

**STRATIFIED GROUND OF THE CITY:
TRANSFORMATION OF İSTANBUL DİVANYOLU IN THE MODERN
PERIOD**

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BERNA YAYLALI YILDIZ

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TRANSFORMATION OF İSTANBUL DİVANYOLU IN THE MODERN
PERIOD**

submitted by **BERNA YAYLALI YILDIZ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master Of Architecture in Architecture Dept., Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın
Head of Department, **Architecture**

Inst. Dr. Namık Erkal
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Asst. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan Ergut
Architecture Dept., METU

Inst. Dr. Namık Erkal
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın
Architecture Dept., METU

Asst. Prof. Dr. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz
Architecture Dept., METU

Asst. Prof. Dr. Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya
Architecture Dept., Gazi University

Date: 06.02.2008

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Berna Yaylalı Yıldız

ABSTRACT

STRATIFIED *GROUND* OF THE CITY: TRANSFORMATION OF İSTANBUL DİVANYOLU IN THE MODERN PERIOD

Yaylalı Yıldız, Berna

M.Arch., Department of Architecture

Supervisor: Inst. Dr. Namık Erkal

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This thesis presents a critical reading of the multilayeredness in contemporary cities through the case of Divanyolu, main road of the historical İstanbul. The *ground* in this case displays the fragmented character, so in order to follow the discontinuities in the morphological, economical, cultural and also hypothetic structures; this study will concentrate on the confrontation of layers within the framework of modernization process in the city. Beyond many possible discussions questioning the multiplicity of İstanbul, this study aims to encompass the specific character of the modernization process observed in Divanyolu. Furthermore, the information derived from the evaluation can suggest an exemplary framework for the new *grounds* in the multilayered sites, which is actually the other aim of the study.

Within this framework, Divanyolu is chosen as a major urban case to discuss the complexity of the stratified *ground*. It was an example of a stratified *ground* being the main thoroughfare of the Ottoman Capital, which formed the important network from the Topkapı Palace to the Edirne Gate. The road has been the stage for the modernization process beginning from the 19th century to the present. With the different stage modernization process, the *ground* displayed the fragmented character. In this thesis, the main dynamics of this partial transformation will be evaluated.

Keywords: ground, multilayered city, confrontation of historical layers, fragmentation, İstanbul Divanyolu.

ÖZ

KENTİN ÇOK KATMANLI ZEMİNİ: MODERN SÜREÇ İÇİNDE İSTANBUL DİVANYOLU'NUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Yaylalı Yıldız, Berna

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü, Bina Bilgisi

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Bu tez, günümüz kentlerinin çok katmanlılığı üzerine, tarihi İstanbul'un ana yolu olan Divanyolu aracılığıyla eleştirel bir okuma sunmaktadır. İncelenen *zemin* parçalı bir karaktere sahiptir, dolayısıyla morfolojik, ekonomik, kültürel ve kuramsal strüktürler arasındaki süreksizliği takip edebilmek için çalışma, kentteki modernleşme süreci çerçevesinde katmanların çakışması üzerine odaklanacaktır. İstanbul'un çeşitliliklerini sorgulayan tartışmaların ötesinde, bu çalışma Divanyolu'nda gözlenen modernleşme sürecinin kendine özgü karakterini sorgulamayı hedeflemektedir. Ayrıca, tezin diğer bir amacı da, bu değerlendirmeden elde edilecek bilgi aracılığıyla çok katmanlı alanlarda oluşturulacak yeni *zeminler* için bir örnek çerçeve sunabilmektir.

Bu çerçeve içinde, Divanyolu çok katmanlı *zeminlerin* karmaşıklığını tartışmak için örnek olarak seçilmiştir. Topkapı Sarayından Edirne Kapısına uzanan Osmanlı başkentinin ana yolu olan Divanyolu çok katmanlı bir *zemin* örneğidir. Yol 19. yüzyıldan günümüze ulaşan modernleşme süreçlerinin farklı dönemlerini

yansıtmaktadır. Bu tez de Divanyolu'nda gözlenen parçalı dönüşümlerin ana dinamikleri değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *zemin*, çok katmanlı kent, tarihi katmanların çakışması, parçalanma, İstanbul Divanyolu

To my grandfathers;
Ali Yaylalı and Salih Bakıryapan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a monographic study examining the multilayered *ground* of Divanyolu, main road of historical İstanbul, during the modernization process from the early years of 19th century to the present. The *ground* in this case displays the fragmented character so in order to follow the discontinuities in the morphological, economical, cultural and also hypothetic structures; this study gives attention to the confrontation of visible and invisible layers. Beyond many possible discussions questioning the multiplicity of Istanbul, this study aims to encompass the specific character of the modernization process observed in Divanyolu. As a consequence, the information derived from the evaluation can suggest an exemplary framework for the new *grounds* in the multilayered sites, which is actually the other aim of the study.

In the general sense, the contemporary urban condition can be considered as the outcome of spatio-temporal layerings, in other words, stratifications. Most of the cities are formed as the superposition of the physical and cultural traces, as well as reminiscences of near and far periods which have persisted up to the present. Urban space and its successive transformations can be seen both as the ends and the means of the multilayeredness of the city. Multilayered city can be defined as permanent settlements from the ancient periods and it has been the contemporary setting which displays the traces of lasting time both beneath and on the city.¹ Layers and its traces from different eras are confronted in horizontal and vertical direction, forms the historical stratification, which is defined by the term “multilayered city” in recent urban conservation theories. Indeed,

¹ This definition is cited from Güliz Bilgin Altınöz, “Assessment of Historical Stratification in Multilayered Towns as Support for Conservation Decision-Making Process,” (Ankara:METU, 2002), p.79-80.

multilayeredness of the *ground* is the general characteristic of any kind of settlement, even a defined historical period may be comprised of several layers. Since the complexity of current time has accelerated the movements on the urban *ground*, contrary to pre-modern times. Likewise, the comprehension of the rapid transformations in the contemporary cities necessitates advanced spatio-temporal analysis; thus, the studies on stratum, stratification and multilayeredness have a pivotal role in urban research and design.

Specifically, the study will discuss the modernization attempts in historical thoroughfare of İstanbul, Divanyolu on the Historical Peninsula. Actually, this examination is assumed to evaluate the visible and invisible layers among different strata of time within the case of İstanbul. As mentioned above, most of the contemporary cities can be delineated with its own complex patterns reflecting the cultural and physical transformations deposited within. Changing spatial logics of the communication technologies emerges the global time-space isolating the each inhabitant from the real time and real space of the city. However, İstanbul differentiates from other contemporary world cities with the peculiarity and dominancy of its geographical space and the complexity of its historical and archeological stratification. The Bosphorus divides two continents, where the city forms their meeting point. The Strait can be one of the reasons of historical "stratification" in İstanbul; nevertheless it has its own geographical space-time which constantly redefines the urban experience and opens new perspectives for alternative interpretations. While on the urban *ground*, multiple layers confront on the present-time stratum and return all in one to polysemous pattern, the Bosphorus presents the smoothening force of striated space and the reverse.

The peculiar character of the city is delineated in *The Black Book* in the Chapter "The Day the Bosphorus Dries Up."² By the Nobel Prize Winner novelist Orhan Pamuk narrates the turning of Bosphorus into a pitch-black swamp in one day. Then, the black hole like a valley displays the all historical traces, which turn to a one stratum indiscriminately with the

² Orhan Pamuk, *The Black Book*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1994).

movement of flows. This space is like a carnival without a linear time-space correlation: the Black Cadillac of a Beyoğlu hood who drove car into the Bosphorus to escape the cops near to the skeleton of Crusader's with his armor and metals on the field of jellyfishes. This fiction can be the par example of the juxtaposed layers during the several transformations in the city. Can the representation of physical stratification in Bosphorus in the novel be a model for understanding the multilayeredness of the city?

Istanbul is one of the examples where the reflections of the modernization attempts can be observed after 1830s on the alteration of layers as well as the architectural production; thereafter the city exemplify the confrontation of opposing layers, such as old and new, tangible and intangible, constant and changing etc. The thickness of the modern period layer in İstanbul obscures the comprehension of the layers and establishment of general remarks for the further strategies. Nevertheless, the extensive research questioning the alterations in the layers can provide the interpretation of the modernization process with its limitations in the city.



Figure 1.1 The location of Divanyolu within the city of İstanbul. The road is colored as red.

SOURCE: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com.tr>

Within this framework, Divanyolu is chosen as a major urban case to discuss the complexity of the stratified *ground*. The important question, which will be discussed in this thesis, is that when looking the entire road from the present layer,

how such a stratification that is the outcome of the opposing layers on the *ground* is reflected? Thus, beyond many possible readings questioning the multiplicity of the road, this study aims to discuss the modernization process to figure out the present condition of Divanyolu.

Actually it was one of the hypothetic receptions of the modernization attempts that on the behalf of improvement, the traditional layer should be erased from the *ground* for the application of the new one. Architecture historian John Rajchman exemplifies this idea as creating the second *ground* which opposed to the existing one:

That is what we can do once we see the *ground* as a source of false naturalism. *Ungrounded* thus acquires the sense of “off the *ground*,” freed from the “weight” of tradition, artificial rather than natural, abstract rather than figurative –abstract in a now canonical sense of reduction to a pure or universal language, reproducible anywhere, irrespective of natural site.³

Comprehending the city as the possible blank page to inscribe the modern life culminated with ‘creative destruction’⁴ opening the way to reconstruct the cities over and over again with the capitalist speculations. However, this idealization based on temporary and the fleeting obscures the comprehension of how the modernization project itself would be presented in contemporary city. That is to say, comprehension of the site as the “tabula rasa” makes incomprehensible the continuity and accumulation of the structures defined by the modernity project. Furthermore, during the practical process, modernization encounters with the resistance mechanisms.⁵ These can be understood along the lines of what French urban theoretician Henri Lefebvre called ‘the city was the place, the product of mediations’:

Each urban formation knew an ascent, an apogee, a decline. Its fragments and debris were later used for/in other formations.

³ John Rajchman, *Constructions*, (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1998), p.79-80

⁴David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernism*, (Oxford [England] ; Cambridge, Mass., USA:Blackwell Publishers, 1989), p.16

⁵ *Ibid.*, 204

Considered in its historical movement, at its specific level above and beyond global transformations, but above immediate and locally rooted relations, often linked to the consecration of the *ground*, and therefore durable and quasi-permanent in appearance, the city has gone through critical periods. Destructurations and restructurations are followed in time and space always translated on the *ground*, inscribed on the practicomaterial, written in the urban text, but coming from elsewhere: from history and becoming. Not from the supersensible, but from another level. Local acts and agents left their mark on the cities, but also impersonal relations of productions and property, and consequently, of classes and class struggles, that is ideologies (religious and philosophical, that is ethical, aesthetical, legal, etc.).⁶

Thus, based on Lefebvre's definitions, this study uses the word *ground* rather than "foundation" to offer alternative ways for thinking on architecture in contemporary city.⁷ Here, it points to a 'layer of sense' differentiated from the predominance of 'reason' or 'foundation' which restricts and delimits the interconnections between the oppositions such as old and new, natural and artificial, local and global, contextual and autonomous.⁸ In order to display the singularity of the multiplicities, this new sense of *ground* results not with anxiety and uncertainty but gives a freedom within the current debates on cities. Without reaching the submissive approaches "between modernist abstraction and postmodernist contextualism"⁹ denouncing of adequate architectural *foundations*, new urbanism can be concerned with potentials interconnecting the oppositions. That is to say, in the ideal model of the modernization, the dualism between new and old causes to the idealizations of the radical transformations on the existing *ground*, or conversely for postmodernist reception what historical is already interpreted entity and focuses on the preservation of "historical" on the fragmented *ground* by laws. However, the relevant approach questioning the possible strategies for the multilayeredness of the contemporary city requires

⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Writing on Cities*, (Cambridge, Mass, USA : Blackwell Publishers: 1996), p.107-108

⁷ Main arguments about the relevant strategies for the contemporary cities have been discussed within the scope of *Arch 716: Critical Urban Theories*, Fall 2005, offered by Assoc. Prof. Güven Arif Sargin, in the Middle East Technical University.

⁸ Rajchman, p.79-80

⁹ *Ibid.*, 82-85

much more extensive study. This study elaborates the discussion about the modernization process in Divanyolu by questioning how the invisible layers were interconnected to the existing *ground* and how it will be evaluated within the framework of modernization.

Moreover, another question to be asked here is whether conceiving the *ground* as a 'blank page' can be the idealization of the modernity? In his book, *The Condition of Postmodernism* geographer and social theorist David Harvey delineated this irrepressible process that would destruct on the remains of modern endangered by the multiplicity of flows: "if the modernist has to destroy in order to create, then the only way to represent eternal truths is through a process of destruction that is liable, in the end, to be destructive of those truths."¹⁰ It was a dilemma of the architects with the modernity that even as they reject the older and former to unfetter the demarcation of them, the existing of the physical structure on the site and also the rules, limitations regulated by institutions prevent the comprehension of the site as a "determined and closed, as a system".¹¹ Also, within the rapid stratification of the layers, how the architectural intervention has transformed the *ground* is the vital challenge of architecture in the "mutating magma."¹² The changing vocabulary has emerged to grasp the reality to describe the contemporary urban phenomena from the sociological and philosophical studies to economy analysis that attempt to encompass the earlier approaches and participate in "history of mutations."¹³

Identification of heritage in a multilayered city and the decision for what layer will be obliterated or superposed with present layer is a main question for the contemporary city. On account of dynamic character of contemporary city with

¹⁰ Harvey, p.16 also in the introductory sentence of *Paris, Capital of Modernity* David Harvey admits that a radical break with the past is one of the myths of modernity. Exemplifying the Haussmann project in Paris, Harvey discusses the project relating with the traditions.

¹¹ Lefebvre, p.108

¹² Massimiliano Fuksas, *7th International Architecture Exhibition: Less Aesthetic More Ethics*, (La Bienale di Venezia: Marsilio, 2000), p. 12-16 quoted in Yorgos Simeoforidis, "Notes for a Cultural History Between Uncertainty and the Contemporary Urban Condition," *Mutations*, Ed. by Rem Koolhaas, (Barcelona: Actar, 2000), p.417

¹³ *Ibid.*, 419

new means of transportation, advanced construction techniques and communications as well as advertisement sector, the interpretation of historicity and validity of historical value need new considerations. While questioning the “recent history” of a city, the collected documentaries focusing on the such as the drawings, the produced maps, written city depictions, and news are collected to comprehend the frozen time and place of the city. But what to take into account in this search is linking the fragmented parts through contextual and linear readings. This issue can be clarified with specific cases revealing new methods and aims: what will be preserved in rapidly changing formal, social, typological meanings.

The juxtaposition of layers and their connections to the present can be in various ways: different layers of historical time and different architectural strata may meet but not inform each other so they do not generate a structure, as the urban historian M. Christine Boyer articulates, but they are exhausted in the experience of diversity or only seen as object of display.¹⁴ Besides, the struggle for linking those different spatio-temporal layers to understand the present causes to turn them into isolated visual compositions and fragmentation within the city. On the other way, Boyer mentions “restoration of former architectural and neighborhood traces” and says that it ends with the migration from one time to another without touching.¹⁵ Or limiting the urban *ground* with honorific monuments and historical ruins which were externalized from the actual context make difficult to comprehend the contemporary urban condition.

Questions on continuity, fragmentation, exhibition of layers in contemporary city requires a deep understanding “of the *ground*” in order to see the city as the multiplication of layers without representing them within one major identity. Thus, by “stressing the difference, the rupture between then and now, here and there, and memory of things and events that can never reoccur in the present,”¹⁶ the city can be the outcome of contradictory and fragmented layers which gives

¹⁴ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1994), p.19

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ix

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 374

the possibility of traveling in various time and “the purely visible and the evocative allusions.”¹⁷ As opposed to the spatio-temporal complexity of the urban *ground*, the forms and meanings of the buildings, as the object of architecture in the city, can change, singularly, in reference to emerging technologies and to the impacts of visual culture; each building can superimpose its own space-time. Architectural practice desires for the *ground* to fabricate the reconstructions of the new buildings and their own reality. The urban theoretician Mario Gandelsonas defines the urban city accumulated with distinctive “writing mechanism”:

While the city presents different layers of inscription, architecture adds levels of meaning to the city with its own reading mechanism. The urban writing mechanism offers a text where a wide range of architectural reading strategies “find” or, rather, build their object. Transcription and erasure are the two limits that determine a range of rewriting that begins with the reproduction of the text (historical preservation) and ends with deletion. These two extremes are the boundaries where a multiplicity of strategies or tactics defines the reading mechanism.¹⁸

The rapid alterations in the layers was contradicting that due to the character of the *ground*, albeit naturally or not, might take much time and face up with resistance of new layer. At this point, the dilemma of the architecture is duplicated: the architectural project starts on the *ground*, which has been constituted by the preceding forms and meanings, hesitating for listening the hidden voices in the site, and notwithstanding reconstructs the new reality of the building by repressing the context, ‘what is below the text.’¹⁹ The failure of covering the *ground* consolidates the idea that the *ground* is not passive entity because the progress is not being completed with the last action. To a certain extent, layers are constructed in different space-time relations. Thus, the relation between architecture and city and the confrontation of various layers can be defined without defining complete and articulated narratives.

¹⁷ Ibid., 21

¹⁸ Mario Gandelsonas, 1998, “The City as the Object of Architecture,” *Asssemblage*, V:37, p.128-144

¹⁹ Lefebvre, p.107

In this thesis, the layers will be categorized as visible and invisible layers. Without reducing the relations through visible and distinct elements, the excavation of “invisible *groundless* depth” creating its own space and time should be attempted.²⁰ Namely, the visible traces which remain on the *ground* bring about some formal and also hypothetical limitations for the new uses of the site, however, the invisible layer -or intangible- information layer, including the urban plan projects, political, natural and cultural events, which cause to transformation of the area in different sections and times. But without externalizing or exalting one “knowledge” from the other, all of them should be carefully examined within framework of relations. While each case would be different from another, some tactics and development process might be questioned for the multilayeredness of the cities. Rajchman exemplifies some key concepts such as the *artificial excavation*, *antimonumental intervention* or *dynamic topology* which have been aroused for understanding the existing cities.²¹ Although each one suggests dissimilar attitude for the site, nevertheless, these attempts evoke encouraging question how the architect suggests different type of relations between forms and *grounds* with a “different style of thought, working with another sense of bodily schemata and history.”²² How can a critical architectural intervention, which goes beyond the modernist abstraction and postmodernist contextualism, be developed within in the spatiality of these multiple urban stratifications? Thanks to new time-space arrangements and post-industrial urban growth, not only history uncovers a layer on the surface of the city, also the urban space is accumulated with different fragmented layers as Harvey says: “Modernization entails, after all, the perpetual disruption of temporal and spatial rhythms, and modernism takes as one of its missions the production of new meanings for space and time in a world of ephemerality and fragmentation.”²³ Urban condition has accumulated with disconnected spaces like the collage of images, and signs and this heterogeneity and oppositions of values connected each other globally. “The interweaving of

²⁰ Rajchman, p.15

²¹ Further detailed information see Rajchman, p. 77–89. Rajchman summarizes the some design concepts discussing some methods: moving away from geometry, unfinished design and time considerations.

²² *Ibid.*, 89

²³ Harvey, p.215-216

simulacra” without signifying to origin causes to stratification of different worlds beyond national boundaries and local meanings.²⁴

Beyond the discussion of two sides, the contemporary city has a complex pattern where various spatialities have emerged from the interaction and development of the different spatio-temporal strata with and their traces in the present time. The city can enrich by both connecting to the present time and reflecting the multilayered identity without turning it to the object of display. At that point, placement of history on contemporary city and its transformative role must be questioned. How can the strata from the outside bring together with the present and keep its specific character to the city in the conditions of globalization. As will be questioned in the case, Divanyolu, as the over representation or the neglect of the layers; both will end with the same results for the city: illegibility. So, the consequential question is that how is the contemporary city confronts with stratification without being isolated from its context and meaning? Although the understanding about the scope and method of conservation of the urban heritage has extended along 20th century from historic buildings to the urban fabric, its nature as comprehending the remains as the object may still contradict its own argument about continuity and progress. In other words, the every new layers adding to the *ground* would comprehend the former and its products via the latter one’s meanings and the values attached from outside as indicated in the following quote of Harvey: ‘New meanings can be found for older materialization of space and time. We appropriate ancient spaces in very modern ways, treat time and history as something to create rather than to accept.’²⁵ Secondly, another perilous way of the representation of layers, both visible and invisible, might cause exploitation of them for tourism and commercialization. It obscures the legibility of the *ground* and investigation of layers with its own reality, not the attached meanings over time. Lefebvre’s notion on the lived city might be applied to the historic city which transformed to the social document or a museum:

²⁴ Ibid., 300

²⁵ Harvey, 1989, p.205

The city historically constructed is no longer lived and is no longer understood practically. It is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists, for an aestheticism, avid for spectacles and the picturesque. Even for those who seek to understand it with warmth, it is gone... ⇒What⇒ the eyes and analysis perceive on the *ground* can at best pass for the shadow of a future object in the light of a rising sun. It is impossible to envisage the reconstitution of the old city, only the construction of the new one on new foundations, on another scale and in other conditions, in another society.²⁶

Accordingly, the reuse of the past causes demolitions as well as the neglect of them. The principles should not be based on the representation or preservation of an individual monument; rather the polysemous faces of historical fabric including physical, functional, material, and social values and their invisible traces are tried to reconcile in the field. Boyer conveys this passage between the oppositions:

..... to read across and through different layers and strata of the city requires the spectators establish a constant play between surface and deep structured forms, between surface and deep structured forms, between purely visible and intuitive or evocative allusion.

We might begin to build a passage between the two, and reestablish a linkage between objective and subjective views, by reconsidering how we write and read "history," because that is what we are trying to evoke in the City of Collective Memory: a better reading of the history written across the surface and hidden in forgotten subterrains of the city.²⁷

As for what to expose the interconnections, joints and fragmentation of layers on the urban *ground*, it is seen that it depends on the exploration of intervals between space time continuations on urban *ground*. The medium of this analysis is the confrontation of the visible and the invisible layers. This reveals not only the layers but also the continuity or discontinuity between them. This framework enables a critical reading for developing the case study of this thesis. As the study will be carried on by excavating the visible and invisible layers and their

²⁶ Lefebvre, p. 148

²⁷ Boyer, p.21

confrontations on the *ground*, it epitomizes for critical reading of contemporary cities and the possible architectural interventions on their *ground*.

In the second chapter, Divanyolu and its surrounding area which had been fulfilled until the early years of 19th century will be studied within the perspective of Ottoman urbanism. The definite location and spatial expressions of Divanyolu will be clarified by Maurice Cerasi's study, entitled "İstanbul Divanyolu: a Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture".²⁸

In the third and fourth chapter, the confrontation of the visible and invisible layers on Divanyolu will be elucidated beginning second half of 19th century. It intends to uncover the survey of planning stages, their inscription to the existing *ground*, limitations and the remains on the present layer which is a multilayered representation of the incomplete modern projects from the 1830s to the present. In other words, the invisible basis for the transformations on Divanyolu and their visible traces on Divanyolu will be questioned. This accumulation will be analyzed by concerning the relations between morphological, economical, cultural and hypothetic structures. The modernization process of Istanbul will be examined in three subsequent periods: The first period is starting with execution of Janissaries in the second half of 19th century to the years proclamation of the Republic. The second period is between 1920s and 1950s until to the Menderes operations. The third period is between 1950s and 1980s formed with rapid urbanization attempts.

In the conclusion chapter, the outcomes of the explorations will be uncovered to provide a general framework for the similar urban transformation projects in the contemporary cities which is actually the other aim of the study.

²⁸ Maurice Cerasi, *İstanbul Divanyolu*, trans. by Ali Özdamar, (**İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006**)

CHAPTER 2

DİVANYOLU OF THE CLASSICAL OTTOMAN PERIOD

“That Is Divanyolu, And That Is, In Good Measure, Ottoman İstanbul!”

2.1 Definition of the Location

In this chapter, Divanyolu until the 19th century will be studied within the perspective of Ottoman urbanism. In order to follow the changes beginning from 19th century in the morphological, economical, cultural, social and mythical structures through *Tanzimat*, the importance of the Classical Ottoman Divanyolu before these urban reforms requires to be expressed further. The aim is to comprehend the outline and spatial properties of the Divanyolu in İstanbul.

The Divanyolu axis is chosen as a field of study as representing an example par excellence of a stratified ground and the axis will be explored within two aspects. First, the location of the area will be discussed within the period of its definition, i.e. the Classical Ottoman Period. Which parts of the Ottoman İstanbul’s street network was delineated as Divanyolu? What are the basic urban features of the Classical Ottoman Divanyolu that molded its definite spatiality? What was the relation of the Ottoman axis with the previous historical layers; in other words, was Divanyolu superimposed with the Roman and Byzantine “middle road”, Mese? The definite location and spatial expressions of Divanyolu will be analyzed within the evidence founded by Maurice Cerasi’s study, entitled “İstanbul Divanyolu: a Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture”.²⁹ Cerasi, in this

²⁹ Maurice Cerasi, *İstanbul Divanyolu*, trans. by Ali Özdamar, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006)

study, concentrated on the Classical Ottoman Divanyolu which had embellished with a series of developments till to 19th century. According to his statement, in order to reach the outline of Ottoman architecture and urban development patterns within the ideological and aesthetical considerations, the Divanyolu provide the filter to evaluate the accumulations on the ground. Before getting into details of spatial appearance of Divanyolu during 19th century, it will be beneficial to mention the “urban development pattern”³⁰ until that time.

Second task is to define the spatial significance of Divanyolu before the 19th century transformations as a space unified within the confines of Classical Ottoman urbanism and its specificity for our theoretical framework. Beginning from 16th century to 19th century, presence of the documentaries about the urban regulations reveal that, naturally, there was urban interventions including the regulations about building heights, façade orders and materials, developments on closed areas.³¹ That signifies the idea of regulating the society through development attempts through the urban space.

Divanyolu, in most general terms, is the main thoroughfare of the Ottoman Capital, which formed the important network from the Topkapı Palace to the Edirne Gate linking to the continental road into the European provinces of the Empire, namely Rumeli. *Three Years in Constantinople* of British traveler Charles White, which was published in 1844, depicts the thoroughfare in 19th century.

At the termination of this alley is the animated and crowded thoroughfare called Divan Yolly. This long street commanses at the Bab-y Houmayoom (imperial gate of the seraglio), near the south angle of Aya Sofia: skirting the north end of At Maidany, it passes between Bin bir Direk cistern and the beautiful

³⁰ Pierre Pinon, 1986, “Urban Transformation Between the 18th and 19th Centuries,” *Rassegna* V.72, p.53. Pierre Pinon indicates that there is an urban development pattern consisting of curved and spaced out streets defining blocks with irregular geometric shapes, and differing dimensions, which are penetrated by numerous and often branching out alleys. This is about an urban pattern generally defined as “oriental.”

³¹ Stefan Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. by Paul Dumont, Francois Georgeon, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), p.6

mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud II. It then traverses the ancient Forum Constantine, now reduced to a small space called Yanmish Tash Maidany, behind which the smoke-disfigured and shattered shaft of the celebrated porphyry column, erected AD 330, by Constantine, rises above the guard-house and baker's shop, by which its base is concealed. Divan Yolly then continues in a western direction to the south of Sultan Bejazet and the Serasker Square. After forming the street called Direk Yolly (the colonnade), it passes at the back of the Shahzade mosque, and thence by the Saddle and Shoe Markets to the mosque of Mohammed II; the court of which it intersects. Thence prolonging its tortuous course along the ridge of the fourth, fifth and sixth hills, it terminates at the Adrianople Gate³²

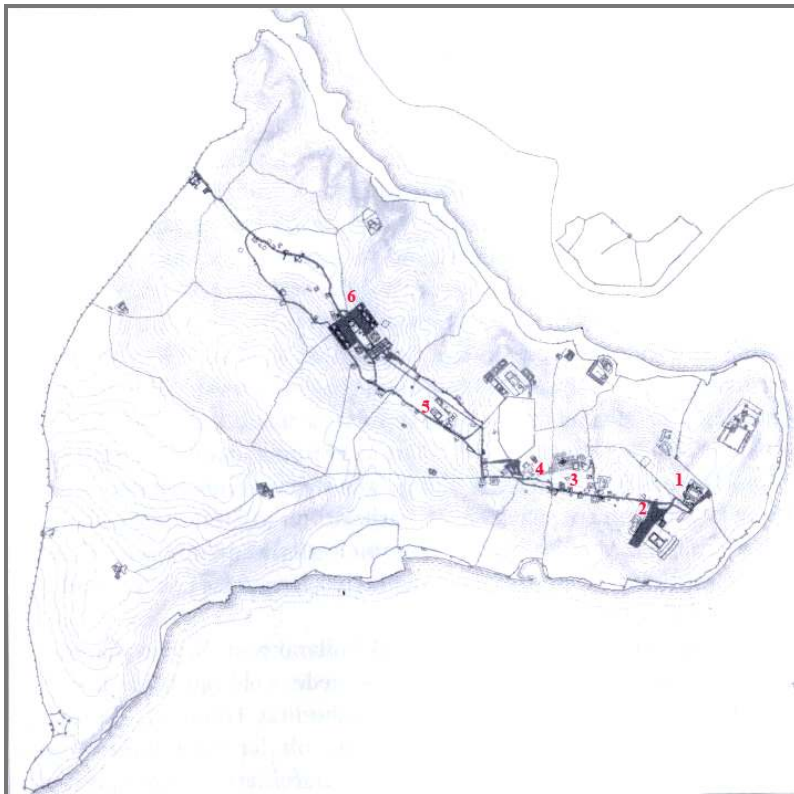


Figure 2.1: The Divan axis and the main monuments on the road, numbered by the author.

