ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

TEZ ŞABLONU ONAY FORMU
THESIS TEMPLATE CONFIRMATION FORM

1. Şablonda verilen yerleşim ve boşluklar değiştirilmemelidir.	1. Do not change the spacing and placement in the template.
2. **Jüri tarihi** Başlık Sayfası, İmza Sayfası, Abstract ve Öz'de ilgili yerlere yazılmalıdır.	2. Write **defense date** to the related places given on Title page, Approval page, Abstract and Öz.
3. İmza sayfasında jüri üyelerinin unvanları doğru olarak yazılmalıdır. Tüm imzalar **mavi pilot kalemle** atılmalıdır.	3. Write the titles of the examining committee members correctly on Approval Page. **Blue ink** must be used for all signatures.
4. **Disiplinlerarası** programlarda görevlendirilen öğretim üyeleri için jüri üyeleri kısmında tam zamanlı olarak çalıştıkları anabilim dalı başkanlığının ismi yazılmalıdır. Örneğin: bir öğretim üyesi Biyoteknoloji programında görev yapıyor ve biyoloji bölümünde tam zamanlı çalışıyorsa, İmza sayfasına biyoloji bölümü yazılmalıdır. İstisnai olarak, disiplinler arası program başkanı ve tez danışmanı için disiplinlerarası program adı yazılmalıdır.	4. For faculty members working in **interdisciplinary programs**, the name of the department that they work full-time should be written on the Approval page. For example, if a faculty member staffs in the biotechnology program and works full-time in the biology department, the department of biology should be written on the approval page. Exceptionally, for the interdisciplinary program chair and your thesis supervisor, the interdisciplinary program name should be written.
5. Tezin **son sayfasının sayfa** numarası Abstract ve Öz'de ilgili yerlere yazılmalıdır.	5. Write **the page number of the last page** in the related places given on Abstract and Öz pages.
6. Bütün chapterlar, referanslar, ekler ve CV sağ sayfada başlamalıdır. Bunun için **kesmeler** kullanılmıştır. **Kesmelerin kayması** fazladan boş sayfaların oluşmasına sebep olabilir. Bu gibi durumlarda paragraf (¶) işaretine tıklayarak kesmeleri görünür hale getirin ve yerlerini **kontrol edin**.	6. All chapters, references, appendices and CV must be started on the right page. **Section Breaks** were used for this. **Change in the placement** of section breaks can result in extra blank pages. In such cases, make the section breaks visible by clicking paragraph (¶) mark and **check their position.**
7. Figürler ve tablolar kenar boşluklarına taşmamalıdır.	7. All figures and tables must be given inside the page. Nothing must appear in the margins.
8. Şablonda yorum olarak eklenen uyarılar dikkatle okunmalı ve uygulanmalıdır.	8. All the warnings given on the comments section through the thesis template must be read and applied.
9. Tez yazdırılmadan önce PDF olarak kaydedilmelidir. Şablonda yorum olarak eklenen uyarılar PDF dokümanında yer almamalıdır.	9. Save your thesis as pdf and Disable all the comments before taking the printout.
10. **Bu form aracılığıyla oluşturulan PDF dosyası arkalı-önlü baskı alınarak tek bir spiralli cilt haline getirilmelidir.**	10. **Print two-sided the PDF file that you have created through this form and make a single spiral bound.**
11. Spiralli hale getirilen tez taslağınızdaki ilgili alanları imzalandıktan sonra, Tez Juri Atama Formu ile birlikte bölüm sekreterliğine teslim edilmelidir.	11. Once you have signed the relevant fields in your thesis draft that you spiraled, submit it to the department secretary together with your Thesis Jury Assignment Form.
12. Tez taslaklarının kontrol işlemleri tamamlandığında, bu durum öğrencilere METU uzantılı öğrenci e-posta adresleri aracılığıyla duyurulacaktır.	12. This will be announced to the students via their METU students e-mail addresses when the control of the thesis drafts has been completed.
13. Tez yazım süreci ile ilgili herhangi bir sıkıntı yaşarsanız, **Sıkça Sorulan Sorular (SSS)** sayfamızı ziyaret ederek yaşadığınız sıkıntıyla ilgili bir çözüm bulabilirsiniz.	13. If you have any problems with the thesis writing process, you may visit our **Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)** page and find a solution to your problem.

☒ **Yukarıda bulunan tüm maddeleri okudum, anladım ve kabul ediyorum. / I have read, understand and accept all of the items above.**

Name : Sena
Surname : Doğan Parlak
E-Mail : senadoganparlak@gmail.com
Date : 14.06.2021
Signature : _____

FROM PUBLIC MONUMENT TO PUBLIC SQUARE: CHANGING MEANING
AND CONSERVATION OF SULTANAHMET SQUARE FROM LATE
ROMAN THROUGH TO MODERN TIMES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SENA DOĞAN PARLAK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN ARCHITECTURE

MAY 2021

Approval of the thesis:

FROM PUBLIC MONUMENT TO PUBLIC SQUARE: CHANGING MEANING AND CONSERVATION OF SULTANAHMET SQUARE FROM LATE ROMAN THROUGH TO MODERN TIMES

submitted by **SENA DOĞAN PARLAK** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture** in **Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Architecture, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Fatma Cânâ Bilsel
Head of the Department, **Architecture**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Fatma Cânâ Bilsel
Architecture, METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin
Architecture, METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pınar Aykaç Leidholm
Architecture, METU

Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay
City and Regional Planning, TEDU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Aygün Kalınbayrak Ercan
Architecture, TOGU

Date: 21.05.2021

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.

Name Last name : Sena Doğan Parlak

Signature :

ABSTRACT

FROM PUBLIC MONUMENT TO PUBLIC SQUARE: CHANGING MEANING AND CONSERVATION OF SULTANAHMET SQUARE FROM LATE ROMAN THROUGH TO MODERN TIMES

Doğan Parlak, Sena
Master of Architecture, Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Architecture
Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin

May 2021, 253 pages

This study aims to investigate the process of the fragmentation of the Late Roman Hippodrome of Constantinople, and its transformation from a public monument into a public square from the Byzantine period through to Ottoman and modern times. This research also focuses on the conservation of this monument, starting with the Late Roman legal regulations concerning the conservation of urban public buildings and their architectural reuse. In addition to structural damage and alterations caused by both natural factors and human interventions, the Hippodrome, located on the Historic Peninsula of Constantinople/Istanbul, was significantly vandalized by the Fourth Crusade in the first half of the 13th century, accelerating the process of its transformation into a public square, known as At Meydanı in the Ottoman period, or today's Sultanahmet Square. The *disiecta membra* removed from the Hippodrome were later reused in different architectural settings in the city or displayed in museums in a wider geographical context. This study thus intends to explore this process of transformation, with particular emphasis on the evolving meaning and perception of this monument within its

changing physical and socio-cultural context throughout history. It also seeks to undertake a critical assessment of the values and opportunities of and threats to the area, and to identify factors of change and their effects on the authenticity and integrity of Sultanahmet Square in its entirety.

Keywords: Hippodrome, Public Monument, Public Square, Transformation, Fragmentation, Conservation

ÖZ

KAMUSAL ANITTAN KAMUSAL MEYDANA: SULTANAHMET MEYDANININ GEÇ ROMA DÖNEMİNDEN GÜNÜMÜZE DEĞİŞEN ANLAMI VE KORUNMA SÜRECİ

Doğan Parlak, Sena
Yüksek Lisans, Kültürel Mirası Koruma, Mimarlık
Tez Yöneticisi: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin

Mayıs 2021, 253 sayfa

Bu çalışma Constantinopolis/İstanbul Hipodromunun parçalanma sürecini ve Bizans döneminden Osmanlı dönemine ve modern zamanlara değin kamusal bir anıttan kamusal bir meydana dönüşüm sürecini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, aynı zamanda, kentsel kamu yapılarının korunmaları ve yeniden kullanımlarını konu alan Geç Roma yasal düzenlemelerinden başlayarak günümüze kadar bu anıtın korunma sürecine de odaklanmaktadır. İstanbul'un Tarihi Yarımadasında bulunan Hipodromun, doğal etkenlerin ve insan müdahalelerinin yol açtığı yapısal hasar ve değişikliklerin yanı sıra, 13. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi tarafından önemli ölçüde tahrip edilmesi ile birlikte, Osmanlı döneminde At Meydanı olarak bilinen kentin ana meydanına ve bugünkü Sultanahmet Meydanına dönüşümü hızlanmıştır. Hipodroma ait olan parçalar, daha sonra yine İstanbul'da farklı yapılarda yeniden kullanılmış veya daha geniş bir coğrafi bağlamda müzelerde sergilenmiştir. Bu çalışma, anıtın tarih boyunca değişen fiziksel ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamı içinde gelişen anlam ve algısına özellikle vurgu yaparak, dönüşüm sürecini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, alanda değer, sorun ve fırsat tespiti analizi de yapılmış ve Sultanahmet

Meydanının özgünlüğünü ve bütünlüğünü etkileyen değişim faktörleri irdelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hipodrom, Kamusal Anıt, Kamusal Meydan, Dönüşüm, Parçalanma, Koruma

To my dear husband and my beloved family who are always with me

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

All photographs are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

FIGURES

xxiii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (High Council of Antiquities and Immovable Monuments)

IBB: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to Roger Trancik, "…the space only becomes a place when it is given a contextual meaning derived from cultural or regional background."[1] As Manuel Castells states, the transformation of meaning, function, and form of urban space is based on social interests. Cities are 'historical products' both in 'their physical materiality' and 'cultural meaning', with respect to their changing role in the organization of society and people's everyday lives. Therefore, the definition of 'urban meaning' is not only to do with cultural entity, but also with social process.[2] The meaning of space is developed through an interactive process experienced between space and the relevant actors. On the other hand, meanings change as time passes, through the transformation of spaces, functions, and context.[3] Article 15 of UNESCO's International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, also known as the Venice Charter, states that "..every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning".

Historic public spaces are cultural environments functioning as historical bridges between yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Public spaces are prestigious places representing the culture and identity of the city, and having essential functions/roles within it.[4] They are the representors of cultural, social, economic, and politic status, as well as the daily lifestyles of the public. They always maintain

---

[1] Trancik 1986, 112.
[2] Castells 1983, 301.
[3] Carr *et al.* 1992, 234.
[4] Neal 2010, 1.

1

their importance as urban spaces since they are the essential elements of a city.[5] Through history, they have been venues for the daily life of people and their most dramatic events. Therefore, as the stages on which the history and fate of the city are acted out, the great challenge for these places is being able to reflect the identity of the space, together with its values and meanings, despite all its changes and transformations.[6]

In the UNESCO Recommendation Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976), an historic site is identified as "a living proof of past days is of vital importance to humanity and the nations that find both the expression of their lifestyle and the cornerstone of their identities". Additionally, it is indicated that historical sites provide "the most concrete evidence of the richness and diversity of cultural, religious and social activities throughout the ages, and that their protection and integration into contemporary society life is a fundamental factor in urban planning and land development".

According to Feilden and Jokilehto, together with value and authenticity, integrity is the other fundamental component of the conservation debate: an historic monument is at the same time a work of art that results from a creative design process. Such a work can generally be conceived as an artistic whole and should not be seen as a 'sum total of its parts'.[7] They introduce a new term, i.e. "integrity": "Integrity generally refers to the material completeness of an object or site, whereas 'historical integrity' relates to the current form of a heritage resource as a result of growth and changes over time".[8] Feilden and Jokilehto also write that an historic area should be considered together with human values related to its social and economic contexts, rather than only within an architectural framework; they also

---

[5] Lynch 1984, 46.
[6] Zamani 2010, 173.
[7] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 14.
[8] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 15.

point to the transformation of heritage and its redefining in different periods of history as:

> "Over time, the original heritage resource may be partly damaged, intentionally modified or even destroyed, causing its potential unity to be diminished or lost. On the other hand, an historic resource may, at different periods of its history, become part of a new whole, through which it is redefined as part of a new potential unity; such transformations are part of its historical stratigraphy."[9]

Feilden and Jokilehto define the significance of the management and conservation of historic centres. They state that a well-maintained historic urban centre has many advantages for its citizens. It is an open public space that can host diverse activities. It can have residential use, public functions, shopping, and entertainment and cultural facilities together. Moreover, these urban spaces are usually sited so as to give visual drama through the senses. In these centres, views of the principal buildings from various locations provide reassuring reference points. Therefore, people who know the history of the place will enjoy the feeling of participating in its history, and a sense of continuity and identity. In this context, some of the key buildings are symbolic; without them the place would never be the same. However, they also point out the social aspects of historic centres. As they mention, an historic centre is an element of a larger whole and should be studied as part of the present-day dynamic reality, not only as an object for tourist attraction.[10]

> "The value of an historic town is embodied in the material testimony of its stones and its structures, and often lies beneath their visible surface. This historical stratigraphy – the evidence and marks brought by changes in use over time, as well as the connections and continuity that make an individual building part of the urban context – constitutes the basis for establishing the criteria for its conservation."[11]

The ICOMOS The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (2011) also states that historic towns and urban areas are "living evidence of the past that formed them". As the document

---

[9] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 15.
[10] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 73.
[11] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 77.

emphasizes, historical or traditional areas compose part of daily human life, and thus, their protection and integration into contemporary society are fundamental for town- planning and land development.[12]

> "Historic towns and urban areas are spatial structures that express the evolution of a society and of its cultural identity. They are an integral part of a broader natural or man-made context and the two must be considered inseparable."[13]

1.1   Brief Information on the Study Area

Figure 1. İstanbul, Historic Peninsula, aerial photo by Kadir Kir (URL 1)

Located on a hilly peninsula at the intersection of the Golden Horn, Marmara Sea and Bosphorus, İstanbul has a special geography that gives the city natural defence advantage and offers significant natural beauties **(Fig.1)**. Situated where Asia and Europe meet, the city is strategically vital due to its being able to control East and

---

[12] ICOMOS 2011, 3.
[13] ICOMOS 2011b, 3.

West, and being located on the historical silk road.[14] Therefore, starting from the establishment of the Greek city of Byzantion in 660 BCE, the city has always been chosen to be settled.[15] Its importance increased as a Greco-Roman city in 195 CE when the emperor Septimus Severus (193-211 CE) took the city and rebuilt it completely. In 330, it was established as the 'New Rome' by Constantine I (306-312 CE), and later became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire.[16] From 1453, when the city was taken by the Ottomans and turned into the capital of the Ottoman Empire, until 1923, when the capital moved to Ankara with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, thus about 1600 years, it has been the capital of two great empires.[17]

Figure 2. İstanbul, aerial photograph of the Historic Peninsula (URL 2)

---

[14] Bassett 2004, 17.
[15] Krautheimer 1983, 42.
[16] Müller-Wiener 2001, 16; Bardill 2012, 250.
[17] Kuban 2001, 30.

Sultanahmet Square, the most central location of the historical city, with social, cultural, religious, commercial, administrative and imperial functions, has been the location where the many changes that the city has undergone throughout its history can be most seen. With the Hippodrome, built by Emperor Constantine I in 330, the identity and meaning of the area began to form. The structure, one of the greatest examples of engineering and architecture of its time, in terms of its size and monumentality, was not just a public entertainment venue, but also the focal point of the city's social, political, cultural and artistic life between the 4th and 7th centuries.[18] The Hippodrome of Constantinople was the only one that continued its function by the 6th century; all other hippodromes were out of use, obsolete, with no place among the changing social culture, norms and morality of the period.[19] Even if its use had also started to decline from the 8th century, the Hippodrome of Constantinople functioned into the 13th century, when the last chariot race was recorded in 1200.[20] The fragmentation process of the monument began with the vandalism of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The *spina*[21] and its bronze statues were melted down for their metal; the famous *quadriga*[22] was shipped off to Venice and the front door of the Cathedral of San Marco.[23] Under Latin domination (1204-1261), the monument began to dilapidate, and, by the end of the 14th century, parts of the structure had completely disappeared: it was left unused, and eventually abandoned to its own fate.[24]

When the Ottomans took Constantinople in 1453, they encountered an open space surrounded by the ruins of the partially destroyed Hippodrome; its fragmentation was more or less completed in the Ottoman period, becoming, in essence, a stone

---

[18] Mango 2010, 39.
[19] Dagron 2014, 11.
[20] Mofatt and Tall 2012, 320.
[21] For the definitions of the physical components of the hippodromes, see below pp.26-27.
[22] Four-horse chariot sculpture on the *carceres*. For further information, see below Chapter 3 and **(Fig. 33)**.
[23] Bassett 1991, 90.
[24] Müller-Wiener 2001, 67-68.

quarry. Material from the Late Roman Hippodrome was used especially in the period of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), providing *spolia* for the construction of new imperial buildings and monuments for the capital.[25] Eventually, the public monument of Late Antiquity turned into a public open space, known as 'At Meydanı'.[26] At Meydanı became the social, cultural, political and administrative centre – as the main square of the city. For centuries it was the dominant public space due to its central position and size large enough to accommodate the biggest of crowds.[27] However, the use of At Meydanı started to decrease by the 18th century due to political events and the move of the city's festive events to other parts of İstanbul, and it never regained its former prestige.[28]

In the Tanzimat era (1839-1876) there was a tendency to build monumental public buildings around At Meydanı to help it regain its old prestige.[29] It started to be known as Sultanahmet Square, and by the mid-19th century, excavation works, archaeological research and individual conservation works on the monuments of the Hippodrome had begun in the area.[30] Although the area was once more a setting for the most important political meetings of the War of Independence (1919-1923), its use decreased greatly after the capital was transferred to Ankara in 1923.[31]

By the 20th century, several master plans and urban design projects were considered for Sultanahmet Square. The area was classified as an 'archaeological park' and declared a conservation area in 1953. Later, in 1985, four different areas of the 'Historic Peninsula of İstanbul', including Sultanahmet Square, were granted World Heritage Site status by UNESCO, and Sultanahmet Square was recognized as an 'archaeological park'.[32] In 1995, '1st degree archaeological sites', 'urban

---

[25] Kuban 2001, 227-235.
[26] 'At Meydanı' means 'The Square of the Horses'. For further information, see Chapter 3.
[27] Kafescioğlu 2009, 103-117.
[28] Nutku 2010, 88.
[29] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 55.
[30] Müller-Wiener 2001, 69.
[31] Işın 2010, 307.
[32] URL 20.

archaeological sites', and 'urban historical sites' were identified for the 'Historic Peninsula', with Sultanahmet Square classified as an 'urban archaeological site'.[33] After these conservation decisions, conservation master plans and management plans were gradually implemented in the area.

During the transformation process, Sultanahmet Square was surrounded by new structures in different periods: today's structures surrounding the Square are (**Fig.3**): the Mosque of Firuz Ağa (1491), the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (1522), the Rüstem Paşa Fountain (16th century), the Çukur Fountain (Üçler Fountain) (16th century), the complex of Sultanahmet (1609), the Rectorate of Marmara University (1866), the Republican Museum (1899), the İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre (1910), and the 'German Fountain (1901).

Today, the only *in situ* reminders of Constantinople's iconic Hippodrome are the three monumental landmarks (the Egyptian Obelisk, Masonry Obelisk and Serpentine Column) that once stood on the *spina*, the *sphendone*[34], and the stairs/walls of the western flank of the Hippodrome, now to be found in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (the İbrahim Paşa Palace) and marble columns and stone seating in the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque (**Fig.3**). In addition, a group of marble capitals, including the two bases of the statues of the charioteer[35] Porphyrius that were discovered in the area, are now in the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. Several fragments of the Hippodrome can be seen as *spolia* in the Topkapı Palace (1465) and the Süleymaniye (1551-57), Sultanahmet and Selimiye Mosques (1568).[36]

Beyond Turkey, the only known surviving bronze statues from the Hippodrome are the *quadriga* in San Marco in Venice, and a lonely bronze goose now in the British Museum, London. Additionally, there are also other archaeological remains from

---

[33] URL 21.
[34] For the definitions of the physical components of the hippodromes, see below pp.26-27.
[35] For the definition, see below pp.26-27.
[36] Bardill 2010, 99.

the structures in the area that were once adjacent to the Hippodrome: the Great Palace, the Baths of Zeuxxippus, the Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, and the Church of Saint Euphemia **(Fig.3)**.
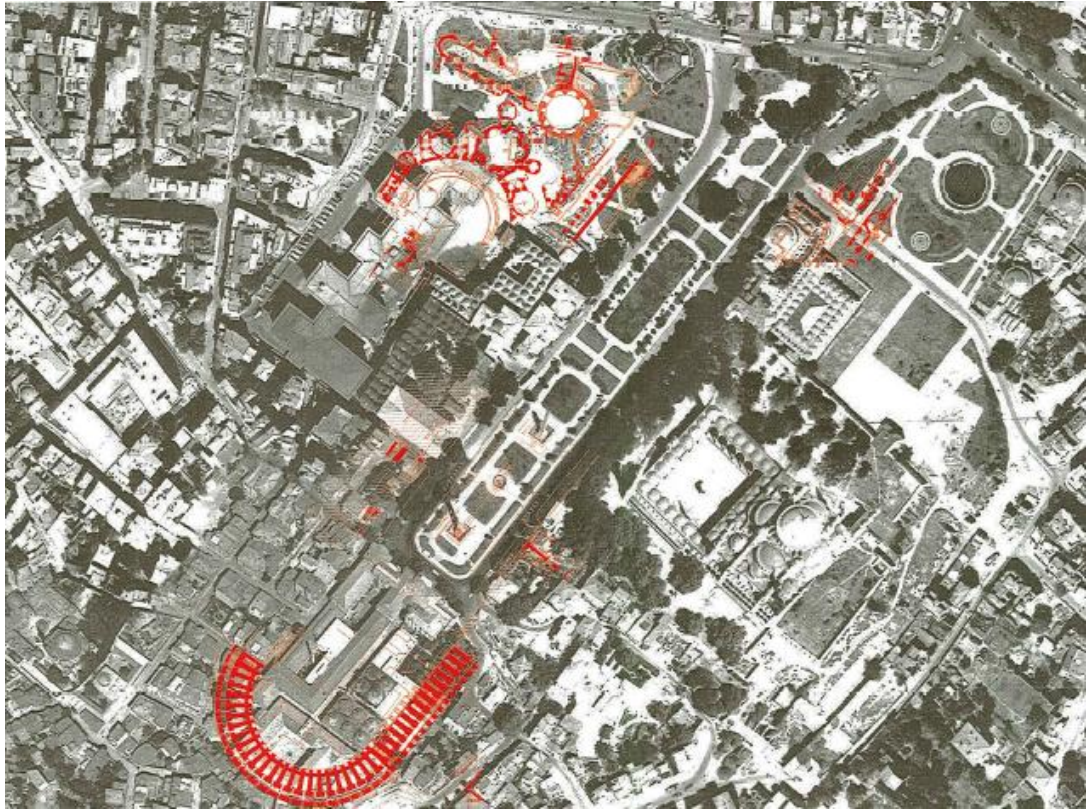
Figure 3. İstanbul, aerial view of the study area in 1966, with the locations of the archaeological remains of the Hippodrome (Pitarakis 2010, 11).

1.2 Definition of the Problem and Criteria for the Selection of the Study Area

Sultanahmet Square today is one of the most well-known public open spaces, described as having 'outstanding universal value' and affording a diverse cultural heritage experience from different periods, and with a range of value types, encompassing the Late Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Early Republican city, and later, of course, as an imperial capital. The area consists of the remains of the public monuments of the Greco-Roman city of Byzantion, the remains of the monumental buildings of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, the monumental

structures of the Ottoman capital Konstanyiniyye, and the monumental structures of the Early Republican period of İstanbul. Today, however, there are factors that prevent our understanding of the historical character and meaning of the area, factors that overshadow its cultural importance and lead to a loss of values and disruption to the authenticity and integrity of the area, risking, ultimately, a loss of identity.

As a result of the conservation decisions, the area has been the subject of many urban planning activities. These relevant decisions were slow in starting, beginning only in 1995. Conservation plans for the area were constantly cancelled, being ultimately prepared in 2012, at a much later time. In addition to the conservation plan, a number of project proposals were developed to meet demands of tourism for the site. The location was the setting for some of the most important monumental structures of the capital of the Byzantine Empire, such as the Hippodrome, the Great Palace, the Baths of Zeuxxippus, the Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, and the Church of Saint Euphemia. However, and including other monuments and structures that were also the most important representatives of their periods, a comprehensive and holistic strategy was never developed to encompass the remains of these monuments, especially the Hippodrome.

To make things worse, the remains suffer from the lack of site management, presentation, and visitor orientation. The *sphendone* of the Hippodrome and the remains of the Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus are inaccessible, hidden from sight, or have lost their integrity and authenticity. These problems and a general lack of knowledge and awareness about the area inevitably lead to the neglect of this rich heritage by visitors and users of the area. For this reason, while structures such as Hagia Sophia, the Sultanahmet Mosque, the Topkapı Palace and the Basilica Cistern in the area and its immediate surroundings are known by everyone, the remains of these other key monumental structures are overlooked by visitors and users. As a result, it is no longer possible to understand that this area was once the centre of the capital of the Byzantine Empire for well over 1000 years, a state

of affairs caused by damage today to the integrity of this social, cultural, artistic, administrative and monumental ceremonial site.

In short, the archaeological remains of the area are not understood as a whole and therefore do not reflect the importance of the area. Consequently, the absence of a comprehensive strategy for the site's conservation and presentation threatens the authenticity and integrity of archaeological values. The most important parts of the Hippodrome are damaged and in ruins as a result of the lack of comprehensive conservation policies for the area. The remains which somehow survive from these important monuments as tangible witnesses of history, are now disconnected from each other and in poor condition. In particular, the surviving parts of the Hippodrome are negatively affected by this situation. Although the outline of the monument is legible from the air, its remains are not presented in a way that allows the presence of the Hippodrome to be felt. This causes the historical integrity of the area and the structural integrity of the Hippodrome not to be understood, and any visual integrity is almost impossible to achieve: its archaeological remains form no unified entity; being in no way presented as associated features; and lacking any informative and guiding elements; thus those who visit the area often do so without even noticing these remains. Ultimately, this lack of effective conservation, planning and management, coupled with insufficient presentation, prevents the effective development of solutions to conserve the values of the area, and this impedes the understanding of the historical character, identity and meaning of the location and harms its values.

The Hippodrome of the Late Roman and Byzantine eras continued at At Meydanı into Ottoman times. Eventually, the monument was transformed into a public square, and, as such, the area was the venue for the most important political events of the day, and a stage for the ideologies of emperors, once more hosting huge crowds. Even though the Hippodrome itself had disappeared, the area, also as a square, served the public's needs – indeed it was the main focus of their activities. The Hippodrome, At Meydanı and Sultanahmet Square represented the culture and lifestyles of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, and the establishment of the new

Republic of Turkey. However, this area, formerly the focus of social life throughout its history, is no longer integrated into modern life today: it has become a space cut off from the daily lives of citizens, and, to put it bluntly, little more than an open-air museum for tourists. Thus, the area's symbolic value has deteriorated, slowly fading from the collective memory. In addition to this present-day lack of a deeper knowledge of the meaning and identity of the heritage site, the preservation of cultural heritage becomes even more difficult if it is not associated with existing social structure and the daily activities of society.

One of the most interesting aspects of the transformation of the public monument into a public square was that, even though the Hippodrome was almost totally fragmented, its 'space' was nevertheless conserved and never occupied by new buildings. The buildings that did appear were constructed around the square, aligned with the borders of the Hippodrome's inner walls, and hence today the traces of its arena are still visible. Even if the meaning and function of the area changed, Sultanahmet Square, the sole large public square surviving from Late Roman times, continues to survive as an open space within the dense urban tissue of the historical core of İstanbul. Although the physical environment changed continuously over the millennia, the open nature of the Hippodrome was conserved. However, the opportunity to have a large open space in 'public ownership' within the densely urbanized centre of the Historic Peninsula has not been grasped.

Sultanahmet Square faces many different problems, such as those of design and transportation. This thesis, however, has decided to focus on the issues involving the lack of comprehensive conservation and management decisions that involve the area in its entirety, and how it is not being conserved by effective legislation as an historic and public open space, and how this all leads to problems related to integrity and public use.

1.3   Aim and Scope of the Thesis

Sustaining the continuity of values ascribed to cultural heritage is one of the main targets of conservation. This aim requires a systematic analysis and evaluation process. Analyzing values and problems of heritage in detail provides a deeper understanding of its characteristics and the identification of its identity and meaning through time. The evaluation of these analyses reveals the cultural significance of the heritage, its function and role in society, and integration into contemporary social life. Furthermore, investigating historical events and their impact on heritage provides another element that can ensure the completion of the wider evaluation process of the area under consideration. Ultimately, these analyses and evaluations enable researchers to examine the transformation of cultural heritage sites, their evolution through time, and their changing meaning in each of its historical periods. Since current values and problems of any area are formed by various factors that positively or negatively affect it during its transformation, the determination of the main factors of change and the assessment of the impact of these factors on the authenticity and integrity of the area are essential when it comes to understanding the heritage site's adaptation to time and place, as well as its continuity and cycle of change.

Therefore, within the context suggested in this heading, the present study has two main targets. Firstly, this thesis investigates the process of fragmentation of the Late Roman Hippodrome of Constantinople, and its transformation from a public monument into a public square, from the Byzantine period through to Ottoman and modern times. In accordance with this purpose, our research also focuses on the conservation history of the Hippodrome, starting with the Late Roman legal regulations concerning the conservation of urban public buildings and their architectural reuse. In so doing, we explore this process of transformation, with particular emphasis on the changing meaning and perception of this monument within its evolving physical and socio-cultural context throughout history. These analyses reveal the identity, meaning, historical importance and cultural

significance of the area, and characteristics of the monuments. The second main aim of our study is to make a critical evaluation of the current situation of the area, facilitating our understanding of its identity, characteristics, and cultural significance. For this purpose, the intention is to conduct a value analysis, identify the current issues of preservation that hinder the integrated conservation and presentation of this area in its entirety, and to reveal the opportunities based on its physical and socio-cultural potential.

In other words, this study not only describes physical and socio-cultural changes to the area from the Late Roman period to the present, but at the same time also reveals the current state of the area and illustrates the main factors behind its changing meaning within these contexts. Detailing the historical background of Sultanahmet Square and making a critical assessment of its current conditions demonstrate the site's continuity and changing meaning through time, and, furthermore, reveals the main factors affecting them. The opportunity also us to make a general evaluation, based on these analyses, that can outline the main factors behind the formation of the site's current values and problems. In this way we are able to determine the change factors and understand the most dynamic of these in terms of the fragmentation of the Hippodrome as well as Sultanahmet Square's transformation process.

Within the scope of these two main aims, it is important to give the theoretical background outlining general contexts for the conservation of public open spaces and urban archaeological sites. By giving the theoretical background we are then led to an investigation of Sultanahmet Square's public use continuity, and its conservation as an open space, within the context of the general meaning and changes to public space. Additionally, current international documents and charters help to present a general context for the conservation of public open spaces and historical urban centres, and set out the principles for the conservation of urban archaeological and 'World Heritage' sites. Moreover, examining the conservation history, authenticity, and integrity of certain major World Heritage sites that also once included a hippodrome is valuable for this study, providing a means of

comparative analysis between these monuments and Sultanahmet in terms of their transformation processes and the current condition of their surviving remains. It can be seen that, having gone through processes similar to those of Sultanahmet Square, some of these sites represent successful examples of public squares that have been transformed from Roman public monuments, while some are more problematic. Therefore, based on these analyses, the conservation status of Sultanahmet Square, through its transformation process, can be synthesized by comparing our site with other well-preserved examples, taking into account the standards of international charters and considering the meaning of the concept of public space.

It is important to emphasize that this thesis does not seek to develop a conservation project for Sultanahmet Square, but, it can be taken as a building block towards further detailed analysis and evaluation stages, which is the first step necessary for comprehensive and effective conservation action. Thus, this research contributes to the field of conservation by presenting an analysis of the area in a systematic framework, relating changes over time with the current situation on the ground.

1.4   Methodology and Structure

This thesis is based on several phases of research, including conceptual and on-site examinations; three phases of research were involved – data collection, data analyses, and evaluation. The data collection phase was developed with the aid of available literature and field studies; the literature included monographs, articles, international charters, documents, archives, and theses.

First, previous studies on the study area were examined. Only three theses directly concerning the Hippodrome of Constantinople were found, all master's theses, those by Nahit Yıldırım (2013), Taner Kara (2010), and Günder Varinlioğlu (1998). Yıldırım provides general information on the history of the Hippodrome, while Kara covers the site's architectural history and historical importance;

Varinlioğlu offers architectural information. These three studies, it should be noted, do not focus on the transformation process or changes to the area.

There are several master's theses on the individual monuments of the Hippodrome. However, The Egyptian Obelisk, Masonry Obelisk and Serpentine column are studied in terms of their physical conditions and conservation. The previously mentioned master's thesis by Varinlioğlu (1998) includes detailed research into the physical condition of the *sphendone*. A separate master's thesis by Mustafa Yıldız (2002) analyses the transformation of the area and examines its historical process, but does not include a critical assessment of the current situation. There are also other studies of Sultanahmet Square, in terms of urban design, landscape, urban furniture, and transportation. Ceren Özcan's master's thesis (2019) is one of the most recent works covering the study area. Although these two theses have a common aim focusing on the absence of comprehensive conservation plans, a lack of integrity, and the poor physical conditions of the archaeological remains in the area, Özcan covers a larger area and emphasizes the neglect of the Late Antique Byzantine heritage in Turkey. The sections covering the historical processes and planning history of the area, and current critical assessments, have similarities.

The PhD dissertation by Pınar Aykaç (2017) also covers the study area, but in a larger context. This current thesis overlaps in terms of common information with Aykaç, especially in the sections relating to transformation in the chosen locality. However, Aykaç's work looks at the musealization of the Sultanahmet district, as well as museological studies in Turkey from 19th century until present day. Elif Selena Ayhan Koçyiğit chose Ulus Square for her PhD case study (2018), and this dissertation was also consulted as a source, providing some theoretical background on the transformation of public open spaces in Turkey; it also helped to develop the way this thesis was advanced.

A major difference of this thesis, on the other hand, is that it examines the changing meaning of Sultanahmet Square from the Late Roman period up to the present. Therefore, it is a comprehensive study partially bringing together the subjects of all

the previous studies mentioned. It does not, however, examine the individual architectural features, or detailed physical conditions, of the structures in the area. Varying from other studies, our thesis examines the fragmentation process of the Hippodrome, the physical and social changes in the area, and the factors affecting these changes in its transformation process from a public a monument into a public square.

The field study for this research was conducted in November 2018. During this process, the current situation of the area was examined, and the physical borders of the study area were determined; the archaeological remains and monuments in the area were also photographed. The field studies were important for making a critical analysis of the current state of the area, examining the physical conditions of the structures, and understanding their relationships with each other. Unfortunately, I could not make my further field trips due to the ongoing pandemic process.

After assessing the previous studies, the literature research was conducted, examining the historical and modern sources to analyse the historical process of Sultanahmet Square. Herein, the historical sources are as important as the modern, since the transformation process covers the periods from Late Roman times to the present. The Roman laws, e.g. the *Codex Theodesianus*, are very significant for this thesis, providing specific information about the renovation, restoration and repairs to the Hippodrome, including conservation decisions regarding public open spaces, rules for the Hippodrome races and events, and giving information about the major historical events of the period. Additionally, the "*Constantine Porphyrogennetos: the Book of Ceremonies*" also contains detailed information about the Hippodrome's races and events, and enabling us to understand the timeline of the functioning of the stadium; it also provides detailed information about the structural features of the elements that are lost today.

Traveller accounts, ambassador reports, poems, and inscriptions all help towards an understanding of the significance, meaning, and use of the location – especially in Late Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman times. Visual sources, as well as written

ones, constituted a significant part of this research. Engravings, sketches, paintings, frescoes, and photographs assist interpretation of the Hippodrome's various fragmentation stages and transformation processes, especially covering the period between the 14th and 18th centuries.

Modern sources were also used to comprehend the history and function of the vicinity within the city, its physical and social changes, and the assorted structural features of the Hippodrome. Specifically, the main research consulted for analysing the transformation process of the area, with all its dimensions, was *Hipodrom/At Meydanı: İstanbul'un Tarihi Sahnesi* (2010). The primary reference works for the section dealing with Late Roman and Byzantine times were: Alan Cameron (1976), Richard Krautheimer (1983), Helen Saradi-Mendelovici (1990), Sarah Bassett (1991-2004), Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (2001), Cyril Mango (2004), Paul Magdalino (2007), Jonathan Bardill (2012), and Gilbert Dagron (2014). The main articles referred to for the Hippodrome of Constantinople, and its sculptures, were: Liz James (1996), Teresa Wolińska (2011), and Jerry Larson (2012). Although its subject is the 'Temple of Augustus' in Ankara, Ufuk Serin's 2018 work is also one of my leading sources, as it focuses on the transformation process of an area that has been both a religious and symbolic public space in the city's history. Serin also emphasizes the temple's change of use, from pagan shrine to church, and the recycling of its *spolia*.

The main sources covering Ottoman times used in this research are: Zeynep Nayir (1975), Doğan Kuban (2001), Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (2009), and Nurhan Atasoy (2012), and for modern times: Cânâ Bilsel and Pierre Pinon (2010). The excavation reports of Stanley Casson and David Talbot Rice (1928), Ernst Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand (1934), and Rüstem Duyuran (1950) were all important in various ways for revealing the many archaeological values of the area.

Conservation development plans, management plans, legislation concerning conservation, and declarations on the area form an important part of this study. The current plans in effect were examined to provide an understanding of the planning

and conservation approaches and their impacts towards the study area. These include: the 'Henri Prost Plan' (1936), the '1/5000 Istanbul Walled City Master Plan' (1964), the 'Historical Environs of Sultanahmet and its Tourism Development Project' by the İstanbul Tourism Bank (1979), the 'Partial Conservation and Development Implementation Plan of Sultanahmet and its Vicinity' (1981), the '1/5000 Conservation Master Development Plan for the Historic Peninsula' (1990), the '1/5000 Conservation Master Development Plan of Historical Peninsula (Eminönü-Fatih)' (2004), the 'Istanbul Historic Peninsula Site Management Plan Report' (2011), the 'Fatih 1/5000 Conservation Master Development Plan Report' (2012), the 'Sultanahmet Urban Archaeological Site 1/1000 Conservation İmplementation Plan Report' (2012), and the 'Istanbul Historic Peninsula Management Plan Report' (2018).

Legislation affecting the conservation of Sultanahmet Square and its impact were examined, representing the major sources concerning the national legal framework in Turkey, the key laws being: the *Nizamname-i Umumi* (The Public Regulation), the *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu* (The Commission on Road Improvement), the *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on Roads and Buildings), the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on Antiquities), the *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Construction Regulation), the *Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname* (the Regulation on Preservation of Monuments), the *Belediyeler Kanunu* (Law no. 1580 on Concerning the Municipalities), the *Umumi Hıfsısıhha Kanunu* (Law no. 1593 on Public Sanitation), the *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu* (Law no. 2290 on Building and Roads), the *Ayasofya Camiinin Müzeye Çevrilmesi Hakkında Bakanlar Kurulu Kararnamesi* (Decree-Law on the Conversion of Hagia Sophia Mosque into a Museum), the *Vakıflar Kanunu* (Law no. 2762 on Pious Foundations), the *1710 sayılı Eski Eserler Kanunu* (Law no. 1710 on Antiquities Act), the *2634 sayılı Turizm Teşvik Kanunu* (Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives), the *2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu* (Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property), the *5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu* (Law no. 5216 on Metropolitan Municipality), the *5225 sayılı Kültür Yatırımlarına*

ve Girişimlerine Teşvik Kanunu (Law no. 5225 on the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Initiatives), the *5226 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Konularda Değişiklik Yapılması* (Law no. 5226 on Amendments to the Law no. 2863), and the *5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun* (Law no. 5366 on the Conservation through Renewal and Utilization through Reuse of the Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties).

The literature survey also embraced sources relating to the transformation and conservation of public open spaces: Kevin Lynch (1984), Maurice Cerasi (1985), Roger Trancik (1986), Henri Lefebvre (1991), Paul Zucker (1996), Manuel Castells (1997), David Harvey (1999), Spiro Kostof (1999), Wright (2000), Lewis Mumford (2007) and Doğan Kuban (2010b). The sources for the investigation into Roman hippodromes were, in particular: John Percy Vyvian Dacre Balsdon (1969), John Humphrey (1986), Alexandre P. Kazdhan (ed.) (1991), Richard C. Beacham (1999), Kathleen Coleman (2000), Donald G. Kyle (2007), J. Nelis-Clément and J.-M. Roddaz (2008), Ruth Webb (2008), Bettina Bergmann (2008), Charlotte M. Roueché (2009), and Garrett G. Fagan (2011), Hazel Dodge (2014), and Roger B. Ulrich (2014). For a closer look at one specific monument – Rome's Piazza Navona, Elizabeth Gus Camargo's master's thesis (1981) was used as the main source.

The literature survey continued with the international charters and documents relating to authenticity and integrity issues in historical city centres. Several different attitudes influencing the conservation of cultural heritage were explored through major published sources, namely: the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) (1964), the World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), the UNESCO Recommendation Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976), the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1977), the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter) (1987), the

Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990), the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), the Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (2008), and the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (2011). In addition to these, Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto's *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (1998), and English Heritage's *Principles Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (2008) have been useful.

The present thesis is presented in five main chapters. Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical background, outlining general contexts for the conservation of public open spaces and urban archaeological sites. The history and transformation process of Sultanahmet Square from Late Roman times to the present day is offered in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, Sultanahmet Square's values, problems and opportunities are identified, and an assessment of them made. Chapter 5 determines the factors changing the meaning of Sultanahmet Square and how they impact on its authenticity and integrity.

In particular, Chapter 2 gives the theoretical background to the study, leading to the investigation of Sultanahmet Square's public use continuity and its conservation as an open space. We begin with a definition and examination of the meaning of public space, followed by concise information on Roman hippodromes as public monuments. After this, various key international documents and charters are highlighted so as to present the general context for the conservation of public open spaces and historical urban centres, and set out the principles for the conservation of urban archaeological sites and World Heritage Sites. Lastly, the conservation history, authenticity, and integrity of certain major World Heritage Sites that once included a hippodrome, but which have not functioned as such for centuries, are examined. The UNESCO reports on these areas are the main sources in this section. For our purposes, five of the best-preserved Roman hippodromes are chosen from different cities: the Circus of Maxentius, the Hippodrome of Tyre, the Hippodrome of Leptis Magna, the Hippodrome of Meridà, and the Circus

Maximus, Rome. This survey is used for comparative analysis between these monuments and Sultanahmet, in terms of their transformation processes and the current condition of their surviving remains. The Piazza Navona in Rome is also examined, as it has a specific place in this study having gone through processes similar to those of Sultanahmet Square, i.e. a well-known example of a public square transformed from a Roman public monument.

Chapter 3 is a presentation of the data collected from the literature survey, as a way of understanding the characteristics of Sultanahmet Square and making an historical analysis of the area. The transformations of Sultanahmet Square and its immediate surroundings are explained, starting from the Late Roman period up to the present day. Additionally, planning and legislation history are also examined, together with the architectural history of the area. The laws are given in detail in this section in order to ensure the integrity of the subject and to provide a better examination of the effects of the laws on the planning process in the area.

An evaluation of the area of Sultanahmet Square is presented in Chapter 4. As a theoretical framework, short reviews of value assessment studies by several scholars and NGOs are discussed, i.e. Alois Riegl (1902), William D. Lipe (1984), Bruno S. Frey (1997), Randall Mason (2002), Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto, English Heritage (1997), and the ICOMOS Burra Charter (1998). In light of these references, the values of, and threats to, Sultanahmet Square are defined, as a means of understanding its identity, characteristics, and cultural significance.

Finally, in Chapter 5, an overall evaluation is made, based on the historical information from Chapter 3 and the evaluation of Sultanahmet Square's current status from Chapter 4, within the context of the theoretical framework provided in Chapter 2. An historical timeline is given, revealing the changing meaning of the area and the various change factors affecting the Square's transformation processes. Change factors are determined and classified according to their impact on current values and problems that face the area under discussion. Directions for further research is also given briefly at the end of this chapter.

CHAPTER 2

TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACES AND RUINED MONUMENTS: ISSUES OF CONSERVATION AND URBAN INTEGRATION

Sultanahmet Square is an area that has been transformed from a public monument to a public square. However, whether a public monument or public square, throughout its history it has been the city's main open public space. This transformation process, and the fact that the space has witnessed several different cultures over time, requires a more comprehensive evaluation of the area in terms of conservation. Having a history dating from ancient times, and being the most central area, it represents one of the best examples of 'cultural diversity', and this multi-cultural legacy, over so many from different periods, is what give the site its 'universal value'. As it is such a significant part of the 'identity' of the city, and the public's 'collective memory', 'spirit of place' is an important context when it comes to any evaluation of the area. The changing roles and meanings of the complex, within its 'historical timeline', have resulted in a marked diversification of the area's values. However, what becomes clear is that it is because of these many changes in its character that we are presented with real challenges in terms of 'authenticity'. This very fact of the site's multi-cultural heritage brings its own 'integrity' issues, as well as several advantages to the area.

Hence, the study area, provides us with an excellent case-study for examining the context of theoretical public space and topics of conservation. Accordingly, the theoretical background of the present thesis will be developed in this chapter, with the history and current situation of the area discussed in the chapters that follow, within the theoretical framework identified in this chapter. In the first section, various definitions and norms relating to 'space' and 'public space' will be given.

After going on to look at the international charters and documents that cover the conservation topics related to the specific issues affecting the area under examination, Roman hippodromes will be introduced and examined briefly in terms of their role as public monuments. In the final part, some of the best-preserved Roman hippodromes, those on the World Heritage List, will be investigated in terms of their changing meaning and conservation history. Five different areas have been selected for this analysis: brief historical information; criteria for inclusion in the World Heritage List; specific threats; and closer look at one specific monument – Rome's Piazza Navona – it being a well-known example of a public square that has been transformed from a Roman public monument, experiencing processes in many ways similar to those of Sultanahmet Square.

2.1   Basic Concepts and Theoretical Framework

In this section, the basic concepts and a theoretical framework of this research will be given. As the study area will first be evaluated in terms of its transformation from a public monument to a public square, some specific factors immediately come to the fore: including production of space, urban space and its dimensions, meaning of a space, transformation of meaning/value, urban function, spatial form and the major definitions and concepts of public space. Conservation is a primary consideration, given that our case-study involves a fragmented monument, in a transformed area and with several changes in meaning. Therefore, other significant factors will also be discussed, including: evolution through time, historic timelines, authenticity, integrity, spirit of place, continuity, and change. These topics will be reviewed within the contexts of the relevant international charters and documents.

2.1.1   Definitions and Terminology

The origin of the word "monument" comes from the Greek *mnemosynon* and the Latin *monumentum*. The Greek word *mnemosynon* is derived from the same source

as the word *mnemonic*, that being the word *mnēmē*, which means "remembrance or memory". In fact, there is the "Goddess of memory" in Greek mythology, called "*Mnemosyne*". The Latin word *monumentum* is also a derivative of the words *moneo* or *monere*, also with the meaning "to remind, bring to (one's) recollection".[37] In English, the word "monument" is used in reference to a statue placed over a grave in memory of the deceased, or simply any object made to commemorate the dead, or structure, or building of historical importance/interest.[38] In the Venice Charter (1964), historic monuments are mentioned as features remaining in the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions, and that safeguarding them for future generations and handing them on in the full richness of their authenticity is a common responsibility.[39]

The word hippodrome is derived from the Greek words *hippos* (horse) and *dromos* (course). Hippodromes are defined as arenas for horse and chariot races, as well as for other events.[40] The circus is also defined as a large arena enclosed by tiers of seats on three or all four sides, and used especially for sports and spectacles, or "a stadium designed for the presentation of great races, rivalling the amphitheatres as a major gathering place for Romans in pursuit of entertainment and sports".[41] However, while the structures for chariot races and other types of spectacles are called 'circus' in the western provinces, those in the eastern provinces are referred to as hippodromes.[42] Hazel Dodge states that many Greek and Latin architectural terms are similar in meaning and might be used for both, but this is not the case for the Latin '*circus*' and Greek '*hippodromos*'. Even if they both refer to a venue for

---

[37] Onions 2006, 467; Ward-Perkins 1994, 28; Bunson 2002, 54; Marconi 2018, 282.
[38] Hornblower *et al.* 2012, 245.
[39] ICOMOS 1964, 2.
[40] Kazdhan 1991, Vol. 2, 934; Dodge 2014, 284; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 18; Humphrey 1986, 21.
[41] Bunson 2002, 232; Ward-Perkins 1994, 87; Marconi 2018, 98.
[42] Dodge 2011, 17; Roueché 2009, 640, Baldson 1969 47; Bergmann 2008, 302; Humphrey 1986, 55.

various types of events, the Latin word is used for the Latin West and the Greek East, as if they indicate two different building types.[43]

Chariot race is the Roman style four-horse racing that is also Byzantine's most popular spectator from the 4th to 7th c. held at hippodromes. Charioteers are the popular professional racing drivers who competed in chariot races for the victory of their factions, usually in light, four-horse chariot (also known as *quadriga* or *bigae*).[44] Factions are the "associations of partisans of any of the four colors inherited from Rome that competed in chariot races".[45] *Ludi* is the general name for the public games of the *Populus Romanus*.[46] Hippodromes came to epitomise a relationship between form and function. The structures' measurements and placement of its key elements were all arranged to meet the needs of charioteers. Thus, hippodromes were built as a response to the requirements of chariot races[47] to minimize deaths and serious injuries: a classic Roman hippodrome model is an expansive U-shaped complex, with a rectangular arena and seating around it. This model originated from the Circus Maximus[48] – the original and largest of all circuses.[49]

Hippodromes basically consist of eight physical components: the open space surrounded by the seating where the activities are held (*arena*), the central barrier that separates the track into two, and has statues upon it, or the long, narrow, dividing wall down the centre of a circus (*spina* or *euripus*), the tiered semi-circular seating section (*cavea*), the starting gates of the racecourse consisted of 12

---

[43] Dodge 2014, 284.
[44] Kazdhan 1991, Vol.1, 411.
[45] Kazdhan 1991, Vol.2, 773. For further information on the factions, see below Chapter 3, 3.2.1. The Chariot Races, Ceremonies and Spectacles in the Hippodrome.
[46] Bunson 2002, 602.
[47] Coleman 2000, 210; Humphrey 1986, 5-12; Kyle 2007, 200. For further information on the chariot races, see below Chapter 3, 3.2.1. The Chariot Races, Ceremonies and Spectacles in the Hippodrome and also p.84.
[48] The most famous race course in the Roman Empire, situated between the Palatine and Aventine Hills in Rome.
[49] Balsdon 1969, 44; Larson 2012, 66; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 33; Bergmann 2008, 300.

boxes closed off with barriers (*carceres*), the imperial box where the emperor could watch the games privately (*kathisma*), the semi-circular, curved end of the structure (*sphendone*), the colonnaded archway upon the *sphendone* (*propylaion*), and the cylindrical columns used as turning points on the central barrier (*metae*) (**Fig. 27**).[50]

The Latin term *res Publicae* is defined as things "adapted to public use, that is, use for public purposes by public functionaries or by the political community".[51] It is also stated that *res publicae* included things owned by the Roman people (*populus*), and the word 'republic' was derived from *res publica*. *Res universitates* also means the possessions of the states open to common use, such as theatres, roads, rivers, harbours, stadiums, baths, etc.[52] *Res communes*, on the other hand, means things that "… are the property of the state or are owned by the state in trust for people".[53] Today it can also be said that properties under public ownership are "administrated by the states but they are not owned by it, and everybody makes free use of them.[54] The definition of the word 'public' in the Oxford Universal Dictionary is:

> "Usually opp. to private. 1) Of or pertaining to the people of a country or locality, common. 2) Done or made by or on behalf of the community as a whole, representing the community. 3) That is open to, may be used by, or must be shared by all members of community."[55]

2.1.2   Space and Meaning

Roger Trancik, the urban design expert, defines 'place' as: "A place is a space which has a distinct character and a stable system in which people can develop

---

[50] Ward-Perkins 1994, 421-492; Bunson 2002, 48-246; Marconi 2018, 66-187; Dodge 2011, 293; Larson 2012, 8-9; Bergmann 2008, 301; Kazdhan 1991, Vol 2, 1116; Vol 3, 1936; Wolińska 2011, 128. For the architecture of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, see below pp. 82-83 and (**Fig. 27**).
[51] Pound 1959 110, as cited in Günay 1999, 39.
[52] Umur 1990, 406, as cited in Günay 1999, 39.
[53] Pound 1959 111, as cited in Günay 1999, 40.
[54] Lukes and Scull 1983, 159, as cited in Günay 1999, 40.
[55] Little 1970, 502.

their social, cultural and political values and behaviours"[56] The sociologist Henri Lefebvre, interests himself in "social space", defined as a "social product".[57] The latter argues that 'production of space' is not only a physical issue, it also has social dimensions.[58] According to another sociologist, Manuel Castells, there are economic, political and social effects on the production and transformation of space; and socio-spatial transformation is based on differentiation in the values and interests of different groups. He adds that production of space is a process, not a moment.[59] According to Castells, urban space can be evaluated in three main settings: its historical meaning, urban function, and spatial form. Urban form is determined by urban meaning and urban functions.[60]

1. Historical Meaning: Space is regarded as a result in different cognitive constructions resulting from the imaginative dimensions of human beings. These differences deepen in different cultures and societies. Furthermore, this differentiation may lead to conflict and struggles.[61] The meaning of space is developed through an interactive process experienced between space and the relevant actors: those who use the space contribute to the process with their histories and experience. Repeated experience leads to connections that construct the base of the meaning.[62] Repetition is only one of the dimensions for creating the meaning of 'a space'. 'Breaks' of routine and their relations with space should also be part of theorizing the creation of spatial meaning.[63]

---

[56] Trancik 1986, 113.
[57] Lefebvre 1991, 32.
[58] Lefebvre 1991, 32.
[59] Castells 1977, 52.
[60] Castells 1983, 301.
[61] Harvey 1999, 31.
[62] Carr *et al.* 1992, 133.
[63] Wright 2000, 48.

