

FROM A COURTYARD TO A SQUARE: TRANSFORMATION OF THE BEYAZIT MEYDANI IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY İSTANBUL (1)

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INTRODUCTION

After a short city survey on the sultan's mosques (*selâtin camileri*) in the Historical Peninsula, a person, even not very familiar with the traditional fabric of İstanbul, may be stunned by the fact that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque is missing. How did a traditional courtyard turn into an open city square and what was the significance of this transformation? This study is devised to shed light on this issue.

Traditionally, Ottoman sultan complexes (*külliyes*) are organised around two courtyards following each other: an exterior courtyard and an interior courtyard. Mehmet II (Fatih), Beyazıt II, and Süleyman I built grand *külliyes* on the Historical Peninsula in almost a century from 1459 to 1550s (2). Each of these great religious and political monuments of the empire had two courtyards conforming with the building tradition of the Empire (3). Although Süleymaniye (*külliye* of Süleyman I) and Fatih (*külliye* of Mehmet II) preserved their courtyards, Beyazıt Mosque, as part of the *külliye* of Beyazıt II, lost its exterior courtyard (4). Architectural historians generally did not pay enough attention to the absence of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque (5). However, the courtyard of a mosque had an important place both in terms of the organisation of social life and the architecture of a Sultan Mosque. As Evliya Çelebi noted, not only the interior space of the mosque but also the courtyards of it were named with the word "*harem*". Even the terminology, which was used to define a courtyard, expresses the specific meaning of this space with connotations of 'privacy'. The use of the words of "*harem*" or "*harîm*" expresses a sensibility to the meaning of a courtyard of a mosque in the society (6), as it can be exemplified in the attempt of reconstruction of the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque a hundred years later. Sedat Hakkı Eldem proposed to reconstruct the lost exterior courtyard back in 1939-1940 (7). During 1950s the Prime Minister Menderes was observed to lead extensive reconstructions in İstanbul. The government of the Demokrat Party by Menderes, was using Eldem's

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2. Chronologically, between Beyazıt II's and Süleyman I's complexes, there are other sultan complexes, such as Sultan Selim I's complex. It is not clear whether Sultan Selim Mosque was built during the reign of Sultan Selim I or Süleyman I. See, Müller-Wiener (2001, 476).

3. In İstanbul, one may find mosques without an exterior courtyard. However, an exterior courtyard is a fundamental architectural element for a sultan mosque. For the morphological analysis of the exterior courtyards of sultan mosques, see Ataman (2000, 93-116).

4. Other cases about the demolition of the exterior courtyards can be seen in later examples. These cases actually deserve further research.

5. Kuban and Kahya realized the most detailed work on the Beyazıt Meydanı. However, they mention neither the existence of the exterior courtyard of the mosque nor the demolition of it. See, Kuban and Kahya (1987). Kuban's other works on the subject are: Kuban (1996), and Kuban (1998). Depending on the information from Evliya Çelebi, Yüksel Aydın claims that Beyazıt Mosque had an exterior courtyard which is now open to public. However he does not inquire about the borders of this courtyard or the history of it. See, Aydın (1983, 191). Tahsin Öz, refrains from discussing whether Beyazıt Mosque had an exterior courtyard or not. See, Öz (1987, v:1, 34). According to Mustafa Cezar, the Beyazıt Mosque had no exterior courtyard. Although he has inspiring comments about the positions of the Beyazıt Medrese and the Beyazıt Mosque, he claims that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque did not exist. See Cezar (2002, 97). Reşat Ekrem Koçu was not an architectural historian; however he noticed that there was an exterior courtyard, depending on the information from Evliya Çelebi again. But he did not elaborate on how it was demolished, but only mentioned some shortcomings, as will be repeated in the next paragraphs. See, Koçu (1960, 2234). Oktay Aslanapa claims that the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was already demolished, but gives no detailed account. See Aslanapa (1986, 134). Ataman focuses on the idea of 'courtyard', however his observation on the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, is not supported by documents that can be analysed. See, Ataman, 2000,106. The last but surely not the least, Eyice believes that like the other Sultan Mosques, there was an exterior courtyard in Beyazıt. For him, the issue of exterior courtyard of Beyazıt is an interesting subject and deserves a deeper research. See, Eyice (1997, 47).

6. Originally there is no difference between the terms *harım* and *harem*. *Harem* is the Turkish pronunciation of *harım* and passed to European languages as such. Notice that the *harım* or *harem* of a mosque is its sacred and protected space against violence. In the sense of "prohibited, protected, untouchable", *harem* is the synonym of the word of *harım*. For details, see Yeşilkaya (2003).

7. About his proposal, see, Eldem (1983, 63).

8. Turgut Cansever, 22 October 2001, interview. See also Ziyaoğlu (1971, 461-462). The changes that took place during the Republican Period has been studied. See Yeşilkaya (2001).

9. "[G]öz önünde bulundurulmuş esas Beyazıt Camiine ve Beyazıt Külliyesine bir harım kazandırmak ve bu ulvi muhiti asudeliğe kavuşturmak" *İstanbul'un Kitabı* (1957, 37).

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

11. About the role of Tanzimat regulations, see, Yerasimos (1996).

project (8) and supporting his proposal for the *harım* of the Beyazıt Mosque. They claimed in a propaganda book of reclaiming the "*harım*" to the mosque and aimed "meeting this holy area with tranquility" once more (9) in their reconstruction program. The constructions in the square took several years and were discussed widely in the newspapers. During these constructions Beyazıt Meydanı changed a lot but the *harım* of the Beyazıt Mosque was never re-built.

How did the *harım* or the introvert (enclosed) space belonging to the mosque become an exterior public space? The disappearance of the exterior courtyard (i.e. *harım*) and merging of it with the square (*meydan*) outside is the main focus of this paper. Its transformation from a traditional inner courtyard into an open-public square will be observed. It should be noted that this change indicates a very early example of transformation of urban space in the history of modernisation of İstanbul. The research begins with the attempt to clarify the role of the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in this transformation process at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

ABOLISHMENT OF THE JANISSARY CORPS AND THE INITIAL INTERVENTIONS IN İSTANBUL IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

From the late eighteenth century through the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire strengthened its rule and domination over the traditional Janissary Corps. Particularly Sultan Mahmud II's fight against the Janissary Corps (the event of *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* in 1826) left its imprint on the urban space in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. However, Osman Nuri Ergin's and İlhan Tekeli's contributions set aside, the role of the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in the transformation of urban space was not studied in architectural and urban history of İstanbul. Ergin, in his book *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, emphasizes the significance of the year of the abolishment, i.e. 1826 (1241), as the establishment of a new order in place of the traditional system (10). Tekeli (1994, 5) also emphasizes the role of "former changes" before the organisation of the modern administrative system.

On the other hand, the proclamation of Tanzimat reforms is generally accepted as a symbol for the start of the modernisation of İstanbul and other cities of the Ottoman Empire in the urban history writing (11). Planning and administrative organisations are regarded as the main issues to understand the re-shaping of İstanbul. In this context, particular attention is paid to the second half of the century, where the main issue was about widening old narrow roads, eliminating *cul-de sacs* and opening new roads. Characteristic properties of the ancient Roman city, such as forums and wide streets had disappeared since new neighbourhoods were settled on them. However, as Ergin (1995, 203) pointed out, wide streets and squares were tried to be re-inserted in the city after the Tanzimat regulations. After the big fires, which devastated large areas in the city, it was possible to make room for straight, wide boulevards and squares. Consequently, the urban structure of İstanbul was changed to a great extent.

