beyazıt was the First District.⁵³

⁴⁸ Ergin, 1995, see pages 931-936; p.1263; for the role of janissaries in the built environment before the abolishment of the janissaries, see p.976.

⁴⁹ İlhan Tekeli, 1994, *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration Planning*, (Istanbul: IULA-EMME), p.5.

⁵⁰ Tekeli, 1994, p.12.

⁵¹ Tekeli, 1994, p.14.

⁵² Tekeli, 1994, p.15.

⁵³ Osman Nuri Ergin, 1996. *İstanbul Şehreminleri*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı), p.50.

Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu (Commission for the Improvement of Roads) was established after the Big Fire of HocaPaşa in 1865, which destroyed a large sector in the Historical Peninsula.⁵⁴ While the Sixth District undertook operations to reshape the urban form in Galata and Beyoğlu, Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu was operating on the Historical Peninsula.⁵⁵

In the reshaping of İstanbul, Şehremini Server Paşa, who was charged in the period of 1868 and 1870, had a special role. According to Osman Nuri Ergin, Server Paşa was the first Şehremini brought a new approach in municipal administration.⁵⁶

İlhan Tekeli explains that the “great transformation” in the urban spaces of İstanbul was accomplished in the 1860s.⁵⁷ He summarises this transformation in five points. Firstly, a new city centre, which included banks, insurance companies, and also new governmental buildings, had been developed in accordance with the new capitalist relations. Secondly, the traditional transport system was modernized and new modes for public transport are introduced. Thirdly, new housing areas emerged related to the new class differences. Fourthly, the city spread out and new suburbs were developed. Last but not the least, a public realm was established related to the “modernity” and “new ways of life”, and eventually the use of land was changed. As İlhan Tekeli explains, the issue of urban planning should be comprehended with its links to the public realm, which was differentiated from the private realm in modern societies.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Çelik, 1993, p.56.

⁵⁵ Tekeli, 1994, p.35.

⁵⁶ Ergin, 1996. *İstanbul Şehreminleri*, p.103.

⁵⁷ İlhan Tekeli, 2001, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, (Ankara: İmge), p.72-73.

⁵⁸ Tekeli, 2001, p.17.

Zeynep Çelik, in her book *The Remaking of İstanbul*, starts with the apriori judgement that “The modern era had not yet left its mark on the Ottoman Capital in the early decades of the nineteenth century”.⁵⁹ She particularly draws attention to the Tanzimat reforms (1839) and regulations on urban planning and building codes (after 1848). She also elaborates the roles of big fires, which had devastated huge areas in the city in 1850s and 1860s. She values the 1856 Aksaray Fire as “a major turning point in the history of İstanbul’s urban form”.⁶⁰ The project of Luigi Storari for the reorganization of Aksaray, in which the crossroads were “emphasised” by “cutting of the corners”, was regarded as “Though by no means a public square in the Western sense of the word, the new intersection was perceived as such, and, for example, was described by the *Journal de Constantinople* as a ‘belle place’.”⁶¹

For Doğan Kuban, Mahmud II was “the last sultan to rule in a pre-industrial age” and Tanzimat is “the age of radical administrative reforms”.⁶² Although Kuban claims that during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II “the city’s physiognomy had been considerably altered”,⁶³ his particular emphasis is on the later regulations and building activities. About the emergence of public spaces he observes that

Throughout the nineteenth century, military establishments, new factories and the railroads were all built on imperial domains, replacing the imperial pavilions, leisure gardens or old derelict places. In this sense, the transformation of the city may be defined as the conversion of the imperial domains into public property.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Çelik, 1993, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Çelik, 1993, p.53.

⁶¹ Çelik, 1993, p.54.

⁶² Kuban, 1996, p.376.

⁶³ Kuban, 1996, Ibid.

⁶⁴ Kuban, 1996, p.379.

As Kuban explains “to make the streets, open spaces and parks part of a total urban image proved to be the most difficult cultural task undertaken by the Turkish planners and administrators since the Tanzimat.”⁶⁵ Amongst the Altıncı Daire’s (Sixth District’s) organisations of public squares, he mentions Karaköy Square and Şişhane Meydanı. Parallel to the discussion of Çelik, Kuban argues, in the Historical Peninsula, Aksaray Meydanı (the project of Storari after the 1856 Aksaray Fire) is a case that “For the first time in İstanbul the intersection of two streets was enlarged to create a small octagonal square”.⁶⁶

The mentioned studies above constitute very important turning points in İstanbul’s urban history. In fact, we cannot deny the importance of the modernisation efforts at the second half of the 19th century, which is also very determining for the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı in its second phase. However, the initial interventions in İstanbul, which dated early 19th century, are highly significant for the city of İstanbul, as much as the establishment of Şehremaneti and other mechanisms of regulation. Therefore (in Tekeli’s term) “former changes” should be studied in depth, in order to understand the transformation of urban spaces from a broader perspective.

The transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı (as we will observe in the following chapters) represents an earlier case than the Aksaray Meydanı and other squares that were mentioned above. Here, the most significant point is not the priority of the case of Beyazıt in a historical time perspective, but the reasons behind the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı are critical. As an early example, which dates from 1820s, Beyazıt Meydanı was re-shaped not as an urban planning and regularization exercise, but as part of spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II, who succeeded to overcome the power of janissaries in the city. For this reason we believe that, the early decades of the nineteenth century, particularly the interventions of Sultan Mahmud II, had “left its mark on the Ottoman Capital”.

⁶⁵ Kuban, 1996, p.386.

⁶⁶ Kuban, 1996, p.387.

In the early nineteenth century, Sultan Mahmud II and his struggle with janissaries were indeed determining in re-shaping the city. According to Şehsuvaroğlu among his “successors and predecessors” (*selefleri* and *halefleri*) Sultan Mahmud II was the most influential sultan.⁶⁷ He built several military and public buildings such as barracks, hospitals, schools, mosques and official buildings. Although Sultan Mahmud II had a primary role in the reshaping of the city of İstanbul, his interventions on the city have not been discussed elaborately.⁶⁸

There are some reasons about the absence of Sultan Mahmud II’s reign in the urban history writing on İstanbul. First, the history of the modern city generally focused on planning and administrative institutions, which leads to a particular interest to the second half of the century. Secondly, the urgency of needs led to use timber for most important buildings, that Sultan Mahmud II constructed, although we can see some examples of stone constructions especially in barracks. In 1860s, these

⁶⁷ Halûk Y.Şehsuvaroğlu, January 1958, “19.asrın birinci yarısında İstanbulda İmar Hareketleri”. *TTOK Belleteni*, pp.3-4.

⁶⁸ Neither Kuban nor Çelik discuss the role of Sultan Mahmud II and the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in the changing features of the city. In his book Cahit Kayra refers only to *Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri* and presents a very general view of the Bosphorus. See, Cahit Kayra and Erol Uyepazarcı, 1992, *İkinci Mahmut’un İstanbul’u: Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri*, (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi). A two pages article of Halûk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu emphasized the importance of this period and summarizes the buildings and restorations in that term. See, Halûk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, January 1958, pp.3-4. The only detailed work about the reign of Sultan Mahmud II is Meliha Şimşek’s unpublished Ph.D. thesis See, Meliha Şimşek, 1992, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da II. Mahmud Dönemi İmar Faaliyetleri*, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi. From a point of view of art history, Şimşek’s thesis represents a wide catalogue of the buildings. Among the researchers who studied the history of İstanbul, Mustafa Cezar paid more attention to Sultan Mahmud II, besides Sultan Selim III, and Mahmud II’s sons Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz in his last and very recent book. See, Mustafa Cezar, 2002. However we believe that, the reign of Sultan Mahmud II needs more attention particularly from the point of view of struggle between the janissaries and the empire and its effects on the urban space in the historical city of İstanbul.

timber constructions were demolished and replaced by new stone constructions. Therefore, stone constructions replaced the early nineteenth century examples. Hence, it is hard to find many buildings dating from the early nineteenth century in İstanbul. Thirdly, the earliest of the maps, that we can find, dates back to 1854 (1270).⁶⁹ Consequently, it is hard to document the early nineteenth century urban space from the archives for the time being. Fourthly, there is a tendency to observe the building or construction efforts; whereas wide scale demolitions (not accidental occasions such as fires but deliberate destructions) in the early nineteenth century changed the city largely. Today, we can find neither the traces of the Eski Odalar (the Old Barracks of Janissaries) nor the Yeni Odalar (the New Barracks of Janissaries), which was a giant complex sheltering 173 *oda* (janissary company).

1.6. Epistemologies of [Public] Space

In the book, *The End Of The World As We Know It*, Wallerstein claims that, not only the world that we live but also the way of our explaining the world is going to change. He argues that because of these changes the first half of the twenty-first century will be “more difficult” and “more unsettling”. However, as he points out, indeterminacy paves the way for new possibilities.⁷⁰ According to him, by the changing of “our understanding of the world”, “a unitary theory” of natural sciences and social sciences is going to emerge.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ergin, 1995, p.1244. Today these maps can be seen in Atatürk Kütüphanesi, İstanbul Kitaplığı. Cataloguing of the maps is continuing, however it is stated from the archive that, they could not catalogue any map older than what Ergin presented.

⁷⁰ Wallerstein, 1999, p. 1-4.

⁷¹ Wallerstein, 1999, p. 213-216.

In the field of architectural history, a comprehensive understanding of built environment is also being discussed.⁷² Traditionally, architectural theory has been bounded with the problem of form, and dominated by the debates of style. However, as Edward Relph claims, “detailed attention is like attempting to describe an entire human being on the basis of a detailed study of their feet or their cooking.”⁷³ Today, it has been generally acknowledged that matters of form and style are not sufficient to explain complex issues of building and built environment. As recent studies in architectural history and theory illustrated, architectural or urban artefacts need to be studied from a broader perspective of a comprehensive understanding of space. This research is inspired from this new perspective. Combining spatial/physical analysis with other topics such as politics and social transformation, we will try to explain spatial/physical transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı in relation with the discussions of public life. Aiming to study the transformation of public realm and urban space together means to study the problem with both its material (i.e.architecture/urban) and socio-political aspects.

⁷² About the broader perspectives for architectural history, Iain Borden and Jane Rendell discuss the role of critical theory and interdisciplinary debates in architectural history, See, Iain Borden and Jane Rendell, Summer 2000, “From chamber to transformer: Epistemological Challenges in the Methodology of Theorised Architectural History”. *The Journal of Architectural Education*, Volume 5, pp.207-28 and also see, Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (eds.) 2000, *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*, (London and New York: Routledge). A collection of extracts on architecture also aims to develop a “deeper” understanding of space in architectural theory and history, see, Neil Leach (ed.), 1997, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, (London and New York: Routledge). Dolores Hayden represents a broad perspective of architectural history combined with “cultural geography” and “urban social history”. See, Dolores Hayden, August 1994, “The Power of Place Claiming Urban Landscapes as People’s History”, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.20, no:4, pp.466-485 and also Dolores Hayden, 1997, *Power of Place Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press).

⁷³ Edward Relph, 1987, *The Modern Urban Landscape* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), p.3.

Here, the question is: what method architectural history may develop to understand or analyse the space not only as a pure artistic object but also as an object with its social, economical, historical aspects? This study will attempt to show that, contemporary social theory and urban geography constitutes meaningful and efficient alternatives to traditional architectural historiography.

Since 1980s social theory has been developing “epistemologies of space” or in other words “knowledge of space”.⁷⁴ Mainly influenced by Henri Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* these approaches also increased “a new critique of public space”.⁷⁵

Lefebvre, in his influential book, *The Production of Space*, claims that every society (or every mode of production), “produces a space, its own space”.⁷⁶ As he argues “the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space”.⁷⁷ For him, any ideology that wants to be permanent can only achieve this by “intervening in social space and its production”.⁷⁸ Lefebvre’s revolutionary act aims to achieve a “unitary theory” of space, instead of the Cartesian logic of Western

⁷⁴ About the debates, see Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (eds.), 1997, *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell).

⁷⁵ Kilian, 1998, p.117.

⁷⁶ Henry Lefebvre, 1993, *The Production of Space*, 3th ed. (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell), p.31.

⁷⁷ Lefebvre, p.46. In this research, we are trying to investigate how (particularly) Sultan Mahmud II and his predecessors created a “new” space for their own.

⁷⁸ Lefebvre, p.44.

thought.⁷⁹ By the prominent triad of “physical”, “mental” and “social” spaces he aims to unify the “lived”, “conceived” and “perceived” aspects of space.⁸⁰

Harvey, the prominent name of the contemporary urban geography, criticizes historical materialism for ignoring geography and he argues, “historical materialism has to be upgraded ... to historical geographical materialism”.⁸¹ In *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, Harvey exemplifies “historical geographical materialism” in his studies. By his analysis of “Paris, 1850-1870”, he examines how “urban space” was altered and how a “dramatic shift” was realised from private to public, i.e. “collectivized style of urbanism under the Second Empire”.⁸²

Taking his sources from Lefebvre, in his significant book, *Third Space*, Soja re-theorised this approach. He announced “the end of the spaceless dialectic between history and society” and claimed the necessity of “the unity of historicity, spatiality and sociality”.⁸³ As he argues, space should never be theorized purely, apart from its “historicity and sociality”. What he called “re-balanced trialectics” aims to achieve the simultaneity of spatiality, historicity and sociality to join all dimensions of human life. In this approach, “spaceless knowledge of history” is regarded as an

⁷⁹ Lefebvre, pp.1-67.

⁸⁰ Lefebvre particularly refrains from discussing the dichotomy of mental and physical space (“Representations of Space” and “Representational Space”) of Western thought in other cultures. See, Lefebvre, p.42.

⁸¹ David Harvey, 1985, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), p.xii.

⁸² David Harvey, 1985, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press), p.204.

⁸³ Edward W. Soja., 1996, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real and Imagined Places*, (Oxford: Blackwell), pp.1-23.

“abstract knowledge”. The spatiality of history and the spatiality of social life are not only meaning of simply “adding” space into fields of history and sociology. Soja shows that, this attempt requires having many different points of views “connecting the subject to a whole world”.⁸⁴ Having many different points of views, firstly, means to analyse the subject with social, political, economical, historical questions in mind. And secondly it requires connecting the subject both in “local context” and “global structures” at the same time.⁸⁵

For Charles Tilly, urban history is capable of connecting “global” and “small-scale social issues” to each other.⁸⁶ According to him, urban history can articulate interactions of everyday life to large structures and macro processes. Here, the matter of “context” is gaining a crucial importance. The synchronization of the individual histories of material world is possible by having a broad knowledge of the context of the time and place. Yet, Tilly argues that each city has its own “constraining features”. Quoting from Alan Pred, “people do not produce history and places under conditions of their own choosing, but in the context of already existing, directly encountered social and spatial structures” he emphasises that social processes are dependent and that we should regard “the paths by which they have arrived at their present condition”.⁸⁷

A more comprehensive way of understanding the past is also being discussed in history writing. The belief in the objectivity of history and traditional

⁸⁴ Edward W. Soja, 1990, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, (London, New York: Verso), p.23.

⁸⁵ Soja, 1990, Ibid.

⁸⁶ Charles Tilly, September 1996, “What Good is Urban History”, *Journal of Urban History*, vol:22 , no:6, 702-719.

⁸⁷ Tilly, p.709.

narrations of political events have been criticised since 1970s.⁸⁸ In the contemporary historiography, the emphasis is on local or micro-histories.⁸⁹ In the new perspectives of historiography a tendency from political history towards to social one is also growing.⁹⁰ Here, the issue of space does not only bridge the gap between political and social histories together, but also reaches to global (or makro) level from local (micro) level as Tilly suggested above.⁹¹

This comprehensive perspective has been adapted in a number of studies. However, social theorists, geographers and also urban historians generally tend to overlook architectural history and theory. Architectural critics claim that, “physical characteristic of the environment are purely epiphenomenal”⁹² in social approaches. However, as Borden puts into words, “social relations are challenged, controlled and formed through architectural materiality”.⁹³

In order to have a comprehensive understanding of architectural materiality, we must situate architectural history into the broad perspective that we have

⁸⁸ G.G. Iggers, “Historiography and Historical Thought: Current Trends” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, pp.6771-6776.

⁸⁹ Peter Burke, 2000, *Tarih ve Toplumsal Kuram*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), pp. 37-41.

⁹⁰ Burke, p.18.

⁹¹ In this research, as we shall see, the history of Beyazıt Meydanı does not only represent a history in the level of a small square but also in the level of Historical Peninsula. Beyazıt Meydanı also carries the history of political and social issues together.

⁹² Alan Colquhoun, “On Modern and Postmodern Space” in Joan Ockman (ed.), 1985, *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press), p.103. For alternative approaches see also footnote 62.

⁹³ Iain Borden, “Thick Edge: Architectural Boundaries in the Postmodern Metropolis” in Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (eds.). 2000, p.226.

summarised above. Architectural history is capable to study individual histories of material world in depth. However as we have mentioned above, the architectural materiality should be studied with a broader perspective beyond the definition of its physical features. At this point, Harvey's warning to the problem of "interface" between "sociological imagination" and "spatial consciousness" is critical.⁹⁴ He claims that there is no "adequate language to discuss spatial form and social process simultaneously".⁹⁵ Being aware of this "translation problem" lead the researcher to think about the problem of "language" in both disciplines and to avoid establishing simple causal relations between space and society.

In fact, Harvey illustrates how a story of a "spot" can be meaningful. He claims:

The building hides its secrets in sepulchral silence. Only the living, cognizant of this history, who understand the principles of those who struggled for and against the embellishment of that spot, can truly disinter the mysteries that lie entombed there and thereby rescue that rich experience from the deathly silence of the tomb and transform it into the noisy beginnings of the cradle.⁹⁶

After we locate a "spot" into its context, we may interpret its physical characteristics accurately related to its meanings. Such a comprehensive study of the materiality enlarges our understanding and enables us to grasp the problem with all its features. Thus, "a difficult marriage"⁹⁷ can probably be achieved.

⁹⁴ Harvey, 1973, pp.22-49.

⁹⁵ Harvey, 1973, p.46.

⁹⁶ Harvey, 1985, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, p. 249.

⁹⁷For the discussion on "a difficult marriage" between architectural history and urban history, see Joseph L.Arnold, November 1990, "Architectural History and Urban History: A Difficult Marriage", *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.17. No:1, pp.70-78.

1.7. Plan of the Study and Sources

O Lord, empower my pen
Es'ad Efendi⁹⁸

Ottoman historiographer, (*vak'a-nüvîs*) Es'ad Efendi, one of the witnesses of the abolition of the Janissary Corps, started his history with this little prayer above. By praying to God for his help, he was not only following tradition by starting a piece with a prayer but was also expressing the difficulty inherent in telling a complex story. The capital city of İstanbul has a complex historical background. In order to grasp the different aspects of our issue, here we have to study it without being puzzled by it but also without simplifying and reducing its complicated nature into a list of events.

In this introductory chapter, first, we defined the terms “public life” and “public space” to position ourselves in the debates. We tried to sketch the 19th century urban history of İstanbul and its shortcomings. Then, with the question of “how this subject can be studied” in mind, we defined the problems of urban and architectural history, at the same time trying to grasp the contemporary knowledge of space from a broader perspective.

After we have introduced the basic features of our case, i.e. Beyazıt Meydanı, we will begin the second chapter with introductory remarks on the logic of open spaces for Ottomans and the realms of private and public. In order to understand the logic and organisation of open spaces in İstanbul, we will study the “interior” open spaces i.e. courtyards by emphasizing the special meaning of the word of harem/*harîm* for mosques. Besides the courtyards of mosques, we will discuss how those enclosed open spaces were used in different levels, such as in

⁹⁸ “Yâ Rabb, kalem-i âcizime tâb u tüvân ver”, Sahrâflar Şeyhi-Zâde Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, 2000, *Vak'a-nüvîs Es'ad Efendi Tarihi (Bâhir Efendi'nin Zeyl ve İlâveleriyle) 1237-1241/1821-1826*, (Transcription Ziya Yılmaz), (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı).

konak (upper level house), *hane* (lower level house), and palace (administrative but also private spaces). Then we will continue with the study of “exterior” open spaces i.e. square (*meydan*). To understand the transitions and the boundaries between courtyards and squares we will focus on the issue of gates (*bâb* or *kapı*).

In this thesis we argue that the initial breaking point in the history of the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı is after the Vak’a-i Hayriyye, the turbulent year of the abolishment of the Janissary Corps. Beyazıt Meydanı was only one of the areas that were transformed after the Vak’a-i Hayriyye. Consequently this thesis aims to emphasise that the reshaping of the urban spaces of İstanbul dates back to the early 19th century, in opposition to the dominant view that it dates to the second half of the 19th century. Thus, in the third chapter, we will deal with political and social meanings of the Vak’a-i Hayriyye and the particular role of Sultan Mahmud II in the Ottoman Modernisation and his efforts to re-shape the city of İstanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁹⁹ Besides, we will concentrate not only on the buildings (especially barracks for the new army) that Sultan Mahmud II constructed but also the areas around Beyazıt, that Sultan Mahmud II destroyed (such as demolition of Eski Odalar and Yeni Odalar by Vak’a-i Hayriyye). Through this chapter we will study the “context” of the Beyazıt district not only in the historical time but also in the space of the city.

In the fourth chapter, before studying the spatial changes that took place in Beyazıt in the 19th century, we need to review the historical background of the area, which helps us to understand the meaning of the changes that will occur. Through this flashback we will figure out the position of the exterior courtyard of the mosque and the courtyard of the Old Palace with its fortified walls. We will continue by

⁹⁹ Manuel de Landa exemplifies that a "nonlinear" history is possible even though we follow “a line of development”. See, Manuel de Landa, 1997, *A Thousand Years of NonLinear History*, (New York: Zone Books), pp.14-15.

taking an existing picture of the area almost a decade before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. Then, we will analyse in detail the changes in the nineteenth century Beyazıt.

Transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı is studied under two sections. The first section (Chapter 4.4) examines how Beyazıt Meydanı was reshaped, when it became Seraskerlik Meydanı after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. In this section, the empirical materials that we will cite do not produce complete answers to some questions that we have raised. We hope, however, that the empirical evidence so far gathered is sufficient to open new discussions about the role of the early nineteenth century transformations in İstanbul's urban history.

The second section about the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı (Chapter 4.5) examines how Beyazıt Meydanı was reshaped after the 1860s with the help of developing urban administration systems.

In this analysis, we will study three dimensions in order to grasp different modes of public life in relation with space. The first dimension is about spatial materiality and urban fabric: What was the form of the Beyazıt Area? Where were the boundaries of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque? How did the area change after the Old Palace was turned into Seraskerlik and how did the building of the gates affect the area? Briefly, these questions will be investigated in Chapter 4.

The second and third dimensions of this analysis¹⁰⁰ are about political events and everyday life in and around the area. The issues of political events and everyday life, briefly the transformation of public life, will be investigated in the Chapter 5. The ceremonies of the empire and its new army will be taken into account besides the daily routines in the city, since, Beyazıt was not only an intangible stage for ceremonies but also a living center. To cover its different aspects, apart from the ceremonies that took place in Beyazıt, we will focus on the role of trade in the centre of the Historical Peninsula. Beyazıt, the heart of İstanbul, was also the religious and

¹⁰⁰ For two different modes of public realm, see above, p.13.

intellectual centre of the city. In the 19th century Direklerarası, Şehzadebaşı and Beyazıt had a significant role in the leisure and entertainment activities of daily life. Therefore, we aim to illustrate the changing public life in the new public space that took form in Beyazıt.

In the final chapter, we will try to interpret the observed changes in the rituals of social life and daily life and their mutual relations with the space. Demolition of the exterior courtyard signifies a turn from the courtyard of the mosque to the public square; in other words from inside to outside. The change in the urban public space also corresponds to political and social alterations. This thesis focuses on this transformation from an introverted to extraverted urban spatial pattern in relation to the political and social changes from the beginning of the 19th century through its ends, thus the creation of a public realm in the very center of İstanbul.

In this research the physical materiality of space will be investigated, depending on visual sources (maps, engravings, photographs) and written sources. Among the visual materials that we will use, we can list a miniature in *Hünernâme* (1584) and an engraving published in *Thesaurus Exoticorum* (1688), which represent the Beyazıt Meydanı and the Beyazıt Mosque in their periods. Evliya Çelebi (1611-?1682) is also a significant witness of the area who explains the situation of the Beyazıt Meydanı and the Beyazıt Mosque. P.G.İnciyan (1758-1833) informs us about the Old Palace in the area. One of the most significant visual sources is Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813), which presents a picture of the area only 13 years before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. We will also use maps from the archive of the Atatürk Kütüphanesi, İstanbul Kitaplığı.

The writings of official historians of the Ottoman Empire (*vak'a-nüvis*), i.e. *Es'ad Efendi Tarihi* (1821-1826), *Cevdet Tarihi* (1774-1826) and *Lütfi Tarihi* (1825-1873) are our basic historical documents.

Besides these, we also refer to memories of foreign visitors in Ottoman İstanbul: namely Moltke and Miss Pardoe, who particularly paid attention to the area.

Both of them support us not only by verbal explanations but also visual materials. In particular, Bartlett's engravings published in Miss Pardoe's book give us a representation of Beyazıt Meydanı in 1830s. A painter, François Dubois, who had been invited to İstanbul by Sultan Mahmud II represents the noble appearance of the new army in his pictures.

Basiretçi Ali Efendi, Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey and Abdülaziz Bey are the witnesses of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among them Basiretçi Ali Efendi has a special place, since his writings are taken from *Basiret* a newspaper that he published. With the help of his writings in *Basiret*, we have a chance to observe Beyazıt Meydanı in a modern public agency, i.e. a newspaper.

We will also be informed by early urban historians, mainly Osman Nuri Ergin, İsmail Hakkı Ayverdi and Süheyl Ünver. Osman Nuri Ergin supports us with 9 volumes, a fundamental source of urban history of İstanbul. İsmail Hakkı Ayverdi published a map which dates to the 1880s. Süheyl Ünver, a prominent historian of İstanbul, helps us not only with his studies on İstanbul but also with his personal archive which he donated to the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi.

Metin And is a significant historian of Turkish theatre and provides information on the role of the Beyazıt Meydanı as a lively centre of modern public life. Salah Birsell is also helpful in understanding the role of coffeehouses around Beyazıt in the daily life of 1860s.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who published a rich collection of photographs, represents İstanbul in 1860s. Sébah & Joaillier, Robertson, Berggren, M. Iranian are some of the photographers of İstanbul after 1860s. Most of the photographs of the period were published in the Max Fruchtermann Collections.

CHAPTER 2.

THE LOGIC OF OPEN SPACES AND TRANSITIONS IN OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

2.1. Beyazıt and the Historical Peninsula



Figure 2.1: Aerial view of the Historical Peninsula.

SOURCE: Municipality of İstanbul.

NOTE: Beyazıt Meydanı, Beyazıt Complex, and the Gate of the Old Palace (later the Gate of Seraskerlik and today the Gate of İstanbul University) are pointed out in the circle.

After a short city survey on the sultan's mosques (*selâtin camileri*) in the Historical Peninsula, a person, even not very familiar with the traditional pattern of İstanbul, may be stunned by the fact that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque is missing. This study is devised to shed light on this issue.

The Beyazıt Meydanı, named after the Beyazıt Mosque, is the heart of the Historical Peninsula of İstanbul (Figure, 2.1). Located at the centre of the city, the area was the Forum Tauri during the Byzantine period.¹ When Sultan Mehmed II (Fatih) conquered İstanbul he built his first Palace (the Old Palace) on the north of this area, which is occupied by İstanbul University today.² Sultan Beyazıt II reshaped the area by inserting his *külliye* (building complex, which is composed of a mosque, a *medrese*-theological school, a caravanserai, an *imaret*-public kitchen, a primary school, and a bath) at the beginning of the 16th century.³

Traditionally, Ottoman sultan complexes (*külliyes*) are organised around two courtyards following each other: an exterior courtyard and an interior courtyard. Mehmet II (Fatih), Beyazıt II, Süleyman I, built grand *külliyes* on the Historical Peninsula in the one hundred year time interval from 1459 to 1550s.⁴ Each of these great religious and political monuments of the empire had two courtyards as conformed to building tradition of the empire.⁵ Although Süleymaniye and Fatih kept

¹ For the archeological researches on Forum Tauri, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, 2001, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, (İstanbul: YKY), pp.258-265.

² Müller-Wiener, p.264.

³ Müller-Wiener, p.264; Kuban, 1996, p.243; Ataman: 105-107. Since the *medrese* and bath were not recorded in the *II. Beyazıt Vakfiyesi*, it is assumed that they were added to the complex later. See, Yüksel Aydın, 1983, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid Yavuz Selim Devri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti), p.204 and p.213. This also explains why these buildings were left outside of the exterior courtyard of the mosque, as we will see in chapter 4.2 and 4.3.

⁴ Chronologically, between Beyazıt II's and Süleyman I's complexes, there are other sultan complexes, such as Sultan Selim I's complex. It is not clear whether Sultan Selim Mosque was built during the reign of Sultan Selim I or Süleyman I. See, Müller, p. 476.

⁵ In İstanbul, one may find mosques without an exterior courtyard. However an exterior courtyard is a fundamental architectural element for a sultan mosque. For the morphological analysis of the exterior courtyards of sultan mosques, see Alpaslan Ataman, 2000, *Bir Göz*

their courtyards, Beyazıt Mosque lost its exterior courtyard.⁶ Architectural historians generally did not pay enough attention to the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque.⁷ However, the courtyard of a mosque had an important place both in terms

Yapıdan Külliye Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekân Mantığı, (İstanbul: Mimarlar Tasarım Yayınları), p.93-116.

⁶ Other cases about the demolition of the exterior courtyards can be seen in later examples. In the Chapter 6, we will mention one of these cases, which actually deserve further research.

⁷Doğan Kuban realized the most detailed work on Beyazıt Meydanı. However, he mentions neither the existence of the exterior courtyard of the mosque nor the demolition of it. See, Doğan Kuban, Yegan Kahya, 1987, “Beyazıt Meydanı Tarihi Gelişimi” in *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması*. (İstanbul: İBŞB). About the subject his other works are: Doğan Kuban, 1996, *İstanbul: An Urban History* and Doğan Kuban, 1998, *Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları*, (İstanbul: YEM Yayın). Depending on the information from Evliya Çelebi, Aydın Yüksel claims that Beyazıt Mosque had an exterior courtyard which is now open to public. However he does not attempt to find out the borders of this exterior courtyard or the history of the demolition of it. See, Aydın, p. 191. Tahsin Öz, refrains from discussing whether Beyazıt Mosque had an exterior courtyard or not. See, Tahsin Öz, 1987, *İstanbul Camileri*, Vol.1, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi), p.34. According to Mustafa Cezar, there was not an exterior courtyard in Beyazıt Mosque. Although he has inspiring comments about the positions of the Beyazıt Medrese and the Beyazıt Mosque, he claims that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque did not exist. See Cezar, 2002, p.97. Reşat Ekrem Koçu was not an architectural historian, however he noticed that there was an exterior courtyard, depending on the information from Evliya Çelebi again. But he did not elaborate how it was demolished and only put forwarded some shortcomings, as we will mention them in the next chapter. See, Reşat Ekrem Koçu, 1960, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi Neşriyat Kol.Şti.), p.2234. Oktay Aslanapa claims that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was already demolished and he does not elaborate on the issue. See Oktay Aslanapa, 1986, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi), p.134. Ataman, focuses on the idea of “courtyard”, however his observation on the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, is not supported by documents that we will analyse. See, Ataman, p.106. The last but surely not the least, Eyice believes that like the other Sultan Mosques, there was an exterior courtyard in Beyazıt. For him, the issue of

of the organisation of social life and the architecture of a Sultan Mosque. As Evliya Çelebi noted, not only the interior space of the mosque but also the courtyards of it were named with the word of “harem”. Even the terminology, which was used to define a courtyard, expresses the special meaning of this space. The use of the words of “harem” or “*harîm*” expresses a sensibility to the meaning of a courtyard of a mosque in the society, as it can be exemplified in the attempt of reconstruction of the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque a hundred years later. Sedat Hakkı Eldem proposed to reconstruct the lost exterior courtyard back in 1939-1940.⁸ In the years 1950s Prime Minister Menderes was leading extensive reconstructions in İstanbul. The government of the right party of Menderes, i.e. Demokrat Party, was using Eldem’s project⁹ and supporting his suggestion for the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque. They claimed in a propaganda book to give a “*harîm*” to the mosque and to “get meet this holly area with tranquillity”¹⁰ was aimed in their building program. The claim of a reconstruction of the “*harîm*” was not part of the public announcements. However the constructions in the square took several years and discussed widely in the

exterior courtyard of Beyazıt is an interesting subject and deserves a deeper research. See, Semavi Eyice, 1997, “Beyazıt II Camii ve Külliyesi” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), p.47.

⁸ About his proposal, see, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1983, *50 Yıllık Meslek Jübileşi*, (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları, No:1), p.63.

⁹ Turgut Cansever, 22 October 2001, interview. See also Rakım Ziyaoğlu, 1971, *İstanbul Kadıları-Şehreminleri-Belediye Reisleri ve Partiler Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Hak Kitabevi), p.461-462. The changes, that took place during the Republican Period, has been studied, see, Neşe Yeşilkaya 2002, “Kamusal Mekanın Dönüşümü: Beyazıt Meydanı”, *2000’den Kesitler II: Cumhuriyet’in Zamanları, Mekanları, İnsanları. Doktora Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, ODTÜ, Ankara, 29-30 November 2001.

¹⁰ “göz önünde bulundurulan esas Beyazıt Camiine ve Beyazıt Külliyesine bir harim kazandırmak ve bu ulvi muhiti asudeliğe kavuşturmak” *İstanbul’un Kitabı*, 1957, (İstanbul: İstanbul Vilayeti Neşriyat ve Turizm Müdürlüğü), p.37.

newspapers. In these constructions Beyazıt Meydanı changed a lot but the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque was never re-built.

How did the *harîm* or the introvert (enclosed) space belonging to the mosque become an exterior public space? We have to point out the disappearance of the exterior courtyard (i.e. *harîm*) and merging of it with the square (*meydan*) outside. In others words we will observe its transformation from a traditional inner courtyard to an open-public square.

Before going on to discuss the question of how the *harîm* of the mosque turned to an urban space, we have to point out the meaning of open spaces in pre-modern İstanbul.

In the case of Beyazıt there are two important types of open spaces: “courtyard” (the Beyazıt Mosque’s exterior courtyard, the Old Palace [later Seraskerlik]’s courtyard) and “square” (the Beyazıt Meydanı). These types of open public spaces (courtyard and square) are not unique for the case of Beyazıt. The case of Beyazıt exemplifies general features of the Ottoman Mosque architecture. However it also carries unique features, which has its own paths. In this chapter, we will focus on common ways in the organisation of open spaces. First group signifies an inner world that corresponds to “courtyards”; second group defines an outer world that is “square”. And thirdly we will discuss the idea of “gate” which is not only a passage but also symbols of the government.

2.2.The Meaning Of Inner Open Spaces: Courtyard

“Open-air interiors”¹¹ is not a new definition in architectural history, but we may need further explanation in the Ottoman context. It may sound contradictory to call an open space as “inside”, however the architectural order of the Ottoman urban

¹¹ For an example of the use of the term see Paul Zucker, 1966, *Town and Square From the Agora to the Village Green*, (New York, London: Columbia University Press), p.196.

space organisation represents an introverted type of space organisation. The courtyard was a basic element or building form, which was used in *külliyes*, houses, palaces, barracks, briefly in every kind of built environment. In order to grasp the meaning of the courtyard as a form of open-air and protected “inner space” we need to dwell on the exterior courtyards of mosques, besides the courtyards of the houses and palaces.

2.2.1.The Exterior Courtyards of Mosques: harem/harîm

In the Ottoman tradition, a *külliye* of a *vakıf*, was a private authority in the service of public interest.¹² The continuity of ‘pious foundation’ was sustained by the benefits it gained through its services.¹³ The activities in these centers were not religious alone but they included marketing, meeting, etc. The case of Beyazıt helps us to understand how public life started to take place outside the domains of pious foundations, how the spatial materiality of Beyazıt area was reshaped, what were the mutual relations between this materiality and public life in the nineteenth century. From this perspective we will pay attention to the lost exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, which was a territory of the *vakıf* of the Sultan Beyazıt, named as its ‘*harîm* or harem’.

Today, in the terminology of art and architectural historians, the interior space of the mosques [used for worshipping] is denoted *harîm*. However the exterior courtyard of the mosques was also named by the word of *harîm* or harem.¹⁴ Like his

¹² About the role of *vakıf* and *külliye* for public services and public space see Mustafa Cezar, 2002, p.80-83. and p.153-158, and also see Alpaslan Ataman, 2000, p.17, p.45-53.

¹³For instance a public bath was one of the most profitable service for a *vakıf*'s *külliye*. Cezar, 1983, p.25-26.

¹⁴ Architectural historian, John D. Hoag, uses the word *ziyadah* for the exterior (‘outer’) courtyard of the Great Mosque of Samarra and Ibn Tulun in Cairo. For him ‘outer’ *ziyadah* (or outer courtyard) insulates the mosque from the city around. See, John D. Hoag, 1963, *Western Islamic Architecture*, (New York: George Braziller), p.18-19 and John D. Hoag,

generation, Evliya Çelebi used the word of “harem”, which denoted both private and “public” (or common) place. Before going on to discuss the exterior courtyards of Ottoman complexes we will touch on the word “harem/*harîm*” itself, as used in the Islamic discourse.

The *Redhouse Turkish-Ottoman and English* dictionary produces following definitions for *harîm*: “1. Most intimate and private place or part. 2. Anything, which a man is bound to protect and defend. 3. Sacred and inviolable”.¹⁵ In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, through its spatial connotations, *harîm* is a place in the houses and palaces, which belongs to women and used for seclusion of them.¹⁶

Originally there is no difference between the terms *harîm* and harem. Harem is the Turkish pronunciation of *harîm* and passed to European Languages as such.¹⁷ Notice that the *harîm* or harem of a mosque is its sacred and protected space against violence. Haremi Nebvî or Haremi Resulullah “is the **territory of the mosque** or mausoleum in Medina” (emphasis mine).¹⁸

In the sense of “prohibited, protected, untouchable” harem is the synonym of the word of *harâm*.¹⁹ *Harâm* is also used for the cities of Mecca and Medina the

1987, *Islamic Architecture*, (New York: Electa/Rizzoli), p.29. In our context, we did not determine the use of the word *ziyadah* (or *ziyade* in Turkish), although it sounds similar meaning to harem/*harîm*.

¹⁵ *Redhouse Turkish-Ottoman Language and English*, 1997, s.v. “*harîm*”.

¹⁶ *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1986, (Leiden ,London: E.J.Brill, Luzac), Vol.III, p.209

¹⁷ *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1986, Ibid.

¹⁸ *Redhouse Turkish-Ottoman Language and English*, 1997, s.v. “*harem*”.p.451.

¹⁹ Salim Ögüt, 1997, “Harem” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), Vol. 16, p.127.

borders of which were drawn by the Prophet.²⁰ In almost every religion that kind of sacred spaces existed.²¹ The stones named “*alem*” determined the borders of the Mecca *Harâm*. Inside of that area there are rules that allowed and prohibited certain things.²²

In the terminology of the Islamic Law, *harîm* means the protected area or outbuilding by laws “around” a land and/or property, which is used for public benefit, in order to sustain its use by its owners.²³ The service that needs to be protected and sustained can be a river, a well, a road, or a house. The idea is to protect these services, which were on a *mevât* land.²⁴ So, a *harîm* on a private land is not meaningful. By regarding the *harîm* like a “property of its owner”²⁵, it was protected against others’ possessions and opened to public (*umûm*) use. The use of the land of *harîm* by third parties was prohibited. There are different approaches for protection in different believes. We cannot elaborate it deeply here, but some examples can be useful to understand the function of *harîm*. For instance a *harîm* around a well for animals’ need of water should be about 40 *arşın* (about 27meters) according to Hanefi belief. A *harîm* of a river should be two sides of it. Even a mosque cannot be built in the *harîm* of a river.²⁶

²⁰ Ögüt, 1997, “Harem”, p.127.

²¹ For a summary of this sacred spaces, see Ögüt, 1997, “Harem”, p. 127-128.

²² Ögüt, 1997, “Harem”, p.127-132.

²³ Ögüt defines: “İhya edilen araziden, bu arazide yapılan tesisten ve kamu mallarından hak sahiplerinin gerektiği şekilde faydalanabilmesi maksadıyla bunların çevresinde oluşturulan ve hukuki korumaya alınan bölge ve müstemilat” Salim Ögüt, 1997, “Harîm”, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), Vol 16, p.188.

²⁴ Ögüt, 1997, “Harîm”, p.190.

²⁵ Ögüt, “Harîm”, p.188.

²⁶ Ögüt, 1997, “Harîm”, p.189.

It follows that in the Muslim credo the *harîm* of a mosque is utterly important. As in the case of Ayasofya Mosque in late 19th century, this would trigger a riot to protect the *harîm* of a mosque. When Şevket Bey was the Lord Mayor (Şehremeni) of İstanbul for two months in 1875, he wanted to remove public toilets located next to the Ayasofya Mosque and to build a new wall by fences around its courtyard. The conservative Muslims gathered in the Beyazıt Meydanı, in front of the Bab-ı Ali, Şehremaneti as well as around Sultan Ahmet. The servants of the mosque were the initiators and the scholars of the Fatih Medresesi supported them. The crowd shouted, “to violate *harîm* is to violate harem” (*Harime tecavüz, hareme tecavüz*).²⁷ This revolt clearly elucidates the symbolic importance of the *harîm* of a mosque.

Even though, people revolted against the municipal authority for keeping the *harîm* of the Ayasofya Mosque in the 19th century, in the 16th century, people resisted against the demolition of their houses, which were close to the Ayasofya Mosque. For the legitimisation of their act, they claimed that Ayasofya is not originally a mosque,²⁸ hence it could not have a *harîm*. A decree stipulated that 35 *arşın* (about 24 metres) empty space was to be left vacant around the Ayasofya Mosque.²⁹ An empty space was required for the transformation of a church into a mosque and a harem around that mosque was established.

Even a foreigner, Moltke, perceived and acknowledged the significance of an exterior courtyard of a mosque. In a letter that is explaining the ancient monuments of İstanbul, he defined a “*haram*” of a mosque as “the most beautiful

²⁷ Ziyaoğlu, 1971, p.113.

²⁸ Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu Asrı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı*, p.20, quoted in Cezar, 2002, p.312.

²⁹ Ahmed Refik, p.20-22, quoted in Cezar, 2002, p.159.

ornament of a mosque” and he seemed dissatisfied with the exterior courtyard of Ayasofya,³⁰ which was an add-on and not an original architectural design.

The architectural interpretation of harem/*harîm* in the Ottoman Architecture

It is evident that rules and regulations pertaining to land ownership and their effects on architectural and urban forms need further study. None the less we have an initial picture. We can argue that the “building land”³¹ the area dedicated for the building of a mosque is regarded as its *harîm*, that is to say its sacred and inviolable space. In architectural form, Ottomans defined the *harîm* as the area of a mosque with an exterior courtyard usually surrounded by other buildings of *küllîyes*. The *harîm* of a mosque found its architectural form in an enclosed courtyard. The mosque, which is the central element of the composition, is surrounded by an exterior courtyard and framed by the uniform lines of *medrese* buildings and others. In the cases of Fatih and Süleymaniye mosques the exterior courtyard is delimited by *medreses*. The outside of the *küllîye* is used to magnify and glorify the inner space. The concern for monumentality is not reflected in the façade of the buildings but in the position of the mosque within the whole complex. The space between the buildings and the border of the *küllîye* is quite narrow; but a large open area is left around the mosque.

The exterior courtyard of a mosque is a ‘three dimensional volume’ delimited by buildings. The mosque emerges as a central figure. It is not only a religiously sacred space but also a necessary void that contribute to the

³⁰ Helmuth Karl Bernard Graf. von. Moltke, 1969, Moltke’nin Türkiye Mektuplar, (trans. Hayrullah Örs), (İstanbul: Remzi), p.126.

³¹ As Ataman examines “medrese” building surrounds the courtyard aligned the building land. See Ataman, 2000, p.27-30, p.62-70.

monumentality of the mosque.³² This void, as a buffer zone, protects the mosque from outside influences. By signifying its role of separation, we do not want to portray an isolated space in social terms. An exterior courtyard of a mosque is also a meeting place in a city, which is a central space for the daily life of the city. This should be the case of Beyazıt Mosque, which was located next to the Grand Bazaar, the exterior courtyard always crowded during the day.³³ Besides adults, the courtyards of the mosques are the places dear to children who used as playgrounds,³⁴ for street peddlers and beggars as well.³⁵

Mostly, the exterior courtyards were not paved, but the routes connecting the gates of the mosque to the gates of the exterior courtyard were paved in each direction.

In a recent study focusing on *külliyes*, Alpaslan Ataman defines the courtyards of *külliye* as squares of the Ottoman city. As Ataman claims, a “külliye” was always located according to the street pattern its around.³⁶ The gates of the courtyard either corresponded to the existing streets or the gates generated new streets connected to the courtyard. Thus, streets continued through the gates and crossed the courtyard and reached to the other part of the city. Against the Western

³² For an excellent interpretation of courtyard sequences in ottoman Mosques, see, Björn Engdahl, Summer 1997, “Urban Spaces and Design of the Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul”, Arts & The Islamic World, no: 31, p: 9-15.

³³ Evliya Çelebi, 1996, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi I. Kitap İstanbul*, (Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazması, Trancription by Orhan Şaik Gökyay), p.60.

³⁴ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, 2001, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, (Transcription by Ali Şükrü Çolak), (İstanbul: Kitabevi), p.13-14.

³⁵ Balıkhane Nazırı, p.53.

³⁶ Ataman, pp. 50-55.

point of view, Ataman argues that, each neighbourhood had a square in Ottoman cities. This square is the courtyard of *külliyes*.³⁷

Ataman claims that, even though buildings (*medrese* or houses) were located on the street, they were not directly accessible from streets. One needs first to enter to the courtyard then reaches to *revak* and finally to the rooms. The courtyard creates a transition from the inner world to the outer world.³⁸ In other words, he describes the transition from public to the private through the courtyard. After the Fatih Mosque, the principal mosques were always located in a courtyard. The façade of the mosque were not visible from the street, but from the courtyard.³⁹ Ottoman Mosques had never two-dimensional façades, as a dominant building of a stage. Or in other words, there is no single dominant façade of a mosque.

It might be appropriate to mention that, churches located within walled courtyards can also be seen in the Western tradition. In this context walls served to isolate the void from the city, as illustrated in the case of Freiburg Cathedral. In 1514, the walled churchyard of Freiburg Cathedral was demolished and a market place was opened.⁴⁰ In this case, a wall merely defined the outer boundary of the churchyard.

One further point about the *harîm*/harem of a mosque is on the regulations of its *vakıf* land.⁴¹ As İlhan Tekeli states, by the abolishment of the Janissary Corps,

³⁷ Ataman, p. 55.

³⁸ Ataman, p.30

³⁹ Ataman, pp. 50-55.

⁴⁰ Paul Zucker, 1966, *Town and Square From the Agora to the Village Green*, (New York & London: Columbia University Press), p.65

⁴¹ Not only the *vakıf* lands but also the whole system of land regularization and its affects on urban morphology and architecture in İstanbul has not been deeply studied yet. For introductory remarks on the property ownership in Turkey, see, Baykan Günay, *The Role of*

pious foundations, which had originally been attached to the Janissary Corps, were assembled under the rule of Evkaf-ı Hümeyun Nezareti (Ministry of Royal Pious Foundation).⁴²

Tekeli also points out that, one of the most influential changes in the nineteenth century is in the “institutionalisation” in “urban land” ownership.⁴³ He argues that although in the classical Ottoman system urban land was composed of *mülk* (freehold) and *vakıf* (pious foundation) lands, at the beginning of the nineteenth century almost all land in Istanbul belonged to pious foundations. İlhan Tekeli claims,

the existence of ‘*vakıf*’ rather than freehold land impeded the exchange of land in accordance with new demands. Yet the sale of real estate was facilitated by the trustees of the pious foundations. From the later writings of Cevdet Paşa it may be understood that the ‘*Evkaf-ı Hümeyun Nezareti*’ was established to control this exchange, and eventually failed to do so.⁴⁴

To supply public requirements, such as widening of the roads and open areas, expropriation codes were developed in 1855.⁴⁵ By this regulation the land could be expropriated in the name of the Sultan with a charge. Besides that Menafi-i

Property Relations in the Evolution of Urban Space and Urban Design Approaches, Un Published Ph.D. Thesis, Ankara: ODTÜ., pp.264-257.

⁴² Tekeli, 1994, p.13

⁴³ Tekeli, 1994, p.20.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Tekeli, 1994, p.21. İlhan Tekeli also explains that, The *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (Land Code) of 1858, which was not related to freehold land and *sahih vakıf* land (true mortmain land), had influences around the city.

Umumiye için İstimlak Kararnamesi (Expropriation Decree For Public Interest) was published in 1878.⁴⁶

As we will see in the chapter 4, the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque was demolished before these regulations, which were adopted in late 1850s, prior to the development of the concept of “public good”⁴⁷ (*kamu malı*) with the help of expropriation codes, a *vakıf* land became a public space.

By the demolition of the exterior walls of the courtyard, the *harîm* (protected inner space) of the mosque did not belong to the *vakıf* anymore but turned into an open public square.

2.2.2.The Courtyards of Popular Houses (*Hane*) and High Strata (*Konak*)⁴⁸

The architectural significance of the exterior courtyard is not limited to mosques. It would therefore be convenient to discuss the significance of the open spaces in houses and palaces, in order to grasp the function of this space as a protected area and a buffer zone. Other types of buildings, such as traditional (*Eski*

⁴⁶ Tekeli, 1994, p.22.

⁴⁷ About the discussions on “public good”, see Fatma Ülke Aren, “Kamu Malı Olarak Mekan”, in by Yiğit Gülöksüz (ed.), 1982, *Türkiye Birinci Şehircilik Kongresi*, (Ankara: ODTÜ Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü). İlhan Tekeli, 1988, “Mülkiyet Kurumu, Kamu Yararı Kavramı ve İmar Planları Üzerine”, *Planlama*, no: 2, pp.6-13. İlhan Tekeli, 1992, “Kentsel Topraklarda Mülkiyet Kurumunun Varlığının Toplumsal Sonuçları ve Yeniden Düzenleme Olanakları Üzerine”, *Planlama*, no: 1-4, pp.48-57.

⁴⁸ Here we do not discuss the terminological differences between *bahçe* (garden) and *avlu* (courtyard). Whether it is called as *bahçe* or *avlu*, the transition from public to private realm is realized through an inner open space. We use the term of courtyard (*avlu*) also by including the term of garden (*bahçe*).

Odalar and Yeni Odalar) and modern (Selimiye, Rami, Davudpaşa) military barracks were located around a courtyard, although they were affected to significantly different functions. None the less the courtyard can be conceived of as a buffer zone that serve a transition from an inner to the outer world. This architectural and social function of space varies -of course- according to contexts.

In an Ottoman settlement there were mainly two different types of residences. Mainly, houses of lower class Muslims were called *hane* and those of the upper class were called *konak*. Although the inner logic of houses was different in different classes, the idea of the courtyard was adopted consistently. Prior to Administrative Reform since bureaucratic procedures were directed in private residences,⁴⁹ the house of upper classes (*kübera* and *vüsera*) included both public and private spaces in it. A house of ordinary people was his harem, but houses of upper classes comprised both a public place for governmental works (i.e. *selamlık*) and a private place of the family (i.e. harem). That's why, the separation of *selamlık* and harem did not simply relate to the seclusion of woman but reflected the division of private life of bureaucrats from their public life. In spite of differences, privacy was usually supported through the protected zone of an open area both in *hane* and *konak*.



Figure 2.2: An example of location of a *konak* inside a courtyard.

SOURCE: Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul- Istanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch, 2001, (İstanbul: Axa Oyak), p.186.

⁴⁹ For the development of bureaucracy, see Carter V. Findley, 1989, *Kalemiye'den Mülkiyeye Osmanlı Memurlarının Toplumsal Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

2.2.3. The Courtyards in Palaces: In Topkapı Palace

The idea of locating a house in a courtyard can also be observed in the location of a palace in a courtyard.⁵⁰ In 1490, a law was announced that, only imperial authority had a right to keep vast spaces unreachable to public.⁵¹ Thus, the most extensive closed area of the city was Topkapı and no one else had a right to generate a second closed area, which competed with it.⁵²

Topkapı Palace was not only the private residence of the emperor but also the political centre of the empire. Transition from public to private domains was established in a sequence of courtyards. Similar to the old Palace in Edirne, Topkapı Palace was constituted of successive courtyards. The first courtyard, entered from the Bâb-ı Hümayun (Imperial Gate), was a public space where citizens could enter for their requisitions. This courtyard was not a completely closed area. The first court after the Bâb-ı Hümayun was also known as Janissary Court in Topkapı Palace.⁵³ The second courtyard, after the Babüs-Selam (The Gate of Peace) was the administrative part of the State, where the Divan (Imperial Council of the State) assembled. Like a “magnificent theatre”⁵⁴ ceremonies of janissaries were held especially to impress foreign visitors in that courtyard. Amongst the ceremonies of janissaries, for instance, on 15th day of Ramadan, janissaries were served *baklava* in Topkapı.⁵⁵ The third courtyard, entered from the Bab-ül Sa’adet (The Gate of

⁵⁰ Necdet Sakaoğlu also draws attention to the similarities between Topkapı Palace and Turkish House. See, Necdet Sakaoğlu, September 1989, “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri ve Sorunları”, *Tarih Toplum*, p.26.