2. Urban Function: Urban function is related with Lefebvre's concept of 'spatial practice' and 'perceived space'. The function of a space means the character of the space which facilitates daily routines, different kinds of activities, and it also means the values and interests of those social actors shaping the space. Castells' proposal that two forms of conflict over space represent the function of the space, a function that may be accepted as a result of 'different interests and values'. On the other hand, conflicts may arise even if the same function was accepted for a space as a result of 'different approaches about how to perform a shared goal of urban function'.[64] Main functional parts of urban/public spaces (i.e. streets, squares, parks…) may shape 'social interaction' and 'human exchange'; these are all dynamic spaces which can provide 'channels for movement', 'nodes for communication', and 'common grounds for play and relaxation'.[65] Although some are privately owned, public space is generally considered to be open for the public to use.[66] Activities in a square, for example, provide its essence, giving it both vitality and constructing 'visual attraction'. The most important function of a square may be described as the symbolic meaning attached to it.[67]

3. Spatial Form: The form of a space is shaped by both meaning and function; a public space can be perceived through visualization of its boundaries. Architectural structures, their scale and volumes, affect users of the space and influence their reactions to the space around them. According to Paul Zucker, there are three elements forming this effect: architectural structure, the floor (the ground), and the

---

[64] Castells 1983, 303.
[65] Carr *et al.* 1992, 3.
[66] Kostof 1999, 123.
[67] Moughtin 2005, 87-88.

ceiling (the sky). Although they may have different forms and names – plazas, malls, squares, piazzas – public spaces are usually open and publicly accessible;[68] typically, a square is usually designed around buildings and is framed by them.[69] Zucker classifies squares in five ways: 1) the closed square (a space self-contained with a geometrical form and surrounded by, and getting its reputation from, its buildings); 2) the dominated square (a directed space, one in front of a dominant monument); 3) the nuclear square (a space formed around a central feature, e.g. obelisk or fountain); 4) the grouped square (the space units are combined, and may constitute a straight axis); and 5) the amorphous square (the space is unlimited, formless or unorganized, without a specific shape). Zucker also opines that a square does not have to represent purely and solely the features of one type of square.[70] In this respect, another typology can be added to this classification, i.e. squares formed by the shape of a monument previously existing in that area, in our present research, Sultanahmet Square and the Piazza Navona.

2.1.3   Public Space and Meaning

"Public place is the canvas on which social and political change is painted."[71]

Public space is defined by Zachary P. Neal as: "all areas that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society, in principle though not necessarily in practice."[72] Kevin Lynch also defines public space as "open spaces (that) are all those regions in the environment which are open to... freely chosen

---

[68] Carr *et al.* 1992, 50.
[69] Moughtin 2003, 87.
[70] Zucker 1966, 8.
[71] Kostof 1999, 124.
[72] Neal 2010, 1.

and spontaneous action."[73] Kristine F. Miller defines public spaces not only as physical entities, but also as places of accumulation of ideas and actions, claiming that public spaces are accessible for the whole society and free for all the actions of the society.

> "We tend to think of public space as having certain essential and obvious characteristics. We believe it is 'publicly owned', the opposite of private space. We believe it is open and accessible to everyone, where no one can be turned away. We imagine it as the setting for important civic events, where large groups of people come together to celebrate, protest, and mourn. We see it as somehow part of democratic life – a place for speaking out and being heard."[74]

Mark Kingwell and Patrick Turmel describe public space in a similar way, as "spaces owned by the public and managed under the public interest, which vary according to their purposes". According to these authors, as these spaces are freely accessible, they have the role of encouraging society and creating a venue for communal actions, such as gatherings and protests, which are essential for a democratic society.[75] John R. Parkinson describe public spaces as freely accessible places, where everyone has a right of entry, unlike controlled or limited places.[76] Frank Cunningham considers the most important characteristics of open public spaces as being openness and anonymity. In addition, public places can be used by people of different age, class, occupation, and ethnicity, and by those with different worldviews and values.[77] UNESCO defines public space as "an area or place that is open and accessible to all peoples, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age or socio-economic level".[78]

Spiro Kostof states that public spaces are essential for urban contexts, and that cities in every age have always had the need for open places to promote social encounters and serve public affairs. He defines streets as places of transit, while the

---

[73] Zamani 2010, 173.
[74] Miller 2007, 9.
[75] Kingwell and Turmel 2009, 18.
[76] Parkinson 2009, 11.
[77] Cunningham 2009, 28.
[78] URL 22.

public place, on the other hand, is a destination which is a purpose-built stage for ritual and interaction. The same author differentiates semi-public spaces, i.e. residential courtyards, as they cannot be accessed by general public; whereas public places provide spaces to meet our friends, or the chance to encounter people we are not associated with. Thus these places can be described as 'unpredictable' and afford freedom of action. The second aspect of these places involves rituals. Public places attract communal activities – festivals, riots, public executions, etc. Therefore, as Kostof mentions, these places bear the "shared record of accomplishment and ritual behaviour". The main square itself emphasizes this communal character, and it is where we exercise our sense of belonging. The participation in events in these areas is random, however at the same time, in a way 'institutionalized'. These places can also be stages for the public display of justice.[79]

Kostof also comments on the issue of public space and games – a factor of some significance for our work. As he mentions, in the past games had a significant place in the culture of societies, as they were also ritual enactments, contests between social classes, and expressions of political thought. The relationship between public spaces and games is very specific, as some games require a particular setting, and public places were well able to provide this through their size and centrality. As a result of this need, specialized architecture was developed, such as theatres, stadiums, and circuses.[80] Here, Kostof importantly points out that the classification of squares should rely on form or use, since the form of the square determines the functional possibility it can have. If a place is elaborately designed for one purpose only, it can have only one possible function. He gives the example of a Roman circus with fixed architecture which is almost impossible to use for much else.

> "Only when the circus lost its functional identity and specificity of its physical makeup in the post-Roman era, only when its structure, through dilapidation and

---

[79] Kostof 1999, 123-124.
[80] For these structures, see below 2.2. 'The Roman Hippodrome as a Public Monument'.

destruction, was, as it were, generalized, only then could it be pressed into service for a number of public open-air uses."[81]

2.1.3.1   Meaning of Roman Public Space and Roman Public Monument

The concept of "public space", shaped in Antiquity, has come to us today by being shaped differently in respect to changing needs. Jürgen Habermas believes that the concept of 'public' developed in parallel with 'modernism' in the West at the end of the 18th century, and is the result of the division of life into two states – public and private. However, the roots of these distinctions were shaped in Greek cities in ancient times. In this sense, the first buildings to show the nature of public space were the *agora*, *stoa*, theatre, stadium, and gymnasium.[82] Although 'public' market places can be identified in the Mesopotamian cities of 2000 BCE, significant public spaces are thought to date back to the times of ancient Greek and Roman cities.[83] Large spaces where public activities were held (as already referenced above) were called '*agora*', centres of commercial, political, civic and artistic life, surrounded by public buildings. The literal meaning of 'agora' is 'gathering place' or 'assembly'. [84] According to Homer A. Thompson, the *agora* was not only the place where people came together, but also a symbol of civilized society and being part of the city as an individual.

The *forum* was the centre of Roman cities, representing the Greek *agora*. The *forum*, the forming of closed, semi-closed, and open spaces, facilitated social, commercial, religious (congregation), political (assembly and meetings), and sporting activities (mostly athletics). The rectangular-shaped area and located between Palatine Hill and Capitoline Hill, the *forum* in Rome, known as *Forum Romanum*, was a site located at the centre of the ancient city of Rome. According

---

[81] Kostof 1999, 144.
[82] Mumford 1961, 163.
[83] Carr *et al.* 1992, 52.
[84] Mattson 1999, 46; Zucker 1959, 36.

to the archaeological research people first began publicly meeting in the open-air *forum* around 500 BCE in Rome.[85] Beginning from the 7th century, *forum* in the cities of the Middle Ages were already out of use: mostly they were destroyed and functioned as quarries, with their marble columns and other features used for new constructions – mostly for churches.[86]

In Roman daily life, *forum* and porticoed streets with many shops had a significant role for the public. The urban core, formed of religious, administrative, and public and imperial buildings, was the vital part of the city and for its public (buildings for entertainment were also located in this zone). However, these had totally different interior spaces, with their own rules, activities and life. Whether it was *forum*, street, amphitheatre, stadium, or circus (or hippodrome), these were more than spaces for entertainment, they were the places where the public shared the same ambience, and were part of a single activity, and enjoying a sense of togetherness, collectivity and belonging.[87] Consequently, the most powerful instruments for gathering and controlling the public were those public monuments built specifically for spectators: theatres, amphitheatres, stadia, and hippodromes were spaces where the desires and passions of the public could be realized.[88]

All these Roman public entertainment buildings share common features of design, materials, and functions, formed of recognizable and specific architecture. Even if each has a primary function, these Roman public entertainment buildings were multi-purpose venues. Amphitheatres were of oval/circular plan, where gladiatorial combats, events involving animal, and entertainment performances were held: they were much smaller than hippodromes. *Stadia* generally were U-shaped in plan, like hippodromes, but to a much smaller scale, and were settings for games (mostly

---

[85] Abbott and Johnson 1926, 12-13; Mumford 1961, 156.
[86] Mumford 1987, 105.
[87] Dodge 2011, 36; Fagan 2011, 102; Roueché 2009, 678.
[88] Bergmann 2008, 359-360; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 18.

athletics) and sports **(Fig. 4)**.[89] Above all, however, it was the hippodrome, by being able to accommodate a large percentage of the urban population, out of all of the places of entertainment, where a sense of urban identity and collectivity could be manifested.[90]

The hippodrome tradition started in the ancient Greek times as horse racing and chariot racing, and by Late Roman to mid Byzantine times it had become the most famous entertainment from. Performance and entertainment were central to Roman culture, and hippodromes were the fundamental structures of public life.[91] Even if the roots of hippodromes can be traced to ancient Greek times, chariot games, and the places where they were staged, differed much from their Roman counterparts.[92] For horse races in ancient Greece, any open area sufficed, and no permanent structure was needed: there was no *spina*, only turning points. Greek traditions were more based on games/athletics as a means of entertainment and honouring their gods. For the Romans, what became more important were mass spectacles, usually involving violence. Eventually crowds demanded more and more chariot races, and these now required permanent arena,[93] leading, in Rome, to the construction a highly complex structure, dedicated to chariot races, the Circus Maximus, built in the 6th century BCE. However, due to societal changes, such famous public monuments started to lose their popularity. Eventually, after the 6th century CE (except in Constantinople, where the arena functioned until 13th century), hippodromes became obsolete monuments on vast tracts of land. Like other pagan monuments, their marbles, stones, and bronzes, which were all carefully built, were plundered for use as *spolia*.[94]

---

[89] Humphrey 1986, 3.
[90] Dodge 2011, 32.
[91] Coleman 2000, 215; Dodge 2011, 22; Kyle 2007; 211; Roueché 2009, 680.
[92] Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 23; Beacham 1999. 66.
[93] Kyle 2007, 304; Humphrey 1986, 571.
[94] The breaking up of Roman hippodromes, and other pagan monuments, will be discussed in Chapter 3.
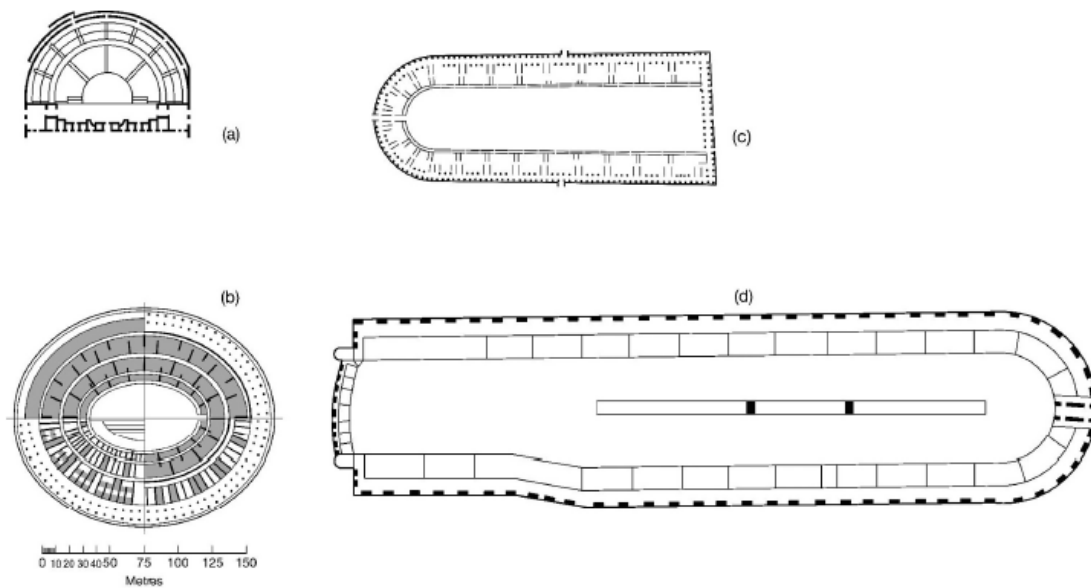
Figure 15.1 Comparative plans of Roman entertainment buildings based on (a) the theater at Orange, (b) the Colosseum, (c) the Stadium of Domitian, and (d) the Circus Maximus.

Figure 4. Comparative plans of Roman entertainment buildings based on (a) the theatre at Orange, (b) the Colosseum, (c) the Stadium of Domitian, (d) the Circus Maximus (Ulrich 2014, 293).

2.1.3.2 Meaning of Ottoman Public Space

Kostof states that changes in the religion of a society have major impacts on the urban form. Since the symbolism of conquest requires dramatic impressiveness, then mostly the monuments of the new religion will be built over the old, or there is the adjustment of architectural conversion. Temples became churches, churches became mosques. In this case, two possibilities were seen in the shaping of the city form: building the new on the old, or settling in a completely new part of the city.[95] As the same author claims, public space is formed according to the culture and religion of the society. He defines the main public spaces in Islamic cities in terms of the large, urban courtyards of the mosques, or the interstitial areas between neighbourhoods. Small *maidans* were nothing more than an entrance to a

---

[95] Kostof 1999, 90.

36

monumental building, and they acted as a distributing node, serving the masses moving between monumental buildings. Kostof adds that these public spaces – streets, *maidans* (squares), mosques, cemeteries – are well-defined and have the backing of the law. These functions cannot be privately owned, and every member of the public has an equal claim to public places.[96]

Maurice Cerasi also writes that the open spaces of Ottoman urban models have been accepted as formless and haphazard, and grand or modest; open spaces have no strict geometry. Only the courts of the imperial mosques and *külliye*[97] have symmetrical forms. Even if the reason behind the lack of formal open space can be explained by the lack of a strong public life, Maurice claims that this is not true. In fact, on the other hand, the open-air life of Ottoman cities has been described as rich and vivid. The main types of Ottoman public spaces are: courtyards of mosques, streets, *meydans* (squares), *namazgâh*, *mesire* or *çayır*. The Ottoman *meydan*[98] can be defined as a large type of fairground, different from the formal Persian *maidan.* Moreover, none of them are designed as such, their layouts are casual. *Namazgâh*s are basically open praying platforms having regular forms, and, in a way, they recall Greek altars. Cemeteries, interestingly, are also very much part of the urban image – as a form of leisure area. However, *mesire* (picnic and open-air ground), or *çayır* (meadow), are the basis of the open-air system. Deeply associated with nature, the meadow can be said to take the place of the European square.[99] Meanwhile, the main squares of İstanbul evolved through the Byzantine *mese*,[100] which the *divanyolu* of Ottoman times.[101]

---

[96] Kostof 1999, 125-129.
[97] Large building complexes, including mosque and social buildings.
[98] See M.M. Cerasi (1998) *La Città del Levante: Civiltà Urbana e Architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei Secoli XVIII-XIV*. Milano: Jaca Books.
[99] Cerasi 1985, 36.
[100] The main axis of the city. See below pp. 74-90.
[101] Cerasi writes that there is a critical relationship between *mese* and *divanyolu*, and that they have no distinct differences or striking similarities. The Ottomans did not follow the line of the axis itself, but the outline of the monumental structures. This explains why there was no uninterrupted axis, but a route interconnecting imperial sites. The character of the route was later determined by new

Doğan Kuban states that even if Muslim cities had Friday mosques and market-places connected to them, this characteristic had no meaning in İstanbul: the city was simply too large and there were too many Friday mosques, and these were not connected with the central market. Also the concept of the *külliyes* in İstanbul was not standard. Some were just small complexes with social structures, without a mosque, which facilitated social welfare and culture. İstanbul, therefore, was not the model for an ideal 'Muslim city': it is unique, having its own concepts of urban development.[102]

For Doğan Kuban, in Turkish İstanbul "the only consciously maintained (but not planned) open space was At Meydanı (Hippodrome). Although Evliya Çelebi mentions several *meydans*, they are only bazaars, or empty areas, unrecognizable as urban entities. In Turkish the word *meydan* means "a large open space convenient for all sorts of outdoor activities, sports or markets". Among all the *meydans* of the city, At Meydanı was the best known. In fact, *meydan* could be any open area broader than a street – an unorganised urban space. Interestingly, Fatih Meydanı, the outer courtyard of the Fatih Complex, was the only one accepted also as a *meydan*.[103] Kuban adds that Turkish and Islamic city concepts did not have designs for urban spaces. Turks, however, favoured building open spaces around large fountains. Their cities, it seems, were shaped organically, without planning, not due to a lack of the capacity for spatial organization but from a lack of cultural motivation.[104]

---

functions, such as shops, bazaars, tombs, libraries and entertainment areas, which all contributed to the axis becoming not only an imperial route but also a part of the daily lives of the citizens. For the *divanyolu*, see Cerasi 2006.

[102] Kuban 2010b, 169-172.
[103] Kuban 2010b, 223-225.
[104] Kuban 2010a, 440-441.

2.1.4   International Charters and Documents

The origin of the idea of 'conservation' dates back to Roman times. The *Codex Theodosianus* (Theodosian Code) was a compilation of laws from the Roman Empire, issued by various emperors from 313 CE, when Constantine I (306-337 CE) consolidated his power in the West, until 438 CE, in the reign of Theodosius II (408-450 CE). A commission was established by Theodosius II, and his co-emperor Valentinian III (425- 455 CE), on March 26th, 429 CE, and the group of laws was published by a constitution of February 15th, 438 CE.[105]

The understanding of conservation accelerated in the post-Napoleon/European period, as a result of the search for national identity, and in the post-war period with the works of renewal.[106] In 1931, the first International Conference for the Protection and Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments was held in Athens, resulting in the Athens Charter. For the first time, problems and recommendations for the conservation of historic monuments were discussed, although only what might be thought of as individual/single monuments were focused on.[107] Between the years 1939-1945, the Second World War caused severe destruction to historic monuments in European town and city centres through aerial bombardments. In the post-war period, urban renovations began in Europe and during this period the renewal of historic monuments also came into prominence, although legislation regarding the conservation of heritage was still focused only on individual monuments, and the conservation of urban groups was not yet discussed.[108] The idea that urban excavations became obstacles in the way of urban development arose in this period.[109] Going back in time, the 'amateur' recordings of archaeological data found during construction works can be accepted as the

---

[105] Pharr 1952, VII. For further information on the *Codex Theodosianus*, see below Chapter 3.
[106] Temiño 2004, 47.
[107] CIAM 1933.
[108] Temiño 2004, 45-50.
[109] Temiño 2004, 52.

beginning of urban archaeology, such as excavations in Rome in the 16th century, however, systematic urban archaeological studies can be said to have begun in the 20th century, after World War II. The understanding of archaeology developed from buried monuments to buried settlements and eventually the concept of 'urban archaeology' evolved, and structures, previously inaccessible for archaeological investigations, such as cathedrals, palaces, churches, all became available for, and even the focus of, archaeological study, and investigations were undertaken to a greater degree in the most severely damaged centres.[110]

In 1964, UNESCO's International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites was introduced – also known as the Venice Charter, it was a spin-off from the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, held in Venice. Subsequently it has become "a fundamental reference for conservation policies throughout the world",[111] with Article 1 of the charter defining 'Historic monument' and 'Cultural heritage' as:

> "… not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time."

In the Venice Charter (1964), the concept of 'authenticity' was first mentioned with Article 7 stating that a monument is "inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs". The Charter emphasizes that maintaining the 'authenticity' and 'integrity' of a monument, or a site, are the main factors for successful conservation, with Article 14 clarifying that "the sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner". The Charter also highlights the importance of putting heritage to good use, with Article 5

---

[110] Sarfatij and Melli 1999, 22.
[111] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 12.

indicating that the conservation of monuments is always facilitated by employing them for some socially useful purpose.

In 1972, due to concerns of increasing threats to cultural and natural heritage worldwide, and from a desire to provide well-organized international support for the protection of World Heritage Sites[112] and values, the World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage[113] was introduced. The World Heritage List was established, and is maintained on the basis of this Convention, identifying those sites from all over the world that are recognized as resources of international significance, and thus meriting special acknowledgement and protection: it is such sites that create diversity in terms of world heritage.[114] The Convention goes on to define examples of cultural and natural heritage which can be considered for the List, explaining the responsibilities in identifying potential sites, and their role in protecting and preserving them.[115] Article 1 of the Convention classifies 'cultural heritage' in three groups:

> **Monuments:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings, and combinations of features, all of which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art, and science.

> **Groups of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings, which, because of their architecture, homogeneity, or place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art, and science.

---

[112] When a site is added to the World Heritage List, it is recognised as having outstanding universal value. To date there are 1121 such sites (869 cultural, 213 natural, and 39 mixed) covering the globe.

[113] Hereinafter referred to as the 'World Heritage Convention' or 'the Convention'.

[114] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 13.

[115] URL 23.

41

Sites: works of man, or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, which are of outstanding universal value from an historical, aesthetic, ethnological, and anthropological point of view.

The UNESCO Recommendation Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976) brings a holistic approach to conservation. In General Principle 3, the significance of integrity is identified as:

> "Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings. All valid elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have a significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded."

In the Recommendation (1976), an historical site is defined as "a part of the everyday environment of human beings, that represents the living existence of the past that constitutes them, provides the diversity in the life history needed to fit the diversity of society, and thus gains value." The Recommendation (1976) makes suggestions for the conservation of historical sites and their contemporary role:

> **A.** Historic sites demand responsibilities for every citizen and impose obligations on public authorities.
>
> **B.** To conserve these sites of irreplaceable heritage, comprehensive and energetic policies for the conservation and revitalization of historical sites and their environments as part of national, regional or local planning should be urgently adopted.
>
> **C**. Effective legislation on any heritage site and its link to town, regional or local planning is required.
>
> **D**. The application of the standards and principles set out in the relevant international documents should be supported.

In 1977, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention,[116] which aims to facilitate the enactment of the World Heritage Convention (1972), was prepared. It provides guidelines to the World Heritage Committee[117] for the following procedures:

i. The addition of heritage sites to the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger.

ii. The protection and conservation of World Heritage sites.

iii. The granting of international assistance under the World Heritage Fund.[118]

iv. The mobilization of national and international support in favour of the Convention.

In Section A of the Guidelines, the general principles for the establishment of the World Heritage List is given. Article 5 (ii) states that the Convention (1972) is a tool for the protection of cultural and natural sites, or areas, having 'outstanding universal value'.[119] It does not provide protection for the heritage, but only enables the selection of a list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint. In Article 6, the concept of being 'universal' is underlined, and the definition of 'universal' within the phrase 'outstanding universal value' requires comment:

"Some heritage may not be recognized by all people, everywhere, to be of great importance and significance. Opinions may vary from one culture or period to another. As far as cultural property is concerned, the term 'universal' must be

---

[116] Hereinafter referred to as 'the Operational Guidelines'.

[117] An Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, called 'the World Heritage Committee', is hereby established within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. For further information, see UNESCO 1972, Article 8.

[118] A Fund for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, called 'the World Heritage Fund', is hereby established. For further information, see UNESCO 1972, Article 15.

[119] In the Operational Guidelines (2005), outstanding universal value is defined as: "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity." For further information, see UNESCO 2005, Article 49.

interpreted as referring to a property which is highly representative of the culture of which it forms part."

The Guidelines (1977), in Section B, also identify criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties within the World Heritage List. Article 7 explains in detail that 'outstanding universal value', in terms of the selection of a nominated monument or group of buildings for inclusion on the World Heritage List must have one or more of the following criteria:

(a) The site must represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius; or

(b) it must have exerted considerable influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on subsequent developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, or human settlements; or

(c) it must be unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity; or

(d) it must be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development; or

(e) it must be a characteristic example of a significant, traditional style of architecture, method of construction, or human settlement, that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change; or

(f) it must be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or persons of outstanding historical importance or significance.

In addition, Article 9 states that the heritage in question should meet the 'test of authenticity' in terms of design, materials, workmanship, and setting. "Authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values." In addition, Article 11 mentions that sites should also meet certain conditions of 'integrity'.

The Guidelines (1977) also emphasize that adequate legal conservation and management mechanisms should be in place to ensure the conservation of the

nominated cultural heritage. Therefore, the existence of conservative legislation and management mechanisms at national, provincial, and local level is most important. Effective implementation of these laws and management mechanisms is also expected. In addition, appropriate administrative arrangements covering the management, conservation and public accessibility of the heritage should be provided to maintain the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large numbers of visitors.

In 1987, the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (also known as the Washington Charter), involving historic urban areas, including cities, towns, and historic centres or districts was introduced. The Charter indicates that as well as the role of these areas as 'historical documents', they also embody the values of traditional urban cultures. The Charter defines the relative principles and objectives. As in the Recommendation (1976), Article 1 of the Charter also emphasizes the significance of the integration of the conservation of historic urban areas with coherent policies of economic and social development, and of urban and regional planning at every level, in order to be most effective. Article 2 introduces a new approach by specifying the importance of the conservation of the 'historic character' of these areas, with all its 'material and spiritual elements' that express this character. These elements are defined as:

a) Urban patterns, as defined by lots and streets.

b) Relationships between buildings and green and open spaces.

c) The formal appearance, interior and exterior, of buildings. as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour, and decoration.

d) The relationship between the urban area and its surrounding setting.

e) The various functions the town or urban area has acquired over time.

The Convention also stresses that any threat to these qualities would compromise the authenticity of the historic urban area. The necessary requirements for the

conservation of historic areas, following the Recommendations Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976) include:

1. Participation is essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged, since the conservation of these areas concerns their residents first of all. Also, in order to encourage participation and involvement, a general information programme should be arranged for all residents, beginning with children.[120]

2. Planning for historic urban areas should be preceded by multidisciplinary studies, and conservation plans should include all the required components of archaeology, history, architecture, sociology, and economics. The legal, administrative and financial measures required should have been clearly detailed in the conservation plan, and its aim should be to provide an harmonious relationship between the historic urban areas and the city as a whole.[121]

3. The conservation plan should adopt the principles and aims of the international charters and apply the international standards determined by the Convention (1972).[122]

4. New functions and activities should be compatible with the character of the historic urban area. Moreover, installation or improvement of public service facilities is a necessity for the adaptation of these areas to contemporary life.[123]

---

[120] UNESCO 1987, Article 3.
[121] UNESCO 1987, Article 5-15.
[122] UNESCO 1987, Article 6.
[123] UNESCO 1987, Article 8.

5. Traffic inside any historic urban area should be controlled, and parking areas planned so that they do not damage the historic fabric or its environment.[124]

In 1990, the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage was prepared, which emphasizes that understanding of the origins and development of societies is of fundamental significance to humanity in defining its cultural and social roots. The Charter states that, since 'archaeological heritage' constitutes the basic record of past human activities, its conservation and convenient management is therefore essential for interpreting it for the benefit of present and future generations. Article 1 indicates that archaeological heritage provides primary information, and it includes all traces of human existence and consists of places relating to all human activity. Abandoned structures and remains of all kinds, including subterranean and underwater sites, are aspects of archaeological heritage, together with all the portable heritage. The significance of the integration of the conservation of archaeological heritage into decision making mechanisms is emphasized. The Charter follows the principles of the Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations (1956) and points out the following subjects for the conservation and proper management of the archaeological heritage:

1. Conservation and management of the archaeological heritage should be an integral part of the planning policies at international, national, regional, and local levels.[125]

2. Due to being a fragile and non-renewable cultural resource, land-use decisions should be taken and controlled more carefully to minimise any damage to the archaeological heritage.[126]

---

[124] UNESCO 1987, Article 12.
[125] ICOMOS 1990, Article 2.
[126] ICOMOS 1990, Article 2.

3. In the decision-making process, the general public, and especially the users of the area, should be involved. Therefore, knowledge of the general public should be increased to provide 'integrated conservation'. Moreover, to ensure long-term maintenance, local participation is essential; this can be achieved only by informing the general public about the significance of the conservation, indicating their responsibilities in terms of the heritage, and explaining the history, character and meaning of the area.[127]

4. Legislation should be based on the conservation of the heritage *in situ* and ensure the proper maintenance of the heritage. Conservation should be considered as a moral obligation. In addition, effective management demands adequate funds for supporting programmes.[128]

5. Effective conservation and management without disrupting the authenticity of the heritage can only be successful with the fullest possible knowledge of its source. Therefore, archaeological survey, scientific investigations and excavations are key considerations for the correct care of archaeological heritage: they not only enable a proper understanding of the heritage, but they also ensure the best methods for non-destructive techniques. Moreover, based on them, proper inventories can be created.[129]

6. As much as the conservation of the archaeological heritage, its interpretation is critical. The heritage should be accessible to the general public, moreover it should be displayed in a way that is suitable for the character of the heritage, and does not cause damage or deterioration in its efforts to achieve authenticity, nor disturb any surviving evidence.[130]

---

[127] ICOMOS 1990, Article 2.
[128] ICOMOS 1990, Article 3.
[129] ICOMOS 1990, Articles 4-5.
[130] ICOMOS 1990, Article 7.

7. During all the various processes (survey, investigation, excavation, information, restoration, presentation) the international standards determined by the previous charters should be followed. It should not be forgotten that heritage is 'common to all humanity', therefore, international mechanisms, i.e. the organisation of conferences, seminars, workshops, relevant to conservation and heritage management should be encouraged. This can be achieved successfully only by having specialised groups in related fields, qualified professionals and professional staff who are all trained in conservation and academic fields. Multi-disciplinary teams who regularly update their knowledge is essential since the study of archaeological heritage is a continuous and dynamic field.[131]

In 1994, the Nara Document on Authenticity was introduced to focus on the major aspects of 'authenticity' and 'values'. Its aim was to increase the understanding of authenticity in conservation practices by using the 'collective memory'.[132] The Document adopts the framework provided by the World Heritage Committee to apply the test of authenticity in ways that respect the social and cultural values of all societies in examining the outstanding universal values of those cultural properties proposed for the World Heritage List.[133] The Document also points out the significance of the 'reliability of information sources', defined as "all material, written, oral, and figurative sources which make it possible to know the nature, specifications, meaning and history of the cultural heritage".[134] Article 9 states that:

> "Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage, and our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity."

---

[131] ICOMOS 1990, Articles 8-9.
[132] ICOMOS 1994, Article 2.
[133] ICOMOS 1994, Article 4.
[134] ICOMOS 1994, Appendix 2.

Article 10, following on from the Venice Charter of 1964, stresses authenticity as the essential qualifying factor concerning values. The understanding of authenticity has a fundamental role in scientific studies of cultural heritage, conservation, and restoration planning, as well as within the classification procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories. However, Article 11, in another of the Document's key points, emphasises the 'difference in the evaluation of values'. It goes on to state that "all judgements may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture". Therefore, basing the judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria is not possible. Article 12 adds that the evaluation of the values should thus be according to the "specific nature of its heritage values and the credibility and truthfulness of related information sources". Article 13 explains these sources of information as:

> "Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its 'evolution through time', authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined."

In 1998, Feilden and Jokilehto published their *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* as a general framework for the conservation and management of cultural heritage, in relation to the proper interpretation of World Heritage Sites. The original edition (1993) was revised according to the updates from the Operational Guidelines (1977) and the Nara Document (1994). The Guidelines (1998) aim to provide suggestions for implementing the intentions of the World Heritage Convention, covering all related topics of the conservation and management of the cultural heritage sites determined in previous charters and conventions. Additionally, it broadens the understanding of conservation by introducing new terminologies and concepts, stating that the aim of conservation is "to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations".

The Guidelines (1998) explain the subject of 'values' in detail and relate other issues affecting it. According to Feilden and Jokilehto, the primary and crucial step for conservation and management is 'defining the values' of heritage. They also state that values "depend on society and can change over time". Therefore, what is conceived of as cultural significance requires attention. The same researchers also classified the assessment of values into two groups: cultural and contemporary socio-economic. Cultural values include: identity, relative artistic and/or technical content and rarity. Contemporary socio-economic values include: economic, functional, educational, social, and political.[135] Feilden and Jokilehto stress that making a clear statement of the values is vital for those heritage sites nominated for the World Heritage List, as these are the values – of outstanding universal worth – that qualify sites for the list. Furthermore, the same authors note that if the values – especially outstanding universal worth – are threatened, the site may well find itself on list of site under threat.[136] The importance of values and site threat is explained, therefore, within the context of authenticity.[137]

Feilden and Jokilehto thus bring a new concept to the understanding of the heritage. According to these two scholars, the relationship of a heritage resource (a work of art, an historic building or town) to time and history may have three phases: "the first phase, which resulted in the creation of the object; the second phase, which extends from the end of the creation phase to the present time; and the third phase, which is associated with the perception of the monument in our consciousness at the present time." [138] As they state, these phases form the 'historical timeline' of the resource, and historical timeline is irreversible. It is the result of the specific cultural, social, economic and political circumstances of the phases, and it contributes to the creation and development of the heritage resource.

---

[135] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-20.
[136] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-20.
[137] For further information, see below Chapter 4, in which 'value' and 'value assessment' will be discussed and different approaches analysed. In the assessments made within this study, the approach put forward by Feilden and Jokilehto will be adopted.
[138] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 16.

This linkage is the fundamental reference for the 'evaluation of an historic resource'. Alois Riegl, an art historian and conservator who developed the concept of *Kunstwollen*[139] in 1903, emphasized that a product both reflects the artistic trends of its period and contributes to these trends. According to Riegl, if a heritage resource is reconstructed today, it also becomes a product of the present. They also mention the importance of the conservation of a monument in situ as a basic requirement in preserving these values. Evaluation of a site can only be done according to overall setting and values that have formed and evolved through the historical process. Therefore, a ruined monument has obtained specific cultural values and has become part of its setting in its ruined form.[140]

Feilden and Jokilehto stress that a crucial aspect in heritage value assessment is 'authenticity'. For any a comprehensive evaluation, the degree of authenticity should be defined in its four components, as stated in the Operational Guidelines (1997) with reference to authenticity testing. Feilden and Jokilehto point out that 'authenticity and integrity' are decisive factors for nominating any heritage site for the World Heritage List. As they state, the main aim of conservation is to conserve the authenticity and integrity of the cultural resource.[141] Jokilehto defines authenticity as materially 'original' or 'genuine' as it was constructed, and as it has aged and weathered in time.[142] Being 'authentic' can then be understood "in relation to the creative process that produced it as a genuine product of its time, and includes the effects of its passage through historic time." According to Feilden and Jokilehto, authenticity may be understood in different ways depending on the context of its historical significance. Heritage reflects the significant phases of its construction and use in different phases of its historical timeline. The same authors also indicate that authenticity within the socio-cultural context is another

[139] *Kunstwollen* represents the conception of the evolution of arts and architecture in history proposing a theory of "continuous growth". See Riegl 2003.
[140] eilden and Jokilehto 1998, 73.
[141] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 60.
[142] Jokilehto 2006 , 21.

significant topic that should be considered urgently.[143] In the Guidelines, priorities in conservation processes pertaining to a World Heritage site are defined as:

> 1. Establishing, safeguarding and maintaining the cultural values of the heritage.

> 2. All conservation treatments should guarantee the protection of the authenticity of the heritage site, maintaining its integrity and preparing it for interpretation.

> 3. Where applicable, a heritage resource should be allowed to continue to serve its traditional function, insofar as this does not cause damage to its historical integrity. If the continuity of the function is not possible, the resource should be adapted to serve an appropriate use as part of a carefully conceived plan that acknowledges its outstanding universal value and its educational role.[144]

In 2006, Jokilehto published *Considerations on Authenticity and Integrity in World Heritage Context*, discussing the terms 'universality', 'authenticity', and 'integrity' within wider contexts. He states that the concepts of 'continuity' and 'change' and the notion of 'truth' has always been discussed in terms of the notion of authenticity. Thus, the understanding of authenticity has been associated with the 'true nature' of objects defined in their origins and the intentions of their makers.[145] In addition to his previous contributions and thoughts on the concept of authenticity, Jokilehto talks about the significance of 'intangible values' in terms of authenticity. As he explains, authenticity can be mentioned only if the tangible and intangible values are considered together; however, the evolution and dynamism of intangible values should always be regarded. Authenticity requires a flexible framework due to the dynamic nature of cultures. Thus, maintaining authenticity

---

[143] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 17.
[144] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 60.
[145] Jokilehto 2006, 8.

can only be achieved by keeping a balance between 'continuity and change'. Thus, variability and adaptation to time and place are fundamental for continuity.[146] Jokilehto was keen to broaden his approach to the concept of integrity, which he ultimately classifies within three groups:

> 1. Structural integrity, which refers to what has survived from its evolution over time.

> 2. Social functional integrity, which refers to the "identification of the functions and processes on which its development over time has been based, such as those associated with interaction in society, spiritual responses, utilisation of natural resources, and movements of peoples."

> 3. Visual integrity, which helps to define the aesthetic aspects represented by the area.[147]

In 2008, Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment were developed by English Heritage. English Heritage has as its aim to embrace the management of the historic environment as a whole, based on an integrated approach to decision making on via a shared process. In Article 94, the aspects and importance of 'integrity' are mentioned as:

> "Integrity (wholeness) can apply, to a structural system, a design concept, the way materials or plants are used, the character of a place, artistic creation, or functionality. Decisions about recovering any aspect of integrity that has been compromised must, like authenticity, depend upon a comprehensive understanding of the values of the place, particularly the values of what might be lost in the process."[148]

In 2008, the Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place was introduced. The Declaration develops the concept of 'spirit of place' and especially points out the requirement of identifying all the tangible and intangible values. Article 1 informs that spirit of place is made up of tangible (sites, buildings,

---

[146] Jokilehto 2006, 10.
[147] Jokilehto 2006, 13-14.
[148] English Heritage 2008, 45.

landscapes, routes, objects) as well as intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, festivals, commemorations, rituals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors). All kinds of values contribute to making place and to giving it spirit. However, intangible values give a richer and more complete meaning to heritage as a whole. Thus, they should take precedence in all legislation concerning cultural heritage, and in all conservation and restoration projects. Article 2, on the other hand, emphasizes the significance of transmitting the spirit of place, which can be achieved by understanding and preserving the place. Moreover, Article 3 emphasizes the concept of change in context of the spirit of place. It explains the spirit of place as a continuously reconstructed process, as it occurs as a result of the needs for change and continuity of communities. Thus "it can vary in time and from one culture to another according to their practices of memory, and that a place can have several spirits and be shared by different groups".

The ICOMOS Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (2011) also states that humanity today must face a number of changes, which concern human settlements, in general, and historic towns and urban areas in particular. The document also emphasizes that there is an increasing awareness of these new demands on urban conservation, and the organizations responsible of the conservation of heritage and the boost of its value need to develop their attitudes in the planning process.[149] It is underlined that, conserving only the physical condition of a heritage is not enough today. There are more factors on conservation of a heritage site including the intangible values such as continuity and identity of traditional land use, the role of public space in communal interactions, and of other socioeconomic factors such as integration and environmental factors. It is also stated that the role of landscape or conceptualizing

---

[149] ICOMOS 2011, 1.

the townscape, including its topography and skyline, as a whole, seem more important than before.

> "Historic towns and urban areas are made up of tangible and intangible elements. The tangible elements include, in addition to the urban structure, architectural elements, the landscapes within and around the town, archaeological remains, panoramas, skylines, view- lines and landmark sites. Intangible elements include activities, symbolic and historic functions, cultural practices, traditions, memories, and cultural references that constitute the substance of their historic value."[150]

The document (2011) states that "historic towns and urban areas, as living organisms, are subject to continual change and these changes affect all the elements of the city (natural, human, tangible and intangible)". It is also added that if the change is managed appropriately, it can be the potential for improving the historical characteristics of historic urban areas.[151] In the document the aspects of change are given under four main headings:

1. Change and the natural environment: In historic towns and urban areas, change should be based on natural balance, and these areas should be protected against natural disasters in order to safeguard the heritage and for the security and wellbeing of the residents.

2. Change and the built environment: The architectural elements must be harmonious with the values of the site and its setting. They have the potential for contributing to the enrichment of the area, bringing alive the value of urban continuity.

3. Change in use and social environment: The loss of traditional use of the area can cause to the disappearance of cultural practices, and subsequent loss of identity and character of the place.

---

[150] ICOMOS 2011, 2.
[151] ICOMOS 2011, 5.

4.   Change and intangible heritage: Since the intangible heritage forms the spirit and identity of the place, its conservation is as important as the protection of the built environment.

2.1.4.1   Interim Evaluation

In all the above-mentioned documents, the significance of a holistic conservation approach to achieve a well-maintained historic urban centre, together with its tangible and intangible values, is emphasized. For long-term maintenance, the importance of preparing sustainable conservation and effective management programs, based on the principles and aims of the international charters, is highlighted. The common target of these documents is ensuring conservation, and not to harm authenticity and integrity. Moreover, heritage is accepted as 'common to all humanity', and thus not to represent international standards is unacceptable according to these documents. One common concern is the significance of having proper legislation for cultural heritage at the national, regional, and local level, as well as having harmonious relationships between legal, administrative and financial practicalities. At the same time, heritage should be an integral part of any planning policy to ensure 'integrated conservation'. Another key criterion stressed in these documents is the importance of participation and involvement by the general public and local authorities during planning and management processes, thereby increasing the awareness and responsibility of the public. These procedures can only be achieved by having multidisciplinary teams of specialised groups in all related fields, i.e. qualified professionals and professional staff. The role of the information sources is also stressed these, with high levels of source knowledge having a vital impact on conservation; fully understanding any site is, of course, based on this knowledge, and from it stems all the phases of its care: survey, scientific investigations, excavations.

Thus, the primary action (identification of the existing elements) which leads to having a significant source of information (creating inventories) forms up as a

result of them. The documents clearly state the importance of decisions relating to any new functions and activities in the area, which should be compatible with the character of the historic urban area. Therefore, all land use decisions should be carefully made and controlled, to ensure appropriate usage. In this context, if possible, continuity of the function is fundamental in terms of heritage meaning, and continuity of the area.

The above-mentioned documents concern all aspects of conservation with respect to character and meaning of the area. In brief, all decisions should be appropriate to the character of the area, which was shaped by all the values of the area. Therefore, defining values and making a clear statement of them is crucial for conserving the area's identity and meaning. Safeguarding all these tangible and intangible values provides continuity. Within this context, heritage has a place in the collective memory of the public and has a symbolic meaning – a spirit – and there is a duty to transmit this spirit to sustain continuity. It is also specifically mentioned that heritage is part of present-day dynamic reality, and it must not be overlooked that cultural significance is also a key factor, but this depends on society and can change over time. In other words, planning and management is accepted as a continuous dynamic field, and thus, together with traditional social and cultural values, contemporary socio-economic conditions should be considered in this process. At this point, issues surface related to continuity and change, evolution and dynamism. As mentioned above, each heritage unit has an historical timeline, covering all its historical past and reflecting its evolution through time. Since heritage can maintain its existence only by an adaptation to time and place, it changes over time according to societal needs and the trends of the time.

2.2 Examples of Roman Hippodromes from the Mediterranean Region

2.2.1 The Best Preserved Roman Hippodromes and Their Conservation History

Today there are no obvious remains of Greek hippodromes, as their sites were later used for agricultural areas, and in any event they only needed clear areas for their races, rather than the enormous structures that constituted Roman hippodromes.[152] On the other hand, the Roman arenas were, on the whole, standard monuments with fixed plans and designs based on the obvious characteristics of chariot racing. To create equal conditions for the charioteers, all the measurements, elements, and their replacements, were well considered.[153] The Circus Maximus in Rome was very much the blueprint for all Roman circuses, with, perhaps, Constantinople's Hippodrome representing the apogee, with its perfect design.[154] To date, because of their scale, no circus has not been completely excavated and published. To give four other examples to help us understand Roman hippodromes, work was done on the Circus of Maxentius, on the Via Appia in Rome, in the early 19th century; and the hippodromes of Tyre and Mérida were excavated in the 1960s; and of all the Roman hippodromes, Leptis Magna in Libya is the best preserved, being excavated in 1974.[155] In this section therefore, the conservation history of the best-preserved Roman hippodromes will be examined, and their current conditions will be analysed, based according to UNESCO reports. This survey will be used for comparative analysis between these monuments and Sultanahmet, in terms of the transformation process of these arenas and the current condition of their surviving remains.

---

[152] Dodge 2011, 46; Fagan 2011, 111; Bergmann 2008, 24.
[153] Varinlioğlu 1998, 40; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 71; Coleman 2000, 92; Beacham 1999, 70.
[154] Kyle 2007, 215; Coleman 2000, 222; Balsdon 1969, 55; Cameron 1973, 16.
[155] Humphrey 1986, 503.

2.2.1.1   The Hippodrome of Leptis Magna

Figure 5. (left) Libya, the Hippodrome of Leptis Magna (URL 3)

Figure 6. (right) Israel, The Hippodrome at Caesarea Marittima (Dodge 2008, 140)

The hippodrome in Leptis Magna, on the coast of Libya, was constructed in the mid-2nd century. The arena (450m x 90m), with its 231-m-long *spina*, had a seating capacity of some 20,000. Unlike other Roman hippodromes, it was built outside the city walls, clearly for topographical considerations. The city's amphitheatre, built in 56 CE, was adjacent to the hippodrome and the complex presents an harmonious symbiotic relationship – as two major monuments to Roman public entertainment **(Fig. 5)**. The hippodrome and amphitheatre were connected to each other via tunnels, so that spectators could move from one to the other quickly and easily. As in Rome's Circus Maximus, the *spina* had fountains and an efficient water channel around it. The southern flank of the structure was built on a hill and thus the northern part required a considerable substructure – as in Constantinople. The hippodrome at Leptis Magna is not only the best-preserved Roman example, it is also very well published, and thus serves as a valuable source of data for other, less well preserved and less well excavated, Roman circuses. The Leptis hippodrome rested beneath the desert sands until the first excavation in 1920. By 1974, half of the *spina*, almost all of the *carceres*, all the arena's south side, and more than half of the hippodrome arena had been excavated.

The area has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1982, but from 2016 it has also been on the list of endangered sites. As stated in the UNESCO reports, masonry deterioration, illegal activities, and, of course, war, are all grave and threating factors for the area. Natural factors also present dangers, such as flooding and desert encroachment, but it is the hand of man that poses most risk – vandalism, fire, conflict. The World Heritage Committee has suggested more support from local authorities and trained staff, in collaboration with local communities and visitors/tourists, in attempts to conserve the outstanding and universal value of this heritage site. More facilities for research and restoration were also recommended. Funding remains a huge issue, and in 1988 UNESCO provided substantial grants within its program of "The Protection of Cultural Heritage and Diversity in Complex Emergencies for Peace and Stability".

2.2.1.2   The Hippodrome of Tyre

Figure 7. Lebanon, the Hippodrome at Tyre (URL 4)

Today, the Tyre hippodrome, constructed around the 2nd CE, is located in south Lebanon. The arena (480m x 90m), which could seat 10,000, was re-discovered in

1967 and excavated in 1969: the *carceres*, the *spina* and its central obelisk, the *metae*, and a large area of the seating are all visible **(Fig. 7)**.[156]

The area has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1984. In its recent report, a wide range of negative factors badly affecting the site have been identified, including: coastal environmental conditions, insufficient drainage, uncontrolled surface water, ground transportation infrastructure, housing, lack of tourist facilities, the legal framework, and lack of management and conservation plan. The World Heritage Committee emphasized that a new urban master plan and a management plan are needed to prevent uncontrolled housing next to the site. Once risks from natural factors have been minimized, improved tourist facilities should be provided and the site protected within a new legislative framework. It is also highlighted that the lack of prescribed site boundaries impacts on the site's integrity problem, exacerbated by fact that many areas remain unexcavated. All these factors detract from the outstanding universal value of the Tyre's heritage and authenticity values.[157]

2.2.1.3   The Hippodrome at Meridà

Figure 8. (left) Spain, aerial view of Mérida's hippodrome (URL 5)

Figure 9. (right) Spain, Mérida's hippodrome, archaeological remains, and the surrounding settlement (URL 6)

---

[156] Humphrey 1986, 438-540; Dodge 2011, 284-290.
[157] URL 25.

Mérida's Roman hippodrome was constructed in 337-340 CE by Constantine II (337-340). The arena (400m x 95m) had a seating capacity of 30,000, and a *spina* 230m long **(Fig.8)**. This hippodrome is the only surviving Roman example in Spain. It was discovered in the 16th century and its entrance gates are still well preserved, including the Porta Pompae, Porta Triumphalis, and the *carceres*. The tribunal iudicium, the box where the judges watched the chariot races, is the only one that has survived to the present day.