Zeynep Çelik in her book *The Remaking of İstanbul* (1993, 3), starts with the apriori judgment that "The modern era had not yet left its mark on the Ottoman Capital in the early decades of the nineteenth century". She particularly draws attention to the Tanzimat reforms (1839) and regulations on urban planning and building codes (after 1848). She also elaborates the roles of big fires, which had devastated huge areas in the city in 1850s

12. Since Eski Odalar in Şehzadebaşı and Yeni Odalar in Aksaray were demolished, Sultan Mahmud II immediately ordered the construction of new barracks for the new army. They were located outside the Historical Peninsula. With this act, Sultan Mahmud II was not only eliminating the armed forces from the Historical Peninsula but also removing the symbols and memories of the Janissaries from the inner city. Because of its close location to the city center, first, the *Eski Odalar* complex was re-built as a residential neighbourhood; Fevziye. Then, the complex of *Yeni Odalar* was occupied and replaced by the Ahmediye neighbourhood. Traces of the monumental Janissary barracks were lost under the residential areas. Replacing Ağa Kapısı with Bâb-ı Fetva, Mahmud II not only honoured the Şeyhülislam but also relegated the Ağa Kapısı laden with sad memories into history. In his *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (imperial order), Sultan Mahmud II clearly emphasized that he aimed to “extract even the phrase Ağa Kapısı from public language”. He stated that, by a strong belief to *şer’at*, it was aimed to erase the memory of Ağa Kapısı totally. The critical role of Sultan Mahmud II in the transformation history of İstanbul, was studied by looking through these demolished areas such as *Eski Odalar*, *Yeni Odalar* and Ağa Kapısı during the abolishment of the Janissary Corps. For more, see Yeşilkaya (2003) and (2004).

However there is need to develop a map to see the extent of transformation in the historical peninsula in order to allow comparisons before and after *Vak’a-i Hayriyye*. The difficulty here is to find the traces of *Yeni Odalar* which was totally destroyed, leaving back no visual documents about its physical features.

and 1860s. She values the 1856 Aksaray Fire as “a major turning point in the history of İstanbul’s urban form” (Çelik, 1993, 53). The project of Luigi Storari for the reorganization of Aksaray, in which the crossroads were “emphasised” by “cutting of the corners”, was regarded as “Though by no means a public square in the Western sense of the word, the new intersection was perceived as such, and, for example, was described by the *Journal de Constantinople* as a ‘belle place’” (Çelik, 1993:54).

For Doğan Kuban (1996, 376), Mahmud II was “the last sultan to rule in a pre-industrial age” and Tanzimat is “the age of radical administrative reforms”. Although Kuban (1996, 376) claims that during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II “the city’s physiognomy had been considerably altered”, his particular emphasis is also on the later regulations and building activities. Amongst the *Altıncı Daire’s* (the Municipal Office in the district of Beyoğlu; the Sixth District) organisations of public squares, he mentions Karaköy Square and Şişhane Meydanı. Parallel to the discussion of Çelik, Kuban (1996, 387) argues that, in the Historical Peninsula, Aksaray Meydanı (the project of Storari after the 1856 Aksaray Fire) is a case that “For the first time in İstanbul the intersection of two streets was enlarged to create a small octagonal square”.

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

Transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı (as will be observed through the following paragraphs) represents an earlier case than the Aksaray Meydanı and other squares that were mentioned above. Here, the most significant point is not the priority of the case of Beyazıt from a historical perspective, but for the reasons behind the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı are critical. As an early example, which dates from 1820s, the Beyazıt Meydanı was re-shaped not as an urban planning and regularization exercise, but as part of the spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II, who succeeded to overcome the power of Janissaries in the city. Mahmud II, who gained the authority entirely, tried to reinforce his rule and started to reshape the city: spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II can be seen in his attempts to control the urban space. *Vak’a-i Hayriyye* was a momentous event both for the history of the Ottoman Empire and had important impact in restructuring the Beyazıt Meydanı. After *Vak’a-i Hayriyye*, Et Meydanı (where the Janissaries came together in rebellions), *Yeni Odalar* (New Barracks) and *Eski Odalar* (Old Barracks) were totally destroyed and eradicated from the map. Ağa Kapısı, the Headquarter of Janissaries, was damaged (and later a new office, called *Bâb-ı Fetva*, was settled there) (12).

The process of transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı, into Seraskerlik Meydanı (the square of New Army Headquarters), constitutes a unique case reflecting this long power struggle. With the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, Beyazıt Meydanı became the centre of the new army and the notable stage of the military ceremonies. Thus, early decades of the

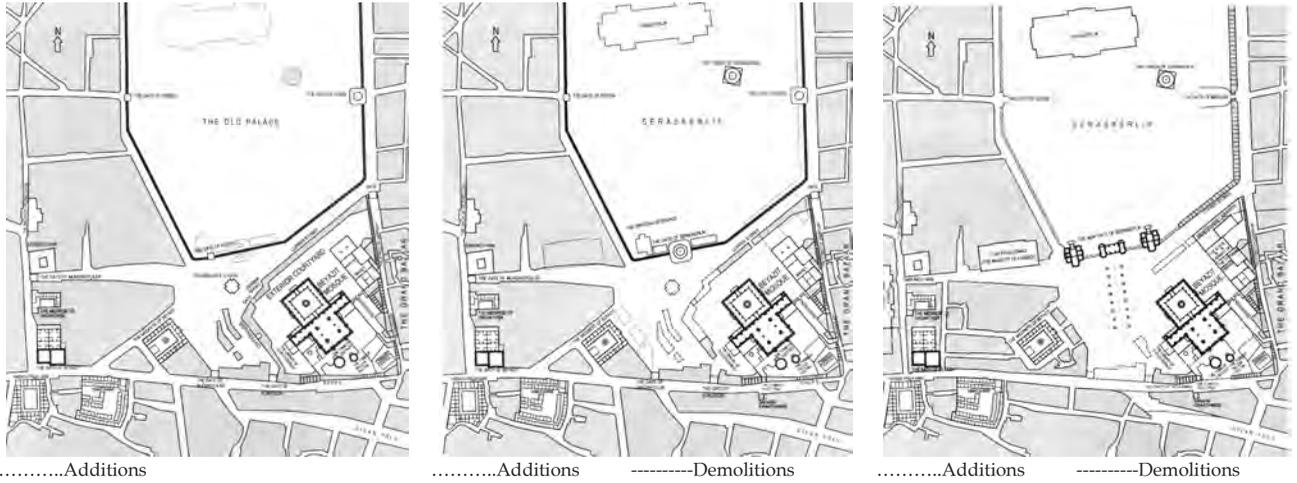


Figure 1. Beyazıt Meydanı prior to Vak' ai Hayriye (1826). Compiled and drawn by the author from the following cartographic sources: Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan, The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, n: 3339, in Çeçen (1997); Map of Beyazıt Area, *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması* (1987); Contemporary map of Beyazıt Area, Municipality of İstanbul, n: İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-2-d, İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-3-a.

Figure 2. Beyazıt Meydanı After the Vak' ai Hayriye (1826) - till 1860s.

Compiled and drawn by the author from the following cartographic and visual sources: Moltke's Drawing (1839); Municipality of İstanbul, The Library of Atatürk, n: 956.101 – 563, MOL 1268; Stolpe's Map, 1866. Stolpe (1866); Map of Imperial Engineering Department (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyun), 1845, in Eldem (1979); Map of Imperial Engineering Department, (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümâyun)(1847); Dar' ü Saadet, Kayra (1990); Bartlett's Engraving, 1835, Pardoe (1997) Photographs by Robertson, 1853-1854, published in Eldem (1979); Map of Beyazıt Area, *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması* (1987); Contemporary Map of Beyazıt Area, Municipality of İstanbul, n: İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-2-d, İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-3-a.

Figure 3. Beyazıt Meydanı between 1865-1880s. Compiled and drawn by the author from the following cartographic and visual sources: Ayverdi's Map (1880s), Ayverdi (1978); Map of İstanbul, 1913-4 (German Maps); Municipality of İstanbul, The Library of Atatürk, No:912.563 İST J7 - 912.563 İST J6; Photograph of Seraskerlik Meydanı, by Sébah & Joaillier (circa 1860s), published in Max Fruchtermann (no date); Map of Beyazıt Area, *Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Proje Yarışması* (1987); Contemporary map of Beyazıt Area, Municipality of İstanbul, n: İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-2-d, İstanbul-F21-c-25-d-3-a.

nineteenth century, particularly with the interventions of Sultan Mahmud II, had "left its mark on the Ottoman Capital".