⁵¹ Gülru Necipoğlu, 1992, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press), p.244.

⁵² Necipoğlu, p.244

⁵³ Godfrey Goodwin, 1997, *The Janissaries*, (London: Saqi Books), p.44.

⁵⁴ Necipoğlu, p.56

⁵⁵ Balıkhane Nazırı, p.200.

Felicity) was Enderun and Harem, the inner core of the Palace, which is the private realm of the Sultan and (in Goodwin's term) "slave family of the Sultan".⁵⁶

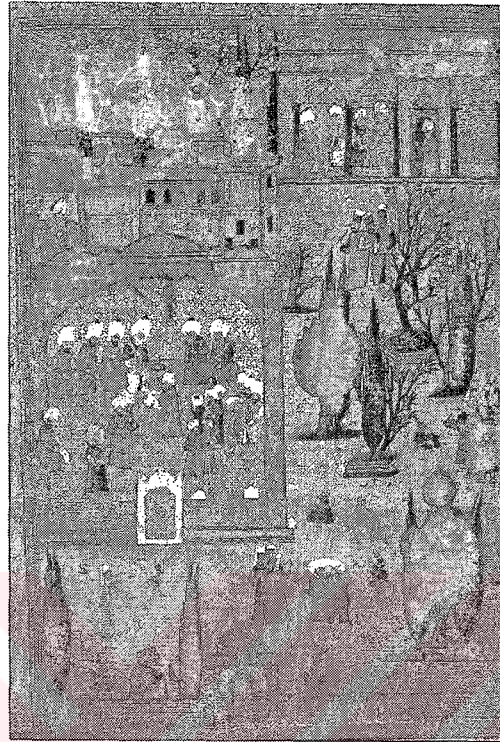


Figure 2.3: The sequence of courtyards in Topkapı Palace from a Miniature.
SOURCE: Topkapı Palace Museum

2.3.The Meaning Of Outside: *Meydan*

As a name of a particular urban space, it is difficult to translate *meydan* into English by "square". In western urban and architectural terminology the words of "square, platz, piazza, plaza, place, parvis" have already different connotations from each other. Hence prior to our discussion of *meydan*, it would be convenient to elucidate "square" as it is used in the western architectural and urban discourse.

In the western architectural and urban history literature, the roots of public spaces go back to Ancient Greek Agora and Roman Forum. Camillo Sitte suggests

⁵⁶ Goodwin, p.89.

that “the public squares of cities have in many respects remained true type of the old forum down to modern times.”⁵⁷

In terms of politics and democracy, Agora (the meaning of the word is “assembly”)⁵⁸, the gathering place of the citizens of the polis, “makes the town a polis”.⁵⁹ The *forum* of Romans was also serving for public and commercial purposes such as *fora civilia* (civic centres), *fora venalia* (markets), *forum bovarium* (market place for meat), *forum piscatorium* (market place for fish), *forum olitorium* (market place for vegetable).⁶⁰ The city was drained and paved through a “collaborative effort” since Hellenistic times.⁶¹ Imperial Forum was composed on a main axis of symmetry, containing an open free area with a statue of the emperor in the centre, and surrounding colonnades. Typical examples of Imperial Forum were also constructed in a sequence through the Mese (Divan Yolu today) at the Capital of the Byzantine Empire: Constantinople.⁶²

Parallel to the “distinction between ecclesiastical and secular authority”, Sitte categorised the squares in Italy: i.e. “the cathedral square, the Signoria, and the market place”:

⁵⁷ Camillo Sitte, “Monuments and Plazas” [1889], re-published in *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, ed. by Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, New York, Mac Millian, 1987. p.48.

⁵⁸ J.B. Jakson, 1984, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp.16-21. An extract, “Forum Follows Function”, was re-published in Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (eds.), 1987, *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, (New York, Mac Millian), p.121.

⁵⁹ Zucker, p.31.

⁶⁰ Zucker, p.49-53.

⁶¹ Zucker, p.33-35.

⁶² For the Imperial Forums of Byzantine see Wiener, pp.248-267 and for Messe, John Freely, 1999, *Saltanat Şehri İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İletişim), pp.42-43.

As a result, there developed as independent types the cathedral square (usually including baptistery, campanile, and bishop's palace), the secular main square (the Signoria) and, besides these two, the Mercato. The Signoria functions as a forecourt for the princely residences and in addition, is surrounded with palaces of local grandees and embellished with historic memorials and monuments. Frequently one finds a loggia for the bodyguards or municipal guards developed architecturally in some fashion or other, and combined with it or set up separately, an elevated trace for promulgation of laws and for public announcements. We see the most handsome example of this in the Loggia dei lanzi in Florence. In the marketplace there stands, almost without exception, the town hall – an arrangement which can also be observed in all towns north of the Alps. A fountain with its basin, as grand as the means will allow, is also never missing here; it often still exists today as the “market fountain” although the gay activities of vending have long since been shut up in the glass – and- iron bird cage of market hall.⁶³

Sitte explained “the purity of” the cathedral square of Pisa (Piazza del Duomo), where “everything profane or commonplace is excluded”. He says: “There is nothing here to distract us our attention; nothing that reminds us of the daily hustle and bustle”.⁶⁴

Lewis Mumford also suggests that church forecourts are endowed with distinctive architectural properties. He claims:

In the main, the great church is central to the town, in every sense but a geometric one; and since it drew to itself the largest crowds, it

⁶³ Sitte, p.49.

⁶⁴ Sitte, p.49-50.

needed a forecourt to provide for the entrance and exit of the worshippers. With the theological orientation of church, its altar pointing toward the East, the church would often be set at a non-conforming angle to a more rectangular pattern of streets. When one finds the market place either spreading in front of the cathedral, or opening a wedge or a square for itself nearby, one must not assign to these institutions the same values they have today: it was the market that was occasional, while it was the church whose service were constant and regular. As with the original growth of the city, the market settles close to the church because it is there that the inhabitants most frequently come together.⁶⁵

In fact, his definition of church courtyards is not “too holy”, but a lively meeting place of town people.⁶⁶

It is important that surrounding buildings of the Piazza del Campo were designed according to a general principle. Mumford explains:

The Town Hall of Siena was built in the fourteenth century, the municipal government ordered that the new buildings put up on the Piazza del Campo should have windows of the same type.⁶⁷

Ottoman *külliyes* also defined rectangular forms in outdoor spaces. While surrounding private buildings of the city outlined the square in western examples, in Ottoman complexes this open space is not a part of the city but the part of the body of the complex itself. Generally, row of houses does not define a street or a square in Ottoman cities. The respect for privacy and distinctive characteristic of public and

⁶⁵ Lewis Mumford, 1966, *The City in History*, (London: Pelican Book), p.352

⁶⁶ Mumford, Ibid.

⁶⁷ Mumford, p.358.

private realms can account for the reason why residences do not have a shaping role for the open areas.

In the urban history of squares, French tradition takes a significant place. “*Places Royales*” of the French tradition had two major instruments: square and axis in the 17th and 18th centuries. “Grand perspectives” reached triumphal arches and squares crowned by the statues of the empire. They were representative stages for festivals.⁶⁸ As Girouard defines:

In French tradition a square was a public space, and the tradition was too strong to be broken. Being a public space, it was in danger of filling up with noisy activities.⁶⁹

French tradition of “places” differs from English “squares”. As Girouard explains: “In England, squares had often contained markets, but the idea that a square was necessarily a place for public assembly was very much less strong”.⁷⁰

The English term “residential square” has entirely different connotations. The residential squares of English towns are corporations of private real-estate enterprises.⁷¹

In J.B. Jackson’s words an “ideal public square” is:

As we might expect, the ideal public square in the political landscape has a strong architectural quality. It occupies the most

⁶⁸ Zucker, p. 180-5.

⁶⁹ Mark Girouard, 1985, *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press), p.224.

⁷⁰ Girouard, Ibid.

⁷¹ Mumford, 451-453.

prestigious location in the principal town and is surrounded by politically significant buildings: law court, archives, treasury, legislative hall, and often military headquarters and jail as well. The space itself is adorned with statues of local heroes and divinities, monuments to important historic events. All important ceremonies are enacted here. Typical of the political emphasis on boundaries, the area is well defined by markers and has its own laws and its own officers. Finally, it is here the agora of forum that history is made visible and where speech becomes a political instrument, eloquence a form of political action.⁷²

Subsequent to these brief sketches of squares in western cities, we can trace the definition of *meydan* and its connotations, which are different from that of the “square”. In Turkish, *meydan* assumes several connotations in addition to its spatial meaning. The word of *meydan* means occasion, opportunity (*meydan bırakmak*), to suggest, bring up (*meydana atmak*), to make public, to expose (*meydana çıkarmak*), to appear or to emerge (*meydana çıkmak*), to be accomplished (*meydana gelmek*), to achieve (*meydana getirmek*), to create (*meydana koymak*) and so on.⁷³ Briefly, in the etymology of the word of “*meydan*”, it suggests “publicity”. However, as a name of a place, each “*meydan*” is not necessarily a public space, since it also includes the meaning of “area or ground”. For instance, Ok Meydanı (Archery Ground) in İstanbul was a controlled exercise ground although it was named with the word of “*meydan*”. People were not allowed to enter Ok Meydanı except for some special occasions.⁷⁴

⁷² J.B.Jackson, 1984, p.120.

⁷³ For a list of the meanings of the word of *meydan*, see Tuğlacı Pars, 1982, *Okyanus Ansiklopedik Sözlük*, s.v. “*meydan*”, vol.6, p.1931.

⁷⁴ For the history of Ok Meydanı, see Necdet İşli and Esin Demirel İşli, 1994, “Ok Meydanı”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.6, p.125-126.

In Basra, a very early Islamic city, the square (*meydan*) was something for separating two different tribes, a place for horses and a graveyard.⁷⁵ What is particularly interesting in this example is, instead of grouping, square was for separating - an empty space of horses and graveyards. In opposition to this meaning, Hz. Ömer, ordered to plan the new city with wide streets and a square in the middle of it.⁷⁶ Like squares in western sense, a central square with a mosque was conceived in Hz. Ömer's definition.⁷⁷

As a name of a place *meydan* has the meaning of open space, public square, open square. However the term *meydan* is not always used in the sense of an organised planned urban space as in the case of the western term of square.

About these open areas, Yerasimos⁷⁸ discusses the meaning of the word of *meydan* by comparing it to the words of *piazza* and *campo*. According to him, in Italian language the words of *piazza* and *campo* accurately differentiate two different functions of squares. *Piazza* is a closed area defined by highly decorated surrounding buildings of the affluent groups of the city and an area of meeting of people. Therefore *piazza* is a dialogue space between the power and the people. However *campo* is an "open area" or an "empty space". For Yerasimos, in East, *meydan* does not correspond to a *piazza* but a *campo*. The surrounding of a *campo* has not a detailed "façade" (which is the expression of wealth) but a "wall". He explains that At Meydanı in İstanbul is a *campo*, which is next to the castle of the authority.

⁷⁵ Ergin, 1995, p.201.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ In original text Hz. Ömer claimed that "...şehri yeniden bina ediniz. Şehrin vasatında geniş bir meydan olsun ve bu meydan üzerine bir cami-i şerif yapınız. Bu meydan şehrin merkezini teşkil etsin. Sonra, her biri kırk arşın arzında amuden iki yol açınız. İkinci derecedeki caddeler otuz, üçüncü derecedekiler yirmi, dördüncü derecedekiler on arşın olsun ve bunlar umumi caddeden teşe'ub etsin", quoted in Ergin, 1995, 201, footnote:9.

⁷⁸ Stefanos Yerasimos, Aralık 1997, "Sınır, Uç Ve Duvar", *FoI*, no: 7, p38.

In Western point of view “rectangular open areas with in the complex of a mosque or madrasa” are not compatible with European “squares” and they were regarded as having “never a spatial configuration”.⁷⁹ However some comments about the Islamic open area interpret them as a “civic plaza similar to those of Europe”.⁸⁰ The Isfahan Meydanı is regarded not only another example of civic space but also very similar to western examples as it was created entirely for the order of a ruler like 17th centuries Rome “self-glorification”.⁸¹

It is mostly accepted that open spaces of traditional Ottoman İstanbul were not part of designed urban entity as in European cities. Open spaces of İstanbul were generally not designed and organised according to a plan but supplied free area. Doğan Kuban defines the characteristics of *meydan* in the “pre-industrial” İstanbul as: “Meydan always remained any open area broader than a street, but, except for the outer courtyard of Fatih, not an organised urban space.”⁸²

During the Byzantine period the Ancient city of Constantinopolis was designed according to a plan⁸³. The sequences of Forums and at final stage Hippodrome were used for the ceremonies of the State.⁸⁴ The continuity through the main axis and squares was provided by a colonnade.⁸⁵ It seems that planned street

⁷⁹ See Zucker, p.93.

⁸⁰ Michael Webb, 1990, *The City Square*, (London: Thames and Hudson), p.24.

⁸¹ Michael Webb, p.25.

⁸² Doğan Kuban, 1996, *İstanbul an Urban History, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, (Istanbul: The economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey,). p. 368.

⁸³ Wiener, p.19.

⁸⁴ Freely, pp.55-59.

⁸⁵ The colonnade was protected by law against occupation. See Freely, p.43.

network, arcaded and decorated main axis (Mese, Divan Yolu Today) and forums were already demolished before the Ottoman Empire occupied the city.⁸⁶

Evliya Çelebi gives a list of open wide (*ferah feza*) public spaces (*amm için bi-tekellüf*) of İstanbul, which were used as excursion spots (*mesiregâh*). In this list besides open spaces of Historical Peninsula (At Meydanı, Et Meydanı, Ağa Çayırı, Yenibağçe Meydanı, Barudhane Meydanı, Vefa Meydanı, Beyazıd Meydanı, Süleymaniye Meydanı, Ebü'l Feth Meydanı, At Pazarı Meydanı, Kadirga Limanı Meydanı, Şehzade Meydanı, Yedikule Meydanı, Valide Cami Meydanı, Ayasofya Meydanı, Eminönü and Karagümrük Meydanı, Çardaköni Meydanı, Odunkapısı Meydanı, Ayazma Kapusu and Büyük Ayazma İskelesi Meydanı, Unkapanı, Cebbeali Kapısı Meydanı, Balat Kapısı, Langa Kapısı, Samatya Meydanı, Davud Paşa Kapısı Meydanı), gardens and a beach (*deniz hamamı*) were also mentioned (Langa Bağı, Bucak Bağı, Lalezar Bağı and Langa Deniz Hamamı). In this list the places, which were outside the Ancient City Walls, were also mentioned. Such as Süleyman Sahrası, Zağar Yaylası, Bayram Paşa Bağı, Kasım Ağa Bağı, Topçular Meydanı, Otakçılar Meydanı, Cirid Meydanı and so on.⁸⁷ It can be deduced from his expression that, there is no distinction between a square in the city and a place outside of it. As a result, all open spaces were parts of the same nature. In other words city was not something that opposed the nature.

Sultan Ahmed Square, which is also known as At Meydanı, was the Hippodrome of the Ancient City. During the Ottoman Empire, At Meydanı was used for official ceremonies of the empire. Sultans were used to go to Friday Processions from Bâb-ı Hümayun (Imperial Gate) to the Ayasofya Mosque. Thus from Palace, they arrived to the ceremonial space of the city -i.e. At Meydanı. Some significant imperial ceremonies held in this square can be exemplified by the marriage of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's sister with İbrahim Paşa and Sultan Murad III's sons circumcision

⁸⁶ For the period before the Ottoman occupation, Wiener, 2001, pp.27-28.

⁸⁷ Evliya Çelebi, p.206.

(*hıtan*). Surrounded by palaces of upper classes, At Meydanı was a highly distinguished district. İbrahim Paşa's Palace was also next to this area.⁸⁸



Figure 2.4: At Meydanı from an engraving of Melling, 1819.

SOURCE: Antoine Ignace Melling, 1819, *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bosphore*, Paris, published in Doğan Kuban, 1996, *İstanbul an Urban History, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey)

Since it has a very close location to the Palace, At Meydanı was not only used for official ceremonies of the empire, but also used for rebellions by janissaries and others. Evliya Çelebi described the rebellion of tradesmen who gathered at At Meydanı and walked through the Bab-ı Hümayun (Imperial Gate) at Topkapı.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ For the Ottoman history of Historical Peninsula, see Kuban, 1996: Koçu: 1960: Stefanos Yerasimos, 2000, *İstanbul İmparatorluklar Başkenti*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları).

⁸⁹ Quoted in Ergin, 1995, 585.

In 1826, Sultan Ahmed Square became the stage of Vak'a-i Hayriyye. The Şeyhülislam requested the students of *medreses* and religious intellectuals (*ulema*) to gather at Sultan Ahmed Mosque and around it against janissaries. People get armed and the *sancak-ı şerif* (standard) of the Prophet was carried as a symbol of fight.

2.4. Transition Between Outside And Inside: *Bâb / Kapı* (Gate)

Since we will discuss the gates related with the case of Beyazıt, gates of fortresses and monumental entrances (portals) of mosques are not in the scope of this study.

In the Ottoman city, *Bâb / Kapı* (gate) is a symbol of the government, like in many cultures. Gates were stages where the relations of the state and people were placed in front of them either as a ceremony or a revolt. From monumental entrances, one can pass into the courtyards of governmental buildings. Consequently, the connection of the enclosed courtyards with the city was allowed from controlled passageways. These connection points are not like European façades of the Governmental buildings. For Yerasimos, the fact that the state buildings did not have a façade but a gate symbolizes that the relations of people with the state were not realised in groups but individually.⁹⁰

Before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, there were mainly three important *bâbs* in which people get into contact by the state and its organs: *Bâb-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Gate), *Bâb-ı Âli* (Grandvizier's department- Sublime Porte), and *Ağa Kapısı* (The office of the head of the Janissaries). It may be worth to notice that *bâb*, the Arabic term was used for the Empire, while *kapı*, the Turkish term was used for janissaries. Janissary's Bektâşi culture may have a role in their preferences of the Turkish word such as the words *kapı*, *orta*, *ocak* etc.

After the Vak'a-i Hayriyye notable changes were achieved, which is also meaningful in our case of Beyazıt. *Ağa Kapısı* replaced by *Bâb-ı Seraskerî*

⁹⁰ Yerasimos, 1997, p.38.

(Headquarter of the new army) in Beyazıt and for the first time a gate was assigned for Şeyhülislam i.e. Bâb-ı Fetva, in the place of Ağa Kapısı. Thus, Sultan Mahmud II re-structured and re-coded the meaning of the official and military places in the city.

We will study the issues of Ağa Kapısı and Bâb-ı Seraskerî in the following chapters. Bâb-ı Hümayun, the Imperial Gate, as we have already mentioned, was the main entrance of Topkapı Palace. Bâb-ı Âli is important not only because of its administrative role but also the architectural form of the gate was similar to the first gate of Bâb-ı Seraskerî in our case of Beyazıt.⁹¹

Bâb-ı Âli, the Sublime Porte, designated the official department of the Grand Vizier. Later, it also included “Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*), the former offices of *Kethüda* Bey, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nezareti*), the former department of *Reis’ül Küttab* (Chief of the Secretaries), *Şura-i Devlet* (the Council of State)”.⁹² Bâb-ı Âli, an important place for the relations of the state and people, had representational quality for the influence of the empire. To attract the attention and make a difference from the houses around, a particular effort was paid in its architecture. Cevdet Paşa noted that for the honour of the state, the gate had to be different from the people’s houses around.⁹³ In 1783-84 (1198), the area around the gate of Saray-ı Asafî (Grandvizier’s Department), which was across the Alay Köşkü, was widened, since the gate of Saray-ı Asafî had become lost because of the buildings which had been too close to it.⁹⁴

⁹¹ We will compare these two contemporary gates in Chapter IV.

⁹² J.Deny, “Bab-ı Ali”, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1986, p.836.

⁹³ “Saraya-ı Asafî’nin Alay Köşkü karşısında olan kapısının ön tarafı dar olduğu ve iki tarafında olan dükkanların birbirine yakınlığı, görünüşü ile halkın evleri durumundan farklı olmadığı için kaldırılıp genişletilmesi, gelip giden halkın çektiği güçlüğü yok edilmesi devletin şanı için لازمken masraftan kaçınıp bu zamana kadar genişletilmesi için uğraşılmamıştı” Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, 1983, *Tarihi Cevdet*, (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat), p.668.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3.

SULTAN MAHMUD II AND THE CITY OF ISTANBUL IN EARLY 19th CENTURY

For God's sake, suppress laziness and make
efforts all together with pure intentions
Sultan Mahmud II¹

In this quotation above, Sultan Mahmud II was speaking to his statesmen in a Hatt-ı Hümayun (Imperial Order) about foreign policies of the empire. This sentence signifies an emperor's exertion, almost pleading to his servants to move, with a great determinacy aiming to change the temperament in his empire. The pictures below (Figure 3.1), that show the differences of the Sultan's clothing, also symbolize his determinant character concerning the modernisation.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present a whole research about the Sultan Mahmud II's role on the city, which can be a subject for another study. Nevertheless we still need to have a brief review of his interventions, in order to be able to situate the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı in the early 19th century, which we will discuss that it started after the abolishment of janissaries. By grasping the tremendous efforts of Sultan Mahmud II, we can understand the meaning of changes in Istanbul and in Beyazıt. In this chapter we argue that Sultan Mahmud II changed the city not only with the buildings that he constructed but also by the areas that he demolished. We will also discuss socio-political events of this era parallel with the changes in the city, to help us to understand the relation of physical/spatial phenomena with politics.

¹ “Allah aşkına şu rehâveti ortadan kaldırıp niyyet-i halise ile bi'l-ittifâk hidmete ikdâm ve gayret edesiz.” Quoted in Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, *Vak'anüvîs Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: YKY), (Transcription Ahmet Hezarfen), p.20.

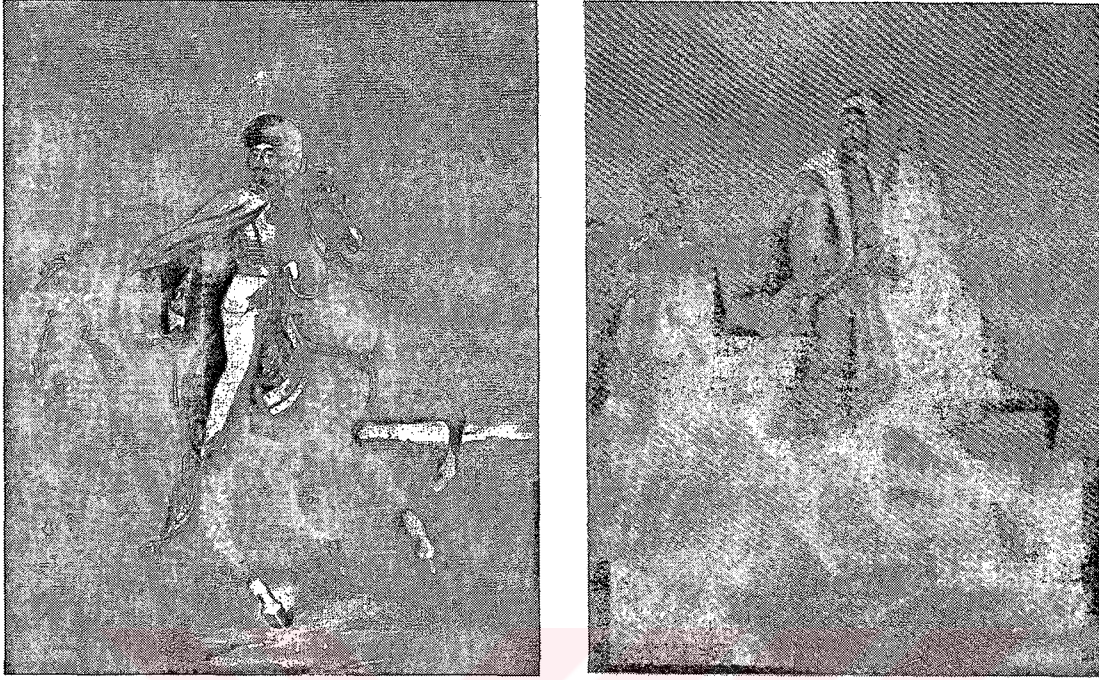


Figure 3.1: Sultan Mahmud II.

SOURCE: Published in Y Abadan, Ö. L. Barkan, E.Z. Karal (eds.) *Tanzimat I*, (Maarif Matbaası), 1940.

3.1. First Two Decades of Sultan Mahmud II's Reign

On November 16th, 1808, people in Istanbul heard the sounds of a bombarding. Ağa Kapı, the administrative center of Janissaries next to Beyazıt, was being bombarded from the Golden Horn.² This was a counter attack against Janissaries who besieged the Bâb-ı Âli (Sublime Porte). However, Grand Vezir Alemdar was killed by Janissaries in the Bâb-ı Âli. During these two days battle, named as Alemdar Olayı (The event of Alemdar) in history, hundreds of Janissaries were killed. Mahmud II, who got his brother suffocated at the night of this event, kept the authority as the sole prince of the dynasty.³ This event was one of the first

² Cevdet Paşa, p.2263.

³ Necdet Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), p.254c: Bernard Lewis, 1968, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), p.76 - 78.

destructions that affected the landscape of Istanbul. The barracks of Cebeciler were fired; the districts around the Ayasofya Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque and Divanyolu were ruined by the fire.

Mahmud II, who gained the authority entirely, tried to reinforce his rule and started to reshape the city. The uncontrolled power of Janissaries was causing an insecure life for people in Istanbul. To remove them from Istanbul, Mahmud II, sent 30.000 janissaries away to a war to Russia. After then, he would be able to get the security in İstanbul.⁴

Spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II can be seen in his attempts to control the urban space. First he moved his residence from the Historical Peninsula. Sultan Mahmud II commissioned the imperial architect Kirkor Balian with the reparation of the Beşiktaş Palace after his accession to the throne. The area was formerly used, in the 16th century as an imperial park, which is called Dolmabahçe. In 1815 the renovation was completed and he moved into the Beşiktaş Palace.⁵ Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke, who visited Sultan Mahmud in his Palace, recorded that the rooms were not magnificent but decorated in European style with chairs, tables, mirrors, etc. which looked like the furnishing in the houses in cities of Europe.⁶ In 1853 this timber palace will be demolished and the present one will be built.

After 1810, Sultan Mahmud II frequently visited the city in order to be seen by people.⁷ For his visits, he built several imperial pavilions (*kasr-ı hümayun*) next to the mosques. One of them was next to the Beyazıt Mosque, where he wanted himself

⁴ Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", p.254-255.

⁵ Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK), p.20-21.

⁶ Moltke, p.86.

⁷ Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", p.255a.

to be carried before he died.⁸ This timber kiosk (Figure, 3.2: 3.3: 3.4) at Beyazıt was constructed in 1810.⁹ We can also regard this little kiosk as the first representation of the imperial power, in the Beyazıt area during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.

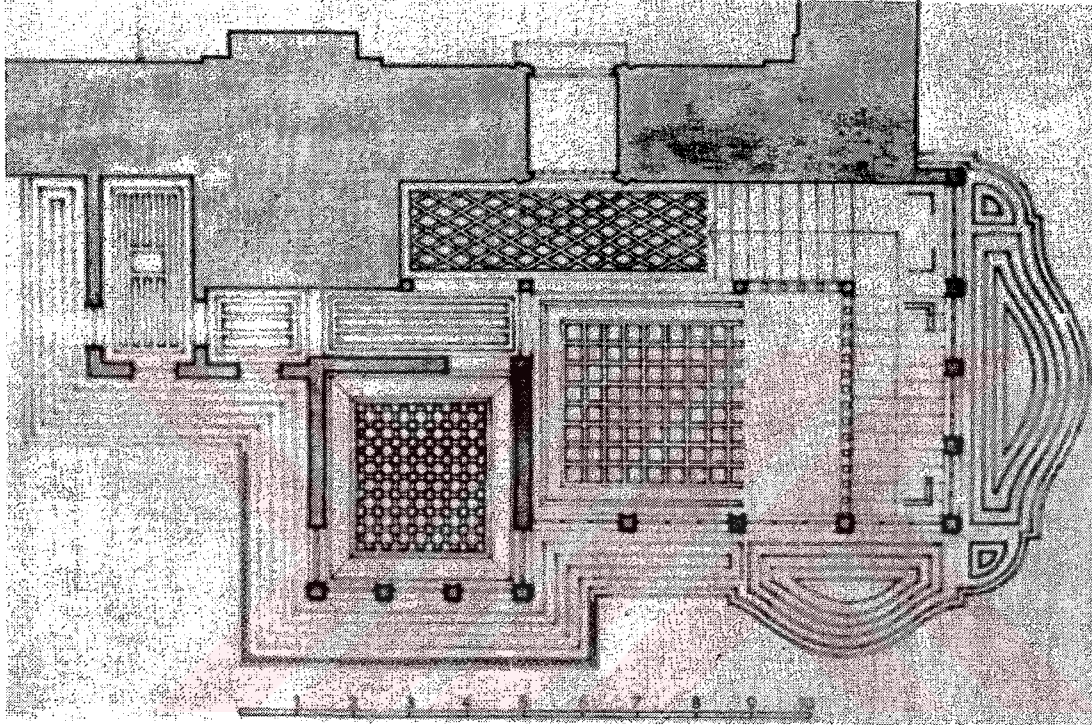


Figure 3.2: The Plan of the Imperial Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II next to Beyazıt Mosque

SOURCE: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 1987, *Türk Evi Osmanlı Dönemi: Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, (İstanbul: Türkiye- Anıt –Çevre- Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı), vol.II, p.230.

⁸ We will focus on his visits to Beyazıt in chapter 5.

⁹ Eyice, p.49. He also notes that this timber kiosk was demolished in 1933.



Figure 3.3: Imperial Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II next to the Beyazıt Mosque, a picture by Ahmet Ziya Akbulut, 1923

SOURCE: İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, Published in *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Koleksiyonu, The Collection of İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture Mimar Sinan University*, 1996, (İstanbul: YKY), p.335



Figure 3.4: Imperial Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II next to the Beyazıt Mosque, a picture by Ahmet Ziya Akbulut, 1922

SOURCE: İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, Published in *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Koleksiyonu, The Collection of İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture Mimar Sinan University*, 1996, (İstanbul: YKY), p.334

On February 15th 1810, he ordered the new building of the Sublime Porte, which was ruined during the Alemdar Olayı. In March 1813 the reconstruction of Cebeciler Barracks,¹⁰ which was also demolished in the same event, was started. He was reconstructing the city against the damages of Janissaries.

Between the years 1809-1816, the Sa'dâbâd Palace, which was also ruined before, was renovated. No plan of the palace exists today, but paintings. This palace was in Empire Style¹¹ (we will focus on the Empire Style in Chapter 4) like his other buildings in Istanbul. Sultan Aziz demolished and replaced it by another one in 1862-1863.

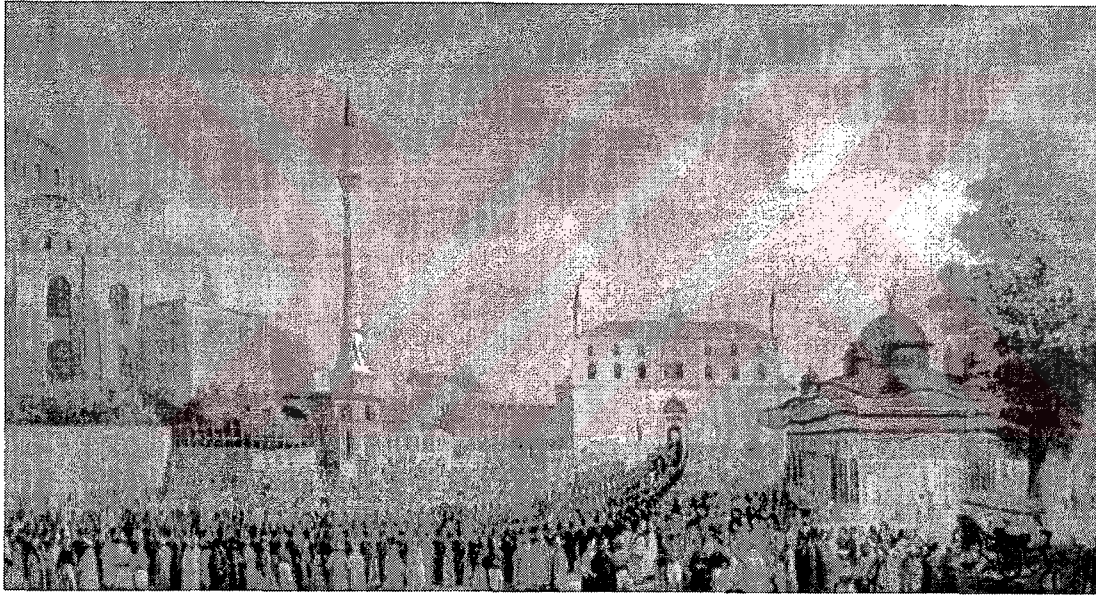


Figure 3.5: A ceremony of Friday Procession (*Cuma Selamlığı*) of Sultan Mahmud II A picture by François Dubois, “Selamlık Alayı”

SOURCE: İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, Published in *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Koleksiyonu, The Collection of İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture Mimar Sinan University*, 1996, (İstanbul: YKY), p.515

¹⁰ Cevdet Paşa, p.2515.

¹¹ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.26-27.

3.2. Abolishment of the Corps of Janissaries - *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* (The Auspicious Incident)

The term *kapıkulu* expressed that janissaries “were members of the imperial family and shared their prince’s great fortune in good times”.¹² But, janissaries became a serious threat against the security of the city in the nineteenth century.¹³ The former “members of imperial family” (in Godwin’s term) were regarded as dogs (*it* in Es’ad Efendi’s term) or insects¹⁴ (*haşerât* in Cevdet Paşa’s and Lûtfî Efendi’s term).

In the official history of the Ottoman Empire, *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* (Auspicious Incident) is regarded as a fight with the reactionary armed force that was against reforms. However, today a historian Reha Çamuroğlu argues that janissaries were not completely against modernisation.¹⁵ He claims that, actually janissaries had good relations with French officers who came to teach them new techniques and moreover janissaries had courage to express the idea of “republic” (*cumhur*) aloud.¹⁶ According to Çamuroğlu, the fight between janissaries and the empire was not an opposition between tradition and modernity, but a power struggle between janissaries and the dynasty.¹⁷

¹² Goodwin, p.30. The *kul* (slave) system was established in 1416, and the janissary corps was raised to 6000 men. Goodwin, Ibid.

¹³ It can be observed from traveler’s notes, see p.84 and Chapter 5.5. Beside, in Ottoman historiographers writings it was largely stated, for example see dangerous zones of the city, p.76.

¹⁴ For example about the “control of insect” (*zabt u rabt-ı haşerâtın*) see, Lûtfî Efendi, p.113 and p.116.

¹⁵ Reha Çamuroğlu, Ocak 2002, “Yeniçeriler, Bektaşiler ve Modernleşme Süreci”, Interview by Mete Tuğay and Bilmez Bülent Can, in *Toplumsal Tarih*, no:97, p.7-16.

¹⁶ Çamuroğlu, p.13.

¹⁷ Çamuroğlu, p.12-13.

At the end of this power struggle Sultan Mahmud II destroyed the janissaries in their barracks. What would have happened, if the janissaries had won the struggle? Would they have destroyed Topkapı Palace besides Bâb-ı Âli, which was destroyed not only in the Event of Alemdar and but also in Vak'a-i Hayriyye? Would they have erased Topkapı and Bâb-ı Âli from the map and remove the traces of the dynasty and empire from the urban space? These are hypothetical and speculative questions and no need to go further, but we have to grasp the problem from such a strong power struggle that re-shaped the urban space of Istanbul.

Sultan Mahmud II realised a long-term struggle against the janissaries. In 1812, Mahmud II, demolished the barracks that belonged to the *31 Ocağı* and the most dangerous zone of the city i.e. Melekgirmez neighbourhood.¹⁸ He reconstructed in its place a new neighbourhood that was named Hidayet, which means The Right Way. To re-appropriate the area quickly, he built a timber mosque, named also Hidayet.¹⁹ In another insecure area²⁰ called Asmaaltı, there were *bekâr odaları* (singles rooms). They were related with janissaries and demolished in 1823 (1238) like Melekgirmez.²¹ In 1817, no less than seventy fires occurred in Istanbul. It was rumoured that Janissaries sabotaged the city. Against the sabotages and carelessness, people were obliged to watch the city at nights in turn.²² Besides, as part of measures against the plague, people were obliged to keep clean their neighbourhoods.²³

¹⁸ Cevdet Paşa, p.2510

¹⁹ Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", 255b.

²⁰ Some of the "meeting places of *"haşarat"* (insects) in İstanbul were: Tahtakale, Asmaaltı, Unkapanı, see Cevdet Paşa, p.2954.

²¹ Cevdet Paşa, p.2877.

²² Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", p.256.

²³ Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Mahmud II", p.255c. About sustaining of hygiene in the city, in 1839 (1254), "*Meclis-i Sıhhiye*" (A committee for Health) was attended for the procedures of quarantine, see Lûtfi Efendi, p.933.

On April 8th 1826, two months before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, in the eve of Ramadan, a new mosque on the Bosphorus, which was to be re-named as Nusretiye after the Vak'a i Hayriyye, was opened with a notable ceremony. In the ceremony, it was noticed that Sultan Mahmud II did not greet the janissaries on his left although he greeted the *topçu* (artillerymen) soldiers on his right.²⁴ The name Nusretiye, which means victory, was given to commemorate the victory of Sultan Mahmud II over the janissaries. In the engravings the Nusretiye Mosque was depicted with army troops which represented the military and imperial power (Figure 3.6).

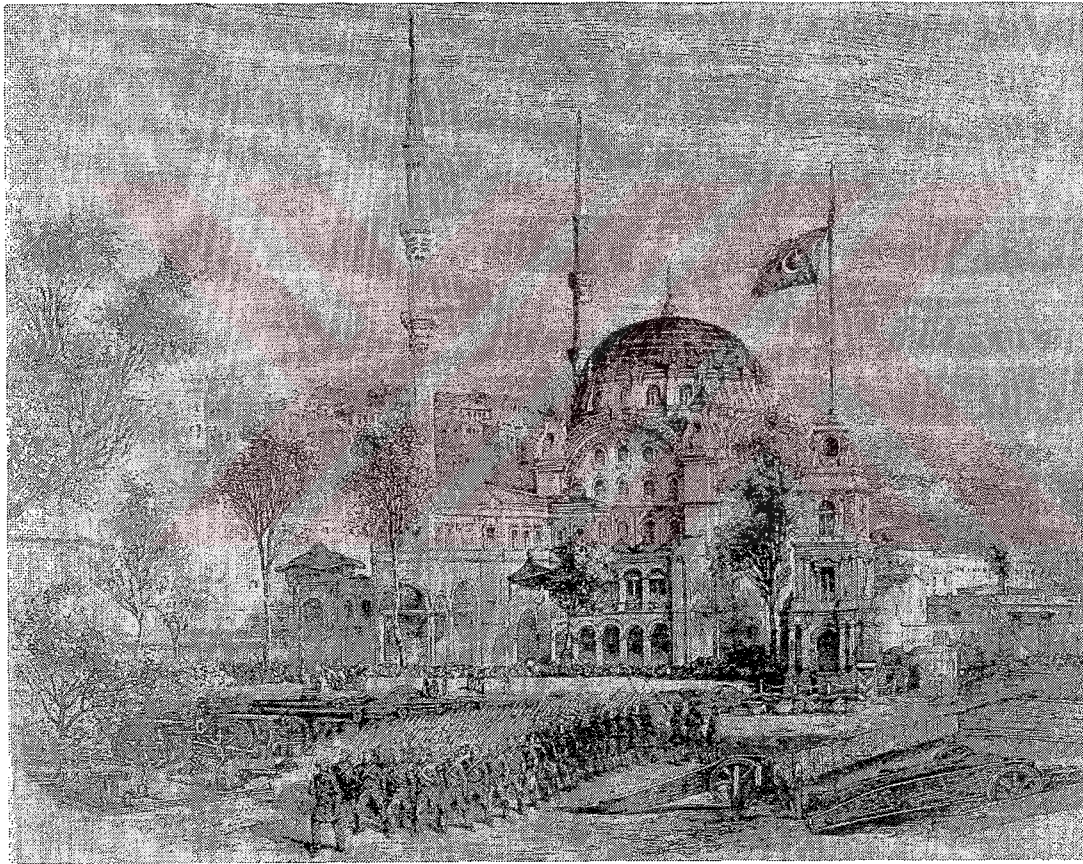


Figure 3.6: Nusretiye Mosque

SOURCE: Engraving by Joubert and F.Mornand 1854, *Illustration Journal Universel*, Paris, published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK)

²⁴ Cevdet Paşa, p.2937.

On June 15th 1826, for the last time, the janissaries announced a mutiny by overturning their huge cauldrons (*kazan*). This was the last rebellion of Janissaries, which ended up with the event called Vak'a-i Hayriyye (The Auspicious Incident). Later, the abolishment of janissaries will be called "*inkılâp*" (revolution).²⁵

Vak'a-i Hayriyye was a momentous event both for the history of the Ottoman Empire and had important impact in restructuring Beyazıt Meydanı. Sultan Mahmud II not only exterminated the Janissaries entirely but also he removed their symbolic presence from the city. Janissaries were either killed or forced out of town. Et Meydanı (where the Janissaries came together in rebellions) *Yeni Odalar* (New Barracks) and *Eski Odalar* (Old Barracks) were eradicated from the map. Ağa Kapısı, the Headquarter of Janissaries, was damaged (and later a new office was settled there). Mahmud II ordered even the destruction of the tombstones of Janissaries in graveyards. On July 10th 1826, the buildings of *Bektaşî tekkes* (dervish lodge) in Rumelihisarı, Öküz Limanı, Karaağaç, Yedikule, Sütlüce, Eyüb, Üsküdar Nerdibanlı Karye, Çamlıca were demolished.²⁶ A fire started from Hoca Paşa, destroyed the Historical Peninsula on August 2th 1826.²⁷ The fire spread rapidly to Beyazıt. Since the organisation of firemen of the city (*tulumbacılar*) was abolished with the janissary corps, extinguishing the fire took time.

²⁵ See for example, Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, 2001, p.109.

²⁶ Lûtfî Efendi, p.111.

²⁷ "Büyük Çarşı içine dahi sirayetle Balmumcular'a kadar derûn-ı çarşıyı sûzân ederek Okçularbaşından Simkeşhane ve Bâyezid civarında Kumkapı ve Simkeşhane verasından Yenikapı'ya kadar", Lûtfî Efendi, p.122.

3.3.The construction of the new barracks for *Asakîr-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye*

Following the abolition of the janissary corps, Mahmud II established a new modern army, *Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye* (The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad). From the writings of Ottoman historiographers (*vak'anüvis*), it can be concluded that it was important to have an organised modern army (*talimli asker*) in place of janissaries', who were refusing to exercise. Minister of War Hüsrev Paşa aimed to create exercise grounds (*talim meydanı*) in various part of the city of İstanbul.²⁸ Like a soldier, Sultan Mahmud II joined the exercises with young members of the Enderun²⁹ (Sultan's servants from the Palace and also candidates of state officials).

Since Eski Odalar in Şehzadebaşı and Yeni Odalar in Aksaray were demolished, Sultan Mahmud II immediately ordered the construction of new barracks for the new army. They were located outside the Historical Peninsula. An extraordinary effort was paid for these buildings. Mainly three significant barracks for *Asakîr-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye* were: Davudpaşa, Rami and Selimiye Barracks.

Davudpaşa Barracks was built by Kirkor Balian to lodge the new Army's troops.³⁰ On the old road to Edirne, in the area traditionally known as Davudpaşa Sahrası, construction started in 1826-27 and was completed in 1831-32. Around a courtyard, Davudpaşa Barracks is a rectangular building (327 by 165 metres). Ceremonies were held here, when the army was going on campaign to Europe and on

²⁸ Sakaoğlu, 1994,"Mahmud II", p.257b.

²⁹ Sakaoğlu, 1994,"Mahmud II", Ibid.

³⁰ Ayşe Yetişkin Kubilay, "Davud Paşa Kışlası" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.3, p.11-12; Tuğlacı, 1990, p.41.

its return. For this occasions a ceremonial kiosk was built for the Sultan.³¹ In this ceremony the Sultan was taking charge of the Holy Standard. Moon and eight-pointed star was becoming usual in the Holy Standard after 1837.³²

A year after the abolishment of the corps of janissaries in 1826, Kirkor Balian built Maltepe Military Hospital and Barracks. A surgical department was established in 1831³³.

Rami Barracks, which was first built in 1695-1703, was rebuilt for Asakîr-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye in 1826-1828 again under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. It was transformed into Fünûn-ı Harbiye-i Mansure (the school for the Science of War) in 1837. Like other barracks built at that period, it has a wide rectangular courtyard, surrounded by a two-storey building.³⁴

Selimiye Barracks had been built in 1794 in timber construction during the reign of Sultan Selim III on the area where a palace was built by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in 16th century. Since the Selimiye Barracks was burned down in the janissary rebellion of 1807, Sultan Mahmud commissioned Kirkor Balian to draw new stone barracks in 1825-1826. On February 1st 1829, it was opened and named Asakîr-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye Kışlası.³⁵ The construction of one of the largest barracks in the world³⁶ continued during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid.³⁷

³¹ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.40.

³² Kudret Emiroğlu, 2001, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*, (Ankara: Dost), p. 488.

³³ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.46.

³⁴ Tuğlacı, 1990, Ibid.

³⁵ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.55.

³⁶ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.53.

³⁷ Afife Batur, 1994, "Selimiye Kışlası" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), p.515.

Tophane-i Âmire Arabacılar Barracks (Cannon Foundry Barracks) was built by Kirkor Balian in 1823-1825 as an extension to the barracks of gun carriage built in 1793.³⁸

Kuleli Cavalry Barracks was built in 1828 also by Kirkor Balian as a single story wooden structure. Since it was burned down, Garabed Balian built the present building in 1837-1839 during the reign of Abdülmecid.³⁹

Taksim Artillery Barracks (Talimhane Barracks) was rebuilt in 1784 and it was also repaired once more during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.⁴⁰

Maçka Barracks; which was also known as Mekteb-i Hassa (The Imperial School) was inaugurated by Mahmud II on July 1st 1835. Garabed Balian replaced this building with a new one in 1846.⁴¹

3.4. Places demolished in the Historical Peninsula during the Vak'a-i Hayriyye: the first step for urban transformation

In architectural and urban history writing the role of fires in the reshaping of the city of Istanbul was emphasized by researchers.⁴² However, the abolishment of janissaries should also be taken into account as a factor of transformation.

³⁸ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.77.

³⁹ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.265

⁴⁰ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.66

⁴¹ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.268.

⁴² See, Çelik, 1993, p.52-67.

In this part, in order to analyse the destroyed areas, we will focus on: Eski Odalar (The Old Janissary Barracks in Şehzadebaşı), Et Meydanı (The meeting square of janissaries) and Yeni Odalar (New Janissary Barracks in Aksaray), which were totally erased from the map, and Ağa Kapısı (Headquarters of Janissaries) replaced by a new office, i.e. Bâb-ı Fetva.

By building new barracks outside of the Historical Peninsula and destroying traditional places of janissaries, Sultan Mahmud II was not only eliminating the armed forces from the Historical Peninsula but also removing the symbols and memories of the janissaries from the inner city.

3.4.1. Yeni Odalar (The New Barracks) and Et Meydanı (The Meeting Space of Janissaries)

The main barracks of janissaries were Eski Odalar and Yeni Odalar in the city. Besides them, there were other sections for the janissaries such as Cebeci Barracks and the barracks inside the Topkapı. According to Goodwin, the existing barracks at Topkapı Palace can represent the typical barracks of janissaries in İstanbul⁴³ (Figure, 3.7). The barracks of janissaries were “commodious” and normally 100 men (sometimes double) were accommodating in an *orta* (janissary company).⁴⁴ As Goodwin describes, janissary barracks were also “monumental” and they could accommodate 40.000 men in the 18th century.⁴⁵

An extremely large complex, Yeni Odalar was erected in the 16th century. 173 *odas* were located here, from totally 199 *oda* belonging to different *ortas* (janissary company)⁴⁶. (As we will see 26 *odas* were in Eski Odalar). Unfortunately,

⁴³ Goodwin, p.72.

⁴⁴ Goodwin, p.73.

⁴⁵ Goodwin, p.72.

⁴⁶ Necdet Sakaoğlu, 1994, "Yeni Odalar", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol., p.467b.

we do have neither any visual material nor any information about the architectural features of the barracks. Although it was a huge complex, it is difficult to find the traces of Yeni Odalar today.

Yeni Odalar (including Tekkeler Meydanı, Et Meydanı and the Orta Mosque) was occupying a large area, which was allowing the entrances from seven gates. The main gate was a ceremonial gate on Et Meydanı⁴⁷ (which was the inner Parade Ground). The Orta Mosque, which is the only building remained after the Vak'at Hayriye, was located in the central open area that is Tekkeler Meydanı. Et Meydanı (Meat Square, in Ottoman Meydan-ı Lahm) was at the end of the Kasap Yolu (the way of butchers') which was going through the old Yedikule Gate to Forum Bovis (Et Meydanı, near situated Aksaray today). This route did not change since the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁸ The road was called 'butchers' way' since the butchers of the city used this way to carry meat from outside the city to the centre. Butchers were escorted by Janissaries. Janissary staff, called *seğirdim çavuşu*, intervened whenever necessary to keep the way open. They could even punish people to death, if they were blocking the Kasap Yolu. This road ended at Et Meydanı. On Et Meydanı, the meat was distributed to Eski Odalar and Yeni Odalar and to other butchers. The sharing of meat on Et Meydanı was carried as a "quasi religious ceremony".⁴⁹ This ceremonial space was also the meeting place of Janissaries in the rebellions. Janissaries were getting out their *kazan* (cauldron), the symbol of a rebellion, on Et Meydanı to start and announce the rebellion. After they came together at Et Meydanı, they were marching towards At Meydanı.

⁴⁷ Goodwin, p.74

⁴⁸ From Arseven (1912) and Ülgen (1939), in Cem Bahar, January 1998, "Kasap İlyas Mahallesi İstanbul'un Bir Mahallesinin Sosyal ve Demografik Portresi:1546-1885", *İstanbul Araştırmaları*, no: 4, (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi)

⁴⁹ Bahar, p.47, quoting İsmail Hakkı Uzun Çarşılı, 1988, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtından kapıkulu Ocakları I (Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), p.241.

Since janissaries were dominating the social life around the Yeni Odalar, it was difficult for a woman to walk around the barracks in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, new exercises for army were decided to take place on Et Meydanı. On June 12th 1826 Monday, the exercises of soldiers within their new uniforms were started.⁵¹ Janissaries gathered in taverns and coffeehouses grumbling about these “infidel” exercises. Three days later, the last rebellion of Janissaries against these exercises was announced at Et Meydanı which brought the end of the janissaries. They dragged out their cauldron and claimed: “We will not do this exercise. We can shoot jug, sword the felt, as we used to do, we do not know any other exercise.”⁵² However this time not only the armed forces of Sultan Mahmud II but also the citizens of Istanbul were against them. After the fights in the city, janissaries came back to Et Meydanı, entered the barracks and closed the great door. But these were desperate manoeuvres. Janissaries were totally destroyed in their barracks. In this way, the places of janissaries, Et Meydanı and Yeni Odalar, as associated with janissaries, were all demolished. Only the Orta Mosque was preserved in during these massive reconstructions.

⁵⁰ Goodwin, p.72.

⁵¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.97-98.

⁵² “biz bu ta’limi etmiyoruz, eski usûlümüz destiye kurşun atar, keçeye kılıç çalarız, başka ta’lim bilmiyoruz”. Lûtfî Efendi, p.102.