The area has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1983, with its extensive Roman remains particularly well preserved as a whole (hippodrome, theatre, amphitheatre, forum, aqueduct, bridges, temples, and private houses). There has been limited urban development, ensuring the survival of the monuments, with which the city is well integrated, and, indeed some have become features of daily life **(Fig. 9)**. As UNESCO reports, the elements maintain their authenticity, in terms of form, design, materials and function, because the legislation protecting the area is well defined and coordinated with the management plan. The current conservation plan, 'The Special Protection Plan for the Historical and Archaeological Ensemble of Mérida', is integrated with the 'Mérida General Town Planning' project. There is a consortium (Monumental, Historical-Artistic and Archaeological City of Mérida) with responsibility for the site's overall management, a separate budget specifically for the area, and an action plan for the conservation and improvement of the remains. All the authorities – the Regional Government of Extremadura, the Spanish Ministry for Culture, and the Mérida City Council – are all in collaboration, and, in addition, the awareness and interest of the public ensures that the significance of the area is sustained.

2.2.1.4   The Circus of Maxentius
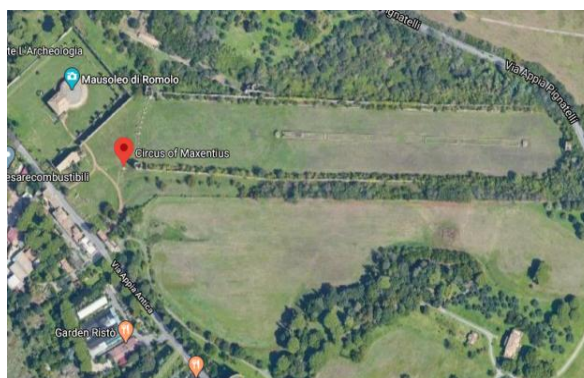
Figure 10. (left) Rome, Circus of Maxentius, the central barrier (URL 7)

Figure 11. (right) Rome, aerial view of the Circus of Maxentius (URL 8)

The Circus of Maxentius, on Rome's Via Appia, was built in 306-312 CE by the Emperor Maxentius (306-312 CE). Known until the 19th century as the 'Circus of Caracalla',[158] this hippodrome was part of a large complex that included the residential villa of Maxentius and his mausoleum. The hippodrome was the second largest of its kind after the Circus Maximus, with its arena (513m x 91m) much larger than the one in Constantinople, although its seating capacity was only 10,000 people.[159] The Circus Maxentius is one of the most fully excavated and best-preserved of Roman hippodromes, located between the Catacombs, the Basilica of San Sebastiano, and the Tomb of Caecilia Metella (**Fig. 10**). Although the vaults supporting the seating tiers have not survived, and the superstructure of the *carceres* had collapsed, it is still in a very good state of conservation, with the two towers next to the *carceres* remaining in good condition. To the north, the imperial box adjacent to the Villa of Maxentius is still visible, even if it is now overgrown. According to the archaeological evidence, the villa was not used after Maxentius' death in 312 CE. [160]

---

[158] Humphrey 1986, 582; Dodge 2011, 284-290.
[159] Meijer 2010, 22.
[160] Humphrey 1986, 583-587.

In the1600s, the obelisk on the *spina* was removed by Pope Innocent X (1644-1655), and taken to the Piazza Navona – in the centre of the arena of the Stadium of Domitian – by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.[161] The arena was excavated in 1820, and the 296-m-long marble *spina* was discovered together with the *metae* and several statues **(Fig. 11)**. Since the 19th century, the hippodrome has been excavated and documented systematically: during the excavations the remains were also restored and a great number of statuary pieces were recovered for the city's museums. All of the excavation documents were published in 1825, and today most of its remains are still visible. Taken as a whole, this work is significant for recording and documenting a large part of a Roman circus for the first time.[162]

Today the remains of the Circus of Maxentius can be visited in the Parco della Caffarella, part of the Parco Regionale Appia Antica (Appian Way Regional Park) **(Fig. 12)**, designated an 'Archaeological Park' since 1887. In 1959, an archaeological plan was first suggested and, in 1984, a committee was set up for its care, integrated within the Council of the State.[163] Since 1965 the site has been used as a public park, and, in a further development, The Appian Way Regional Park was formed in 1988 to conserve the natural environment and archaeological remains, and use them for cultural, educational and scientific purposes. The park consists of approximately 4580 ha, including many archaeological remains and monuments of the Roman Empire, imaginatively set in a vast green area between valleys. The park provides many activities and opportunities for experiencing nature, together with its archaeological sites and monuments. The park benefits also from several legal prohibitions on new construction works, the opening and use of quarries and mines, and activities such as hunting and fishing. These restrictions are rigorously maintained to protect and enhance the environment and its historical, artistic, and natural values. The park not only preserves monumental

---

[161] Camargo 1981, 10.
[162] Humphrey 1986, 588.
[163] URL 27.

heritage, but also provides a rich information source supporting the cultural and natural heritage. So close to one of the world's great city centres, such an extensive green park presents not only a remarkable access to nature, but also the opportunity to participate in Rome's inestimable cultural heritage.[164]

Figure 12. Rome, the Circus of Maxentius in the Appian Way Regional Park (URL 9)

2.2.1.5   The Circus Maximus

Figure 13. Rome, aerial view of the Circus Maximus (URL 10)

---

[164] URL 9.

66

The Circus Maximus, the earliest and largest of Roman hippodromes, and the model for all subsequent ones, is located in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine hills in Rome **(Fig. 13)**. With the largest arena (621m x 118m) and greatest seating capacity (150,000), the hippodrome was the major venue for religious ceremonies, triumphal processions, wild animal hunting, gladiator games, entertainment events, and chariot races.[165] Although the site was within the flood zone of the Tiber, on rich agricultural land, the *Ludi* were held in this arena 135 days a year. In its early phase, around the 6th BCE, the site had few facilities: *matea*, some seating, shrines and a few sacred places. Its form was altered continuously with structural additions, repairs and reconstructions, by numerous emperors over the centuries, until it became the grandest of all Roman hippodromes.[166] A period of decline followed, and by the 6th century CE, the Circus was out of use and had started to decay; later, it served as a quarry for building materials. Due to flooding, its lower levels were buried by layers of soil, hence today the original surface is 6m lower than modern ground level.[167] By the 11th century, the Circus provided an area for rental dwellings, and in the 12th was drained by digging a watercourse; by the 16th century the area was a popular market place. In 1587, the two obelisks were removed from the *spina* and erected in the busiest public squares in Rome. The Egyptian Obelisk, placed in the centre of the *spina* by Augustus, today stands in the Piazza del Popolo. The second obelisk, presented by Constantine II, can be seen today in the Piazza San Giovanni Laterano. The first excavations of the hippodrome in the 19th century revealed the lower seating and outer portico, and since then numerous excavations have exposed many additional features, including the *spina*, *matae*, and the other sections of seating.[168]

---

[165] Roueché 2009, 681; Kyle 2007, 305; Coleman 2000, 221; Balsdon 1969, 90.
[166] Humphrey 1986, 56-70; Dodge 2011, 284-290; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 45; Bergmann 2008, 36.
[167] Varinlioğlu 1998, 44.
[168] Humphrey 1986, 175-290.

The area has been on the World Heritage Site List since 1980. In the UNESCO reports, the main problem for the area remains that of flooding and the need for continual drainage; however, the requirements of the archaeological remains make this a challenge that can only be partially addressed. In addition, moisture and ground salts cause regular and severe deterioration of the remains, exacerbated by the modern urban problems of air pollution, traffic vibration, and pressures of tourism.[169] However, the site is well integrated within the urban fabric, both physically and socially. In the report, 'The Circus Maximus Archaeological Site', the area is defined as one that continues to represent its values, with well-protected remains, and reflects the history and lifestyle of the public **(Fig. 16)**. Especially after being promoted as an area for public use, the site was heralded not only for its archaeological significance, but also for its value as a public open space.[170] Conservation understanding in Rome is holistic, rather than based on a monument-by-monument approach. From the 19th century, well-determined policies and management decisions have been applied. Strict conservation laws have developed, taking into account academic consultation and various international charters: the relevant institutions are also well integrated. The site is protected by law, and the Municipality of Rome has developed a strategic plan for the site, linked to an 'Agreement Protocol' between the Municipality of Rome and the Ministry of Cultural Heritage for the management of the site. There is continuity between conservation laws, conservation plans, management plans, and national, regional and local strategies. Thus, as a result, well-integrated and comprehensive policies and actions have been applied to the area.[171]

Today, many parts of the hippodrome survive. In 2015, a restoration and revitalization project was begun, and in 2016 the area reopened to the public. In the excavations of 2015, the ancient shops and cobbled roads adjacent to the

---

[169] URL 10.
[170] URL 10.
[171] URL 10.

hippodrome were found. The area was reorganized as an 'urban archaeological site'.[172] Today, at the centre of the city, the area functions as a vast park, where concerts, meetings, and national events are put on **(Figs. 14, 15).**

Figure 14. Rome, Circus Maximus, World Cup celebrations in 2009 (URL 11)

Figure 15. Rome, Circus Maximus, protests in 2009 (URL 11)

Figure 16. Rome, Circus Maximus, the arena and close surroundings (URL 10)

---

[172] URL 27.

2.2.2 From the Stadium of Domitian to Piazza Navona

Figure 17. Rome, Piazza Navona, aerial view of Piazza Navona, indicating its transformation from the Stadium of Domitian into the present piazza (Sami *et. al.* 2020, 116)

The Stadium of Domitian was built in 86 BCE. In terms of other hippodromes, it had a smaller arena (85x275m), with a seating capacity of 15,000. According to the records, it was last mentioned in the 5th century as being in good condition. During its use as a stadium, it had been one of the centres for sports and celebrations in Rome.[173] However, after the decay of the Roman Empire and the Latin invasions, it was abandoned and gradually disappeared. In the Middle Ages, the stadium, as well as numerous Roman monuments, was abandoned and used as building material; eventually its ruins were covered by vegetation. In the 8th century, on top of the remains of the western flank of the stadium, the Church of Sant' Agnese in Agone was built. However, all through this period, the outline of the stadium was preserved.[174] In 1250, a hospital/hospice complex was constructed in the area, and local noble families built several towers and mansions around the open space as an expression of their power (the last of these structures dating to the 15th century); all these construction works were undertaken in an unplanned fashion, however,

---

[173] Dodge 2011, 284-290; Humphrey 1986, 560.
[174] Sami *et. al.* 2020, 116; Yıldırım,2004: 45-49.

the former area of the arena of the stadium remained undeveloped. The facades of the new buildings were oriented in such a way that the backs of the structures overlooked the former arena. The church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, the Palazzo Braschi in 1450. From 1477, the area began use as a market, and this affected the future transformation and development of the site. The area served for commercial activities from the 16 to the middle of the 19th century. Tents for the market were brought into the square, and shops and residences started to use the arena's internal space. In 1577, two fountains ('Fontana di Nettuno' and 'Fontana del Moro') were built in the south and north of the arena. To celebrate summer, on every Saturday and Sunday in August people from all parts of Rome gathered in the square to use the fountains as recreational pools. From the 17th century, the square began to be called the 'Piazza Navona'.[175] In 1644, the Palazzo Pamphily was constructed. In 1651, the obelisk from the *spina* of the Circus Maxentius was erected here by Pope Innocent X, and a new fountain ('Fontana dei Fumi') was designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini for the centre of the square. The palaces and the church of Sant' Agnese in Agone were reconstructed, and the previously built two fountains were remodelled – in Baroque style – by Bernini.[176] The church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli was abandoned in the second half of the 19th century. In 1869, the market was relocated to another area and the drains, pavements, and infrastructure system renewed. Since 1873, and until the plan was cancelled, the area was threatened with a new road construction scheme that would radically transform the square. This issue focused attention on the conservation of the area, and campaigns were mounted for the protection of the artistic and historic characteristics of the city via a new city plan. As a result, reconstruction of the houses along the curved edge of the arena began, and the profile of the arena protected physically, although activities in the area continued, even though these

---

[175] Camargo 1981, 33.
[176] Sami *et. al*. 2020, 117; Yıldırım,2004: 51.

were modified somewhat **(Fig. 17)**.[177] Religious holidays and important political events were celebrated in the square, indeed, throughout its long history, special events contributed to its unique atmosphere: sports, races, circus acts, plays, parades, patriotic demonstrations, music performances, artistic shows, street markets, and shops. Long after the stadium ceased its initial purposes, its area served for public activities.[178]

Nowadays, only the commemoration of the Feast of the Epiphany revives the old times in the Piazza Navona, one night of the year. However, the square is still a vibrant hub for the social life of citizens and tourists.[179] There are numerous cafes and restaurants in the square, as a favourite place for evening social life **(Fig. 18)**. The Palazzo Pamphily on the southeast of the square is today the Brazilian Embassy; the Palazzo Braschi on the southwest is a museum **(Fig. 20)**.[180] Thus, even if this former great monument has now been transformed into a disconnected assemblage of marbles, its shape is still recognizable. Although, the monument served as a quarry for building material, and its fragments lay on the surface, or were buried below later structures, its arena still survives as an open space among urban structures, very much one of the landmarks of the 'Eternal City', and is recognized by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.[181] The square is also the location for the Roman Stadium Museum (*Stadio di Domiziano*/Piazza Navona metro), where the archaeological remains of the stadium can be appreciated five meters below ground level **(Fig. 19)**. The archaeological remains of the stadium can also be seen under the Church of Sant'Agnese in Agone.[182]

---

[177] Camargo 1981, 9.
[178] Kwon 2016, 90.
[179] Özcan, 2009, 225.
[180] Camargo 1981, 32; Sami *et. al.* 2020, 120; Kwon 2016, 90.
[181] Camargo 1981, 33; URL 28.
[182] URL 28; Özcan, 2009, 249.

Figure 18. Rome, the Piazza Navona from the south (URL 12)
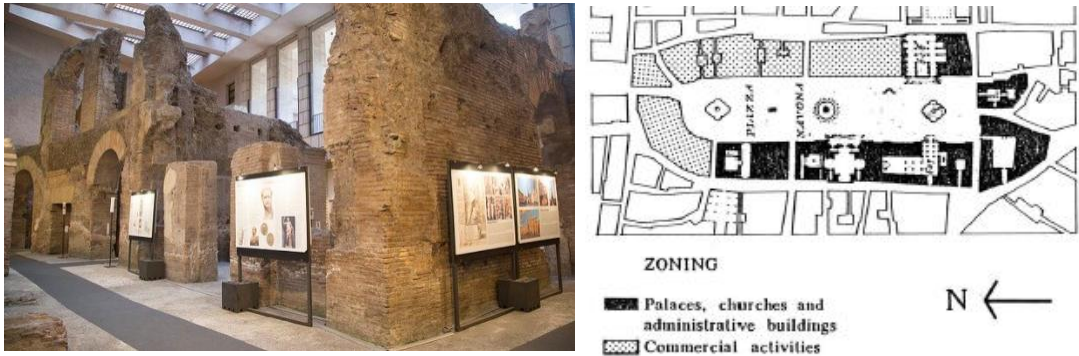
Figure 19. (left) Rome, the Roman Stadium Museum (*Stadio di Domiziano*/*Piazza Navona* metro) (URL 12)

Figure 20. (right) Zoning and usage in the *Piazza Navona* (Camargo 1981, 32-33).

2.2.3   Interim Evaluation

As can be seen from the above examples of the world's five best-preserved Roman hippodromes, all of which are World Heritage Sites, the most important factor in ensuring the continuity of a monument/area is to adopt an holistic approach in terms of conservation and management of the area. 'Integrated conservation' should be provided, not only for the actual remains, but also in terms of state legislation, all national, regional and local planning policies, management principles, relevant institutions, public attitudes, local government, academic

framework, the educational system, all relevant scientific fields, as well as other factors of socio-economic impact.

In the study, it was seen that the location of hippodromes, urban elements no longer used, in different areas within cities, has a direct effect on the physical conditions of the monuments and their place in social life. In Tyre and Leptis Magna, hippodromes maintain their continuity as archaeological sites today, including their complex around the arena, on the city borders, on coastal sites, in areas where there are no settlements. On the other hand, in Mérida, although it is in the middle of the urban settlement, their Roman hippodrome has survived to the present day as the best-preserved example, along with its many other Roman structures around.

At this point, although it is generally seen that urban development is a factor in the destruction of hippodromes, the example of Mérida shows that this situation can result differently – with stable conservation policies, effective area management, good relations between related institutions, and the awareness of the public. In fact, this example shows that the pressures of development caused by a location in the middle of an urban settlement is not necessarily a disadvantage and can be turned into an advantage – by ensuring that the remains are integrated into daily life and continue their functions. The Circus Maxentius and the Circus Maximus, on the other hand, are open, recreational and public areas which host many different activities among their well-preserved archaeological remains – although the sites are located in the city. The Circus Maxentius is part of a large park that uses its natural and cultural heritage for educational and recreational activities. The facility has adopted the successful principle of providing both public use and holistic protection and display of its remains. Similarly, the Circus Maximus has an important function in the city as a public gathering place, which also exhibits archaeological remains, within the settlement fabric. In addition, both cases are good examples of management as well as conservation, as the notion of conservation in Rome extends to the whole city, and all regional and local plans are integrated within a master conservation plan, and all relevant institutions have good communications with each other. Of all these examples above, the Piazza Navona

74

has a central place for this thesis, as it has gone through the process of transformation from a Roman monument to a city square, as has Sultanahmet Square.

Although Piazza Navona and Sultanahmet Square have experienced the same processes, today we see two completely different areas as a result of exposure to different legal regulations, conservation decisions, and area management. One is a public square that is only visited by tourists, detached from the city and the daily life of its citizens; the other is a public square integrated with the city and living together with the citizens. In this direction, it is possible to say that proper site management, consistent conservation development plan decisions, and having effective laws at local and national levels are effective in conserving the physical values of an historical area as well as conserving its social values. In Piazza Navona, the sustainability of the archaeological remains associated with a fragmented public monument continues, as well as the use of the city square, which is the public open space left from this monument.

CHAPTER 3

FROM PUBLIC MONUMENT TO PUBLIC SQUARE: HISTORY OF SULTANAHMET SQUARE FROM LATE ROMAN THROUGH TO MODERN TIMES

In this chapter, the historical background of the area, the fragmentation process of the Hippodrome, its transformation process into At Meydanı, the function and role of the area in the city, the archaeological excavations, the development of legal regulations on planning and conservation, the planning and conservation activities, and currently, planning decisions will be examined.

3.1 The Hippodrome of Constantinople in Late Roman Times and Its Role and Function in the City of the Emperor Constantine I (the Great)
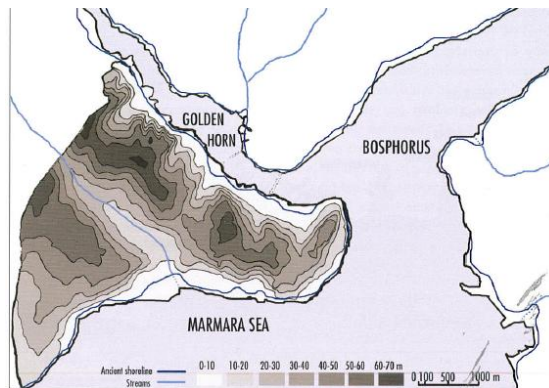
Figure 21. Map of the ancient city of *Byzantion/Byzantium*[183] (Kuban 2001, 7)

Even if it became official after the death of the Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) in 395, the Roman Empire had already been divided into two, as the Western and the Eastern, at the beginning of the 4th century. After the victory of Constantine I (306-337) over Emperor Maxentius (306-312) on the Milvian Bridge in 312; he

---

[183] Henceforward, the Latin version of the names of cities and individuals will be used.

became the emperor of the Western Roman Empire. He went on to defeat the Emperor Licinius (308-324), who ruled the East, in Adrianople Chrysopolis in 324, and became sole Emperor of the East and West. As the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, he chose the Greco-Roman city of 'Byzantion', which was founded in the 7th century BCE and enlarged by Septimus Severus in the 2nd century CE. Byzantion had a perfect location between the Black Sea and the Marmara Sea, on the east coast of the Bosporus, at the entrance of the Golden Horn **(Fig. 21)**. Due to its pivotal location, providing geo-political and strategical opportunities, Constantine I chose Byzantion as his city, giving it his own "eternal name": 'Constantinople'. Rather than the Western capitals (Rome, Milan, Ravenna), or the Eastern imperial provinces of the Tetrarchy[184] (Nikomedia, Thessalonike, Anthioch), his choice was Constantinople.[185]

Constantine I constructed his own city between 324-330 as one of the greatest urban renewal projects. He extended the ancient city of Byzantion vastly towards to the west, almost four times the surface area of the Severan town **(Fig. 22)**.[186] The new city centre was developed based on Byzantion's plan, which was designed according to the *Regia*[187] (*Mese*) – the colonnaded street that gave most cities their main thoroughfare and comprised the final tract of the principal land route leading to the city from Greece and the West, the Via Egnatia.[188] New city walls, rich palaces, large public monuments, and monumental public gathering places with unique columns and sculptures were constructed. In Hendrik Dey's words, "novel forms such as basilicas, circuses and opulent bath complexes heralded the rise of the new power, even as the rhythms of an urban tradition already centuries old

---

[184] The Tetrarchy (293-313 CE), started by the Emperor Diocletian (284-305), divided imperial power between four emperors, and, rather than Rome, some provinces (Nicomedia, Milan, Sirmium, Trier, Antioch and Aquileia) with critical locations were chosen as permanent residences for the emperors. For further information, see Dagron 2014, 33-36.

[185] Krautheimer 1983, 41-47; Mango 2004, Introduction; Magdalino 2007, 1-11; Bardill 2012, 251; Bassett 2004, 17; Kuban 2001, 24-25; Bunson 2002, 271.

[186] Bassett 2004, 17; Bardill 2012, 251-253.

[187] For further information, see below pp.94-94.

[188] Dey 2015, 78.

78

remained substantially unaltered."[189] The aim of these urban development works was to make Constantine's new city as glamorous as Rome, proving the imperial power of the new capital at the same time. Among all the new public structures, the Hippodrome of Constantinople was the vital element in this context. In other words, the structure became the primary instrument for his intention of echoing 'Rome' itself.[190] In Late Roman times, building a hippodrome in a city proved that it had become a province of Roman Empire; therefore, they played a vital role in terms of imperial ideology: this ideology was mostly applied within the Tetrarchy.[191] Constantine I redecorated the ancient Byzantion and created his imperial residence as the "second Rome". His goal was to rise his city to the status of Rome and make the two capitals equal – his Hippodrome was central to this objective.[192]

Like Circus Maximus and the hippodromes of the other chief provinces of the Tetrarchy, Constantine I constructed his project together with the Great Palace. As in the other major provinces, due to their size and scale, the Palace and Hippodrome were located at the edge of the city, next to the centre, creating altogether an imperial quarter dominating the urban tissue and eventually becoming the heart of the new city. The Hippodrome and Great Palace of Constantinople, which were linked by a spiral staircase, with their predominant positions and scale, naturally took pride of place within the city, among its other buildings (**Fig. 23**).

---

[189] Dey 2015, 3-4.

[190] Krautheimer 1983, 41-47; Kuban 2001, 24-46; Müller-Wiener 2001, 16-21.

[191] The earliest hippodrome of the Tetrarchy was in Nicomedia. It was built by Diocletian in 293, and later became the residence of the Emperor Licinius (308-324). Diocletian's design, which created an imperial quarter with the palace and the Hippodrome complex next to, became the model for other capitals. Maximian (286-305) later built his imperial complex in Milan, imitating Nicomedia; the hippodrome in Aquileia was also based on this design. After the hippodromes of Nicomedia, Milan and Aquileia, came those of Antioch, Thessaloniki (308), Trier (310), and the Circus Maxentius in Rome (306-312); Sirmium's hippodrome was built in a later phase. After Constantine I (306-337) ended the Tetrarchy and became sole emperor in 324, he chose Constantinople as the 'new Rome', and completed his Hippodrome in 330, applying the plan of Nicomedia. If there was a hippodrome from the previous periods, as at Antioch and Trier, the existing structure was upgraded according to the Tetrarchy model. For further information, see Humphrey 1986, 630-640; Ward-Perkins 1994, 450.

[192] Dagron 2010, 31-32; Bardill 2012, 251-252; Humphrey 1986, 633.

However, even though they were linked, they were the representors of two different levels of status: the Palace belonged only to the emperor, while the Hippodrome was public property, so to speak, being a fundamental element of public life and a symbol of the citizens' Roman identity.[193]
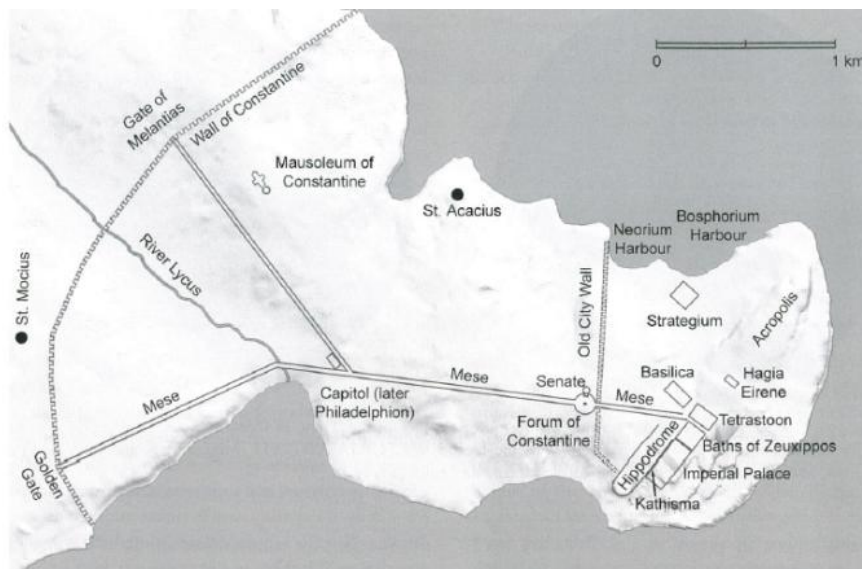
Figure 22. Map of Constantinople under Constantine I (Bardill 2012, 254)

Figure 23. Constantinople, reconstruction of the Hippodrome, Great Palace, and surrounding buildings (Pitarakis 2010, 92)

---

[193] Pitarakis 2010, 7-8; Bell 2014, 495; Dagron 2014, 13; Humphrey 1986, 636.

Figure 24. Constantinople, hypothetical reconstruction of the *kathisma* (Pitarakis 2010, 142)

The Hippodrome and Great Palace were connected by the *kathisma*, the imperial box, so that the emperor could reach the former without having to leave his palace **(Fig. 24)**. Ensuring his security, this connection was also an architectural feature that represented the separation of the emperor from his public, a place where he could accept acclaim, greet his people, and share with them the same ambience – at the same time being totally isolated from them. This connection between the Hippodrome and Great Palace was also based on the plan of the Circus Maximus.[194]

Constantine I was obviously keen to make his Hippodrome as memorable as Circus Maximus. This latter building in Rome was the prototype for all other Roman circuses, and, as well as its architecture, the Hippodrome of Constantinople also imitated its ideological, political, and social meanings: it became a reflection of Circus Maximus. As well as his efforts to make his new city the equal of Rome, Constantine was also determined to make his Hippodrome equal the significance of Circus Maximus.[195] His desire to add an Egyptian obelisk to the *spina*, as Emperor Augustus (27-14 BCE) had done in Circus Maximus, also stemmed from Constantine's plan to make his new city the equal of Rome. Even if his plan was never realized personally, because of the problems of transporting the obelisk from the Temple of Amon in Karnak, Theodosius I was to achieve it in 390.[196] As the

---

[194] Dagron 2010, 33-34; Bardill 2012, 154; Humphrey 1986, 636-637; Krautheimer 1983, 50.
[195] Krautheimer 1983, 49; Bunson 2002, 271.
[196] Müller-Wiener 2001, 65; Bardill 2012, 154; Ward-Perkins 1994, 87.

obelisks had become specific features of Circus Maximus, bringing one to Constantinople naturally reflected an image of power; and, moreover, only the obelisks in Constantine's new city could match those of Rome in height.[197]
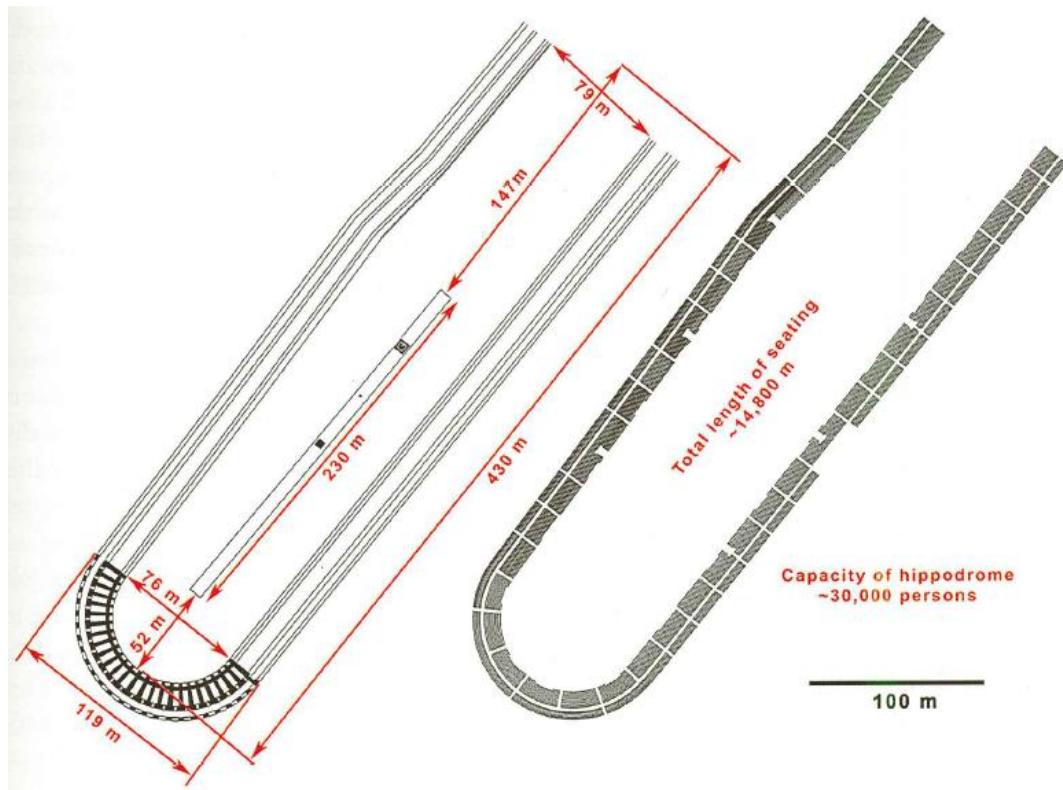
Figure 25. Constantinople, dimensions of the Hippodrome (Pitarakis 2010, 101)

The Hippodrome of Constantinople shared the architectural features of the hippodromes of the Tetrarchy, the *cavea*[198] able to accommodate 50,000, and making it of average capacity among Roman circuses. It was about the same size as the hippodrome at Leptis Magna, but smaller than the ones in Antioch (75x499m and seating up to 80,000), Circus Maxentius (79x503m), and Circus Maximus (140x620m and up to 150,000). The total length of the arena was 430m and the length of the *spina* 230m; the arena had an exterior width of 119m, and 76m

[197] Basset 1991, 94.
[198] For the definition of the physical components of the hippodromes, see above pp.26-27.

interior **(Fig. 25)**.[199] The Hippodrome was orientated northeast-southwest, with a U-shaped circus model, with an almost rectangular arena. The *carceres* was located on the northeast, together with two towers on both sides. The *sphendone* was located on the southwest, towards to the Marmara Sea, raised upon a large, arched substructure, dictated by the challenging topography that decreased sharply to the south; one of its main features was the colonnaded archway, similar to the Circus Maximus. The imperial box (*kathisma*) was located on the east side. A dividing wall, bearing many bronze statues, on the central axis (*spina*) separated the arena into its two main tracks.[200]

The construction date of the Hippodrome at Constantinople has been debated, and there are two different versions. According to some scholars, such as David Talbot Rice, Doğan Kuban, Gilbert Dagron, Hendrik Dey, John Humphrey, Richard Krautheimer, Sarah Bassett, Stanley Casson, and Wolfgang Wiener-Müller the Hippodrome was built in two stages: first by Septimus Severus around 193-195, and then by Constantine I around 324-330.[201] While developing the old Severan town, Constantine beautified, enlarged, and rebuilt some urban elements on a larger scale, including the Baths of Zeuxippus, the porticoed street (the *Regia*), and some administrative buildings. Meanwhile, the Hippodrome was also enlarged. It is

---

[199] Humphrey 1986, 636-637.
[200] Kazdhan 1991, 934.
[201] Although there is no definite information about how the area was used before the Hippodrome was built, the structures found in the city of Byzantion in ancient sources include the baths of Zeuxippus, the *Thrakion*, and the *Tetrastoon* located around the Hippodrome area. The *prytaneion*, *bouleuterion*, *gymnasion*, *stadion*, theatre, Baths of Zeuxxippus, Aias and Achilles are pre-Roman structures known to exist in Byzantion's ancient sources but whose exact location cannot be determined. No architectural remains proving the existence of these public buildings were found during archaeological excavations. During excavations of the Hippodrome, only the "Meter" inscription from the 2nd century BC was found, now exhibited in the İstanbul Archeology Museum. The inscription gives some idea of the main cult in Byzantion. In addition, from to the excavation finds, it is assumed that in the 5th century BCE, or earlier, the Necropolis of Byzantion included the surrounding area of the Hippodrome and the courthouse. Later, in the 4th BCE, with the increase of the population and the expansion of the city, the Necropolis was extended from Thrakion Street to the west, through the area between Çemberlitaş, Beyazıt, Laleli, and Süleymaniye. For further information on Byzantion, see Lordoğlu 2019, 176-178; Kuban 2010, 5-49; Müller-Wiener 2001, 16-19; Berger 2000, 161-165.

claimed it was Septimus Severus who began the terracing, retaining walls, seating on the *sphendone* towards the sea, and the seating on the western side. However, it had remained unfinished and, over the course of the next century, the area of the hippodrome served as a place for grazing horses. Thus, the supposed initial construction process of the Hippodrome began with Septimus Severus and then left until Constantine I continued and completed it.[202]

This theory, on the other hand, is not supported by Cyril Mango, as, according to this scholar, the archaeological excavations have provided no evidence, and there are no differences in construction techniques and materials on the retaining walls. In short, Mango associates the hippodrome only to Constantine I.[203] Even if its construction was started by Septimus Severus, or by Constantine, the chronology of the Hippodrome is confirmed as having literally started on May 11, 330, with the dedication ceremony[204] of Constantinople.[205]

---

[202] Jo. Mal. Chron. 18,71. For an English translation, see Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M. and Scott, R. (2017). *The Chronicle of Malalas.* Boston: Brill, p.49. Cf. Bassett 2004, 58; Casson and Rice 1928, 10; Krautheimer 1983, 41-47; Müller-Wiener 2001, 19-64; Dagron 2010, 32-33.

[203] Mango 2003, 594-596.

[204] The best description of the ceremony is given by John Malalas. For further information, see Chr. Pasch., 528–30; see also Jo. Mal. Chron. 13,8. For an English translation, see Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M. and Scott, R. (2017). *The Chronicle of Malalas*. Boston: Brill, p.53.

[205] Before the races, a ceremonial sacred procession was held. As in Circus Maximus, the processions in Constantinople represented among the most significant of the ceremonies held in the city. Images of the gods, and the magistrates, nobles, charioteers, sportsman, dancers, musicians, and temple attendants paraded in the streets before the races. Specific to Constantinople, the gilded wooden statue of Constantine I was presented on a chariot along the *Regia*. After circling around the Column of Constantine I, the parade ended at the Hippodrome. In the dedication ceremony, Constantine displayed a gilded ivory statue of himself, which had in its right hand the Tyche of Constantinople, as the divine founder of the city. He called the Tyche "Anthousa" ('Flowering' or 'Flourishing' City). The statue of Constantine wore a radiated crown representing the Sun God, Helios. It is also likely that the statue of Constantine I represented him in the guise of Helios, riding the sun chariot (*quadriga*) **(Fig. 6).** A troop, holding white candles, accompanied the carriage with the statue of Constantine I. This troop then carried the statue into the arena, starting from the *carceres*, turning around the *spina*, and ending in front of the *kathisma*. After the statue was crowned by Constantine, the chariot races could begin. After the ceremony the statue was brought to the House of the Senate, to be used in next year's ceremony. The same ritual was repeated every year on the anniversary of the dedication ceremony, as a demonstration of the persistence of Constantine's power. These processions were representations of the capital's privileged status and primacy. After the parade, the crowd watched the *carceres*, where the race teams would start from. The teams raced counter-clockwise, circling around the *spina* seven times, finishing in front of the

Figure 26. Gold coin of Constantine I, with the busts of the *Sol* and *quadriga* (Pitarakis 2010, 34)

It has been argued that among Constantine's motives for founding a new capital, rather than choosing existing ones, was not only so that he could have his 'own' city, but also that it would facilitate the spread of the new religion through the empire. This could not be accomplished in Rome easily, but Constantinople was suitable for this purpose. Hence, Constantinople was the venue where the eponymous emperor could build his Christian city.[206] On the other hand, he chose not to destroy pagan monuments, and he even furnished his city with several urban elements serving to pagan beliefs. Maintaining pagan monuments and culture was advantageous to the emperor for various reasons, and it was also a long-standing Roman tradition – as the symbols of the 'old' Rome and so too of Constantine's 'new' Rome–.[207] Constantine applied the old capital's tradition to the new, and the history of Rome was reflected in Constantinople by these statues, and was aimed at an assimilation of the power and prestige of Rome. Constantine's intention was to use this ideology to unify his empire: the religion might be changing, but pagan culture was also associated with 'Romanness' or Roman identity, and the Hippodrome was the most prominent monument of the pagan tradition.[208] From the

kathisma. The winner accepted the prizes and plaudits from the emperor for his victory. After the ceremonies, in the afternoon, the members of the two factions (the Blues and Greens) proudly showed off their horses, wearing gold collars and bridles. The animals were paraded before the emperor, displaying their victory trophies, then the doors of the arena opened to the public, who rushed to the *spina* where food (vegetables, fruit, bread, fish) was provided for them. The event over, the emperor left the Hippodrome via the spiral staircase of the *kathisma*. For further information, see Mofatt and Tall 2012, 303-345; Bardill 2012, 151; Krautheimer 1983, 61-62; Dey 2015, 81.

[206] Krautheimer 1983, 61; Bunson 2002, 271.
[207] Dey 2015, 79.
[208] Basset 1991, 87-88.

4th century, Constantinople had become the exhibition site for Constantine's collection of ancient statuary: pagan gods, mythical heroes, historical Figures, tripods, obelisks – all pre-4th century CE pieces brought from other provinces – were erected throughout the whole city. The *Regia*, public open spaces, such as the Forum of Constantine, public buildings, palaces, and even private spaces, were decorated with these monuments. However, the most concentrated assemblage of these pagan monuments was to be found in the Hippodrome itself (**Figs. 27, 28**).[209]
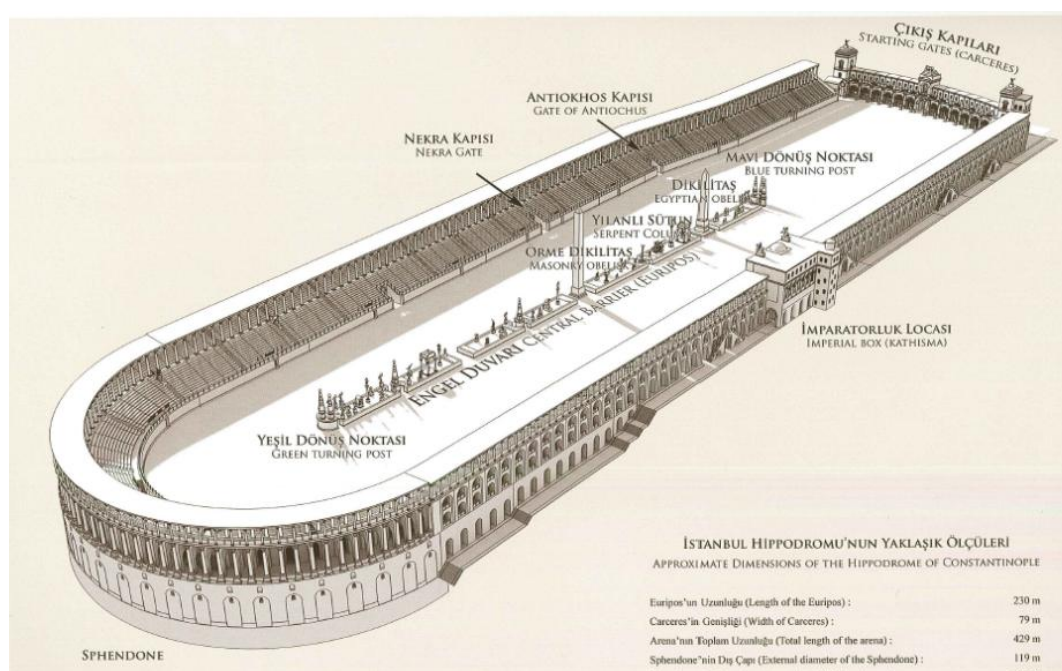
Figure 27. Constantinople/İstanbul, reconstruction of the Hippodrome by A. Tayfun Öner (Pitarakis 2010, 25)

---

[209] The statues were located above the *carceres*, along the *spina*, or in the *cavea* of the Hippodrome (**Figs. 27, 28**). They were associated with pagan deities, victory monuments, public Figures, and images of the city of Rome. Each statue in the Hippodrome was brought there for a meaning. The statues of Artemis and Zeus were patrons of horses and riders. The wild animals, e.g. lions and hyenas, the mythological creatures, e.g. dragons and sphinxes, the *quadriga*, and a group of tripods, symbolized the victory of the charioteers and the Empire. Herakles represented male strength, and Scylla struggle and combat. The Serpentine Column was brought as a symbol of actual military conquests. Some statues, on the other hand, were specific to Roman identity, e.g. the eagle struggling with the snake signified the triumphs of the emperor and warfare – with the eagle representing the Roman Empire as 'the good', and the snake, the foe, as 'the bad'. The other indicator of 'Romanness', of course, was the statue of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome. For more on this topic, see Basset 1991, 88-92.
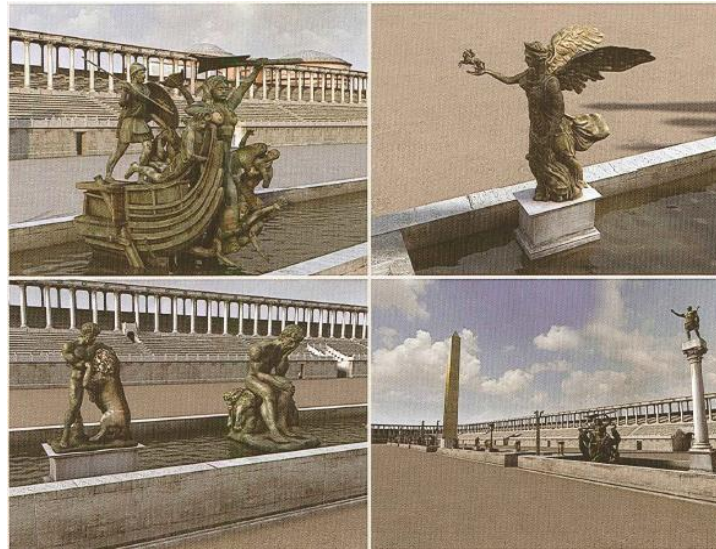
Figure 28. Constantinople/İstanbul, the bronze statues on the *spina*, by A. Tayfun Öner (Pitarakis 2010, 268)

The obelisk was also one of the most powerful symbols of the solar deity. In the cosmic symbolism of the Hippodrome, the obelisk represented the Sun, and the arena had two of them: the Egyptian and the Masonry.[210] The authentic, four-sided monolith, originally with a heavy bronze pinecone crown that fell off in severe winds, was at the centre of the *spina*, as in Circus Maximus in Rome.[211] The obelisk was first arranged to be at a height of 34.79m, however, it was set up only at 19.59m, due to lifting problems. The lifting process was shown on the base of the obelisk **(Fig. 29)** and inscribed: "Only Emperor Theodosius would dare to raise this four-sided pillar… and so huge a pillar was erected in 32 days."[212] In fact, as mentioned, this obelisk was originally ordered to be brought from the Temple of Amon at Karnak by Constantine I, but in the end could not be moved due to problems of transportation. Therefore, in its place, Constantine shipped what is known as the 'Masonry' obelisk, 32.51m in height. He called this obelisk a "brazen wonder", it not being a true monolith but built of ashlar.[213] The locations of the

---

[210] Bardill 2012, 154.
[211] Ward-Perkins 1994, 87.
[212] Pitarakis 2010, 156.
[213] Müller-Wiener 2001, 65.

Hippodrome obelisks mirrored those of Rome's Circus Maximus, with the Egyptian monument in the central position on the *spina* and the Masonry obelisk south of it.[214]

Figure 29. (left) İstanbul, Egyptian Obelisk lower base, north-east side, scene of the obelisk being raised (Pitarakis 2010, 156-160)

Figure 30. (right) Constantinople/İstanbul, Egyptian Obelisk lower base, south-west side, a chariot-race scene (Pitarakis 2010, 160)

Not only the physical elements of the hippodrome but also the ceremonies and celebrations taking place there were reminders of Rome's pagan tradition. The ceremonies and events also had ancient origins referring to the solar deity. Since Constantine had chosen Helios as his protector, identifying associations with Sol in the Hippodrome is unsurprising. The northeast–southwest orientation of the monument also resulted from the idea of dedicating the hippodrome to the Sun God. This orientation was applied, even if major efforts were needed to build its southern part, due to topographical challenges, and especially for the substructures of the *sphendone*, where the ground fell away steeply to the sea. This orientation and alignment of the hippodrome also enabled the arrangement of the *kathisma*, which was located on the east, thus, when the emperor appeared in the *kathisma* before the chariot races, he was rising like the Sun – a representation of the 'Unconquered Sun' (*Sol Invictus*), whose radiating crown adorns the statue of Constantine I. Only after this ritual could the races begin.[215]

---

[214] Basset 1991, 90.
[215] Bardill 2012, 154.

3.2   The Hippodrome of Constantinople between the 4th and 7th Centuries

3.2.1   The Chariot Races, Ceremonies and Spectacles in the Hippodrome

The Hippodrome of Constantinople was the public monument that provided the setting for the entertainment and ceremonial activities of the Byzantine Empire. It had numerous and varied activities – it was a multi-purpose space reflecting the lifestyle of its time.[216] Circus games, festivals, gladiatorial combats, wild beast/animal hunts, military triumphs, the emperor's processions, annual celebrations, the emperor's birthdays and funerals, public executions, punishments, paramilitary parades, religious dedications, pantomime games, dancing and music performances, were all held in the Hippodrome. However, its principal function remained chariot racing **(Fig. 30)**. [217]

Between the 4th and 7th centuries, these chariot races were the equivalent of today's major sporting events, the most popular and most anticipated of games for the public, where the largest crowds from all over the world came to watch the spectacles and support their teams. The factions were sport associations, like today's clubs, with their own supporters.[218] There were four factions: Blues, Greens, Whites, and Reds, each directed by a senior charioteer who might be from anywhere in the empire. The best horses also might come from anywhere, especially Sicily, Cappadocia, and Spain. The best-known racer it seems was 'Porphyrius the Charioteer', called the greatest hero, who came to Constantinople from Antioch. To demonstrate his fans' gratitude, four statues of him were erected in the Hippodrome in Constantinople: one by the Greens and three by the Blues.[219]

---

[216] Wolińska 2011, 120.
[217] Meijer 2010, 5.
[218] Wolińska 2011, 127; Baldson 1969, 213.
[219] Cameron 1973, 55; Paton 1916, 335, 340, 343, 344, 348, 349, 358, 360, 362.

Although there were four factions, the main ones were the Blues and the Greens. From the 5th century, especially in Constantinople, these two factions had a significance beyond purely sporting associations – they can be thought of as the political parties of their time, leading the public by controlling and directing social attitudes. These factions were the voice of the public, expressing their needs, demands and reactions to the emperor. In a way, they were an intermediary medium between ruler and ruled. The Blues and the Greens were differentiated socially, economically, politically, and religiously. The Blues, which were favoured by the emperors, represented the upper classes (aristocrats, Christian orthodoxy), while the Greens, which were supported only by a few emperors, were traditionally from the lower classes (workers, craftsmen).[220] Thus the games were not just entertainment, but a form of class conflict. These factions divided Constantinople into two groups, as urban militias in fact, so that the neighbourhoods were grouped as the Blues and Greens.

These conflicts, eventually and inevitably, resulted in social unrest, culminating in the notorious Nika Riots of 532, the most severe in Constantinople's history, which destroyed the city centre.[221] During the Riot, the most important buildings of the empire were burned down, including Hagia Sophia, the Hippodrome, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Palace of Antiochus and Lausus, and some parts of the Great Palace. This situation gave to Justinian the opportunity to rebuild the city as he wanted to. He prioritized Hagia Sophia: the reconstruction began in 532 and was completed in 537. The Baths of Zeuxippus was also rebuilt. The hexagonal hall of the Palace of Antiochus was converted into a church, containing the relics of Hagia Euphemia. The long hall of the Lausus Palace was transformed into a hospice and then into the Church of St. Phocas.[222]

---

[220] D.C. 67,4,4. For an English translation, see Cary, E. (1925). *Roman History, Volume VIII: Books of 61-70.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 71.
[221] Cameron 1976, 2-45.
[222] Mango 1993, 127-128; Müller-Weiner 2001, 122; Özcan 2019, 66.

Emperor Justinian (527-565) resorted to executing the ringleaders in January 532, whereupon the crowd gathered in the Hippodrome and revolted against him. During the riots, which lasted four days, 30,000 people died and the city was severely damaged. Subsequently the chariot races were stopped for a certain period and the Hippodrome's destroyed wooden seating replaced by marble slabs; the demolished *kathisma* was reconstructed.[223] From then on, if all four factions were mentioned, the association was with actual chariot racing; but references to just the Blues and the Greens signified chaos and conflict. As a result, gradually, after the Nika Riots, and by the 6th century they had lost their impact.[224]

3.2.2   A Venue for the Public and the Emperor: The Social and Political Role of the Hippodrome

"In Constantinople there were three wonders: God had St. Sophia, the Emperor had his golden triclinium (the dining hall in his palace), the people had the Hippodrome."[225]

After gladiatorial games started to decline by the 4th century, public interest in chariot races increased, especially in the East. In the 4th century there were sixty-six chariot race days in a year, with twenty-four on every day. The public – men, women, young, old, rich, poor, slave, freeman, native, foreigner, whoever, gathered from all over the provinces for one aim only: to watch the chariot races. The spectators included the emperor, courtiers, nobles, government attendants, partisans, and the public.[226] "All Rome today is in the Circus."[227] Hippodromes were places where the public could escape from their daily tasks and social milieux. People from different backgrounds, who would not normally encounter

---

[223] Mango 2010, 40.
[224] Cameron 1976, 2-45; Mofatt and Tall 2012, 315.
[225] Vasiliev 1948, 29.
[226] Vasiliev 1948, 494.
[227] Iuv. 11, 290-293. For an English translation, see Godwin, J. (2020). Juvenal. *Satires, Book V.* Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, p.75.

each other in their daily lives, could sit and support their teams together. For the public, the Hippodrome meant more than a place to watch the games.

