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# **Public Space in Kosovo - Transformations Through History**

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Supervisor

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Institute for Urbanism

## **AFFIDAVIT**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The main topic of this research is development of Public Space in Kosovo and transformations through history. The research takes into consideration the social and cultural context, which constituted the social and public life in the Western Balkan cities with a focus on Kosovo cities. Through the analyses of different cases in the cities, forms of public life were investigated and how they have been transformed. Some types of public space typology through the history were lost, but those survived proves that they still play a key role in the city's public life.

Little data on the development of public space in the pre-Ottoman period presented a problem. They are mainly taken by the authors who have addressed the development of cities in terms of geography, functional and morphological aspect, as well as materials and construction techniques.

During the Ottoman Empire social and cultural settings were brought by the Ottoman culture based on Islam. As conquerors, ottomans immediately began Islamization. This process has been observed not only in the changes of the religion of local population but also influencing changes in other areas of the people lives. They were manifested in the public and social life including altering ways of gatherings, use of public space and gender division of users.

As the Ottoman Empire transformed through the centuries, so did the public life and public space. Westernization of the Ottoman Empire brought the independence to Balkans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century culminating with Balkan Wars in 1912/13, followed by the World War I 1914 - 1918. Changes in the ethnic and social structure of the population had big impact in the social life and city development.

After the World War II, transformation of Yugoslav Kingdom to a Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), initiated larger changes in the public life and public space including the architecture. The social differences were broken down and the public space became ideological space, where big speeches of the party leaders agitated for the new world order where people should be equal and share all the city amenities.

The liberal period in the 90's showed again different social settings in the former SFRY, which went through a terrible war and loss of many cultural varieties that characterized the country. In the beginning of 21<sup>th</sup> century, the democratic changes in all Balkan countries, brought a completely different social settings for use of public space. Public Spaces tend to become more attractive and active during the day and the night as well, sometime 24 hours active.

The research combines interpretative historical strategy and the case study method with cases of similar context. Since the research is spread through a longer period, and different political, economic and social contexts, it was necessary to use the combined strategy at different levels. The case study was focused mainly in the cities of Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia.

Direct observation is the primary tool of studying the public life studies. The users of public space were not directly involved in the survey, but their activity and behaviour were observed and mapped in order to understand how the space is used. It was necessary to consider the study context holistically, including physical, cultural and climate aspects. Choosing the proper time, day and weather was aligned with local conditions. Cases have been analysed and than through correlational method some conclusions were possible to acquire.

*To my Parents,*

*This work was a promise to my parents, who were teachers dedicated to the education of children and young people of Gjilan, my hometown in Kosovo. They laid the path of my academic carrier. I hope I did not disappoint them.*

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# **INTRODUCTION**

## **1. OBJECTS OF STUDY**

This research has been initiated with a purpose to contribute in the area of public space research and a very scarce literature on the cities and public space particularly in Kosovo, and in the region of west Balkans including, Albania, Macedonia and Serbia. Although the object of this study is public space in Kosovo, it was considered that without extending the context to a wider Western Balkans region, the research may get trapped with insufficient arguments to interpret findings on the history of public space development and transformations that we experience today. Case study method and comparative analyses in selected cities of Kosovo, and within the regional context has been applied. The origins of towns and cities, the forms of public life that generated public spaces we have inherited today, and changes that transformations through history brought to this place including social, functional and visual dimension will be presented and discussed.

The lack of professional literature on public space in the western Balkans, especially related to the changes that occurred due to change of political circumstances during a prolonged period, and creation of the new countries in 19 and 20<sup>th</sup> century, makes it difficult to understand the problems that public spaces face today within the entire region of Western Balkans. These difficulties range from those of visual and functional, to social and management dimension, as well as those including the integrated conservation of the urban city core. And, following this idea, the intention of this study is to make a rather broader study which can lay the foundation for the younger researcher to further continue to research this topic in more diverse aspects and contexts of urban public space. The research on this topic becomes more challenging due to the complex historical context since the area was under the

Ottoman Empire rule, while after the fall of the empire there were multiple transitions of different governing systems with different political, economic and socio-cultural settings.

## **2. INTERPRETIVE IDEAS - STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Public space is generally understood as a space in which we can gather with others freely, on an equal basis within a legal framework; therefore, the president of a state or any other government representative should be treated equally in traffic. Public space is characterized by its openness: everyone can walk inside and outside and, in principle, can take part in everything that happens within, depending on what he or she chooses. Public space is not only open to important persons; it belongs to everyone in the community equally. The public space is governed by law and not by individuals or entities:

There are three ways of using these concepts:

- Public and private spaces
- Spaces open for public and closed for public
- Individual and collective spaces

By definition, public spaces are open to the public. However, private spaces can also be open to visitors, for example:

A café with many visitors is a public space, but the owner is private. And, on the kitchen door is clearly marked: NOT FOR VISITORS.

Another example is a living room in a private house. In regard to ownership, the house is privately owned, but at the same times it is also a collective space for gathering family members.

Religious buildings are the public spaces of the mosque congregation or parish of the church, which means that they are collective space for groups of the people with certain confessions.

As in many other European countries, the issue of public space in Kosovo (western Balkans) has recently become the top of political agendas of city governments, reflecting public commitment for public investments in the city. On the other hand, non-governmental organizations also displayed commitment in city investments through the criticism and pointing out the non-transparent procedures of decision-making on where and what to invest, as well as how the process is run. The public interest for active citizen participation in the planning and development of public space is gradually rising.

The present situation of the built environment in the western Balkans needs improvement in buildings and public spaces. Population growth has overburdened public spaces so they cannot offer what a contemporary city should provide to the citizens. The revitalization of public spaces and parks is a good example in this aspect, although there was a lack of good planning and management during the implementation process. Pedestrianization of public spaces, streets and squares is an idea, which had already been implemented 20 years ago in some of the cities. Recently we have seen the successful transformation of heavily motorized streets into pedestrian boulevards, which has improved the social life of the cities, and contributed to both economic activities and environmental conditions. The present situation of public spaces in Kosovar cities requires improvement and enlargement of public space, landscape and built environment, as well as linking them to a system of green networks networks for pedestrian movement.

Since the topic of public spaces is a multidisciplinary field of knowledge, it is necessary to look for key concepts such as definitions of space, public, public space, and public life from the perspectives of different fields such as philosophy, sociology, architecture, urban design, and political science, as well as economics. Since this is a research in the area of urban design, it will be necessary to state the definitions of urban design as a field discipline from leading international authors today.

## 2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this research is to attempt to answer the following questions:

- What is the social and cultural context, which constituted the social and public life in the western Balkan cities?
- What are the forms of public life that generated public space during the historical transformations and changes that we can trace today in Kosovo and the region of west Balkans?
- What is the typology of public space that has been developed during the different historical periods?
- What is the actual situation of public spaces and what are the perspectives for the future?

To answer these questions, I begun with studying the Ottoman city in the west Balkans. In order to find the links with the pre-Ottoman period, writings of some authors from the region

have been analyzed and a field survey in the existing pre-Ottoman towns' fortresses has been conducted. There are very few data on the development of public space in the pre-Ottoman period. They are mainly taken by the authors who have addressed the development of cities in terms of geography, functional and morphological aspect, as well as materials and construction techniques. Very little is documented on the social, economic and cultural life in these settlements as a background on which they were built. Therefore, in this part of the research, the intention is to expand current knowledge of public life reconstructed based on the field research in four fortified cities, in which urban life still takes place: Prizren, Shkodra and Berat.

During the Ottoman Empire social and cultural settings were brought by the Ottoman culture based on Islam. As conquerors, ottomans immediately began Islamization. This process has been observed not only in the changes of the religion of local population but also influencing changes in other areas of the people lives. These changes were manifested in the public and social life including altering ways of gatherings, use of public space and gender division of users.

As the Ottoman Empire transformed through the centuries, so did the public life and public space. Westernization of the Ottoman Empire brought the independence to Balkans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century culminating with Balkan Wars in 1912/13 when new states and boundaries were established. Very soon Balkan wars were followed by the First World War 1914 - 1918. The period from 1912-1918 was a very dramatic change in the social settings in the region. Changes in the ethnic and social structure of the population had big impact in the social life and city development. These changes were reflected in the public space – the construction and use of space. Changes came due to progress in building technology and building materials. While in the northern parts of the Yugoslav Kingdom, modernism had already started to take shape; the southern part of Balkans was still influenced by the neoclassical city developments, mainly in the term of architecture and the public space surrounding these activities.

After the World War II, transformation of Yugoslav Kingdom to a Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), initiated larger changes in the public life and public space including the architecture. The social differences were broken down and the public space became ideological space, where big speeches of the party leaders agitated for the new world order where people should be equal and share all the city amenities.

The idea of celebrating of the new social order was manifested differently in the Balkan countries. While in former SFRY there was a certain freedom of thoughts and use of public

space, this was not the case in Albania, where the public space of ideology became hated and generally the use of it was orchestrated by the 'party' orders. These differences in the 70's - 90's were even bigger. Former SFRY was opened to the west bringing some new forms of public life through cultural exchanges and tourism economy. On contrary Albania, was closed even more culminating with dramatic transformations in the beginning of 90's including the fall of totalitarian communist regime. The liberal period in the 90's showed again different social settings in former SFRY which went through a terrible war and loss of many cultural varieties that characterized the country. The social life was ruined and fear replaced the citizens optimism of former SFRY. Of course, the public space was again used to serve the ideology of war such as in Serbia and Montenegro and for the independence movement in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia.

In Albania, changes of political system provided the opportunities for different, more freely used public space. The public fear was replaced with optimism of freedom.

In the beginning of 21<sup>th</sup> century, the democratic changes in all Balkan countries, brought a completely different social settings for use of public space. Gradually removing territorial and cultural barriers, and raising collaboration reflects the rise of more sociability and cultural exchange in the public space. Public Spaces tend to become more attractive in terms of social, functional and visual dimension. Their temporal dimension has also changed. They are active not only during the days but in the night as well, sometime 24 hours active.

Through the literature and other documents I have tried to identify the forms of public life, which took place in the public space that we can experience today and, changes that occurred during the social and cultural transformations. Places of gathering during the Ottoman period were mostly in the streets of bazaars and marketplaces, where intensive everyday life of artisans, traders, residents and peasants followed a certain tradition, that we could trace even today, and author of this research has experienced in his early life. If we take a look at the markets today and then, the basic shopping activities, interactions between people have remained almost in the same form. The market as a public space may have changed in the shape and/or settings, but in many cities they are at the same location.

In many cities, the bazaars (suk, carshia), are characterized with same physical setting and gathering experience – shops and patterns of activities that drive us to the genesis of the former public life in the Ottoman period. In the inner city core of many cities with ottoman character we can still find these bazaars revitalized that foster social life and economy of the city. Some of them have preserved even the original manufacturing and crafts – such as

making the traditional Albanian heats, home decors including hand-knitted rags, fabrics and other traditional hand-crafted goods merchandises.

Shirine Hammadeh wrote on garden culture in Istanbul in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. She argues that social life in the gardens were open to all, without gender, age, social or ethnic belonging. People enjoyed leisure even at the times when this depended on physical setting of the gardens and content that they provided. The garden tree culture, as Maurice Cerasi argues, was a trend and tradition present from Anatolia to Macedonia with the most popular trees being cypress, elm, plane trees and poplar (Celebi). Many gardens preserved today, could be attributed to the ottoman gardens because of the use of plane tree and poplar.

Several authors have studied the coffeehouses during the Ottoman Empire and their role with regards to public life settings in the cities of the Empire. Gathering of people and talking on different topics remained still a main reason to go to the coffee shop. The talks and topics have changed since then, as the settings have changed. So did the built environment. But, as nowadays, even at that time, there were sitting places inside and outside, in the street depending on the circumstances –such as weather and, sufficient space.

Of course, during the transitional and modern period, the public life has been enriched by the influence of urbanization. In the transitional period ethnic and cultural reasons produced social exclusion in the public space.

In the modern period, the new forms of public life were introduced based on the ideals of socialist system. Using the public space proved to be safe, however, it was always controlled by the state. As in a society such as former SFRY, the development of the public places introduced the organized cultural events such as concerts, open theatres, and artist exhibitions.. In Albania, the cultural events were organized to celebrate the “results” of the economic achievements. The control of the use of public space was in time dimension - during the day and night as well as during the weekdays and weekends.

In Albania Liberal period has brought democratic social settings, freedom of speech, and the freedom in use of the public space within a legal framework. It is possible to observe that the liberal period changed the attitudes of the people and government towards the public space, considering them as a most vital amenity of the society.

In regard to typology of the public space, this research attempts to identify the link between the public life and public space from the ottoman period through the history to the present time. Forms of public spaces such as meydan-square, market, bazaar - shopping street,

garden-park could be identified and compared through surveys and studies of present situation. Exploring the remains of these typological examples can lead to better understanding of the public life during the history.

In the transitional period, beside the new forms of public space, traditional squares came to be a new form of public space based on the European tradition of regarding the city squares.

In the modern period, the influence of modern urbanism in the Balkan countries has been manifested in the public squares usually with the monuments celebrating the heroes of the war and socialist revolution. So, public spaces became influenced by the country's ideology. However, the socialist system has increased the total area of public space as it was considered as a space for collective use and collectivity was one of the socialist system's principles.

With the progress of the society, the typology has been extended since the new forms of public life have been devised such as open sport fields, zoological and botanical gardens, and natural parks that were typically located on the outskirts of the cities. Today we face the use of privately owned public spaces such as shopping centres and amusement parks, designed for the consumerist society.

Public space is considered very important for the city governments. They are a polygon where public investment could affect the visual image and identity. Planning for pedestrianization of the downtown areas in the city, to provide more space for sitting, eating and drinking, animation and joy, increase the value of the city's center public space. At the same time, this transformation of the public space has a positive role for helping economy, including shopping and other services in the downtown area.

### **3. ACADEMIC CONTEXT**

In this part I have identified other reference publications related to this study that are already completed by historians and theorists.. The review goes across many disciplines and different historical and cultural context. Comparative analyses of the research conducted to date in general and in the context of Western Balkans, and their outcomes were identified, selected and structured in the three main groups. (Note: these groups are organized based on the author's proposal; however, these groups can be organized differently as well!)

### 3.1 GENERAL THEORETICAL LITERATURE

Here I analyse general theoretical literatures/publications on definitions, evolution, nature and the use of public space as well as contemporary debates on public space. In this group, I have made distinction between philosophical thoughts and definitions on public space, ideas on public space in sociology and anthropology and those in the profession of urbanism and architecture.

In the philosophy, writings of Hannah Arendt and Jurgen Habermas have been analysed. Hannah Arendt<sup>1</sup> *The Human Condition*, defines public space as an arena of political action on behalf of public good. According to Jurgen Habermas by "the public sphere" we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed and where access is guaranteed to all citizens<sup>2</sup>. Seyla Benhabib, a feminist philosopher, points out that the views of the two are parallel but not identical. Arendt's public space is primarily an arena of political action, whereas Habermas's public sphere is essentially a medium of public communication. She contends that public space potentially performs two functions: a "holistic" one that brings forth cohesive realizations about what should be done, and an "epistemic" function that produces the "enlarged mentality" that transforms multiple self-interests into a recognized common interest (Benhabib, 1996, pp. 200-201).<sup>3</sup>

Anthropologist Setha Low points out that the urban plaza is of value not only for recreation, convenience, and community identification but also in the political sense as well.<sup>4</sup>

Political analysis of public architecture explores various correlations of power. Marcel Henaff<sup>5</sup> and Tracy Strong, in their book *Public Space and Democracy*, emphasize the importance of human vision to power.

Manuel Castells<sup>6</sup> argues that urban physical space is now fast becoming irrelevant. The information technology revolution, he says, is causing the industrial city and its operating base of physical place to be supplanted by the informational city that rests on flows of

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<sup>1</sup> Arendt, H. (1958), *The human condition*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). The University of Chicago Press, Chicago

<sup>2</sup> Habermas, J; Lennox, S.; Ldnnox, F., (1964)\*, *New German Critique The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article*, No. 3. (Autumn, 1974), pp. 49-55.

\* Originally appeared in Fischer Lexicon, Staat und Politik, new edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), pp. 220-226.

<sup>3</sup> Goodsell, Charles T. (2003) The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations, *The American Review of Public Administration Vol. 33 No. 4*, December 2003 361-383

<sup>4</sup> Low, Setha, (2000) *On the Plaza – The Politics Of Public Space and Culture*, Austin TX, University of Texas Press

<sup>5</sup> Henaff, M. Strong, T. (2001) *Public Space and Democracy*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis USA

<sup>6</sup> Castells, M. (2000). *The rise of the network society* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK



electronic exchange among network nodes and hubs. Elites still rule, but by controlling networks, not territory (Castells, 2000).<sup>7</sup>

In addition to political philosophy and democratic theory, a second principal source of literature on public space is urbanism.

In addition to political philosophy and democratic theory, a second principal source of literature on public space is urbanism.

Jane Jacobs, American journalist criticized modernist urban public space. She wrote about the uses of streets as public space noting that: First-there should be a clear demarcation between what public space is and what private space is. ... Second, there must be eyes upon the street. The buildings on a street equipped to handle strangers ... must be orientated to the street. And third, the sidewalk must have users on continuously, both to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers.<sup>8</sup>

Ali Madanipour writes about public and private spaces in the cities and concepts related to public and private. His definitions tries to distinct between different uses of the concepts public and private such as personal space, exclusive space of the property, intimate space of the home which constitute private sphere - the spaces of concealment. And then he explores the concepts of public sphere of interpersonal space of sociability, communal space of neighborhood, the meta-spatial public sphere, and the impersonal space of the city and public space as space of exposure.<sup>9</sup>

Jan Gehl is more concerned with the life between buildings and activities that support social life. In his book *Life between buildings –Using Public Space*, he analysed the quality of outdoors spaces based on the outdoor activities. His studies on public life are published in the recent book “How to study public life”<sup>10</sup>

Francis Tibbalds – writing about public space says that they should provide sense of community, joy and visual delight; should be built in a human scale, to last and adapt with the

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<sup>7</sup> Castells, M. (2000). *The rise of the network society* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

<sup>8</sup>Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House Inc, New York

<sup>9</sup> Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, London, Routledge.

<sup>10</sup> Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space* (3rd edn), Skive, Arkitektens Forlag.

mix of uses and freedom of walk. He is also concerned why the older, unplanned parts of the city are more vital than those planned. He emphasizes that the urban designers should learn from the past and respect context.<sup>11</sup>

Alan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard – proposed a number of goals that they considered essential for the future of a good urban environment: livability; identity and control; access to opportunity, imagination and joy; authenticity and meaning; open communities and public life; self-reliance; and justice.<sup>12</sup>

Ian Bentley et al, in their manual for urban designers, consider that principles such as personalization, robustness, richness, variety, legibility, permeability, visual appropriateness could help to produce responsive environments.<sup>13</sup>

In their book *Public Space – the management dimension*, Mathew Carmona et al. write about management dimension of the public space. He talks about the importance of public space, benefits that public spaces provides to citizens, qualities of public space where he differentiates between the tangible, intangible and desirable.<sup>14</sup>

Authors, Carr, Francis, Rivlin, & Stone describe public space as “the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds.” Such places are seen as a social “binder” for current residents and a “connector” to the past through accumulated personal memories and showcased historical monuments.<sup>15</sup>

The other authors are Clare Cooper Markus and Caroline Francis who recommend making spaces more in human scale, tying them closer to commercial shops, incorporating suitable venues for concerts and art shows, and having them seem like physically safe.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tibbalds, F. (2001), *Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn), London, Spon Press

<sup>12</sup> Jacobs, A. and D. Appleyard (1987) Towards an urban design manifesto: A prologue, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53(1): 112–120.

<sup>13</sup> Bentley, I., A. Alcock, P. Murrain, S. McGlynn and G. Smith (1985), *Responsive Environments: A Manual for Designers*, London, Architectural Press

<sup>14</sup> Carmona, M., Magalhaes. C, Hammond L (2008), *Public Space, The Management dimension*, London, Routledge

<sup>15</sup> Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L. G., & Stone, A. M. (1992). *Public space*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

<sup>16</sup> Markus, C. Clare and Francis C. (1998) *Peoples space: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space*, Canada, Wiley&Sons,

### 3.2 OTTOMAN PERIOD RELATED TO WESTERN BALKAN CONTEXT

In this group, literature on the history of the cities and public places in the western Balkans, public life that generated public space and transformation through history have been analysed. The literature survey takes its point from the historical settings of the Ottoman cities including Balkan context. Regarding the publications on public space in the context of west Balkans I have analysed the literature on the history of the public space and public life in the Ottoman Balkans. These are authors whose writings address the ottoman city and forms of public life that generated public space in the cities within the Ottoman Empire in general, and in Balkans in particular.

Evliya Celebi, a well-known ottoman traveler has written about the cities in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, providing an image of buildings and people who constituted the city life. His *seyahatname's* – travelling notes, is considered one of the most authentic presentations of the Balkan cities during the Ottoman empire.<sup>17</sup>

Ebru Boyar in her book *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans - Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, writes about the concept of Balkans, what does it mean geographically, politically and culturally.<sup>18</sup>

Fatma Acun in her paper *A Portait of the Ottoman Cities Muslim World 92 no3/4 fall 2002* wrote about the roots of the Ottoman city, concepts of Islamic city Ottoman city and spatial organization, administration, social settings, and economy. Although not coming from the field of architecture/urbanism, she describes the basic types of public space in terms of their location and function.<sup>19</sup>

Maurice Cerassi, is one of the few architectural and urban historians who wrote about the typology of the public space in the Ottoman empire. He also writes about the visual dimension of the ottoman open spaces where he analyse the real and imaginary in the aesthetic of the open space<sup>20</sup>

Spiro Kostof, in his book *A History of Architecture*, through Bursa case, describes küliye as the core of neighborhood which was the basic city making device. He explains the meaning of

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<sup>17</sup> Celebi, E. *Balkan Seyahatnameleri*, 17<sup>th</sup> century ( the precise title to be acquired!)

<sup>18</sup> Boyar, E. (2007), *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans - Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, London

<sup>19</sup> Acun, F. (2002), *A Portait of the Ottoman Cities*, *Muslim World*, Volume 92 no3/4, New York

<sup>20</sup> Cerassi, M. "FRENK, HIND VE SIND" – Real and Imaginary in the Aesthetics of Ottoman Open Spaces

the word küliye from Arab word ‘the whole’. The küliye was the complex of public buildings dedicated to the community, usually built from waqfs, the Islamic endowments.<sup>21</sup>

Shirin Hammadeh wrote about the public life in the public spaces such as garden culture and other forms of gathering in Istanbul during the eighteenth century. She argues that those spaces were open to all people, regardless of social position, gender or age. The public life is closely linked to the physical values of the public space, i.e., the gardens, trees and fountains.<sup>22</sup>

Sibel Zandi-Sayek has written on both public life and public space. Through her narratives she states that it is possible to trace bits of public life in the Ottoman empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, she shows her concerns with the transformations of the public space in the cities in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

Selma Akyazici Özkoçak – writes about development of the coffeehouses as public spaces in early modern Istanbul, placing them within the context of wider developments, such as level of urbanization, migration, and the consequent raise of public sociability.<sup>24</sup>

Machiel Kiel is a Dutch scholar who has studied the Ottoman architecture of the whole Balkans. In his book on Ottoman Architecture in Albania, beside comprehensive study of Ottoman architectural monuments, he talks about the development of the cities and their transformation during the Ottoman period.<sup>25</sup>

Amir Pašić, Head of Architectural Department at the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), Istanbul, in his book *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, in addition to the typology of the architectural heritage buildings, he debates about the urban culture and the city spatial organization.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Kostof, S., 1995, “A History of Architecture, Settings and Rituals”, Oxford University Press, London

<sup>22</sup> Hammadeh, Sh., 2008 *The City’s Pleasures, Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, University of Washington Press, Washington

<sup>23</sup> Sayek, Z. S. (2001) “Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir.” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad., Westport: Praeger, 2001, pp. 42-66.

<sup>24</sup> Özkoçak, A. S. (2007) “Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul”, *Journal of Urban History* Volume 33 No.6 965-986 Sage Publications

<sup>25</sup> Kiel, M. (1990), “Ottoman Architecture in Albania”, Istanbul, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, and *Islamic Architecture in the Balkans, Arts and the Islamic World*, Vol 4, No.3 (1987), 14-24

<sup>26</sup> Pašić, A., (1994) “Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture- IRCICA, Istanbul

### 3.3 KOSOVO AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES –MACEDONIA, ALBANIA,

As public space is relatively new field of study, especially in terms of integrating the physical space with social space, in Kosovo, and in the region, writing on urban public space is very modest. Authors who have written about cities and architecture have tackled narrowly the public space mainly in terms of physical and functional dimension.

Although very little is written on public space and on the Kosovo's cities and western Balkans, I have tried to select those publications that can lay a background for studies of the public space in the cities of Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia. These are mainly writings on architectural history and to a limited extend related to the city development, but the literature on public space is very scarce.

Emin Riza, who is a renowned Albanian architectural historian, emphasizes that medieval cities were built in selected territories to be able to protect themselves from the attacks of foreign trespassers and intertribal wars. Unlike villages, medieval Albanian cities were strategic military and administrative centers, but also places where people apart from daily life, exercised the basic manufacturing and craft services that were essential for their living needs.<sup>27</sup>

Gjerak Karaiskaj<sup>28</sup>, in his book: "5000 Years of Fortifications in Albania", describes the construction of the fortified cities during a longer period. His study is completely technical introducing the building techniques and structural systems of the fortresses. Probably due to his background in engineering, he didn't consider the life of people inside the walls of these fortifications nor the public life and public spaces. He states that most of the fortresses in Albania have been built until before the Ottomans conquered Balkans. Ottomans have used the remaining fortifications to develop cities. There were fortifications built in the Ottoman era as well.

## 4. RESEARCH METHODS

This is a combined research methodology/strategy involving interpretative historical research, and a case study research including cases in the similar context. Since the research is spread through a longer period, and different political, economic and social contexts, it was necessary to use the combined strategy at different levels. In the historical part the basic

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<sup>27</sup> Riza, E, The Albanian city and the urban house in the XV-XIX century, Academy od Scince and Arts of Albania, Tirana

<sup>28</sup> Karaiskaj, Gj. (1988), 5000 years of fortifications in Albania, Academy od Scince and Arts of Albania, Tirana

arguments are found in the literature and archived documents with a common context. In the current standings, beside the literature and archives, the case study method is used to present the findings and make comparison within the same time frame within fast changing context. The case study was focused mainly in the cities of Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania. The case study has considered the development of public space through the history and is presented as a comparative study.

## **5. DISSERTATION STRUCTURE**

### **PART I UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC SPACE – theory**

In the first part the main theoretical concepts and definitions on public space will be elaborated. I shall look on the concepts such as space and public, public space and public life. There are many authors who have tried to define the concept of space, and linked to it, the concept of public. Philosophers and sociologists, urbanists and architects, political science researcher and economists as well, all of them from different aspects, from time to time have linked public space notion to other views. The most important definitions linked to the urban design as a discipline field will be analysed considering the historical context of the area and transformations that have happened during the history. On the other side, the issue becomes more complex as the Balkans could be considered as a bridge between the east and west culture. In the Islamic culture the definition of space in the social context is different than in the Christian culture. It will also be important to analyse the definitions of space and public during the period of communism. It is this variety of definitions that makes the field of public space an interdisciplinary field of knowledge.