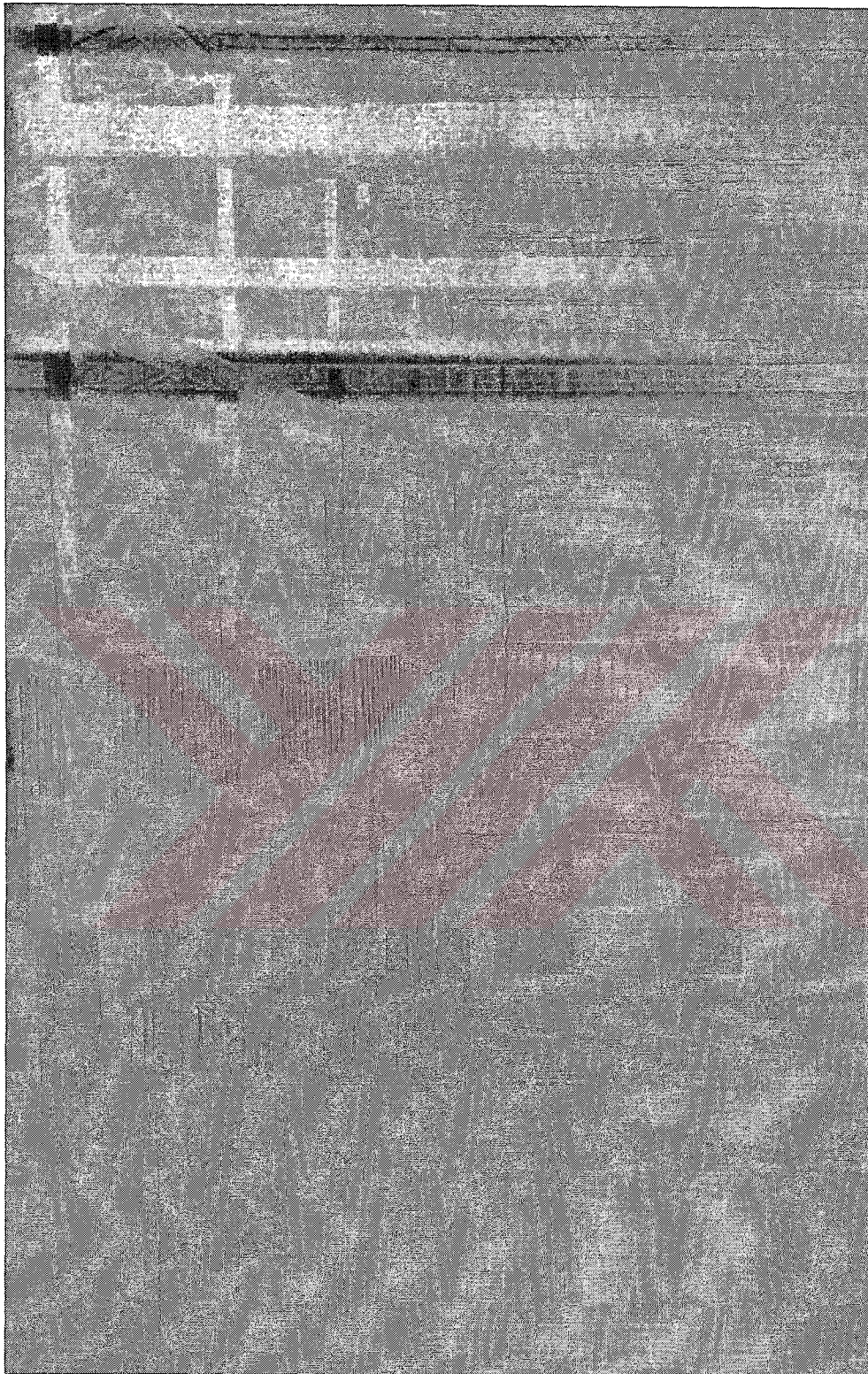


Figure 3.7: Janissary Barracks from Topkapı Palace
SOURCE: Godfrey Goodwin, 1997, *The Janissaries*, (London: Saqi Books).

3.4.2.Eski Odalar (The Old Barracks)

Eski Odalar had been built in the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed. The area that we called today Şehzadebaşı was then called “Eskiodalarbaşı”⁵³ pointing to its association with janissaries. Subsequent to the removal of barracks, the area was re-named.

The only plan showing the janissary barracks, that we have, is Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (Figure, 3.8). Twenty-six *orta* (janissary company) were accommodated in the Eski Odalar and they were probably arranged in a “series of cells”.⁵⁴

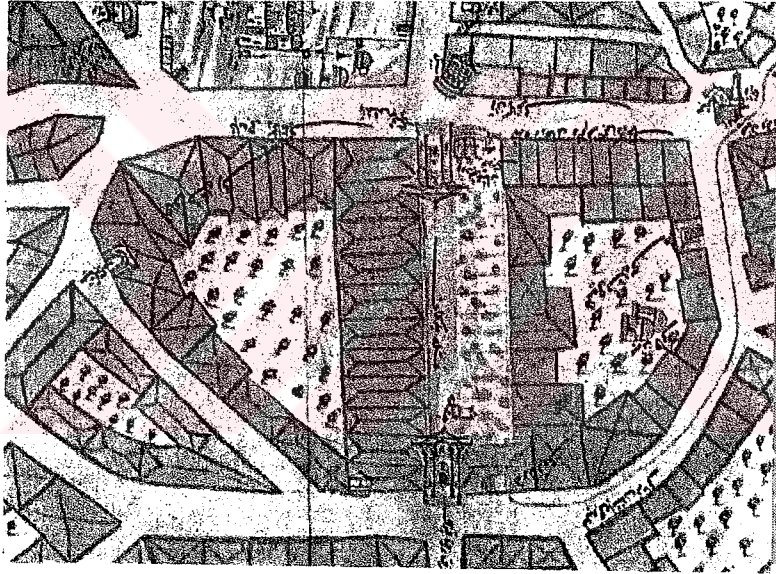


Figure 3.8: Eski Odalar, A detail From the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813).

SOURCE: The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, No: 3339. Published in Kâzım Çeçen, 1997. *II. Beyazıd Su Yolları Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İSKİ).

NOTE: The map is turned upside down for our orientation according to the North.

⁵³ Süheyl Ünver, 1945, *Fatih'in Oğlu Bayezid'in Su Yolu Haritası Dolayısı ile 140 Sene Önceki İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Belediye Matbaası), re-published in Süheyl Ünver, 1995, *İstanbul Risaleleri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları), vol.1, p.128.

⁵⁴ Goodwin, p.72.

On the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's map⁵⁵ we can see that Janissary barracks were organised around two courtyards. The two groups of barracks were separated with a straight axis from the south to the north. (This axis corresponds to Fevziye Street today). There were two major and two minor gates. Two major gates (Altmışbir Kapısı and Kırkdört Kapısı) were at the two ends of the main axis. The Gate of Altmışbir was on the north, across the Şehzade Mosque. Osman Nuri Ergin stated that, Fatih used to have a break in front of this gate, when he arrived the city from the Edirne Gate (Edirne Kapısı). When he did not stop here, it meant that he was not satisfied with the efforts of Janissaries.⁵⁶ Therefore, it was a ceremonial place both for people and the janissaries. The width of the street was about 10 *arşın* (6.8 meters).⁵⁷

The second major gate, at the other end of the axis on the South, was called as the gate of Kırkdört. On the right, next to the gate of Kırkdört, there was a fountain. The third gate was on the right of the complex. Acemoğlu Bath (that exists today), which is originally called as Meydan Bath, was on this part. The fourth gate was called as the Gate of Meyyit (dead). This gate was used for corpses.⁵⁸

The main principle in the organisation of buildings around a courtyard was also applied to Janissary Barracks. The inner courtyard was controlled and separated from the city with gates. *Ulufe* (the salaries of janissaries) were distributed in these interior courtyards.⁵⁹ They were common places for the groups of janissaries. This axis was a buffer zone between these groups of barracks and the city. The transition from semi-public to the public was also relevant for janissary life. They did not have a direct access to the public space. They reached the city through this buffer zone.

⁵⁵ About an analyze of old barracks from this map see See, Ünver, 1995.

⁵⁶ quoted in Ünver, 1995, p.133

⁵⁷ Ergin, 1995, p.797

⁵⁸ Ünver, 1995, p.133

⁵⁹ Ünver, 1995, p.135

On the day of Vak'a-i Hayriyye Yeni Odalar and Et Meydanı were demolished first. Eski Odalar was deliberately destroyed a few days later.⁶⁰ Today the Bath of Acemoğlu is the only construction that remains from Eski Odalar. Because of its close location to the city center, firstly, the Eski Odalar complex was re-built as a residential neighbourhood; Fevziye.⁶¹ After then, the complex of Yeni Odalar was occupied and replaced by the Ahmediye neighbourhood. The monumental janissary barracks were lost under the residential areas. Hence, today it is not possible to find the traces of these large barracks in the city. Mahmud II's policy was to erase the memories of the old order and its traces from the city space entirely.

3.4.3. Ağa Kapısı (The Headquarter of Janissaries)

The residence of the head of the Janissary's was named as Ağa Kapısı or Tekeli Köşkü⁶². Ağa Kapısı was located on the North of the Süleymaniye Mosque. As we mentioned in chapter II, prior to administrative reform, the residence of an officer of the Ottoman Empire was also his office. Thus, Ağa Kapısı was both a residence of the Commandant of Janissaries and an administrative centre for janissaries. We can see the courtyard of the Ağa Kapısı from Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's Map (Figure, 3.9). We can also see the fire tower of the Ağa Kapısı from Barker's (1813) Istanbul panorama (Figure, 3.10: 3.11).

⁶⁰ Lûtfî Efendi, p.118.

⁶¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.118.

⁶² Goodwin, p.70.



Figure 3.9: Ağa Kapısı, A detail From the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813).
 SOURCE: The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, No: 3339. Published in Kâzım Çeçen, 1997. *II. Beyazıd Su Yolları Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İSKİ).

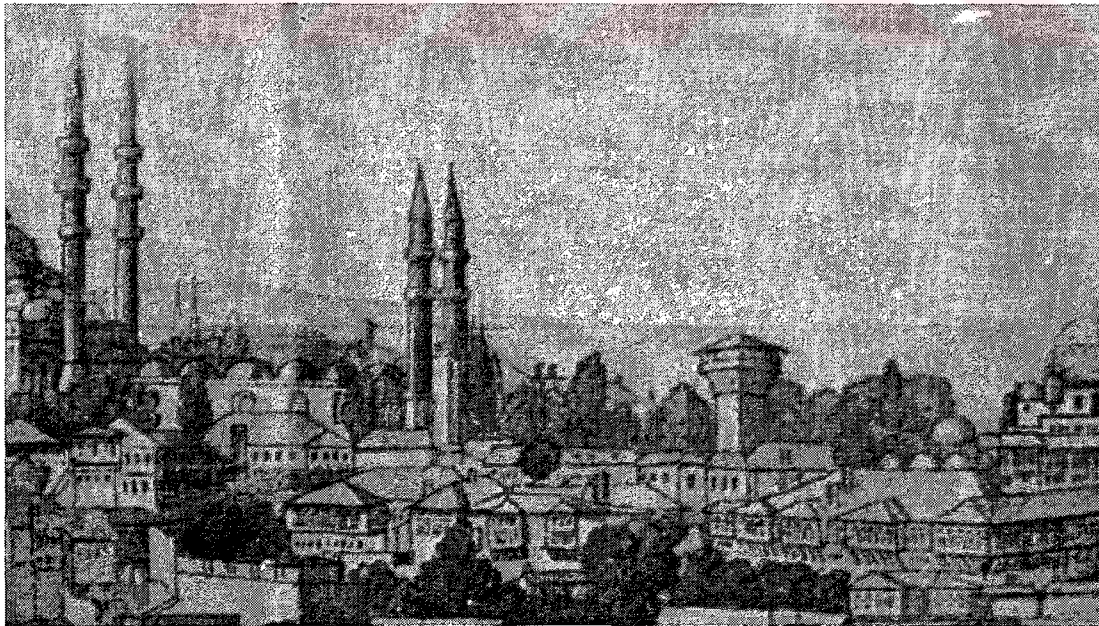


Figure 3.10: Ağa Kapısı, in the Panorama of Barker (1813)
 SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

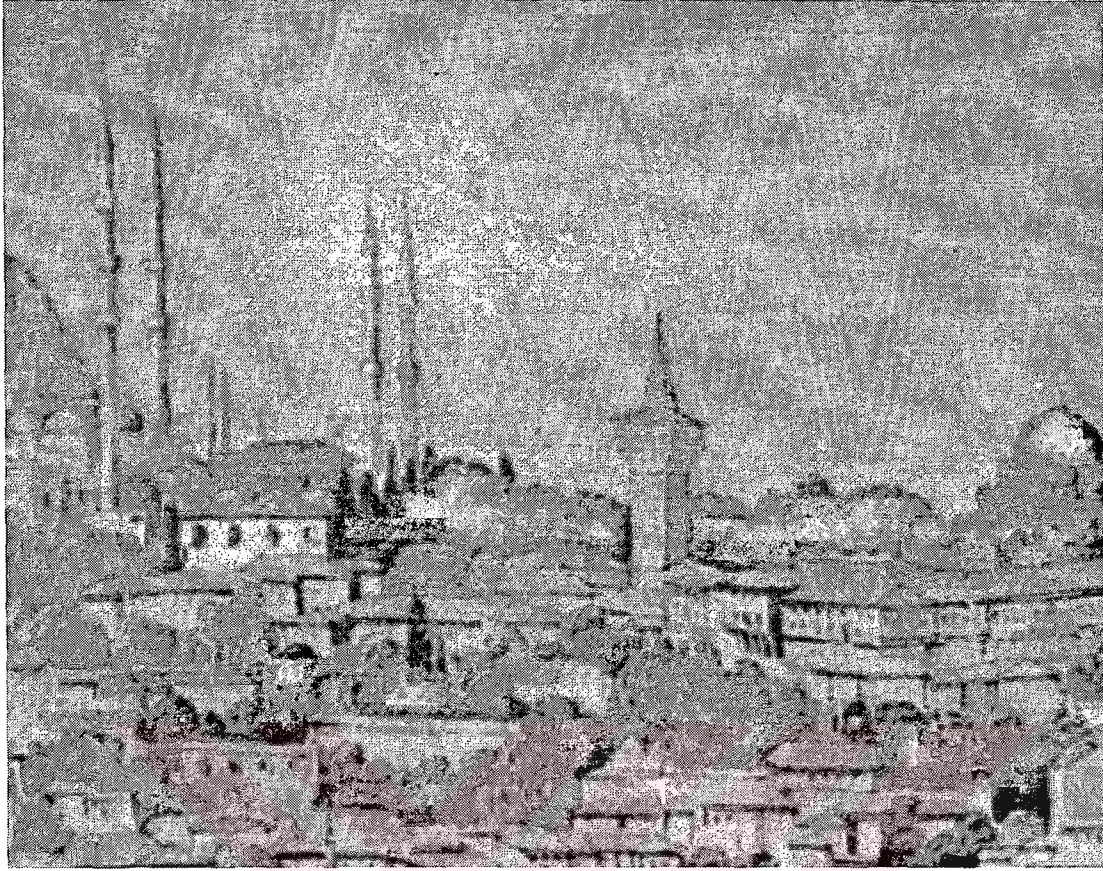


Figure 3.11: Ağa Kapısı, in the second Panorama of Barker

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

Ağa Kapısı was one of the ceremonial places of Istanbul. For instance, the birth of a new member to the Ottoman's Imperial family was celebrated in front of the Ağa Kapısı⁶³ besides the other places such as Bâb-ı Âli. Ağa Kapısı and its tower were damaged during the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. In 1827, Mahmud II laid the foundation of the Sublime Porte Building again. During the construction, Sublime Porte was moved to the Ağa Kapısı, which was not used by janissaries anymore.

Actually, after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, Ağa Kapısı was used as the Headquarter of the new army for a very short time.⁶⁴ Later Bâb-ı Fetva was

⁶³ Cevdet Paşa, p.2607.

⁶⁴ About this duration Lûtfî Efendi uses the word "bir müddetçik" (a very little time), see Lûtfî Efendi, p.118.

established here. By replacing Ağa Kapısı with Bâb-ı Fetva, Mahmud II not only honoured the Şeyhülislam but also he relegated the Ağa Kapısı laden with sad memories into history. In his Hatt-ı Hümayun (imperial order), Sultan Mahmud II clearly emphasized that he aimed to “extract even the phrase Ağa Kapısı from public language”.⁶⁵ He stated that, by a strong belief to *şerî’at*, it was aimed to erase the memory of Ağa Kapısı totally.⁶⁶

Until 1826, Şeyhülislam had not a special official residence. In other words, there was no Bâb-ı Fetva.⁶⁷ Before by the constitution of Bâb-ı Fetva, Mahmud II was creating another centre “like Bâb-ı Âli” (“*Paşa Kapısı misillû*”) and advising his people to obey to the rules of Bâb-ı Fetva.⁶⁸

According to Lewis, however, this attempt was aimed to control the ulema:

“an Inspectorate of *wakf* to centralise the supervision and control of *wakf* revenues, prepared the way for the bureaucratisation of the *ulama*. Deprived of both their financial and their administrative autonomy, the *ulama*, were gravely weakened as against the sovereign power”.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ “Ağa Kapısı lâfzının dahi lisân-ı nâsadan ilgası” quoted from *Hatt-ı Hümayun* in Lûtfî Efendi, p.118.

⁶⁶ “ve bu madde mutlaka şerî’at-ı mutahharaya cân ü gönülden yapışılmasıyla hâsıl olup inşâallahu teâlâ şerî’at-ı garrânın mütemadiyen icrâsına tefe’ül ile Ağa Kapısı nâmı külliyyen lisânda söylenmemeğe vesile olmak için ba’dezin Fetvâhâne tesmiye olunup” quoted from *Hatt-ı Hümayun* in Lûtfî Efendi, p.118-9.

⁶⁷ See also, Lûtfî Efendi, p.109.

⁶⁸ “Ve cem’i nâs her madde şerî’at ile rû’yet olunacağını bilerek salâh-I âleme bâ’is olmasını tefe’ül eyledim” quoted from *Hatt-ı Hümayun* in Lûtfî Efendi, p.118-9.

⁶⁹ Bernard Lewis, 1986, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden ,London: E.J.Brill, Luzac), vol.1, p.838.

The creation of the Bâb-ı Fetva was not only intended to make people forget the memories of janissaries and to erase the signs of Janissaries's Ağa from the city but also it was a new institution aimed at the reorganisation of the *vakıf* and centralising the authority.



Figure 3.12: Bâb-ı Fetva, Today İstanbul Müftülüğü.
SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya

CHAPTER 4

SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE BEYAZIT MEYDANI

4.1. Historical Heritage in the Beyazıt Area

Before the discussion of how Beyazıt was re-shaped in the early 19th century, the historical background of the area will be reviewed in this sub-chapter.

The Historical Peninsula of İstanbul is a hilly sector with distinctive topographical features. The Beyazıt district is situated on the third hill of the seven hills of İstanbul. It is the heart and the geometrical centre of the Historical Peninsula. During the Byzantine times, a square named as Forum Tauri, decorated with columns and statues of emperors was located approximately in Beyazıt Meydanı. After Augusteion (Ayasofya Square) and Forum Constantinus (Çemberlitaş Square), the Forum Tauri was the third square of Constantinopolis located on Mese. Mese, the main axis of the city, was the extension of Via Egnatia in the city, which connected Byzantium to Roma. Imperial ceremonies were held on Mese.¹

Sultan Mehmed II (Fatih), who called himself as “*Sultanü’l berberyn ve’l bahreyn*” (The Sultan of two lands and two seas)², built his Palace (later named Old Palace) at Beyazıt, in the middle of the city, after the conquest.³ By looking at the

¹ About the history of Byzantine period, Wiener, pp.248-270: Freely, 41-64.

² This sentence is written on the Sultan II. Mehmed’s pavilion in Topkapı Palace. See, Filiz Çağman, 1999, “Büyülü Bir Coğrafyanın ‘Hazine Dairesi’”, An interview by Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Sanat Dünyamız*, no:73, p.27.

³ He built the Old Palace between 1454-1457. See, Ahmet Refik [Altınay], 1998, *Eski İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İletişim), p.13.

locations of barracks, mint and trade centre, it can be concluded that, the city was organised around Beyazıt. To the southwest of his palace Fatih located the barracks (Old Barracks, Eski Odalar) of his army. He built the Simkeřhane (mint) in 1463⁴ across his Palace. To the east, next to the Port, he located the trade centre of the city, following the Byzantine tradition. Uzun Çarşı Street assumed similar functions during the Byzantine Empire.⁵ Between 1455 and 1461, the Grand Bazaar (Kapalı Çarşı) was realized and Mahmud Pařa Han was constructed.⁶ The trade activities extended from the Port to the city centre, i.e. Beyazıt, through the Grand Bazaar and Hans.

A decade after the conquest, Fatih built his new Palace, which is known as Topkapı Palace today.⁷ Therefore, his Palace at Beyazıt (the Old Palace) used for the family (harem) of the Sultan.⁸ On the Divanyolu (the ancient Mese), the members of Divan (Council of the State) used to go to their houses in Beyazıt by a parade after the meetings in the Topkapı Palace.⁹ Besides, Beyazıt had always have a place in the royal ceremonies (*sûr-ı hümayun*) of the empire, thanks to the presence of royal family. Not only the Old Palace, but also Ağa Kapısı, the headquarter of the Janissaries, gave the quality of administrative centre to the Beyazıt district. Beyazıt was also a residential neighbourhood. Residences of the upper class families (*konak*) were located in the area, as it can be concluded from the parades of Divan.

⁴ Gönül Cantay, “Simkeřhane” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.6, p.561.

⁵ Freely, p.60.

⁶ For the trade center of the city, see Cezar, 1983, pp.51-58.

⁷ Topkapı Palace was built in 1465-1478. Refik [Altınay], 1998, p.13-14.

⁸ Refik [Altınay], 1998, Ibid.

⁹ Koçu, p.4624.



Figure 4.1: İstanbul in the sixteenth century.

SOURCE: *Ancien Plan de Constantinople*, 1566-1574, Venice, published in Cahit Kayra, 1990, *İstanbul Zamanlar Mekanlar*, (İstanbul: Ak Yayınlar).

After his father, Sultan Beyazıt II, continued to reconstruct İstanbul. His *külliye* (building complex, comprising a mosque, a *medrese*-theological school, a caravanserai, an *imaret* - public kitchen, a primary school, and a bath) was built between the Old Palace, Simkeşhane and the Grand Bazaar at the beginning of the 16th century. The architect of the mosque was known as Hayreddin,¹⁰ however the names of Kemalledin and Ya'kup Şah were also mentioned as the architect of the mosque.¹¹

¹⁰ Ahmed Refik, 1936, *Türk Mimarları (Hazinei Evrak Vesikalarına Göre)*, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi), p.4.

¹¹ Eyice, p.45 and Koçu, p.2230.

Thanks to its accessibility, Beyazıt district was highly attractive for citizens and commercial activities. In an official order, [which is the oldest historical document that we have about Beyazıt area], it is stipulated that while At Meydanı needed to be cleaned once a year, Beyazıt had to be cleaned twice a month.¹² This document illustrates the high popularity of Beyazıt. It is possible to argue that Beyazıt area was used for daily activities more than At Meydanı. Also, Evliya Çelebi described the huge crowds of people visiting the Beyazıt Mosque every day, with his famous exaggerated manner.¹³

¹² An official order claims: “At Meydanı yılda bir kere ve merhûm ve mağfûrun –leh Sultan Bayezid Han tâbe serâhû havâlisî ayda iki kere süpürölüp pâk ü tathîr edegelmekte...” Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı*, p.94 quoted in Ergin, 1995, p 907.

¹³ “ve İslambol’un çarşu-yı bazarı içre vakı olduğundan şeb u ruz nice bin cemat-i kesirden aram yokdur. Kerratile vakı’ olmışdır kim bir cemaat salat-ı aşrı edâ idüp evvelki cema’ate Ayete’l-kürsi red eda itmeğe mani olup gayrı cemaatdur, ta bu mertebe izdiham-ı kesirdir ve şebu ruz havz-ı azimin muslukları kapanmayup da’ima cereyan itmededir. Zira cema’atden bir an aram yoktur”, Evliya Çelebi, p.60.



Figure 4.2: The Connection Between the Beyazıt Mosque and the Grand Bazaar

SOURCE: Mustafa Cezar, 1983, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System*, (Trans. Ahmet Edip Uysal), (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları), p.8.

4.2.The Exterior Courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque and the Beyazıt Meydanı

Subsequent to this brief review of the historical background of the area, we can focus on the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque and the Beyazıt Meydanı. As it was mentioned in chapter 2, except Semavi Eyice, who finds the subject very interesting and states that it deserves a detailed research, architectural historians generally did not pay enough attention to the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque.¹⁴ Yet the disappearance of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, which will be the one of the first steps in the creation of the Beyazıt Meydanı, occurred simultaneously with Sultan Mahmud II's first attempts in the transformation of urban space. Before we discuss what had been done at the expense of the *harım* of the mosque in the early nineteenth century, we have to visualise the former picture of the area.

With its irregular architectural composition and site plan the Beyazıt Külliyesi distinguishes it self both from the Fatih Külliyesi (an earlier complex) and Süleymaniye Külliyesi (a later and nearby complex). However, the location of the buildings of the Beyazıt Külliyesi is not arbitrary. Mustafa Cezar states that the distance between the *medrese* and the mosque constitutes an open square, and corresponds to former Forum Tauri.¹⁵ He used Evliya Çelebi's term "Beyazıt Meydanı", as an evidence to suggest that it was a "*meydan*" during the 16th and 17th centuries. For Cezar, this statement implies the Beyazıt Mosque was not endowed with an exterior courtyard but a *meydan*. The distant locations of the mosque and the *medrese* can explain the permanence of the Forum Tauri. However, we believe that, this is a hasty conclusion about the absence of the exterior courtyard. Indeed, Evliya Çelebi did not only mention "Beyazıt Meydanı" but also defined "*haremi azimî*" (grand harem, i.e. exterior courtyard) in Beyazıt, which we will focus on in the next paragraphs.

¹⁴ For a summary of literature on this issue see Chapter 2.

¹⁵ Cezar, 2002, p.97.

The exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was documented in the visual and written sources of the 16th and 17th centuries. Evliya Çelebi explained the exterior courtyard of the mosque and the Beyazıt Meydanı clearly¹⁶. In his explanation, Evliya Çelebi designated the exterior courtyard of the mosque with the word “harem”. We already mentioned the importance of the use of the word of harem in the Islamic tradition. Now we will try to figure out the configuration of the harem of the Beyazıt Mosque before it disappeared in the 19th century.

The exterior courtyard of the mosque was surrounded with shops and between the *medrese* and the exterior courtyard there was a square, which was called as “Sultan Beyazıt Meydanı”. Although Evliya Çelebi exaggerated the numbers of the domes by “seventy domes” of the *medrese*, he distinguished the exterior courtyard of the Mosque from Sultan Beyazıt Meydanı, which was positioned in front of the *medrese*.

We have mainly two groups of visual sources to figure out the built environment of this area during the 16th and 17th centuries. The first group is formed of miniatures, which can be read as cognitive maps, to figure out the site. The Map of Pîrî Reis from his *Kitâb-ı Bahrîye*, which was completed and submitted to Kanuni Sultan Süleyman in 1520 (Figure, 4.3), is not very helpful to see the built environment in detail. The second map is dated 1584, a miniature from *Hünernâme*

¹⁶ “Ve bu cami’in iç haremi haricinde olan sahra missal harem-i azimin canib-i selasında dekakinler inşa idüp esnaf-ı sanayi’at-ı ehl-i hıref ile araste ve bir matbah ve me’kel-i darüz-ziyafe ile piraste ve bri dar-ı misafirin ile pür-haset bir haremdir. Ve bir mekteb-i sıbyan-ı tıflan fukaray-yı a’yanzadeler için bir ta’lim-i Kur’anı ve bir darü’l kurrası vardır. Ve harem-in canib-i erbasında altı kapısı vardır. Bu haremden haric serapa guna-gun dıraht-ı müntehalar ile müzeyyen olmuştur. Amma ekseri şecere-ı tut-ı guna gundur. Bu eşracatların zıll-ı himayesinde nice bin adem sayedar olup kifaf-ı nefis için nice bin gune eşyalar furuht iderler. Ve bu haremden taşra bir azim vadi vardır. Sultan Beyazıt meydanı dirler canib-i erba’sı dekakin-i guna gunlar ile müzeyyendir. Bir tarafında Bayezid Han’ın yetmiş kubbe-i azim bir medresesi vardır.” Evliya Çelebi, p.60, (emphasis mine).

(Figure, 4.4: 4.5). In this miniature we can clearly observe the borders of the exterior courtyard and those of the Old Palace. The borders of the exterior courtyard of the mosque seem to extend parallel to the mosque, in a rectangular form, like in the other Sultan Mosques of Fatih and Süleymaniye. This miniature also depicts the Beyazıt Meydanı between the *medrese* and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque as Evliya Çelebi defined it above. Only by depending on this miniature, we cannot simply decide whether the form of the courtyard was rectangular. Yet, other visual sources will support this argument. Moreover, we can also see the space between the Old Palace and the exterior courtyard, from this miniature. In another visual material, i.e. Matrakçı Nasuh's miniature (1532) we can observe that, the main gate of the Old Palace in the direction of the Golden Horn was particularly emphasised (Figure, 4.6). The emphasis on this gate is important since this gate should have lost its significance in the early nineteenth century.



Figure 4.3: The Map of Pîrî Reis in his *Kitâb-ı Bâhriye* (1520).

SOURCE: published in Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, 2001, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, YKY: İstanbul.p.36.

NOTE: The map is turned upside down for our orientation according to the North.

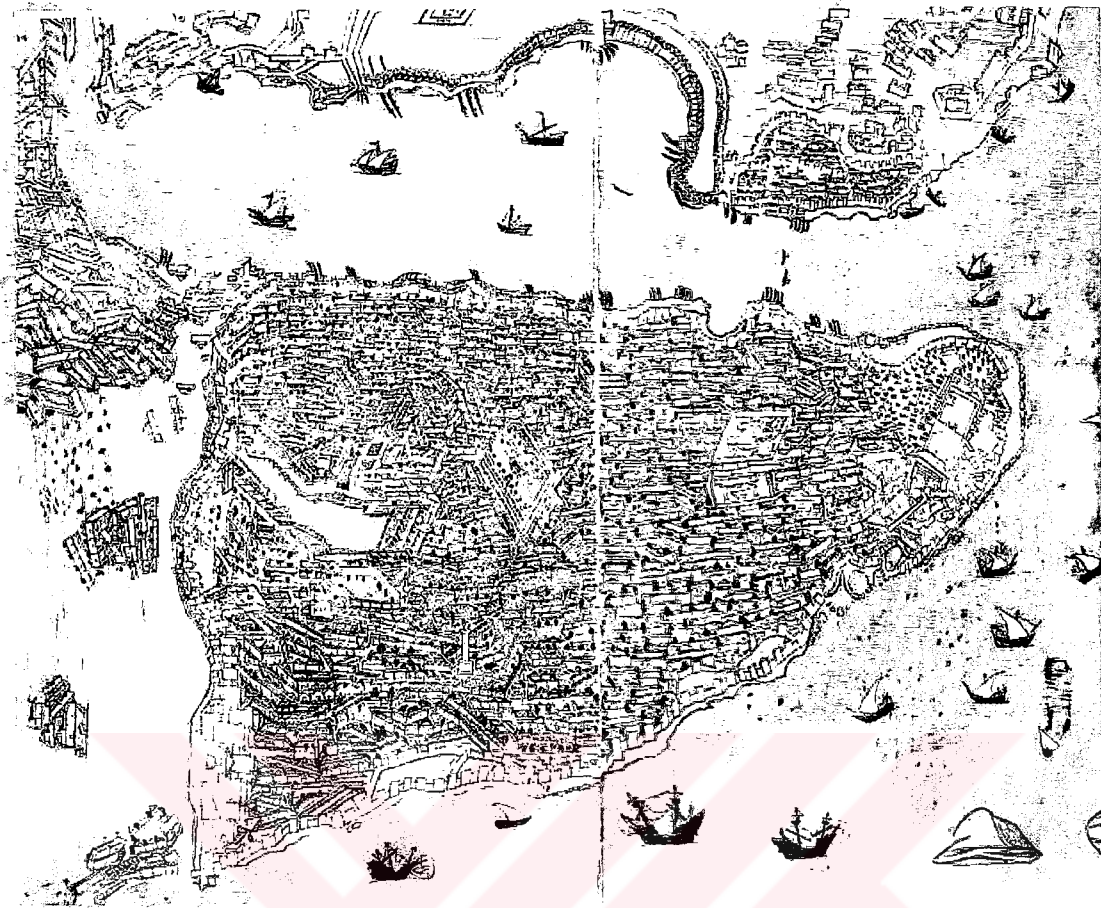


Figure 4.4: A miniature from *Hünernâme* (1584)

SOURCE: Topkapı Museum, No: H.1523, p.158b - 159a Published in *Yüzyıllar Boyunca İstanbul Görünümleri*, (İstanbul: Fıat Vehbi Koç Vakfı Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası).

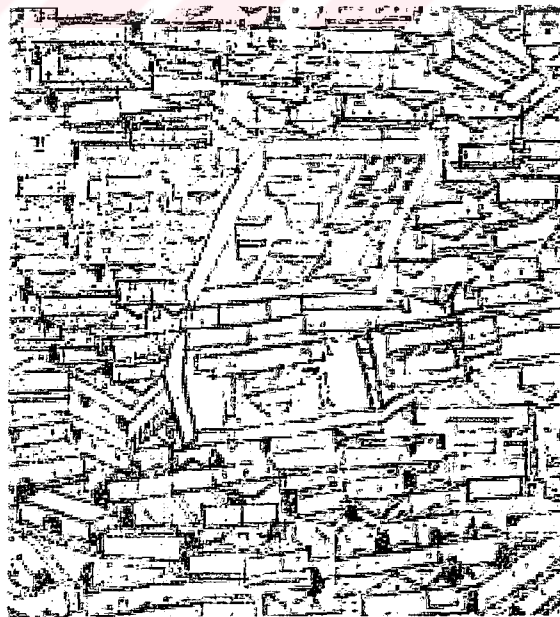


Figure 4.5: A detail from the miniature above.

SOURCE: Topkapı Museum, No: H.1523, p.158b – 159a.

NOTE: The exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque can be observed.

NOTE: The exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque can be observed.

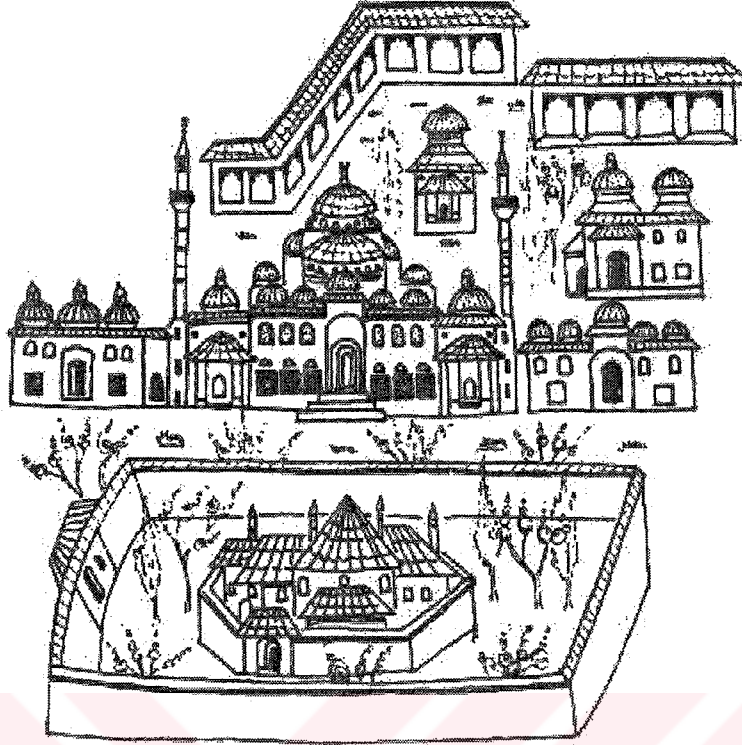


Figure 4.6: A detail from Matrakçı Nasuh (1532)

SOURCE: Doğan Kuban, Yegan Kahya. 1987. “Beyazıt Meydanı Tarihi Gelişimi” in Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması. (İstanbul: İBŞB)

NOTE: The main gate of the Old Palace is not through the Beyazıt Mosque but through the Golden Horn.

Engravings from travellers’ journeys are the second group of visual sources for the 16th and 17th centuries. Generally the precision of the engraving is rather weak. Some of the engravings depict İstanbul like a European city. Despite their European image with the roofed buildings and exaggerated proportions of the mosques; they serve as a clue about the built environment of their time. A rarely known engraving from *Thesaurus Exoticorum* (1688), (Figure, 4.7), demonstrates the Beyazıt Mosque. In spite of its depiction of İstanbul like a North-European city with castles on the top of the hills and pitched roofed buildings, it shows the presence of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque. This engraving supports the idea of the presence of the exterior courtyard in the Çelebi’s text and the miniature from *Hünernâme*.

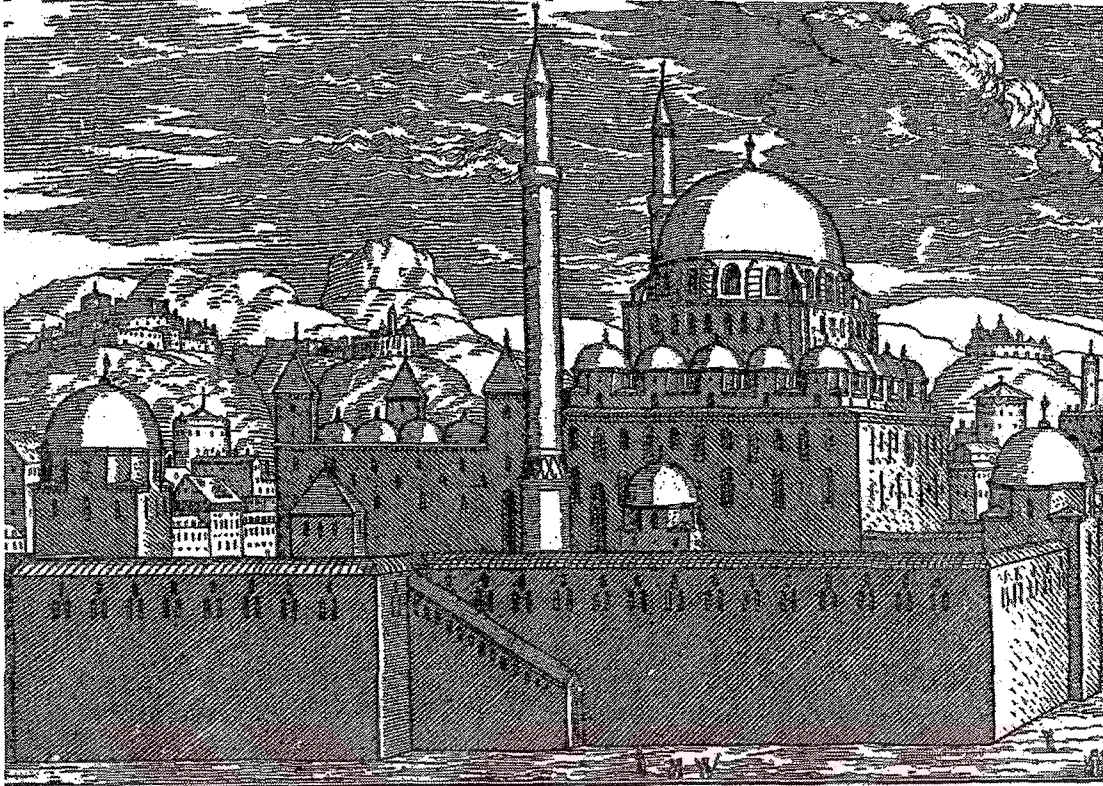


Figure 4.7: An engraving from *Thesaurus Exoticorum* illustrating the exterior walls of the Mosque.

SOURCE: *Thesaurus Exoticorum*, 1688, Hamburg. Published in *Gravürlerle Türkiye, Türkiye in Gravures: İstanbul*, 1996, (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), no:048.

To summarise, we can deduce from the sources that, there was an exterior courtyard (i.e. harem or *harîm*) around the interior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque and it was probably in a rectangular form like the other courtyards of the Sultan Mosques built in the 15th and the 16th century. Beyazıt Meydanı was located between the exterior courtyard, the *medrese* and the Old Palace. What we do not know exactly is, however, when the exterior courtyard was demolished and Beyazıt Meydanı was widened.

According to an art historian, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, the Beyazıt Mosque was subject to two restorations in 1797 and 1870. Depending on this information, Reşat Ekrem Koçu¹⁷ argued that exterior walls of the mosque were demolished in

¹⁷ Koçu, p.2234.

1797. However, in Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan, drawn in 1813¹⁸, we figure out the exterior courtyard surrounded by shops. We will argue that the border of the exterior courtyard started to be demolished after the *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*, i.e.1826 and not at the end of the 18th century as claimed by Koçu.

4.3. Pre-Existing Picture Of The Beyazıt Area Before The Vak'a-i Hayriyye

The Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan provides us with a picture of the area only thirteen years before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye (Figure 4.8). We will use this map, to reconstruct the pre-existing picture of the area, as we have utilised it for locating the Eski Odalar of Janissaries and the Ağa Kapısı in the previous chapter.

¹⁸ By a very detailed examination, Çeçen determined the date of map as 1813. See, Kâzım Çeçen, 1997. *II. Beyazıt Su Yolları Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İSKİ).

4.3.1. The Beyazıt Meydanı and the Exterior Courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque

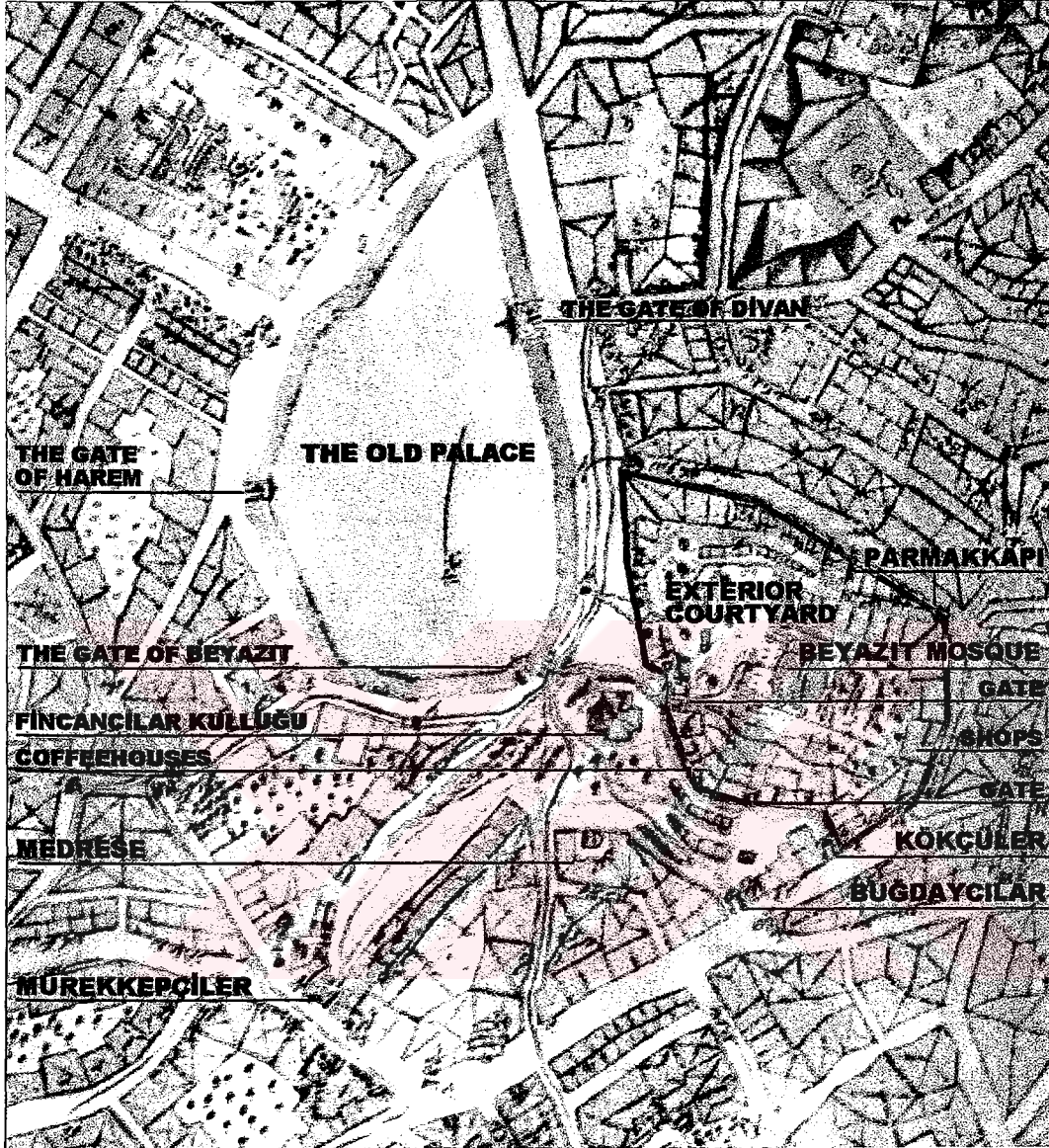


Figure 4.8: A detail From the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813).

SOURCE: The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, No: 3339. Published in Kâzım Çeçen, 1997. *II. Beyazıt Su Yolları Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İSKİ).

NOTE: The map is turned upside down for our orientation according to the North.

In the Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan the Beyazıt Meydanı and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque are clearly documented. The Beyazıt Meydanı was originally the area between the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, the *medrese* and the Old Palace. In the middle of the square, there was a *kulluk* (guardhouse, depending on the Janissary corps), named as *Fincancılar*

Kulluğu.¹⁹ Even though, there are some deformations, it can still be observed that, the area between the *medrese* and the exterior courtyard of the Mosque was a narrow space during the early 19th century. It is hard to talk about any structuring element that dominates the square or any axuality in it in the sense of an organised open space. We only find the guardhouse of janissaries, i.e. *Fincancılar Kulluğu*, inserted in the square like a focal point (see also Figure 1.1).

One of the interesting points about this area is the gates that opened to the Beyazıt Meydanı. From the map we can recognise two gates on the south, opening to the square. They were called *Buğdaycılar Gate* and *Kökçüler*²⁰ Gate. It can be assumed that, the third gate, presented in the same technique, was *Mürekkkepçiler Gate* (on the far left end at the beginning of the street opening to the square), since the gates were named after the shops around. However, we do not have enough information whether they were used for control or not.²¹ If they were used for security, it means that, even the Beyazıt Meydanı was not a completely open space, but it was a controlled area. However, no other gates are noticed on the map. Therefore it is difficult to discuss whether the accesses to the square were controlled in the early nineteenth century. Whether they were closed or not, they were landmarks, used to define the locations around. In several historical documents they were mentioned as landmarks to define the place of events. For instance the location of Yusuf Ağa's Konak, which was temporarily occupied by Bâb-ı Âli before its reconstruction was completed, was across the *Mürekkkepçiler Gate*.²²

¹⁹ See Ünver, 1995, p.128: Koçu, p.2261.

²⁰ In some transcriptions from Ottoman to Turkish, the name of the gate was written as *Göncüler*. It might be a transcription mistake. In this research, we will use the name of *Kökçüler*, because of the stores its around.

²¹ For Ünver, they were closed gates; see Ünver, 1995, p.143. However he does not elaborates this idea.

²² Cevdet Paşa, p. 2268

In addition to these principal gates, i.e. M rekkep iler, K k  ler and Bu daycılar Gates, another gate with railings (*parmakkapı*) could be detected. In the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan’s map, the way of the representation of the gates with railings implies that *parmakkapı* was more ordinary and frequent type of a gate than the others. We can find one of the *parmakkapı* on the southeast corner of the Beyazıt Mosque. It is after this gate that the district of Parmakkapı was named.²³

As Evliya  elebi described, shops surrounded the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque. According to Evliya  elebi the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque had five gates.²⁴ From the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan’s map we can distinguish three gates of the exterior courtyard of the mosque. One is opening across the Old Palace; the second is on the south close to Bu daycılar and K k  ler Gates; the third is Parmakkapı (that we mention above) at the end of the street of *sahaflar* (second hand book stores today).

4.3.2. The Area of the Old Palace and the Gates of the Old Palace

Across the Beyazıt K lliyesi, the Old Palace was surrounded by a fortified wall. According to Evliya  elebi Sultan S leyman built the “castle like” walls of the Old Palace.²⁵ There were three gates on this surrounding wall: on the East, West and South.²⁶

²³ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, * stanbul Anıları*, ( stanbul: Alet ş Alerko), p.115.

²⁴ “be  kapusi vardır ve ta ra haremının canib-i erbasında yan suffaları  zre c mle g na g n (—)aded s t nlar  zre (—)aded kubbe tas-ı ser-nig nlardır. Ve haremın ta vasatında bir havz-ı azim  vardır c mle cemaati kesire anda tecdid-i vuzu iderler ve bu havz  zre bir ser-amed kubbe-i mevzun in a itmi dir. Ve bu havzın etrafında d rd aded ser-amed serv-i tubaları var kim her bir gune serv-i sehilerdir.” Evliya  elebi, p.60

²⁵ “Sultan S leyman Han bu Saray-ı Atik’i bulup    mil ihata ider bir saray id p    kapu eyledi. Divan kapus ,  arka nazır , cenuba nazır Sultan Bayezid kapus , canib-i garba nazır S leymaniye Camii kapus ”, Evliya  elebi, p.47.

²⁶ According to P. . ncicyan there were four gates in the 18th century. But we do not have information about the fourth gate. See P. .  ncicyan, 1976, *18.Asırda  stanbul*, (Trans.Hrand

The major gate of the Old Palace was the one on the east side of the area, which connected the Palace to the Eminönü Port (or to the Golden Horn) in the shortest way. The importance of the gate can also be understood from its name. In the 17th century, as it was noted by Evliya Çelebi, this gate was named “Divan Kapusu”, a name that symbolises its importance for the Old Palace.²⁷ When we turn back to the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan’s map,²⁸ we can recognise that Divan Kapısı (it was also called Mercan Gate²⁹) was a major gate, which was emphasized more than the other gates, as we have already noticed in the sixteenth century map of Matrakçı Nasuh’s (Figure, 4.6). Besides its representation as a major gate in the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan’s Map and Matrakçı Nasuh’s miniature, we can grasp its importance from its use. İnciyan (1758-1833) stated that, Mercan Gate was the only gate, which was kept open continuously and protected by many *bostancı*s (imperial guards).³⁰ The other gate of the Palace on the South, which was opened to the Beyazıt Meydanı, was a secondary one. In other words, when the area was occupied by the Old Palace, this point was not a primary entrance for the Palace. We argue that, Mercan Gate (or Divan Kapısı) lost its significance after the establishment of the Seraskerlik in the place of the Old Palace in the early nineteenth century.

D. Andreasyan), (İstanbul: Baha Matbası), p.32. The name of this Armenian author is written as “İnciyan”, on his book which is translated by Hrand D. Andreasyan. However, some authors write his name as “İnciciyan”. See, Kevork Pamukciyan, *İstanbul Yazıları*, 2002, (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık).

²⁷ Evliya Çelebi, p.47, see the quotation above, footnote 26.

²⁸ Ünver also compares these gates on the Sipahi Hasan’s map; see Ünver, 1968, p.6.

²⁹ We can observe that the name of the Mercan was used in the eighteenth century. See, P.Ğ.İnciyan, p.32.

³⁰ P.Ğ.İnciyan, p.32.

4.4. Transformation of the Beyazıt Area After the Vak'a-i Hayriyye (1826).

As we shall observe, the changing of the Beyazıt Area, which starts in the early 19th century, represents an early example of transformation in the modernisation history of the city. In this transformation process the initial breaking point dates 1826, the abolishment of Janissary corps i.e. Vak'a-i Hayriyye. We are arguing that, the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque and opening a public square as Seraskerlik Meydanı, is part of the power struggle between the Sultan and Janissaries in İstanbul.

After the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, the new army, Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye, became the only armed force of the Empire. As in the case of Ağa Kapısı, in official documents, Sultan Mahmut II particularly emphasized that the name of “janissaries” was to be erased from the language entirely.¹ An old world *serasker* (ser: head-asker: soldier: chief commander) was to be used in the place of the word *ağa*. First, the headquarter of the new army was established in Ağa Kapısı and the name of it was altered to Serasker Paşa Kapısı.² It was emphasized that the name of “Ağa Kapısı” was banned and the “Serasker Paşa Kapısı” was to replace it. After a short time, instead of Ağa Kapısı, the place of the Old Palace was assigned as the headquarter of the new army, i.e. Seraskerlik. Consequently, the insertion of Seraskerlik in the place of the Old Palace (together with the removal of the Eski Odalar close to the area and the replacement of Ağa Kapısı by Bâb-ı Fetva) started the changes in the Beyazıt Area in early 19th century. The area around Seraskerlik, that is Beyazıt Meydanı, was to be re-shaped by these interventions.

¹ “yeniçerilik nâmı külliyyen kalkdığını ve onun yerine tecdid-i kanun suretiyle *Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye unvânıyla muallem*” quoted from *emr-i âlî* (imperial order) in Lûtfî Efendi, p.261.

² “Hüseyin paşa hazretleri üzerlerine serasker nasbıyla Ağa Kapısında ikamet etmek ve fi'mâba'd Ağakapısının ismi tagyir ile elsine-i âmmede Serasker Paşa Kapısı unvânı söylenmek..” quoted from *emr-i âlî* (imperial order) in Lûtfî Efendi, p.261.

The three important spaces in Beyazıt (the Beyazıt Meydanı, the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque [i.e. harem/*harîm*] and Seraskerlik [the area of the Old Palace]) were mutually transformed. Any change made at the Seraskerlik (such as a new gate) affected the Beyazıt Meydanı (thereafter Seraskerlik Meydanı) or widening of the Beyazıt Meydanı caused the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque.

In other words, the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı did not take place on its own, but it was a result of transformation in its vicinity and adjacent land-uses: Seraskerlik on its north and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque on its east.

