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Evolution of city squares and transformation of publicness

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Abstract

Although it is still very limited, there is a rising concern on the relation between publicness and public spaces over the last two decades. On the other hand, there are significant differences in how the term "public" is discussed from mainly two perspectives that Iveson (2007) defines as "procedural and topographical" approaches. In the procedural approaches, "public" is described as "any place used for collective action and debate," whereas "public" is considered as "a specific kind of place" by the topographical approaches that are repeatedly concerned with the accessibility of "public spaces."

This study, which might also be seen as a reading of urban historiography, emphasizes the necessity of understanding the notion of "publicness" as described by the procedural approaches to reveal the public spaces' topographical evolution better. Here, we claim that squares set on a city scale with representational and historical backgrounds reflect the transformation of publicness. In this sense, this study aims to interpret this messy and dynamic structure of publicness and the spatial and functional evolution of city squares together.

Consequently, the most significant contribution of this study to urban planning and design literature is the discussion of the historical evolution of city squares from both procedural and topographical approaches.

Keywords
Publicness, City squares, Public space, Public sphere, Urban historiography.

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1. Introduction

1. 1. Procedural vs. topographical approaches to publicness

The roots of the discussion of "publicness" arose from insights of political theory. In this perspective, the aspects that reach beyond the physical limits of "publicness" is described by the term "public sphere." The term "public" was first mentioned during the Hellenistic period of Western history. Arendt (1998, 29-30) also referred to the ancient Greek polis as the origin of the "public sphere," which was to her "the sphere of freedom." Arendt (1998, 25, 179) emphasized action (praxis) and speech (lexis) for participatory democracy and considered "bios politikos" as a demonstration of individuals whom they are, which is "making their appearance" in this material world for her. In other words, since "action is never possible in isolation" (p.188), one needs the presence of others to be appeared, which is "making the public realm" (p.49-50).

However, Arendt did not criticize that only "young free male Greek citizens" were involved in political life during this period (Arendt, 1998, 160; Mitchell, 2003, 51-131; Martin, 2013, 43). Since being public was a matter of human capacity for political action, the whole polis was potentially public for her.

Also, according to Habermas (1974, 49-50), "a portion of the public sphere is composed in every conversation performed by private individuals who assemble to form a public body" which "mediates between society and state." Nevertheless, Habermas's (1991 – 1974) interest was on the transformation of the institutional character of the public sphere since the 18th century in favor of the bourgeoisie. In parallel to Habermas, Sennett (2002, 16-17) also stated that the use of the term "public" meant "a special region of sociability" by the end of the 17th century.

Indeed, the period between the end of the 17th and the mid-18th century has staged revolutionary waves of political upheavals as the result of the accumulation of increasing social and political tension and the power of literary public sphere in the creation of a critical public opinion (Habermas, 1991, 67; Merriman, 2009c). Thus, this period has been discussed as the rise of the public sphere, which would fall due to the rise of national industrial capitalism that characterised by the invasion of privileged private interests into the realm of politics and so the public sphere in the long run (Sennett, 2002, 17-19; Habermas, 1991, 141-143). On the other hand, as a significant advancement of the 20th century, booming ICTs also brought up the question of the possibility of the phenomenon of a worldwide public sphere further (Habermas, 1996, 360, 514).

Here, it appears that the terms publicness and public sphere described by the "Procedural Approaches" (Iveson, 2007, 10) indicates the ability of political representation and action regardless of any type of physical setting. Although "Procedural Approaches" do not underestimate the existence of public space, their attention is on the matter of being public and to be included in the public sphere as an act of discursive interaction and as a part of the decision-making process (Mitchell, 1995, 117).

However, according to Iveson (1998, 26), despite the legalization of free speech, press, and assembly for everyone, everyone might be included in the public sphere only in principle. According to Fraser (1990, 62-63), ignoring the social differences, the main problem here is the assumption of a socially equal world and the assumption of a single public sphere. In reality, the public is composed of different competing interest groups, which are "multiple publics" and fragmented into two as "dominant publics" and "counter publics" (Fraser, 1990, 59-67). In other words, it appears that the public sphere is chaotic and dynamic that produced by the struggles between the multiple publics as it is summarized by Kluge (1993, ix); "the public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war." In this sense, these procedural approaches struggle to reveal the spatiality of publicness.

This evolving discussion on the publicness and public sphere has been followed by numerous studies from the domain of spatial sciences (e.g., Lynch, 1981; Gehl, 1987 - 2002; Carr et al., 1992; Tibbalds, 1992; Benn & Gaus, 1983; Montgomery, 1998 and many

others) primarily focusing on physical features and definition of ideal public spaces, and the degree of publicness of a given space (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007 – 2011; Varna, 2011; Van Melik and Langstraat, 2013), which Iveson (2007, 2-3) described as "Topographical Approaches."

The main argument of these topographical approaches is that public spaces are under the threat of becoming more exclusionary and less accessible contemporarily. On this point, Iveson (2007, 5-11) criticizes that these topographical approaches share two major problematics.

First, this main argument is based on "narratives of loss and reclamation," depending on the villains and the heroes of the story. This argument brings the acceptance that public spaces were more inclusionary once. However, there are also significant critiques raised from a realistic perspective that this nostalgia of the public space is the "false romanticization of historic public space," which is just "a phantom" (Robbins, 1993; Iveson, 2007; Madanipour, 2010; Berman, 2012). In other words, these critiques emphasize that as Kluge (1993) summarized, there have always been struggles between multiple publics, and so it is a timeless fact that public spaces have never been "open to all," yet, the idea of a public space "open to all" has always a powerful effect that triggers the struggles for inclusion (Mitchell, 1995, 117). Hence, it also appears that discussing the publicness of a given space is much more complicated than checking if it meets some criteria (Kohn, 2004, 10).

The second major problem is the reduction of being a part of the public to be just visible in "public" space. It is a problem since (1) there are other communicative forms of making-publics, and (2) visibility of one does not always make him/her a part of public merely. Briefly, as Iveson (2007, 8) notes that "topographical approaches miss the messy and dynamic urban geographies of publicness." However, this discussion also brings along a very slippery slope where public and private spaces' definitions become ambiguous.