In this research, the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque is comprehended as a gradual process that initiated after *Vak' ai Hayriyye* (1826). **Figure 1, 2, 3** provide a cartographic summary of the spatial transformations that could be identified in and around Beyazıt Meydanı. In **Figure 1** we see the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque prior to the event of *Vak' ai Hayriyye*. In **Figure 2** we see that the Old Palace was assigned as the headquarter of the New Army as Seraskerlik, a new gate for Seraskerlik was built and the northern part of the exterior courtyard was demolished. In **Figure 3** we see that Beyazıt Meydanı is enlarged through the Divan Yolu and only the southern part of the exterior courtyard has remained. This paper will provide a summary of these transformations; leaving out of its scope the ones after 1860, which have also their marks in **Figure 3**. In the following paragraphs, the historical background of the area will be reviewed.

LOCATING BEYAZIT MEYDANI IN THE HISTORICAL PENINSULA

The Beyazıt Meydanı, named after the Beyazıt Mosque, is the heart of the Historical Peninsula of İstanbul (**Figure 4**). Located at the centre of the old city, the area was the Forum Tauri during the Byzantine period (13). When Sultan Mehmed II (Fatih) conquered İstanbul he built his first Palace (the Old Palace) on the north of this area, which is housing the İstanbul University today.

Sultan Mehmed II (the Conquerer: *Fatih*), who called himself as "*Sultanü'l berberyn ve'l bahreyn*" (The Sultan of two lands and two seas)(14), built his Palace (later named the Old Palace) at Beyazıt, in the middle of the city, after the conquest (15). Sultan Beyazıt II reshaped the area by inserting his *külliye* (building complex, which is composed of a mosque, a *medrese*-theological school, a caravanserai, an *imaret*-public kitchen, a primary school, and a bath) at the beginning of the 16th century (16). Locations of the barracks, the mint and the trade centre, contribute the city organised around Beyazıt. To the southwest of his palace *Fatih* located the military barracks (Old Barracks, *Eski Odalar*). The Simkeşhane (mint) was built in 1463 across the Palace (Cantay, 1994, 561). To the east, next to the Port, was located the trade centre of the city, following the Byzantine tradition. Uzun Çarşı Street assumed similar functions during the Byzantine Empire



Figure 4. Aerial view of the Historical Peninsula. Beyazıt Meydanı, Beyazıt Complex, and the Gate of the Old Palace (later the Gate of Seraskerlik and today the Gate of İstanbul University) are pointed out in the circle.

(Freely, 1999, 60). Between 1455 and 1461, the Grand Bazaar (Kapalı Çarşı) was realized and Mahmud Paşa Han was constructed (17). Trade activities extended from the Port to the city centre, i.e. Beyazıt, through the Grand Bazaar and Hans.

A decade after the conquest, Fatih built his new Palace, which is known as Topkapı Palace today (18). Thus, the Palace at Beyazıt (the Old Palace) began to be used for the family (*harem*) of the Sultan (Altınay, 1998, 13-14). Via the Divanyolu (the ancient Mese), members of the Divan (Council of the State) used to go to their houses through Beyazıt in a parade after the meetings in the Topkapı Palace (Koçu, 1960, 4624). Besides, Beyazıt had always have a place in the royal ceremonies (*sûr-ı hümayun*) of the Empire, thanks to the presence of Imperial family. Not only the Old Palace, but also Ağa Kapısı, the headquarter of the Janissaries, gave the quality of an administrative centre to the Beyazıt district. Beyazıt was also a residential neighbourhood, where residences of the upper class families (*konak*) were located, as can be concluded from the parades of Divan.

After his father's reign, Sultan Beyazıt II, continued to reconstruct İstanbul. His *külliyeye* (building complex, comprising a mosque, a *medrese*-theological school, a caravanserai, an *imaret* - public kitchen, a primary school, and a bath) was built between the Old Palace, Simkeşhane and the Grand Bazaar at the beginning of the 16th century. The architect of the mosque was known as Hayreddin (Altınay, 1936, 4), however the names of Kemalledin and Ya'kup Şah were also mentioned as the architect of the mosque (Eyice, 1997, 45; Koçu, 1960, 2230).

Thanks to its accessibility, the Beyazıt district was highly attractive for citizens and commercial activities. In an official order, [which is the oldest historical document that we have about the Beyazıt area], it is stipulated that while At Meydanı needed to be cleaned once a year, Beyazıt had to be cleaned twice a month (19). This document illustrates the high prestige and popularity of Beyazıt. It is possible to argue that the Beyazıt area was used for daily activities more than was At Meydanı. Evliya Çelebi describes the huge crowds of people visiting the Beyazıt Mosque every day, in his well-known exaggerated manner (20).

EXTERIOR COURTYARD OF THE BEYAZIT MOSQUE AND BEYAZIT MEYDANI

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

With its irregular architectural composition and site plan the Beyazıt Külliyesi distinguishes itself both from the Fatih Külliyesi (an earlier complex) and Süleymaniye Külliyesi (a later and nearby complex). However, the location of the buildings of the Beyazıt Külliyesi is not arbitrary. Mustafa Cezar (2002, 97) states that the distance between the

13. For archaeological research on Forum Tauri, see Müller-Wiener (2001, 258-265).

14. The inscription on the Sultan II. Mehmed's pavilion at Topkapı Palace. See, Çağman (1999, 27).

15. He built the Old Palace from 1454 to 1457. See, Altınay (1998, 13).

16. See Müller-Wiener (2001, 264); Kuban (1996, 243) and Ataman (2000, 105-107). Since the *medrese* and bath were not recorded in the *II. Beyazıt Vakfiyesi*, it may be assumed that they were added to the complex later. See, Aydın (1983, 204, 213). This also explains why these buildings were left outside the exterior courtyard of the mosque, as mentioned.

17. For the trade center of the city, see Cezar (1983, 51-58).

18. Topkapı Palace was built in 1465-1478. See, Altınay (1998, 13-14).

19. An official order claims: "At Meydanı yılda bir kere ve merhûm ve mağfûrun-leh Sultan Bayezid Han tâbe serâhü havâlisî ayda iki kere süpürülüp pâk ü tathîr edegelmekte..." Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı*; 94 quoted in Ergin (1995, 907).

20. "...ve İslambol'un çarşu-yı bazarı içre vakı olduğundan şeb u ruz nice bin cemat-i kesirden aram yokdur. Kerratîle vakı' olmışdır kim bir cemaat salat-ı aşrı edâ idüp evvelki cema'ate Ayete'l-kürsî red eda itmeğe mani olup gayrı cemaatdur, ta bu merete izdiham-ı kesirdir ve şebu ruz havz-ı azimin muslukları kapanmayup da'ima cereyan itmededir. Zira cema'atden bir an aram yoktur." Evliya Çelebi (1996, 60).



Figure 5. A miniature from *Hünername* (1584). (Topkapı Museum, No: H.1523, p.158b - 159a, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca İstanbul Görünümleri*).

Figure 6. The detail from **Figure 5** showing the Old Palace and the exterior courtyard.



medrese and the mosque constitutes an open square, and corresponds to former Forum Tauri. He used Evliya Çelebi's term "Beyazıt Meydanı", as an evidence to suggest that it was a "meydan" during the 16th and 17th centuries. For Cezar, this statement implies that the Beyazıt Mosque was not endowed with an exterior courtyard but a *meydan*. The distant locations of the mosque and the *medrese* can explain the permanence of the Forum Tauri. However, we believe that, this is a hasty conclusion about the absence of the exterior courtyard. Indeed, Evliya Çelebi did not only mention "Beyazıt Meydanı" but also defined "*harem-i azimi*" (grand harem, i.e. exterior courtyard) in Beyazıt.

The exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was documented in the visual and written sources of the 16th and 17th centuries (21). Evliya Çelebi explained the exterior courtyard of the mosque and the Beyazıt Meydanı clearly (22). In his explanation, Evliya Çelebi designated the exterior courtyard of the mosque with the word "*harem*". We already mentioned the importance of the use of the word of harem in Islamic tradition. Now we will try to figure out the configuration of the harem of the Beyazıt Mosque before it disappeared in the 19th century.

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

In a miniature from *Hünername*, dated 1584 (**Figure 5, 6**), we can clearly observe borders of the exterior courtyard and those of the Old Palace. The borders of the exterior courtyard of the mosque seem to extend parallel to the mosque, in a rectangular form, like in the other Sultan Mosques of Fatih and Süleymaniye.

21. For more detail see, Yeşilkaya (2003).

22. "Ve bu cami'in iç harem-i haricinde olan sahra missal harem-i azim-i canib-i selasında dekakinler inşa idüp esnaf-ı sanayi'at-ı ehl-i hıref ile araste ve bir matbah ve me'kel-i darüz-ziyafe ile piraste ve bri dar-ı misafirin ile pür-haset bir haremdir. Ve bir mekteb-i sıbyan-ı tıflan fukaray-yı a'yanzadeler için bir ta'lim-i Kur'anı ve bir darü'l kurrası vardır. Ve harem-i canib-i erbasında altı kapısı vardır. Bu haremden haric serapa guna-gun dirah-ı müntehalar ile müzeyyen olmuştur. Amma ekseri şecere-i tut-ı guna gündür. Bu eşracatların zıll-ı himayesinde nice bin adem sayedar olup kifaf-ı nefis için nice bin güne eşyalar furuht iderler. Ve bu haremden taşra bir azim vadi vardır. Sultan Beyazıt meydanı dirler canib-i erba'sı dekakin-i guna gunlar ile müzeyyendir. Bir tarafında Bayezid Han'ın yetmiş kubbe-i azim bir medresesi vardır." Evliya Çelebi (1996, 60)(Italics by the author).



Figure 7. Detail from the Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan (1813). (The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art, No: 3339. (Çeçen, 1997) The map is turned upside down for our orientation according to the North.

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

According to the historian İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, the Beyazıt Mosque was subject to two restorations in 1797 and 1870. Depending on this information, Reşat Ekrem Koçu (1960, 2234) argued that exterior walls of the mosque were demolished in 1797. However, in the Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan, drawn in 1813 (23), we figure out the exterior courtyard surrounded by shops. We will argue that the border of the exterior courtyard started to be demolished after the *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*, i.e.1826 and not at the end of the 18th century as claimed by Koçu.

PRE-EXISTING PICTURE OF THE BEYAZIT AREA BEFORE THE VAK'A-İ HAYRİYYE

The Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan provides us with a picture of the area only thirteen years before the *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* (Figure 7). This map will be used to reconstruct the pre-existing picture of the area.

23. The detailed examination by Çeçen (1997) determined the date of map as 1813.

24. "Sultan Süleyman Han bu Saray-ı Atik'i bulup üç mil ihata ider bir saray idüp üç kapu eyledi. Divan kapusu, şarka nazır , cenuba nazır Sultan Bayezid kapusu, canib-i garba nazır Süleymaniye Camii kapusu." Evliya Çelebi (1996, 47).

25. According to P.Ç.İnciyan, there were four gates in the 18th century, but there is no information about the fourth gate. İnciyan (1976, 32). [The name of this Armenian author is written as "İnciyan", on his book which is translated by Hrand D. Andreasyan. However, for some authors who write his name as "İnciyan." Pamukciyan (2002)].

26. Evliya Çelebi, 47, also see the related quotation above.

27. Ünver also compares the names of gates on the Sipahi Hasan's map. See Ünver (1968, 6).

28. The name of Mercan was used in the eighteenth century. See, İnciyan (1976, 32).

29. "...[Y]eniçerilik nâmi külliye kalkdığı ve onun yerine teccid-i kanun suretiyle Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye unvânıyla muallem." Quoted from *enr-i âli* (Imperial order) in Lûtfî Efendi (1999, 261).

Beyazıt Meydanı and the Exterior Courtyard of the Mosque

In the Water Distribution Map of Sipahi Seyyid Hasan the Beyazıt Meydanı and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque are clearly documented. The Beyazıt Meydanı was originally the area between the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, the *medrese* and the Old Palace. In the middle of the square, there was a *kulluk* (guardhouse, depending on the Janissary corps), named as *Fincancılar Kulluğu* (Ünver, 1995, 128; Koçu, 1960, 2261). Even though, there are some deformations, it can still be observed that, the area between the *medrese* and the exterior courtyard of the Mosque was a narrow space during the early 19th century. It is hard to talk about any structuring element that dominates the square or any axiality in it in the sense of an organised open space. One can only find the guardhouse of janissaries, i.e. *Fincancılar Kulluğu*, inserted in the square like a focal point (see also **Figure 1**).

Area and Gates of the Old Palace

Across the Beyazıt Külliyesi, the Old Palace was surrounded by a fortified wall. According to Evliya Çelebi Sultan Süleyman built the "castle like" walls of the Old Palace (24). There were three gates on this surrounding wall: on the East, West and South (25).

The major gate of the Old Palace was the one on the East side of the area, which connected the Palace to the Eminönü Port (or to the Golden Horn) in the shortest way. The importance of the gate can also be understood from its name. In the 17th century, as it was noted by Evliya Çelebi, this gate was named "Divan Kapusu", a name that symbolises its importance for the Old Palace (26). When we turn back to the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's map (27), we can recognise that Divan Kapısı (it was also called Mercan Gate; 28) was a major gate. Besides its representation as a major gate in the Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's Map, we can grasp its importance from its use. İnciyan (1758-1833) stated that, Mercan Gate was the only gate which was kept open continuously and protected by many *bostancı*s (imperial guards) (İnciyan, 1976, 32). The other gate of the Palace on the South, which opened to the Beyazıt Meydanı, was a secondary one. In other words, when the area was occupied by the Old Palace, this point was not a primary entrance for the Palace. We argue that, Mercan Gate (or Divan Kapısı) lost its significance after the establishment of the Seraskerlik in place of the Old Palace in early nineteenth century.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE BEYAZIT AREA AFTER THE VAK'A-İ HAYRİYYE (1826)

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

After the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, the new army, Asâkir-î Mansûre-i Muhammediyye, became the only armed force of the Empire. As in the case of Ağa Kapısı, in official documents, Sultan Mahmut II particularly emphasized that the name of "janissaries" was to be erased from the language entirely (29). An old world *serasker* (ser: head-asker: soldier; chief commander) was to be used in place of the word *ağa*. First, the

30. "Hüseyn paşa hazretleri üzerlerine serasker nasbıyla Ağa Kapısında ikamet etmek ve fi'mâ-ba'd Ağakapısının ismi tagyir ile elsine-i âmmede Serasker Paşa Kapısı unvânı söylenmek..." Quoted from *emr-i âlî* (imperial order) in Lûtfî Efendi (1999, 261).

headquarter of the new army was established in the old place of the Ağa Kapısı and the name of it was altered to Serasker Paşa Kapısı (30). It was emphasized that the name of "Ağa Kapısı" was banned and the "Serasker Paşa Kapısı" was to replace it. After a short time, instead of Ağa Kapısı, the place of the Old Palace was assigned as the headquarter of the new army, i.e. Seraskerlik. Consequently, the insertion of Seraskerlik in place of the Old Palace (together with the removal of the *Eski Odalar* close to the area and the replacement of Ağa Kapısı by Bâb-ı Fetva), started the changes in the Beyazıt Area in early 19th century. The area around Seraskerlik, that is Beyazıt Meydanı, was to be re-shaped by these interventions.

The three important spaces in Beyazıt (the Beyazıt Meydanı, the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque [i.e. *harem / harım*] and Seraskerlik [the area of the Old Palace]) were mutually transformed. Any change made at the Seraskerlik (such as a new gate) affected the Beyazıt Meydanı (thereafter Seraskerlik Meydanı) or widening of the Beyazıt Meydanı caused the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque. In other words, transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı did not take place on its own, but it was a result of transformation in its vicinity and adjacent land-uses: Seraskerlik on its north and the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque on its East.