### **PART II - TRANSFORMATION THROUGH HISTORY**

This chapter talks about overall historical background of the development of towns and cities in the Balkans, explaining political, economic, social and cultural context. This progress, which generated the foundation of the towns and cities, have been developed during the Ottoman period to nowadays including preserved urban structure, transformations and territorial growth. The emphasis will be on the breakthrough in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries when Ottoman Empire concurred Balkan, period of the foundation of the Ottoman administration and rule in the Balkans. A review of the definitions of the Balkans as a geographical territory will be presented from the literature written by the authors from

different perspectives including political, economic, social and cultural. This period is also linked with the transition of the European cities from medieval fortified cities to the cities of Renaissance. To make more insights on the context, some examples will be given from the existing literature on history and archeology.

## Chapter 1 - PREOTTOMAN PERIOD

Here I have tried to trace the development of public spaces in the medieval towns in the region in an attempt to trace the public life and public space based on the available literature and the field research. Field research has been conducted in a few remaining fortified towns still habited by the residents which later gradually spread in the lower parts of the town territory. These towns include Prizren, Berat and Shkodër. The intention of this part of the study is to make a logical link with the Ottoman period – a period which has brought changes all over the Balkans that changed completely the territorial spread of the settlements causing and creating a foundation of the for new towns which we know today. A rational link is also searched within the overall changes, which occurred in the medieval cities in Europe during the Renaissance.

## Chapter 2 - OTTOMAN PERIOD

The Ottoman period is longest period in the history of developments of the cities we live today in Balkans, considering that most of them have been established in that period and have preserved the Ottoman structure that they initially had in the time of their foundation. This chapter deals with political context in which towns and cities in Balkans emerged in current locations, including the setting of the Ottoman administration, laws which influenced city development in regard to separation of public, and private spaces. It will look also on the social, economic, and cultural context. In addition, it will examine the way the cities were established. The focus will be on finding the traces of the public life that generated public buildings and public spaces in all forms. This section also elaborates on how were the cities organized and structured into the residential neighbourhoods - mahalle, and the Kyllie, where a mosque, a madrasa, imaret and hammam, and a library constituted the center – the public gathering part of the city. To explain the way the kyllies were created, it is necessary to talk about the ottoman endowments – ‘vaqfs’ which were responsible for the establishment, construction and operation of the buildings in the ‘kyllies’. Waqfs might be considered as a

first civil society organization that took the role of implementation of the ottoman public life fortresses based on the ottoman laws. Then, in regard to environmental aspects, the main public space typology will be presented from the available literature followed by an analyses of the remained examples from the Balkan's cities and from Kosovo in particular. The history of this period is characterized with the influence from the west and westernization of the ottoman culture, which has influenced partly in the city structure and the public space – the use and the form of public space.

### Chapter 3 - TRANSITIONAL PERIOD - 1912-1945

In the Transitional period, although a very short period, the changing political context was followed by changes in the economic and social context. Ottoman Empire was defeated in the Balkan Wars and new states were established – Serbia, Montenegro, Albania Bulgaria, and Serbia seized the territory of the FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and Kosovo. The World War I, which affected the physical structure of the cities and infrastructure in the whole territory, caused rather large migrations to the city in search of better living conditions. This period explain also mayor changes during the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, in which Montenegro lost its independence. This period is charachterized with colonization of Kosovo and FYROM during 1920's and 1930's using discriminating policy by Serbian authorities, and taking the land from the local owners and giving it to Serbian settlers. The process of colonization affected the towns and cities both in their physical, social and economic structure. Although the industrialization had been very slow, this process and transportation infrastructure affected the outskirts of the cities establishing the new city limits and areas, which we can trace even today. In Albania, the transformation was even slower due to very late liberation from the Ottoman Empire. In this period we can also trace the destruction of the old ottoman urban structure and the public spaces and replacing it with the new 'western' influenced public spaces. Transition period will examine also period of the World War II, which influenced changes in the cities throughout Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia.

### Chapter 4 - MODERN PERIOD

The modern period section will examine the transformation of the political context followed by the huge social and economic changes, as well as cultural changes after the World War II. Turning from a capitalist country, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians to a multiethnic



socialist country of SFRY, the country had gone through a vast transformation including property transformation from the private to state and then to socially owned. In Albania through the entire modern period, the whole private properties were confiscated and transferred to the state. This chapter will deal with transformation caused by the changes in the property relationship as the base for urban development oriented towards the modernism, and especially changes in the public space both in physical and in terms of use. It will also look at the destructive changes of the cultural heritage of the public spaces such as bazaars- 'carshia' and public gardens. Examples of these changes will be given from the cities in the region that shows similarities and differences, comparing contexts from region to region.

#### 4.1 THE NEW SOCIALIST CITY 1945-1970

The 1<sup>st</sup> period deals with the massive changes after the war. It includes also reconstruction and transformations in the cities, progress in terms of social and economic development followed by the changes in the built environment – building for the new society and the new country. The study looks to the urban structure as a polygon where political power intended to show the progress of the new society by destroying the old – capitalist/bourgeoisie system represented by the old ottoman buildings and public spaces. The comparative analyses show that in the whole region the same approach did not have the same destruction results. The new modern developments are also analysed and compared through different contexts – political, economic, social and cultural. The changes in social and public life as a basis for the new public spaces that have been influenced by the modern architecture and urbanism.

#### 4.2 THE MODERN CITY 1970-1990

The second period shows different picture in SFRY as compared to Albania. In SFRY a progress in social and economic aspects reflects the progress also in public life, primarily rising the human rights which in turn resulted with the changes in the built environment including public space and open spaces for recreation. But this period is characterized also with the economic decline in the beginning of 1980, followed by the decline in social relations' especially between different ethnic entities culminating with the dissolution of SFRY and the wars in former Yugoslavia in the beginning of liberal period. The research will also show the use of public space for political manifestations throughout the entire country.

On contrary, in Albania this period was a period of economic and social decline resulting with dismantling of the totalitarian regime and creating a new democratic country. This change caused a massive migration from the rural area into the cities and “turbo” urbanization process.

## Chapter 5 LIBERAL PERIOD

### 5.1 BEFORE THE WAR 1990-1999

Liberal period came as a result of social and economic transformation from the socialist system to free market economy, as well as significant changes in the former SFRY. Dissolution of former Yugoslavia followed by the 1991-95 war in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina brought severe destructions, causing loss of lives, properties and material culture. The war in Kosovo was the final phase of dissolution of the former SFRY.

On contrary, In Albania the transformation from a dictatorial communist system to parlamentar democracy was followed by a great social and cultural transformation. Massive demonstrations and emigration to the EU countries marked the fall of a regime, which was known as one of the most isolated and dictatorial countries in the world.

What we have seen in Kosovo during the ten year period (1989-1999 ?) compared to the neighbouring countries in the region was different, i.e., different transformation processes happened here. In Kosovo, the city development was stopped due to Albanian population boycott of the public sector ruled by Serbian regime.

In Macedonia, after the independence in 1992, there has been an attempt to promote the new country through capital investments in the public sector. Some examples shall be treated further in the research.

On contrary, In Albania the transformation from a dictatorial communist system to parliamentary democracy was followed by a great social and cultural transformation. Massive demonstrations and emigration to the EU countries marked the fall of a regime, which was known as one of the most isolated and dictatorial countries in the world.

In Albania, the struggle of the public sector to preserve public space from privatization and usurpation marked the first period which left tremendous consequences in the public characterized urban development of the cities. Transformation of the property ownership system from state to private caused loss of many public spaces, which government had to reclaim again in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## 5.2 AFTER THE WAR 1999

This period is characterized with the raise of importance of public sphere and public space in particular. Both the governments and nongovernmental bodies have been putting the issue of public space as the highest priority of their political agendas. Public space was considered as a useful polygon to orchestrate the power of government in demonstrating the commitment to investment for public good. This has also been supported by the international community, especially from EU, spreading the projects accros the region as well. Many plans and projects have been implemented or are under way. There are quite a few examples how the public space could contribute to improve the overall city image. But sometimes unacceptable decisions have been taken by those officials who lack the professional decision making competence regarding the design and management process. Although many projects have been implemented, the attention to design and engage public participation to create better public spaces is still to come.

### **PART III - ANALYSES OF PUBLIC SPACES**

In this part a study of public spaces has been conducted to illustrate the current situation of public space in terms of identifying the typology of the public spaces and relating it to historical development and transformations. Through a field survey, I have attempted to identify formal and informal activities that are being conducted in public spaces. Trough the analyses it was possible to also gaps over the planning, management of public spaces such as security, cleaning, lighting, privatization, etc.

#### Chapter 1 ANALYSES OF PUBLIC SPACES IN MAJOR CITIES IN KOSOVO

I will look at these time periods comparatively – both between cities in Kosovo, and between Kosovo cities and those in the region. The case studies include four cities in Kosovo, Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova and Peja, in which we can trace the historical changes over more than five centuries. In the region, I have analysed three cities in Albania- Shkodra, Elbasan, and Berat, and two in Macedonia – Tetovo and Gostivar

Different methods were used to analyse the current situation in regard to phhysical settings and use of the public space- linked to transformations through the history. Why some public places remain vital even today and the others have difficulties to become places. The data

acquired from the field visits through sketching and taking photos and videos, and seeing and listening to the ordinary people in the public space, were complemented by the interviewing major professional actors involved for a longer period in the city development in different competences, whether civil servant or architectural/urban design practice.

## Chapter 2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF THE PUBLIC SPACE AND PUBLIC LIFE

Cross dimensional analyses shows the common features of these transformation on which I could summarize the current situation of public spaces. The comparisons were made based on the typology, where Square, Street/boulevard, City park, neighbourhood park and playground. The average peoples presence in the public spaces in different hours during the weekdays and in the weekend for different typologies was used to define the features that all of these. The comparison intends to show if the average use of public space relates to particular values that they carry such as history and meanings, visual appropriateness, protection, possibilities and comfort.

## IV CONCLUSION

Conclusions in the end are given as a general answer to the research questions, which may give orientation for further research focused in particular topic or area. It might be the motiv for extending the area of research looking in the wider region. Some conclusions and recommendations for further research and methods of practicing the role of urban designers and architects in the design and development of public spaces are also.

## PART I - UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC SPACE



## INTRODUCTION

In this first part, the main theoretical concepts and definitions on public space are elaborated. I have tried to bring some of the definitions relevant to the field of urban design and public space, and meaning of space, which can be used in urban design process.

Many authors have tried to define the concept of space and linked to it, the concept of public. Since ancient time philosophers have tried to define the space linking it also to the time, and the public. Urbanists and architects, political science researchers and economistst, each from their own perspective, have studied the phenomena of public relating it to the their respective fields of study.

These perspectives are interrelated considering space as a physical phenomenon, a product of social production. Madanipour, (1996, p.4) states that "...as we look to these conceptualization of space, there is a multiplicity of gaps and fragmentations in understanding space. These concepts are dominated by dilemmas and conflict of perspectives, conveying the impression that space is contested in every sense".<sup>29</sup>

I've been focused more on the important definitions from the perspective of urban design as a discipline field, considering the historical context of the area of Western Balkans and transformations that have happened during the history.

On the other side, as mentioned earlier the Balkans have been traditionally considered as a bridge between the east and the west culture, and therefore the study of public space becomes more complex. In the Islamic culture the definition of space in the social context is different than in the Christian culture. And this may be considered as the main reason why the open spaces in the European cities are differently shaped from those in the Islamic/Ottoman cities. Even, the Ottoman cities are basically, Islamic in terms of culture and religion , to a certain extent they inherited some features of Byzantine cities in the Asia Minor and Balkans which had been than transformed to serve the Islamic way of public life.

The debate on architectural and urban space became a topic by the end of 19th century. These debates and the new modern ideas brought about changes on the public space looking from the aspects of use and freedom in the public space. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a critique of temporality started directing architects and critics from the concept of time to space: "Space' rapidly replaced time, and specifically time as represented by historical 'style'" (Vidler, 1996: 181)<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Madanipur, A. (1996) Design of Urban Space - An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process, John Wiley & Sons Ltd. Chichester, West Sussex, England

<sup>30</sup> Vidler, A. (2000) Warped Space: Architecture and Anxiety in Modern Culture, MIT Press, Boston

It will also be important to see the understanding of public space in the period of communism. What was the meaning of public space for citizens and what for the authorities, and how it was acquired and what was the limitation in terms of use?

The variety of perspectives and definitions enrich the topic of public space and contribute to consider it an interdisciplinary field of knowledge.

## **1. THE CONCEPTS OF SPACE**

There are many contexts in which we find the concept of 'space'. The multiplicity of meanings related to concept of space could be found in the different world dictionaries. In some of them we could find the definition of space related to time, which suggest space and time are interrelated concepts, especially in the field of architecture and urbanism. These different meanings reflect some aspects of the term's common understanding as used in daily life.

Since antiquity, natural philosophers have struggled to comprehend the nature of three tightly interconnected concepts: space, time, and motion. A proper understanding of motion, in particular, has been seen to be crucial for conclusive questions about the natures of space and time, and their interconnections. Since the time of Newton and Leibniz, philosophers' struggled to comprehend these concepts, and have often appeared to take the form of a dispute between the absolute conceptions of space, time and motion, and relational conceptions.

### **1.1 ABSOLUTE AND RELATIONAL SPACE - PHILOSOPHY**

The classical question includes: is space real, or is it some kind of mental construct, or an artifact of our ways of perceiving and thinking? (Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy)

Parmenides (see ELEATECS) thought that to say empty space exists would be to say that what is not existing. "For Aristotle the space is a container of things – a sort of succession of all-inclusive envelopes, from what is 'within the limits of the sky' to the very smallest, rather like Russian dolls" (Von Meiss, 1990:101).<sup>31</sup>

The existence of place is held to be obvious from the fact of mutual replacement. Where water now is, there in turn, when the water has gone out as from a vessel, air is present; and at another time another body occupies this same place." [208b, p. 54. Physics, IV, 1]<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Von Meiss, P. (2011) Elements of Architecture- From Form to Place, Routledge, Oxon UK

<sup>32</sup> Jaar, M, (1954) The theory of Space in Physics, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, USA



Euclidean geometry was thought to be unique until about two centuries ago, and so the geometry of space. It relied on the axiom of parallels, that through a given point not on a given straight line exactly one straight line could be drawn parallel to the given one. But then it was realized that this axiom was not an independent of the other axioms, but consistent systems could be developed if it were replaced by an axiom saying either that more than one such line or none, could be drawn.<sup>33</sup>

The theory of absolute space was developed by Isaac Newton, who saw space (and time) as real things, as "places as well of themselves as of all other things". Space and time were "containers of infinite extension or duration". Within them, the whole succession of natural events in the world finds a definite position. The movement or repose of things, therefore, was really taking place and was not a matter of their relations to changes of other objects (Speake, 1979; 309).<sup>34</sup>

Leibniz opposed Newton, considering that space merely consisted in relations between non-spatial, and/or mental items (Speake, 1979; Smart,1988). Leibniz saw space as "the order of coexisting things, or the order of existence for all things that are contemporaneous" (quoted in Bochner,1973: 297).<sup>35</sup>

Kant also opposed Newton. He saw space as belonging to the subjective constitution of the mind and not an empirical concept derived from outward experiences (quoted in Madanipour1996, 48--68).<sup>36</sup> We can speak of space only from the "human point of view. Beyond our subjective condition, "the representation of space has no meaning whatsoever", as it "does not represent any property of objects as things in themselves, nor does it represent them in their relations to each other" (quoted in Madanipour1996: 52).

Space (and time) "cannot exist in themselves, but only in us " (quoted in Madanipour1996: 61). From this viewpoint, therefore, "what we call outward objects, are nothing else but mere representations of our sensibility, whose form is space" (quoted in Madanipour1996: 54). Whatever the nature of objects as things in them, our understanding is confined to our own mode of perceiving them, which is peculiar to us.

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<sup>33</sup> Proudfoot, M. Lacey, A.R., J (2010) The Routledge Dictionary of Philosophy, Fourth Edition, Routledge, Abington, UK

<sup>34</sup> Madanipur, A. (1996) Design of Urban Space - An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process, John Wiley & Sons Ltd. Chichester, West Sussex, England

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 31

<sup>36</sup> Kant, E. (1993) Critique of Pure Reason, London, J.M. Dent (first published in 1781)

Einstein's theory of relativity treats space and time together as space– time. The main point of this is that in certain cases whether one event precedes another depends on the observer's motion relative to the two events, and motion involves both space and time.<sup>37</sup>

Space and time constitutes the framework in which all reality is concerned. We cannot conceive any real thing except under the conditions of space and time. Nothing in the world, according to Heraclitus, can exceed its measures - and these measures are spatial and temporal limitations,” (Cassirer, 1953: 42).

The dichotomy between absolute and relational or relative space could be considered simply as a different ways we see and understand things, as various aspects of a pluralist understanding the world. The debate about absolute and relational space can be traced to see how it has been powerful enough to inspire a transformation of our built environment.

## 1.2 ARCHITECTURAL SPACE

*“The void exists as long as you don't throw yourself into it”*

**O. Elytis**

In Architecture, space can be understood as the construction of boundaries in space, and this space must be understood as a commonsense space, a space that possesses meaning and speaks to us long before the architect goes to work.<sup>38</sup>

Absence of term space from architectural reference books such as dictionaries and glossaries in English, (Hat]e,1963; Harris and Lever,1966, 1993; Yarwood,1985; Pevsner, Fleming & Honour,1991; Sharp,1991;Curl,1992), is quite apparent. This seems to be surprising in a discipline where space is considered by many of its distinguished members as its essence (Zevi, 1957; Giedion,1967; Tschumi,1990). One obvious explanation for such an absence could be that architects' conception and use of the term space are so clear and universally accepted among them so that no need has been felt to explain a taken-for granted term. This simple explanation, however, fades away when we learn that the term is relatively new, in the context of the long history of architecture, and has become a controversial concept in recent decades.

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<sup>37</sup> Proudfoot, M. Lacey, A.R., J (2010) The Routledge Dictionary of Philosophy, Fourth Edition, Routledge, Abington, UK

<sup>38</sup> Harries, K (1998) The Ethical Function of Architecture, MIT Press, London UK

According to Von Meiss, The debate on space only developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the German philosopher F. W. J. Schelling in ‘Philosophie der Kunst’. It grew towards the end of the nineteenth century with historians such as Riegl, Wolfflin and , Schmarsow. August Schmarsow has introduced his work ‘Barock und Rokoko’ by insisting on the priority of space in architecture. For Schmarsow, architecture is composed of three-dimensional space -as the extension of the human body- and time through the movement of the observer. The sense of space is perceived through the experience of muscular sensations, the structure of the body, and the sensitivity of the skin. He distinguishes space (the contained) from mass (the container), which will be an important part of spatial discussions soon after.<sup>39</sup>

For the architect, the spaces or gaps between ground, walls and ceiling are not nothingness, it is quite the contrary, and the very reason for his activity is to create the hollow in order to contain. The architect will give it a concretematerial form to offer that hospitality and relative freedom of movement which people require.<sup>40</sup> (Von Meiss, 1990:101)

Space	A new concept	von Hildebrand, Schmarsow, Riegl, Wölfflin	1890-1900
Modern space	Architecture as art	Worringer, Spengler, Brinckmann, Frankl, Sörgel, van Doesburg, Gropius, Wright, Le Corbusier, Lissitzky	1900-1930
Place	Architecture as science	Rossi, Alexander, Lefebvre, Norberg- Schulz, Rapoport,	1960-1990
Digitally supported space	Architecture as technology	Rajchman, Virilio, Vidler	1990-present

Table 1. A classification of 20<sup>th</sup> century space theories (source Kaçmaz&Uluoglu)<sup>41</sup>

Architecture is the art of the void; it is defined both from the interior and from the exterior; as walls have two sides. We penetrate it with our body and not only with our mind. Any critique or architectural history must take into account this double aspect of hollow and solid in buildings.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Kaçmaz,G., Uluoglu, B. CHANGING PARADIGMS IN SPACE THEORIES: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History, Archnet-IJAR, Volume 7 - Issue 1 - March 2013 - (06-20)

<sup>40</sup> Von Meiss, P. (2011) Elements of Architecture- From Form to Place, Routledge, Oxon UK

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 36

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.37

In the 1920s, Walter Gropius accepts space as the core of the artistic research in Bauhaus. He claims that the: “The objective of all creative effort in the visual arts is to give form to space.” Gropius has defined four aspects of the concept: **illusory space** as an immaterial space generating from one’s intuitive and metaphysical power, **mathematical space** as a measurable space of the intellect, **material space** as a real, tactile space, and **artistic space** as an emotional, spiritual space combining one’s soul and spirit with actual reality (van de Ven, 1978: 135-44).

In the late 1920s, Frank Lloyd Wright devised organic space which according to him, consists on five integrities: the **unity** of the interior and exterior, **glass** as a new material that makes unity and integration possible, thirdly **continuity**, fourthly the **nature (and natural use) of materials**, and lastly **integral ornament** (1973: 13-66). He believed that “Architects were no longer tied to Greek space but were free to enter into the space of Einstein” (1973: 21).

For Le Corbusier, surface, mass and plan are key concepts that determine the space. According to him, space in connection with promenade architecture, and it is related to the temporal experience of the viewer as in Cubism. It is composed of the images perceived through moving.

Russian Constructivist Eleazer Lissitzky who studied the aesthetics of space perception defines four space concepts in the 1920s: Plani-metric space is composed of two-dimensional surfaces, planes; perspective space is the cubic box of three-dimensional Euclidean geometry; irrational space (space-time) is composed of the multiplication of perspectives creating a four-dimensional space. Here, through the movement the observer experiences time.

Two books published in the 1940s are worth mentioning especially because they are still widely referred to: Siegfried Giedion’s ‘Space, Time and Architecture and Bruno Zevi’s ‘Architecture as Space’. These studies move space to the core of architectural discussions by rewriting the history of architecture based on space.

Giedion <sup>43</sup> has identified three major manifestations of architectural space - each corresponding to a phase of architectural development. The first of these is the space created by an interplay between volumes, and this was associated with the buildings of Greek and Egypt civilisations: thus Greek temples defined space largely in terms of the relation between them. The second form of space is that of hollowed-out interior space, and this was

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<sup>43</sup> Giedion, S. (2002) *Space, Time and Architecture*, (14<sup>th</sup> ed) Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts

manifested in a style that dated from the building of the Panteon to the late 18th century and was not apparent only in temple and church interiors, but also in such features as Renaissance plazas. The third form is the treatment of space from several perspectives simultaneously, involving the free manipulation of the relationships between inside and outside that characterises much the contemporary architecture.

Concepts that Zevi<sup>44</sup> use to understand space such as interior-exterior, form-content, space-mass, solid-void, architectural-urban, romantic-rational, horizontal-vertical, light-shade, function, empathy, relativity, time, movement, continuity, unity, rhythm, balance, symmetry, proportion, scale, color, perspective, and line-plane- depth, are still widely used in architectural practices and schools.

### 1.3 EXISTENTIAL SPACE

*... Space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space, subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor. It is to be experienced. And it is to be experienced not in its positiveness, but with all the bias and partiality of imagination...*

**G.Bachelard<sup>45</sup>**

In the early 1960s, the concept of space-time is replaced by existential space under the influence of the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, while the 1970s witnesses a return back to the concept of mass. Terms like environment, place, location, and site begin to be used more than space itself. Architectural theoreticians have studied and integrated the diverse philosophical approaches like structuralism, phenomenology, and semiology; they analyse design methods typologies, syntaxes, and relationships between environment and user behaviour.<sup>46</sup>

Existential or lived-space is the inner structure of space as it appears to us in our concrete experiences of the world as members of a cultural group (Bollnow. 1967: Schutz, 1962, Vol.II pp.122-127). It is inter-subjective and hence amenable to all members of that group for they have all been socialized according to a common set of experiences, signs and symbols (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, pp. 130-131). The meanings of existential space are therefore those of culture as experienced by an individual rather the summation of the meanings of individual perceptual spaces though in many cases the two probably coincide. Existential space is not merely a passive space waiting to be experienced, but is constantly being created and remade

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<sup>44</sup> Zevi, B. (1974) *Architecture as Space-How to look at Architecture*, Edited by Joseph A. Barry, Horizon Press, New York

<sup>45</sup> Bachelard, G. (1994) *Poetics of Space*, Beacon Press, Boston Massachusetts, USA

<sup>46</sup> Kaçmaz, G., Uluoglu, B. *CHANGING PARADIGMS IN SPACE THEORIES: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History*, Archnet-IJAR, Volume 7 - Issue 1 - March 2013 - (06-20)

by human activities. It is space in which "human intention inscribes itself on the earth" (Dardel, 2952, p.40), and in so doing creates unselfconsciously patterns and structures of significance through the building of towns, villages, and houses and the making the landscape.<sup>47</sup> Existential space is culturally defined and hence it is difficult to experience the space of another culture.

#### 1.4 URBAN SPACE

It is not an easy task to provide a definition of urban space because such a definition must consider the social parameters of its constituent parts: urban and space. The difficulty of defining urban space is enhanced whether we are looking from the social or from physical point of view. If one considers that urban space is an artifact of urbanization – a social process by which cities grow, for example, a synergistic perspective of space situates the location of “urban” as an outcome of social and institutional forces associated with urbanization. In contrast, a structural perspective of space identifies “urban” as the product of social structures and relationships that typify urbanization. Combining the synergistic and structural perspectives results in the identification of social features associated with urban space: (1) diversity of social roles and relationships, and (2) institutional arrangements and social networks necessary for efficient social order. No matter which perspective one adopts, one thing is clear: urban space is a dynamic aspect of urbanization.<sup>48</sup>

In his essay ‘Twentieth-Century Concepts of Urban Space, Alan Colcohan explains that there are two senses in which the concept of urban space is commonly used: Social and Physical Space. In the first, characteristic of geographers and sociologists, the object of study are the spatial implications of social institutions. From this perspective, the physical characteristics of the built environment tend to be epiphenomenal.

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In the second sense, characteristic of architects and urban designers, the object of study is the built space itself, its morphology, the way it affects our perceptions, the way it is used, and

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<sup>47</sup> Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*, Pion Limited, London, UK

<sup>48</sup> Adalberto, A. Online Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology,

the meanings it can elicit. This view is subject to two approaches: one which looks at the **form as independent of function**, and that which sees the **function as determining the form**. In the latter view, the concept of space will tend to approach that of the geographer and sociologist, though, unlike them the architect is always finally interested in the forms; however, these may be thought to be generated.<sup>49</sup>

Rob Krier attempts to explain the concept of 'Space' and how the traditional understanding of urban space may be reintroduced within the modern cities. In discussing the concept and the definition of 'Urban space', Rob Krier wanted to clarify the concept of space without imposing aesthetic criteria. He mentioned some types of space, which exist between buildings in towns and other localities as urban space to discuss the function of the town planning.<sup>50</sup>

The term '*urban space*' can be simply described as external space in town. It is seen as open, unobstructed space for movement in the open air, with public, semi public and private zones. Furthermore, the '*concept of urban space*' is to designate all types of space between buildings in towns and other localities as urban space. If we take the aesthetic criteria into consideration, every urban space has been organized according to its socio-political and cultural attitudes.