In this study, we claim that squares set on a city scale with representational and historical backgrounds reflect the transformation of publicness. Because, although there are other representative and communicative means of making-publics, city squares have staged social transformations, ruptures, and uprisings throughout history. Therefore, this study aims to interpret this messy and dynamic structure of publicness and the spatial and functional evolution of city squares together. In the context of this theoretical discussion, our research question in this study; What is the relation of the political structure of publicness with the historical transformation of conventional and representative city squares?

The most significant contribution of this study to urban planning and design literature is discussing the historical evolution of city squares from both procedural and topographical approaches. In terms of methodology, this study is limited to examining the urbanization process that Western cities have witnessed over their historical development between the Hellenistic and modern periods. In accordance, the study offers examples from European cities based on literature research and mapping methods introducing a historical periodization scheme in six phases. Each of these six phases is discussed under two conceptual titles. First, under the conceptual title of "Socio-Economic Circumstances", the general conjuncture of the historical development process is explained together with significant breaking points. In the second conceptual title of "Use of City Squares and Representation of Power", the changing relationship between publicness and city squares is revealed. Among the examples presented in this study, the city squares that still function since the medieval period have been mapped and significant differences in the spatial texture of their respective contexts are visible. Using Open Street Map and Google Maps sources comparatively, the site plans of the city square examples were drawn. The site plans show each city square within its surroundings and main connections in the form of a figure-ground plan at the line scale. The line scale enables the reader to make a spatial reading and comparisons between squares. The site plans are also supported with

referenced photographs to present a three-dimensional spatial perception.

Following the focus of this study, the cases offered have been limited to city squares, which have traditionally been the spaces built to fulfill the conditions required for political gatherings and appearances. Such squares can be classified into sub-categories according to function, location, and volume. Nevertheless, in general, they are focal points surrounded by built elements that enable people to come together for various cultural, economic, or administrative purposes, in addition to gathering and scattering pedestrian flow. However, in terms of scale and function, countryside squares, local neighborhood squares, and squares with specialized transportation functions, such as station and quay squares, also fall outside this study's scope, as political representation historically has taken place in central city squares. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the range of city square examples presented focuses on period characteristics; many are representative of other squares of the same type.

2. Exclusive publicness and the rise of the city square

2.1. Socio-economic circumstances

The concepts "public" and "private" first appeared during the Hellenistic period. The reason why the terms emerged was to denote and strictly distinguish the two types of space. All free citizens had access to the public (koine) while only individuals had permission to enter the private (oikos). These also served to emphasize privacy and domesticity (Arendt, 1958, 24; Habermas, 1991, 3). Public life was centered around the agora as the symbol of the polis, which was an essential precondition for the emergence of democracy, including that of Athens, the first known democracy, which was developed around the 5th century BC. Although it has been considered a participatory model of democracy, it is also often criticized for its exclusion of women, slaves, the elderly, children, and foreigners from citizenship rights (Raaflaub, Ober and Wallace, 2007, 189). While agora was the center of daily life for all Athenians, it was the socio-political center of the polis for only a limited proportion of the population; hence the understanding of publicness in this period was obviously circumscribed by a limited and exclusivist expression of political representation (Carr, 1992; Mumford, 1961; Hilbersiemer, 1955 and many others). On the other hand, although there were common open spaces in every era to meet the need for gathering, it is possible to discuss neither the publicness nor the square of the prehistoric period due to the lack of the notions of democracy, citizenship, and politics.

2.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

The spatial development and meaning of the agora can only be understood through a consideration of the conditions of the archaic period (ca. 7th-5th century BC). The archaic agora was a void of irregular shape connected to the Acropolis and located in a topographical center; it was simple, small in extent, and modest in form.

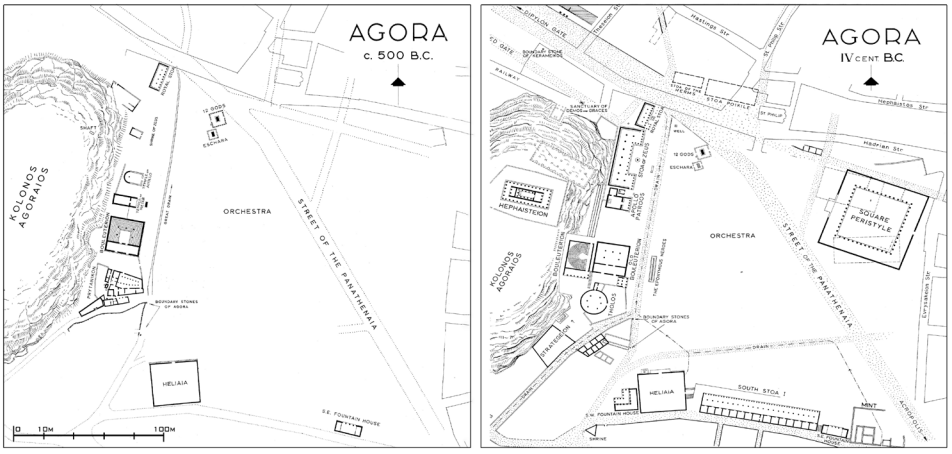

Figure 1. *The Athenian Agora in 5th BC (right) and 4th c. BC (left) (J. Travlos in Thompson & Wycherley, 1972).*