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

The reason of regarding the year 1826 as a turning point is related to the replacement of the Old Palace with the Seraskerlik. On the north of the Beyazıt Meydanı, the Old Palace, which was facing the Golden Horn with the gate of Divan (or Mercan), turned its face to the Beyazıt Meydanı with the gate of Seraskerlik (see also **Figure 2**). Consequently, transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı into Seraskerlik Meydanı enhanced the prestige of the area. Hence, Beyazıt Meydanı [or Seraskerlik Meydanı] became a stage for the representations of the Empire and its new army.

On the East of the Beyazıt Meydanı, the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque was eventually demolished. However, the empirical materials that we present to reveal the demolition of the exterior courtyard of the mosque, do not give us a definite date. We interpreted it as a gradual demolition. However, we do acknowledge that new empirical evidence would point out to a significantly different contribution.

In this research we will analyse the transformation process with different sections: the Beyazıt Meydanı (related with the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque), the gate of Seraskerlik and the area of the Seraskerlik.

Transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı and the Exterior Courtyard of the Mosque

During the event of Vak'a-i Hayriyye, Janissaries occupied the Divan Yolu, the Uzun Çarşı, the Beyazıt Mosque and all the roads leading to the Hippodrome (Cevdet Paşa, 2951), and clashes took place in Horhor (Cevdet Paşa, 2952). Although we have reports on the death toll from the clashes around the Beyazıt area (Cevdet Paşa, 2949), whether the Beyazıt Mosque or its vicinity suffered from collateral damages is not known. Replacement

31. The construction of the gate was dated 1827. See, Ünver (1968). For Semavi Eyice it was built in 1826-1827: Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihi Eserler)", İslam Ansiklopedisi, v: 5; 1214-28; referred in Şimşek (1992, 370).

32. "[C]em'iyet-gâh-ı batala vü esâfil 'ale'l-husûs kavm-i mülgânın dâru'n-nedve ittihâz eyledikleri cay-gâh-ı erâzil olup, bir takım başı boş nâs sabâhtan mesâya ve ekserisinde işâya kadar istînâs edüp, dâ' imâ mezzemmet-i erkân-ı devlet ile erâcif-esyân ve şer'an mezmûm olan mesâvî-i hulk âlûde-i dehân-ı hezeyân oldukları kahve-hâneler ki." Es'ad Efendi (2000, 640).

33. "Hulâsa hedm ü ibtâlleri lâzım gelmekle, mehâkimden küttâb ta'yîniyle Der-sa'adet' de olanlar Ser'asker Paşa ve Boğaziçi tarafeyni ve Kasım-paşa ve Üsküdar ve Galat ve Eyyüb'de olanlar ol etrâfın zabîtanı marifetleriyle yegan yegan tahrîr ve Top-hâne ve ba'zı bostâniyân makarrında olanlar oldukça mazbut ve me'vay-ı zâbitân ve ehl-i ırz-ı ita'at-merbut olmalarıyla anlardan ma'adalarının ocakları hedmiyle âhar dekâkine tebdîl-ü tagyîr olunmak ve berber dükkanlarında dahi tıraş maslahatı tamamından sonra nâsı tevkîfle dükkanlarında cem'iyet olmamak bâbında zuhûr eden irade-I hümayûn mücebince iktizâ edenlere hitâben evâmîr-i 'aliyye sâdir oldu." Es'ad Efendi (2000, 641). Es'ad Efendi also indicates that in the Historical Peninsula no less than 1133 coffeeshops and barbershops were registered.

34. Miss Pardoe visited İstanbul in 1835 and stayed for 9 months. She witnessed the wedding ceremony of Mihrimah Sultan, from the fire the tower of *Seraskerlik* in April 1836. See, Pardoe (1997). William Henry Bartlett also came to İstanbul in 1835. See *Gravürlerle Türkiye, Türkiye in Gravures* (1996).

of the Old Palace by the Seraskerlik was surely a major outcome of this forged transformation. A new gate to the area was immediately built (**Figure 8**) (31). The architectural features of the gate of Seraskerlik, which became a new point of focus for the reshaped open space, will be given later.

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

Since everything reminiscent to Janissaries was eradicated from the urban space with a great determination, *Fincancılar Kulluğu* in the middle of the square must have been demolished just after the *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*. (In fact Bartlett's engraving drawn in 1835, does not depict such a construction on the square, **Figure 8**). On the other hand, the demolition of the *harîm* of the Beyazıt Mosque seemingly did not take place so easily. The difficulty here is not in the meaning of a resistance. We do not have any information about any resistance against the demolition of the *harîm* as in the case of Ayasofya's *harîm* almost fifty years later (see the introduction). Our findings in this research, point out to a gradual disappearance of the exterior courtyard as Beyazıt Meydanı was enlarged. However the buildings adjacent to the exterior courtyard were not removed at once. The northern side of the exterior courtyard should be demolished. Notice that in Bartlett's engraving, the northern part of the exterior courtyard is demolished, (**Figure 8**), while the southern part is visible (Stolpe's map drawn in 1866, depicts the southern part of the exterior courtyard, **Figure 10**).

The first step in the demolition of the walls of the exterior courtyard occurred, most probably, just after the *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*. On the northern part of the exterior courtyard, across the Seraskerlik, coffeeshops and barbershops were located. Such shops were famous places where news and gossips about the Empire were exchanged. After the *Vak'ai Hayriyye*, such places and meetings were considered to be a threat for the integrity of the Empire, as well as for law and order (32); thus the coffeeshops were demolished to a great extent. The Official Ottoman historian, *Vak'a nüvis* Es'ad Efendi, recorded that the coffeeshops around "Serasker Paşa" and along the Bosphorus were registered one by one, and except the decent coffeeshops around Tophane, the rest were demolished in İstanbul (33). Es'ad Efendi even mentions an imperial decree, which stipulates that people had to leave barbershops just after their shaves were finished.

With the demolition of the northern part of the exterior courtyard, the Mosque of Beyazıt was left located in the Seraskerlik Meydanı, just across the Gate of Seraskerlik. In 1835, Miss Pardoe (1855, 106) described the area as:

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

In Miss Pardoe's book, the scene that she witnessed was presented by a drawing of Bartlett (**Figure 8**). In the engraving from Bartlett dated from 1835 (34), one can observe the gate of Seraskerlik and Beyazıt Meydanı, where, the mosque finds its presence opposite the square without its



Figure 8. The Beyazıt Meydanı, in Bartlett's Engraving, 1835. (Pardoe, 1997).



Figure 9. Beyazıt Meydanı in Moltke's Drawing, 1839. (Municipality of İstanbul, The Library of Atatürk. No: 956.101- 563, MOL 1268)

Figure 10. Beyazıt Meydanı in Stolpe's Map, 1866. (Stolpe, 1866).

exterior courtyard (i.e. its *harım*) and *Fincancılar Kulluğu* does not exist anymore on the square.

Another document pertaining to the destruction in the area dates from September 1836. In September 1836, a new road was opened in order to facilitate Sultan Mahmut II's inner city movements. Prussian officer Helmuth von Moltke directed this operation. As Moltke (1969, 65) explains in his letter, after Sultan Mahmud II moved his Palace to Dolmabahçe, a need to connect the two sides of İstanbul became an urgent necessity. In 1836, this led to the inauguration of a bridge over the Golden Horn. Moltke explained in his letter that thanks to the new bridge, the Sultan was able to travel from his Palace in Dolmabahçe to the Historical Peninsula by carriage. However, he mentions that, even after the bridge, his travel in the Old City was still not possible since the roads were unable to accommodate carriage traffic. In 1836, the Serasker (Minister of War) Hüsrev Paşa ordered the opening of a route from the new Bridge on the Golden Horn, to the Serasker Gate and then to the Divan Yolu. Moltke explained in his letter that the buildings on the route such as coffeehouses and shops were demolished "easily" to open the way. On September 3rd, 1836, opening of the new bridge was celebrated by a ceremony in the honorable presence of the Sultan. Moltke stated that Sultan Mahmud II was the first man who travelled from the Dolmabahçe Palace to the Beyazıt Mosque in a carriage. Since the first bridge was between the Un Kapanı and Azapkapı, they probably followed the Uzun Çarşı Sokak (the ancient road since Byzantine time) that starts from Un Kapanı, and then reaches Beyazıt through Mercan Caddesi. On the other hand, depending on the informative statement "from Seraskerlik to Divan Yolu" in the document, we can deduce that demolitions around the Beyazıt Meydanı must have been accomplished.