The polarity of internal and external space is constantly in evidence. The laws of each are very similar not only in the form but also in the function. The internal space is an effective symbol of privacy, which is covered from weather and environment. The external space is seen as open, unobstructed space for movement in the open air, including public, semi-public and private zones. The classification of urban space could be the suggestion to the town planner that the two basic forms, which constitute urban space, are **the street and the square**. The geometrical characteristics of both spatial forms are the same such as the corridor and the room of 'internal space'. The differences between them are the dimensions of the walls, which bound them, and by the patterns of function and circulation.<sup>51</sup>

The Krier's typology for urban space consists on spatial forms, which derive from the three basic geometric shapes: square, circle and triangle. These three shapes are affected by modulating factors such as angling, segmentation, addition, merging, overlapping and

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<sup>49</sup> Colcohan, A. (1991) Twentieth-Century Concepts of Urban Space in Modernity and the Classical Tradition, MIT Press

<sup>50</sup> Madanipur, A. (1996) Design of Urban Space - An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process, John Wiley & Sons Ltd. Chichester, West Sussex, England

<sup>51</sup> Krier, R. (1979) - Urban Space, Academy Edition, an Imprint of Academy Group, London

distortion. These factors can produce regular and irregular shapes on three basic spatial types. Space that is completely surrounded by buildings produces 'closed' space and the partially surrounded produces 'open' space. Finally, the differentiation of scale plays an enormous role in all spatial forms, such as the effect of various architectural styles on urban space.<sup>52</sup>

## 1.5 SPACE AND TIME

The way that we use words and expressions that describe space in order to indicate periods of time, shows that space was probably an object of consciousness before time

Language proves this assumption: qualifications of time as "short," or "long," are taken from the vocabulary of spatial concepts. When we speak of a "space" or an "interval" of time: "before" means etymologically "in front of." (Jammer, 1954: 3).

Leibniz's profound analysis of the concepts of space and the notion of time has often been held to precede the notion of space in the construction of a philosophical system. The direction of the flow of time was thought to be determined by the causal interconnection of phenomena. Space, then, was only the order of coexisting data. "*Spatium est ordo poexistendi*," said Leibniz. (Jammer, 1954: 4)

Ever since the development of the special and general theories of relativity, the separate concepts of space and time have increasingly been approached as a combined concept of space-time (Smart, 1988). According to Hermann Minkowski, who suggested the concept in 1908, space-time is a four-dimensional continuum, which unites the three dimensions of space with one at the time (Winn, 1975; 297, quoted by Madanipour).

The concept of simultaneity brings forth the coexistence of more than one point of view expressing aesthetic experience in time. Representation of the visual memory of a moving observer is preferred as opposed to optical vision in Cubist paintings.

The Futurists also attempted to enlarge the conventional optical vision by introducing movement in their paintings and architectural drawings; best known in Antonio Sant'Elia's project for his "Città Nuova", in which the high-rise apartments are connected by various means of movement at different levels.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 45



The appreciations of movement, as a representation of the fourth dimension, were to be used in the famous Charter of Athens in 1933. Here movement is seen as one of the main four functions of the modern city (Sert, 1944); one that, as we have now experienced, was most instrumental in the transformation of the built environment during the past 50 years.

"Today we must deal with the city from a new aspect, dictated by the advent of the automobile, based on technical considerations, and belonging to the artistic vision born out of our period — space-time" (Giedion, 1967; 822, quoted by Madanipour).

There were attempts to introduce movement into our understanding of space such as Gordon Cullen's "serial vision" in his book 'Concise Townscape' (1971).

The way Paul Virilio locates the concepts of space and time historically contradicts with Vidler's three-partite classification: the dominance of time in the 19th century, the appearance of space in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the disappearance of both after the 1980s. Virilio argues that contemporary architecture and urbanism does not witness spacelessness and timelessness; on the contrary, a concept of temporal space dominates our times. Just like space itself, the definition of time is changing in time, and the concept of time takes over the concept of space in contemporary architecture and philosophy: "Here no longer exists; everything is now" (Virilio, 2000a: 125). In the foreword of Virilio's *A Landscape of Events*, Bernard Tschumi writes, "space itself becomes engulfed in time. Space becomes temporal; ... time has finally overcome space as our main mode of perception" (2000b: viii-ix). Unlike 19th-century historicism, this understanding of time is a conceptual interpretation rather than stylistic.<sup>53</sup>

As time passes, spaces become lived-in places, being more meaningful by their time based qualities. As Kevin Lynch observes, we experience the passage of time in the urban environment in two ways: through 'rhythmic repetition' including 'the heartbeat, breathing, sleeping and waking, hunger, the cycles of sun and moon, the seasons, waves, tides, clocks'; and, through 'progressive and irreversible changes of urban environments including growth and decay, not recurrence but alteration'.(1972, p. 65, quoted by Carmona et al.) Time and space are intimately related. In the overview of the relationship between time and the built environment, *What Time Is This Place?*, Kevin Lynch (1972b, p. 241, quoted by Carmona et al.) argued that space and time are the framework within which we order our experience. We live in time-places. For Patrick Geddes, a city is more than 'a place in space', it is 'a drama in

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<sup>53</sup> Kaçmaz,G., Uluoglu, B. CHANGING PARADIGMS IN SPACE THEORIES: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History, *Archnet-IJAR*, Volume 7 - Issue 1 - March 2013 - (06-20)

time' (from Cowan, 1995, p. 1, quoted by Carmona et al.).

## 1.6 SPACE AND PLACE

*...Whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more...Space has no room, time not a moment for man...Make of each door a welcoming and give a face to each window. Make of each a place, a bunch of places of each house and each city...*

**Aldo van Eyck**

“The space we experience of sky or sea or landscape, or of city spread out beneath us when viewed from a tall building, the built space of the street, of building viewed from the outside or experienced from inside, the reasoned space of maps, plans, cosmographies, and geometries, interstellar space, the space possessed by objects or claimed by countries or devoted to gods - this is the range of our experience and understanding of space.”<sup>54</sup>

Although there is a clear physical correspondence between people and spaces, the relationships also involve a strong psychological component. People feel better in certain spaces. In other words, certain spaces stand out within the greater space in which people circulate and, by standing out, are perceived differently. These are generally spaces perceived to contain certain qualities. Thus it can be said that these spaces are perceived as places by their users. They possess qualities that allow them to be perceived as a place, defined within the greater space of the city as a whole. Which means: they allow a place to be distinguished from a space.<sup>55</sup>

It is important to clarify the relations between space and place, and thus to avoid the separation of places from their conceptual and experiential context. This dilemma is sidestepped here somewhat arbitrarily by recognising that the various forms of space lie within a continuum that has direct experience at one extreme and abstract thought at other extreme.<sup>56</sup>

When the physical reality of a space is coloured by emotions and meanings, it becomes a place. Space changes with the movement of the sun, place changes with the movement of human being. The harbour, the public square, and the market, for example, are places for the exchange of ideas and goods, places for meeting familiar and unknown faces, places which sleeps and wake with the movement of the hours and days of the week.

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<sup>54</sup> Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*, Pion Limited, London, UK

<sup>55</sup> Castello, L. (2010) *Rethinking the Meaning of Place -Conceiving Place in Architecture-Urbanism*, Ashgate, Farnham UK

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 48

A place has its roots and its history, it is anchored in time and in a precise spot on the earth. A place has its 'dome', its sky and perhaps even a 'star'. By building we fix special relationship between earth, sky and time. To create a place is nevertheless to observe and accept the ordinary as a major poetic source<sup>57</sup>

Beyond visual approach to space, for Von Meiss interest is in existential concepts of the space and place. He suggest that “to be close or far away, to enter or to leave, to be in front or behind, inside and outside, to feel safe or not, to be together or alone, near water or fire, in the library or in the market, doesn't refers just to the structure and forms. It is beyond the proportion and balance, of form and abstract painting, certain principles which has been used so far”. According to Meiss, these principles are not sufficient for the experience of architecture, which is a reflection of the joys and toils of humanity.<sup>58</sup>

Where place is concerned, space and time assume a precise, unique value; they cease to be a mathematical abstraction or a subject of aesthetics; they acquire an identity and become a reference for our existence: sacred space and secular space, personal and collective space, nature and town, street and house, ruin and reconstruction. Some places are intended for our movements and exchanges, others encourage withdrawal and isolation. The place always suggests an action or a pause, even if only mental. Its forms are associated with events which it accommodates or which it has once accommodated, and with other similar places and events. Identity of place and the identity of the human being become interwoven in this place, but some spaces have great difficulty in becoming places.<sup>59</sup>

## **2. PUBLIC SPACE**

In his book *Public and Private Spaces in the City*, Ali Madanipour state that the concept of public space that we use today is rooted in the modern notions that emerged in the eighteenth century, which saw society as a realm of contract and exchange among strangers. This distinguished the modern commercial society from its predecessor, where individuals followed traditions and related to one another through involuntary ties of kinship and clans. Breaking these ties, however, required a new cultural framework, reflected partly in the promotion of good manners, to enable effective exchange among total strangers. For some, this was a transition to freedom, where social interaction was conducted through politeness and sympathy, resulting in a more tranquil, predictable and orderly social life. For others, this

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<sup>57</sup> Von Meiss, P. (2011) *Elements of Architecture- From Form to Place*, Routledge, Oxon UK

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 51

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 51

was no more than a big loss, with alienating, soul-destroying effects, creating inequality and injustice.<sup>60</sup>

Public space is generally understood as a space in which we can gather with others freely, on an equal basis within a legal framework. So, the president of state or Government representatives, to use a public street, could not have the rights and obligations different from other users in the traffic. Public space is characterized by its openness. Everyone can walk inside and outside public space, and, in principle, can take part in everything that happens within, depending on what he or she chooses. Public space is not only open to important persons. It belongs to everyone in the community equally; they all are together owners. The public space is governed by law and not by individuals or entities:

There are three ways of using these concepts:

3. Public and private spaces
4. Spaces open for public and closed for public
5. Individual and collective spaces

By definition, public spaces are open to the public. However, private spaces can also be open to visitors, for example:

A café with many visitors is a public space, but the owner is a private individual. And on the kitchen door is clearly marked: 'PRIVATE ONLY'.

Another example is the living room in a private house. In regard to ownership, the house is privately owned, but at the same times it is considered also a collective space for gathering of the family members.

Religious buildings such as mosque congregation or parish of the church are public spaces of, which means that they are collective space for groups of the people with certain confession.

The concept of 'public' and 'private' according to Hertzberger<sup>61</sup>, can be interpreted as the translation into spatial terms and 'collective' and 'individual'. We could say in a more absolute sense:

- **Public:** an area that is accessible to everyone at all times; responsibility for upkeep is held collectively.
- **Private:** an area whose accessibility is determined by a small group or a person, that is responsible for upkeep.

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<sup>60</sup> Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, Routledge, London, UK

<sup>61</sup> Hertzberger, H. (2005) *Lessons for Students in Architecture*, 010 Publishers, Rotterdam

The extreme opposition between private and public like the opposition between collective and individual - has resulted in a cliché, and it is unsubtle and false as the supposed opposition between general specific, objective and subjective.

Such oppositions are symptoms of the disintegration of the primary human relations. Everyone wants to be accepted, wants to belong, and wants to have a place on his/her own. All behaviour in society at large is indeed role-induced, in which personality of each individual is affirmed by what others see in him/her. In our world we experience a polarization between exaggerated individuality on the one hand and exaggerated collectivity on the other.<sup>62</sup>

Public space is a place of simultaneity, a site for display and performance, a test of reality, an exploration of difference and identity, an arena for recognition, in which representation of difference can lead to an awareness of the self and others, and to an examination of the relationship between particular and general, personal and impersonal.

It is a place where many-sided truths co-exist and tolerance of different opinions is practised. It appears that the modern city prevents this, as individuals use private cars to pass through public spaces, segregate themselves from others into areas and neighbourhoods, and connect to the others through the medium of complex, abstract, bureaucratized institutions. It is therefore essential that public space facilitate unmediated alongside mediated relations among human beings.<sup>63</sup>

'Public space' is an ambiguous phrase that brings from many ideas and connotations. 'Public' may designate the quality of being open, visible, and accessible, but also of belonging to a collectivity of people. In addition, 'space' carries the resonance of a location and open space in the city as well as a borderless area with no specific location in which events occur and have a relative position and direction. 'Public space', therefore, yields itself to a range of definitions. It may refer to the streets and squares of a city where residents encounter fellow members of their urban community and where they literally assemble as individuals or in group-actions such as marches or collective celebrations. It may also designate a broader realm of common affairs pertaining to those who share the same environment As such it has no specific location

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<sup>62</sup> Hetzberger, H. (2005) *Lessons for Students in Architecture*, 010 Publishers, Rotterdam

<sup>63</sup> Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, London, Routledge.

and is structured more by institutions and by common interests or world-views than by material boundaries.<sup>64</sup>

Public spaces are about living together and ideally they are thought to encourage multi-stranded sociability and to provide a rich public life. For social and political theorists, however, public space is primarily a 'field of action' that emerges whenever people think and act in concert and through which large collectivities are constructed, transformed, and experienced. It is a '**realm**' or a '**sphere**' in which residents find ways of asserting their existence and interest and form themselves into social, political, and cultural communities." The public sphere entails a shared consciousness and membership in a community of common final ends and of mutual identification and reciprocity. Rather than a literal space for "broad and largely unplanned encounters' or for the on-going contact of heterogeneous people, it connotes the possibility of discussion and conscious and collective decision making.

## 6. PUBLIC SPHERE

Hannah Arendt,<sup>65</sup> in her book *The Human Condition*, defines public space as an arena of political action on behalf of public good. The term "public" signifies two closely interrelated but not altogether identical phenomena: It means, first, that everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity. For us, appearance, something that is being seen and heard by others as well as by ourselves, constitutes reality.

The presence of others who see what we see and what we hear, assures us of the reality of the world and ourselves, and while the intimacy of a fully developed private life, will always intensify and enrich the scale of emotions and private feelings.

The public realm, as the common world, gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other, so to speak. What makes mass society so difficult to bear is not the number of people involved, or at least not primarily, but the fact that the world between them has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them

According to Jurgen Habermas by "the public sphere" we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed and where access is guaranteed to all citizens<sup>66</sup>. By public sphere, Habermas means specifically a space created for the "people's public use of their reason," developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Western Europe along with the rise of modern state. It is a bourgeois public sphere,

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<sup>64</sup> Zandi-Sayek, S. (2001) *Public Space and urban Citizens - Ottoman Izmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, PhD Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley

<sup>65</sup> Arendt, H. (1958), *The human condition* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). The University of Chicago Press, Chicago

<sup>66</sup> Habermas, J; Lennox, S.; Ldnnox, F., (1964)\*, *New German Critique The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article, No. 3.* (Autumn, 1974), pp. 49-55.\* Originally appeared in *Fischer Lexicon, Staat und Politik*, new edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), pp. 220-226.

accompanied by a rational-critical discourse, that grew in coffeehouses and other public places. That is, this public sphere is realm independent from the central power of the state and therefore perhaps, a kind of “civil society”.

Habermas’s thesis of the rational and unitary public sphere is less related to the spaces of the public arena and more related to the discursive manners associated with it. The challengers of this thesis insist that the public sphere is not only an arena for the formation of discursive opinions, but it has many other characteristics.

Seyla Benhabib, a feminist philosopher, points out that the views of the two are parallel but not identical. Arendt’s public space is primarily an arena of political action, whereas Habermas’s public sphere is essentially a medium of public communication. She contends that public space potentially performs two functions: a “holistic” one that brings forth cohesive realizations about what should be done, and an “epistemic” function that produces the “enlarged mentality” that transforms multiple self-interests into a recognized common interest (Benhabib, 1996, pp. 200-201).<sup>67</sup>

Richard Sennett’s approach to the public domain as a form of sociability and his conceptualization of ‘Man as Actor’, provide more insight for this study. He insists on the need to link the study of the public domain to an analysis of sociality. The sociability aspect of public spaces may be related with carnivalesque expressions in the public domain. Such an understanding the sociability features of public domain tries to include the people from different social strata, including the non-educated.

Political analysis of public architecture explores various correlations of power. Marcel Henaff<sup>68</sup> and Tracy Strong, in their book *Public Space and Democracy*, emphasize the importance of human vision to power.

Manuel Castells argues that urban physical space is now fast becoming irrelevant. The information technology revolution, he says, is causing the industrial city and its operating base of physical place to be replaced by the informational city that rests on flows of electronic

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<sup>67</sup> Goodsell, Charles T.,(2003)” *The Concept of Public Space and Its Democratic Manifestations*”, *The American Review of Public Administration* Vol. 33 No. 4, December 2003 361-383

<sup>68</sup> Henaff, M Strong, T (2001) *Public Space and Democracy*, University of Minnesota Press, Mineapolis,

exchange among network nodes and hubs. Elites still rule, but by controlling networks, not territory (Castells, 2000).<sup>69</sup>

Ali Madanipour explores the concepts of public sphere interpersonal space of sociability, communal space of neighborhood, the metaspatial public sphere and the impersonal space of the city and public space as space of exposure.

According to him, the public sphere as a major constitutional part of civil society is a collection of material and institutional, common and inclusive spaces, in which the members of society meet, to share experiences, to present and exchange symbols and create meaning, and to deal with collective self-rule through seeking consensus as well as exploring difference.

The public sphere therefore limits the power of state, but also contributes to the development of common political debate and cultural exchange, which informs and influences collective decisions, allowing the development of negative and positive meanings of freedom simultaneously.<sup>70</sup>

In their book *Public Space-the management dimension*, Mathew Carmona and Claudio de Magalhaes and Leao Hammond talk about management dimension of the public space. They talk about the importance of public space, benefits that public spaces provides to citizens, qualities of public space where authors differentiate the tangible, intangible and desirable.<sup>71</sup>

Authors Carr, Francis, Rivlin, & Stone describes public space as “the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds.” Such places are seen as a social binder for current residents and a linkage to the past through accumulated personal memories and showcased historical monuments.<sup>72</sup>

Public space topic has been discussed by Clare Cooper Markus and Caroline Francis as well. In their book authors recommend making spaces more on a human scale, tying them closer to commercial shops, incorporating suitable venues for concerts and art shows, and having them seem physically safe.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Castells, M. (2000). *The rise of the network society* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK

<sup>70</sup> Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, London, Routledge.

<sup>71</sup> Carmona, M., Magalhaes, C., Hammond L (2008), *Public Space, The Management dimension*, London, Routledge

<sup>72</sup> Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L. G., & Stone, A. M. (1992). *Public space*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

<sup>73</sup> Markus, C. Clare and Francis C. (1998) *Peoples space: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space*, Canada, Wiley&Sons,



## 1.1 PUBLIC SPHERE IN SOCIALISM

In the socialist countries the new public spaces came as a need to create places for the monuments of glory to the new socialist system. The authorities used these spaces for political meetings where Party officials would give speeches in the celebration of the national holidays. These places were also places of gathering for different purposes and resting during the walks in the city.

The right of privacy and private space in communist countries was in direct conflict with the ideologies supported by the Party. In many of these countries, the communist regimes were founded on the notion of collective, communal property that prohibits any kind of private ownership of bourgeois property or materialism. There was often a general taboo against possession of big properties especially businesses. Only artisan's workshops were allowed. Just the request for "privacy meant you had something to hide."<sup>74</sup>

The value of public being placed over the private by the Party had direct consequences on the ideas of what sort of activity was condoned in the public versus the private gathering place. In public a person may act as an devoted supporter of the state, but when he is in his home "there one finds...reproductions of works of art officially condemned as bourgeois"<sup>75</sup>

The public space in the socialist cities differs from that of Western European mainly in three aspects: 1) wide range of their share of land in public use; 2) distinctly different public space distribution and network; and 3) stark differences in functional dimension of public spaces<sup>76</sup>.

"The ideologically charged monumentality of the central squares, decorated for the proper "celebrations" of the Communist Party's glorious leadership, stood in stark contrast with the abundance of desolate, unkempt, and undifferentiated open spaces characterizing the majority of the urban landscape in the socialist city. Under these circumstances, social interaction remained the only viable function of public space."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Drakulić, S. (1993) *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed*, HarperPerennial, New York

<sup>75</sup> Crowley, D. (1995) *Warsaw Interiors: The Public Life of Private Spaces, 1949-65*

<sup>76</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) *Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe*, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

<sup>77</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) *Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe*, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

## 2. PUBLIC LIFE

In the beginning of the 1960's, critical voices began to point out that something was very wrong in many of the new districts being built, in record numbers, during this period of rapid urban growth. Something was missing, something that was difficult to define, but was expressed in concepts like 'bedroom communities' and 'cultural impoverishment.

Researchers interested explicitly in public life and urban spaces view heterogeneous coexistence and diversity as the basic ingredient for a rich public life. They seek to provide occasions for interrelation and expression of difference.

Life between buildings had been forgotten, pushed aside by cars, large-scale thinking, and overly rationalized and specialized processes. Among the critics of the time were: Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte in New York City, Christopher Alexander in Berkeley, and Jan Gehl in Copenhagen.<sup>78</sup>

Public life is seen as a performance, where symbols are presented and exchanged, and where masks are displayed, compared and reshaped. The city becomes a stage for this performance, a theatre made of these settings and appearances. When the street is not used as a stage and public life is not formed of playacting, some argue, civility declines. The constant work of human life, therefore, is the management of surfaces, creating a civilized social space through a balance between concealment and exposure, between public and private spheres, which is only possible through careful construction and maintenance of boundaries. These surfaces are essentially appearances, gestures and patterns of behaviour, but also include building facades, and all elements of the city that are displayed in its public spaces.<sup>79</sup>

Jane Jacobs, was an American journalist who criticized modernist urban public space. In setting forth different principles, she has written about common and ordinary things: for instance, what kinds of city streets are safe and what kinds are not; why some city parks are marvellous and others are vice traps and death traps; and what makes downtowns shift their centres.

She wrote about the uses of streets as public space noting that: First-there should be a clear demarcation between what public space is and what private space is. Second, there must be eyes upon the street. The buildings on a street equipped to handle strangers, and must be orientated towards the street. And third, the sidewalk must have users on continuously, both

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<sup>78</sup> Gehl, J. , Sware, B. (2013) *How to Sudy Public Life*, Earthscan, Washington DC

<sup>79</sup> Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, London, Routledge.

to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in the buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers.<sup>80</sup>

William Whyte is the first to research the human behaviour in the public spaces. His research in New York plazas influenced the zoning codes of public spaces. During a long daily monitoring of public spaces involving students, he tried to find out that what attracts people most, is other people. If I belabor the point, it is because many urban spaces are being designed as though the opposite were true, and that what people liked best were the places they stay away from.<sup>81</sup>

Most of the interaction between people actually didn't happen in plazas, but in the street. The other amenities we have been discussing are indeed important: sitting space, sun, trees, water, and food. But they can be added. The relationship of piazzas to the street is integral, and it is far and away from the critical design factor. A good plaza starts at the street corner. If it's a busy corner, it has a brisk social life of its own. People will not just be waiting there for the light to change. Some will be fixed in conversation; others, in some phase of a prolonged goodbye. If there's a vendor at the corner, people will cluster around him, and there will be considerable two-way traffic back and forth between plaza and corner.<sup>82</sup>

Jan Gehl is more concerned with the life between buildings and activities that supports social life. In his book *Life between buildings – Using Public Space*, he analyse the quality of outdoors spaces based on the outdoors activities.<sup>83</sup> Good architecture ensures good interaction between public space and public life. But while architects and urban planners have been dealing with space, the other side of the coin – life – has often been forgotten. Perhaps this is because it is considerably easier to work with and communicate about form and space, while life is ephemeral and therefore difficult to describe.

Public life changes constantly in the course of a day, week, or month, and over the years. In addition, design, gender, age, financial resources, culture and many other factors determine how we use or do not use public space.

There are many excellent reasons why it is difficult to incorporate the diverse nature of public life into architecture and urban planning. Nonetheless, it is essential if we are to create worthy

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<sup>80</sup> Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House Inc, New York

<sup>81</sup> Whyte, W.H. (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Project for Public Spaces, New York

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 74

<sup>83</sup> Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space* (3rd edn), Skive, Arkitektens Forlag.

surroundings for the billions of people who daily make their way between buildings in cities around the world.

In this context, public space is understood as streets, alleys, buildings, squares, bollards: everything that can be considered part of the built environment. Public life should also be understood in the broadest sense as everything that takes place between buildings. However, we do not think of city life to be understood as the city's psychological well-being.

Francis Tibbalds recalls the fact that urban areas exist for human beings and not for cars or lorries or big construction projects. This would not, however, be immediately apparent when wandering around the majority of our towns and cities. We need to find ways to give our urban areas this human quality or scale. Fundamentally, a comfortable human scale environment is one, which is related to the scale and pace of pedestrians, not to that of fast-moving vehicle.<sup>84</sup>

Setha Low, has undertaken a number of empirical studies about how people use such sites as parks or plazas. Her argument is that these areas often are inaccessible to members of the public. Along with several associates, she has conducted research on parks and beaches in the United States, and here too she discovers that many public spaces like these are not at all readily accessible to members of the public. Her voice rings with some of the same moral indignation as that of Jacobs, but her claim is that members of various ethnic minorities tend to use the space in public areas differently than other people. Some ethnic minorities tend to congregate around special areas, or assemble in groups, and yet the design of such public spaces, originally done for a largely white population, does not facilitate their gatherings.<sup>85</sup>

Low, rather than emphasizing the actual workings of social relationships in everyday life, argues that if spaces are indeed public they must be open, in principle, to all citizens, or at least they must accommodate the special and unique ways that some people use such spaces.

The changed conditions in urban societies are expressed most clearly by recent changes in street life patterns. Throughout the world automobile-dominated city centers have been transformed into pedestrian street systems. Life in the public spaces has increased markedly, well above and beyond the extended commercial activities. A comprehensive social and

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<sup>84</sup> Tibbalds, F. (2001), *Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities*, (2nd edn), London, Spon Press

<sup>85</sup> Low, Setha, 2000. "On the Plaza – The Politics Of Public Space and Culture", Austin TX, University of Texas Press

recreational city life has developed.

In Copenhagen, for example, the transformation began in 1962. Since then, more and more pedestrian streets have been created. City life has, year by year, grown in scope, in creativity, and in ingenuity. Various folk festivals and a huge, very popular carnival have emerged. Nobody had believed such events were possible in Scandinavia. Now they exist because they are needed. Even more important, everyday activities have grown in scope and number.

Comparably, public spaces in new residential areas are used more when these spaces have the requisite quality. The public spaces are needed. The need for spaces of all types and sizes is obvious – from the little residential street to the city square. Criticisms, reactions, and visions concerning the improvement of living conditions and cities form the basis for the following examination of the physical framework for life between buildings.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Gehl, J. (2011) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, (sixth Edition) Island Press, Washington DC



**PART II - THE HISTORY OF CITIES AND PUBLIC SPACES IN  
THE BALKANS - TRANSFORMATION THROUGH HISTORY -**





## CHAPTER 1 - PRE-OTTOMAN PERIOD

### 1.1. KOSOVO AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

Object of this research is the public space in Kosovo and its transformations through history. In order to make a sense of a wider context and link it to the common history of the region of the Balkans, the Western Balkans will be considered as a territory in which I will attempt to explain the public space from the Ottoman conquest in the 15 century till nowadays. However, I have made every effort to find the connection with the medieval period public spaces in the cities, which we can trace on, long before ottomans conquered Balkans in the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century

During the Ottoman rule, Kosovo was part of a wider region of Balkans with the common political, economic, social and cultural features. It was developed under the same circumstances as other Balkan countries under the Ottoman rule. This is the reason why we should leave aside the actual borders of the countries included in the region and consider the wider area with all complexities that it may bring into the review. As Skender Rizaj quoted, Kaçanik, although administered by Skopje Sanxhak, belongs now to Kosovo. He has mentioned that Rozhaj and Lezha were administered by the Prizren Sanxhak, while these cities now belong to Montenegro and Albania, respectively.<sup>87</sup> During the Ottoman rule, these territories were administered by the same Institutions of the Ottoman Empire, which was common for the whole region, such as Sulltan and Sadriazem (ruler and the prime minister).