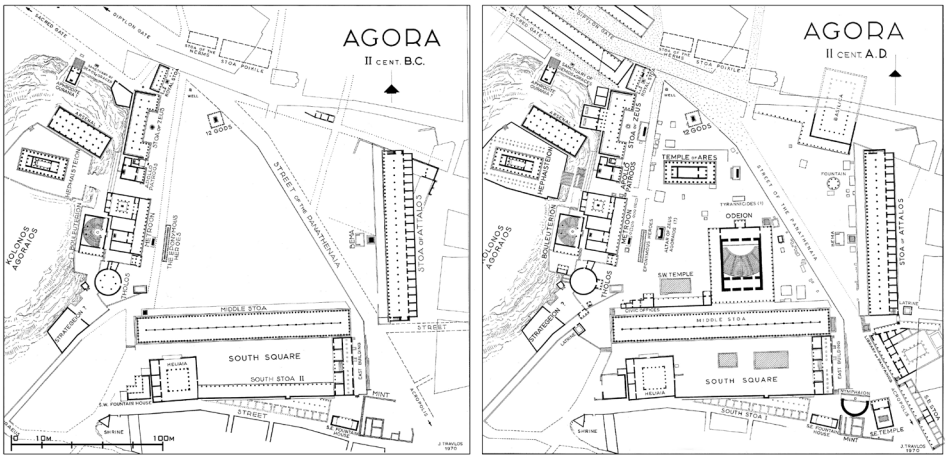

Figure 2. *The Athenian Agora in 2nd c. BC (right) and 2nd c. AD (left) (J. Travlos in Thompson & Wycherley, 1972).*

Indeed, the etymological root of the term "square" is related to Ancient Greek planning. Following Hippodamus' gridiron-schemed plans for Miletus, from the 3rd century BC on, the late classical and Hellenistic agoras took on more regular shapes and, in contrast to earlier periods, were based on the idea of an enclosed/defined space. This idea of enclosed space is represented by the peristyle agora, which is not a completely enclosed "square," resembling instead a horseshoe form in this period (Zucker, 1951, 33; Webb, 1990, 29; Wycherley, 1962, 33).

As the population grew, not one but many agoras developed in cities, so in some examples, there was one main agora along with other comparatively small ones. The location of this main agora was unchanged from that of the archaic period, principally serving as a gathering place for political assemblies and surrounded by administrative buildings over time. Shops and stores also came to be erected around it, which were rented to merchants and artisans. The agora was alive with people meeting, moving, talking, and lingering.

During the Hellenistic period, the city became the scene of luxury, ruddy with the displays of ancient Greece (Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 24; Thompson & Wycherley, 1972, 21); this period saw the beginning of the agora's use as a symbol, a representational space of the wealth and power that continued through the Roman period.

The city of Rome, founded in 753 BC and ruled by kings, grew in size and population and gradually developed into a national and political union, eventually becoming an oligarchic republic in 510 BC (Hilbersiemer, 1955, 61-66). During the regal period, the city's forum was merely a topographical and irregular center, very similar to the archaic agora.

After the establishment of the Republic, the Roman Forum gained its more traditional pattern similar to the Hellenistic agora; regularity and enclosure had become the norm in the spatial organization of cities, and the Hippodamic schemes of Greek cities especially were applied in Roman cities.

Here, the regular and crowded structure of the Republican Forum should also be considered alongside the governmental structure of the period. After the regal period came to an end and consular power emerged, there were many more famous, victorious, and important citizens to commemorate with statues and buildings. In terms of religion, there were also the many gods and goddesses of the Roman pantheon to build temples for. This traditional pattern can be seen clearly in the archaeological excavations and existing ruins of Rome, among many other cities.

The Roman Forum underwent a significant change and complete rebuilding during the period of the Roman Empire (27 BC – 476 AD) (Zucker, 1959, 51; Webb, 1990, 30). As the Republic was transformed into an absolutist imperial state with political control concentrated in the hands of one man, his power was reflected in the spatial organization of the city's forums.

Forums bearing the names of the emperors extolled just one person and his

power far above all others. Each of the Imperial forums (except for the Forum Nervea) tended to be greater in size than previous ones in an attempt to overshadow the others. Although forums remained as gathering points and sites for traditional ceremonies and displays, and although they were embellished with new structures, they lost their civic importance under the shadow of the emperors (Favro, 1988, 18-19; Webb, 1990, 31). The change in the values and the conditions of the imperial regime led all public activities to become duties for the Roman people to be participated in passively.

The Imperial Forum was radically different from the Republican Forum and the Hellenistic Agora; they appeared to be "closed, symmetrical, axial and monumental". What was remarkable in this period was the first appearance of "dominant and grouped squares".

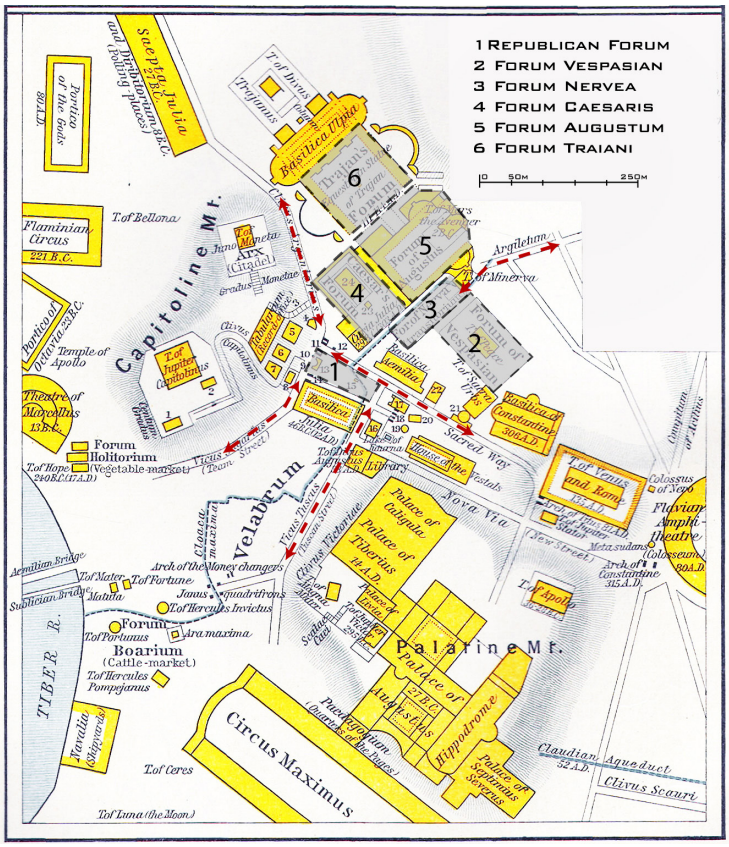

Figure 3. *Imperial Roman Forums (after Shepherd, 1911, p. 24).*

3. The emergence of representative publicness and the revival of the city square

3.1. Socio-economic circumstances

Characterized by invasions, wars, and migrations, the early middle ages were a period of tribal societies and semi-nomadic settlers; trade was dangerous, and trade routes were cut off. Large settlements were no longer administrative and commercial centers; the economy was based on landed property and agriculture, only regional markets existed, and trade with other counties was infrequent and trivial.