1: Ayasofya, 2: Firuz Ağa Mosque, 3: Koca Sinan Pasha Madrasa, 4: Beyazıt Mosque, 5: Şehzade Mosque, 6: Fatih Complex

SOURCE: Maurice Cerasi, *Istanbul Divanyolu: a Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture*, (Würzburg : Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2004), p.16

³² Spelling as in the original source, Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople; or, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844: Volume 3*, (London:Adamant Media Corporation, 2001), p. 73

Following the analyze of Cerasi, appellation of the road as Divanyolu is to be defined from 18th century onwards, named after the ceremonial processions of the pashas' and their crowded routines for the entire road.³³ However, the ambiguity id that Divanyolu has been confined to the section from Ayasofya to Çarşıkapı (to the bifurcation on the east side of the Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha *Madrasa*) after the mid 19th century within İstanbul's official toponomy. Then it can be admitted that, the Divanyolu was concretely defined in the 18th century. The reasons to lose its general definition to a smaller section can be foreseen: Why the Divanyolu has not been clearly identified in the depictions and maps after the second half of 19th century although the ceremonies prolonged until this time. Was it be related with the economic relations? Since the new economic relations after the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty in 1838 altered the trade arteries and weakened the frontier definitions, the entire road determining the trade activities between gate and Grand Bazaar lost its meaning. Or else, was it the expected result of the urban reforms in 19th century? If it was intended transformation within the *Tanzimat*, it was successful because the entire road did not have any specific name hitherto. In order to follow the entire road trace, the definition of Cerasi, which based on the various sources and maps³⁴, can be identified as illustrative:

As far as we can deduce from maps, descriptions and *vakıf* sites, the axis had evolved through the 17th to the 18th centuries, as a fasciculus of streets running Ayasofya-Topkapı to Edirne Kapı and Yedikule, rather than as a single, architecturally recognizable street- corridor. We can argue then, that the Divan axis can be considered, from a geometrical-spatial point of view, not as unique and continuous space, but as a compound of streets along a general direction, in many points defined by alternative routes, in other words, a directionally rather than geometrically defined system.³⁵

³³ Cerasi, 2006, p. 17-21

³⁴ Cerasi develops the search from 1810 Seyyid Hasan map, 1819 Melling Map, 1842 Moltke Map, 1904 Pervititch Map and 1863 Stolpe Map.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27

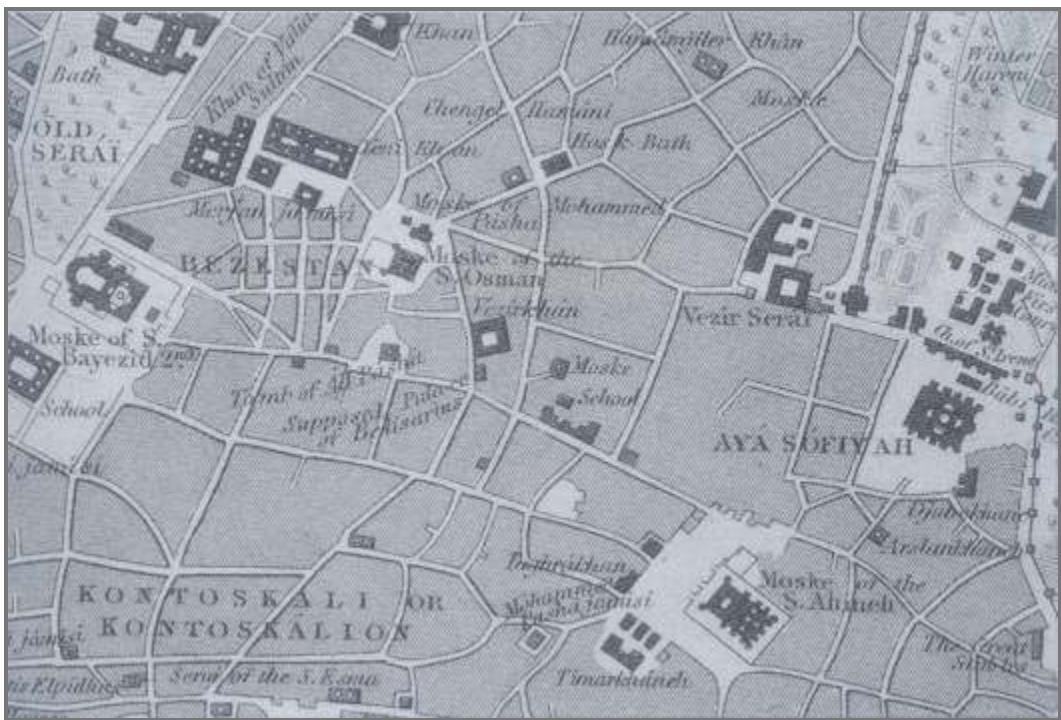
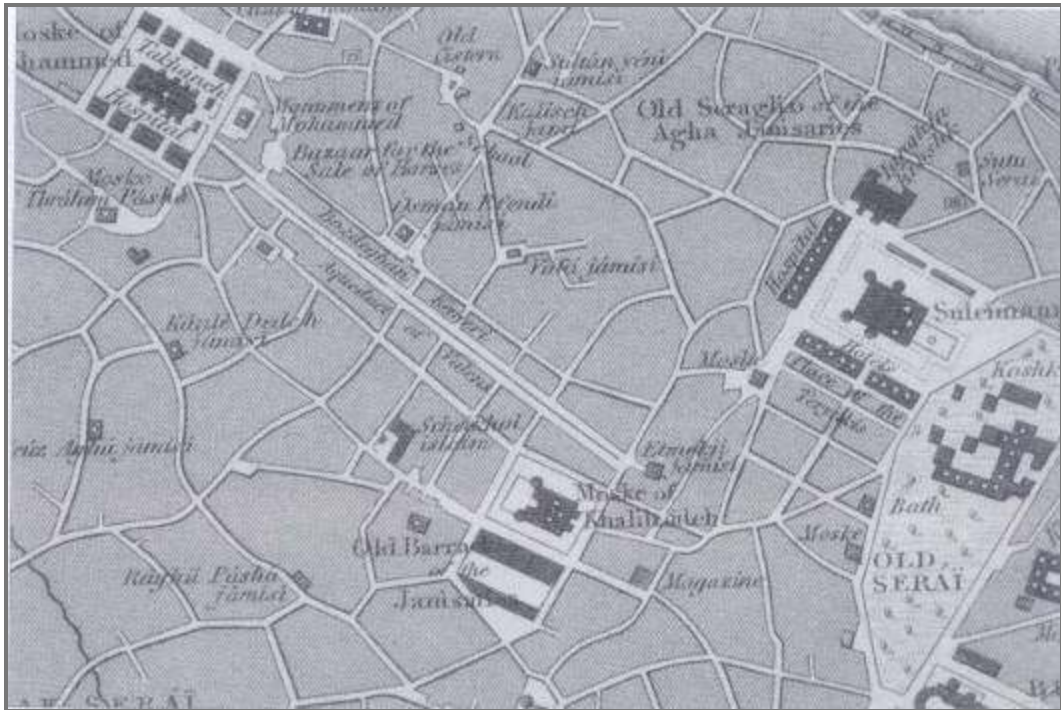


Figure 2.2 and 2.3: In Hellert's map based on the evaluations of Kauffer and Barbie du Bocage during 1840s. On the top: From Fatih Complex to Beyazit, below: From Beyazit to Topkapı Palace,
SOURCE: Cerasi, 2006, p. 27

The direction of the thoroughfare was delineated with the natural relief of the site. The Divanyolu, which ran along the alternative routes, was positioned on the highest altitudes along the ridges facing the Golden Horn. However, considering the axis only with the topographical and ceremonial properties may obscure the comprehension of its formal and social background: the road was displaying the “articulate system of architectural connections” which had been embellished along the years and also the confrontation space of urban life in the interdependence of “market, housing and architectural and natural scenery.”³⁶

The other point which needs to be mentioned is the juxtaposition of Divanyolu with the Roman-Byzantine “middle road” named “Mese”. Constantinople’s main street Mese started in Augustaion (the site of present Ayasofya Square) continued straight as a colonnaded avenue to Philadelphion (around Laleli); then forked into two paths, one leading to the Edirne Gate and the other to the Yedikule.³⁷ This urban armature was formed between fourth and fifth century AD in the Late Antiquity and how it was transformed in the Middle and Late Byzantine period is not well-defined. Although the Byzantine and Ottoman thoroughfare juxtaposed in some geographical points and both were the “middle roads,” of the city, reading the latter’s formal and contextual image through the former causes to false interpretations; as can be observed in various attempts in the 19th century when the theoretical superimposition was taken as a basis for the transformation of the Ottoman Divanyolu.³⁸ Standing on obvious topographical continuities, the incomplete archeological explorations about Byzantine street system and variations on the Ottoman network requires developing diachronic relations between the two epochs.³⁹

³⁶ Maurice Cerasi, “ The Perception of Divanyolu through Otoman History,” *Afife Batur’a Armağan*, ed. by Aygül Ağır, Deniz Mazlum, Gül Cephaneçigil, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2005), p.111

³⁷ For the transformation of this section in the Byzantine period, Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, (Aldershot, Hampshire, Gt. Brit. ; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1993)

³⁸ See chapter 4 for the transformations in the 19th century.

³⁹ Cerasi identifies this juxtaposition as coincidence but consolidated. Cerasi, 2006, p. 39

Ten years after the Ottoman conquest of the city (1453), inauguration of the building constructions by the sultan and the viziers as well as the role of the middle road signified the urban decisions for the redevelopment of the capital city. In this respect, transformation of the Church of Hagia Sophia to the imperial mosque and the construction of the Fatih Complex can be seen as the first attempts to display the urban constructions.⁴⁰ Also, Mehmed II (known as Conqueror) suggested the construction of the *imarets* by the enterprise of influential people as well as Pashas. *Imarets* which were founded in the cores of residential settlements served for the needs of the public and controlled by pious foundations (named as *vakıf*) that were developed by individual enterprises and services.⁴¹ The culmination of a main axis through the Ottoman capital had been achieved by successive building constructions especially *imarets* as well as the imperial ceremonial traditions from the foundations of Mehmed II to the 18th century.

Moreover, Mehmed II built two palaces defining the administrative centers of the city: the Old Palace (built in 1454), in the third hill of the historical peninsula⁴² and the Topkapı Palace (also defined as New Palace), on the first hill. Additionally, his imaret- first imperial mosque complex, Fatih, and the Grand Bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı*), the “four focal elements” of the Ottoman city were formed in the foundation stage.⁴³ In addition, the Eyüp sanctuary on the extra-mural shores of the Golden Horn was built as a major ceremonial center in Sultan coronation ceremonies and punctuating the significance of Edirne Gate and the axis. The military parades, funeral processions, feast processions were acted on the Divan axis, from the Topkapı Palace to various religious complexes along the main thoroughfare of the city. The route from the Edirne Gate to the Grand Bazaar further marked the economic flows, from the European provinces to the capital.

⁴⁰ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi, Bizantion, Konstantinapolis İstanbul* (İstanbul: Türkiye Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.197–199

⁴¹ Ibid. Pious foundations accomplished the municipality service. For detailed information also see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995)V.1, p.114-119

⁴² The building had built on the area of today’s main building of İstanbul University.

⁴³ Cerasi, 2006, p. 42

The land customs, “Karagümruk”, was inside the Edirne Gate on a branch of the main road. Ottoman capital’s main road developed within the same lines for the next 200 years when it culminated into the Divanyolu proper.

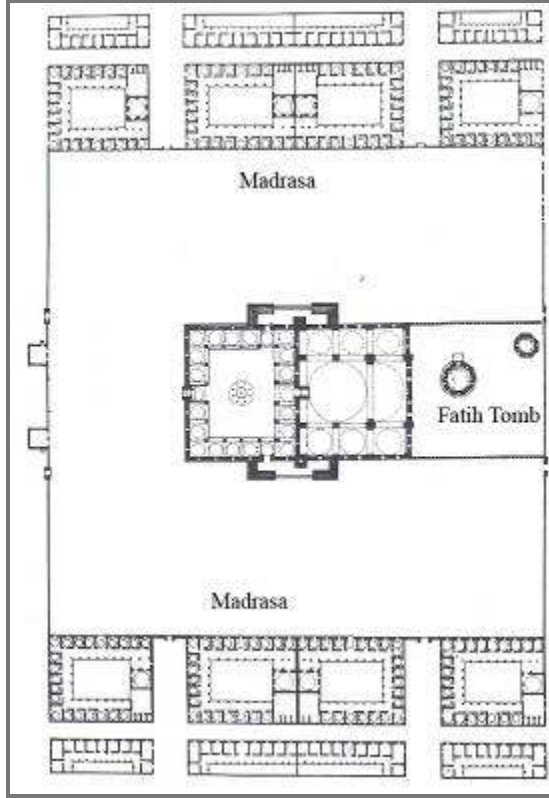


Figure 2.4: Fatih Complex

SOURCE: Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi : Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, (İstanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.200

The main road accumulated the changing urban activities having an effect on morphological, economical, cultural and mythical structures. These can be followed from the diversification in architectural expressions. According to classification of Cerasi, the ensemble of three changing formal structures in Divanyolu can be exposed. First was the network between sultans’ mosques and tombs (tombs of the Sultans buried along the axis: Mehmed II in Fatih complex; Bayezid II in Bayezid; Ahmed I, Osman II and IV Murat in Sultanahmet Complex). Second was related with architectural monuments (socio-religious complexes or *imarets* situated especially between Atmeydani and Çarşıkapı and

also the palaces).⁴⁴ The other, according to Cerasi, scarcely penetrated to the whole image of Divanyolu and embellished the urban texture: the secondary elements constituting the background of street architecture as *türbe*, *hazire* and outer walls of *konaks*. Thus, the depictions developed in 18th century expose the superimposition of the quotidian life and urban events on the axis with the ceremonial passages of Sultans and Pashas on the same stage:

The Pashas and viziers move to their own palace or *kapı* (residence and office of the Grand Vizier, *Pasha Kapısı*, of the commander of janissaries, *Ağa Kapısı*, and of the Şeyhülislam, *Fetva Kapısı*) only after all exited from the palace and, once outside, have greeted each other formally, in a hierarchically complicated protocol. During the ceremony, each Pasha and his retinue waited outside the Bab-ü Hümayun, each in his established position: to the left or right of the gate, in front of the *sebil* etc. It was a long ceremony in full sight of town people. Some positions, says Esad Efendi are by the *bakkal* (grocer) or in front of other shops. *Bakkals* and Pashas together, certainly not on the same footing (those were not times of equality and democracy), but within the same architectural scene! **That is Divanyolu, and that is, in good measure, Ottoman İstanbul!** On one hand, we have a strict ceremonial, on the other the pulsating life and disorder of the city, all within the one and the same scene. The hieratic representation of power and faith (high-slung greetings, turbans of shape and color chosen according to ceremony and status...) vying with disorder and casual happenings of common people (vulgar shouts, movement of goods, and people in confusion).⁴⁵

These accumulation of architectural layers in the street scenes before the reforms will be evaluated in topographical sections through the depictions of Cerasi's study.

⁴⁴ Cerasi, 2005, p. 120

⁴⁵ Cerasi, 2006, p. 69

2.1.1 The Section between Ayasofya and Firuz Ağa Mosque

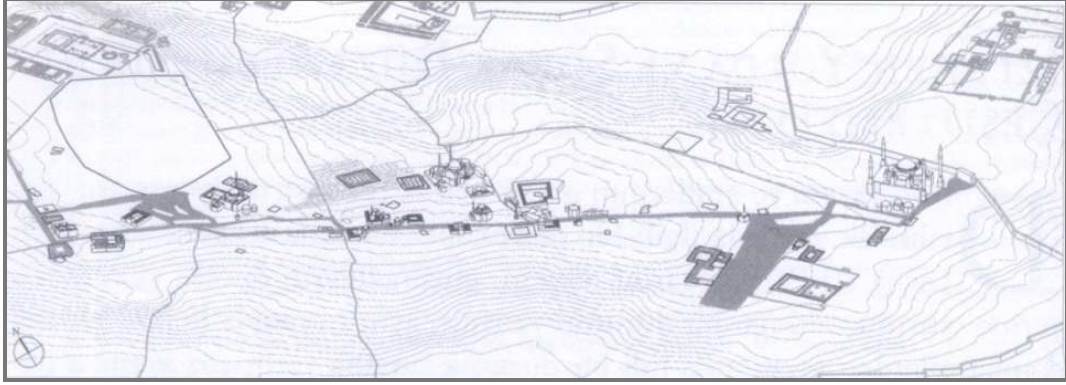


Figure 2.5: Divanyolu from Ayasofya to Beyazıt.

SOURCE: cartographic drawing of Cerasi, 2004, p. 34

Ottoman dynasty attended to the processions on the axis starting in Topkapı Palace and extending to the Edirne Gate. Topkapı Palace (fig. 2.5) was related with the axis by the Imperial Gate (Bab-ı Hümayun) and Royal Walls (Sur-u Sultani). The Imperial gate was located next to the mosque of Ayasofya.⁴⁶ To a certain extent, they represented symbolic meanings of the dynasty for the public: Delineating the first place for departure from the palace during processions, the Bab-ı Hümayun (fig. 2.6) was the place of greetings of Pashas within the sight of public.⁴⁷ Also, tombs of the three sultans' were along the south-east sidewalls of Ayasofya after the construction of tomb of II. Selim by Mimar Sinan.⁴⁸ This consolidates the idea about Divanyolu as the ultimate route connecting the mausoleums belonging to dynasty with sultans' mosques.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ The other two gates, such as the Otluk Gate and the Demir Gate, the walls were pierced but both the walls and gates did not have the property of defense. Kuban, p.301

⁴⁷ Esad Efendi, *Osmanlılarda Töre ve Törenler*, ed. by Yavuz Ercan, (İstanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1979), p. 86-91

⁴⁸ Semavi Eyice, "Ayasofya," in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), V. 1, p.449

⁴⁹ Although not all of the sultans were not buried along the road, most of them were chose on the nodal points: II. Mehmed in Fatih; II. Bayezid in Bayezid; II. Selim, III. Murad, I. Mustafa, İbrahim in Ayasofya; I. Ahmed, II. Osman, IV. Murat in Sultanahmet Complex. Cerasi, 2006, p. 57

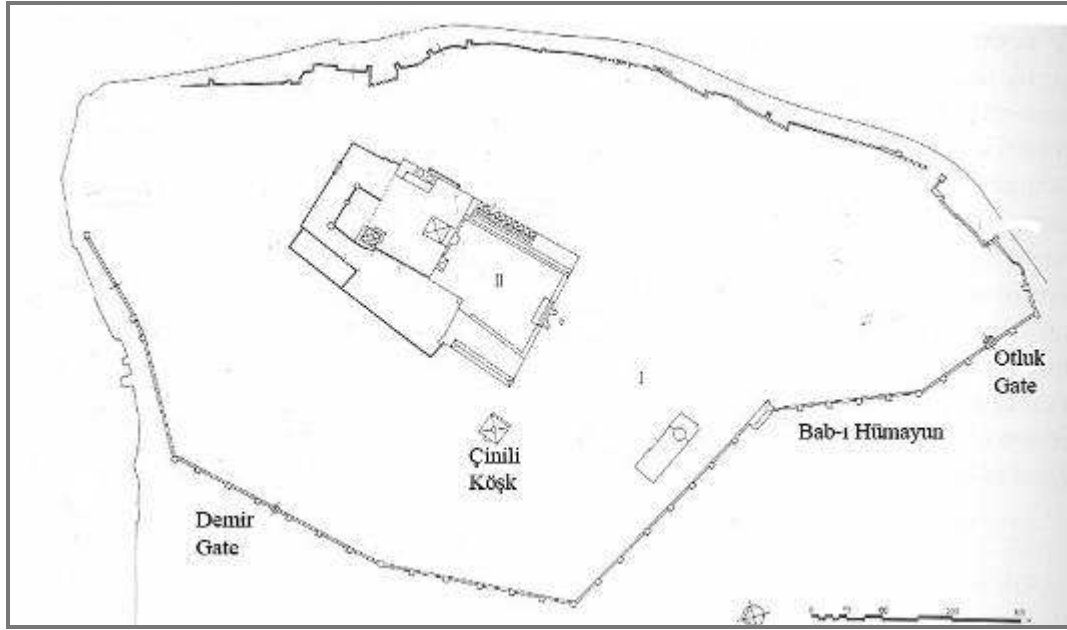


Figure 2.6: Topkapı Palace at the time of Mehmed II.
Compiled by the author from the following source: Kuban, 1996, p.206

The road starting from Topkapı Palace divides into the two at the south wall of Ayasofya in front of the building blocks and then joins in front of Firuz Ağa (1)[–] Mosque without touching to the Atmeydanı (B). Atmeydanı (known as Hippodrome in Byzantine Period) had witnessed to the regular festivals, competitions and uprisings in Byzantine era. Essentially, under Ottoman sovereignty the area became one of the most stratified spaces confronting the rituals of palace and administrative meetings as well as a military ground for training. Transformation of the open place was expanded with the construction of İbrahim Pasha (46) and Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's Palaces in 16th century, and then area was imbued by the houses in 17th century. Although the palaces of Pasha's, which were used as official buildings, improved the administrative movements around the district, Atmeydanı kept the property of being nodal point for public, empire and also Janissaries. Settlement of Topkapı Palace and Pasha *konaks* did not prevent the opposing daily movements, on the contrary it consolidated the importance of the area as the confrontation space for diverse activities such as the wedding ceremonies of dynasty and also uprisings of Janissaries. On the basis of

[–] The buildings are numbered in the Plate 1.

Antoine Ignace Melling's picture, it can be demonstrated that the street activities of the public was contrasting with the periphery developed with grandeur monuments but they continued to go on the same *ground* till the execution of Janissaries in 1826.⁵⁰



Figure 2.7: Atmeydanı in Melling's drawing.
SOURCE: Kuban, 1996, p.306

2.1.2 The Section between Atmeydanı and Koca Sinan Pasha Madrasa:

Divanyolu started as a single axis from Atmeydanı to Çemberlitaş. Because of the physical properties, the route was located on slope. According to Cerasi, this section was more or less corresponded with antique Byzantine Mese Regia.⁵¹ Regia was built as a two storied colonnaded avenue in the time of Roman Emperor Septimus Severus, by late 2nd century AD. Constantine the Great built

⁵⁰ After the event, the name of the area was changed to the Ahmediye Square and then Sultanahmet Square.

⁵¹ Cerasi, 2006, p.45

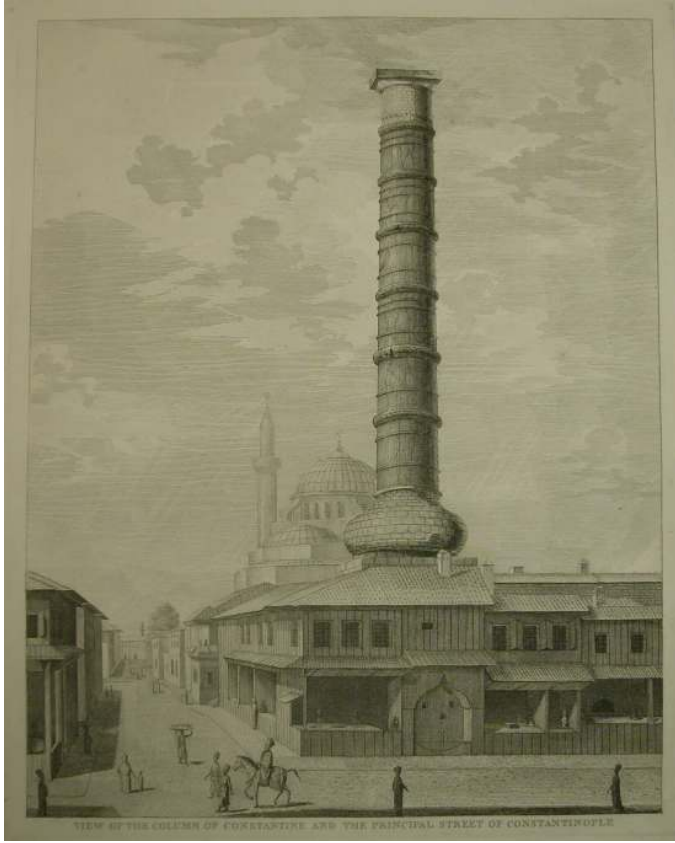


Figure 2.8 Çemberlitaş around 19th century
SOURCE: Victoria and Albert Museum

his oval forum around a monumental column (Çemberlitaş) at the termination of Regia. In Byzantine time, commercial activities had developed especially around the Forum of Constantine. At this section where the Ottoman thoroughfare duplicates the Byzantine axis on a modest scale, the monumental buildings and charitable institutions were alienated together. The route started with Firuz Ağa Mosque built in late 15th century (across the Cevri Kalfa Mektebi (2) built in the early 19th century), passing by Çemberlitaş Bath (16th century) reached the Burnt Column. Atik Ali Pasha Mosque (14) built in the early 16th century was situated behind the column on the right with its own precinct walls.⁵² 16th century pictures by Western travelers depict the Çemberlitaş area as a busy urban hub being the eastern end of the Grand Bazaar. As the continuation of Byzantine trade center, the section between harbor and Divanyolu kept its specificity for trade activities.

⁵² Although the exact date of the mosque was not clear, it was absolute before the death of Atik Ali Pasha. Aydın Yüksel, "Atik Ali Pasha Camii," in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, V. 1, p.449

Figure 2.10 and 2.11: Beyazıt district during 17th and 18th century
Compiled and drawn by the author from the following source: Doğan Kuban, “Beyazıt” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), V. 2, p.181

2.1.3 Around Beyazıt Square

The route was divided into two in front of Bayezid Mosque (21) and then connected ahead. The open area was formed with the settlement of the trivial buildings encircling the area between Bayezid Mosque, Madrasa and Old Palace. Looking to the district’s transformation graphic developed by Doğan Kuban (fig 2.8) the increase in building construction⁵³ and opening of the new roads are observed after 18th century. These alternative routes finally connected and passed through Sabuncu *Han* (26) and Seyyid Hasan Pasha Madrasa (25) (18th century) on Vezneciler Street.



Figure 2.12: In 1820 Seyyid Hasan’s map Beyazıt Square
SOURCE: Cerasi, 2004, p.36

Monuments did not only form the physical boundaries of the square, but they also constituted social and cultural meanings in the district. In addition to the construction of the Old Palace, the Bayezid II Complex (1481) and the Grand

⁵³ According to Cerasi, this ephemeral barracks was built for trade activities and caused to the zoning in the district, p. 36

Bazaar consolidated the meaning of square as the city center.⁵⁴ According the model of Mehmed II, Old Palace and Grand Bazaar were the two important nodes for court processions, religious rituals and also trade relations on the Divan axis. Also, the Uzunçarşı running from Grand Bazaar to the Eminönü district developed the section between the two points. As Kuban carries on, the Tahtakale Bath (15th century) and socio-religious complex of Mahmut Pasha (15th century) including the mosque, tomb, madrasa, bath, *han* (then named as *Kürkçü Hanı*), *imaret*, and court verify this argument.⁵⁵ Containing the 4000 shops in Bazaar, in the *hans* and around the vicinity, Beyazıt can be admitted as one of the areas extending trade relations and also public entertainment activities employing 15.000 people.⁵⁶ *Han* constructions in 16th and 17th century increased in number between Grand Bazaar and the port: Vezir Han (1661 circa), Elçi *Hanı* (1511), Simkeşane (23) (early years of 18th century), Hasan Paşha Han (1745) (27), Sabuncu Han, all of them were located along the road arriving to the European continent from the center of town.⁵⁷ In early 19th century, it can be asserted on the basis of Seyyid Hasan's map (1815), trade activity including the ink sellers, copper stores (*nuhas dükkanları*), engravers (*hakkaklar*), sword makers (*kılıççılar*), arrow makers (*okçu*) and also butchers was developed around mosque.⁵⁸ The other dynamism in economical and social life was observed in fair of foods developed by turning out the atrium of mosque during fasting months.⁵⁹

⁵⁴Doğan Kuban, "Beyazıt," *İstanbul Yazıları*, (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 1998), p. 164

⁵⁵ Kuban, 1996, p.202-203

⁵⁶ Based upon Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Afrika*, in the Seventeenth Century, translated from Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer, (London, Parbury: Allen&Co., 1834-1850), quoted in Cerasi, 2006, p. 72

⁵⁷ Ibid., 72

⁵⁸ Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, 2003, "Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth Century İstanbul: Beyazıt Meydanı" (Ed.D diss., METU), p. 177, 178

⁵⁹ İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'dan Sayfalar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p.51

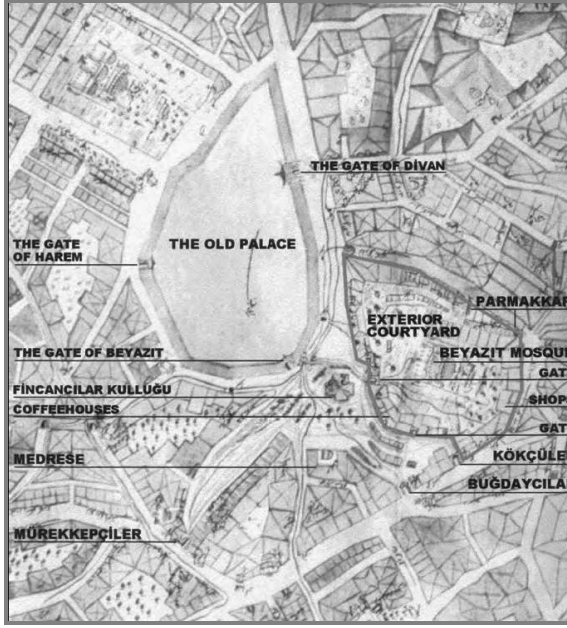


Figure 2.13: Details from the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813). The map is turned upside down for our orientation according to the North.
 SOURCE: compiled by Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, 2007, “From A Courtyard To A Square: Transformation Of The Beyazıt Square In The Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul,” METU JFA V. 1, p.77

Additionally, concentration of booksellers in the quarter (*sahaflar çarşısı*) reveals the ongoing intellectual activities in the district. The written sources indicate that another library was joined to the Bayezid Mosque in 1736.⁶⁰ Also, the coffeehouses aroused in 16th century around the Piazza were the other meeting spaces. In *Beş Şehir*, Tanpınar delineates that since 16th century, sophisticated people met in public coffeehouses, in which panegyrists were telling stories, poets were organizing competitions.⁶¹ Implying the reputation of coffeehouses for the foreign travelers based upon to the coffeehouses’ depictions of Nerval around Bayezid Mosque, Tanpınar adds:

Actually these coffeehouses were the important meeting places as well as the barber’s shops, which were controlled regularly and closed one time in 1826. The administrators were meeting in these coffeehouses, naïve and curious residents were listening the stories of travelers with full of adventures and also the

⁶⁰ Yeşilkaya, p. 206.