Based on the above statement, this research is not limited only to Kosovo, now a country with recognized political borders, but further within the region of the western Balkans, part of the region known as Ottoman empire in Europe, or Rumeli as it was called by Ottomans and Turks.

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<sup>87</sup> Rizaj, S (1982) Kosova gjatw shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century), Rilindja, Prishtina

## 1.2. THE DEFINITION OF BALKANS

*"If the Balkans hadn't exist, they would have been invented" - Count Hermann Keyserling, in his famous 1928 publication 'Europe', (quoted in Maria Todorova's, 'Imaging the Balkans').*

The region known as the Balkans, has long been a crossroads of the world merchants, different armies, messengers and tribes travelled across Balkan's diverse landscape pursuing their livelihoods or searching for land on which to settle. Peoples of many ethnicities – Slavs, Greeks, Albanians, Germans, Roma, and many others layered their cultures a top of another as active and intermingled residences. As a result, these diverse inhabitants of Balkans often spoke multiple languages in order to communicate with neighbours and the wanderers or invaders who traversed their lands.

In the historical and literary imagination, the Balkans loom large as a frightening but ill-defined space.

Most attempts related to classification focus on geography (the Balkan Mountains give the area its conventional name) or, on the set of prejudices attached to the term by local and outside observers since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century.. Historians have generally been less concerned with defining this region in positive terms and taking the cultural, historical and social threads as a starting point that make it coherent and complex in its wholeness. Dynamic, sometimes explosive, the Balkans is a borderland where four of the world's greatest civilizations overlapped to produce a dynamic, sometimes, and multi-layered local civilization. Here, the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, Byzantium, Ottoman Turkey and Roman Catholic Europe met, clashed, and sometimes merged- a land that no single culture was ever able to dominate completely.<sup>88</sup>

The first time the name "Balkan" was used in the West for the mountain range in Bulgaria, that was mentioned in a letter sent in 1490 to Pope Innocent VIII by Buonaccorsi Callimaco, an Italian humanist, writer and diplomat.<sup>89</sup>

English traveller **John Morritt** introduced this term into the English literature at the end of the 18th century, while other authors started using this name to the wider area between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The concept of the "Balkans" was created by the German geographer August Zeune in 1808. During the 1820s, "Balkan became the preferred although

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<sup>88</sup> Wachtel, A. B., (2008) *The Balkans in World History*, Oxford University Press, New York USA

<sup>89</sup> Todorova, M. (2009). *Imaging the Balkans*. Oxford University Press US, New York p. 22.

not yet exclusive term alongside Haemus among British travellers... Among Russian travellers not so burdened by classical toponymy, Balkan was the preferred term."

Throughout history, the Balkans have been a crossroads, a zone of endless military, cultural, and economic mixing and clashing between Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam, Catholicism and Orthodoxy.<sup>90</sup>

The word '*balkan*' within Ottoman context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century had various meanings. In the dictionaries of the period, the term *balkan* means mountain or chain of mountains or mountainous, thus not necessarily being a regional geographical definition. Ahmed Vefik Pasa, in his dictionary *Lehçe-i Osmani*, defines *balkan* as a mountain and *balkan dağı* as the chain of mountains in Rumeli.<sup>91</sup>

Şemseddin Sami defines *balkan* as 'a steep or forest covered chain of mountains, a chain of mountains.' He also defines the same word in his *Dictionnaire Turc-Français* as 'Chaîne de montagnes couvertes de forêts; le Mont Hemus; le Balkan.' quoted by Ebry Boyar in *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*<sup>92</sup>. Şemseddin Sami describes the *Balkan Seb-i Ceziresi* as the most eastern of the three big peninsulas in Europe which is bounded to the north by Austria and Hungary, to the north-east by Russia, to the east by the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, to the south by the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles, the Aegean and the Mediterranean, and to the west by the Greek and Adriatic sea and by Dalmatia. Geographically, the Balkan peninsula is located between '30 ° 36 and '30 ° 47 latitude north and '20 °15 and '40 °29 longitude east.'<sup>93</sup>

The term "the Balkans" as a regional designation began to be used around the late 1870s' and its introduction seems directly related to European belief in the imminent end of the Ottoman Empire in the post-Berlin Congress period. A former eastern correspondent of *The Times* in his article, 'Diplomacy in the Balkans' dated October 27, 1885, discusses the success of diplomacy in delaying 'an explosion in the Balkans' and refers to the 'little Balkan

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<sup>90</sup> Mazower, M, (2002), *The Balkans: A Short History*– USA, Random House Inc ,

<sup>91</sup> Ahmed Vefik Pasa, *Lehçe-i Osmani* (Dersaadet, 1306), I, p. 193. The first edition of this dictionary was published in 1293/1876 and the second edition was published in 1306/1890

<sup>92</sup> Boyar, E., (2007), *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, p.31, London,UK, Tauris Academic Studies, I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd

<sup>93</sup> Sami, Ş., *Kamus ül-Alam. Tarih ve Cografya Lugatı*, Vol. II (Istanbul,1316-1899), p. 1,211-7

governments. (Quoted by Ebru Boyar in *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, chapter II-‘A Belt of Large Dumplings: The Definition of the Balkans’).<sup>94</sup>

The Balkans were depicted as including the Ottoman European territories of Eastern Rumeli, Macedonia, Kosova, autonomous Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was *de facto* under the occupation of Austria-Hungary, in addition to other independent countries of the region including Greece, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro. Thus, the Ottoman territories were alienated from the Ottoman Empire itself and, at least at the level of discourse, gained a distinct identity through becoming a part of a non-Ottoman territory, i.e., that is the Balkans..<sup>95</sup>

In his 1946 dictionary, Mehmet Zeki Pakalin gives both meanings of Rumeli: The Province of Rumeli: is the name given to one of the large provinces of the Ottoman Empire on the European continent. The province included the following places: Thessaloniki, Skolpje, Okhrida, Velbužd, Delvinon, Valona, Elbasan, Prizren, Dukagin, Kruševac, Vilçettrin, Ioannina, Smederevo, Janjevo (quoted by Ebru Boyar in *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, chapter II-‘A Belt of Large Dumplings’: The Definition of the Balkans’).<sup>96</sup>

In the 20th century “Balkan” as a geographical term was also gaining a cultural and sociological connotation. Thus, many geographers wanted to change Zeune's mistake and therefore suggested the term Southeastern Europe or Near East as a neutral, non-political and non-ideological concept. Southeastern Europe for example included all the countries of (today's) former Yugoslavia as well as Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (and also Hungary by some authors).

### 1.3 MEDIEVAL BALKANS UNTIL OTTOMAN CONQUEST

From the sixth century until the beginning of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the final ‘permanent residents’ of the Balkans Peninsula

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<sup>94</sup> ‘Diplomacy in the Balkans’ by a former Eastern correspondent in *TheTimes*, Tuesday, October 27, 1885, p. 8- However, in the school atlas, *The World Wide Atlas of Modern Geography*, with an introduction by J. Scott Keltie, fifth edition (Edinburgh and London, 1902), the term ‘the Balkans’ refers only to the mountains. In a school atlas of 1938, published by the same publishing house, the Balkans appears as a regional designation. *W. & A. K. Johnston’s Modern School Atlas*, edited by W. R. Kermarck, ninth edition (Edinburgh and London, 1938), ‘Italy and the Balkans,’ pp. 22-3.

<sup>95</sup> Boyar, E., (2007), *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans- p.34*, London,UK, Tauris Academic Studies, I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd

<sup>96</sup> Pakalin, Mehmet Zeki, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul, 1946): III, p. 56: ‘Rumeli: Osmanlı İmparatorlugunun Avrupa kıt’asındaki kısmına verilen addır’; p. 57: ‘Rumeli Eyaleti: Osmanlı İmparatorlugunun Avrupa kıt’asındaki büyük eyaletlerden birine verilen addır. Eyalet aşağıdaki yerleri ihtiva ediyordu: Selânik, Üsküp, Ohri, Köstendil, Delvina, Avlonya, Elbasan, Prizren, Dukagin, Alacahisar, Vilçettrin, Yanya, Semendre, Yanova.’

migrated to the region. These were the Slav- the most numerous, Turks, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Roma, who would eventually spread over the entire Peninsula. These people joined those already present in the region: Greeks, Illyrians (likely ancestors of Albanians), and the Romanized Dacians (ancestors of Romanians and Vlachs. Though they had arrived a various groups of loosely organized tribes, the Balkan people developed new political forms of organization between the eighth and thirteen century, largely under influence of Byzantine models. At some point during this period, the Bosnians, Bulgarians, Croats, Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs and Slovenians, would develop independent though fragile states. All would lose their political independence however, quite fragile countries. All these small countries would lose their political independence after the Ottoman conquest that lasted approximately for some five hundred years. However, hazy memories of medieval glory, preserved in religious institutions, architectural monuments, and oral peasant culture, would remain, later to be arranged by nineteenth century intellectuals and politicians for nation-building projects.<sup>97</sup>

From the year 1200 up to 167 b.c. the territory of Kosovo, northern and central Albania belonged to the Kingdom of Illyria, with the capital in Shkodër (Scutari), (quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.13. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>98</sup>

A. Evans concludes: The area of the Vilayet of Kosovo and northern areas of the Vilayet of Monastir, including Tetova and Prizren, in the ancient times belonged to the Old Illyrian Kingdom and later to the Roman Province of Dardania, (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.13. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>99</sup>.

The British historian Edward A. Freeman, in the Historical Geography of Europe, among others, writes: Greece and the Greek colonies', in ancient times, the Balkan Peninsula consisted of Illyria comprising most of the Balkans territory, Macedonia, Epiros and east Thrace. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.13. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>100</sup>

When the South Slavs settled in Balkan peninsula in early 7<sup>th</sup> century they established their preceding countries: Carantania, slovenian state, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Croatia, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Raska, a Serbian state in the Raska region, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Dukla, in Montenegro,

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<sup>97</sup> Wachtel, A. B., (2008) The Balkans in World History ,Oxford University Press US, New York. p.29

<sup>98</sup> Swire, J, (1929), Albania, London, Chapter 5, 'On Illyrians and Illyria'

<sup>99</sup> Public Record Office London, f0.424/136. Some observations on the present state of Dardania (including the Vilayet of of Kosova and part of the Vilayet of Monastir

<sup>100</sup> Freeman, E,(1881) 'The Historical Geography of Europe, Vol II-Mamps, London, Longmans, Green and Co.

in 11th century, Bosnia in 10<sup>th</sup> century, and the state of the Southern Balkan Slavs, established in the regions of ancient Macedonia, in the 10th century. Illyrians who are considered predecessor of Albanians after the South Slav conquest begin to significantly assimilated into Slavic nations including Slovene, Croate, Serbian, Montenegrin and Macedonian, (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>101</sup>.

According to Greek chronicler, Chritobulis, 1467, the Skanderbeg's Albania, is Ilyria. Illyria, as the geographical concept, also appears in the seventeenth century. Thus, according to the report of Don Vincent from 1628, Illyria extended from Kotor to Elbasan. According Pjeter Mazrek, in 1633, Tivar (Bar) was located in Illyria.(quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>102</sup>

In approximately 1688 maps the territory of Kosovo was noted as Illiricum. This happened because the majority of Balkan peninsula belonged to Illyrians who put their indelible stamp in all pores of life for all nations and/or tribes who settled later in those areas, (quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>103</sup>

In 1169 Stefan Nemanja, a Serbian ruler, managed to unite Serbian provinces into one territory under his rule, that resulted in creating the Nemanjić Dynasty. In 1180, Serbia put under its rule the Northern Albania, including Shkodra, Prizren and then the other cities in Kosovo.(quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>104</sup>

So by the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century Kosovo fell under Serbian rule. Under the rule of Tsar Stefan Dushan (1331-1358) Serbian empire reached its zenith. During the short period of the rule of Dushan, Albanian lands felt under his rule. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>105</sup>

After the death of Tsar Dusan (1355), internal disagreements erupted in the Serbia that lead to the dissolution of the provinces. In Zeta and northern Albania, Balshaj came to power. In the Valley of Morava River, Lazar Hrebelanoviqi set its own power, while in Kosovo - Prishtina,

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<sup>101</sup> Swire, J, (1929), Albania, London, Chapter 5, 'On Illyrians and Illyria'

<sup>102</sup> Buda, Zamputi, Frasheri, Pepa, (1962), 'Selected resources for the history of Albania II', Tirana, p.347

<sup>103</sup> Zamputi, I, (1963), On the situation in northern and central Albania in the 17th century, Tirana, p.233

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 93

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 93

Vucitern and Zvecani, Vuk Brankoviqit came to power. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.15. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>106</sup>

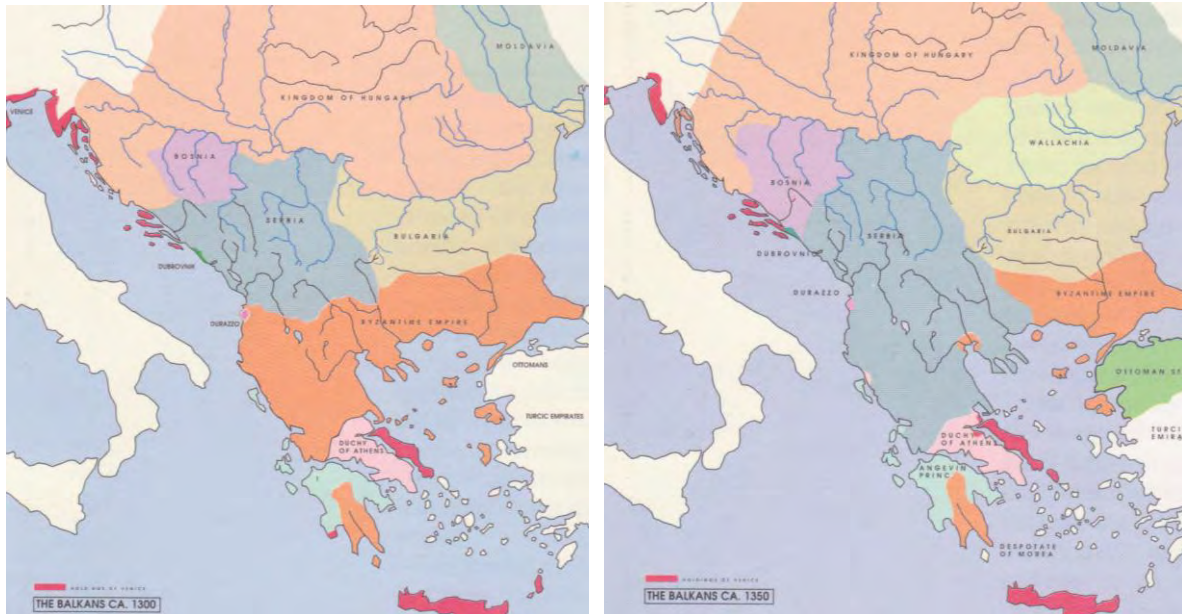


Fig. 1- The Balkans CA. 1300 and 1350

The maps in Fig. 1 show the expansion of Serbian Empire until ca 1350, when the Ottomans begin to conquest the Balkans

In 1371 the Ottoman Turks defeated Bulgaria at Maritza river in Bulgaria. The consequences of this defeat were large. All Macedonia fell in the hands of Ottoman-Turks. In 1375 Ottoman Turks conquered Niš.

The first encounter between Ottomans and Albania took place in the last decade of the reign of Murad I. Charles Thopia, the lord of the central regions, invited the Turks, who were campaigning Macedonia, to assist him in his struggle with Balsha II, the powerful lord of Shkoder and all Northern Albania. In the Battle of the Vjose in 1385 Balsha perished and his army was destroyed. The Ottomans took the opportunity to impose some degree of suzerainty over the land. Shortly after the battle, most of the Albanian lords recognised Murad as their ruler. They kept their ancient possessions undisturbed but had to pay the *cizye* (poll tax) and to furnish auxiliary troops.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Jantolek, S, (1951) Istorija naroda Jugoslavije I, Beograd, p.225

<sup>107</sup> Kiel, M, (1990), Ottoman Architecture in Albania 1385-1912, IRCICA, Istanbul

In the Kosovo war that took place in 1389, Ottomans defeated Serbian army and their allies from Bosnia, Albania and Bulgaria. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15th-17th century', Chapter I, p.17. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>108</sup>

When the Ottoman Turks conquered Skopje-(1392), they laid the foundation of military border provinces in the west. Gradually, but very fast, they took over all important cities and places en route from Skopje, throughout Kosovo, up to Jeleqa and to Jeni Pazar province, and became the lords of the roads to Bosnia, Figure 2.

From Skopje, the country's main border provinces, the Ottoman rule spread through the valley of Lepenc to Kosovo. Kacanik soon became the center of the nahije/territory of the same name. Ottomans conquered Tetovo in 1455 which became the center of Tetovo vilayet. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15th-17th century', Chapter I, p.19. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>109</sup>



Fig.2 The Balkans CA 1400

Ottomans held Vuk Brankovic territories as a temporary occupation (1439-1444) during which Ottoman officers and soldiers remained in these countries. Until definite Ottoman

<sup>108</sup> Jantolek, S, (1951) Istorija naroda Jugoslavije I, Beograd, p.417

<sup>109</sup> Šabanovic, H, (1959) 'Bosanski Pasaluk', Sarajevo, p.32 Vojno Uredjenje Bosne od 1463 do kraja XVI stoljeca, GDI BiH, XI, Sarajevo



occupation of Kosovo (1455), a parallel government was established which meant that beside the Serbian, Ottoman authority was acting as a government too. In Trepca region a verdict 'sclao turcho' was in power, which prevented traders to export silver to Dubrovnik because of the needs of Sultan's 'taraphane' whereas in Pristina were kadis and Ottoman customs.

Most of Kosovo, north of Skopje and Tetovo, fell definitely under Ottoman rule in the time of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1451-1481).

Regarding the definitive conquest of Prizren there are different opinions. K. Jireček has written that Prizren was captured on 21 June 1455.<sup>110</sup> However, this statement gives no source. Also, Babingeri Franc, without citing any source, and apparently relying on Jirecek's study, says Prizren fell under the Ottomans on 21 June 1455.<sup>111</sup> But none of Turkish or nonturkish chroniclers, who have registered crusades of Sultan Mehmed II, in the year 1455, does not mention conquest of Prizren, and who seized it.

Meanwhile, according to Halil Inalcik on H. 859 (22 XII 1454-10 XII 1455) census was organised in Anatolia and in Rumeli.<sup>108</sup> At that time, registration took place also in Kosovo, areas that had already been occupied, and those occupied in-between. (Quoted by Skender Rizaj in 'Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> century', Chapter I, p.32. 1982, Rilindja, Prishtinë)<sup>112</sup>

#### 1.4 THE TOWN IN THE MEDIEVAL BALKANS

For a long period of times, the territory of Balkans were included in the Byzantine Empire but Byzantine rule appears to have been largely nominal, embracing only the bigger urban settlements and the plains, especially in the south of the Balkans. Many Western Balkan towns and cities originate from the ancient period. The material culture left in the existing urban fabrics or in the archaeological sites tells us about the development, their raise and decline during different rulers. Most of towns and cities experienced continuity to the nowadays although they have seen some social, economic and cultural changes.

I shall look to the cities in the pre-Ottoman period in terms of the inherited traditions of building the city and the city life. The analysed walled cities, that remains even today, could help in suggesting the ways that public life had been performed in the cities before Ottoman conquest.

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<sup>110</sup> Jirecek, K, (1952), *Istorija Srba I*, Naucna Knjiga, Belgrade, Serbia

<sup>111</sup> Babinger, F, (1968) 'Mehmed Osvajac', Matica Srpska, Belgrade, Serbia

<sup>112</sup> Šabanovic, H, (1959) 'Bosanski Pasaluk', Sarajevo, Vojno Uredjenje Bosne od 1463 do kraja XVI stoljeca, GDI, Sarajevo BiH

In the introduction of the exhibition catalogue 'Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its Preservation', Slobodan Curcic has written that "...Among the many phenomena effecting the built environment in the Balkans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the most surprising, is the revival of urbanism comparable to a related trend in western Europe. The revival of urbanism in the Balkans likewise manifested itself in a variety of ways. Unlike in the west, two of the major Balkan cities - Constantinople and Thessaloniki-- retained their continuous urban presence throughout the medieval period, in one form or other. The 'term' revival thus is a widespread phenomenon affecting entire Balkans Peninsula, clearly spurred by the rise of commerce in the region. As in the late antiquity, growth of the commercial activity affected first and foremost coastal locations, and then centers in the interior, in particular those linked to the major trade routes."<sup>113</sup>

## 1.5 ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS

In terms of social structure and political organization the medieval Albania encountered two kinds of cities Italian- Dalmatian style and -Byzantine style. Both enjoyed a long tradition of self-government, carried out originally by a group of wealthier families, distinguished with power and property, and holding byzantine orders such as those of arkond and patrikios. Economic powers of these families rely on buildings, shops, warehouses and ships they owned in the city.

Throughout the period of Byzantine rule or other rule of foreign sovereign the rights over cities belonged to the lord, that sometimes could have been the Byzantine Emperor, the Serbian king, king of Naples and the Venetian Republic. This sovereignty exercised by the officers, who at the same time were military commanders and the lord appointed judges. Ulcinj and Bar in 13th century were ruled by a count.

With the collapse of the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dusan (1355), many of the cities fell into the hands of Albanian feudal lords: Balsha (Shkodra, Drishti, Bar, Vlora), Zechariah (Deja), Dukagjini (Lezha), Topia (Durrës, Kruja), Gropa (Ohrid, Dibra), Muzaka (Berat, Kostur), Zenebishi (Gjirokastra, Parga), Swords (Arta) etc. In any city, as Drisht, the chassis of something earlier in Prizren, the secular power was exercised in unusual way by the bishop of

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<sup>113</sup> Ćurčić, S and Hadjityrionos, E, (1997), Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its Preservation, AIMOS, Thessaloniki, p.27

the city. Signs of involvement of the cleric in the city governance we find in Tivar, where in 1372 "The archbishop prison" is mentioned.<sup>114</sup>

In general, foreign rulers put great efforts on gaining the sympathies of the gentry and the urban, population trying to harmonize their interests with the local interests. However, harmonizing the interest was not an easy task, and sometimes impossible. So, very often, there were complaints of citizens against violations that foreign governors did while exercising their mandate.<sup>115</sup>

In order to get to an agreement with the local powerful families, a certain degree of legal and institutional framework was introduced in the town governance, which constitutes the core of their traditional autonomy. For example, in Shkodra on the St. Mark's Day, April 25 a meeting with citizens were organized. That bells of St. Stephen invited people to gather at the cathedral square, where, in the presence of the bishop and the nobles of the city, the judges (three), councillors (eight) and accountants (two) of the municipality were elected. Their mandate was one year.<sup>116</sup>

Setting the seal of the city, the units of weights measurement were some of the main prerogatives of municipal bodies. They were inalienable. Each city had its seal, its measures and weights yet. A special officer was assigned to each month to verify their accuracy. In Durres authorized weights and measures seal bearing the city. Statutes of Shkodra predicted severe penalties for those using counterfeit measures of weight.<sup>117</sup>

## 1.6 ECONOMY – ARTISANS AND MERCHANTS

If we ask what is featuring the city during the middle Ages in the Balkans, what social life we're able to recognize, we could generally say that it was a center of commerce and crafts. Although true, we should consider the restrictions in the sense that commerce and crafts were neither the only nor the main functions. Strategic features of the position and location were the most important at the time. This required a certain degree of administrative function due to necessary decisions on the public space and issues related to defense from the potential enemy attacks.

Due to its strategic position between East and West, Western Balkans belonged to main trading routes from the East to the West. A large number of towns in the Adriatic and

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<sup>114</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) *Kosovo during the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century*, Rilindja, Prishtinë

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. 114

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. 114

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 114

Ionian coast such as Bar, Ulcin, Shirgji, Medua (Shëngjini), Shufada, Durres, Vlora, Butrint, Parga were serving inland centres such as Breskova, Zvecan, Nis, Peja, Prizren, Skopje, Debar, Ohrid, Bitola, Ioannina, Kastoria, Thessaloniki and up to Constantinople.

Durres and old road Egnatia were two essential nodes in the international network of trade exchanges. Since 11th century, Venetian merchants have brought in Durres different products, some of which were transported to the East through Via Egnatia. The trade took place also in the opposite direction, from Constantinople and Thessaloniki to Durres. Wheat, salt, wool products, dairy products, wine, wax, silk, leather, and timber trade were the main items to trade.

*"...From here (Lezha) we set off westwards, crossing the Drin River, and journeyed to **the walled city of Shkodër**. It was founded by Iskandar Dhu'l-qarnayn and thus was called Iskenderiye (Alexandria). It was subsequently taken over and enlarged by Spain, then passed from the king of Puglia into the hands of the dogs of Venice. When Mehmed the Conqueror received the dreadful news that the Venetians had begun to loot and plunder the lands around Skopje, Prishtina and Vushtrria, he resolved at once to pacify the region and, arriving with a huge expeditionary force, he conquered the fortress from the Venetians in the year 883 (1478) after a siege of forty days and nights. He then made it the capital of a separate sancak in the province Rumeli, bestowing it as a hereditary land grant (ocaklık) upon Yusuf Bey, the first sancak-bey of Shkodër. And so its rulers are still known as Yusuf Bey Oğulları."*

Here Evliya Celebi, famous Ottoman traveller, describes the way Shkodra was conquest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Sulltan Mehmet, the Conqueror.

To go from manufacturer to customer different products were charged by different customs and taxes, which often become the subject of contest between traders and authorities.

Other products that were exported to Ragusa were wine, wax, silk, lather and weapons. Led and silver was shipped from Kosovo towns. On the other hand, a number of selected products were brought in the Balkans from abroad, mainly from Venice, Ragusa and other Italian cities. Some of the products included expensive fabrics, guns, jewelery, glass, porcelain dishes and furniture.

The Balkan cities were centres of artisan production. In Durres and, to a lesser extent in Vlora, the majority of working man were linked to fishing. Apart from ship owners, captains (nauclerius) and simple seafarers, there were whole groups of man involved in fishing and salt extraction activities.

Carpenters practiced shipbuilding of wood barrels (botarii) as well. Other crafts included leather manufacturers, shoemakers, bakers, butchers (macellarius), and stone-carvers (petrarii). Shoemakers were present more or less in all cities, while the production of silk counted a big labor force in Shkoder, Prizren, Drisht, Vlora and Berat.