In the absence of central authority after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the emergence of feudal hierarchies heralded the collapse of the concept of publicness. It is thus not possible to discuss an organized public square in the sense of the agora or forum of old. From a broader perspective, one can assume that in the absence of stable governance and security, there was no path or reason left for representation and publicness.

In the politics of this period, monarchy held the center stage until the feudal lords shook their power, creating a feudal oligarchy institutionalized over the centuries as a social hierarchy and a political and economic system based on peasants waiving their freedom in exchange for protection. This period was defined by the absence of mobility and time for learning and leisure, when the majority lived on the lands that they could never exchange, sell or even leave, fixed in fear for their lives until the revival of commerce in the 11th century.

During this period, monasteries were small centers of civilization, becoming eventually the nuclei of some medieval cities and serving as places of refuge for peasants in times of danger. As new villages were established, the incomes of feudal lords were increased, leading to the creation of medieval cities. Increasing income made it possible to encourage the improvement of craft together with agriculture. Artisans were able to produce surpluses which could be exchanged with goods from other estates (Hilbersiemer, 1955, 84-86).

The turning point of the 11th century was the conquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the First Crusade in 1096. From that point onward, the Mediterranean was opened to Western shipping, and foreign communications were established again as in the period of the Roman Empire. Eventually, by the 12th century, the West had been

completely transformed, and thus many medieval cities were either established or flourished in this century (Pirenne, 2014, 72-87).

This development favored both lords and artisans. In time, crafts became differentiated and production diversified, giving rise to a new kind of population and the creation of craft guilds whose membership offered some measure of independence. Even though nobility passed through blood, merchants showed that wealth could be earned with wisdom and cunning, sending the message that neither they nor the peasants required the patronage of feudalism (Pirenne, 2014, 96). The exchange of agricultural products and other goods shaped the spatial relationships between existing settlements and newly founded ones. The required frequency of this exchange of goods necessitated the integration of the countryside and the city and weekly markets to meet the need for a space to exchange goods (Hilbersiemer, 1955, 88-90).

3.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

Christianity and Feudalism were two critical factors that shaped the city throughout the high middle ages. Accordingly, although city squares of Western medieval cities, both those evolved from Roman settlements and those newly founded with organic or gridiron schemes, differed according to their development process, there were usually two squares; one for the church (parvis) and one for the market.

In contrast to market squares, medieval parvises were dominated and defined by their relationship to churches and cathedrals, which, together with parvises, enabled the monumentality that represented the power overshadowing a dominated space. The fundamental function of these squares was the enabling of gatherings of the faithful before and after religious meetings in the church (Zucker, 1959, 80). Absence of theatres led to the performance of mystery plays on church steps, visible from the square; executions were also major social events, and sporting competitions and games were held in these medieval squares.

Although the medieval parvis was generally more regular than contemporaneous market squares, it rarely had a purely geometric form and was never intended to compete with the market square; these spaces served two different kinds of needs: the market square to conduct business and prosper in this life, while the church, together with the parvis, was a guarantor of the next life (Webb, 1990, 65, 40). This separation

Figure 4. *San Gimignano – Church and Market Squares; Piazza del Duomo, above right (Url-1) & Piazza della Cisterna, below right (Url-2).*

Figure 5. *Todi – Church and Market Squares; Piazza del Popolo, above right (Url-3) & Piazza Garibaldi, below right (Url-4).*

of the ethereal and material worlds in squares often led to the development of grouped squares. However, the church had visual domination and superiority over the market square, even in examples where the two types of squares were not directly adjacent, as *in the Piazza del Duomo and Piazza della Cisterna in San Gimignano and the Piazza del Popolo and Piazza Garibaldi in Todi.*

The period between the 14th and 15th centuries might be defined as a transitional stage from the Medieval to the Renaissance period. At the beginning of the 14th century, agriculture was still primitive; however, as the primary source of wealth together with animal husbandry, it was rapidly developing. Nevertheless, these conditions were about to change; the Great Famine (1315-1317), together with the Black Death (1346-1351), each of which caused millions of deaths, and later the Hundred Years' War (1336-1453) brought western Europe misery, regression, and disease. The subsequent Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 is generally considered the end of the Medieval period (Hay, 2014, 11-19; Le Goff, 2006, 154).

The profound consequences of these crises on the people led to the movement that became known as the Renaissance, a gradual shift in people's thoughts and attitude toward the universe, the value of life and death, and their place in this world. This shift inflamed class conflict and triggered a loss of faith in the church, a turning to individual capabilities and powers of observation, and the emergence of scientific reason. The Hundred Years' War also gave rise to senses of national identity in England and France (Hay, 2014, 164-169) and shifted power from feudal lords to monarchs, who collected taxes to raise vast professional armies; moreover, as there had been significant advances in military technology, especially involving gunpowder (Rogers, 2010, 34; Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 42), feudal knights and castles were thoroughly less useful than before (Nelson, 2001b).

Under the dominance of the feudal mode of production, little distinction was made between public and private due to the absence of (1) any official status set out by private law licensing ordinary citizens to access public sphere, (2) landed property model for peasantry. Although this changed gradually, especially through the effects of peasants' revolts after the Black Death and the revival of commerce, the increasing political tension that introduced private ownership resulted in a shift from feudalism to capitalism (Habermas, 1991, 5).