Recall that Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's map (1813) drawn 13 years before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye depicts no evidence of a transformation. We do not categorically exclude the possibility of a transformation between the years 1813 and 1826. Even if further studies find out an earlier transformation in the Beyazıt Meydanı, this would not contradict with our thesis, which emphasizes the significance of the early nineteenth century transformations.

The reason of regarding the year 1826 as a turning point is related to the replacement of the Old Palace with the Seraskerlik. On the north of the Beyazıt Meydanı, the Old Palace, which was facing the Golden Horn with the gate of Divan (or Mercan, see Chapter 4.3.2), turned its face to the Beyazıt Meydanı with the gate of Seraskerlik (see also Figure 1.2). Consequently, the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı into Seraskerlik Meydanı enhanced the prestige of the area. Hence, Beyazıt Meydanı [or Seraskerlik Meydanı] became a stage for the representations of the empire and its new army, as we will observe in Chapter 5.

On the east of the Beyazıt Meydanı, the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was eventually demolished. However, the empirical materials that we present to reveal the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the mosque, do not give us a definite date. We interpreted it as a gradual demolition. However, we do

acknowledge that new empirical evidence would point out to a significantly different contribution.

In this analysis we will analyse the transformation process with different sections: the Beyazıt Meydanı (related with the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque) and Seraskerlik. After having studied the initial transformation that took place during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, we will examine the developments at the second half of the nineteenth century. In the Chapter 5 we will try to trace back the social use of the area in these periods.

4.4.1. Beyazıt Meydanı and the Exterior Courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque

During the event of Vak'a-i Hayriyye, janissaries occupied Divan Yolu, Uzun Çarşı, Beyazıt Mosque and all passages to Hippodrome³ and also a battle took place in Horhor.⁴ Although we have reports on the death toll from a battle in Beyazıt⁵, we do not know whether Beyazıt Mosque or its vicinity suffered from collateral damages. Replacement of the Old Palace by the Seraskerlik was surely a major factor of transformation. A new gate to the area was immediately built⁶ (Figure 4.9: 4.18: 4.21: 4.22). Later we will focus on the architectural features of the gate of Seraskerlik, which became a point of focus for the reshaped open area.

³ Cevdet Paşa, p.2951

⁴ Cevdet Paşa, p.2952.

⁵ Cevdet Paşa, p.2949.

⁶ The building of the gate was dated 1827. See, Süheyl Ünver, 1968, *Beyazıt'de Asâkiri Mensurei Muhammediye'nin Seraskeri Dairesi Kapısı*, (Ankara: Önasya Yayınları). Besides, for Semavi Eyice it was built in 1826-1827, see Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihi Eserler)", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.5, p.1214-28 referred in Şimşek, p.370.

As it was claimed, it is difficult to give exact dates to understand the reshaping of the square. In the course of years many changes occurred. Nonetheless it is possible to observe some changes after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye.

Since everything reminiscent to janissaries was eradicated from the urban space with a great determination, Fincancılar Kulluğu in the middle of the square must have been demolished just after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye (In fact Bartlett's engraving drawn in 1835, do not depict such a construction on the square, Figure 4.9). On the other hand, the demolition of the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque seemingly did not take place so easily. The difficulty here is not in the meaning of a resistance. We do not have any information about any resistance against the demolition of the *harîm* as in the case of Ayasofya's *harîm* almost fifty years later (see chapter 2). Our findings in this research, point out to a gradual disappearance of the exterior courtyard as Beyazıt Meydanı was enlarged. However the buildings adjacent to the exterior courtyard were not removed at once. The northern side of the exterior courtyard should be demolished (Notice that in Bartlett's engraving, the northern part of the exterior courtyard is demolished, Figure 4.9) while the southern part is visible (Stolpe's map drawn in 1866, depicts the southern part of the exterior courtyard, Figure 4.11).

A first step in the demolition of the walls of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque occurred, most probably, just after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. On the northern part of the exterior courtyard, across the Seraskerlik, coffeehouses and barbershops were located. Such shops were famous places where news and gossips about the empire were exchanged. After the Vak'ai Hayriyye, as such places and meetings were considered as a thread to the integrity of the empire and law and order⁷, the coffeehouses were demolished to a great extent. The Official Ottoman

⁷ "cem'iyyet-gâh-ı batla vü esâfil 'ale'l-husûs kavm-i mülgânın dâru'n-nedve ittihâz eyledikleri cay-gâhı-ı erâzil olup, bir takım başı boş nâs sabâhtan mesâya ve ekserîsinde ' işâya kadar istînâs edüp, dâ' imâ mezzemmet-i erkân-ı devlet ile erâcîf-eşyân ve şer'an mezmûm olan mesâvî-i hulk âlûde-i dehân-ı hezeyân oldukları kahve-hâneler ki", Es'ad Efendi, p. 640.

historian, *Vak'a nıvis* Es'ad Efendi, recorded that the coffeehouses around "Serasker Paşa" and along the Bosphorus etc. were registered one by one, and except the decent coffeehouses around Tophane, the rest were demolished in İstanbul.⁸ Es'ad Efendi mentions an imperial decree, which stipulates that people had to leave barbershops just after their shaves were finished.

By the demolition of the northern part of the exterior courtyard, the Mosque of Beyazıt became located in the Seraskerlik Meydanı and came across the Gate of Seraskerlik. In 1835, Miss Pardoe described the area as:

The Mosque of Sultan Bajazet is situated in the angle of a large open area known as the "Square of Seraskier" from the circumstance that this palace, or rather its extensive court, forms another side of enclosure; its large and lofty projecting gate, elaborately wrought and fretted with gold, and surmounted by a dome crowned with an immense gilded star, being, perhaps, the most oriental feature of the scene.⁹

⁸ Hulâsa hedm ü ibtâlleri lâzım gelmekle, mehâkimden küttâb ta'yîniyle Der-sa'adet'de olanlar Ser'asker Paşa ve Boğaziçi tarafeyni ve Kasım-paşa ve Üsküdar ve Galat ve Eyyûb'de olanlar ol etrâfın zabitanı marifetleriyle yegan yegan tahrîr ve Top-hâne ve ba'zı bostâniyân makarrında olanlar oldukça mazbut ve me'vay-ı zâbitân ve ehl-i ırz-ı ita't-merbut olmalarıyla anlardan ma'adalarının ocakları hedmiyle âhar dekâkine tebdîl-ü tagyîr olunmak ve berber dükkanlarında dahi tıraş maslahatı tamamından sonra nâsı tevkîfle dükkanlarında cem'iyet olmamak bâbında zuhûr eden irade-I hümâyûn mûcebince iktizâ edenlere hitâben evâmîr-i 'aliyye sâdır oldu. Es'ad Efendi, p.641. Es'ad Efendi also indicates that in the Historical Peninsula no less than 1133 coffeehouses and barbershops were registered.

⁹ Miss Pardoe, 1855, *The Beauties of The Bosphorus Illustrated in a Series of Views Constantinople and Its Environs, From Original Drawings By W.H. Bartlett*. Third Edition, (London: Virtue and Co.), p.106.

In Miss Pardoe's book, the scene that she witnessed was presented by a drawing of Bartlett. In the engraving from Bartlett dated from 1835¹⁰, we can observe the gate of Seraskerlik and Beyazıt Meydanı. In this engraving, the mosque is across the square without its exterior courtyard (i.e. its *harım*) and Fincancılar Kulluğu does not exist anymore on the square.



Figure 4.9: The Beyazıt Meydanı, in Bartlett's Engraving, 1835.

SOURCE: Miss Julia Pardoe, 1997, *18.yy'da İstanbul*, (Translation Bedriye Şanda). (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi)

Another document pertaining to the destruction in this area dates from September 1836. In September 1836, a new road was opened in order to facilitate Sultan Mahmut II's inner city movements. Prussian officer Helmuth von Moltke directed this operation. As Moltke explains in his letter¹¹, after Sultan Mahmud II

¹⁰ Miss Pardoe visited İstanbul in 1835 and stayed for 9 months. She watched the wedding ceremony of Mihrimah Sultan from the tower of *Seraskerlik* in April 1836. See, Miss Julia Pardoe, 1997, *18.yy'da İstanbul*. (Translation Bedriye Şanda), (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi). William Henry Bartlett also came to İstanbul in 1835. See *Gravürlerle Türkiye, Türkiye in Gravures: İstanbul*, 1996, (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları).

¹¹ Moltke, p.65.

moved his Palace to Dolmabahçe, a need to connect the two sides of İstanbul became an urgent necessity. In 1836, this led to the inauguration of a bridge over the Golden Horn. Moltke explained in his letter that thanks to the new bridge, the Sultan was able to travel from his Palace in Dolmabahçe to the Historical Peninsula by carriage. However, he mentions that, even after the bridge, his travel in the Old City was still not possible since roads were unable to accommodate carriage traffic. In 1836, the Serasker (Minister of War) Hüsrev Paşa ordered the opening of a route from the new Bridge on the Golden Horn, to the Serasker Gate and then to the Divan Yolu. Moltke explained in his letter that the buildings on the route such as coffeehouses and shops were demolished “easily” to open the way.¹² On September 3rd 1836, the opening of the bridge was celebrated by a ceremony with the participation of the Sultan. Moltke stated that Sultan Mahmud II was the first man who travelled from the Dolmabahçe Palace to the Beyazıt Mosque in a carriage.¹³ Since the first bridge was between the Un Kapanı and Azapkapı, they probably followed the Uzun Çarşı Sokak (the ancient road since Byzantine time) that starts from Un Kapanı, and then reaches Beyazıt through Mercan Caddesi. On the other hand, depending on the statement “from Seraskerlik to Divan Yolu” we can deduce demolitions around the Beyazıt Meydanı.

In fact, Moltke was aware of the importance of an exterior courtyard for a mosque, as we already quoted in his views on the issue of “harem” in Chapter II. However, he might have a role, in the Beyazıt Meydanı, more than the opening of a road for the Sultan’s travel in the city. Being familiar with the German tradition of locating churches with a *marktplatz* in front of it, he might have some influence in convincing the authorities to widen the area, in spite of his insights about a harem of a mosque. We do not have any evidence to support this argument. But in his drawing a representation of a wide square can be noticed (Figure 4.10). Especially comparing it with Stolpe’s map, which dates 1866 (Figure 4.11), we observe that Moltke drew the square wider than it was three decades later.

¹² Moltke, Ibid.

¹³ Moltke, Ibid.

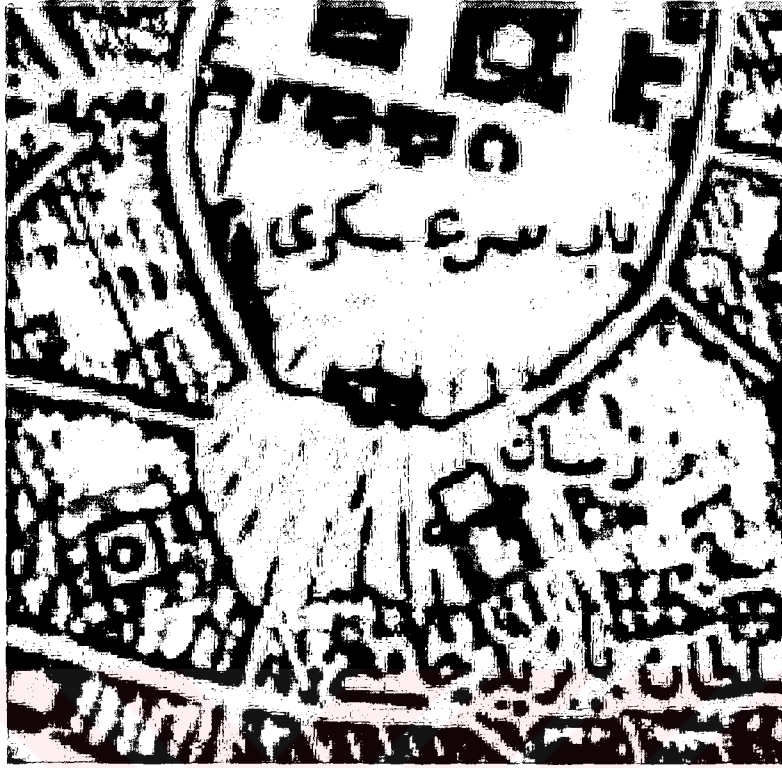


Figure 4.10: Beyazıt Meydanı in Moltke's Drawing, 1839.

SOURCE: Municipality of İstanbul, The Library of Atatürk. No: 956.101 – 563, MOL 1268.



Figure 4.11: Beyazıt Meydanı in Stolpe's Map, 1866.

SOURCE: C.Stolpe, 1866, *Plan von Constantinopel, Plan de Constantinopel*, Berlin.

Whether the enlargement of the Beyazıt Meydanı continued according to Moltke or not, there is no doubt that the reorganisation of the Beyazıt Meydanı was started with the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. Therefore the reshaping of the Beyazıt Meydanı is an early intervention on the urban fabric to create a square.

Two decades after this operation around the Beyazıt Meydanı, opening squares around the mosques and other monumental buildings, was stated as an intention in an official document. The *İlmuhaber*¹⁴(1839), was explaining the regulations about new roads to be opened in the city. In *İlmuhaber*, Beyazıt was one of the important points in the proposed network of the streets.¹⁵ In this document the opening of squares around the mosques and other important buildings were planned. In the case of Beyazıt, as we have observed above, an open public square was realised before that law was published in *İlmuhaber*. *İlmuhaber* is important since it mentions the concept of vacant space around significant buildings and mosques.¹⁶ Notice that the concept was implemented well before the formulations stipulated in the *İlmuhaber* of 1839.

¹⁴It is not clear whether there is a relation between *İlmuhaber* and Moltke's drawing and whether Moltke's drawing is a map or a plan. Çelik related the *İlmuhaber* to the Moltke's drawing and she discussed Moltke's drawing as a plan. See Çelik, pp.104-107. However, Cezar argues that, Moltke's drawing is not a plan but a map and not Moltke, but the manager of Ebniye-i Hassa Abdülhalim Bey can have a role in *İlmuhaber*, see, Cezar, 2002, p.325.

¹⁵ "Dersaâdet'in bir kıt'a haritası tanzim olunduktan sonra Bâb-ı Hümâyûn'dan Divanyolu'yla Aksaray'a ve oradan Silivri ve Mevlevihâne Kapuları'na ve Sultan Bâyezid'den Edirnekapusuna ve Çarşanbapazarı'ndan geçilerek Eğrikapu'ya ve Kadırga limanından Yedikule'ye ve dahil-i surda Bahçekapusundan...". Divan-ı Hümayun Buyruldu ve *İlmuhaber* Defteri, sahife 11, quoted in Ergin 1995, p.1241 and Ergin, 1995, p.1003.

¹⁶"dahili surda dahi icabına göre münâsib yerlerde birer meydan bırakılmak ve bu meydanlar dahi uyabilecek mertebe cevâmi-i şerîfe ve sâir ebniye-i cesîme etrafında tesis olunmak üzere bir kıta resm tanzim olunarak" Divan-I Hümayun Buyruldu ve *İlmuhaber* Defteri, sahife 11, quoted in Ergin 1995, p.1003, and Ergin 1995, p.1241.



Figure 4.12: Beyazıt Meydanı, a detail from the map of Imperial Engineering Department, 1845 (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyun)
 SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko), p.116.

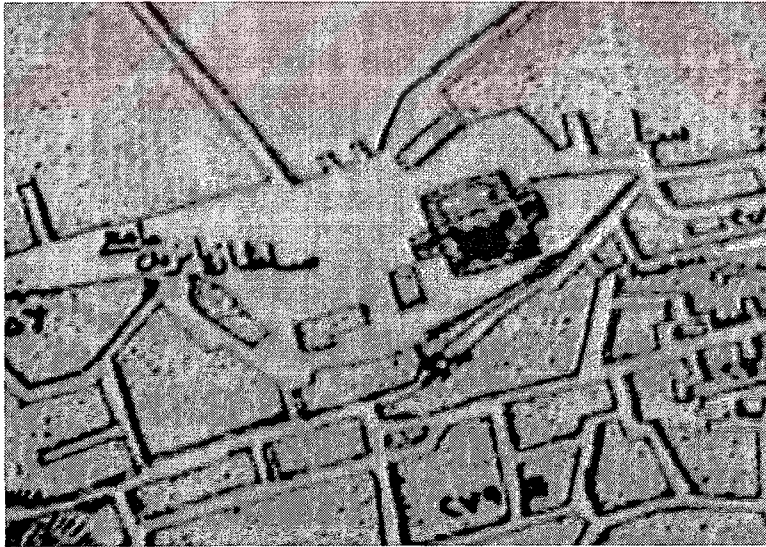


Figure 4.13: Beyazıt Meydanı, a detail from the map of Imperial Engineering Department, 1847 (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyun)
 SOURCE: *Dar'ü Saadet*, 1847, published in Cahit Kayra, 1990, *İstanbul Zamanlar Mekanlar*, (İstanbul: Ak Yayınlar).

On this re-organised open space “around” the Beyazıt Mosque (*havalisinde* as it was defined in *Takvim-i Vekâî* and by İhsân Bey), a monument was decided to be built in the memory of the proclamation of the Tanzimat reforms (Figure 4.14) in 1840.¹⁷ The Ottoman court historiographer, Vak’a nüvis Ahmed Lûtfî recorded that a “stone of justice” (*seng-i adalet*) was to be erected in the Palace gardens of Gülhane. Since the majority of the people cannot have access to Gülhane, a bigger one was to be erected in Beyazıt (Figure 4.14).¹⁸ Thus beside Gülhane, which is the place where the declaration was announced, Beyazıt was chosen as a place where people can meet easily and frequently with the monument. Gaspard Fossati designed the monument that we can see from the figure below.¹⁹ According to this project, the written text of the Tanzimat Proclamation was to be placed on the monument. The monument was crowned by a star and moon on the top. Two lions were designed at the two sides of the monument. However such monument, in the memory of the proclamation of the Tanzimat reforms, was not erected in the Beyazıt Meydanı.

¹⁷ For this monument see: İhsân (Dârülmü’allimîn tatbikât mektebi müdürü), 1914-5 “Tasavvurda kalmış bir tanzîmât âbidesi.” *Şehbâl*, no: 84. (1329/1914-5): pp.223-32 and, Klaus Kreiser, 1997, “Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt”, *Muqarnas*, Vol.14, (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp.103-117. It is interesting that İhsân Bey particularly had a note about the place of the monument. He noted that it would not be located in the square but around (*havalisinde*) the mosque (My thanks to Alev Erkmen for her help in the transcription of the word of *havalî*).

¹⁸ Quoted in İhsân Bey, 1914-5, pp.223-32 : Kreiser, 1997, pp.103-117.

¹⁹ Kreiser, pp.103-117.

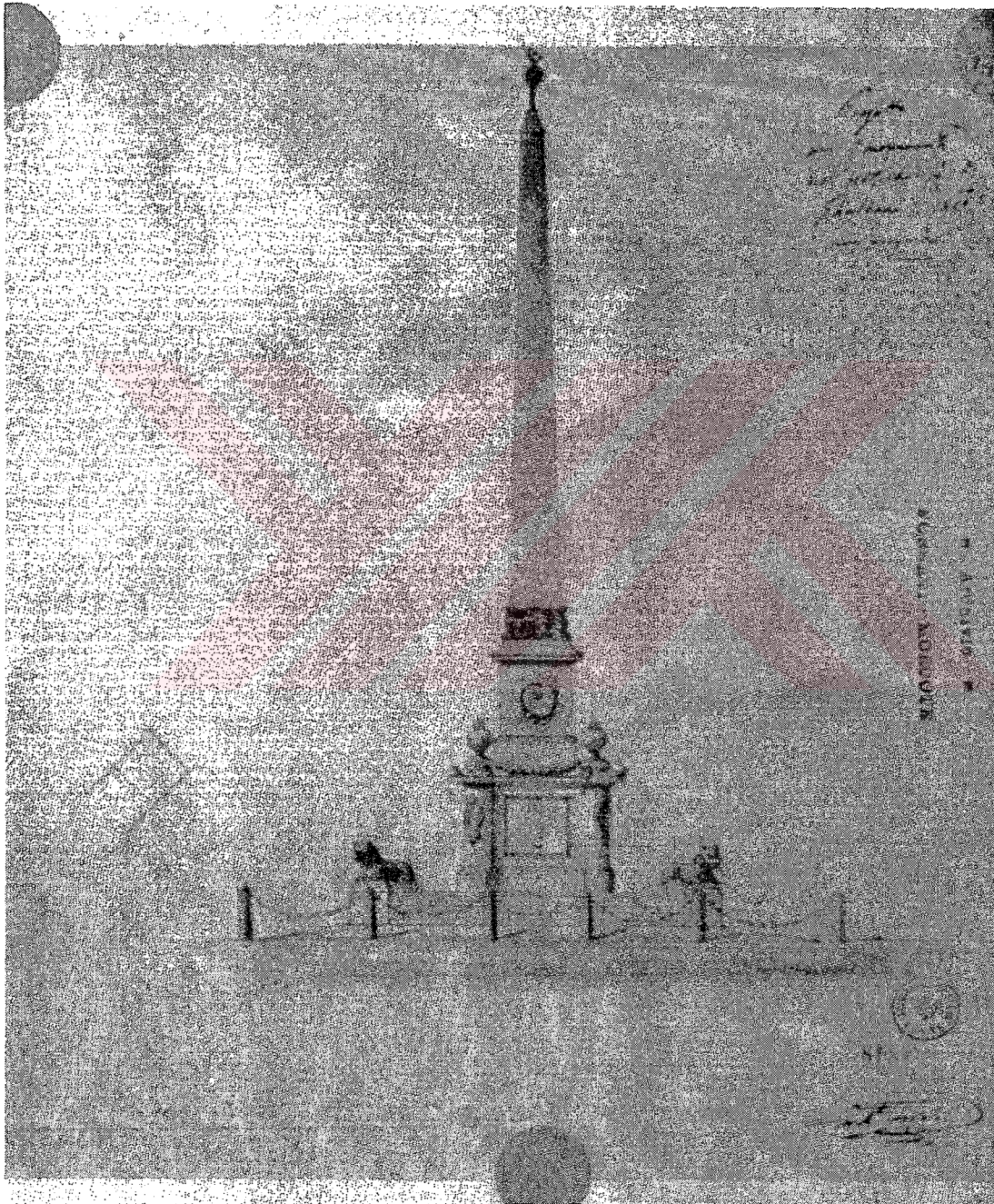


Figure 4.14: A Monument for Tanzimat by Fossati

SOURCE: Klaus Kreiser, 1997, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt", *Muqarnas*, Vol.14, (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp.103-117.

Another distinctive transformation of the area relates to the removal of the gates opening to the Beyazıt Meydanı, i.e. Mürekkepçiler, Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gates. First, the Mürekkepçiler Gate was affected. Lûtfî Efendi noted that by the fire of 18th August 1836, which started in the shops of paper, cotton handkerchief, ink stores (*kağıtçılar, tülbindciler, mürekkepçiler*), besides Rasihzade, and Hulusi Paşa Konaks and other houses around were all damaged.²⁰ With a sad tone, Lûtfî Efendi stated that, after that fire, the name of the Mürekkepçiler Kapısı “lost its meaning” (*lafızda kalmıştır*). He claimed that during the levelling of the street the gate was demolished and areas next to it were expropriated to open a *meydan*.²¹

The built area around the gates of Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler, which surround the Beyazıt Meydanı from the South, was kept till 1860s as it was showed in the maps (Figure 4.10: 4.11: 4.12: 4.13). We will see in the Chapter 5 that during the ceremonies people were passing through these little gates and these narrow passageways were causing a circulation problem. However from this building area (between Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gate) to the Seraskerlik Gate, an open wide space was gained.

We can observe the Beyazıt Meydanı in the oldest photographs taken from Beyazıt Fire Tower by Robertson in the years 1853-1854.²² This photograph below

²⁰ “Cumâdelûlânın beşinci (18 ağustos 1836) Çarşamba gecesi Sultan Bâyezid’de Kağıtçılar çarşısında zuhûr eden ateş tülbindcilerden mürekkepcilere sirâyetle tuhafcı dükkânları ve kağıdcılarla Râsihzâde ve Hûlûsî Paşa biraderi konakları gibi o civârda birçok dekâkin ve hâneler sûzân olmuştur”, Lûtfî Efendi, p.885.

²¹ “O harîkden sonra mürekkepçiler kapısı lafızda kalmıştır. Fi’l asl Kâmil Paşa merhumun konağı karşısında Sultan Bayezid tarafında gidilir iken orada bir kapı var idi. Sokakların tesviyesinde kapı kaldırıldı, ileriye doğru iki taraftan yerler alınarak meydan açıldı. Kağıdçılar ve devâtçılar bir karanlık dar sokak içinde idiler. Cadde tarafında tülbindciler var idi. Altlarındaki bodrumlarda kâğıd perdâhcıları işler idi”, Lûtfî Efendi, p.885.

²² Eldem, 1979, p.XIV.

(Figure 4.15) shows a view towards the Beyazıt Mosque and Beyazıt Meydanı from the fire tower. The paved pathways in different directions extend on the ground. The timber shops²³ on the right can be seen in front of the *medrese* (see also Figure 4.45).²⁴ Since we did not see any building on the façade of the *medrese* towards the Beyazıt Meydanı in Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's map, the timber stores in line must have been built later. These shops can be observed in Molke's map (Figure, 4.10). It seems that, these shops were designed in the same manner to provide architectural uniformity in the surroundings of the Beyazıt Meydanı.

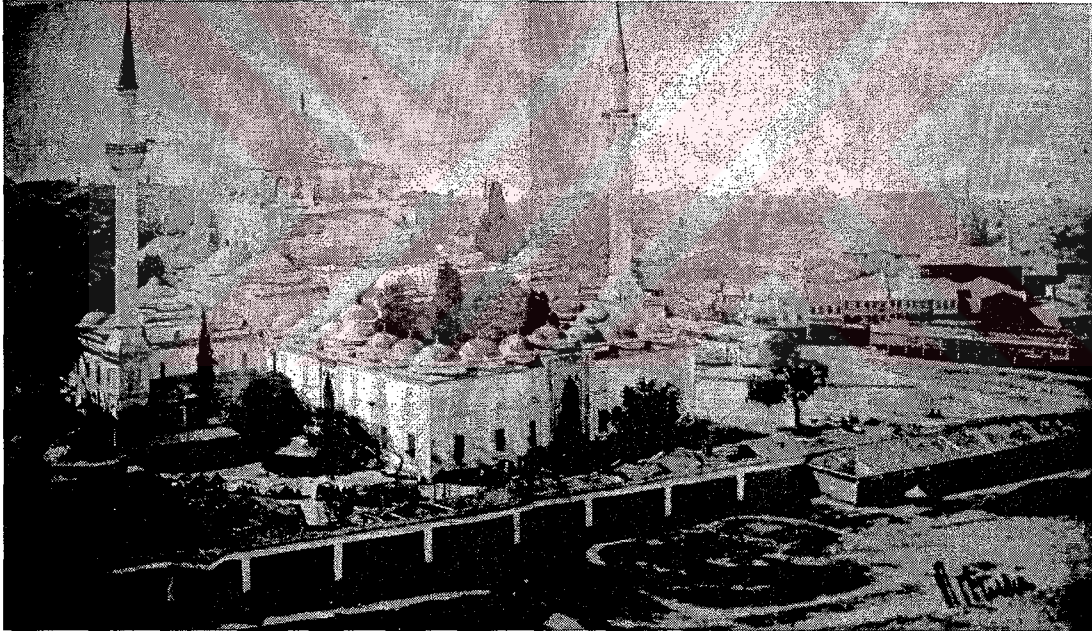


Figure 4.15: Beyazıt Mosque in a photograph of Robertson (1853-1854).

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

²³ Eldem, 1979, p.124.

²⁴ The shops around the *medrese* were removed during the Early Republican Period. See, *Güzelleşen İstanbul*. 1944. (İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Matbaası).

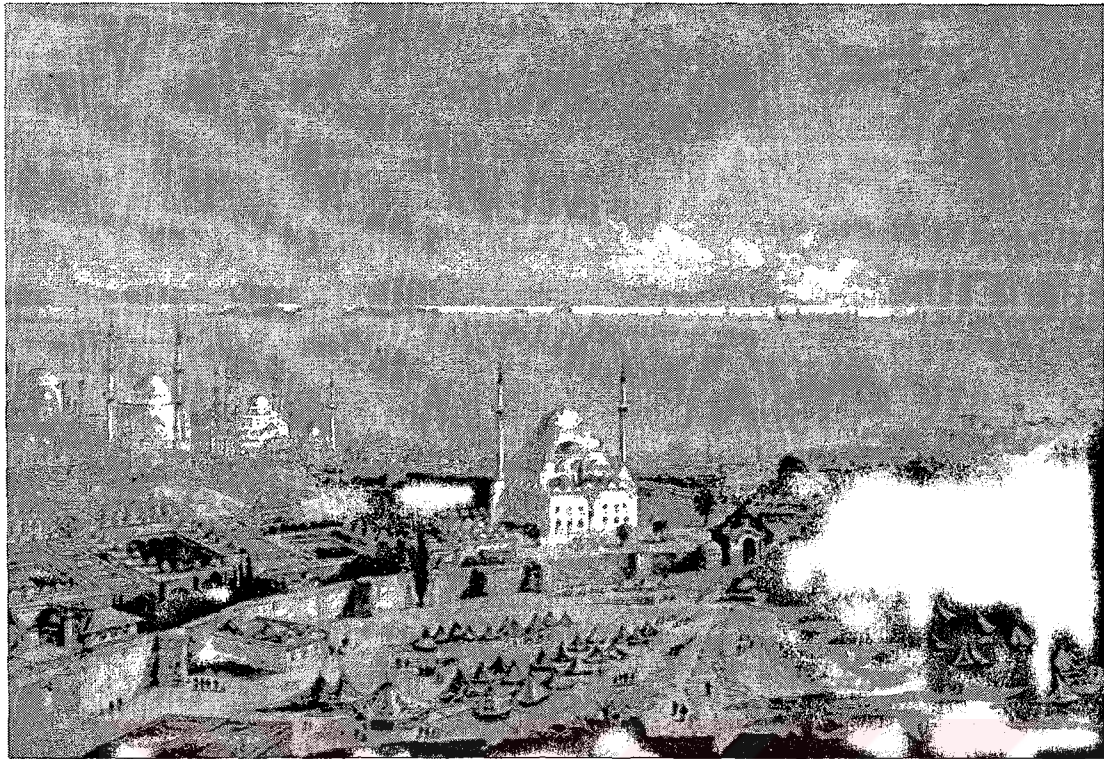


Figure 4.16: Drawing of Bartlett represents Beyazıt Meydanı from the Fire Tower of Seaskerlik in 1835.

SOURCE: Miss Pardoe, 1855, *The Beauties of The Bosphorus Illustrated in a Series of Views Constantinople and Its Environs, From Original Drawings By W.H. Bartlett*. Third Edition, (London: Virtue and Co.).

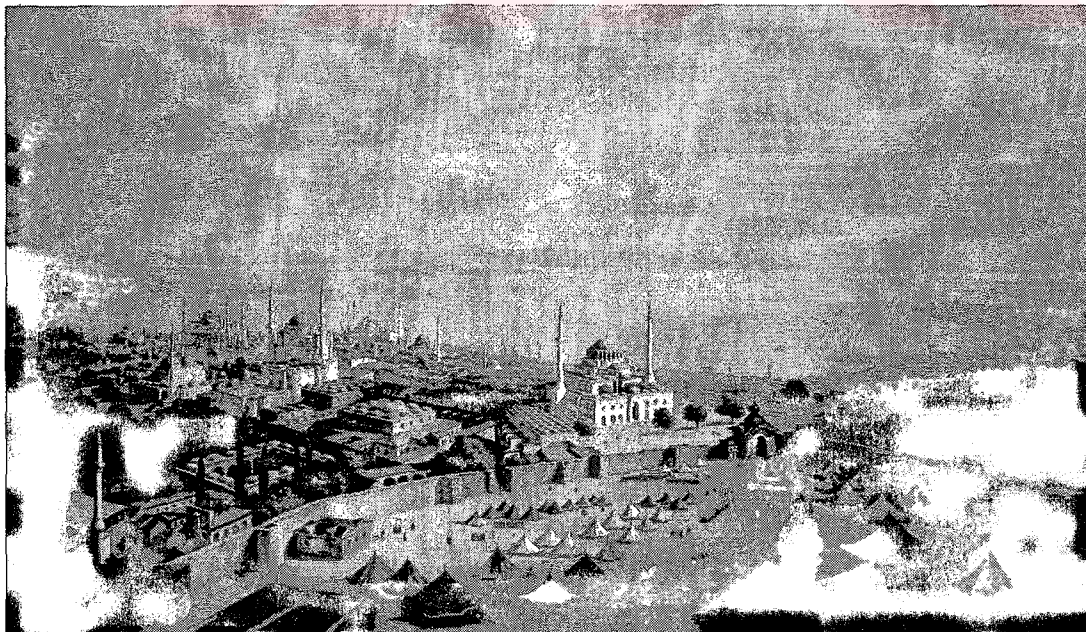


Figure 4.17: Beyazıt Meydanı by Hubert Sattler (Fine Art Society)

SOURCE: Published in Godfrey Goodwin, 1997, *The Janissaries*, (London: Saqi Books).

NOTE: This drawing can be a copy from Bartlett.

4.4.2. A point of Focus: Seraskerlik Gate and the Empire Style

As we have already noted by the establishment of the Headquarter of the new army (Seraskerlik) into the Old Palace, a new gate to the area was immediately built in 1826-1827 (Figure, 4.18: 4.21: 4.22).

The location of the main gate of the Seraskerlik implies that, the Old Palace's major gate (Mercan Gate or Divan Kapısı) was not used as a main entrance. Hence, subsequent to the constitution of Seraskerlik, Divan Kapısı lost its significance. The Beyazıt Meydanı was entirely reshaped during the early nineteenth century, whereas the Beyazıt Gate on the South (across the Beyazıt Meydanı) gained importance.

The presence of an adjacent empty space should have been considered as a positive factor in locating the Seraskerlik Gate. Consequently a scene for the representations of the Empire and the new army was created. This new gate inserts itself as a sign of power of Sultan Mahmud II and of the new army, into the urban space. Its monumentality also challenges the memories of the Ağa Kapısı and the Janissary Barracks. In front of the Gate of Seraskerlik -a new symbol of the empire and its new army-, military demonstrations and imperial ceremonies took place. Besides, the area became a favorite space in the city's daily life for new public activities such as strolling, promenading, and sitting in the coffeehouses. In chapter 5, we will analyse the events that took place in that area.



Figure 4.18: A sketch from Seraskerlik Kapısı.

SOURCE: French National Library. Published in Süheyl Ünver, 1968, *Beyazıd'de Asâkiri Mensurei Muhammediye'nin Seraskeri Dairesi Kapısı*, (Ankara: Önasya Yayınları).

Before passing from the Gate of Seraskerlik towards the Seraskerlik area we need to focus on the gate, in Miss Pardoe's words "being, perhaps, the most oriental feature of the scene".²⁵ With a large waving canopy, this new gate reminded Bâb-ı Ali²⁶ (the gate of Sublime Porte, Figure: 4.20) and also shared similarities with one of the gates of the Nusretiye Mosque constructed by Sultan Mahmud II.²⁷ All of these impressive baroque gates also share certain characteristics that define them as empire style.²⁸ It seems that Ottoman empire style deserves new inquiries in architectural history to figure out its characteristics within the classical styles of the

²⁵ Pardoe, 1855, Ibid.

²⁶ Ünver, 1968, p.5.

²⁷ Şimşek, p.578.

²⁸ For Ünver, this is the first period of the empire style, p.5.

empire of that period. However, we need to focus on the empire style to grasp the meaning of the architectural preferences of the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.

First we need to have an overview about the French empire style, which had an influence on the Ottoman Architecture of that period. The empire style²⁹ is a neoclassical style, prevalent in France during the early nineteenth century, associated with the Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte, 1769-1821). Essentially the empire style was an attempt to imitate ancient Greek and Roman motives and Egyptian models in furniture and decoration. Charles Percier and Pierre-François Fontaine, who decorated the state apartments of Napoleon, were the creators of the style. The French empire style is characterised by its simplicity in architecture and abstraction in ornamentation. It particularly takes its references from Ancient Greek orders and republican period of the Roman architecture.

In 1804 Napoleon established the French Empire and gained the name of emperor. Sultan Mahmud II, who was his contemporary, commissioned a painting of himself on a horse as Napoleon Bonaparte did (see Figure, 4.19). The Ottoman Empire had parallel tendencies with the French Empire Style (in Benjamin's term) "the style of revolutionary heroism".³⁰ During the nineteenth century the *ampir sitili* became widespread besides the other neoclassical approaches in the Ottoman Empire. Celal Esat Arseven categorized the reigns of Sultan Mahmud II, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz as periods of *ampir sitili*.³¹ According to Şimşek, in the reign of

²⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 1997, Available: Internet Oxford University Press; DIRECTORY PATH: <http://www.xrefer.com/entry.?volid=3>: *The Macmillan Encyclopedia*, 2001, Available: Internet Market House Books Ltd; DIRECTORY PATH: <http://www.xrefer.com/entry.?volid=45>

³⁰ Walter Benjamin, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century", in *Reflections*, Peter Demetz ed., 1978, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,), republished in by Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (eds.), p.87-94.

³¹ Celal Esat Arseven, (no date), *Türk Sanatı*, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi), p.83.

Sultan Mahmud II, the *ampir sitili* was “almost the official style of the State”.³² As in the Napoleon Bonaparte’s France, the empire style reflected the wealth and dignity of Sultan Mahmud II’s Ottoman Empire. In Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s terms, “dignified and grand simplicity” (*vakur ve haşmetli sadelik*)³³ is the characteristic of the Ottoman Empire Style.



Figure 4.19: Napoleon Bonaparte and Sultan Mahmud II

SOURCE: Napoleon Bonaparte: DIRECTORY PATH: http://www.art.com/asp/sp-asp/_NV/-1_1841_4912_9714/PD-10071010/SZ-3/posters.htm?XRFID=197756&TKID=1889137. Sultan Mahmud II: Published in Y Abadan, Ö. L. Barkan, E.Z. Karal (eds.) *Tanzimat I*, (Maarif Matbaası), 1940.

³²Şimşek, p.VIII.

³³ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1987, *Türk Evi Osmanlı Dönemi: Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, (İstanbul: Türkiye- Anıt –Çevre- Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı), vol.II, p.93.

In the Ottoman empire style military symbols like weapons were also common like in French empire style. However animal figures were not used in these examples.³⁴ The authentic feature of the Ottoman empire style was its application in timber constructions.³⁵ The Sultan Mahmud II's signature (*tuğra*) inserted in his oval medallion³⁶ was the representation of his imperial power on the buildings he erected.

Alay Köşkü, constructed in 1810 or 1819³⁷ is a typical case of this approach.³⁸ In the Historical Peninsula Bâb-ı Âli, Bâb-ı Seraskerî and Bâb-ı Fetva, were among the important official buildings with symbolic gates realised under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. We ignore the original architectural features of Bâb-ı Fetva. Nevertheless, as it was stated, the other two significant gates of these complexes and the Nusretiye Mosque reflected the empire style. As Moltke³⁹ defines, these gates were crowned by a dome and decorated with a crescent on top. Under the dome a wide canopy protected people, who came to the *kapı* of the empire, from the sun.

Haskan and Gülersoy dated the construction of the Bâb-ı Âli to 1843.⁴⁰ The written information on the gate is clear and indicated the date as 1843. However, we

³⁴ Arseven, p.180: Celal Esad Arseven, 1942, "Türk Ampir Uslûbu", in *Sanat Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi), p.62.

³⁵ Şimşek, p.552.

³⁶ Şimşek, p.551.

³⁷ Semavi Eyice, 1997, "Alay Köşkü", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.1, p.177.

³⁸ Celal Esad Arseven, 1942, "Türk Ampir Uslûbu", in *Sanat Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim basımevi), p.62.

³⁹ Moltke, p.29.

⁴⁰ M.Nermi Haskan and Çelik Gülersoy, 2000, *Hükümet Kapısı Bâb-ı Âli* (İstanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı).

can see this gate on Allom's engraving published in 1839. Therefore, Bâb-ı Âli, which is similar to the Bâb-ı Seraskerî was probably renovated in 1843 without much change.⁴¹ With these symbols as gates of official and military places, Sultan Mahmud II stamped the sign of his rule onto the urban space.

Although Bâb-ı Âli had a higher degree than Bâb-ı Seraskerî in the hierarchy of the imperial protocol, Bâb-ı Seraskerî, which represented the military power, had a larger space, i.e. the Beyazıt Meydanı in front of it. Ceremonies of the new army began to be held in this large urban space at the hearth of the historical city. According to Tanyeli⁴², between the monumental gate of Bâb-ı Âli and Alay Köşkü, there was also a square called Kum Meydanı. However, he argues, when the area of the Bâb-ı Âli was widened, the square was included within this area.

⁴¹ Also Meliha Şimşek regards this gate as one of the example of official buildings built during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and argues that after the fire of 1839 Bâb-ı Âli should be renovated without much change, see Şimşek, p.578.

⁴² Uğur Tanyeli, 1993, Bâb-ı Âli, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.1, p.521-2.

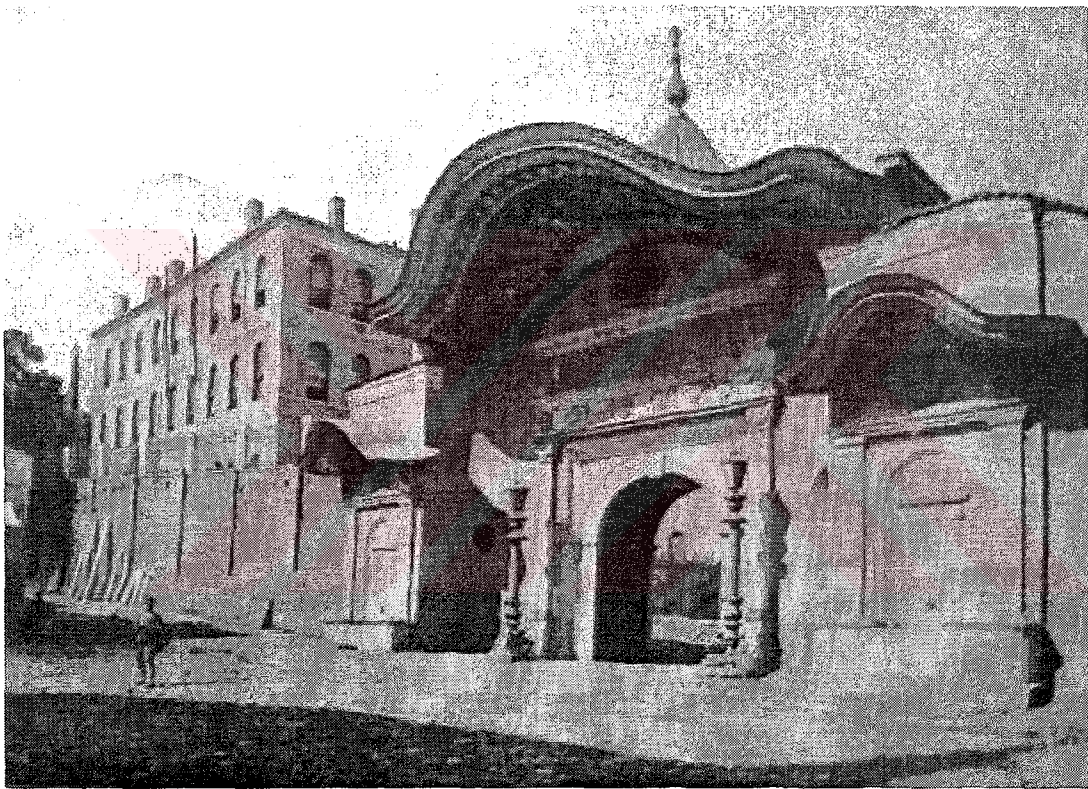


Figure 4.20: Bâb-ı Âli, photograph by Sébah & Joaillier (circa 1860s)
SOURCE: *Vues De Constantinople*, (no date), Ed. Max Fruechtermann (Constantinople), no:12



Figure 4.21: The Gate of Seraskerlik in a detail from Bartlett's Engraving, 1835
SOURCE: Miss Julia Pardoe (1997) *18.yy'da İstanbul*. (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi)



Figure 4.22: The Gate of Seraskerlik in a detail from the photograph of Robertson (1853-1854).
SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

In the oldest photograph (1853-1854) of Bâb-ı Seraskerî above, we can observe the “oval medallion” of Sultan Mahmud II’s on the gate. The surface beneath the waving large baroque canopy was decorated with radial lines, which is known as the “Sun of Sultan Mahmud II” (*Sultan Mahmud Güneşi*).⁴³ On the top of the dome, the sun like symbol can also be seen.

4.4.3. The Area of the Seraskerlik

The gate of Seraskerlik, which was a focal point in the square, was not a final stop but a passage leading to the monumental military building inside the courtyard.

Behind the gate, Hünkâr Köşkü (Imperial Residence) was on the right⁴⁴ (Figure 4.23). The fortified walls surrounding the Old Palace were kept till 1860s as we can see on the old photographs of the area (Figure 4.23: 4.24). We can observe the walls of the Old Palace with triangular buttresses.



Figure 4.23: The Gate of Seraskerlik From the Fire Tower of Seraskerlik in a photograph by Robertson (1853-1854).

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

⁴³ Şimşek ,p.371.

⁴⁴ Eldem, 1979, p.142.

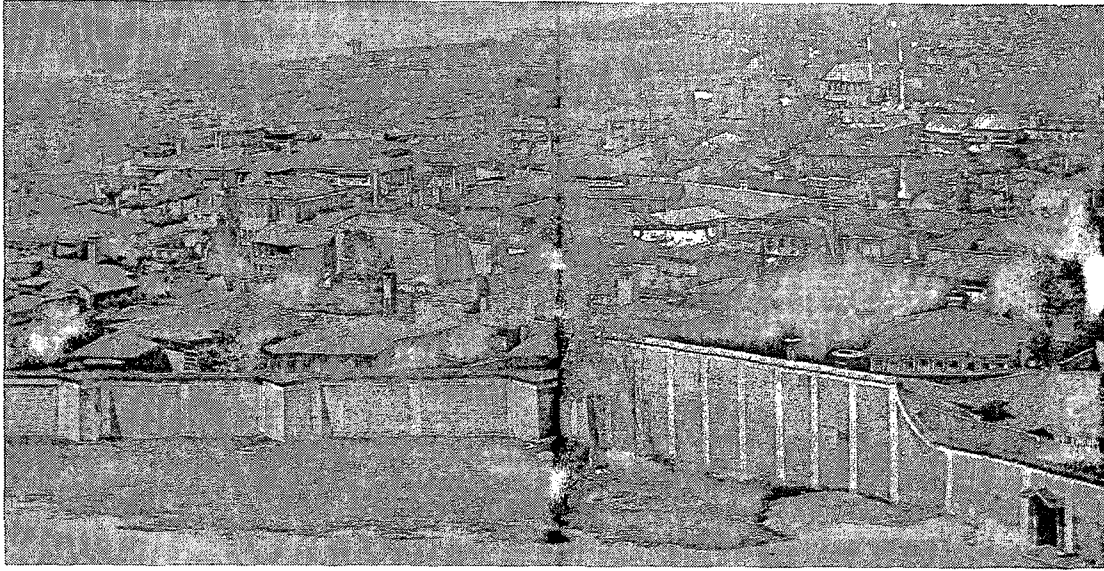


Figure 4.24: The fortified walls of Old Palace in a photograph by Robertson (1853-1854).

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: A.Alerko).

NOTE: The Gate on the right was known as Harem Kapısı.

Pars Tuğlacı claims that during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, Kırkor Amira Balian constructed the Seraskerlik Building in 1827.⁴⁵ However it is not clear, which building of Seraskerlik he mentions exactly. Since the buildings of Seraskerlik, that were built in the place of the Old Palace during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, were entirely demolished in 1860s, it is highly difficult to evaluate them today. The only visual source of this period is Robertson's photographs. As Sedat Hakkı Eldem observes from these photographs, the timber Bâb-ı Serasker building was located in the middle of the area and it was longer than the latter one built in its place by Namık Paşa in 1860s.⁴⁶ By comparing this timber building (Figure 4.25) with the Imperial Residence (Figure 4.23) on the right of the main gate, we can estimate that they were built at the same time. Timber should have been preferred for the rapidity of construction. Behind the tower we can see the Barracks (Figure 4.25). On the northern border of the Seraskerlik area, there were also other Barracks named Süleymaniye (Figure 4.26).

⁴⁵ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.507.

⁴⁶ Eldem, 1979, p.108.

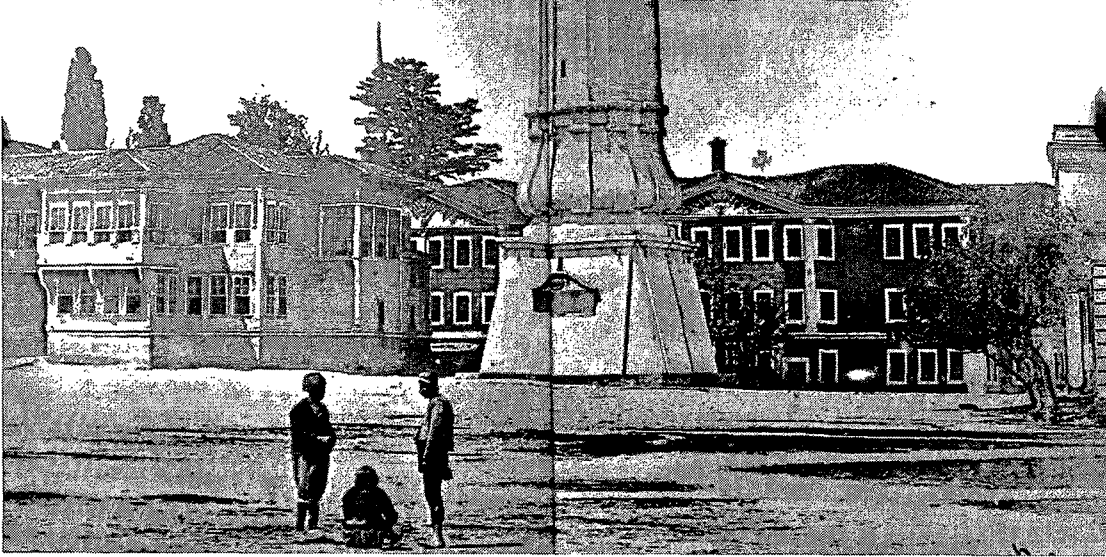


Figure 4.25: Inside the Seraskerlik from a photograph of Robertson (1853-1854).
 SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: AAlerko).
 NOTE: The timber Serasker Konak is on the left and the masonry barracks at the rear.

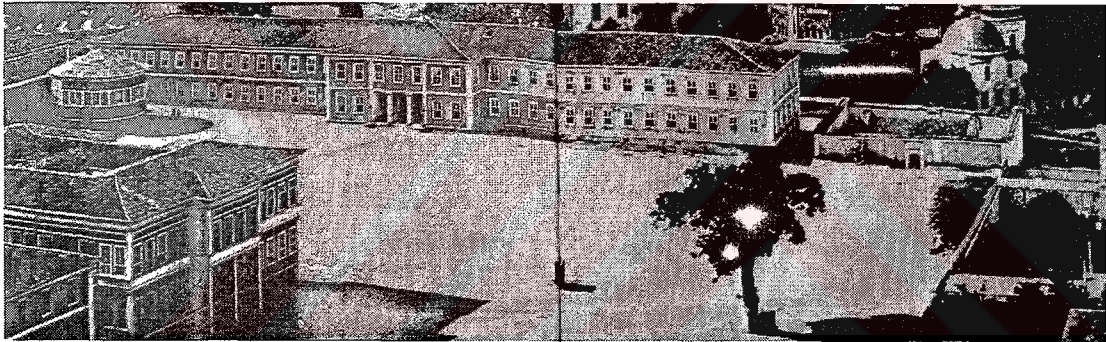


Figure 4.26: Süleymaniye Barracks from a photograph of Robertson (1853-1854).
 SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: A Alerko).



Figure 4.27: Inside the Seraskerlik from a photograph of Robertson (1853-1854).
 SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: A. Alerko).

Lûtfî Efendi recorded that in 1832, new barracks was built inside the Seraskerlik.⁴⁷ The two-storied building that Lûtfî Efendi noted must be the masonry constructions that observed on Robertson photographs (Figure 4.25: 4:26: 4.27). This demonstrates that the barracks in the Seraskerlik had straight lines, repeating window sequences, few ornaments and symmetry. The feature of the Empire Style can also be seen in the triangle fronton with radial decoration (Figure 4.25).