In Prizren, Shkodra, and Durres working tools, household furnishings and metal for gunsmiths was produced. In Ulcinj and Shkodra were known for bell producers, sword manufacturers (spadarius) were mentioned in Vlora, and blacksmiths were more or less present in every city of Balkans. Albanians were known as farriers, as much as in some Italian cities Albanians were known as special farriers (Ferrara al modo inglese). Kosovo towns such as, Novo Brdo, Zvecani, Janjeva, except for the mines, were known for manufacturing with gold, silver, and lead. Prizren enjoyed unparalleled fame for goldsmithing – filigree, which has been preserved as a tradition until nowadays.

Among the skills that require special trainings were those of doctor, painter and architect. Masters of these crafts have typically found their exercise activity abroad, as in the case of a painter from Durres who in 1388 worked on behalf of the municipality of Ragusa, or the case of architect Andrea Alexius Epirota, who between 1448-1477, built churches and altars in the Dalmatian cities of Arbes, Trogir and Split. Berat had outstanding masters in painting, paper, gold, silver, and in wood carving. The church was their main commissioner for different artworks such as miniatures, frescoes, icons, and iconostasis, which are partly preserved until today. The municipalities and representatives of the aristocracy commissioned art works as well.

In major cities the craftsmen were organized in the guilds. In Prizren shoemakers had their own guild run by protomaister (top master). In Durres a protomacellarius ran the butchers guild of the city. Durres had also notaries' guild. Craft guilds often took religious features. In Shkodra, Drisht, Ulcinj, and Bar these organizations were called "school" or "brotherhood" (Scuola, frataglia). They bore the name of a saint, patron. Thus, in Shkodra "schools of St. Barbara", "school of Saint Mercury" and "School of the Holy Cross" were recognized. In Drisht three most prestigious schools (Scuola maiores) were St. George, St. Mary's and Holy Cross. The influence of the church in these craft organizations were manifested by the name through which the members would be called in the meeting and/or chapter (capitulus). Besides protection of the interests of their members, these organizations were also involved in charity work, offering assistance to the poor and ill people

The money flow indicates that in the Balkans the volume of trading was at a very high level. Different currencies were in use such as gold, in Byzantium (hyperper, nomisma, emmanuelata), in Venice golden, and in Florence Fiorini. For pricing of silver, bronze and copper, coins such as groshi, denar and stamena were used.

## 1.7 THE STRUCTURE OF THE MEDIEVAL BALKAN TOWN

The ancient city was characterized by a system of streets and relatively orderly building blocks. Typically in the middle of the town a public space (agora/forum) was located to the east of which a street leading toward's the town's cathedral church was situated. By contrast, the medieval settlements lacked the coherence. Its buildings and blocks of buildings appear somewhat 'scattered', with the resulting absence of an articulated street system. The main public space here appears to have been replaced by a multitude of open spaces, street broadenings, or gardens. The town had usually several churches. (Slobodan Ćurčić, describing Shumen, an old walled town in Bulgaria)<sup>118</sup>

In the late medieval Balkans the main form of urban settlements were fortresses. A rough estimation tells that three thirds of all buildings between 1300 and 1500 were of this typology. In his book on fortresses and castles, Gjerak Karasikaj<sup>119</sup> recognizes two main types of the walled cities. Both types were characterized with high protection walls. The first type is the 'acropolis' town, which lied on the top of the hill, facing the slopes towards natural landscape. The second type of towns utilized walls that surrounded the built structure in the plain areas that could have been perimeter walls of the dwellings as well.

In most cases, the 'Acropolis', or upper town, fortified, within protected area by enclosing walls, is of a later construction date, such as Lezha, Berati, Shurdhah in Albania. The same author also notes the existence of a special category of coupled towns, or twin towns such as, Klos-Byllis, Berat-Gorice and Lis-Akrolis.

*"...Berat Fortress was built on a wild rock, stretching up from south to north, with a magnificent wall, which today has some cracks here and there. The perimeter of this huge wall has in total 2600 steps (60 cm); and has four very strong and durable gates. Large gate, located on the north, through which we can reach the market after about 1000 steps, has three doors, 100 steps that are apart from each other. Two of these doors look towards the*

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<sup>118</sup> Ćurčić, S and Hadjistryphonos, E, (1997), *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its Preservation*, AIMOS, Thessaloniki

<sup>119</sup> Karaiskaj, Gj. (1981), *500 vjet fortifikime ne Shqipëri - (5000 years of fortification in Albania)*, '8 Nwntori' Tiranë

north, and the interior one is made of rocks, as large as an elephant. Stones like these were found only at Khalil al Rahman fortress near Qudsi Sharif in Jerusalem, or Bender fortress on the Shore of TutTURLA River."



Fig 3. Berat Fortress today

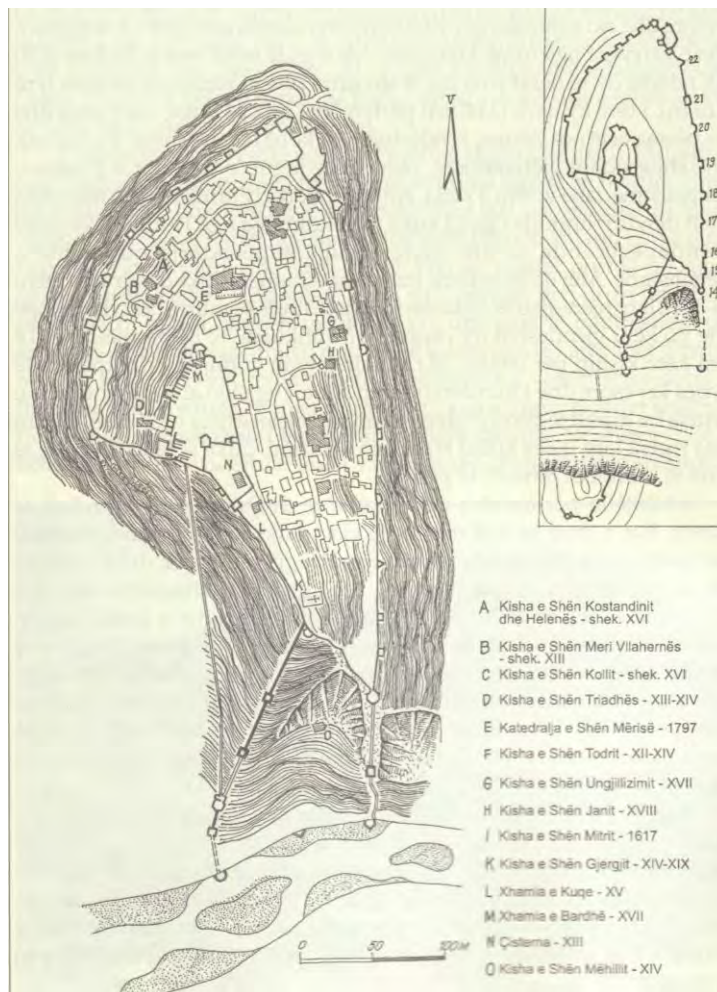


Fig.4 Plan of Berat Fortress<sup>120</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Bace, A. Meksi, A. Riza, E. (2011) Berati, Arkitektura dhe Urbanistika (Berat Architecture and Urbanism), Academi of Science of Albania





Fig. 5 Bert Fortress view from the Air - 'The inner Fortress'

Lack of data for different categories of buildings and uses prevent us to imagine the forms of urban development. Despite the differences, these towns have some common features, primarily related to the main street network. The network starts from the main entrances to fortification, being significantly influenced by the topography within the perimeter walls. From the main street arteries a network of secondary and tertiary streets flows towards the walls. The paved street network resisted centuries of the time. There is a buffer zone along the walls - often a street, to provide first protection.

In general, there are three types of building uses including housing, buildings for worship, and buildings of military units. To economize the land, the buildings were generally with small footprint and two storeys, without porches connected directly to the street and with very small yards.

A degree in planned development in the towns, in the coastal areas in particular, could be traced during the 13-15 century. This could be learned from the so called '**statutes**', that many towns were using, such as Tivar, Ulcin, Shkoder, Durres, Danjes and Drishti.

Statutes were the highest expression of the municipal organization of cities in Albania during the middle Agr. They summed up the normative acts that regulated the organization and functioning of the city, and the relationship between citizens themselves, between citizens and the state, between the city itself and the surrounding environment.



Among the statutes that have been used in the towns of the middle Ages in Albania, preserved and published is the "Statute of Shkodra". This statute in last centuries of the Middle Ages has an extraordinary documentary value for the city of Shkodra, , as well as for the entire Albanian cities of today. These statutes tell us that in the Albanian medieval towns the complex urban and construction problems were regulated by the normative acts. Some data from the statutes indicates that there were regulations for building materials used for housing in Shkodra, such as houses with wood or stone, and those covered with straw. Other data confirm existence of a lobby and porches. In addition, statuses set rules and appropriate permitting for door and window openings towards the neighbours, or for housing reconstruction. In a number of different contexts, the statutes indicagted craftsmans who described the character of the city, in which variety of artisans play an important role. Besides this, in the statutes, numerous indications on the premises around the city are provided, such as agricultural land, vineyards, and pasturesconfirming different types of cattle breeding in the city. In addition, statutes describe the organization of the implementation of the citizen's obligationsfor private and public properties. Although similar to the Italo-Dalmatian city statutes, Shkodra statutes contain many original elements, which refer to specific Albanian environment. We could mention here that the institution of "faith" and "revenge" is found only in Shkodra statute, and could not be found in any other statutes.

Medieval towns in the Balkans, beside military and administrative centres, were at the same time places in which population practiced daily life, commerce and crafts for essential human needs, including food and non-food products, which are necessary for living and developing the society. Production and supply of agricultural products in the city, mainly cereals, was a constant goal. Around the walled towns there was usually agricultural land that supported life in the town.

By the time, with the increased number of population, due to the limited space within the town, it was necessary to go outside of the walls and to build the suburbs, so called varosh (from hungarian - town/village). Varosh often included the market for trading different products produced by local craftsmen and farmers.

*"...The big Varosh lies outside its walls, to the south and east of it, near the Osum River. There are many vineyards, gardens and melon orchards. There are 5000 houses covered with double sided roof tiles, beautifully decorated like the corners of the paradise. The land Varoshi is fertile and lies on seven hills and seven valleys."* Through this description of Evliya

Celebi, a well-known Ottoman traveler, we could imagine how big the town outside of the walls of Berat was.

*"... The open town (varoş) of the fortress of Shkodër. The town outside the walls consists of 1800 one- and two-storey stonework houses with slate and tiled roofs and surrounded by vineyards and gardens."<sup>121</sup>*

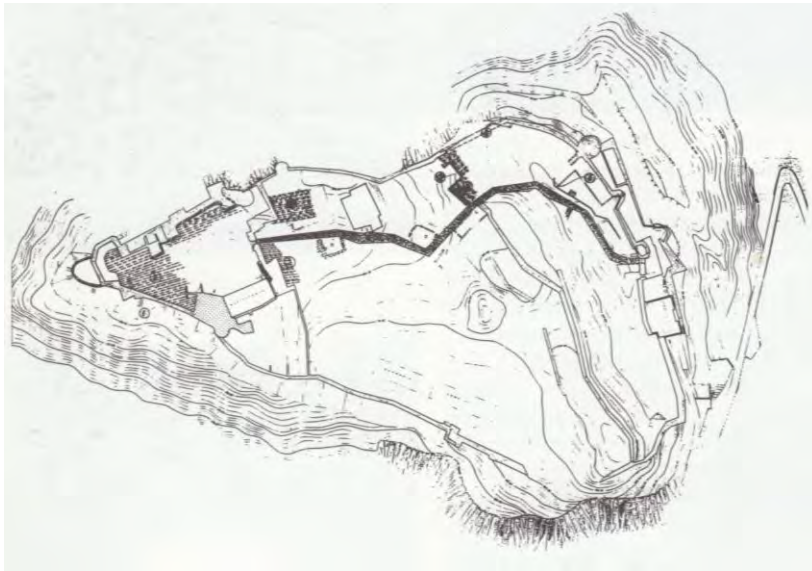


Fig. 6 Plan of Shkodra Fortress<sup>122</sup>



Fig. 7 View of the Shkodra Fortress

"...Prizren fortress is situated on the south-east part of the current city territory, on a conical shaped hill at 525 m' altitude. Prizren city-fortress was built on naturally suitable location, on the south bank of the river Lumbardhi. The only accessible approach to the fortress was from

<sup>121</sup> Dankoff, R. and Kim, (2011)S. An Ottoman Traveller, Selection from the books of travels of Evliya Çelebi, Eland Publishing Limited, London

<sup>122</sup> Luzati, S. (2012) Urbanistika dhe Arkitektura e periudhws sw Rilindjes, Tirana

the south side, while rocky and very steep slope made impossible the approach from the north, west and east. Difficult and almost impossible approach has been the crucial factor to build the fortress to this high point, which overlooks the valley around. Fig.9

In XIII, XII and perhaps in the eleventh century, the fortress consisted of two parts, "Upper town" whose visible traces of the later date additions from the fourteenth century can be observed. Writing about this part of the fortress, A. Deroko called it "Upper part of the town".

## 1.8 PUBLIC SPACE AND PUBLIC LIFE IN THE MEDIEVAL BALKAN TOWN

If we consider the available material culture facts from the remains of the towns/fortresses of this period, we can distinct only two forms of public spaces - streets and squares/market. The markets were usually located in front of the main church, within the walls of the fortress or in *varosh*, the suburb of the fortified town. If we look at the plans of fortified towns such as Prizren, Berat and Shkoder, in front of the church there is a remaining free space, which was used for gathering. It may be concluded that this space was used for the market as well. The area of the market depended on the importance of the towns, their position in the territory and connections that they had with the main centres and the sea.

"In the twelfth century the character and form of the fortified towns in medieval Serbia was different from what we have seen in earlier periods. They were similar to Byzantine towns, with the exception that when the town and/or city has been used to as a regional market, they would be named 'market towns'. Name 'Market' for Prizren was in use in the fourteenth century until merchants from Dubrovnik settled in Prizren, who named it "Mercado".<sup>123</sup>

Although no evident facts in his urban analyses, Serafim Nikolic considered that the actual city structures from the XIV century is defined as follows: "Structure plan of the town near the fortress consisted of access way to the fortress and the inner street of the homeowner, merchants and craftsmen, and church of Sv. Demetrius. At the intersections of these main street settlements, street section leading to the fortress and street segment Basilica-Fortress may have been created smaller squares-plazas. Due to the concentration of foreign and domestic retailers, one of the plazas was later enlarged. The structure was characterized by a dense suburb built environment, particularly in the central part, in which during the fourteenth

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<sup>123</sup> Nikolic. S (1998), Prizren, from Medieval to Contemporary times, Prizren, p.70

century, a small square was most probably created, label T2. All these squares were created by crossing the streets and are parts of the spatial structure of the towns."<sup>124</sup>

The fortification walls follow the contour lines of the terrain, surrounding an oval shaped surface of 1.5 hectares that extends to the north-south direction. There are no written records about the history of the fortress. During the Ottoman period, the fortress was enlarged; its fortification walls strengthened, and a hamam, mosques and other buildings for military needs were built inside. The fortress was inhabited until 1913.

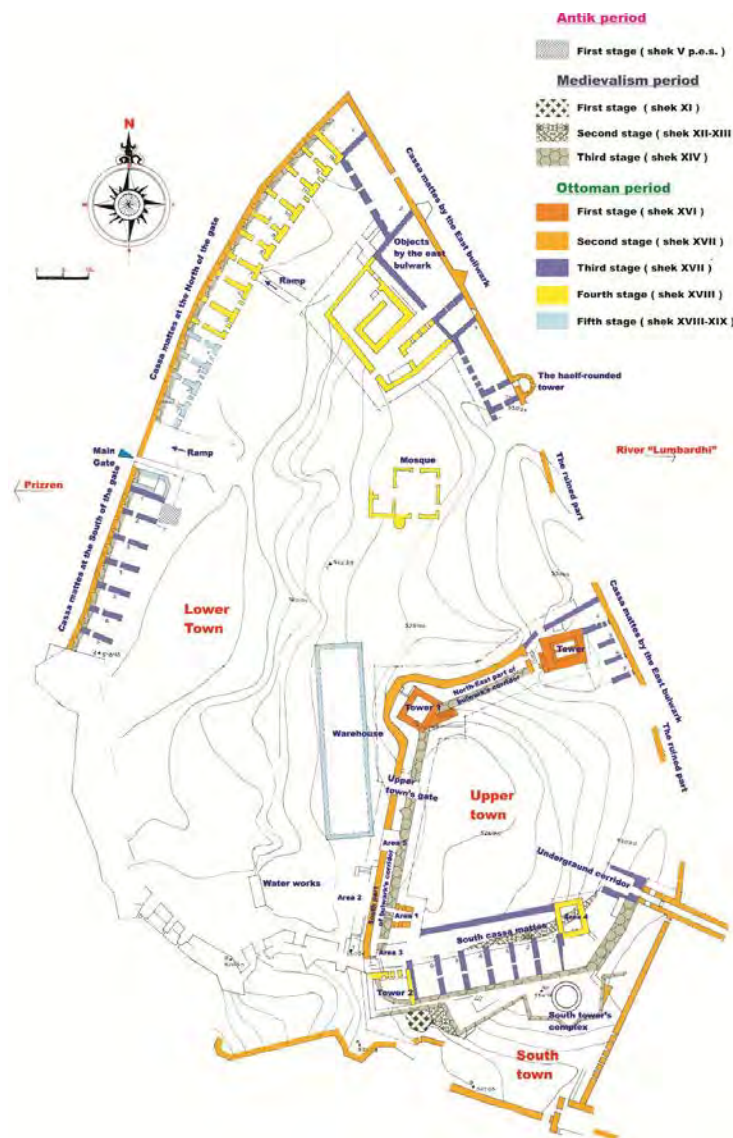


Fig.8 Plan of Prizren Fortress

<sup>124</sup> Ibid 110 p.79-80



Fig.9 View of the Prizren Fortress today

## CONCLUSIONS to Chapter 1

- As shown in the first chapter, a clear distinction of the territory of the object of study is difficult. Kosovo, in this period was only mentioned in a fragmented way, so the territory of research is extended to the wider are of Western Balkans. Intensive trading connection between continental part of Balkans and the Adriatic and Ionian coast documented in different written documents from Venetians, could be considered as argument for very intensive public life in the market places.
- In terms of social and cultural context of the public life, it is not possible at this level of research to define very precisely what were the forms of public life that were manifested in the public space. Obviously, exchange activities in the market places, along with the artisans and food services could have constituted the public life of its citizens.
- The main forms of settlements were fortified towns mainly located in the top of the steep hills and mountains in order to ensure natural protection against the danger from the raiders and aggressors. The fortresses had usually limited area for development, so the public space was conditioned by the shortage of land.
- Main typology of public spaces, based on the material facts, were streets and marketplaces. These remains prove that the streets were usually paved by river stone and had rainwater drainage solutions included in the profile. The market place areas were also paved and sometimes contained a well from which people and cattle were supplied





## Chapter 2 - OTOMAN PERIOD

### 2.1 OTTOMAN CONQUEST AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE EMPIRE

Simultaneously with the conquest of the Balkan territories, ottomans set up their administrative organization. The basic administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire was '*sancak*'. The term '*sancak*' in Turkish, ('*liva*' in Arabic), which translates as 'standard' or 'flag', is evidence of how the administration followed the military lines. The administrative governor commanded the '*sipahi*' cavalry force and other troops recruited in the territory of the '*sancak*'. The size of the sancak depended on many factors including the course of the conquest itself, existing administrative structure, geographic features, and considerations of military strategies.<sup>125</sup>



Fig.10-Map of Balkans CA 1500

<sup>125</sup> Todorov, N (1983) The Balkans City 1400-1900, The University of Washington Press, Seattle

Until Murad I (1360 - 1389) came to power, administration was simple. Ottoman state was divided into several territorial-political units - so called '*sancak*', which were then divided into smaller units - '*kaza*'. At the time of Murad I, the '*eyalet*', the largest territorial unit of the Empire was established. In the beginning there were only two *eyalets*, Eyalet of Rumelia, established around 1362 and Eyalet of Anatolia established in 1393. The main centres in Anatolia Eyalet were Ankara and Kütahya. The center of Rumelia Eyalet was Edirne (1362 or 1371), then Gallipoli and Plovdiv. The centre of the XV century the centre of Eyalet first became Sofia and then Monastery (Bitola). Although the intentions were to establish a centralized Ottoman Empire, conquered provinces, depending on their timars, were arranged in different ways. In other words, in the Eyalet the '*hykymetler*' form of management could be found, ie. clan based self-administered territories, lead by the clan tribes (*asires*). It must be noted that during this time period Even the Albanian highlands enjoyed some internal autonomy.

In the Ottoman conquests there were two distinct stages that were applied almost systematically. The Ottomans first sought to establish some sort of suzerainty over the neighbouring states. They then sought direct control over these countries by the elimination of the native dynasties. Direct control by the Ottomans meant basically the application of the timar system, which was based upon a methodical recording of the population and resources of the countries in the *defters* (official registers). The establishment of the timar system did not necessarily mean a revolutionary change in the former social and economic order. It was in fact a conservative reconciliation of local conditions and classes with Ottoman institutions which aimed at gradual assimilation.<sup>126</sup>

The use of these two stages in the gradual achievement of the Ottoman conquests can be detected from the beginning of Ottoman history. This was most probably due to the particular military organization in the '*uc*', borderlands in which there were overlords (*uc-emiri*) and vassal lords (*bey*). At any rate, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century we see many small states being incorporated into the Ottoman state after a more or less long period of vassalage. When Bayezid I (1389-1403) became Sultan on the battlefield of Kosovo there were many vassal rulers such as the Byzantine Emperor (vassa I since 1373), the Bulgarian princes (vassals

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<sup>126</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, *Studia Islamica*, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose



since 1371), the Serbian princes in Serbia and in Macedonia (vassals since 1372), and the local lords in Albania (vassals since 1385), in Greece and in the Aegean islands.<sup>127</sup>

## 2.2 ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

According to Jacopo de Promontorio, 1475, from Genova, Ottoman Empire was divided into two Eyalets - one in Asia and one in Europe. The Eyalet in Europe- in the Balkans, was divided into 17 sancaks. In 1490 Eyaleti of Rumelia had 26 sancaks including Pasa Sancak, Galipola, Visa, Silitstra, Nikopol, Vidin, Sofia, Qystendil, Krusevac (Alacahisar), Vuciterna, Prizren, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Smederevo, Shkodra, Dukagjin, Ohrid, Elbasan, Vlora, Ioannina, Trikala, Agribosi, Morea, Preveza, Midili and Kefalonia (Kefe). The sancaks within the Eyalet were equal to one another, except the sancak who was the seat of the beylerbeyi was called '*paşa sancak*' - the title of '*beylerbeyi*', who was usually called '*paşa*' or a '*vezir*').

During the XV, XVI and XVII centuries, today's Kosovo territory belonged to Eyalet of Budim.<sup>128</sup>

*Sancak* or *Liva* (Arab.) are synonymous for the unit smaller than the *eyalet*, which means county or a district governed by *sancak beyi* or *mirliva* (Persian-Arab-mirliva) - The sancaks were basic administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire. The administrative governor simultaneously commanded the 'sipahi' - a cavalry force and other troops recruited in the territory of the '*sancak*'. The size of the *sancak* depended on many factors-on the course of the conquest itself, existing administrative structure, geographic features, and considerations of military strategies. Sancaks were split to smaller smaller entities *kaza's* or *kadilik's*, then, the *kazas* split into *nahiye's* and *nahiye's* split into *köy*-- villages.<sup>129</sup>

A sancak was the real administrative and military entity of the empire, and the sancak beyi was primarily the commander of the timar-holders in his sancak. His main responsibilities were to lead his timariots in war, to secure public order, and to execute legal and governmental decisions. Decisions on all legal affairs in the sanjak, including those concerning the military ('askeri), were the exclusive responsibility of the kadis who were independent from the sancak beyis.<sup>130</sup>

The '*kaza*' or '*kadilik*' was in the beginning a territory covered by the judicial authority of a kadi. As the kadi was entrusted with extensive administrative power, however, kazas soon

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid. 113

<sup>128</sup> Rizaj, S (1982) Kosova gjatw shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century), Rilindja, Prishtina

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. 114

<sup>130</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, Studia Islamica, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose

became administrative units in their own, ranking between the *nahiye* and the *sancak*. Unlike the *nahiyes* and *sancaks*, which were present everywhere, *kazas* were found only where a Muslim population was present.

The *nahiye*, may have several meanings: an area, a region, a small place; an administrative unit smaller than *kaza* and larger than *köy*. The head of *nahiye* was *Mydyr*. *Nahiye* was administrative and military entity.

*Sancaks* were divided into *vilayets*. Depending on the historical period, *vilayet* had different meanings. Christian lands once occupied by Ottomans were called *vilayet* - province, and they had a special status. They were usually run by local people. *Vilayet* could be considered also as a county administration, because Muslim religion was not yet massively spread in the occupied territories. *Vilayet* could be of various size. Only during the second half of the nineteenth century *vilayet* had become a larger administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire.

*Vilayet as a synonymous for territory.* - In the important documents such as *Muhimme deterleri* of XVI century, *vilayet* was used as a synonymous for all territories regardless its size. So the name was used in a nonrepresentational sense. It would become specific only when accompanied with the name of the corresponding *kaza's*, *sancak* or *eyalet* name.

During the XV, XVI and XVII centuries, today's Kosovo territory belonged to Eyalet of Budim. In 1527 Ottoman Empire, 1527, consisted of the following administrative division:

Vilayet of Rumelia; 2.Vilayet of Anatolia; 3.Vilayet of Karaman; 4.Vilayet of Rumi; 5.Vilayet of Sham (Syria); 6.Vilayet of Egypt (Misir); 7.Vilayet of Diyarbekir; 8.Kurdistan vilayet, 8.Livan's *mysellemëve* 9. Anatolia divided into four Livas (Sanjaks); and 10. Livas of Anatolia's pedestrians (Elviye-of Piyadegan) divided into 12 liva.

In the 'cizie defter' of 1551-1553 of Rumeli Eyalet, the following *sancaks* are listed: 1.Paşa Sancak, 2.Silistra, 3.Vidin, 4.Qystendili, 5.Vucitwrna, 6.Prizreni, 7.Krusevac, 8.Smederevo, 9.Zvornik, 10.Srem, 11.Pozega, 12.Bosnia, 13.Klis, 14.Herzegovina, 15.Trikala, 16.Agribozi, 17.Karli-ili 18.Inabahti, 19.Ioannina, 20.Vlora, 21.Delvina, 22.Shkoder, 23.Elbasan, 24.Ohrid, 25.Dukagjini, 26.Morea and 27.Istanbul.

During the course of XV century, in the year 1577/1578, the empire was divided into 38 administrative units, while by the reform of 1580 the number of administrative units decreased to 33.

After the death of Murat III (1595), Ottoman Empire reached the largest expansion including 40 eyalete, counting 8 in Europe, 4 in Afrika and 28 in Asia. In the late sixteenth century, from 24 Sancaks of Rumelia, 10 were in Albania including sancak of Shkodra, Ohrid, Vlora, Ioannina, Elbsan, Delvina, Skopje, Dukagjin, Vushtrri and Prizren.