This blurred distinction between private and public was only evident in reference to communal elements, to the extent to which they could survive under feudal modes of production. What was common for all was public; namely, the fountains, the market, and church

squares. Habermas (1991, 6) makes here a linguistic reminding that for the use of the term "common" in the sense of "ordinary". In this sense, authority itself appeared neither as something that is exclusively public, nor private; it encompassed both spheres. Nonetheless, as the authority could only be represented in public, objects that signified authority were public. In Habermas' words (1991), this evolution is "representative publicness" and feudal bodies of authority, namely the lord, the church, the prince and the nobility are those by which this representative publicness is "carried" on to the capitalist mode of production. Ordinary citizens were regarded as passive subjects, mere spectators who were to remain a reverential audience. It was not on behalf of the people, rather merely in their presence, that sovereignty and power were represented; it was not the people themselves that was represented, it was the power itself. (Demir Kahraman & Türkoğlu, 2017).

Figure 6. *Piazza San Marco – Venice (photos, Url-5; Url-6), Plaza Mayor – Madrid (photos, Url-7; Url-8), Grand Place – Brussels (photos, Url-9; Url-10).*

It was a turning point in the evolution of the city square that, as Webb (1990, 65) states, "the city square was starting to lose its universal appeal in this age since religion, politics, and commerce tightly interwoven in it."

4. Survival of representative publicness and glorification of the city square

4.1. Socio-economic circumstances

The Renaissance was the rediscovery of the Greco-Roman legacy of the past; the reinterpretation of Greek and Roman history, law, literature, art, and culture dominated this period and replaced the mysticism of the middle ages with humanism, rationalism, and clarity. Thus, the person became the normative scale of all measurements, which resulted in the application of a centric space concept to buildings, squares, and indeed the whole city (Hilbersiemer, 1955, 172).

The Renaissance also reflected the ambitions of wealthy merchant families to show off their wealth and power through urban improvements. For these wealthy merchants, the religious conventions of the middle ages held little attraction, and wielding the power of their wealth they tended to the issues of this world rather than the next. Wealthy Italian merchant families in Florence, Venice, Rome, and Lombardy desired to adorn their cities to display their power. In this period, although the basic form and general fortress characteristics of medieval cities did not change, structures were either decorated or demolished and rebuilt to alter their modest and anonymous character (Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 43).

4.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

A vital turning point of this period was the invention of the printing press around 1450 by Johannes Gutenberg, which enabled the rapid and precise copying and wide distribution of important ancient texts. Indeed, in terms of architecture and planning, the monumental, axial, symmetrical,

and functional characterization of the ancient period returned to cities during the Renaissance, symbolizing the period's growing concentration and consolidation of power (Morris, 2013, 158). City squares of this period differ from medieval examples in scale, proportion, and structural frame, as in the examples of the Piazza San Marco in Venice, the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, and the Grand Place in Brussels (Zucker, 1959, 140; Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 45; Webb, 1990, 68).

One of the two other important turning points that shaped the socio-economic conjuncture of the early modern West was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 (Hay, 2014, 425). Already existing maritime technology and navigation enabled these voyages; however, the development of exploration triggered further technical advances in step with political and commercial organizations. This period from 1450 to 1600 was an age of expansion; growing populations and rising prices drove men into cities and colonizing ventures overseas, giving rise to the notions of nationalism and early trade capitalism. Monarchies profited from these developments, increasing their ability to further expand their territory (Koenigsberger, 2014, 90-93).

Wealthy merchants were everywhere then and regarded as strangers. Most were born as peasants, presumably. They were not beholden to a lord far away from home and were treated as freemen according to the law; in other words, long-distance trade created free merchants out of peasants (Pirenne, 2014, 97). They were not of noble blood, but neither were they feudal peasants anymore; they were in between, the middle class, which would become the bourgeoisie and part of the representation of power.

The second important turning point were the Reformation and "Counter-Reformation"; these major religious shifts were in fact about class conflicts and the accumulation of socio-economic tension and transformed the political, societal, and cultural patterns of the Western world beginning from the mid-16th century (Dewald, 2004, 150; Cameron, 2001, 87).

It is important to note that the Protestant Reformation was embedded in broader processes of socio-economic and political shifts, including the emergence of nation-states and new relations with the outside world (Dewald, 2004, 151-156). Knowledge of the "Counter-Reformation" is also critical to any understanding of the concept of the Baroque and its physical reflections in the spatial organization of city squares. The Counter-Reformation itself was the Catholic Church's response to the challenges posed by the Protestant Reformation and a movement towards its internal renewal. The main aim of these efforts was to re-emphasize traditional Catholic dogma, to re-shape the Church's institutional character, and above all to regain the central power and the unity of the church (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, 185; Cameron, 2001, 97; Dewald, 2004, 145).

5. Consolidation of representative publicness and the city square as the urban theatre

5.1. Socio-economic circumstances

Baroque was characterized by a more rhetorical and theatrical interpretation of Renaissance art and architecture; it was thought to be monumental, metamorphic, manipulative, melodramatic, and exaggerated. Baroque fashion was purposefully supported by the Papacy to glorify the power of the reformed Catholic Church so as to monumentalize "the divine" and "the faithful," appealing to the emotions and the senses of individuals (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, 394; Cameron, 2001, 100; Dewald, 2004, 227).

Although the Renaissance and Baroque styles aim at different effects, they both hold the same fundamental spatial vocabulary and characteristics; they are monumental, axial, symmetrical, and functional. In contrast to relatively irregular, informal, and dispersed medieval spaces, both Renaissance and Baroque spaces reflect the desire for discipline and order, characteristics which were meant to be impressed on those within the city (Morris, 2013, 159; Bacon, 1967, 109 and many others).

5.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

Between the late 16th and 18th centuries, Baroque cities were intentional parts of the theatrical application and

reflection of the Counter-Reformation and rising absolutist monarchies. The city and thus the squares were the stages, settings for the display of the church, princes, the nobility, and the rich in which the rest were still considered as mere spectators. The pioneering examples of Baroque squares are accepted as having first appeared in Rome, e.g. the Piazza del Campidoglio, Piazza di San Pietro, Piazza Navona, Piazza di Spagna, and Piazza del Popolo.