On the northeastern side of the Seraskerlik Area, Bekir Ağa Bölüğü (Bekir Ağa Squadron), was located. Between the Süleymaniye Barracks and Bekir Ağa Bölüğü the armoury was located (Figure 4.26). Bekir Ağa Bölüğü (which will have a fame as a terrifying prison later) was designed as a Military hospital in 1841. Gaspere Fossati, the architect of the Russian Embassy, designed the building.⁴⁸ As Cengiz Can observes, because of its location on a high level, and its proportions (40x98 metres), the Seraskerlik Military Hospital took a significant place in the silhouette of the Historical Peninsula. According to Can, the Military Hospital in Seraskerlik was a response to the New Russian Embassy at Pera.⁴⁹

The most significant figure not only inside the Seraskerlik but also from the Beyazıt Meydanı and even on the whole panorama of the historical peninsula was the Seraskerlik Tower, probably the tallest tower built in İstanbul during the Ottoman Period (Figure 4.28: 4.29). Since the fire watching and extinguishing were among the duties of the janissary corps, fire tower was located in Ağa Kapısı originally as we have seen in Chapter 3. After Vak'a-i Hayriyye, since the tower was demolished with the Ağa Kapısı, and the headquarter of the new army settled into the Old Palace,

⁴⁷ "Bâb-ı Seraskerî dahilinde asâkir-i mansûre için iki kat gayet metin ve dilnişin bir bâb kışla binâ kılındı. Meşhur Hoca Aynî Efendi'nin '*Mekanın bin İki yüz kırk sekizde buldu bu kışla*' mısra'ı güzel tarih olmuşdur", Lûtfî Efendi, p. 760.

⁴⁸ Cengiz Can, 1999, "Tanzimat ve Mimarlık", in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı, 'Uluslarüstü' Bir Miras*, (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi), pp.130-136.

⁴⁹ Can, 1999, 132.

Sultan Mahmud II immediately ordered a new tower inside the Seraskerlik.⁵⁰ The new timber tower, designed by Kirkor Amira Balian, was completed on June 21th 1826 but it was burned after its completion. In the mean while, a new fire fighting corps was established in two years.⁵¹ Senekerim Amira Balian built a new stone tower in 1828.⁵² In 1849 its roof was removed and three stories were added to the original structure.

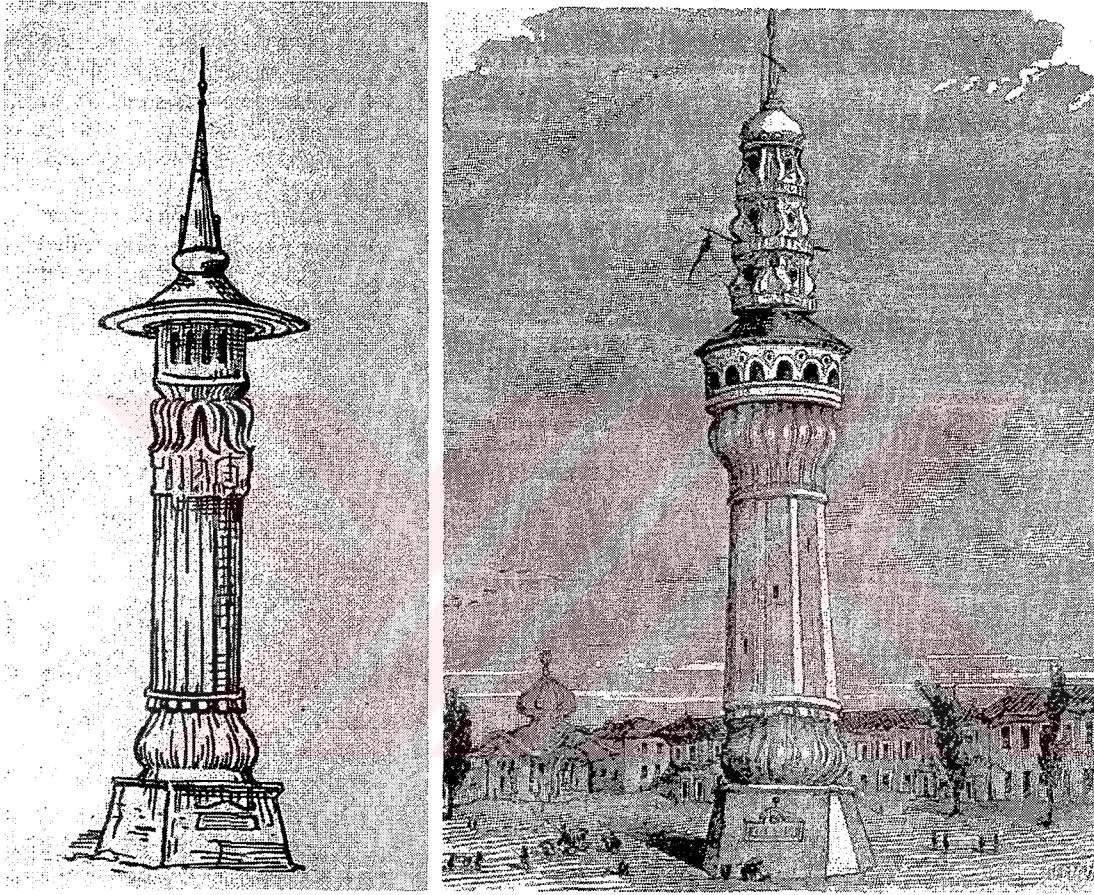


Figure 4.28: The Fire Tower of Seraskerlik (Circa 1850s).

SOURCES: Left, Edmondo Amicis, 1883, Constantinople, Paris, Right: Le Monde Illustré, Paris, 18 June 1870. Both of them are published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK)

NOTE: The Old Gate of the Seraskerlik can be seen on the right figure.

⁵⁰ in Mahmud II's imperial order (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*) it was declared, quoted in Lûtfî Efendi, p.119.

⁵¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.185.

⁵² Tuğlacı, 1990, pp. 84-86

From the photograph and figures above we can see the “oval medallion” of Sultan Mahmud II with the epitaph of the tower. According to Pars Tuğlacı this tower was originally a monument to justice.⁵³ Şimşek also draws our attention to the similarities of Seraskerlik tower with the Tower of Justice⁵⁴ (Adalet Kulesi, Sultan Mahmud’s epithet also means “Just”, i.e. “Adlî”) in Topkapı.

Miss Pardoe was impressed by the fire tower of Seraskerlik. According to her, the white fire tower rising up to the sky, like a guard of Seraskerlik, was more impressive than the minarets of Beyazıt Mosque.⁵⁵ Her comparison of the minarets with Seraskerlik tower reflects the tension and the power struggle between the traditional (religious) and the modern military factions of the Empire.

As Miss Pardoe explained:

But the most remarkable object in the vicinity, is decidedly the *Yanguen Kiosque*, or Fire Tower, which occupies a portion of the palace court. It is of immense height, of a circular form, and entirely surrounded almost at its summit by windows, which command a view of every quarter of the fire – guard...⁵⁶

We can read the same feeling of a strong astonishment in most of the travellers who saw the Seraskerlik tower. Gautier expressed his feelings plainly, when he saw the tower of Seraskerlik. For him Seraskerlik tower is “surprisingly

⁵³ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.84.

⁵⁴ Şimşek, p.270.

⁵⁵ Pardoe, 1997, 76.

⁵⁶ Pardoe, 1855, p.107.

high” and like “a white lighthouse”.⁵⁷ Moltke also defined the tower as a “beautiful tower”.⁵⁸

The Seraskerlik building and its tower were considered as masterpieces of Sultan Mahmud II’s reign together with the Nusretiye Mosque. For instance, Lûtfî Efendi expresses his proud about these buildings by asking: “Did we get any architect from Europe for the buildings such as Bâb-ı Serakerî, its tower and Nusretiye Mosque?”.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Theophile Gautier, 1972 [1856], *İstanbul* , (Trans. Nurullah Berk), (İstanbul: İstanbul Kitaplığı), p.239.

⁵⁸ Moltke, p.21.

⁵⁹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.1228.

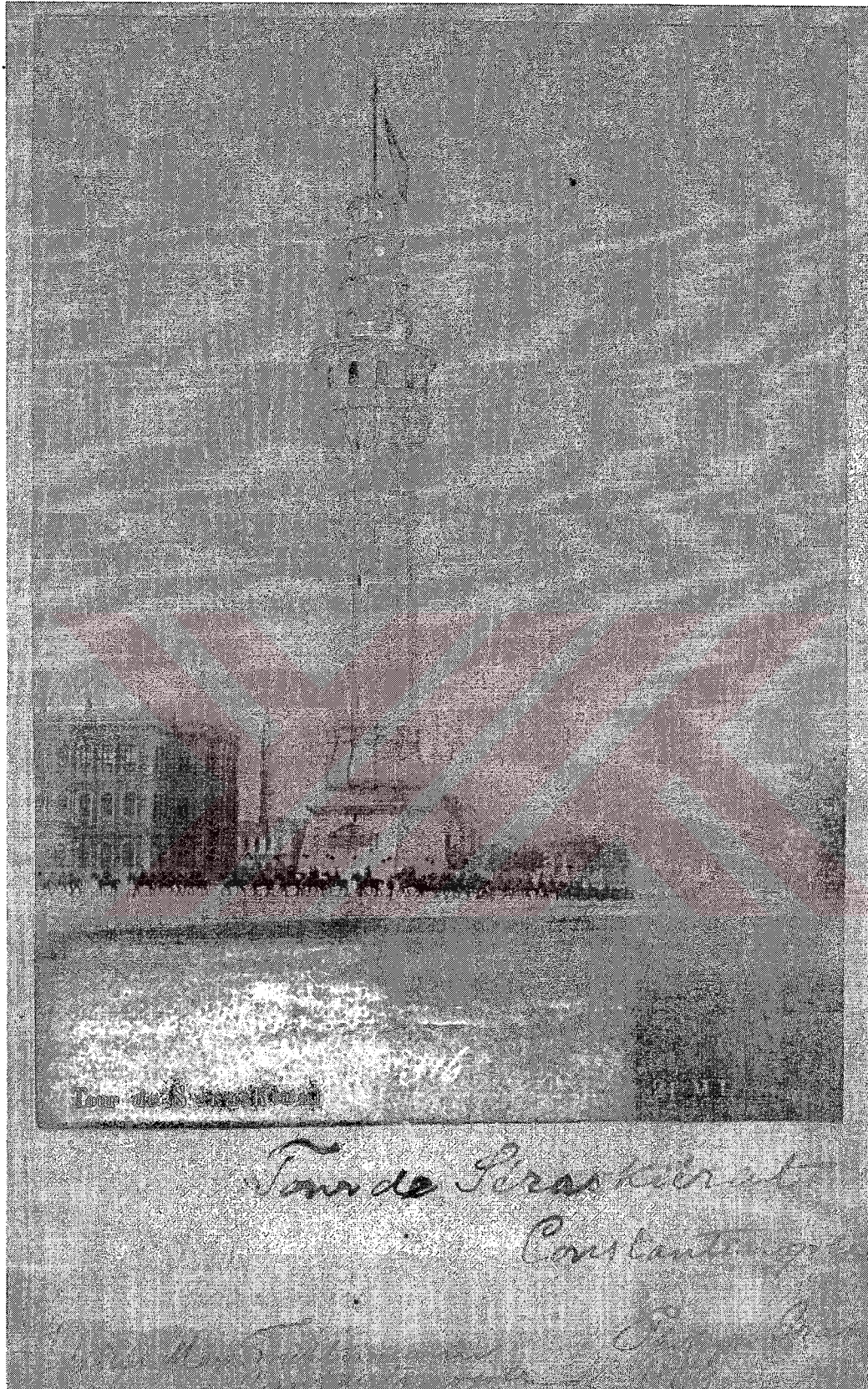


Figure 4.29: The Fire Tower of Seraskerlik (Circa 1860s).
SOURCES: *Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları*, 2000, (İstanbul: Koç Bank)

4.5. Transformation of the Beyazıt Area After 1860s.

4.5.1. The Beyazıt Meydanı

As we have analysed, the first breaking point in the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı goes back to 1826, i.e. Vak'a-i Hayriyye. After the reign of Sultan Mahmud II we cannot determine any significant attempt at reshaping the area. In 1864, as indicated on the gate, the new gate of Seraskerlik (which is the gate of İstanbul University today) was built. The Beyazıt Meydanı was transformed after the Hoca Paşa Fire in 1865. Therefore, the second important point, which shapes the Beyazıt Meydanı, is the Hoca Paşa Fire, which accelerated the implementation of urban regulations in İstanbul.

In 1865 Hoca Paşa Fire destroyed a considerable section of the city between the Seraskerlik and Topkapı Palace from the Golden Horn to Marmara Sea. The Hoca Paşa Fire did not reach the Beyazıt Mosque but a second fire, 4 days after Hoca Paşa, destroyed the south side of the Beyazıt Mosque. The second fire started from a house in Gedik Paşa and spread into two ways. One branch of the fire reached the tombs of Sultan Beyazıt and Reşid Paşa and the famous Sarafım Kırathanesi.¹

Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu (Commission for the Improvement of Roads) was established after the Hoca Paşa Fire (also known as the Big Fire, Harik-i Kebir).² The commission was charged to re-organise the districts around Hoca Paşa, Divanyolu, Kumkapı, Beyazıt and the constructions around "Bâb-ı Vâlâ-yı Seraskerî".³ Constructions mentioned in this announcement are probably the building

¹ Ergin, 1995, p.1225.

² Çelik, 1993, p.55-56.

³"Bu komisyonun me'muriyeti Hocapaşa'dan Divanyolu'yla Kumkapı'ya ve Bayezid'e kadar muhterik olan ve tesviyesi lazım gelen mahaller ile Bâb-ı Vâlâ-yı Seraskerî civarında olan inşâta ve onların teferruâtına münhasırdır" quoted from Takvim-i Vekâyi 1866 in Ergin, 1995, p.944

of the Gate of Seraskerlik and the Harbiye Nezareti (Ministry of War), which we will focus on later.

Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu had a significant role in the improvement of the urban fabric.⁴ In the report of Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu, the opening of the new roads was announced.⁵ In this report, we can see that, three connections were planned for Beyazıt Meydanı. The connections of Beyazıt Meydanı to the south (Divan Yolu), to the north (Golden Horn) and to the west (Fatih Mosque and then to the Topkapı Gate) were foreseen. It was stated that, K  k  ler and Buğdaycılar Gates did not only “obstruct the way” (*mur  r u ub  r*) to the Beyazıt Meydanı, but also that they damaged “the noble appearance” (*k    yi        n  m  yi    *) of “the Beyazıt Meydanı, which gained order thanks to Sultan himself” (*s  yei hazret-i p  di    hide kesb-i intiz  m eden Beyaz  d Meydanı*). By the removal of the buildings around the

⁴ See, Ergin, 1995, p.944-962.

⁵“Balmumcular   n  ndeki bir k    k adanın mevcut d  kk  nları alınarak oradaki meydana ilave edilmesi tasavvur olunmu  tur. Sultan Bayezid meydanı’na gidecek K  k  ler Kapısı’yla Buğdaycılar Kapısı pek sık olarak mur  r u ub  r edenler, arabalara tesad  f ettik  e pek zahmet   ekmekte ve s  yei hazret-i p  di    hide kesb-i intiz  m eden Beyazid Meydanı’nın k    yi        n  m  yi    ne bile h  lel vermekte olduğundan, i   bu iki Kapının beyninde bulunan bin  lar bundan evvelce ash  b   taraflarından izh  r-ı ve muv  fakat olduğ   vechile geriye   ekilerek meydana girmek i    n vus’atlı bir yol yaptırılması ve mukaddem   h  l-i intiz  ma girmiş olan Aksaray caddesi ile Divan yolu beynindeki Koska tar  ki, Dersaadet’in en memerr ve kalabalıklı mevkii olduğ   halde bayağı bir boğaz h  km  nde ve gayri m  nasip hey’ette kalarak mur  r u ub  r eden ah  li sıkı  mamak derecesinde bile bulunmu   olduğ  na bin  en, burasının dahi Aksaray yoluna tevfik  n a  tırılması tasmin kılınmıştır. Bayezid veAksaray ve Fatih taraflarından Bah  ekapısına ve sahile araba i  leyecek bir yol olmaması sebebiyle ol hav  lide bulunan ah  li, hav  yic-ı zar  riyelerinden odun ve k  m  r ve s  ir bu mak  le m  b  yaa ettikleri e    -yı nakliyeyi y  k arabasıyla celbetmeyerek, b  rgir ile nakleğlemeye ve bin  enaleyh ziy  de masraf etmeğ   muhta   oldukları mis  ll   B  b-ı Seraskeri’ye alınan bazı lev  zimatın naklinde dahi t  rl   m    kil  t ve mas  rif  t vuku’ bulmakta olunduğundan Mahmudpa  a’nın   st tarafındaki Fincancılar yoku  unun Uzun  ar  ı ba  ına doğru tanzim ve tevs  i’yle Mercan Caddesi’ne ittis  l etmek ve kolaylıkla araba i  leyebilmek   zere bir cadde k    ad olunmasının l  zum ve ehemniyeti pek a  ik  r olmakla” quoted in Ergin, 1995, p.956.

Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gates, the connection of Beyazıt Meydanı with Divan Yolu was intended (see also Figure 1.3). It was explicitly considered as a ceremonial passage suitable to the grandeur of the Beyazıt Meydanı, which was already “re-organised”. The connection of the Beyazıt Meydanı to the north (Golden Horn) was to be provided by the widening of the roads of Fincancılar Yokuşu, Uzun Çarşı and Mercan Caddesi.⁶ This was a service road for the Seraskerlik. It was claimed that because of the difficulties in the transportation of supplies to the Seraskerlik, it was necessary to open these ways. The third road was from Beyazıt to Fatih. It was claimed that in that route a paved road would be planned from the two sites of it.⁷

The planned roads, announced by the Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu, were widened in 1869. Şehremini (Mayor) Server Paşa played an important role in the reshaping of the area. He was the son of the head clerk of the Treasury of Bâb-ı Seraskerî (Bâb-ı Seraskerî Hazine Başkatibi) and he was charged as Şehremini between March 1868 and July 1870.⁸

We can follow the information about the reshaping of the area, published in the first official and also first ever Turkish newspaper *Takvim-i Vekâyi*⁹ on September 6th 1869. It was declared that the buildings around the area were removed and a new road was opened. In this announcement, it was reported that, some of the shops were demolished from Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance, also known as

⁶ About the re-formation of this area in 24 August 1911 (11 Ağustos 1327), see Figure 4.62.

⁷Ergin, 1995, p.958.

⁸Osman Nuri Ergin, 1996. *İstanbul Şehreminleri*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı), pp.100-110.

⁹ *Takvim-i Vekâyi* was first published in 1831. See, Sina Akşin (ed.) 1995, *Türkiye Tarihi 3, Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi), p.460. The first private Turkish Newspaper was *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1860. See, Sina Akşin “Düşünce ve Bilim Tarihi (1839-1908)” in Sina Akşin (ed.) 1995, *Türkiye Tarihi 3, Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi), p.345.

Fuad Paşa Konağı) up to Beyazıt Mosque. It was also stated that a road from Hasan Paşa Karakolu up to Laleli Mosque was widened.¹⁰ Besides, as we can also see from Ayverdi's map (Figure 4.45), it was stated that the building area of Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gate was removed, just like Mürekkepciler Gate had been before.

Şehremaneti had to enlarge roads for the circulation of tramways. The tramway line between Eminönü and Aksaray was also planned. Thus the demolitions in the area continued for the tramway route. According to the tramway contract, from Beyazıt to Fatih the width of the street should be 15-16 metres. Expropriation of the buildings was also envisaged for the passing of the tramway in the contract.¹¹

The first horse driven tramway line was opened between the Azapkapı – Ortaköy on September 3, 1872.¹² Three years after the contract, the tramway line of Eminönü - Aksaray was inaugurated on December 1872.¹³

¹⁰“...Maliye Nezaret-i celilesi dâiresi pişgâhında iki taraflı şose yol olmak üzere güzel bir meydan yapılmış ve oradan tâ cennetmekân Firdevs Âşiyân Sultan Beyazid Hân tâbe serâhu hazretlerinin câmi-i şeriflerine kadar bazı dekâkinin hedmi ile bir müntazam cadde küşâd olunmuş ve Buğdaycılar Kapısı ile Kökçüler Kapısı arasında vâki adanın ref'i derdest icrâ olunmuş ve Hasan Paşa Karakolu'ndan Lâleli Câmi-i Şerifine vâsi bir tarîk açıldığı misillü....” quoted in Ergin, 1995, p.960.

¹¹ “Dersaadet'te Tramvay Tesis ve İnşâsına Dair Şartnâme”: 30 August 1869 quoted in Ergin, 1995, pp.2401-2402.

¹² R. Sertaç Kayserilioğlu, 1999, Dersaadet'ten İstanbul'a Tramvay, Vol. I, (İstanbul: İETT Genel Müdürlüğü), p.68.

¹³ Kayserilioğlu, Ibid.

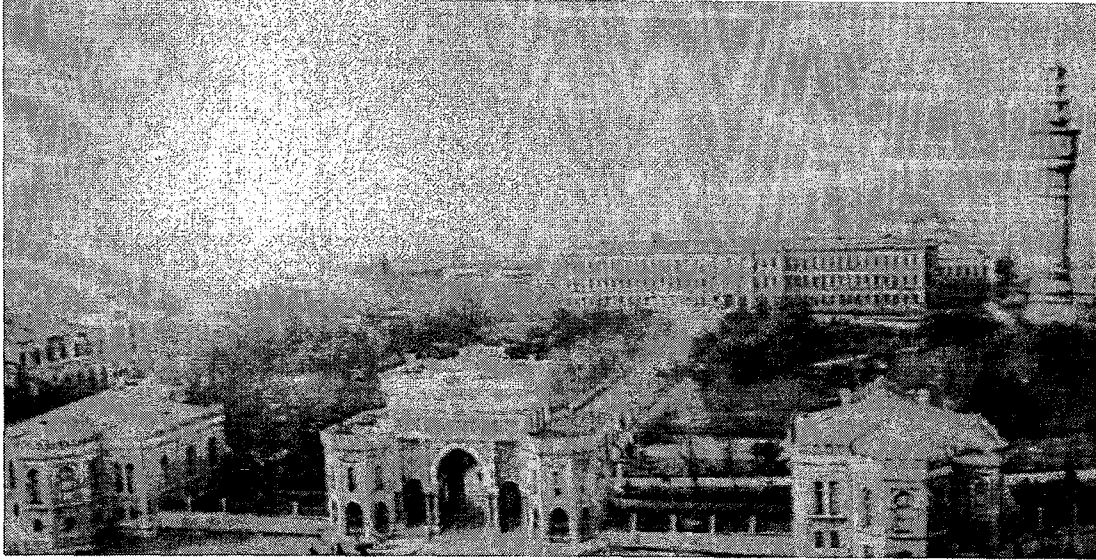


Figure 4.31: The New Gate of Seraskerlik and The Main Building

SOURCE: Hilmi Şahenk, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İBŞB Kültür İş.), p.155.



Figure 4.32: The Square of Seraskerlik, photograph by Sébah & Joaillier (circa 1860s)

SOURCE: Max Fruechtermann (ed.), (no date), *Vues De Constantinople* (Constantinople), No:21.

NOTE: The axis comes from the building behind pass through the gate and it extends into the square as well.



Figure 4.33: The Square of Seraskerlik (Circa 1860s)

SOURCE: Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: IDEA), p.45.

NOTE: The line of tree stretched along the Beyazıt Mosque into the square

In 1863, a new Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti) was established, under the director of Keçecizade Fuad Paşa.¹⁴ Although for a short period Bâb-ı Seraskeri was re-named Harbiye Nezareti in 1879, the old name of Seraskerlik was used till 1908.¹⁵ During the period of Fuad Paşa, not only the new gate of Harbiye Nezareti but also Fuad Paşa Konağı¹⁶ next to it delimited the square from the north. Fuad Paşa Konağı (Fuad Paşa's Residence, also known Ministry of Treasure, Figure 4.34: 4.39) was located on the same line following the Gate through the west. The frontal

¹⁴ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Harbiye Nezareti", 1997, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), pp.119-120.

¹⁵ B. Lewis, Bâb-ı Seraskeri, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1986, (Leiden ,London: E.J.Brill, Luzac), Vol.I, p.838.

¹⁶ Built by Bourgeois, in 1867. Cengiz Can, 1994, "Harbiye Nezareti Binası" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.3, p.551.

character of this building, which has a façade across the square, was different from traditional building concepts. Although it had a courtyard, it was located on the border of its building lot, in opposition to the tradition of locating *konaks* in the middle of the area as we observed in Chapter 2. By its location on the road, it became apparent from the public space which was formed. However the access to the building is from the gate on the corner of its courtyard, which is linked to the Beyazıt Meydanı (Figure 4.35). An arcade was designed for pedestrians on the side of the building, which leads to square (Figure 4.34).

Copper stores were placed on the east side of the Seraskerlik Gate in the 1860s. The original setting of the copper stores was on the other side of the street. These stores (Figure 4.38) built in the same style as the building across them, i.e. Misafirhane-i Askeriye¹⁷(Figure 4.36).

This second significant building, Misafirhane-i Askeriye, was located there in the 1860s¹⁸ (Figure 4.36: 4.40). We can read the name of the Misafirhane-i Askeriye from Ayverdi's map (Figure 4.45). It was next to the *imaret*, which became a State Library (Kütüphane-i Umûm-i Osmani) in 1882.¹⁹ Like in the Fuad Paşa Konağı, an arcade was built for pedestrians (Figure 4.36). This arcade leads the pedestrians through the square and also protects them from sun and rain (Figure 4.37). Consequently, Fuad Paşa Konağı and the Misafirhane-i Askeriye were not only buildings serving their own functions but they were also contributing to the urban public spaces. In this way, an ordonnance of building façades was created around the square as it was practiced in European cities.

¹⁷ Eyice, p.49

¹⁸ The date of this building is accepted paralell to the other buildings of Seraskerlik. See, Eyice, p.49

¹⁹ Hasan Duman, 1982, "Kuruluşunun 100. Yılında Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi", *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni*, no: 31/4, pp.158-163.

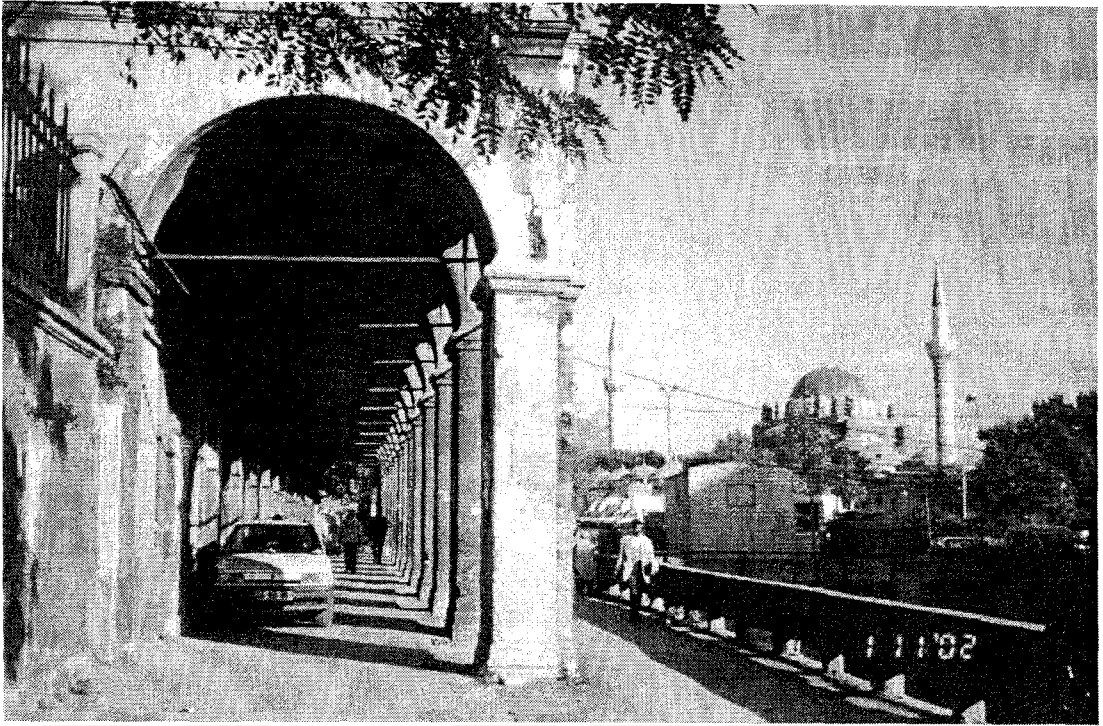


Figure 4.34: The Arcade of Fuad Paşa's Konak
 SOURCE: Photograph by N.G.Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.35: The Gate of Fuad Paşa's Konak
 SOURCE: Photograph by N.G.Yeşilkaya

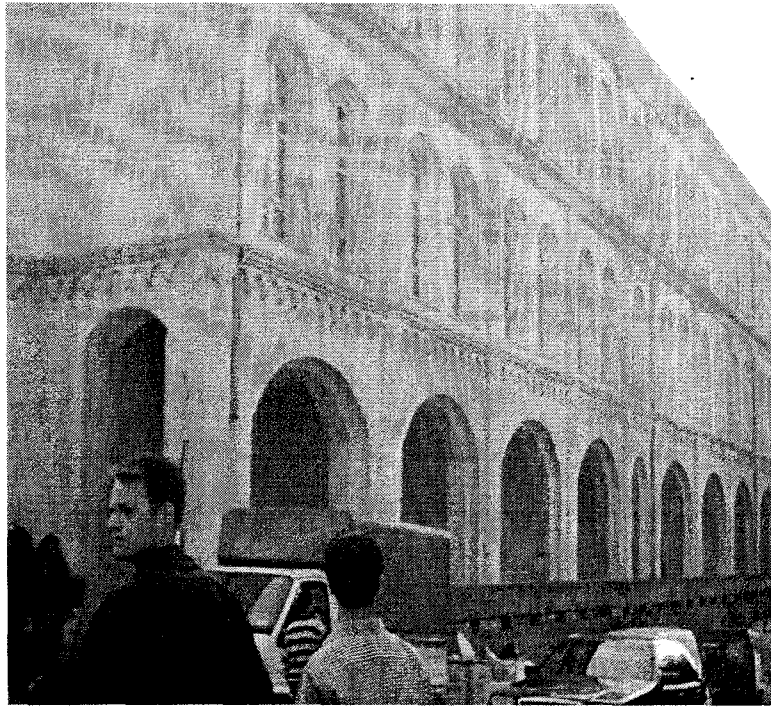


Figure 4.36: The Arcade of Misafirhane-i Askeriye
 SOURCE: Photograph by N.G.Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.37: A view from the Medrese through the Misafirhane-i Askeriye
 SOURCE: Photograph by N.G.Yeşilkaya
 NOTE: Misafirhane-i Askeriye leading through the Square.



Figure 4.38: The Stores under the wall of Seraskerlik.
SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.39: The Gate of Seraskerlik and Fuad Paşa Konağı (on the left), circa 1960s.

SOURCE: The Archive of Süheyl Ünver in the Library of Süleymaniye. File No:489.

NOTE: Fuad Paşa Konağı formed the west connection of the Square, the arcade of the building can also be seen.



Figure 4.40: The Gate of Seraskerlik and Misafirhane-i Askeriye (on the left), circa 1870s.

SOURCE: *Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları*, 2000, (İstanbul: Koş Bank)

NOTE: Misafirhane-i Askeriye formed the east connection of the Square and the tree line of the symmetry axis can be seen on the square.

These buildings (Fuad Paşa Konağı, the new gate of Seraskerlik and Misafirhane-i Askeriye) reshaped the northern border of the square that established a continuity from the east to the west, expressing new architectural tastes and a new understanding of urban space design (Figure 4.39: 4.40).

Fossati accomplished a previous example of a building, which faced the street. He designed the tomb of Reşid Paşa, who died in 1858.²⁰ Reşid Paşa's tomb (Figure 4.41) differs from the other sixteenth century tombs of Sultan Beyazıt and his daughter Selçuk Sultan in the graveyard (*hazire*) of the Beyazıt Mosque. Unlike those, Reşid Paşa's tomb was located on the border of the *hazire* aligned to the road. For Cansever, the un-oriented location (according to the direction of Mecca [*kible*]) of the Reşid Paşa's tomb symbolizes the radicalism of Tanzimat governors who were impressed by modern city planning such as Hausmann's Paris.²¹

It should be taken into account that, by locating the tomb on the border of the graveyard, Fossati was facing the road, which is on the way from Divan Yolu to the Beyazıt Meydanı. Fossati also paid more attention for the façade of the tomb, which faces the road, than the other façades of the building. This tomb, designed with a façadist attitude, is valued by the architectural historians as an example of Orientalism.²²

²⁰ Turgut Saner, 1997, "Mustafa Reşid Paşa Türbesi", in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.5, p.567.

²¹ Turgut Cansever, March 1991, "Beyazıt Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi", in *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, no:24, pp.114-120, p.116.

²² Turgut Saner, 1998, *19.Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında "Oryantalizm"*, (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş.), p.139.

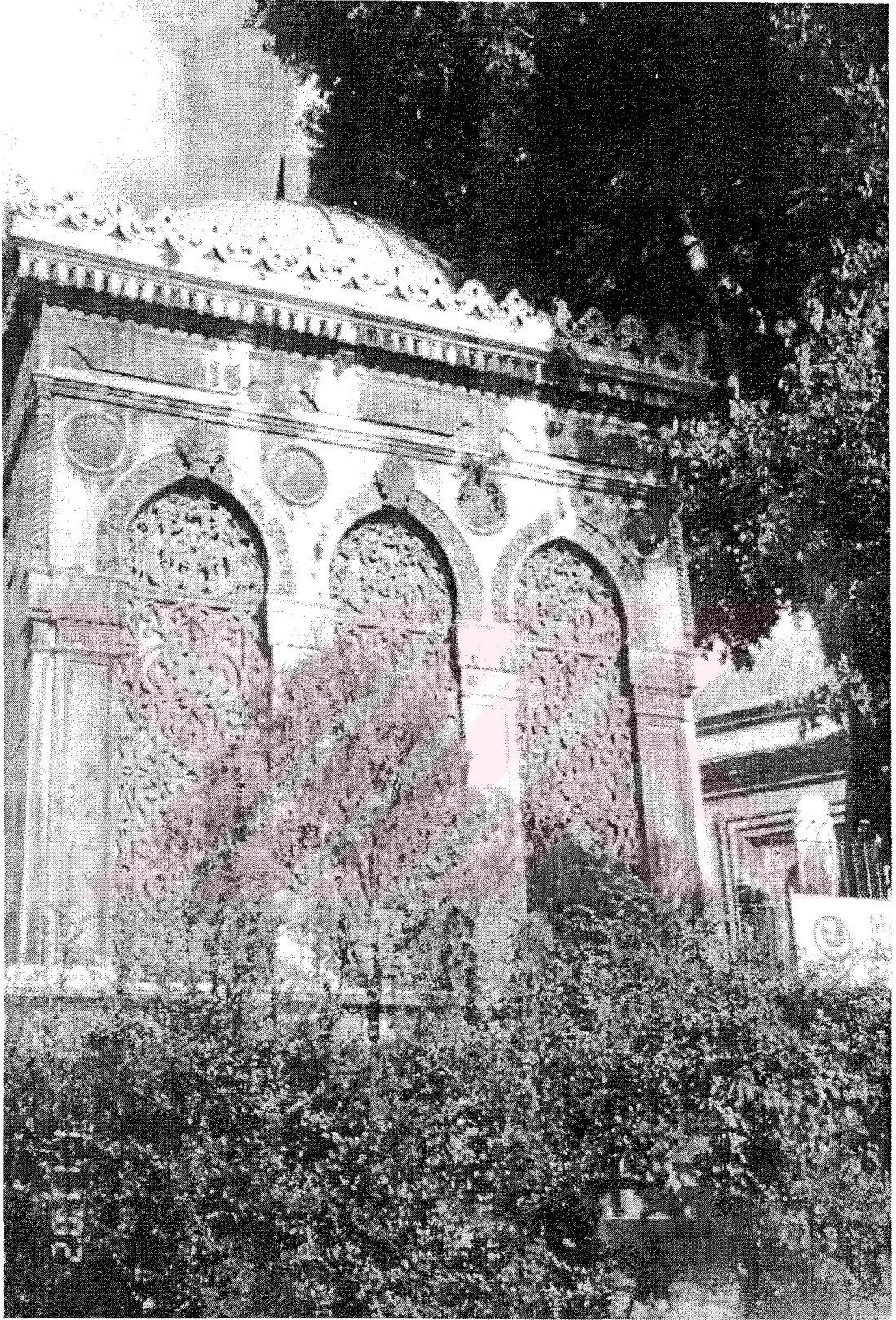


Figure 4.41: Reşid Paşa's Tomb
SOURCE: Photograph by N.G.Yeşilkaya

During the reign of Abdülhamid II, the State Library of the Ottoman Empire (Kütüphane-i Umûm-i Osmani) was established in 1882 in the building of the *imaret*.²³ Sultan Abdülhamid II's imperial signature (*tuğra*) is stamped on the building just as used to be the case for his ancestors. The façade of the sixteenth century *küllîye* building was re-designed during the renovation (Figure 4.42). Like Reşid Paşa's tomb, the renovation of the façade of the *imaret* is accepted as an example of Orientalism.²⁴



Figure 4.42: Kütüphane-i Umûm-i Osmani, photograph by Sébah & Joaillier (circa 1880s)

SOURCE: Perihan Sariöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (Istanbul: IDEA), p.48.

NOTE: New Façade of Kütüphane-i Umûm-i Osmani is regarded as an example of the Orientalist Style.

²³ Duman, Ibid.

²⁴ Saner, p.138-9.

Before going on into the details of the Orientalist style, two important meanings can be extracted from the renovation of the façade of the *imaret*. First, the renovation transformed it to such an extent that it looked like a nineteenth century building. Its façade became similar in the sense of orientalist style to other buildings around. In other words it now belonged to a new context, i.e. an open urban space. This means that, the *imaret* was not anymore part of the Ottoman *külliye* in an introverted *harîm*. Secondly, the idea of the decorated façade shows that a search for external beauty became necessary since the outside existed. The façades of the buildings started to be ornamented because of the public spaces in which they were inserted gained importance, and the building was to be seen from outside.

Governmental buildings traditionally located inside a courtyard and hidden behind high walls were now apparent from the public open space as in the example of Fuad Paşa Konağı. Besides that, the demolition of the high walls was creating a new atmosphere of openness. By replacing the fortified walls of Seraskerlik with railing fences, the area, stretching before the military building, became visible and visually linked to the area of Beyazıt Meydanı which thus became visually extended (Figure, 4.43: 4.44). Consequently, the axis inside the area became visible. Lûtfî Efendi noted that²⁵, after the Big Hocapaşa Fire (May 4, 1866), during the widening

²⁵Lûtfî Efendi stated that “Hocapaşa büyük yangınında, yanan mahallenin sokakları yeniden düzenlendiği sırada, Bâb-ı Âlî’nin duvarları da yıktırılmıştır. İstanbul’da bulunan devlet daireleri ve mîrî binalar ile devletin ileri gelenlerinin konaklarının çoğu, yüksek duvarlarla çevrili ve âdeta sur içinde gibi idi. Bunun sebebi, Yeniçeri zamanında arasına meydana gelen harekât-ı haşerattan korunmak için idi. Hamd olsun o gibi endişeler kalmamış olduğundan, hisar gibi öyle korkunç duvarlarla çevrili resmi dairelerin, pencereleri daha ışıık alır hale gelmesi için duvarları yıktırıldı. Bâ husus Bâb-ı Seraskerî, ki eskiden Eski Saray idi, bunun dört tarafındaki duvarlarından set üzerine olmayan tarafları tesviye olunup, Sultan Bayazid Meydanına fevkalade küşayışlık gelerek, İstanbul’un bir büyük ziynet ve letafetini ve sıra ile mücedden yapılan müte’addid bakırcı dükkanlarından istifadeyi mucip olduğu gibi, Bâb-ı Âlî’nin etrafındaki yüksek-yüksek korkunç duvarların dahi yıktırılmasıyla, demir parmaklıklar inşa kılınmıştır. Bunlar fena olmamış ise de, bu yıkıntıların İstanbul kapıları’na kadar sirayeti, pek iyi şey olmamıştır”. From Lûtfî Tarihi: hazırlayan M.Aktepe, vol. X, Ankara 1988, p.145. quoted in Haskan and Gülersoy, p.186.

of the roads, the surrounding walls of Bâb-ı Âlî and Seraskerlik were demolished. He claimed that, such significant governmental buildings were always behind high walls to protect them against janissary rebellions. According to him, the “terrible” (*korkunç*) walls were demolished since they were not needed anymore after the abolishment of the janissary corps. He gave the example of Bâb-ı Seraskerî. For Lûtfî Efendi, the demolition of the old walls of Seraskerî made a positive contribution to its surrounding and Beyazıt Meydanı gained an “extraordinary dignity” (*fevkalade küşâyışlık*). As we will observe in Chapter 5, the visible area of Seraskerlik was a place for military ceremonies and an exercise ground for the army.²⁶ Therefore, not only the enclosure and the dominant building inside of it became apparent but also the ceremonies, that took place here, could now be seen from the Beyazıt Meydanı.

Here it can be concluded that the consequences of the abolishment of the janissary corps continued to change the spatial features of the Beyazıt Meydanı even in 1860s, as Lûtfî Efendi observed above. We will also see that social activities around the Beyazıt Meydanı were increased after the abolishment of the janissary corps (see Chapter 5).

²⁶ The area of Seraskerlik started to be filled by trees during the Republican period by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, who was the chief of *Dârülfunun*. See, Ara Altun, 1997, “Bâb-ı Seraskeri, Mimari”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), p.365.

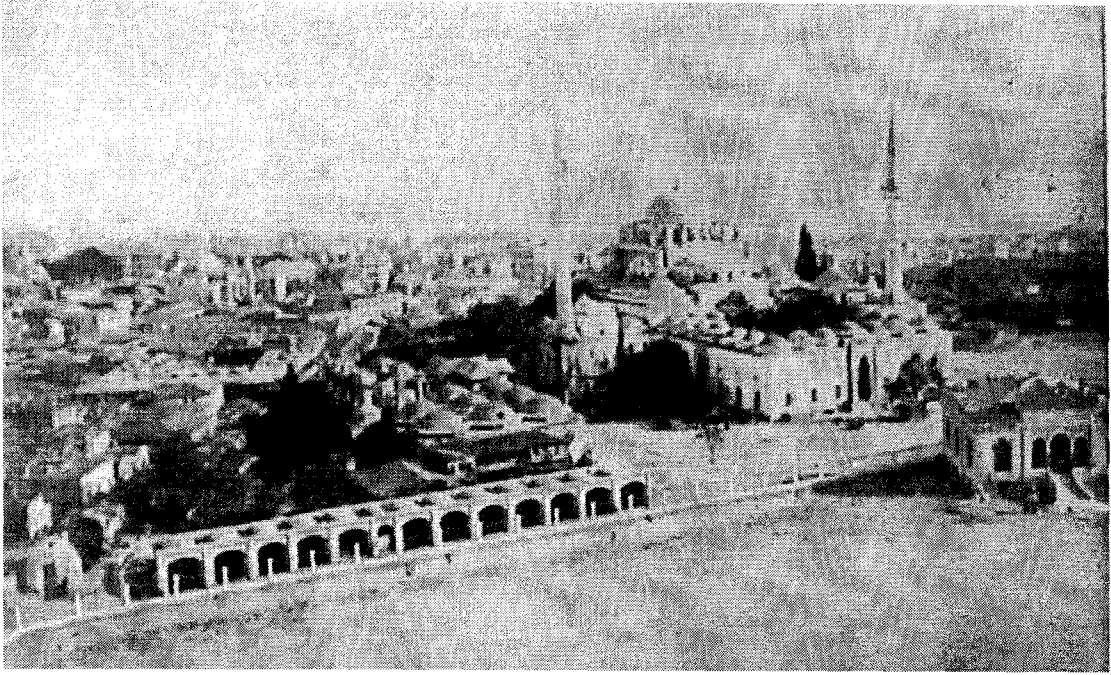


Figure 4.43: The New Fences of Seraskerlik

SOURCE: The Archive of Süheyl Ünver in the Library of Süleymaniye. File No:489.



Figure 4.44: New Seraskerlik Gate, photograph by Berggren

SOURCE: Perihan Sariöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: IDEA), p.49.

On the map of Ayverdi below, we can observe the final shape of the area in 1880s (Figure 4.45)²⁷. We can notice the timber shops around the *medrese*, which we had already remarked in the photograph of Robertson (1854) in Chapter 4. Around the Beyazıt Mosque, only a few of the buildings from Kökçüler Gate until Reşid Paşa's tomb remained. The only remaining part of the exterior courtyard is the southeastern corner from the *imaret* through to the Sıbyan Mektebi (Ottoman primary school) until the tombs (the tombs of Sultan Beyazıt and Reşid Paşa). The area between the tombs and Sıbyan Mektebi is the *hazire* (graveyard). Therefore the *hazire* and Sahaflar Çarşısı (between the mosque and the Grand Bazaar), briefly southeastern corner of the *harîm*, was all that remained from the original *harîm*.



²⁷ Since the name of the library (Kütüb Umûmi-i Osmani) can be seen from the map, date of the map should be addressed to 1884 and later.

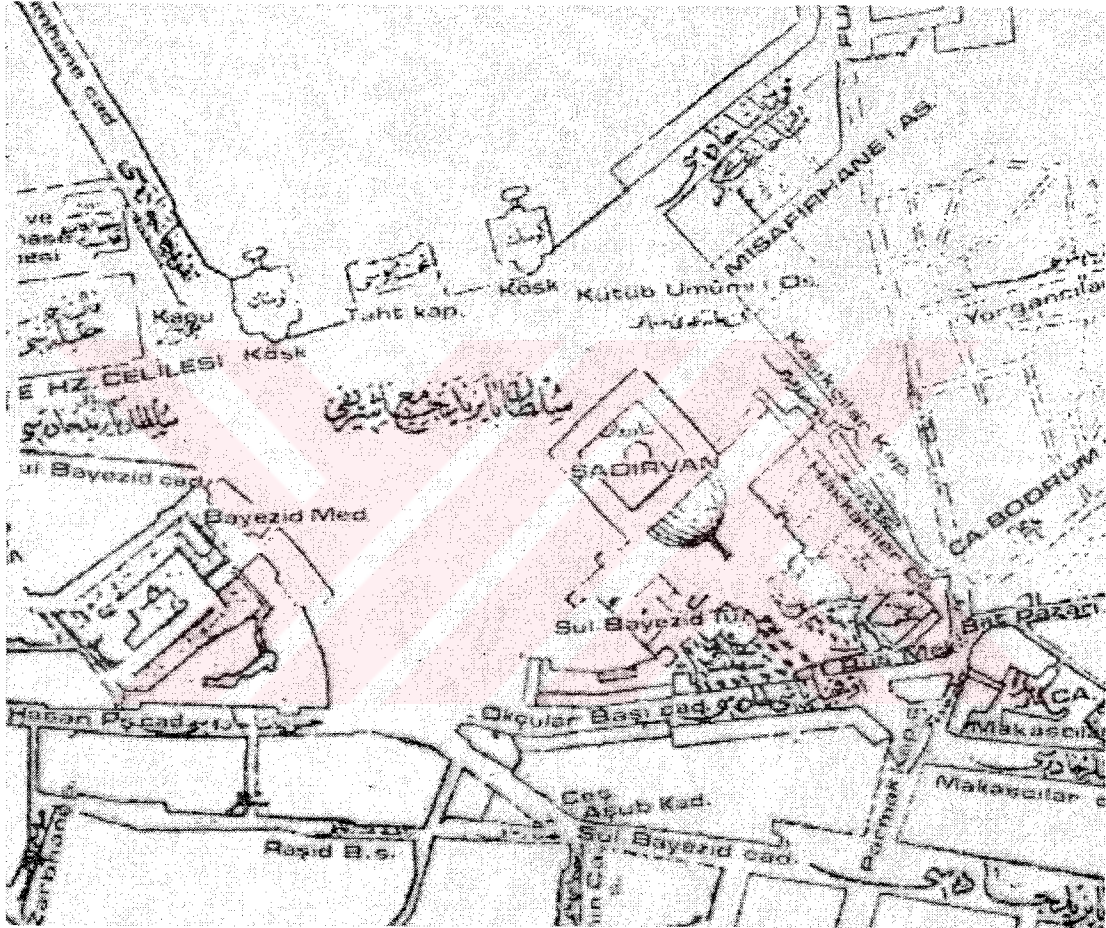


Figure 4.45: Beyazıt Meydanı in Ayverdi's Map (1880s)

SOURCE: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (ed.), 1978, 19. *Asırda İstanbul Haritası*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları)

When we compare the demolition of the Seraskerlik walls with the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque we can notice some points. First the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the mosque meant a loss of land for the *vakıf* of the mosque. However Seraskerlik kept its area. It became publicly visible without loss of property.

To summarise, the second stage of the formation of the Beyazıt Meydanı took place during the 1860s. The remaining part of the *harım* was demolished except the imperial graveyard of the mosque and Sahaflar Çarşısı. Beyazıt Meydanı, which had already “noble appearance” (*küşayış-i nümayış*) as described in official documents, was connected to the north, south, east and west by the widening of the roads. The removal of the old gates of Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler, which were not only a passage but also landmarks for İstanbul’s people, enlarged the connection of the Beyazıt Meydanı to the Divan Yolu. The Seraskerlik gate dominated the Beyazıt Meydanı (also re-named Seraskerlik Meydanı) and an axis of symmetry stretched along the area.

It is hard to define a strongly structured urban space that leads the pedestrians; however the axis of Seraskerlik (probably the first designed axis in the city) gained significance. The gate of Seraskerlik beside its gigantic tower provided a visual impression. Fuad Paşa Konağı and Misafirhane-i Askeriye were leading the pedestrians from east and west through the Beyazıt Meydanı. Now we will focus on the gate and on the inside of the area in the 1860s.

4.5.2. A new point of Focus: The Gate of Harbiye Nezareti and Inside the Seraskerlik

The old buildings inside the Seraskerlik and its gate, which were built for Sultan Mahmud II, remained about 30 years. Serasker Namık Paşa removed them between the years 1864 and 1866 during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz in order to build the new gate (Figure 4.47) and the Harbiye Nezareti Building (Figure 4.52) with the money he brought from his service in Bağdat.¹ His suspicious behaviour caused rumours during the constructions. His biography may help us to grasp the meaning of his enthusiasm about these buildings. Serasker Namık Paşa, an old soldier of the Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye, was around 62 years old when he built this gate and the buildings inside. He started to work for the new army during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and had a role in the organisation of the new army after the abolition of the Janissaries.² He also worked for the “*talims*” (exercise) of the new army³ and had been Serasker three times in his life.⁴ Through his efforts, the buildings inside the Seraskerlik and the main Seraskerlik gate across the Beyazıt Meydanı were rebuilt.

There are two conflicting opinions about the project of this new gate (which is now used as the gate of the İstanbul University). According to Eşref Albatı, Bekir Paşa’s design for Yıldızlı Kapı was used here.⁵ Bekir Paşa who was sent to London in order to study Engineering, was the first person to become aware of the need for a plan for İstanbul. In his plan he considered mosques as essential points in the middle

¹Süheyl Ünver, *Beyazıt'de Asakiri* ..p.4-5.

² Ahmet Nuri Sinaplı, a letter to Süheyl Ünver, in the Archive of Süheyl Ünver, Library of Süleymaniye, File No: 489.

³ Ahmet Nuri Sinaplı, *Ibid*.

⁴ Ergin, 1996, pp.106-107.

⁵ Eşref Albatı, 1945, *Canlı Tarihler: Eşref Albatı Hatıraları*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi) vol. 2, p.6-7.

“Daire-i Umur-ı Askeriyye” (Office of Military Affairs) and the year 1864 are inscribed on the new Gate of Seraskerlik. The imperial signature of Abdülaziz could be seen on a higher level. There are twin pavilions, at the two sides of this symmetrical gate. The gate is designed like a Roman triumphal arch. According to Ünver, permission was asked from Sultan Aziz, who had just returned from an official journey to Paris.⁹ Thus, Sultan Aziz ordered the gate, which looks like the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. It served not merely as a decorative triumphal arch but opened as a real gateway.

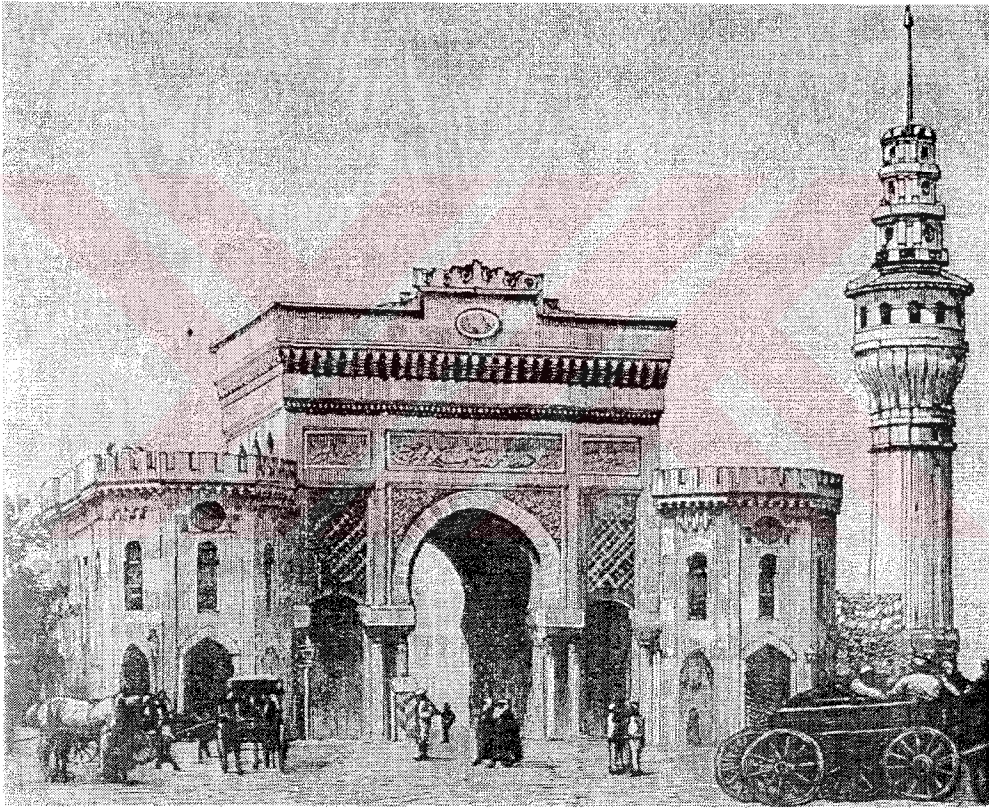


Figure 4.47: The Gate Of Seraskerlik in The Second Half Of The Nineteenth Century.