Fig. 11 - The most extensive Boundaries of the Ottoman Empire

### 2.3 ASSIMILATION AND CREATION OF THE EMPIRE

The *vilayet tahriri* was the basis of Ottoman administration. It consisted of assessing all taxable resources on the spot and of recording the data in the record books called *defter-i hakani* (Imperial Register). The oldest available defters of this kind in the Turkish archives are those relating to Albania, dated 835 A.H. (1431- 1432). It is reasonable to expect that for the first tahrir of a country after its conquest the emin was assisted by the military occupying the country as well as by the natives.<sup>131</sup>

Two kinds of defters were compiled after the tahrir. The first indicated the taxes, specifying their sources in detail (*mufassal defter*). The second indicated the distribution of the revenue among the military class (*icmal defteri*). This distinction corresponded to a fundamental principle of the Ottoman state.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, Studia Islamica, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. 117

In the Empire there were two principal classes: the *re'aya* (subjects), and the *'askeri* (the military). In principle the *'askeri* included not only the army, but also all public servants and the members of their households. They were paid by the Sultan and were exempt from taxation. Thus, the ruled were sharply distinguished from the rulers. This type of administration was not typical to the time such that most twentieth century minds find it difficult to grasp this peculiar concept of state that was principally based on the idea of conquest.<sup>133</sup>

According to Ottoman theory all subjects and lands within the Empire belonged to the Sultan. This principle abolished all local and inherited rights and privileges in the Empire, and it was formulated essentially in order to confirm the Sultan's absolute authority and to show that all rights stem from his will. Only the Sultan's special decrees, called *berat*, had the rights to establish the appropriate rights. In addition to official commission establishments, *berat*, had the right to make decisions on all land titles including endowments (*waqfs*). All commissions and rights became invalid at the death of the reigning Sultan. There was a real meaning in the expression: "the Sultan was the state itself".<sup>134</sup>

The Ottoman record-books of the 15th Century show that not only many Ottoman Beys in the government of the provinces but also a considerable number of timariots in the main Ottoman army during the 15th Century were direct descendants of the pre-Ottoman local military classes or nobility. During the same period and until the 16th century the Christian voynuks in Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly and Bulgaria were also incorporated into the Ottoman army in great numbers, with the status of *askeri* (military). Seeing that their position and lands were effectively guaranteed by the strong Ottoman administration, the majority of these Christian soldiers must have not shown the opposition to these changes.<sup>135</sup>

The noble families in the Balkan countries were assimilated to the mass of Ottoman timariots and became Muslim. Islamization was actually a psychosocial phenomenon among the Christian *sipahis*, who were definitely the first converts in the Empire.

## 2.4 DEPORTATION AND EMIGRATION AS A TOOL OF REORGANIZATION

In order to make their new conquest secure the Ottomans used an elaborate system of colonization and mass deportation (*sürgün*). The turbulent nomads or the rebellious

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<sup>133</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, *Studia Islamica*, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.* 119

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* 119

population of a village and even of a town, which had caused or might cause trouble were moved to a distant part of the Empire. The Ottoman state was also greatly concerned with the settlement of Turkish people in conquered lands.<sup>136</sup>

The mass deportations by Mehmed II (1451-1481) from Serbia, Albania, Morea and Kaffa to Istanbul are well known and documented. The main goal of mass deportation was to secure the prosperity of the new capital. A great part of those deported were prisoners of war and were settled in the villages around Constantinople as peasant slaves of the Sultan.<sup>137</sup>

In the first decades of their conquests the Ottomans undoubtedly encouraged voluntary emigration into the Balkans of the people who were daily coming in increasing numbers into their territories from all parts of Anatolia and the rest of the Islamic world.<sup>138</sup>

## 2.5 LAND REGIME

The onset of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans does not involve questions related to the type of transition from one socioeconomic structure to another, nor does it raise the questions about that stage of socioeconomic development. In this society, the division of labour has divided the handicrafts from agriculture and has given rise to the feudal city as a new social economic phenomenon.<sup>139</sup>

The socioeconomic structure of classical Ottoman Empire, (Until Tanzimat in 1839 - s. R.), as a whole, could not be compared with the feudal system in European countries. According to Ferdo Susic, a Croatian historian, Ottoman constitution was a kind of conglomerate of strange social equality, a mix of democracy and horrible despotism. Comparing many available studies we can conclude that it would be a mistake to consider that the timar system of Ottoman Empire is similar to European feudal system. Karl Marx regarded the Ottoman timar system as "semifeudal".

Niyazi Berkes, thinks that the European feudalism should not be compared with the Eastern despotism. In the Ottoman Empire, the gap between the life in the city and the village was huge compare to Europe. The Ottoman Empire revenues were mainly coming from war operations.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid. 119

<sup>137</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, *Studia Islamica*, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. 124

<sup>139</sup> Todorov, N (1983) *The Balkans City 1400-1900*, The University of Washington Press, Seattle

<sup>140</sup> Rizaj, S (1982) *Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century)*, Rilindja, Prishtina

### 2.5.1 Timar System

The Ottoman Empire has had a bad reputation in modern times and is sometimes has been characterised as a brutal creation of conquest. Such a view overlooks the sophisticated, complex structures that made the early Ottoman Empire a powerful and civilized place.

The newly conquered territories were incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system in one of two ways. New conquered territories were either incorporated directly into the provincial administration, or left in the hands of the local elite who pre-dated the conquest. The first method, called the timar system, was applied in the Balkans and Anatoli. We can set the "timar" system into a wider context of landholding and property law as one way to show this.

The timar was a system of revenue allocation in which revenue sources were divided into units called *timar*, *zeamet* and *hass*. As explained earlier, the *timar* system was also a system of administration in which the settlement units were hierarchically divided into provinces (eyelet), sub provinces (sancak), judicial districts (kaza) and villages. The Ottomans recognized several kinds of real properties elaborated below.

### 2.5.2 Dirlik

Occupied lands in Rumelia (in the Balkans), were not given to the invaders, but were given in use to peasants. *Miriye* land (*eraz-i miriye* or *eraz-i memleket* = state land) consisted of all arable farm land and pastures and could not be sold. This land was considered to belong to God and therefore to the sultan as God's agent, unless granted to someone for use. The state also owned forest lands, mountains and public areas such as roadways and market places. *Dirliks* were immovable properties, given to be used use by the Ottoman authorities, so that they would serve the Empire for military purposes. *Dirliks* were categorized into three categories: *has*, *zeamet* and *timar*. In principle, *dirlik* could not be considered an inheritance, nor it could have been sold. *Dirlik* rent in the Ottoman Empire was centrally appointed to *has* (with the incomes of more than 100.000 akçe), *zeamets* (with the incomes of from 20.001-100.000 akce) and *timars* (with the incomes up to 20.000 akce).

"Timar" or semi-public land was miri land under usufruct grant by the sultan to civil or military officials. It was the basis of land system in Ottoman Empire. Timar land was not meant to be private property and could not be inherited, but under certain legal or illegal conditions, timar land was often treated as if it was privately owned.

Beside *dirlik*, there were four other categories of land: *waqf*, *ocaklik*, *jurtlik* and *mukata*.

Prior to withdrawal of the army of conquest, small garrisons were immediately placed in several fortresses of strategic importance. Then the remaining fortresses were often demolished by special order by the Sultan. This measure, which was often applied by the Ottomans, was mainly instituted in order to avoid the necessity of maintaining forces in them, and secondly in order to prevent a re-emergence of centres of resistance under local lords. Then as a rule *spahis* (cavalrymen) who composed the main force of the Ottoman army, were given *timars* in the villages throughout the newly conquered country. Even with a limited number of fortified places the Ottomans found it necessary to employ the native population as auxiliary forces, otherwise a large part of the Ottoman army would have had to remain inactive in hundreds of fortresses throughout the Empire. The faithfulness of these native forces was encouraged by special privileges, such as exemption from certain taxes. In some special cases the population of a whole town was given tax exemption to insure continued faithfulness. For instance, the population of Kruja (Akchahisar/Croia) in Albania enjoyed exemption from tax before the invasion by Skenderbeg, in exchange for the guardianship of the fortress.

The conquered lands, which were usually preserved in their pre-Ottoman administrative boundaries, were entrusted to one or several *sancak-bey's*, based on the size of these territories.<sup>141</sup>

Halil Inalcik, noted that *timar* system may initially seem similar to feudalism, but this is not true. In between those two systems exist fundamental dissimilarity. Although *timar* and feudal system, in the natural sense seems to be similar, they differ in terms of historical, philosophical and psychological sense. Thus the feudal and serf could not be compared with *spahi* and *re'aya*. Accordingly the Ottoman *timar* system, could not be similar to European feudalism. On the other hand, these two systems, differs in terms of historical development. *Timar* system appears when European feudalism had reached its peak of development and in the onset of renaissance in Europe. And, when in 19th century the capitalist system prevailed in Europe, within the Ottoman empire, the *timar* system was translated to a landowner system (*ciftligs*), a system that had more features of feudalism than capitalism.

In other words *timar* system was a kind of 'state capitalism', and in term of socioeconomic structure at that time it has been considered ahead of feudal system in Europe. But when in

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<sup>141</sup> Inalcik, H Methods of Ottoman conquest, Studia Islamica, No. 2 (1954), pp. 103-129, Maisonneuve & Larose

the 18th and 19th century, the timar turned to landowner system-*cifligs*, it was a step backward, comparing to most European countries where new capitalist relations emerged.<sup>142</sup>

## 2.6 THE OTTOMAN CITY IN THE BALKANS

Within the timar system, the cities were incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system in one of several ways: all the settlements that could be called cities or towns were either included in the imperial domains of the Sultan as *bass* or allocated to state officials as *hass*, *zeamets*.and *timars*, or attached to the *waqfs* devoted to religious and charitable purposes. The pre-Ottoman urban centers became the provincial centres of the Ottomans within the timar system. The application of the timar system led to the formation of a dependent city of Ottoman type.<sup>143</sup>

When established the Empire, conscious of their importance, Ottomans sought to develop the cities across the whole territory under their rule. Besides the rebuilding the existing cities they also created the new ones. In the following writing, the methods and tools of city building, and what are the main characteristics of the Ottoman city in the Balkans including urban morphology, and social and cultural features are presented.

The Evolution and transformation of the Ottoman cities in the Balkans is a process that spanned from 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century. The integration of former cities into the Ottoman world was followed by the introduction of new institutions into these settlements. New patterns of cultural behaviour by Ottoman citizens in everyday life also emerged in parallel with the formation of new neighbourhoods around architectural complexes. These developments were constructed in the early periods and were located outside of the old city centres, thus creating new areas where immigrant populations could inhabit and build their future. These structures were built by Ottoman patrons coming from the administrative classes of the state (*akinci bey*, *bey*, *beylerbeyi*, *pasa*, *vezir*, *sultan*,)between the fourteenth and seventeenth century, followed by local dignities (*ayan*) or local governors that were supported by *wakfs*.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Rizaj, S (1982) Kosova gjatw shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century), Rilindja, Prishtina

<sup>143</sup> Acun Fatma, A portrait of the Ottoman Cities, Muslim Worlds 92, no 3/4 Fall 2002, The H.W Wilson Comany

<sup>144</sup> Çalislar Yenisehirlioglu, F., (2010) Urban Texture and Architectural Styles after the Tanzimat, in 'Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean' edited by Lorans Tanatar Baruh, Vangelis Kechriotis, Alpha Bank, Athens



### 2.6.1 The Ottomanization Of Balkan Cities

When the Ottomans took power in Northwest Anatolia, and when they conquered the Balkans and Constantinople, the empire possessed a numerous and important cities. - They barely needed to conquer the new ones. As such, we should speak of Ottomanized rather than of Ottoman cities in the strict sense - at least with regard to urban forms, which are partly inherited and rarely reconstructed.

What precisely is "Ottomanization"? A distinction between Ottomanized large cities (which are subject to transformation) and the small ones (which are subject to extension), should be regarded. In the conquered towns and cities, Ottomanization consisted on construction of new or conversion of churches into mosques, construction of the neighbourhood facilities such as hamams, madrasa, imaret, library and hanns (inns). In addition, special development of Turkish upper quarter, which up to Tanzimat in 1839, was to be distinguished from the other part of population by color painting of houses reserved for Muslims and grey painting of minority houses.<sup>145</sup>

Cities played an important role in the establishment of the administrative system. As a rule, administrative units were named after the larger cities that fell within their boundaries, cities that were also the seat of the territories' administrative-judicial and military authorities. This coincidence with the administrative hierarchy of the cities was also linked to the unique features of the Ottoman military-fief system.

During the Ottoman Empire, the administration not only clearly distinguished the status of the city from that of the village, but it also introduced a classification of the urban settlements. Ottoman City is not simply an adaptation of a Byzantine city, which led to important city transformations or extensions over centuries. In the Ottoman towns of Balkans, we can distinguish two main urban parts – the fortress, and 'varosh'- the residential part under the fortress. Due to political system change, the fortresses were used only for the military garrisons and prisons.

Todorov in his book *Balkan city 1400-1900*, explains that the concept of '*şehir*' was attributed to a full developed city. There was a different term for the fortress - '*kale*' which denoted both

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<sup>145</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World* (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond, Brill, Leiden

the city fortress (citadel) and the fortified city itself. The city- *şehir* usually had a fortified part, housing the ottoman administration, the guard and the garrison.

*Kasaba* was used for the towns - settlements that exceeded the size of a village in terms of size and importance, but which had not reached the dimensions and appearance of a city - *şehir*. *Kasaba* was an unfortified settlement whose population was involved with trade and handicrafts activities. It had its boundaries defined with a limited number of public buildings. An order by Sultan had to be given when a settlement turned to *kasaba*, since this involved changes in the status and tax duties of the urban population.

*Palanka* was a fortified settlement with embankments and stakes, of the types seen both in *kasabas* and villages. *Palanka* emerged in second half of 17th century at the time when raids of 'hayduts' (robbers) has increased.

The *varoš* was a suburb of the medieval Balkan city, and during ottoman rule it was the Christian part of the city.

In the western Balkan often we could find designations '*targ*' and '*pazar*' - the Slavic and Ottoman names for small towns of *kasaba* type. These places differed considerably from the villages thanks to presence of a regular market; however, these were still considered without the status of *kasaba*. In the late 15th, early 16th century, there were over 200 settlements under Ottoman rule, listed as cities in the Ottoman registers.<sup>146</sup> According to Todorov, the Ottoman city in the Balkans possesses unique architectural and planning features, and these features could be identified since earlier period of Ottoman Empire. Some cities throughout the empire have unique features compare to other cities.

## 2.6.2 What is an Ottoman City

According to Pierre Pinon, the problem of definition of the Ottoman city arises in attributing the name 'city' to a historical or geographical entity. Can there be only one type of the city in a period extending over several centuries? Is this a case of an Ottoman city from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century? Could it be true for an area covering several natural regions, which has lived through different pasts? Is that the case with the

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<sup>146</sup> Todorov, N (1983) *The Balkans City 1400-1900*, The University of Washington Press, Seattle

Balkan city as well? Traditionally, a division is made between Anatolian and Balkan cities, and between Arab cities of the 'Mashriq and the Maghreb'.<sup>147</sup>

According to Gill Veinstein, a general answer on what is Ottoman town is that there is a distinction between towns of Mashreq and Maghreb - the Arabic town in one hand, and the Ottoman towns of Anatolia and Rumelia (Asia Minor and Balkans) in another. But as these towns belong to the same Empire, built in three continents, stretching from far West to East and North to South, due to the variety of climate, topography and available building materials, has necessarily affected the construction of housing and other buildings in the cities. In this sense we can distinct between areas of stone architecture in Syria, Southern Anatolia and Kayseri region and wooden architecture, which used to be in use when available, in houses built with wooden frame filled with mud bricks-such as in the North-west Anatolia and Balkans.<sup>148</sup>

### **2.6.3 Spatial Organization of the Ottoman City**

The main morphological feature of the Ottoman city is the division into two parts. A city centre where economic, religious, cultural and other activities took place and the residential areas – a number of mahalles or residential neighbourhoods. The morphological structure was bounded by a street network with mainly two types of streets - wider in the city centre and narrow streets and alleys – dead end streets/ coul-de-sacs for local use. As in all 'eastern cities', it is difficult to trace a hierarchy of the streets.

Pinon notes that the absence of the wall in the Ottoman cities is another interesting morphological feature. The Ottoman Empire liberated cities from this constraint. The consequences of this opening were numerous. City growth was no longer conditioned by an imposed frontier that limited extension and implied that the layout of main streets had to pass through the gates. In the open city the plan was developed with more freedom.<sup>149</sup>

The travellers, who witnessed the urban development during their travels, were generally disappointed by the absence of the fortress walls of Balkan cities. For the western traveller, it was the fortress walls that distinguished the city. The absence of the multi-storey stone buildings puzzled them no less. Most of travellers noted that they haven't seen 'any house

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<sup>147</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi , Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>148</sup> Veinstein, G. (2008), The Ottoman town, 15-18th century, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi , Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>149</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi , Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

resembling tall castles' and that the buildings were low, single-store and more over they were built with wood frame and mud bricks.<sup>150</sup>

The Ottoman city structure is organized around the great mosque. Close to the mosque there are public buildings such as hamam, library, medrese and caravanserais were located. This group of buildings is made up of a residential urban fabric almost without hierarchy, including a small number of 'matrix' streets in irregular layout and alignment, and with numerous cul-de-sacs.<sup>151</sup>



Fig. 12 Ottoman structure of Berat related to the Medieval Fortress , topography and river Osumi

The main device of Ottoman city-making was the *külliye*.<sup>152</sup> The word derives from the Arabic word meaning " the whole." A *külliye* was the functional centre of a well-defined neighbourhood, identified in the first decade's by family bonds, profession, or place of origin. It consisted of an interrelated group of buildings around a mosque installed and endowed by the sultan as the public nexus of obedient subjects, i.e. population. It is to be distinguished from the administrative centre of the town, usually a citadel, and the commercial centre of bazaars

<sup>150</sup> Todorov, N (1983) The Balkans City 1400-1900, The University of Washington Press, Seattle

<sup>151</sup> Ibid. 135

<sup>152</sup> Kostof, S. (1995) A history of Architecture, Settings and Rituals, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, USA

and hatts, which were placed next to the Friday mosque. In the Kosovo we could trace these *külliyes* at least in four cities including Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova and Peja.

Sultans and statesmen through waqf endowments carried out the construction of the centre. The government buildings were generally situated in the citadel (kale), which occupied a dominant position on a hilltop or a riverbank. Adjacent to the citadel there was the *meydan*, a place of assembly for parades, consultations and contests. The meydan was the early-modern equivalent of the classical agora or forum. In the citadel and around the *meydan* religious shrines and a few private houses were typically found.<sup>153</sup>



Fig. 13 Gjakova Ottoman city core elements - Hadum Pasha *külliye*- 16<sup>th</sup> century

## 2.6.4 Mahalles – Residential Neighbourhoods

As explained earlier, the residential area of the city was divided into neighbourhoods/quarters called mahalle. The neighbourhoods or *mahalles* were usually formed around a mosque.

<sup>153</sup> Acun Fatma, A portrait of the Ottoman Cities, Muslim Worlds 92, no 3/4 Fall 2002, The H.W Wilson Comany

Those who were wealthy enough occupied the quarters near the city centre. Further from the city centre were the quarters of the ordinary city dwellers. The so-called unorganized structure of the Ottoman city, i.e., narrow and labyrinthine streets, dead-end streets and unplanned quarters, which were the main characteristics of Islamic cities as well, is closely related to the concerns for privacy of the city dwellers. *Mahalles* were the basic units of urban society, headed by a local prayer leader (imaret). Each *mahalle* was also the unit for administration and tax collection. The *mahalles* were usually formed around a mosque. Small groups of people who were bound together by family ties, a common village origin, ethnic or religious identity or occupation usually inhabited the same quarter. Inhabitants of a *mahalle* knew each other and were responsible for the behaviour of each other. Segregation based on the religious belonging was the most pronounced characteristic of Ottoman cities.

Like most city dwellers, minority groups usually lived in their separate quarters. In Kosovo this was usually for serbs, roma etc. Sometimes these *mahalles* were named by the family names and crafts that these families were know for. The division of *mahalles* according to ethnic-religious identity or occupation, however, did not necessarily assume a lack of communication among these groups.

Ottomans brought an original dimension to the city – a link with nature. Most of the houses had a garden. They have often been aligned with the street on one of their sides, which was not in fact the front through which one entered (direct entrances giving on to the street appeared only in nineteenth century); however, there was always a front courtyard - garden and a garden to the side or back. Terracing was generally confined to central quarters, to a few main streets to a few main streets within the central mahalles. The Ottoman city (in the Balkans and Northwest Anatolia) was, generally dispersed, which is something rare in the history of cities before the appearance of modern suburbs. The open city allowed the Ottomans to develop garden cities, all over Balkans<sup>154</sup>

### **2.6.5 Bazaar / Çarshia**

The core area of the centre was the bazaar or *çarşı* in Turkish, a commercial area consisting of *bedesten* (covered market), *hans* and *caravanserais*, shops where crafts, trade and other transactions were carried out. These buildings belonged to *waqfs* and provided the larger part of the urban commercial facilities. Because such buildings were rented by waqfs to merchants

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<sup>154</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi , Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond



and artisans, the *waqf* system was directly related to urban economic activity.<sup>155</sup> The shops and buildings allowed for each craft or business to occupy an opening on to the high street (*uzun carshi*) where the *bedesten* was situated at the entrance. The traders occupied the nearest place to the *bedesten*. The other buildings in the city centre were organized around the high street. For example, bazaars in Prishtina, Prizren, Peja and Gjakova, were also situated at the centre of the city.<sup>156</sup>



Fig. 14 Ottoman Prizren including *külliye* and Bazaar in the 17<sup>th</sup> century extended in the other side of the Lumbardhi river

From the 15th-16th centuries cities were considerably developed and extended beyond their walls; new *mahalles* (*varosh*) appeared around their mosques or around their monasteries. At the same time, markets were created close by the Byzantine walls, as the specification of a quarter for trade was fundamental to the Ottoman city and to the Muslim city generally. This configuration, consisting of a Byzantine fortress, a bazaar (or *çarşi*) and residential quarters,

<sup>155</sup> Shkodra, Z. (1973) *Esnafet Shqiptare (Albanian Guilds)*, Institute of History, Academy of Science of Albania, Tirana

<sup>156</sup> Acun Fatma, *A portrait of the Ottoman Cities*, *Muslim Worlds* 92, no 3/4 Fall 2002, The H.W Wilson Comany

was developed in Bursa and was then reproduced in Edirne, Athens, Jannina, Prizren (Kosovo) Skopje (Macedonia) Berat, Elbasan and Shkodra (Albania). The market, surrounded by caravanserais (han), is always present in Ottoman Balkan cities, from Sarajevo to Plodiv, from Skopje to Jannina. Markets existed under various names derived from word *çarşi* (*çarşia* in Bosnia or Macedonia) and *bazaar* (*pazar* in Albania). Albania and Kosovo, for instance, still have several bazaars, including Gjirokaster, Elbasan, Peja, and Gjakova. Bazaars sometimes included a bedesten (or bezistan, meaning an covered market), as in Shkoder, Skopje and Sarajevo. The *çarşi* is generally composed of a regular and dense network of alleys lined with wooden shops. More rarely, as in Kruja, it is linear; constituting More rarely, as in Kruja, *çarşi* is spread linearly constituting in the direction of the city's backbone.<sup>157</sup>



Fig. 15 Ottoman Peja bazaar / Çarshia e Gatë (High Street)

### 2.6.6 Bedesten

Bedestens were closed form of the Ottoman market where goods of higher value were traded. The usual form of bedesten is two storeys high building including the long domed or vaulted hall with external shop units. Originally bedesten referred to the area of a market where cloth was sold or traded from the 'bezzaz han' (cloth market). The earliest bedestens were probably specific areas of a general bazar or market. According to the inscription above the gateway, the earliest known bedesten is the Beysehir Bedesten built in 1299. The building consists of a closed rectangular courtyard covered by six domes supported on two central pillars. Beysehir includes doorways on three sides of the buildings while and on the outside of

<sup>157</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World* (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond



the building there are small open shop units, six on the east and west sides, and nine on the north and south sides.

During the Ottoman period bedestans developed as a specific building type and became the centre of economic life in the city. Because they could be locked they were often used for jewellery or money transactions and came to be regarded as signs of prosperity in the city. Ottoman bedestans were built in a variety of forms and may include features such as external shops, internal cell units and arastas (arcades). The simplest plan consists of a square domed hall with one or two entrances like Bursa bedesten in Sarajevo. In Prishtina, the bedesten was demolished when the Bazaar/Çarshia burned down in 1912/13

### **2.6.7 Arasta**

Arasta is Turkish term for a street or row of shops whose income is devoted to a charitable endowment or waqf. Arast could be compared to a European shopping arcade. Arastas are found in most of the regions of the former Ottoman Empire and usually form part of a commercial or religious complex, which may include a han, a mosque and a bath house. Arastas are often covered with a barrel vault and have a row of shops on either side of a central street, but they can also be partially covered or fully open to the sky. Important examples of arastas include the Misir Çarşi in Istanbul, the arasta associated with the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, and the arastas at the Sokollu complex at Lüleburgaz and the Selimiye complex at Payas, both designed by Sinan.

Many arastas were most probably made of wood but these structures have largely disappeared leaving only those made of more permanent materials, including stone and brick. There is a documented Arasta neighbourhood with Arasta market, and Arasta mosque as part of the Mehmet Pasha Külliye in the city center of Prizren. This was a dairy market destroyed in 1960-es. There was Arasta Bridge over the Lumbardhi river with the gallery of shops along side the bridge similar to Ponte Vecchio in Florence. The bridge was destroyed in the 1930-es, probably caused by flooding. Prizren's Arasta dairy market was destroyed in 1960's by municipal authorities.



Fig. 16 Arasta bazaar in Prizren, destroyed in 1960's



Fig. 17 Arasta bazaar in Prizren, an early photography of Prizren , Szekely 1860

### 2.6.8 Street Network

The street network of Ottoman cities, similar to the majority of all "Islamic" cities, was mostly on the loose hierarchical arrangement. We can distinguish two main types of streets: main streets and streets for local use (alleys or dead end streets / cul-de-sacs), with no relation between them in terms of hierarchy. This loose arrangement of the street network gave the first European travellers an impression of chaos-one, which, in reality, merely entailed misperception of an order different from their own (an apparent disorder concealing order). In any case, the main streets, while they might provide a number of major arteries, were not in any deep sense crucial to the urban fabric. Once past the first sets of houses, there was a different system of streets distribution. It was the configuration of parcelling that dictated an assemblage-threaded street through alleys. If the road layout in the residential quarters might be considered irregular, the parcelling was generally regular.<sup>158</sup>

In larger cities there were usually four or five main streets, while in the smaller cities one or two street matrices were typical. In some cases there was just one street matrix, as in Kruja or Verria, where a trading street thread was way within a dispersed habitat.

The most frequent main street system is that of a "fan", by means of which a space is distributed.<sup>159</sup>

The bazaar was adjacent to the citadel (hisar). This pairing frequently constitutes the center of the fan, as in Edirne, in Novi Pazar or Peja, Shkoder and Skopje, where the centre is reinforced by the presence of a bridge over the Buna and Vardar river). The bridge alone could result in the formation of a junction, as on the left bank of the Lumbardhi river in Prizren. This is indeed a universal physical feature in the history of urban forms, and specifically if we compare this setting with other places outside the Ottoman world – with notable difference starting with urban gates). These street junctions allowed the directing of branch roads to the ends of a single street. The feature may become more complex, with two fans, one starting from the fortress-bazaar pairing, and another providing a transverse link, as in Berat, Albania.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols)*, Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>159</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols)*, Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>160</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols)*, Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond



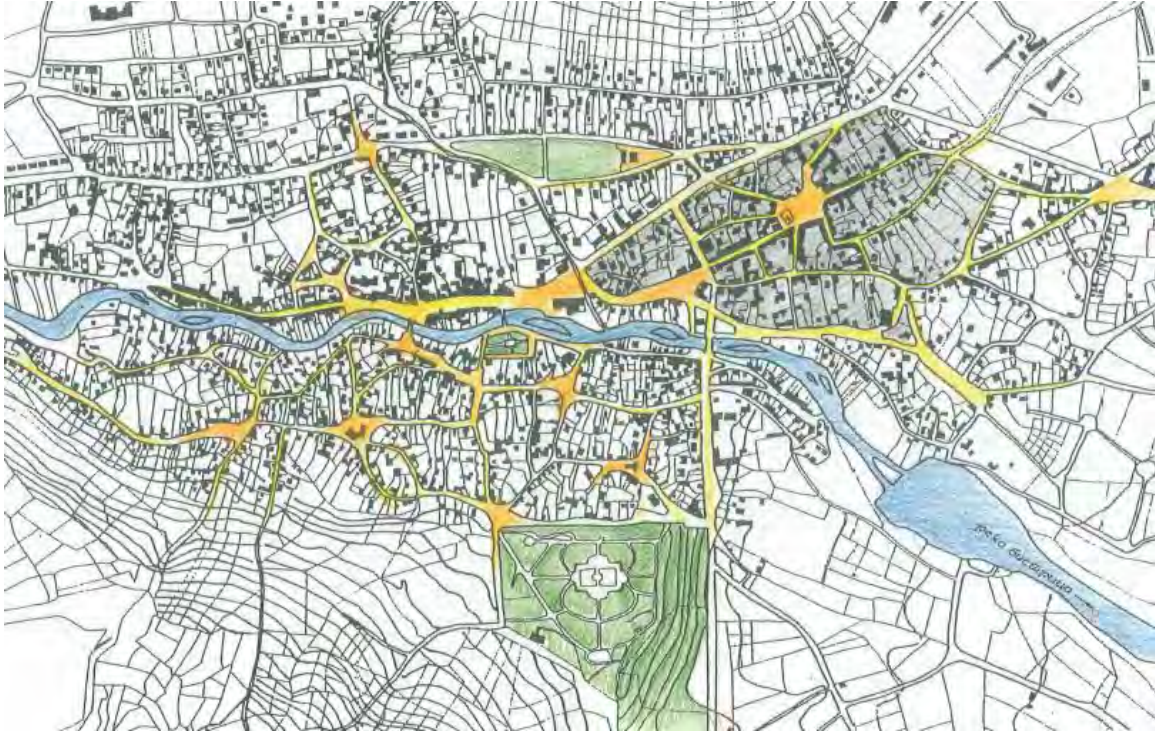


Fig. 18 Street network in Ottoman Peja, according to 1930's cadastral recordings<sup>161</sup> illustrating street ans squares (in yellow)

Local roads have internally served the city quarters. Local road layout formation was depended upon the topographic conditions and parcel subdivision. This type of road layup might have been perhaps influenced by the previous existence of enclosures or 'quarters' of parcels. Cul-de-sacs (dead end streets) were typically three types, and are found throughout the Ottoman Empire. Following are the main outlines of typical cul-de-sacs:

- Direct short cul-de-sacs serving houses set in the second row behind the houses facing a street, mostly from 'matrix" streets, as in Prizren, Sarajevo and Skopje.
- Longer cul-de-sacs with recesses to provide access to the heart of large blocks, were present in Shkoder and Skopje, Gjakova, Plovdiv, Kozani, Trikala and Sofia.
- Cul-de-sacs serving peripheral dead-end quarters as in Prizren, Berat, Shkoder (Tepe quarter), Sarajevo, Janina, Kozani (at the foothills) and Trikala.

Compare to medieval western cities, where cul-de-sacs are circumstantial, in the ottoman medieval cities they are structural. In the eastern cities they are major constituent of the city. According to Pinon, cul-de-sacs in 'eastern' world are structural, whereas in medieval western cities, they are circumstantial, meaning that these cul-de-sacs were built to simply respond to

<sup>161</sup> Kojic, B. B. (1976), *Stari balkanski gradovi, varosi i varosice*, Institute for Architecture and Urbanizam of Serbia, Belgrade

a particular situation. In the eastern cities they are major constituent of the genesis of ordinary urban fabrics.<sup>162</sup>

In Kosovo dead end streets were rare. For example the street network of Gjakova in the Ottoman city core most of the streets were connected with each other. Only streets on the outskirts to the south towards Çabratı hill were dead end streets.

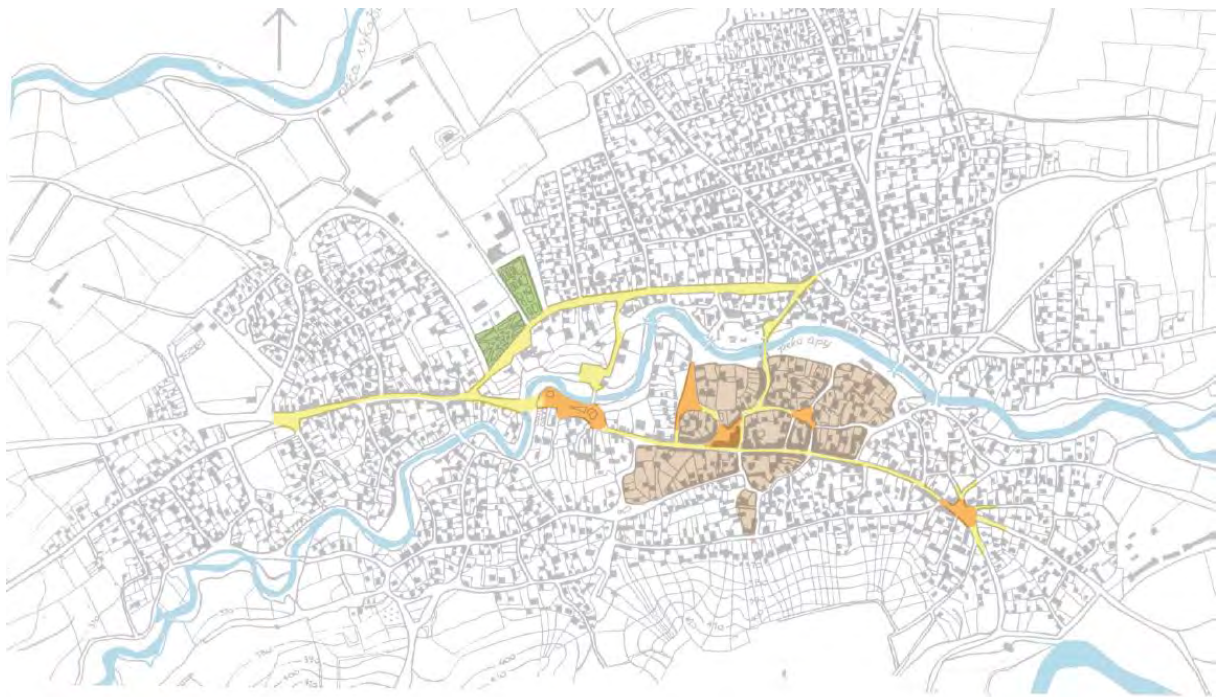


Fig. 19 Street network in Ottoman Gjakova, according to 1930's cadastral recordings<sup>163</sup> illustrating street network

## 2.7 OPEN PUBLIC SPACES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

According to Maurice Cerasi, the open space of the Ottoman urban model has been judged formless and haphazard by historians and casual observers of all eras. It is the fact that the open public space in the Ottoman Empire does not possess the geometrical quality of the urban compositions, of Renaissance and Baroque in Europe, or of Persia and Moghul in India. Only the courts of the Imperial mosques and *küliye* are characterized with regularity and symmetrical form – in particular big *küliyes* in *Istanbul, Bursa ad Edirne*.

<sup>162</sup> Pinon, P. (2008), *The Ottoman city of the Balkans, The City in the Islamic World* (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>163</sup> Kojic, B. B. (1976), *Stari balkanski gradovi, varosi i varosice*, Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia, Belgrade

Usually, the historians have explained the lack of formal open space as lack of a strong public life and municipal governing institutions, which is not quite true. Several travellers and historians have described the rich and picturesque open-air life of Ottoman towns. The Ottoman open space has its origin in the byzantine Ottoman view of nature and architecture. Ottoman culture is Islamic based and closely linked to the Arab and Persian traditions. But as Bernard Lewis<sup>164</sup> emphasize, it must be always considered that the Ottoman Empire, politically and socially, forged itself on its western boundary.

Maurice Cerasi classifies the Ottoman open space in four principle types including *meydans*, *namazgah*, *mesire* or *çayir*. Branislav Kojic, a Serbian architect, considers that in the Balkan cities, the amorphous type of square, which occurs at the road crossings, is the main public space that, beside the streets and bazaars, constitutes the public space network.

### **2.7.1 Meydan**

*Meydan* or plaza was more like a large fair ground, where weekly markets and fairs took place. They were not architecturally designed with the casual margins or simply enhanced by a single monument. Usually these faigrounds were associated with the marketplace or located in the urban fringe of the city. They provided space for different public activities mainly trade in the weekly market days or regional fair events, which took place 2-3 times during a year.

### **2.7.2 Namazgah**

*Namazgah* was an open space of worship with a regular shape. They were usually located in the remote areas of the city periphery where the access to the mosque or mescid were difficult. On Friday and during Bayram holidays, *namazgahs* provided an open space for common prying. They were located at the cemeteries as well. Cemeteries, both in the urban fringe and in the central areas, punctuate Ottoman space. *Namazgah* usually had a 4-5 steps lifted platform on an open square, containing the main elements of a mosque – the *mihrab* and *mimber* - usually made of stone. An abandoned *namazgah* in Prizren - '*Kirik Cami*' was preserved and restored after the war.

### **2.7.3 Squares**

The public spaces of the old Balkan town were distributed throughout the urban fabric of the *bazaar* in the *mahalles*. The network of these spaces was not planned, so we can assume that they occurred spontaneously. Observing them in the existing fabric and based on the surveyed

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<sup>164</sup> Lewis, B. (1961) *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford Yniversity Press, Oxford, UK

material, we could consider that the open spaces usually occur at the crossings. Some time they occur alongside the streets and at the end of the cul-de-sacs.<sup>165</sup>

The role of these public spaces could have been street crossing, meeting point or combination of both. Occasionally, in the *mahalles* there may be spaces with no particular function, which was often used only as children playground.

The public spaces of a business character are markets, (bazaar) whose functions we already presented in a previous chapter. The European town squares with a primarily social character, which would serve only for people gatherings and public events, could not be found in the Balkan cities. The role of the main square was taken by the marketplace, where coffeehouses, han's and caravanserais, hammam's, mosques and *bedestans*, constituted the physical and social settings, which was already discussed in the chapter of the Ottoman city structure.

According to Branislav Kojic, the shape of the squares is diverse and irregular but among these various forms triangular plan can be distinguished in most of the cases. It was usually created in a street "Y" wye shaped junction of two or more branches of a street with a lot combination of cuts and corners altering the shape of the triangular square. The factors that bring diversity to the street form are usually the following:

- The size of the angle that creates 'wye' – triangular junction;
- The position of the line, which intersects sharp angle in the wye;
- The correlation between the main street and the wye - connection between the the different street widths that meets at the "Y"(wye).

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<sup>165</sup> Kojic, Dj. B. (1976) Stari Balkanski Gradovi, Varoši i Varošice, IAUS, Beograd, Serbia



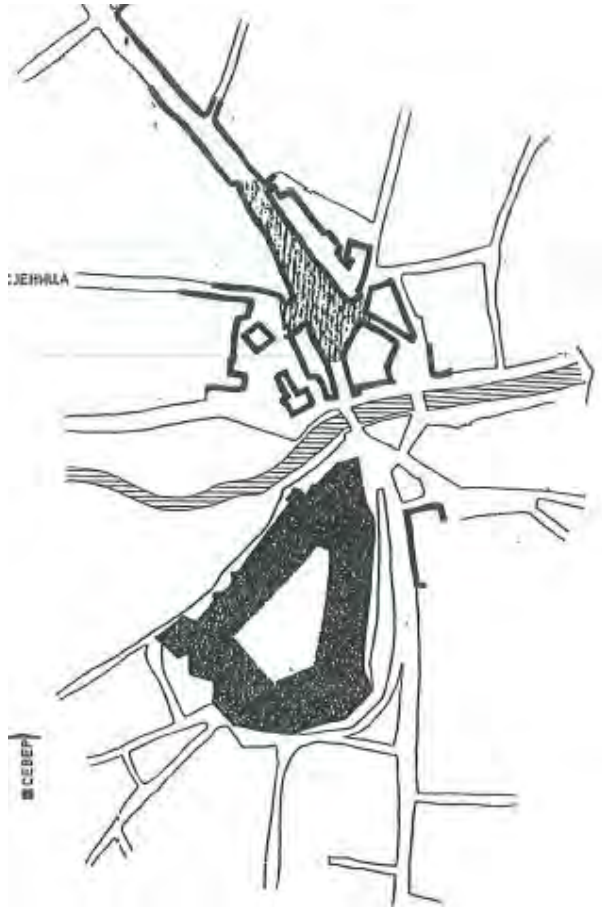


Fig. 20 A typical square in Novi Pazar illustrating triangular shaped squares

The triangular shaped squares are known since ancient times particularly in the towns that were created spontaneously. Thus, in the medieval town, triangular square often occurs as a form of public space. Other square shapes that can be found in the Ottoman Balkan include trapezoidal shape which occurred when several streets ran into the same space, elongated irregular rectangle which represent a street extension, a combination of the two former types of square, and other various types of squares that can not be defined by any geometrical shape.



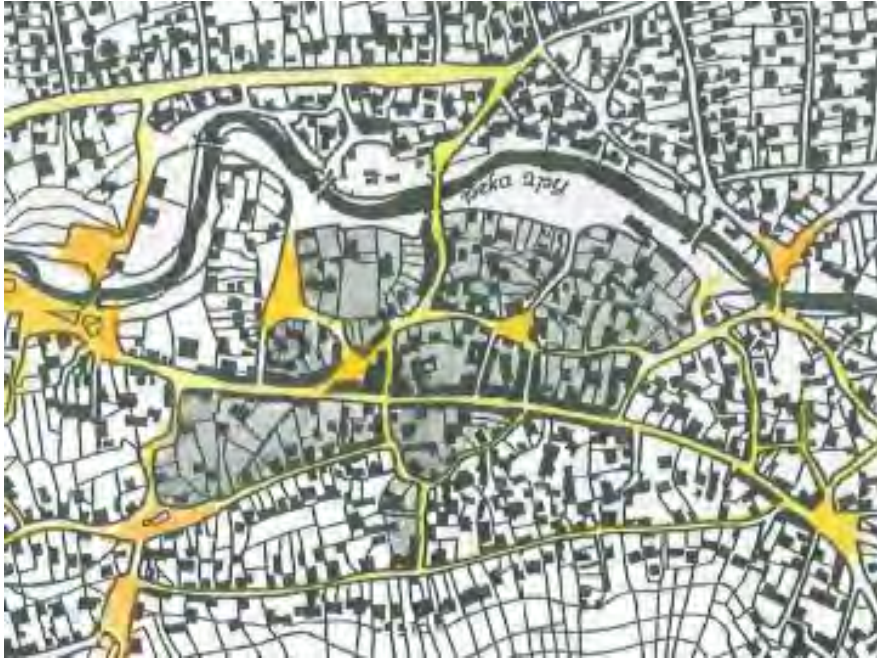


Fig. 21 Street network and squares in Ottoman Gjakova

If we observe the Ottoman Prizren in the following illustration, we can observe the shape of the square and links to the bazaar streets, Sinan Pasha Mosque and further street connections leading to the mahalles. Market ground was constructed similarly as streets. If the squares possessed social features or served for gathering, the ground was paved with cobblestone-*kallderma*. In some smaller and less important towns, there was no paving at all.



Fig.22 The Shadervan- Fountain square in Prizren

Elevations that define the shape of the square were built in the same way as the streets that face *mahalla* or *çarsia* (*bazaar*) where the market is located. Christian mahalles were characterised with a closed system while the Muslim *mahalles* with an open system or with a full surrounding walls.

#### 2.7.4 Ottoman Gardens

When Turks entered Islam in the 10th century, a new man-nature relationship evolved, man, created the image of God that possessed the power to rule the nature. On the other hand, Islam mysticism as other religions, believed that all creatures are a reflection of God and considered that the man should be in a harmonious relation within the nature. For both, the ideal of the 'Paradise Garden' of eastern thought became the link that elevated the attitude towards nature, to the realm of religion.

The orthodox Islam aspired to create gardens resembling the Paradise promised in the Kur'an; the mystic Islam praised in the garden God himself.<sup>166</sup>

Before the penetration of the western influence, the Turkish garden was characterized by the simplicity of its layout, its being lived-in, and its functionality.

Outdoor living was so important in Ottoman Empire that often the garden came before the building. Many of the earlier palaces were called gardens, rather than palaces. The site of the garden would be chosen for the beauty of its terrain, view, air, water, or hunting possibilities; then the house might be built for protection.

Often the outdoor sitting area or even indoors, would be complemented with the water in the form of ponds, fountains and canals. The sitting area and paths might be paved with patterned stone usually acquired from the rivers – so called '*kallderm*'.<sup>167</sup>

Flowers were always present in the garden, especially near the sitting area and around the pond. In dealing with flowers, colour combinations or fanciful parterre designs were not sought. Sometimes, there was only one type of flowers in the garden, which would be called after the flower, such as a rose garden '*gülistan*', or a tulip garden '*lalezar*'.<sup>168</sup>

Trees of fruit or others were planted for shade and seclusion. To a superficial observer, trees in a Turkish garden might look randomly scattered; but if we analyse thoroughly, the location

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<sup>166</sup> Evyapan, G. A., (1972), Anatolian Turkish Gardens, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, Volume 1, METU, Ankara

<sup>167</sup> Evyapan, G. A., (1972), Anatolian Turkish Gardens, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, Volume 1, METU, Ankara

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. 153

of each tree is carefully chosen.<sup>169</sup>

With the penetration of the western influence, modesty and simplicity of outdoor layouts at least in the larger towns greatly disappeared. Living in the garden turned mainly to be watched. Axiality becoming a design goal. Use of water became stiller and larger in surface. Garden furniture became numerous, complex and westernized.<sup>170</sup>

Garden as a public space came to Balkan Ottoman cities in the eighteenth century. Authors like Branislav Kojic, consider that public green spaces didn't exist in the ottoman towns of Balkans. There were no parks, squares and other forms of public spaces. Trees around a fountain or in the square in mahalle, arrays of poplars along rivers was the only green in a public place but it was most likely created spontaneously. The only green areas were located around mosques and churches. They were small but carefully cultivated and maintained.<sup>171</sup>

### 2.7.5 Mesire

Mesire, the picnic and open-air grounds, called also *çayir* - (green meadow) are the real core of open-air system in the Ottoman city. They were very widespread in the 16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century. Evliya Çelebi mentioned the promenades of Berat, Prizren, and Shkoder with promenades along the river or Lake Shkodra.

The traditional sociability and friendliness in the Ottoman city was a sinonimus of country outing including entire families and groups of friends that socialized in a particular space enjoying food, spirits and generally having a fun and relaxing time. The open-air coffeehouses under a pergola, on a wooden verandah or under an old tree, or at a particularly beautiful meadow, were sort of resembling the European Squares. The attractions such as wrestling, cirit (an equestrian game), and shadow theatres could be found in these spaces as well.<sup>172</sup>

How is the *mesire* formed? In the most important cases, there was an appropriation of the natural features of the place in the meadows and its waters, or the context of the place, including its panorama. In the majority of cases the transformation process of spaces was gradual. There is also a process of transformation of uses, of aristocratic appropriation and subsequent transfers (or giving up) for use by the common people.

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid.153

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. 153

<sup>171</sup> Kojic, B. (1976), Old Balkan cities, towns and villages, Institut for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia

<sup>172</sup> Cerasi, Maurice M. "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth - XIXth Centuries." In Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 2, edited by Attilo Petruccioli, 36-50. Rome: Carucci Editions, 1985

Some of these green areas could be found even nowadays in some of the cities like Marash park, along Lumbardhi river in Prizren that connects to the city with mountains through the valley and the gorge. The preserved toponymy of these places like Çayir in Skopje and in Nis, although transformed to built area of the city, indicates that these places existed.

Taukbahce ('chicken garden'-in Turkish) park in Prishtina could be considered a *mesire*. Earlier Taukbahce use to be on the outskirts of the city and it was connected to the natural park of Germia through Vellusha stream valley. . Stretching along a stream, Taukbahce has been for a long time a sanctuary for the citizens of Prishtina during spring, fall and particularly during the hot summer days. Recently 'regulated' riverbed and riverbank using combination of stone and concrete along with paved pedestrian paths have negatively affected the original natural features of this park.

In Karagaç, Peja's natural park has been reconstructed after the world war II to include the manmade pond and a swimming pool. Later during the 60's, a camp and a restaurant have been added. The word Karagaç-'karaagaç' comes from Turkish for elm tree - a tall tree used very often in the ottoman gardens.

Elbasan has quite a number of leisure places e leisure, both inside and outside the city. Moreover, there are 70 private public gardens, with lawn and flowers, suitable for walking and leisure. An interesting point for walking is so called Lonxha Corner, located in the city outskirts, where every afternoon nature lovers gather behind the higher trees and shadows.

Another interesting natural place in Elbasan's landscape is Ajny'l-Hayat (Source of life), a meadow full of grass between the ponds and streams of clear water resources, so when you drink it taste like a "paradise wine". This park is situated between the vineyards on the northern slopes of the city.<sup>173</sup>

Nearby to the city of Berat, there are 77 natural places for leisure and outing. The main places are 'Çekbeni Rock' at the upper part of the castle, Curriers market in the downtown, new market square with high trees and shadows, and walking trails in the Koru mountain where people enjoy walking and hiking. Water, which runs down from the mountains is the main feature of these places. It is important to mention that as many as 100 people may sit under the shadows of these trees, and sometimes people may spend weeks enjoying the food, spirits

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<sup>173</sup> Elsie, R. (2008), *Evliya Çelebi in Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro and Ohrid*; translated by Abdurrahim Myftiu, Publisher '55' Tirana

and having a great time, in the natural beauties of this park.<sup>174</sup>

*"...From here (Lezha) we set off westwards, crossing the Drin River, and journeyed to **the walled city of Shkodër**. It was founded by Iskandar Dhu'l-qarnayn and thus was called Iskenderiye (Alexandria). It was subsequently taken over and enlarged by Spain, then passed from the king of Puglia into the hands of the doges of Venice. When Mehmed the Conqueror received the dreadful news that the Venetians had begun to loot and plunder the lands around Skopje, Prishtina and Vushtrria, he resolved at once to pacify the region and, arriving with a huge expeditionary force, he conquered the fortress from the Venetians in the year 883 (1478) after a siege of forty days and nights. He then made it the capital of a separate sancak in the province Rumeli, bestowing it as a hereditary land grant (ocaklık) upon Yusuf Bey, the first sancak-bey of Shkodër. And so its rulers are still known as Yusuf Bey Oğulları."* Evliya Celebi, famous Ottoman traveller

#### **2.7.6 Water in the Urban Environments**

Water was a very important urban element of the Ottoman town. Due to its geographical position and topographic features, as the water was mostly flowing from the mountains to the plains. The use of spring water was especially common used in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania because the streams and rivers had abundant water year around. The rivers were fed from the surrounding mountains, which was widely and constantly used by the city dwellers.

The water was used by a very simple system using free fall of water. At some point in time a dam has been constructed above the town's elevation. The water from the dam was then diverted into channels, which passed through the courtyards of the houses creating branches of streams. The water was used to irrigate the garden, washing clothes and other house needs as well as to provide refreshment. Prizren, Tetovo, Ohrid, and Peja had very well developed network of small water flow channels so called 'jaz' through the city that were located next to the main river flow.

Green courtyards with fruit trees, vines, flowers and a network of living water channels that infused the whole settlement, constituted hidden but functional features of the old Balkan cities, which were essentially different compare to the European courtyards of 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century. Islamic religion influence that retreated the family in the inner, intimate part of the home required a very careful maintenance of the courtyard and the house. On the other hand,

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid. 173

the natural topographies provided conditions for use of a clean spring water from the mountains. Long peace and away from the war zones from 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century enabled creation of a residential culture at a very high level at the urban scale. One of important functional-hygienic and aesthetic-spiritual reflection of this high degree of residential culture is passionate care of the intimate courtyard and greenery.

### 2.7.7 Fountains / shadervans and public wells

*“...Before reaching it, we passed a large fountain, where there were many women washing with sticks and stones, in the Scotch fashion, and drawing water;... for I have frequently seen them looking very faint under the weight of their large pitchers, one of which they carry on the head, and the other in the hand. The men are never at the fountains; but the aged matron, and the tender maid, are still employed in the same labours which occupied the females of Homer's time...”<sup>175</sup>*

The architecture of fountains has been by no means a secondary ornamental element in the Balkan and Anatolian urban space ever since olden days. In the urban space, however, the ottomans placed water in its natural state reflecting the image of the environment such as springs, rivers and the sea.<sup>176</sup>

The fountains although considered as appendages to public spaces and mosques, and madrasas according to the modern architectural historians were focal elements of the flourishing culture of the middle class nourishment and leisure time. Drinking fountains could be found usually in the public spaces such as *meydans*, *çarshia*, and gardens.

It was also a result of their physical and institutional detachment from the religious institutions where these were tacked on the walls of mosques and madrasa.<sup>177</sup>

Sheshi i Shadervanit (fountain square) in Prizren, presents a case of a preserved drinking fountain. Typically, fountains were built by the *waqf*'s supported by high-ranking officials such as Sultans and Vesirs. However, later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the fountain patronage was dominated by the members of the central bureaucracy, whose great career mobility placed them amongst the *waqf*'s contributors.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Hobhouse, J. C., (1817) A journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey, M.Carey & Sons, Philadelphia, USA

<sup>176</sup> Cerasi, Maurice M., (1985) "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth - XIXth Centuries." In Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 2, edited by Attilo Petruccioli, 36-50. Rome: Carucci Editions, 1985

<sup>177</sup> Hamadeh, Sh. (2008) The City's Pleasures-Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century, Splash and Spactacle, (p76), University of Washington Press, Seattle & London

<sup>178</sup> Hamadeh, Sh. The City's Pleasures-Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century, Splash and Spectacle, (p76), University of Washington Press, Seattle & London





Fig. 23 Shadervan square in 1913, Ogyst Leon Photography, Albert Khan Collection Paris

Evliya Celebi in his memoirs mentions 5 fountains in Gjirokastra with outstanding light water. He had also described the fountains of Berat as very beautiful stone fountains. Gjirokastra had total of eleven drinking fountains. Another beautiful fountaing, built by Kasem Aga, the Sultan's Architect, is also made of stone. In Elbasan, there were 430 public fountains, 40 of which were built by Mehmed Aga, the Architect of Sulltan Ahmed, in honor of whom a Blue Mosque in Istanbul has been built.<sup>179</sup>

Public wells were important source of water supply for city dwellers. Beside the functional dimension, during the centuries they created a sense of place where people used to gather and exchange information and daily news. Public wells were also meeting places of young people and couples where new love is born. Sometimes they were covered with vine that provided shadow during the hot summer days.