In fact, Moltke realized and acknowledged the significance of an exterior courtyard of a mosque. In a letter mentioning the ancient monuments of İstanbul, he defined "*haram*" of a mosque as "the most beautiful ornament of a mosque" and he seemed dissatisfied with the exterior courtyard of Ayasofya (Moltke, 1969, 126), which was an add-on but not an original element. However, he might have had a role for re-shaping Beyazıt Meydanı, more than that of the opening of a road for Sultan's travel. Being familiar with the German tradition of locating churches with a *marktplatz* in front of it, he might have some influence in convincing the authorities to widen the area, in spite of his insights about the *harem* of a mosque. Though there is no evidence to support this argument, in his drawing representation for a large square can be noticed (Figure 9). Comparing it with Stolpe's map, which dates 1866 (Figure 10), one can observe that Moltke drew the square wider than it was depicted three decades later.

Whether the enlargement of the Beyazıt Meydanı continued according to Moltke's proposal or not, there is no doubt that the reorganisation of Beyazıt Meydanı started after the event of *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*: the re-shaping of Beyazıt Meydanı may be considered to be an early intervention on the urban fabric to create a square.

Two decades after this operation around Beyazıt Meydanı, 'to open squares around mosques and other monumental buildings' was stated to be an intention in an official document. The *İlmühaber* (1839)(35), explaining the regulations about new roads designed to be opened in the city, mentioned that Beyazıt was one of the important points in the proposed network of streets (36). In the case of Beyazıt, as was observed above, an open public square was already realised before that law was published in *İlmühaber*,

35. It is not clear whether there is a relation between *İlmühaber* and Moltke's drawing, and whether Moltke's drawing is a map or a plan. Çelik related the *İlmühaber* to Moltke's drawing and discussed Moltke's drawing as a plan. See Çelik (1993, 104-107). However, Cezar argues that, Moltke's drawing is not a plan but a map, and the manager of Ebniye-i Hassa Abdülhalim Bey can have a role in *İlmühaber*, but not Moltke. Cezar (2002, 325).

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



Figure 11. Beyazıt Meydanı, detail from the map of Imperial Engineering Department, 1845 (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun). (Eldem, 1979).



Figure 12. Beyazıt Meydanı, detail from the map of Imperial Engineering Department, 1847 (Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun). (*Dar'ü Saadet*, 1847, Kayra, 1990).



Figure 13. Monument for Tanzimat by Fossati. (Kreiser, 1997).

37. "[D]ahili surda dahi îcabına göre münâsib yerlerde birer meydan bırakılmak ve bu meydanlar dahi uyabilecek meritebe cevâmî-i şerîfe ve sâir ebniye-i cesîme etrafında tesis olunmak üzere bir kıta resm tanzim olunarak" Divan-I Hümayun Buyruldu ve İlmuhaber Defteri, sahife 11; quoted in Ergin (1995, 1003, 1241).

38. For this monument see: İhsân Bey (1914-5 (1329), 223-232), and Kreiser (1997, 103-117). It is interesting that İhsân Bey particularly had a note about the place of the monument. He noted that it would not be located in the square but around (*havalisinde*) the mosque (My thanks to Alev Erkmen for the transcription of the word of *havalî*).

which mentioned the concept of vacant space around significant buildings and mosques (37). Notice that the concept was implemented well before the formulations stipulated in the *İlmuhaber* of 1839.

In 1840, this re-organised open space 'around' the Beyazıt Mosque (*havalisinde*- as it was defined in *Takvim-i Vekâî* and by İhsân Bey), was thought to house a monument decided to be erected in the memory of the proclamation of the Tanzimat reforms (Figure 13)(38). The Ottoman court historiographer, *Vak'a nüvis* Ahmed Lûtfî recorded that a "stone of justice" (*seng-i adalet*) was to be erected in the Palace gardens of Gülhane. Since the majority of people do not have access to Gülhane, a bigger one was to be erected in Beyazıt (Figure 13)(39). Thus beside Gülhane, which is the place where the declaration was announced, Beyazıt was chosen as a place where people could meet easily and frequently with a public memorial. Gaspare Fossati designed the monument seen in Figure 13 (Kreiser, 1997, 103-117). The text of the Tanzimat Proclamation was to be placed on the monument, with two lions lying on the two sides, and to be crowned by a star and a moon at top. However the monument was never realized.

Another distinctive transformation of the area relates to the removal of the Mürekkeççiler, Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gates opening to Beyazıt Meydanı. First, the Mürekkeççiler Gate was undergoing change. Lûtfî Efendi noted that by the fire of 18th August 1836, which started in the shops of paper, cotton handkerchief, ink stores (*kağıtçılar, tülbendciler, mürekkeççiler*), besides Rasihzade, and Hulusi Paşa *Konaks* and other houses around were all damaged (40). In a sad tone, Lûtfî Efendi stated that after that fire, the name of Mürekkeççiler Kapısı "lost its meaning" (*lafızda kalmıştır*). He claimed that during the levelling of the street, the gate was demolished and areas next to it were expropriated to open a *meydan* (41).

The built area around the gates of Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler, which surround the Beyazıt Meydanı from the South, was preserved till 1860s as the maps show (Figure 9,10,11,12). During the official ceremonies of the Empire, people were passing through these little gates and these narrow passageways were causing a circulation problem. However, from the building area between Buğdaycılar and Kökçüler Gates to the Seraskerlik Gate, an open wide space was obtained.

The Beyazıt Meydanı is seen in old photographs taken from the Beyazıt Fire Tower by Robertson in the years 1853-1854. Eldem (1979, XIV). Figure 14 shows a view towards the Beyazıt Mosque and Beyazıt Meydanı from the Fire Tower. The paved pathways in different directions extend on the ground, whereas the timber stores can be seen in front of the *medrese* on the right (Eldem (1979, 124)(42). In Sipahi Seyyid Hasan's map no building can be seen on the façade of the *medrese* towards the Beyazıt Meydanı, so the timber stores in line should have been built later. The shops are legible in Moltke's map (Figure 9). It seems that, these shops were designed in the same manner to provide architectural uniformity in the surroundings of Beyazıt Meydanı.

A New Point of Focus: Seraskerlik Gate

As we have already mentioned, with the establishment of the Headquarter of the new army (Seraskerlik) into the Old Palace, a new gate to the area was immediately introduced in 1826-1827 (Figure 17, 19, 20).

The location of the main gate of Seraskerlik implies that, the Old Palace's major gate (Mercan Gate or Divan Kapısı) was no longer used as a main entrance. Hence, subsequent to the constitution of Seraskerlik, Divan



Figure 14. Beyazıt Mosque in a photograph of Robertson (1853-1854). (Published in Eldem, 1979).



Figure 15. Drawing by Bartlett represents Beyazıt Meydanı from the Fire Tower of Seraskerlik in 1835. (Pardoe, 1855).



Figure 16. Beyazıt Meydanı by Hubert Sattler (Fine Art Society) (Goodwin, 1997). The drawing can be a copy from Bartlett.



Figure 17. A sketch from Seraskerlik Kapısı. (French National Library, Ünver, 1968).