SOURCE: Published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK).

⁹ Ünver, 1968, p.4-5.

During the nineteenth century, together with other revivalist styles, the Orientalist style was used in European cities. In architecture, inspirations are mainly from India, Moorish culture and particularly from the palace of Alhambra in Granada.¹⁰

On the Seraskerlik Gate muqarnas capitals of columns, horseshoe arches for windows, mesh decoration were used from the vocabulary of Orientalist architecture (Figure 4.48: 4.49: 4.50).¹¹ Besides them, the plan scheme of Çinili Köşk (Tiled Pavilion) in Topkapı Palace was used in the twin pavilions of the Seraskerlik Gate.¹² However, Saner noticed a “conscious avoidance” from sixteenth century architecture set up by Sinan.¹³ For Saner strong influence of the sixteenth century architecture was reflected in the lack of colour in Ottoman Orientalism, which differed from colourful European examples.¹⁴

While Seraskerlik Gate and the tomb of Reşid Paşa brought Orientalist architecture into the Beyazıt Meydanı, the façade of the sixteenth century building of *imaret* was also changed with an orieantalist façade, as we stated above. We observe that this new taste affected the context into which it was inserted, i.e. a sixteenth century architectural environment.

¹⁰ Saner, p.1-5.

¹¹ Saner, p.74-75 and p.158.

¹² Saner, p.76-79.

¹³ Saner, p.163.

¹⁴ Saner, p.161.

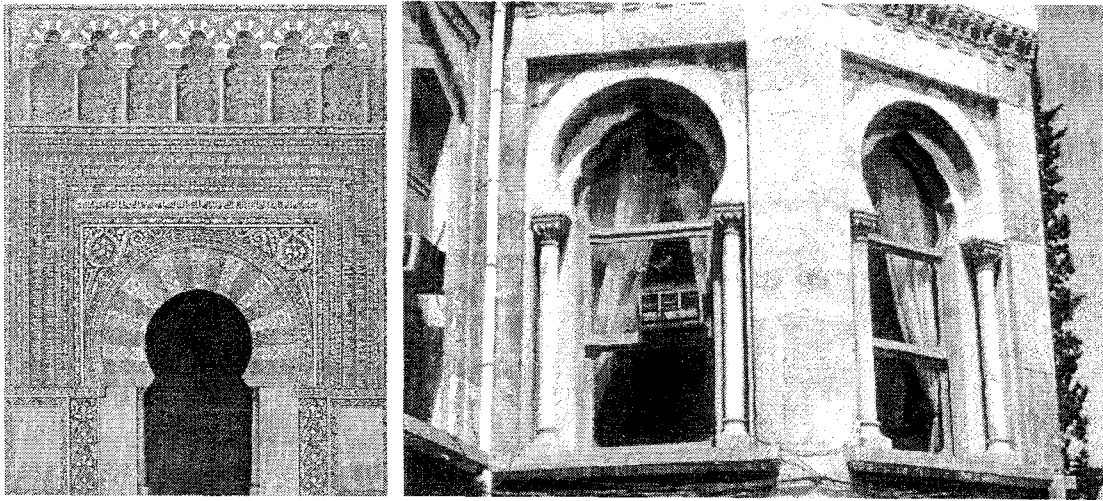


Figure 4.48: An Example Of Horseshoe Arch In Orientalism (on the left) and a Detail From The Gate Of Harbiye Nezareti (on the right).

SOURCE: Turgut Saner, 1998, *19.Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında "Oryantalizm"*, (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş.)

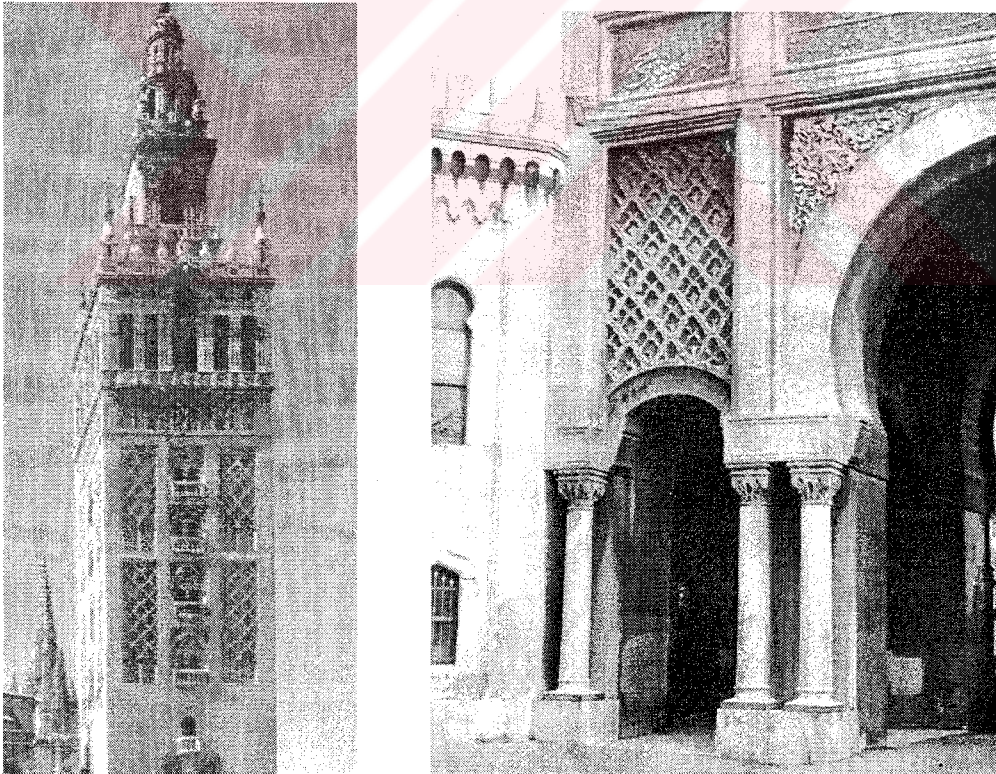


Figure 4.49: The Example Of Mesh Decoration In Orientalism: The Minaret Of Sevilla Mosque (on the left) and the Gate of Harbiye Nezareti (on the right).

SOURCE: Turgut Saner, 1998, *19.Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında "Oryantalizm"*, (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş.)

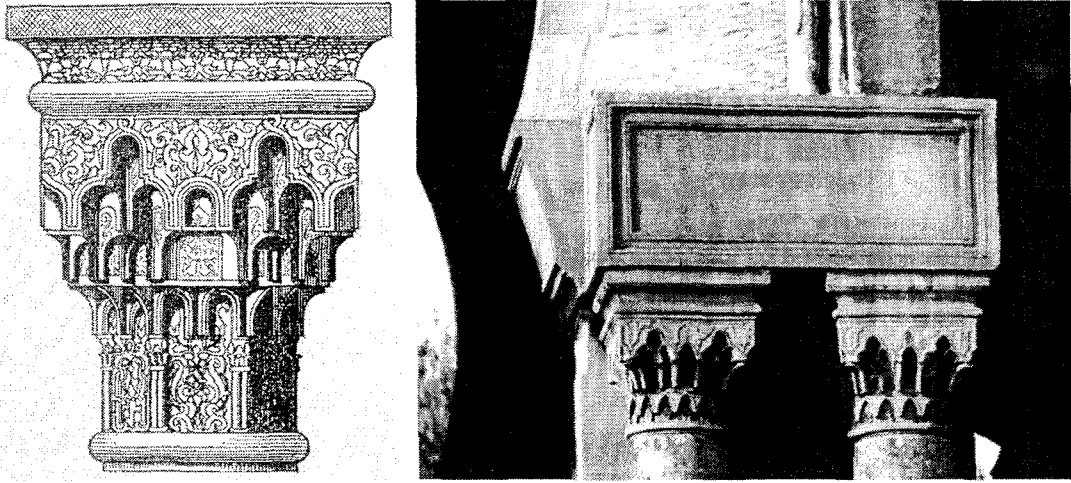


Figure 4.50: An Example Of Muqarnas Capital In Orientalism (on the left, A Detail From The Palace Of Alhambra) and A Detail From The Gate Of Harbiye Nezareti (on the right)

SOURCE: Turgut Saner, 1998, *19.Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında “Oryantalizm”*, (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş.)

About the new buildings inside the Seraskerlik area, there are also contradicting claims. According to one view, Bourgeois designed the Harbiye Nezareti (Ministry of War) in the place of timber Serasker Konağı with the main gate.¹⁵ Ali Paşa, who graduated from Mühendishane (Engineering), played a role in this building.¹⁶ On the other hand, it was also argued that, Sarkis Balian was the architect of the building.¹⁷ It was one of the most impressive buildings in the Historical Peninsula.¹⁸ This symmetric monumental building was located on the axis of the gate. This axis prolonged into the square as we have seen (Figure 4.31: 4.32).

¹⁵ Cengiz Can, 1994, “Harbiye Nezareti Binası”, p.551 A

¹⁶ There are two different ideas about the role of Ali Paşa. For Cengiz Can, he was employed in the construction of the building, Can, 1994, p.551A. According to Ergin, he is the architect of the building, Ergin, 1995, p.880.

¹⁷ Tuğlacı, 1990, p.507.

¹⁸ Cengiz Can, 1994, p.551 A.

After the reorganization of the area in 1860s, not only the Seraskerlik Tower but also the new gate and other buildings became visible in the panorama of the Historical Peninsula from the Golden Horn (Figure, 4.51).



Figure 4.51: View From The Golden Horn

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko)

NOTE: The Fire Tower of Seraskerlik, The New Gate of Seraskerlik and Ministry of War are dominating the panorama of the Historical Peninsula from the Golden Horn.

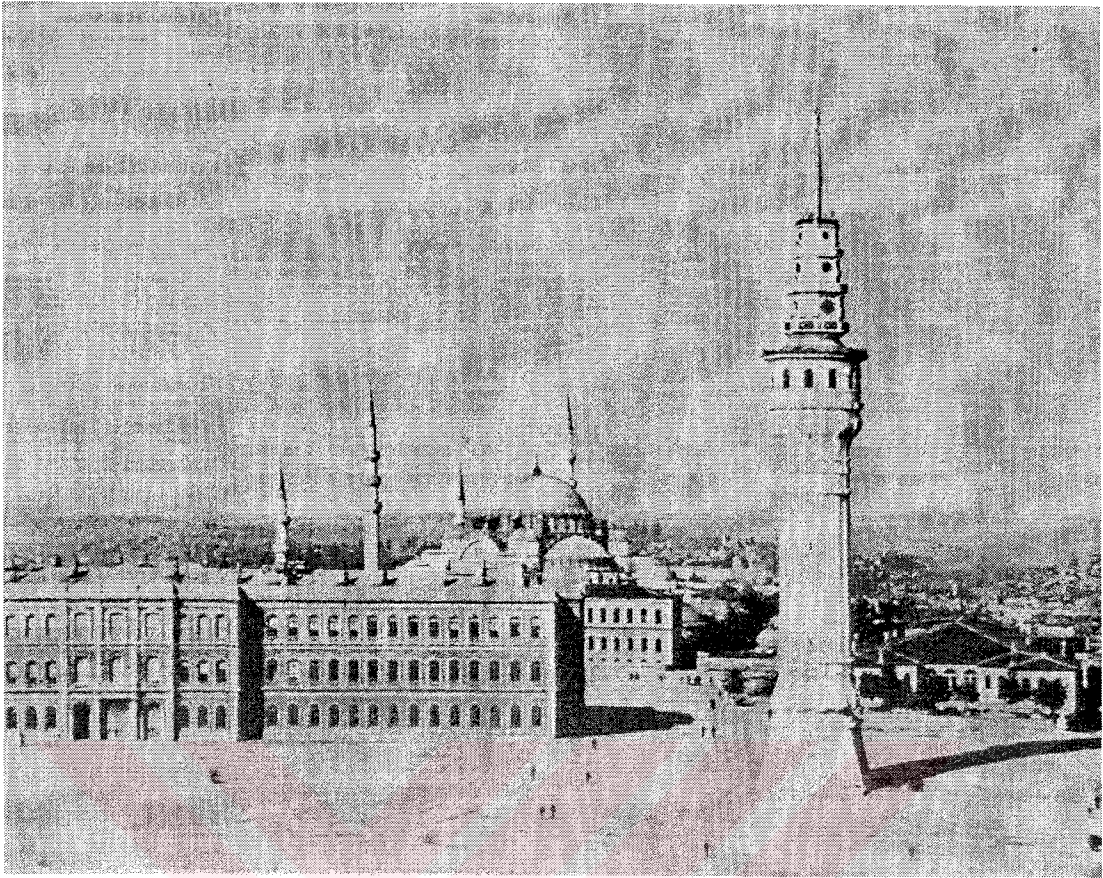


Figure 4.52: Ministry of War, photograph by Gülmez Freres

SOURCE: Published in Engin Özendes, 1999, *Osmanlı'nın Son Başkenti İstanbul: Geçmişten Fotoğraflar*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları).

NOTE: Süleymaniye Barracks are behind the Ministry of War.

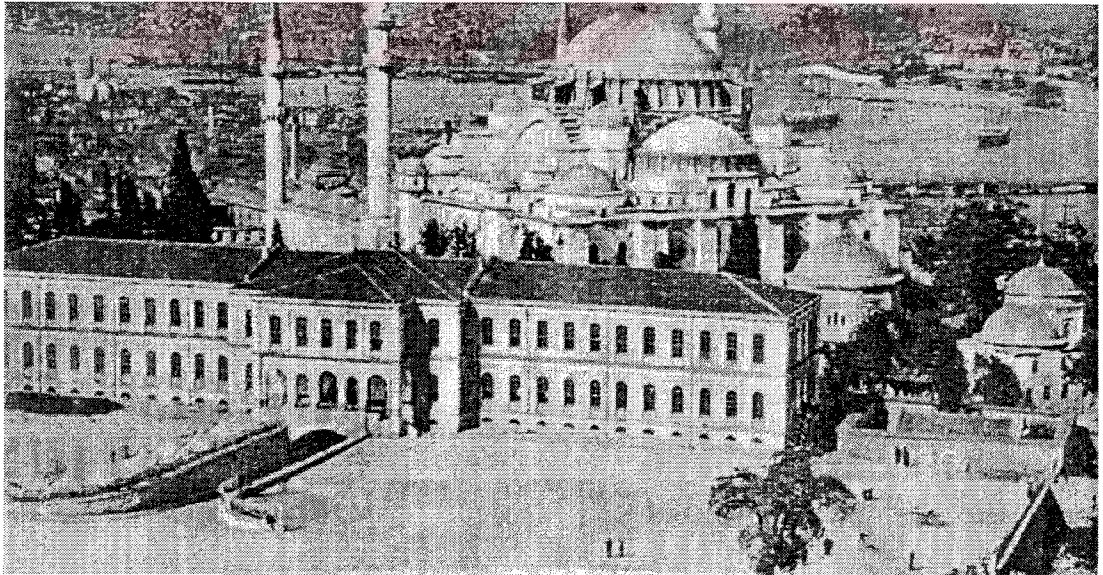


Figure 4.53: Süleymaniye Barracks, photograph by Berggren.

SOURCE: *Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları*, 2000, (İstanbul: Koç Bank)

NOTE: The ramp is going through the street below.



Figure 4.54: The remaining ramp of the Süleymaniye Barracks today.
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.55: The Gate of Seraskerlik from the North (The Gate from the outside of the Ramp of Süleymaniye Barracks).
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya

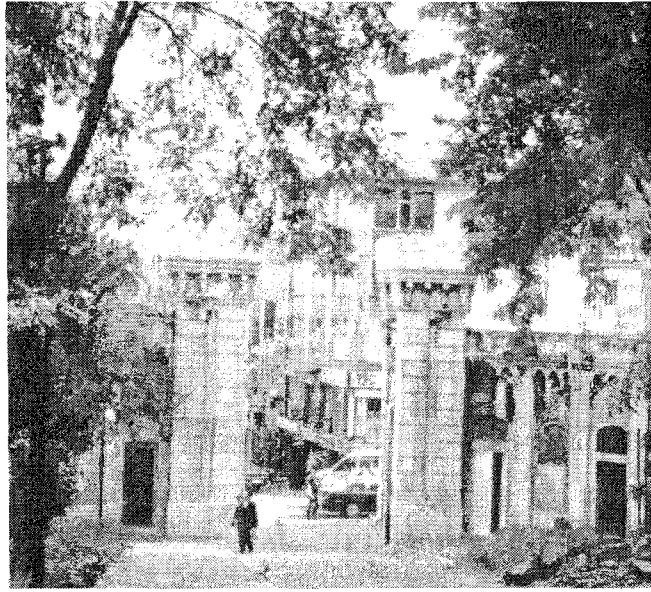


Figure 4.56: The Gate of Seraskerlik from the East (Mercan Gate, from inside).
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.57: The Gate of Seraskerlik from the East (Mercan Gate, from outside).
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya
 NOTE: The shops, which were built during the constructions of the gates, can be seen.



Figure 4.58: The Gate of Seraskerlik from the West (from outside).
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya



Figure 4.59: The Gate of Seraskerlik from the West (from inside).
 SOURCE: Photograph by N. G. Yeşilkaya

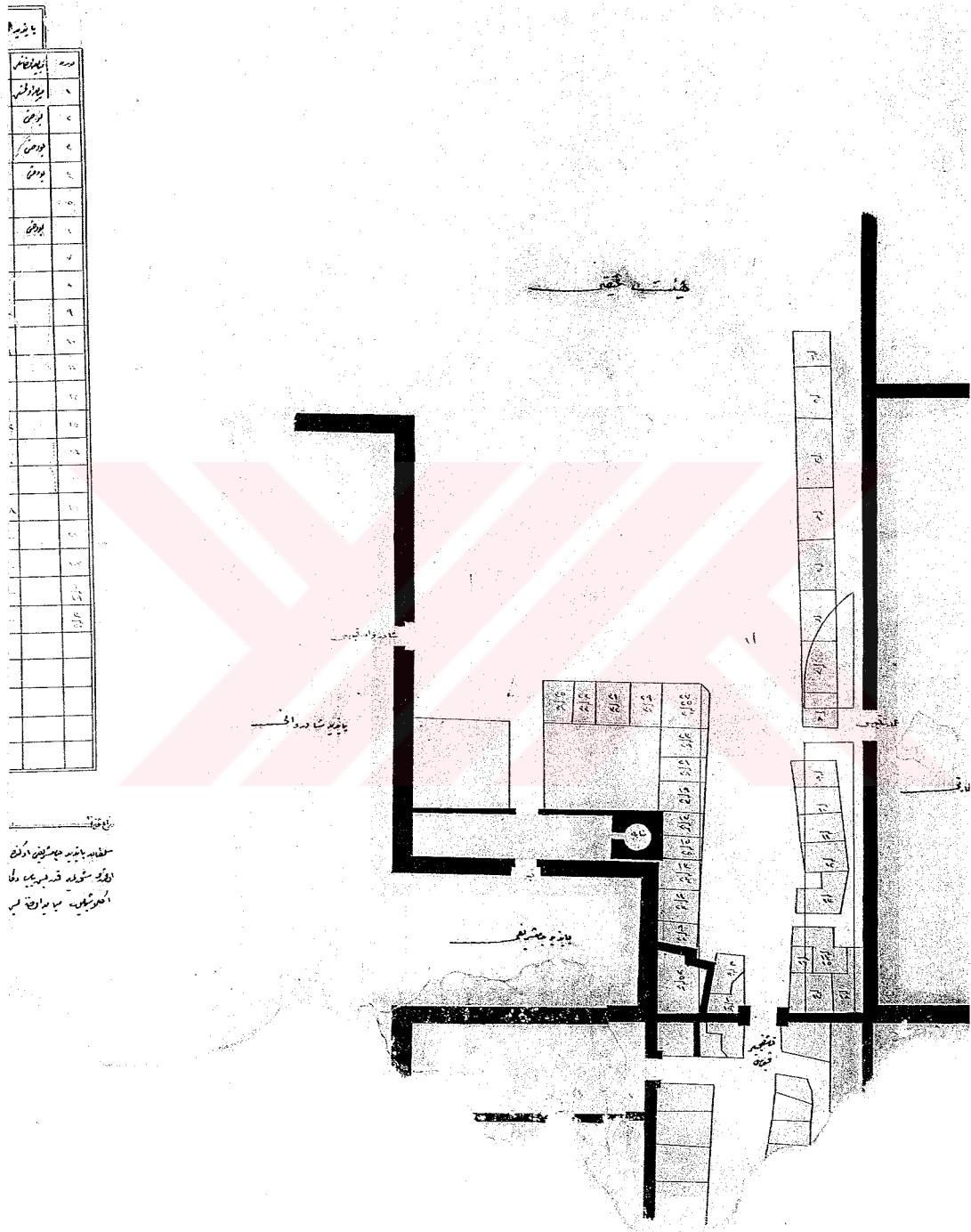


Figure 4.60: Beyazıt Mosque and the shops, the existing situation in 1877 (1293).
 SOURCE: Atatürk Kitaplığı, No:352.961 BEY 1293

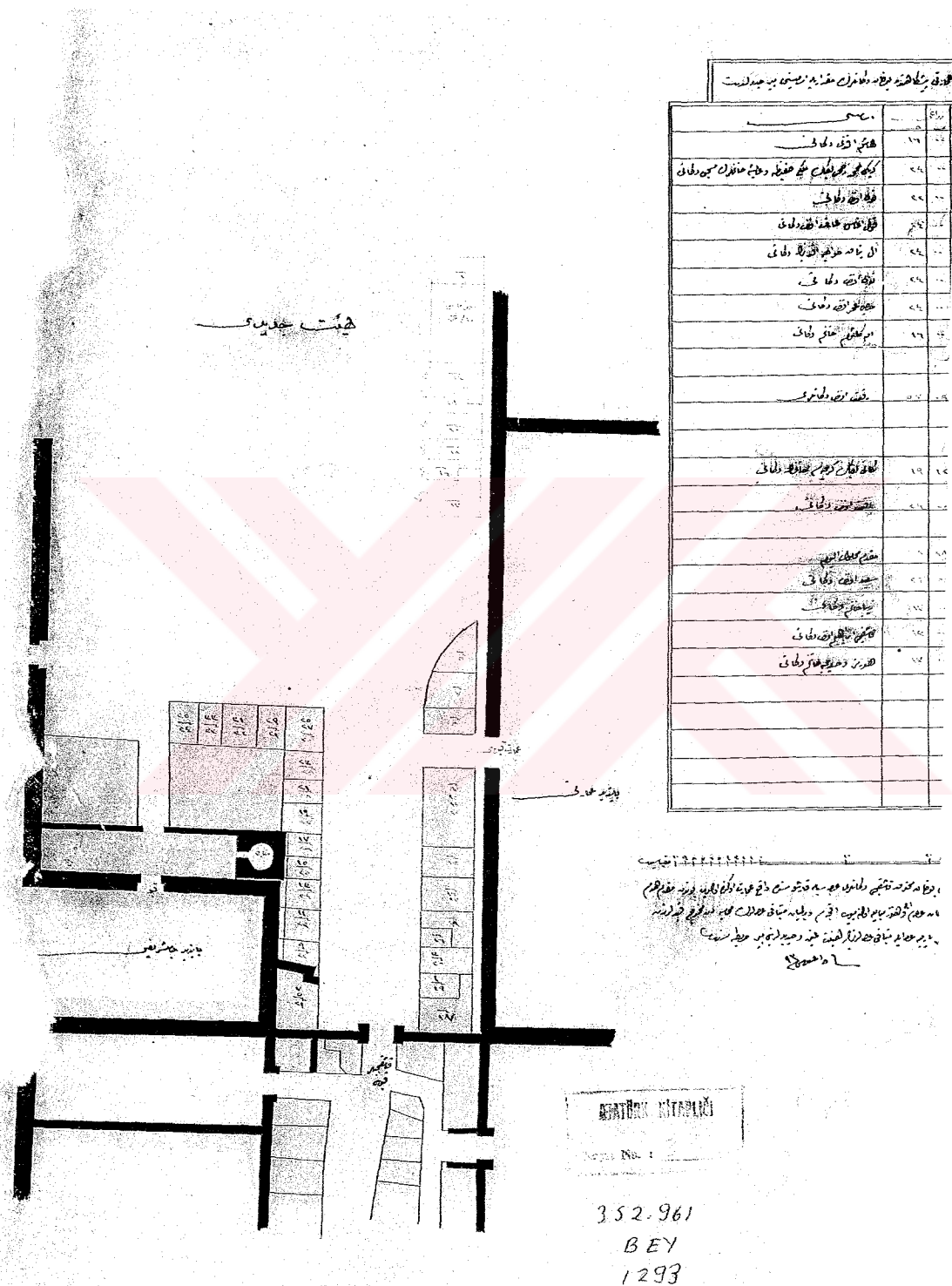


Figure 4.61: Beyazıt Mosque and the shops, the new proposal in 1877 (1293).
SOURCE: Atatürk Kitaplığı, No:352.961 BEY 1293



Figure 4.62: The re-organisation of the Mercan Area, 24 August 1911 (11 Ağustos 1327).
SOURCE: Atatürk Kitaplığı, No:352.961 EMI

To summarise, we have seen that, the setting of a new order after the abolishment of the Corps of Janissaries resulted in the re-configuration of urban spaces, finalised in 1860s.

Beyazıt Meydanı was widened by demolishing nearby coffeehouses, barbershops on the northern part of the exterior courtyard and crowned by the Seraskerlik Gate. Hence, it became a stage for imperial and military ceremonies and for crowd gatherings, as we shall see in the next chapter. The relation of the people with Seraskerlik was not limited to special occasions such as military demonstrations of trainings or royal wedding ceremonies. In the daily life of the city, Seraskerlik was a place where people met one another. Citizens of 19th century İstanbul had several reasons to visit Seraskerlik. The issues of political events and everyday life, briefly transformation of public life, will be investigated in the next chapter.



Figure 4.63: Beyazıt Meydanı (1950s)

SOURCE: *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması*, 1987, (İstanbul: İBŞB)

NOTE: Fuad Paşa Konağı, the new gate of Seraskerlik, the main building behind the gate (located on the symmetry axis of the gate) and Misafirhane-i Askeriye can be seen together in this picture.

CHAPTER 5.

BEYAZIT MEYDANI : AS A STAGE OF TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

In this chapter, the change in the use of the Beyazıt Area in the nineteenth century will be focused upon. By the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı into Seraskerlik Meydanı, the heart of the city was not only the place of traditional functions such as trade but it was also a Military Square. Moreover, the designed space of the military and the empire was immediately used by the citizens of İstanbul. New activities of emerging public life came into being at Beyazıt during the nineteenth century. Beyazıt became a favourite meeting place of intellectuals in coffeehouses, a popular place for the new Ramadan entertainments and a famous place of strolling for women. A growing sensitivity to the shared public spaces was being aroused in the newspapers generally under the title of “city letters” and Beyazıt was one of the most popular subjects.

5.1.Beyazıt As A Space Of Trade

The traditional function of Beyazıt as a busy trade centre created a continuous lively atmosphere. It is clear that trade is a permanent and very influential activity in Beyazıt. No other function could replace it. On the contrary, trade has the capacity to develop in Beyazıt.¹ The historical role of Beyazıt as a trade centre is due to the Grand Bazaar and caravansaries around, i.e. the biggest trade centre of its micro and also macro geography.

¹ In 1960s Beyazıt square had new spatial organizations around. After then the area became “Bit Pazarı” (Second Hand Bazaar) in 1970s and today “Rus Pazarı” (Russian Bazaar) is settling each weekend at Beyazıt.

One can reach Beyazıt from the Port by following Uzunçarşı Sokak, the ancient trade street of the Peninsula. One of the gates of the Grand Bazaar, named as Beyazıt Gate, is directly leading to the Beyazıt Külliye. Hence, there was a short cut from the Grand Bazaar. For instance, during the reign of Grand Vizier Fuat Paşa, high officials (*kapı ricali*) were passing through the Grand Bazaar after their visit to Nuruosmaniye, and they were arriving at Beyazıt using this short cut.²

Sahaflar directly connected the courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque to the Grand Bazaar. According to Genç and Mazak, Çadırcılar Sokak, the street between the Grand Bazaar and Beyazıt Külliye, was also covered and it was part of the Grand Bazaar till the Earthquake in 1894. After the Earthquake, the roof of the Çadırcılar Sokak was removed.³ Therefore, the Grand Bazaar was almost attached to the Beyazıt Külliyesi. There was an unmediated connection between them. Consequently the active life of the Bazaar was connected to the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque.

In some parts of Beyazıt, trade activity was specialised, like paper stores and ink sellers or swords and arrow makers were located together. It is known that butchers were located at the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque in the eighteenth century.⁴ At Beyazıt, there was a wide range of different goods from chicken to sword. Besides shopping stores, there were also manufacturers. The area of Beyazıt must have been quite a lively space with different materials and sounds. As Sermet Muhtar Alus noted, there were also many street peddler at Beyazıt, like

² Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, 2001, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, (Transcription Ali Şükrü Çoruk), (İstanbul: Kitabevi), p.219.

³ Mehmet Genç and Mehmet Mazak, İstanbul Depremleri (İstanbul: İğdaş) quoted in “Deprem Bizi Göçertecek mi? Could an Earthquake Destroy the Bazaar?”, *The Grand Bazaar Magazine Kapalı Çarşı*, 2002, pp.32-37.

⁴ Eyice, p.47.

ice cream sellers in the summer, *muhallebi* sellers in the winter, postcard sellers, toy sellers, storytellers, beggars etc.⁵

We can see what kind of shops were located at Beyazıt, from Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's Map. Around the mosque there were, copper stores (*nuhas dükkanları*), dealers of ready-made goods (*oturakçı*), sword makers (*kılıççılar*), engravers (*hakkâklar*), seller of beeswax (*bal mumcu*), seller of arrows (*okçu*), clothes cleaner (*lekeci*), seller of chicken (*tavukçu*), coffeehouses with live music and coffeehouses (*kahve ve saz, kahvehaneler*) and shavers (*usturacı*). One of the gates of Beyazıt Mosque was named *Kaşıkçılar* (Spoon sellers). Across that gate, spoon sellers were located. They were producing different types of spoons of very high quality from different materials such as bone, wood, coral, etc.⁶

After the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, as mentioned in Chapter 4, one row of building along the northern part of the *harîm* was removed. These buildings included coffeehouses, barbershops which were considered as insecure social spaces.⁷ Besides them clothe cleaners (*lekeci*) and chicken sellers were removed as we saw in the gravure of Bartlett.

The copper stores were located on the northeastern part of the *harîm*. They remained there till 1860s. In 1860s, after the street was widened, copper stores⁸ were moved to the opposite side of the street, on a lower level of the wall of Seraskerlik.

⁵ Sermet Muhtar Alus, 1994, *İstanbul Yazıları*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları no:15), pp.263-265.

⁶ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.245.

⁷ as we quoted from Es'ad Efendi, see Chapter 4.

⁸ When the area was excavated in the early period of Republic for the building of the Oval Pool, the pedestrian way of Bakırcılar shops and their well were found 4 meters below, see Ergin, 1996, p. 110.

The group of buildings around *Buğdaycılar* and *Kökçüler* Gates on the south, was removed in 1869, to open a wide passage to the Beyazıt Meydanı. Thus wheat sellers (*buğdaycı*), sellers of beeswax, sellers of arrows and sword makers were removed. The other buildings changed their functions without being removed. Engravers (*hakkâklar*), were replaced by *sahaflar* (second hand book stores) since printed books became widespread.⁹

The first pharmacy in the Historical Peninsula was opened in Beyazıt as well. Vak'a nüvis Lûtfî Efendi recorded that it was difficult for people in İstanbul to reach pharmacies in Galata in case of emergency. Thus, the Sultan gave permission for doctors to take turns during the night at a pharmacy in Beyazıt, the well connected central district. This first pharmacy was across Simkeşhane.¹⁰ We can also read the name of pharmacies (*ispençiyar*) from the map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan. Around the Kökçüler Kapısı (The Gate of Herbalists) as indicated by its name, herbalists were located. They were producing ointments (*merhem*) and medicines.¹¹

The stationery shops selling paper, pen-cases and ink stores (*kağıtçı*, *divitçi* and *mürekkkepçi*), were located on the left side of the Old Palace. It was a custom that, stores were usually defining themselves in the street by hanging different images or materials like a model of a ship or a lantern in front of their door. Paper stores at Beyazıt were using different signs for their stores as well.¹² These signs and images were useful tools to define their address for costumers in a city, without street names and numbers. Paper stores were like coffeehouses and barbershops, where people used to spend their leisure time. As we have mentioned in the previous chapter, the stores of ink sellers were around the gate, which was named after them -

⁹ Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Asırlar Boyunca İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet), p.90, quoted in Kuban and Kahya, 1987, p.41.

¹⁰ Lûtfî Efendi, p.1193.

¹¹ For Kökçüler, see Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.254.

¹² Balıkhane Nazır Ali Rıza Bey, p.253.

Mürekkepçiler Kapısı (The Gate of Ink Sellers). Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey¹³ noted that there were 40 ink sellers, who were holder of a privilege (*gedikli*) and producer of black ink made of burned linseed oil (*bezir isi mürekkebi*) and red (*sürh*) ink. We can also follow from the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan that, there were sellers of colored cotton handkerchief (*tülbendci*), headkerchief (*yemenici*) and seller of cookies and desserts (*kurabiyeci* and *güllabici*) around that area. Like the gates of Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler, Mürekkepçiler Gate was also removed. Vakanüvis Lütfi Efendi recorded the loss of Mürekkepçiler gate with a sad tone, as we have noted in the previous chapter.

The wide variety of trade entered even the interior courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque, as it can be seen from the exhibitions of Ramadan. The interior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was famous for an exhibition installed there every Ramadan. Besides the Beyazıt Mosque, the second address of this special exhibition of Ramadan was Fatih Mosque. It is not clear yet, when the exhibition at the Beyazıt Mosque started. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey discussed that it must have started in the 18th century.¹⁴ However it is generally accepted that, the brightest era of the exhibitions was in the 19th century. In the exhibition of Beyazıt, new published books¹⁵, special books (*kütüb-i nefise*), valuable antiques, writings of calligraphers (*hattats*), and china from China, carpets from Iran¹⁶ were sold. These materials are indicative of the great variety and wealth. The big crowds of people were shopping during the exhibition and strolling in Beyazıt towards Şehzadebaşı and Direklerarası. Even foreigners from Beyoğlu, were coming to visit this exhibition.¹⁷ Consequently,

¹³ Balıkhane Nazır Ali Rıza Bey, p.245.

¹⁴ Balıkhane Nazır Ali Rıza Bey, p.220.

¹⁵ For instance, Basîretçi Ali Efendi bought a book in this exhibition in the 1290* Ramadan, Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.194.

¹⁶ For the shopping materials in these exhibitions, see Balıkhane Nazır Ali Rıza Bey, p.219-220; Alus, 1994, pp. 133-135; Koçu, 2235-2239.

¹⁷ Balıkhane Nazır Ali Rıza Bey, p.221.

Beyazıt Mosque was not only a space for religious practise, but also for other activities, such as meeting, shopping, etc.

5.2.Beyazıt As A Space Of Representation Of the Empire

There were several occasions to celebrate the empire and the new army. Among them we can briefly mention imperial and religious but also military ceremonies such as the *cuma selamlığı* (friday processions), elaborate religious parades (*sürre alayı*- a special procession of gifts donated by the Sultan and sent to Mecca before the Ramadan), imperial wedding ceremonies, celebrations of newborn members of the dynasty and so on.

In this section, the existence of power in public space, apparent most particularly in military reforms, and the relations of the people and the state in public spaces will be investigated. We will start with the military ceremonies, which are very meaningful because of the replacement of Janissary Corps by Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye. And then we will continue by focusing on occasions of meeting of state and its people.

5.2.1. The ceremonies of the empire and its new army and exposing of military trainings

After obtaining security in the city following the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, Sultan Mahmud II appeared frequently in the public and showed his army in the urban spaces. One of the first reasons of such public exhibition to reward persons and organisations who had supported reforms against janissaries. Because of their cooperation in the Vak'a i Hayriyye, Sultan Mahmud II rewarded students, *ulema*, the Grand Vizier and the Şeyhülislam with gifts. Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, the last Ağa of the janissaries, was the first commander of the new army. Sultan Mahmud II honoured Serasker Hüseyin Paşa and his soldiers by visiting the Seraskerlik. With an

escort of new army soldiers from Palace by having an Egyptian costume, he came through Divanyolu, and arrived to Seraskerlik.¹⁸ He offered daggers decorated with priceless jewels, to Hüseyin Paşa and İzzet Paşa and gave little presents to the soldiers. The soldiers of Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye repeated their military drills in honour of Sultan Mahmud II in that ceremony.

The Solak, the military escort of the Sultan were re-organised for imperial official ceremonies and Friday processions (*cuma selamlığı*).¹⁹ Appropriate uniforms for soldiers were also designed to have an army of noble appearance.²⁰ The use of the fez, like the soldiers of Serasker Hüsrev Paşa (the second *serasker* after Hüseyin Ağa), was prescribed²¹. The need for a music band (Figure 5.2), which would help to synchronise the exercises, was also mentioned.²² This band would also be used during ceremonies. The symbol of the Ottoman Empire (*Devlet-i Âliyye Nişanı*) was traditionally named as “*bayrak*” (flag). Since the words “*bayrak*” (flag) and “*bayrakdâr*” were used by janissaries before, a particular declaration announced the use of the word “*sancak*” (standard) instead of the word “*bayrak*”.²³ This standard was made up of moon and star in the middle to symbolize the empire.

Since the janissaries used to refuse to exercise (*talim*), it was important to show the training of the new army. According to a law about the new army (İcmâl-i Kanun-nâme-i Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye), soldiers had to join trainings

¹⁸ Lûtfî Efendi, p.109.

¹⁹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.141.

²⁰ Lûtfî Efendi, p.144, for the description of the uniforms, see Lûtfî Efendi, p.188.

²¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.188.

²² Lûtfî Efendi, p.144

²³ Lûtfî Efendi, p.177

and one of the places for military drills was Seraskerlik.²⁴ Serasker Hüsrev Paşa and Sultan Mahmud himself tried to give an order (*nizam*) to soldiers on modern training. The Russian Emperor Peter and his well-organized army were mentioned as examples of modern training to emphasize the importance of “*talim*”.²⁵ Success of trainings was also important for commanders who wished to rise in rank. For instance, the military drills of Hüsrev Paşa’s soldiers were found more successful than his colleague²⁶ and he became Serasker.²⁷

The military drills were also exhibited in open public spaces. Es’ad Efendi gave one of the examples of military training staged in Beyazıt.²⁸ The training started at Gül-hâne Meydânı by firing exercise (*top ve tüfeng endâhtı*). In order to “show their order to the citizens of the city” (*vâcibül-i’tinâyı şehir halkına tefhîm ü terğib*), they marched to the Seraskerlik in a parade. Their magnificent exercise was watched (*ta’allüm ü azmayışların temâşâ*) in front of the Seraskerlik. During this demonstration a man, who looked like a Bektaşî, was noticed and executed on the

²⁴“gerek kışlalarında ve Seray-ı Ser’askeri’de ve gerek kılâ’ ve karagol-hânelerde hem emr-i ehemmi-i muhâfazaya ihtimam ve hem boş durmayarak ta’allüme dahi iştigal-i tâmm eylemek...”. Es’ad Efendi, p.660

²⁵ “Rûsiyyelü’de Petro dedikleri ceneral, bin yüz üç senesinde” “askerini tanzîm ve imkân-ı dâru’t-ta’lîm edüp, giderek tanzîm-i asker maddesi sair Avrupa devletlerine sirayet ve cümlesi tertib ü icadesine dikkat etmekle, maslahat-ı mu’tenâ-bihâ-yı mezkur Devlet-i Osmaniyye’den me’huz iken nizâm-ı Avrupa nâmiyle şöhrat bulup...”. Es’ad Efendi, p.571

²⁶ Hüsrev Paşa’nın etdirdiği “Has dur! Rast dur! tabirleriyle olunan kaide-i diğer talimin salifü’l beyan ru’tyet ü temasından sonra bu suretin daha tiz hareket olarak...” Es’ad Efendi, p.777.

²⁷ Es’ad Efendi, Ibid.

²⁸ Es’ad Efendi, p.671.

spot (*derhâl idam olundu*).²⁹ From Seraskerlik they proceeded to the Palace “impressively” (*debdebe-i sâbika-i cihangirane*). During their parade, citizens of İstanbul saluted them with prayers.

It can be observed from the pictures of the Beyazıt Meydanı (Figure 5.5, 5.6, 5.7) that, the order of the urban space was reflected on the order of the soldiers during these military ceremonies. The axis of the Seraskerlik Gate was emphasized by the organisation of the soldiers.

Besides these ceremonies, a new ceremony, the *tasvir-i hümayun* (imperial picture) parade was established. Since Sultan Mahmud II ordered the hanging of a portrait of himself in offices, his picture was carried to the offices like a holy object during a parade.³⁰ In these ceremonies, Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye were also escorting the parade. Sultan Mahmud II not only ordered pictures of himself, but also ordered pictures of his new army. The representation of Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye in François Dubois’s picture (Figure, 5.1) also expressed the Sultan’s pride concerning his new army.³¹

²⁹ Bâb-ı Ser’askerî’ye azimet-i hümayunda Kü-re-kçiler – kapusu civarında Bektaşî kılıklı bir harîf, nazar-ı Şahane’ye tesadüf etmekle derhâl idam olundu. Es’ad Efendi, p.671. (The name of the Kürekçiler must be Kökçüler, there might be a transcription mistake, N.G.Y)

³⁰ Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, 2002, *Oryantalistlerin İstanbulu*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları), p.86-88.

³¹ For a comment on this picture see Germaner and İnankur, p.145.

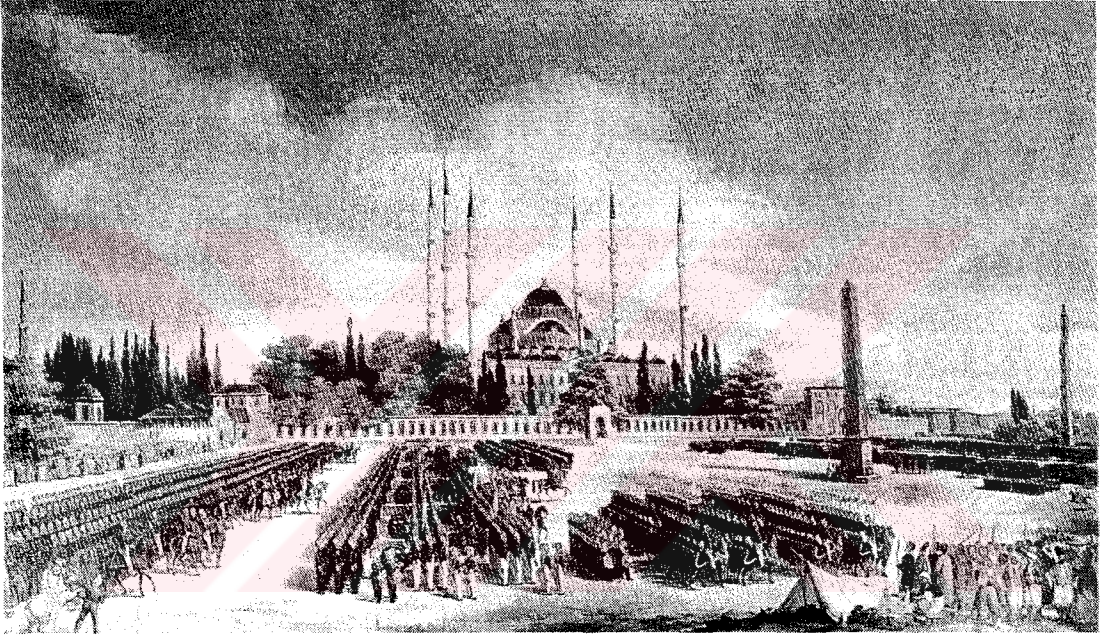


Figure 5.1: In a military parade Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye were in the Sultan Ahmet, a picture by François Dubois.

SOURCE: Dolmabahçe Palace, Published in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol. 1, p.338.



Figure 5.2: Müzika-i Hümayun (Imperial Band), A detail from a picture by François Dubois

SOURCE: Published in Necdet Sakaoğlu and Nuri Akbayan, 1999, *Binbir Gün Binbir Gece Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğlence Yaşamı*, (İstanbul: DenizBank)

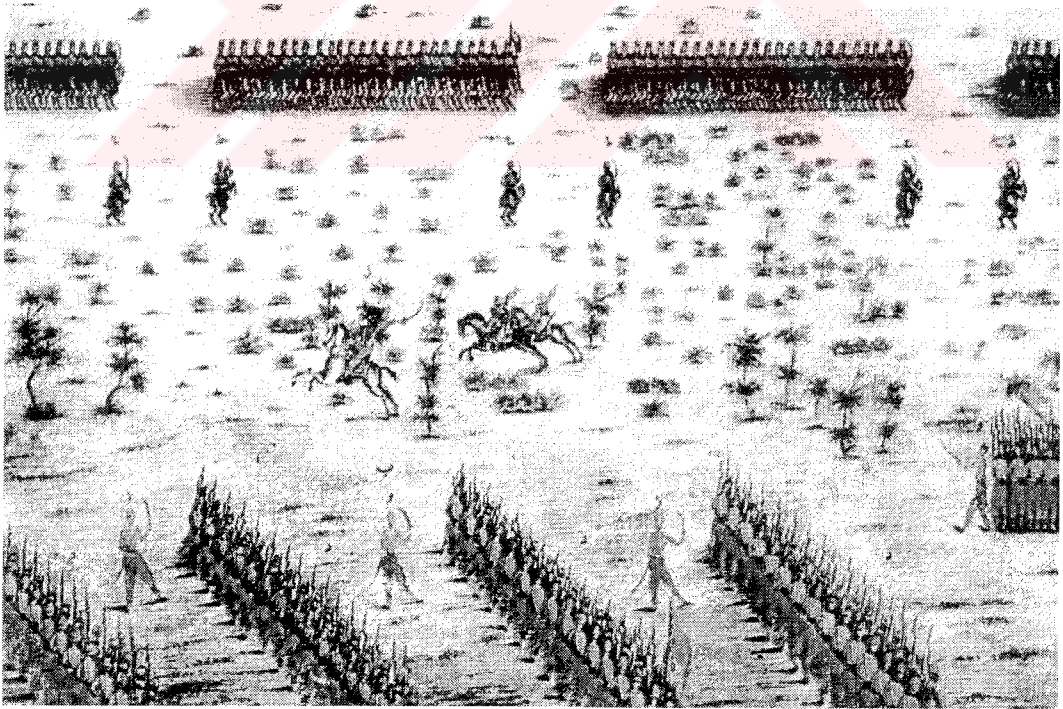


Figure 5.3: Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye

SOURCE: Published in Tülay Dursun, 1998, *Minyatür ve Gravürlerle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (İstanbul: Tarihi Araştırmalar ve Dokümantasyon Merkezleri Kurma ve Geliştirme Vakfı), p.185.

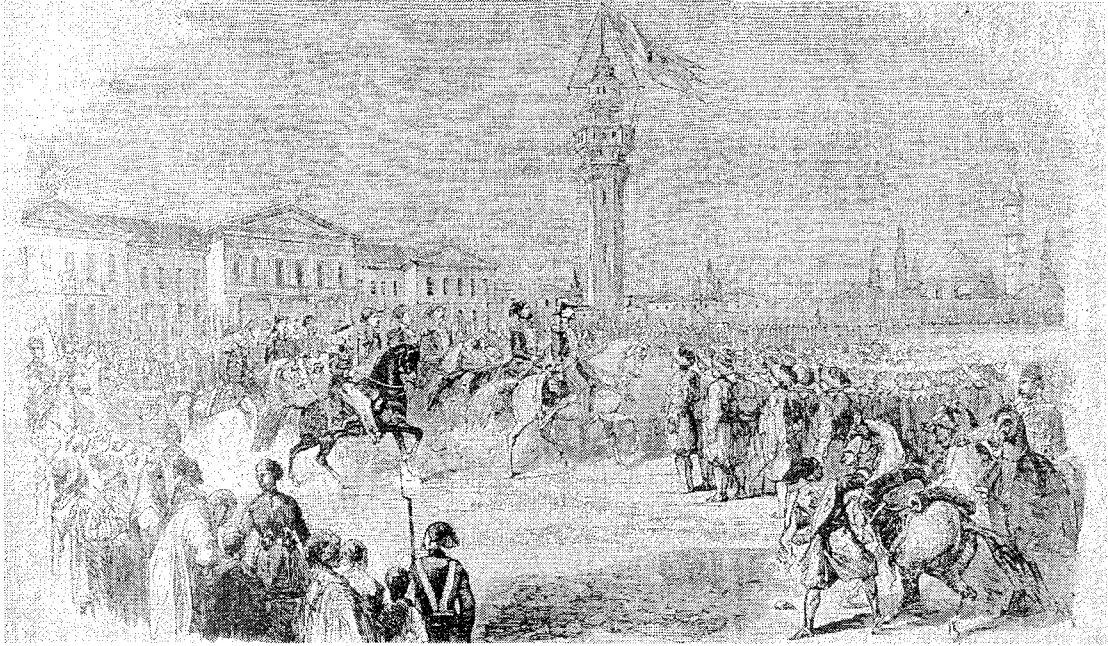


Figure 5.4: A military ceremony in Seraskerlik during the Crimean War

SOURCE: 14 January 1854, *Illustrierte Zeitung*, published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK).

NOTE: The old building of Seraskerlik with a sun like icon on its top can be seen.

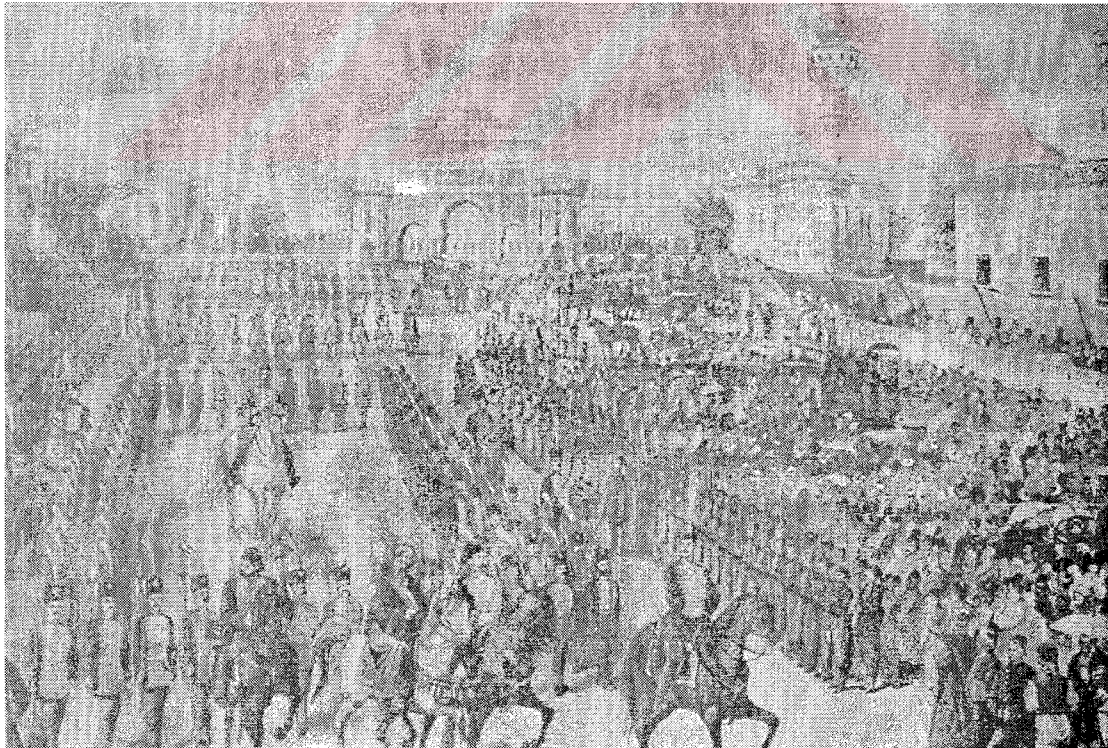


Figure 5.5: Sultan Abdülhamit II in Beyazıt Meydanı after his accession

SOURCE: October, 1876, *Illustrazione Italiana*, published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK)



Figure 5.6: A Military ceremony in front of the Ministry of War

SOURCE: 1912, *Resimli Kitap*, No:44, published in Mustafa Cezar, 2002, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul*, (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı Yayını)



Figure 5.7: Soldiers in Military Trainings in the Area of Seraskerlik (Circa 1870s)

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.49.