⁶¹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*, (İstanbul : YKY, 2000), p. 195- 196

memories of janissaries who just came back from war of Kanije and Uyvar, and also the public opinion was developed in challenging times.⁶²

In addition to the cultural facilities developing the street life in the district, ceremonial processions of the Sultan held on in a different imperial mosque each week. Bayezid and Fatih Mosques rather than Şehzade Mosque were developed as the main destinations on the route for the Friday processions.⁶³ Also the settlement of the Old Palace on the route transformed the importance of the district for the ceremonies: Courtly feasts, wedding occasions ended with ceremonies performed on Old or New Palaces. Cerasi mentions the grandiose feasts on the route which organized once or twice in a century and lasted weeks.⁶⁴ However, the changing meanings of the district after the replacement of Janissary Corps and urban reforms will be discussed in the next chapter.

This linear route facing with Bayezid Mosque and *Complex* arrived to Simkeşhane and Hasan Pasha *Han* then turned to the north after passing Bayezid Bath on the right and ran across Sabuncu *Han* and alternative routes coming from Beyazıt Square.

2.1.4 The Section from Beyazıt Square to Fatih Complex

Divanyolu was divided once more into two lanes after passing Sabuncu *Han*. Both of the roads were then continuing to the Fatih complex on the north and south side of Şehzade Mosque (28) in parallel. Kuyucu Murat Pasha Madrasa built in the early 17th century was situated behind the south section of the route on the left. Then the road reached to the old barracks of Janissaries and Direklerarasi arcade

⁶²Ibid. Gerçekte bu kahveler, 1826'da çok sıkı şekilde kontrol edilen ve bir ara kapatılan berber dükkânlarıyla beraber şehir halkının mühim toplantı yeri idi. İş adamları bu kahvelerde birleşiyor, safdil ve meraklı şehirliler uzak memleketlerden dönen yolcuların garip sergüzeştlerle dolu hikâyelerini, seferden yeni dönmüş yeniçeri ve sipahilerin Kanije ve Uyvar muharebelerinin bizzat şahit oldukları safhalarını burada dinliyorlar, çetin anlarda efkâr umumiye denen şey bu kahvelerde hazırlanıyordu. Translation from Turkish by the author.

⁶³Cerasi, 2006, p.52-53

⁶⁴Ibid. As Cerasi indicates the last such procession performed in October 1720

(1720) (30). The example with reference to overlapping diverging layers of uses and symbols in architectural language reveals itself around Direklerarası. Settled adjacent to the wall of the Damat İbrahim Pasha Madrasa (29), stores were built on the two sides of Divanyolu and in front of the stores; the pedestrian way was shielded with columns joining each other with arches circa 1720. That way the area was named as Direklerarası, “between the colonnades” and defined the district between Şehzadebaşı and Vezneciler. This arcade street complex in Divanyolu can be seen as new in terms of its architectural language: colonnaded and straight way overlaid on the narrow and undefined axis.

Thus, the formation of Direklerarası⁶⁵ reveals the changing architectural models on the route as well as the divergent uses in social life: it was located next to Old Barracks (*Eski Odalar*) which can be considered as meeting place of Janissaries.⁶⁶ François Georgeon asserts this with its adjacency of its place to the important religious places: between Süleymaniye, Bayezid and Fatih, it was on the route of ceremonial processions and religion and also its adjacency to the Şehzadebaşı which was a crowded place for ritual prayers.

The route bifurcated into two sections near the Dülgerzade mosque (16th century) (35), but both these two routes met with the Fatih Complex (*Küllüye*) in south and north side. Fatih Complex was situated in one of the highest points of area. Actually, the Divanyolu, by passing the complex, arrived to the Edirne Gate on the Theodosian city walls.

Looking to the constructions of Marcianus Column (Kızıtaşı) and Holy Apostles located in the place of Fatih Mosque under Byzantine, the district can be claimed as one of the nodal points on the axis from this era. Besides, the Fatih Complex (40), as mentioned above, was the place where the ceremonies were acted during the time of Ottoman Empire. İlber Ortaylı states that funeral ceremonies of the

⁶⁵ The stores with the arcades built on the two sides of the street at the beginning of 18th century by Damat İbrahim Pasha.

⁶⁶ Francis Georgeon, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaşamak: Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatlerarası İlişkiler*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000), p.100

grand viziers performed in the mosque.⁶⁷ Thus, it can be argued that the district was one of the places included for funeral processions of the Court. However, this focal point for the representation of the Empire's power juxtaposes with the district developed with full of wooden *konaks*.⁶⁸

2.1.5 The Section from Fatih Complex to Edirne Gate

Divanyolu was extending to the Edirne Gate on Theodosios Wall through a main road. The secondary path was connected to the main road on the midway. In this study, the route from Ayasofya to Fatih Complex will be studied to comprehend the spatial relations and the changes.

As a consequence, differentiation in building typology and its contextual relation to the street caused to confrontation of oppositional spaces: while commercial and public activities could keep on either in diluted or concentrated quantities which ended with enclosures along continuous streets, introverted districts got lower building densities avoiding urban traffic as well as residential zones.⁶⁹ The ensemble of isolation or enclosure in the district brought about the exploration of alternate routes along the axis. Also, the power of the Ottoman Empire till the 18th century, resolved in rituals, were represented in signals which were dissolved in daily disorder of streets. As Cerasi clarifies, these signals could be single monuments and buildings redefined with appropriation of natural landscape, or the background of street architecture as *türbe*, *hazire* and walls, and also use of symbolic tools in rituals.⁷⁰

Furthermore, there is need to emphasize that although the social, administrative and economic variations on the diverse group were assembled on the *ground*, complete axis and the architectural constituents on were resisted to change. It can be clarified in Cerasi's quotes:

⁶⁷ Ortaylı, p.56

⁶⁸ Cerasi, 2006, p.27-28

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 120

The Divan axis was the channel for important processions in and out of the city and across the city, was called Divanyolu in many occasions. It is not, however, a single street or a line of streets in sequence. In many tracts it is formed by two or more streets running in parallel; very probably, ceremonial processions would proceed in one or the other of the streets, to touch important events or artifacts or simply to channel crowds every possible space in that mesh of bottlenecks.⁷¹

The perpetuation of ceremonial and quotidian meanings along the complete axis clarifies the resistance to change until the nineteenth century. The continuity in the repairs and maintenance of built environment by pious foundations ensured the thoroughfare's amalgamated structure. Without changing the general outline of the unified axis, the route was embellished with architectural details redefining the outer boundaries on the road. Also, the secondary elements constituting the background of street architecture such as fountains, tombs, outer walls and trees consolidated the unified structure of the Divanyolu. Congealed by the ceremonial processions as well as embellished architectural structure, the formal and social structure of Divanyolu was accomplished until the *Tanzimat*.

⁷¹ Ibid., 21

CHAPTER 3

IDEALIZATION OF A MODERNIZED STREET WITH URBAN REGULATIONS ON THE “INVISIBLE” STRATIFIED LINE: 1826-1923

In this part of the study, the confrontation of the visible and invisible layers on Divanyolu as the stratified *ground* will be elucidated beginning second half of 19th century. The objective of the historical review is to comprehend modernization process on Divanyolu. It needs mentioning that the following chapters can be seen as the survey of planning stages, their inscription to the existing *ground*, limitations and the remains on the present layer. Neither the outcome of a major planning or the result of haphazard and speculative regulations, Divanyolu is a multilayered representation of the incomplete modern projects from the 1830s to the present.

The modernization process in İstanbul will be examined in three subsequent periods through the following traces on Divanyolu: The first period is related with the execution of Janissaries in the second half of 19th century to the year’s proclamation of the Republic. The second period is between 1920s and 1950s until to the Menderes operations. The third period is between 1950s and 1980s. This accumulation will be analyzed by concerning the relations between morphological, economical, cultural and mythical structures.

Starting with Edict of Reforms (*Tanzimat Fermanı* in 1839), reformers aimed to attain a centralized state control. In order to carry out the urban laws and regularizations attempts, the city was the efficient platform to represent the consolidated authority of Empire. However, as Stefan Yerasimos asserts that the imitation of western urban models only for aesthetical and functional

considerations was only one aspect of the modernization process.⁷² Representation of the centralized authority of the state on the urban *ground* was the inherent reason to change development patterns in the administrative and physical structures. Additionally, the regulations were issued for pragmatic requirements such as integrating new transportation systems to old street patterns and dealing with disasters.⁷³ On the other hand, Yerasimos asserts that the repetition of regulations to the beginning of 20th century identifies the failure of implementations.⁷⁴ This resistance on the urban ground indicates the dispute between the existing and the idealized structure. Actually, process carried out some restrictions to the sultan's own absolute authority aiming for the modernized state and society.⁷⁵

In this respect, the second half of the 19th century is commonly accepted as the commencement of modernization in İstanbul in the urban history writing when a series of urban reforms were put into practice. However, as Zeynep Çelik clarifies, İstanbul in 19th century was differing from the capital cities in Europe with its “piecemeal” transformations”;

Ottoman Emperors attempted to modernize İstanbul by imitating the spaces in Europe. The modernized capital would signify the revival of the Empire. On the other hand, while the States in Europe flourished, the economical conditions of Ottoman were in ruin. This notion influenced the construction managements in cities. The attempts of diplomatic elites of Ottoman to improve the capital brought about the “piecemeal order.” Thus, while the city deprived from the Turkish- Islamic character, it did not achieved the modernized identity even in the districts which Europeans lived.⁷⁶

⁷² Yerasimos, 1996, p.4

⁷³ Stefanos Yerasimos, 2006, “Tanzimattan Günümüze Türkiye’de Kültür Mirası ve Söylemi,” *İstanbul Dergisi*, V. 54, p.44

⁷⁴ Yerasimos, 1996, p.7

⁷⁵ Afife Batur, “Geç Osmanlı İstanbul’u ” *Dünya Kenti İstanbul*, ed. by Afife Batur, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.164-165

⁷⁶ Zeynep Çelik, *Değişen İstanbul: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.2

As the transformations were realized in sections rather than being superposed by a total plan, the process reflected as fragmented on the ground. In other words, Ottoman modernization created its own layers in different sections superposed.⁷⁷ Thus here, in the case of Divanyolu, the investigation of different phases of intervention within the framework of Ottoman modernization is aimed. Ottoman modernization is pointed with three major events by the historians: Abolition of Janissary Corps 1826, the Declaration of Anglo-Ottoman Treaty 1838, and finally the Gülhane Edict of Reforms 1839. In this part first the direct impacts of these events on the Divanyolu will be searched for, and then partial transformations will be followed in different headings.

3.1 The Abolition of Janissary Corps, Serasker Gate and Square

The initial factors re-structuring Divanyolu as the modernized street can be related with the Execution of Janissary Institution in 1826. Called as Auspicious Event (*Vak'a-i Hayriyye*), this momentous event was important both for reshaping of the area controlled by Janissaries' and is initiating the implementations, which would be consolidated in the Edict of Reforms afterwards. In other words, as the Edict declared the foundation of the centralized modern state; the former social structure, based on religious communities, would be transformed.⁷⁸ So, in order to put into practice the centralized control, the power struggles which deprives the strength within administrative structure, had to be eliminated.⁷⁹

Originally, Janissaries were responsible from the enforcement of order and fire-fighting services as well as being active in the provisioning system. However, they were seen, increasingly, as a serious threat by the Ottoman State against the

⁷⁷ Namık Erkal, 2001, "**Haliç Extra Mural Zone: A Spatio Temporal Framework For Understanding The Architecture Of The İstanbul City Frontier**" (Ed. D. diss., Middle East Technical University), p.210

⁷⁸ Ibid., 211

⁷⁹ As in the first step Vak'a-i Hayriye was defined as fight against the reactionary force, in a more detailed interpretation Reha Çamuroğlu, 2002, "Yeniçeriler, Bektaşiler ve Modernleşme Süreci," *Toplumsal Tarih*, V. 97, p: 7-16. Çamuroğlu highlights the conflicts emerged from power struggle between janissaries and empire.⁷⁹

security of the city in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁸⁰ The role of the Janissaries in the policing of the urban space makes their abolishment a major change in urban institutions near being a military transformation.

Consequently, the void of Janissary Corps was filled with the new institutions while their old buildings were transferred to the new facilities. Consequently, as a symbol of their abolition New Barracks in Aksaray and Old Barracks in Şehzadebaşı⁸¹ were destroyed. With the removal of the barracks, the area which had been named as “Eskiodalarbaşı” was then relabeled as Şehzadebaşı.⁸² Due to its placement on the centre of historical city, the former Old Barracks complex was re-built as a residential neighborhood.⁸³ Ağa Kapısı, as the Headquarter of Janissaries was located on the north of the Süleymaniye Mosque. After the event, it was damaged and replaced by a new office, Bab-ı Fetva.⁸⁴

The abolishment of the Janissaries and their replacement by Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye shows its reflections in another major area on the Divanyolu: Firstly, the Old Palace was assigned as new army’s headquarter (*Seraskerlik*, today İstanbul University’s building) and secondly the Beyazıt Square became a center for military.⁸⁵ Here, Serasker gate was built on the north of the Beyazıt Square.⁸⁶ Also, after 1826 enlargement of Beyazıt Square in front of Serasker gate caused

⁸⁰ Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p.30

⁸¹ As the first barracks, it was built by Fatih Sultan Mehmet. The only sufficient document showing the barracks is Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan published in Kazım Çeçen, *II. Beyazıt Suyolu Haritaları*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi, 1997). Near its concrete representations the abolishment of the Janissaries had its effects in other structures like economic institutions...

⁸² Yeşilkaya, 2003, p.86

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 88

⁸⁴ Ağa Kapısı was located on the North of the Süleymaniye Mosque and used as residence of the Commandant of Janissaries and administrative centre.

⁸⁵ See for the detailed explanation of the military use Yeşilkaya, 2003, p. 181-190

⁸⁶ Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, 2007, “From A Courtyard To A Square: Transformation of The Beyazıt Square In The Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul,” *METU JFA* V. 1, p.73 The Serasker Gate of Mahmud II was similar to the Gate of Bab-ı Ali, the center of Ottoman Administration; as it is preserved today.

gradually the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the mosque during 1880s.⁸⁷ There signified the erasure of traditional complex boundaries. With the transformation from a series of closed urban spaces joined by arteries to squares, The Beyazıt Complex became the first religions urban square to be transformed with the State Reforms; others will follow. The depiction of Miss Pardoe makes easier to grasp the changing visual values on the square:

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.⁸⁸

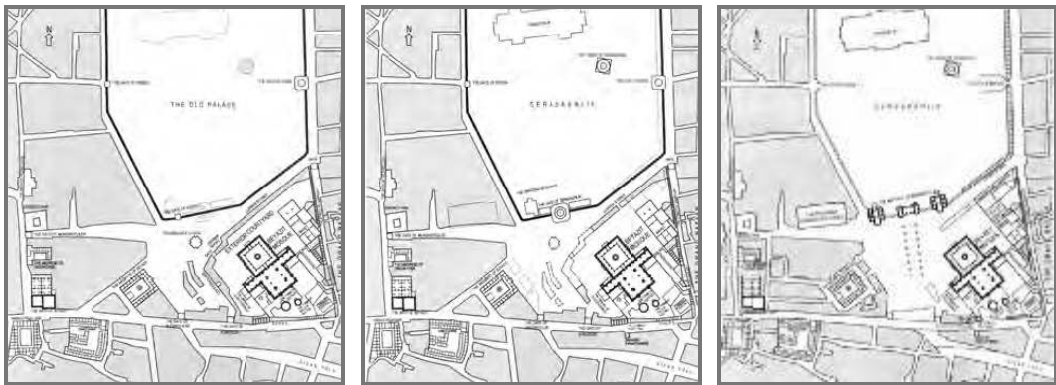


Figure 3.1: Beyazıt Square prior to Vak’ai Hayriyye (1826)

Figure 3.2: After the Vak’ai Hayriyye till 1860’s

Figure 3.3: Between 1865 and 1880s

SOURCE: Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya, 2007, “From A Courtyard To A Square: Transformation Of The Beyazıt Square In The Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul,” *METU JFA* V. 1, p. 74

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of The Bosphorus Illustrated In a Series of Views Constantinople and Its Environs*, (London: Virtue and co., 1855), p.106 quoted in Yeşilkaya, 2007, p.80



Figure 3.4: The Beyazıt Square, in Bartlett's engraving, 1835

SOURCE: Miss Julia Pardoe, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, trans. by Bedriye Sanda, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1997)

Also this exterior space as a favorite space in urban daily life outlined the public activities such as strolling, promenading, and sitting in the coffeehouses which were located across the Serasker Gate.⁸⁹ Such coffeehouses were famous places where news about the political events and intellectual discussions were held.⁹⁰ In the engraving of Bartlett, the new outer space after the demolition of exterior court of mosque and also the gate is seen. Fourteen years after the Vak'a-i Hayriyye, a foreign traveler was comparing square with a promenade in Paris because of the released attitudes of public. It can be followed from the depictions of public life: "As Mac Farlene described, janissaries were causing limitations in the street of women. After the 1828, women were going out without fear. Also, Namık Kemal noted in 1867 that Ottoman women started to appear in the streets during the Ramadan since twenty or thirty years."⁹¹

⁸⁹ Yeşilkaya, 2007, p. 155-160

⁹⁰ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962), p.108 also quoted in Yeşilkaya, 2003, p.211

⁹¹ Abdullah Tansel (ed.) 1967, *Namık Kemal'in Hususi Mektupları*, (Ankara) V. 1, p.76, quoted in Yeşilkaya, 2003, p.233



Figure 3.5: Gate of Serasker from the Fire Tower of Seraskerlik in a photograph by Robertson, 1853,
SOURCE: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *İstanbul Anıları*, (İstanbul: Aletaş Alerko, 1979)



Figure 3.6 Depiction of a military parade in Sultanahmet
SOURCE: Dolmabahçe Palace, published in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), V.1, p.338

Another space along Divanyolu bearing the changes after the abolition of Janissary Corps is the Atmeydanı, which was transformed into a military parade ground for the new western style army and their regularized training. Also, the name of the area was changed to Ahmediye Square in order to prevent the memory of the

Janissaries.⁹² It is substantially remarkable that the area, which was the nodal point for meeting of Janissaries, afterward became the training center of new army. The transformation of these areas can expose the changing meanings on social and administrative structure. In other words, the transformation on the area did not only manipulate the physical surrounding, on the contrary, the outcomes of urban transformation on physical structure can be observed in the social context.

3.2 After the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty

Anglo-Ottoman Treaty in 1838 between the British and the Ottomans known as Baltalimanı Treaty is generally accepted as the crucial event for the Ottoman's restructuring of the trade relations with the world outside the Empire. Similar privileges and tax exemptions for foreign investments on Ottoman territory transformed the urban life in many ways.⁹³ Although the impacts of the Treaty are not as directly legible on Divanyolu as the Abolition of Janissary Corps, the reflections can be found.

First, arrival of foreigners to İstanbul affected the social and economic structure and cultural developments in the city, as well as the formal transformation of Divanyolu. With the treaty, shift in the conventional bazaar fabric and shift in production models became obvious in Grand Bazaar (Kapalıçarşı,) as the commercial centre of Classical Ottoman.⁹⁴ In other words, bazaar, which was the nodal point for the production of manufactured goods in the small shops, lost its centrality for the trade activities simultaneously with missing from the authority of state and into foreign capital. It brought about in economic relations and its reflections on the *ground* within this respect: The shift in commercial center from "Covered Bazaar to Open Bazaar" represented in Galata with the dissolution of centrality.

⁹² Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Atmeydanı," in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), V. 1, p.419

⁹³ Erkal, p.210

⁹⁴ Önder Küçükerman, *Kapalıçarşı*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007), p. 172

To a certain extent, it can be comprehended from the shift in the land values: Philip Mansel notices that while the land values between 1838 and 1847 increased in Pera by 75 per cent, between 1820 and 1850 rents in the Grand Bazaar fell by 90 per cent.⁹⁵ However, there is need to mention that the widening of streets in the peninsula and the connection of Eminönü dock to the Beyazıt and Divanyolu deliberates the continuity of the trade activities within the area as seen in fig. 3.7

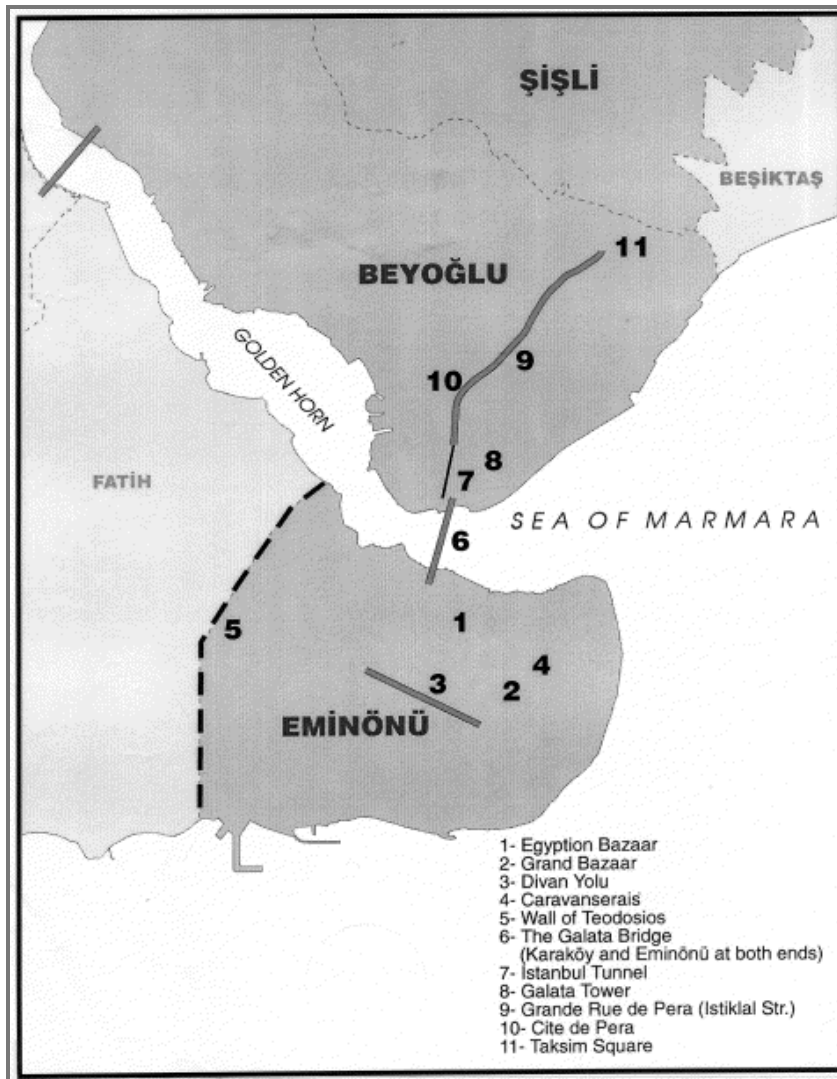


Figure 3.7: Ottoman İstanbul and the shift of the commercial hub to Pera.
SOURCE: Yonca Boyacı, 1999, "The Changing Morphology of Commercial Activity in İstanbul," *Cities*, V:16, Issue: 13, p.181-193

⁹⁵ Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 284

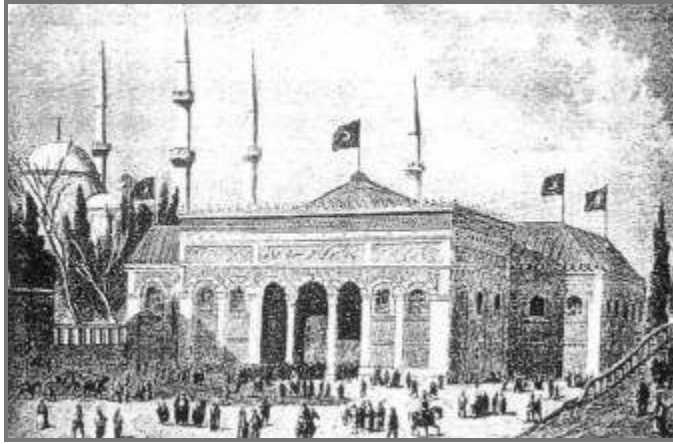


Figure 3.8: Exhibition Building in 1863

SOURCE: *The Illustrated London News*, April 11, 1863, published in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, V.5, p.531

Treaty's direct impact can be followed in the construction of new building which introduced new uses and dimensions "competing with İstanbul's monuments"⁹⁶ for the exhibition. Although the northern side of the Golden Horn had dotted with neoclassic buildings in an influential scale, it also penetrated to the İstanbul peninsula.⁹⁷

The Exhibition Building⁹⁸ opened for the first international industry exhibition (Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani) built on Atmeydanı (called as Ahmediye Square in this period) in 1863 was another physical outcome of economic transformations developed with Anglo-Ottoman Treaty.⁹⁹ Although the building was opened for five months and then demolished within two years, the exhibition caused to the

⁹⁶ As Zeynep Çelik accentuates that before the 1840s, the main monuments such as *Complex*, the mosques, the palaces and the bazaars were concentrated on İstanbul side, p.127

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 139

⁹⁸ The architecture of the building was called Bourgeois. It was opened five days for men and on Wednesdays and Saturdays for women. In order to arouse the public's interest, some organizations including the entrance fee, prizes for the successful manufacturers and also arrangement of new recreational spaces around the exhibition building in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V.6, p. 531

⁹⁹ Sakaoğlu, "Atmeydanı," p. 416

new arrangements on the *ground*: the area in front of the building was rearranged for recreational spaces.

3.3 Edict of Reforms; the Moltke Plan

After the suggestion of Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşit about the assignment of European engineers and architects, German engineer Helmuth Von Moltke was assigned by Ottoman State to produce the map of İstanbul and proposal for street network.¹⁰⁰

The plan was produced in 1839 by Helmuth Von Moltke, who was a Prussian military adviser of the 1830s. This plan also encompassed the main principles of the redevelopment plans which would have been produced for the historical peninsula throughout 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁰¹ His proposal, which was declared by the State as a Certificate, focused on the development of the extended network between the historical peninsula and Byzantine gates precisely: first artery uncovering the Byzantine Mese was from the outer gate of Topkapı Palace, Bab-ı Hümayun, to the Aksaray, second artery was connecting Topkapı on Theodosius Wall to the Aksaray, third artery connecting the Beyazıt to the Fatih complex was then bifurcated into two and reached to Edirne Gate and Eğri Gate.¹⁰² The new streets would be reorganized in 9 m, 9.20 m, 11.50 or 15.20 m according to their use and property. Moreover, Moltke's proposal brought about the new restrictions about wooden buildings and open space arrangements.¹⁰³ The wooden houses would be transformed to the masonry constructions which have three floors at most (14 m). The surrounding of monuments would be opened and roads would be surrounded with trees on two side.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Çelik, p.40

¹⁰¹ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi : Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, (İstanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.351

¹⁰² Çelik, p.83-85

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

Although the plan of Moltke was not put into practice immediately, it initiated the framework for the new outline of “invisible road”¹⁰⁵ which would be followed in subsequent urban laws and projects. Whether unrealized or utopian project when compared with the actual condition of the Divanyolu during 1840’s, it was important to display the idea which would be extended and detailed in subsequent laws.

In the first official document *İlmuhaber* (1839),¹⁰⁶ the street widths were classified as 15, 12, 10 and 8 meters according to uses and importance. Besides, the regulation deliberately described the widening the Divanyolu to approximately 15 meters, planting trees along the sidewalks of 3 meters, perpendicular connection of the road to the monuments, abolishment of the blind alleys.¹⁰⁷ The proposal about the extension of the main road exposed the conflicts between the proposal and the existing condition. It can be comprehensible from the actual width of Divanyolu as average 5 m. However, the route’s transformation from a multiple network to a single street was overtly described in Moltke’s proposal and the idea would be implemented with further operations.

¹⁰⁵ İffet Orbay, *İstanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, unpublished dissertation (MIT, 2001), pp. 57-59, quoted in Nur Altınyıldız, 2007, “The Architectural Heritage of İstanbul and the Ideology of Preservation,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, V.24 p.282.

¹⁰⁶Tanzimat Edict suggesting the administrative, juridical and economic reforms announced on November 1839. However, the first official document aiming transformation of the urban was published on May 1839. Yerasimos, 1996, p. 1

¹⁰⁷ “Dersâdet’in bir kıt’a haritası tanzim olunduktan sonra Bâb-ı Hümâyûn’dan Divan yolu’yla Aksaray’a ve oradan Silivri ve Mevlevihâne Kapuları’na ve Sultan Bâyezid’dan Edirnekapusuna veÇarşanbapazarı’ndan geçilerek Eğrikapu’ya ve Kadırga limanından Yedikule’ye vedahil-i surda Bahçekapusundan Eyüb’e ulaşacak yollar 20’şer zıra ve iki tarafına ağaç dikilerek süslenecek olan 4’er zıra genişliğinde yaya kaldırımları yapılarak beygir ve arabaların gidip gelemeleri için 12 zıra genişliğinde yer bırakılacak....”. Divan-ı Hümâyûn Buyruldu ve İlmuhaber Defteri, p. 11, quoted in Ergin (1995, 1241) and Ergin (1995, 1003).