39. Quoted in İhsân Bey (1914-5, 223-32): Kreiser (1997, 103-117).

40. "Cumâdelülânın beşinci (18 ağustos 1836) Çarşamba gecesi Sultan Bâyezid'de Kağıtçılar çarşısında zuhûr eden ateş tülbendcilerden mürekkepcilere sirâyetle tuhafçı dükkânları ve kağıdıcılarla Râsihzâde ve Hülûsî Paşa biraderi konakları gibi o civârda birçok dekâkin ve hâneler sûzân olmuştur." Lûtfî Efendi (1999, 885).

41. "O harîkden sonra mürekkepçiler kapısı lafızda kalmıştır. Fi'1 asl Kâmil Paşa merhumun konağı karşısında Sultan Bayezid tarafında gidilir iken orada bir kapı var idi. Sokakların tesviyesinde kapı kaldırıldı, ileriye doğru iki taraftan yerler alınarak meydan açıldı. Kağıdçılar ve devâtçılar bir karanlık dar sokak içinde idiler. Cadde tarafında tülbendciler var idi. Altlarındaki bodrumlarda kâğıd perdhâncıları işler idi." Lûtfî Efendi (1999, 885).

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

43. For Ünver (1968, 5) this is the first period of the imperial style.

44. Meliha Şimşek regards this gate as an example of official buildings built during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, and argues that after the fire of Bâb-ı Âli in 1839 should have been renovated without much change. See Şimşek (1992, 578).

Kapısı lost its significance. The Beyazıt Meydanı was entirely reshaped during the early 19th century, where the Beyazıt Gate on the South (across the Beyazıt Meydanı) gained importance.

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

Before passing from the Gate of Seraskerlik towards the Seraskerlik area, one needs to focus on the gate, in Miss Pardoe's words "being, perhaps, the most oriental feature of the scene". With a large waving canopy, this new gate reminded Bâb-ı Âli (Ünver, 1968, 5) (the gate of Sublime Porte, Figure 18) and shared similarities with one of the gates of the Nusretiye Mosque constructed by Sultan Mahmud II (Şimşek, 1992, 578). All of these impressive baroque gates also share certain characteristics that define them as Imperial style (43).

In the Historical Peninsula, Bâb-ı Ali, Bâb-ı Seraskerî and Bâb-ı Fetva, were among the important official buildings with symbolic gates realised under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. We ignore the original architectural features of Bâb-ı Fetva. Nevertheless, as it was stated, the other two significant gates of these complexes and the Nusretiye Mosque reflected the empire style. As Moltke (1969, 29) defines, these gates were crowned by a dome and decorated with a crescent on top. Under the dome a wide canopy protected people, who came to the *kapı* of the empire, from the sun.

Haskan and Gülersoy (2000) date the construction of the Bâb-ı Âli from the clear inscription on the gate as 1843. However, the gate is present in Allom's engraving published in 1839. Therefore, Bâb-ı Âli, which is similar to the Bâb-ı Seraskerî was probably renovated in 1843 without much change (44). With these symbols as gates of official and military sites, Sultan Mahmud II stamped the sign of his rule onto the urban space.

Although Bâb-ı Âli had a higher degree than Bâb-ı Seraskerî in the hierarchy of the imperial protocol, Bâb-ı Seraskerî which represented the military power, had a larger outer space, i.e. the Beyazıt Meydanı in front of it. Ceremonies of the new army began to be held in this large urban space at the hearth of the historical city. According to Tanyeli (1993, 521-2), between the monumental gate of Bâb-ı Âli and Alay Köşkü, there was also a square called Kum Meydanı. However, he argues, when the area of the Bâb-ı Âli was enlarged, the square was included within this area.

Figure 18. Bâb-ı Âli, photograph by Sébah and Joaillier (circa 1860s). (Max Fruchtermann, no date)

Figure 19. Gate of Seraskerlik in a detail from Bartlett's Engraving, 1835. (Pardoe, 1997).

Figure 20. Gate of Seraskerlik in a detail from the photograph of Robertson (1853-1854). (Eldem, 1979).





Figure 21. Gate of Seraskerlik From the Fire Tower of Seraskerlik in a photograph by Robertson (1853-1854) (Eldem, 1979).



Figure 22. The fortified walls of Old Palace in a photograph by Robertson (1853-1854). (Eldem, 1979). The Gate on the right was known as Harem Kapısı.

In the oldest photograph (1853-1854) of Bâb-ı Seraskerî, one can observe the “oval medallion” of Sultan Mahmud II’s on the gate. The surface beneath the undulating large baroque canopy was decorated with radial lines, which is known as the “Sun of Sultan Mahmud II” (*Sultan Mahmud Güneşi*) (Şimşek, 1992, 371). On top of the dome, the sun like symbol can also be seen.

Area of the Seraskerlik

The gate of Seraskerlik, which was a focal point in the square, was not a final stop but a passage leading to the monumental military building inside the courtyard. Behind the gate, Hünkâr Köşkü (Imperial Residence) was on the right (Eldem, 1979, 142) (**Figure 21**). The fortified walls surrounding the Old Palace were kept till 1860s as seen in the old photographs, where the walls of the Old Palace have triangular buttresses (**Figure 21, 22**).

The most significant figure of not only the Seraskerlik but also from the Beyazıt Meydanı and even on the panorama of the historic peninsula was the Seraskerlik Tower, probably the tallest tower built in İstanbul during the Ottoman Period (**Figure 23, 24**). Since the fire watching- extinguishing were among the duties of the Janissary corps, the fire tower was originally located in Ağa Kapısı. After *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*, since the tower was demolished with Ağa Kapısı, Sultan Mahmud II immediately ordered construction of a new tower inside the Seraskerlik (45). The new timber tower, designed by Kırkor Amira Balian, was completed on June 21th, 1826 but it burnt down after completion. Meanwhile, a new fire fighting corps

45. It was declared in Mahmud II’s imperial order (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*), quoted in Lûtfî Efendi, 119.

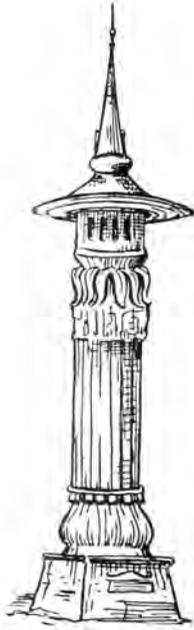
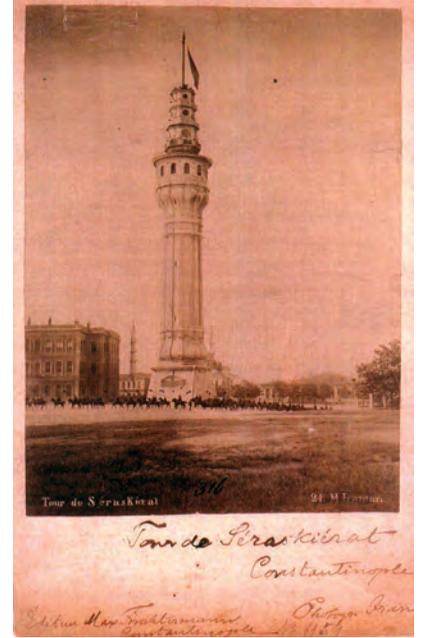


Figure 23a. The Fire Tower of Seraskerlik (Circa 1850s).(Tuğlacı, 1990)

Figure 23b. The Fire Tower. The Old Gate of the Seraskerlik seen to the left of the Tower.



Figure 24. The Fire Tower of Seraskerlik (Circa 1860s). (Max Fruchtermann Kartipostalları, 2000).



was established in two years time (Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, 185). Senekerim Amira Balian built the new stone tower in 1828 (Tuğlacı, 1990, 84-86). In 1849 its roof was removed and three stories were added to the original structure.

Miss Pardoe was impressed with the new fire tower of Seraskerlik. According to her, the white fire tower rising up to the sky, like a guard of Seraskerlik, was more impressive than the minarets of Beyazıt Mosque (Pardoe, 1997, 76). Her comparison of the minarets with Seraskerlik tower reflects the tension and the power struggle between the traditional (religious) and the modern military factions of the Empire.