City squares of this period were designed to be isolated and to dominate their surroundings. They were less confined than those of the Renaissance in order to recapture their surroundings by expanding into open space. This idea of expansion and openness and tendency towards the dynamic expression of space was widely adopted, especially in France. Secular rulers soon perceived that the monumental and grandiose Baroque concept of space would reflect their authority and power much like that of the Church. In such cases, they built majestic royal palaces adorned with sophisticated gardens (Wiesner-Hanks, 2013, 394; Zucker, 1959, 172; Webb, 1990, 156) Indeed, the Place de la Concorde was the largest royal square of the period and was dedicated to the king at the time as the "Place Louis XV".

The consolidation of representative publicness was then crowned by Baroque festivity. Habermas (1991, 5-9) states that this courtly representative publicness reached its ultimate and purest form at the French court in the 15th century. Emphasizing the same period, Sennett (2002, 16-17) also says that the word public / le public has now been used differently, meaning at the time "a special region of sociability." In mid-17th century France, "le public" signified a specific group of audience for plays, which was made up of elite individuals and only in small numbers.

The Baroque ideas of openness and dominance were intentional, creating an interface on which the paths of civil individuals and aristocrats intersected, whereas they never fully merged. It was in church squares and the royal palace courts, which by their overwhelming scale served as venues of show-off and display, where representative publicness manifested itself. Baroque spatial organization enabled a courtly life blocked off from the outside world of civil individuals. Worse, even secular festivities, such dances and theatre, retreated from the streets into the courts, gardens, and rooms of the palace. Eventually, the representative publicness that emerged during the middle ages not only survived but also consolidated by the end of the 18th century (Habermas, 1991, 9-11). However, this was also the Age of Enlightenment, which emerged from the Protestant reaction against the Counter-Reformation; in this period, forerunner philosophers began movements that would culminate in revolutions in France and America and reform in England (Mason, 2015, 429-552; Merriman, 2009a).

6. Rise of literary publicness and politicisation of the city square

6.1. Socio-economic circumstances

Systems of feudalism and colonialism were seriously challenged at the end of the 18th century, first by the American colonies' Declaration of Independence in 1776 and then by the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789. The relatively short-term results of these rising revolutionary movements were the political upheavals throughout Europe in 1848 known as the "People's Spring" or "Spring of Nations." This period also set the stage for the emergence of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. In brief and general terms, Western nations were rising to the status of world powers, contributing to the further development of liberalism, nationalism, industrialization, capitalism, urbanization, and the proletariat, legacies which we have inherited.

To Sennett (2002, 17-19), the period from the 18th century on initially saw the rise and, then again, the disappearance of the public sphere. The rise was embedded in the intention of 18th-century cities of "becoming a world in which widely diverse groups in society were coming into contact." In his view, although any historical period has peculiarities, deviations and alternative modes of its own, the tension present between the public and private spheres can be utilized to establish understanding and cultural coherence. However, in this balance of

public and private, a shift was about to come to the advantage of the private as national industrial capitalism was on the rise.

From the 19th century onwards, this period was characterized in that the realm of politics, and therefore the public sphere was heavily occupied by privileged private interests. Habermas Habermas (1991, 141) defines this process as a kind of "re-feudalization" of society and the "downfall of the public sphere." Due to the fact that (1) the conflicts between private interests were conveyed onto the political plane and these interests assumed by the state institutions and (2) public functions were transferred to corporate bodies, there was no visible distinction public and private.

The on-going impacts of the Industrial Revolution evolved alongside rising political and social tensions; changing factory technology culminated in practices of mass production by the end of the 19th century (Trebilcock, 2000). This change in the production of goods and flourishing science triggered important developments in (1) transportation (2) communication and (3) infrastructure.

The development of mass industrial production required the transportation of raw materials and finished products. The invention of the steam engine soon saw steamboats and steam railroads in operation by the mid-19th century. After the development of electric power, steam railroads were followed by the electric trams, first on street level and then underground, by the beginning of the 20th century. Following the invention of the internal combustion engine in 1885, automobiles were ubiquitous by the middle of the 20th century (Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 63; Herbst, 2006).

The second half of the 19th century was also revolutionary in terms of the evolution of communication tools; the telegraph (1837), telephone (1876), and radio (1897) were all in common use by the end of the century. These developments preceded the invention of television (1927), whose widespread commercialization was achieved after World War II (Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 65; Huurdeman, 2003).

Moreover, the 19th century was

Figure 7. *Piazza del Campidoglio – Rome (photos, Url-11; Url-12), Piazza di San Pietro – Rome (photos, Url-13; Url-14), Piazza Navona – Rome (photos, Url-15; Url-16), Piazza di Spagna – Rome (photos, Url-17; Url-18), Piazza del Popolo – Rome (photos, Url-19; Url-20).*

Figure 8. *Place de la Concorde – Paris (photos, Url-21; Url-22), Place de la Bastille – Paris (photos, Url-23; Url-24).*

a period of phenomenal (1) urban growth and urbanization, and (2) class segregation. Urban populations were increasing due to mass migration, usually from the rural hinterland. Poor people migrated to cities to work as domestic servants and day and industrial laborers. The result of this movement was unplanned and undirected growth, the emergence of unhealthy places and chaos in which the poor suffered the most, and brutal class segregation (Gallion & Eisner, 1963, 65; Merriman, 2009c; LeGates & Stout, 1998).

6.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

Based on democratic and parliamentary principles, the idea of political equality and economic liberalism was on the rise. Moreover, public space, namely the city square, had also become politicized, acting as the stage of conflicts between multiple publics. In terms of the evolution of publicness and city squares, for example, it should be noted that the Place Louis XV evolved over the years from a stage of Baroque festivity to the stage of the French Revolution of 1789. The Place Louis XV was renamed the Place de la Revolution in 1789 and later the Place de la Concorde in 1830 (after the July Revolution). The Pont de la Concorde, the bridge across the Seine River, was built in 1791 with the stones of La Bastille, the prison destroyed during the French Revolution and turned into a city square, "Place de la Bastille," celebrating liberty in 1792 (Webb, 1990, 150; Zucker, 1959, 185).