Figure 3.9: Plan of Helmuth Von Moltke in 1839

SOURCE: Zeynep Çelik, *Değişen İstanbul: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p.85

3.4 Codes, Edicts, Regulations; Mahmud II Tomb

Then, document in 1839 stimulated the first building regulations in 1848 and then the five regulations and laws considering the similar issues.¹⁰⁸ Through *Tanzimat Edict*, the Ottoman State aimed to attain a centralized modern state. As Yerasimos implies that although intentions for developments were planned to put into practice in long terms, then following 1848-1849 Public Building Regulations (*Ebniye Nizannamesi*) were implemented for widening of streets by strict

¹⁰⁸ Although Çelik relates *İlmuhaber* to Moltke drawing, it is not clear there is a relation between *İlmuhaber* and Moltke's drawing, and whether Moltke's drawing is a map or a plan. Yeşilkaya, 2007, p. 81

regulations.¹⁰⁹ Regulations were improved and repeated along the 19th century for reconstruction of the city with orthogonal and extended streets surrounded with masonry buildings.¹¹⁰ Although 1848 Ebniye Nizannamesi¹¹¹ clarified the extension of the streets according to use and importance and the building setbacks, it did not instigate the large scale transformations along the road. Rather, the width of Divanyolu was increased progressively with the help of fires since 1848. Also, it brought about new limitations to the building sizes. However, the acceleration of giant dimensions in mansions and monuments on the area, which were mentioned above, shows the conflict between aimed regulations and practice.

With the 1882 *Ebniye Kanunu*, Building Legislation, the subdivisions in burnt zones were reorganized: if adjacent ten properties were burnt, this area would be accepted as emptied and planned from start and secondly, the quarter of the land were taken from the owner without charge.¹¹² In the map of 1882 by Ayverdi, the subdivision of the new districts after the fires which aligned with the old streets can be observed as in the northern portion of Kumkapı and Aksaray district.

¹⁰⁹ For the building codes and regulations see, Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995), Çelik (1993), Erkal (2001)

¹¹⁰ Six legislations were enacted between 1848 and 1882: *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* of 1848 (Building Legislation), *Sokaklara Dair Nizamname* of 1858 (Street Legislation), *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* of 1863 (Street and Building Legislation), *İstanbul ve Belde-i Selasede Yapılacak Ebniyenin Suret-i İnşaiyesine dair Nizamname* of 1875, *Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu* of 1877 (İstanbul Municipal Law), *Ebniye Kanunu* of 1882 (Building Legislation).

¹¹¹ 1848 *Ebniye Nizannamesi* (Building Legislation) classified the streets according to width in three types: big avenues not less than 7.6 meters, standard streets not less than 6 meters and usual streets not more than 4.5 meters. The building setbacks were highly categorized according to building and street relations. “Müceddeden inşa olunacak han ve hane ve dükkân ve sokak yüzünde yeniden yapılacak duvarların nizamen sokağa kaç arşın verilmek lazım gelirse ol miktarı geri çektirilmedikçe inşasına ruhsat verilmeyecektir.” quoted in Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım Ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim Ve Nedenleri*, (Ankara:METU, 1982), p. XXXIV

¹¹² İlhan Tekeli, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü,” *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed. by Paul Dumont, **Francois Georgeon**, (İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayinlari, 1996), p. 24

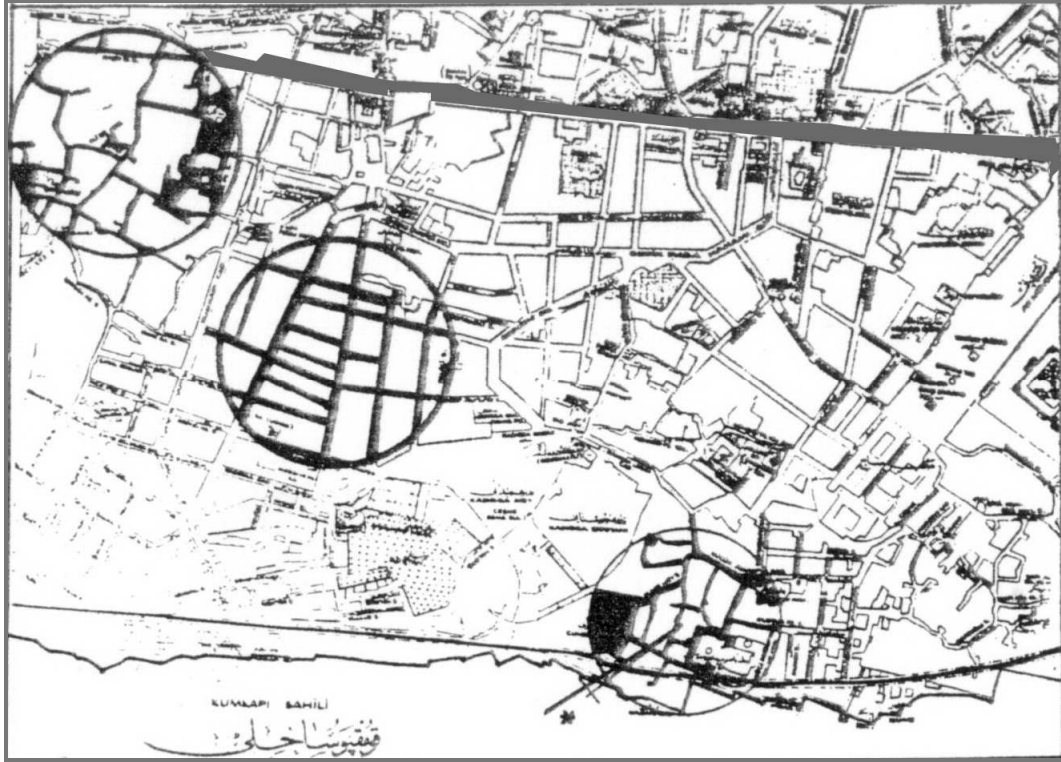


Figure 3.10: The redevelopment of conventional urban pattern during 1875-1892
SOURCE: Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım Ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim Ve Nedenleri*, (Ankara:METU, 1982), p.X

It had been revealed in Street and Building Legislation in 1863 in Article 21:

In case of fire of free standing buildings delimited by streets or by districts, the leveling, the alignment, and the cleaning of every road shall be organized as follows. A general plan shall be prepared of these places, and on the plan shall be shown roads and parcels existing before the fire, as well as their areas. Then, new roads shall be laid out and shown and marked out together with the areas of the new parcels allotted to the owners. The parcels, to be distributed to the according to the plan, shall be as far as possible square or orthogonal, and their area and front

shall be analogous and of the same class as the old parcels, and each shall be ranked in conformity with the features and quality of old parcels.¹¹³

These regulations did not base on the any planning principles initiatively; rather it clarified the condition of the burned areas by adapting to the existing pattern. So the aimed regularity and new order disappeared.

Before evaluating the widening operations on street, it requires to mention the attempts for central control. Centralization attempts bring along the necessity of new institutions. In the classical Ottoman system, the civic services were entrusted to pious foundations and guilds. The upkeep of public buildings was managed by a group of officials under the Grand Vezier like *Kadı*, *Mimarbaşı* (Head Architect) and *İhtisab Ağa*.¹¹⁴ Urban administrative system was controlled by *Kadı* was the official carrying out the juridical, civil and economical works of Ottoman administration.¹¹⁵ However, after the Edict, new municipal institutions such as Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia Nezareti*) in 1849, Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) in 1855, the City Order Commission (*İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) in 1855 took over the authority in urban works. Ministry of Awqaf (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun*) brought under the autonomous foundations which were menacing the pious foundations.¹¹⁶ As mentioned above, regulations on the land use and upkeep of buildings were endowed with these foundations. This system was one of the key structures forming the urban development pattern of the main thoroughfare of the Ottoman Empire. And the dissolution of pious institutions and also the attempt to establish the central authority for the urban transformations changed the development pattern of Divanyolu and caused to conflicting and

¹¹³ Pinon, p.55

¹¹⁴ Here refereed to Erkal, p. 212

¹¹⁵ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi, 1936), p.114,118

¹¹⁶ Altınyıldız, p.284

ambiguous acts on the route.¹¹⁷ But the centralization of the urban works within the authority of one institution caused to the conflicting urban acts. Altınyıldız asserts that it denoted the centralization of the *imar* (to build) and *tamir* (repair) in one authority, but these institutions were in contradictory acts.¹¹⁸ While municipal officials, selected from Ottoman intellectuals, concentrated on road openings, main routes of the city and clearing of the old fabric, the *Ministry of Awqaf* tried to deal with the wearing of monuments.

In this respect, Mahmud II Tomb built in 1840 can be seen as the most discernible symbol representing the new motivation of the reformers.¹¹⁹ Mahmud II Complex can be seen as the pivot juxtaposing the conventional and modern or old and new in terms of physical codes, cultural symbols. That is to say, the building was the extension of Ottoman architectural typology but the arrangement of the parts was representing the new symbolic values for example with its huge dimension octagon tomb was accentuated with overflowed form to the street. Tomb displayed the symbolically and physically departure from Topkapı Palace which contained the tomb of four sultans and also confirmed the power of new sultan and its central authority. This can be interpreted as the transfer from permanent to ephemeral that the representation of death deliberately was from this time symbolized the power of new administration rather than the spiritual bridge between the two worlds.

Also, it introduced the new role of the architect in the city that this building would generate the first modernist plans implemented during the widening operations. Also, the building emancipated the architect from the restriction of authoritative models or figures accumulated before. On the other hand, its accentuated level with stairs from the street was imposed rhetorically during the street widening twenty five years later its construction.

¹¹⁷Ergin, 1936, p.108

¹¹⁸ Altınyıldız, p.284

¹¹⁹ Cerasi, 2006, p. 77



Figure 3.11: Before the widening and leveling operations the Mahmud II complex
 SOURCE: Maurice Cerasi, İstanbul Divanyolu, *The İstanbul Divanyolu: a Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture*, (Würzburg : Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2004), p.146



Figure 3.12 and 3.13: From the street, photograph taken by the author

The convey in representation of political supremacy from Topkapı- Ayasofya district to Babıali- Çemberlitaş since 1867 displayed the new functional zones for administrations.¹²⁰ Cerasi correlates the importance of Babıali for the officials with the usurpation of grand-vizier Halil Pasha *konak's* in 1654. Previously, the bureaucrats had also used his *konaks* for administrative works until to the 17th century. With the 18th century, Babıali building became the new center for the administrative and the movement about the administrative works around the district, symbolizing the central authority. The monumental stone structure

¹²⁰ Ibid.

including the several interconnected offices inaugurated in 1843.¹²¹ Also, the Fossati brothers were responsible for the interior decoration. Although 1878 fire caused to the removal of the building, the office of grand vizier and archives were saved, as well as monumental entrance gate with huge overhangs and folding curvature.



Figure 3.14: Bâb-ı Âli, photograph by Sébah and Joaillier (circa 1860s).
SOURCE: Max Fruchtermann, ed. (no date), *Vues De Constantinople*

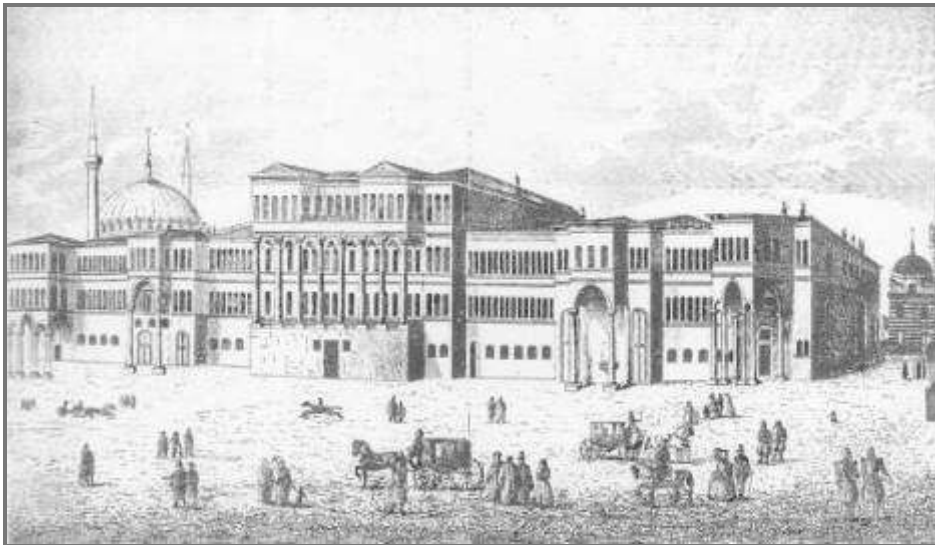


Figure 3.15: Bab-ı Ali around 1867
SOURCE: Cahit Kayra, *İstanbul: Zamanlar ve Mekanlar*, (İstanbul: Ak Yayınlar, 1990), p.32

¹²¹ Çelik, p. 139

The section redeveloped within this period is the district between Babıali and Çemberlitaş as a representation of centralization.¹²² With the second half of 19th century, the district transformed with new cultural meanings. Besides of international, cultural and religious events, modernized plays on theaters were acted.¹²³ As Cerasi asserts that, between 1880 and 1920, Şehzadebaşı and Firuz Ağa regions were the first places which stimulate the modern urban life. On Divanyolu, construction of first modernist buildings¹²⁴ verifies the embracement of modernist outlook aiming to represent the new power and order. In 1880, opening of new streets, Nuruosmaniye and Babıali,¹²⁵ clarified the endeavor to establish new connections between administrative center and modernized street life around Çemberlitaş.

3.5 The Change in Scale; College of Science Building

Except religious buildings, Ottoman cities had been previously occupied with buildings which were modest in scale. However, Mahmud II Complex as well as College of Science (Darülfünun) building shows the new interest for grand dimensions. Built as the university located between Ayasofya and Sultan Ahmet Mosque, College Of Science was designed by Fossati brothers employing a neoclassical style.¹²⁶ The building was erected in 1846.¹²⁷ According to Doğan Kuban this three-story rectangular building with its incompatible scale and

¹²² Cerasi, 2006, p.76-77

¹²³ Cerasi depicts the functional and physical changes of buildings during the war, p.76

¹²⁴ The Mahmud II Tomb as the first huge scale building in *Tanzimat* was built in 1840 and Darülfünun was built between 1845 and 1854.

¹²⁵ The transformations in physical structures and cultural codes were developed after 1865 although it had accumulated within the previous years: with the removal of Janissaries and its institutions from the *ground*, buildings of janissaries which were considered as “insecure social spaces” were left to public. The district then turned to be the first place for development of cultural activities in modernized public life after Galata-Pera. Then the district was regulated for educational activities, recreational facilities and administrative monumentality. Cerasi, 2006, p.77,88.

¹²⁶ Çelik, p. 139

¹²⁷ The conferences and lectures were made for public before the completion of building Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, “Darülfünun,” in *Dünden Bugüne Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), V. 3, p.559

elevations deserve to be mention rather than its architectural style and function.¹²⁸ As a contrasting attitude to pre-modern Ottoman city, the giant dimensions with the neoclassic elevations¹²⁹ were encouraged for the reconstruction of the centralized empire with the urban reforms.¹³⁰ As Denel mentions, this changing scale would then stimulate the shifts even in mansions' sizes and elevations. Moreover, College Of Science was differentiated from the conventional type both in terms of role of the architect and physical contribution because, the architect, Fossati brothers tried to construct the self-governing buildings giving no reference to physical and cultural surrounding. It was denoting the extremely new architectural form and function within the historical context.



Figure 3.16: College Of Science, view from the Sea of Marmara, circa 1900. On the left is the Sultanahmet Mosque, on the right, the minaret of Ayasofya is seen
SOURCE: Çelik, p. 96

On the other hand, the building, which was designed as the first university during the Ottoman period, would be used in different functions and transform the surrounding according to the administrative uses. After ten years of the completion, the building was assigned to the Ministry of Finance and then

¹²⁸ Doğan Kuban, 1970 , “İstanbul’un Tarihi Yapısı,” *Mimarlık* V.5, p.38-39

¹²⁹ A neo-Greek portico dominated its eastern façade.

¹³⁰ Denel, p.33. Denel emphasizes the idea of Sadık Rıfat Pasha representing the attitude of Tanzimat administration: “...Ev, yalı, fabrika ve benzeri gibi beldenin imarına olacak bina inşaatı yurttaşlara çok görülmeyerek, diledikleri genişlikte büyüklükte kargir, ahşap her ne yapmak isterlerse yapımına izin verilmesi yanında, bu konuda gerekli özendirme bulunulmalıdır.”

Ministry of Justice. The first and second National Congress were held on this building. Although İhsanoğlu indicates that the building was assigned to ministry because the building was more than the need for the university, Cezar relates the shift in the functions with the demolitions of the ministry buildings in Babiali fire in 1878.¹³¹

For the education, other buildings had been manipulated on Divanyolu. The second building as a university (today Print Museum, or Basın Müzesi) was built after removing of a stateowned bakery (miri fırın) near to Çemberlitaş Bath and opened in 1869.¹³² During the construction, the courses continued on Nuri Pasha *Konağı* across the Atik Ali Pasha Mosque until the demolition of building on Hocapaşa fire. Also, some rooms of school of Civil Service (Mekteb-i Mülkiye), Zeynep Hanım *Konağı* on Vezneciler (today on the area of building of Science and Social Sciences of İstanbul University) and Ministry of War Building (today the main building of İstanbul University) were used for the university with the changing names. Removal of the university from Atmeydanı to Beyazıt also signified the accumulation of the new nodal points for changing social layers on Beyazıt after the abandonment of the Topkapı Palace. Opening of a modern library in the Beyazıt *imaret* building after being repaired in 1884 and the remained coffee houses¹³³ around Beyazıt consolidated the public space which had been overtly redefined with the execution of Janissaries and their buildings.

¹³¹ Including 125 rooms and 21 stores, the building housed many different functions as mentioned above as well as used as hospital during the Crimean War. It was destroyed in 1936 in a fire. Çelik, p.174

¹³² İhsanoğlu, p.559

¹³³ These coffee houses were the meeting points for the intellectuals discussing the political events and philosophical issues in a broader perspective.



Figure 3.17: College Of Science

SOURCE: Galeri Alfa published in Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, V.3, p.562

3.6 Big Scale Urban Transformations on Divanyolu; Catastrophic Fires

Catastrophic fires of İstanbul opened the way to put into practice and accelerate the constructions for developed urban fabric. Especially, two of the big fires, 1856 Aksaray fire and 1865 Hocapaşa fire, caused to foremost alterations on Divanyolu. Especially Hocapaşa fire also known as the big fire, “harik-i kebir”, caused the regulations of road systems and the first clearing operations around monuments on the road. It will be noteworthy that, the burned down districts were seen more effective than building setbacks of buildings in preparation stage to transform the districts.¹³⁴ That is, the areas destroyed by fires became public property.



¹³⁴ Ibid.

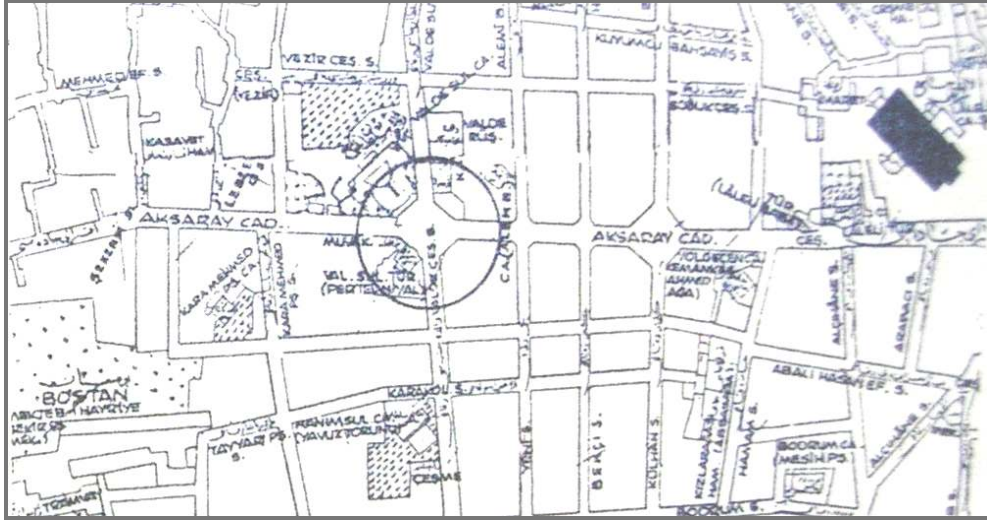


Figure 3.18 and 3.19: The plan of Aksaray district before and after Storari's development
SOURCE: Çelik, p.54

The project in order to extend the streets and juxtapose new urban patterns on Aksaray after Aksaray fire was developed by Italian engineer Luigi Storari was entrusted in Aksaray planning study between 1854 and 1862.¹³⁵ After fire, modifications on the land use and ownership policies were reconsidered. In Ottoman urban principles, lands and upkeep of social complexes were manipulated by pious foundations as mentioned before.¹³⁶ 1858 *Sokaklara Dair Nizanname* after Aksaray fire addressed the issue of expropriation by transformation of State lands to property land and systematizing the properties through title deeds.¹³⁷ For the “completion the planning and design of this project which required knowledge and geometry”, Storari proposed of a structure of roads perpendicular and parallel to main road created by configuration of Aksaray avenue, an extension of Divanyolu. Storari executed the first orthogonal plan. As Pinon indicates “the sharp corners of major intersections were rounded of and two lozenge-shaped *piazzas* (a sort of signature of Storari) embellished the urban texture.”¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Pinon, p.55

¹³⁶ Tekeli, 1996, p.23

¹³⁷ Pinon, p.55

¹³⁸ Ibid.

Between 1853 and 1918,¹³⁹ 308 fires was one of the most influential issues for the redevelopment of the city. Starting from Hocapaşa, westside of Eminönü, fire surrounded the district between Kara Mustafa Pasha Madrasa and Sultanahmet square. Osman Nuri Ergin delineated that the fire “brought more gratification than grief to İstanbul.”¹⁴⁰



Figure 3.20: The fired area of the Hocapaşa Fire.
SOURCE: Çelik, p.47

¹³⁹ Ergin, 1995, V.1, p.1314-1338

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., V.3, p.1222

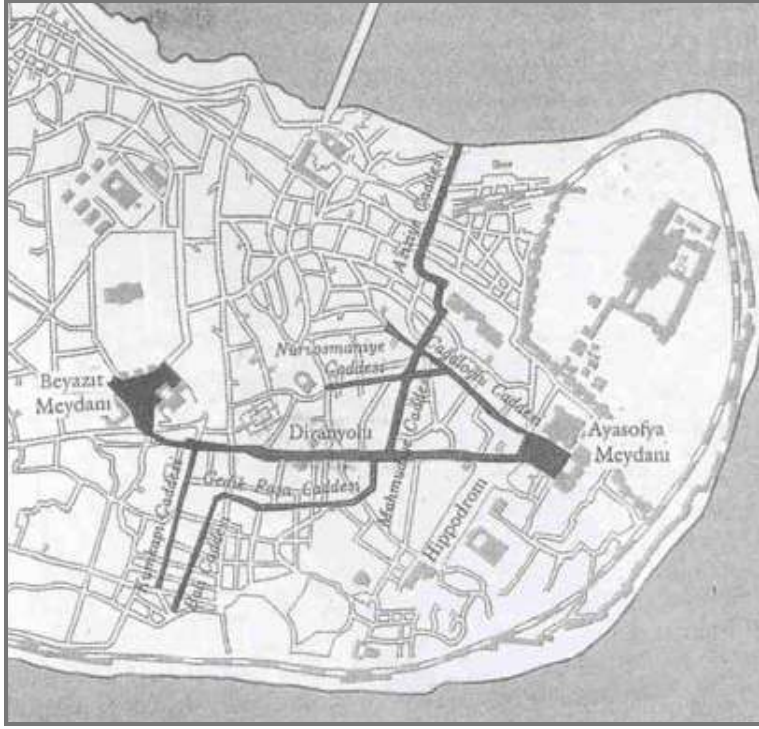


Figure 3.21: The regularized streets after the Hocapaşa Fire.
SOURCE: Çelik, p.48

After the fire which had destroyed the east side of Divanyolu, *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu*, Commission for the Improvement of the Roads, worked for enhancement of streets between 1865 and 1869. Enlargement of Divanyolu to 19 meters was proposed.¹⁴¹ However, even if the largest part had been average 7 meters, after widening this part was doubled.¹⁴² The section between Firuz Ağa Mosque and Koca Sinan Pasha Madrasa was widened that caused the difficulties due to the density of monuments around it.¹⁴³ With the purpose of alignment of revealed monuments, the integrity of social complexes was destroyed. Two rooms of Atik Ali Pasha Madrasa (1496), its public kitchen and convent were destroyed and also half of the Köprülü Madrasa (1659), shops of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha Madrasa, as well as the tombs were annihilated.¹⁴⁴ After fire, residual houses surrounding Çemberlitaş Column was destroyed and created a square

¹⁴¹ Çelik, p.49

¹⁴² Cerasi, 2006, p.35-36. Cerasi depicts the district between Atmeydanı and Koca Sinan Pasha Madrasa as the widest part of Divanyolu, 8 meters although the different sources mentions of 6 meters.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 152

¹⁴⁴ Altınyıldız, p.285

(Çemberlitaş Square).¹⁴⁵ Part of the women’s dressing room of Çemberlitaş Bath (1583) was removed. The destroyed façade of bath as well as the Köprülü *Madrasa* was redesigned with Barborini. As seen in 1880 map, the traditional urban fabric between Kumkapı and Babıali was renewed with orthogonal streets. In addition to Çemberlitaş Square, by removing the adjacent houses in the vicinity of Atmeydanı, Divanyolu (called as “cadde-i cesim”, grand road) was extended and revealed between Beyazıt and Atmeydanı visibly.¹⁴⁶ Displaying “new order of European cities” Divanyolu became the road for horse carts with pedestrian sidewalk.¹⁴⁷

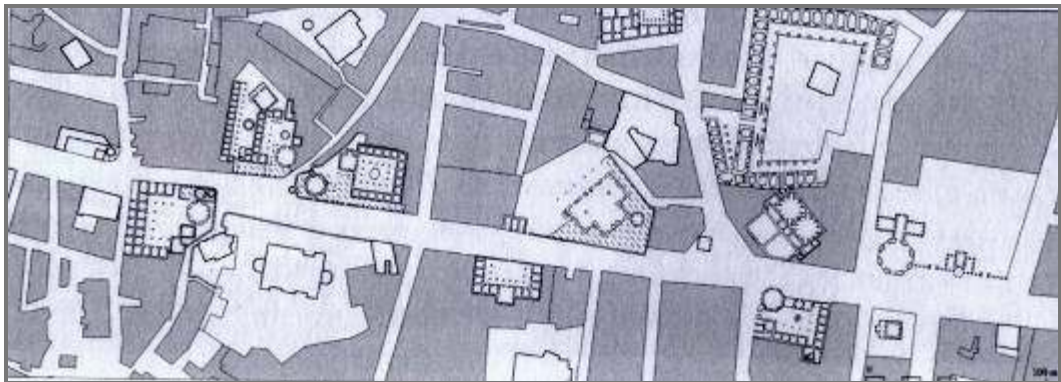
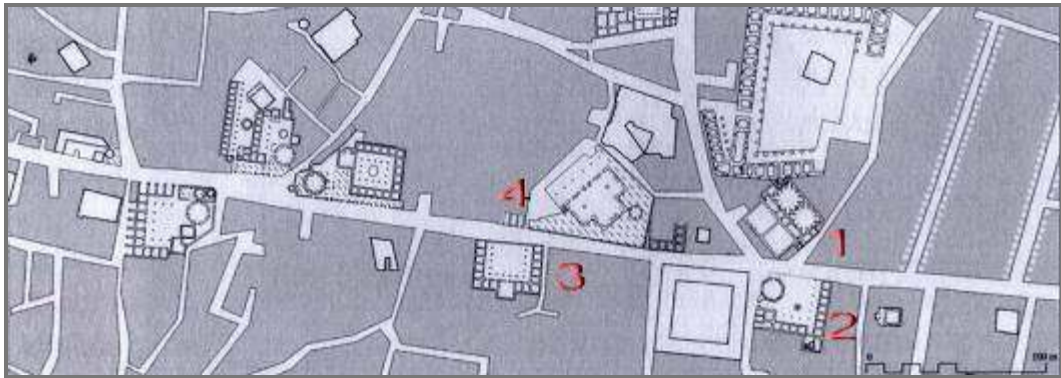


Figure 3.22: Before the widening operations circa 1848. 1: Çemberlitaş Bath, 2: Köprülü Mehmed Pasha *Madrasa* 3: Atik Ali Pasha *Madrasa* 4: Atik Ali Pasha Mosque and *İmaret*

Figure 3.23: After the operations circa 1880

SOURCE: Cerasi, 2004, p.147 identified by the author

¹⁴⁵ Çelik, p.50

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 52

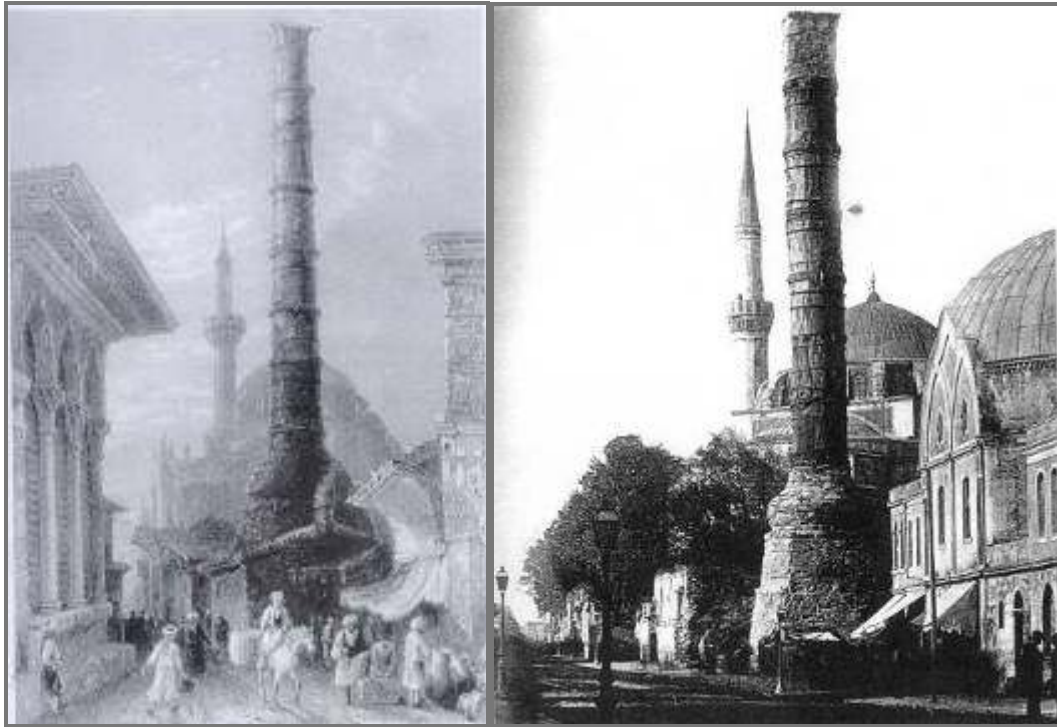


Figure 3.24: Before widening operations around Köprülü Mehmed Pasha *Madrasa* and Çemberlitaş Bath

Figure 3.25: From the east view of Column Of Constantine circa 1880. At the right, Çemberlitaş Bath after the operations. At the back Atik Ali Pasha Mosque and imaret which has been demolished.