More than just a physical structure, the Hippodrome was the centre of political communication. During the Republic, the public had rights, and they moved within a political nexus. However, under the imperial system they lost their power. In the Hippodrome, at least, the common people could express their demands and express their complaints directly to the emperor.[228] Hence, the Hippodrome, the large entertainment medium, was transformed into a political arena: it became a public instrument through which the public could meet their emperor, and share the same setting. The games were representors of the public's inner voices, and the Hippodrome was the only monumental structure belonging to the public, and demonstrating its role within the empire. It was the venue in which social tensions could be regulated; it was the place where the emperor and the public had their closest relationship, and became part of a single activity. The emperor, orally and visually, could share in the same ambience as his public; while he, of course, was also a symbolic Figure, sitting in the *kathisma* (**Fig. 31**), totally separated from the public. It was a socialization area where nearly all citizens could come together at the same time, thus making the Hippodrome perhaps more associated with politics than the games enjoyed there: magnificent and threatening at the same time; always loyal to the empire, but at the same time always prone to rebellion.[229] Likewise, for the emperor, the Hippodrome was where he could demonstrate his greatness to his people; it was also an important medium for his policies and the empire's way of trumpeting its power to its enemies. The military triumphs and ceremonies were major attractions, as much as the races and other events.[230]

---

[228] Larson 2012, 39.
[229] Dagron 2014, 13.
[230] Larson 2012, 40.

Figure 31. Constantinople/İstanbul, (left) Egyptian Obelisk upper base, northwest side, Emperor Theodosius watching the races from the *kathisma* (Pitarakis 2010, 161); (right) Kiev, St. Sophia, 12th c., frescoes of the Hippodrome's *kathisma* (Pitarakis 2010, 145).

In Rome there were many alternative public entertainment monuments, such as amphitheatres, theatres, *stadia* and fora (and especially the *forum romanum*). Various entertainment facilities were available to the population of Rome, and public activity was not the exclusive monopoly of Circus Maximus. However, in Constantinople entertainment was centred on its Hippodrome, even if there were other entertainment buildings. Thus, comparing it to Circus Maximus, the Hippodrome of Constantinople was unique and the sole source of mass entertainment.[231] In Rome the *forum romanum* was the political, religious, commercial, and judicial centre, whereas in Constantinople these functions were gathered in the urban core (the 3rd and 4th regions in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*) **(Fig. 32)**, consisting of Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace, the Baths of Zeuxippus, and the Hippodrome.[232]

The Baths of Zeuxippus were built by Septimius Severus in honour of the god Zeus, at the north-east end of the Hippodrome, next to the *carceres*. The Baths were destroyed in the Nika Riots of 532, and rebuilt several years later. Like the Hippodrome, the Baths were also decorated by Constantine I with many pagan

---

[231] Varinlioğlu 1998, 19.
[232] Seeck 2014, 229-243.

states, and were connected to the Hippodrome via a bridge.[233] The southern colonnade of the *Regia* continuing through the Baths of Zeuxxippus and the *carceres* of the hippodrome, both rebuilt by Constantine and directly connected to the imperial palace itself, which sprawled south and east towards the Sea of Marmara. The hippodrome and the greatest baths in the city were next to the *Regia*, in the immediate vicinity of the entrance to the palace. Both in fact related directly with the palace to the rear, while their public entrances were from the colonnades of the street.[234]

The *Regia* was a porticoed street with shops and silver, silk and glass workshops, and one of the most significant urban components: it was the main axis of the city connecting the urban core with other central zones. It was also the main commercial centre, with the significant shops, especially busy on festival days in the Hippodrome. The *Regia*, in fact, with its associated monuments was conceived as a grand triumphal route.[235]   On chariot race days, people would shop in the *Regia*, watch the games in the Hippodrome and enjoy the Baths of Zeuxippus. The urban core was, understandably, the commercial, social, and imperial interaction zone, with several facilities.

> "On the one side I have close by me the Zeuxippus, a pleasant bath, and on the other the race-course. After seeing the races at the latter and taking a bath in the former, come and rest at my hospitable table. Then in the afternoon you will be in plenty of time for the other races, reaching the course from your room quite near at hand."[236]

---

[233] Mundell Mango 2000, 198-202.
[234] Dey 2015, 80-81.
[235] Dey 2015, 79.
[236] Paton 1916, Vol. III, Book 9, 650.
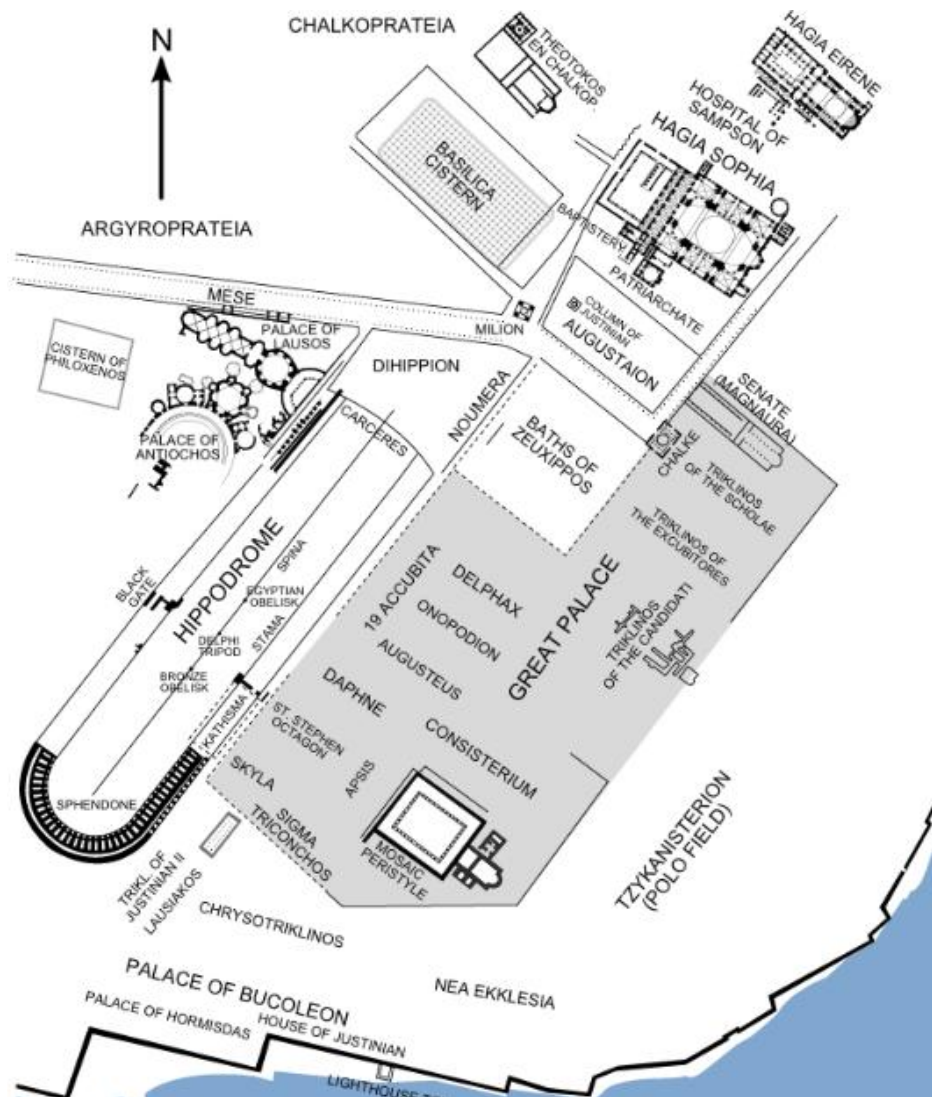
Figure 32. Constantinople/İstanbul, the Hippodrome, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Regia, the Great Palace, the Antiochus and Lausus Palaces (Pitarakis 2010, 93).

3.2.3 Pagan Roots of the Hippodrome

"It [the population] has an obsessive desire for two things only – bread and circuses."[237]

---

[237] Iuv. 10, 79-81. For an English translation, see Godwin, J. (2020). Juvenal. *Satires, Book V.* Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, p. 81.

From the 4th century, the ancient Roman bloody spectacles – especially gladiatorial combats and fights with animals – were gradually abolished as a result of Christian doctrine.[238] The public's desire for arenas and games seen variously as 'madness', 'sickness of the souls', and 'childish passion' by the Church. The biggest criticism for games and hippodromes was that they represented arenas for violence and general loss of self-control. Hippodromes were seen by the Church as even being 'demonic', later calling them 'Satanodromes',[239] and the factions were associated with hooliganism and other anti-social behaviour.[240] Since the late 2nd century CE, there had been efforts by the Church to ban hippodromes in the name of Christian morality, but they never succeeded, even after the conversion of Constantine I to Christianity in the early 4th century. Even with the progression of Christianity, between the 4th and 6th century, people never stopped attending the races, with the masses preferring hippodromes to churches.[241] "Their temple, their dwelling, their assembly, and the height of all their hopes is Circus Maximus."[242] Meanwhile, consecutive emperors tries to keep the balance between Hippodrome and Church, to satisfy public demand, control the factions, and fulfil Imperial obligations to the Church.[243]

---

[238] Wolińska 2011, 127.

[239] In early 4th century, gladiatorial combats were stopped, but in the West gladiatorial games and wild animal hunting continued until the end of the 5th century CE. The first edict for the banning of bloody spectacles was issued by Constantine I in 325 as they were blamed for disrupting public order, however it was only applied in the East. In 386 by Theodosius I and again in 392 by Arcadius (395-408), such spectacles were banned on Sundays (the day of the Sun), except if the Emperor's birthday should happen to fall on a Sunday. In 425, Theodosius I banned events on Christian holidays, and also at the same time outlawed paganism. His legislation included several clauses pertaining to hippodromes and their spectacles in terms of chariot races, charioteers, chariot horses, seating requirements, performers. See Cod. Theod. 15,12,1; 15,5,2; 15,5,5; 15,4,1; 15,7,3; 15,13,1. For an English translation, see Pharr, C. (1952). *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 432-437.

[240] Dagron 2011-2014, 7-10.

[241] Larson 2012, 23.

[242] Amm., 28,4,29. For an English translation, see Rolfe, J.C. (1935). *Ammianus Marcellinus.* London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, p. 323.

[243] Larson 2012, 22.

The clash between Church and Hippodrome actually stemmed from the very essence of the monument: paganism. The Church saw the Hippodrome as representative of paganism, and the games were essentially a continuation of pagan tradition. With its rules, game contents, style of performance and ceremony, the hippodrome was still part of pagan tradition.[244] Moreover, Constantine I's insistence on bringing in pagan monuments to the city with the aim of maintaining Roman traditions, since they were tangible links between past and present, was a means of continuing Roman power and prestige. However, understandably enough, this all caused deep concerns with the Church, being very clearly symbols of paganism.[245]

3.2.4 The End of Pagan Monuments: Roman Legislation on Pagan Monuments in the Christian Roman Empire

In the Late Roman period, with the Christianization of the Roman Empire, the gradual disappearance of the monuments of Late Antiquity began. For the most part, it was the fanatical Christian groups and bishops that launched actual attacks on the pagan monuments, seeing them as permanent threats to their new religion. On the other hand, the attitude of the main Church authorities, in terms of these monuments, especially pagan temples, was to leave them abandoned and let them

---

[244] Each ritual in the ceremonies and races originated from pagan beliefs. In chariot races, the four colours of the factions referred to the four seasons and the four primary elements of nature: Green as land and spring, Blue as water and autumn, Red as fire and summer, and White as air and winter. The arena represented the earth, with the rotation of the charioteers around the *spina* equating to the passing of the seasons, the twelve gates of the *carceres* being the twelve months and the horoscopes, the seven laps of the charioteers were the seven days, the twenty-four races of the day being the twenty-four hours of the day. Moreover, it was based on the solar deity: there were Sun-God symbols, the obelisks dedicated to Sun as written in their hieroglyphs, and the ceremonial rituals – especially in the annual celebrations of Constantinople's founding, in which the statue of Constantine I wore a radiated crown and carried a Tyche of the City in his hand, as the Sun-God Helios, in a *quadriga*. Even the orientation of the Hippodrome, north-south, and the location of the *kathisma* on the east, emerged from the idea of making the emperor the rising Sun Figure. See Dagron 2014, 54; James 1996, 12.
[245] Bassett 1991, 87-93; James 1996, 12-18.

fall into decay by themselves. Moreover, a positive attitude to these monuments emerged in the Byzantine Empire among the educated elites: they considered these monuments masterpieces of Late Antiquity, with their astonishing architectural features and ornamentation. The result was that some of the pagan monuments were destroyed, and others preserved, on account of their artistic merits.[246] The Christianization process was slow and was carefully integrated within society, and thus there was a co-existence of paganism and Christianity, and this had an effect on the physical environment: Churches and pagan monuments stood side-by-side in the cities, with hippodromes the most significant indicators of this clash.[247]

---

[246] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 49.

[247] The approach of the imperial authorities towards pagan temples was not to destroy them. In 341, an edict appeared stating that, although superstition and sacrifices were strictly banned, temples should remain open and untouched, as the circus spectacles were linked to them. Thus, they were accepted as important places for Roman culture, and the hippodromes had such a significance that even the so-called 'cursed' temples remained. At the end of 4th century, after a decision to close pagan temples in 356, in 382, a new declaration said they could reopen, as they were public spaces located centrally and a focus of commerce, social events, and political meetings. Further legislation allowed temples to stay, but their statues were to be removed. The elites argued that it was the wish of the emperors to sustain the artistic value of these monuments. Especially in the late 3th and early 4th centuries, these monuments were seen as opportunities in difficult times across the Empire. Christian emperors collected all the pagan statues from the provinces and brought them to their Byzantine cities to erect them in public spaces, as Constantine I had done. Some scholars have argued that Christian emperors used these statues as a means of denigrating the so-called gods, and, indeed, most of the major Pagan monuments were broken up and used as material for church pavements, so that they could literally be trodden on. Temples were seen as sources of high-quality material and finished pieces ready to be used. The constitution in 365 encouraged the relocation of statues, marbles and columns from temples to decorate new Christian buildings. The constitution in 397 stated that the materials of temples should be taken and reused for public works. In many instances this explains why many of the churches have asymmetrical measurements, a result of using these pieces, for reasons of cost rather than just aesthetic ones. In 408, the constitution ordered that the finest of the ancient monuments, which were in bad conditions and could not be repaired, should be used for public works. With such economic, administrative and cultural changes, places that were previously sacred became pieces to be used as *spolia*. By the 4th century, anti-pagan legislation emerged in the time of Constantine I's, with serious restrictions. Paganism was accepted as a *supertitio*, the term used for lower-status religions and foreign cults. For further information on legislative changes: Cod. Theod. 16,10,2.;16,10,3; 16,10,4; 16,10,8; 16,10,15; 16,10,16; 15,1,14; 15,1,36; 16,10,19. For an English translation, see Pharr, C. (1952). *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 472-476. Cf. Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 47-49.

3.2.5 Approaches to Conservation in Roman Legislation

Meanwhile, public works and restoration were key topics of Roman legislation. In 326, it was ordered that restoration of public buildings was to be done via special grants were to be offered as imperial favours. In 364, new buildings in the 'Eternal City' of Rome were forbidden and only the restoration of older ones was allowed. In the following years, neglecting a public building and leaving them incomplete was illegal. Rather than constructing new buildings, old public buildings requiring repair, due to age or damage, were ordered to be renewed. Moreover, private dwellings in public spaces were banned. There were also spatial restrictions: a minimum distance between public spaces and buildings was defined strictly.[248]

Further to this, changing the seating of the Hippodrome was also mentioned in the constitution in 406, ordering the seating to be restored and replaced with marble seats, rather than wooden ones, to reduce the risk of fire. All the boarding work and upper porticoes of the Hippodrome of Constantinople were ordered to be renewed, and those elements causing space constriction removed. The stairways, often referred to as the 'beautiful stairs', were ordered to be restored and all the Hippodrome's spaces were re-planned to be wider.[249] In 409, for the benefit of Constantinople's Great Palace, the private dwellings inside, or close to, the Palace area were ordered to be torn down. All the palace buildings were subsequently restored, and in general the complex of the Great Palace buildings is mentioned as being restricted to the imperial family, their courtiers, and their staff/workers.[250]

By way of summary, between the 4th and 7th centuries, the Hippodrome of Constantinople was one of the most famous and inspiring places within the Empire,

---

[248] Cod. Theod. 2,16,1; 15,1,11; 15,1,22.; 15,1,29; 15,1,38; 15,1,44. For an English translation, see Pharr, C. (1952). *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 50-423.
[249] Cod. Theod. 15,1,45. For an English translation, see *Ibid*., p. 423.
[250] Cod. Theod. 15,1,46. For an English translation, see *Ibid*., p. 423.

become the central venue for both entertainment and political happenings. A stage for the greatest events and the most violent riots, it was also one of the monuments specifically mentioned in Roman Law on several occasions, on account of its significance, major ceremonies, and the several phases of restoration works.

3.3   The Hippodrome and the Beginning of Its Dissolution in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods

After the acceleration of the Christianization process in the Empire, many changes within the norms of society and legislation gradually lessened the influence and importance of hippodromes, and by the 6th – 7th centuries they were falling out of use – only the Hippodrome of Constantinople remained.[251] As for Rome, the great Circus Maximus stopped its killing of wild animals in 523, and the chariot races in 549. In Constantinople, the iconic chariot races were maintained but their frequency started to decline from the 6th century. Nevertheless, the Hippodrome of Constantinople, that, in the 3th century, was an element of urban public life, became by the 6th a live museum, a fundamental of authentic culture and a centre of social activity. After the Nika Riots of 532, the factions lost their power and they became totally inactive by the 7th century. Despite everything, the Hippodrome remained the most popular public gathering place, keeping its monopoly, as it were.[252]

During the Iconoclastic period (726-787), chariot races ceased throughout the Empire, but continued in Constantinople for political reasons. All the other circuses in the major provinces were abandoned and only the Hippodrome of Constantinople survived as a symbol of imperial ceremonies. However, later, even in Constantinople the chariot races could not resist the pressures of the Church, which went as far as declaring the Hippodrome as a "Satanodrome", in effect a

---

[251] Kazdhan 1991, 935.
[252] Dagron 2014, 21-23.

continuation of paganism. The *Book of Ceremonies* reports that the number of races per day decreased to eight, from fifty, or even fewer. However, imperial ceremonies, major celebrations and victories continued to be held in the Hippodrome, as before.[253]

The gradual decline of the hippodrome is reflected in the numbers of races held there. In the 4th century it was at its peak, with, as the *Book of Ceremonies* reports, in some instances reaching sixty-six on one day, but from the 10th century it was down to twelve at best.[254] During the 11th and 12th centuries, major events continued to be stages there. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Constantinople in 1161-1162, wrote:

> "Men from all the races of the world make the lions, leopards, bears and wild asses combat with each other in front of the king and queen. No entertainment like this can be found in any other land."[255]

The last chariot race in the Hippodrome of Constantinople was in 1200, as recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[256] From that date, its decline was dramatic, with the actual end coming with the great fire of 1203, and right after that the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The Crusade captured Constantinople and plundered the city for three days. All precious statues, mosaics, and relics were removed to be sent to Europe. The *spina* and its bronze statues, such as Herakles, the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, and the Sphinx were melted down for their metal. The *quadriga* (**Fig. 33**), brought from Khios by Theodosius II (408-450) and located on top of the *carceres*, was shipped off to Venice and the front door of the Cathedral of San Marco. In addition, the largest part of the western part collapsed after the fire.[257] According to the reports of Robert de Clari, who visited Constantinople in 1204, after the sack of the city there were only 30 or 40 marble seats still left in *situ*, and he describes the *spina* as a

---

[253] Mofatt and Tall 2012, 330-336; Mango 2010, 40-41.
[254] Kazdhan 1991, 934; Mofatt and Tall 2012, 320-324.
[255] Asher 1840, 12-13.
[256] Mofatt and Tall 2012, 403.
[257] Müller-Wiener 2001, 64-66; James 1996, 16; Bassett 1991, 90.

wall 15 feet high and 10 feet wide, and as having many marble sculptures standing on it. He also describes the Egyptian Obelisk, with its complete Latin inscription, and the Serpent and Masonry columns. [258]

Figure 33. Constantinople, the *quadriga* over the *carceres*, reconstruction by A. Tayfun Öner (Pitarakis 2010, 111)

From 1204 onwards, the fragmentation of the Hippodrome had begun. Under Latin domination (1204-1261), the traditional use of the Hippodrome ended, with the chariot races becoming tournaments, and, gradually, the surviving parts of the building fell into decay. In the 13th century, for a short time, it functioned as a public gathering place, but by now it was mainly used for tournaments, necessitating and structural changes. Yet, by the end of the 14th century, parts of the structure had completely disappeared and it was left unused, and eventually abandoned to its own fate.[259]

An anonymous Russian pilgrim visiting Constantinople in 1389, describes thirty columns of the *sphendone* with iron rings.[260] In 1403, the account of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, ambassador of the King of Castille, includes detailed information about the Hippodrome, describing it as 'great open space'. His 1403 account refers to "thirty-seven columns of white marble, each so great that at arm's length it would take three men or more to embrace the shaft, each above two lance lengths in

---

[258] McNeal 2005, 90.
[259] Müller-Wiener 2001, 67-68.
[260] Majeska 1984, 142-143.

height and each stands on a great white block of stone." He also notes that they were connected with series of arches that supported a gallery, and mentions also the *kathisma*, with a white marble throne on a high platform raised on four marble pillars. There were white marble pedestals around it, each the hight of a man, to display statues.[261] In the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *kathisma* was also mentioned not as the imperial box, but as the 'palace of the *kathisma*', a two-storey structure formed of rooms with large spaces.[262] This shows that the *kathisma* and the columns of the *sphendone* still survived at the beginning of the 15th century.

By the 15th century, the stages of fragmentation of the Hippodrome were noted more often in the writings and drawings of travellers. Even though some documentation collected from the travellers can perhaps be misleading, due to exaggerations or subjectivity, the travelogues, diaries, poems, engravings, miniatures and sketches mostly reflected the Hippodrome's structural condition and changes. Moreover, they added to our understanding of its socio-cultural meaning.

The earliest pictorial evidence, although not showing the Hippodrome in any great detail, is in the bird's-eye view drawing of Constantinople by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, in his work *Liber insularum archipelagi* (**Fig. 34**). The latter was a traveller from Florence who visited the city in 1420, just before the conquest by the Ottomans. His illustration shows the main structures of the Hippodrome. To the north we see the *carceres*, near Hagia Sophia; to the south end of the Hippodrome, large columns appear and Buondelmonti gives the total number of columns as twenty-four. He also describes the capacity of the marble seating as 'enough to host a large crowd'; he adds that a large part of the seating was still surviving. According to the positions of the *carceres* and the seating, he also defines the borders of the arena accurately – 690 cubits long and 124 cubits wide.[263] He mentions the *spina* as a 'low wall' in the centre of arena. He also says that there

---

[261] Strange, G.L. 2014, 37.
[262] Mofatt and Tall 2012, 318.
[263] Gerola 1931, 247-270; Kafescioğlu 2009, 62-64.

were marble columns with carvings and inscriptions standing on the *spina*. He describes the Egyptian Obelisk with all its Latin inscription, the Masonry Obelisk (estimating it at fifty-eight cubits), and the Serpent Column. He describes the pool, in which there were three columns, at the end of the *spina*. The *Book of Ceremonies* also mentions that the *spina* was formed of seven sections; some sections functioned as pools, connected by a water channel around them, and some of the sculptures were now fountains –including the Serpent Column.[264]
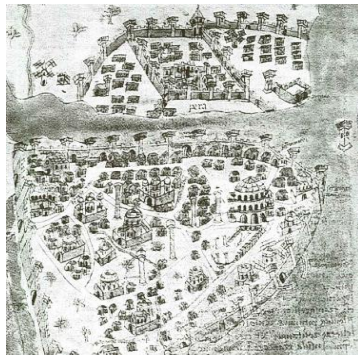
Figure 34. Constantinople, Cristoforo Buondelmonti's map in *Liber insularum archipelagi*, 1420 (Pitarakis 2010, 95)

3.4 From Public Monument to Open Square: 'At Meydanı' in the Ottoman Period

> "The persistence of open space is one factor. A large public monument of one period with an open usable space may become a public square in other period, regardless of the shifts in the urban fabric during the interim."[265]

In 1453, Constantinople was conquered by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481), and the Byzantine city became the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and gradually became known as 'Konstantiniyye'. The city centre, as the imperial, administrative, commercial, and social focal point, also maintained its significance after the conquest. Successive Sultans worked on a rapid regeneration of the city,

---

[264] Gerola 1931, 270-279; Kafescioğlu 2009, 62-64.
[265] Kostof 1999, 130.

and a series of construction works led to the building of a new, Ottoman, capital, with new monuments. Within the scope of this strategy, the historic centre had a vital role, as the most central and important area within the city. The partially destroyed Hippodrome was also included,[266] and it was progressively transformed from a public monument of Late Antiquity into a public square in Ottoman times.[267] This soon became the main city square, known as 'At Meydanı', meaning the 'Square of Horses', the reference not being to the ancient activities linked to the site, but rather to the horse fairs and races, and assorted games, that were later held in the area.[268]

3.4.1 At Meydanı from 1453 to the 16th Century: Remains of the Hippodrome and Its Transformation into a Public Square according to Travel Accounts and Illustrations

By the middle of 15th century, the Hippodrome had already become an open space: apart from a few remains, the area was now bare land.[269] According to Buondelmonti's map of 1420 **(Fig. 34)**, and a detailed panorama by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore of 1478-90 **(Fig. 35)**, the parts of the Hippodrome still surviving when the Ottomans took the city can be made out to some extent. These surviving parts included: the *sphendone*, the *propylaion*, the Egyptian obelisk, the Masonry Obelisk, the Serpentine Column, various other sculptures on the *spina*, and a section of the *carceres*.[270]

The fragmentation of the Hippodrome, which had started with the Fourth Crusade in 1204, was more or less completed in the Ottoman period: it became in essence a stone quarry. Most of the marble seats, the columns on the *sphendone*, and the

---

[266] Kuban 2001, 227-235.
[267] Kafescioğlu 2009, 103.
[268] Kuban 2010a, 21.
[269] İnan and Kıraç 2010, 7.
[270] Müller-Wiener 2001, 68.

large stone blocks of the Hippodrome were used for the construction of new imperial buildings or were burnt for lime.[271] The former great arena, which had already been severely damaged, and was in any event starting to fall into decay by the 13th century, further suffered after Constantinople was taken by the Ottomans in 1453. And, ultimately, one of the largest, most famous and splendid structures of the Late Roman period became a source of *spolia*.

Material from the Late Roman Hippodrome was used especially in the period of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), providing *spolia* for the construction of imposing new imperial buildings and monuments for the capital (the Topkapı Palace, İbrahim Paşa Palace, Süleymaniye Mosque, Selimiye Mosque…), as well as charitable purposes (e.g. the Complex of Sultan Ahmet). In particular, the Hippodrome's marble seating and columns were reused for the Topkapı Palace (1465), İbrahim Paşa Palace (1522), Süleymaniye Mosque (1551-57), and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (1609-1619); the columns of the *propylaion* on the *sphendone* were used for the Süleymaniye Mosque, and some were even shipped to Edirne for the construction of the Selimiye Mosque there (1568).[272]

Between the years 1453 and 1520, the Hippodrome continued to survive as a broken monument, neglected and left to its own destiny. Until the 16th century there were no interventions in the area, however, with the construction of new palaces and charitable buildings, At Meydanı began to witness change, and the square took on a new meaning and understanding within the city. Especially after the constructions of the Topkapı Palace in 1465, and the İbrahim Paşa Palace in 1522, the development of the area surrounding At Meydanı, and thus the further fragmentation of the Hippodrome gained momentum. Eventually, it became an

---

[271] Bardill 2010, 97.
[272] Kuban 2010a, 17.

106

open space, subtly reducing pressure on the intense urban tissue around the imperial monuments.[273]
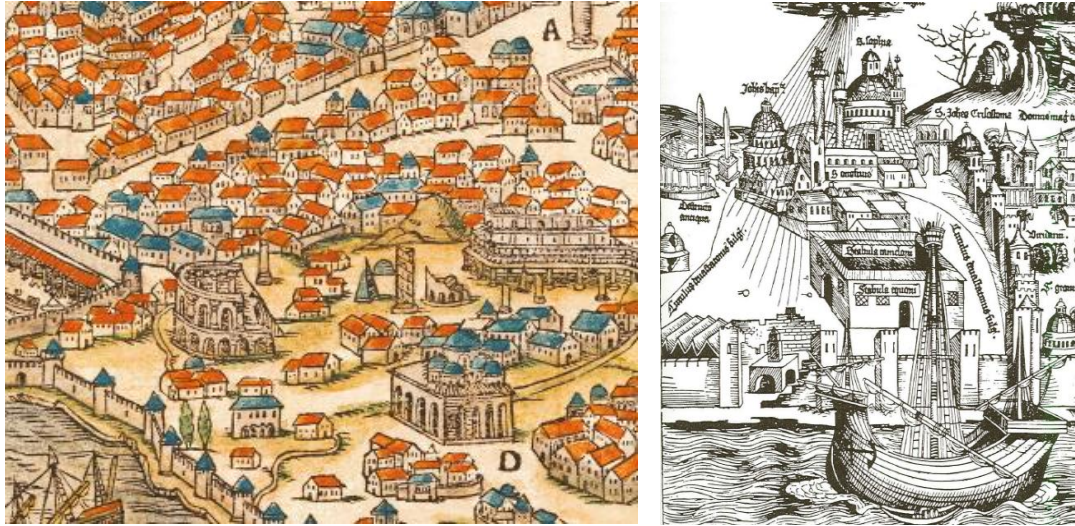
Figure 35. Konstantiniyye/İstanbul, (left) the detailed panorama (1478) by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore; (right) the view by Hartmann Schedel in *Liber chronicarum* (1493) (Kuban 2001, 230-335)

The first engraving to be made just after the city had been taken by the Ottomans, was by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore between 1478 and 1490 **(Fig. 35)**. The panorama shows the *sphendone*, its arcaded substructures and the series of large columns upon them, the remains of some monuments on the *spina*, and also the *carceres*. Vavassore shows a tower at the eastern end of the *carceres* as well. This alignment also repeats the plan of the Circus of Maxentius in Rome. The panorama does not show the *spina*, and thus, comparing it with Buondelmonti's map, it can be said that the *spina* disappeared between 1420 and 1478. Another helpful engraving is the view of the city drawn by Hartmann Schedel for his work *Liber chronicarum* in 1493 **(Fig. 35)**.[274] This shows a section of the city, and even though the engraving is far from accurate in many respects, the semi-circular *propylaion* and the two great monuments of the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks) can be clearly seen.

---

[273] Işın 2010, 12.
[274] Kafescioğlu 2009, 62-68; Bardill 2010, 96.

The most detailed image of the Hippodrome is the engraving published by Onotrio Panvinio in his work *De ludis circensibus* in 1600 **(Fig. 36)**. The view is dated to 1480 and shows the *carceres*, the monuments on the *spina*, and the semi-circular *propylaion* on the *sphendone*. This drawing shows the two-storeyed *carceres*, a corridor, with arched windows facing the arena, above the starting gates. In the Book of Ceremonies, this second level was mentioned as being changing rooms for the charioteers, above the *carceres*. Buondelmonti also mentions this second level as "a magnificent wall decorated with countless windows, where ladies and young daughters with their mothers watched their chosen charioteers". The 12th-century frescoes of St. Sofia in Kiev also show this second level in detail **(Fig. 36)**. As in the drawing by Vavassore, Panvinio's may also show a tower on the northwest corner of the Hippodrome. Like the illustrations by Vavassore and Schedel, Panvinio also shows the curved substructures of the *sphendone*, the columns on them, and the architrave above the columns, which the Russian pilgrim mentioned in 1389. Panvinio includes as well several monuments and remains on the *spina* – more than those we see today. By comparing his work with Vavassore's and Schedel's, it appears that he may have exaggerated the number of these monuments. His monuments stand on the ground and the *spina* does not exist, as in the panorama of Vavassore (but not in Buondelmonti's map). Thus, the fact that the disappearance of the *spina* can be accepted as having occurred between 1420 and 1478 seems true.

Figure 36. Konstantiniyye/İstanbul, (left) view of the Hippodrome of Constantinople (1480), published by Onofrio Panvinio in *De ludis circensibus* in 1600; (right) Kiev, Cathedral of St. Sofia, 12th century; frescoes of the *carceres* of the Hippodrome of Constantinople (Pitarakis 2010, 42-113)

3.4.2   At Meydanı in the 16th Century

Until the 16th century, there were no new constructions in the area of the Hippodrome, or on its remains and near surroundings. The first structure built by the Ottomans at the northwest corner of At Meydanı was the Mosque of Firuz Ağa in 1491, indicating that at the beginning of the 16th century the Muslim population was still quite small. It was built in the area between the *Mese* and At Meydanı, on the remains of the Palace of Antiochus. Later, in 1516, the *namazgah* was built on the remains of the Hippodrome's western flank.[275]

The first significant building that changed the destiny of the At Meydanı was the İbrahim Paşa Palace, which became the leading vizier's palace at the site (others were to follow later). The palace was built for İbrahim Paşa, vizier to Süleyman the Magnificent and later marrying his sister. It was built in 1522, on the western side of the Hippodrome, north of the *namazgah*.[276]
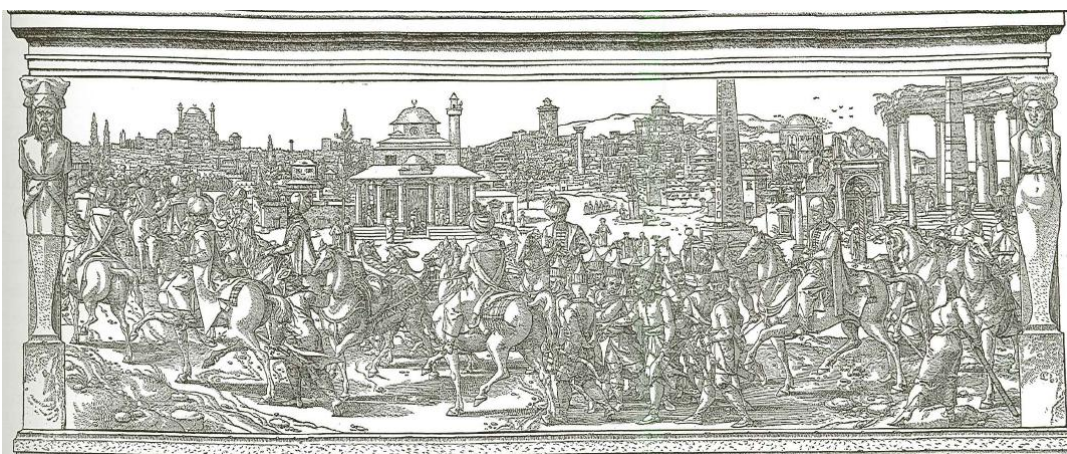
Figure 37. Konstantiniyye/İstanbul, At Meydanı, Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *The Turks in MDXXXIII*, 1533 (Işın 2010, 172)

Another engraving showing the remains of the Hippodrome was that done by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in his work *The Turks in MDXXXIII* (1533) **(Fig. 37)**. The image

---

[275] Mango 2010, 43.
[276] Atasoy 2012, 42; Kafescioğlu 2009, 75.

shows a procession of Süleyman the Magnificent at At Meydanı, including the *propylaion* on the right – still surviving but in a more ruinous state than in Panvinio's engraving. It also includes the Mosque of Firuz Ağa and both the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks. The İbrahim Paşa Palace was not drawn, so that the Obelisks could be clearly seen. In both corners, statues of İbrahim Paşa are also drawn among the Figures of At Meydanı.[277] In 1536, İbrahim Paşa was executed by Süleyman in At Meydanı for bringing statues of pagan gods (Hercules, Apollo and Diana) and erecting them on one of the column bases on the *spina*.[278]

> "Two İbrahims came into the world. One was a prophet and overthrew the idols. The other was our İbrahim Paşa, but he, on the other hand, came and brought the idols back."[279]

The İbrahim Paşa Palace played a major role in the breaking up of the Hippodrome.[280] Pierre Gilles, the traveller who visited Konstantiniyye between 1544 and 1547, writes in his book *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de Illius Antiquitatibus* that the İbrahim Paşa Palace was built on the western walls of the Hippodrome, the stones and seating being stripped out and reused in the palace.[281] The Church of Hagia Euphemia and the remains of the Palace of Antiochus were also then destroyed for its construction.[282]

Gilles also refers to the seventeen columns of the *sphendone*, giving exact measurements, including their bases and the spaces between them. He witnesses these columns being taken, on the orders of Süleyman, to be reused in the

---

[277] Işın 2010, 172.
[278] İbrahim Paşa's erection of these statues of pagan gods was seen as contumacy to Islam and stirred deep unrest among the public and members of the palace. It should be remembered that İbrahim Paşa was born in a Christian family from Parga, being brought to Ottoman lands when he was six to be raised as an Ottoman. This practice (*devşirme*) was common in the Ottoman Empire, to raise bright children for the army or civil service. Thus his ill-judged attempt was seen as provocative, if not a form of revolt, by exhibiting such statues in the main public square. The fate of these sculptures after İbrahim Paşa's execution is not clear. See Yenişehirlioğlu 2010, 112-116; Atasoy 2012, 51-60; Atasoy 2012, 61-80; Kuban 2010a, 25.
[279] Karahan 1966, 64.
[280] Atasoy 2012, 48.
[281] Özbayoğlu 1997, 91-92.
[282] Müller-Weiner, 329.

construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque. He also mentions a second storey of columns, which existed before his arrival to Konstantiniyye, on top of the columns he measured. He writes as well that some of the massive columns on the *sphendone* were torn down for the construction of some of Süleyman's charitable structures (*imarethane*).[283]

Figure 38. Konstantiniyye/İstanbul, detailed panorama by Matrakçı Nasuh, 1537-38 (Kuban 2001, 283)

One further work that shows At Meydanı and the remains of the Hippodrome was Matrakçı Nasuh's[284] bird's-eye miniature of *Konstantiniyye* in 1537-1538 **(Fig. 38)**. This shows a different view, since it was drawn by an Ottoman artist for the first time, and showing At Meydanı in the Early Ottoman period. The miniature shows only six elements of the Hippodrome: the *propylaion*, the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks, the Serpentine Column, and two other statues. The area of the *namazgah*, built in 1516, is seen as a stand of almond trees. It is known that the Üçler Mosque was built on the site of the *namazgah* in 1553.[285] The miniature also includes the

---

[283] Özbayoğlu 1997, 95-103.

[284] Drawer of maps, painter of miniatures and paintings, historian, geographer, and statesmen. He also invented the game of 'Matrak', which became popular with the military in the Ottoman Empire; it was also played at At Meydanı's festivals and celebrations.

[285] Kafescioğlu 2009, 77; Mango 2010, 42.

İbrahim Paşa Palace as the only new structure: it is shown with a tower, porticos, a terrace, and a *salon*. Next to it, the Mosque of Firuz Ağa also can be seen. In addition, some other buildings, later demolished for the construction of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, can be seen where the Sultan Ahmet Mosque was built later; it is known that in the area of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque there were mansions and palaces of viziers. The palace of the vizier Ahmet Paşa was the best known of them, built by the famous architect Sinan[286] at the south-eastern corner of the Hippodrome. A public bath was built for Hürrem Sultan[287] on the ruins of the Baths of Zeuxippus in 1556.[288]
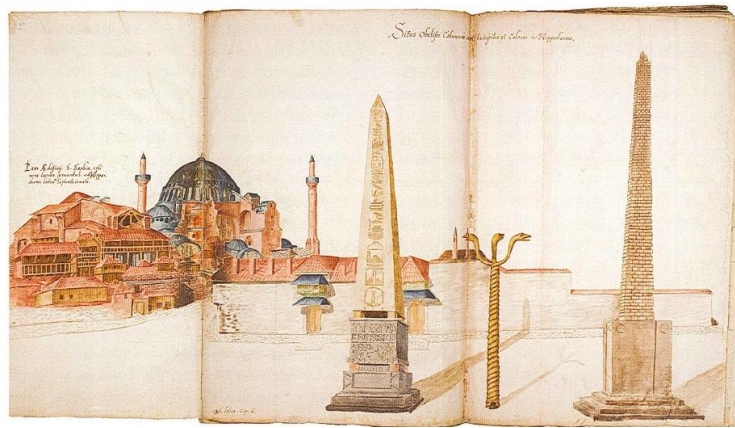
Figure 39. İstanbul, At Meydanı, Lambert de Vos' engraving in the Freshfield Album, 1575 (Pitarakis 2010, 275)

Lambert de Vos' engraving in the *Freshfield Album*, dated 1575, is also an important document of the area **(Fig. 39)**. The engraving includes the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks and the Serpentine Column in some detail, such that this work represents the only accurate record we have of the hieroglyphs of the Egyptian Obelisk before the 19th century. Each element is drawn in realistic way, but the three columns are rendered closer to each other than they actually were. The bases

---

[286] The chief architect of the Ottoman Empire, who worked for Suleyman the Magnificent, Sultan Selim II, and Sultan Murad III.

[287] Also known as Roxelana or Roxanne, was the chief consort and wife of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent.

[288] Atasoy 2012, 45-48; Kuban 2010a, 25.

of the columns are also visible, proving that the ground level rose after the construction of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque.[289] Lambert de Vos' engraving is the only one that shows the eastern and northern sides of the Hippodrome, and placing one of the vizier palaces on the east, where the Sultan Ahmet Mosque was later constructed.[290]

3.4.3 Social and Political Meaning of At Meydanı

Throughout history, At Meydanı served for numerous public activities and events, above all the ceremonies for the sultan's family, known as *Sur-u Humayun*. In a sense, *Sur-u Humayun* was an invitation from the sultan to his public. The ceremonies began with the procession of the sultan, followed by horse races, javelin games, different sports and wrestling competitions. Food was distributed to the public, and acrobatics, pantomime shows, shadow-puppet games, animal tamers, and traditional games entertained the crowds, along with dancing, music, and firework displays. Re-enactments of famous battles were held and the game of *matrak* played. Importantly, these events were also opportunities for ordinary members of the public to show themselves to the sultan, and craftsmen and artisans could display and sell their wares, as they might at bazaars **(Fig. 40)**.[291]

As well as good entertainment, *Sur-u Humayun* had a political meaning, displaying the authority of the empire and the sultan's power. By supplying unlimited food, gifts and events to the public, the sultan was also showing his wealth. The parades, festivities, games, and shows might last for weeks, or even months, creating an atmosphere of unity for the public and keeping the capital busy and thriving – as in the festive days of the Hippodrome.

---

[289] Pitarakis 2010, 275; URL 29.
[290] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 33.
[291] The procession ceremony and the following shows were just in the same sequence and style as in the Hippodrome. For further information, see Atasoy 1997, 9-12; Nutku 2010, 73-77; Kahraman 2008, 23.

Such days were the most propitious for bringing the sultan closer to his people, and thus *Sur-u Humayun* had a special social and political meaning for the public, and this meaning differentiated At Meydanı from all the other public spaces in the city.[292] Just as the Hippodrome had been the area where emperors would display their greatness and celebrate victories with their people, At Meydanı also provided a forum where sultans could demonstrate their wealth and power and accept the accolades of their citizens.[293]
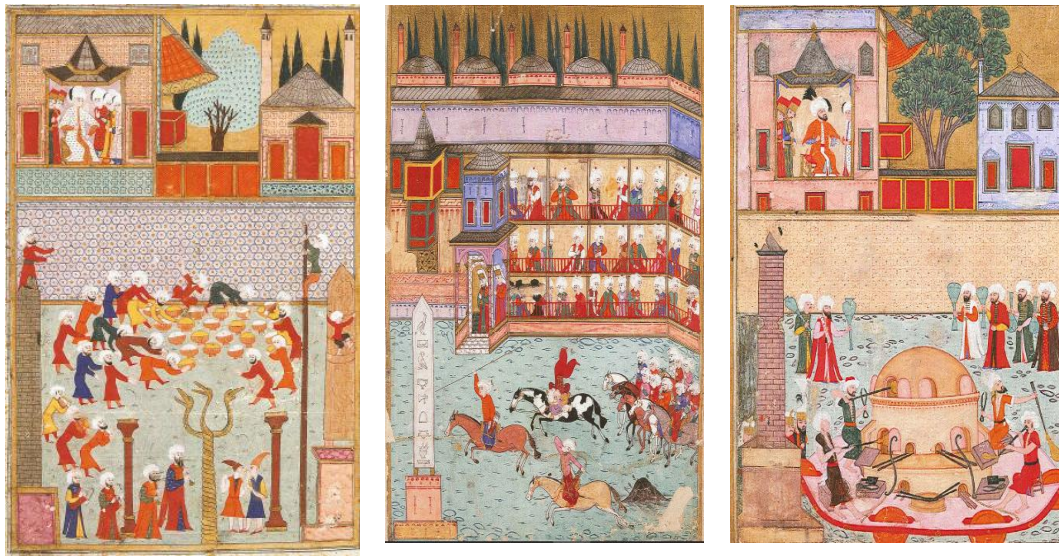
Figure 40. Miniature painting from *Surname-i Humayun*, showing (from left to right) Traditional foods and acrobats; performances of Sipahi; glass-makers at the festivities in 1582 (Topkapı Palace Library, H.1524; H.1344, 43a; H.1344, 33a) (Işın 2010, 29-30)

Sur-u Humayun ceremonies began with the wedding of Süleyman the Magnificent's sister and İbrahim Paşa in 1524. The longest and most extravagant *Sur-u Humayun*, which lasted for 55 days, was the ceremony for Mehmet III, son of Murad III, in 1582. Even though there was only a limited number of them, recorded as thirteen in At Meydanı, these ceremonies played a significant part in the collective memory of citizens. With the above-mentioned distribution of finery and food and a multiplicity of events, *Sur-u Humayun* was the most anticipated of

---

[292] Atasoy 1997, 21-29.
[293] Kuban 2010a, 29.

public holidays,[294] gaining and international reputation: ambassadors came from far and near to participate in what was an exotic, even romantic, culture.[295]

The longest *Sur-u Humayun*, referenced above, was recorded in a famous folio – the *Surname-i Humayun* – with more than 250 miniatures and narratives, which provides a major resource for understanding the character of At Meydanı at festival times.[296] The miniatures represent the lifestyle and culture of Ottomans, and illustrate how At Meydanı looked during the festivities. Almost all the miniatures feature the three columns of the Hippodrome, and even the hieroglyphs of the Egyptian Obelisk can be made out. In the background some of the miniatures show the palace of İbrahim Paşa. The sultan's lodge, from where he watched the ceremony, and the various levels and rooms of the palace, are also shown in detail **(Fig 41)**.
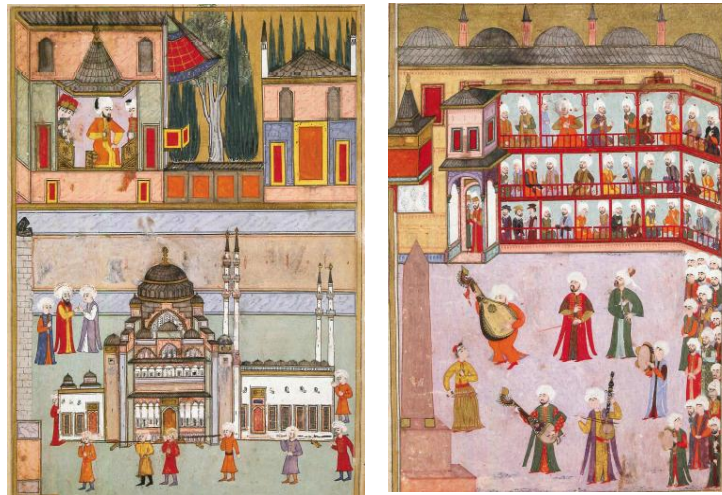
Figure 41. Miniature painting from *Surname-i Humayun*, showing (left) The Süleymaniye Mosque; (right) musicians and singers at the 1582 festivities (Topkapı Palace Library, H.1344, 53a-45a) (Işın 2010, 30-31)

In a way, At Meydanı sustained the socio-cultural importance and function of the Hippodrome. As the main open public square of Konstantiniyye, for centuries it was the dominant public space, as once the Hippodrome was for Constantinople.

---

[294] Atasoy 1997, 33-45.
[295] Nutku 2010, 81-85.
[296] Kahraman 2008, 103.

The square was the space where Ottoman identity took on substance and represented Ottoman culture and city life; it was the epitome of public life and a stage for all public activities and imperial events. They were both the city's multi-functional public spaces. Thus, the continuity and meaning of the Hippodrome became associated with At Meydanı.

Especially after the palaces of Topkapı and İbrahim Paşa were built, At Meydanı became the administrative centre of the city. In the city centre, the Hippodrome and At Meydanı were sites that could accommodate 25% of the city's population.[297] The imperial lodge in the palace of İbrahim Paşa, where the sultan observed the ceremonies in At Meydanı, took the place of the *kathisma* of the former emperors.[298]

3.4.4 At Meydanı after the Construction of the Complex of Sultan Ahmet

From the beginning of the 17th century, a new period began for At Meydanı, with structures belonging to the complex of Sultan Ahmet appearing around it between 1609 and 1617. This complex consisted of a mosque, tomb, imperial pavilion, *medrese*, *darülkurra* (Koranic school), *sıbyan mektebi* (primary school), *sebil* (small kiosk fountain), bath, *arasta* (bazaar), fountains, *imarethane* (refectory, kitchen, ovens, cellars), and *darüşşifa* (hospital). Only the buildings of the *imarethane* and *darüşşifa* were erected away from the other units, at the south-eastern corner of At Meydanı, on the *sphendone* of the Hippodrome. All the other structures were located at the eastern part, over the remains of the Great Palace of Constantinople.[299]

---

[297] The population of Constantinople grew from approximately 400,000 to 500,000 between 500 CE and 1100 CE. Between the years 1500 and 1600, the population of Konstantiniyye grew from approximately 250,000 to 450,000.
[298] Kuban 2010a, 18-23.
[299] Nayir 1975, 51; Kuban 2010a, 27.

The construction of the complex of Sultan Ahmet was one of the most significant factors in the breaking up of the former fragments of the Hippodrome: all the earth and material from the construction was spread over At Meydanı and directly onto the remains of the Hippodrome.[300] This, of course, resulted in a considerable rise in ground level, and today the original level of the arena of the Hippodrome lies some 4.5m below the surface. This difference in level can clearly be seen at the bases of the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisk and the Serpentine Column.[301]

The Ottoman traveller and writer Evliya Çelebi mentions five vizier palaces on the east side of At Meydanı, facing the palace of İbrahim Paşa:[302] these were all torn down to build the complex of Sultan Ahmet, although the palaces and outer walls of the courtyard of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque were all built on the remains of the Hippodrome's eastern flank.[303] This mosque, although designed with in the classical Ottoman style of architecture, is unique, with its six minarets, the galleries on the side facades of its porticoed courtyard, and the annexed pavilion for the sultan. It soon became famous for its rich ornamentation and tilework, with more than 21,000 tiles from İznik and Kütahya. The walls of the outer courtyard of the mosque constituted one of the sides of At Meydanı. This alignment is unique in İstanbul, and no other mosque forms a large city square. The outer courtyard opens onto the city square in an organic relationship. Except for the complex of Sultan Ahmet, all other mosques, *medreses*, and *hans* were designed in a less extroverted manner, without a relationship with the outer environment.[304] As well as for its unique architectural and decorative features, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque also had significance within the city, as the processions and ceremonies taking place on the

---

[300] Bardill 1997, 82.
[301] Nayir 1975, 65; Casson and Rice 1928, 9.
[302] Gökyay *et.al.* 1996, 144-146.
[303] Nayir 1975, 62.
[304] Bardill 2010, 98.