Habermas (1991, 16-32) points to two important factors in this era that played a major role in the emergence of the public sphere. Firstly, at the end of the 17th century, coffee houses in Great Britain and salons in France functioned as new hubs of literary and political thought that enabled an interaction between the aristocracy and the intellectuals of the bourgeoisie. The second was the rise in the ubiquity of news through the development of the regular press, political newspapers, and journals. Merriman (2009b) also illustrates the effect of newspapers and political clubs on how ordinary people were politicized during this period.

7. The emergence of virtual publicness and the privatization of the city square

7.1. Socio-economic circumstances

Economic recovery and reorganization in most countries following the World War II largely followed the principles of Keynesian economics as well as the welfare state model. The development of welfare systems in health, education, housing, and the like by governments enabled some class compromise between capital and labor, the extent of which differed from place to place. By the end of the 1960s, however, disintegration brought about by various national crises had already started in these systems; by the mid-1970s, they were functioning on neither the international nor the domestic scale. In the late 1970s, the trend was a new approach to neoliberalism putting forward questions as to the required degree of state intervention and this led to the disengagement of governments from several areas relating to social benefits, giving rise to increased deregulation and privatization (Harvey, 2005).

The rising turn towards neoliberalism after the end of the 1970s overlapped with two intense phenomena: the introduction and worldwide use of

new information and communication technologies and the influence of excessive privatization policies on urban transformation processes. (Demir Kahraman & Türkoğlu, 2017).

In terms of the first phenomenon, a significant advancement of the 20th century was the accelerating development and worldwide use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in everyday life (Huurdeman, 2003, 580, 604). Although the public sphere was assumed to be a realm limited to the domestic/local level, booming ICTs advanced the possibility of a global public sphere (Habermas, 1996, 360, 514).

On the other hand, Gehl (2010, 27) emphasizes a repetitive question that "can the function of cityscape can be taken over by electronic media such as TV, internet, and mobile technology?" Here, it is possible to say that the development and widespread use of ICTs contribute to the existence of different publics in the public sphere. In particular, being up-to-date from all over the world and sharing information and opinions through social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc. have a crucial place in the production of the global public opinion and the public sphere. However, on the other hand, it is also possible to answer the question emphasized by Gehl (2010) that developing technology cannot replace the physical space. Although social life has changed in different ways with ICTs, face-to-face interaction and the right to assembly remain decisive. In other words, developing ICTs do not prevent public meetings but provide flexibility and convenience in many aspects.

In terms of the second phenomenon, there has been a growing discussion in the domain of the spatial sciences on the fact that public spaces have been diminishing or not extending in parallel to the increase in urban populations, and further, that their typologies and functions have been changing in favor of privatization.

7.2. Use of city squares and representation of power

To Sorkin (1992, pxiii-xv), as far as the modern cities and their public spaces are concerned, this threat of privatization includes (1) the similarization of and generic applications on spaces, (2) technological and physical surveillance for security and (3) the thematization of spaces in order to utilize architecture and urban design for the purpose of producing any simulated experience of a desired and commercially available image. When dealing with these trends, the main focus has been the shopping malls and theme parks which, as novel and privatized examples of public spaces, exhibit differences from traditional one both in terms of their ownership and operation. The benefit of the private interest, not the general public, have been the object when configuring these privatized settings; in other words, they have been intended for a particular target group instead of public in general.

From a broader perspective, Madanipour's discussion on the shifts in public spaces (2003, 2005, 11-14) relates them to the overall change the post-industrial cities have undergone. Furthermore, he asserts that historical significance of public spaces is challenged by not one but many things; "their political role limited to the periods of crisis and their social role to providing leisure; however, the most significant challenge to public space is, rather, economic". The tendency of the private investment in public space is to restrict access it for the purpose of supervising and reducing the costs of utilization and maintenance. This leads to social segregation, functional fragmentation as well as the loss of meaningful use.

This exclusionary type of production of space has led to an inward-oriented and aesthetically pleasing design approach for various types of contemporary urban functions. In short, capitalist and neoliberal modes of the production of space have undermined the notion of publicness, its physical requirements, and affordances.

In the meantime, the promotion of globalization by multi-national companies and the brutal conditions of competitive capitalism have led to the transformation of city centers in particular, and thus public spaces, which have been considered the essential components of this transformation. Many contemporary Western cities appear to direct private investment in their central and major city squares

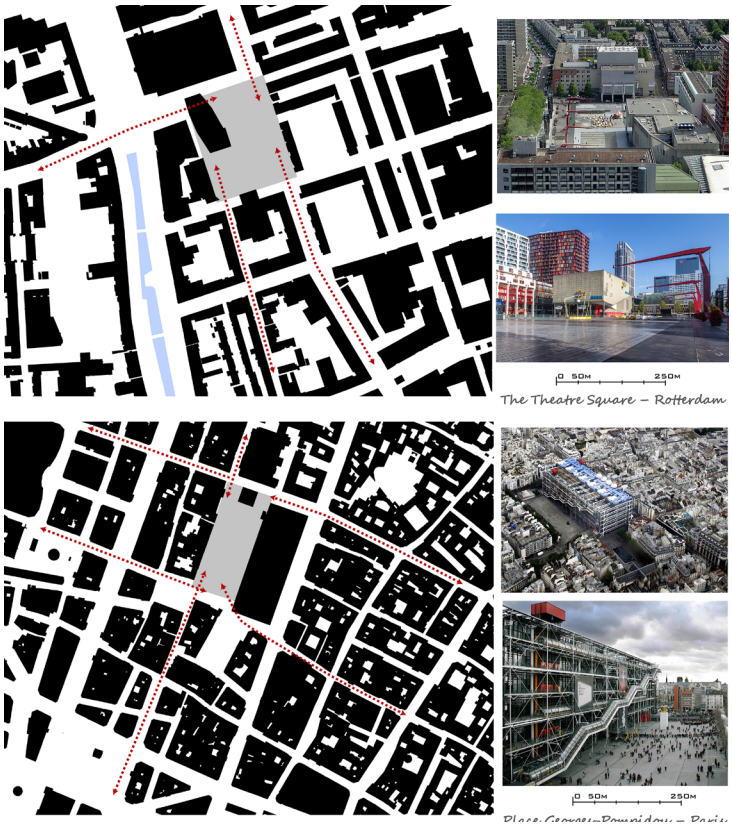

Figure 9. *The Theatre Square (Schouwburgplein) – Rotterdam (photos, Url-25; Url-26), Place Georges Pompidou – Paris (photos, Url-27; Url-28).*