SOURCE: Cerasi, 2004, p. 35 and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Zur Topographie İstanbuls* (İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası), trans. by Ülker Sayın, (İstanbul : Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), p.257

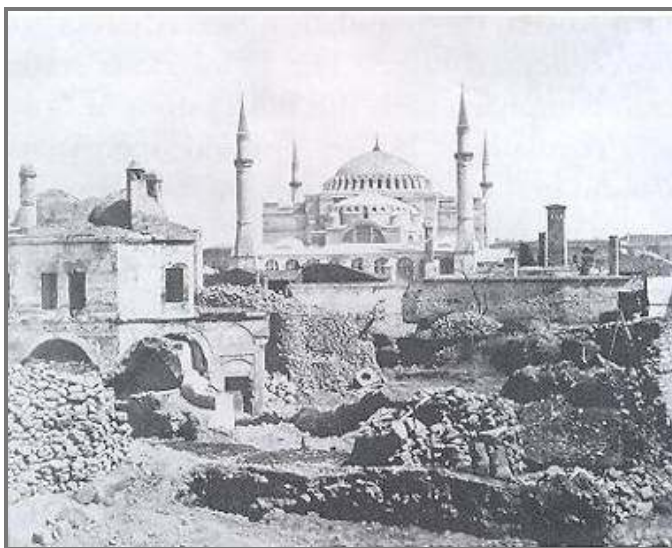


Figure 3.26: The environs of Ayasofya after the Hocapaşa fire.

SOURCE: Nur Altınyıldız, 2007, “The Architectural Heritage of İstanbul and the Ideology of Preservation,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, p.284



Figure 3.27: After 1908 Çırçır Fire around Saraçhane

SOURCE: Perihan Sarıöz, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İdea Yayınları, 1996)

Three big fires also caused to alterations on Divanyolu in the beginning of 20th century: 1911 Uzunçarşı fire and 1912 İshakpasha fire and the most destructive 1918 Sultanselim Fire. First, which spread from Uzunçarşı district caused to the pulling down of 2000 buildings.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, Balaban Ağa Mescidi which had been built as graveyard in 4th century¹⁴⁹ suffered from the fire and then it was not being repaired. The other fire, called as İshakpasha, impinged on around Sultanahmet and Ayasofya. Sultan Selim fire starting from Sultanselim district in Fatih different routes and extending to Cibali, Topkapı and Davutpasha districts

¹⁴⁸Mustafa Cezar, “Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul’da Yangınlar ve Tabii Afetler,” in *İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Türk San’atı Tarihi Enstitüsü Araştırma ve İncelemeleri I*, (İstanbul: Berksoy Matbaası, 1963), p, 377-379

¹⁴⁹ The building had been transformed to the masjüd after the conquest. Then with the big fires, the building dilapidated. Semavi Eyice, *Eski İstanbul’dan Notlar*, (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2006), p.135-136

destroyed 7500 buildings.¹⁵⁰ It caused to the destruction of bazaar of Fatih, around Etsquare and extended to the Koca Mustafa Pasha district.



Figure 3.28: View of land of Grand Palace in 1918. The trace of 1912 fire is seen
SOURCE: Müller-Wiener, p.230



Figure 3.29: View after 1912. At the left, there was Darülfunun building which burned in 1933, in the middle Sultanahmet Prison.
SOURCE: Müller-Wiener, p.236

¹⁵⁰Cezar, p. 377-379

They displayed similar attitudes with the fires in the first era that it was perceived as the casual events developed in the street of İstanbul and also it provided the possibility of the alterations on the urban fabric on Divanyolu Secondly, it gave the possibility of the excavations on the ground. İshakpasha fire caused to excavation on the ground of the Great Palace after the annihilation of the existing building.¹⁵¹ Also, the disappearance of the urban fabric around Ayasofya can be related with the fire as well as the plans of Prost.

At that point, renovations owing to disasters, signifies the rupture with the existing in physical and social structures. In other words, the fires, which had not been differentiated from spatio-temporal layers and accepted as a foreseeable event for urban life,¹⁵² were then seen as the tool for the urban developments to create a rupture in space-time correlation. İstanbul fires had been accepted as usual events that were narrated in novels, depicted in pictures and watched by public. It can be followed in *Beş Şehir* where Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, the well-known Turkish novelist depicts the fires which wiped out the urban fabric of İstanbul. It is essential to mention that the big fires which occurred regularly in İstanbul were seen as enjoyable events. Tanpınar confesses the pleasure of the event even that he laments from the loss of Ottoman cultural and physical heritage in his novels: “Because of the fires, the city was constructed over again from the beginning. The heritage including the carpets, clothes, fur, the works of art, handwritten books as well as the jewelers were lost. Nevertheless, neither the necessity of masonry building was accepted, nor the streets were extended.”¹⁵³ Then he adds, after the *Tanzimat* fires gave rise to enjoyment. With the warning of the fire, the public even the pashas and governors went to fire watching. On the other hand, a foreign traveler surprised because of adoption to fire’s devastation

¹⁵¹ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon Zur Topographie İstanbuls* (İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası), trans. by Ülker Sayın, (İstanbul : Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), p.237

¹⁵² Orhan Pamuk, *İstanbul Hatıralar ve Şehir*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2003), p.199

¹⁵³“Bu yangınlar yüzünden şehir hemen otuz senede bir yeni baştan yapılıyordu. Fakat halı, kumaş, kürk, sanat eşyası, yazma kitap, mücevher her yangında bütün bir servet kendiliğinden kayboluyordu. Bütün bunlara rağmen ne kargir binanın zarureti kabul edilir, ne de sokakların arası açılır.” Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2000), p.189, translation from Turkish by the author.

and recurrence in public life. As Gautier surprises to people who did not complain about the fire's detriment, on the contrary, the fire was accepted as inevitable event.¹⁵⁴ Thus, İstanbul fires gained different meanings in İstanbul after Tanzimat: great fires stimulated the creation of the new fabric. After the fires, although the regulations attempted to improve the derelict areas, the repetition of laws indicates that they could not be put into practice. At that point, there is the need to mention the contradiction between the intended scale of the urban developments and the purification spontaneously. In other words, as İlhan Tekeli indicates that, the endeavor for changing the urban fabric was similar Haussmann's Paris model in scale and aim to purification of tradition, however Ottoman modernization did not effectuate the regulative city plan, only the empties areas were designed with the recurrence of fires.¹⁵⁵ However, connection of new fabric with the existing one was difficult, since the fitting was not being constructed systematic.¹⁵⁶

3.7 Resistance to Change on the *Ground*: New Museums

On the other hand, the renovations on the urban fabric and the extension of street after the fires caused to reactions.¹⁵⁷ First reactions were for the cultural treasures of art belonging to Greek or Roman period discovered after the fire, because of the interest by collectors. In 1869 first law for remains of antiquities, *Asar-ı Atika Nizannamesi* was published.¹⁵⁸ As time goes on, the issue would contain the buildings and urban *ground* in 1874 and 1884 laws. After *Antiquities Law* in 1906 introduced the term archeological finds and museum, following the years of Constitutional Monarchy the redevelopment projects were accelerated as well as preservation attempts. As seen in annual service report of *İstanbul Şehri*

¹⁵⁴ Pamuk, p.228

¹⁵⁵ İlhan Tekeli, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000), p.19-22 and 74

¹⁵⁶ Pinon, p.56

¹⁵⁷ During the widening of Divanyolu after 1865 fire, Keçecizade Fuat Pasha was indicted with idolatry and cruelty. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Divanyolu," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V.9, p.4624.

¹⁵⁸ Yerasimos, 2006, p.45

Muhipleri Cemiyeti, this was established in 1911, the public governances attempted for the development projects including Divanyolu.¹⁵⁹ During the one year of service, the tram route was opened, Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa (known as Millet Library) was rescued from dilapidation. The preservation of building was first mentioned in *Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizanname* “in 1912 with a vague definition of places of works from any period whatsoever to be preserved as antiquities.”¹⁶⁰ But new law did not mention about enhancement of forsaken buildings, on the contrary it paradoxically initiated the recourse for process of demolition: “But if such a building was in a precarious condition and posed danger to its surroundings, then it could be pulled down urgently, skipping this process, provided that decorated and inscribed parts were preserved.”¹⁶¹ This ambiguous definition signifies the emergence of new interest about collection and exhibition of history. Conversion of Çinili Köşk (originally constructed in 1472), into a museum in 1880 and proclamation of the building “equal in rank to an antiquity” displays the growing interest for the history as observed in the foundation of *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi*, the Islamic Waqfs Museum, in 1914.¹⁶²

Publishing the articles about necessity of preservation of deteriorated city, Kemalettin Bey was assigned to head architect and restorer of Ministry of Awqaf with the Constitutional Revolution.¹⁶³ This period denotes the revival of neglected interest for Ottoman architecture and ruinous city which “long neglected under western influence” as Kemalettin Bey describes. Sultanahmet, Fatih and also Ayasofya on Divanyolu are some of the imperial mosques which he undertook repairs, like numerous mausoleums and schools during ten years of his duty. Representing the golden age of Ottoman, monuments became symbols of a

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 47

¹⁶⁰ “Bilcümle kadim Kuleler, burçlar ve kasaba surları ile herhangi devre a’id olur ise olsun kaffe-i emakin (mekanlar) ve asar Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesinin beşinci maddesi mücebince asar-ı atikadan ma’duddur.” Ergin, 1995 V.4, p.1784 quoted in Altınyıldız, p.301

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² It was founded in the imaret of Süleymaniye Mosque and then removed to the İbrahim Pasha Palace in 1981.

¹⁶³ Since he trained on Germany, he was influenced from the movement for preservation of artifacts as national heritage in 19th century. Ibid., .8–10

“dying past that should be recorded and cataloged.”¹⁶⁴ Incongruously, while Kemalettin Bey was blaming the modernization projects as “brutally cutting through” precious remnants of the past in order to build “sick and ugly straight roads”,¹⁶⁵ three madrasas, a bath, and a primary school were demolished for the reconstruction of Kemalettin Bey’s buildings moreover the construction of sixth Vakıf Han in the midst of Çemberlitaş and Atik Ali Pasha Mosque was interfered with protest of *İstanbul Muhipleri Cemiyeti*.¹⁶⁶ As Altınyıldız denotes that ambivalent attitude of Kemalettin Bey between *imar* and *tamir* represents the undetermined urban development policies in Ottoman period.¹⁶⁷ In late 19th century, Ottoman Empire faced with the new planning project for modernization of the fabric as well as the emerging interest for national heritage. With the changes in physical structure, lamentation for the old İstanbul also indicated the emergence of interest for nation’s heritage in late Ottoman periods. Boyer clarifies the return to history as “moment of crisis, it is not surprising to find that city tableaux repeat visual ideals and normative views conservatively sanctioned by public authorities who attempt in this manner to regain a centered world or a concrete system on which moral, political and social foundations can stand”.¹⁶⁸ Also, as the capital of Ottoman Empire, İstanbul had reconstituted adequate representation of the imperial power, but the modernization attempts shattered the myth of former capital city.

¹⁶⁴M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1994), p. 378

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 49

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Altınyıldız, p.287

¹⁶⁸ Boyer, p. 377



Figure 3.30: The tramway lines in the legislations of 1864, of 1869, of 1881 and of 1907.
SOURCE: Çelik, p. 78

3.8 New Roads for Transportation

In the historical peninsula, the transportation was problematic. With the new proposals via the legislations in 1864, in 1869, in 1881 and in 1907, were formulated to establish the tramway route.¹⁶⁹ connecting the Eminönü Square to Atmeydanı by Divanyolu the first tramway was opened and then the route was extended from Beyazıt Square to Aksaray then, separated into two routes, one route kept on Samatya Avenue and reached the Yedikule, the other was connected Aksaray to Topkapı.

In the beginning of 20th century, the main artery between Edirne Gate and Beyazıt Square was opened.¹⁷⁰ It was one of the roads which Moltke proposed. Then this street would serve for the infrastructure of traffic of tram and automobile. In fact,

¹⁶⁹ Çelik, p.75

¹⁷⁰ Cerasi, 2006, p.155

enlargement of the roads for the tram were mentioned in the tramway contract of 1869, *Dersaadet'te Tramvay Tesis ve İnşasına Dair Şartname*.¹⁷¹ This intervention caused to the demolitions of monumental buildings on the south side of Bozdoğan Aqueduct. The columns of Direklerarası, which had been neglected after the prominence of Beyoğlu, were annihilated and the stores came into sight because of tram road construction in the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁷²

Essentially, the new network established with the tram roads reattached the primary nodes along Divanyolu. Although the entire road lost its wholeness even in the street names (Ayverdi map, plate 1), the new network established the new connections between the dissolved parts of Divanyolu.

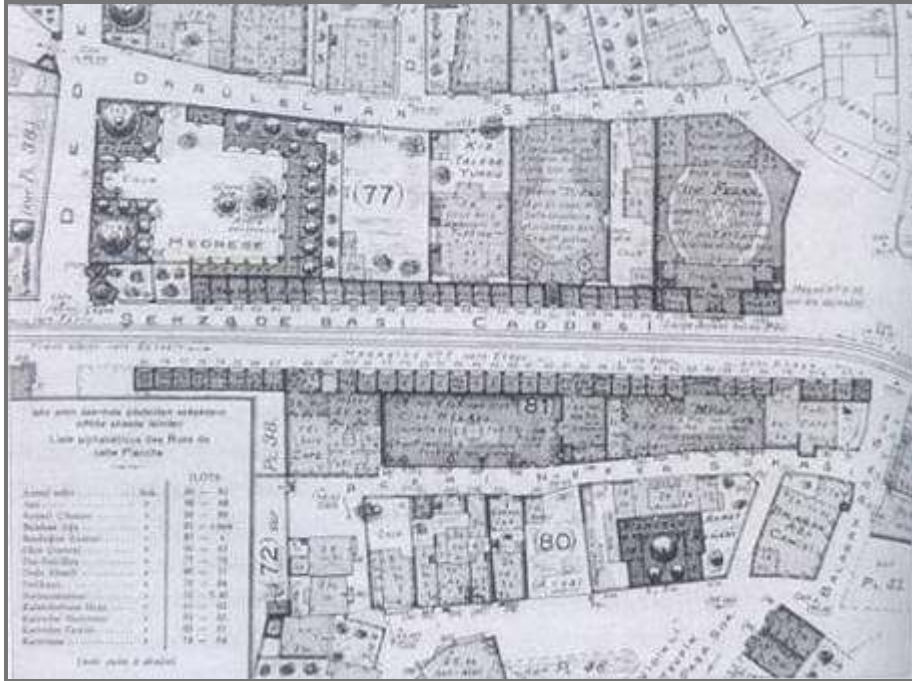


Figure 3.31: In Pervititch's map Direklerarası in the beginning of 20th century
 SOURCE: *Jacques Pervititch sigorta haritalarında İstanbul, (İstanbul in the Insurance Maps of Jacques Pervititch)*, trans. by Zülal Kılıç, (İstanbul: Axa Oyak, 2001)

¹⁷¹ Quoted in Ergin. 1995, p.2401-2402

¹⁷² Eyice, p.152



Figure 3.32: Direklerarası in 19th century
SOURCE: Cerasi, 2004, p.111

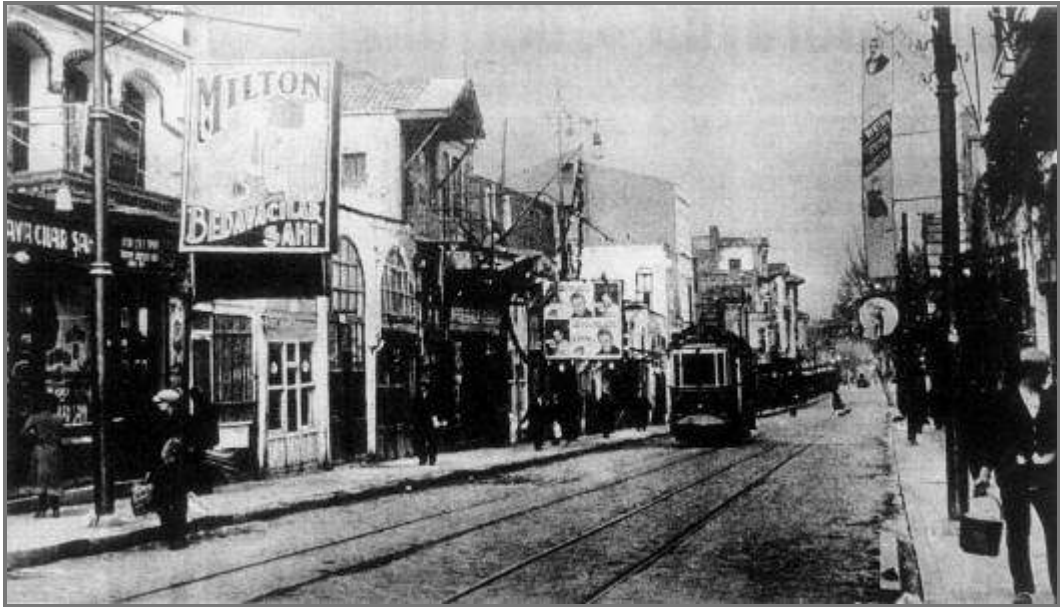


Figure 3.33: Direklerarası after demolition of arcades
SOURCE: Sariöz, p. 220

3.9 New Layers by Joseph Antonie Bouvard; Hippodrome and Beyazıt

This endeavor for beautification of the city via some nodal points can be also seen in the plans of Joseph Antonie Bouvard. İstanbul became the issue related with

beautification under the autonomy of architects within the historical context rather than the regularization by engineers.¹⁷³ Produced the development plans via the photos of İstanbul, Bouvard suggested to design the important places focusing on emphasis of monuments according to symmetrical and rational order. Including the Atmeydanı and Beyazıt, Bouvard's suggestions juxtaposed with existing fabric without notice for continuity in scale, topography and built structure.¹⁷⁴ His project for Atmeydanı proposed the design of the area according to original traces in terms of its descended level from the street and direction. Also, the new project included the demolition of İbrahim Pasha Sarayı and Sultanahmet *Madrasa* to alter the urban movement according to developed Atmeydanı axis. In contrast to former, Beyazıt was idealized as the new modern center of the district without any reference to accumulation on *ground* in time.¹⁷⁵ Erasing the existing buildings, the plan identified the new square with the modernist buildings for educational facilities.

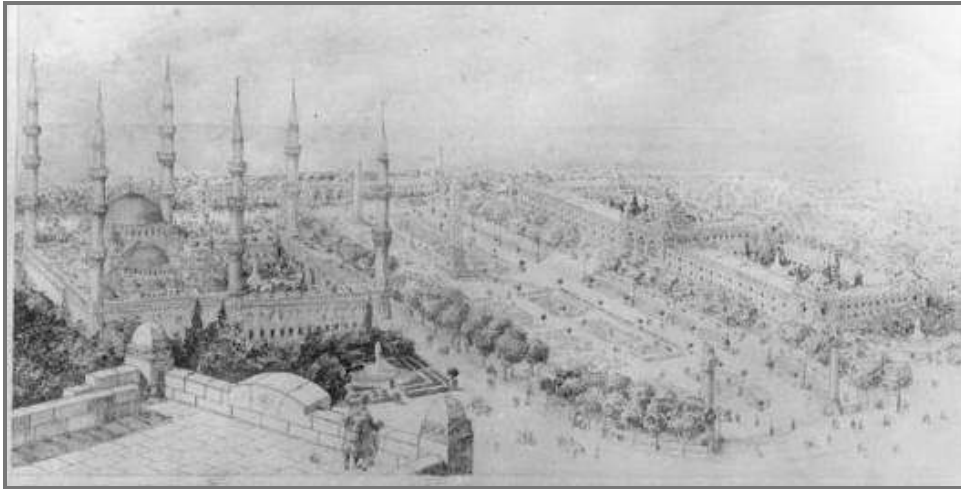


Figure 3.34: Bouvard's proposal for Hippodrome
SOURCE: Çelik, p.96

¹⁷³ Çelik, p.88–97

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. 96-100

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

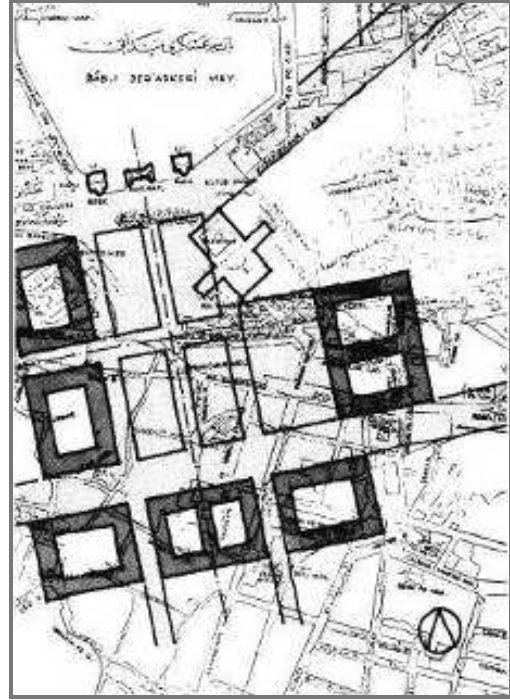
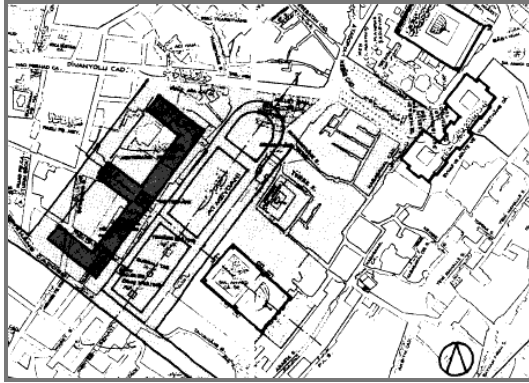


Figure 3.35: Superposition of Bouvard's proposal on Hippodrome with the existing layer
 Figure 3.36: Superposition of Bouvard's proposal on Beyazıt Square with the existing layer

SOURCE: Çelik, p.96



Figure 3.37: Bouvard's proposal for Beyazıt Square

SOURCE: Çelik, p.96

It is influential that, Bouvard aimed to improve the two centers located on the axis of *Mese*, he did not connect the squares through the widened street, and on the contrary, the proposal did not meet with the existing layers.

As a consequence, from the second half of 19th century, İstanbul witnessed the several interventions to bring the city into the modern standards. Aiming the centralization of Ottoman administrative structure, Tanzimat reformers introduced an agenda of codifications, systematizations and large scale urban projects in the urban fabric. Divanyolu was one of the most important places which witnessed to the transformations during the urban interventions. This “invisible line” from Atmeydanı to Fatih was redefined with the widening operations. The irregular urban fabric especially after fires were regularized according to principles which were clarified in legislations. The demolition of the older layers and also the several buildings on Divanyolu were unavoidable. In place of demolished and dilapidated buildings, new monuments defining the new functional zones and formal language were inserted along Divanyolu such as Mahmud II Tomb, College of Sciences and also the administrative buildings in Beyazıt. Additionally, although the urban regularizations were realized in sectional transformations, they were important to represent reformers ideals about the “old city”. On the other hand, in the beginning of 20th century, the growing interest for the history and the heritage changed the urban vision on İstanbul. During the urban reforms Divanyolu as the main ceremonial thoroughfare of the capital was detached from the historical understanding withstanding its actual condition and was redefined as the representation of the modernized capital as well as the center for administration. However, the growing interest for the history obscured to complete this idealization. The hypothetic relations with the Byzantine Mese, without making site analysis or archeological excavations, consolidated the importance of Divanyolu. The idealized sketch studies superimposing the Byzantine Mese and Ottoman thoroughfare can be conceived in this context. The dilapidated monuments and the abandoned districts were attempted to be regularized via the new preservation policies till the Proclamation of the Republic.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSFORMATION OF DİVANYOLU AFTER THE 1920s

4.1 Reinstatement of National Heritage on the Fragmented *Ground* of Divanyolu: 1923-1950

With the proclamation of the Republic, the remaking of İstanbul, which was no longer the capital city, fell into disfavor. Also, the reforms in administrative structures and institutions would reconstruct the arguments about the accumulation of cities via the national meanings. The Ministry of Awqaf lost its autonomy as an institution although director Kemalettin Bey continued to constructions and repairs.¹⁷⁶ Restoration of Hagia Sophia and Sultanahmet mosque, following the President Mustafa Kemal's orders, displays continuity of ambiguous principles about isolated monuments on emptied and dysfunctional districts. The actual conditions of the ruinous city can be followed from Halil Edhem's sayings as the director of the Imperial Museum during 1920s: "today İstanbul is the greatest wasteland of the world ... some buildings can be sacrificed to put an end to this situation."¹⁷⁷ In other words, the densely populated city faced with the transition time after the decay of administrative power, and its signified meanings. In addition to the departure of inhabitants, it lost reputation of capital city as the premise of the urban developments within Ottoman Empire. İlhan Tekeli demonstrates that the population had reached approximately 1.200.000 at the beginning of 20th century and then fell to 600.000 in Republican Period and the decline was more felt in the historic peninsula.¹⁷⁸ The changing appearances of

¹⁷⁶ Altınyıldız, p.288

¹⁷⁷ Here quoted after Altınyıldız, p. 288-289 Halil Ethem, *Camilerimiz, Topkapı Sarayı* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932), p. 13,15

¹⁷⁸ Tekeli, 2000, p. 75

the city required developing essential spatial strategies in urban planning differing from the former period.

Following the first years of the Republic, İstanbul was dealing with the adaptation of new functions on emptied areas. While the big fires continued to transform Divanyolu as well as the urban projects, increase in dysfunctional buildings with the changing administrative system and its reforms caused further fragmentations.

The first transformation was developed with the closure of madrasas and mausoleums in 1924 and convents in 1925. Evaluating the settlement of 63 madrasas on Divanyolu out of 166 in İstanbul in 19th century, it can be declared that, transformation on the functional or formal values of the buildings influenced Divanyolu specifically.¹⁷⁹ The buildings having historical and aesthetical value were kept by Awqaf, as Altınyıldız mentions, the rest sold for construction of new school buildings.¹⁸⁰ Most of them were redefined with the incongruent uses: College of Sciences converted to student hostels, madrasa of Sultanahmet became to be used as archive¹⁸¹ and also on the Alemdar district across Firuz Ağa Mosque, Cevri Kalfa Mektebi (1819) which had been used as the girl art school turned to be primary school, five madrasas of Mehmed II and those of Beyazıt II and Şehzade turned over to the university.¹⁸² Also, some madrasas were abandoned and dilapidated from neglect such as Kızlarağası Madrasa (1582) on Babiali Street and Kaygusuz Tekkesi (1863) on İncili Çavuş Street.

This can be seen as the earliest dissolution of Divanyolu with the total loss of ceremonial function. The emptied buildings were reconstituted based on the idealization of national ideologies: “Awqaf disowned the madrasas,” suggests Kemal Altan, “the city administration only contemplated from benefiting them, the Museum recognized its obligation to preserve them but did nothing but watch

¹⁷⁹ Cerasi, 2006, p.94

¹⁸⁰ Altınyıldız, p.289

¹⁸¹ Müller-Wiener, p.473

¹⁸² For the detailed information see Cerasi, 2006, p.155

them.¹⁸³” Even though the era witnessed to pay tribute to the historical monuments and its reuse via the nationalist implications, Halil Ethem was describing the old city İstanbul where “ruins became more ruinous.”¹⁸⁴

4.1.1 Urban Projects; Prost Plan

The period from 1923 to 1928 seems to be unplanned period and *Ebniye Law* of the Ottoman era had been implemented within these years. The period between 1930s and 1950s can be defined as influential in terms of developing the comprehensible urban planning projects. Although the overall impacts of reconsiderations were not observed in that time, during this time various plans and proposals were produced. However, French urban planner Henri Prost’s planning principles attained the major restructuring of Divanyolu during 1930s.

The Governorship of İstanbul organized an international planning competition calling the well-known planners-architects of the period; Herman Elgötz, Alfred Agache, Jacques H. Lambert and Henri Prost.¹⁸⁵ Although Elgötz won the competition, Prost producing most realistic of the previous plans was invited again in 1936 after he held back in Paris on account of a development plan. The plan focused on the master plan of the historical peninsula with the development proposals, the suggestions for Haliç industrial zone, the defining an archaeological zone in Sultanahmet.¹⁸⁶ The fundamental benefit of the produced plans was to be implemented under the central administration’s authority.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Kemal Altan, 1935, “Eski Medeni İzerlerimiz,” *Arkitekt*, V.7-8, p.225-226 quoted in Altinyıldız, p. 302

¹⁸⁴ The government took a decision for the remaking of İstanbul after the development of Ankara in 1930s.