117

evenings of religious holidays that previously took place at Hagia Sophia, began to be held in the Sultan Ahmet Mosque.[305]

3.4.5 At Meydanı between the mid-17th and 18th Centuries

By the mid-17th century, the city's festivities had moved first to Edirne, and then to other parts of İstanbul, especially to the hills and seafront. Hence, At Meydanı lost its importance in favour of other public squares, and began to become an area known for civil disturbances, thus the sultans started to prefer the Edirne Palace to the Topkapı. Gradually, At Meydanı lost its former status prestige, and the incidents at the Sultan Ahmet Mosque in 1648 and Çınar in 1656 within At Meydanı resulted in the cessation of events in the square.[306]
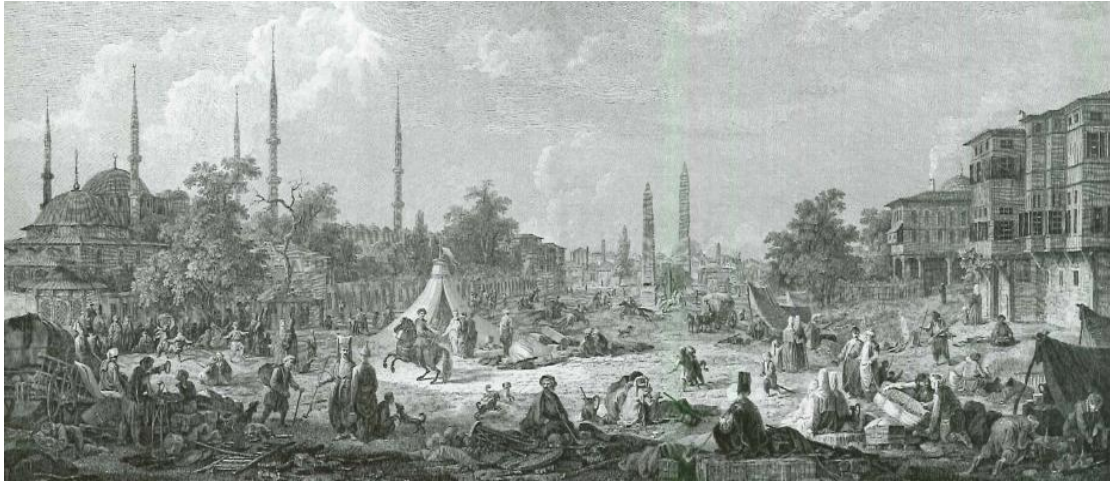
Figure 42. İstanbul, At Meydanı, drawing by Jean Baptiste Hilaire, 1776 (Işın 2010, 243)

---

[305] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 36-45.
[306] Nutku 2010, 90.

Figure 43. İstanbul, At Meydanı, drawing by Antoine Ignace Melling, 1795 (Işın 2010, 245) [307]
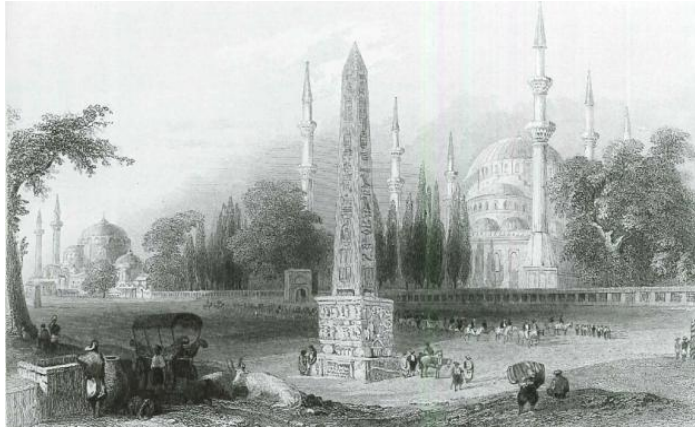
Figure 44. (left) İstanbul, At Meydanı, drawing by William Henry Barlett in 1835 (Işın 2010, 310)
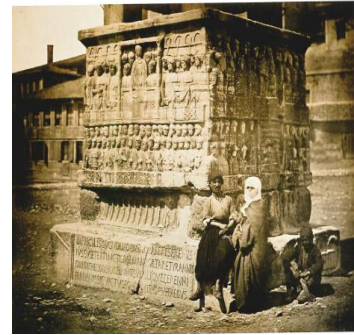
Figure 45. (right) İstanbul, At Meydanı, pedestal of the Egyptian Obelisk in the 19th century (Işın 2010, 310)

---

[307] Unlike previous eras, there are only a few drawings of At Meydanı in the 18th century. Jean Baptiste Hilarie's drawing (1776) includes the Obelisks, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, and the tomb of Ahmet I (**Fig. 33**). As well as the main structures of the square, on the west, from the İbrahim Paşa Palace through to the *Mese*, assorted mansions reflecting traditional Ottoman houses with their wooden projections on blind masonry walls and double windows can be seen. Likewise, Antoine Ignace Mellings' drawing at the end of 18th century shows the square from the north (**Fig. 34**). One of the mansions between the complex of Sultan Ahmet and Hagia Sophia is included in the drawing. Moreover, it shows the Sultan Ahmet Mosque and its tomb, the obelisks, the İbrahim Paşa Palace, and some mansions. In this work, the mansions on the east side are drawn in detail; here the topography is raised, and the lodge of the Sultan in the İbrahim Paşa Palace still exists. William Henry Barlett's 1835 drawing also shows At Meydanı in detail, i.e. the hieroglyphs on the Egyptian Obelisk (**Fig. 35**). Hagia Sophia, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, and the tombs of Üçler Mosque can also be seen. For further information, see Işın 2010, 242-244.

3.4.6   At Meydanı in the 19th Century: The Tanzimat Era

3.4.6.1   Development of the Legal Regulations on Planning and Conservation in the 19th Century

Meanwhile, an antiquity collection was established in 1846 in Istanbul. In 1868, this collection was transformed into the *Müze-i Humayun* (Imperial Museum). The collection included the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine, the Near Eastern and Egyptian works of art. In 1855, the *Istanbul Şehremaneti* (The Municipality of Istanbul) was established as a local administrative body with its city council. However, since it did not work the *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (The Commission for the City Order) was established in 1856. In this year, the Dolmabahçe Palace was built by Balyan Brothers. Therefore, the Topkapı Palace was emptied, and the Ottoman dynasty moved to the Dolmabahçe Palace. As a result, the city center was moved from the Historic Peninsula to the Bosphorus shores. The Commission of the City Order prepared the *Nizamname-i Umumi* (The Public Regulation) in 1857, which divided the Historical Peninsula into three districts.

In 1863, the *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu* (The Commission on Road Improvement) was established in 1863, and the *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on Roads and Buildings) was issued after the fires of Fener (1855), Edirnekapı (1856), Aksaray (1856), Unkapanı (1860), and Küçük Mustafa Paşa (1861). 3551 buildings were destroyed in the Hocapaşa Fire in 1865. Thus, the regulation widened and replanned the roads, including the *Divanyolu*,[308] according to a grid-iron pattern to hinder the spread of fire. Building lots and parcels were replanned to make firefighters access easily. At the same time, the roads were paved, and the sewerage

---

[308] *Divanyolu* became 25 ziras (19 m) wide, and its lower-level roads became 20 ziras (14 m) in width.

system was installed. Also, the Augusteion was rearranged as the Square of Hagia Sophia.[309]

In 1869, the first conservation law, the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on Antiquities), was issued. This regulation emphasized on the conservation of archaeological remains. Ironically, that fires that destroyed the urban quarters tissue revealed Byzantine structures as archaeological remains. In 1874, the Regulation was renewed. However, the focus of the Regulation shifted from the archaeological remains to buildings.[310] In 1882, the *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Construction Regulation) was issued to solve the transportation problem in the growing and developing Istanbul. Though, in 1884, this regulation was also extended to include all antiquities in urban areas.[311]

3.4.6.2   Excavations and Restoration Works Concerning the Remains of the Hippodrome and the Construction of New Buildings

Meanwhile, by the mid-19th century, excavation works, archaeological research and individual conservation works on the monuments of the Hippodrome of Constantinople had begun. The physical environment of At Meydanı was not much altered, except for a few new structures around it. As a result of the process of 'Westernization', the development of the Imperial Edict of Reform (Islahat Fermanı) and the Imperial Edict of Reorganization (Tanzimat Fermanı) led to administrative and physical changes in the city center of Istanbul. In the Tanzimat era (1839-1876) there was a tendency to build monumental public buildings around At Meydanı, to help the area regain the prestige lost after the Sultan moved to Dolmabahçe from the Topkapı.

---

[309] Kuban 2010a, 462-465; Tekeli 2013, 75-78; Aykaç 2017, 101-102; Özcan 2019, 79-80.
[310] Tekeli 2013, 79; Özcan 2019, 80.
[311] Özcan 2019, 80.

In 1845, Richard Lepsius worked on the Egyptian Obelisk, while in 1848 a fragment of the head of the Serpentine Column was found by Gaspare Fossati. Following these, in 1855 Charles Newton excavated the raised ground around the Serpentine Column and found a text on a bronze shaft, and in 1856 excavations continued around these monuments. The bases of the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks were completely exposed, and a water channel around the Serpentine Column was revealed; the latter was restored between 1859 and 1869.[312] As can be seen in Fig. 46, the bases of the two obelisks had not yet been excavated in 1840, and their bases still stand at ground level. In the photograph, the traditional urban tissue is also visible in the background. However, as in Figs. 47 and 48 from 1850 onwards, the obelisks and the Serpentine Column were excavated up to their original ground level.

Figure 46. İstanbul, At Meydanı, the obelisks and the traditional urban tissue in 1840 (Işın 2010, 282)

---

[312] Müller-Wiener 2001, 69.

Figure 47. İstanbul, At Meydanı, the obelisks and the traditional urban tissue in the 2nd half of the 19th c. (Işın 2010, 287)

Figure 48. İstanbul, At Meydanı, the Serpentine Column in 1850-1886 (Işın 2010, 293)

In 1854, İstanbul's first western-style park, the *Yeni Millet* Garden, was laid out at the northern end of At Meydanı, in an attempt to modernize the area **(Fig. 49)**: it was bordered with timber panels and included a wooden kiosk surrounded with flowers.[313] Another important step towards modernizing At Meydanı was the construction of the *Sergi-i Umumi Osmani* (Public Ottoman Exhibition) in 1863 **(Fig. 50)**. The *Dar-ül Fünun* (Sultanahmet Prison and the College of Sciences) were also built on the Chalke and the Great Palace area in 1863.[314] The temporary building was located north of the Egyptian Obelisk, with an annex between the

---

[313] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 56.
[314] Tekeli 2013, 41-43; Aykaç 2017, 152.

latter and the Masonry Obelisk. These buildings, designed by the architect Auguste Bourgeois, were removed from the area in 1866.[315]

Figure 49. İstanbul, At Meydanı, *Yeni Millet Garden* in the 2nd half of the 19th century (Işın 2010, 319)
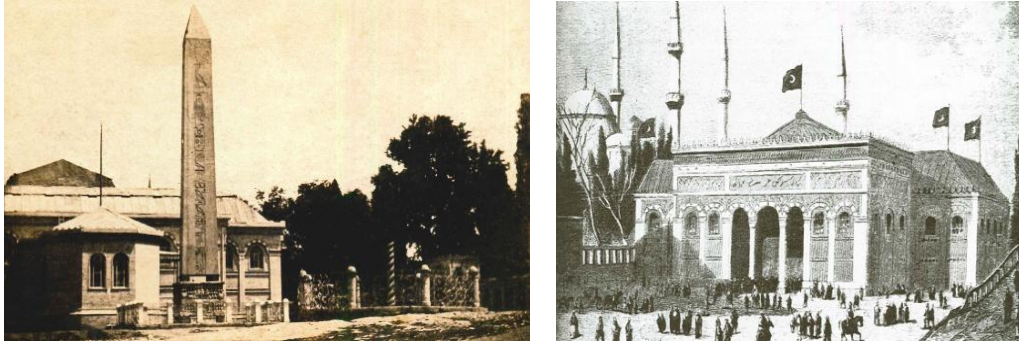
Figure 50. İstanbul, At Meydanı, (left) *Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani*, rear façade; (right) entrance to the main building in 1863 (Işın 2010, 455)

In 1866, in the southern part of the At Meydanı, towards the Marmara Sea, the *Sanayi Mektebi* (School of Industry) was built on the *sphendone* wall, where the *darüşşifa* and *imaret* of the complex of Sultan Ahmet were **(Fig. 51)**. The *Darüşşifa* was completely altered and converted into a school, while the kitchen and bakery of the *imaret* also underwent changes. The School of Industry was damaged in the 1894 earthquake, but in 1899 it reopened as the Ministry of Agriculture, Mining and Forestry, after renovations by the architect Raimando d'Arronco. An additional building was annexed for the intended Janissary

---

[315] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 57-60.

Museum.[316] In 1895 the Masonry Obelisk was restored **(Fig. 52)** and in 1898, the 'German Fountain' was constructed to the north (the location of the original *carceres*), as a symbol of Ottoman and German friendship, by the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Germany, Wilhelm II **(Fig. 53)**.
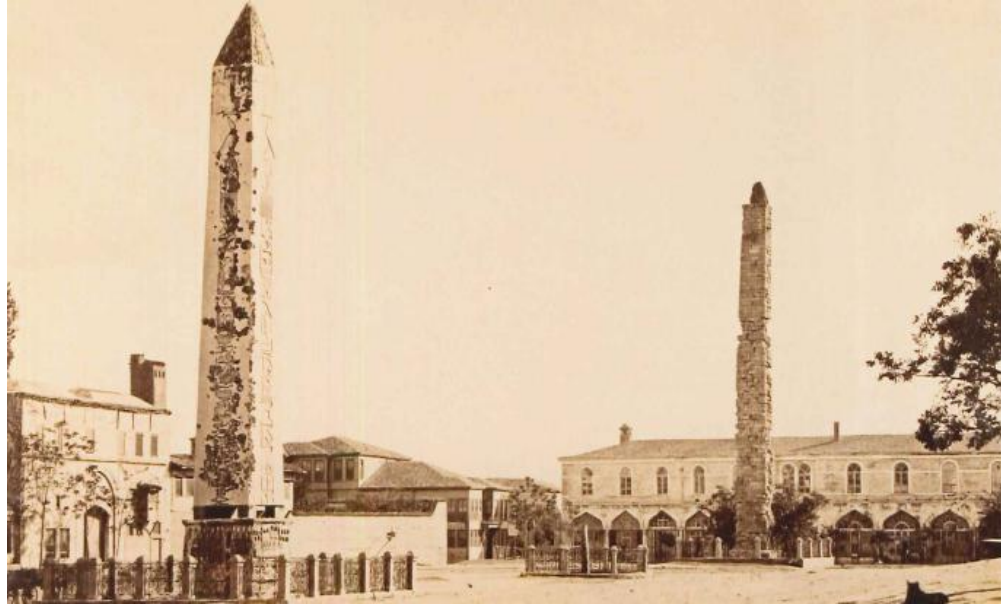
Figure 51. At Meydanı, the obelisks and *Sanayi Mektebi* at the back in 1870-1895 (Işın 2010, 297)
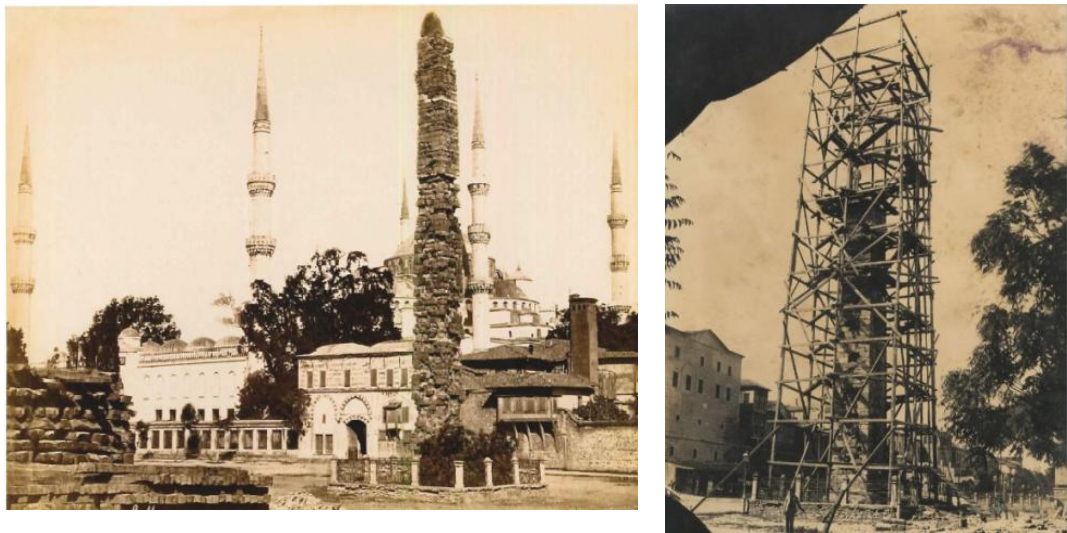
Figure 52. At Meydanı, (left) the Masonry Obelisk before the restoration; (right) the restoration of the Masonry Obelisk in 1895 (Işın 2010, 304)

---

[316] Tanman and Çobanoğlu 2010, 57.

Figure 53. (top) Sultanahmet Square, the 'German Fountain' in the foreground, the obelisks and *Ziraat, Maadin ve Orman Nezaret-I Celilesi* in the background, 1901-1910; (bottom) the north-west of the square, the 'German Fountain' in the foreground and the mansions (which do not exist today) in front of the Mosque of Firuz Ağa, 1901-1912 (Işın 2010, 327-329)

3.5 'Sultanahmet Square' and the Remains of the Hippodrome in Modern Times

At the beginning of the 20th century, urban planning had a significant role in the modernization movement in Turkey. To match the developments of the West and the industrial age, reforms to the new physical environment, urban elements, transportation technologies, and public health were required: urban planning projects, according to the needs of this new period, became an urgent necessity. With the establishment of the Republic, the capital was transferred from İstanbul to Ankara. To help plan the new capital and reorganise the old one, with a 'Western' approach, urban planning specialists were invited to İstanbul as well as to

Ankara.[317] The 'Historic Peninsula' of İstanbul was one of the areas that received most interventions in this period.

3.5.1 Sultanahmet Square in the First Half of the 20th Century

3.5.1.1 Development of the Legal Regulations on Planning and Conservation in the First Half of the 20th Century

In 1906, the Regulation on Antiquities has renewed again. In 1912, the existing legislation was altered. The *Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname* (the Regulation on Preservation of Monuments) was prepared for the conservation of the historical monuments and antiquities, including castles, fortifications.[318] Between 1912 and 1914, a great rebuilding activity was started by Cemil Topuzlu Paşa. The aim was to take advantage of fire-devastated areas but, this plan could not be implemented.[319] In 1915, The *Asar-ı Atika Encümeni* (the Council for Ancient Monuments) was established in Istanbul to preserve the monuments and to develop restoration projects. With this council, for the first time, civil architecture was also emphasized.[320]

However, fires in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries almost completely destroyed the historic fabric of the city in the Historical Peninsula. Timber-framed houses, narrow streets, and dead-ends made it difficult to fight the fires.[321] 855 buildings in the İshakpaşa Fire (1912), 269 buildings in the Kumkapı Fire (1917), and 380 buildings in the Sultanahmet-Akbıyık Fire (1923) were lost by

---

[317] Tekeli 2013, 65-80; Tekeli 2010, 33-36; Pinon 2010, 279-289.
[318] Kuban 2010a, 460; Tekeli 2013, 58-59.
[319] Kuban 2010a, 527; Aykaç 2017, 113.
[320] Madran 2002, 96; Kuban 2010a, 501-502; Tekeli 2013, 123.
[321] Özcan 2019, 79-80.

great fires. However, as a result of these fires, the archaeological strata under Sultanahmet became accessible.[322]

In 1920, the *Türk Asar-ı Atikası Müdürlüğü* (The Directorate of Turkish Antiquities) was established under *Maarif Vekaleti* (the Ministry of Education).[323] In 1924, the *Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi* (The Permanent Council for the Preservation of Antiquities), was transformed into an advisory body for *Müzeler Müdürlüğü* (The Directorate of Museums). The Permanent Council became the first institution in the Early Republican period to supervise conservation activities and act as a decision-making body in Istanbul.[324] The Topkapı Palace was transformed into a museum in 1924, under the Ministry of Education (Maarif Velaketi).[325] Later in 1925, Milli Saraylar Müdürlüğü (the Management of National Palaces) was established within the Ministry of Finance. Thus, all of Ottoman palaces were transferred to the authority of the Department of National Palaces.[326]

In 1930, with the *Belediyeler Kanunu* (Law no. 1580 on Concerning the Municipalities), a municipal administration was established in Istanbul. The Municipality replaced the *Şehremaneti*. In the same year, the *Umumi Hıfsısıhha Kanunu* (Law no. 1593 on Public Sanitation) was issued. In 1933, the *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu* (Law no. 2290 on Building and Roads) was issued.[327] With these regulations, detailed definitions on building and planning regulations were introduced. The planning activities were accelerated and, new plans were started to be prepared in line with the contemporary image of the new republic.

---

[322] Tekeli 2013, 110; Özcan 2019, 79.
[323] Madran 2002, 99; Kuban 2010a, 529; Aykaç 2017, 114.
[324] Madran 2002, 96; Kuban 2010a, 501-502; Tekeli 2013, 124; Aykaç 2017, 113-114; Özcan 2019, 81.
[325] Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Sultanate and Caliphate were removed under the Law no. 431256, as their existence, conflicted with the new democratic order of 1924. See Madran 2002, 98; Kuban 2010a, 529.
[326] T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.03.1924-63.
[327] Madran 2002, 101; Kuban 2010a, 502; Tekeli 2013, 129-133; Madran and Özgönül 2005, 102; Bilsel 2010, 39.

The *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu* (The Commission for the Preservation of Monuments) was established in 1933 to work as the Council for the Preservation of Antiquities on national scale. In 1935, Hagia Sophia was transformed into a museum by the *Ayasofya Camiinin Müzeye Çevrilmesi Hakkında Bakanlar Kurulu Kararnamesi* (Decree-Law on the Conversion of Hagia Sophia Mosque into a Museum). In 1936, the *Vakıflar Kanunu* (Law no. 2762 on Pious Foundations) was issued and, all pious foundations were transferred to the *Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü* (The General Directorate of Pious Foundations).[328]

3.5.1.2 The Excavations on the Remains of the Hippodrome and the Planning Activities in Sultanahmet Square in the First half of the 20th Century: The Excavations of 1918, 1927, 1932, 1950, and the 1936 Henri Prost Plan

At the beginning of the 20th century, the number of the excavations around the Hippodrome, that had started in the middle of the 19th century, increased. In addition, there were further research and excavations in the wider area, rather than only on individual monuments. The excavations done by Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand (1918), Stanley Casson and David Talbot Rice (1927), Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand (1932), and Rüstem Duyuran (1950) all shed light on the vestigial remains of the Hippodrome.[329] One of the most important master plans was implemented in 1936 by Henri Prost, with the aim of modernizing and reorganizing İstanbul. For the first time, the remains of the Hippodrome and the Great Palace of Constantinople were considered in this plan,

---

[328] Tekeli 2013, 130; Aykaç 2017, 116.
[329] Bardill 2010, 83.

and an archaeological park was proposed, featuring the remains, together with Sultanahmet Square.[330]

In the 20th century, with the aim of further modernization, several urban design projects were considered for Sultanahmet Square,[331] and under Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), Joseph Antoine Bouvard, an urban planner working for the Paris Municipality, was asked to re-design it **(Fig. 54)**. However, his scheme, taking inspiration from public squares in Europe, was not adopted, it being deemed unsuited to the topography and identity of the area.[332] After the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920), Sultanahmet Square became again the city's main forum for political engagement: the populace gathered and reacted to the authorities here.

Figure 54. Sultanahmet Square, the re-design proposal of A. Bouvard, 1902 (D'elboux 2010, 62)
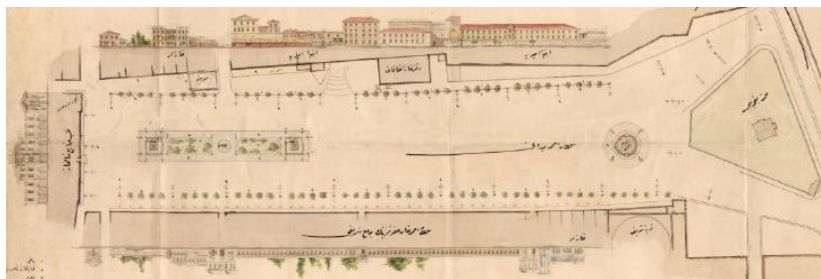
Figure 55. Plan of Sultanahmet Square, 20th century (the Ottoman archives, no.PLK_P-3107) (Aykaç 2017, 157)

---

[330] Prost 1938, 21-44.
[331] From the 20th century, At Meydanı began to be widely referred to as 'Sultanahmet Square', and the name will be used from here on in this work.
[332] D'elboux 2010, 57-62.

The last building to be constructed in the area in Late Ottoman times was the *İstanbul Tapu ve Kadastro Bölge Müdürlüğü* (İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre), which replaced the old *Defter-i Hakani* building: it was erected in 1910, to the west and on the remains of the İbrahim Paşa Palace.

After the İshak Paşa Fire of 1912, Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand excavated the area of the Great Palace of Constantinople, including the Hippodrome. In 1918, after the seven months of work, the substructures of the *sphendone* and rooms in the eastern part were recovered, and their plans drawn. (Measurements of the surviving monuments of the Hippodrome had already been taken by Mamboury and Wiegand in 1908.)

Figure 56. (top) Sultanahmet Square, executions after the Revolt of March 31, 1909 (Işın 2010, 343) [333]

Figure 57. (bottom) One of the At Meydanı rallies, 1919 (Işın 2010, 340) [334]

---

[333] Several major incidents occurred here, e.g. the 'Revolt of March 31' in 1909, which resulted in the ringleaders being hung in the square **(Fig. 56)**; thus the square was once more overshadowed by deaths.
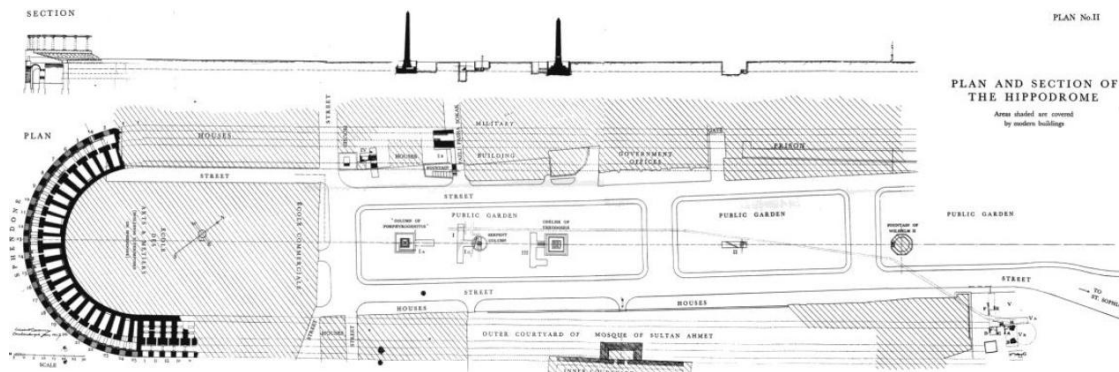
Figure 58. Plan of the Hippodrome of Constantinople (Casson and Rice 1928)

In 1927, a new excavation was begun in the area of the Hippodrome by Stanley Casson and David Talbot Rice from London's British Academy. The team worked on a number of fronts, including the northwest side of the *sphendone*, next to Fazlı Paşa Street, the surroundings of the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisk and the Serpentine column, and the western side of the arena.[335] The Fazlı Paşa Street excavations revealed massive supporting walls belonging to the outer wall of the *sphendone*, indicating the exact diameter of the curved end as 117.5m **(Fig. 58)**. Inside the main corridor of the *sphendone*, coins and pottery from the Ottoman and Byzantine periods, belonging to the years between 400 CE and 1400 CE, were found no lower than 4m. Different layers of mortar were found on the original Late Roman walls belonging to the period of Constantine I. Only an area of 77m² could be excavated because of the residential buildings on the west.[336] During the excavations the outer walls of the western flank were found under the İbrahim Paşa Palace. It also became clear that the outer walls of the eastern flank of the Hippodrome were under the inner courtyard of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, providing greater strength to the construction. In addition, the northern excavations

---

[334] After the Revolt of March 31, the square was the setting for the public 'Balkan' rallies, and the famous speech of Halide Edip Adıvar **(Fig. 57)**. Now firmly re-established as a people's square once more, it witnessed the genesis of the War of Independence of 1919-1923.

[335] Casson and Rice 1928, 1-4.

[336] Casson and Rice 1928, 9-12.

on the axis of the *spina* helped define the total length of the arena, 480m, as well as the connection between the Baths of Zeuxippus and the Hippodrome.[337]

The excavations around the monuments showed that the Masonry Obelisk and the Serpentine Colum functioned as fountains, connected to water conduits laid in Byzantine and Ottoman times, thus endorsing the reports of several travellers that the Serpentine Column in their time served as a fountain.[338] Moreover, the original level of the Hippodrome was found 4.5m lower than today: the upper level belongs to the Ottoman period, including the 15th- to 17th-century remains from the construction of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque.[339] In addition, according to the archaeologists, the rooms of the *sphendone* were used for workers and animals, being aligned through the main corridor with arched windows. However, in Byzantine times, around 600-800 CE, they were all closed with cement and the space functioned as cistern called the "Cold Cistern", providing water during times of siege **(Fig. 59)**. The ends of this corridor were bricked up and powerful buttresses were added for strengthening.[340] In 1932, Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand worked on the dimensions of the Hippodrome, excavating the western area previously opened by Casson and Rice, and starting new excavations to the east.[341]

---

[337] Casson and Rice 1928, 1-9.
[338] Casson and Rice 1928, 11-14.
[339] Casson and Rice 1928, 15-19.
[340] Casson and Rice 1928, 25-28.
[341] Mamboury and Wiegand 1934, 39-49.

Figure 59. İstanbul, the excavations in the Hippodrome area: (from top to bottom) the main corridor and 'Cold Cistern'; the water channels around the Serpentine column and the Masonry Obelisk; the *Sphendone* (Casson and Rice 1928, 11, 15, 17)

Figure 60. İstanbul, Sultanahmet Square in 1930 (Işın 2010, 308)

Figure 61. İstanbul, aerial view of Sultanahmet Square from the north (Bilsel and Pinon 2010, 298)

Henri Prost's master plan for the Historic Peninsula of İstanbul in 1936 presents one of the most important proposals for the area, with his intentions to modernize the city without neglecting its natural assets and cultural heritage, thus reflecting the city's richness of historical background. Prost believed that the monuments should be preserved and restored as part of the collective memory, yet his goal to transform İstanbul of course went further than just the conservation of old

buildings.[342] The planner's great idea was based on three fundamental principles: transportation-circulation, hygiene, and aesthetics. It was also clear to him that the city suffered from a lack of green areas, and that the new high-rise buildings were ruining the historic ambience. His overall ambition was to re-design the metropolis as a city of public squares, surrounded with Republican-period public buildings; and Sultanahmet Square had a significant role to play in his scheme.

Prost's plan centred around 'the Greater Republican Square', as he termed it **(Fig. 62)**. The School of Industry to the south and İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre building on the west were to be demolished, as Prost thought these sites offered the best panoramas in the area, as part of what deserved to be one of the grandest squares in the world, fit for great military processions, with its prospect over the Marmara Sea. According to the plan, Raimando D'Aronco's building was to be taken down and a symbolic monument of the Republic was to stand its place, one that could be seen from the Bosphorous and the Marmara Sea. On the northwest, a new Palace of Justice, with adjacent administrative buildings, were suggested after the proposed demolition of İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre building. Prost intended that the Hippodrome should be as visible as possible, as part of a stupendous panorama. The Palace of Justice Square was to be opened up by demolishing any structures that obscured the vista of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque **(Fig. 63)**. The Hippodrome was be further excavated more, and the ruins of the İbrahim Paşa Palace would be protected and exhibited. A regulation for height restrictions within the surrounding area was proposed as 9.5m. The site between Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque was to become an 'archaeological park', in which the excavation of the Great Palace would be retained without harming the silhouette of the magnificent mosque **(Fig. 63).**

---

[342] Bilsel 2010, 101-167.

Figure 62. 'The Greater Republican Square Project' in Henri Prost's plan, 1936 (Bilsel and Pinon 2010, 12).

Figure 63. İstanbul, (left) the 'Archaeological Park' and the monuments in the area; (right) the houses to be demolished (Bilsel and Pinon 2010, 281-302)

Prost's plan for a new Palace of Justice was followed by a competition in 1939, and a proposal put forward by Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat was chosen (**Fig. 64**). However, in 1942, some Byzantine frescoes and the remains of the Church of Saint Euphemia were discovered in the area,[343] resulting in controversies as to how the construction of the new Palace of Justice should proceed. Ultimately the scheme proposed by Eldem and Onat was approved, but only after the church's remains were conserved.[344]

---

[343] Bardill 1997, 67.
[344] Pinon 2010, 283-284.

Figure 64. İstanbul, the project for the new Palace of Justice and Sultanahmet Square by Eldem and Onat, 1/5000 (Bilsel and Pinon 2010, 286)

In 1949, UNESCO became involved in the project for the new archaeological park, its worthy mission to make the area a symbol of 'universal peace' and a 'fusion of cultures'. With the support of the Turkish Government, an international committee of Byzantine specialists was established to investigate the area and boost the number of excavations. The committee was to be responsible or the conservation and restoration of the monuments and remains in the area. UNESCO emphasized that all the monuments, including those dating to Ottoman times, must be conserved.

As it transpired, unfortunately, serious legal and financial problems soon became apparent.[345] The Turkish government's economic situation meant that the necessary expropriations in the area could not be afforded. In addition, the existing conservation legislation meant that it was legally impossible to prevent new construction works in the surrounding area. Although the *Tarihi Anıtlar ve Eski Eserler Yüksek Kurulu* (the High Commission for Historic Monuments and Antiquities) was established, this body was unable to involve itself in the project because of lack of time. The politician and historian Reşit Saffet Atabinen, commented that rather than get a negative reaction from the public, the government opted to use its limited resources on the traditional Ottoman residential buildings,

---

[345] Pinon 2010, 152-165.

which were threatened with demolition after recent fires. In the end, the Turkish government classified the area as an 'historic site' rather than as an 'archaeological park',[346] and Henri Prost's grand plans for his park and the 'Greater Republican Square' could not be implemented.

> "It is regrettable that the Municipality and competent archaeological authorities have permitted new construction on the Byzantine Palace site, which had been declared an archaeological zone for several years. On a par with the ancient forums of Rome and the Agora of Athens, the excavated remains of the Byzantine Palace could have attracted numerous enthusiasts interested in past histories from a touristic perspective, which would have greatly helped the country."[347]

After the discovery of the remains of the Church of Saint Euphemia, in 1950 new excavations were immediately started on the northwest section of the Hippodrome, under the aegis of Rüstem Duyuran and the Director of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, Aziz Ongan. The excavations included not only the remains of the Hippodrome, but also part of the İbrahim Paşa Palace. Several frescoes from Early Byzantine times and a part of a building were found to the west of the İbrahim Paşa Palace. According to an inscription found in the area, the remains were associated with the 5th-century Palace of Anthiochus. Moreover, to the north of the İbrahim Paşa Palace, Duyuran revealed the western outer wall and stairs of the Hippodrome **(Fig. 65, 65)**, as well as several of its original columns in the gardens of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque **(Fig. 65)**.[348]

---

[346] Pinon 2010, 160-162.
[347] Mamboury 1951, 23.
[348] Bardill 1997, 67-95; Duyuran 1953, 75.

Figure 65. İstanbul, (top) columns of the Hippodrome found in the gardens of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque and the staircase; (bottom) tiers of seating found north of the İbrahim Paşa Palace (Pitarakis 2010, 335)

3.5.2   Sultanahmet Square in the Second Half of the 20th Century

From the second half of the 20th century, UNESCO participated in the conservation process of the area, and there were in addition several other initiatives. An urban development master plan in 1964 and a conservation master plan in 1990 were proposed for the Historic Peninsula, including the area of the Hippodrome. Similarly, urban design projects were proposed just for Sultanahmet Square, such as the project of the İstanbul Tourism Bank in 1979.

3.5.2.1 Development of the Legal Regulations on Planning and Conservation in the Second Half of the 20th Century

After the *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu* (the High Council for Immovable Monuments and Antiquities) was established in 1951,[349] in 1953 the area between Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque was classified as an 'archaeological park' and declared a conservation area. Structures to be built adjacent to the *sphendone* was also allowed by the GEEAYK in 1956.[350]

With the *1710 sayılı Eski Eserler Kanunu* (Act no. 1710, on Antiquities), the terms 'archaeological site', 'complex', and 'site' were used for the first time. As a result, an area-based approach emerged, rather than one just involving individual monuments. In 1972, Turkey was accepted to UNESCO, and two years later Turkey joined ICOMOS. In 1976, the Council of Europe identified Sultanahmet Square as 'significant for both the Byzantine and Ottoman civilizations', thus indicating the universal importance of the area. In 1978, UNESCO created the 'World Heritage List', recognizing cultural and natural assets as the common heritage of all humanity, and creating awareness of the need to protect such universal heritages – i.e. sites defined as having 'Outstanding Universal Value'.

The new *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası* (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey) in 1982, stated that historical and natural assets, and their values, were to be conserved with the support and encouragement of the state. Immediately after the new constitution, the *2634 sayılı Turizm Teşvik Kanunu* (Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives) was declared in 1982, intended to revive the economy through tourism by conserving historic monuments and natural areas, thus making them attractive

---

[349] URL 30.
[350] URL 31.

centres for tourists. Within this legislation Sultanahmet Square was declared a 'Tourism Centre'.[351]

The *2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu* (Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property) was passed in 1983. Replacing the Antiquities Act No. 1710, it is currently the main legislation for the conservation of Turkey's cultural and natural heritage. For the first time the terms 'cultural heritage' and 'conservation' are employed, and definitions provided for 'site', 'urban site', and 'urban archaeological site'. Also for the first time, 'urban conservation' was integrated within the concept of urban planning, and, as a result, *'Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı* (Conservation Development Plans)' began to be prepared for the first time. In the same year, the 1st Regional Conservation Council of Istanbul was founded as a local decision-making body.

In 1983, Turkey signed the *Dünya Kültürel ve Doğal Mirasının Korunması Hakkında Sözleşme* (Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage). Later, in 1985, four different areas of the 'Historic Peninsula of İstanbul', including Sultanahmet Square, were granted World Heritage Site status by UNESCO, and Sultanahmet Square was recognized as an 'archaeological park' (**Fig. 66**). In 1985, *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulları* (the Regional Conservation Councils of Cultural and Natural Property) were also established within the High Council.

On 12.07.1995, with the decision no. 6848 of the 1st Regional Conservation Council of Istanbul, '1st degree archaeological sites', 'urban archaeological sites', and 'urban historical sites' were identified for the 'Historic Peninsula', with Sultanahmet Square classified an 'urban archaeological site' (**Fig. 67**). The transition conditions for the region were also determined on 02.08.1995.

---

[351] Since currently there is not a plan covering the Hippodrome area transition period regulations are valid for the tourism area.
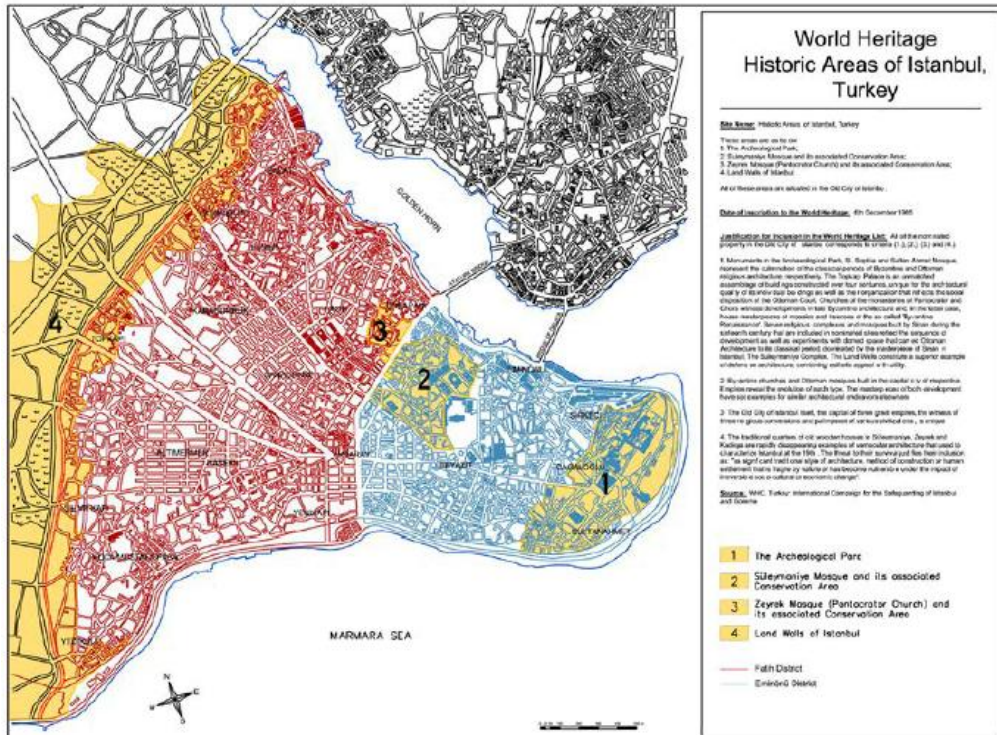
Figure 66. İstanbul, World Heritage Historic Areas, 1985, No.1: Archaeological Park (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2018, 43)
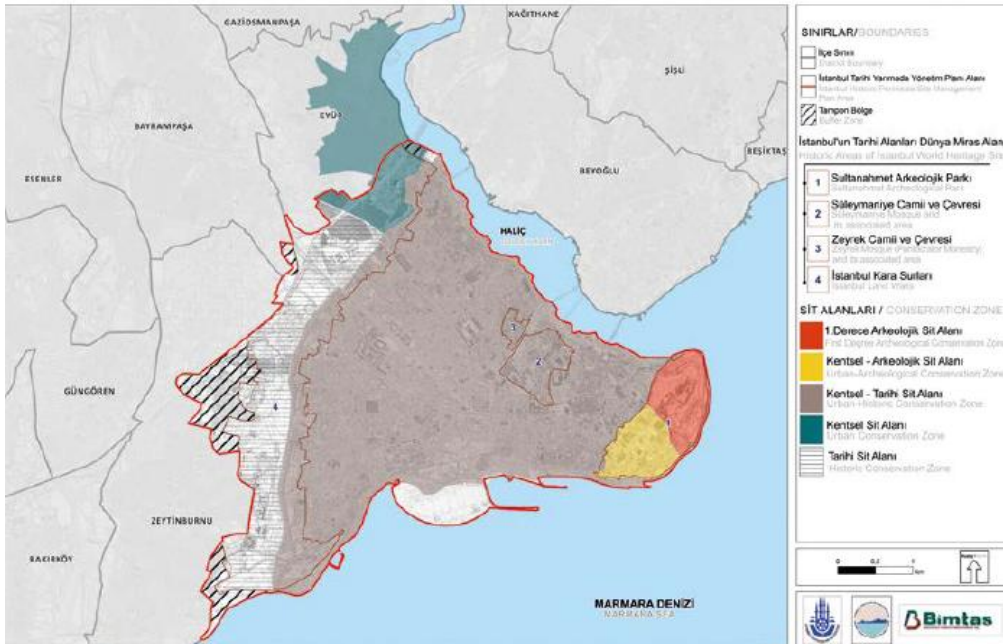
Figure 67. Designation of various historic sites within the 'Historic Peninsula', 1995 (including Sultanahmet Square as an 'urban archaeological site)' (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2018, 35)

3.5.2.2 Planning Activities in Sultanahmet Square in the Second Half of the 20th Century: The Master Plan of 1964, the Urban Design Project of 1979, and the Conservation Development Plan of 1990

In 1964, the *1/5000 ölçekli Sur İçi Nazım İmar Planı* (1/5000 İstanbul Walled City Master Plan) was implemented, specifying those historic buildings to be protected. The plan's objective was the conservation of the historical and social identity of the 'Historic Peninsula' as a whole. Some of Henri Prost's initiatives were partially followed: the construction height of new buildings was limited to 9.5m and green areas and open spaces were to be conserved. Moreover, the *Eski Eserler Şube Müdürlüğü* (The Antiquities Branch Directorate) was established within the Municipality for the implementation of the plan [352]

In 1979, *Sultanahmet Tarihi Çevresi ve Turizm Değerlendirme Projesi* (The Historical Environs of Sultanahmet and its Tourism Development Project) was prepared by the İstanbul Tourism Bank and directed by Ersen Gürsel. Sultanahmet Square was to be called 'Hippodrome Park' and re-designed as an open-air recreation area (**Fig. 68**). The project was based totally on the expectations of visitors, the main objective being to decrease traffic pressure in the area and change the functions of those buildings unsuited to an historic city centre. In addition, those monuments in poor condition were to receive attention. Such initiatives would create a vivid, multi-functioning historic centre that would reflect Turkish culture and architecture. In the project, roads connecting the squares were to be pedestrianized and the traditional residential buildings used for cultural events, shops selling traditional products, or as means of accommodation for tourists. Expropriations would be required to enable pedestrianized circulation and to solve the area's traffic problems. The *1/1000 Mülkiyet Planı* (1/1000-scale ownership plan) was prepared, including plans for the historic monuments and registered

---

[352] İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality 2003, Vol.1, 2-39-2-59.

buildings in the area. The current conditions and functions of the traditional buildings were identified, and the public areas investigated in detail. The 'Hippodrome Park' was designed as a green area among the monuments, involving excavating the square up to the Hippodrome's original level **(Fig. 68)**. Ultimately, however, and as with former initiatives, this project could not be implemented because of the military coup on May 27 1980.[353]
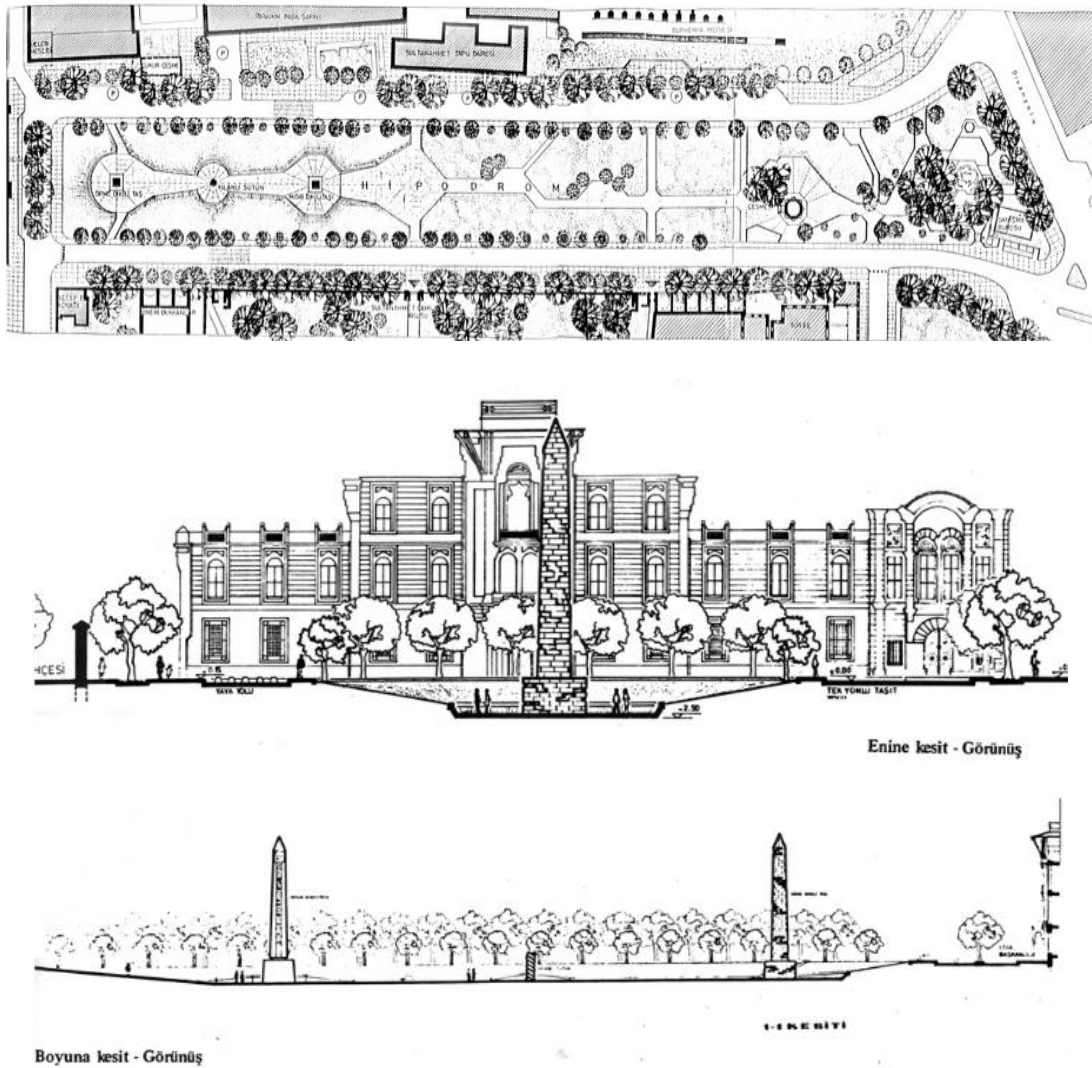
Figure 68. İstanbul, (top) the plan; (bottom) the elevation of the proposed project for the rearrangement of Sultanahmet Square as 'Hippodrome Square' by the İstanbul Tourism Bank, 1980 (URL 13)

---

[353] URL 13.

In 1990, the *1/5000 ölçekli Tarihi Yarımada Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı* (1/5000 Conservation Master Development Plan for the Historic Peninsula) was prepared, but subsequently cancelled in 1994 as it did not fall within the existing law on the conservation of cultural and natural property (*2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*). There was major drawback to the plan: (a) it did not include an inventory of cultural assets, nor (b) any new construction restrictions, also (c) the plan contained no conservation initiatives for archaeological sites, nor (d) did the overall framework of the plan cover all conservation areas, and (e) historical remains below ground level were not taken into account.

3.5.3   Sultanahmet Square in the 21st Century

3.5.3.1   Development of the Legal Regulations on Planning and Conservation in the 21st Century

In 2004, by the *5226 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Konularda Değişiklik Yapılması* (Law no. 5226 Amendments to the Law 2863), the conservation of national and cultural heritage was to be the responsibility of local authorities, i.e. Municipalities and *İl Özel İdareleri* (Special Provincial Administrations). Moreover, for the first time, the concepts of 'management area', 'management plan', 'action plan' and '*geçiş dönemi yapılaşma şartları*' (transition period regulations) were used not only for World Heritage Sites but also for all conservation areas as well.[354] Therefore, a participatory planning approach, involving civil organizations and related third-parties, as well as the public, was brought into the planning process. In 2006, the *İstanbul Sit Alanları*

---

[354] T.C. Resmî Gazete 21.7.1983-18113.

Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı (Presidency of the Management of the Sites of İstanbul) was established.[355]

In 2004, the *5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu* (Law no. 5216 on Metropolitan Municipality) was enacted. The Metropolitan Municipalities were given authority to prepare and implement conservation plans and to provide a budget for the maintenance and repair of historic buildings. This decision provides to implement conservation decisions by local bodies. [356] In the same year, the *5225 sayılı Kültür Yatırımlarına ve Girişimlerine Teşvik Kanunu* (Law no. 5225 on the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Initiatives) was also issued. With this law, the construction of new cultural centers, museums, and archives or the restoration of historical buildings to be used for cultural purposes was supported.[357]

A year later, the *5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun* (Law no. 5366 on the Conservation through Renewal and Utilization through Reuse of the Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties) was enacted. It can be said that this law has facilitated the destruction of cultural heritage. By this law, municipalities have been authorized to declare conservation sites as urban renewal sites. Moreover, the authority of conservation decisions on renewal areas has been taken from the *Yenileme Alanı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu* (Regional Conservation Councils and given to the Renewal Area Councils).[358]

---

[355] İstanbul Sit Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı 2011, *Plan Report*.
[356] T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.2004-25531.
[357] T.C. Resmî Gazete, 21.07.2004-25529.
[358] T.C. Resmi Gazete, 05.07.2005-25866.

3.5.3.2 Planning Activities in Sultanahmet Square in the 21st Century: The Conservation Development Plans of 2004 and 2012, and the Management Plans of 2011 and 2018

After the earthquake of 17 August 1997, various 'disaster and risk management' issues emerged in the plans. After ascertaining the various degree statuses of the sites on the 'Historic Peninsula', preparing the 'Conservation Development Plan' process took ten years. A new *1/5000 ölçekli Tarihi Yarımada Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı* (1/5000 Conservation Development Plan for the Historic Peninsula) and *the 1/1000 ölçekli Eminönü ve Fatih Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı* (1/1000 Conservation Implementation Plan for Eminönü and Fatih) were prepared by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2004 **(Fig. 69)**. The plans were issued on 26.01.2005. However, conservation issues led to the subsequent cancellation of the '1/5000 Plan' in 2007, and the '1/1000 Plan' was also cancelled in 2008.

Figure 69. İstanbul, Historic Peninsula, 1/1000 Fatih Conservation Development Plan, 2004 (IBB 2004, Vol. 2, 6-728)

The Hagia Sophia, Sultanahmet, and Cankurtaran regions were designated as the *birinci derece koruma alanı* (1st-degree conservation area). According to the plan reports, the 2004 plan was intended to regain something of the worldwide reputation of the area by stressing its historic and cultural background and by conserving its unique identity. The plans were targeted at conserving the cultural and architectural values of the area, emphasizing the traditional urban tissue that reflected the character of the city. In addition, new regulations were to be sought for the archaeological sites, based on a sensitive approach to the archaeological areas: sites would ideally be 'open-air museums' exhibiting their remains. Consequently, it was proposed that different urban design projects be designed for the areas surrounding historic monuments, and all inappropriate activities in the area, destroying the historical tissue, were to be removed. Moreover, traditional houses were to be used for cultural/commercial functions. The previous height restrictions (40m) were to be followed, and materials compatible with the traditional urban fabric were to be used for new constructions. The green areas were to be revitalised by designing the landscape in an wholistic manner considering the monuments. Parks, promenades, and terraces with panoramic views were to be provided, with tree planting and the use of agreeable urban furniture. Also, crucially, the transport system was to be reviewed, decreasing the traffic in the area and connecting up squares/open areas, thus creating a pedestrianized circulation system in the area.

In the 1/1000 Fatih Conservation Implementation Plan (2004), Sultanahmet Square was re-designed as a park, a green area having only the German Fountain and the three columns of the Hippodrome **(Fig. 69).** The northwest area, with its remains of the Antiochus Palace, was declared an archaeological park and exhibition area. The *darülkurra* and madrasah of the complex of Sultan Ahmet and the İbrahim Paşa Palace were to be used for cultural functions; and the surrounding area of the *sphendone* was to be used as a park. Although the Istanbul Courthouse was planned to be relocated beyond the Historic Peninsula to decentralize the area, in the plan

the building was still identified as an administrative building. The buildings on the *sphendone* were to continue with their educational functions.

After the cancellation of the 2004 plans, it was proposed that the transition period regulations should be implemented until the preparation of a new Conservation Development Plan. However, the *IV Numaralı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu* (Conservation Council of Cultural and Natural Properties No. IV) objected to this decision, as the transition period regulations was also not specified clearly. Thus, a new *Tarihi Yarımada Geçiş Dönemi Koruma Esasları ve Kullanma Şartları* was prepared by the Council.[359] Küçükayasofya was designated as a renewal area in 2006. As a result of this decision, currently there is the presence of the tourism area, renewal area and urban archaeological site in the same area.

Figure 70. İstanbul, Sultanahmet Urban Archaeological Site, 1/1000 Conservation İmplementation Plan, 2012 (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2018, 149)

---

[359] İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality 2003, Vol. 2, 6-584–6-590.

In 2012, the *Fatih İlçesi Kentsel Sit Alanı 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı* (Fatih District Urban Site 1/5000 Conservation Development Plan) was prepared by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The plan was approved on 01.08.2011 with the decision no. 4728 taken by the 4th Regional Conservation Council of Istanbul. In the plan, all the World Heritage Sites are designated as '1st Degree Conservation Areas'. The site is divided into two groups: those 'regions with dense cultural assets needing to be conserved', and those 'regions not having cultural assets but to be conserved as a whole in terms of urban tissue, silhouette, and integrity'. In these regions, interventions, new developments and urban design projects were to be realized under the supervision of the Council.

In 2012, the *Sultanahmet Kentsel Arkeolojik Alan 1/1000 Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı* (Sultanahmet Urban Archaeological Site 1/1000 Conservation İmplementation Plan) was also prepared by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı* (the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism) **(Fig. 70).** The plan was approved on 25.07.2012 with the decision no. 788. In the plan, most of the previous decisions of the 2004 plan were followed. One major difference was that after moving the Istanbul Courthouse beyond the city walls, the building was to be used for touristic and cultural purposes, rather than administrative functions.
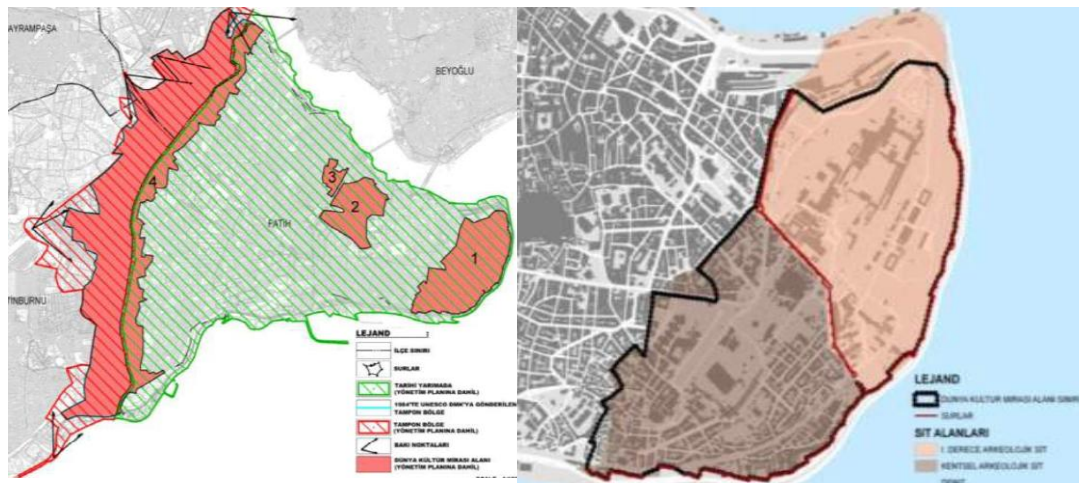
Figure 71. İstanbul, (left) the Historic Peninsula, conservation areas with the buffer zone; (right) the border of the Sultanahmet Archaeological Park (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2011, 12-21)

The *İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada Yönetim Planı* (Management Plan of the Historic Peninsula) was prepared by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the *İstanbul Sit Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı* (Presidency of the Management of the Sites of İstanbul). The plan was approved on 16.12.2011, with the decision no. 2896. It was directed in collaboration with the *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı* (the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism). The plan included the Historic Peninsula and a buffer zone around it **(Fig. 71).** The vision of the plan was 'to protect the outstanding universal value of the historic peninsula by protecting its rich historical background, preserving its liveliness, producing and passing on its socioeconomic, spatial and cultural identity to the future'.[360] The values, cultural assets **(Fig. 73)**, current land uses **(Fig. 72)**, current functions of the buildings and open areas, demography, economy, accessibility, and the transportation status of the area were examined. The intangible heritage of the area was mentioned for the first time. Moreover, the plan included related legislation, institutions, and projects, i.e. street and façade rehabilitation, urban design, restoration, improvement of infrastructure, and socio-cultural projects. The plan stressed the importance of its key sections: conservation, planning and living quality, as well as understanding the importance of the area's values. The major issues affecting the area were specified as: integration problems with the master plans; having multiple institutions unaware of each other; the disconnect between transport and land-use planning; lack of socio-cultural facilities; failure to consider archaeological remains; neglecting cultural assets; inappropriate restoration works; and activities irrelevant to the historic identity of the area.[361]

In the plan, the Sultanahmet Archaeological Park was reassessed, creating maps and proposing five main 'Conservation Project Packages'. The Hippodrome, the Great Palace, and the Ottoman monuments surrounding Sultanahmet Square, were included in three concepts: the Sultanahmet as a 'World Heritage Area', the

---

[360] İstanbul Sit Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı 2011, *Plan Report*.
[361] İstanbul Sit Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı 2011, *Plan Report*.

'Museum Area', and projects to develop the 'Archaeological Park'. Related projects were to be aimed at the conservation and evaluation of cultural assets below and at ground level, after identifying their values. For the first time, the ruins of the Great Palace (Bukoleon Palace, Mosaic Museum) and the Hippodrome were to be protected as sites needing be conserved for future generations, and were to be integrated within the area. The Sultanahmet Archaeological Park, reflecting the legacies of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, was defined as a "Museum Area", emphasizing the universal value of this World Heritage Site.[362]

In 2018, the *İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada Yönetim Planı* (Management Plan of the Historic Peninsula) was updated to include the suggestions of UNESCO and ICOMOS, relating to the broadening of the terms and status of World Heritage Sites. The plan was directed by the *İstanbul Tarihi Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı* (Presidency of the Management of the Historic Areas of İstanbul) in collaboration with the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı* (Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism). The strategies, policies and principles of 2011 were maintained, with some additions. Importantly, the *Sultanahmet Kentsel Arkeolojik Alan 1/1000 Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı* (Sultanahmet Urban Archaeological Site 1/1000 Conservation İmplementation Plan, 2012) was also integrated within the plan, which focused on the World Heritage Site in terms of further suggestions by UNESCO and ICOMOS. Additionally, new maps were prepared showing the cultural heritage and ownership in the area.[363]

---

[362] İstanbul Sit Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı 2011, *Plan Report*.
[363] İstanbul Tarihi Alanları Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı 2018, *Plan Report*.
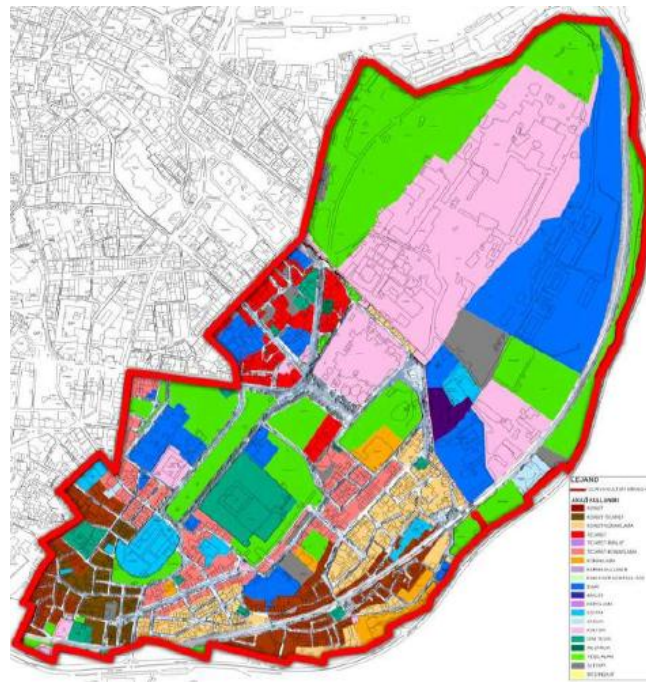
Figure 72. İstanbul, the Historic Peninsula, Sultanahmet Archaeological Park, map showing the land use (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2011, 69)
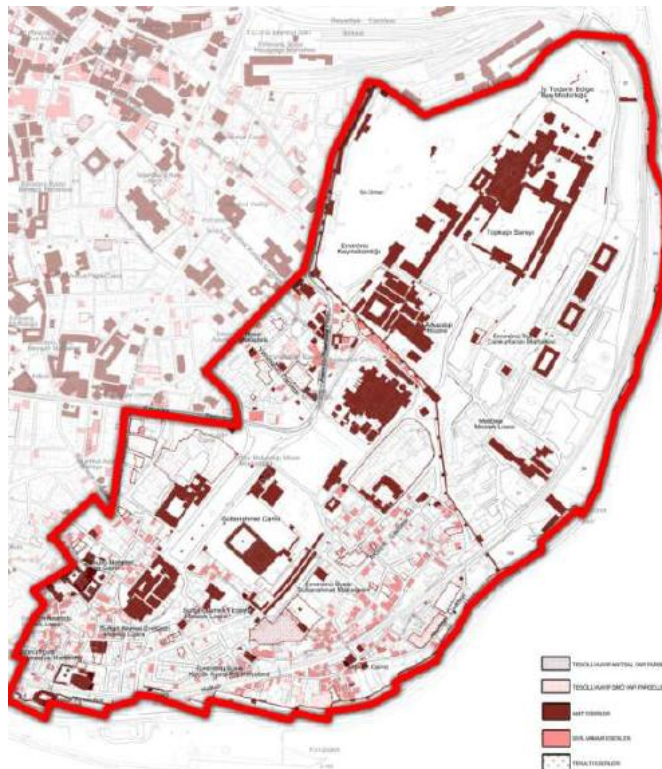
Figure 73. İstanbul, Historic Peninsula, Sultanahmet Urban and Archaeological Conservation Area, map showing cultural heritage sites (IHP Site Management Plan Report 2018, 110)

3.6   Interim Evaluation

The Hippodrome, one of the largest and most influential of the architectural structures of Byzantine Constantinople, had a significant influence on the social, political, and artistic life of both the city and the Empire.[364] In later centuries, At Meydanı, was also one of the most significant and lively public spaces within Ottoman İstanbul.[365] Still later, Sultanahmet Square was to become one of those seminal areas where the initial modernization movement occurred, as well as being the setting for key events in the foundation of the Republic. The square, therefore, is perhaps the most important space in İstanbul in terms of reflecting Byzantine, Ottoman, and Republican legacies. It continues to make a contribution to the cultural richness of the city,[366] as a fundamental part of the collective memory of the public representing past and present.[367] The gradual metamorphosis of the public monument from the Late Roman period and its transformation into a public square has resulted in a multi-phased area that reflects the cultural diversity of the city. In a sense, the transformation process of the Hippodrome into At Meydanı, and then into Sultanahmet Square, represents the fate of the city.[368]

Today, the only real *in situ* reminders of the heritage of Constantinople's iconic Hippodrome are the three monumental landmarks that once stood on the central barrier of the arena, the curved substructures at the southern end of the arena, and the stairs/walls of the western flank of the Hippodrome, now to be found in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (the İbrahim Paşa Palace). In addition, a group of marble capitals, including the two bases of the statues of Porphyrius, that were discovered in the area are now in the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. Several fragments of the Hippodrome can be seen as *spolia* in the Topkapı Palace and the

---

[364] Dagron 2011/2014, 33.
[365] Kafescioglu 2009, 67.
[366] Kuban 2001, 287.
[367] Bardill 2010, 98.
[368] Işın 2010, 305.

155

Süleymaniye, Sultanahmet and Selimiye Mosques.[369] Beyond Turkey, the only known surviving bronzes from the Hippodrome are the *quadriga* in San Marco in Venice, and a lonely bronze goose now in the British Museum, London.[370]

Even though the Hippodrome suffered centuries of neglect and looting, its surrounding area developed, conserving its form: its open space has never been occupied by other structures. The only additions have been the buildings around the famous arena (the Sultanahmet complex to the east, the İbrahim Paşa Palace to the west, and the School of Industry to the south), all constructed with an alignment following the inner walls of the Hippodrome's seating system. Even if the Late Roman public structure has been lost, the feature of the Hippodrome as an open, public space has been conserved.

And even if the original function of the area was abandoned for centuries, in a way the space sustained its public importance. The area, first incorporating the Hippodrome, then as At Meydanı, and then as Sultanahmet Square, has always been the main public space where crowds were irresistibly drawn: the area has been silent, and not so silent, witness to the most significant events and entertainments, enjoyable or otherwise, of subsequent empires.

---

[369] Bardill 2010, 99.
[370] URL 32.

Table 1. The Historical Timeline of the Fragmentation of the Hippodrome of Constantinople

The Hippodrome of Constantinople

Ruy Gonzalez De Clavijo:

"Great Open Space"

"37 columns of white marble, each so great that at arm's length it would take three men or more to embrace the shaft, each above two lance lengths in height and each stands on a great white block of stone"

A Russian Pilgrim:

"There were 30 columns of the sphendone with iron rings"

Becoming the Ottoman Capital city becoming a 'stone quarry'

Engraving by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore

Engraving by Onotrio Panvinio

Pierre Gilles:

"The İbrahim Paşa Palace was built on the western walls of the Hippodrome, the stones and seating being stripped out and reused in the palace."

"The Church of Hagia Euphemia and the remains of the Palace of Antiochus were also then destroyed for its construction."

Referred to the 17 columns of the sphendone, giving exact measurements, including their bases and the spaces between them.

"Some of the massive columns on the sphendone were torn down for the construction of some of Süleyman's charitable structures (imarethane) and the Süleymaniye Mosque."

Construction of the complex of Sultanahmet

The *imarethane* and *darüşşifa* were erected on the *sphendone*, and others were built over the remains of the Great Palace of Constantinople.

The Sultan Ahmet Mosque was built on the Hippodrome's eastern flank.

All the earth and material from the construction was spread over At Meydanı, resulting in an increase in the ground level of 4.5m.

Five vizier palaces were all torn down to build the complex.

330   **1389**   **1403**   **1453**   **1478**   **1480**   **1544**   **1609**

Nika Riot **532** (Destroyed wooden seating replaced by marble slabs; the demolished kathisma was reconstructed.)

1204   **1420**   1465   1491   1516   1522   **1533**   **1537**   1551   1556   1568   1866   1899   1910   1949

The sack of the Fourth Crusade
The *spina* and its bronze statues were melted down.

The *quadriga* was shipped off to Venice

Robert De Clari:
"There were only 30 or 40 marble seats still left in situ, and the spina was a wall 15 feet high and 10 feet wide with many marble sculptures standing on it."

Engraving by Cristoforo Buondelmonti
"there were 24 columns"

"seating enough to host a large crowd"

"spina: a low wall and marble columns with carvings and inscriptions standing on it."

"there was a pool on the spina"

the second floor of the *carceres*: *"a magnificent wall decorated with countless windows"*

Construction of the Topkapı Palace marble seating and columns were reused

Construction of the FiruzAğa Mosque on the remains of the Palace of Antiochus

Construction of the Namazgah on the western flank of the Hippodrome

Construction of İbrahim Paşa Palace marble seating and columns were reused

Engraving by Pieter Coecke van Aelst
Included also the Mosque of Firuz Ağa

Engraving by Matrakçı Nasuh
Included also the Mosque of Firuz Ağa, the Palace of İbrahim Paşa, and the Palaces of the Viziers where the Sultanahmet Mosque stands today.

Construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque columns of the *propylaion* were used

Construction of the Selimiye Mosque columns of *propylaion* were used

Construction of the Sanayi Mektebi on the sphendone wall, where the *darüşşifa* and *imaret* were

Construction of the Janissary Museum on the sphendone wall, where the *darüşşifa* and *imaret* were

Construction of the İstanbul Tapu ve Kadastro Bölge Müdürlüğü replaced the old *Defter-i Hakani*, on the remains of the İbrahim Paşa Palace

Construction of the Courthouse over the remains of the Church of Saint Euphemia

157

CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL ASSESMENT OF THE VALUES AND OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY, AND THREATS TO THE STUDY AREA

In the previous chapter, the fragmentation of the Hippodrome of Constantinople and its transformation process into Sultanahmet Square were presented, together with the characteristics of the surrounding buildings and the conservation history of the area. This chapter aims to make an evaluation of the present situation in Sultanahmet Square, concerning the remains of the Hippodrome and their relationship with the surrounding area in terms of physical and social contexts. For this purpose, first the values and threats in the area are explained, and, accordingly, the opportunities of the area are revealed. Finally, an assessment of Sultanahmet Square's values and problems is given **(Table 2)**, which reveals Sultanahmet Square's cultural significance, based on the data gathered in Chapters 3 and 4. The table provides special value types identifying the features of Sultanahmet Square, rather than a standard classification of values.

4.1   Values

As Bernard Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto note: "Values can be defined as the relative social attribution of qualities to things; values thus depend on society and can change over time."[371] Article 1 of the Burra Charter emphasizes the values of heritage assets and states that they are the fundamental decisive factors of 'cultural significance'.[372] However, values are also subjective: they may depend on society, and they also change over time. Therefore, assessment of values is a difficult

---

[371] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 14.
[372] ICOMOS 1998, 2.

task.[373] Randall Mason mentions that the assessment of values is an important part of any conservation project, since their determination would shape decisions concerning the fate of cultural heritage features. However, he also states that, even if the values are determined and seen as the critical point of planning and decision making, pragmatically, there is not a certain classification method for their assessment.[374]

Beginning from the 1900s, many scholars attempted to define various types of values – cultural, historical, economic, aesthetic, political, scientific, social, spiritual, educational – and different value assessment classification methods were studied. For example, Alois Riegl, an art historian, has opted for an artistic and memory-based approach. William D. Lipe, an archaeologist, considers first an informative approach. On the other hand, Bruno S. Frey, the economist, has an approach based on economic factors.[375] However, the value typology in the Burra Charter (1998) puts economic values in the background, emphasizing cultural values. 'Typology in the Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment', developed by English Heritage (1997), on the other hand, has a comprehensive and balanced method for the classification of values **(Fig. 74)**.[376]

Mason, the urban planner and historic preservation expert, brings in a 'provisional typology' as a synthesis of the previous approaches. He divides values into two groups – 'sociocultural' and 'economic' – noting that each group has equal significance and some of the values may overlap or change over time due to social forces, economic opportunities and cultural trends. According to Mason, the goal of value assessment is to create a guidance model for developing appropriate strategies and planning decisions. He claims that sustainable assessment requires a

---

[373] Riegl 1902, 72.
[374] Mason 2002, 5.
[375] Riegl 1902, 20; Lipe 1984, 18; Frey 1997, 11; Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 15.
[376] Mason 2002, 24.

multi-disciplinary program consisting of professionals from each field. Within 'provisional typology', sociocultural values are classified as historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious, and aesthetic. Economic values are identified as use (market), non-use, existence, option, and bequests.[377]

Feilden and Jokilehto also classify values into two main groups: 'cultural' and 'contemporary socio-economic'. 'Cultural' includes identity value, relative artistic or technical value (based on research), and rarity value (based on statistics). On the other hand, 'contemporary socio-economic' covers economic, functional, educational, social, and political values.[378] The above-mentioned scholars note that a clear statement of values is vital for cultural heritage sites nominated for the World Heritage List. Furthermore, they note that if heritage values, especially 'outstanding universal value', are threatened, specific cultural heritage assets may be moved to the list of endangered sites.[379] So, the importance of values and threats for World Heritage sites is explained in the Operational Guidelines (1998) in the overall context of authenticity. Thus, since Feilden and Jokilehto's approach is more suitable for the areas under study here and their current conditions, this value typology will be considered for this thesis. In this context, first the values and threats for Sultanahmet Square will be evaluated, then the opportunities will be analysed accordingly.

---

[377] Mason 2002, 27.
[378] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-20.
[379] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-20.

	The American Society of Planning Officials (1969)	Lipe (1984)	Feilden and Jokilehto (1993)	English Heritage (1997)	Frey (1997)	The Burra Charter (1998)
Riegl (1902)						
-Age -Historical -Commemorative -Use -Art -Newness	-Historic -Architectural -Setting -Use -Cost	-Associative/ Symbolic -Informational -Aesthetic -Economic	*Cultural Values -Identity -Relative Artistic or Technical -Rarity *Contemporary Socioeconomic Values -Economic -Functional -Educational -Social -Political	-Cultural -Educational and academic -Aesthetic -Recreational -Resource -Economic	-Economic -Option -Existence -Bequest -Prestige -Educational	-Aesthetic -Historic -Scientific -Social -Spiritual

	Feilden (2003)	Throsby (2006)	English Heritage (2007)	English Heritage (2007)	Worthing (2008)	Avrami (2009)
Mason (2002)						
*Sociocultural -- values -Historical >Educational/ Academic >Artistic -Cultural/ Symbolic >Political >Craft/ Work- Related -Social -Spiritual/ Religious -Aesthetic *Economic Values -Use (Market) -Non-Use (Non- Market) >Existence >Option >Bequest	-Emotional -Cultural -Use	-Aesthetic -Spiritual -Social -Historical -Symbolic -Authenticity	-Evidential -Historical >Illustrative >Association -Aesthetic >Artistic >Design -Communal >Commemorate >Symbolic >Social >Spritual	-Rarity - Representativ eness -Integrity -Association -Group -Townscape -Architectural -Memorial -Cultural -Recreational -Resource	-Aesthetic -Scenic and Panoromic -Architectural/ Technological -Historical -Associational -Archaeological -Economic -Educational -Recreational -Artistic -Social Commemorativ e -Symbolic/ Iconic -Spiritual and Religious -Insprirational -Ecological -Environmental	-Universal -Local- Particular

Figure 74. Categories of values of cultural heritage according to different scholars and institutions (Mason 2009, 9)

Figure 75. İstanbul, Sultanahmet, aerial view from the south, showing the location of Sultanahmet Square and other historical landmarks within the 'Historic Peninsula' (URL 14)

4.1.1 Cultural Values

Heritage cultural values are subjective since they are based on the interpretation of the present day; they reflect society's interest and perception of heritage. Therefore, value assessment is significant for revealing the historical substance and archaeological potential of heritage.[380]

4.1.1.1 Identity Values

Feilden and Jokilehto explain identity value as 'related to emotional ties of society to specific objects or sites', and focal points can be: age, tradition, continuity, memorial, legendary, wonder, sentiment, spiritual, religious, symbolic, political, patriotic and nationalistic features. These are the strongest factors for any willingness to safeguard, conserve, and ensure the continuity of heritage.[381]

- From Late Roman times, Sultanahmet Square has always had a significant meaning. This meaning has changed over the centuries, according to the conditions of each period. The Hippodrome of Constantinople was built in Late Roman times, and it soon became one of the most vital elements of Roman public life. With its contribution to Roman social and political contexts, its reputation became worldwide. It was not only the symbol of the citizens of Constantinople but also Roman identity. After being left to its own fate, the Hippodrome became a stone quarry in the Ottoman period, and the area eventually became a public square known as 'At Meydanı'.

- The fragmentation of such a key representation of the Roman world stemmed from the lack of any sense of belonging by Ottomans for the Hippodrome. However, the area was to become a symbol of Ottoman city life, reflecting the identity of its residents. Even if there was a

---

[380] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-19.
[381] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 18-19.

transformation from a public monument to a public square, At Meydanı still represented both the 'public' and the 'imperial', as it was once in Roman times.

- Later, in modern times, Sultanahmet Square maintained its considerable importance as a symbol of public life and remained a stage for significant political and social events during the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

So, from Roman times to the present day, either as a Hippodrome or an open space, the public has had a sense of togetherness, collectiveness, and belonging to this area. In this respect, Sultanahmet Square is today a collective space of cultural diversity, reflecting the characteristics of the Roman, Ottoman and Republican periods; thus, it has a unique character carrying commemorative value **(Fig. 75).** In the historical timeline of the area, the only thing that has not changed is its meaning for the people. Given this, even the changing meaning of the area gains its own value, since the changing meaning of the area has kept its continuity, and, due to this adaptation to time, the area still survives. Today, Sultanahmet Square is a fundamental part of the collective memory of the public and identity of the city.

4.1.1.2 Rarity/Uniqueness Values

This group of values represent uniqueness and/or rarity.[382] Since 1985, the area has been on the 'World Heritage Site List', declared as an 'Archaeological Park', and from 1995 the vicinity has also been listed as 'Urban Archaeological Site'. Besides Sultanahmet Square itself, in its surroundings there are also several structures and elements representing rarity value.

- In addition to the structures surrounding Sultanahmet Square, the remains of the Hippodrome also manifest the greatest rarity value. Constantinople's Hippodrome was one of the few such structures built for major centres

---

[382] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 19.

during the Tetrarchic period.[383] Today, the remains present rare evidence of the Tetrarchic model, parallels of which can be seen only in a few other cities. In addition, the Hippodrome of Constantinople has the characteristics of paganism, and later of Christianity, and it was fully decorated with symbolic elements of these two faith systems.

- The Serpentine Column and the Masonry and Egyptian Obelisks that were once located along the *spina*, are the only surviving examples of these elements **(Fig. 76)**. As mentioned earlier, the only surviving bronzes from the Hippodrome are the *quadriga*, now on display in the Museo Marciano in the Cathedral of San Marco in Venice, a bronze goose, in the British Museum, and one of three original snake heads from the Serpentine Column now in the İstanbul Archaeological Museum **(Fig. 77)**. In addition, a group of marble capitals, including two bases of the statues of Porphyrius, discovered in the area, are also now in the İstanbul Archaeological Museum **(Fig. 78)**.
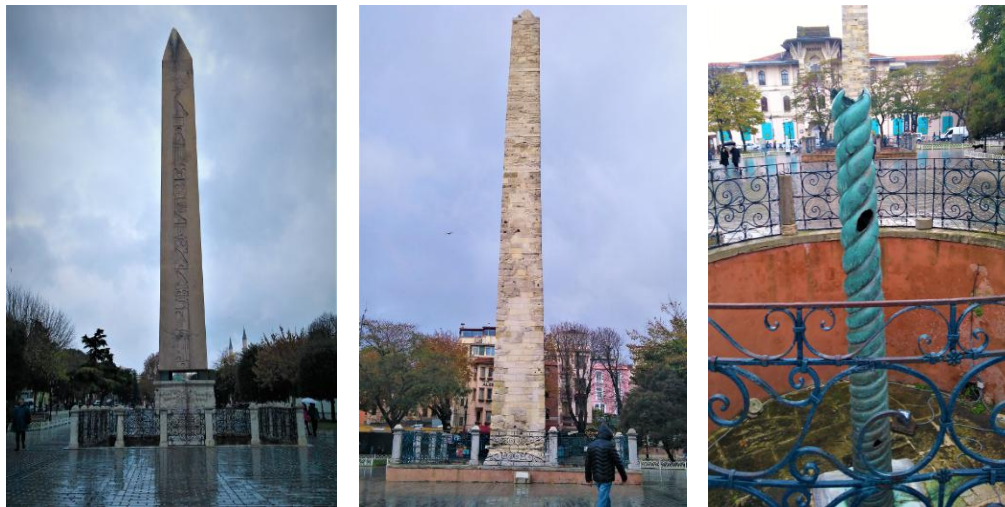
Figure 76. Sultanahmet, (from left to right) Egyptian Obelisk; Masonry Obelisk; the Serpentine Columnn

---

[383] On hippodromes of the Tetrarchic periods, see above pp.78-79.
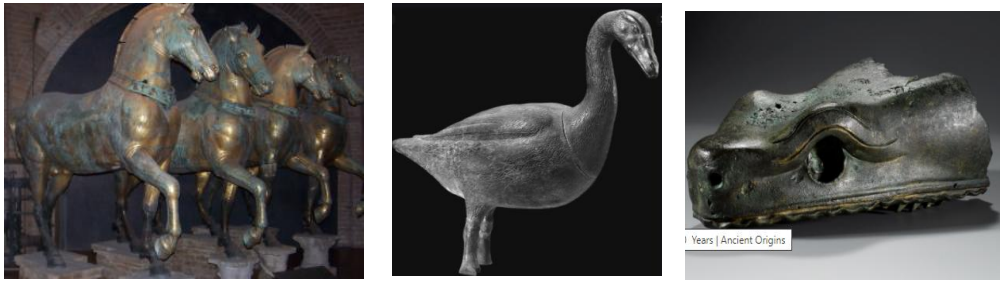
Figure 77. (from left to right) Venice, Cathedral of San Marco, *Museo Marciano*, the *quadriga* from Constantinople's Hippodrome; London, British Museum, the bronze goose from Constantinople's Hippodrome; Sultanahmet, İstanbul Archaeological Museum, the snake head from the Hippodrome

Figure 78. Sultanahmet, İstanbul Archaeological Museum, (from left to right) the old; new bases of *Porphyrius*; the herm found in the study area (Pitarakis 2010, 144-170, 252)

- The area includes several buildings of the Sultan Ahmet complex, with the Sultan Ahmet Mosque itself being the most important – a unique structure with its six minarets **(Fig. 79).** It is also referred to as the 'Blue Mosque', due to its rich ornamentation and tile work, including more than 21,000 tiles, famously, from İznik and Kütahya.[384] Moreover, the alignment of the walls of the outer courtyard of the Mosque, opening towards Sultan Ahmet Square in an organic relationship, is unique in İstanbul. It is the only mosque forming a large city square – unlike all the other mosques, which were designed in an 'introverted' layout scheme, without a relationship with the outside.[385]

---

[384] Nayir 1975, 51-55.
[385] For the design of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, see above pp. 116-117.

Figure 79. Sultanahmet, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (URL 15)

- As Constantinople was the capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, the major imperial palaces were located in this area. The 'Great Palace' of Constantinople is adjacent to the Hippodrome on the west, with the Topkapi Palace located on the southwest. The remains of the Great Palace were excavated at the beginning of the 20th century, and prisons, chambers, a tomb, and a range of mosaics have been found **(Fig. 80)**.[386] These mosaics are now presented in the Great Palace Mosaic Museum, between the Sultan Ahmet Mosque and the Arasta Bazaar.
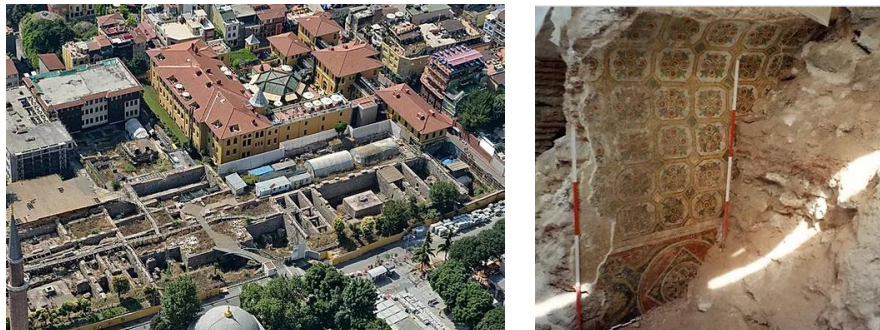
Figure 80. Sultanahmet, (left) aerial view by Kadir Kır, with the remains of the Great Palace and the Baths of Zeuxippus; (right) the mosaics found in the remains of the Great Palace (URL 16)

- As the first significant intervention in the area that was to change the destiny of At Meydanı, the İbrahim Paşa Palace is today the major surviving example of a palace of the 16th century belonging to the grand viziers **(Fig. 81).**

---

[386] Bardill 2012, 156.

Figure 81. Sultanahmet, the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (URL 17)

4.1.1.3 Relative Artistic and Technical Values

This group of values represents the significance of the heritage associated with its own time, other periods, or with the present, in terms of its technique, structure, function, or workmanship; they provide an informative resource to be used in determining strategies for conservation treatment.[387]

In this context, the surviving parts of the Hippodrome have always been a significant source for revealing the transformation process of the area: they have helped the understanding of the structural form, construction technique and materials, construction date, and its exact measurements. The remains of the Hippodrome not only enabled an understanding of the architectural, aesthetic, and technical values of the monument, but they also provided an opportunity for investigating and comparing it with other models of Roman hippodromes.

Moreover, the surrounding buildings are also important for any analysis of the transformation of the area and its relationship with Sultanahmet Square and its environment. Besides their architectural and aesthetic values, the modern buildings that surround Sultanahmet Square represent a different section of the historical timeline of the area.

---

[387] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 19.

168

- The surviving remains of the Hippodrome, especially the *sphendone*, demonstrate the scale, position and construction technique of the monument **(Fig. 82)**. Because it is the least fragmented part, the excavation programs were initiated accordingly to reveal more possible finds. Additionally, the *sphendone* shows the historical timeline of the Hippodrome, making it possible to observe the changes, additions, and removals done in each period. The diameter of the curved end has enabled us to reveal the extensions of the monument and with it the stairs and walls of the western flank of the Hippodrome, found in the courtyard of the İbrahim Paşa Palace **(Fig. 83)**.

- The stone and marble pieces found in the garden of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque also helped reveal the location of the *kathisma*, and work out the average measurements of the seating, by comparing them with those on the western flank **(Fig. 84)**.

- The three monumental landmarks (the Egyptian and Masonry Obelisks and the Serpentine Column) played significant roles in the excavation programs, helping to establish *th*e original ground level of the area, the layers of each period, the water channel system in the arena, and the location of the *spina*. Their heights, materials, and especially the inscriptions on the Egyptian Obelisk, emphasized the importance of the city's Hippodrome.

- The marble capitals, the bases of the statues of Porphyrius, and the bronzes in the museums, played a significant role in analysing the materials and styles of the statues and monuments on the *spina.*

Figure 82. Sultanahmet, the *sphendone*.

Figure 83. Sultanahmet, remains of the Hippodrome in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum

Figure 84. Sultanahmet, (left) stone seating; (right) stone fragments in the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque

- The archaeological remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, on the northwest, and of the Baths of Zeuxippus, on the northeast, also characterize the archaeological importance of the area, and contribute to the meaning and integrity of the area within the context of its historical timeline **(Fig. 85)**.

170

Figure 85. Sultanahmet, remains of the (top) Antiochus Palace; (bottom) Lausus Palace (URL 18)

- On the south, the Rectorate of Marmara University was constructed in 1866, and then renovated in 1899 by the architect Raimondo D'Aronco in the Neo-Ottoman style **(Fig. 86).**

- The Republican Museum was also constructed by the same architect in Art Nouveau style in 1899 **(Fig. 86).**

- To the west, the first building of the İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre, which is behind the main building, was constructed in 1881; the second part of the building, facing Sultanahmet Square, was constructed in 1910 by Vedat Tek, and is the only example of the initial period of the First National Architectural Movement in Sultanahmet **(Fig. 87).**

- The same area also contains several historic fountains representing the architectural features of their periods: the 'German Fountain', on the north of the square and functioning in 1901, is Neo-Byzantine in style **(Fig. 87).**

- Çukur Fountain (Üçler Fountain), left of the İbrahim Paşa Palace, was constructed by the architect Sinan in the 16th century, and has marbles that are carved with crosses – assumed to be *spolia* from the Hippodrome **(Fig. 88).**

171

- The 'Rüstem Paşa Fountain' on Nakilbent Street, adjacent to the southeast of the *sphendone* **(Fig. 88)**, was constructed by Rüstem Paşa, Grand Vizier of Süleyman the Magnificent, in 1554.

Figure 86. Sultanahmet, (left) the Rectorate of Marmara University; (right) the Republican Museum

Figure 87. Sultanahmet, (left) İstanbul Regional Office of the Land Registry and Cadastre; (right) the 'German Fountain'

Figure 88. Sultanahmet, (left) *Çukur* Fountain (*Üçler* Fountain); (right) Rüstem Paşa Fountain

- Another value increasing the importance of the area is the form of Sultanahmet Square. Even if the structure of the Hippodrome has been dismembered, the arena has never been encumbered by new buildings. Even the buildings constructed later in the area followed the alignment of the outline of the inner walls of the Hippodrome, and therefore, the form of the arena is still legible **(Fig. 89).** This situation helps us understand and conserve the form of the arena of the Hippodrome and its continuity as an open public space within the dense urban tissue in the historical core of İstanbul.

Figure 89. İstanbul, Sultanahmet Square, aerial view from the north (URL 15)

4.1.2 Contemporary Socio-Economic Values

4.1.2.1 Social Values

These values are represented by social interactions within the society, and they shape social and cultural identity.[388]

---

[388] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 20.

- From Late Roman times onwards, Sultanahmet Square has always been at the heart of public activities. As a public monument, or later as a public square, the area has always been the venue for public social interaction: it has been a multi-functional public space, where all public events were performed. As the Hippodrome, and later as At Meydanı, the area has been an urban public space, an 'open-air museum', which presents the authentic cultures and the social lives of changing societies. With its location within the urban core of the capital, throughout time the area has remained at the centre of social life. Travellers from all over the world have desired to come to this place, to participate in public life and socialize. This was the site where social status and daily tasks were forgotten: a socialization area where a large population could gather. It was also the stage, where the greatest international ceremonies, entertainments, shows, feasts, celebrations, and more, were performed. In particular, the days of the chariot races and *Sur-u Humayun* defined the social identity of the area.

- And today, Sultanahmet Square is still one of the most significant public spaces, in its role as a tourist area, surrounded by historic and architectural masterpieces – Hagia Sophia, the Sultanahmet Mosque, the Topkapi Palace – and at the heart of commercial and social activities. During Ramadan, feasts are served to thousands of people, and cultural activities are held in Sultanahmet Square **(Fig. 90)**.

Figure 90. İstanbul, Sultanahmet, aerial view of Sultanahmet Square from the north, during the Ramadan feast (URL 19)

4.1.2.2 Political Values

Political values are related to specific occasions in history,[389] and throughout its historical timeline, Sultanahmet Square has been central to the political life of its respective empires.

- As first the Hippodrome, and then as At Meydanı, the site has been the venue for significant political events and the stage on which the ideologies of emperors were played out. The area was the location where emperors displayed their grandeur to the masses and demonstrated their wealth and power. The area hosted significant military triumphs and ceremonies, as much as entertainments and performances. Thus, Sultanahmet Square represented the emperor, as much as his public, yet at the same time it was the place where citizens had the chance to show themselves to the emperor, to exist. In other words, the Hippodrome was not only a place of entertainment but also a political arena which provided political communication between the public and the emperor. Thus, it can be said that the Hippodrome was even more associated with politics than it was with games.

- Likewise, At Meydanı stood out from all the other squares of the city as the core of political events and meetings. The area was not only the centre, with its daily political events, but it was also the imperial and administrative pulse of the city. With the advantage of being a large open area in the most central zone, the area was the obvious location to host large crowds for major occasions. The nearby imperial palaces and administrative institutions increased the political nature of the area – indeed, it almost became an extension of the imperial palace.

---

[389] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 20.

- However, at the same time the area could be thought of as being 'public property'. The most violent riots in Roman times, the pivotal events of the Ottoman era, and the most significant meetings during the foundation of the Turkish Republic, all started in this area, and they all contributed to public collective memory.

4.1.2.3   Functional Values

Functional values relate to the continuity of the original function, or compatible uses of heritage. In this respect, the continuity and meaning of the Hippodrome were associated with At Meydanı in terms of functional variety, public ownership, and social, political and imperial significance. In addition to the uses the square was put to itself, examining the functions of the surrounding buildings is also important.

- As with its political and social values, the site provided the stage for the most important imperial ceremonies, military triumphs, political events, meetings, celebrations, festivals for the imperial family, bazaars, entertainments, and all manner of various performances.
- For centuries, the area conserved its worldwide reputation as one of the most renowned places for international activities and maintained its socio-cultural meaning and function.
- It should not be forgotten, however, that first as an arena for chariot races in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, and then being an arena for javelin sports and horse bazaars in Ottoman times, the area's identity was very much shaped by these activities – the meaning of 'At Meydanı', after all, is the 'Square of Horses'.
- The İstanbul Regional Office of the Land Registry and Cadastre has been used for land registry and cadastral functions since the day it was built. Today parts of the building are used as an archive and refectory, and all the

land registry records of the Ottoman Empire, since the 16th century, are still preserved in this building.

- The Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum has undergone functional changes several times. It was built as the palace of İbrahim Paşa and continued its original function as the palace of the Grand Vizier palace until the 17th century. Later, the building was used for various purposes: ambassadorial residence, registry office, *mehterhane*, barracks, sewing house, and even a prison. Since 1983 it has served as the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum – the first museum to present Turkish-Islamic collections.

- The Rectorate of Marmara University was built as the Ministry of Agriculture, Mining and Forestry, and was later used as the School of Industry. For a while, part of the building was used as Janissary Museum, where Janissary clothing and uniforms were displayed. Except for its original function as a ministry, the main building has always been used for educational purposes, and today it houses the Rectorate of Marmara University, although since 2008 the adjacent part on the right has been used as the Republican Museum.

- The Sultanahmet Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School has also been used for different functions – in 1868 it accommodated the original School of Commerce, together with the School of Industry **(Fig. 91)**. The new Schools of Industry and Commerce were constructed in the area where the former buildings of the Sultan Ahmet complex stood, including the hospital (*darüşşifa*), refectory, kitchen, bakery, cellar, and tannery (*tabhane*). Except for the hospital and tannery, the other buildings of the complex were ultimately added to the school buildings (before then they had also served for some time as hospital, sewing house (*dikimhane*) and armoury (*kılıçhane*). Since 1998, the Historical Sword House (*Tarihi Kılıçhane Binası*) has operated as the Republican Education Museum, located in the garden of the Sultanahmet Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School.

To summarize, the area represents the continuation of the functions of the original Hippodrome as a public open space and socializing area. In addition, although the surrounding buildings have seen many different uses over time, they continue, in the main, to serve as museum, educational, and administrative, facility conserving their public identities for centuries.

4.1.2.4   Educational Values

This category of values encourages public awareness of heritage in the present day. The integration of cultural and historic resources with educational programs increases the potential for cultural tourism.[390] In this context, Sultanahmet Square has a considerable significance, with its advantage of featuring various examples of cultural heritage from different periods.

- In particular, the archaeological remains dated back to the 7th century BCE in the area have educational value by providing research and excavation opportunities.
- The buildings surrounding Sultanahmet square are architectural representatives of different periods. Buildings belonging to the 16th - 17th century Ottoman architecture and the Early Republican Period of the 20th century present the architectural characteristics of their periods.
- In addition to the educational value of each cultural heritage element, Sultanahmet Square also has what might be thought of as an 'holistic' educational value, created by the coming together of these great heritage monuments.

---

[390] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 20.

4.1.2.5 Economic Values

As Feilden and Jokilehto state, economic values concern not only finance but also a range of needs, and they have identified four potential sources of economic value: tourism, commerce, use, and amenities. Mismanagement of any of these elements may impact negatively on heritage, but, run well, they should encourage heritage potential, with appropriate and collective cost-benefit approaches to be used in conservation activities.[391]

In terms of the four sources just mentioned, Sultanahmet Square has considerable economic values in terms of its focus for cultural tourism and as a commercial centre within the Historic Peninsula of İstanbul.

- Unsurprisingly, it is the most visited and the most revenue-generating touristic site in all Turkey.

- Sultanahmet Square is a critical area as an interaction space between the most known and most visited cultural and historic heritage elements, in particular the Topkapi Palace and Hagia Sophia.

- Moreover, the square is located in the centre of the area with ample tourist accommodation, retail and eating opportunities.

- In this respect, the traditional buildings also have significance and potential as both commercial and cultural facilities.

---

[391] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 20-21.

4.2 Threats

Figure 91. İstanbul, aerial view of Sultanahmet Square from the south, with the urban tissue and structures built on the *sphendone* (URL 15)

As well as its variety of values, the area has to face the problems associated with spaces of this nature, and these can be classified under six main groups: natural, urban, administrative/legislative, structural/architectural, presentation, socio-economic.

4.2.1 Natural Threats

P1. The lack of any natural disaster (earthquake, flood, fire) risk management strategy. İstanbul is located on a known and major fault line, and a potential earthquake with a very high intensity can be expected in the near future. Thus, as an historical area, and the structures within very old, Sultanahmet Square is can be said to be at serious risk.

- The *sphendone*, which has serious structural problems, even in its current form, itself represents a threat in any earthquake (as a large wall in need of intervention).

- The traditional Ottoman houses are made of timber and the area consists of narrow streets posing a fire hazard. Throughout its history, there have been many fires and many historic residences have been lost.

- In the event of serious flooding, it is predicted that adverse consequences may arise especially around Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park and Nakilbent Street due to the elevation differences linked to the topography of the area.

P2. Poor utilization of the natural setting. The area has a view of the Marmara Sea, praised since historical times, and is near to the Topkapi Palace, which also has a view (of the Bosphorus) and many parks (**Figs. 98, 102, 103**).

- However, the special advantages of its setting (its natural values) are not maximized, due to land use and unsuitable landscape implementations.

- Green areas and monumental trees require maintenance.

- This situation reduces the socio-functional use of the area and its image as a well-preserved historical centre integrated with its natural environment.

4.2.2   Urban Threats

P3. Urban pressures. Being located in the most central area of the Historic Peninsula brings various advantages as well as serious challenges. Sultanahmet Square and its environs are exposed to urban pressures and new developments.

- Most of the new developments negatively affect the soundness and maintenance archaeological remains.

- New developments increase the built-up areas, and thus, archaeological remains become more inaccessible.

- Since the area has a high land value; the cultural heritage are sacrificed to economic interests.

- As the land is of considerable value, the area is seen as one where substantial economic profits can be achieved. Therefore, although a height

restriction is stipulated in the conservation plans, illegal additional floors are clearly visible.

- The income value of the real estate leads, of course, to speculation. Thus, the fact that the area is a central one of nationwide importance, potential tourist levels increase interest in constructing new buildings to profit from them, especially fully equipped hotels which damage the authenticity of the area and threaten the material substance of the remains.

P4. Unsuitable land use and unused areas. In the surrounding area of Sultanahmet Square, especially the immediate environment of the *sphendone*, there are serious land use problems arising from unsuitable projects that are inappropriate to the character of the historic environment.

- The the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, Great Palace, the *sphendone* were abandoned. This situation causes further damage on structures.
- The remains of the Palace of Antiochus and the Church of Hagia Euphemia, the Great Palace and the Baths of Zeuxippus are currently inaccessible to the general public.
- An illegal structure was built over the Lausus Palace.
- Adjacent to the *sphendone*, a café prevents a harmonious view of it, a feature that should be fully accessible to the general public **(Fig. 92).** In addition, the café uses the arches of the Hippodrome for storage **(Fig. 99).**
- The Rüstem Paşa Fountain by the wall no longer functions **(Fig. 96).**
- The fenced-off space between the café and the playground at the end of the *sphendone* is not used, and garbage has currently accumulated in this area.
- Only a small park with some physical fitness equipment has been created in front of this area – next to the car parking and among the rubbish bins. There is also a transformer in this section.
- Additionally, another wall was built in front, and the space between this wall and the *sphendone* is as an unseen area, covered by vegetation **(Figs. 93, 94 95)**.

Briefly, land-use decisions are not taken or controlled carefully to minimise any damage to the archaeological heritage in the area. The volume lacks a coherent spatial organization. The *sphendone*, a surviving witness of the past and cornerstone of the area's identity, cannot be perceived in its entirety and is not appreciable as a result of the current land use; it is not displayed in a way that is suitable for its character, and the land use in its environs causes damage to the authenticity of the monument and disturbs the surviving evidence. Clearly, the current land use does not safeguard the quality and values of the archaeological resource.