toward more desirable and attractive locations for investors and tourists. The result is often touristification, museumization, and the commodification of the historic cores of cities, accompanied by consumption-oriented, uneven, and speculative urban development, the gentrification of city centers, and eventually socio-spatial segregation (Madanipour et al., 2014, 186; Madanipour, 2010, 112).

In terms of two phenomena, many city squares have been redeveloped, privatized, and commercialized during the recent decades; they have been organized to support consumption rather than communication. Also, although city squares remain open, it is possible to say that they are not accessible to everyone more than ever. This is because not all multiple publics are welcomed in terms of political representation and participation in "public" city squares; they are constantly monitored and recorded by security cameras, police, and private security, and squares are closed and evacuated when necessary. However, everyone, including the counter publics, can be present in the city squares and surrounding buildings for consumption and get together with others. Therefore, it appears that today city squares are not organized for citizens to come together to discuss a public concern.

Indeed, from the mid-20th century on, there has been a tendency to produce new "attractive" city squares, whose primary function appears to be to offer the openness in front of a single commercial structure required to provide it visibility. These new-generation city squares are named after these structures and are often embellished and thematized with distinctive design elements, as in the examples of the Theatre Square in Rotterdam, and the Place Georges Pompidou in Paris.

8. Conclusion

Both procedural and topographical approaches to publicness and what belongs to the public seem to be inadequate. However, this inadequacy becomes evident by discussing the spatial and functional evolution of historical city squares that are politically representative.

The most important conclusion of this attempt to tie together the concepts of publicness and the city square through historical exploration is that as public spaces, city squares cannot be addressed or designed only through an understanding of three-dimensional spatial relations. This urban historiography reading shows that publicness is beyond the physical access and spatial features of city squares.

City squares have evolved amid different social conditions and geographies, without exception, to reflect the power and the publics that shape them, regardless of their different spatial characteristics. However, city squares have always been the space of struggle for the political representation of the changing counter publics. In the framework of such a social reality, especially professionals from the domain of spatial sciences should be aware that any spatial and functional interventions made in squares with historical significance set on a city scale will bear different meanings to multiple publics.

Despite this exclusionary nature, major city squares have always been and will continue to be the hearts of

cities and signifiers of power, the representation of which is never possible in isolation. Power loves to display itself physically in and at city squares; however, city squares filled with a critical public hold the threat of revolution. Whatever constitutes the opposition (whether workers, women, LGBT advocates, minorities, or the poor), their grievances and claims appear in the exact space where power is represented. Major city squares have always served as the stages of the struggles between power and opposition; indeed, it seems this quality has become an essential part of their social production.

The dominant has always used city squares as a tool to realize its representation and to show-off its power. However, major city squares also evolved with the dominant discourse. Therefore, it is possible to see the traces of struggles between multiple publics that each city square has staged historically.

Indeed, it seems that even the Agora is not public for all in terms of political representation and involvement in decision-making processes. On the other hand, as emphasized by Mitchell (1995), the idea of public space open to all itself is vital for the existence of multiple publics, as well as determining the social production and spatial/functional evolution of city squares.

In short, the relationship of the dominant with the city square is paradoxical. While it needs everyone to dominate society (and the square), it must also block the counter's political visibility. Again paradoxically, everyone is obliged to struggle to appear in public, which is only principally and technically open to all.

As for the future of urban planning and design practices, another main conclusion of this study is that the future of city squares is directly related to what kind of organization societies will have. However, under any circumstances, city squares will sustain their existence and become the stages of these social transformations. Humanity's need to be seen—to be public—will always be spatialized, transforming both the public sphere and the city square.

Consequently, this historical perspective shows us that the idea of a public space open to everyone is a romantic utopia like democracy itself. However, the appearance of counter-discourse against the dominant, albeit through riots, even under conditions of autocracy or monarchy indicates the temporary heterotopic productions of "public" spaces historically.

Above, we have seen social and actual production of major city squares have always been a matter of politics rather than design. Hence, as professionals and users, we should be aware that we are also a part of the struggles between multiple publics and so we should also challenge ourselves to better understand and defend public spaces constantly.

Specifically, we offer three absolute principles to be adopted by professionals in the spatial organization of public spaces:

(1) "pluralitarian" design instead of "majoritarian" design, which means not to target a specific user profile,

(2) being not just technocrats but also activists, which indicates to defend the right to the city,

(3) using the knowledge in favor of the rights, which also means not to respond to pragmatic demands of power.

Today, the new Covid-19 Pandemic heralds a paradigm shift in the world order. The notion of publicness during and after the pandemic and the relation of public squares to this paradigm shift will be explored, and the vital importance of public spaces will come again to the fore. However, it has not been possible to restrain individuals' need to appear in public to influence public opinion on significant issues and protest societal problems even during the quarantine. Social movements such as people singing songs together from their balconies in Italy, the George Floyd Protests, which took place on a grand collective scale in the United States, and the Istanbul Convention rallies in Turkey against gender-based violence show that social solidarity can persist even in the midst of a pandemic, nor would not be wrong to assert that open public spaces are the most critical tools for meeting the need for such solidarity. How we reimagine public space and public life in a post - Covid-19 future should be the question addressed in future studies.

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