Figure 5.8: Soldiers in Front of the Gate of Seraskerlik, 1890, photograph by M. Iranian

SOURCE: Published in Engin Özendes, 1999, *Osmanlı'nın Son Başkenti İstanbul Geçmişten Fotoğraflar*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları).



Figure 5.9: Mahmud Şevket Paşa in a Military Ceremony in front of the Ministry of War.

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.49.

5.2.2.Executions of Janissaries, their supporters and others

Ağa Kapısı was one of the places, where the executions of criminals were carried out. The tradition of public execution in front of the centre of the military power was preserved after the abolishment of the corps of the janissaries. The stage for executions was no longer Ağa Kapısı but Seraskerlik. Besides military training demonstrations, the area was also used for executions in public.

In the months following the Vak'a i Hayriyye, many people were executed, who were suspected to have connections with janissaries, in Es'ad Efendi's term "the dogs of Et Meydanı" (*Et Meydanı itleri*).³² Subsequent to Vak'a-i Hayriyye, approximately thousands of executions were sentenced by Hüsrev Paşa, Mehmet İzzet Paşa and Bostancıbaşı.³³ For about ten years between the 1827-1837, Serasker Hüsrev Paşa oppressed the city through his brutal ruling. Many suspects were executed on the spot and corpses displayed in front of the Serasker Gate (*Serasker Kapusu pişgâhı*).³⁴ Parmakkapı in Beyazıt was also a common place, which was frequently used for executions in public.³⁵

In 1876 (1292), a significant military figure, Reşit Paşa was killed. His murderer was arrested without delay and immediately questioned. The following

³² Es'ad Efendi, p.645

³³ Goodwin, p.230.

³⁴ For instance see Es'ad Efendi, p.645

³⁵ For examples of different execution cases around Bayezid Parmakkapı, see Lûtfî Efendi, p.893 and Cevdet Paşa, p.2784.

morning he was handed in Beyazıt.³⁶ The executions in Beyazıt continued during the 20th century as well.³⁷

5.2.3. Visits of Sultan at Beyazıt

After the abolishment of the corps of the janissaries, it was important for the Sultan to present himself to his people on different occasions, in order to be seen by people. Besides the military ceremonies and trainings summarised above, *cuma selamlığı* (friday processions) constituted occasions for visits to the city. Moreover his visits to mosques during Ramadan were important. His visits were carried out according to a detailed protocol. As the protector of the security in the city, Serasker told the *kadı* about the regulations that had to be announced and taken into consideration during the Ramadan. For instance in a *tezkiye* (reminder)³⁸ dated 1834, Serasker Hüsrev Paşa ordered that people should abide by the devised clothing regulations to their classes.³⁹ They should never carry a sword. The façades of the houses and the shops had to be kept clean and trash must be removed in front of the buildings. People were also warned that they did not need to change their route because the Sultan was visiting there. However they should not stare at him. What they needed to do was to wait for the Sultan to pass while holding their arms in front of themselves and looking at the ground. After he passed, they had to keep on walking respectfully. Following the Sultan or crowding in front of the protocol was also forbidden. They were only allowed to give their petitions on Friday processions.

³⁶ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.504.

³⁷ For instance Uçuk witnessed one of the executions during the occupation of Istanbul before the National Independence War, see, Cahid Uçuk, 1995, *Bir İmparatorluk Çökerken: Anılar*. (İstanbul:YKY), p.332.

³⁸ See an example quoted in Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.195-198.

³⁹ For another example of announcement about the clothes according to each classes, See a document published by Ahmed Refik, 1988, *Onüçüncü Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1786-1882)*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi), p. 11(Document 3.10).

To submit their petitions they had to wait for the officials who collected their petitions. It was also announced that the *imam* and the *muhtar* of the neighbourhood would be punished with the person who did not follow the regulations.

During Ramadan, after the proclamation of Tanzimat such warnings were regularly published in *Takvîm-i Vekayi*.⁴⁰ Beyazıt and Şehzadebaşı, the most crowded districts of the city, were particularly mentioned in such warnings.⁴¹ It was stated that, sitting in the coffee houses on the way to Beyazıt and Şehzadebaşı and also in the coffee houses particularly in Beyazıt and Şehzadebaşı was forbidden since the Sultan would visit mosques. Carriages were not allowed to stop at Beyazıt and Şehzadebaşı and they had to move around.

Sultan Mahmud II used to honour his statesmen in their offices. In Ramadan 1834, he visited the Grand Vizier in Babıâli, the Şeyhülislam in Bâb-ı Fetva, the Serasker Hüsrev Paşa at Bâb-ı Seraskerî and other statesmen for evening meals.⁴² Bâb-ı Seraskerî was always an important point which the Sultan visited and where he made public appearance.⁴³ In Ramadan 1835 he came to Bâb-ı Seraskerî to examine the Seraskerî and to have evening meal.⁴⁴ After the meal, he went to Beyazıt Mosque for the evening prayer (*teravîh*).

Sultan Mahmud II's visits of Beyazıt were not limited to official ones. On the contrary Sultan Mahmud II's timber pavilion (Figure, 5.10: 5.11 also in Chapter 3 Figure, 3.2: 3.3: 3.4) between the Beyazıt Mosque and *imaret* reflects his personal interest for that area. According to Moltke, Sultan Mahmud II wished to visit Beyazıt

⁴⁰ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.200, footnote: 402.

⁴¹ Quoted in Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.198-199.

⁴² Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.219.

⁴³ For an example of visiting Bâb-ı Seraskerî see Lûtfî Efendi, p.1271.

⁴⁴ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.219.

Mosque for a last time, before he died.⁴⁵ It was common for the upper classes of İstanbul to visit the paper stores and tobacco stores in Beyazıt, between the two prayers (*namaz*) during the daytime.⁴⁶ In that kind of stores people could sit and spend some time. Sultan Mahmud II used to visit a tobacco store in Beyazıt and watch people passing by.⁴⁷ He was also visiting the mosques and listened to *hafızs* (who recited the Koran) and to *vaizs* (preachers). Sometimes he was disguising himself in the clothes of a *kâtip* (clerk).⁴⁸



Figure 5.10: Imperial Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II next to the Beyazıt Mosque

SOURCE: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 1987, *Türk Evi Osmanlı Dönemi: Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, (İstanbul: Türkiye- Anıt –Çevre- Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı), vol.II, p.230.

⁴⁵ Moltke claimed that Sultan Mahmud II wished to be carried there before he died, see Moltke, p.284.

⁴⁶ Abdülaziz Bey, 2000, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, (Kâzım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay, eds.), (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), p.256-7.

⁴⁷ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.219 and Abdülaziz Bey 2000 (1995), p.257. According to Abdülaziz Bey this store was under the building of Darü'l Fünun.

⁴⁸ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.219.



Figure 5.11: Imperial Pavilion of Sultan Mahmud II next to the Beyazıt Mosque

SOURCE: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 1987, *Türk Evi Osmanlı Dönemi: Turkish Houses Ottoman Period*, (İstanbul: Türkiye- Anıt -Çevre- Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı), vol.II, p.230.

5.2.4.Royal Wedding Ceremonies

In Ottoman Empire, the births (*velâdet*) of princes and sultans, the circumcision of princes (*hıtan*) and the marriages of the Sultan's daughters and sisters were celebrated by royal ceremonies (*sûr-ı hümayun*). Sultan Mahmud II, the father of almost 40 children, followed the tradition of these celebrations.⁴⁹ By celebrating the anniversary of his ascendance to the throne,⁵⁰ he also created another ceremony like the imperial parade for his portrait (*tasvir-i hümayun*).

⁴⁹ Necdet Sakaoğlu and Nuri Akbayer, 1999, *Binbir Gün Binbir Gece Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğlence Yaşamı*, (İstanbul: DenizBank), p.75.

⁵⁰ Sakaoğlu and Akbayer, 1999, Ibid.

Here, we will concentrate on those occasions in which the Serasker Gate and the Beyazıt Meydanı were used for the wedding ceremonies of the imperial family. From the 15th century onwards, the Old Palace was the usual place for such royal ceremonies, since the family of the Sultan (*haremi hümayun*) was living there. It is a bit contradictory that, Seraskerlik was used again for the same purpose, although the area ceased to be the palace of the royal family anymore.

For instance, Seraskerlik became the scene of the royal wedding ceremonies, in the years 1834 and 1836. Sultan Mahmud's two daughters (Saliha Sultan and Mihrimah Sultan) got married with the servants (*köle*)⁵¹ of Serasker Hüsrev Paşa. As Moltke defined him, Hüsrev Paşa was the most powerful man in the empire after Sultan Mahmud II.⁵² He arranged imperial weddings to his servants. Therefore, Seraskerlik was used for the parade of the gifts from the groom to the Sultan (*nişan alayı*).

The wedding ceremony of Saliha Sultan and Halil Rıf'at Paşa took place on 24 May 1834 and lasted 13 days.⁵³ Besides the traditional way of writing "*şurnâme*" about the wedding ceremony, the occasion was also announced in the *Takvîm-i Vekâi*.⁵⁴ A "*tenbihnâme*" (warning) was also published in *Takvîm-i Vekâi*, not only to inform but also to warn people about the proceedings of the ceremony.

On the eve of the marriage ceremony, the "*nişan*" was brought to Bâb-ı Seraskerî. On the wedding day at 8 o'clock, the "*nişan*" was transported from Bâb-ı Seraskerî to Dolmabahçe Palace. On that route they crossed the Gate of

⁵¹ Moltke, p.34.

⁵² Moltke, p.32-33.

⁵³ Hatice Aynur, 1995, *Saliha Sultan'ın Düğününü Anlatan Şurnâmeler (1834)*, (Harvard University), p.9.

⁵⁴ Hatice Aynur, 1995,

Buğdaycılar,⁵⁵ which we mentioned in the previous chapter. Hundreds of soldiers, a band (*muzika takımı*), Serasker Paşa and Halil Rıfat Paşa accompanied the “*nişan*” on its route. At the two sides of the route, a big crowd of people cheerfully watched the parade.⁵⁶

A similar ceremony was repeated two years later, 7 April 1836, on the occasion of the marriage of Mihrimah Sultan and Sait Mehmet Paşa. An “elaborate and adorned” (*mükellef ve müzeyyen*) parade (*alay*) passed from the Seraskerlik through Divan Yolu.⁵⁷ Miss Pardoe witnessed, how the parade of the “*nişan*” came out of the Seraskerlik and passed the wide area and went through the narrow street. She also described the crowds that filled the square.⁵⁸ According to Lûtfî Efendi, such a crowd of people had not been seen before.⁵⁹

5.2.5.The space of publicity and public information

Hence, Beyazıt Meydanı was one of the main spaces to exhibit publicity in every realm of life, from imperial weddings and visits, parades, executions to small details of daily life.

As it was stated above, since the Seraskerlik took over the place of the Janissary Ağa, it was the Headquarter of the New Army. Therefore, Bâb-ı Seraskerî also carried the nucleus of the modern Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti). In the

⁵⁵Hatice Aynur, 1995, p.33

⁵⁶ Lûtfî Efendi, p.806.

⁵⁷ Lûtfî Efendi, p.869.

⁵⁸ Pardoe, p.72.

⁵⁹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.870.

protocol, Serasker had the same degree as the Şeyhülislam in 1835.⁶⁰ On the other hand, it was possible to see the Grand vizier as Serasker. After the proclamation of Tanzimat, Bâb-ı Seraskerî assumed a lower rank than Sadâret.⁶¹ In 1863, a department named Harbiye Nezareti was established under the direction of the Grandvizier and Serasker Keçecizade Fuad Paşa.⁶² As we have noted in the previous chapter, in 1879, Bâb-ı Seraskerî was re-named Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti) for a short period. But the old name of Seraskerlik came back until it was definitely replaced in 1908.⁶³ We can illustrate the power and symbolical meaning of the Harbiye Nezareti with an extreme case, during the coronation ceremony (*cülus*) of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in 1909. The coronation ceremony of the new Sultan was not performed in Topkapı Palace, as was the case for his predecessors. As a Sultan led by İttihat ve Terakki (a political party named Committee of Union and Progress) the coronation ceremony was carried out with in the premises of Harbiye Nezareti. Big crowds of people saluted his arrival from Sirkeci to Beyazıt.⁶⁴ Consequently the announcement of the new Sultan to the public was staged not in the traditional place but at Harbiye Nezareti. According to İlber Ortaylı this was an “unprecedented attempt, moreover a scandal”.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Abdülkadir Özcan, 1997, “Bâb-ı Seraskerî”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı), p.364.

⁶¹ Özcan, 1997, “Bâb-ı Seraskerî”, *Ibid.*.

⁶² Özcan, 1997, “Harbiye Nezareti”, p.119-120.

⁶³ Lewis, 1986, “Bâb-ı Seraskerî”, p.838.

⁶⁴ For the life and ruling period of Sultan Mehmed Reşad see, Necdet Sakaoğlu, “Sultan Mehmed V”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), Vol.5, pp.344-49.

⁶⁵ İlber Ortaylı, 29 Eylül 2002, “Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad”, *Milliyet*.

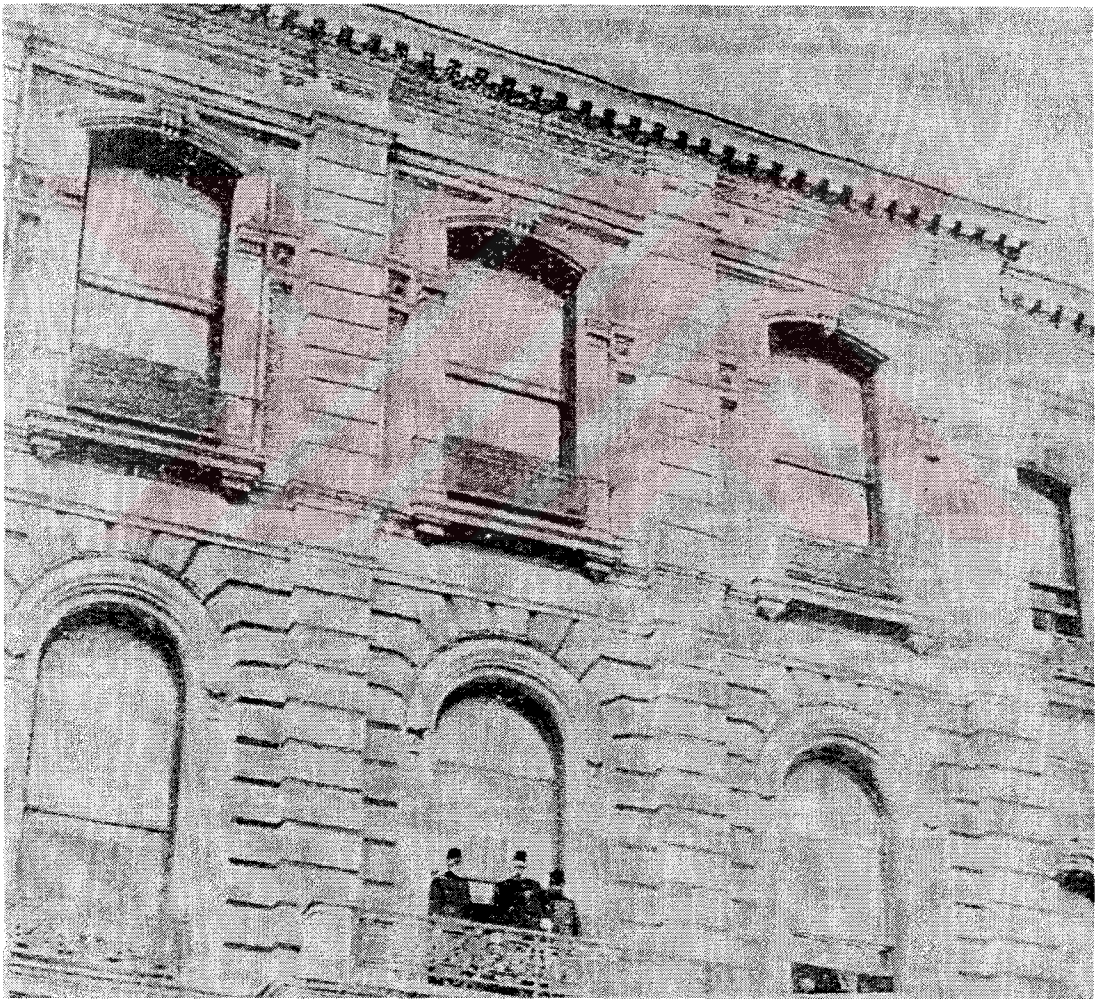


Figure 5.12: Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in The Balcony of the Ministry of War
SOURCE: Published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK).

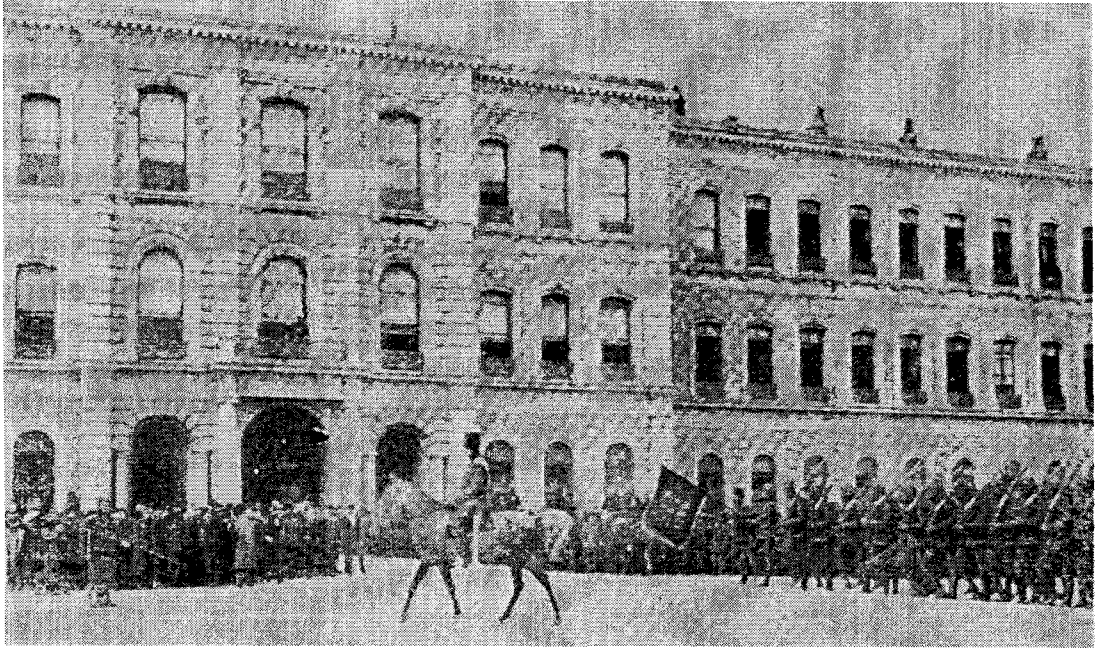


Figure 5.13: Sultan Mehmed V Reşad In The Ceremony Of The Standard.

SOURCE: September 12, 1912, *Resimli Kitap*, No:44, p.576, Published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul : YCK).

On the other hand, this was not the first “scandal” in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Before Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, Sultan Murad V’s “biat töreni” (ceremony of oath of allegiance) was held in the Seraskerlik in 1876. As a kind of military coup, this attempt shows the importance of Seraskerlik.⁶⁶

Besides the cases of Sultan’s ascending the throne at Harbiye Nezareti, another extreme situation can be seen during World War I. Enver Paşa, who wanted to divert public criticism and opposition, ordered the landing of a plane into the Beyazıt Meydanı (Figure, 5.14).⁶⁷ Mehmet Ali Bey, safely landed a plane in front of the Harbiye Nezareti, on April 14, 1914. The publishing of the news in all newspapers gave some breathing space to Enver Paşa.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Cezar, p. 512.

⁶⁷ Avni Özgürel, 1 December 2002, “Beyazıt ‘Havaalanı’ Oldu”, *Radikal*, p.

⁶⁸ Özgürel, Ibid.



Figure 5.14: Landing of a Plane in front of the Ministry of War

SOURCE: Avni Özgürel, 1 December 2002, "Beyazıt 'Havaalanı' Oldu", *Radikal*

Having shown how the significance of this newly established center of power in the Historical Peninsula had increased, we will now go back to early nineteenth century to focus on the meaning of this area for public life. The functions of the Seraskerlik were not restricted to military missions. We may summarize the other functions of the Serakerlik mainly under four headings. First, besides its military functions, Seraskerlik took over the Janissaries mission of fire extinguishing. Secondly, Seraskerlik was responsible for the security in the city. In 1845, an autonomous police force was established.⁶⁹ Thirdly, Seraskerlik had a role in the economic administration. İhtisap, a kind of tax, was the main income for the expenses of Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye. Prior to the establishment of the Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance), the İhtisap tax was collected by Seraskerlik.

⁶⁹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.1214; Lewis, p.80; Ergin, 1995, p.880-843.

The functions of İhtisap Nezareti were divided⁷⁰ between the Maliye Nezareti (as we have seen Fuad Paşa Konağı) and the Seraskerlik. Fourth, since the İhtisap Nezareti was replaced by Şehremaneti in 1854, it can be argued that the Seraskerlik also formed the nucleus of the Municipality besides the fire-extinguishing services, police force, modern Ministry of War, and Ministry of Finance. Furthermore, in 1838 (1254) the Hassa Dâr-ı Şûrâ was canceled and Bâb-ı Seraskerî took over its missions.⁷¹

Consequently, Seraskerlik and its surroundings i.e Beyazıt, was not only a military centre but also a chief official centre for the people of the empire. For instance, in the census of 1826, people had to show their “*esame*”(a kind of identity card) to the officials in Bâb-ı Seraskerî.⁷² The registrations of soldiers by “*esame* and *künye*” papers were also centralised in Bâb-ı Seraskerî.⁷³ Since the Seraskerlik was responsible for the security, Bekirağa Section (Bekirağa Bölüğü), inside the Seraskerlik, was a frightening prison and place of punishment. Moltke witnessed a punishment there during one of his usual visits to Hüsrev Paşa.⁷⁴

A foreign visitor, Albert Smith, who wanted information about city, complained that “no methods of giving publicity to anything” could be found.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, it can be observed that Seraskerlik was a place of publicity where public information could be reached, before the development of modern instruments of public information such as the press and other media. For instance, the list of people, who died during the epidemic of the plague, was announced in the

⁷⁰ Ergin, 1996, p.47.

⁷¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.927-8.

⁷² Es’ad Efendi, p.775.

⁷³ Lûtfî Efendi, p.186.

⁷⁴ Moltke, p.67

⁷⁵ Albert Smith, MDCCL, *A month at Constantinople*, (London: David Bogue),p.187.

Seraskerlik. Moltke read hospital reports announced on the gate of Seraskerlik and was able to calculate the death toll of the plaque in İstanbul.⁷⁶

In 1831, an imperial decree stipulated the publication of *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire. The office of *Takvim-i Vekâyi* was close to Bâb-ı Seraskerî. Said Bey, an official from Seraskerlik, was employed in this newspaper. Military news was collected from the Seraskerlik, while administrative news from Bâb-ı Âli.⁷⁷



Figure 5.15: A demonstration by the students of *medrese*.

SOURCE: 23 December, 1876, *Le Monde Illustré*, published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (İstanbul : YCK).

⁷⁶ Moltke, p.90

⁷⁷ Ergin, 1995, p.1575.



Figure 5.16: Infantry drilling and crowd in front of the Ministry of War, 1912.

SOURCE: *The Graphic*, 9 November, 1912. Published in Pars Tuğlacı, 1990, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, (Istanbul: YCK).

The role of Seraskerlik as a public centre for unity and solidarity can be witnessed in the 1870s. On December 10th 1875 (28 Teşrinisani 1291), a charitable foundation for the soldiers at war was announced in the newspaper *Basîret*. Materials such as coats, underclothes and socks were to be collected at Bâb-ı Seraskerî.⁷⁸ Two years later, it was also suggested by the same newspaper that the meat and the leather of the sacrificial animals should be collected in order to help the Ottoman soldiers.⁷⁹ Seraskerlik was also the place of the firing of cannons to signal the evening meal during the Ramadan.⁸⁰

The area was also used for funerals (Figure 5.17: 5.18), because of the proximity and prestige of Beyazıt Mosque. The opportunity to accommodate huge

⁷⁸ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.457

⁷⁹ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.646

⁸⁰ Alus, p. 133

crowds was allowing people to gather during the funerals of important figures of the Empire. Laz Hasan Efendi, a well-known scholar (*dersiam*) died in 1833 and a big crowd joined his funeral in the Beyazıt Mosque.⁸¹ Sometimes the funerals could turn into a mass demonstration. The gathering crowd of the funeral of the Grand Vizier Mahmud Şevket Paşa (who was murdered in 1913) symbolized the anger of the people against the assassination (Figure 5.17). Figure 5.18 also shows how the area could accommodate huge crowds.



Figure 5.17: The Funeral Of Mahmud Şevket Paşa In Beyazıt Meydanı, 1913.

SOURCE: The Archive of Süheyl Ünver in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, File No:489.

⁸¹ Lûtfî Efendi, p.810.



Figure 5.18: The funeral of Fevzi Çakmak in Beyazıt, 1950.
SOURCE: The Archive of Süheyl Ünver in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, File No: 133.

5.3. Beyazıt As A Meeting Space Of Intellectuals

The concentration of stationary shops reflects that Beyazıt was also a center for intellectuals and artists. Intellectuals gathered in the *medrese*, the library and the coffeehouses. The *imaret* was renovated as a library during the reign of Abdülhamit II in 1882.¹ In this district there was another library before the nineteenth century. In *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, Hafız Hüseyin noted that the library, which was joined to the Beyazıt Mosque, was established by Şeyhülislam Veliyüddin Efendi in 1736.² However İsmail E. Erünsal claims that a document about the Beyazıt Vakfı shows that, there was already a library in the sixteenth century.³ Modern education organisations such as Beyazıt Rüştıyesi⁴ and Darü'l Fünun were added to those centers in the 19th century. It is generally accepted that the tradition of coffeehouses around the Beyazıt Meydanı went back to the 16th century. The coffeehouse of Küllük was one of the best-known examples among them since Kanuni's period. Not only coffeehouses but also paper and tobacco stores were a kind of meeting place, where people used to spend their leisure time as we noted in the visits of Sultan Mahmud II.

¹ See Chapter 4.

² Ayvansaraylı Hafız Hüseyin, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 1987 [1768], (İstanbul: Tercüman), (Transcription, İhsan Terzi), p.36.

³ İsmail E. Erünsal, 1991, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi), p.33.

⁴ For the examples of notable names who were graduated in Beyazıt Rüştıyesi (High School) were: Menapırzade Nuri Bey, Şehremini Reşid Paşa, Şehremini Rıdvan Paşa, Governor Ahmed Muhtar Bey, Şehremini Celal Bey. See, Ergin, 1996, pages: 97, 150, 171, 402, 460.



Figure 5.19: Paper Stores at Beyazıt

SOURCE: The Archive of Süheyl Ünver in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, File No:489.

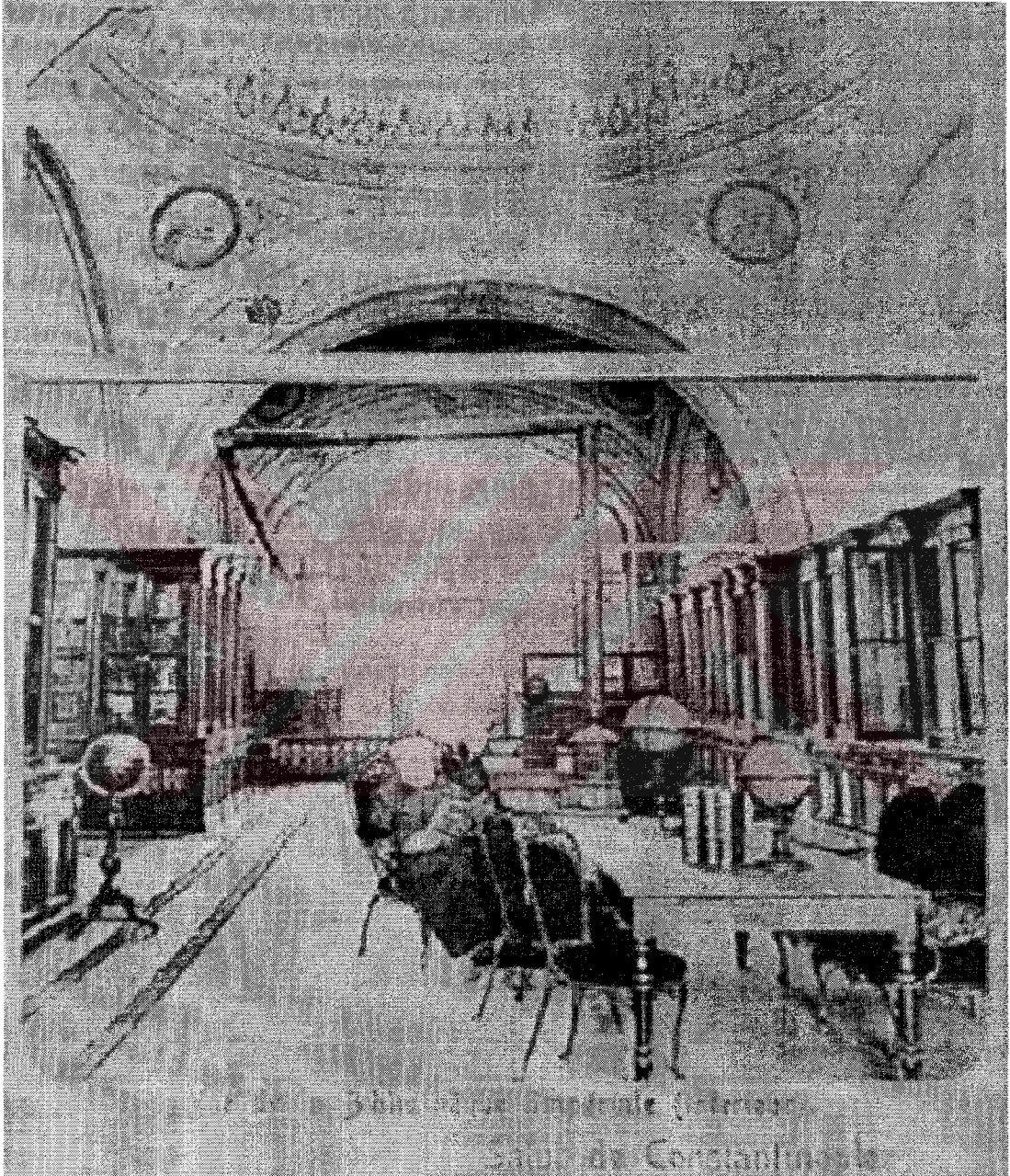


Figure 5.20: Kütüphane-i Umûm-i Osmani (the State Library of the Ottoman Empire)
SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.48.

Throughout its history, Beyazıt Meydanı was a centre in daily life of the city, as we have discussed in the former chapters. However its central place in the city life gained a different meaning by the 19th century.

In the 19th century, a new type of public life in the coffeehouses was developing in İstanbul. Ebüzziya Tevfik Bey told that one of the most significant meeting places of intellectuals was in the Mahmud Paşa Mosque courtyard.⁵ He defined that coffeehouse as “Précopé”, the literature coffee of Paris. The most famous intellectuals, poets and scientist were gathering in the coffeehouse of Mahmud Paşa Mosque. After 1853, Vak’a Nüvis Lûtfi Efendi, one of the major references in this research, used to go there frequently. Similar to a club, foreigners were not allowed to enter, except the friends of regular visitors.⁶

Sarafim Kırathanesi, the first *kırathane*, was opened in Beyazıt in 1857.⁷ A *kırathane* was a kind of coffeehouse where one could read books or newspapers. Sometimes a customer would read newspapers aloud and get free coffee in return in these places.⁸ The golden age of the *kırathane* for the “reading public”⁹ dates back to the late 19th century. From 1857 to the 1920s, Sarafim Kırathanesi was a famous *kırathane* where well-known intellectuals met. This Kırathane listed by Ebu Ziya Tevfik together with two other famous coffeehouses of İstanbul in the 19th century. It was a distinctive part of Beyazıt, located across the tomb of Reşid Paşa on the

⁵ Referred in Salâh Bırsel, 1975, *Kahveler Kitabı*, (İstanbul: Koza Yayınları), p.238. According to Bırsel, the surrounding buildings of the Mahmut Paşa Mosque must have been there in the years of 1850s.

⁶ Süheyl Ünver, 1962 “Türkiye’de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler”, *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, no:5, p.53: Bırsel, p.242.

⁷ Bırsel, p.244-5

⁸ From Balıkhane Nazırı quoted in Ünver p.57

⁹ For the term “reading public” see, Deborah M. Vlock, Summer 1997, “Dickens, theater, and the making of a Victorian reading public”. *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 29 pp. 164-90.

Okçularbaşı Caddesi (number 33). Because of its architecture it was also known as “Uzun Kahve”.¹⁰ Literature, politics, social events were discussed in the meetings. First, *Takvim-i Vekâyi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* and later some daily newspapers such as *Tercüman-i Ahval*, *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Mecmua-i Fünun*, *Mir’at* were read in Sarafim.¹¹ Ünver stated that newly published books were sold and distributed there. He also mentioned that there were even some books published with the name of “Sarafim, the Manager of the Kırathane” (*Kırathanei Osmani Müdürü Sarafim*). Among the clients famous intellectuals and bureaucrats were such as: Namık Kemal, Sadullah, Halet, Ayetullah, Arif Hikmet, Hasan Subhi, Ali, Refik, Yusuf, Aziz Beyler, Vidinli Tevfik Paşa, Süleyman Paşa, Hacı Reşid, Said Efendi, Kırımî Aziz Bey, Gazi Ahmed Paşa, Yusuf Paşa.¹² Ahmet Rasim also used to visit Sarafim at the end of the 19th century.¹³ The Ramadan of the year 1866 was Sarafim Kırathanesi’s brightest period. However, by the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, the bright period of Sarafim ended.¹⁴

Since other newspapers from the provinces (*taşra*) were distributed in Sarafim, it was a centre where information from the different regions of the empire could be obtained. The newspapers from İstanbul were also delivered to other cities by the help of Sarafim.¹⁵ It seems that, Sarafim was a point of connection in the distribution of information from İstanbul to the other cities, and vice versa. The

¹⁰ Ünver, 1962, p. 54; M. Sabri Koz, 1994, “Sarafim Kırathanesi”, in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), vol.6, p.459b.

¹¹ Ünver, 1962, p.54-55.

¹² Ünver, 1962, p. 55.

¹³ Birsal, p.246

¹⁴ Ünver, 1962, Ibid.

¹⁵ Ünver, 1962, p. 54

newspapers and journals were catalogued alphabetically in Sarafim.¹⁶ Therefore, it was functioning not only as a coffeehouse but also as a kind of library.

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, the legendary Turkish novelist used to go Darüttalim in Şehzadebaşı.¹⁷ In his novel *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Institute of Setting of Clocks*), we get a glimpse of the atmosphere in a coffeehouse in that area:

What has not been spoken in this coffeehouse? History, philosophy of Bergson, Aristo's Logic, Greek poetry, psychoanalysis, spiritualism, ordinary gossip, naked story, scarcity or curious adventure, daily political event, all embracing one another, one leaving the other unfinished, all heavy loaded, the conversation runs blistered like the spring flood, carries anything that comes along in vain and surprising.¹⁸

Salâh Bırsel, to whom we are indebted here, presented a detailed research on coffeehouses. As can be seen in his research, Hacı Reşit Teahouse in Direklerarası was a remarkable place where poets gathered.¹⁹ Across the Ferah Theatre, the supporters of tradition opposed to Edebiyat-ı Cedide (a movement of new approaches in literature) met in Hacı Reşit Teahouse untill 1908. Cenap Şhabettin, Muallim

¹⁶ Koz, p.459b.

¹⁷ Bırsel, p.159.

¹⁸ "Bu kahvehanede neler konuşulmazdı? Tarih, Bergson felsefesi, Aristo mantığı, Yunan şiiri, psikanaliz, isprizma, alelâde dedikodu, çıplak hikaye, korkunç veya meraklı mecerâ, günlük siyasi hadise, birbiriyle sarmaş dolaş, biri öbürünü yarıda bırakarak, çok yüklü, beraberinde her rastgeldiğini taşıyan bir bahar seli gibi kabarık bu konuşmada beyhude ve şaşırtıcı, akar giderdi." Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 1998 [1962], *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları), p.108, also quoted in Bırsel, p.161. My thanks to Arcan Yayıköğlü for his translation.

¹⁹ Bırsel, p.121-137.

Naci, Ahmet Rasim were some of the famous names who went there regularly. Muallim Naci even wrote there. Poets read their latest poems at their meetings. Hacı Reşit, the owner of the teahouse, was also an admirer of literature. Mualim Naci called him the “Manager of the Poets’ House” (*Şairlerevinin Müdürü*). Because of the fame of the regular visitors, people enjoyed to visit Hacı Reşit Tea House to have a chance to see poets. At this teahouse, other newspapers were also read besides *Tarih* and *Malumat*.²⁰

Each group of poets had its own meeting place. Muallim Naci told the story of a minstrel (*saz şairi*) who was excluded from the Hacı Reşit Teahouse.²¹ A customer inside told the minstrel, who attempted to play his instrument that this was not a place for *saz şairleri* (poets of instruments) but a place for *kalem şairleri* (poets of pen). We will focus on meeting places of *saz şairleri* in Beyazıt later.

While poets were going to Hacı Reşit, intellectuals were going to Mehmet Ağa Teahouse.²² Musicians had other places to visit at Direklerarası. The Tea House of Yakup was one of the favourite places of Neyzen Tevfik, where musicians were performing classical Turkish music.

The tradition of coffee and teahouses of Direklerarası can also be observed in the 20th century. Following the years of Constitutional Monarchy (Meşrutiyet), there were famous places²³ such as Mersin Efendi Tea House (across the Millet Theatre), Hacı Mustafa Teahouse (next to Şark Theatre), Ali Baba Teahouse (after the Mersin Efendi Çayevi, Şark Theatre was between them), Şule Kıraathanesi (on the line of Ali Baba across the Turan Tiyatrosu), and the Teahouse of Yavru (next to Turan Theatre). Mehmet Akif and Neyzen Tevfik were meeting at Hacı Mustafa

²⁰ Ahmet Rasim’s “City Letters” (*Şehir Mektupları*) were being published at *Malumat*.

²¹ Birsal, p.136-137.

²² Birsal, p.142.

²³ This list is a summary from the research of Birsal, p.139-163.

Teahouse. Later a room over Hacı Mustafa Teahouse would be the place for the Şehzadebaşı Branch of İttihat ve Terrakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress). Famous musicians Münir Nurettin Selçuk and Sadettin Kaynak were going to the Teahouse of Yavru. Besides many writers and scientists, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı was a regular visitor to Yavru. Yavru was like a private club where scholar discussions were held. Ordinary people were not free to enter.

Besides coffeehouses, paper stores and libraries, exhibitions in the interior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque gathered intellectuals and the prominent people of the city. For instance from an anecdote O.Nuri Ergin told, we can meet some famous names, who visited the exhibition at Beyazıt, such as Cevdet Efendi, Nihad Bey, Hafız Ömer Efendi.²⁴ In Ramadan 1872 (1289), Basîretçi Ali Efendi also met prominent people in his visits to the exhibitions.²⁵ In Ramadan 1875 (1292), Basîretçi Ali Effendi found lots of books and articles (*resâil fûruht*) in the exhibition with a “great pleasure” (*maalmemnuniye*).²⁶

²⁴ Ergin, 1996, p.62.

²⁵ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.92-93

²⁶ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.445

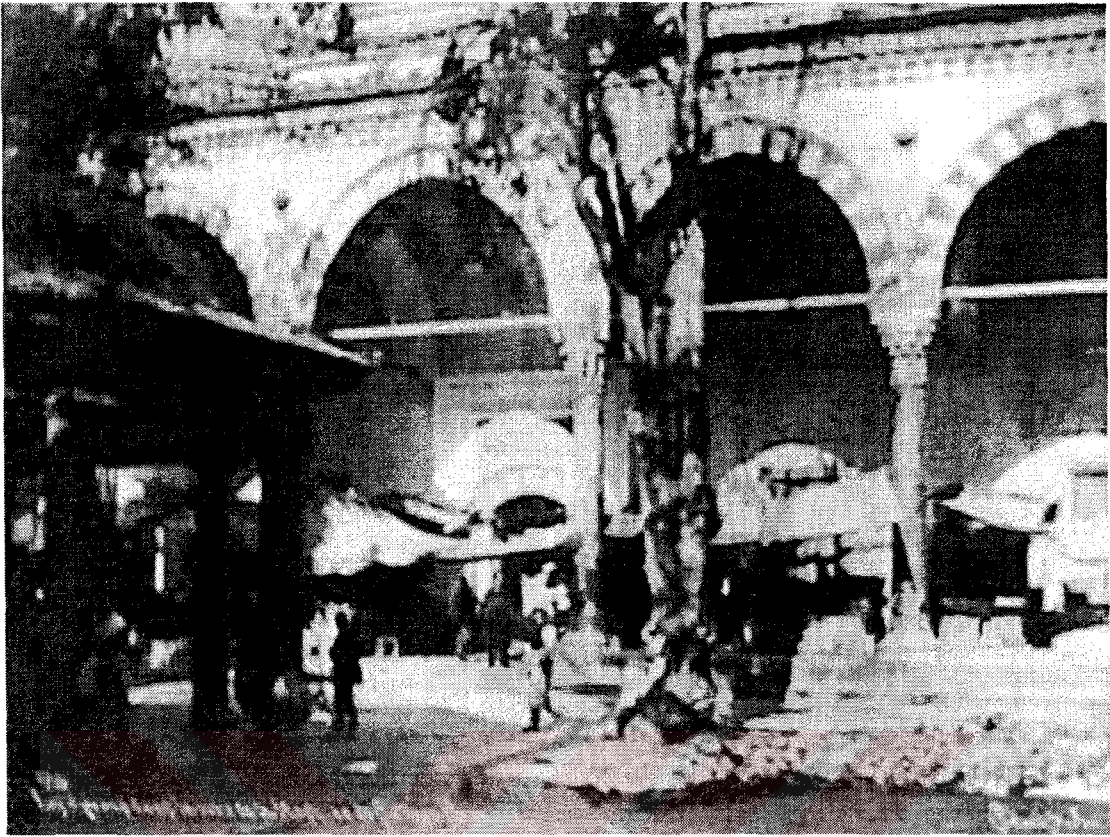


Figure 5.21: Interior Courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque, 1890, photograph by Sébah & Joaillier.

SOURCE: Published in Engin Özendes, 1999, *Osmanlı'nın Son Başkenti İstanbul Geçmişten Fotoğraflar*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları).

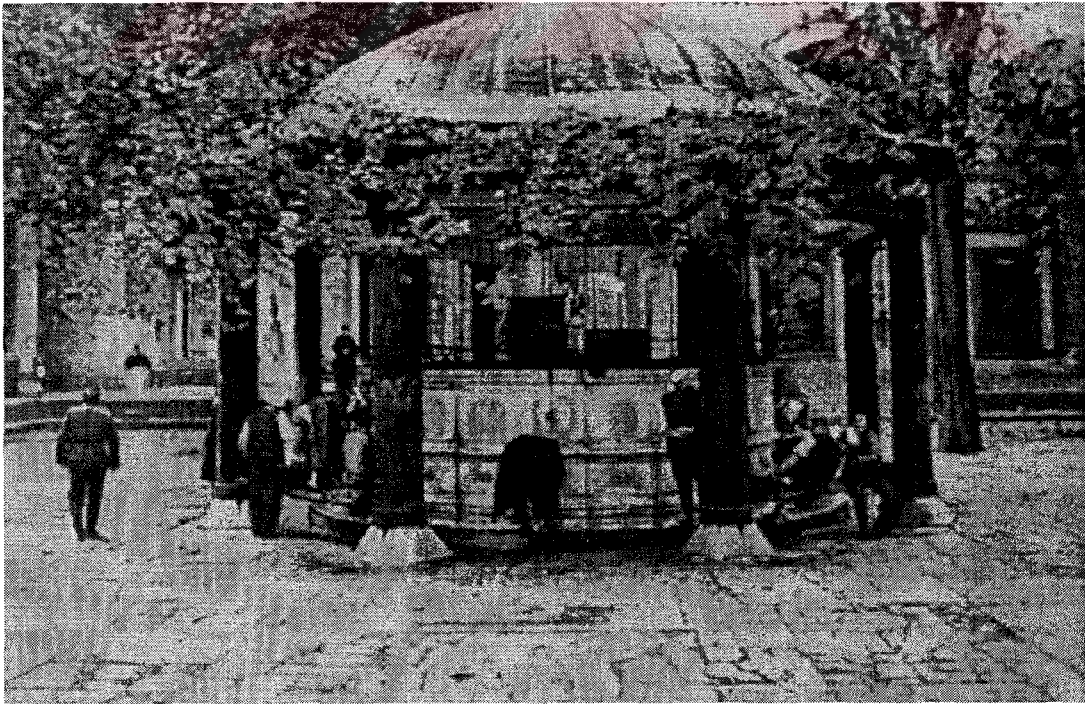


Figure 5.22: Interior Courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque.

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.47



Figure 5.23: Interior Courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque.

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.47.

5.4.Beyazıt As A Space Of Leisure

A new way of public life was emerging not only in the coffeehouses and in the interior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque but also in the open spaces of the city since the janissaries had been suppressed and security was established in İstanbul. Here, as Georgeon states, Ramadan had a special role in a newly emerging public life.²⁷ As Georgeon argues, in the 19th century, Ramadan spread especially in public spaces such as squares and streets.²⁸ The development in the public realm

²⁷ François Georgeon, “İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete İstanbul’da Ramazan”, in François Georgeon and Paul Dumont (eds.), 2000, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaşamak*, (İstanbul: İletişim), pp.41-137.

²⁸ Georgeon, p.131

(coffeehouse, newspapers, etc.) proved beneficial for the activities in Ramadan.²⁹ Therefore, as Georgeon argues, we need to take into account the developments in the public realm, as well as the security resulting from the abolishment of the janissary corps to understand the emerging public life in the city.

The favourite spaces during Ramadan were mainly Aksaray, Beyazıt, Şehzadebaşı, Direklerarası and Divan Yolu. We will pay particular attention to Direklerarası, a street on the south of Şehzade Mosque, which also became the continuity of the Beyazıt Meydanı as a promenade.



Figure 5.24: Men sitting in front of the Şehzadebaşı Fountain

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.53.

²⁹ Georgeon, p.132

5.4.1 Direklerarası and Beyazıt

At the beginning of the 18th century, Damat İbrahim Paşa built stores on the two sides of this street. He built arcades in front of the stores. That is why the area is known as Direklerarası, which means “between the colonnades”. It was a popular place for Janissaries,³⁰ probably because it was located next to Eski Odalar. After the abolishment of the Janissary Corps it became a very crowded place especially in Ramadan. Georgeon puts forward the following reasons: firstly Şehzadebaşı was one of the mosques where women can perform ritual prayers. Secondly there were many important religious places around the area, and it was the centre of the three major mosques: Süleymaniye, Beyazıt and Fatih. Thirdly, it was the area where people could find jobs in the houses of bureaucrats or offices such as the Seraskerlik and the Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance). Besides, there were many students around. He also added the architectural opportunity of Direklerarası, which was protecting the pedestrian against the sun and the rain.³¹ Since the columns of Direklerarası were in a bad condition in 1870s the demolition of them was advised in the journal, *Basîret*.³² Finally the columns of the arcade were demolished. Some of the authors of Direklerarası and İstanbul would remember later those columns with a nostalgic tone.

According to theatre historian Metin And Direklerarası was the “Broadway of Istanbul”.³³ At Direklerarası, as we have observed above, coffeehouses were next to the theatres. Metin And states that, *orta oyunu*, which was initially staged in the open started to be played indoors because of Western influences. Besides that *tulûat* (improvisations) theatre were mainly based on *orta oyunu*. *Tulûat* Companies at

³⁰ Georgeon, p.100.

³¹ Georgeon, pp.102-103.

³² Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.509 and 526.

³³ Metin And, 1964, A history of Theater and Popular Entertainment in Turkey, (Ankara: Forum Yayınları), p.77.

Direklerarası were: “Abdülrezzak’s Company called Handehane-i Osmani, also Sahne-i İnşirahi Edebî, Hasan’s Millî Osmanlı Tiyatrosu, Şevki’s Eğlencehane-i Osmani, Ali Rıza’s and Peruz Hanım’s Sahne-i Alem”.³⁴

Kıraathane and Coffehouses were not only places for intellectual discussions but also for entertainments with music and shows. Coffehouses were used as a stage for *tulûat* (improvisations) and other traditional performances such as *meddah* (public story teller and mimic), *karagöz* (Turkish shadow show) and *kukla* (puppet). People were going to the coffehouses and *kıraathane* more often than usual during the Ramadan.



Figure 5.25: Direklerarası.

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko).

³⁴ Metin And, 1964, p.77.

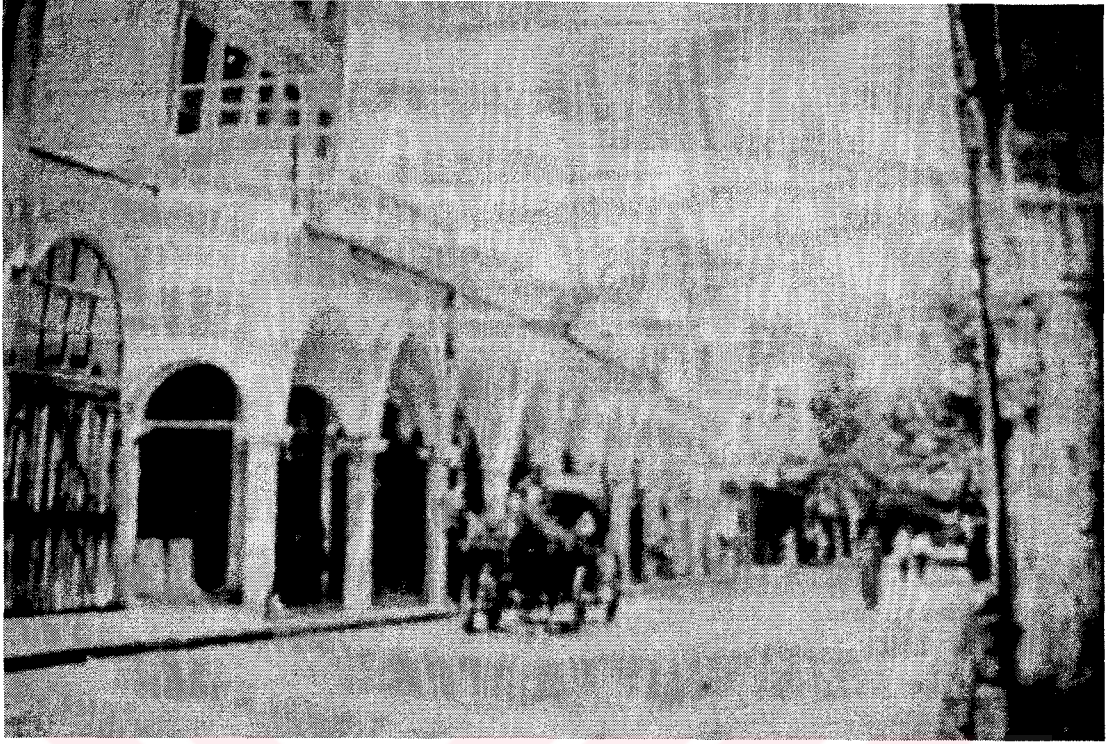


Figure 5.26: Direklerarası.

SOURCE: Published in Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1979, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko).

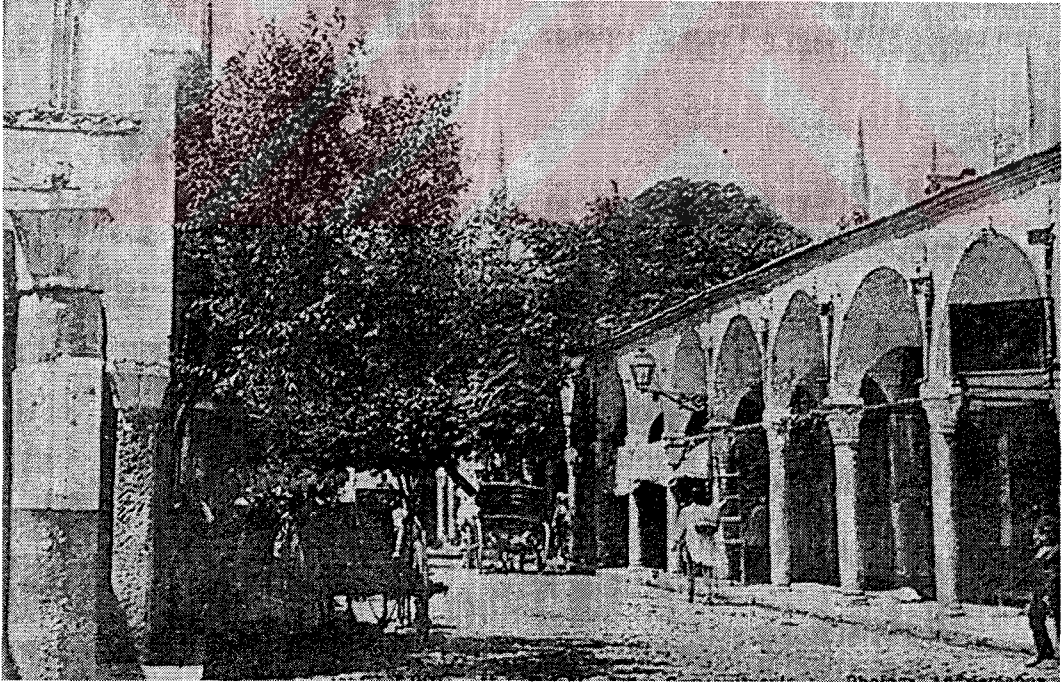


Figure 5.27: Direklerarası.

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.53.

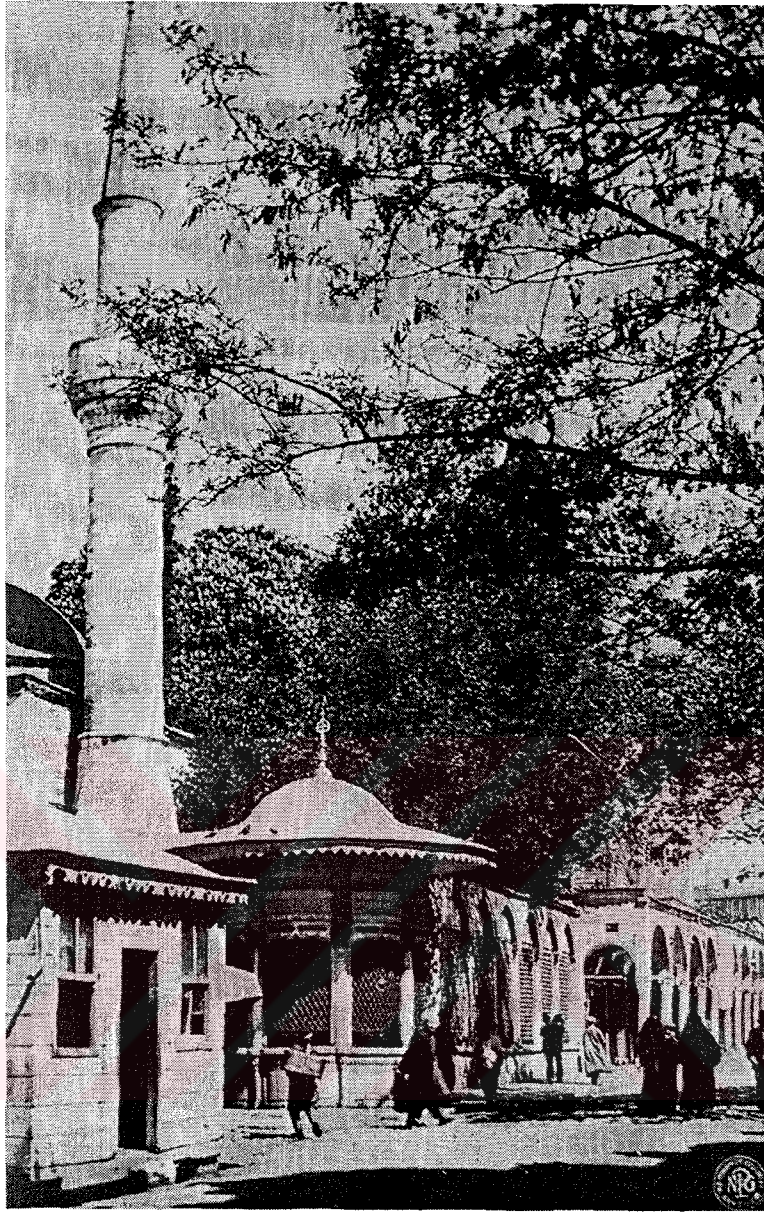


Figure 5.28: Direklerarası.

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.54.

One of the best-known *kıraathane* was Fevziye Kıraathanesi. With an open garden, it was next to the tomb of Osman Baba and across the Şehzadebaşı Sebili (kiosk built for the free distribution of drinking water) at the corner of Fevziye Street. Its brightest era was between the years of 1885-1900. During the Ramadan it was famous for the high quality music performed there.³⁵ *Karagöz*, *meddah* and *kukla* were also in the program of the Ramadan nights. Metin And claimed that, famous

³⁵ Birsell, p.154-156.

Turkish actor Naşit got the title of *Komik-i Şehir* (The celebrated comedian) from Abdi Efendi there. In 1866 a significant *kıraathane* belonged to Alyanak Mehmet Efendi at the Direklerarası and famous comedian Abdi performed improvisations (*tulûat*) there in 1880.³⁶ As Sermet Muhtar Alus noted, Kinetoskop would be watched in Fevziye Kıraathanesi after its first projection in Beyoğlu in 1895(1311).³⁷

Following Sarafim Kıraathanesi, there was Karakulak Hanı Coffeehouse (or *gazino*-night club). In Karakulak Hanı Coffeehouse music performed each day of Ramadan. During the year apart from Ramadan, the music was on Fridays and Sundays. Ebuzziya and Namık Kemal were frequently there. It was difficult to find a place to sit in Karakulak Hanı Coffeehouse, despite its capacity for two hundred people.³⁸ Hacı Reşit's Tea House was not only a place for the discussions of poetry (that we mentioned above) but also a famous place of entertainment in Direklerarası during the Ramadan. Hacı Murat Coffeehouse, which was only open during the Ramadan, was also one of the most famous places in Direklerarası.³⁹ Şems, Darüttalim and Uşaklar were other important *kıraathanes* at Direklerarası and Şehzadebaşı. In these coffeehouses, *meddahs* (public story teller and mimic) were staging their performances. Traditionally, *meddahs* had to read news or recent decisions of the empire before their performance. This changed with the publication of newspapers.⁴⁰ At Beyazıt, across the Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance) a *meddah* was performing in the garden of the Mısır Lokantası (restaurant). Another *meddah* was also performing on the tramway Street at Beyazıt, in Afitap Kıraathanesi.⁴¹

³⁶ Birsell, p.151-152.

³⁷ Alus, p.159

³⁸ Birsell, p.251: Ünver: p.56. Both of the authors referred to Ebuzziya.

³⁹ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.210.

⁴⁰ Birsell, p.216.

⁴¹ Birsell, p.221 referring Metin And.

Kâzım Efendi Kırâathanesi, a well-known place at Direklerarası, was next to the Tomb of Osman Baba at number 87. In 1886, with a levelled big garden Kâzım Efendi Kırâathanesi became a place for the Theatre of Mesire-i Efkâr. Ahmet Mithat and Ahmet Rasim were regular visitors of Kâzım Efendi Kırâathanesi. In 1882, Cudi Efendi's theatre, *Hayalhane-i Osmani* performed in Kâzım Efendi Kırâathanesi. *Kanto* (cabaret song) of Peruz Hanım was a famous show of this theatre.⁴²

Besides the traditional plays such as *tulûat* (improvisations), *meddah* (public story teller and mimic), *karagöz* (Turkish shadow show) and *kukla* (puppet); modern theatre was performed frequently in the Historical Peninsula.

This form of new public life required some regulations. There were security precautions for the gathering crowds.⁴³ Theatres also provided a stable for the horses and carriages of the spectators.⁴⁴ Even though the theatre plays were banned for women, it seems that these regulations were not strictly applied.⁴⁵ We will now focus on an important place in the history of modern Turkish Theatre.

5.4.2. The Gedik Paşa Theatre

In the Ottoman Empire, western theatre started in the private mansions of foreign ambassadors.⁴⁶ First western style theatres appeared in public after the Tanzimat in 1840s and the first theatre building was built in the westernised part of

⁴² Birsal, p.152.

⁴³ Metin And, 1972, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p.86.

⁴⁴ And, 1972, p.90.

⁴⁵ And, 1972, p.100.

⁴⁶ And, 1964, p.65.

İstanbul, i.e. Pera.⁴⁷ The first Turkish theatre with Turkish actors and writers (in Metin And's term) the "home of Turkish drama" was the Gedik Paşa Theatre (Figure 5.29: 5.30).

The Gedik Paşa Theatre, initially built by the French Circus Company in 1860, was bought by an Armenian in 1864 and used for various entertainments such as pantomime and music hall. The building was named after the district Gedik Paşa, in which it was situated. With the name of Tiyatro-yu Osmani (The Ottoman Theatre), it was re-constructed in wood in a form of a tent in 1867. Its big entrance facing the street was a place where people read newspapers, played billiards, and enjoyed Turkish Music before each performance.⁴⁸



Figure 5.29: The Gedik Paşa Theatre

SOURCE: Metin And, 1972, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları)

⁴⁷ And, p.66.

⁴⁸ And, 1964, p.68.

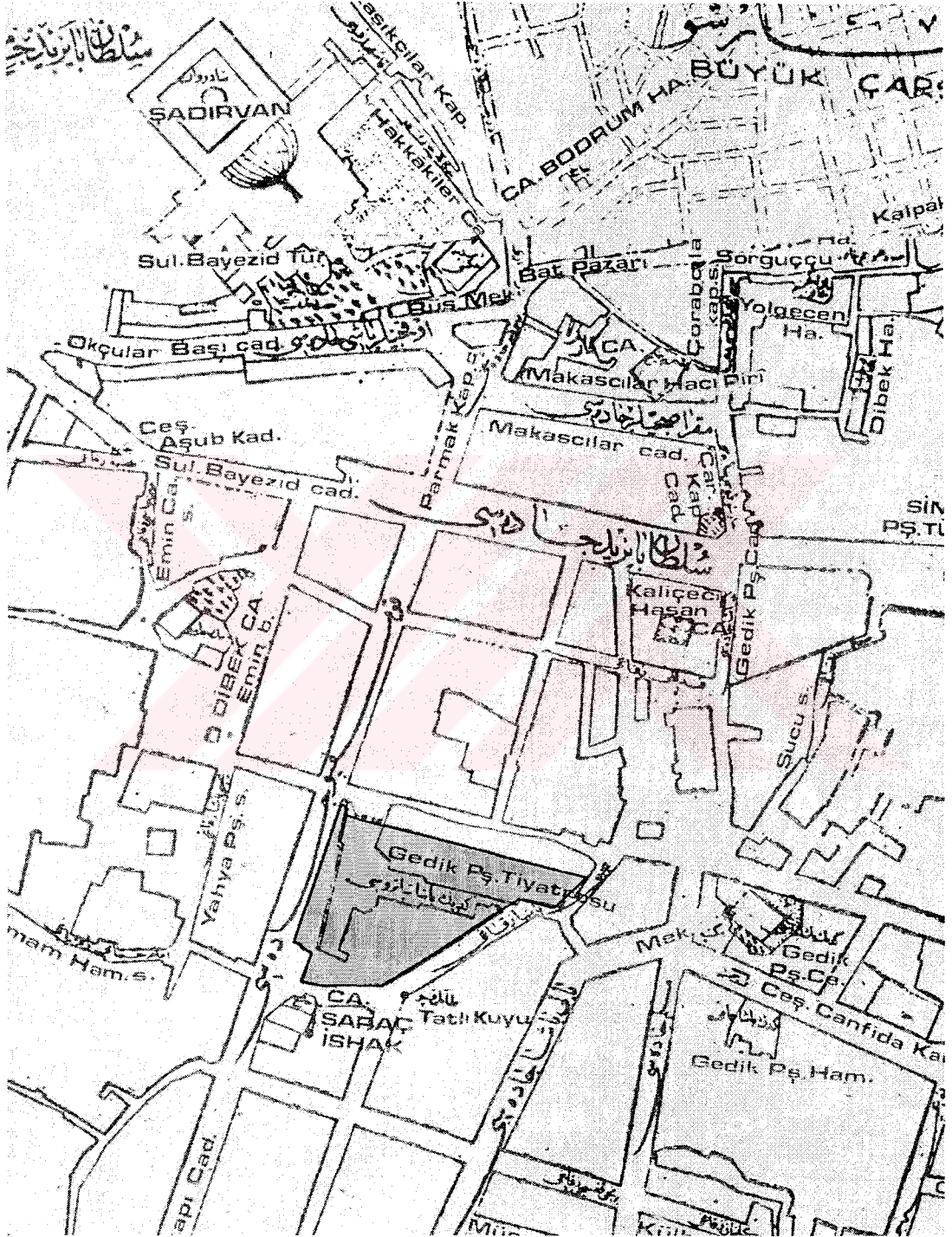


Figure 5.30: The Gedik Paşa Theatre in Ayverdi's map.

SOURCE: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (ed.), 1978, 19. *Asırda İstanbul Haritası*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları)

Güllü Agop (originally Agop Vartovyan), an Armenian, was the chief of the GedikPaşa Theatre. After a translated play, which had not been very influential on Turkish spectator, he staged *Leylâ and Mecnun* a famous Turkish love story in 1868. The number of Turkish plays were increased the following seasons. By gaining a monopoly for ten years, Güllü Agop had a high reputation and several possibilities. Significant Turkish writers, like Namık Kemal, were taking part there to improve the Ottoman Theatre.⁴⁹

Theatres were not only the part of the entertainment business but they were also politicised spaces. During the second half of the 19th century some political movements in that area, even in the mosques, were noticed. For example, in 1860s, the members of the young Ottomans were distributing their publications in Beyazıt, Ayasofya, Sultan Ahmet, Süleymaniye, Şehzade and Fatih Mosques. In that way, they distributed 50.000 brochures in 15 days.⁵⁰ As Georgeon noted, especially during Ramadan, political propaganda in the mosques was more widespread than during the other months.⁵¹ One of the most significant political events aroused in the Gedik Paşa Theatre. In 1873, Namık Kemal's famous drama "*Vatan yahut Silistre*" (Fatherland or Silistria) stimulated the spectators and after the end of the play public shouted the "Long Live Kemal". Namık Kemal and some of the other authors were sent to exile after this event.⁵²

Metin And summarises the themes of the theatres of this period as: "A sense of strong nationalism, praising heroism, love for the fatherland, heroic self sacrifice, putting loyalty to country before to Islam".⁵³ He also states that besides their political content, the plays were also aiming at replacing the Ottoman language by daily

⁴⁹ And, 1964, p.68.

⁵⁰ Ergin, 1996, p.87

⁵¹ Georgeon, p.59

⁵² And, p.69.

⁵³ And, p.79.

Turkish. Among the themes of the plays, attacks against “blind faith, unequal marriage, old customs, and polygamy, imitating European attitudes” can also be listed.⁵⁴

In 1875 Namık Kemal returned from exile in Cyprus, Ahmet Mithat and Ebu Ziya from Rhodes since Murat Efendi ascended the throne in place of Sultan Abdülaziz. The end of the Gedik Paşa Theatre was after the staging of a musical by Ahmet Mithat Efendi, which was reported to the Sultan as a rebellious play. The building was demolished the day after the news emerged about the play.⁵⁵

5.4.3. *Semaî* or *Tulumbacı* coffeehouses

Although the coffeehouses, which were also popular places for the janissaries, were demolished after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, we can still observe the routines of the tough guy (*kabadayı*) culture in the *semaî* (a kind of folk music of minstrels) coffeehouses. Mostly tough guys (*kabadayı*) with fez and visible jack-knife on their body were going there. Young people who had not come of age were not allowed to enter. Some statesmen and intellectuals were also enjoyed visiting.⁵⁶ It seems that the coffeehouses of *semaî* or *tulumbacı* (member of a fire brigade) carried on the tradition of this tough guy culture. We already observed the names of coffeehouses in the map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan before the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. Although their brightest period was between the years 1876-1909, it was also known that even at the beginning of the 19th century there were coffeehouses for the “poets of instrument” (*saz şairleri*). Sultan Mahmut II rewarded one of the folk poets who wrote praise for the fez of Asakiri Mansurei Muhammediye, against the general, who did not appreciate new army's uniforms.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ And, p.80.

⁵⁵ And, p.71.

⁵⁶ Birsal, p.170.

⁵⁷ Birsal, p.173.

The *semaî* coffeehouses were very widespread in İstanbul. They were becoming more popular during Ramadan. At Beyazıt the coffeehouse of Köşklüler and Merdivenli were *semaî* coffeehouses. The coffeehouse of Efe, located on the way to Beyazıt, on Divan Yolu was also a coffeehouse with live music.⁵⁸ These coffeehouses were particularly decorated for Ramadan. Preparations for the decoration of coffeehouses in order to change them into *semaî* coffeehouses started on the day after *sürre alayı* (a religious parade). Birsel stated that, the tradition of making that kind of musical coffeehouses for Ramadan was unique to İstanbul and was particular to the “world of *tulumbacı*”.⁵⁹

5.4.4. Strolling (*Tenezzüh*) at Beyazıt

Strolling (*tenezzüh*) was another common way of spending leisure time during Ramadan. People preferred strolling when Ramadan was in summer since the roads were not suitable for walking during winter.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II they were allowed to have a carriage⁶⁰ and then they started to go around by *koçu* (a kind of carriage). Going around Beyazıt Meydanı and Direklerarası by carriage became popular for the imperial family during the reign of Abdülmecîd.⁶¹ Not only the royal family and the upper classes of İstanbul but also ordinary people were enjoying strolling in that area (Figure 5.31: 5.32: 5.33: 5.34). In his letter dated 1867, Namık Kemal, defined Beyazıt Mosque as the first popular mosque among the Selatin Mosques during Ramadan.⁶² Beyazıt, Aksaray, Şehzadebaşı was becoming so crowded that it was

⁵⁸ Birsel, p.166-7.

⁵⁹ Birsel, p.170.

⁶⁰ Lûtfî Efendi, p.891-2.

⁶¹ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.334.

⁶² Georgeon, p.56

difficult to pass through these areas. Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey described the big crowds of Ramadan:

At Ramadan nights, in streets like Aksaray, Şehzadebaşı, Tophane one is caught in a current and it seems that it is necessary to take steps so to say geometrically. At times the streets seems more narrow and rough, raising a shoulder, hitting an elbow, running over a foot, it is impossible to remain innocent, above all you shouldn't be pensive, one stumbles and hits sherbet tray with the impact of one of the wildly walkers, one sleeps and falls by stepping on a watermelon peel thrown in front of green grocer shops. It is not possible to step on the sidewalk as well, because it is occupied by the coffee shop owners, teahouse owners, stools and chairs.⁶³

⁶³ "Aksaray, Şehzadebaşı, Tophane gibi caddelerde ramazan geceleri insan bir cereyana kapılır âdeta hendese ile adım atmak zarurî görünür. Ol vakitler caddeler daha dar ve eğri büğrü olmasından dolayı omuz kalkmasından, dirsek çarpmasından, ayak çiğnemesinden azade kalabilmek mümkün olamaz, hele dalgın bulunmaya hiç gelmez, alabildiğine gidenlerden birinin çarpmasıyla insan sendeleyip şerbetçi tablasına çarpar, manav dükkanlarının önüne atılan karpuz kapuklarının üzerine basarak ayağı kayar düşer. Yaya kaldırımlarına çıkmak da mümkün olamaz, çünkü kahveciler, çaycılar, iskemleler, sandalyelerle işgal etmişlerdir". Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.223. My thanks to Arcan Yayıkoglu for his translation.



Figure 5.31: A Daily Life Scene from Beyazıt Meydanı

SOURCE: Nuri Akbayar, 2000, *İstanbul : bir albüm = Constantinople : an album*, (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık)



Figure 5.32: Carriages and People at Beyazıt Meydanı

SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İDEA), p.53.



Figure 5.33: People at Beyazıt Meydanı

SOURCE: Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları, 2000, (İstanbul: Koç Bank)



Figure 5.34: People at Beyazıt Meydanı

SOURCE: Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları, 2000, (İstanbul: Koç Bank)

Words or figures were written inside the dark during the Ramadan, by the installation of *mahya* (message spelled out by lights strung between minarets). The longest distance between the minarets is in the Beyazıt Mosque. Because of this distance the *mahya* of Beyazıt Mosque had a special significance. In the pleasing terms of Sermet Muhtar Alus, “even a sentence could be written” between the minarets of such big Mosques.⁶⁴ During Ramadan, especially after the 20th day of Ramadan, bureaucrats used to have their evening meal at the tower of Seraskerlik, since the tower has a wonderful view over the Golden Horn, Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea.⁶⁵

One of the most considerable effects of Ramadan was regarding the use of public spaces at nights. Traditionally, there was no nightlife in İstanbul. People had to carry *fener* (lantern), if they had to be outside during the night. In 1847, it was announced that, not only the stores but also houses could be illuminated during Ramadan nights.⁶⁶ Coffeehouses and stores were enlightened and decorated with colourful papers during the night. They were also open until the meal taken just before dawn (*sahur*). Besides going to coffeehouses, visiting relatives and close friends during the night was usual for all classes. People also preferred the important mosques i.e. Ayasofya, Beyazıt, Süleymaniye, Fatih, Eyüp for the morning prayer (*namaz*). Those activities beside the strolling and going around by carriages, give an idea of the crowds during the nights especially at the centre of the Historical Peninsula, which was illuminated only in Ramadan. In 1857, Beyoğlu was illuminated by gas distributed from the Dolmabahçe Palace. The city was also being illuminated and decorated for the accession to the throne (*cülus*) ceremonies of Sultans.

⁶⁴ Alus, p.139.

⁶⁵ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.230-231.

⁶⁶ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.216.

Ramadan totally transformed the daily life in the city. Some of the extreme changes can be seen in the example of 1864 Ramadan. Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey stated that in 1864 Ramadan, Bâb-ı Askerî and Tophane Müşiriyeti (Field Marshall of Tophane) was open during the night from three o'clock untill eight o'clock and closed during the day.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Balikhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.211.

5.5. Beyazıt As A Space of Public Appearance Of Ottoman Women

The contradiction between the traditional life and modern public life was increasing especially about the appearance of women in public spaces. At the end of the 1830s, only fourteen years after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye a foreign traveller surprised because of the women's free attitudes at Beyazıt.¹ For Eugène the "Seraskeriye Meydanı" resembled Longchamp, a promenade in Paris. He observed that, in the Seraskerlik Meydanı, women were not covering themselves as before. In this anecdote, Beyazıt Meydanı (or Seraskerlik Meydanı) is described like a place in Paris, from the point of view of social life. "Seraskeriye Meydanı" basically a military square, as indicated by its name, was becoming a social space, where women and men had a promenade. This example of comparing "Seraskeriye Meydanı" with Longchamp also demonstrates that the area was used as a space of "piyasa" in the first half of the 19th century after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye. As Mac Farlane described, janissaries were causing limitations in the street life of women's. After the 1828, Mac Farlane observed that, women were going out without fear.² Besides, Namık Kemal noted, in 1867, that Ottoman women started to appear in the streets during the Ramadan since "twenty or thirty" years.³

As we observed in Chapter 4, the widening of the area at Beyazıt by the demolition of the exterior courtyard created a new public space. Meydan also gained order by the building of the Seraskerlik Gate. Stations of public transportations (tramway and rented carriages) increased the activities at Beyazıt too. The emergence of new public life was finding its physical space in Beyazıt. The appearance of

¹ Georgeon, p.94, quoting Eugène Boré, *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient*, Vol.1, Paris, 1840, p.103.

² Georgeon, p.92, quoting Charles Mac Farlane, *Constantinople et la Turquie en 1828*, Trans. Vol.3., Paris, p.221-222.

³ Georgeon, p.92, quoting, Fevziye Abdullah Tansel (ed.) 1967, *Namık Kemal'in Hususi Mektupları*, (Ankara), vol.1, p.76.

women in such a new public space was also changing the social attitudes between the man and woman.

Ahmet Rasim, who used to go to Aksaray, when he was young, explained the '*zenperestlik*' (womanising or debauchery) of 1860s in the places around. Basîretçi Ali Efendi, defined the behaviours of contemporary women as '*fenalıklar*' (badness), which were not appropriate to Islamic society. The appearance of woman in public spaces was a matter of disgrace. Basîretçi Ali Efendi stated that the main places of this 'badness' were not only Beyazıt Meydanı and Şehzadebaşı during the Ramadan, as it was supposed. He warned that Muslim women were now going to Beyoğlu too.⁴ However Basîretçi Ali Efendi was not against women, indeed he defined himself as a 'supporter' of them.⁵ He accused men for their behaviours. At Beyazıt, women could stroll and enjoy themselves in respectful attitudes, but what about men that surrounded these ladies. He claimed that even the European men, who were being imitated, were not behaving in the way that Turkish man did.⁶ Basîretçi Ali Efendi was defending himself as not being opposed to the 'freedom' (*hürriyet ve serbestiyet*) of people. He criticized the physical conditions of urban spaces as being not appropriate for such public activities. He explained that the problems of the city (narrow streets, etc.) did not give a chance to strolling and going around by carriages. If 'everyone' (*alelumum*) had a right to pass, these activities were blockading the other persons right to pass.⁷

⁴ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.21.

⁵ For a discussion about Ottoman women see, Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.49.

⁶ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.205

⁷ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.78.



Figure 5.35: “Piyasa” at Direklerarası, a cartoon by Salih, 1941.

SOURCE: *Tarihten Çizgiler Mecmuası*, 1941, published in Necdet Sakaoğlu and Nuri Akbayar, 1999, *Binbir Gün Binbir Gece Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğlence Yaşamı*, (İstanbul: DenizBank)

Women's attitudes were much criticised. They were accused of wasting money on clothes and fashions and to imitate Europeans in their style of walking, etc. For instance, in the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Ebuzziya Tefvîk Bey criticised the Ottoman women, for imitating European women. He was complaining that Ottoman women used to have “a beautiful and slowly way of walking,” (*ağır ağır, sallana sallana ne kadar hoş bir yürüyüş idi*). For Ebuzziya, Ottoman women were imitating European women, by walking with “frequent and odd” (*sık ve tuhaf*) steps, which did not suit them.⁸

Besides criticism, Ottoman women were taken to control. The existence of woman in the city was strictly controlled. In a document dated 1792-93 (1206), the

⁸ Quoted in Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.109.

use of English fabric for *ferace* (a kind of coat using to cover the women's indoor clothes when they went out) was banned since it was found "extremely" (*begayet*) transparent. First, a fabric from *Engürü* was preferred instead of the English one. However having a *ferace* made of *Engürü* fabric was regarded like having nothing (*feracesiz gezmekten hiç farkı olmama*). Although the *Engürü* fabric was banned, some "shameless" (*hayasız*) women were still using them. It was stated that since the use of this fabric was banned, not only the women who bought it but also the tailors, who were making *ferace* with that fabric, would be punished.⁹

Appearance of women in public spaces was not only a problem in İstanbul. Sennett claims: "in the restaurants of the 19th century, a lone, a respectable woman dining with a group of men, even if her husband were present, would cause an overt sensation".¹⁰ In different parts of the world, similar problems emerged. In China, the entrance of women into Public Teahouses was forbidden until the beginning of the 20th century. However Di Wang explains that some "defiant women tried to change this male area".¹¹

At the beginning of the 1870s, Babiâli had certain rules such as the prohibition of touring in Beyazıt in the name of the protection of morality.¹² *Basîret* supported those prescriptions of the government, and such moral preventive regulations were regarded as the main functions of a government. It may even be that, these preventions succeeded to put a stop to the activities in Beyazıt, for a while. We can read articles in *Basîret*, which advised that such prohibitions should

⁹ See a document published by Ahmed Refik, 1988, *Hicrî On Üçüncü Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1200-1255)*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi), p. 4 (Document 3/4).

¹⁰ Sennett, p.23.

¹¹ Di Wang, May 2000, "The Idle and the Busy: Teahouses and Public Life in Early Twentieth-Century Chengdu", *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.26, No.4, pp.411-437.

¹² In *Basîret*, there are many articles about the prohibition on Beyazıt tours, for example see *Basîretçi Ali Efendi*, p.87, p.205.

be applied to Beyoğlu too.¹³ However since the regulations about the attitudes in public spaces were defined earlier than 1870s, they did not seem very effective. In an announcement published after the proclamation of Tanzimat (1839), a series of orders were listed. In this announcement, it was stated that people had to be respectful to the women around and that they should not obstruct their passing. There were also rules for the women. The only mosques that women were allowed to visit were the Sultanahmet, Şehzade and Laleli Mosques. Women could not be out after the evening *namaz*. They have to wait outside of stores, when they wanted to buy something and so on.¹⁴ At Direklerarası the two sides of the street were separated for different genders,¹⁵ just like the separation for women in the tramway. However it did not prevent people disturbing women in the crowd.

5.6. Beyazıt As A Place Of Awareness About The Conditions Of Open Public Spaces

It can be observed that, by the increasing use of public spaces an awareness concerning the public spaces grew. This interest was related both to the social use of public spaces and to the physical conditions of them. A city literature (*şehir mektubu*) on the issue of city life was developed in the daily newspapers in 1870s and Basiretçi Ali Efendi was the first author of this style.¹⁶

One of the main subjects on the social use of open public spaces was related to the appearance of women in the city that we have focused on. We can also see other issues regarding the use of Beyazıt in these ‘city letters’. One of the information demonstrates that Beyazıt did not only belong to adults as the children

¹³ Basiretçi Ali Efendi, p.109.

¹⁴ quoted in Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, p.198-200.

¹⁵ Birsəl, p.102.

¹⁶ Nuri Sağlam, “Takdim” in Basiretçi Ali Efendi, pp.vii-xii.

were renting ponies there. The journal *Basîret* complained that the children with ponies were dangerous for pedestrians and that the riding of animals at Beyazıt Meydanı should be banned.¹⁷ As in the case of warnings about the risks of riding animal in the square, the subjects of these ‘city letters’ were mainly for information or complaint and were addressed to the concerned officials. In another information it was stated that some refugees from the Balkans were selling their animals at Beyazıt Meydanı and that this was causing dirt in the square.¹⁸ Another warning about Persians, who were playing gamble on the street at Bakırcılar Street at Beyazıt, was also published. In *Basiret* preventing people from being cheated was asked for.¹⁹

Many articles were also published regarding the physical conditions of Beyazıt. One of the main subjects was about the public services. In these articles we can notice a clear stand against the superiority of Beyoğlu. The comparison between Beyoğlu and the Historical Peninsula was frequently done in the articles about the city life in *Basîret*. The opportunity of using the public spaces at night was limited because the lightning of the streets was not complete. It was claimed that, tramway services at night in İstanbul did not seem possible since the streets were not illuminated during the night as they were in Beyoğlu.²⁰ The improvements in lightning and paving were not enough to make pedestrian walking easier. It was also stated that one could stroll easily in Beyoğlu but not in İstanbul since the streets were not illuminated, pavements were not ready and cleaned from the mud. Although the pillars were constructed for the illumination of the streets, they were not used. Thus, it was complained that if they would not be used for illuminations, pillars that were obstacles to passing should be removed.²¹

¹⁷ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.454.

¹⁸ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.672.

¹⁹ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 476.

²⁰ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.90.

²¹ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 333

Another notable issue was about the obstacles, which caused difficulties in passing through the streets. The widening of the roads was not sufficient to enable the tramway and people to pass. It was stated that although the street was widened from Beyazıt to Simkeřhane, it was occupied by peddlers with their baskets (*küfe*), who blocked the road.²² Since the doors of basement shops were not closed, they were also causing accidents at Okcularbaşı, Beyazıt and Direklerarası. It was stated that necessary prevention should be taken against the unclosed basement doors of those shops.²³

Complaints and demands for the pavements of streets and squares were largely appeared in the columns of newspapers. Dissatisfaction was expressed about the conditions of Beyazıt. It was stated that pavements around Beyazıt were terrible and that Beyazıt Meydanı was becoming a very muddy place after the rain. Here, the sensitivity for the obligation to provide the pavements was projected. It was proposed that the people who benefit from these roads should pay for it. It would not be fair to take money from general budget for it.²⁴ In spite of its expensiveness, the pavements in Direklerarası, were considered a good example and should be applied to the other parts of Beyazıt too.²⁵

²² Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.237.

²³ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.474.

²⁴ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 333

²⁵ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 477.

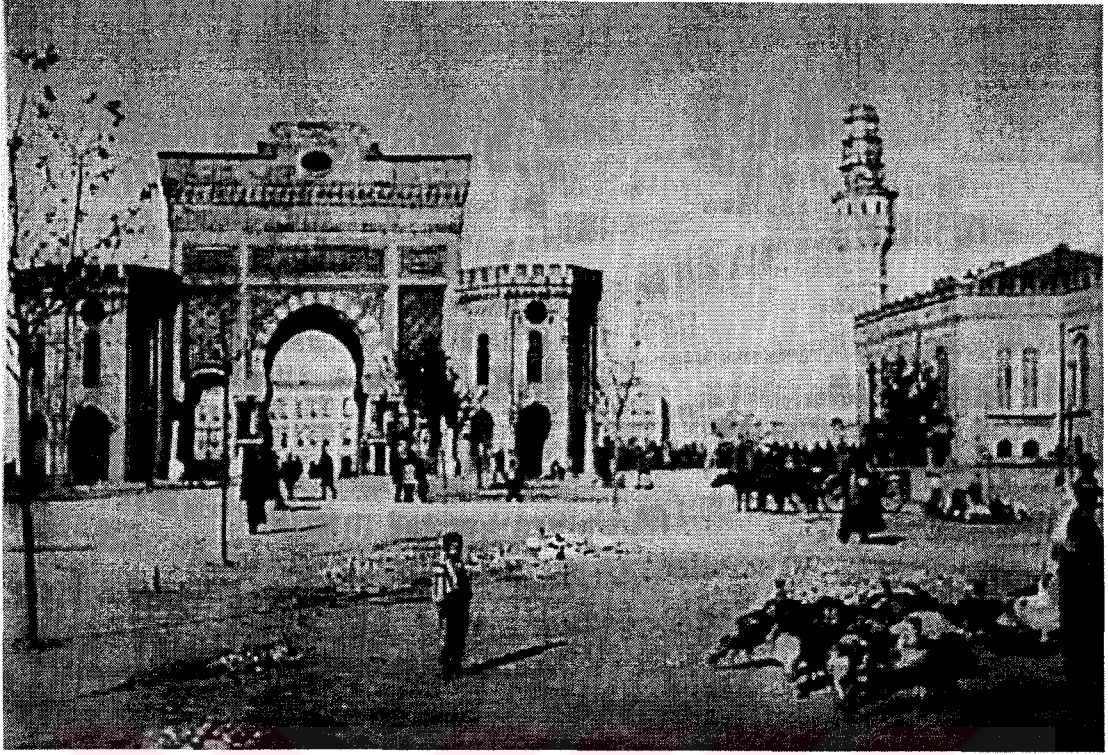


Figure 5.36: Beyazıt Meydanı at the end of the nineteenth century.

SOURCE: Published in Engin Özendes, 1999, *Osmanlı'nın Son Başkenti İstanbul Geçmişten Fotoğraflar*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları).

Regarding the cleaning of the roads and square, we can see that the municipality was washing the Beyazıt Meydanı in early 1870s.²⁶ The route of vehicles to collect trash was servicing Beyazıt. But the traditional way of cleaning was seen as a system to help people, since the public services did not work enough.²⁷ It was complained that in a vacant land, around Beyazıt, people were throwing away their garbage, which caused dirt around.²⁸ Although cutting of the animals was banned in Istanbul, some butchers were not obeying the ban and even in Beyazıt they were cutting animals and spreading dirt.²⁹ Beyazıt Meydanı was also used for the sale of sacrificial animals for the Feast of the Sacrifice in the nineteenth century (Figure 5.37: 5.38).

²⁶ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 175

²⁷ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p. 487.

²⁸ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.453.

²⁹ Basîretçi Ali Efendi, p.620-1.



Figure 5.37: The Selling of Sacrificial Animal in Beyazıt Meydanı.

SOURCE: Ahmet Eken, 1992, *Kartpostallarla İstanbul* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları), fig. no:71.



Figure 5.38: The Selling of Sacrificial Animal in Beyazıt Meydanı.

SOURCE: SOURCE: Published in Perihan Sarıöz, 1996, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDEA), p.46.

The interest for Beyazıt was not only concerning physical requirements such as paving and lightning but also concerned its beauty. Beyazıt Meydanı, the gate and the tower of Seraskerlik were the focus of visual representations, which is expressed in rich collections of photographs and postcards (Figure: 5.39: 5.40). The enjoyment of the city landscape as an artistic product can be found in these collections.

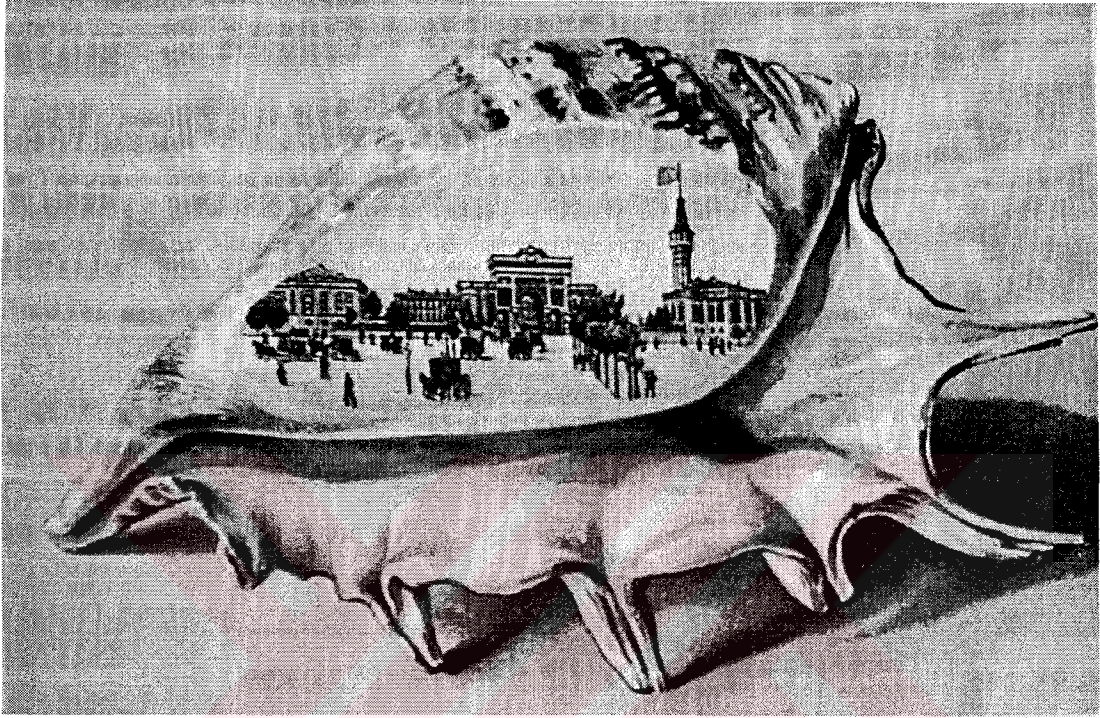


Figure 5.39: Beyazıt Meydanı in a seashell

SOURCE: Published in Engin Özendes, 1999, *Osmanlı'nın Son Başkenti İstanbul Geçmişten Fotoğraflar*, (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları).

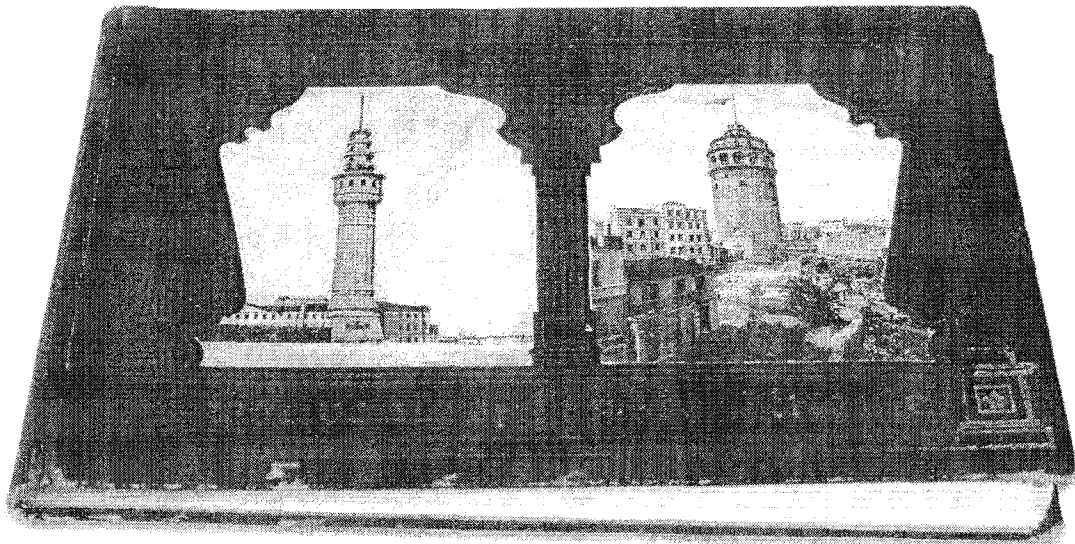


Figure 5.40: Beyazıt Fire Tower and Galata Tower.

SOURCE: *Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları*, 2000, (İstanbul: Koç Bank)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

FROM A MOSQUE'S COURTYARD TO A PUBLIC SQUARE

In this study we aimed to produce a comprehensive history of the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı and relate it to the modernisation of the public realm in the Ottoman Empire. The history of the Beyazıt Meydanı reveals the significance of the early nineteenth century in the reshaping of the urban spaces. As we have seen, most of the writings about the transformation of the urban spaces of Istanbul focus on the second half of the nineteenth century, when the urban administration system was established, and its outputs began to shape the city. However, the first decades of the nineteenth century represent the early stage of modernisation, which has not been studied entirely from the perspective of politics and space. What matters most for early nineteenth century Istanbul was the political and power struggle over space.

Sultan Mahmud II, who overcame the Janissary power, deployed a series of spatial strategies in the urban spaces of Istanbul. Having a control over the space of the capital İstanbul was necessary for the continuity of the Ottoman Empire, which was almost losing its authority over its armed forces i.e. the Janissaries. By the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in 1826, Sultan Mahmud II not only strengthened his authority in his empire but also eradicated the signs of the Janissaries from the landscape of the capital. Thus, deliberate destruction against the Janissaries changed the city in the early nineteenth century. By the demolition of the giant complex of the janissaries and the re-building of an ordinary city pattern in their place, Sultan Mahmud II did not only erase the Janissaries from the map but also he oppressed the memory of them in the city. Sustaining his authority over the empire and the city, Sultan Mahmud II created the basis for modernisation efforts

that took place thereafter. Other developments in the reshaping of Istanbul were constructed on this new secure ground. Consequently, we argue that one cannot grasp the meanings of modernisation of Istanbul entirely without understanding the foundation that Sultan Mahmud II constructed.

The transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı represented an earlier case in the urban history of İstanbul. Here, the precedence of the case of Beyazıt over Aksaray and other cases is meaningful. Through its critical role in the reconfiguration of the urban spaces and their meanings, which was related with the spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II, Beyazıt Meydanı assumed new symbolic meanings as centre of the new army (Seraskerlik Meydanı) and the notable stage of the ceremonies of the empire and the military. All noble ceremonies of the state were held in this square. In other words, Beyazıt Meydanı became a space for representations of power. The gate of the Seraskerlik should be understood as an elaborate sign of Sultan Mahmud II's power on the urban space. The axis of the gate, probably, carried the seed of the axis that will be a prominent spatial order in the Beyazıt Meydanı in 1860s.

Besides the Seraskerlik Gate, which was an elegant point of focus on the square, the other significant figure of Sultan Mahmud II's reign, certainly, was the tower of Seraskerlik. Probably the highest structure of the Historical Peninsula took a place in the panorama of the city during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.

The transformation of public space in order to sustain the new public appearance of power in urban space was realised at the expense of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, i.e. its harem. The mosque hidden behind the exterior courtyard, appeared in the square.

We assume that the demolitions of the exterior courtyards of mosques, present different meanings in every different case. For instance the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Yenıcamı in Eminönü was realised in a different context, in the early twentieth century (see Appendix). Within this aspect new inquiries are required to explore the transformation of urban spaces.

In Beyazıt, the demolition of the exterior courtyard (which was a *vakıf* land), transformed the inner courtyard to an open public space. As a result, in Lefebvre's terms, the regime of Sultan Mahmud II and briefly Ottoman Modernisation produced its own space in early nineteenth century by achieving radical interventions in urban spaces of İstanbul. As a reformer, Sultan Mahmud II produced the space of his authority and enhanced his rule through out his empire. Sultan Mahmud II also governed the production of space as he overcame the authority of *vakıf*'s land politics. The demolition of the harem of the mosque signified that the spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II not only erased the memory of janissaries but also challenged the authority of the *vakıfs*. From this point of view, we believe that, the Sultan Mahmud II's urban and land ownership policies deserve further study.

Actually, the reign of Sultan Mahmud II deserves more attention from different perspectives. One of the opening questions is about the rituals that he created such as the ceremony of hanging of his portrait (Tasvir-i Hümayun). We analysed the representation of the empire related to the issue of Beyazıt Meydanı. However, we believe that representation of the empire during Sultan Mahmud II reign can be studied from a larger perspective with the concept of Hobsbawm's "the invention of tradition".

For architectural and art historians the issue of empire style is also another subject which should be studied owing to the enthusiasm of the empire for creating a style for the state. New empirical studies are needed to grasp the architectural approaches or styles from its motivating grounds.

Returning in conclusion to the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı, we should note that, the change from an introverted to an extraverted urban spatial pattern went hand in hand with the political and social changes at the beginning of the 19th century. Beyazıt Meydanı, as an extraverted urban square, functioned as a producer of modern social life, (in Lefebvre's term) which is not only a social product but also producer of social relations. The gaining of security in the city and production of new public spaces stimulated new city life, which was also nourished

by the tools of modern public life such as newspapers. New public life found its space with in open public spaces.

Thus, Beyazıt Meydanı, the ancient centre of the city, did not form merely a visionary and intangible scene for the representations of the regime of Sultan Mahmud II and his modern army. Beyazıt Meydanı was a space for watching a dynastic parades, such as wedding ceremonies, or witnessing an execution of a janissary supporter, saluting the Sultan who is ascending the throne, watching military parades, buying and selling, talking, walking to a barbershop, drinking coffee, reading the first official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekai* in a *kıraathane*, going to Direklerarası for a promenade after a play in a theatre hall, attending a funeral of a noble person and so on. Beyazıt Meydanı was appreciated and commonly used not only by men but also by women citizens. New forms of modern public life, such as strolling, promenading, “to see” and “to be seen” were staged in Beyazıt Meydanı and in its social life.

As an intellectual centre it is observable that the prominent names of the Turkish world such as Namık Kemal were based in Beyazıt and mainly in the Historical Peninsula rather than Galata and Pera. As a foreign visitor observed, Turks feel themselves “at home” in the Historical Peninsula. Whether the choice of these intellectuals represents any particular opposition to Galata or not can be analysed from this perspective, through comparative studies.

On the foundation that Sultan Mahmud II established, his predecessors continued the development of the Beyazıt Meydanı. The elements of modern landscape, wide paved streets, pedestrian ways, street lightning, carriages and tramways furnished the Beyazıt Meydanı in 1860s. The attention which was traditionally paid to the “inner” open spaces of mosque’s courtyard, was now paid to the embellishment of the “extraverted” public space of Beyazıt. The surrounding buildings of the square gained two-dimensional façades, which were not common in classical Ottoman architecture. In other words, by the development of the idea of the outside, the façades became valuable and rich. The façades of the buildings were recognised as the borders or the walls of the Beyazıt Meydanı. New buildings were

built with orientalist decorated faces. Even the 16th century building, which was part of the old introverted courtyard, was decorated and ornamented in the new context, which is the open public square. Here the style of orientalism was not just affected by the context that it found itself in, but also affected the context itself.

The axis of the Seraskerlik Gate, probably the first axis on the urban scale, became dominant in Beyazıt Meydanı. Buildings were not silent objects inside an inner world anymore but were instead the structural elements of the outside. In front of the buildings, arcades were designed for the pedestrians of the new public life.

Beyazıt Meydanı, as a modern urban square, became a favourite space, almost a matter of pride for the growing modern public life. While one may easily find several visual representations of At Meydanı in pre-modern İstanbul, it is more difficult to find such representations of Beyazıt. However, the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı made it one of the most popular places, which was represented in the engravings, photographs and postcards.

The comprehensive history of Beyazıt Meydanı helps us to understand it not only as an urban element, but also as the part of the modernisation of the city of İstanbul in larger terms. Understanding the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı reveals the changes in modern İstanbul. With the history of a small-scale issue (here that of Beyazıt Meydanı) we can get clues to the history of modern public life and re-shaping of urban spaces of İstanbul in a larger perspective.

Besides, while modern historiography moves from political history towards social history, the issue of space bridges the gap between political and social histories. Beyazıt Meydanı is not only a historical witness to the politics of the political authority but also a witness to the emerging modern social and daily life of İstanbul.

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APPENDIX

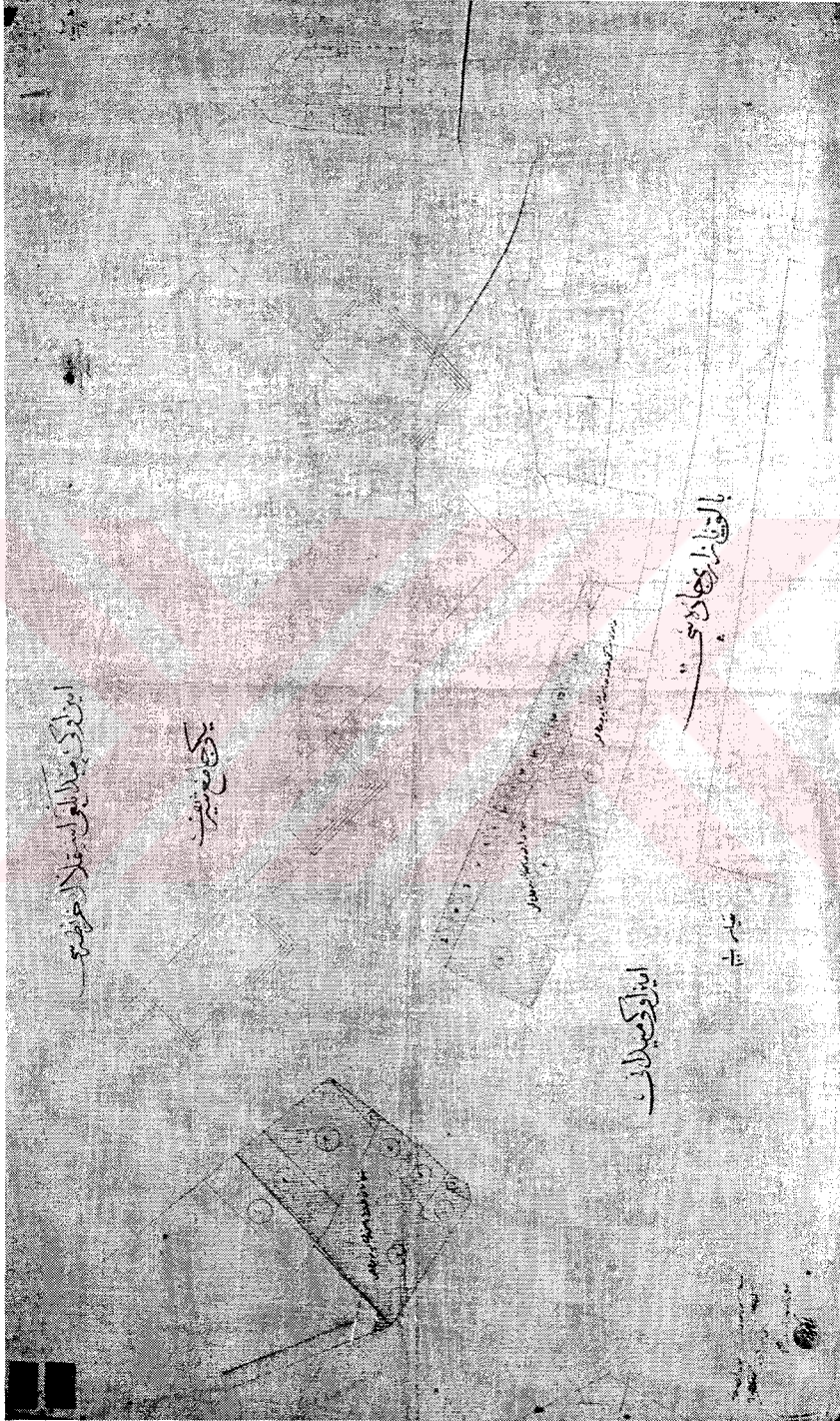


Figure: The reorganization of the Exterior Courtyard of Yeniceami in Eminönü, 1913-4.
SOURCE: Atatürk Kitaplığı, No:352.961 EMI 1329-7253

VITA

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