As Miss Pardoe (1855, 107) explained:

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

One can read the same feeling of a strong astonishment in most of the accounts of travellers who observed the Seraskerlik tower. Gautier expressed his feelings plainly, when he saw the tower of Seraskerlik. For him Seraskerlik tower was “surprisingly high” and like “a white lighthouse” (Gautier, 1972, 239). Moltke (1969, 21) defined it as a “beautiful tower”.

The Seraskerlik building and its tower were considered as masterpieces of Sultan Mahmud II’s reign together with the Nusretiye Mosque. Lûtfî Efendi expresses his pride about these buildings asking: “Did we get any architect from Europe for the buildings such as Bâb-ı Serakerî, its tower and Nusretiye Mosque?” (Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, 1228).

CONCLUSION

In this study it was aimed to produce a comprehensive history of the transformation of the Beyazıt Meydanı in İstanbul. History of the Beyazıt

Meydanı reveals the significance of the early nineteenth century in the reshaping of the urban space. Most writings about the transformation of the urban space in İstanbul focus on the second half of the nineteenth century, when the urban administration system was established, and its outputs began to shape the city. However, the first decades of the nineteenth century represent the early stage of modernisation, which has not been studied entirely from the perspective of politics and space. What matters most for early nineteenth century İstanbul was the political and power struggle over space.

Sultan Mahmud II, who overcame the Janissary power, deployed a series of spatial strategies on urban space of İstanbul. Having control over the space of the capital İstanbul was necessary for the continuity of the Ottoman Empire, which was almost losing authority over its armed forces i.e. the Janissaries. With the abolishment of the Janissary Corps in 1826, Sultan Mahmud II not only strengthened his authority in the Empire but also eradicated signs of the Janissaries from the landscape of the capital. Thus, deliberate destruction against Janissaries, and the demolition of the giant complex used by them changed the city in the early nineteenth century. Sustaining his authority over the Empire and the city, Sultan Mahmud II created the basis for the emerging modernisation efforts that took place thereafter. Other developments in the reshaping of İstanbul were constructed on this new secure ground. Consequently, it is clear that one cannot grasp the meaning of modernisation fully, without understanding the foundation that Sultan Mahmud II laid.

The transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı represented an earlier case in the urban history of İstanbul. Here, the precedence of the case of Beyazıt over Aksaray and other cases is meaningful. Through the critical role in the re-configuration of urban space and its meanings, Beyazıt Meydanı began to represent the new symbolism as the centre of the new army (Seraskerlik Meydanı), and as the notable stage for Imperial ceremonies of the Empire. All notable ceremonies of the state were held in this square, making it a space for representations of power. The gate of the Seraskerlik should be understood as an elaborate trace of Sultan Mahmud II's power on the urban space: the axis of the gate, possibly foresaw the seed of the axis to be the guide of the prominent spatial order in Beyazıt Meydanı during 1860s.

Besides the Seraskerlik Gate, which was an elegant point of focus on the square, the other significant figure of Sultan Mahmud II's reign, certainly, was the tower of Seraskerlik. Probably the highest structure of the Historical Peninsula took a place in the panorama of the city during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.

The transformation of public space in order to sustain the new public appearance of power in urban space was realised at the expense of the exterior courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque, i.e. its *harem*. The mosque hidden behind the exterior courtyard, appeared fully in the square, the new public space.

Demolitions of the exterior courtyards of mosques present different meanings in every unique case. The demolition of the exterior courtyard of Yenıcamı at Eminönü was realised in a different context, in early twentieth century. In this respect new inquiries are required to explore the transformation of urban spaces. In Beyazıt, demolition of the exterior courtyard (which was a *vakıf* land) transformed the inner courtyard to be an open public space. As a result, in Lefebvre's terms, the regime of Sultan Mahmud II and briefly Ottoman Modernisation produced its own space in

46. For details, see Yeşilkaya, 2003 and 2006.

early nineteenth century by achieving radical interventions in urban spaces of İstanbul. As a reformer, Sultan Mahmud II produced the space of his authority and enhanced his rule throughout his empire. Sultan Mahmud II also governed the production of space as he overcame the authority of *vakıf*'s land politics. Demolition of the *harem* of the mosque signified the spatial strategies of Sultan Mahmud II, not only erasing the memory of Janissaries but also challenging the authority of the *vakıfs*. We believe that, the Sultan Mahmud II period deserves further study in terms of urban development and land ownership policies.

Actually, the reign of Sultan Mahmud II deserves more attention from different perspectives also. One opening question is about the rituals he created about the ceremony of hanging his self- portrait (*Tasvir-i Hümayun*). However, on the other hand, representation of the Empire during Sultan Mahmud II reign can be studied from a larger perspective with the concept of Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm, 2005).

For architectural and art historians the issue of Imperial style is also another subject which should be studied owing to the enthusiasm of the Empire for creating a style for the state. New empirical studies are needed to grasp the architectural approaches and styles from their autonomous concerns and grounds.

In conclusion, when the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı is considered, it should be noted that the change from an introverted to an extraverted urban spatial relation was the direct outcome of the political and social changes at the beginning of the 19th century. The Beyazıt Meydanı, as an extraverted urban square, functioned as a producer of modern social life, (in Lefebvre's term) which is not only a social product but also a producer of social relations. The increasing security in the city and production of new public spaces stimulated new city life, which was also nourished by the tools of modern public life such as newspapers. New public life found its space within open public spaces (46).

Thus, Beyazıt Meydanı as the ancient centre of the city, did not form merely a visionary and intangible scene for the representations of the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and his modern army. Beyazıt Meydanı was a space for watching dynastic parades, such as wedding ceremonies, or witnessing an execution of a Janissary supporter, saluting the Sultan who is ascending the throne, watching military parades, buying and selling, talking, walking to a barbershop, drinking coffee, reading the first official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekai* in a *kıraathane*, going to *Direklerarası* for a promenade after a play in a theatre hall, attending a funeral of a noble person and so on. Beyazıt Meydanı was appreciated and commonly used not only by men but also by women citizens. New forms of modern public life, such as strolling, promenading, "to see" and "to be seen" were staged in and around Beyazıt Meydanı and in the social life it initiated.

The comprehensive history of Beyazıt Meydanı helps us to understand it not only as an urban element, but also as part of the modernisation of the city of İstanbul in larger terms. Understanding the transformation of Beyazıt Meydanı reveals the changes in modern İstanbul. With the history of a small-scale issue (here, that of Beyazıt Meydanı) one can get clues of re-shaping of urban spaces of İstanbul from a larger perspective.

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Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Mahmud; Yeniçeriler; Seraskerlik; Beyazıt Meydanı; avlu; Harem; Harım.

AVLUDAN MEYDANA: ERKEN ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL İSTANBUL'UNDA BEYAZIT MEYDANININ DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Bu araştırma, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına ağırlık veren yaygın görüşün aksine, İstanbul kent mekânının 19. yüzyılın başlangıcından itibaren dönüşüme uğradığını vurgulamaktadır. 1826'da Yeniçeriliğin kaldırılması (Vak'a-i Hayriyye) ile II. Mahmud imparatorluk üzerinde otoritesini yeniden kurmakla kalmadı, Yeniçerilerin başkent üzerindeki izlerini de yok etti. Beyazıt Meydanı'nın, Seraskerlik (yeni ordunun idari merkezi) Meydanı'na dönüşümü bu erk mücadelesini yansıtan özel bir örnek

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

Erkin kamusal görünümüne mekân sağlamak dönüşümün ilk hedefi idi. Bu Beyazıt Camisi'nin, harem olarak da adlandırılan, Osmanlı cami mimarisinin önemli bir parçası olan dış avlusu pahasına biçimlendi. Burada dış avlunun yıkımı yalnızca kent ve mimarlık adına değil sosyal ve politik açıdan da önemlidir. Dış avlunun zaman içinde yıkımı, vakıf arazisi olan cami avlusundan, kamusal meydana, başka bir ifade ile içten dışa dönüşüme işaret eder. Araştırma eldeki görsel ve yazılı kaynaklara dayanarak bu dönüşümün nasıl gerçekleştiğini ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır.