THE 1912 GALATA BRIDGE
AS A SITE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

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ABSTRACT

THE 1912 GALATA BRIDGE AS A SITE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

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This work looks at the 1912 Galata Bridge as a case study and attempts to examine it as a dual construction in two senses: space and memory. Acknowledging that space and memory mutually construct each other, this thesis explains each term in general but also elucidates the relationship between perception and remembrance of space by reading the materiality of the 1912 Galata Bridge. In that respect, changing meanings attributed to space over time are analysed lead us to recognise two different ways of conceiving space named as 'spaceness' and 'placeness'. This dual existence is conductive to raising questions about perception of the 1912 Galata Bridge in two layers. Taken separately, its function of conveyance and the property of inhabitation lead us to read 'spaceness' and 'placeness' that also correspond to two ways of remembering it. Its 'spaceness' is perceived by the gaze and remembered through looking at its images, its 'placeness, on the other hand, is experienced by the body and recollected through reading texts that describe the actual engagement. Hence, 'spaceness' and 'placeness', gaze and body, image and text are correspondingly related with each other by the agency of the 1912 Galata Bridge as situated in collective memory.

Keywords: Bridge, Inhabitation, Memory, Collective Memory, Space, Place, Gaze, Body, Image, Text

ÖZET

TOPLUMSAL BELLEKTE BİR MEKAN: 1912 GALATA KÖPRÜSÜ

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Bu çalışma 1912 Galata Köprüsü'ne mekan ve bellek ilişkisi açısından bakmaktadır. Mekan ve hafızanın karşılıklı birbirlerini oluşturdukları göz önünde bulundurularak, bu tez önce bu iki kavramı genel olarak gösterir ve daha sonra mekanın algılanması ve hatırlanması arasındaki ilişkiyi 1912 Galata Köprüsü'nün maddeselliğinde okumaya çalışır. Bu bağlamda 19. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar olan süreçte mekana yüklenen anlamlar değerlendirilmiş ve ortaya iki farklı mekan algılayış biçimi konulmuştur. Bunlardan görsel ve fiziksel özellikleri öne çıkaran tip 'mekan' olarak terimlendirilmiş, bu mekan tipine göre deneyimsel algıyı daha ön planda tutan ve gündelik yaşamı, bedeni mekana daha fazla dahil edene de 'yer' denilmiştir. Bu çerçevede 1912 Galata Köprüsünün birleştirici (köprünün köprü olma niteliği) ve barındırma özellikleri kavramsal olarak ayrıştırıldığında, Köprü'nün bize bu iki farklı mekan algısını iki farklı katmanda okutmayı başardığı görülür. Galata Köprüsü'nün 'mekan olma' özelliğinin algılanması bakışla ilişkili olup, hatırlanması da bize ona dışarıdan bakma hazzını yaşatan imgelerle sağlanır. Diğer taraftan, Galata Köprüsü'nün 'yer olma' özelliğinin algılanması bedenin mekanı tecrübesiyle, hatırlanması da metinlerle ilişkilidir. Dolayısıyla toplumsal hafızadaki 'mekan' ve 'yer', maddesellik ve deneyim, bakış ve beden, imge ve metin arasındaki ilişki bize Galata Köprüsü aracılığı ile okutulmuş olur.

Keywords: Köprü, Bellek, Toplumsal Bellek, Mekan, Yer, Bakış, Beden, İmge, Metin

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Origin of the Thesis.

Bridges intrigued me because of their conceptual load related to connection and separation. Then, I was compelled to look at the locations they relate which attribute them importance. As in the example of the Bosphorus Bridge, its locatedness between Asia and Europe confers significance to it. A bridge connects locations. It is represented and remembered as such. This is not the only attribute that gives meaning and significance to bridges. Other layers of significance unfold as the materiality of a bridge is distinguished from its location. When the bridge is perceived as a separate entity independent of the sides, the physical existence and appearance of a bridge become significant on their own right. Some bridges also carry the property of inhabitation. I encountered images of inhabited bridges like Ponte Vecchio in Florence, Rialto Bridge in Venice, Old London Bridge in England and Kramer Brücke in Germany which fascinated me because the bridge's inhabitation adds 'layers' intrinsic to the materiality of the bridge. It then begins to shelter and accommodate certain activities besides enabling passage over a chasm. It contains repose as well as allowing movement. It attends to dwellers in addition to passers by. This dual existence is conductive to raising questions about its perception at two levels. Although the property of inhabitation is not related to its 'bridgeness', the inhabited bridge thus becomes an inspiring object for relating exterior presence and interior essence.

These inquiries led me to question the significance of bridge in terms of the attributes that give it a place in collective memory, and make it an urban symbol. The conceptual significance of bridges in general (connecting/separating, conveying/linking), their material being that may also comprise inhabitation in particular cases, led me to select the 1912 Galata Bridge in Istanbul as the case study of my thesis.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

This thesis explores the 1912 Galata Bridge as a landmark situated in collective memory. Taken separately, its function of conveyance and its property of inhabitation lead to the differentiation of two ways of conceptualising public space that correspond to two ways of remembering it. A bridge as a passage between two points implies movement. But the actual occasion of passage does not allow the perception of connection of two locations. Rather, it is the outside gaze that observes it. The bridge yields its significance of 'bridgeness' not to the subjective experience of the traveller but to the objective gaze of the onlooker. As such, the bridge is an empty, abstract architectural object. Throughout the thesis, I will refer to this property as 'spaceness'. The inhabited bridge, on the other hand, that houses daily activities, suggests repose. Shopping, fishing, eating relate to immediate human occupation. The inhabited bridge is the site of bodily experience. I will call this trait 'placeness'. Both of these attributes contribute to securing the Galata Bridge in collective memory. The former can be traced primarily through visual images, and the latter through literary texts. Thus, this thesis looks at the Galata Bridge as a case study and attempts to examine it as a dual construction in two sense: space and memory. Its 'spaceness' is perceived by the gaze

and remembered through looking at its images, its 'placeness', on the other hand, is experienced by the body and recollected through texts that describe the actual engagement. Hence, 'spaceness' and 'placeness', gaze and body, image and text are correspondingly related with each other by the agency of the Galata Bridge as situated in collective memory.

Table 1: Aim and scope of the study

SPACE and MEMORY				
	'Spaceness'	Materiality (Object)	Gaze	Images
	'Placeness'	Experience (Subject)	Body	Texts

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter, *Introduction*, elucidates the conceptual significance of bridges in general and their properties of representation and inhabitation in particular cases. This will clarify the selection of the Galata Bridge as the subject of my thesis, and the pursuit of the relationship between perception and remembrance of spaces through the exploration of the 1912 Galata Bridge as the aim of my study.

The second chapter, *Space*, examines the use and development of the notion of space in theories of architecture from the mid-nineteenth century to the present (2.1). The intent here is to compare various definitions of space, but also to understand how space is perceived, defined, limited, and produced differently by the architect and by the user.

Taking off from a survey of different conceptualisations of space, I arrive at their classification into what I term 'spaceness' and 'placeness' (2.2). Interpretations that build into 'spaceness' refer to space as architect designed object whereas those that feed unto 'placeness' relate to it as site of everyday human experience. What is implied here is the differentiation of space as conceived by its material presence and visual representations based on the morphological qualities of the architectural object and space as perceived by its experience based on its phenomenological qualities. Then, arguments that clarify attributes of 'spaceness' (2.2.1) and 'placeness' (2.2.2) are taken up separately.

In the third chapter, *Space and Memory*, definitions of memory and its relation with space will be explored. In that context, the terms individual and collective memory will be differentiated (3.1) in order to show how space is mentally constructed and what kind of spaces are imaged or imagined as sites of collective memory (3.2).

Bridges, as public spaces and landmarks, are favourably disposed to become located in collective memory. Thus, in the fourth chapter, in order to provide a relevant structure for the study of the Galata Bridge, *Significance of Bridges* is examined in relation to concepts of 'spaceness' and 'placeness'. In that context, the property of 'bridgeness' will be dealt with in relation to the locations that a bridge connects. Then, bridges will be analysed through their attribute of 'spaceness' (4.1), with their visual values and the representations of their material presence. Finally, bridges will be analysed in terms of the concept of 'placeness' (4.2) with their experiential values. Both 'spaceness' and 'placeness' will be considered in their relation to collective memory.

In the fifth chapter, the *1912 Galata Bridge as a Site of Collective Memory*, this specific example will be analysed to elucidate the concepts of 'spaceness' and 'placeness' as they lead to remembering space as abstract visual representation and place as actual experiential narrative. *Concepts Related to the Site: Before Bridging the Gap* (5.1), corresponds to an analysis of its bridgeness, its significance arising from its locatedness between Old Istanbul and Galata. Then, *Concepts Related to the Former Bridges* will be taken up (5.2). Lastly, *Concepts Related to the 1912 Galata Bridge* will be portrayed with regard to connection, separation and layering (5.3). Finally, these inquiries will be structured around the idea of collective memory rooted in 'spaceness' (5.4) by reading visual images (photographs, drawings, paintings, and cartoons) and collective memory based on 'placeness' (5.5) by reading literary texts. The Galata Bridge in collective memory will thus be evaluated.

The concluding chapter, by summarising the visual and experiential attributes of the Galata Bridge, will try to relate two types of remembering space with the two types of conceiving space. One that is perceived by the gaze and remembered through representations will be named 'remembering spaceness'. The other that is experienced by bodies and remembered through texts will be termed 'remembering placeness'.

2. SPACE

2.1. Conceptualisation of Architectural Space

It was not until the late nineteenth century that the idea of space became part of the vocabulary of architectural theorists and critics. The concept of space or void only then started to be described, analysed, and used as the designer's realm besides the solid terms of structures and materials or their attributes such as proportions and orders. And starting from the 1950s, when the importance of the user was integrated to the idea of space, the architectural conception of space became a site defined not only through morphological values but also with phenomenological values, a site for everyday experience.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, architecture was defined as "nothing more or less than the art ornamented and ornamental construction" (Fergusson as qtd. in Gauldie, 3); while space, both inside and outside buildings, was simply considered as left-over voids which happened to lie between and around things. Prioritising material components of architecture over space has been discussed by various writers such as Kim, Scott and Gauldie. Kim notes that the notion of space before the nineteenth century was limited to surface treatments. He further observes that "our casual acceptance of space merely as a set of measurable quantities of extension, and therefore as indifferent and neutral emptiness that separates material objects, comes from the fact that the idea of space rarely enters our consciousness in everyday life. Our attention is rather focused on material objects, as they readily appeal to our consciousness with their tangible forms,

mass, colour and texture (11). The words of Scott reflect a similar approach by focusing on solids. "[S]pace is nothing- a mere negation of solids. And thus we come to overlook it "(226). Gauldie, in *Architecture* published in 1969, in a sense, combines Kim's and Scott's views:

> "until the middle of the nineteenth century criticism and appreciation were still guided very largely by the philosophy of classical authors, to whom spatium [which means space] seems to have meant, more or less, a two dimensional expanse- the surface of the earth, for instance, or the face of the wall. The three-dimensional volumes enclosed between the building elements were simply vacua, the empty bits, and one has the impression that the critics were much less interested in them than in the treatment of the solid and its surfaces" (66).

As late as 1888, we find the German aesthetician Wölfflin defining architecture as "an art of corporeal masses" (78), totally ignoring voids enclosed by masses. Space as an architectural idea appeared for the first time in the theories of the early 1890s. Altınyıldız and Nalbantoğlu state

> "the vocabulary of architectural theories prior to modernism does not include the concept of space ... The heritage of Vitruvius and Alberti that set the parameters of the discipline refers to pragmatical considerations such as classical proportions, stability and materials. Space became an indispensable concept of the language of architecture when modern Western theorists conferred upon architects the responsibility of designing not only buildings but manners of living as well" (196).

Thus, this emphasis shifts the traditional preoccupation of the architect from solids to voids. In other words, beginning with the modern era, the notion of space became a concern for architects in artistic terms but was also considered as a functionalist concept to accommodate a living purpose. In other words, the idea of space in the late nineteenth century allowed architects and theorists to escape from aspects that define space as the artistic treatments of solids and established a new prospect that designates space as void and beauty as function. From the introduction of the idea of space in about the 1890s, the aesthetic interpretation confronted the functional one. And from the beginning of the

twentieth century, Durand, Semper, Schmarsow, and later Berlage considered beauty to be an expression of function. Gropius recognised this segregation of art and function and was later followed by the rules of the Bauhaus school (Isaacs, 37).

At this stage, in order to have a clear perspective of how modernists deal with space, some definitions of the term by modernist architects may be given. In 1917, De Stijl designer Rietveld defined the role of the architect as "[W]e separate, limit and bring into a human scale a part of unlimited space". Le Corbusier's famous phrase "house is a machine for living in"(10) describes the modernist conception of space which is directly related to function. In 1950, Kahn defines architecture as a "thoughtful making of spaces". Ignoring the differences in their conceptions of architecture, holding together these modernist voices with their definitions of space is their common belief that "architecture produces space" (Till, 12-16).

Modern conception of space enables housing a function within a void and architects design this void with artistic skill and technical knowledge in order to supply beautiful and livable environments for users. But, as Van der Ven criticises, "[F]unctionalist-materialist theories of space overruled the weaker, artistic ones"(358). In that respect, although architects deal with space as a three dimensional field that attains beauty through functionality, their conception of space in modern architecture becomes subjected to self-referential, autonomous and rational terms. The physical content of the idea of space "caused architectural ideas to move in a direction parallel to ideas on space in natural sciences" (Van de Ven, 358). The desire of modern architects to understand use, and its relationship to design reduced functionalist theories to a mere repetition and led them to focus on the material knowledge of space. In other words, in

the utilitarian theories of space in modern architecture, the concept of user is repressed, reduced to a passive automaton and architecture becomes merely a branch of engineering whose task is determined by the materialist-functionalist concepts. And, as Norberg-Schulz states "we are no longer satisfied with making our buildings functional but want them also to be meaningful" (22).

Since the 1960s, postmodern architects show an interest in social and symbolic meanings of spaces. The philosophies of postmodernism have created a new validation of architecture as both field of knowledge and domain of implementation. Moudon points out this dichotomy between discipline and practice by referring to them as the normative -prescriptive nature of space and the substantive-descriptive nature of space, which she explains by asserting that "understanding the space and designing it are two different things" (332). The words of Moudon can be helpful in understanding the postmodern conception of space and also the importance of user. Space, in postmodern theories, is conceptualised as a field that is produced not only by design but also through usage. The role of user and the act of inhabiting space are considered to be effectual in ways not previously imagined.

Thus, the concept of space in modern architecture is challenged, Kallus declares that "Post-modern discourse calls for a shift to embody a pluralistic subjective perception of the space and its use, bearing in mind fundamental relationships between space and social processes" (129). In fact, this shift started to occur during late modernism with the theories of Einstein when his notion of space-time was applied to architecture. Einstein's conception was threefold: (1) the concept of space as a place indentifiable by a name; (2) the concept of absolute space; and (3) the four dimensional concept of

relative space (qtd. in Van de Ven, 358). But, in the late modernist thinking, these conjoined terms were introduced to architecture on its own terms. Within the framework of functionalism, they were subjected to the rule of quantity and measure: space and time were quantified and coded to represent movement and occupation (alternatively, they were subjected to aesthetic criteria as explicitly shown in Gideon's book *Space, Time and Architecture*) (Till, 11). But, since 1950, many theoreticians have gradually emphasised the subjective qualitative perception and experience of space that is conditioned by time. In this respect, Collins argues that " 'fourth dimension' in architecture presumably means time considered as a measure of displacement, and since the buildings do not move, the 'fourth dimensional' component must necessarily be contributed by the observer" (289).

Hence, the importance of user in the production as well as perception of space is discovered. Besides the common definition of space created and represented by architects, which is a three- dimensional field to be described, limited and designed, further conceptions of space that recognise the primacy of human agency and its consciousness is defined by many philosophers and theorists of different disciplines.

Harvey, who studies changes brought about by postmodernism to interpretations of geographical space and time, defines space "as a container of social power" (255). Osborne looks at space from a phenomenological point of view when he says, "Space now is not just where things happen; things make space happen" (38-39). Similarly, Rendell, who studies space mostly in relation to gender, differentiates the space of architects and users by stating that "this is not the space as it has traditionally been

defined by architecture - the space of architect - designed buildings - but rather space as it is found, as it is used, occupied and transformed through everyday activities "(101).

The ideas that are mentioned by these scholars manifest the importance of user in the interpretation of postmodern architectural space. What is common in these statements is their conceptualisation of space not only as a physical reality that accommodates users as they perform specific activities but privileges the user and his/her perception of space with a role equal to that of the architect in the formulation of space.

2.2. Two Ways of Conceiving Space

Changing meanings attributed to space over time have recently been addressed within binary frameworks. One line of thought leads to the depiction of space as a homogeneous empty container, which exists prior to and independently of subjects. This space has measurable and definable physical characteristics. It has material presence. Another line of thought proceeds to the conceptualisation of space as a dynamic field conditioned by and interactive with users. This space presupposes material presence and is based upon human experience. It therefore is a perceptually charged realm where intellect, emotion, and memory play essential roles. This dual construct within which space is theorised corresponds to two ways of looking at space at different moments in history: the normative, absolutist Enlightenment objectification that found expression in works and words of modernist designers and thinkers versus the interpretive, subjective conceptualisations recognising the primacy of the human subject and its consciousness that were explored by psychoanalysis, feminist criticism, post-structuralist and postmodernist theories.

Authors from various disciplines besides architecture, amongst them sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, philosophers, have addressed space within this dual framework. They have each given different names to two kinds of space: Soja "first space" versus "second space", De Certeau "visual space" versus "social space", Lefebvre "objective space" versus "subjective-user-space". In their denomination of two ways of looking at space, the first names in each pair correspond with each other, as do the second. Referring to their similarities, throughout the thesis, I will call the former attribute of space its 'spaceness' and the latter its 'placeness'.

'Spaceness' is imagined in terms of definable physical characteristics, quantifiable distinctions of space. 'Placeness', on the other hand, is construed as its discernible, qualitative singularities. Loosely defining the dual construction of space as such , I will hold together different stands on either side and proceed to compare and elucidate them. Building upon this discussion, I aim to arrive at more precise accounts of 'spaceness' and 'placeness'. A more thorough analysis of their distinctions follow.

Table 2: Distinction between 'spaceness' and 'placeness'

'SPACENESS'	Material presence	-architect's space -quantitative -morphological, theoretical, and objective -visual, representational -perceived by looking at the architectural object from the outside - requires distant viewer
'PLACENESS'	Experiential essence	-user's/reader's space -qualitative -phenomenological, and subjective -experiential -experienced by living -requires human agency and a kind of ownership

2.2.1. The Notion of 'Spaceness'

The notion of 'spaceness' as a materialised physical spatiality is based on morphological values that is concerned primarily with the sensory, and particularly with the visual, qualities of space. Architects theorise what I call 'spaceness' within different names but address it as an abstracted idea represented with quantitative, measurable values. They intend its physical reality as a form to be observed by the user. As such, this entity is perceived by looking at the architectural object from the outside, and becomes a visual image for the user. While examining the notion of 'spaceness', two things will be portrayed: characteristics of 'spaceness' as a concept will be depicted first from the point of view of architects and their methods of theorisation and representation, then from that of users and their perception of this concept.

Spaces between and around objects are simply empty and their description can be exhausted by a set of measurable distances, areas and volumes. This kind of space "based solely on architecture" (Rossi, 28) is defined by Soja as "first space".

> "First space" is a "material or materialised physical spatiality that is directly comprehended in empirically measurable configurations: in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities, sites and situations, in patterns of distribution, designs and the differentiation of these and other schemas came together to form a conceptual foundation for a fundamentally positivist 'spatial science' based primarily on the quantitative and mathematical description of these spatial data patterning of first space" (74-75).

Here one may underline the phrase "materialised physical spatiality" as the value of voids. In that sense, this quantitative description of space can be related to what Lefebvre refers to as the objective meanings of space. Both of them present an abstract idea of space, but compared with Soja's approach of "first space", Lefebvre's criticism

focuses on architects, and their methods of representation of this abstract space. Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, calls for a critique of architects and their abstract methods of representing space by stating that the primary aim of architects is to describe an object. He says that "the privileging of the image has led to an impoverished understanding of space ... turning social space into a fetished abstraction. The image "kills" and can not account for the richness of lived experience "(89). For Lefebvre

> "not only architects dominated by the dictates of the bourgeoisie, but with their abstracted method of representation they have reduced the world to a domain of blue-prints and ignore the concerns for the body ... As for the eye of the architect, it is more innocent than the lot he is given to build, on the blank sheet of paper on which he makes his first sketch. His "subjective" space is freighted with all -too- objective meanings. It is a visual space, a space reduced to blue prints, to mere image- to that world of the image which is the enemy of the imagination" (360-361).

The architectural drawing's hegemony over the architectural object has also been theorised by De Certeau. He refers to the architects' "visual space" as abstract. What is common in Lefebvre's and De Certeau's interpretations is that both concentrate on the objectified, formal perception of users as opposed to the subjective, abstract space of architects. Lefebvre refers to the latter as 'image'; on the other hand, De Certeau points out that, users can only perceive that kind of space as a theoretical -that is visual- simulacrum, in short it is remembered as picture (93).

Besides Lefebvre and De Certeau, other authors have also examined the attitude of architects towards space and criticise their reasons and methods of abstraction. Kallus mentions that space, as physical structure, requires abstraction because "it emphasises the morphological attributes of space by reference to categories of forms and surfaces" (132). Moudon explains this abstraction as a tool for the architect in order to prevent complexity and chaos in the built environment and to achieve order. He adds that "by

using professionally subjective approaches, architects and/or designers tend to abstract space ... which enables them theoretically to distinguish wholeness, complexity and continuity of the space from the partial, fragmented (and often subjective) real spaces" (332). Similar to Moudon's discussion, Till assesses this abstraction as,

> "space can only accomplish the difficult journey from metaphysical ideal to physical reality by being emptied of anything beyond a limited set of criteria. ... It is within these terms that space is introduced to architecture. To effect the translation from the metaphysical to the physical, the language of space is subjected to rational and formal criteria. ... The varied descriptions of architectural space are typified by the move to autonomy, the banishment of contingency and the expert recourse to rationality- means of achieving professional closure. In its final 'form' architectural space is objectified, subject to quantification and measurement" (Till, 9).

Thus, architects use the term space as an abstract, morphological concept that emphasises the void itself. They have a number of ways to ignore users or to turn them into anonymities. Hence, they withhold any authority use or user may have on which, by extension, means qualitative values. In that sense, user perceives space not through his/her subjective experiences but from the objective representational values related to form.

2.2.2. The Notion of 'Placeness'

The qualitative essence of space that is classified as 'placeness' can not be described in terms of measurable quantities: it is based upon human experience, it simply has to be felt. Because 'placeness' can be considered as a trait of user's space rather than architect's space, it is lived by individual bodies in social interaction. It concerns phenomenological values. Understanding the limitation of architectural space "where the fundamental relationship between space and social process is inevitably pushed aside when the position of the user is disregarded, diminished and space is viewed morphologically" (Kallus, 130), 'placeness' suggests space which is individuated by user

as a site of actual everyday experiences. *Querencia* is a Spanish word that refers to a place on the ground where one feels secure, a place from which one's strength of character is drawn. *Querencia* embodies the sensibility of 'placeness': "having and loving a place not because it is abstractly or universally understood as unique or even supportive, but because it is yours" (Schneekloth and Shibley,132).

Soja refers to user's space as "second space" phenomena by remarking upon the importance of user in space. He states that, a "second space image of place has an interest in the real physicality of the space form because of the human agency that it signifies or hides, rather than because of the economics or political structures that were at play within it" (74-75). Here, one can draw attention to the phrase "real physicality" that suggests a notion of space as a dynamic field conditioned by and interactive with material presence. The "real physicality" can correspond to what Lefebvre called "subjective space". Lefebvre writes, "the user's space is lived -not represented (or conceived) when compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of everyday activities of user is a concrete one which is to say subjective" (362). Both interpretations can be considered as outlining the importance of human agency in the conception of space, but Lefebvre's approach can be seen as a step towards understanding the differentiation between the architect's space and the user's space. Architect's space is conceived, not lived and just one space among many. Architects have no authority over lived space and no part to play in the formulation of use.

This differentiation between objective spaces of architects and subjective spaces of users made by Lefebvre has also been theorised in a similar way by De Certeau.

Likewise, he believes that design cannot engage issues of use. De Certeau's work has been influential where he notes that, opposed to the theories of architects, users do not look at space from above with a bird-eye view, but walk in it. Walking in space allows the walker to individuate the space: there, "the ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below", they walk- "an elementary form of this experience of the space; they are walkers (*wandersmanner*) whose bodies follow a 'text' " (92-93). To theorise space as a text leads us to perceive space not in formal and functional terms but in figural and interpretative ways through movement and action. Remembering the concept of De Certeau's 'visual space' that is remembered as a picture, this essence offers a textual understanding of space. But, at this point, it is important to note that reading space as text does not imply the analysis of space with words, but to live space poetically through experience.

French writer and critic Barthes, in his text "The Death of the Author", suggests a new understanding of reader, and by implication, the concept of "creative user" who lives space poetically. Barthes does not propose the death of writing but "the death of the particular type of author who proposes a uniform, natural system of meaning based upon mimesis, the belief that an image, word or object is the carrier for a fixed message determined by the author" (142). Barthes states that "the importance of the author is overrated because the journey from author to text to reader is never seamless, direct or one-way. The text often contradicts the intention of the author and the reader always constructs a new text in the act of reading" (142). He also adds that the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author (148). In place of the author, Barthes argues for the writer or scripter, aware of the limits of writing and the importance of the reader (143). He writes, " succeeding the author, the scripter no

longer bears within him passions, humours, feelings, impressions but rather this immense dictionary" (147). However, Barthes' own writing suggests a different writer, who, while recognising "the profusion of ambiguities and interpretations that inhabit the gap between writing and reading is not without passions and ideas "(qtd. in Hill 354). Barthes suggests that the writer and the reader are distinct figures who both have a role in the creation of texts.

"The Death of the Author" is relevant also to architecture. A building is not directly comparable to a text. Instead, as is suggested by Hill, writer-text-reader relations as a whole are analogous to architect-building-user relations. The reader may be passive and respectful to the text, or reactive, to some degree allowing personal concerns to affect what is read (354). But Barthes' reformulation of the author, and the concept of creative reader, suggests a model for architecture in which there is no clear route from architect to user. "Architecture is made by the architect and the user. To use a building is also to make it, either by physical transformation such as moving walls or furniture, by using it in ways not previously imagined or by conceiving it anew. Just as the creative reader makes a new book through reading, the creative user makes a new building through using" (Hill 354-355).

At this point, it is important to remember the theories of De Certeau based on remaking space in the mind and through bodily movement. Hill re-reads Barthes by conceptualising the occupant of space as a distinct example of "creative user". Both are highlighting the importance of the user, and equating the role of the user to that of the architect in the formulation of space. In that respect, arguments on 'placeness' embody the sensibility of conceptualising space as a dynamic field that engages the experiential

aspects of the user in addition to the visual intentions of the architect. In other words, the role of the architect in the formulation of architecture is not superior to the user: they each conceive space differently. Agrest states this duality by saying "[L]ooking at the city from the point of view of architecture differs from looking at architecture from the point of view of the city" (137). What Agrest points out is two types of looking in which the concept of city corresponds to social frameworks and architecture corresponds to objectified physical spatiality in my discussion.

In that context, words of Boyer and Tschumi can be helpful to recognise, conduct, and relate the quantitative perception of space with qualitative values. Boyer states that "pictorialised space must be reconstructed by re-examining the representation of space and by reawakening the notion of 'everyday' involvement invested in architectural forms with their social and emotional needs"(5-6). With a similar approach, Tschumi mentions that

> "space is never autonomous, never in pure form, and similarly, that architecture is not a matter of style and can not be reduced to a language ... Opposing the overrated notion of the architectural form, they aim to reinstate the term function and, more particularly, to reinscribe the movement of bodies in space, together with the actions and events that take place within the ... social realm of architecture" (3-4).

Both of them address the integration of social means, the notion of the everyday, to the practice of architecture: their primary aim is to show the importance of user, and his/her intellectual, emotional, sensual needs in the perception of space. Thus, their proposed model of space is based on surfacing the experiential essence of architecture in addition to its material presence.

The differences in the perception of space between the architects and the users, and between a building's visual representations and its actual experience can be recognised. Thus space can be analysed, read, perceived as a reconciliation of 'spaceness' and 'placeness', materiality and experience, visual values and social factors.

3. SPACE AND MEMORY

3.1. Individual and Collective Memory

The conjunction between space and memory has been theorised by a variety of authors from different disciplines. The concern in these pages is to show the relationship between memory and architectural space, rather than processes of memory itself. I will first review the personal and collective character of memory, then discuss how spaces are materially and mentally constructed by groups and what kinds of spaces are imaged or imagined as sites of collective memory. In other words, within the context of memory, the subject of interest in this chapter is "maps of meaning" (Jackson) because, as mental constructs, they refer to the way spaces are remembered.

The relationship between memory and space is historical. Simonides' 'memory palace' demonstrates the earliest indications of their relationship that go back to ancient Greece and appeared in texts of the first century BC. This remembrance of spaces, however, pertains to a recollective skill that relies on mental constructions within which memory to be retrieved is stored rather than the actual memory of buildings or sites themselves. In other words, ideas are attached to images of places. The notion of memory palace was based on the mnemonic technique devised when ideas to be remembered were attached to mental images of either actual or fictitious structures whose paths provided the narrative flow of information to be recaptured (Yates, 1-4). The size of the memory palace would depend on how much one wanted to remember and could be drawn either

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from reality- that is, from buildings that one had known and recalled in one's memory- or could be totally fictive or could be partially so. The notion of memory palace elucidates the relationship between memory and space with a mnemonic technique structured around a subject in a way that space becomes a medium to restore individual memories and people spatialised their memories in order to remember them.

In the sixteenth century, mnemonic schemes were believed to correspond to ideal forms of the cosmos. Images had magical connections with eternal ideas (Yates qtd. in Hutton, 11). Later, the writings of Musset, Baudelaire, Proust, Freud, Bollas and Bergson also referred to individual memory. Freud conducted a detailed research with his patients. His extensive researches enabled him to understand characteristics of individual/subjective memory. As King quoted Freud

> "[The] subject is recognised by its inextricable ties to what can not be experienced or subjectivised fully ... Freud also explored the ordinary or non-pathological processes of screen memory, fantasy, forgetting and remembering in ways which acknowledge the complex unconscious processes by which we remember and forget, and which problematise the idea of any simple chronological relation between past and present in human experience" (4-6).

The unconscious memory of Freud - Proust, in a similar sense, named this "involuntary memory" (qtd. in Benjamin, 158) - is a kind of archive of all life's memories, on the other hand, conscious memories -in a similar sense, Proust's"voluntary memory" (qtd. in Benjamin, 158) - include discontinuous memory fragments. With his concept "screen memories", Freud showed how the subject usually produces some quite irrelevant memories to cover up something s/he does not want to remember. Thus, "the subject forms memory in order to obtain certainty, to fashion a story that grants him or her perception of wholeness" (qtd. in Salecl, 87). Bollas also concentrated on subjective memory by suggesting that "the passing of time ... is intrinsically traumatic, and that it

is within the ordinary processes of memory that the self is continuously created and destroyed" (119). Bergson's interpretation also leads to subjective time and individualistic consciousness. He claims that memory is individualistic and represented by a series or flows of perception. Ignoring the differences in their perception of the terms subconscious and unconscious, what is common in Freud's, Bollas' and Bergson's statements is that they all concentrated on individual memory that is intrinsic to a subject and believed that the self endlessly recollects memory in order to achieve safety and certainty in his/her life. In other words everyone creates a narration of their lives by reconstructing memories. But, these memories are autobiographical and do not imply a social/collective framework.

The concept of "third space" by Soja relates to the material and mental construction of space by groups. "Third space" remains in the imagination of the outsiders who look at the city as a place to be re-imagined for its future benefit and repair. Referring to definitions of first, second and third spaces by Soja, they all look for meaning in real places such as rooms, houses, squares and churches. But for 'third space' the process of meaning formation is located in an individual's perceiving mind and progresses in time (Soja qtd. in Bertram,13). And as Bertram proposes

> "when phenomenological 'third space' perspective is combined with a sociological one, such as Lefebvre's understanding that social space is socially produced, it can move from anthropological to the historical, away from what a particular individual perceived or remembered to a group's perception in that group's social context" (14).

The result is collective ideas about social spaces that give meaning to historical or present time. It was Maurice Halbwachs who first saw that social thought was separate from autobiographical thought, calling the first one "collective memory"(Coser qtd. in

Halbwachs, 23). Halbwachs' main point was that memory is only able to endure within sustaining social contexts.

According to the notion of collective memory, in contrast to Proust's, Freud's, Bollas', and Bergson's ideas, what is remembered about the past is not related to a narration that the individual creates but to the social context that these individuals participate in. Halbwachs defines it not as a socially constructed idea about the past but rather a socially shared notion, a way that a group conceptualised the past while in the present. Against Bergson's claim, Halbwachs shows that only one area in human experience that is not rooted in a social context and structure is 'the sphere of dreams'. He reveals that only dreams possess individual memory because their characteristics separate them from all the other human experiences: "they lack structure, continuity, orderly progression and regularity" (Coser qtd. in Halbwachs 41-42). For that reason, he also adds that "individual images of the past are provisional ... so that they are remembered only when they are located within the conceptual structures that are defined by communities of large" (Coser qtd. in Halbwachs, 24).

To this end, it is important to note first of all that it is individuals who remember not the groups or institutions but these memories can only be achieved if they are located in social frameworks. In that sense, Halbwachs declares that individuals remember but society determines what is worth remembering, by stating "individuals, being located in a specific group context, draw on that context to remember or recreate the past" (Coser qtd. in Halbwachs, 22). Lowenthal also believes that remembering is a social activity. Like Halbwachs, he also codes the sphere of dreams as a totally individual realm and

differentiates it from the other activities that are only to be remembered in social contexts. He mentions that

> "we need other people's memories both to confirm our own and to give them endurance. Unlike dreams, which are wholly private [individual], memories are continually supplemented by those of others ... In the process of knitting our own discontinuous recollection into narratives, we revise personal components to fit the collectively remembered past, and gradually cease to distinguish them" (196).

A similar approach that differentiates individual memory from collective memory can be found in the words of Zarecka: "If the collective memory is understood not as a collection of result of historical experience" (67) but rather a socially articulated and socially maintained reality of the past, then collective memory "is a product of great deal work by large numbers of people, all securing (mostly) public articulation for the past" (67). But her interpretation can also lead us to understand, and portray those social groups that structure our memories. She lists these groups from the largest to the smallest by saying,

> "the term 'collective memory' accommodates a variety of territorial frames. At times, it is used to describe the heritage of the whole of humanity, at times, it becomes a national property, and at still other times, it is said to bond generations" (Zarecka, 47).

Understanding the limitation of individual memory, these words can be considered as a step towards questioning collective memory in relation to space: how social groups place space in collective memory and how these spaces become a part of their collective heritage are the questions to be dealt with.

Table 3: Individual and Collective Memory

INDIVIDUAL	- Inorganic - Reconstructed/Recollected - Selective - Subjective
COLLECTIVE	- Organic - Spontaneous - Objective

3.2. Sites of Collective Memory

Mental and material reconstruction of spaces in memories of social entities demand the explication of the term site or realm of memory. Because, as Boyer mentions, "[M]emory always unfolded in space, for when memories could not be located in the social space of a group, then the remembrance would fail" (40).

Awareness of collective memory was an early nineteenth century revelation. Before, especially in late medieval and Renaissance times, spaces that resided in the collective heritage usually served as memorials of kings, queens and the aristocracy (Boyer, 7). These spaces did not include social context. Echoing this argument, Nora observes that, "prior to the nineteenth century memory was such a pervasive part of life that people were hardly aware of its existence. Only the aristocracy, the church, and the monarchical state had need of institutionalised memory. Outside the elite class, archives, genealogies, family portraits, and biographies were extremely rare ...

Ordinary people felt the past to be much a part of their present that they perceived no urgent need to record, objectify and preserve it " (Between Memory, 7). In that context, Nora consigns to this recollective remembrance occurring in the nineteenth century the term 'modern memory'. That was, above all, archival. He accounts for 'modern memory' as "the past has became so distant and the future so uncertain that we can no longer be sure what to save, so we save everything. It seems that every historic dwelling, every species, every landscape is destined to have its own preservation" (Nora, Between Memory, 13). He also adds that "modern memory relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image" (13). Here we may underline the words 'materiality of the trace' and 'visibility of the image' in order to recognise the mental perception of space. Nora's words can also lead us to understand how our memories are trying to find meanings in material contexts and how these sites are valued or experienced as entities that visualise our memories in the present.

Generally, the material traces that help us to commemorate are portrayed as either symbolic or real sites. Yet, real sites of memory can also include symbolic meanings. Many authors have discussed these symbolic and real sites as imagery perceptions activated by representations. French historian Pierre Nora's work is grounded exactly in this symbolic perception. Nora attempts to show how certain realms become sites of memory because they are held in the mind as symbolic mental images residing in representations that are tied to symbolic sites, which he calls "lieux de memoire" or 'sites of memory'. In his introduction to *Les Lieux De Memoire* or *Realms of Memory*, Pierre Nora mourns the loss of 'real' memory, a memory entwined in the intimacy of a collective heritage (Between Memory, 8). "True memory"(Between Memory, 9),

according to him, is immediate, spontaneous, organic, passed down by unspoken traditions, and thus collective and 'objective'(Between Memory, 13). On the other hand, what we called memory is "infact the gigantic and breathtaking storehouse of a material stock of what it would be impossible for us to remember, an unlimited repertoire of what might need to be recalled "(Between Memory,13). He also adds that *Les Lieux de Memoire* - archives, libraries, tape recordings, video recordings, computer files, even historical fiction and drama- have become necessary because "milieux de memoire" or mediums of memory -which constitute "real" memory- have been lost (Between Memory, 7). The examples given by Nora constitute a common meaning: all of them can be considered as realms that preserve traces of past meanings. People use these symbolic sites in order to recollect, reconstruct realities, knowledge of the past either related to them or to the groups to which they belong. But besides these examples that include a very strict, direct relationship with the past, other sites that are remembered by image representations need to be referred to.

Nora generalises these sites as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community". And he also adds that these can include non-material sites, such as anthems, French cuisine, figure of Marianne, perceived civic responsibilities and children's stories. But they can also include sites of urban significance, such as the Eiffel Tower, the French Museum of National Antiquities, etc (Nora qtd. in Bertram, 23). Although Nora differentiates these sites as non-material and material, what is common in all the above-mentioned examples is that they all include symbolic meaning residing in various representations.

Tuan called the relationship between imagery and spatial cognition 'topophilia', "an interest in the affective meaning of places in terms of how they are made into representations, the emotional charge that these representations or thoughts of places carry, and how these are symbolically perceived" (67). Compared with Nora's perception of sites that reside in memory as symbolic values, Tuan's interpretation is based on real spaces. However, whether symbolic sites or real spaces, both of them highlight the image representations that are tied to these sites/spaces. Foucault, from an other perspective, also connects the remembrance and perception of spaces with representation and depiction. But the idea of artefacts mentioned by Foucault also does not necessarily include symbolic meaning. He states that "the past is continually being remoulded in our present discourse. What is remembered about the past depends on the way it is represented, which has more to do with the present power of groups to fashion its image than with the ability of historians to evoke its memory. Rather than culling the past for residual memories, each age constructs the past with images that suits its present need" (Foucault's *Nietzche Genealogy* as qtd. in Hutton, 6). Here one can underline the word 'images' in order to relate the perception of space with representation. Echoing this argument, Hutton states that in Foucault's rendering "what had once been conceived as the past transmitted was reconceived as the past reconstructed"(6-7). "The reality of the past", Foucault maintained, "resides in the artefacts and their representations" (Archaeology and Knowledge, 147).

As Barthem explains "there is a crossover between collective memory and collective meaning, for what a collectivity brings to the present as memory arrives there to serve something that is still experienced or valued by individuals" (28). All Nora, Tuan and Foucault argue the experienced or valued past meanings by placing them in

representations. Thus, remembrance of spaces or sites is portrayed as imagery, as mental perceptions. Either at symbolic or real sites, recollections are conserved by referring to material traces that surround us and these spaces or sites are placed in collective memory through various image representations that enable us to rediscover past meanings in the present.

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4. SIGNIFICANCE OF BRIDGES

4.1. Conceptualisation of Bridges

Bridges are both symbolically and physically important landmarks contributing to the identity of the settlements, or cities to which they belong. Their fundamental objective is to provide a crossing over a gap, such as a river or stream, valley or road, and give access to the other side. With their functions of connecting locations at either side, bridges are highly significant elements in any urban texture precisely because they stand out, suspended, and separated from either side by the gap.

Simmel and Heidegger address significance of bridges at another level. In his essay, "Bridge and Door", Simmel argues that " [T]he Bridge ... is concrete manifestation of fundamental human tendencies to connect and separate everything. The Bridge indicates how human kind unifies the separatedness of merely natural being" (5). He also adds that

> "the human being is the connecting creature who must always separate and can not connect without separating- that is why we must first conceive intellectually of the merely indifferent existence of the two river banks as something separated in order to connect them by means of a bridge" (5-6).

Heidegger, from another perspective, describes bridge as a thing of its own kind.

> "For it gathers the fourfold in such a way that it allows a site for it. But only something that is itself a location can make space for a site. The location is not already there before the bridge is. Before the bridge stands, there are of course many spots ... Thus the bridge does not first come to a location to stand in it, a location comes into existence only by virtue of the bridge" (154-155).

When Simmel's and Heidegger's arguments are analysed, what they have in common is the relation between the materiality of the bridge and its location. Simmel emphasises the concept of separation; for him, humans conceive separation before connection. In other words, Simmel formulates bridge as being an interspace between its locations (Figure 1). And Heidegger states that the function of a bridge not as to connect locations but actually to create them (Figure 2).

Figure 1. Graphical representation of Simmel's 'Bridge' as interspace, connecting and separating two sides.

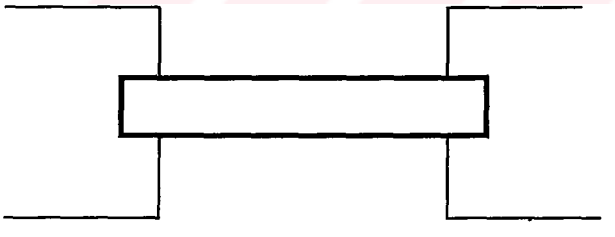

Figure 2. Graphical representation of Heidegger's 'Bridge' as an entity creating 'locations'.

Both Simmel's and Heidegger's conceptions of bridge refer to it as a separate entity independent of location. In that respect, differentiating the materiality of any bridge from its locations allows us to read the physical existence and appearance of a bridge on their own right.

4.2. Bridge as 'Spaceness'

A bridge as a passage between two sides implies movement, but the actual occasion of movement does not allow us perception of connection and separation. For that matter, it does not even concede discernment of the material presence of the bridge in its entirety. Rather, it is either the actual gaze of the onlooker who observes it or the mediated gaze of its representations in postcards, magazines, books, and even movies. The perspective from which it is looked at or depicted or photographed is far away from where the bridge can be seen as a whole. In other words, the onlooker is not the passer-by on the bridge, but a distant spectator. In that sense, Simmel proposes that

> "the bridge becomes an aesthetic value insofar as it accomplishes the connection between what is separated not only in reality and in order to fulfil practical goals, but in making it directly visible. The bridge gives to the eye the same support for connecting the sides of the landscape as it does to the body for practical reality" (6).

In other words, the bridge becomes significant not through the subjective experience of the traveller, but through the objective gaze of the onlooker.

The Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul can be given as an example for this argument. One of the attributes that is attached to the Bosphorus Bridge is that it takes its significance from its visual appearance and frequent representations, mostly from the air. There, the Bosphorus Bridge is perceived as a designed object, and represented as an image. This is its 'spaceness'.

4.3. Bridge as 'Placeness'

The property of 'spaceness' yielding to the objective gaze of the onlooker is not the only attribute that gives significance to bridges. Other layers of significance can also be read as the bridge is analysed as an object of use, rather than one that is designed and seen. Some bridges also carry the property of inhabitation in addition to their 'bridgeness'. Apart from their function of conveyance that enables us to read the property of 'spaceness', their inhabitation leads to their perception as 'placeness', through human occupation. The bridge then begins to shelter and accommodate certain activities besides providing a passage. Thus, it becomes a site of bodily experience and attends to dwellers in addition to passers-by.

For example the Bosphorus Bridge can also be read through the property of 'placeness' where experiential values play an essential role. Suicides on it can be recollected to interpret the Bosphorus Bridge in terms of 'placeness'. These frequent events on the Bridge constitute ultimate emotional and corporeal involvement connected to the materiality of the Bosphorus Bridge. Apparently unforeseen acts totally unrelated with the actual function of the Bridge, they have become part of its significance through the will of its unintended users. Any bridge, by virtue of its being suspended over a gap and therefore being readily perceivable by sight, lends itself instantly to being interpreted as a representational object or a landmark. In other words, it incorporates the qualities of 'spaceness'. Some bridges, in special circumstances, also offer powerful living experience, like in the case of the Bosphorus Bridge. However, this quality of 'placeness' is not common but exceptional. In other words, offering a suitable site for committing suicides is not intrinsic to 'bridgeness' whereas being discernible to the eye

is. Yet inhabited bridges are different. They not only provide for a variety of activities and therefore a diversity of experiences but also accommodate their inhabitants for longer periods of time than the mere duration of passage. Being bridges qualify them for the quality of 'spaceness', being inhabited for 'placeness'.

Table 4: Significance of bridges. Analysis of 'spaceness' and 'placeness'.

Bridge	Visual discernability	Gaze	'Spaceness'
Inhabited Bridge	Experiential diversity	Body	'Placeness'

This is not to say that passers-by have no experience of the bridge as 'placeness'. Limited to the duration of passage across, the actual experience of the user is then again restricted to looking, this time, not at the bridge but from it. In other words, the human experience constricted by this short time is simply watching other people or the view from either side of the bridge. Hence, this visual experience connects 'spaceness' and 'placeness', links the acts of looking at and from it.

5. THE 1912 GALATA BRIDGE AS A SITE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

5.1. The Site: Before Bridging the Gap

To begin exploring different layers of signification embodied in the 1912 Galata Bridge, a potent point of departure is its absence rather than its presence. That is, inquiring into conditions before the Bridge was actually constructed leads to deciphering meanings embedded in its substantiality. In this way, importance of the location and characteristics of the sides can be understood in order to discern features of the materiality of the 1912 Galata Bridge. In that context, the Golden Horn (Keras) constitutes the gap that separates and therefore, designates two significantly different portions of Istanbul. By virtue of this gap, the boundary between Old Istanbul and Galata is layed (Figure 3).

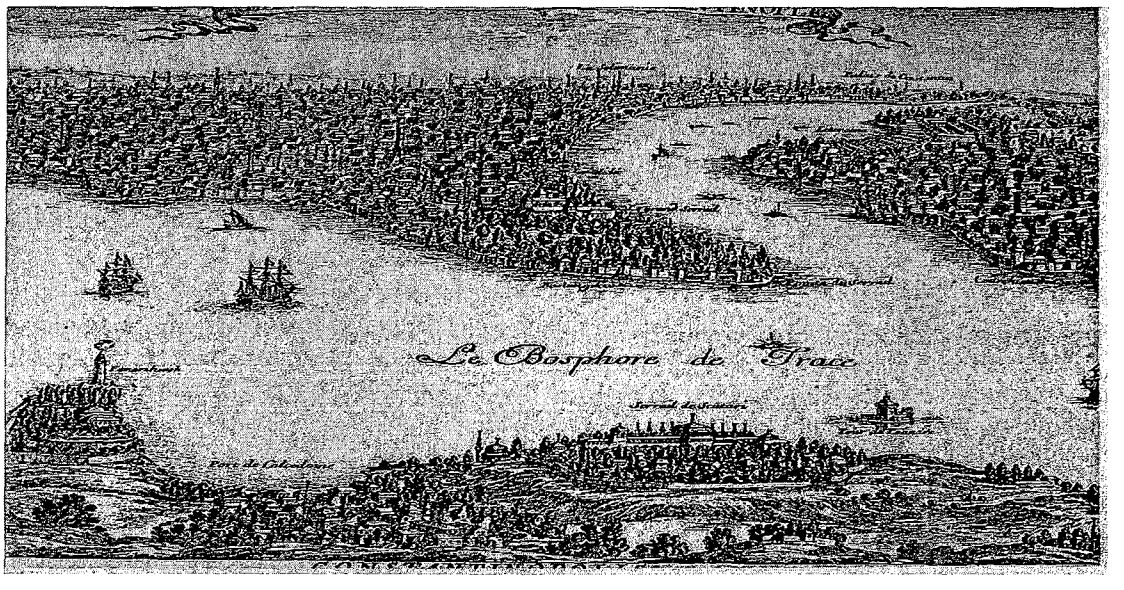

Figure 3. Engraving overlooking the Golden Horn (Kuban, Kent ve Mimarlık, 27).

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The former was the actual site of the Greek colony Byzantion in the seventh century BC, the capital city of the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinopolis, after the fourth century and the seat of government of the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The latter site, another Greek colony called Sykai, came to be dominated by Italian merchants, especially after the twelfth century, and remained a predominantly Italian stronghold during the Ottoman period (Kuban, Istanbul, 57). This bank, on the northern shore of Golden Horn, comprises Pera and Galata, and conveys the lifestyles as well as architectural styles of the mostly Italian (Venetian, Genoese) and rarely French cultures. Various trade (broking and banking facilities) and leisure (shops, theatres, hotels, concerts) activities are carried out in the region Pera (a Greek word, which means the 'opposite') where a large proportion of the inhabitants were non-Muslims and where foreign merchants and diplomats lived and worked. The southern bank of the Golden Horn, where inhabitants were Muslims, embodies the site of the imperial palace and principal religious and secular institutions of the Ottoman Empire. Following the move of the Ottoman court to Dolmabahçe in 1856, the old city deteriorated while Galata and Pera proliferated (Table 5). Differences of the two sides are also marked by their respective skylines: one is marked by domes and minarets, the other by a tower. (Figure 4).

Table 5: Analysis of northern and southern banks of the Golden Horn

Golden Horn	Northern Bank	Sykai Galata, Beyoğlu	-mostly Italian and rarely French -west, mostly Christians -towers
	Southern Bank	Byzantion Old Istanbul	-Greek and Ottoman-Turkish -east, mostly Muslims -minarets and domes

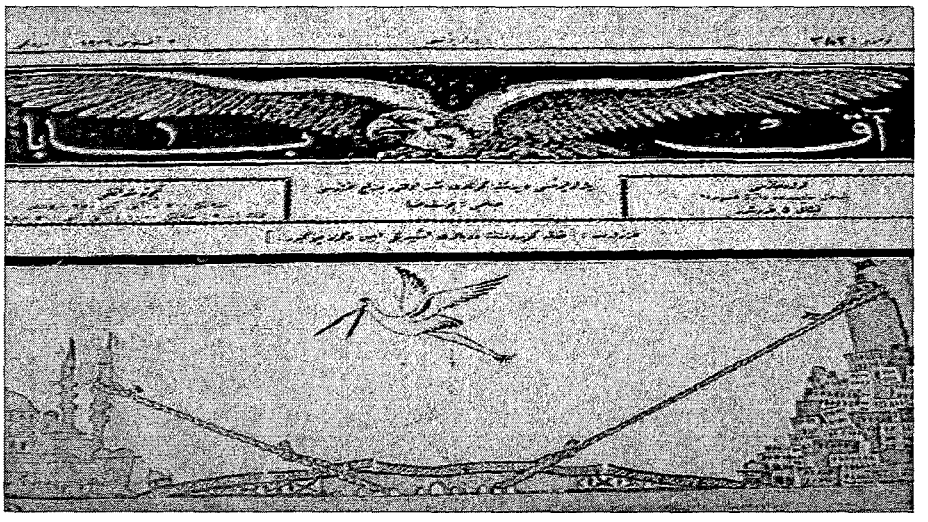

Figure 4. A cartoon which depicts the Galata Bridge in relation to Galata and historical Istanbul parts (cited in Evren, 34).

The Golden Horn both separates and connects these two banks. Throughout history Keras /GoldenHorn /Haliç simultaneously marked the difference between its two banks and constituted their bond. Both of these properties were consequences of the topography: the waterway separating two portions of land yet offering both banks one of the largest natural harbours of the antique world (Kuban, Istanbul, 55-57). In other words, the Golden Horn connected these two topographically separated districts by presenting a common harbour that served both banks (Figure 5). Çelik describes the harbour as being the most important feature for Istanbul's economic life (5).

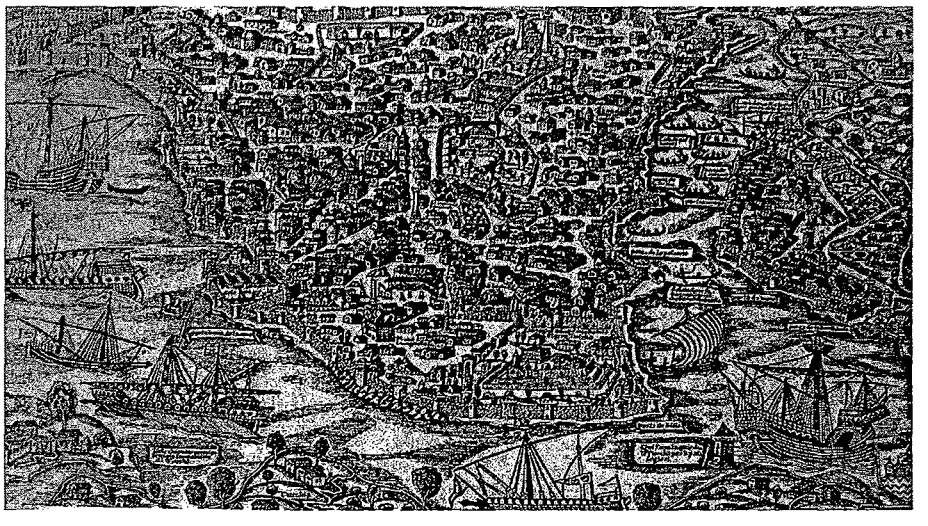

Figure 5. An image showing the Golden Horn as a harbour (Çelik, 21).

From the time of the Greek colonies through to the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the Golden Horn always kept its property of being a crucial harbour for Istanbul (Kuban, Istanbul, 59). Hence, during the Byzantine era and also the Ottoman siege of the city, the mouth of the Golden Horn was chained in order to avoid foreign threats to this harbour. Tiberos II, at the end of the sixth century, ordered the construction of a tower (known as Kastellion ton Galatou) and a chain was placed from this tower to another tower at the opposite side, known as Khakedonisia (Çelik, 16). The chain that connects the two sides also defined the entrance of the Golden Horn by creating a physical boundary. The harbour on the Golden Horn could thus be considered as 'inside' and the Bosphorus as 'outside'. The chain has a further significance. If not functionally, materially it is the precursor of bridges to be later constructed almost exactly in its place. Paradoxically, the chain denied access to the Golden Horn, whereas the bridges that replaced it joined its two banks.

Although, the harbour in the Golden Horn functionally linked the two banks, conveyance of people and goods from one side to the other was provided by small boats called "prime" or "dolmuş" (Evren, 16). They constituted spontaneous and momentary connection that continued to exist even after Old Istanbul and Galata were permanently connected by a bridge.

5.2. The Former Galata Bridges

The oldest recorded bridge in Istanbul was built over the Golden Horn in 1453 during the siege of the city (Çelik, 72). When the Ottoman Empire, in the years 1502 and 1503, planned to construct a permanent bridge, it was Leonardo da Vinci who made a drawing of a single-span bridge over the Golden Horn. The sketch (Figure 6) was

probably made in 1503 (İsmen, 147). Leonardo wrote a letter to Sultan Beyazid II, stating his ideas about the bridge:

> "Ben kulunuz şöyle işitmisim ki, Istanbul'dan Galata'ya bir köprü yapmak kastetmişşiniz, ama bilir adem bulunmadığı sebepten yapmamışsınız. Ben kulunuz bilirim. Bir yay gibi pek yüksek kaldırırım ki hiç kimse üzerinden yüksek olduğundan geçmeye razı olmaya. Ama bir fikreyledim ki, bir çatma idem, andan sonra suyu çıkaram ve kazıklar koyam. Şöyle idem ki aşağıdan hemen yelkenleriyle bir gemi çıka. Ve bir köprü eyleyem ki, kalka ki alttan geldigi vakit Anadolu yakasına geçerler" (qtd. in İşmen, 146-150)
>
> (I hear that you intend to build a bridge from Istanbul to Galata but you could not achieve it because you could not find anybody qualified. I, your sevant, know. I would raise it high as a bow that people would not pass over it for its height. But I thought that I could make a construction on piles, drawing out the water, so that a sailboat might pass between them. And I could make such a bridge that would rise to allow access to the Anotolian side.)

What is interesting in Leonardo's letter is that, he did not only think of a relation between Istanbul and Galata but also considered the passage of boats under the bridge. Since harbours in the Golden Horn are of utmost importance, the bridge is significant not only for enabling movement between Istanbul and Galata, but also for allowing passage from the Golden Horn to the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea. Leonardo's project was never realised, the issues he raised in explaining his project remained valid through the history of Galata bridges.

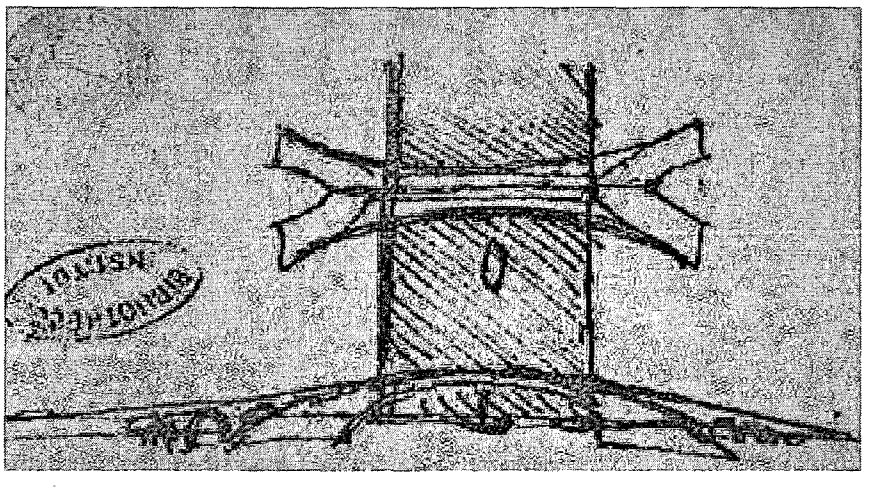

Figure 6. Proposed project of the Galata Bridge, by Leonardo da Vinci (www.museoscienza.org/english/leonardo/pontegalata.html).

The first Galata Bridge was constructed in 1845 by the mother of Sultan Abdulmecid and used for 18 years. It was known as the Cisr-i Cedid or New Bridge to distinguish it from the earlier bridge further up the Golden Horn, which became known as the Cisr-i Atik or Old Bridge. This bridge between the locations belonging to the Geneose colony Katelion and Khalkedonisia that had previously been the location of the chain for defense (Çelik, 16). Thus, the first Galata Bridge took upon itself the regulation of relations between Old Istanbul and Galata as well as the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus (Figure 7).

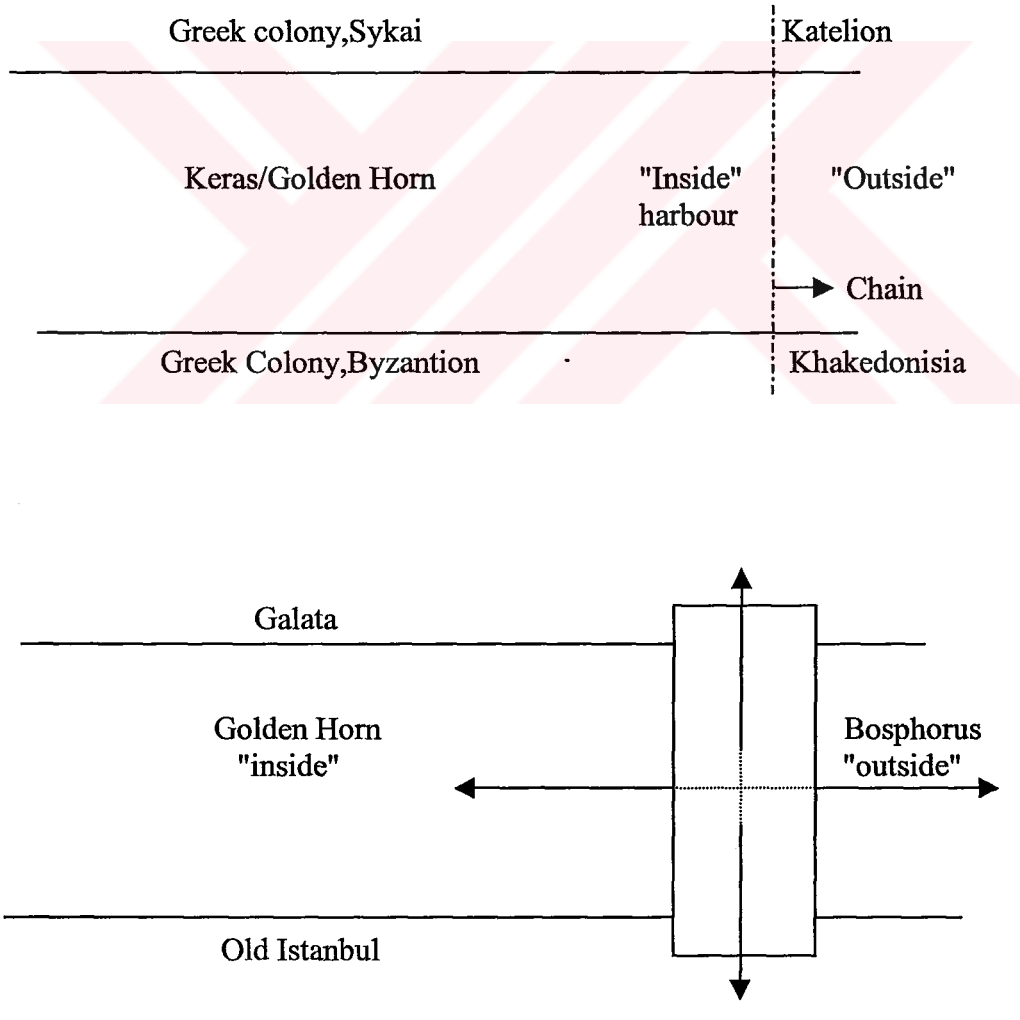

Figure 7. Graphical representations of Golden Horn in relation to the sides before the Bridge exists and with it.

The first Galata Bridge was replaced by a second wooden bridge in 1863, built by Ethem Pertev Pasa on the orders of Sultan Abdülaziz in preparation for the visit to Istanbul of Napoleon III. In 1870, a contract was signed with a French company, *Forges et Chantiers de la Mediteranée*, for the construction of a third bridge, but the outbreak of war between France and Germany delayed the project, which was given instead to a British firm, *G. Wells,* in *1872*. This bridge, completed in 1875, was 480 m long and 14 m wide and rested on 24 pontoons. It was used until 1912, when it was pulled upstream to replace the then actually old Cisr-i Atik Bridge (İsmen, 435-469).

The fourth Galata Bridge was built in 1912 by the German *Man* firm. This bridge is parabolical in section (with a 4% slope at either end, flattening to a 1% slope towards the middle), having 680 cm maximum height and 230 cm minimum height over sea level (Figure 8). In the middle of the Bridge, a 67 meters movable section exists which can be rotated 180 degrees in order to allow passage of ships. Smaller boats can pass under the Bridge, through the voids between its pylons. This Bridge is 466 meters long and its width is 25 meters, allowing 14 meters for vehicle traffic (cars, trams, and buses) in the middle and 5.50 meters sidewalks at either side (Figure 9). It was badly damaged in a fire in 1992 and towed up the Golden Horn to make way for its successor now in use.

Neither the first nor the most recent, but the 1912 Galata Bridge has become a familiar landmark of Istanbul. Not only its repeatedly depicted and published images but also its frequently told stories have placed it in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Istanbul as well as those fascinated by the city from a distance.

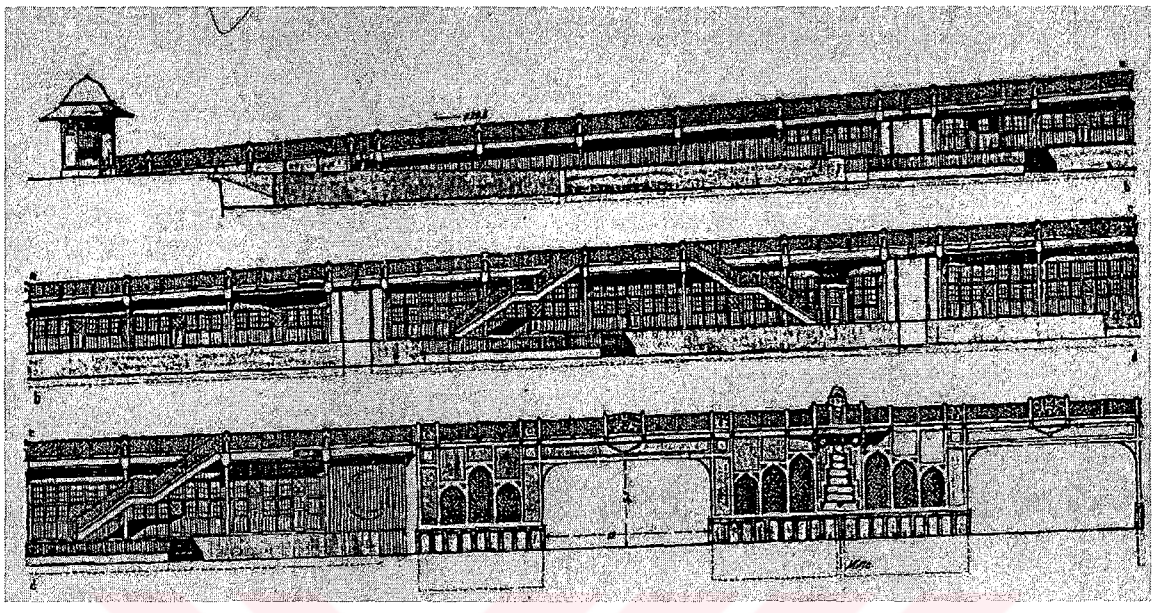

Figure 8. Elevation of the 1912 Galata Bridge (Evren, 134-135).

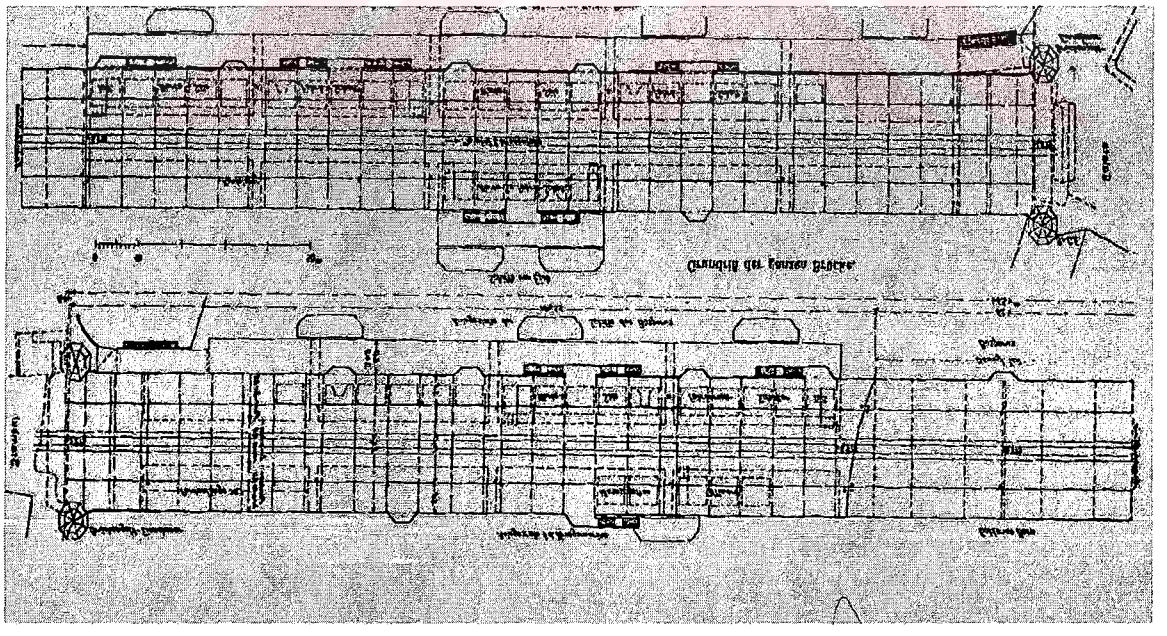

Figure 9. Plan of the 1912 Galata Bridge (Evren, 134-135).

5.3. Concepts related to 1912 Galata Bridge

5.3.1. Connection/ Separation

The Galata Bridge is a physical and symbolic link between the traditional Ottoman city of Istanbul proper and its Westernised districts of Galata and Pera. Hence, the Bridge bonds two distinctive cultures. Their distinguishing traits are numerous and have been noted by various authors from different points of view. As Peyami Safa said in his novel, *Fatih-Harbiye*, a person who went from Fatih at the historical peninsula to Harbiye via the Bridge, s/he set foot in a different civilisation and a different culture (32). De Amicis even claimed that, although both sides of the Golden Horn belong to Europe, the Bridge connects Europe and Asia (27-40). Can Yücel, from another perspective, stated that, the Bridge unites Muslim Istanbul with Christian Pera (qtd. in Durbaş, Galata Köprüsü, 45). When Müller came to Istanbul one hundred year ago, his expectation was to see all the world's people's on the Galata Bridge not on a stage, but in real life.

> "Galata köprüsüne ilk ayak bastığımız zaman herşeyin düşündüklerimizin ne kadar ötesinde olduğunu gördük. Burada bütün dünya milletlerini görebileceğimizi tahmin etmiştik. Görüyorduk da. Fakat bir sahne üstünde değil; hayatın gerçek kışında olduğu gibi..."(qtd. in Durbaş,Galata Köprüsü, 13-14).

De Amicis, who visited Istanbul in 1874, mentioned that what distinguished the Galata Bridge from urban nodes of other cities in the world is the day-long incessant flow of people over it:

> "Köprüde durunca bir saat içinde bütün Istanbulun geçit yaptığı görülür. Bu, günesin doğuşundan batışına kadar durmadan dinlenmeden karşılaşıp karışan bitmez tükenmez bir insan akıntısıdır. Hindistan Çarşıları, Nijini-Novgorod panayırları, Pekin bayramları bunun yanında hiç kalır..." (De Amicis, 27-40).

Peyami Safa, Can Yücel and De Amicis talk about the Galata Bridge as an agent uniting different cultures, religions, and geographies. Müller and, again, de Amicis indicate the interaction of people from different cultures over the Bridge. What is common about their descriptions is that they all characterise the Galata Bridge as a connecting entity. However, remembering the arguments of Simmel and Heidegger, the term separation is construed as an integral constituent of connection.

a. Old Istanbul and Galata

> "Bizde "Haliç" Frenkçede "Altın Boynuz" denilen akarsuyun iki yanındaki iki Istanbul parçası, gövdesi daracık, küçücük bir kuşun koskocaman açılmış kanatlarına benzer... Bu daracık gövde bu iki koskocaman açılmış kanatların bağlantısı KÖPRÜ'dür. Köprü daracıktır, küçücüktür, miniciktir ama, onu ortadan kaldırırsanız, iki yanındaki koskocaman kanatları kopuverirler, kımıldamaz, uçamaz olurlar.
>
> Anlatabiliyor muyum? Köprü deyip geçmeyelim! Köprü salt asfalttan demirden yapılmış bir yapı değildir, o, bir büyük kan damarıdır ki kesilince, kopunca, iki yandaki bugünkü Istanbul'un yaşayışı duruverir"(Nazım Hikmet, 178-179).
>
> (Two portions of Istanbul on either side of Haliç or the Golden Horn are similar to the large wings of a tiny bird. The BRIDGE is the slim bogy that connects the wide open wings. The bridge is narrow, small and tiny but if you were to remove it, the wings on either side would fall apart, remain motionless, and could not fly.
>
> Can I explain it? Let us not call it a bridge and pass it by! The bridge is not merely a structure built with iron and asphalt, it is a blood vessel which, when cut, would terminate the life of Istanbul at its either end.)

Galata and Old Istanbul are connected by the movement of vehicles, cars, buses, tramways, and pedestrians. In terms of connection, the tramway is highly significant because during the reconstruction of Istanbul at the turn-of-the-century, its passage over the Bridge became an event. The date was January 25, 1914 and the daily Servet-i Fünun announced it as:

"Elektrik cereyanı ile tahrik olunmaya başlamış olan Istanbul tramvayları, bu defa pazar günü ilk defa olmak üzere Galata'dan Istanbul'a geçti. Şehr-i şehrin daima birbirine bigane kalan iki yakası, yekdiğerine bir rabıta-i nedeniye ve daime raptolundu" (qtd. in Evren, 150).

(Istanbul's trams, having started to be powered with electricity, on Sunday passed for the first time from Galata to Istanbul. Hence, the two banks of the city, hitherto disregardful to each other, became bonded permanently.)

Throughout the years, images of trams become integrated with the Bridge in such a way that they came to be considered part of its materiality, rather than mere vehicles on it. In many pictures, photographs and paintings of the Galata Bridge, it is likely to find trams that imply connection by means of movement (Figures 10,11).

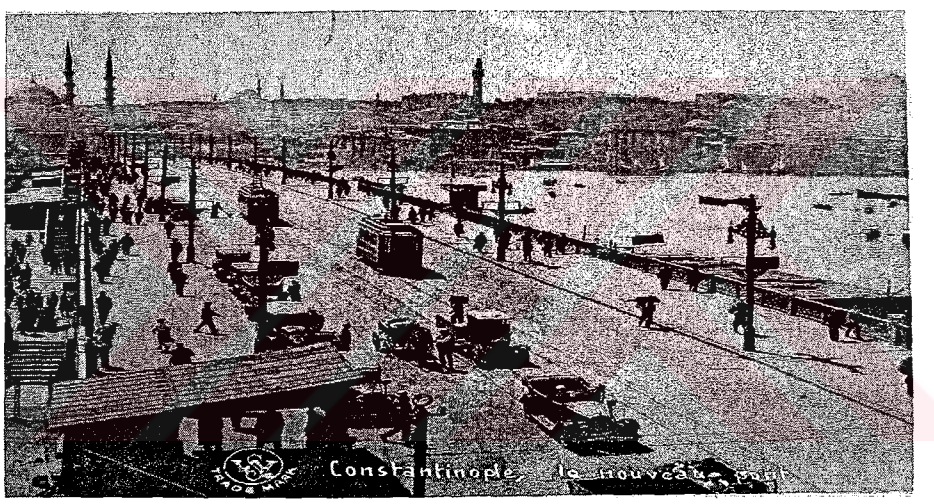

Figure 10. Vehicular and pedestrian traffic, tramway seen in the middle (Evren, 131).

Figure 11. A painting representing a tram on the Bridge (Evren,122).

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DOKÜMANTASYON

Parallel to connection, separation can also be exemplified as incorporated in the Galata Bridge. According to Simmel, locations connected by any bridge need to be first conceived as separate from each other. In 1845, a fee started to be collected for passing over the Bridge. It was called "müruriye" and was collected by guards standing at each end of the Bridge (Figure 14). The aim was to finance its upkeep. Later, gatehouses were erected for the same purpose (Evren, 74).

Figure 12. Guards dressed in white, standing at each end of the Bridge in order to collect passage fee, 'mururiye' (www.tough.guide.freeservers.com/dayak005.html).

Before enabling or allowing passage, the guards actually stop the passers. By their bodily position, these guards act as if obstacles to passage. The gatehouses of the 1912 Galata Bridge can also be interpreted in a similar way: they define either end and hinder or, at least, interrupt movement over the Bridge. Had it not been for there presence, passage across would have been smoother. Hence, they obstruct movement before sanctioning it or they separate before connecting (Figures 13, 14, 15).

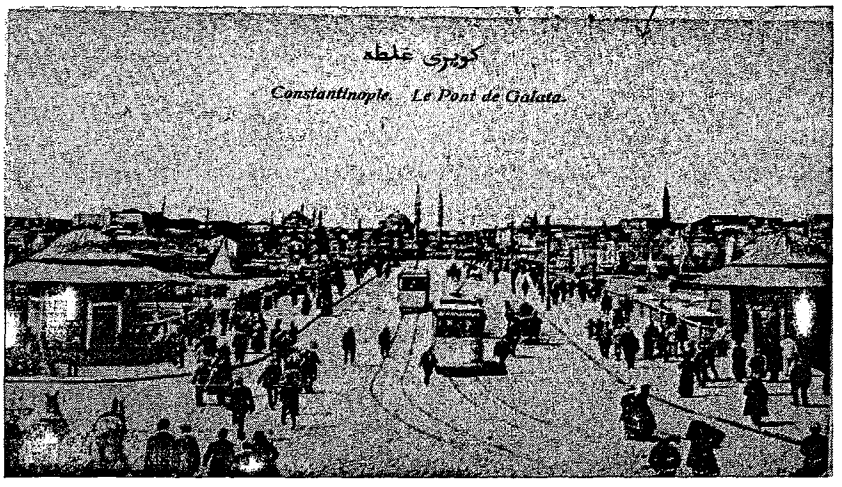

Figure 13. The gatehouses of the Galata Bridge (Durbas, Galata,151).

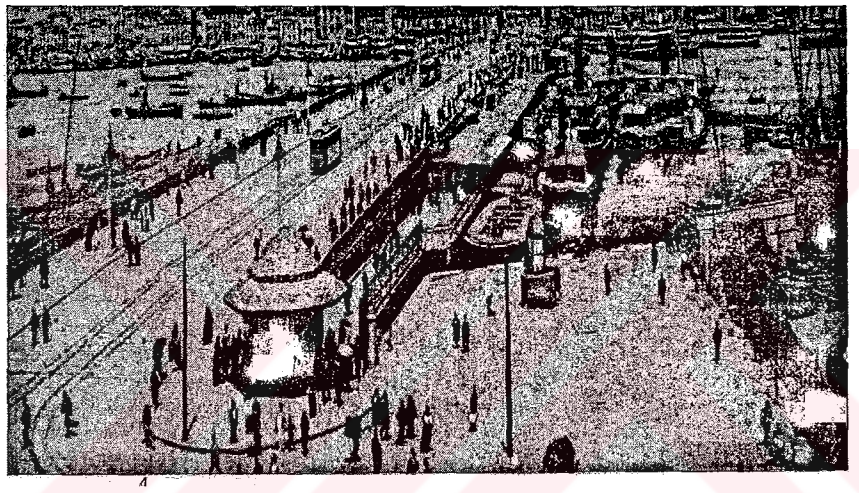

Figure 14. Gatehouse at one end of the Bridge (Evren, 161).

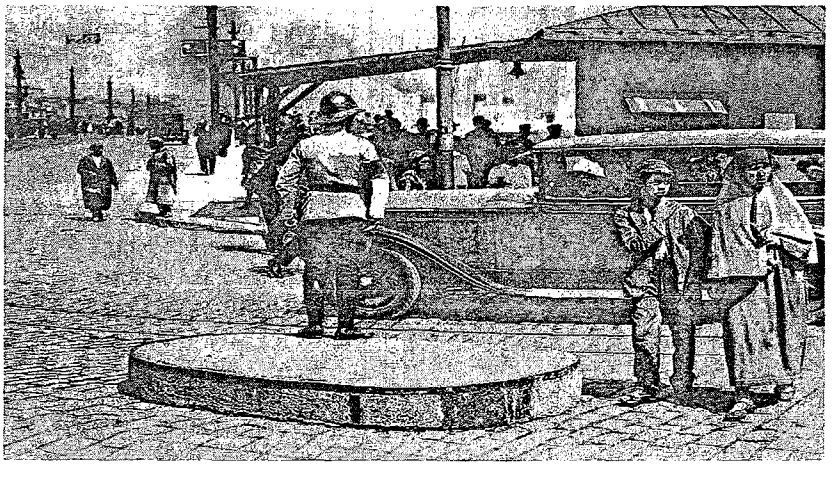

Figure 15. A close-up of the gatehouse (http://mitglied.lycos.de/arifoktay/cumhuriyet1.htm).

b. The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus

The Galata Bridge partially closes the Golden Horn to the Bosphorus. A movable portion at its middle allows larger ships to go in and out of the Golden Horn when it is open and shuts them in or out when it is closed. Hence, the Golden Horn becomes an enclosure, the Bosphorus its outside. Although "in" and "out" are defined in relation to ships, the shores of the "in" side and those of the "out" side are also differentiated from each other. Settlements on the banks of the Golden Horn are made up of old and worn out buildings occupied by a population of modest means whereas the shores of the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea are domains of the affluent, until recently the sites of summer residences. Ferries departing from either side of the Galata Bridge reach these settlements on the waterfront. Altan articulates their dissimilar character by personification (Figures 17,18):

> "Yavaş yavaş Köprü'nün Haliç yönüne geçtik. Köprünün Marmara yönü ile Haliç yönü, bir evin hanımıyla aynı çatı altında yaşıyan evlatlığı kadar birbirinden farklıdır. Bir taraftan Kadıköy, Adalar yolcuları geçer. Öteki taraftan Balat, Hasköy, Eyüp yolcuları. Bir tarafın vapurları bile yüksek dik burunlu; öteki tarafın vapurları bile, mütevazi, ufak, küçük burunludur" (Altan, 33).

> (Slowly, we passed to the Golden Horn side of the Bridge. The Marmara flank of the Bridge is as different from its Golden Horn flank as the mistress of a house from her maid living under the same roof. Kadıköy, Adalar passengers go from one side, those of Balat, Hasköy and Eyüp from the other. Even ferries on the former side have upwardly tilted tips while the latter have modest, small ones.)

Similar to the difference between Old Istanbul and Galata, the shores inside the Golden Horn and outside it are distinguished by the presence of the Galata Bridge. It acts as a boundary or a threshold that marks difference while at the same time substantiating relations between distinctly separate domains. The threshold itself is material and

precisely its materiality brings about awareness of immaterial distinctions of differentiated realms (Figure 16).

Figure 16. The Galata Bridge separating the Golden Horn from the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus. Also the piers can be seen in this photograph (Durbaş, Galata, 150).

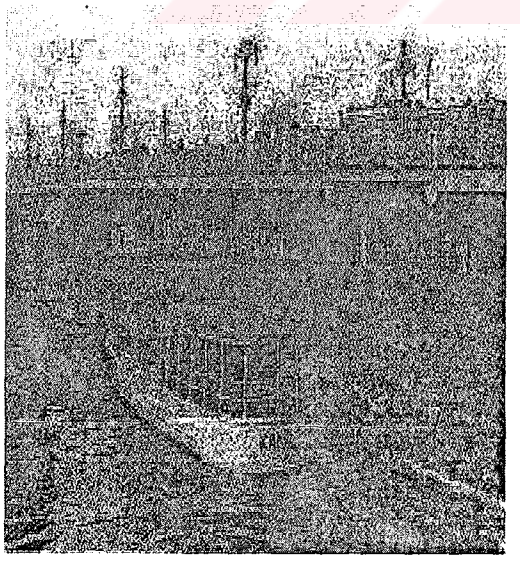

Figure 17. Ferries standing to the Golden Horn side of the Bridge (Durbaş, Galata,129).

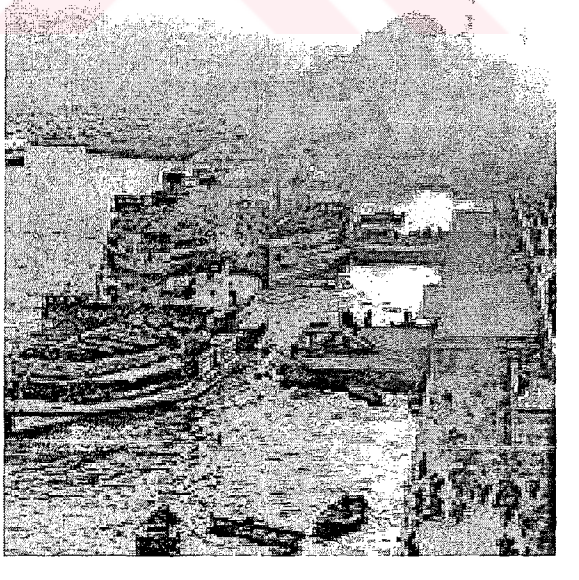

Figure 18. A photograph by Ara Güler, ferries heading towards the Bosphorus side of the Bridge (www.scroll.demon.uk).

5.3.2. Layering

Although connection and separation are concepts inherent to all bridges, layers are unusual features of only some them. The Galata Bridge is one such example with two layers. Its upper layer relates with the portions of land at either end while the lower layer at sea level serves piers providing access to ferries and small boats. As such, the upper layer enables the movement of vehicles and pedestrians, the lower, that of sea vessels. However, the lower layer accommodates additional activities in small restaurants, beerhouses, greengroceries, and newspaper stands. These functions that are totally unrelated to 'bridgeness', make the Galata Bridge an inhabited bridge, suggesting repose as well as movement. Thus, to think of the Galata Bridge in two layers leads to differentiating its 'bridgeness' from inhabitation (Figures 19,20). By this way, in addition to travellers, the Bridge also begins to serve dwellers.

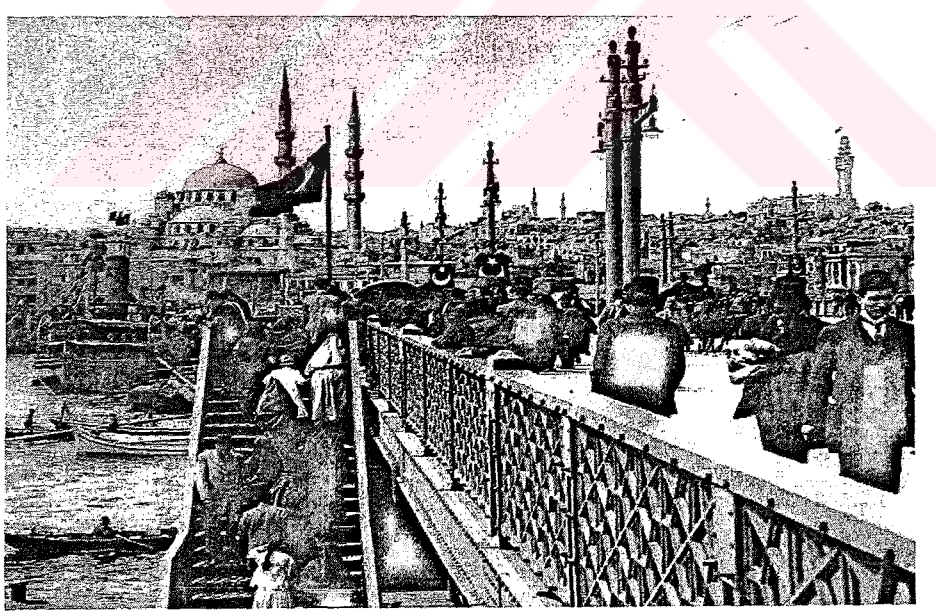

Figure 19. Stairs, which define layering. The differentiation of sea level and city level can also be seen (İbid.)

5.4. The Galata Bridge as 'Spaceness': Visual Representation of the 1912 Galata Bridge through Images.

A bridge's 'spaceness', the visual impact of its material presence, is a consequence of its being a singular object standing out in any townscape by virtue of its being suspended over a discontinuity of land, usually filled with water. It touches the land at its two end points. Its function is to establish connection between separated locations, its marked appearance is a result of their disconnection. The water constitutes the backdrop upon which the bridge is seen.

The visual experience upon which 'spaceness' is based can be shown by surveying images of the Galata Bridge. The impression of its eminence is only discernable to the eye of a distant onlooker, better still if it is the bird's-eye view of a camera. The minarets of the Yeni Cami and the Beyazıt Tower on one side, the Galata Tower on the other, besides high buildings on either bank, provide suitable viewing points for capturing and representing the Bridge (Figures 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28). At times, it is photographed from the air (Figures 21, 22).

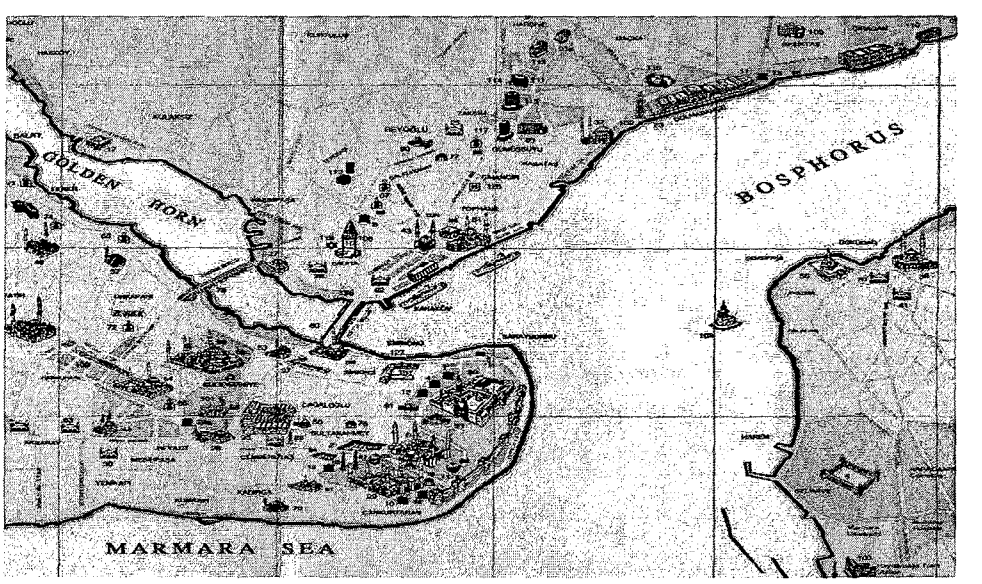

Figure 20. Map showing the Galata Bridge and the towers on either bank (www.geocities.com/thetropics/paradise/3115/Turkey/Istanbul)

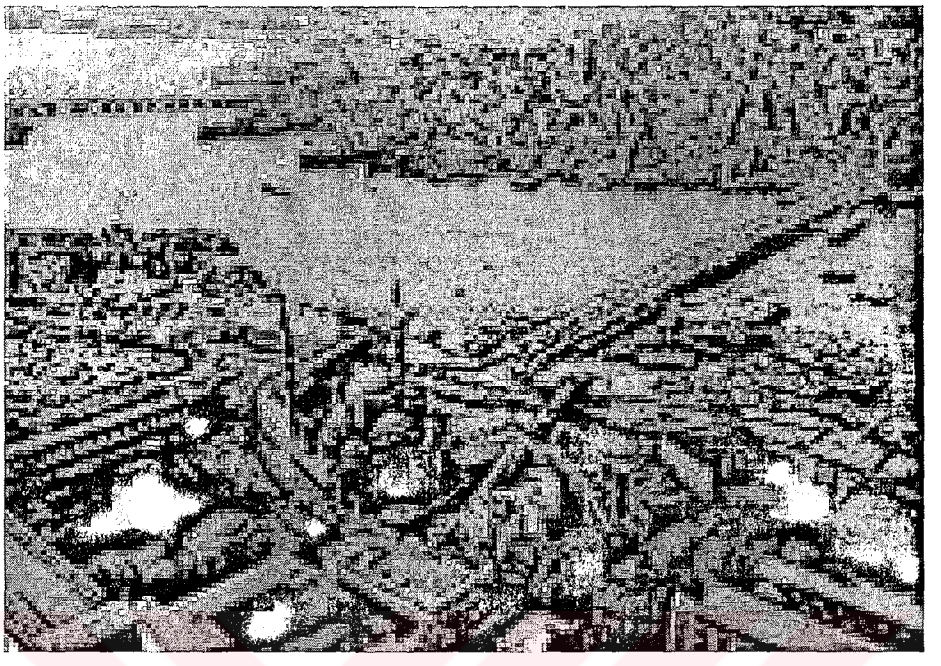

Figure 21. The Galata Bridge photographed from the air, looking towards Galata (www.mitglied.lycos.de/arifoktay/ekler/skylife_2/galata.htm).

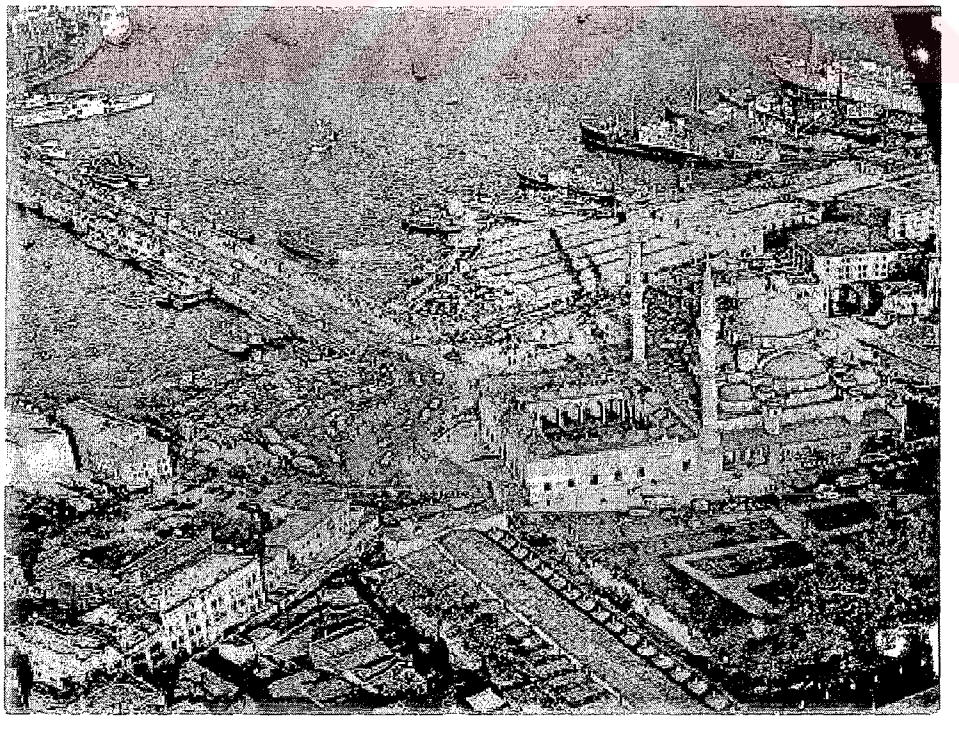

Figure 22. The Galata Bridge photographed from the air (www.ibb.gov.tr/Istanbuleng/25005/2500501/blackwhite/02.htm)

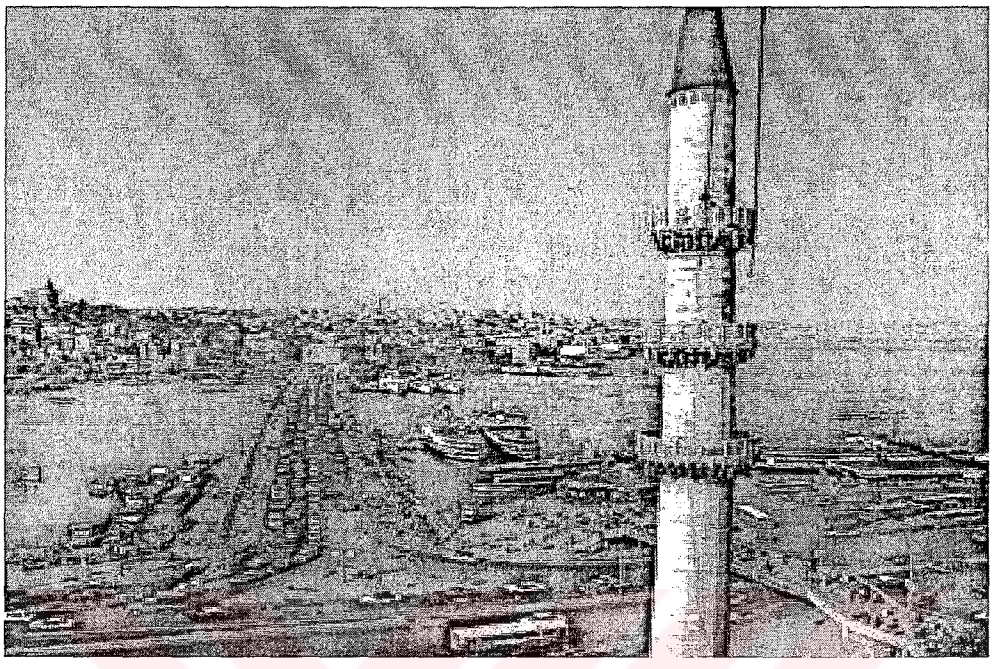

Figure 23. A photograph of the Galata Bridge from the minaret of Yeni Cami (www.ibb.gov.tr/Istanbuleng/25005/2500501/blackwhite/07htm).

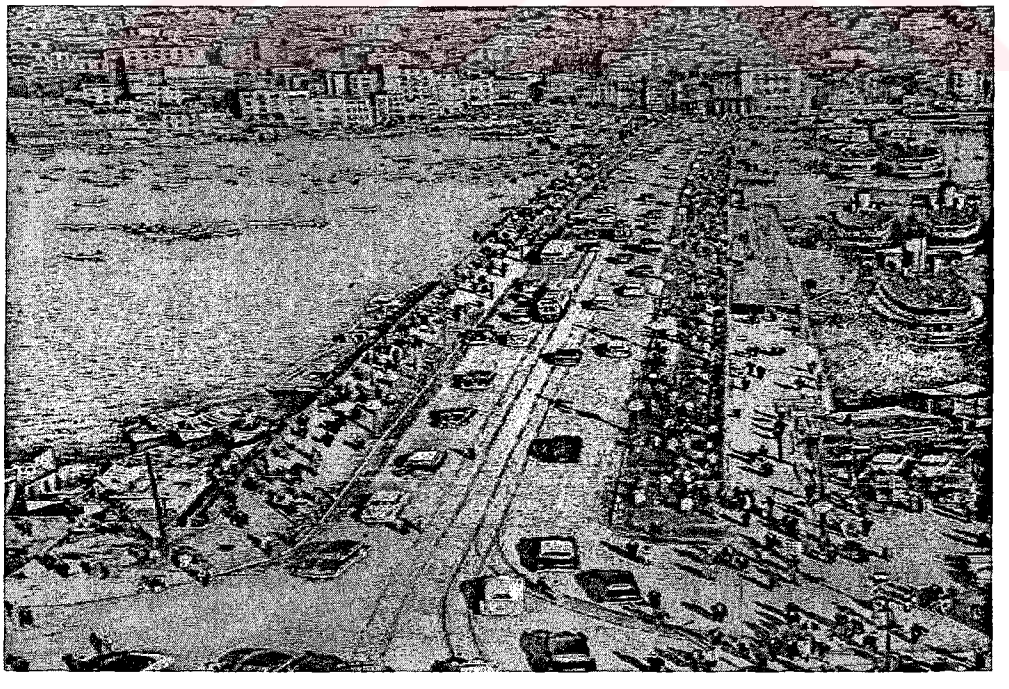

Figure 24. Galata Bridge photographed from the minaret of Yeni Cami (www.arbonwood.com/photo-week).

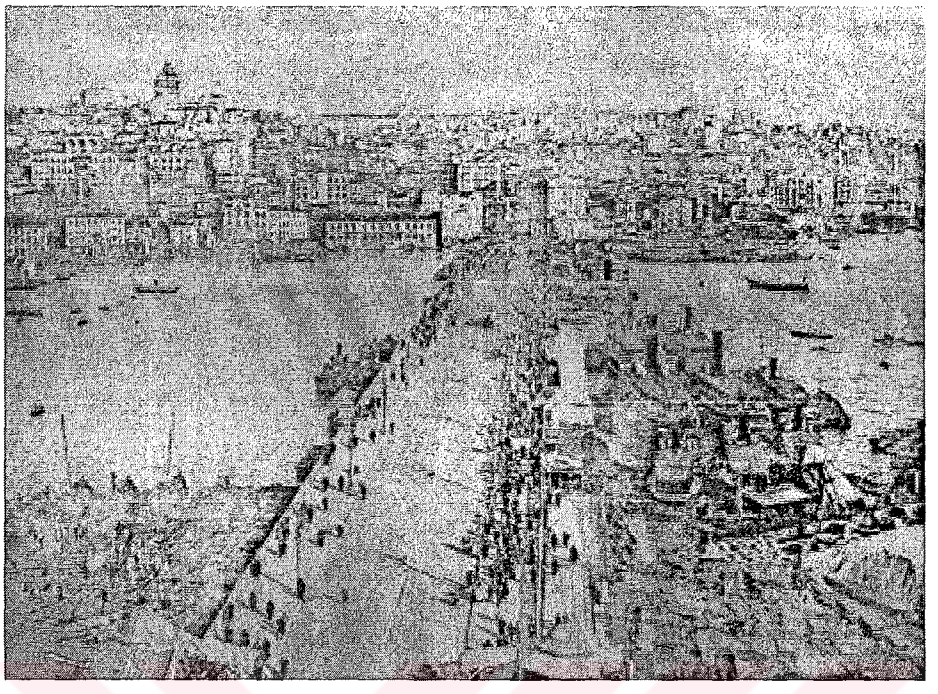

Figure 25. A photograph taken from the minaret of Yeni Cami (www.kultur.gov.tr/portal/default_EN.asp).

Figure 26. A photograph taken from the minaret of Yeni Cami (www.ibb.gov.tr/Istanbuleng/25005/2500501/blackwhite/11htm).

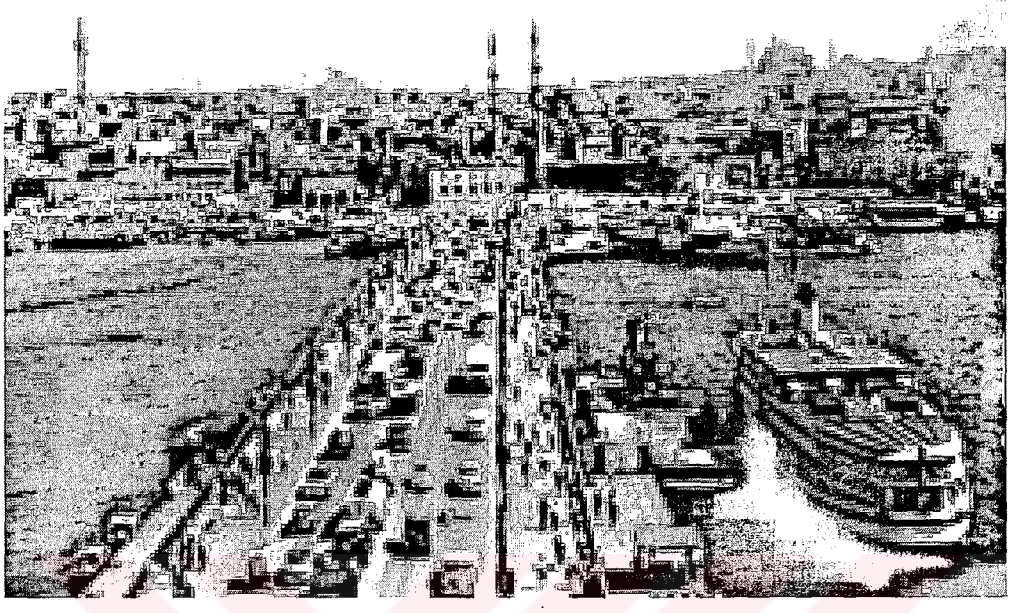

Figure 27. The Galata Bridge photographed from the Galata Tower (www.heavenr.com/writing/projects/Istanbul.html).

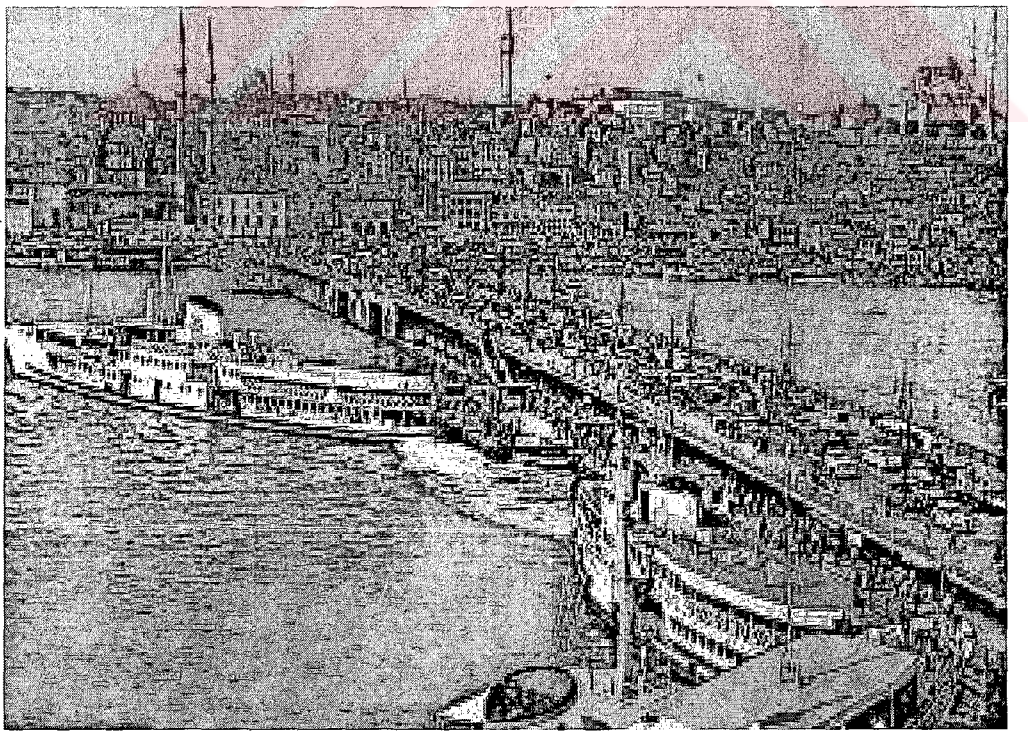

Figure 28. A photograph of the Galata Bridge taken from the Galata Tower. (www.humanities-interactive.org/cultures/Istanbul).

What is seen as depicted or photographed is the upper layer of the Galata Bridge, the layer that materialises its 'bridgeness'. Thus viewed, it is not an object emptied of human occupants. On the contrary, its users, the crowd walking or riding over it, are also seen. However, they are not participants of this visual experience but its objects. Like the tram that used to be an integral part of the image of the Bridge, passers-by also partake in the spectacle of its appearance.

Although the Galata Bridge's 'spaceness' finds a place in collective memory with its images, literary texts also exist that speak about its 'bridgeness'. However, these texts actually describe the experience of looking at the Bridge or looking out from it. Şinasi talks about "[T]arz-ı vâlâ köprü inşa kıldı rû-yi lecceye yaptı Han Abdülmecid-i yem-himen Cisr-i Cedîd" (a bridge of excellence in visage) while Sait Faik says "Köprüde arkadaş olunmaz, Köprüden seyredilir" (one can not make new friends on the Bridge, one can watch from it). The actual bodily experience upon the Bridge pertains to the visual- that of seeing and watching. In fact, amongst the users of the upper layer of the Galata Bridge, there are lingerers besides strollers. They invariably regard the vistas from either side of the Bridge or observe other occupants. For example, in a photograph illustrating two layers of the Galata Bridge (Figure 29), marines parade towards the ferry on the lower layer as onlookers watch them from the upper layer. Fishermen are also loiterers who look around as they wait (Figure 30).

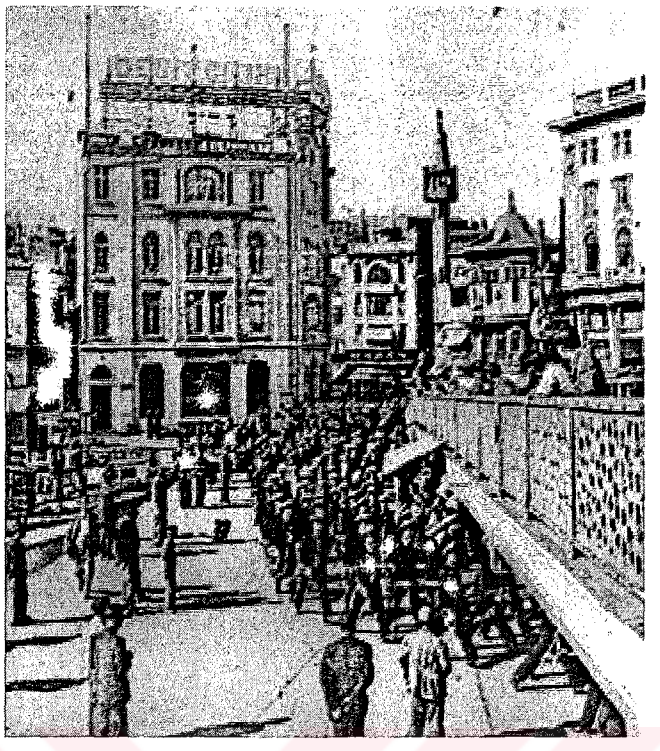

Figure 29. Onlookers watching the marines from the upper layer (Evren, 132).

Figure 30. Fishermen over the Bridge (www.scroll.demon.co.uk/ist5.html).

The upper layer of the Galata Bridge offers visual experience of two kinds. That of gazing at it is not within the domain of its users, but rather, of its distant onlookers who might register its image and also reproduce them. The multiplication of its representations records the 'spaceness' of the 1912 Galata Bridge and places it in the collective memory of permanent or temporary inhabitants of the city. Gazing from the Bridge, on the other hand, concerns the users' actual bodily experience of its 'placeness', here regarding vision more than other perceptions.

5.5. The Galata Bridge as 'Placeness': Experiential Significance of the 1912 Galata Bridge with Texts.

The upper layer of the Galata Bridge, manifested in images as 'spaceness', actually covers its lower layer and conceals it from view, makes it invisible to the eye of the onlooker or the camera. In a sense, what is represented as 'spaceness' is the 'exteriority' of the 1912 Galata Bridge. The upper layer masks the lower layer and also shelters it, thereby constituting its 'interiority' that accommodates activities and enacts the Bridge's 'placeness'. A writer, Demir Özlü, addresses precisely this distinction:

> "Nostalji mi bütün bunlar? Nostalji bence kartpostallarda. Köprüyü köprü olarak gösteren fotoğraflards. Oysa Köprü'nün gerçek tarihi yazının gizli dehlizlerinde" (47).
>
> (Is all this nostalgia? To me, nostalgia is in postcards, in photographs that depict the Bridge as a bridge. Yet the real history of the Bridge is hidden in secret labyrinths of writing).

His words underline the visual versus the textual representations of the Bridge that correspond, respectively, to 'spaceness' and 'placeness'. What Özlü alludes to as the "real history" of the Galata Bridge refers to the everyday practices and experiences there that are described in literary texts. The individually experienced activities are actually

housed within the materiality of the Bridge, and attribute significance to it. Most, but not all, of these activities are accommodated under the Bridge. In fact, literary texts that take the human experience of the 1912 Galata Bridge as their subject refer to both layers of the Bridge as sites of these activities. So the initial assumption that the upper layer pertains to movement, the lower to repose, to inhabitation and subjective experience, does not actually hold true. Therefore, the analysis of the 'placeness' of the Bridge through the literary texts will be taken up at two levels.

a. Activities Above the Bridge

Activities that take place above the Bridge, besides the movement of people and vehicles, are spontaneous and momentary acts like the constant motion they accompany. Compared with the defined, stable, and enclosed spaces below the Bridge, these sites are changeable and undefined. Peddlers, shoeshiners and fishermen all perform these functions either on foot or even walking (Figure 31).

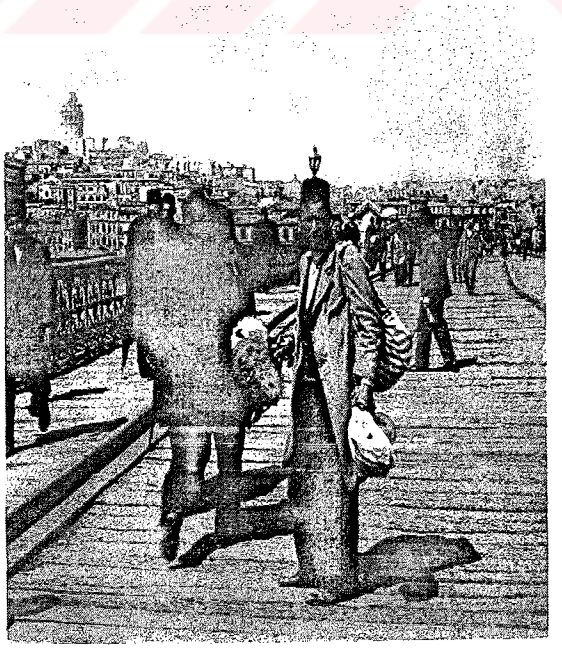

Figure 31. A peddler is seen above the Bridge (Evren, 133).

Akbal lists these people by saying:

> "Köprünün iki başlangıç yerinde işlerinden dönen bütün bu insanları bekleyenler dizilmiştir. Bunlar sucu, leblebici, fındık fıstık, yeni hayat satan ufak çocuklarla ihtiyar kağıt helvacıdır.Onlarsız bir köprü düşünülemez, sanki o köprüye ait bir parça olmuştur" (Akbal, 24).
>
> (At either end of the Bridge, people are lined up, waiting for those returning from work. Small children selling water, nuts, fruit and the old man wafers. They have all become part of the bridge in such a way that the bridge is unimaginable without them).

Dağlarca, in "Köprü Ayakkabıcısı" (The Shoeshiner of the Bridge), wrote about another merchant repairing and polishing shoes. He notes the transience as well as belonging of the shoeshiner there:

> "Bir ayakkabı onarıcısı Köprünün parmaklılarına sığınmış,
> Çalışır durur kendincek bir sandık içinde.
> Yamar eski pabuçları, yamar yavaş yavaş,
> Saçsakal epeski, sanki bir ilk yaratık,
> Güpegündüz yaşar karanlığı o tahtanın içinde.
>
> Bağlandığı bir yere, açlıkla çalışmakla güzel,
> Sığdığı bir soluk yere, elimizin kolumuzun.
> Hem durur, hem yürür, hem ayrılır, hem ulaşır
> Burasını boşuna seçmemiş,
> Bir ilişki var ayakla köprü arasında duyarlığı uzun "(Dağlarca, 1999).
>
> (A shoe-repairer, finding refuge along the balustrades of the Bridge,
> Keeps working within his chest
> Slowly patching up old shoes
> Unshaven, he resembles a primitive man
> He endures the darkness of the wooden chest even during the light of day
>
> The hunger and the work is enjoyable, attached to a place
> Where our hands and hands fit into.
> He stands, he walks, he departs, he arrives
> Not for nothing, he chose this place,
> There is a long-enduring connection between foot and bridge)

Standing along the balustrades are fishermen and idlers, both glimpsing at the view from the Bridge. Accompanying the movement of passers by, these occasional attenders apparently enrich the experience over the Bridge. But their descriptions refer

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to how they appear there or how their existence merges with the materiality of the Galata Bridge rather than experience or engagement arousing perceptual response. Hence, watching, looking, gazing remain as the most frequently cited acts.

Taşer's poem called "Istanbul'a Bak" (Look at Istanbul) is devoted entirely to looking:

"Dur köprünün üstünde dimdik
Ger adımlarını şöyle
Bir sağına bak bir soluna
Tramvaylara bak vapurlara bak
Dönen tekerleğe köpüren suya
Ağlıyan çocuğa düşünen kayıkçıya bak
Adamın gözlerindeki yalana bak
Kadının oturuşundaki arzuya bak
Koşana bak kaçana bak
Kovalıyana da bak
Bak oğlum bak
At kendini kalabalığın içine de
Yaşamak neymiş gör bak" (Taşer, 1954)

(Stand erect upon the bridge
Look right and look left
Look at the trams, look at the ferries
Look at the turning wheel, foaming water
Crying child, contemplating boatman,
Look at the lie in the man's eye,
The passion in the woman's posture,
Look at the runner, look at the eloper,
Look at the chaser,
Look child look.
Let yourself into the crowd and
see what living is)

On the other hand, Akbal describes the things he sees as:

"Köprüden neler görülür? Mesala küçük vapur iskeleleri, balıkçı motorları, ufak sandallar, sıra sıra mavnalar, geçip dönen ufak motorlar, dolmuş kayıkları, şehrin en uzak semtlerine kadar birbiri ardına sıralanmış minareler dizisi, en uzakta beyaz mezar taşları..." (24)

(What are seen from the Bridge-piers for ferries, fishing boats, small barks, barges, motorboats going to and fro, ranges of minarets extending to faraway neighbourhoods, farthest of all, white tombstones...)

Lastly, Orhan Veli in his poem "Galata Köprüsü"(the Galata Bridge) states that:

"Diklir Köprü üstüne,
Keyifle seyrederim hepinizi,
Kiminiz kürek çeker sıya sıya
Kiminiz midye çıkarır dubalarda;
Kiminiz dümen tutar mavnalarda;
Kiminiz çımacıdır halat başında;
Kiminiz kuştur, uçar şairane;
Kiminiz balıktır pırıl pırıl,
Kiminiz vapur, kiminiz şamandıra;
Kiminiz bulut havalarda;
Kiminiz çatanadır, kırdığı gibi bacayı,
Şıp diye geçer köprü'nün altından;
Kiminiz düdüktür, öter
Kiminiz dumandır tüter;
Ama Hepiniz geçim derdinde.
Bir ben miyim keyif ehli, içinizde?
Bakmayın gün olur, ben de
Bir şiir söylerim belki sizlere dair;
Elime üç beş kuruş geçer; Karnım doyar benimde" (Orhan Veli, 1949)

(Standing upright on the Bridge,
I delightedly watch all of you,
Some of you row,
Some pick mussels from pontoons
Some hold tillers on boats,
Some throw ropes,
Some of you are idyllically flying birds,
Some of you shining fish,
Some of you are ships, some of you buoys,
Some of you are clouds in the air,
Some of you freightships that pass under the bridge,
Knocking down their smokestacks,
Some of you are whistles that blow,
Some of you smoke that smudges,
Yet all of you, but all , worry about finances.
Am I the only one to enjoy myself?
Some day, I might write a poem about all of you,
Then, may be earn a few dimes,
Then I too might be able to eat some food).

All Taşer, Akbal, and Orhan Veli relate their very subjective experiences over the Galata Bridge. Each of their unique encounters with the Bridge become shared experiences through the propagation of their literary texts. Strikingly, they all

individuate the Galata Bridge through looking, seeing and watching. Going back to the trait of 'spaceness' which is about the objective gaze contemplating the Bridge from a distance, the 'placeness' of the upper layer of the Bridge again relates to seeing, but this time, by the subjective eye of the experiencing body.

b. Activities Under the Bridge.

Greengrocers, beerhouses, coffeehouses, and restaurants besides piers with their ticket booths exist at the lower level of the Galata Bridge. These are bounded, defined spaces, sometimes partially, sometimes totally enclosed. Shopping, eating, drinking, and sailing are everyday activities not functionally related with the Bridge. But being situated in its materiality distinguish them from similar activities taking place elsewhere. The shop, the restaurant, the pier on the Galata Bridge become conspicuous sites themselves, human experiences there come to be accounted in poetry and prose.

Can Yücel compares the Galata Bridge with others not inhabited:

> "...Sevgililer gelip sevişemez, randevulaşamazsın, bir arkadaşınla buluşamazsın, grubu seyredemezsin; sadece arabayla geçersin...Bunlar demir yığını ... Neye yarar bir köprü insanla ilişkisi yoksa?" (qtd in Durbaş, Galata Köprüsü,55).
>
> (Lovers can not make love there, friends can not meet, you can not watch the sunset, you can just pass it across in a car...These are piles of iron...What good is a bridge if it does not relate to people?).

Sait Faik, in "Köprü"(Bridge), inquires:

> "İnsanlar Köprüden Geçmediği vakit
> Acaba köprü düşünür mü?" (38).
>
> (During the times when people do not pass over it, Does the Bridge contemplate?

Subjectivity of the experience described is one of the traits that characterise texts referring to the activities at the lower layer of the Galata Bridge, wealth of bodily perceptions included is another. Taste, sound and smell besides sight are addressed. Altan refers to the smells underneath the Bridge and also describes colors seen, and wetness felt.

> "Karaköy Köprüsünün altı herzaman Istanbul kokar. Baharda, yazın, sonbaharda, hatta kışın kar yağarken. Vapuları geçtikçe sallanan dubaları, ayrı bir özentiyle her mevsimde mucizeli bir bahçe gibi değişik renklere bürünen mavnalar, şerbetçileri, gazete satıcıları, küçük lokantaları, hareketli büfeleriyle ve kendine özgü paslı ıslaklığıyla Köprü altı Istanbul albümünün en vazgeçilmez sayfalarından biridir" (43)
>
> (The underneath of the Karaköy Bridge always smells Istanbul: in spring, summer, autumn, and even in winter when it snows. With its pontoons that move when the boats pass by, with its barges that transform in to different colors in each season..., with its sorbet and newspaper sellers, small restaurants, cheerful buffets and with its unique rusty wetness the underneath of the Bridge is one of the nonrenouncable pages of the Istanbul album).

In "Bıraktığım Istanbul"(The Istanbul I left), Saba describes food eaten there and colors seen, children' voices heard, and cigarettes smoked.

> "Öğleleri Köprünün altında, Boğaziçi iskelesi tarafındaki piyazcıya girerdim. Dükkanın biricik penceresi her an harekette, bir Haliç manzarası çerçevelerdi. O pencere önüne otururdum. Karnımı doyururken kah Halice, kah Köprü altının o yosun yeşili, o bambaşka sularına dalardım. Oradan çıktıktan sonra, Boğaz vapurları bekleyecekler için konulmuş sıralardan birine otururdum. Ellerinde kutular, karamela satan birkaç küçük çocuk, çok kere etrafımı sarar, bana "abey" derlerdi. Onlardan "Yeni hayat", "Tombul teyze" alırdım ... Sonra sigaramı yaktığım olurdu. Vapur bekliyen erlerden biri, cigaramdan cigarasını yakardı. Bu haller, bu küçük işler gönlümü huzurla doldurmaya yeterdi" (57).
>
> (In the afternoons, under the Bridge, I used to go to the place on the side of the Bosphorus pier where they serve traditional bean salad. That little window of the store always in move and framing a Golden Horn view. I used to sit beside that window. While I was having my lunch, I was either looking to the Golden Horn or staring at the sea in seaweed green, below the Bridge. After leaving the store, I used to sit on the benches that were put for people waiting for the Bosphorus boats. Packets in their hands, little kids who sell candy used to come by and call me 'brother'. I used to buy fruit from them...Later I used to light my cigarette. Among the privates waiting for the boat, one used to approach me to light his cigarette from mine. Such small things were enough to make me feel peaceful).

Durbaş describes the view while he sat in one of the coffeehouses and also the narghile he smoked (Kırk Yıldır Yanıyor,13).

> "...daha dün kahvenin önüne atardık sandalyemizi, masamızı. Bir karış ötemizden kalkardı Ada vapuru. Karşıda sudan çıkmış Haydarpaşa, Kadıköy. Elini uzatsan Sarayburnu, ki Topkapının ışıkları nargilenin ateşine düşer".
>
> (It is like yesterday, we used to put our chair and table in front of the coffeehouse. Boats going to the Islands used to depart from right there. At the opposite side Haydarpaşa, Kadıköy were seen over the water. You could hold out your hand and reach Sarayburnu, such that the lights of the Topkapı falls on the ashes of your narghile).

Inhabitation at the lower layer of the Galata Bridge portrays a 'placeness' different from that on the upper layer. While bodily experiences at the latter were dominated by sight- the subjective gaze turned away from the Galata Bridge towards the surroundings, that at the lower layer incorporates a variety of bodily perceptions (Figure 32).

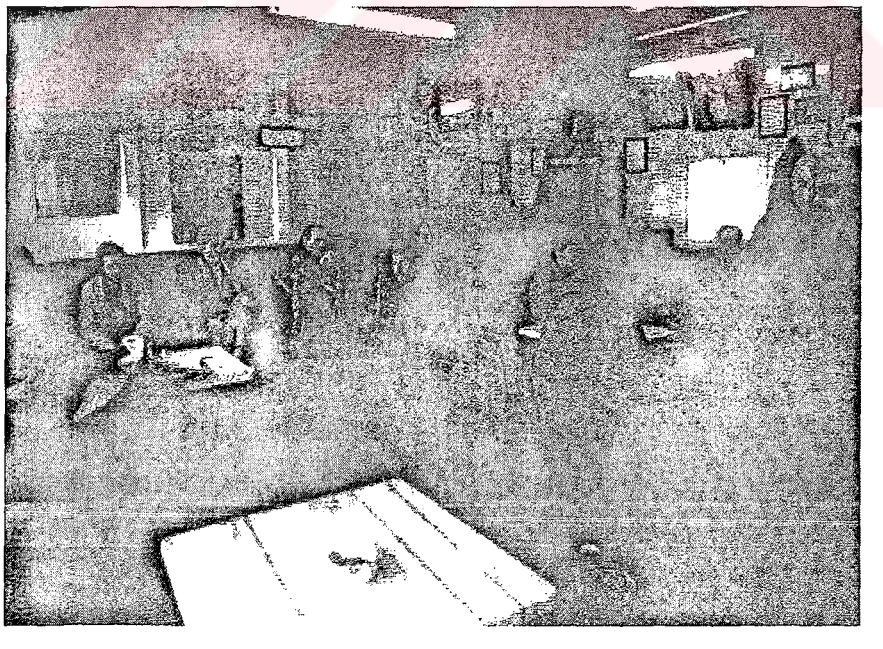

Figure 32: People is seen at one of the coffeehouses: chatting, smoking narghile, playing card games or backgammon (Durbaş, Galata, 33).

6. CONCLUSION: 'SPACENESS' AND 'PLACENESS' IN COLLECTIVE MEMORY.

One way of conceptualising space is to interpret it as a designer's versus a user's construct, visualising its objective material presence versus perceiving its subjective experiential essence. Components of such a dual construction of space are classified as its 'spaceness' and its 'placeness'. Recognising that the former quality of space is predominantly visual whereas the latter is comprehensively perceptual, their cognition respectively involves the gaze and the body. The question that this thesis deals with is whether two ways of conceptualising space correspond to the two ways of remembering space. The 1912 Galata Bridge, taken as a case study, is examined as a dual construction in two senses, space and memory.

The 1912 Galata Bridge is a landmark of the city of Istanbul. Its image as such is propagated on postcards, in photographs, drawings and paintings, in publications. But its place in collective memory is secured not only through the replication of its images but also through the repetition of its narrations in poems, stories, novels and other writings that take the Bridge as their topic. The question then becomes whether images of the 1912 Galata Bridge relate to its 'spaceness' while texts concern its 'placeness'. In other words, would it be possible to show that its material presence corresponds to visual impressions of its images while bodily experience taking place on it is narrated in texts? Hence, duality of 'spaceness' and 'placeness' is sought in the duality of the workings of the gaze and the body that ultimately preserve the memory of space in the dual repository of images and texts.

The survey of visual and verbal material about the 1912 Galata Bridge actually reveals that its representative images mostly look at the Bridge not from the eye level of its occupants but from a distance or height disproportionate with human scale. In keeping with the existing literature on the quality of space that is termed 'spaceness' in this thesis, the disengaged outside gaze that objectifies the Bridge is active here. On the contrary, narrations regarding the 1912 Galata Bridge pertain to immediate bodily experience that engages the senses and the mind of a particular subject. The literature on space refers to this subject as user. This quality of space, given different names by different authors, is what is classified as 'placeness' in this thesis.

The 1912 Galata Bridge constitutes a suitable case study for differentiating qualities of 'spaceness' and 'placeness' and their corresponding marks in collective memory precisely because the sites of 'spaceness' and 'placeness' are physically separated there. The upper layer of the Bridge constitutes the object of the outside gaze while the lower layer accommodates the subject during longer duration of bodily experience. However, the distinctions of images and texts do not all neatly fit into this pattern. Even though a majority of widely circulated representative images are aerial views of the upper layer and frequently told stories about the Bridge pertain to everyday experience of activities at its lower layer, there are deviations from such a grouping. Close-up views of passers-by and lingerers on the upper layer do exist as well as those of customers of beerhouses, coffeehouses and greengrocers. These images, however, are limited to partial views of the Bridge that do not express a recognisable impression of its entirety. Hence, their references to the Galata Bridge remain inadequate for placing it in collective memory as such. Rather, they can be interpreted as mere illustrations of the activities housed there,

not representative images. There are also texts, though scarce, that relate experiences taking place on the upper layer. But these almost invariably concern the experience of looking out from the Bridge. Thus, bodily involvement there remains limited to the visual. The upper layer is recounted as an agent for viewing while itself viewed from the outside.

Space can be assessed with regard to its qualities of 'spaceness' and 'placeness'. The 1912 Galata Bridge reveals that, to a larger extent, its 'spaceness' is preserved in collective memory in the form of images while its 'placeness' is narrated in texts. A visual trait naturally finds its representation in images while a perceptual experience embodying all the senses as well as the mind, does not allow itself to being expressed by sight only. Conceding that exceptions do exist, the 1912 Galata Bridge reveals a relation between 'spaceness', perceived by the gaze and preserved in collective memory in the form of images and 'placeness', experienced by the body and conveyed to collective memory in the form of texts.

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