¹⁸⁵ Pinon, p.58–59

¹⁸⁶ Turgut Cansever, January 1993, “Ülke Ölçeğinde İstanbul’u Planlamak,” *İstanbul Dergisi*, V. 4, p. 51

¹⁸⁷ Master plan of historical peninsula is produced in the first years of Pinon in İstanbul. Although, he works by the consultancy of fewer people and the works affected the other developments plans of İstanbul, the opposing views even in the administrative structure appeared: After Prost advised to the Ministry’s suggestions about his plans, the answer shows the rejections about the works. “Bir yabancı’nın hangi cesaretle Türk Hükümeti’nin böyle bir konuda fikrini öğrenmeye kalkıştığı” Ibid., 52

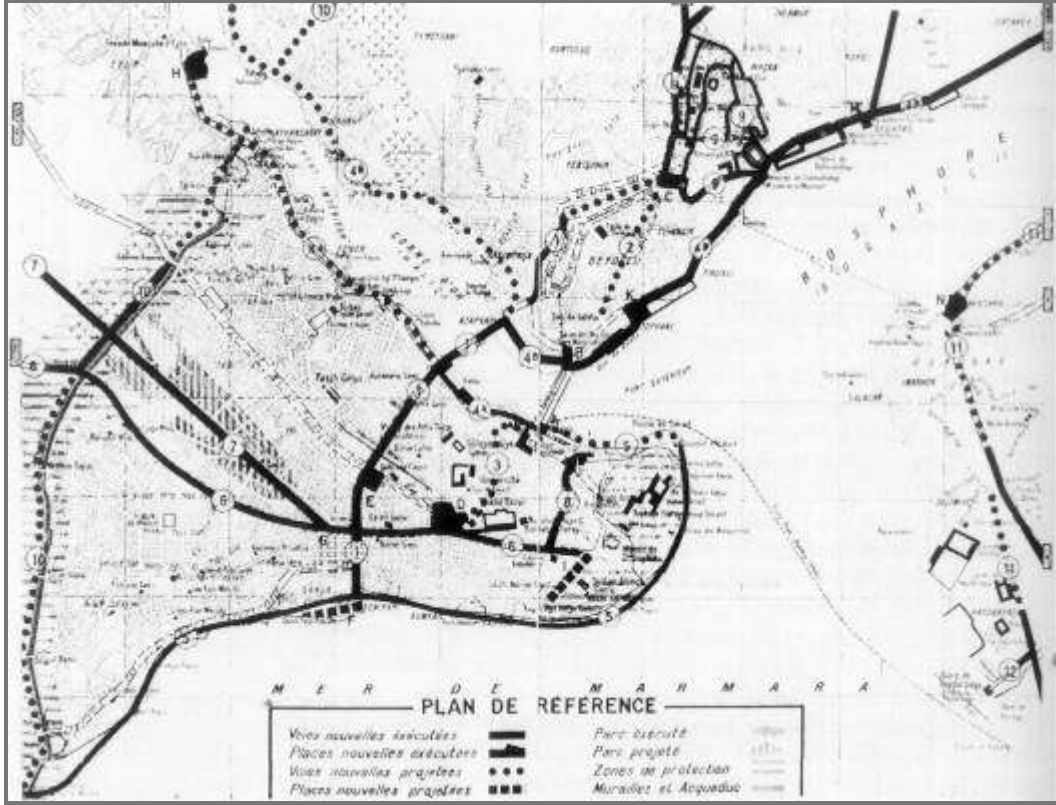


Figure 4.1: Plan of Henri Prost

Before clarifying the plan of Prost, the redevelopment of Beyazıt Square between 1923 and 1924 can be mentioned. The area was reorganized by Asım K m rc ođlu, and emptied from the barracks and trees to built the Baroque ecliptic pool by Mimar Kemalettin.¹⁸⁸ According to Turgut Cansever, the pool was designed to abate the direction conflict between mosque and Ministry of War Building and also the hide the level difference on the area. The tram movement was organized around the pool.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸Cansever, "Beyazıt Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi," in *Şehir ve Mimari Üzerine Düşünceler*, (İstanbul: Ağaç Yayıncılık, 1992), p.157

¹⁸⁹Dođan Kuban, "Beyazıt," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V.5, p.187



Figure 4.2: Beyazıt Square before the regularization circa 1910
 SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.azizistanbul.com> [Accessed: 03.01.2008]



Figure 4.3: Beyazıt Square during 1930s
 SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.azizistanbul.com> [Accessed: 03.01.2008]

In the Prost plan, the districts were organized into functional zones; the circulation plan connected the downtown at the gates of the city walls on the hinterland sides.¹⁹⁰ Prost reserved a particular effort to historical and archaeological sites as seen from the archeological plan which would be criticized because of his emphasis on Byzantine heritage, on the pre-conquest monuments except Sultanahmet mosque. He suggested development of the street via Law Court Building and administrative buildings additionally a Republic Monument (Cumhuriyet Anıtı).¹⁹¹ Grand Bazaar, was planned as the new business district. Also, the university building aimed to be improved with educational facilities including the establishment of a national library. Already, it can be observed from the sources¹⁹² that, campus life around Beyazıt had developed and transformed the urban life and functions after *Tanzimat*.



Figure 4.4: The Archeological Plan by Henri Prost
SOURCE: Altınyıldız, p.292

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Semavi Eyice, 2002, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yabancı Uzmanların Hazırladıkları İstanbul İmar Planı Raporları," *İstanbul Dergisi*, V. 43, p.23

¹⁹² See the depictions of urban life around Beyazıt and Direklerarası in the beginning of 20th. Century, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*, p.190-195

The critics about Prost's plans were about the representation of the peninsula immaculate and idealized drawings opposing to the current decrepitude. However, the city had followed the two World Wars, forsaken to the "overwhelming decay" with the declaration of the republic. Within this aspect, as Çelik mentions the famous silhouette was exceedingly contrasted to appearance of urban fabric in historical peninsula.¹⁹³

4.1.2 Excavations on the Ground of the Great Palace

The 1930s may be evaluated in terms of growing interest in the national history. The international and national excavations especially demonstrate the momentary attention both for Byzantine heritage and Turkish monuments that were in decrepit condition. The excavation was done at a Byzantine building, known as Balaban Ağa Mescidi. It was on Reşit Pasha Street between Şehzadebaşı and Laleli district. Before the excavation, the remains of the masjid had sold to a contractor by Vakıflar İdaresi (Charitable Foundation) in order to sell the land in 1930.¹⁹⁴

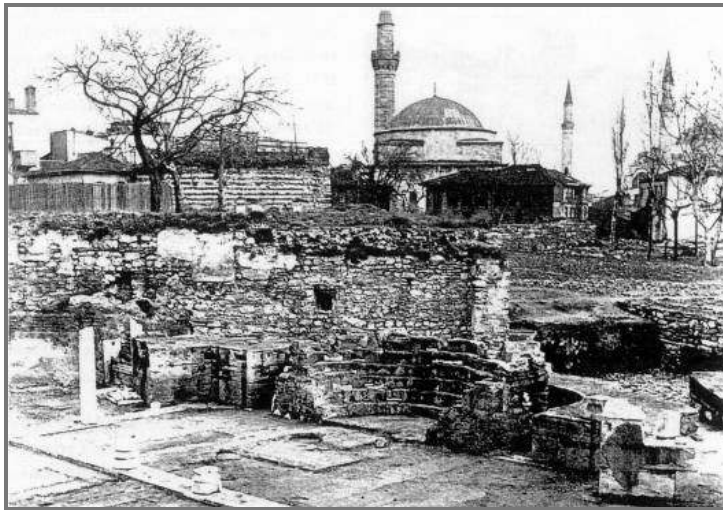


Figure 4.5: The traces of Euphemia Church excavated in 1943, Firuz Ağa Mosque is seen at the backside.

SOURCE: Müller-Wiener, p. 123

¹⁹³ Çelik, p.96

¹⁹⁴ Eyice, 2006, p. 187

After the demolition of the walls, the remains under the ground were investigated by Imperial Museum and the room for a grave belonged was come out. Then, findings were moved to museum. However, Eyice argues that without the financial support of the Director of the American Byzantine Institute, the comprehensive searches, presented on the English and Turkish reports, could not be afforded.¹⁹⁵ Also, the excavations on the ground of Great Palace (Büyük Saray in 4th century) and Ayasofya were still a major interest. Ayasofya turned out to be a museum and excavations in the courtyard were continued by the German Institute.¹⁹⁶ The excavations in 1935-1938 and 1952 and 1954 on the ground of the Palace became possible after the demolition of the buildings with the 1912 fire.¹⁹⁷ The interest for the Byzantine heritage might be related with the special emphasis of Prost on the development plans which privilege “the Byzantine heritage of the city since he declared the area encompassing the Ayasofya, the Hippodrome and Great Palace as an archaeological park and the environs of the land walls as a protection zone”.¹⁹⁸

4.1.3 Redevelopments around the Monuments

The interest for the history also came into sight in the attitude for the national monuments. Law for Buildings and Roads (*Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*) in 1933 included the redevelopment of the districts around monuments requiring an open space with a radius of ten meters around each of them.¹⁹⁹ Within this aspect, the surroundings of Fatih, Beyazıt and Sultanahmet Mosques were regularized.²⁰⁰ The old buildings around Sultanahmet and Bayezid Mosque were demolished. Also, the repairs on the mosques were observed because as Halil Edhem mentions “they were ruinous and unfit to be exposed.”²⁰¹ Exposing the “national monuments” into

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Eyice, “Ayasofya,” p. 451

¹⁹⁷ Wiener, p.237

¹⁹⁸ Altınyıldız, p.292

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 291

²⁰⁰ Wiener, p.472-475 and 390

²⁰¹ *Cumhuriyet*, 6 February 1935. Quoted in Altınyıldız, p.291

the sight and the demolition of trivial buildings on the district caused to the lost the continuation in the urban fabric.

In this respect, the dilapidated condition of İstanbul after the abandonment of the capital and the world war can be seen as the moment of crisis for the preservation attempts. The fragmented monuments and traces on the network of Divanyolu were crystallized within the definition of new government.

4.1.4 Law Court on Sultanahmet Sqare

After the building –built as university building near Ayasofya- assigned to Ministry of Justice was burned, the new Law Court (*Adliye Sarayı*) building was decided to be built on the Cağaloğlu district a competition was opened in 1949. However, it was built in Sultanahmet district in the neighborhood of İbrahim Pasha Palace after the negotiations between Prost and Ministry of Justice about the area.²⁰² The design of Sedad Hakkı Eldem included a court building that was located parallel to Sultanahmet Square at the backside of the palace and office buildings located perpendicular to the former. The building blocks extended to the Divanyolu with a huge block

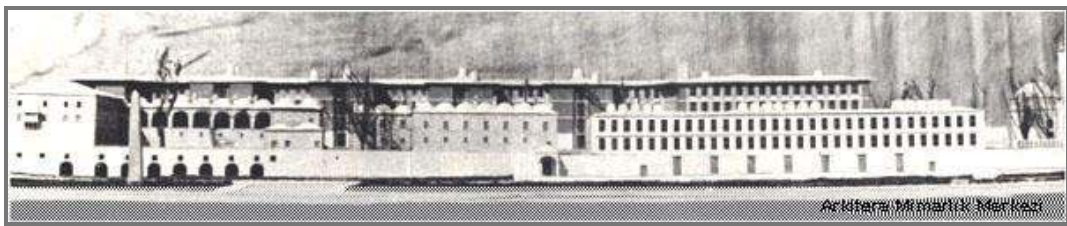


Figure 4.6: The façade drawing for the competition. At the right Firuz Ağa Mosque is seen.

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 09.12.2007]

²⁰² Asım Kömürcüoğlu won the competition. But, the location of the building was changed and first discussions started after the decisions of demolition of İbrahim Pasha Palace for the new Adliye Sarayı. Also see the discussions <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/yayintarihi/1948/kasim1948.htm>

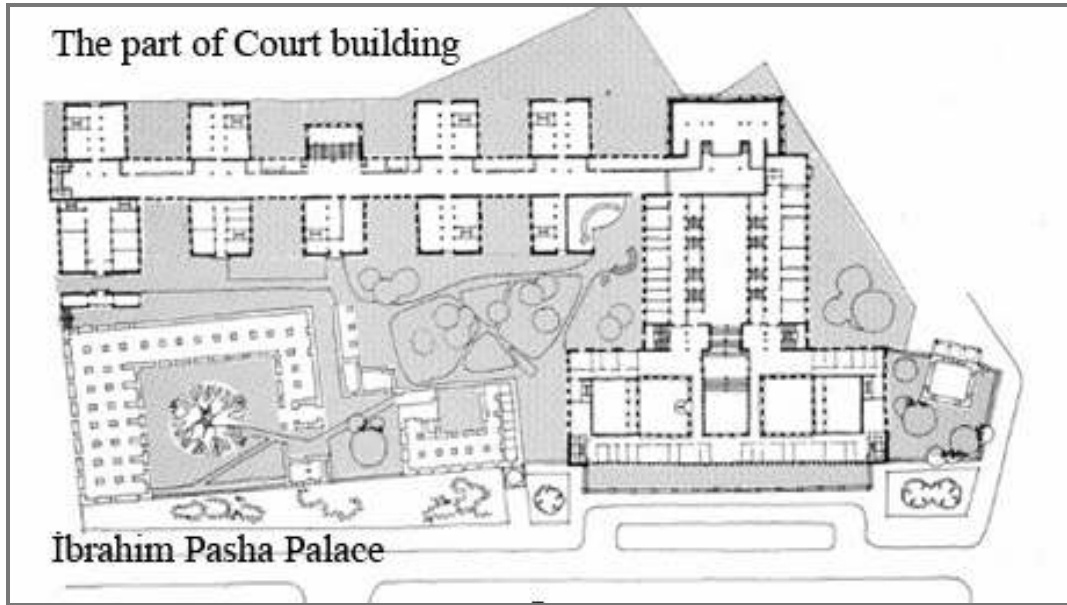


Figure 4.7: Ground Floor of Law Court

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 09.12.2007]

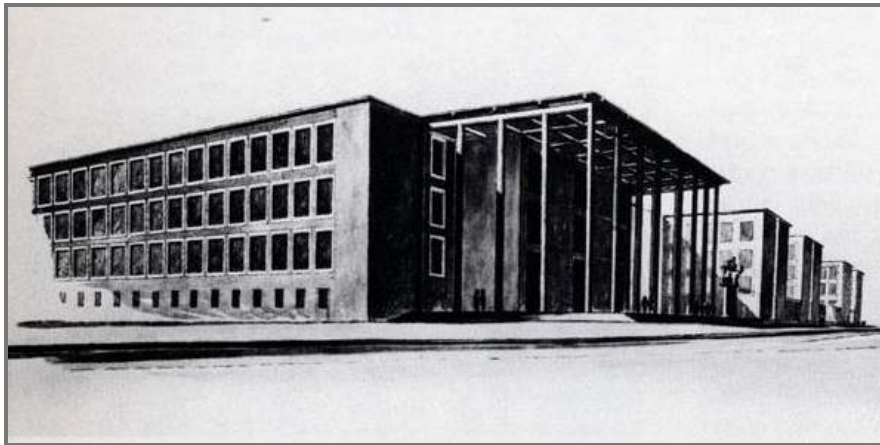


Figure 4.8: The drawing for the competition by Sedad Hakkı Eldem

SOURCE: ⇒WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 09.12.2007]

After the application of the former building, the construction was unfinished due to the demolitions: Located adjacent to İbrahim Pasha Palace and Deed Office (Tapu and Kadastro Building opened in 1908)²⁰³, the building was designed according to unity of monumental complex with İbrahim Pasha Palace and Deed

²⁰³ Called as Defter-i Hakani, the building was built by Mimar Vedat Tek.

Office. But, this intervention envisaged the demolition of Deed Office as well as fourth Court of Ibrahim Pasha Palace.²⁰⁴ After the completion of first part, the archaeological treasures belonging to Byzantine period were found during the excavations for the second building block. Including the treasures of Aya Eufemia Church, rooms of Lausus Palace, Triclinium Building, tribunes of the Hippodrome, the construction was stopped and the new design by Eldem was taken up again according to complexity of *ground*. Eldem proposed a new building on the Byzantine treasures (fig. 4.10) under the protection of dome but it was not built even though the Council of Monuments approved of it. The constructed part of the building was composed of repetitive building blocks.



Figure 4.9: The built part of Law Court in Sultanahmet
SOURCE: ⇒WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 09.12.2007]

²⁰⁴Müller-Wiener, p.237. Also, Atilla Yücel, “Adliye Sarayı,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V.1, p.85

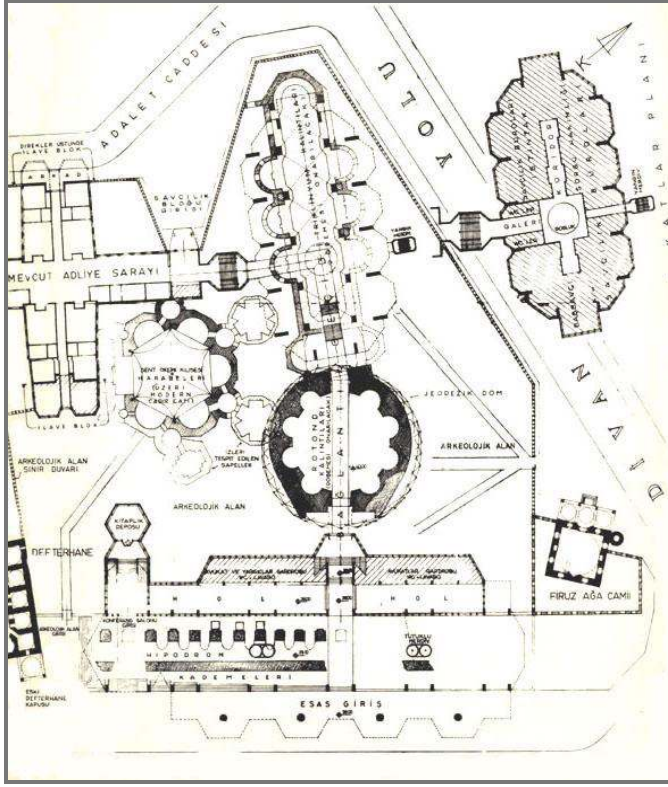


Figure 4.10: The site plan proposed in 1978

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 09.12.2007]

4.2 Grounding Large-scale Implementations on the Fade Image of Divanyolu: 1950-1980

The radical changes by the end of the single-party regime in administrative structure and the large scale urban project manipulated the physical structure in İstanbul; Uğur Tanyeli alleges that the most comprehensive interventions since the foundation of the city were realized between 1957 and 1960.²⁰⁵

In 1951, after Prost Plan was abandoned, Commission of Improvement (*Revizyon Komisyonu*) was founded for the planning of İstanbul. Since the commission declared the insufficiency of the Prost plan, they worked on several analyses to

²⁰⁵ Uğur Tanyeli, "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve Reel Mimarlık," (İstanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.236-237

constitute the Plan of the Historical Peninsula.²⁰⁶ The time between 1952 and 1955 comprises the period in which several urban plans were analyzed. The year 1956 appeared to be a turning point for the remaking of the city under the authority of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.



Figure 4.11: 1947 İstanbul maps showing the 1957-1960 implementations
SOURCE: Uğur Tanyeli, “Türkiye’de Metropol Kavrayışı: İstanbul Üzerinden Bir Oku(ya)ma(ma) Denemesi, *Arredamento Mimarlık* V.2002, 10 p. 89-96

4.2.1 Menderes Operations; Atatürk Boulevard and Beyazıt Square

Within the following four years, public works, operations for street widening, intensive road buildings and demolition of old buildings would transform the historical peninsula. Focusing on the insufficiency of the transportation in the historical peninsula, Menderes announced the aim of the public works to alleviate the traffic load via the new arterial roads, beautify the city and reinstate the

²⁰⁶ Turgut Cansever, 1993, p.53

religious buildings.²⁰⁷ Even though the planning of İstanbul was carried out by Italian Prof. L. Piccinato under the authority of İller Bankası (the Bank of Provinces) since 1957, the implementations were followed the suggestions in Prost plan.²⁰⁸

The opening of Vatan and Millet boulevards connected to the Atatürk Boulevard, Beyazıt-Aksaray road, and Şehzadebaşı-Edirnekapı and Eminönü-Unkapanı road were finished with the demolition of 7289 buildings after expropriations.²⁰⁹ During the construction of grand boulevard connecting Aksaray, Beyazıt and Topkapı, historical layers were accumulated in the route. In order to enlarge the Ordu Street, the tram road with the width 9,5 meters was designed according to 30 meters, the buildings surrounding the road were demolished.²¹⁰ The north part of Simkeşhane, which was located in south side of Beyazıt district, was partly demolished as well as the Hasan Pasha *Hanı*. The *sebil* and graveyard of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha Madrasa was moved to the backside of the district in order to provide the access of tram and moreover, the shops in north side were destroyed. Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha Madrasa was annihilated to put Çarşıkapı bus station its place.

²⁰⁷ Doğan Kuban, "Menderes ve İstanbul," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, V. 5, p. 390-392

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Kuban, "Menderes ve İstanbul," p. 390-392

²¹⁰ Kuban, "Beyazıt," p. 187



Figure 4.12: Vatan and Millet avenues

SOURCE: from Cengiz Kahraman, private archive, published in Yıldız Sey, ed., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998)



Figure 4.13: Vatan and Millet Avenues being opened in the 1950's

SOURCE: Hilmi Şahenk, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Başkanlığı, 1996), p.250



Figure 4.14: Bozdoğan Valens
SOURCE: Şahenk, p. 396-397



Figure 4.15: Atatürk Boulevard in the making circa 1950

SOURCE: published in Yıldız Sey, ed., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p.40



Figure 4.16: Haşim İşcan Subway
SOURCE: Şahenk, p. 246



Figure 4.17: Widening Ordu Avenue towards the Baths of Beyazıt II

SOURCE: Şahenk, p. 186



Figure 4.18: Ordu Avenue
SOURCE: Şahenk, p. 188-189

The other axis Atatürk Boulevard, which divides the former Divanyolu into two parts, was widened.²¹¹ According to plans of widening operations, Ebu Fazl Mehmed Efendi Madrasa (1648) across the Şehzade Mosque, Mimar Ayaz Ağa Mosque near the madrasa (built in the period of Beyazıt II), Candarlılar Turkish Bath was obliterated. In addition to erasure of the buildings, the transformations caused to the change in topography. Opening of underground passage of Atatürk Boulevard, which had been clarified in detail in Prost plans, caused to the distortion of city levels because of its reverse orientation to peninsula.²¹² Planning

²¹¹ Cerasi, 2006, p.157.

²¹² Atatürk Boulevard was started to construct in the first years of Republican Period. The second process opening of the connection between Saraçhane and Unkapanı and Aksaray and Saraçhane built after 1938. In a Paris lecture, “Atatürk Köprüsünü Marmara sahillerine bağlayan yolda tamamiyle bitmiştir. Bu geniş bir cadde olup hafif surette invicacı ve şimdiye kadar meçhul kalan Bozdoğan Kemerinin bütün azametiyle meydana çıkmasına amil olmuş ve İstanbul’un en eski eserlerinden biri olan bu kemerin altından cadde, hiçbir taşına dokunmadan geçmektedir...Şehzade Camisi ve diğer birkaç cami, eski madrasalar, Zeyrek camisinin hakim olduğu muazzam kadim bir Bizans sarnıcı bu caddenin etrafında bulduklarından bunların daha esaslı bir şekilde tanzim ve tertiplenmesi lazımdır.” Henri Prost, 1948, “İstanbul,” *Arkitekt*, V.5-6, p. 111

to attain the connection amid Beyoğlu and İstanbul, Prost identified the remaking of historical peninsula as the success in terms of exposing of historical values and reorganization of network between Beyoğlu and İstanbul in a Paris lecture. But it is remarkable that the project focused on protection and display of Bozdoğan Valens, whereas Şehzade Mosque and its surrounding were neglected. The broad streets took the place of “invisible” and the the fragmented road of earlier times. The leading streets caused to two alterations in physical and social aspects of city. Firstly, while the transformations rearrange the circulation and the connection of districts, it opened up the internal side of the city.²¹³ This caused to display of the social life as well as the monuments located in the district. Secondly, the broad streets corresponded to the exposition of the city as the monuments. Rather than providing solutions for growing traffic problems, the broad streets and open spaces represented the development of the cities after the world war.

This radical attitude can be seen during the redevelopment of the Beyazıt Square. The *ground* of Beyazıt had amalgamated the several incomplete interventions since 1839. However, the redevelopment of the area after foundation of the Republic differentiated in terms of its scale in context and action. Especially during 1957 and 1958, the area was regularized according to the primacy of motor vehicles movement.²¹⁴ The ecliptic pool (fig 4.21) was removed. The level of the south part in the area was reduced 3.5 meters in order to heighten the entrance of the university.²¹⁵ This intervention distorted the topographic continuity with Ordu Street. The accentuation of the university and the developing vehicle movement around Beyazıt was realized in Prost’s proposals. But the changes in the levels caused the discovery of the foundation stones of the Roman arch located in the court of Simkeşhane. Also, the Beyazıt Madrasa became separated from the road level and the barriers were added between road level and the square.²¹⁶

²¹³ Burak Boysan, 1993, “Politik Hummanın Silinmeyen İzleri,” *İstanbul Dergisi* V.4 , p. 89

²¹⁴ Cansever, 1992, p. 158

²¹⁵ Kuban, “Beyazıt,” p.187

²¹⁶ Ibid.

On the Beyazıt Square which was proposed as the city centre for the educational and cultural facilities, the topographical and visual connections disappeared. The entrance of the university became isolated from the road.



Figure 4.19: During the making of Beyazıt Square.
SOURCE: Tanyeli, “Türkiye’de Metropol Kavrayışı”, p.93



Figure 4.20: Expropriation on Vezneciler Street connecting to Beyazıt Square.
SOURCE: Tanyeli, “Türkiye’de Metropol Kavrayışı”, p.94



Figure 4.21: The pool by Mimar Kemalettin was removed.
SOURCE: Tanyeli, “Türkiye’de Metropol Kavrayışı”, p.93

Carrying out wide roads which were dividing the historical peninsula contradicts with the emphasis for reconnection to Ottoman heritage that Menderes aimed to “conquer İstanbul once again” by reinstating “the monuments that were surrounded and obstructed by ruins, to return them to their past majesty and to display them in their new context.”²¹⁷ Doğan Kuban explains the contradicting condition peculiar to İstanbul:

There was single İstanbul that requires defining its own system. But, more powerful concepts than its historical value became apparent. In the contemporary world, city and modernism concept are discussed by the varied social layers in differentiated cultural backgrounds since they are not comprehended in İstanbul and Turkey. Is this problem related with economical predicament or the problem of representation?

²¹⁷“İstanbul’un imarı mevzuu adeta bir zafer alayının ifadesidir. İstanbul’u bir kere daha fethedeceğiz.” *Cumhuriyet*, September 24, 1957,” quoted in Boysan, p.84, translation from Turkish by the author. However it worth mentioning the dilemma between aims and the budget: budget for the repair of monuments amounted was 2.6%of the budget in 1957 (3 million out of 115.6 million liras.)

Or else, is this resulted from the authority of multilayered structures based on conventional origins? These questions, which had been discussed during 1950s, keep validity until now.²¹⁸

As Kuban explains that vague definitions about modernity within the city obscure the hidden dimensions influencing the multilayeredness of İstanbul when the modernity project is evaluated within the framework of stratification and the conflict within. Therefore, it will be sufficient to explain the objectives for the development of city in respect to ideals and the resistance or conflicts to the “erasure”.

Actually, the restructuring of historical peninsula via the main arterial roads can be seen as the continuity of development policies following the Age of Reforms. However, after 1950s the objectives of the modernity project were differentiated in terms of scale and the context.²¹⁹ The modernization effort in the late Ottoman period was put into practice in the dilapidated districts via fires, whereas in 1950s the expropriation provided the *ground* for new alterations. The objectives, followed from definite European models, were internalized via the myth of historical past. As Kuban asserts, the new party took over the two heritages: One was the rationalized ideals from late Ottoman and Republican period and the other was the obscured desires of public within the new economical system.²²⁰ Therefore, İstanbul was the city providing the possibility of agglomeration of new layers after foundation of Republic.

Defining the cities as the visible outcome of unified and rational developments, technocrats postulated İstanbul as the representation of Republic’s unavoidable progress. It can be correlated based on Uğur Tanyeli’s assumption that the city was the space donating the some opportunities and means rather than its physical

²¹⁸ Kuban, 1996, p. 390, translation from Turkish by the author.

²¹⁹ Uğur Tanyeli, “Yıkarak Yapmak,” *Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p. 111

²²⁰ Kuban, “Menderes ve İstanbul,” p.390-392

actuality.²²¹ Thus, the city became the object representing the tools and desires within modern life.

4.2.2 Increase in Modern Buildings

Improvements of building constructions after deprivation of the nation-state management and the authority of private sector can be comprehended as the main factors for the rapid urbanization of İstanbul. Divanyolu, as mentioned above, was one of the areas which witnessed the large scale urban transformations in İstanbul. Moreover, the architectural appearance of Divanyolu was transformed with the increase in appearance of modern buildings. But the lack of the complete vision about the city was reflected in Divanyolu.

In 1964, the competition was opened for the construction of university library between Beyazıt Bath and Madrasa. The project designed by Şandor Hadi, Sevinç Hadi and Hüseyin Başçetinçelik was built but not completed. The building, which was designed in stone to be in harmony with the surrounding, was not covered by stone.²²² In fact, these display that the incomplete interventions caused to hidden and ambiguous modifications which obscures the present layer meanings.



Figure 4.22: The library building

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com.tr>, [Accessed: 03.01.2008]

²²¹ Uğur Tanyeli, "Mekânlar, Projeler, Anlamları," *Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p. 101

²²² Kuban, "Beyazıt" p. 188

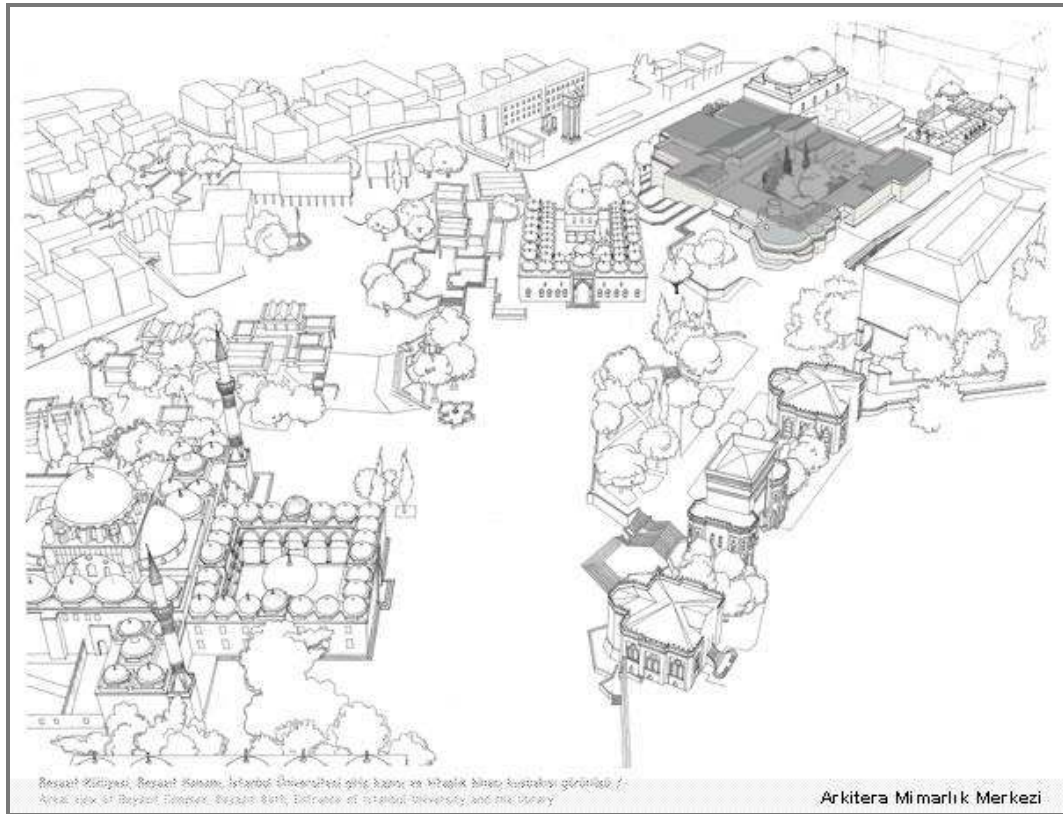


Figure 4.23: Building with the surrounding.

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com.tr>, [Accessed: 03.01.2008]

With the huge volumes, these buildings essentially conflicted with the principles of Prost which emphasized the preservation of the city silhouette.²²³ Municipality Building (İstanbul Belediye Sarayı) was one of the examples of this. Chosen by a National Competition in 1953, the building of Nevzat Erol was built on the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard with the Şehzadebaşı Street. As Kuban underlines that the principles about the preservation of the silhouette was abrogated with the project of Municipality.

²²³ Kuban, 1996, p.399

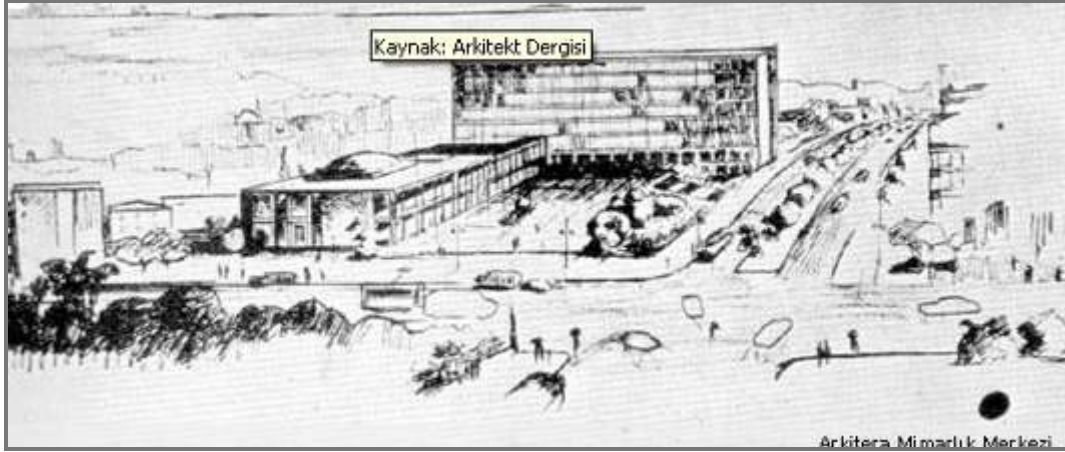


Figure 4.24: The Municipality Building

SOURCE: [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkiv.arkitera.com.tr>, [Accessed: 03.01.2008]

4.2.3 Urban Legislations

The increase in praxis and transformation of physical setting via the large scale actions were executed by the changes in laws and urban policies. Between 1950 and 1960 the Law of Reconstruction or *İmar Kanunu*, the expropriation law, the broadening of municipal boundaries regulated the urban space to rearrange the ground to the economic, socio- cultural transformations which were mentioned above. In 1966 Master Planning Office of Greater İstanbul or *Büyük İstanbul Plan Nazım Plan Bürosu* was established. According to produced Metropolitan plan, historical peninsula was revaluated to protect the architectural heritage and to develop the cultural activities and tourism.²²⁴ As Cansever convincingly adds although İstanbul Metropolitan planning was produced the most comprehensive plan suggesting the improvement of administrative, economical and physical layers correspondently within the city's dynamic *ground* Divanyolu, it was not been put into practice up to 1980.²²⁵ The results in the area had an effect in two ways: the search for representation of the national identity in buildings lessened, dominancy of praxis focused on the interventions in large scales without the critical framework.²²⁶

²²⁴ Cansever, 1993, p. 57

²²⁵ Ibid., 58

²²⁶ Uğur Tanyeli, "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve Reel Mimarlık," p. 235-241

4.2.4 Advertisements for the Reconstruction of the Modern Life

Works used in the newspapers and advertisements of this era clarify the changing dynamics of modernism: “the beauty of geometry,” “the majesty of durability,” and “the majority of traffic”.²²⁷ Importance of “modern” İstanbul in 1950s can be comprehended from the representation of public works in newspapers, even in elections speeches in Anatolian provinces like Urfa and Sinop. The large scale projects seemed to receive approval: “Relieving İstanbul... Great efforts were made for the remaking of İstanbul. The public drew the attention to the expropriations, roads and boulevards opened and the new works were expected with same interest.”²²⁸ The one document of the Association of İstanbul Development *Derneği* (*İstanbul Kalkınma*) which condemned the remaking of İstanbul was repealed.²²⁹ This clarifies the persistence of implementations according to changing ideals about modern city. The shifts in words used in newspapers, shop names and advertisements elucidate the ideals of the era. While the terms *asri* developed from Ottoman language were used to describe the embrace of present time via the daily life in 1930s, the term modern became the symbol of changing dynamics in urban life via the technology in production, farming and transportation in 1950s.²³⁰

The repeated motto “the modern Turkey anew”²³¹ in 1965s, signified the endeavor to transform the ruinous and underdeveloped cities. On the other hand, the dissolution in the *ground* obscured the cultural and physical progress in urban life. Thus, the resistance to fragmentation and dissolution and awareness of cultural

²²⁷ Boysan asserts that İstanbul turned out to be a sample for application of CIAM mottos by underestimating the main objectives of the movement including the land use. Burak Boysan, p. 85

²²⁸ This quotation is taken from *Hayat*, January 11, 1957, translation from Turkish by the author.

²²⁹ Burak Boysan, p. 86.

²³⁰ Feride Çiçekoğlu, “Asri, Modern, Çağdaş,” *Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet*, (İstanbul :Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p. 148-149

²³¹ In “Mekanlar, Projeler, Anlamları” article, Tanyeli delineates the words as a long lasting saying repeated in newspapers.

and economical changes in the social life were represented via the previous constructed remembrances. 500th anniversary of the Conquest in 1953 can be evaluated in this way. Besides, large scale transformations and modernist projects representing the development in economical and administrative structure on Divanyolu witnessed the dilemma in modernism.. From the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, the effort for modernization was confronted with the rising attention towards preservation of memories, in urban life.

4.3 Worldwide Regulations for Historic Preservation

With the foundation of Republic, endeavors for preservation were consolidated with the construction of national idiom. In other words, the modernization ideals were consolidated within the framework of national identity. Threatened architectural heritage were reread and rewritten with the immaculate drawings in 1930s.²³² However, after 1950s, the arrival of massive populations from rural areas and growth of squatter settlements in İstanbul caused to underestimate the preservation of the urban fabric. Sibel Bozdoğan identified the period via the definition of Berman:

Marshall Berman’s account of twentieth-century modernism as a “flattening of perspective”—as modernity losing sight of its own origins and its own profound ambivalence over a simultaneously liberating and alienating historical possibility—is especially relevant for architectural culture in the 1950s. The hygienic, scientifically controlled, rationally ordered urban utopias that early modernists had projected as reactions to the social and environmental ills of the nineteenth-century industrial city (its congestion, pollution, degradation of workers, etc.) themselves became the established norm in planning. The cosmopolitan messiness, mixed-use patterns, and collective memory of Baudelaire’s Paris, the very locus of nineteenth-century modernity and urban life, were radically disrupted by the reductive and sterilizing principles of high modernist urbanism, informed by and operating with a relentless instrumental rationality. Especially after World War II, in an all-encompassing zeal for urban renewal and postwar reconstruction, the principles of modern urbanism—rational

²³² Altinyıldız, p.281

planning, functional zoning, the cutting of wide thoroughfares and traffic arteries through historical fabrics, the repetitive boom of high-rise housing blocks, and so forth—were applied on a large scale by Western, socialist, and Third World governments alike, with well-known disastrous results.²³³

This rapid urbanization ended with the erasure of the historical layers from the *ground*. Especially the west side of Divanyolu and the historical buildings lost the formal and cultural continuities with the past.

On the other hand, the rapid urbanization contrasted to the increasing attention for the issue of historic preservation over the years. In the American and European cities, city centres were redeveloped with the longing for the traditional images of the city. While in the earlier period, the remnants and historical buildings were cut, sliced or isolated from the surroundings for the sake of the extended highways; restoration or preservation of the “world heritage” would divert this era. This would trigger the display and consumption of this new public space which was shared by the new spectators.

Before evaluating the changes on Divanyolu with the new meanings, it will be sufficient to follow the attempts for historic preservation. The public work of historical peninsula in 1/5000 scale produced in 1964 displayed the changing meanings of architectural heritage: “For the several years, the historical peninsula as the art and culture centre of the city and Boğaziçi were identified as the most influential *ground* for improvement in tourism. İstanbul was marked with its essential position in world cities. (...) Preservation of historical, cultural and tourism values must be the most important responsibility of us.”²³⁴ Display of the public space for the spectator became the new considerations in the urban history.

²³³ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983) quoted in Sibel Bozdoğan, “The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture,” *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), p.125-126.

²³⁴ Mimarlık, 1972, V.7, p.100, quoted in Yerasimos, 2006, p.55, translated by the author

It would be declared in the report of Andre Gutton who was invited to İstanbul as the chief of the city planning committee, Union of International Association. Gutton clarified this correlation between developments of tourism for the benefit of economical dynamics “via the physical appearances of historical and cultural structures”.²³⁵

The new Public Works Law which was effectuated after the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 included the precautions to assess the urban fabric within its complexity and integrity of the whole: *han*, baths, caravanserais, *konaks*, *imarets*, religious buildings which have the historical and architectural values must be evaluated within the integrity of surroundings including the architectural objects such as fountains, old paths.²³⁶ In the same year, the restoration of Çemberlitaş Column was done by filling the gaps on the body of the monument. When evaluated the consideration about the developments with the integrity of the urban texture, the restoration of the column which located in transformed and abandoned place of the section did not accomplish the aim of the preservation.

4.3.1 Beyazıt Square Pedestrian Zone Project

The attempt for the vitalization of historical and cultural belongings were emphasized in the project of Turgut Cansever in 1969. In order to rearrange of the square as ceremonial place after incomplete transformations, the competition “*Beyazıt Meydanı Yayalaştırma ve Düzenleme Projesi*” was declared. The proposal of Turgut Cansever won the competition.²³⁷ Withstanding to the current attitude²³⁸ supporting the demolitions of the buildings, Cansever developed a different attitude:

²³⁵ Ibid., 92

²³⁶ Quoted in Yerasimos, 2006, p. 54

²³⁷ The project of Turgut Cansever out of other two projects of H. Högg and L. Piccinato was chosen.

²³⁸ Cansever mentions that during the remaking of square many informed people proposed to demolition of the buildings which causes “conflicts” such as gate, Ministry of War. Cansever, 1992, p. 160

Asking the question “What was there before the conflict?” and the attempt to comprehend the conflict in the historical process is needed. The square was located in the midst of exterior wall of palace and Beyazıt Complex and connected to the palace garden with a narrow gate. In the second half of 19th century, Ministry of War building was built as the representation of power, İstanbul University building was redefined here in 1960 for the redevelopment of consciousness for science. Thus, in order to confine the conflict in the university layout and unite the three buildings which were contradicted with the direction of mosque in the walls, the new platform, as the new layer, which located in the midst of the conflict and mosque was proposed. The access to this platform was provided with a “narrow” gate as the Old Palace’s gate as the representation of quick movement. The differentiation in level and direction was resolved while the historical mistake was kept here to pass to the following generations.²³⁹

The entrance of university was hidden with dense tree blocks. This attitude was differing form the former which defined the entrance on the accentuated level. However, before the unification of different layers as Cansever proposed and completion of the remaking, square turned out to be the open car park.²⁴⁰ On the Beyazıt Square which was proposed as the city centre for the educational and cultural facilities, the topographical and visual connections became disappeared. As Cansever admitted, the “dream” was not realized.²⁴¹

²³⁹ “Bu çelişkiden önce ne vardı?” Sorusunu sormak, çelişkiyi tarihi oluşum içinde anlatma çabasını göstermek gerekliydi. Meydan, esasında saray duvarı ile cami kompleksi arasında yer alıyor ve meydandan saray bahçesine bir ‘dar kapı’dan giriliyordu. Beyazıt Meydanı’nda XIX. Asrın ikinci yarısında kuvvetin temsilcisi olan Harbiye Nezareti inşa edilmişken, 1960’da bilim bilinci geliştirmeyi amaçlayan İstanbul Üniversitesi yer alıyordu. Bu bakımdan, çelişkiyi üniversite bahçesi içinde hapsedmek ve caminin kible yönünü reddeden üç yapıyı bilimin araştırma alanı içine almak üzere, camiyle bu çelişki unsurları arasına yeni bir unsur, kible istikameti ile bağdaşan bir set tasarlandı. Bu sete Eski Saray Kapısı gibi ‘dar’, hızlı hareketin ifadesi kesintili bir merdiven ile çıkılması öngörüldü. Seviye ve yön çelişkisi böylece çözülürken bu tarihi yanlış sonraki nesillere intikal etmek üzere yerinde bırakıldı.” Ibid, it was translated by the author.

²⁴⁰ Kuban, *İstanbul Yazıları*, (İstanbul : Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 1998), p. 168

²⁴¹ Cansever, 1992, p.165



Figure 4.25: The Project of Turgut Cansever
SOURCE: Turgut Cansever, "Beyazıt Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi," in *Şehir ve Mimari Üzerine Düşünceler*, (İstanbul: Ağaç Yayıncılık, 1992)



Figure 4.26: The Project of Turgut Cansever
SOURCE: Cansever, 1992

4.4 Turning to the “Past City Tableaux”²⁴² Via the Transformed Buildings on Divanyolu: After 1980s

Turkey was assigned to the World Heritage Convention in 1983 and in 1985 the historical regions of İstanbul was incorporated to the List of World Heritage. It worth mentioning that rather than defining the specific monuments such as Ayasofya, Sultanahmet, and Beyazıt, policies required the redevelopments included the urban fabric of the whole peninsula.

In 1990, Historical Peninsula Conservation Development Plan of İstanbul (*İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada Koruma Nazım İmar Planı*) in 1/5000 scale was produced after the admonitions of UNESCO. Although the analysis works were produced between 1990 and 2000, the dispute between criteria and actual condition continued.²⁴³

Also, these changing criteria would transform the physical constructions on Divanyolu. On the other hand, after 1980s the new understanding for the urban space produced the new types of buildings and urban activity on Divan axis: the buildings and the urban fabric were transformed according to rising interest for cultural heritage and also tourism.

It can be followed in the reorganization of old buildings for the museums on Divanyolu during 1980s. İbrahim Pasha Palace which was impaired during the construction of Sultanahmet Law Court Building was restored and Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum moved to this building. Darülfunun Building near Mahmud II Tomb was turned to the Press Museum. Beyazıt Madrasa was turned to or Calligraphy Art Museum (*Hat Sanatı Müzesi*).

²⁴² Boyer examine the same progress as the evocation of the past city tableaux between 1970 and 1980s in Europe and as well as in America. Boyer defines the return to history as “an attempt by political and social authorities to regain a centred world, a concrete system on which moral, political, social and economic foundations could stand.” Boyer, p. 408

²⁴³ After the UNESCO’s declaration of incompatibility to the criteria, it gave time to redevelopment of the region. For the details about the process, see Korhan Gümüş, 1993, “Tarihi Yarımada Koruma Master Planı Üzerine,” *İstanbul Dergisi*, V. 48, p.46-48 and also, Zeynep Ahunbay, 2003, “2003 Yılında Hazırlanan İstanbul Tarihi Koruma Planı Üzerine Notlar,” *İstanbul Dergisi*, V. 48, p.48-51

The madrasas or religious complexes were assigned to the waqfs and associations Cevri Kalfa School used as primary school, school for typography after the reforms in 1930s, was turned to the Foundation of Turkish Literature. The ground floor of the building is used as selling shops for touristic objects. For instance, Kızlarağası Madrasa was assigned to Turkish Writers Associations in 1989 and also Atik Ali Pasha *Complex* was assigned to Birlik Foundation. Koca Sinan Pasha Complex was given to Balkan Türkleri Association as well as Damat İbrahim Pasha Complex to Doğu Türkistan Foundation. Under the authority of various foundations, these buildings serve to the public for selling authentic objects, books.²⁴⁴

The second interventions during 1990s in terms of reflecting the ambiguous attitude to the stratified ground were needed to mention: remaking of Sultanahmet Square, restorations of İstanbul Municipality Building and Four Seasons Hotel.

The project for Sultanahmet Square named as “Rehabilitation Project on Archeological Area” was prepared in 2004 after Sultanahmet was added in the List of World Heritage. This project proposes the demolition of Sultanahmet Law Court in order to uncover the Byzantine traces and also Deed Office will be converted to hotel. The project is consolidated on the idea of accumulation of the ground with the public buildings especially after 1950s. This will initiate the removing of public buildings from Sultanahmet district.

The other public building which caused to intervention was İstanbul Municipality Building in Sarayhane. After the earthquake in 1999, the building was emptied in order to reconsolidate the building structure. The project included the decoration of Presidential building which caused to the transformation of original project in 1953. It was filled by plasterboards on the walls, embossed doors, wall lamps with flower motifs, and also the original balustrades, doors and wet spaces were

²⁴⁴ This information about the building is from related topics in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*.

transformed.²⁴⁵ Also, during the construction process, the roof was sunken because of the deficient in the material.

The last case is the transformation of Sultanahmet Prison to the Four Seasons Hotel which is receiving extensive discussions in Turkish media. Sultanahmet Prison, which was built between 1918 and 1919 and used as prison until 1970s, was assigned to the Sultanahmet Tourism Company for forty nine years. Restoring the building, the firm reopened it under the title the Four Seasons Hotel İstanbul in 1996. The building was strived for an understated style which highlights the architectural characteristics of the existing building and well-executed details.²⁴⁶ Also the traces belonged to the previous use as a prison still apparent both on the walls of rooms and the street. The hotel's address alone, Tevkifhane Sokak which is translated as Jail Street invokes this unfortunate history.²⁴⁷ The words which were written by the prisoners were preserved in the five star hotel rooms. Moreover, the hotel "combining Western amenities with a decidedly Eastern character" whas proven to be a winning enterprise.²⁴⁸ This radical functional change caused to transformation of the physical and social fabric around it. ²⁴⁹ Also, Zeynep Kezer clearly deliberates the its conflicting power around the site:

Within this complicated and multilayered context, Four Seasons İstanbul is an unsettling in-between presence. It is heterotopic because it simultaneosly engenders conflicting definitions, uses,

²⁴⁵ Korhan Gümüő, 2004, "Belediye Sarayı'na Ne Oldu?," in [WWW, Internet], Address: <http://www.arkitera.com> [Accessed: 03.01.2008]

²⁴⁶ Zeynep Kezer, "If Walls Could Talk: Exploring the Dimensions of Heterotopias at the Four Seasons İstanbul Hotel," in *Architecture as Experience*, (London: Routledge, 2004), p.210

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Michael Peppiatt, 1997, "Hotel Four Seasons İstanbul: A Luxurious New Presence in the Heart of Turkey's Ancient City," *Architectural Design* quoted in Kezer.

²⁴⁹ The prison was used until 1970s. After the construction of larger and more modern prison in Sağmalcılar, a proposal to convert hte building into the İstanbul's Coroner's Office met with fierce resistance from the neighbourhood residences. The building remained vacant until 1975. Ministry of Justice, which still owned the property, used a while as a warehouse. In July 1980, after martial law declared amidst violent political unrest, the Prison was reopened for political prisoners. But the building as the detention centre lost its tenure in 1982 wőth the completion of Metris Prison. Kezer, p. 218

and remembrances. It is a luxury hotel that thrives on the site of a former prison; its unique history and extraordinary location are precisely what incorporate it into the circuit of generic spaces of global consumption, and to reiterate the tired cliché, it is simultaneously a vessel for a journey to the East and an instrument to plug into the West. Through its ambivalence, the hotel not only calls into question the meanings we attribute spaces, but the very process by which such meanings are produced.²⁵⁰

Ten years after the restoration of the hotel, Council of Monuments acknowledged the new project depending on the design of the additional buildings on the archaeological remains. In order to increase the rooms, the construction of the additional building on the site of College of Sciences (Darülfünun) is approved by the Committee. The project is legitimized by the existence of huge college building in an ancient site in the Ottoman period.



Figure 4.27: The view of surroundings displaying the construction of additional buildings
SOURCE: [WWW,Internet], Address:<http://www.kesfetmekicininbak.com/kultur/others>
[Accessed: 03.01.2008], photograph is taken by İlker Akgüngör

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p.230



Figure 4.28: Aerial View of Hotel and its surroundings. The large building at the back of the hotel is Ayasofya

SOURCE: Zeynep Kezer, "If Walls Could Talk: Exploring the Dimensions of Heterotopias at the Four Seasons İstanbul Hotel," in *Architecture as Experience*, (London: Routledge, 2004), p.213

As a consequence, from the 1920s, the radical attempts were transforming the district. It is sufficient to say that it goes parallel with the city planning seminars which were held on the Law School in İstanbul University.²⁵¹ According to Tekeli, on this seminar, at first time the peculiar study about the city development patterns was composed. However, except the excavations searching for the cultural roots, the urban fabric did not witness to the big scale transformations redeveloping the Divanyolu. The aim was related with the construction of a new state, new ideals and new modern life within the layout of the old city in order to "regain a centered world or a concrete system on which moral, political and social foundations can stand."²⁵² But the attempts were not completed as in the construction of Law Court Building in Sultanahmet.

²⁵¹ Lecturing in the seminar, Osman Nuri Ergin published *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkışafı* from the lecture notes, İlhan Tekeli, 2006, "Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması Düşüncesinin Gelişimi," *Yapı Dergisi*, V. 291

²⁵² Boyer, p.408

However, the period after 1950s signified a different era aiming the large scale transformations through the construction of boulevards and streets. Thus, the scattered remains of the city were juxtaposed with wide boulevards on Divanyolu which was deprived of the property of historical street. The aim of the operations were put into practice that the wide streets and boulevards representing the “modern city” in 1950s according to international standards were came out. The road network was organized according to vehicle movement. Opening of Atatürk Boulevard, Beyazıt-Aksaray road, and Şehzadebaşı-Edirnekapı caused to the dissolution of the fragmented image of Divanyolu after the urban reforms in 19th century.

It is highly influential that the preservation policies and attempts were redeveloped after 1910s till the present day. The laws were extended progressively to comprehend the multilayeredness of urban fabric in terms of reflecting the accumulation of the different periods. Nevertheless, the attitude which preserves the chosen monuments on the isolated fabric was continued. Also, the preservation aims in each period was signified within the different desires. In the 1930, the national ideals of the Republic were tried to revitalized the old buildings after the conversions. However, after 1970s, converted and transformed old buildings were isolated in order to serve for touristic consumption. But the new image of the isolated monuments as well as the traces presented to the spectators a multifaceted composition of the contemporary city as Boyer clarifies: “Suddenly the spectator is plunged into a totally constructed space. The surprise is enhanced, perhaps, because only a few years before these areas had been the remnants of the city that modernist town planning ignored. Now they have been recycled as gigantic image spectacles to enhance the art of consumption. Spectators have responded positively to the bland and fictive pleasures offered in these new public theatres of late capitalism.”²⁵³ The process in Four Seasons Hotel and the revitalization attempts for Sultanahmet can be seen in same manner. Today, most ironically in spite of the extensive policies and

²⁵³ Boyer, p.423

admonitions for preservation of the stratified ground, the traces of the Divanyolu can not be followed in the present city.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

There are a number of conclusions derived from the evaluation of the multi-layered structure of İstanbul, Divanyolu. These conclusions will be employed in questioning the critical approaches when confronting the similar conditions on the stratified ground of the contemporary cities, within the framework of modernization processes and the subsequent urban architectural production within.

The evaluation of multilayeredness of a site as a value requires some attempts. Initially, after claiming the *ground* as the active component, the detailed research about the confrontation of the layers can be derived at the first step. Although the complexity of the current time challenges the comprehension of relations between visible and invisible layers of the site, including the planning strategies, the counter historical and physical limitations, political events -namely the information of the ground- the layers should be deciphered within the framework of morphological, economical, cultural and also hypothetic structures. The complicated structure of the ground has its own dynamic processes that confront the requirements for the transformation and also the resistance mechanisms together. This idea also reveals that the stratification does not have to be “historical.”

That is to say, as seen in the case of Divanyolu, each site develops the inherent dynamics embodying the modernization process within its urban condition. In order to follow the dynamics forming the relations between the layers, the

modernization process should be clearly discussed and evaluated. The piecemeal modernization process can be observed from the transformation of the ground in different times and sections and the result is a fragmented urban fabric. In this case, the Divanyolu is the example of piecemeal modernization process extending for a 150 years. The transformation of the thoroughfare from a consistently unified urban space to the present is seen as incomplete because of some definite reasons:

Urban regularization during 1830s was parallel to the restructuring of the classical Ottoman administrative, social and municipal institutions. Following the *Tanzimat* Edict, 1839 Certificate can be overtly seen as the declaration of the modernization of the urban space. But two points requires elaboration. Although the Edict and the following steps are seen as the first attempts to change the classical Ottoman means, the urban *ground* had already displayed some remarks suggesting the changes of the old system and their visible results in the city. For example, the Abolition of Janissaries was the important event which brought the changes on the urban *ground* altering the accumulated meanings and uses before the Edict. So, the reflections of the changes on the physical structure were both the means and the ends of the reforms aspiring the modernized Ottoman system. However, what *Tanzimat* imagined was a total remaking of the urban fabric; if it was successful the present Divanyolu might have been an urbanistically and architecturally unified space. Nevertheless limits of applications owing to practical conflicts, in other words discord between the urban fabric aimed and existed, brought about the incompleteness in physical structure. As remarked in the urban laws, the changes only were anticipated in the districts affected by major calamities, like fire; but the rest remained on then a fragmented ground.

Secondly, the incompleteness of the *ground* was seen in the way of thinking about the architectural accumulations. While in early implementations, the remaking of the developed urban fabric without giving concrete references to existing structure was the first task of the administration, at the end of the 19th century the expression in a report explaining the preservation of old monuments proves to the

changing interest for the primary concept for the transformation of the city. Although the visible evidence for growing interest for the past was not be observed in the alterations of layers- like excavations- till the beginning of the 20th century, the identification of some pivotal buildings as cultural artifacts were elaborated in the administrative reports. However, it can be asserted that the idealization of Byzantine Mese reflected with the new arrangement on the Ottoman Divanyolu. The regularization of Atmeydanı in 1890s can seen the reflection of this imaginative layer.

In the 20th century, reforms were firstly consolidated with the national meanings and the preservation attempts were embodied according to the national monuments. Although the monuments resting on Divanyolu were reproduced in immaculate drawings, they compensated with the actual conditions of monuments. The interventions, disasters and neglect caused to the perpetual lost of spatial and temporal meanings. Consequently, the hypothetic meanings about the remains were ensured with the interpretive and imaginative layering belonging to the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. This can be related with the lack of the extensive and practical researches about the site before intended interventions as mentioned for the Menderes Operations.

The urban interventions in 1950s was differing from the others that the scale and aim of the project was much extensive. Opening of streets and boulevards entirely redefined the historical peninsula. “Hausmanian transformations” is highly astounding that although the operations can be seen as one of the much influential project transforming the city as well as Divanyolu, the written and visual documentaries do not have the enough knowledge about the transformations. When eliminating the nostalgic or suppressive depictions ignoring the hidden faces of the city, the factual details are highly out of sight to comprehend the modernization process

Another point should be emphasized for further the critical approach to encompass the histories of modernization within the same perspective. Evaluation

of modernization requires much more attention than the thickness of the modern layer, which alters rapidly conceals the application of single reading of the process, on the contrary the ground reflected the different stages of modernizations. It can be exemplified in the case of Divanyolu after 1980s: in the general definitions, architectural establishment has liberated itself from the universal approach of modernism to the experimentation of historicist and regional forms. In this period, with the celebration of touristic consumptions of cultural and architectural tastes, new praxis pervaded the urban *ground* with new buildings for shopping malls, holiday villages, and new business centers. However looking to the development around Divanyolu, it can be articulated that it did not display the parallel histories with the modernization process of İstanbul. On the contrary, the transformation for the touristic consumption can be observed in the renovation of the old buildings supposedly for the development of the site for the public.

With the World Heritage Convention in 1983, the historical regions of İstanbul were incorporated to the List of World Heritage. After the Historical Peninsula Conservation Development Plan of İstanbul was produced, some transformations were observed in the route including the opening of Four Seasons Hotel in the building of old prison. Furthermore, İbrahim Pasha Palace was restored and turned to Art Museum as well as old university building was turned to the Print Museum. However, except the restoration of the old buildings, new architectural developments have not been observed in the site. Isolating the historical artifacts for the touristic movements mostly, the urban fabric as the representation of the fragmented parts of incomplete urban projects remained as abandoned and neglected, although international policies required the redevelopment of the whole district. This fragmentation can be experienced while experiencing the section between Topkapı Palace and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha Madrasa. This section was the most accumulated part of Ottoman monuments and but after passing Beyazıt Mosque to the Ordu Stret, the area was imbued with the demolished monuments as well as the abandoned buildings. Especially, the section between Şehzade Mosque and Fatih Complex, the traces of the historical

thoroughfare belonging to Ottoman period can not be followed. Furthermore, the visible layer did not reflect the modernization attempts. Thus, Divanyolu may in some points reflect the historical traces belonging to the Ottoman period and also stages of modernizations but the trace of the entire road which witnessed to the histories of 150 years can not be ensued without referring to the isolated monuments.

This obvious fragmentation can be seen the cause to the interruptions in the modernization attempts. In the case of Divanyolu, the fragmentation in the formal structure included the self-referential dynamics: the piecemeal continuity in the physical space was constructed by the different States' speculative projects. Divanyolu meant the street of the Court and the thoroughfare witnessed to the projects which implemented under the authority of State in both Ottoman and Republican Period. However, after 1980s implementations were developed with the capitalist activities as in the case of renovation of Sultanahmet Prison to the Hotel in the content of transformation project of Sultanahmet. Moreover, the assignment of public building, for example the Deed Office part in the Justice Court, to the private enterprise by the State displays the major determinants caused to the fragmentation within the different stages of modernization.

The major question about the case is that if this historical fragmentation observed in Divanyolu along the 150 years can be comprehended as the background of the contemporary city spatiality? It can be admitted that within this context that even the radical transformations attempted to establish hypothetical or formal connections with the pivotal meanings. Although idea of the "tabula rasa" was consolidated in the theoretical framework and also it was implemented in multilayered cities; in the example of Turkey, it remained as the myth of the modernization process in the city.

As a consequence, evaluating the conclusions derived from the case, it can be admitted that the ground reflects the complicated structure and also the stratification of various layers does not have to be "historical." The information of

the each case observed from the multilayeredness of the city can establish a contextual framework to develop the urban transformation projects in the contemporary cities. Although the each case deals with the limitations and resistance mechanisms during the application process, contemporary cities should get the inherent information about the accumulation of layers. Thus the information of the contemporary city may assist to comprehend the complete process within its limits and definitions and also to develop a relevant strategy for the similar cases.

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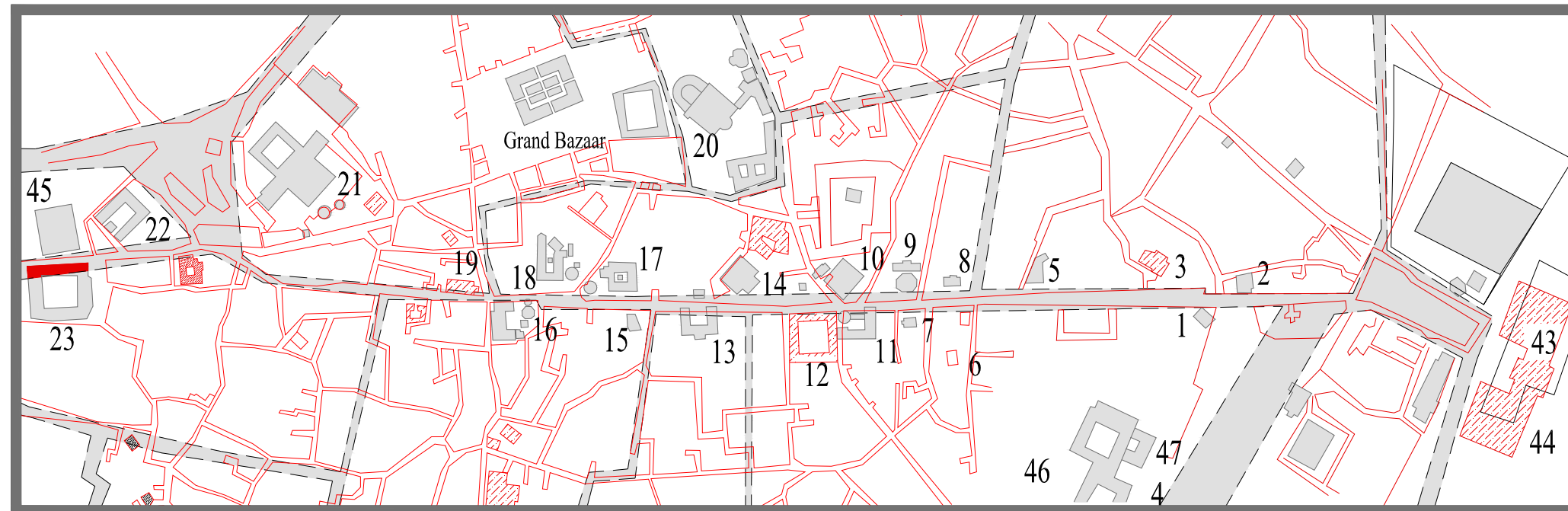
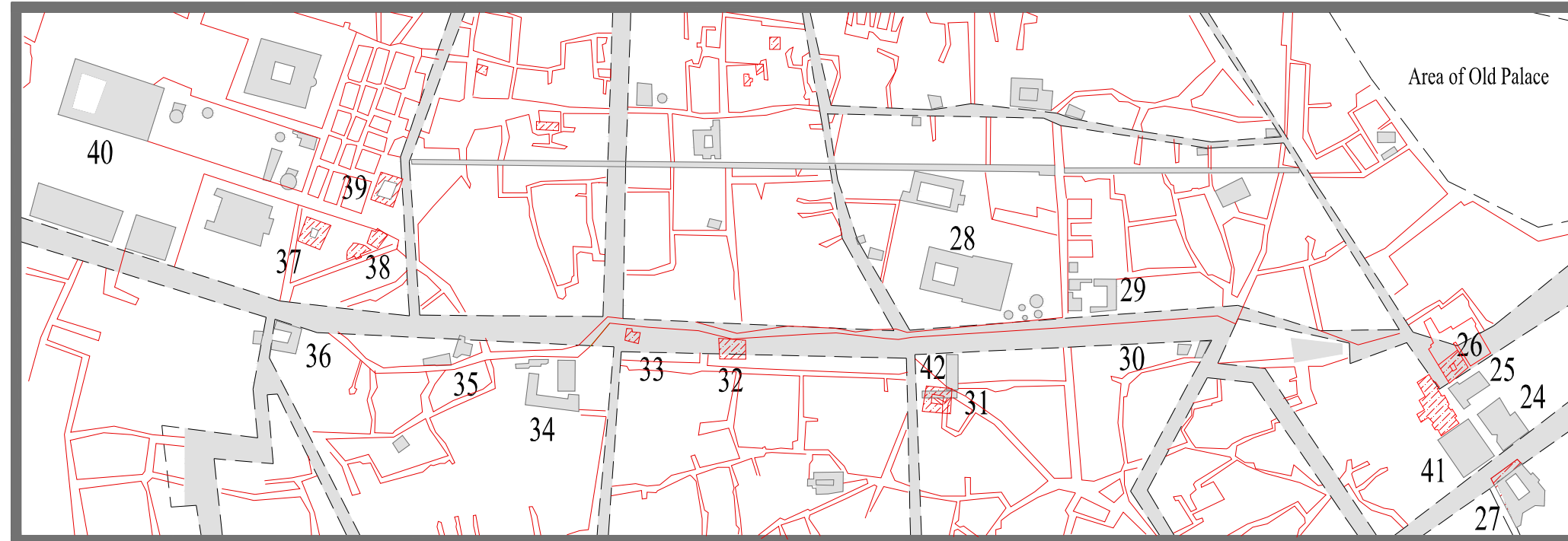
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- 1: Firuzağa Mosque
- 2: Cevri Kalfa School- Foundation for Turkish Literature
- 3: Acı Su Bath
- 4: İbrahim Paşa Palace- Art Museum
- 5: Kızlarağası Medresesi- Writers Association- (Yazarlar Derneği)
- 6: Sinan Ağa Mescidi
- 7: Köprülü Library
- 8: Mahmud II Tomb
- 9: Print Museum
- 10: Çemberlitaş Bath
- 11: Köprülü Madrasa
- 12: Elçi Han
- 13: Atik Ali Paşa Mdr.-Birlik Foundation
- 14: Atik Ali Paşa Mosque
- 15: Mimar Hayrettin Mescidi
- 16: Kara Mustafa Paşa Madrasa- Waqf
- 17: Koca Sinan Paşa Madrasa- Association of Balkan Turks
- 18: Çorlulu Ali Paşa Mdr.
- 19: Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa Mdr. -Waqf
- 20: Nuruosmaniye Mosque
- 21: Beyazid Mosque
- 22: Beyazid Madrasa- Calligraphy Museum
- 23: Simkeşhane
- 24: Beyazid Bath- Under Restoration
- 25: Seyyid Hasan Paşa Madrasa
- 26: Sabuncu Han
- 27: Hasan Paşa Hanı
- 28: Şehzade Mosque
- 29: Damat İbrahim Paşa Madrasa- Convention Center for Doğu Türkistan Found.
- 30: Direklerarası Arcades
- 31: Ebu'l Fazl Mahmud Efendi Mdr.
- 32: İbrahim Paşa Bath
- 33: Mimar Ayaz Ağa Mosque
- 34: Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Mdr.- Museum
- 35: Dülgerzade Mescidi
- 36: Feyzullah Efendi Mdr.- Millet Library
- 37: Bahçeli Han
- 38: Araplar Han
- 39: Büyük Yıldız Han
- 40: Fatih Complex
- 41: İstanbul Uni. Fac. of Literature
- 42: İstanbul Municipality Building
- 43: Four Seasons Hotel
- 44: College of Sciences
- 45: İstanbul University Library
- 46: Sultanahmet Law Court
- 47: Deed Office

Plate 1: Superimposition of demolished part with the existent layer.
 Red drawing represent the demolished part of urban fabric.
 SOURCE: map is produced from the photos taken in site analysis by the author in 2006 and the following sources:
 1996 map in Cerasi, 1882 Ayverdi map and map in www.arkiv.arkitera.com.tr

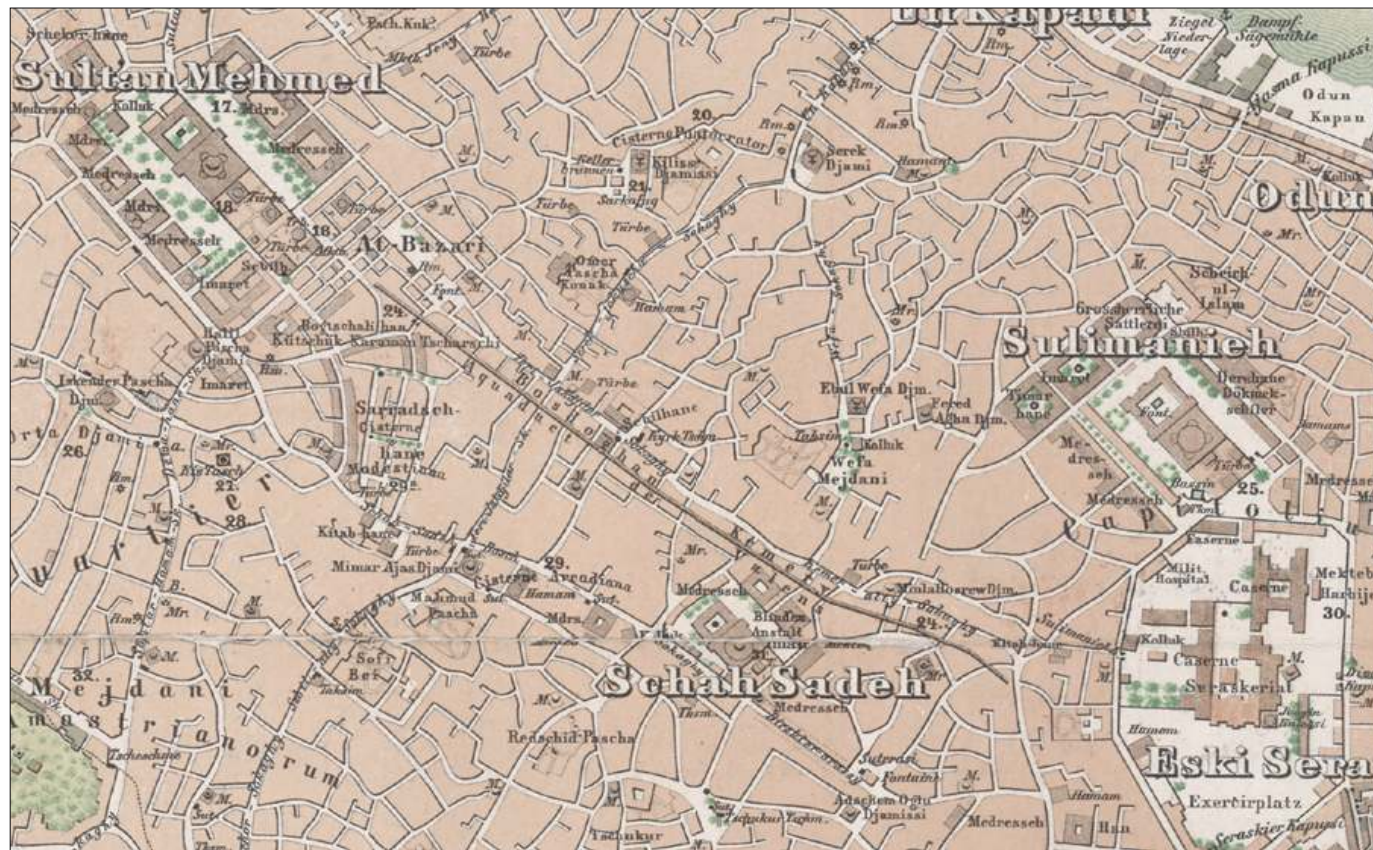


Plate 2: 1863 map by C. Stolpe

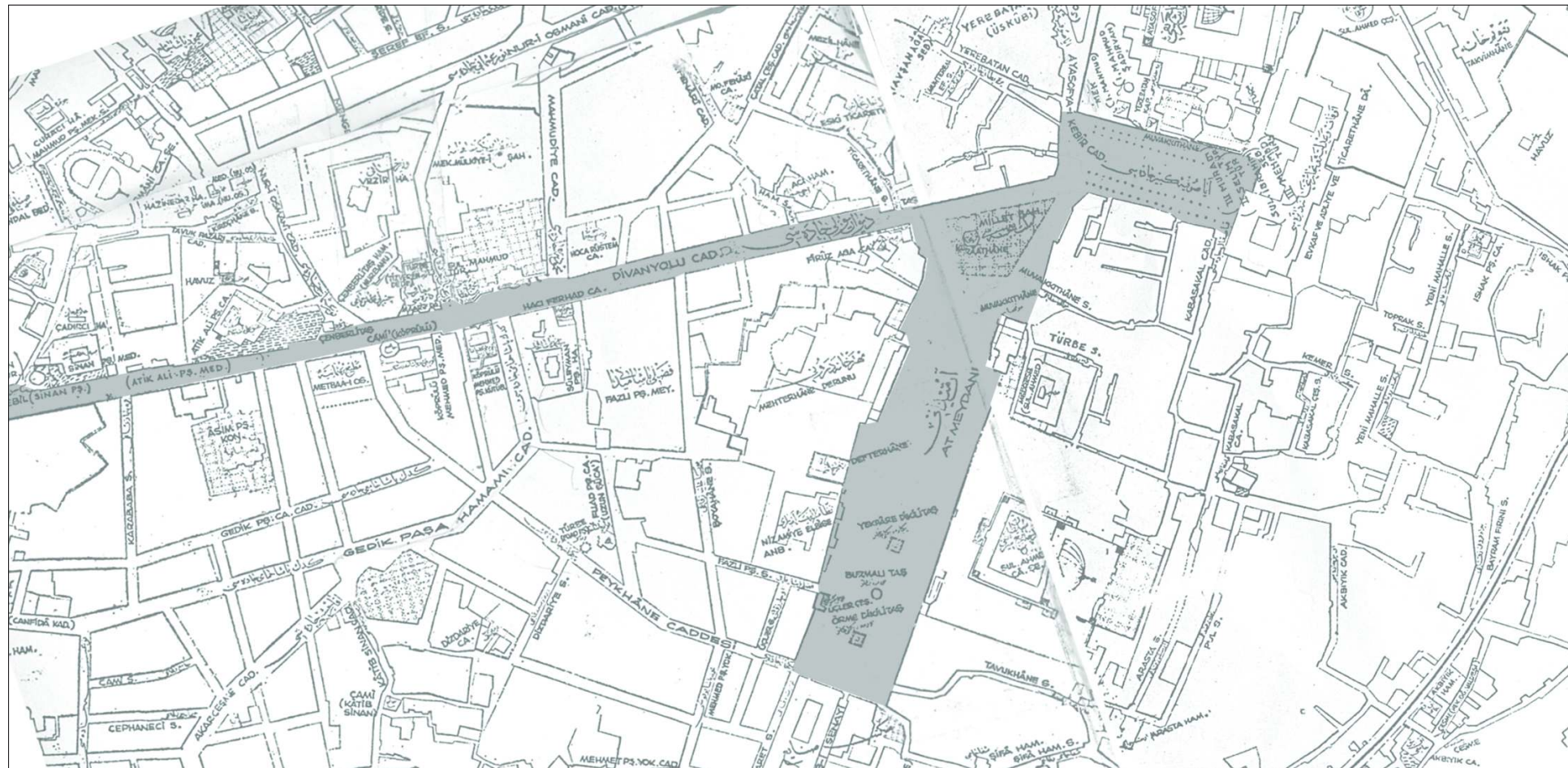
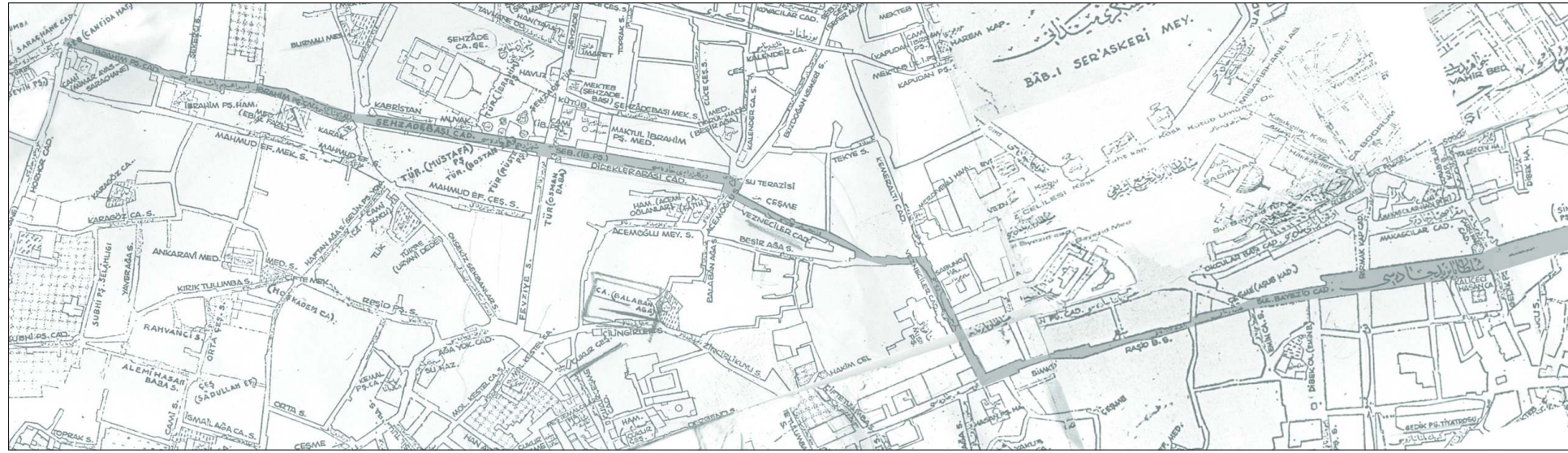


Plate 3: 1882 map by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi

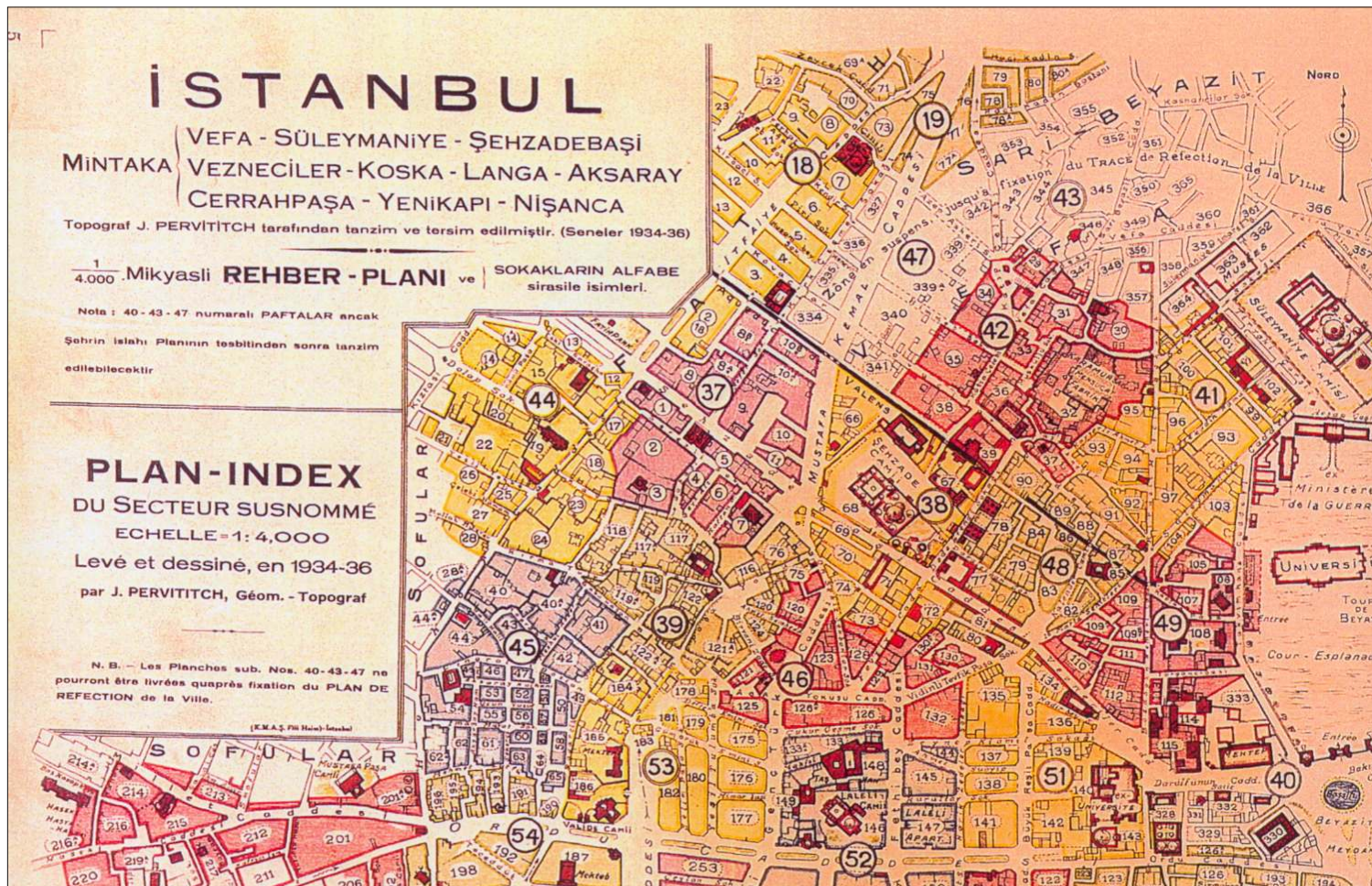
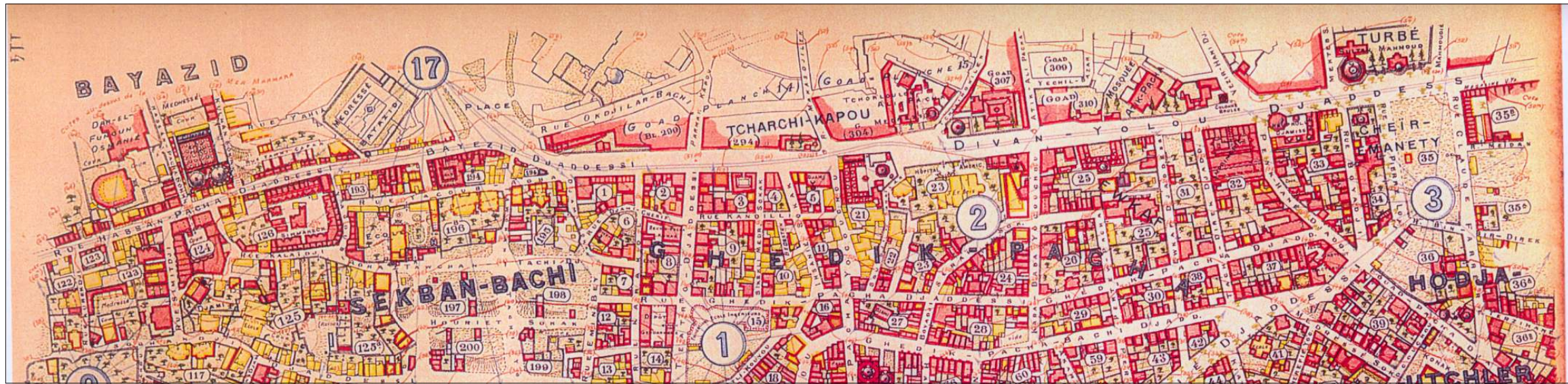


Plate 4: Insurance maps by Jacques Pervititch

Appendix A : Time - Building Chart Presenting Transformation of Buildings Along Divanyolu (Part I)

	Darülfünun Building	Sultanahmet Prison	Sultanahmet Square	İbrahim Pasha Palace	Law Court	Cevri Kalfa Mektebi	Kızlarağa Madrasa	Mahmud II Tomb	Köprülü Library
1500-1600									
1600-1700									
1700-1808									
1808-1839			named as Ahmediye Square						
1839-1861	used as hospital during construction	-				Art School for girls			
1861-1876	Ministry of Finance		for Exhibition						
1876-1909	First National Congress		for German Fountain	Partial demolition		addition	Its dome was collapsed		
1909-1914	Second National Congress								
1914-1930	Ministry of Justice					Typography School.	Dorm for women, children		
1930-1935	Burned			Partial demolition		Archive for Ministry			
1935-1949			excavations						
1949-1961					not finished	primary school			
1961-70			by Haşim İşcan						
1970s					new project				
1980s				Museum		Assigned to Turkish Literature Waqf	Writers Association		
1992		assigned to tourism firm							
1996									
2000		approval for the additional building							
2008		construction						Museum	
Legend									
	Remaking		Refunction		Demolition		Construction		

Appendix A- Part II

	Çemberlitaş Bath	Çemberlitaş	Köprülü Madrasa	Darülfünun-1 Osmani (Print Museum)	Atik Ali Pasha Mosque	A. Ali Pasha Complex	Koca Sinan Pasha Complex	Çorlulu Ali Pasha Complex	Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha Complex
1500-1600									
1600-1700		Partial demoliton			Partial demoliton				
1700-1808									
1808-1839									
1839-1861									
1861-1876	Partial demolition		Partial demoliton			Partial demolition			Partial demolition
1876-1909						caravanserai was removed			
1909-1914				assigned to municipality					
1914-1930	analysis					imaret was removed			
1930-1935		excavation							
1935-1949									
1949-1961		attempt for restoration							
1961-1970			-						fountain was removed, stores demolished
1970s		restoration	waqf						fountain was rented as market
1980s				Print Museum		assigned to Birlik Foundation			
1992									
1996									
2000									
2008							Association of Balkan Turks	stores coffeehouses	shared by waqfs
Legend									
		Remaking		Refunction		Demolition		Construction	

Appendix A- Part III

	Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha Madrasa	Beyazıt Square with the Complex	Zeynep Hanım Konağı	Simkeşhane	Hasan Paşa Hanı	Balaban Ağa Mescidi			
1500-1600		mosque and madrasa							
1600-1700									
1700-1808									
1808-1839		Seraskerlik, Fire Tower							
1839-1861		first pharmacy							
1861-1876		külliye as store							
1876-1909		small buildings were removed				Partially burned			
1909-1914			used as university						
1914-1930									
1930 -1935						excavations			
1935-1949			Burned						
1949-1961									
1961-70	The building was demolished.			Inappropriate restoration	inappropriate restoration,				
1970s									
1980s		madrasa as museum							
1992									
1996									
2000				public library					
2008									
Legend									
		Remaking		Refunction		Demolition		Construction	

Appendix A- Part IV

	Direkleri	Şehzade Complex	Municipality Building	Amcazade Hüseyin P. Complex	Millet Library	Fatih Complex			
1500-1600									
1600-1700		Partial demolition							
1700-1808		Partial demolition				Partial demolition			
1839-1861									
1861-1876									
1876-1909									
1909-1914	Demolished			Partial demolition	Partial demolition				
1914-1930						bazaar demolished			
1930-1935									
1935-1949									
1949-1961					public library	madrasa as dorm			
1961-70				museum					
1970s									
1980s									
1992									
1996									
2000-2008									
2006									
2008									
Legend									
	Remaking		Refunction		Demolition		Construction		