Figure 92. Sultanahmet, the coffee shop adjacent to the *sphendone*

Figure 93. Sultanahmet, current functions surrounding the immediate vicinity of the area, (e.g. the retaining wall, transformer, fencing, rubbish bins, and playground)

Figure 94. Sultanahmet, residential area at the southwest end of the *sphendone*

Figure 95. Sultanahmet, current physical conditions of the *sphendone* and the functions surrounding its immediate surrounding

P5. Unsuitable car parking areas and heavy traffic. The car parking and traffic problems concentrate especially in the immediate vicinity of the *sphendone* (**Figs. 96, 97).** This situation adversely affects potential uses in the vicinity of this monument and prevents public accessibility. High car usage in this area damages both historic fabric and visual integrity.

- The area in front of the *sphendone* is used for car parking and this prevents pedestrian circulation **(Fig. 96)**.
- Car parking areas prevent pedestrian circulation and do not allow other required land uses.
- In this context, especially with the heavy traffic that starts from Nakilbent Street, this area clearly serves cars rather than pedestrians **(Fig. 97)**.

Figure 96. Sultanahmet, car parking area close to the *sphendone* and in front of the Rüstem Paşa Fountain

Figure 97. Sultanahmet, vehicular traffic in Nakilbent Street

P6. Lack of the connection between pedestrianized roads. Although the area is pedestrianized mostly, there is no systematic pedestrian route to create circulation in the area that would enable visibility and access to the archaeological remains in an wholistic manner. This damages the area's unity, creates a poor historic image of the centre, and disrupts public accessibility.

P7. Lack of integrity of the green spaces. Starting from Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park in the northwest (where the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus are located), to 23 April Park in the southwest (at the end of the *sphendone*), the area has several green spaces **(Fig. 98)**.

- However, there is no physical integrity between these parks.
- These green spaces are in poor condition in terms of their physical condition.
- Having no systematic urban design and landscape implementations for these parks, our understanding of the archaeological remains in the area decreases, and the importance of the area is overshadowed.

Figure 98. İstanbul, aerial view of Sultanahmet Square showing the green spaces in the study area (URL 2)

This situation damages the historic and visual integrity between these areas. In a significant central location that should represent the historic character of the city, poorly maintained green spaces negatively impact the area's inherent harmony. The physical condition of these green spaces damages the material substance of the remains, obscuring the meaning and value of the area, and disrupting public accessibility, being unused and unsafe areas.

P8. Unsuitable urban elements. In the area under study, the various signs and boards of the commercial buildings disrupt the visual appearance and affect the silhouette of the Historic Peninsula negatively. The choice of urban furniture also disrupts the authenticity of the area, being incompatible with the character of the historic centre. These factors detract from the visual integrity, preventing any form of harmonious relationship with the historic environment.

4.2.3   Administrative/Legislative Threats

P9. Lack of effective/continuous/consistent legal regulations.

- The laws remain general, socio-cultural and intangible heritage values are in the main ignored, and there are no hard-and-fast decisions against new constructions on or at heritage sites.
- There is the absence of a direct law in national laws for the protection of open spaces, even historical open spaces.
- *5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun* (Law no. 5366 on the Conservation through Renewal and Utilization through Reuse of the Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties) have actually opened the way for the demolition of cultural heritage.
- Remains of the Great Palace, the Palaces of Lausus and Antiochus and the *sphendone* are registered. However, the other remains of the Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippus are not registered.

- There is no conservation decision for the Baths of Zeuxippus and the remains of the Hippodrome in the garden of the Sultanahmet mosque. In other words, there is no legal sanction for the conservation the remains.

P.10. Continuously changing planning decisions.

- The cancellations of plans and frequent changes in conservation legislation in recent years have adversely affected this area, and, as a result, the management mechanisms that are in place are ineffective.
- The archaeological park mentioned upon by a variety of plans since the 1930s, is not yet implemented.

P.11. Lack of effective conservation and management policies.

- Accordingly, the area is not under the protection of a well-determined, comprehensive and energetic nexus of policies and strategies within the scope of adequate legislation: under the transition period regulations, the region has experienced uncertain progress.
- The conservation of cultural heritage is considered from an economic point of view in state policies.

P. 12. Lack of coordination and cooperation between related institutions.

- The conservation, planning and management of the area are developed not in a holistic manner but in partial.

P. 13. Continuously changing authority.

- The above-mentioned law authorized the municipalities to declare conservation sites as *Yenileme Alanı* (urban renewal sites). Moreover, the authority of conservation decisions on renewal areas has been taken from the *Yenileme Alanı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu* (Regional Conservation Councils and given to the Renewal Area Councils).
- The conservation decisions, plans and projects are not continuous and are proceed in an inconsistent manner.

P.14. Having multiple authority and planning areas in the study area.

- Küçükayasofya was designated as a renewal area in 2006. As a result, currently there is the presence of the tourism area, renewal area and urban archaeological site in the same area, and this situation makes conservation decisions fragmented.

4.2.4 Structural/Architectural Threats

P10. Poor physical condition of the archaeological remains. The famous archaeological remains of the area, including the surviving parts of the Hippodrome, are in very poor physical condition.

- The remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and the church of Saint Euphemia are neglected.
- The three monumental landmarks have moisture and fracture problems at their bases.
- However, the most worrying aspect is the *sphendone*. Its main wall has been neglected and is dilapidated. Some of the carrying arches have collapsed and some have been infilled with stones and/or incompatible materials. A significant amount of its stonework and tiles have begun to dissolve **(Fig. 99)**. In some places the wall is hardly visible at all, as a result of the retaining wall, the electrical transformer, and fencing work **(Fig. 95)**. All considered, this unsightly situation is a serious threat and danger to the area.

The *sphendone*, having survived from 330 CE to the present day, living proof of the past, now, unfortunately, suffers the most from severe neglect. Bad judgement, wrong physical interventions, using incompatible materials, together with unsuitable land-use decisions, has severely disrupted the potential unity of the monument. Lack of structural integrity now overshadows the meaning of the monument, and threatens its very existence. By not ensuring its structural integrity,

nor safeguarding and maintaining it adequately, must ultimately result in the loss of this monument, which, perhaps more than any other, demonstrates the area's historical timeline and changes across the millennia.
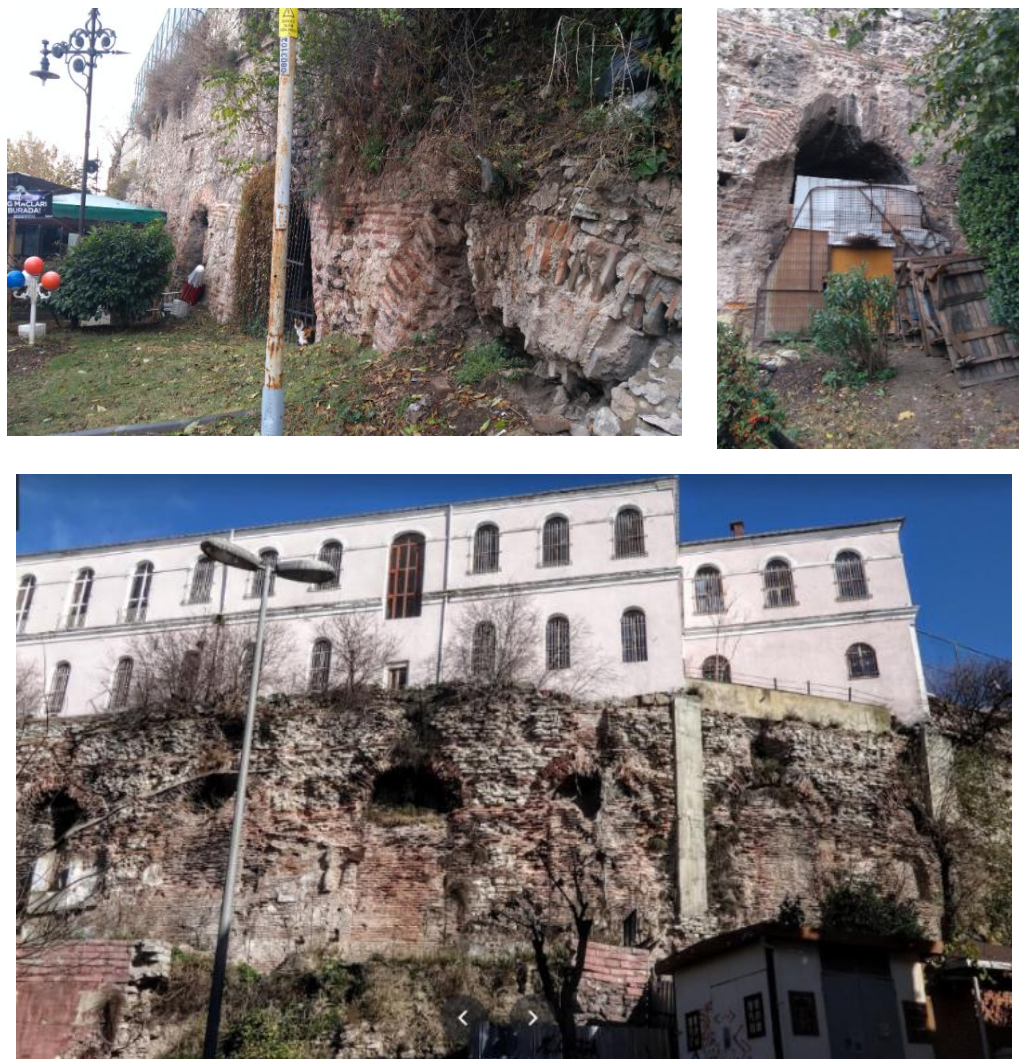
Figure 99. Sultanahmet, the current physical condition of the arches of the *sphendone*

4.2.5   Presentation Threats

P11. Disintegration between different structural parts of the Hippodrome. Disintegration between the structural parts of the Hippodrome is one of the area's biggest challenges. Additionally, the archaeological remains and historical buildings in their environs are now disintegrated with each other.

- The remains of the Hippodrome do not demonstrate the fact that once they belong to the same monument **(Fig. 100).**

- Although the open area conserves the layout of the arena of the Hippodrome, this is not actually discernible on site.

- The *sphendone* is completely separate from Sultanahmet square.

- Likewise, due to the disintegration between them, one cannot appreciate that the remains now within the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum and in the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque are parts of the same monument.

- Furthermore, the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, the Baths of Zeuxippus, and the Great Palace, are not presented in an wholistic manner.
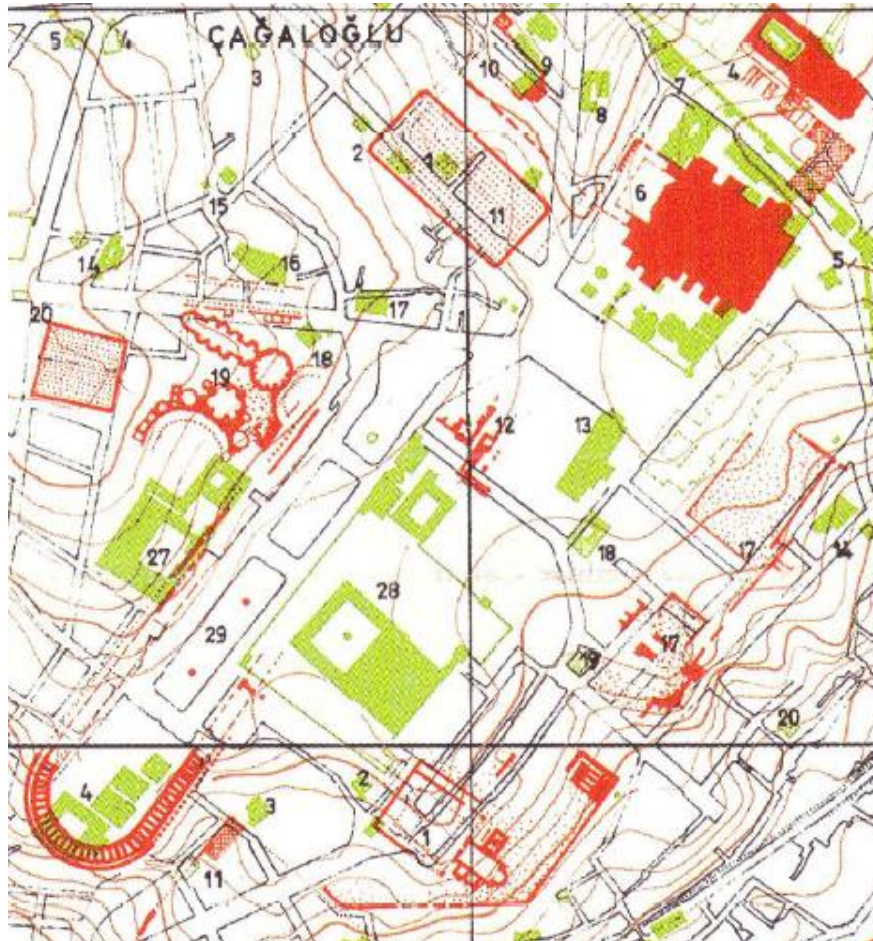
Figure 100. İstanbul, Sur İçi/Galata/Pera 1/10.000 plan showing historical monuments (Müller-Wiener 2001, Appendix 4)

191

Due to this disintegration problem in terms of the presentation of the archaeological remains in the area, the location cannot be perceived in its entirety. The remains must be considered individually by visitors, and cannot be comprehended as elements of a larger whole. This current situation cannot explain the area's importance and does not reflect its identity. It also disrupts the visual and structural integrity of the historic centre. As a result, the area in the collective memory of the public, with its changing meanings, may cause its identity to gradually disappear.

4.2.6 Socio-Economic Threats

P13. Changing meaning. The changing meaning of the area is a value and a challenge at the same time. Today, the remains in the area demonstrate the many different periods of its history, and its evolution through time. As an historical centre linked to different cultures, representing their societies' different interests and values, the area has faced radical alteration during its transformation processes. For this reason, fragmentation of the Hippodrome has accelerated, and new structures built over its remains. The palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, the church of Saint Euphemia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Great Palace, some sections of the Sultan Ahmet complex (those on the *sphendone*) (**Figs. 91, 101**), and parts of the traditional Ottoman housing, have also all suffered from these many changes.

P14. Lack of social and cultural activities. Throughout its history, this area as a public open space, has represented the culture and identity of the city. As a multi-purpose venue, it was the place for generating ideas and initiating action.

- However, today it is no longer a part of the daily life of citizens, relegated, as it were, to an open-air museum visited only by tourists.
- Apart from a few events held during Ramadan, there are only a very few social or cultural activities that are carried out in the area.

Thus, the location suffers from the lack of any integration with contemporary societal life; this in turn leads to the further deterioration of any continuity of function of the area, and socio-functional integrity generally, meaning a further decrease in cultural significance, all linked to aspects to do with its identity. As a public space, a node for communication, the area lacks adequate features. It loses its features, no longer the dynamic space where social interaction and human exchange are socially useful assets. Not being a part of the present-day, dynamic reality threatens the maintenance of the historic urban centre.

Figure 101. Sultanahmet, buildings on the *sphendone*: Sultanahmet Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School, Historical Sword House, Sultanahmet, Rectorate of Marmara University, and the Republican Museum (URL 12)

4.3   Opportunities

By using the potential of the area and the advantages of its many values, Sultanahmet Square could again provide significant opportunities, which may be assessed in five categories: natural, socio-economic, open-space, archaeological, and visual/aesthetic.

4.3.1 Natural Opportunities

O1. The panoramic view of the Marmara Sea. The buildings on the *sphendone* have the advantage of overlooking the Marmara Sea, with a wide, panoramic view **(Figs. 102, 103)**. This area affords various socio-cultural uses, integrated with the square, focusing on its natural advantages.

O2. Green continuity: Sultanahmet Square, with the advantage of being in the centre of the historical peninsula, has open green spaces of historic value that provide opportunities for a wide range of interactions between the main assets of the area. The Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park, 23 Nisan Park, the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque, and the linear green spaces in the Square, enable the historical, architectural and archaeological values and remains in the area to be presented within the overall continuity of the wider green area. In addition, like in the examples of the Circus of Maxentius and the Circus Maximus, green spaces can provide opportunities to increase public use, which is one of the most important features of the area, with social and cultural activities organized within the various monumental remains. Therefore, these green spaces, with their landscape features, urban design, and impressive presentation of the various remains, could significantly contribute to the concept of a large and green Archaeological Park, with its own rich cultural heritage, socio-culturally enlivened.

O3. Water features. The study area has the advantage of several water features, i.e. its historic fountains - the German Fountain, the Rüstem Paşa Fountain, Çukur Fountain **(Figs. 87, 88)**, the Serpentine Column (once used as a fountain), and, of course, the astonishing cisterns in the area.[392] Taking in all these water features together, that once made up part of the historic water supply system of

---

[392] On a larger scale, the elements of the Historic Peninsula's water supply system are substantial: the substructures of the *sphendone* (used as a cistern), the Basilica Cistern, the Binbirdirek (Şerefiye) Cistern, the Nakilbent Street Cistern **(Figs. 34,35)**, the Hagia Sophia Fountain, the Hagia Sophia Üçyüzlü Fountain, the Cevri Kalfa Fountain, the Hacı Beşir Ağa Fountain.

Constantinople, linked to views of the Marmara Sea, a considerable degree of visual integration is possible.

4.3.2 Socio-Economic Opportunities

O4. Socio-cultural use. Sultanahmet Square is at the centre of the Historic Peninsula, surrounded by representetive monuments and sufficient to accommodate large crowds as an open public space within a dense urban tissue. The Square therefore provides opportunities for a variety of activities, drawing on its long tradition of symbolic meaning, due to its adaptation over time and long service to the public. Ensuring the continuity of this function and identity is essential, and it is thus fundamental to have diverse public activities that reflect the authenticity of the space, within its socio-cultural context. Activities that feed off the spirit of the place, and the feeling of participating in its history, would revive the area and provide socio-functional integrity. Traditional uses would be maintained, with the appropriate use of the heritage, and be part of a present-day dynamic reality. As in Piazza Navona case, use of the area would respond to contemporary socio-economic interests and social and cultural values, reflecting various communities and their continuing and dynamic changes. Thus, as an open public space, and part of the public's collective memory, Sultanahmet Square would thrive once more, revitalized as it reflected its cultural significance and intangible values.

In this context, the old bazaar next to the *sphendone* (that could well be continued into Sultanahmet Square, as in its past) is seen as important, a continuation of one of the area's earliest functions **(Fig. 106)**. Additionally, the feasts and activities of Ramadan sees thousands of people, making significant contributions to the continuity of the area's function **(Fig. 107)**.

4.3.3 Open-Space Opportunities

O5. Earthquake assembly area: In Istanbul, where the risk of earthquakes is very high, the advantage of being a public open area that can accommodate thousands of people with its central location provides an opportunity for the vicinity to be used as an earthquake assembly area. Despite its central location, being isolated from the dense urban texture, and at the border of the urban settlement, reduces the earthquake hazard in the area.

O7. Lungs of the historical city centre: Likewise, being a public open space within the dense urban fabric in the most central part of the city has the potential to provide the open area needs of the citizens within the framework of a historical ambience surrounded by architectural masterpieces. Being a historical city center, where the entire historical timeline of the city can be seen, where different kinds of values are together and a large open space where the city breathes, gives Sultanahmet the opportunity to increase the visit of the citizens to the area.

4.3.4 Archaeological Opportunities

O8. Archaeological park: Sultanahmet Square is on the World Heritage List and is designated as an 'Archaeological Park', however, the area's current conditions do not reflect this. Having archaeological remains once belonging to the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, the church of Saint Euphemia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Great Palace, and the Hippodrome, creates a significant opportunity for the site to be a large archaeological park in the most central zone of the city. Together with linked green spaces among well-preserved archaeological remains, starting from Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park to 23 April Park, Sultanahmet Square has the potential to be an open-air museum, providing resources for educational research and recreational activities. By providing effective management mechanisms, comprehensive conservation policies and international standards and principles, this archaeological park would reflect the identity and demonstrate the historical

196

stratigraphy of the area, together with the physical materiality and cultural meaning of the remains, as in the examples of the Circus of Maxentius, the Circus Maximus and Piazza Navona. As 'living' witnesses, the remains are significant elements for understanding the authenticity and changing meaning of the area, by identifying the change over time in the locality's historical timeline.

The *sphendone* would contribute to the archaeological park with its substructures, consisting of arched tunnels and chambers, and its panoramic view from the upper structures of the Marmara Sea **(Fig. 105)**. Presenting the ground and underground remains of the Hippodrome would reveal the material and spiritual elements of its historic character, as in Piazza Navona where the remains of *Stadia di Domiziano* are exhibited in the Roman Stadium Museum five meters below the ground level. So, the priority of the park would be to ensure long-term maintenance to the archaeological heritage, to interpret it for the benefit of present and future generations, and introduce new functions and activities compatible with the character of the historic urban area. Moreover, scientific investigations and excavations, using non-destructive techniques, by multi-disciplinary teams consisting of specialised groups and qualified professionals would help to achieve authenticity. The park would ensure international standards and public accessibility, bearing in mind that the archaeological heritage in this area has universal value and is common to all humanity.

4.3.5 Visual/Aesthetic Opportunities

O9. Streets with views of the *sphendone*. The streets facing the *sphendone* have the potential to create an environment that reflects the character of the area attracting people and directing people to the historic centre **(Figs. 104)**. Together with views of this monument, these streets can play an important part of the area's visual integrity. The buildings in these streets, built in different periods, offer opportunities to reveal the area's historic timeline, and its changes over the

centuries, when glimpsed together with the *sphendone*, built in 330 CE, with later interventions.

Figure 102. İstanbul, view of Sultanahmet Square from the north with the Marmara Sea behind (URL 15)

Figure 103. Sultanahmet, panoramic view from the Sultanahmet Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School towards the Marmara Sea (URL 2)
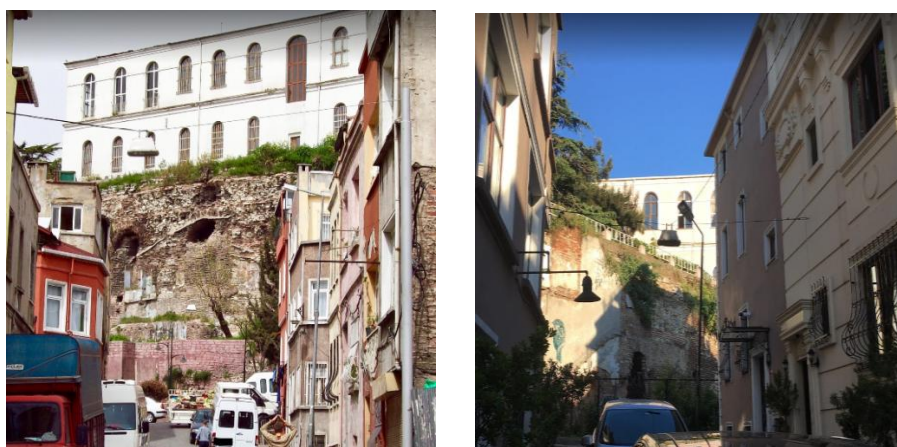
Figure 104. Sultanahmet, views towards the *sphendone* (URL 2)
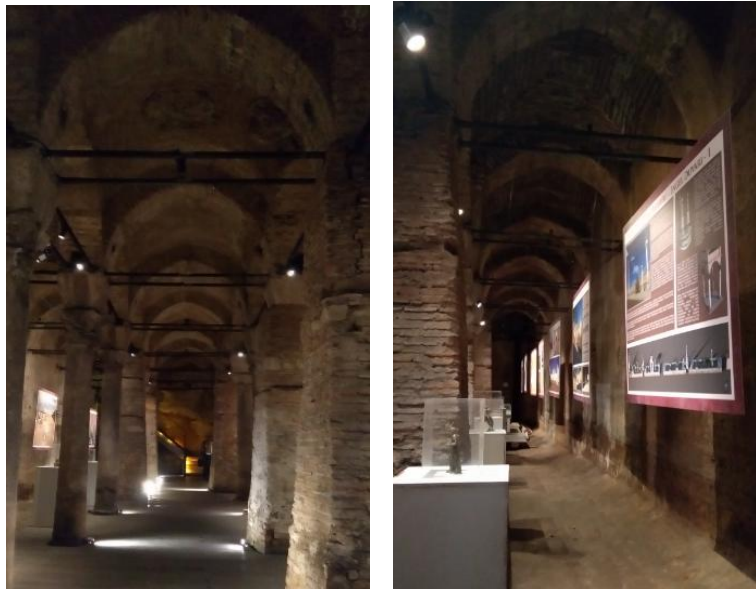
Figure 105. Sultanahmet, the Nakilbent Street cistern under the Nakkaş carpet shop, the exhibition of the Hippodrome of Constantinople in the cistern

Figure 106. Sultanahmet, bazaar near the *sphendone* (URL 2)

Figure 107. İstanbul, Sultanahmet Square, during the Ramadan feast (URL 19)

4.4   Interim Evaluation

Heritage conservation requires a proper definition of its characteristics. In this respect, the most significant factor in understanding cultural heritage is the scope of its values. As values help to reveal meaning and current cultural significance, making a clear statement of values is vital for conservation. Thus, in order to make a proper assessment of the changing meaning of Sultanahmet, its values need to be well defined.

In this section, according to the classification methods of Feilden and Jokilehto, consisting of two main value groups – cultural and contemporary socio-economic, the identity of Sultanahmet Square projects a wide range of relative values: artistic and technical, rarity, economic, functional, educational, social, and political. Moreover, these values can also be classified under additional headings, due to the special characteristics of the area based on its historical character, as analysed in Chapter 3, and its current identity, as outlined in this chapter. To this end, **Table 2** has been compiled to present systematically the overall data acquired.

As can be seen from the **Table 2**, the values, problems, and opportunities of the area are categorized under three main headings: Natural Components, Human Components and Built-environment Components. The assessed values reveal the natural, human, and built-environment features of Sultanahmet Square; the various problems show the current challenges of the area in this context, and related opportunities are given. As a result, we are able to understand Sultanahmet Square's transformation through the centuries, and at the same time monitor its evolution and change of values. The overall effect is to highlight the richness of Sultanahmet Square's values, which present its authenticity, and also the range of inherent problems, which mostly stem from the lack of the site's integrity.

- **Natural Value**: Located on the Historic Peninsula, which has a specific natural value, the area additionally benefits from its natural characteristics, for example its stretches of green spaces and the water features forming part of Constantinople's historic water supply system.

- **Symbolic, Commemorative and Meaning Value:** As a fundamental part of public collective memory and the city's identity, reflecting the characteristics of Classical, Roman, Ottoman and Republican periods, 'personifying' societal elements and public events gives Sultanahmet Square a unique character. Thus, referencing only identity, social and political values is far from adequate: symbolic, commemorative and meaning values are also significant features of the area.

- **Historical and Age Value:** It is also impossible not to mention the historical and age value of this area, which dates back to 7th century BCE and has always been the centre of the city.

- **Spiritual/Religious Value:** Hagia Sophia, one of the most symbolic and magnificent buildings of Christianity between the 6th century and the 15th century, was converted into a mosque in the 15th century and one of the most important places of worship for Muslims until the 20th century. In addition, the Sultanahmet Mosque, which has become an important place of worship since the 17th century by taking the greatness, magnificence and religious importance of Hagia Sophia as an example, stands face to face with Hagia Sophia. Today, these two monuments still give spiritual / religious value to the area due to their religious importance and being the most important representatives of the religions of the empires.

- **Continuity of Function and Public Use Value:** In its incarnations as Hippodrome, At Meydanı, and Sultanahmet Square, throughout its historical timeline, accommodating huge crowds for significant public events and being an arena for social interactivity are other import factors involving the area, and thus providing continuity of function and public use values.

- **Archaeological Value:** Together with the surviving parts of the Hippodrome, the other archaeological remains in the space (the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, the church of Saint Euphemia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Great Palace) create substantial archaeological value.

- **Architectural and Aesthetic Value:** Moreover, the Sultanahmet complex, the İbrahim Paşa Palace, the Rectorate of Marmara University, Republican Museum, the Sultanahmet Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School, the 'German Fountain', the Rüstem Paşa Fountain, and Çukur Fountain (Üçler Fountain), all increase the architectural and aesthetic values of the area, irrespective of their relative artistic/technical values.

- **Townscape and Setting Value**: In addition to having structures with rarity value, representative of different periods and architectural styles, the area has substantial townscape and setting values, created by its view from the Marmara Sea, projecting an unparalleled silhouette.

- **Open Space Value:** Even if the Hippodrome were to be dismantled, not encumbering its arena with new buildings and following the alignment of the outline of its inner walls by the buildings constructed later, the form of the arena would still be legible, and its continuity as an open public space conserved within the dense urban tissue in the historical core of İstanbul. This situation creates open space value. In addition, the fact that the open area is inherited from the Hippodrome makes the Square more special, as in Piazza Navona.

- **Informative and Research Value**: Having various forms of cultural heritage in the area creates educational value which in turn also adds informative and research values to the area. The economic value of the space is also augmented by the reuse value created by refunctioning the area and its components.

Transformation from public monument to a public square is the most distinguishing feature of Sultanahmet Square, showing its adaptation with time and integration within the socio-cultural structure of societies. It has all contributed to the continuity of the locality, adding many forms of value and giving it a unique character. But, at the same time, these changes over time have caused deterioration to its physical and socio-cultural authenticity and integrity, and many of its other values have suffered or disappeared.

All these referenced values enable us to understand the significance and meaning of the area, while the problems and threats show the effects of its changing meaning – in terms of both its physical and socio-cultural contexts. Today, the area offers opportunities by exploiting the potentials of these changing meanings. Opportunities can be created using the advantages of the values, and at the same time finding solutions to the problems caused by the disregard or loss of these values.

Table 2. The Range of Values and Opportunities Offered by and Threats to Sultanahmet Square

V A L U E S	**Natural**	Natural	Location
			Nature
	Human	Identity / Social / Political	Symbolic
			Commemorative
			Meaning
			Historic
			Age
			Spiritual / Religious
		Functional	Continuity of Function
			Public Use
			Open Space
		Economic	Reuse
	Built Environment	Relative Artistic /Technical	Architectural
			Archaeological
			Aesthetic
		Rarity	Townscape
			Setting
			Silhouette
			Representative
		Educational	Informative
			Research
T H R E A T S	**Natural**	Natural	Lack of natural disaster risk management
			Inadequate use of the natural elements
	Human	Socio-economic	Changing meaning
			Lack of social and cultural activities
	Built Environment	Urban	Urban pressure
			Unsuitable land-use and unused areas
			Unsuitable car parking areas and heavy traffic
			Lack of connection between pedestrianized roads
			Disintegrated green areas
			Unsuitable urban elements
		Structural / Architectural	Poor physical conditions of the archaeological remains
		Presentation	Disintegration between different structural parts of the Hippodrome
			Lack of informative signs and visitor orientation
		Administrative / Legislative	Lack of consistent legal regulations
			Lack of effective conservation and management policies
			Continuously changing plans / planning decisions
			Continiously changing authority
			Lack of cooperation between institutions
O P P O R T .	**Natural**	Natural Environment	Using the panoramic view of the Marmara Sea
			Creating green continuity
			Refunctioning water elements
		Open-space	Being the lungs of the historical city centre
			Being an earthquake assembly area
	Human	Socio-economic	Revitalizing the public and socio-cultural use
	Built Environment	Archaeological	Creating an Archaeological Park
		Visual/Aesthetic	Revitalizing the streets with view of the *sphendone*

Disintegration between the archaeological remains and lack of informative signs

(All the surviving parts of the Hippodrome, the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and the church of Saint Euphemia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, and the Great Palace)

Lack of social and cultural activities

(Sultanahmet Square and the Hagia Sophia Square)

Unsuitable urban elements

(The surviving parts of the Hippodrome, the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and the church of Saint Euphemia)

Lack of integrity of the green spaces

(Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park, Hagia Sophia Square, Sultanahmet Square, and 23 Nisan Park)

Poor physical condition of the archaeological remains

(The surviving parts of the Hippodrome, the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and the church of Saint Euphemia, and the Baths of Zeuxippus)

Poor utilization of the natural setting

(The structures on the *sphendone*, the Üçler (Çukur) Fountain, the Rüstem Paşa Fountain, and the Nakkaş Cistern)

Unsuitable land use and unused areas

(Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park, where the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Palasus, and 23 April Park, the immediate vicinity of the *sphendone*)

Unsuitable car parking areas and heavy traffic

(Nakilbent Street, the immediate vicinity of the *sphendone*)

Figure 108. Map Showing the Threats to the Area

205

Structures Having Architectural, Representetive, Aesthetic, and Historic Values

Surviving Parts of the Hippodrome

Besides their architectural and aesthetic values, modern buildings that surround Sultanahmet Square - the İbrahim Paşa Palace, the Rectorate of Marmara University, the Republican Museum, the İstanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre - represent a different section of the historical timeline of the area. All structures, in harmony with the archaeological remains in the area, offer the opportunity to add value diversity to the concept of the Archaeological Park. The surviving parts of the Hippodrome are the most important tangible pieces that show the original layout of the area and reflect its identity and importance.

Areas with Symbolic Meaning Providing Open Space Opportunities

Being at the centre of the Historic Peninsula, surrounded by representetive monuments and sufficient to accommodate large crowds as an open public space, Sultanahmet Square provides opportunities for a variety of activities, drawing on its long tradition of symbolic meaning. Activities that feed off the spirit of the place, and the feeling of participating in its history, would revive the area and provide socio-functional integrity.

In Istanbul, where the risk of earthquakes is very high, the advantage of being a public open area isolated from the dense urban texture that can accommodate thousands of people with its central location also provides an opportunity for the vicinity to be used as an earthquake assembly area.

Streets Leading to Sultanahmet Square Directly

Streets with Views of the *Sphendone* and the Sea of Marmara

The streets facing the *sphendone* have the potential to create an environment that reflects the character of the area attracting people. Together with the streets leading to Sultanahmet Square directly, these streets can play an important part of the area's visual integrity directing people to the historic centre.
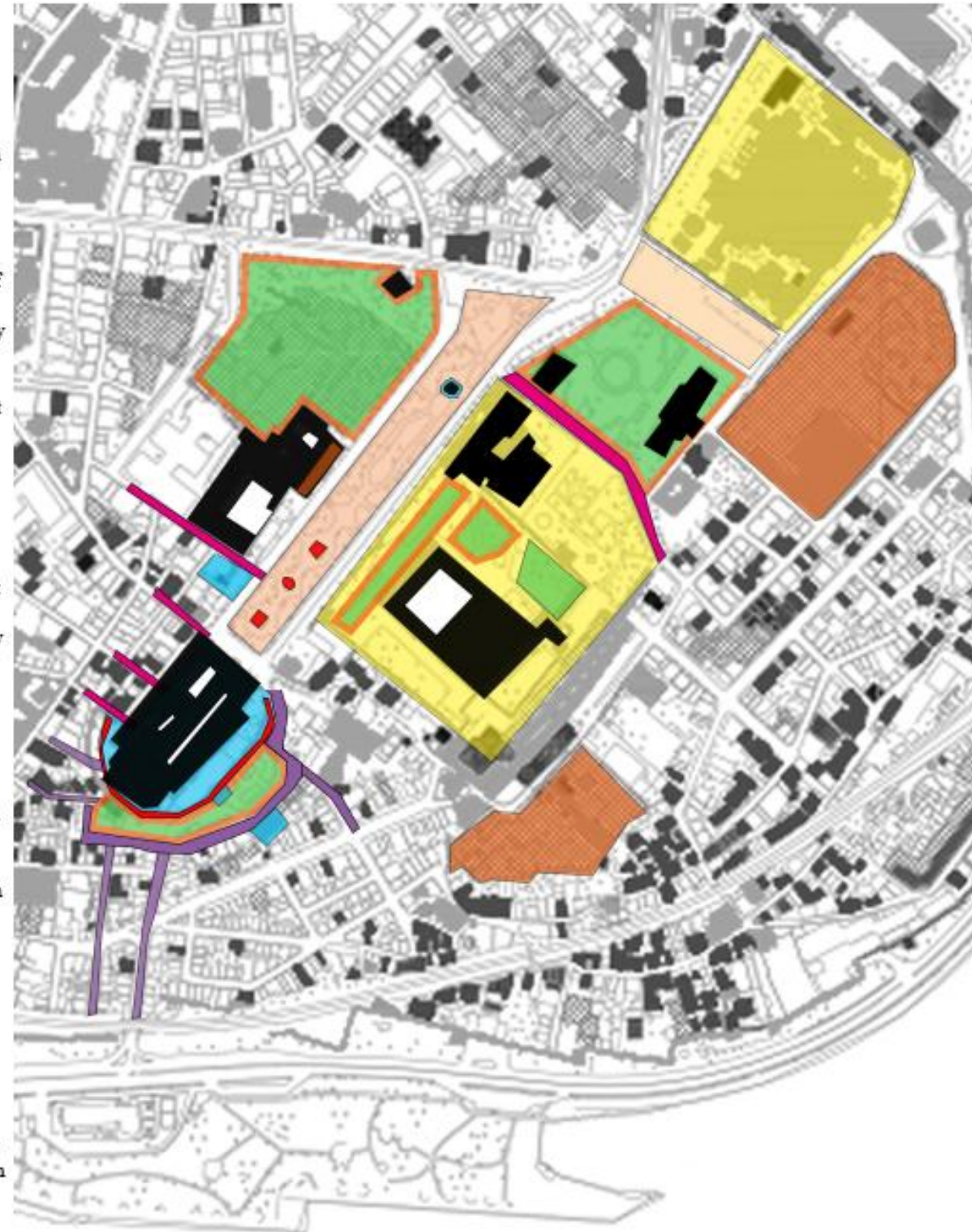
Areas and Structures Providing Natural Environment Opportunities

Due to its location and setting, with the advantage of overlooking the Marmara Sea, the buildings on the *sphendone* provides natural value. This area is also visible from the Marmara Sea due to its topography advantage, and thus, has a silhouette value. Also, historic fountains - the German Fountain, the Rüstem Paşa Fountain, Çukur Fountain- are water features that once made up part of the historic water supply system of Constantinople, and provide visual integration.

Green Archaeological Park Opportunity

Linked green spaces among well-preserved archaeological remains has the potential to be an open-air museum, providing resources for educational research and recreational activities. Green spaces -Mehmet Akif Ersoy Park, 23 April Park, the Hagia Sophia Park, and the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque- provide opportunities to increase public use and contribute to the concept of a large and green Archaeological Park, with its own rich cultural heritage, socio-culturally enlivened.

A Well-Integrated Archaeological Park Opportunity

Being designated as an 'Archaeological Park' on World Heritage List, Sultanahmet Square has the remains of the important structures once consisting the urban core of the Eastern Roman Empire: the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, the church of Saint Euphemia, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Great Palace, and the Hippodrome. The park would ensure international standards and public accessibility, bearing in mind that the archaeological heritage in this area has universal value and is common to all humanity.

Complexes of Architectural Masterpieces with Spiritual Significance

Among several buildings of the Sultan Ahmet complex, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque itself is the most important as a unique structure with its six minarets. Likewise, one of Istanbul's unique structure is the Hagia Sophia, that was used as a church for 916 years and mosque for 482 years. Both of these architectural masterpieces have always had spiritual and religious value, and have contributed greatly to the visit to the site.

Figure 109. Map Showing the Values and Opportunities of the Area

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In Chapter 3, with regard to Sultanahmet Square and its surrounding area, the site's history and transformation process are examined from Late Roman times up to the present day. Chapter 4 examines the values and problems of Sultanahmet Square, thus facilitating our understanding of its identity, characteristics, and cultural significance. These analyses demonstrate Sultanahmet Square's continuity and changing meaning through time, and, furthermore, reveal the main factors affecting them. Moreover, in Chapter 2, the theoretical background was outlined by examining the meaning and change of public space. In addition, international charters and documents concerning the conservation of historical heritage sites, historical public spaces and integration problems in these areas, and the monuments in ruins, were examined. Following this, the conservation history of the world's best preserved Roman Hippodromes, which appear on the World Heritage List, and their current authenticity and integrity status, were analyzed. Therefore, in this chapter the conservation status of Sultanahmet Square through its transformation processes can be synthesized by comparing it with other well-preserved examples, taking into account the standards of international charters and considering the meaning of the concept of public space.

Therefore, after presenting the theoretical framework, detailing the historical background of Sultanahmet Square and making a critical assessment of its current conditions, the main focus of Chapter 5 is to make a general evaluation, based on these analyses, which reveal the main factors behind the formation of the site's current values and problems. Our first task here, therefore, is to determine the change factors and understand the most dynamic ones in terms of the fragmentation

of the Hippodrome and Sultanahmet Square's transformation process presenting an historical timeline of the area as an ancillary tool, on the basis of which later change factors can be determined and categorized, and the impact of each category explained. Finally, as a result of all these analyses and assessments, a general evaluation can be made, and the changing meaning of Sultanahmet Square developed. Additionally, directions for future research are given briefly.

5.1 Determination of Change Factors and Their Effects on the Authenticity and Integrity of Sultanahmet Square

To summarise the historical information gathered in Chapter 3 and link this data with the current conditions of Sultanahmet Square, as revealed in the preceding chapter, an historical timeline has been charted (**Table 3**). This tool assists with our investigation of the site's transformation process in a systematic way, and thus reveals the area's continuity and change cycles, focusing on the Square's meaning and function and, in turn, enabling us to identify the parameters causing change in the meaning of the site. The timeline also facilitates the examination of the impact of change factors on the authenticity and integrity of the area.

The timeline is presented in centuries, starting from the establishment of Constantine's 'Constantinople' up to the present day. All the site's key development phases appear, as well as each new and lost structure, the various stages of the physical conditions of the main architectural and archaeological elements, aspects of socio-economic change and major historical events, and the archaeological research and excavations in the area. Also identified are the significant conservation decisions, the conservation development plans, the roles of the related institutions, and the crucial legislation affecting the area. Additionally, the fragmentation of the Hippodrome and the conservation approaches directed towards it, as well as the area's functional continuity, are examined in more detail, being the most prominent indicators of the changing meaning of Sultanahmet Square. In relation with the **Table 4**, each event featured on the timeline is also

flagged in such as way as to show whether it induces a value or a problem (or both) related to the area today in **Table 4**. Overall, the timeline represents a picture of the formation process of the Square's current status, and all factors that have impacted on this formation.

As can be seen from the timeline, there are a lot of events and actions that have affected the area positively or negatively in the process that Sultanahmet Square has gone through until today. However, as timetable reveals, some of them have been more effective in changing the meaning of Sultanahmet Square, continuing its public use, or the fragmentation of the Hippodrome and disrupting the integrity of the area. Developing an evaluation through groupings facilitates an easier comparison between groups and their effects on change. Therefore, to understand the main factors and turning points for Sultanahmet Square, the data from the timetable has been categorised according to the most relevant groupings. As can be followed in more detail in **Table 4**, based on an analysis of the timeline, the major factors affecting Sultanahmet Square and its close surroundings, at different time intervals, are identified and categorised under nine headings:

a) Natural disasters

b) Laws and regulations

c) Conservation decisions and the role of institutions

d) Conservation plans

e) Excavations and research on the archaeological remains

f) Restoration and strengthening works

g) New constructions on the remains of the Hippodrome

h) Political and historical events

i) Social and cultural activities

5.1.1 Effects of Natural Disasters[393]

Sultanahmet experienced countless fires and earthquakes for centuries that resulted in losing important monuments and structures. In terms of fires, several were deliberately started – i.e. in rebellions such as the Nika Riot of 532 BCE, which led to the wooden seats of the Hippodrome being replaced by marble ones. In the same fire the old Hagia Sophia was lost and the city centre was severely damaged. As for prevention measures, the *Codex Theodosianus* explains how the narrow streets in the area were widened to act as a form of firebreak and improve access. This situation also gave to Justinian the opportunity to rebuild the city as he wanted to, and he prioritized Hagia Sophia. Over the years since then much of the urban fabric of the area has gone and the traditional Ottoman dwellings to a large extent destroyed by fires.

Especially, fires in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries almost completely destroyed the historic fabric of the city in the Historical Peninsula. Due to the traditional Ottoman residential tissue, consisting of timber structures and narrow and dead-end streets, fighting the fires was more difficult. Fires of Fener (1855), Edirnekapı (1856), Aksaray (1856), Unkapanı (1860), and Küçük Mustafa Paşa (1861) destroyed a large part of the historic fabric in the area. As explained in detail before, the *Islahat-ı Turuk Komisyonu* (The Commission on Road Improvement) was established in 1863, and the *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation on Roads and Buildings) was issued after these fires[394]. In addition, 3551 buildings were lost in the Hocapaşa Fire (1865), 885 in the İshakpaşa Fire (1912), 269 buildings in the Kumkapı Fire (1917), and 380 buildings in the

---

[393] In addition to the study area (the vicinity of Sultanahmet and Hagia Sophia), the nearby neighbourhoods, such as Hocapaşa, Tahtakale, Cibali, Bab-ı Ali, Grand Bazaar, and Beyazıt, have been affected by natural disasters. Floods (the most severe in 1553) and disease: cholera and plague in 541, 1346, 1467, 1562, 1591, 1618, 1637, 1655, 1662, 1776 (the most severe), 1831,1853, 1865, 1893, all resulted in significant decreases in the city's population. For further information, see Ürekli 2010, 101-130.

[394] For further information, see above p. 120.

Sultanahmet-Akbıyık Fire (1923). Consequently, due to the fires that have been a serious problem for many years the Sultanahmet Area lost almost all of its historical residential units.

In addition to countless fires, İstanbul has a high earthquake risk and has witnessed numerous of them over the centuries. These tragically caused serious problems in the urban fabric and static conditions of the buildings in the area – and even the *Codex Theodosianus* refers in details to structural strengthening works carried out in the Hippodrome. Clearly these and other natural disasters negatively affected the physical environment and use of Sultanahmet Square, causing the eventual loss of many important structures and changing the physical environment of the historic centre. However, on the other hand, the fires and earthquakes that caused great destruction in the area opened the way for the enactment of legal regulations concerning urban arrangements and conservation of monuments, as well as the restoration and strengthening of monuments, and the arrangement of lots and widening of streets.

5.1.2   Effects of Legal Regulations

The conservation laws concerning the area date back to the Roman laws of the 4th century CE. As detailed previously, conservation decisions directly associated with the Hippodrome and its surroundings were included in the *Codex Theodosianus*. Later, although there was no legislation directly focussing on the area in Ottoman and modern times, various laws dealing generally with the conservation of cultural and natural assets have had important consequences for the conservation, examination and maintenance of the structures and archaeological remains in the area of Sultanahmet Square. Nevertheless, at the same time, these laws remain general ones: socio-cultural and intangible heritage values are in the main ignored, and there are no hard-and-fast decisions against new constructions on or at heritage sites. Therefore, continuity of use of the vicinity of Sultanahmet Square and the conservation of its values are not ensured by legislation. Moreover, further

fragmentation of the Hippodrome (and further impacts on its current poor level of conservation) cannot be guaranteed. Moreover, the absence of a direct law in national laws for the protection of open spaces, even historical open spaces, does not allow the continuity of these areas and the use of the area without harming its historical and archaeological values. The fact that these open areas, which remain in the historical core of the city as the lungs of the city among the dense urban texture, are not protected by an effective law, threatens the sustainability of these areas as open spaces. In addition, as explained in detail before, *5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun* (Law no. 5366 on the Conservation through Renewal and Utilization through Reuse of the Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties) have actually opened the way for the demolition of cultural heritage. This law authorized the municipalities to declare conservation sites as *Yenileme Alanı* (urban renewal sites). Moreover, the authority of conservation decisions on renewal areas has been taken from the *Yenileme Alanı Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu* (Regional Conservation Councils and given to the Renewal Area Councils)[395] As previously experienced in other areas, this threatens to bring a serious increase to the existing number of storey and density in the area. Moreover, since Küçükayasofya was designated as a renewal area in 2006 currently there is the presence of the tourism area, renewal area and urban archaeological site in the same area, and this situation makes conservation decisions fragmented.

As it can be understood, conservation laws at the national level are not regulated in an effective, practical and continuous manner. As a result, there are historical open areas that suffer from new constructions, historical monuments under threat of destruction, and archaeological remains facing of decay. In addition, the current legal regulations cause the authority in the historic sites and conservation areas to be transferred continuously to different institutions with each new law, resulting in

---

[395] For further information, see above p. 147.

disconnected area management and planning. Thus, current legal regulations, as they effect today's Sultanahmet Square, can be said to have more of a negative than positive impact, causing serious harm to the area's authenticity and integrity in terms of physical and social context.

5.1.3 Effects of Conservation Decisions and the Role of Institutions

Since the beginning of the 20th century, several national and international institutions influencing the conservation of cultural and natural heritage sites have begun to take on the role of advising on the planning and managing of the area, with a bearing on the relevant decision mechanisms. As a result, Sultanahmet Square has seen its status elevated to an urban archaeological site, an archaeological park, and a level one (1st degree) conservation area. UNESCO documents the area as bearing a 'unique testimony to the Byzantine and Ottoman civilizations through its large number of high-quality examples of a great range of building types'.

As can be seen in the timeline, UNESCO and ICOMOS especially have been instrumental in the conservation of the area, helping to accelerate and develop its planning and management processes. Such institutions have obviously positively affected the area, by contributing to the conservation and maintenance of its integrity and to helping prevent as much as possible any loss of its values. However, on a national level, different institutions are proving competent. Lack of cooperation and coordination between the institutions authorized in the area results in the conservation, planning and management of the area not being developed in a holistic manner, but partially. In addition, continuous changes in the institutions authorized in the conservation of the area have meant that certain conservation decisions, plans and projects have not been continuous, nor undertaken in a consistent manner.

5.1.4　　　Effects of Conservation Plans

Planning and urban design works started in the area in the 20th century. After Henri Prost Plan (1936) and the *1/5000 ölçekli Sur İçi Nazım İmar Planı* (1964), the first conservation development plan was made in 1990, afterwards the notion of a 'conservation development plan' began to feature in the literature following Law No. 2863.

Until today, as can be seen in the timeline, the plans of 1990, 2004 and 2012 have suffered from various cancellation processes. The non-implementation of the plans, and the validity of the transition period regulations in this process, have caused losses to both the tangible and intangible values of the area. In addition, the plans can be said to be below international standards, far removed in cases from other conservation and planning principles, and technically insufficient. Moreover, they include general approaches that are inappropriate to the study area, with its unique character reflecting Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Early Modern periods. Consequently, these plans may be considered as resulting overall in a diminishing of both authenticity and integrity.

The surrounding areas of the buildings and archaeological remains are far removed from standard design principles, and thus suffer from poor presentation conditions, not reflecting the area's historical character. Natural elements are neglected, or even damaged. Due to improper land use, these important remains are perceived as insignificant fragments, detached from each other. Therefore, due to planning decisions and cancellation processes, the historical integrity of the remains is compromised, and both their actual and semantic integrity, as well as potential, cannot be maximized.

5.1.5 Effects of Excavations and Research into the Archaeological Remains

The archaeological remains in the area confirm that the site was in use since the 7th century BCE, and reveal its significance even then in these early periods. These remains, therefore, provide a time frame for the city and promote our understanding of its importance. In this respect, a wide range of excavation activity helps present the evolution and development of Sultanahmet Square, representing its changing meaning and historical character.

The excavations carried out not only present the physical characteristics of the buildings in the area, but also reveal the use of the location over time, and thus the various cultural characteristics of the societies that have been involved with it. As presented today, the archaeological elements in the area contribute to the inclusion of Sultanahmet Square on the World Heritage List, emphasizing the site's universal value. These features, of course, also equate to an informative and educational resource, adding to an overall direct and positive impact on the values of the area.

5.1.6 Effects of Restoration and Strengthening Works

Since the area dates back to Late Roman times, and has been witness to several natural disasters, the major buildings face severe challenges in terms of their structural conditions. This situation, together with a general neglect, deliberate or not, has resulted in the loss of many features. This, in turn, has negatively impacted on aspects of the site's authenticity and structural integrity. Restorations and strengthening works have helped, of course, to safeguard and maintain the continuity of the structures, and also reflect the conservation approaches directed towards the area. Therefore, in terms of Sultanahmet Square at least, it may be said that the restoration and strengthening projects, especially those of the three landmarks of the Hippodrome, have had positive effects on the continuity of the location.

5.1.7   Effects of New Constructions on the Remains of the Hippodrome

Lying at the heart of the historical city, Sultanahmet Square was always witness to new constructions and development. Today, surrounded by buildings reflecting different period characteristics, the area reflects several different value types. Negatively, however, although many buildings follow the alignment of the Hippodrome's arena, and never actually interfere with its open space, in several cases they have accelerated the fragmentation of the Hippodrome, in particular on its ruined sections on its eastern and western flanks and the curved end. At this point, when depositing the earth fill required for the construction of the Sultanahmet complex, many of the archaeological remains were buried, leaving them some five metres below ground level today.

Admittedly, the majority of the new constructions in the area have added positively to the area, contributing to the identity of Sultanahmet Square, and augmenting many of its values: architectural, aesthetic, rarity, representation, townscape, setting, silhouette, technical, educational, research, and informational. Less beneficial, of course, has been the wider negative impact on the archaeology, and certain specific structural and visual integrity problems, especially in terms of the Hippodrome itself.

5.1.8   Effects of Political and Historical Events

Although representing the former imperial power of the city, Sultanahmet Square, ironically, also became a symbol of the common man: the space has been the venue for numerous political and historical events – some being of historic significance, reflecting turning points in the lives of the inhabitants.

Each of these events caused the meaning of the area to change. It is not hard to see evidence of the continuity of these changes mirrored in the meaning and dynamism of its role in the collective memory. The area conserved its importance for centuries, even though this waned, often suddenly, at certain moments in its long

story, as the result of the dramatic events it witnessed. It can be argued that each of these events, and they may justifiably be labelled 'seismic', negatively affected the use of the area to some degree and led to periods of neglect. Putting it succinctly, it is clear that there has always been dynamic interplay between the city's population and Sultanahmet Square – which has had both negative and positive impacts on the continuity of its function and public use.

5.1.9   Effects of Social and Cultural Activities

The most important factor contributing to the identity of Sultanahmet Square, giving it a key place in the collective memory and making of it a symbol, is the spectrum of cultural and social activities in the area. Sultanahmet Square was the main site where the lifestyles of societies were and are displayed and cultures interface. It has the advantage of being a public space surrounded by green areas among a dense urban tissue, large enough to comfortably accommodate the majority of the city's population at the centre. All these features ensured the continuity of function and increased its public use.

In recent years, this spectrum has gradually decreased and almost disappeared, a situation that is leading to a loss of the location's meaning and identity and a lack of integration with modern daily life – and ultimately to the disappearance of its place in the public's collective memory, since with its current use, the spirit and character of the area will no longer be reflected to such an extent. In sum, it these socio-cultural activities that affect Sultanahmet Square's in a positive way, and as these activities decline the process can be traced in the negative impact on both the authenticity and integrity of the area.

219

Table 3. The Historical Timeline of the Transformation of Sultanahmet Square and Its Changing Meaning

The Hippodrome

Year	Event
330	Dedication Ceremony
532	Nika Riot
726 – 787	Iconoclastic Period
1204	The sack of the Fourth Crusade

At Meydanı

Year	Event
1453	Becoming the Ottoman Capital city
1491	Construction of the FiruzAğa Mosque
1551 – 1568	Construction of the Süleymaniye and Selimiye Mosques
1845	Excavation on the Egyptian Obelisk
1854	Opening the Yeni Millet Garden
1859	Restoration of the Serpent Column
1866	Construction of the Sanayi Mektebi
1895	Restoration of the Masonry Obelisk
1899	Reopening of the Sanayi Mektebi

Sultanahmet Square

Year	Event
1910	Construction of the IROLRC
1918	Excavation by Mambury and Wiegand
1927	Excavation by Casson and Rice
1936	Henri Prost's Master Plan
1942	Discovery of the Church of Euphemia
1951	Establishment of the GEEAYK
1964	1/5000 Walled City Master Plan
1973	Antiquities Act, No: 1710
1982	Law on Tourism Incentives, No: 2634
1984	Acceptence of the 1972 Convention
1990	1/5000 Conservation Master Development Plan for the Historic Peninsula
1999	İzmit Earthquake of August 17
2005	Amendments on Law 2863, No: 5226
2011	Management Plan for the Historic Peninsula
2018	Management Plan for the Historic Peninsula

Fragmentation of the Hippodrome

Continuity of the Public Use

Year	Event
324	Establishment of the New Capital
390	Erecting the Egyptian Obelisk
549	End of the Circus Maximus
1200	The Last Chariot Race
1261	End of Latin Domination
1465	Construction of the Topkapı Palace
1522	Construction of Ibrahim Paşa Palace
1609	Construction of Sultanahmet complex
1848	Excavation on the Serpent Column
1855	Excavation on the Serpent Column
1863	Construction of the Sergi-i Umumi
1894	The great earthquake
1898	Construction of the German Fountain
1909	The Revolt of March 31
1912	İshakpaşa Fire
1919 – 1923	The War of Independence
1932	Excavation by Mambury and Wiegand
1939	New project for the Palace of Justice
1950	Excavation by Duyuran
1953	Classification as an Archaeological Park Declaration as Conservation Area
1972	Acceptence to UNESCO Joining to ICOMOS
1979	Historical Environs of Sultanahmet and Its Tourism Development Project
1983	Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets No: 2863
1985	Granted World Heritage Site status
1995	Classification as urban archaeological site
2004	1/5000 and 1/1000 Conservation Plans
2007 - 2008	Cancellation of the 1/5000 and 1/1000 Plans
2012	1/5000 and 1/1000 Conservation Plans

LEGEND

Values: Natural, Built-environment, Human

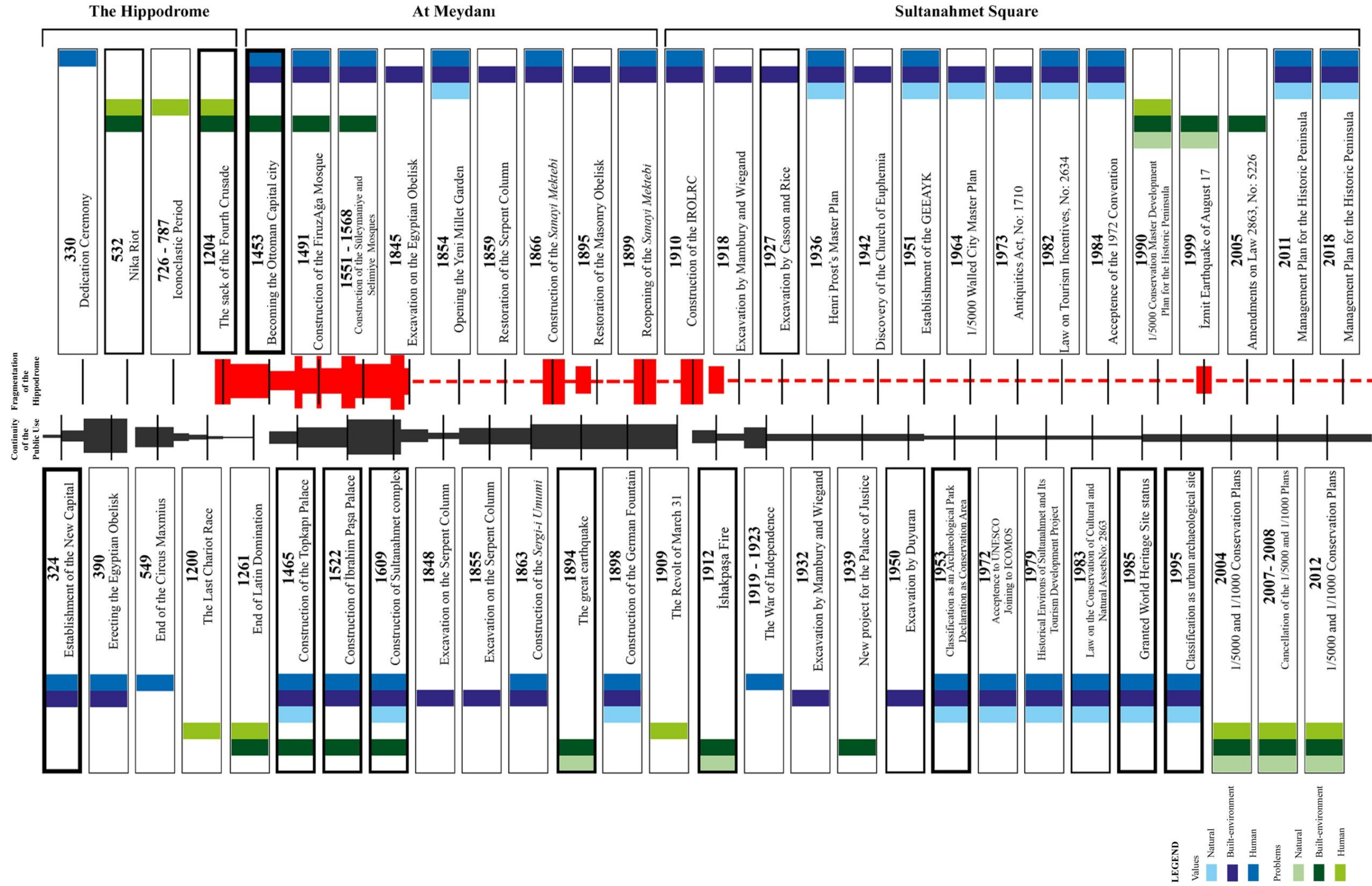Problems: Natural, Built-environment, Human

Table 4. The Factors Activating Change in Sultanahmet Square and Their Effects on the Values of and Threats to the Area

The Factors Activating Change in Sultanahmet Square		Impacts on the Change in Sultanahmet Square							
		Values			Threats			Breaking Points on the Continuity of Function (Public Use)	Fragmentation of the Hippodrome
		Natural	Human	Built Environment	Natural	Human	Built Environment		
Natural Disasters	Earthquakes in 549, 1489, 1509, 1719, 1776, 1894, 1999								
	Fires in 1203, 1590, 1665, 1688, 1738, 1741, 1855, 1856, 1860, 1912, 1923								
Structures in the Study Area	The Hippodrome								
	The Great Palace								
	The Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus								
	The Church of Saint Euphemia								
	Baths of Zeuxippus								
	Hagia Sophia								
	Topkapı Palace								
	İbrahim Paşa Palace								
	Firuz Ağa Mosque								
	Üçler Mosque								
	Süleymaniye Mosque								
	Complex of Sultanahmet								
	Yeni Millet Garden								
	Sergi-i Umumi Osmani								
	Sanayi Mektebi								
	Janissary Museum								
	Defter-i Hakani								
	Directorate of Istanbul Regional Office of Land Registry and Cadastre								
	German Fountain								
	Üçler Fountain								
	Rüstem Paşa Fountain								
	Istanbul Courthouse								
Political and Historic Events	Establishment of the New Capital 'Constantinople'								
	Dedication Ceremony and other Imperial Ceremonies in the Hippodrome								
	Bringing Obelisks to the Hippodrome								
	Being connected to the Great Palace								
	Nika Riot								
	End of all other Circuses								
	The sack of Fourth Crusade								
	Latin Domination								
	Being the New Capital of Ottoman Empire 'Konstantiniyye'								
	Sultanahmet Incident								
	Çınar Incident								
	Moving festivities to the other parts of the city								
	Moving to Dolmabahçe Palace								
	Revolt of 31 March								
	The meetings during the War of Independence								
	Foundation of the Turkish Republic								
	Transferring the Capital from Istanbul to Ankara								
Social and Cultural Activities	The Hippodrome spectacles, chariot races and festivities								
	Sûr-ı Humayuns, festivities and imperial ceremonies								
	Establishing Bazaars in the square and in the garden of Sultanahmet Mosque Dinners during Ramadan								
Excavations and Research on the Archaeological Remains	by Lepsius in 1845								
	by Newton in 1855								
	by Mamboury and Wiegand in 1908 and 1932								
	by Casson and Rice in 1927								
	Discovery of the Church of Saint Euphemia in 1942								
	by Duyuran in 1950								
Restoration and Strengthening Works	of the Hippodrome in 406								
	of the Hippodrome in 532								
	of the Serpentine Column in 1859								
	of the Masonry Obelisk in 1895								
Conservation Decisions and Role of Institutions	Establishment of the Council for Ancient Monuments								
	Establishment of the Directorate of Turkish Antiquities								
	Establishment of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments								
	Establishment of the GEEAYK								
	Classification as an Archaeological Park and Conservation Area								
	Acceptance to UNESCO								
	Joining to ICOMOS								
	Codex Theodesianus								
	Identification of Sultanahmet Square by the Council of Europe								
	Signing the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage								
	Granted for World Heritage Status with Outstanding Universal Value								
	Recognized as an Archaeological Park								
	Classification as an Urban Archaeological Site								
	Establishment of Presidency of the Management Sites of Istanbul								
	Authority in the urban renewal areas were taken from the Regional Conservation Councils and given to the Renewal Area Councils								
Legal Regulations	Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi, The Regulation on Antiquities								
	Ebniye Nizamnamesi, The Regulation on Roads and Buildings								
	Belediyeler Kanunu, Law no. 1580, on Concerning the Municipalities								
	Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu, Law no. 1593, on Public Sanitation								
	Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu, Law no. 2290, on Building and Roads								
	Decree-Law on the Conversion of Hagia Sophia Mosque into a Museum								
	Law no. 1710 on Antiquities Act								
	Conservation issues in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey								
	Law no. 2634 on Tourism Incentives								
	Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property								
	Law no. 5216, on Metropolitan Municipality								
	Law no. 5225, on the Encouragement of Cultural Investments and Initiatives								
	Law no. 5226 on Amendments to the Law no. 2863								
	Law no. 5366 on the Cons. Thr. Renewal and Utilization thr. Reuse of the Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties								
Conservation Plans and Urban Design Projects	1936 Prost Plan								
	1964 1/5000 Istanbul Sur İçi Master Plan								
	1979 The Historical Environs of Sultanahmet and its Tourism Development Project								
	could not be implemented								
	1990 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan for the Historic Peninsula								
	2004 1/5000 Conservation Master Plan for the Historic Peninsula								
	Cancellation of the Plan								
	2004 1/1000 Conservation Implementation Plan for Eminönü and Fatih								
	Cancellation of the Plans								
	2011 Management Plan of the Historic Peninsula								
	2012 1/5000 Fatih District Urban Site Conservation Development Plan								
	2012 1/1000 Sultanahmet Archaeological Site Implementation Plan								
	2018 Management Plan of the Historic Peninsula								
	Geçiş Dönemi Yapılaşma Koşulları								

223

5.2   Conclusions

Sultanahmet Square is the most symbolic public open space in İstanbul, having an overarching position in the city's history. Geographically and strategically, Constantinople/İstanbul, of vital importance to previous empires, has always been the location chosen as the setting for major national events, and within the city the area of today's Sultanahmet Square has been a focus for most of these events. As a result, the area has undergone a continuous transformation process and witnessed significant physical and socio-cultural changes.

Despite its changing meaning, unchanging features are the area's ability to remain as an open space in a dense urban tissue, and its continuity of public use. Having accommodated different cultures, and being the most important public space of its time, the location has acquired both physical as well as human values. This gradual transformation process has provided the area with many structures and representative architecture; evidence of each period is visible in its historical timeline, including the loss of many of its previous structures. Of course, the famous Hippodrome, can be counted among these lost features, one of its most iconic structures from the 4th to the 7th century, continuing to have a role until 1200.

On 11 May 330, Constantine I established his 'New Rome' over the Greco-Roman city of *Byzantion*, and built his Hippodrome. This magnificent edifice was more than just a public monument in Constantine's new city, it was the product of an imperial ideology representing the continuation of the Roman Empire and unifying the empire within a single tradition. Additionally, it was the medium that represented the power of the Emperor, Constantine I, and his Empire. In a relatively short period, the monument became the place where the most important social, political, cultural, and artistic events of the Byzantine Empire occurred from the 4th to the 7th century.

With the establishment of Christianity by the 6th century, and the closure of hippodromes throughout the Empire – as being representatives of paganism – the

Hippodrome of Constantinople survived, continuing to have a function for political and ideological purposes. Between the 8th century and 1200, the number of chariot races and spectacles gradually decreased, and after the last race (in 1200), major catastrophes, such as the great fire of 1203, and the sack of the Fourth Crusade the following year, heralded its loss of meaning and function, and it was extensively damaged. From the 14th century, it also shared the same destiny as the other hippodromes, abandoned to its own fate and ultimately transformed into a partially destroyed structure, falling into decay.

From 1453 to the end of the 16th century, the Ottomans saw the Hippodrome as a source of material and reused it as spolia for the new empire buildings they would construct, which accelerated its fragmentation and resulted in the area's transformation into an open space. This area, later called At Meydanı, became the city's main square. Although the Hippodrome physically disappeared, its function was maintained as the area became the focus for socio-cultural and political activities and the administrative centre of the city, surrounded by the palaces of the Sultan and his viziers. At the beginning of the 17th century, with the construction of the complex of Sultan Ahmet, the area revived again. However, the soil and materials from the construction of the complex were dumped into At Meydanı, causing the remains of the Hippodrome to lie 5 m below the original ground level. By the 18th century, as other places in the city began to be used for ceremonies and public festivities and the Sultan moved his palace from Topkapı, as well as an increase in the number of revolts and executions at At Meydanı, the location began to lose its importance. The Tanzimat era in the 19th century brought a new understanding of urbanism, and with a movement towards westernization, At Meydanı was enclosed by monumental public buildings. From the 19th century, several urban design projects were implemented to regain the lost splendours of the site, and, for the first time, individual excavations, archaeological research, and restoration works began on the surviving elements of the Hippodrome.

Since the 20th century, archaeological excavations and studies in the area have gained momentum and the Hippodrome has been the subject of scholarly research.

Starting from the second half of 20th century, Sultanahmet Square's status as of 'Outstanding Universal Value', its meaning and historical significance, were emphasized and conservation activities were initiated. Although conservation development plans started following these developments, what resulted were only disconnected and ineffective conservation development plans.

As a result of all this transformation process, the area is today a reposit of heritage, containing artifacts from Late Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. However, as much as helping the area to gain various value types, the transformation process also caused serious damage to the authenticity and integrity of the area, and even, in certain parts, a loss of these values. In brief, today Sultanahmet Square is one of the most attractive areas for tourists in İstanbul, while being still the administrative and commercial centre at the core of the city, surrounded by architectural masterpieces – Hagia Sophia, the Sultanahmet Mosque, and the Topkapı Palace. However, questions that can still be posed include: Are the remains of the Hippodrome conserved and well-integrated within Sultanahmet Square? Does the square still a part of the daily life of the public?

As the UNESCO Recommendation Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976) and the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (1987) state, having proper legislation for cultural heritage at the national, regional, and local level, as well as having harmonious relationships between legal, administrative and financial practicalities, ensures the holistic conservation of these areas and the sustainability of the archaeological remains in the area. The examples of Meridà's hippodrome and Rome's Circus of Maxentius, Circus Maximus, and the Piazza Navona indicate the importance of legal regulations and provide examples of successful solutions that meet these criteria. As can be seen in these above-mentioned celebrated examples, unless coordination and cooperation between institutions is ensured, and Sultanahmet Square's planning and management care is given to a single and long-term authority, then the sustainable management of the area clearly cannot be guaranteed.

The World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1977) state that the conservation plans of the historical city centres in the World Heritage List should be made in coordination with the upper scale plans. The relationship of these sites with the city should also be considered in a holistic manner. Thus, heritage should be an integral part of any planning policy to ensure 'integrated conservation'. The Valletta Principles (2011) also mentions that the conservation plans should include the analysis of archaeological, historical, architectural, technical, sociological and economical values, and should be combined with a management plan and followed by permanent monitoring.[396] Cultural heritage sites in Meridà and Rome are good examples that show successful understanding of the comprehensiveness and integration possible between planning solutions in these areas. On the other hand, the examples from Leptis Magna, Tyre, and Sultanahmet all suffer from the lack of integrated management and planning, resulting in inadequate conservation of the archaeological remains and the loss of physical and social integration within the area.

Moreover, the public, local authorities, relevant institutions and organizations should be participated and involved during planning and management processes, in order to increase the awareness and responsibility of the public. The Valletta Principles (2011) states that participation by public can be facilitated through distributing information, awareness raising and training, as we see in the example of Meridà successfully.[397] On the other hand, as we have seen from Leptis Magna, Tyre, and Sultanahmet, the lack of public awareness means that visitors to these areas may leave without ever having been made aware of the existence of the remains of structures that were once the most important in the area. Furthermore, this lack of awareness results in deterioration in the physical condition of these

---

[396] ICOMOS 2011, 16.
[397] ICOMOS 2011, 10.

remains and, often, vandalism. Not knowing the importance and meaning of a site is also one of the main reasons leading to functions that are inappropriate for the area.

All the mentioned international documents also clearly state the importance of new functions and activities in the area, and that they should be compatible with the character of the historic urban location. The selected plans should also reflect design and policies that ensure the conservation of the area's monuments and archaeological remains, while ensuring that the location meets the functional daily needs of its citizens, as is so well demonstrated by our three Roman examples. The Valletta Principles (2011) also signifies the importance of the contemporary architecture as they must be "coherent with the existing spatial layout in historic towns as in the rest of the urban environment". Whereas, in Sultanahmet, we see that the immediate vicinity of the *sphendone* is surrounded completely by uses and activities that are inappropriate for the area, resulting in the significance of the greatest relic of the monument being totally overshadowed.

As stated in the Venice Charter (1964) and the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990), the common target of is ensuring conservation, and not to harm authenticity and integrity. Moreover, heritage is accepted as 'common to all humanity', and thus, not to represent international standards is unacceptable in heritage sites. Therefore, while in the Piazza Navona the remains of the Stadia di Domiziano are exhibited in the Roman Stadium Museum five meters below ground level, it is unacceptable that the remains of the Hippodrome are only visible in an area under the İbrahim Paşa Palace, while those remains that lie still under the *sphendone*, in the garden of the Sultanahmet Mosque (and those of the Baths of Zeuxxippus, the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, and the Church of Saint Euphemia) are ignored, and even left to decay. In fact, as well as their presentation problems, the three monumental landmarks of the Hippodrome (the *sphendone*, the remains of the palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, and the remains of the Great Palace) were only registered in

2005, and, astonishingly, the other remains of the Hippodrome, and the remains of the Bath of Zeuxippus, are still not registered.

Another essential criterion for the conservation of the cultural heritage sites at the risk from natural disasters is the preparation of a proper risk management strategy. Such strategies should be integrated with all the relevant plans specific to these sites to ensure the physical conservation of monuments and remains. Kostof also stresses this point when mentioning the dimensions of squares: their potential to be used for gathering places following natural disasters. He mentions that after the Sicilian earthquake of 1693, there was a proposal for the piazzas to be large enough to serve as tented areas for the homeless.[398] Thus it is relevant to mention here this aspect of the possibility of using Sultanahmet for such a function should the need arise, given that the city is at risk from earthquakes, provided that the appropriate and compulsory risk management plans were in place.

The Nara Document (1994) and the Quebec Declaration (2008) emphasize the significance of a holistic conservation approach to achieve a well-maintained historic urban centre, together with its tangible and intangible values. Heritage has a place in the collective memory of the public and has a symbolic meaning – a spirit – and there is a duty to transmit this spirit to sustain continuity. The Valletta Principles (2011) also emphasizes the importance of intangible heritage as "The intangible elements that contribute to the identity and spirit of places need to be established and preserved, since they help in determining the character of an area and its spirit".

> "The loss and/or substitution of traditional uses and functions, such as the specific way of life of a local community, can have major negative impacts on historic towns and urban areas. If the nature of these changes is not recognised, it can lead to the subsequent loss of identity and character. It can result in the transformation of historic towns and urban areas into areas with a single function devoted to tourism and leisure and not suitable for day- to- day living."[399]

---

[398] Kostof 1999, 137.
[399] ICOMOS 2011, 6.

As mentioned before, Moughtin states that the most important function of a public square may be described as the symbolic meaning attached to it. Also in the words of Kostof "Public place is the canvas on which social and political change is painted."[400] As stated in Quebec Declaration (2008), since heritage can maintain its existence only by an adaptation to time and place, it changes over time according to societal needs and the trends of the time. In other words, planning and management is accepted as a continuous dynamic field, and thus, together with traditional social and cultural values, contemporary socio-economic conditions should be considered in this process. All the three Roman examples are successfully integrated cultural heritage sites that enhance the daily lives of citizens by being designed to meet the interests and needs of the public. In contrast, the current use of Sultanahmet Square, and its inability to integrate with modern daily life, surely results in its loss of meaning and identity, and may eventually even lose its place in the collective memory of the people, as well as not reflecting, of course, the spirit and character of the area.

> "Public space in historic towns is not just an essential resource for circulation, but is also a place for contemplation, learning and enjoyment of the town. Its design and layout, including the choice of street furniture, as well as its management, must protect its character and beauty, and promote its use as a public place dedicated to social communication. The balance between public open space and the dense built environment must be carefully analyzed and controlled in the event of new interventions and new uses."[401]

In short, although the area has lost its former magnificent monuments in the course of its long transformation process, and although its remains face many conservation problems today, Sultanahmet Square, as one of the most significant public spaces in the city for millennia, has managed to protect the open space it has inherited from its celebrated Hippodrome, with its changing meaning.

---

[400] Kostof 1999, 124.
[401] ICOMOS 2011, 13.

5.3   Directions for Future Research

The data gathered from the historical analyses and evaluation of values and problems can be utilised for the development of strategies, principles, and decisions for conservation measures concerning Sultanahmet Square and its immediate surroundings.

Using the information collected, an exhibition showing the changing meaning and conservation history of Sultanahmet Square in its historical timeline can be prepared in order to foster public awareness of its considerable cultural significance. In this context, using surviving parts of the Hippodrome as part of any exhibition would increase public awareness and interest of the monument.

A comprehensive social survey to understand the current users of Sultanahmet Square and their needs and recommendations to help increase its public use should now be prepared. From this, the changing meaning of the area can be understood in its entirety, and requirements for the continuation of the function of the area can be defined. Moreover, such research would lead to an understanding of what activities would attract the visitors and users of the location, what will enable them to come to the area as part of their daily lives, and how they wish to interact and enjoy this important heritage site.

REFERENCES

ANCIENT SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Amm.: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. V. Gardthausen, Teubner, Leipzig, 1874-75.

Chr. Pasch.: *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB, Bonn 1832.

Cod. Theod.: *Codex Theodosani cum constitutionidus sirmondianis et leges novellae* I, eds. Th. Mommsen and P.M. Meyer, Berlin 1905.

D.C.: Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, ed. U. P. Boissevain, Berlin 1895-1901.

Iuv.: D. Iunius Iuvenalis, *Saturarum libri V*, ed. U. Knoche, Munich 1950.

Jo.Mal. Chron: Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, PG 97.

Tab. Peut.: *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. K. Miller, Ravensburg 1888.

MODERN SOURCES

Abbott, F.F. and Johnson, A.C. (1926). *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*. London: Oxford University Press.

Ahunbay, Z. (2013). Istanbul'un Bizans Dönemi Kültür Mirasının Korunması. *Toplumsal Tarih*, *229*, 56-60.

Akpınar, İ. (2011). Istanbul, 'Yıkarak Yapmak'…., *Betonart*, *29*, 40-42.

Altınyıldız, N. (2007). The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation. *Muqarnas*, *24*, 281-305.

Asher, A. (Trans.) (1840). *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*. Vol. 1. *Text, Bibliography and Translation,* London, Berlin: A. Asher & Co.

Atasoy, N. (1997). *1582, Surname-i Humayun: Düğün Kitabı.* İstanbul: Koçbank.

Atasoy, N. (2012). *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Aykaç, P. (2017). *Musealisation as an Urban Process: The Transformation of the Sultanahmet area in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula*. Doctoral Dissertation, Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, London.

Balsdon, J. P. (1969). *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome.* London: Bodley Head.

Bardill, J. (1997). The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study. *American Journal of Archaeology, 101*(1), 67-95.

Bardill, J. (2010). Archaeologists and Excavations in the Hippodrome. In Pitarakis, B. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.83-91). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Bardill, J. (2012). *Constantine Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Basset, S.G. (1991). The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 45*, 87-96. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291694

Bassett, S. (2004). *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.

Beacham, R. (1999). *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Berger, A. (2000). Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 54*, 161-172. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291837

Berger, A. (2013). *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria.* London: Harvard University Press.

Bergmann, B. (2008). Pictorial Narratives of the Roman Circus. In Jocelyne, N.C. (Ed.), *Le cirque romaine et son image* (pp.361-391). Bourdeaux: Ausonius.

Bilsel, C.F. and Pierre P. (Eds.) (2010). *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951).* Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü.

Bilsel, C.F. (2011). 'Les Transformations d'Istanbul': Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951). *A/Z ITU Journal of Faculty of Architecture, 8*(1), 100-116.

Bell, S. (2014). Roman Chariot Racing: Charioteers, Factions Spectators. In Christesen, P. and Kyle, D.G. (Eds.), *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (pp.492-505). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Brandi, C. (2000). *Teoria del Restauro*. Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi.

Bunson, M. (2002). *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire*. Newyork: Facts on File. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/37871607/Encyclopedia_of_the_Roman_Empire_pdf?auto=download

Camargo, E. (1981). *Piazza Navona, Harvard Square, Piccadilly Circus: A Study About Morphology and Use.* Master's Thesis, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul Brazil, Porto Alegre.

Cameron, A. (1974). *Bread and Circuses. The Roman Emperor and His People*. Newyork: Oxford University Press.

Cameron, A. (1976). *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cameron, A. (1973). *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Carr, S., *Stone, A.M., Francis, M. and Rivlin, L.G.* (1992). *Public Space*. London: SAGE Publications.

Cary, E. (Trans) (1925). *Roman History, Volume VIII: Books of 61-70.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. Retrieved from: https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/

Casson, S. and Rice, D.T. (1928). Preliminary Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927 on Behalf of the British Academy. London: Oxford University Press.

Casson, S. and Rice, D.T. (1929). Second Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in and Near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928. London: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M. (1977). *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.

Cerasi, M.M. (1985). Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth - XIXth Centuries. *Environmental Design, 2,* 36-49.

Cerasi, M.M. (2006). *Divanyolu*. (Özdamar A., Trans.). İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Ciggaar, K.N. (Ed.) (1996). *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations*. Leiden, Newyork, Köln: Brill.

Clavir, M. (2002). *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Coleman, K. (2000). Entertaining Rome. In Coulston, J. and Dodge, H. (Eds.), *Ancient Rome. The Archaeology of the Eternal City,* (pp. 209-58). Oxford: Oxbow.

Cunningham, F. (2009). Public Spaces and Subversion. In Kingwell, M. and Turmel, P. (Eds.), *Rites of Way: The Politics and Poetics of Public Space* (pp. 85-100). Ontario: Wilfrid University Press.

Dagron, G. (2010). From One Rome to the Other. In Pitarakis, B. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.29-936). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Dagron, G. (2014). *Konstantinopolis Hipodromu.* (Yerguz İ., Trans.). Çemberlitaş-Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.

D'elboux, R. (2010). Joseph-Antoine Bouvard in São Paulo, 1911: Antecedent Events and Repercussıons. *International Journal of New Technology and Research, 2*(5), 56-67.

Dey, H. W. (2015). *The Afterlife of the Roman City, Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dodge, H. (2011). *Spectacle in the Roman World.* London: Bristol Classical Press.

Dodge, H. (2014). Building for An Audience: The Architecture of Roman Spectacle. In Christesen, P. and Kyle, D.G. (Eds.), *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (pp.282-298). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Duyuran, R. (1947). St. Euphemia Martyrion'u: Son Senelerde Meydana Çıkarılmış Olan Bu Tarihi Eserin Akıbeti Ne Olacak? *Arkitekt 3* (4), 74-77.

Duyuran, R. (1952). First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı, 5,* 23-38.

Duyuran, R. (1953). Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, *6,* 74-80.

Duyuran, R. (1957). İstanbul'da Yapılan Başlıca Arkeolojik Araştırmalar. *Arkitekt, 287*(2), 75-80.

Eldem, N. Atilla, Y. and Melih, K. (1979). Sultanahmet Meydanı Çevresi ve Ayasofya Soğukçeşme Sokağı Koruma ve Geliştirme Projesi. *Çevre*, 19-24. http://www.yapi.com.tr/Uploads/HaberMedya/20002006/haberler%5Chaber_dosya lari%5Cnezih_eldem%5Ccevre_1.pdf.

English Heritage (2008). *Principles Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Fagan, G. (2011). *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*. Newyork: Cambridge University Press.

Frey, B. S. (1997). The Evaluation of Cultural Heritage: Some Critical Issues. In M. Hutter and I. Rizzo (Eds.), *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage*. London: Macmillan.

Gerola, G. (1931). Le Vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti. *Studi Bizantini e Neollenici, 3,* 247-279.

Grig, L. and Kelly, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity.* London: Oxford University Press.

Gökyay, O.Ş., Kurşun, Z., Kahraman, S.A., Dağlı, Y., Sezgin, İ. and Dankoff, R. (Eds.) (1996). *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*: *İstanbul*. 1 Cilt – 2. Kitap, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Günay, B. (1999). *Property Relations and Urban Space*. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press.

Günay, B. (2009). Conservation of Urban Space as An Ontological Problem (1). *METU JFA, 26* (1), 123-156.

Habermas, J. (1992). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, J. (2000). *Kamusallığın Yapısal Dönüsümü* (Bora, T. and Sancar, M. Trans.). İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları.

Harvey, D. (1999). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.

Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E. (2012). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Humphrey, J. H. (1986). *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*. London: Batsford.

Işın, E. (Ed) (2010). *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*. İstanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Işın, E. (2010). At Meydanı: The Problematic of a Cross-Cultural Venue. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.10-17). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

İnan, S. and Kıraç, İ. (2010). The Joy of Greeting the Hippodrome and At Meydanı. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.7-10). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

James, L. (1996). Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard. Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople. *Gesta, 35*(1), 12-20. http://www.jstor.org/stable/767223

Jokilehto, J. and Feilden, B.M. (1998). *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites.* Rome: ICCROM.

Jokilehto, J. (2006). Considerations on Authenticity and Integrity in World Heritage Context. *City & Time, 2*(1), 1-16. http://www.ct.ceci-br.org

Kafescioğlu, Ç. (2009). *Constantinople/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kahraman, S.A. (Ed.) (2008). Hâfız Mehmet Efendi. *1720 Şehzâdelerin Sünnet Düğünü. Sur-ı Hümayun.* İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Karahan, A. (1966). *Figanî ve Divançesi*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.

Kazdhan, A.P. (Ed.) (1991). *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kingwell, M. and Turmel, P. (2009). Introduction: Rites of Way, Paths of Desire. In Kingwell, M.and Turmel, P. (Eds.), *Rites of Way: The Politics and Poetics of Public Space.* Ontario: Wilfrid University Press.

Kostof, S. (1999). *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*. Boston: Little Brown.

Krautheimer, R. (1983). *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Kuban, D. (2001). *Istanbul An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinople, Istanbul*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Kuban, D. (2010a). At Meydanı. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.17-32). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Kuban, D. (2010b). *Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine İstanbul Yazıları*. İstanbul: YEM.

Kwon, N. (2016). The Architectural Characteristics of Piazza Navona, Rome and Its Ecological Function and Role in Urban Environments. *Journal of the Korea Institute of Ecological Architecture and Environment*, *16*(6), 83-94.

Kyle, D. G. (2007). *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Larson, J. (2012). *The Emperor, the Church, and Chariot Races: The Imperial Struggles with Christianity and Entertainment in Late Antique Constantinople.* Master's thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/1862987/The_Emperor_the_Church_and_Chariot_Race s_The_Imperial_Struggles_with_Christianity_and_Entertainment_in_Late_Antique _Constantinople

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* (Nicholson-Smith, D. Trans.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Legrand, H.E. (Ed.) (1974). *Liber Insularum Archipelagi.* Amsterdam: Philo Press. (Original work published 1420 by Buondelmonti, Cristoforo)

Lipe, W. (1984). Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources. In H. Cleere (Ed.), *Approaches to the Archeological Heritage: A Comperative Study on World Cultural Resources Management Systems* (pp. 1-11). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Little, W., Fowler, H.W., Coulson, J. and Onions, C.T. (1970). *The Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated: An Illustrated Edition of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lordoğlu, N. (2019). Byzantion ve Kalkhedon'un Şehircilik Açısından İncelenmesi: Kuruluşlarından Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne Kadar. *Cedrus VII*, 169-194.

Lukes, S. and Scull, A. (1983). *Durkheim and the Law*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Lynch, K. (1984). *Good City Form*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Madanipour, A. (2010). Whose Public Space? In Madanipour, A. (Ed.), *Whose Public Space?* (pp. 237-242). NewYork: Routledge.

Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. New York: Routledge.

Madran, E. (2002). *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları.

Madran, E. and Özgönül, N. (2007). *Kültürel ve Doğal Değerlerin Korunması*. Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi.

Magdalino, P. (2007). *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*. London: Ashgate Variorum.

Majeska, G.P. (1984). *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Mamboury, E. (1951). *İstanbul Touristique*. Istanbul: Çituri Biraderler Basımevi.

Mango, C. and Dagron, G. (Eds.) (1995). *Constantinople and Its Hinterland.* Aldershot: Variorum.

Mango, C. (2000). The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 54,* 173-188. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291838

Mango, C. (2003). Septime Sévère et Byzance. *Comptes Rendus des Séances de L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 147*(2), 593-608. https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.2003.22583

Mango, C. (Ed.) (2004). *The Oxford History of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mango, C. (2005). *Studies on Constantinople.* Aldershot: Variorum.

Mango, C. (2010). A History of the Hippodrome of Constantinople. In Pitarakis, B. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.36-44). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Mamboury, E. and Wiegand, T. (1934). *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmara-Meer*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Retrieved from: https://www.worldcat.org/title/kaiserpalaste-von-konstantinopel-zwischen-hippodrom-und-marmara-meer/oclc/979593370/viewport

Marconi, C. (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mason, R. (2002). Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices. In Torre, M. (Ed.), *Assessing Values of Cultural Heritage* (pp. 5- 30). Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

McNeal, E.H. (Trans.) (2005). Robert of Clari. *The Conquest of Constantinople*. Newyork: Columbia University Press.

Meijer, F. (2010). *Chariot Racing in the Roman Empire*. (Waters, L. Trans.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Miller, K. F. (2007). *Designs on the Public: The Private Lives of New York's Public Spaces.* Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Miller, S. (1991). *Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*. Berkeley: UCLA.

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The Right to the City, Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Mofatt, A. and Tall, M. (Trans.) (2012). Constantine Porphyrogennetos: *The Book of Ceremonies*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Moughtin, C. (2003). *Urban Design, Street and Square*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Mumford, L. (2007). *Tarih Boyunca Kent.* İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Mundell Mango, M. (2000). The Commercial Map of Constantinople. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 54,* 198-202.

Müller-Wiener, W. (2001) *İstanbulun Tarihi Topoğrafyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul.* (Sayın, Ü. Trans.). İstanbul: YKY Yayınları.

Nayir, Z. (1975). *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609-1690).* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.

Neal, Z. P. (2010a). Locating Public Space. In Orum, A. M. and Neal, Z. P. (Eds.), *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space* (pp. 1-10). New York: Routledge.

Neal, Z. P. (2010b). Locating Public Space. In Orum, A. M. and Neal, Z. P. (Eds.), *Common Ground?: Readings and Reflections on Public Space* (pp. 201-207). New York: Routledge.

Necipoğlu, N. (Ed.) (2001). *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life.* Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill.

Necipoğlu, N. (2003). Türkiye'de Bizans Tarihçiliğinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Sorunları. *Toplumsal Tarih*, *112*, 72-78.

Nelis-Clément, J. and Roddaz, J. M. (Eds.) (2008). *Le Cirque Romain et Son Image: Actes du Colloquetenu à l'Institut Ausoniu.* Bordeaux: Ausonius.

Nezhad, S. F., Eshrati, P. and Eshrati, D. (2015). A Definition Of Authenticity Concept in Conservation Of Cultural Landscapes. *International Journal of Architectural Research, 9*(1), 93-107.

Nezhad, S. F., Eshrati, P. and Eshrati, D. (2016). Developing a Conceptual Framework of Integrity in Urban Heritage Conservation. *Armanshahr Architecture & Urban Development, 9*(16), 95-104.

Nutku, Ö. (2010). Festivities in At Meydanı. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.71-96). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Onions, C.T. (Ed.) (2006). *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Özbayoğlu, E. (Trans.) (1997). Petrus Gyllius. *İstanbul'un Tarihi Eserleri.* İstanbul: Eren Yayınclık.

Özcan, B. (2009). *Sürdürülebilir Kent Meydanları ve Roma Piazza Navona Örneğinde İncelenmesi*. Master's Thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara.

Özcan, C. (2019). *Interpretation and Presentation of the Byzantine Cultural Heritage at Sultanahmet in Istanbul*. Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Parkinson, J. (2009). Holistic Democracy and Physical Public Space. In Kingwell, M. and Turmel, P. (Eds.), *Rites of way: The Politics and Poetics of Public Space* (pp. 71-84). Ontario: Wilfrid University Press.

Paton, W.R. (Trans.) (1916). *The Greek Anthology*. London: W. Heinemann; Newyork: G.P. Putnom's Sons. Retrieved from: https://archive.org/details/greekanthology03pato/page/360/mode/2up

Pharr, C. (1952). *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pinon, P. (2010). Henri Prost, Albert Gabriel, Istanbul Archeological Park and the Hippodrome. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.152-169). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Pitarakis, B. (Ed.) (2010). *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*. Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Pound, R. (1959). *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Prost, H. (1938). *İstanbul Hakkında Notlar, 1937*. İstanbul: İstanbul Belediye Matbaası.

Rambaud, A. (1871). *Le Monde Byzantin: Le Sport et L'hippodrome a Constantinople*. Paris: Revue des Deux Mondes.

Riegl, A. (1985). The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins. *Oppositions, 25*, 21–51.

Riegl, A. (2015). *Modern Anıt Kültü* (Ceylan, E. Trans.). Istanbul: Diamon.

Roueché. C. (2009). Entertainments, Theatre, and Hippodrome. In Jeffreys, E. (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (pp. 677-684). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roueché, C. (2010). The Factions and Entertainment. In Pitarakis, B. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.50-65). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Sami, Z., Bilgen M. and Erdönmez, E. (2020). Navona Meydanı'nın Tarihsel Süreç İçerisinde Fiziksel ve İşlevsel Özelliklerinin İncelenmesi. *Urban Academy, Urban Culture and Management, Spring 2020, 13*(1), 112-122.

Saradi-Mendelovici, H. (1990). Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Late Byzantine Centuries. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 44,* 47-61. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291617

Sarfatij, H. and Melli, P. (1999). "Archaeology and the Town". *Report on the Situation of Urban Archaeology in Europe*, 13-29. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press.

Seeck, O. (Ed.) (2014). *Notitia Dignitatum: Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Provinciarum.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Serin, U. (2017). Kültürel Mirası Yorumlamak: Türkiye'de Arkeolojinin Bizans Çalışmalarına Katkısı. *Toplumsal Tarih*, *278*, 68-81.

Serin, U. (2018). Ankara and the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish Periods. In Botteri, P., Veronesi, V. and Ravalico, S. (Eds.), *Progetto Ancyra. Il tempio di Augusto e Roma ad Ankara* (pp. 335-379). Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Sorek, S. (2010). *The Emperors' Needles: Egyptian Obelisks and Rome.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Strange, G.L. (Trans.) (2014). *Embassy to Tamerlane: 1403-1406. Clavijo*. London and Newyork: Routledge. Retrieved from: https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=h3Yfp86qMkAC&pg=PA33&hl=tr&source =gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false

Tanman, B. and Çobanoğlu, A. V. (2010). Ottoman Architecture in At Meydanı and its Environs. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.32-71). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Tekeli, İ. (1988). Kentsel Korumada Değişik Yaklaşımlar Üzerine Düşünceler. *Planlama, 1,* 19-22.

Tekeli, İ. (2010). The Story of İstanbul's Modernisation. *Architectural Design, 80,* 32-39.

Tekeli, İ. (2013). *İstanbul'un Planlama ve Gelişmesinin Öyküsü*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Temiño, R. (2004). *Arqueología Urbana en España*. Barcelona: Ariel Patrimonio.

Tezcan, H. (1989). *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresi Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*. Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.

Trancik, R. (1986). *Finding Lost Space: Theories of Urban Design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Press.

Ulrich, R.B. (2014). *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Umur, Z. (1990). *Roma Hukuku*. İstanbul: Beta Basım Yayım Dağıtım AŞ.

Varinlioğlu, G. (1998). *The Legacy of the Hippodrome at Constantinople.* Master's Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara.

Vasiliev, A.A. (1948). The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *4,* 27-49. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1291048

Yazıcı, N. (2010). The First Ottoman Exhibition Building in Atmeydanı and the Collaboration of Architects-Bourgeois-Parvillée-Montani. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.128-152). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Yenişehirlioğlu, F. (2010). İbrahim Paşa and Sculpture as Subversion in Art. In Işın, E. (Ed.), *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History* (pp.111-128). Istanbul: Pera Müzesi.

Yıldırım, E. (2004). *İstanbul'da Kent Mobilyalarının Değerlendirilmesi: Sultanahmet Meydanı Örneği.* Master's Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.

Ward-Perkins, J.B. (1994). *Roman Imperial Architecture*. New Heaven Conn.; London: Yale University Press.

Webb, M. (1990). *The City Square: A Historical Evolution.* New York: Whitney Library of Design.

Webb, R. (2008). *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity*. London, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Wistrand, M. (1992). *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome.* Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Wolińska Łodź, T. (2011). Constantinopolitan Charioteers and Their Supporters. (Gucio, K. Trans.) *Studia Ceranea,1,* 127-142.

Wright, T. (2000). New Urban Spaces and Cultural Representations: Social Imaginers, Social-Physical Space, and Homelessness. In Hutchison, R. (Ed.), *Constructions of Urban Space* (pp. 23-57). Connecticut: Jai Press Inc.

Zamani, B. (2010). The Design and Development of Public Open Spaces in an Iranian New Town. In Madanipour, A. (Ed.), *Whose Public Space?: International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development* (pp. 69-86). New York: Routledge.

Zucker, P. (1996). *Town and Square from Agora to the Village Green*. New York: Columbia University Press.

CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT PLANS / PLAN REPORTS

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2003). *Tarihi Yarımada Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı Plan Raporu*. İstanbul: IBB.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2011). *Fatih 1/5000 Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı Plan Raporu.* İstanbul: IBB.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2011). *İstanbul Metropoliten Alanı Kentsel Ulaşım Ana Planı*. İstanbul: IBB.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2012). *Fatih İlçesi (Tarihi Yarımada) 1/1000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı Plan Açıklama Raporu*. İstanbul: IBB.

İstanbul Tarihi Alanları Alan Başkanlığı (2018). *İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada Yönetim Planı.* İstanbul: IBB.

Tourism Bank Istanbul Development Office (1981). *Partial Conservation and Development Implementation Plan of Sultanahmet and its Vicinity*.

INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS AND DOCUMENTS

ICOMOS (1964). *The Charter of Venice*, *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*. Venice.

ICOMOS (1987). *The Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter)*. Washington, D.C.

ICOMOS (1990). *The Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage.* Lausanne.

ICOMOS (1994). *The Nara Document on Authenticity.* Nara.

ICOMOS (1999). *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance.* Burra.

ICOMOS (2011). *The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas.* Paris.

ICOMOS (2008). *The Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place.* Quebec.

UNESCO (1972). *World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Paris.

UNESCO (1976). *Recommendation Concerning Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas.* Nairobi.

UNESCO (1977). *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.* Paris.

LEGAL REGULATIONS

5805 Sayılı Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Teşkiline ve Vazifelerine Dair Kanun, 02.07.1951. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 09.07.1951-7853, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

1710 Sayılı Eski Eserler Kanunu, 25.04.1973. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.05.1973-14527, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

2709 Sayılı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 18.10.1982. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 20.10.1982-17844, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

2634 Sayılı Turizmi Teşvik Kanunu, 12.03.1982. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 16.03.1982-17635, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu, 21.07.1983. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu, 03.05.1985. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 09.05.1985-18749, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu, 10.07.2004, T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.2004-25531, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

5225 Sayılı Kültür Yatırımlarına ve Girişimlerine Teşvik Kanunu, 14.07.2004, T.C. Resmî Gazete, 21.07.2004-25529, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

5226 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu İle Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapilmasi Hakkında Kanun, 14.07.2004. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 21.7.1983-18113, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

5366 Sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun, 16.06.2005. T.C. Resmî Gazete, 5/7/2005-25866, last retrieved on 14.12.2019.

WEBSITES

URL 1: https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/great-palace (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 2: Google Earth (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 3: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/183/gallery/ (last accessed on 24.02.2020).

URL 4: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/299/gallery/ (last accessed on 25.02.2020).

URL 5: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/664/gallery/ (last accessed on 28.02.2020).

URL6:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_circus_of_M%C3%A9rida#/media/File:VR_Mérida_03.JPG (last accessed on 28.02.2020).

URL 7: https://www.livius.org/articles/place/rome/rome-photos/rome-circus-of-maxentius/ (last accessed on 20.02.2020).

URL 8: https://www.google.com.tr/maps (last accessed on 20.02.2020).

URL 9: https://www.parcoappiaantica.it/home/il-parco/archeologia (last accessed on 22.02.2020).

URL 10: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/91/gallery/ (last accessed on 01.03.2020).

URL 11: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_pictures/7464227.stm (last accessed on 01.03.2020).

URL 12: https://www.livius.org/ (last accessed on 20.10.2020).

URL 13: http://epamimarlik.com/en/proje/sultanahmet-ve-cevresi-duzenleme-projesi/ (last accessed on 10.03.2020)

URL 14: https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/7136 (last accessed on 24.09.2020).

URL 15: https://www.123rf.com/ (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 16: https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/great-palace (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 17: https://www.kalinti-istanbul.com (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 18: http://www.kalinti-istanbul.com/item/antiochos-sarayi-eufemia-martirionu/ (last accessed on 24.09.2020).

URL 19: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/pg/photo-gallery/first-iftar-dinner-at-the-sultanahmet-square-in-istanbul (last accessed on 24.09.2020)

URL 20: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/356 (last accessed on 20.01 2020).

URL 21:
http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/Eklenti/27154,turkeyinworldheritage.pdf?0 (last accessed on 20.01 2020).

URL 22: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space/ (last accessed on 10.09.2020).

URL 23: https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (last accessed on 10.09.2020).

URL 24: https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/3859 (last accessed on 20.02.2020).

URL 25: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/299/ (last accessed on 20.02.2020).

URL 26: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/664/ (last accessed on 24.02.2020).

URL 27: https://www.comune.roma.it/ (last accessed on 22.02.2020).

URL 28: https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/138449 (last accessed on 01.03.2020).

URL 29: https://trinitycollegelibrarycambridge.wordpress.com/2015/12/11/views-of-constantinople-the-freshfield-album-online/ (last accessed on 04.04.2020).

URL 30: https://korumakurullari.ktb.gov.tr/TR-89184/tarihce.html (last accessed on 11.11.2019).

URL 31:
http://www.worldheritageturkey.com/media/dosyalar/%C4%B0stanbul_Y%C3%B6netim%20Plan%C4%B1_24%C5%9Fubat2012_k.pdf (last accessed on 11.11.2019).

URL 32: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-0601-1 (last accessed on 02.03.2020).