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<sup>179</sup> Elsie, R. (2008), *Evliya Çelebi in Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro and Ohrid*; translated by Abdurrahim Myftiu, Publisher '55' Tirana

## 2.8 CITY ADMINISTRATION

“...Specimens of almost every sort of government are to be found in Albania. Some districts and towns are commanded by one man, under the Turkish title of *Bölü-bashi*, or the Greek name of *capitan*, which they have borrowed from Christendom. Others obey their elders; others are under no subjection, but each man commands his own family. The power', in some places is in abeyance; and although there is no apparent anarchy, there are no rulers; this was, the case, in our time, at the large city of *Argyro-castro* (*Gjirokastra*).<sup>180</sup>”

Ottoman cities were not governed by any specific municipal law, town halls and mayors, which may be considered innovations of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. As the religion had an important role in the city because of tax collection and resolving of the disputes, it is believed that the inhabitants of Ottoman Empire defined their identities by belonging to a certain religious community, rather than to a certain town.<sup>181</sup>

The basic elements of the legal system in the Ottoman Empire were the Islamic laws *Şeriat*. There was no separation between religion and law. The Ottomans borrowing some Byzantine concepts of administration developed their unique system of legal rules – *kanuns*. For implementation, judges-*kadis* managed all law and justice issues. As Zeynep Celik points out, legislation was not codified and often, local leaders relied on unwritten sources (such as customs and traditions) to settle juridical cases.<sup>182</sup>

The administration of Ottoman cities of the classical period was based on the same principles with the Islamic city: the supply of municipal services was shared among *esnafs/guilds*, *waqfs* and the inhabitants of *mahalle*. In this setting, the state mostly played a supervisory role through its agents, *kadı* and *muhtesib*.<sup>183</sup>

As the economy played the key role in shaping cities, the influence of guilds in administration of the Ottoman city was very important. Artisans Guilds-*Esnafs*, were commercial organisations, of the different artisan professions and tradesmen. They provided an administrative link between the sultan and the population.

Beside the primary contribution in provision of goods, setting the prices and keep up in order of the bazaar, *esnafs* also assisted the imam in the administration of *mahalles*, in cases where

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<sup>180</sup> Hobhouse, J. C., (1817) *A journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey*, M.Carey & Sons, Philadelphia, USA

<sup>181</sup> Faroqi, S. (2011) *Subjects of the Sultan*, p146-147 I.B Tauris & Co Ltd. New York

<sup>182</sup> Çelik, Z. (1993) *The Remaking of Istanbul*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, California

<sup>183</sup> Isik Demirkan. N. (2006) *A study of Ottoman Modernisation on the City: The Sixth municipal district of Istanbul (1858-1877)*, The Department of History, BILKENT UNIVERSITY - Ankara



extra work was required. They were also responsible for the maintenance of general security in the bazaar and *mahalle*. Moreover, the guilds were actively involved in the supply of water, cleaning, illumination and repair of market places and streets surrounding them.

From 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century the *mahalle* was the smallest administrative subunit in the Ottoman city. The residents met at the local mosque or the coffeehouse, both of which served as social gathering places where public opinion was formed and decisions regarding the community were made. The *imam*, local Muslim religious leader, represented the *kadi's* administrative power and the community organized under the *imam* to provide the basic services such as street cleaning and security. In non-Muslim neighbourhoods, the religious leaders of the ethnic groups and, in commercial areas, the guild leaders, carried the imam's responsibilities.

The essential municipal services were provided by people themselves, but controlled by the urban administration. Also, municipal rules and regulations were not totally codified, but often based on a wide variety of written and unwritten sources, such as imperial *firman*s (orders) and juridical rules, as well as customs and traditions.<sup>184</sup>

*Mahalles* had its own unique community that shared a collective responsibility for the maintenance of order and security as well as repairs and cleaning within its borders. The expenses for such works were covered by money collected from the locals on the basis of equal division and number of buildings owned and deposited in the *avarız sandıkları* set up in each quarter. Hence, this structure allowed the Empire to exert social control and maintain municipal services without having to intervene directly. Therefore this division into *mahalles* served to facilitate the administration of Ottoman city rather than preventing clash between different groups of people.

*Waqfs*, constituted the third important element in the Ottoman city administration. The term *waqf* signified a religious endowment in Islam, mostly donation of a property for public use and this was, in principle, motivated by piety.

In his regular weekly visits to markets, *muhtesib* and *janissaries* accompanied *kadi*. *Muhtesib* assisted *kadi*, as an inspector mainly concerned with the inspection of markets, controlling weights, measures and provisions.

*Janissaries*, acted as the police force. The company of janissaries made law enforcement possible and facilitated *kadi's* inspection of markets.

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<sup>184</sup> Çelik, Z. (1993) *The Remaking of Istanbul*, University of California Press, Berkely, Los Angeles, California

*Kadi* was also responsible for city maintenance by issuing rules in regard to street and building regulations. Janissaries were active in the cleaning of the streets as well.

In this way Ottoman city had devised an urban administration conducted through local governing bodies. The local nobles played a significant intermediary role in the process, acting as advisors in nomination of municipal officers and setting the rules. The common people participated in the appointment of members responsible for the administration of *mahalles*.

Despite minor changes, the basic structure of the cities remained more or less the same until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As market regulations had been the primary focus of the Empire, most of municipal services remained in the responsibility of the people. As long as *kadı* performed his duty as inspector and the maintenance of the city was taken care by the members of the communities - *esnafs*, mosque/church, *waqf*, there was no need for the state to interfere. In the end of 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, due to inefficiency of these entities, the Empire begun a the reforms of

However, this failure to fill the void left by now mostly futile entities was the main reason behind the inefficiency of urban administration and the need for drastic measures taken so abruptly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Ottoman Empire had developed their methods of censuses and record keeping in order to keep their large empire under close central control. The state collected and maintained information on the tax-paying population, especially the agricultural population. The efforts were aimed at tax collection and conscription for the military.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman state began to apply modern statistical methods for the collection of data on various fields. These efforts began in the 1830's with the establishment of statistical offices in various ministries. The personnel were sent to Europe for statistical training during this period. In the 1870s the Ottoman state began to publish foreign state statistics of the empire on an annual basis. These were followed by population censuses and the publication of statistical series in agriculture, industry, education, justice and other fields.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Inalcik, H. (2000) – 'Did the Ottomans use Statistical Methodology', in 'Data and Statistics in the Ottoman Empire' edited by Prof. Halil Inalcik and Prof. Sevkett Pamuk, State Institute of Statistics - Turkey

## 2.9 ECONOMY

Ottoman cities were basically the centers of bureaucracy and the army. These cities were not formed by manufacturing and commercial dynamics, but rather the central administration determined their status as states (*eyalet*), provincial subdivisions (*sancak*), provinces (*vilayet*) and so on. (Faroqhi, 1993: *passim*).

The Empire simultaneously gave birth to a very large domestic production and consumption market relatively unified in legislative, fiscal, administrative, monetary and linguistic terms and in addition stimulated by developing relations with the West as well as by the regular applied to townsmen and not to country people, they did not lead to an overall increase, but to redistribution of the urban population toward privileged areas. They contributed to a certain standardization of production throughout the Empire particularly in art. Sultans reception of Jews expelled from Spain, Portugal or Italy, whether it be expression of a certain tolerance or of consummate pragmatism, lead to similar results in numerous towns scattered in various parts of Empire. Empire, then remained open to all refugees, who played a role in its technical and scientific evelution, whose fruits benefited the towns.<sup>186</sup>

### 2.9.1 Crafts

Economic base of the Balkan cities were crafts and trade, although they were not separated from agriculture. There are facts, that since the beginning of 14th century, crafts were established as an economic branch. The artisans guilds in Prizren, such as filigrans, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, masons, were established since the reign of Tzar Stefan Dushan.<sup>187</sup>

After the Ottomans conquest of Balkans, a fast development of cities and civic economics began. Large cities were developed under the Ottoman rule, that hasn't been seen before in the region. Along with cities development, authorities started the process of Islamization of the local population. Crafts and guilds of Oriental type - *esnafs*, began to emerge in the cities which didn't exist before in the Balkan cities. In development of cities and public amenities, a specific role played *waqfs*. Waqfs were religios endowments that were established by the nobles, aiming for development of public sphere including construction of mosques, madrassa's, libraries, imaret's (public kitchens). Although cities got an Ottoman character, some Christian residents remained in the cities and this preserved some identity features of

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<sup>186</sup> Veinstein, G. (2008), The Ottoman town, 15-18th century, The City in the Islamic World (2 vols), Edited by Salma K. Jayyusi , Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond

<sup>187</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) RILINDJA Prishtina

the medieval towns. Amongst them there were artisans and traders. Traders from Dubrovnik could be distinguished among the foreign citizens who immigrated in the cities of Balakans.<sup>7</sup>

Crafts developed more quickly were those related to military needs especially those related to livestock and agricultural products: such as wool-makers, curriers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, cutlers, sword makers, blacksmiths, saddlers, gunsmiths, goldsmiths and filigrees etc.

There's no doubt that crafts burst the local market, which by the mid-sixteenth century, became more lively and more regular. Shops and warehouses located in front e and adjacent to one another (ex. Prizren1538) etc. clearly indicate that close to markets the new places for trade - emerged. Çarshia or bazaars (suk or semt) of oriental type, were artisans and merchants street where the shops were clustered in specific environments according to the types of crafts and trade.

The development of crafts during the 15th-18th century culminated with the expansion of the local markets and emergence of guilds - *esnafs*. As a result, the number of crafts increased reaching around 60 types in major cities. This can be argued from Evliya Çelebi seyahatnames who states that in some cities you can find works of every kind of art and craftsmanship.<sup>188</sup>

On the other hand, it could be noticed that working methods shifted from production based on a particular order to mass production for local market.

In this period artistic crafts took a high position in the market: tailors, producing silk costumes, jewellery and filigree. By the second half of the17th century Prizren riffle makers became famous in the whole Ottoman Empire.

Among art and crafts, goldsmiths and silversmiths from Prizren, Gjakova and Peja were very famous. Their products were sold in many countries of the region. Prizren filigrees are still maintaining the craft's tradition even nowadays. The jewellery manufactured in the families that belongs to this tradition in the Kosovo cities, still keeps jewellery shops.

Construction of architectural and urban works was possible by the skilled builders, masons, carpenters, stone carvers and blacksmiths. Among many artefacts we can distinguish beautiful houses, the mosques, bridges still existing in Kosovo.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Elsie, R. (2008), Evliya Çelebi in Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro and Ohrid; translated by Abdurrahim Myftiu, Publisher '55' Tirana

<sup>189</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) RILINDJA Prishtina

Ottoman timar system provided suitable conditions for crafts development. Crafts was very important branch of economy in Kosovo. It constituted the core of the industry, while the artisans constituted embryo of the new urban class. This economy also affected the structure of the rural class. Villagers left and settled in the cities, where they engaged in different crafts. The increase of economy demanded higher production level for the markets to satisfy needs of the cities and villages.

### 2.9.2 Commerce

The presence of numerous cities, some of which had dense population, required necessary measures to assure normal supply of goods - food and other groceries. The constant need for supply in the larger cities demanded the rigid centralization of the authorities and its interference in economy. This involved a strict organization of the entire process of supply; the purchase of raw material from the producer, logistics, storage in the warehouses, distribution and further processing, and final sale to the end customer. To avoid the interruption in the flow of food supplies, the system had to operate with the utmost efficiency. Cities had to assure that they had a sufficient food reserve to last for a certain period.<sup>190</sup>

According to Ottoman defters, during the 15th century, Kosovo cities experienced flourish based on the intensive trading, both inland and outland.<sup>191</sup> In the cities, beside the merchants in the bazaar, and small groceries within the *mahalle*-(residential neighbourhoods in the city), there were regular markets with fixed market days, which was kept till nowadays. These market places were usually in the centre of the city. They would be supported by *han's* and *caravanserais* and some time were extensions of bazaar or *bedesten*.

In the cities which had strong regional trade, like in Prizren, Shkoder, Elbasan etc, local fairs were organized periodically two times a year, where beside local, merchants and artisans from all over Balkans came to trade. Beside the commercial activities, the fair events were used for different social activities, celebrations, festivals and other spectacles.

Local merchants together with artisans created the bourgeois class, which contributed to enrichment of the city's public life. This contribution were manifested both materially and socially - such as construction of public buildings and other amenities in the city, including public parks, as well as creating the guilds/*esnafs* and charity organizations as a form of civil society.

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<sup>190</sup> Todorov, N.( 1983) *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, The University of Washington Press, Seattle

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* 175

Commerce contributed to immigration of merchants from different places. Jews came to Kosovo and Albania in 16th century and they were active as merchants till the onset of World War II. Merchants from Dubrovnik were present even before Ottoman conquest.

Due to intensive commerce and trading, in some cities bank business emerged as well. There are data for *sarafs* - bankers, in Peja, who were merchants too.<sup>192</sup>

Kosovo merchants kept regular communication with the merchants from Serbia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik and other parts of Ottoman Empire. Many products, such as wool, wheat, and minerals were exported to Istanbul, Sarajevo, Dubrovnik, Split, Venice and further to Germany.

## 2.10 THE PUBLIC SPHERE AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY

“From the traditional theory we may gain the impression that the inhabitants cared little for their city environment. Sometimes it was said that only family sphere were important such as religious building- mosque, churches or synagogues on the one hand and people's home in the other. Today we tend to look less for evidence of town privileges and more for the cultural expression of an urban sense of identity. This was the Ottoman interest in the concept of the town as a whole and it is evident from the townscapes, of there so many among the sixteenth century miniatures. In these illustrations there is a clear attempt to reproduce the topography of the town in such a way as to make it distinct from any other. Many goods were also named after the towns in which they were produced. This shows that the town was bound up by the reputation of its artisans.<sup>193</sup>

Ottoman cities did not provide the necessary conditions to bring forth a powerful civil society due to their structure and the fact of their formation by the central authority.

The existence of a public sphere and civil society in the Ottoman Empire is still debated among scholars. Sherif Mardin, in a study on Islam and civil society, sets the West against the East in an all-embracing dichotomy. Western civil society is seen as a dream and a postulate, which consisted in “the idea that social relations are both sustained and energized by autonomous, secular collectives with legal personality operating within a frame of

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<sup>192</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) RILINDJA Prishtina

<sup>193</sup> Faroqi, S. (2011) Subjects of the Sultan, p146-147 I.B Tauris&Co Ltd. New York

rationalized self referential law.”<sup>52</sup> Since nothing of this was found in Islam, there was thought to be no trace of an autonomous civil society.<sup>194</sup>

Perhaps the most important difference between the Western civil society model and the public sphere in pre-nineteenth-century Islamic societies was the informality of the latter. While the discourse between ruler and society in the West was based on a formal relationship rooted in the well-defined rights of autonomous groups, the discourse in the public sphere in the Islamic cultural area was based on informal understandings rooted in the basic adherence of all to common moral values and social norms.<sup>195</sup>

Yet civil society and secular and self-referential law were not born the mature concepts they are today; they developed only gradually, for the most part as 'ad hoc' practical compromises between competing forces. It was a centuries-long battle between these two forces.

There is ample evidence that Ottoman society featured several institutions that worked on the basis of autonomous powers and initiatives. A prime example is the government confirmed the case of the guilds, which developed voluntaristic regulations that only later, became dependent from the government.

Such is also the case of socially central institutions such as the *waqf* and even of a politically central institution such as the law in general. Furthermore, towns and quarters emerge as collectives possessing meaning and value in the eyes of their members and even in the eyes of the government. The guild was the paradigmatic institution, expressing the entire gamut of the relations between the Ottoman government and the populace. By a tacit, symbolic, social contract, the government refrained from countering, undermining, or disregarding customs, privileges, and rules of conduct favoured by the citizens, as long as these did not directly contradict the security of the state or Islamic moral conduct in general.<sup>196</sup>

### **2.10.1 Artisans Guilds - *Esnafs***

Artisans and tradesmen constituted the most important strata of the cities. They played a crucial role in the city life. According to Zija Shkodra, The families and the number of inhabitants that belonged to these strata could be counted up to 40% of the city dwellers.

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<sup>194</sup> Gerber H. (2002) The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire, in the Public Sphere in Muslim Societies edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

<sup>195</sup> Hoexter M. (2002) The Waqf and the Public Sphere, in the Public Sphere in Muslim Societies edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

<sup>196</sup> Gerber, H (2002) The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire, in Public Sphere in Muslim Societies edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

During the Ottoman rule artisan's shops were small and modest. The owners of the shops (workshops) were masters themselves (*usta*). The *Ustabasi* (Master) produced the goods assisted by *çirak* (apprentice) and the *kallfa* (journeyman). *Çiraks* usually worked two to three years' unpaid, and later received minor rewards. Depending on the work they did, the journeymen were paid accordingly. Ottomans, beside the new crafts, tools and techniques, brought to Balkan their guild system, *esnafs*.<sup>197</sup>

Ottoman guilds or *esnafs* was a social economic organization of the artisans of a profession (grandmasters/*ustabashi*, masters/*usta*, journeymen/*kallfa* and apprentice/*çirak*) within a craft or two or more very similar crafts which operated in a city. *Esnafs* were autonomous, however, their autonomy was limited to a certain extent by the Ottoman government. The leadership of the guild was called *llondja*. Sometimes, *esnafs* were established based on the religious affiliation of the artisans.<sup>198</sup>

The guilds' primary functions were of course economic, but they had important social and political functions too. They were craft monopolies that restricted entry and jealously protected the narrowly specialized division of labor. They also looked after the welfare of their members and protected them from poverty. The artisans guilds, though not those of the merchants, were also imbued with a strong ethos of equality.

In addition to gathering to discuss municipal and professional affairs in the coffeehouses of the bazaar, the craftsmen had their own headquarters at the roofed crossroads (*chahār-suq*) at the end of their own section, "little bazaar" (*bazaarcha*).<sup>199</sup>

During the Ottoman rule, guilds in the Balkans were organized in a hierarchical manner, as they were in the Europe. They played important economic, social religious and political role. *Esnaf's* duty was to protect artisans from possible competition, state fiscal policy and arbitrary interference of *spahis* in the businesses. They had a kind of power. Local authorities together with *esnaf's* leadership were in charge of implementation of legal measures. The *esnaf's* leadership had a big influence in the society. By their order, the gate of the bazaar would be closed in the middle of the day. These measures were usually taken as a protest against of the various imperial decrees. The state was an important factor in controlling the *esnaf*

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<sup>197</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) RILINDJA Prishtina

<sup>198</sup> Ibid. 183

<sup>199</sup> Arjomand, Said, A. (2004). Coffeehouses, Guilds and Oriental Despotism. Government and Civil Society in Late 17<sup>th</sup> to Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century Istanbul and Isfahan, and as seen from Paris and London. European Journal of Sociology, 45, pp 2342



organization. Sometimes, the authorities decided about the norms of production of craftsmen.<sup>200</sup>

Among the older people of Kosovo the *esnaf* tradition remained nowadays. In their belief a man that belong to the *esnaf* was an honest man, because the term "*esnaf* " and "honesty" were synonyms.<sup>201</sup>

*Esnaf* cared for the behavior of their members. Towards the end of the 17th century, the discipline within the *esnaf* decreased compare to earlier periods. The performance of some *esnafs* lost the qualities.

Intermediary institutions as cities, guilds, religious institutions, and local 'notables' were important units of mediation between the state and society, and thus contained civil societal elements. In practice, they provided only a vague potential for civil society within the Ottoman socio-political order.<sup>202</sup>

### **2.10.2 The *Waqf* Institution as Public Sphere**

*Waqf* means the good that a person (benefactor) voluntarily separated from their property, handing to Allah, while revenues or purpose of the *waqf* serve public. *Waqf* is not regulated nor ordered by the Qur'an, but it is encouraged by the Prophet Muhammad A.S. himself in the hadiths. The founding deed of the *waqf* is called *vakifname*. At the end of each *vakifname* it is said: "Damn the one who, in any way, violates my good deed!" *Waqf* was a tool for progress in economic, cultural, social and civilization terms of a society.<sup>203</sup>

Once established, the *waqf* could not be annulled nor its funds diverted to any purposes other than those set out in the *vakifname*. These institutions provided the main services in the Ottoman

city, and the main civic activity was obviously focused around them, although they kept strong connections to the ruling authorities. Small *waqfs* were also an important element of the public sphere, many of them being after all, charitable by nature.<sup>204</sup>

*Waqf* basically meant the endowment of a property for the public good. It supported the urban life in various ways. The most important of these was the planned construction of *külliyes*

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<sup>200</sup> Rizaj, S. (1982) Kosova gjatë shekujve XV, XVI dhe XVII (Kosovo during 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) RILINDJA Prishtina

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. 186

<sup>202</sup> Çaha Ö., Karaman, Lutfullah M. Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire, Journal of Economic Research 8(2), 53-81, 2008

<sup>203</sup> Wikipedia- Vakuf

<sup>204</sup> Gerber, H. (2002) The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire, in Public Sphere in Muslim Societies edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

carried out within the framework of the waqf system. The *külliye* was a complex of institutions consisting of kitchens distributing food to the poor (*imaret*), a mosque, schools of learning (*medrese*), a hospital, a library and a traveler's hostel- usually located close to the mosque. Through *waqfs*, buildings such as *bedestens*, shops, *caravanserais*, mills, *hamams* and *hans* were also built to support the *külliye*. These buildings were frequently established with the desire to renovate the old cities. The construction of *külliye* represented the measures taken by the Ottoman state to promote the development of cities.<sup>205</sup>

The *waqf*'s contribution to the shaping of the urban public space can hardly be overestimated. A major part of the public environment in towns actually came into being as a result of endowments. This was true for new cities as well as for those parts of existing towns that developed under Islamic rule.

Indeed, one can hardly imagine the public space of any large town in the Islamic cultural area without *waqfs* contributions. Creation of a *waqf* has always been the act of an individual. The endowment itself as well as all the details embodied in the endowment deed, were determined by the individual endower, who alone was promised a reward for his good deed in the hereafter. Endowments by rulers and their entourages are perhaps the best example, emphasizing the individual responsibility of the endower. When endowing an asset, a ruler never did so as a representative of the realm. His act of endowment, like that by anyone else, was the act of a private individual.

While the act of creating an endowment was that of a private individual, the beneficiaries of the endowment were always located in the public sphere. By endowing his property the individual participated in the formation of the public sphere, thus expressing his sense of belonging to the community of believers and his identification with its values.

The *waqf*, then, reflects the basic Islamic notion concerning the relation between the individual and the community. The public sphere in Islam was thus conceived of not as an antithesis to the private individual but as an integral or synthetic component of his life as a Muslim.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Acun F. A portrait of the Ottoman Cities, *Muslim Worlds* 92, no 3/4 Fall 2002, The H.W Wilson Comany

<sup>206</sup> Hoexter, M. (2002) *The Waqf and the Public Sphere*, in *Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

The law of *waqf* enabled the founder of an endowment to create public space and specify the socio-cultural activity for which it was to be used. With the combination of the mosque and the college in the institution of the madrassa by a single deed of *waqf*, the founder of a madrassa could determine the subjects to be taught and the credal and denominational affiliation of the beneficiaries. The possibility of affecting the constitution of the public sphere, however, was open to a private person and a public official alike. The civil law of *waqf* therefore served as an instrument of agency available both to the individuals in the civic community and the rulers and officials of the patrimonial state.<sup>207</sup>

The study of *waqfs* reveals a very lively public sphere, involving rulers, governors, and senior officials, side by side with all strata of the Muslim community— rich and poor, male and female—all of them participating in the creation and improvement of the public space. Indeed, through the *waqf* all elements of society, including its rulers, were mobilized in the service of the *umma*—that is, in the service of implementing the Islamic conception of the public sphere, which focused on the community of believers and the norms appropriate to its social order. The broad definition of charity—that is, of what constitutes a legitimate beneficiary of endowments allowed for the use of *waqf* to sustain a great variety of recipients, from family members to a plethora of institutions serving the entire community. It also helped crystallize interest groups in the space between the household and the ruling authorities, thus creating arenas of the public sphere independent from the official sphere.

The *waqf* law, combined with the increasing number of endowments, their predominance in the public space and their social and economic importance, deprived rulers to decide on a large number of issues concerning the interests of the community, and triggered a continuous discourse with the community, and its representatives concerning the administration and policies of major issues in the public sphere.<sup>208</sup>

The *waqf* thus served as an important integrative institution holding together the society and its rulers. Rather than separation and estrangement, it established a strong bond of shared values, common cultural symbols, and common language between rulers and society. The participation of rulers in the creation of endowments symbolized the bond of values shared with the society under their rule and conferred a measure of legitimacy on the rulers.

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<sup>208</sup> Hoexter, M. (2002) The Waqf and the Public Sphere, in Public Sphere in Muslim Societies edited by Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levitzon, State University of New York, Albany

Moreover, the many public foundations created by rulers and their entourages obviously refute the thesis that rulers were careless of the public, its needs, and its well-being.<sup>209</sup>

## 2.11 THE SOCIAL LIFE

### 2.11.1 Public Life in the Bazaar

The Turkish word bazar is derived from the Persian ‘pazar’. A bazar in the Ottoman town would normally contain a number of specialized buildings such as bedestans, hammams, hans and caravanserais as well as private shops, market stalls and a mosque. Few people lived permanently in such districts. Unfortunately, we have no information about how long artisans and merchants spent travelling to work each day. However, since most towns were small by our modern standards, their journeys were probably not very long.

Business links, in particular, counteracted the tendency towards isolation in any given town quarter. Buyers and sellers of both sexes would meet in open markets and in shops. Everyday essentials were available not just in the centre, but in the residential districts as well, although the inhabitants tended to be unenthusiastic about the establishment of too many shops and workshops in their midst. Yet bakers and vendors of perishable foodstuffs had to be near their customers. The same was true of the public baths, which many people visited regularly. Only the most affluent could afford a bathhouse on their own property.

Women probably visited the shops of the town centre only on special occasions, but more frequently they went shopping in their own town quarter. They were able to pass through the streets of 'their' town quarter as and when they liked. Beside paying visits, shopping would have been one of the main reasons for going out, although, servants and children often ran errands. Certain shops were preferred by female customers. These shops were popular, sometimes because they were partly supplied by women working at home. In many cities, functioned women's market where mostly goods concerning women were sold. In some cities, there were particular weekday allocated for the women market. Markets and shops thus helped integrate women into urban society.

There were *mahalle's* shopkeepers, who piled their trades supplying ordinary foodstuffs and, particularly water, in the *mahalles* located on hilltops, such as those in Prizren and Berat, which did not have any wells or fountains. The public wells and fountains, were places of meeting, and usually supplied with sitting places.

Retailers in *the mahalles* obtained their goods either from farmers and gardeners of the town or the surrounding area, or from wholesalers based in the town centre. News was often disseminated via such relationships, especially news concerning droughts, blocked trade routes, failed harvests and prohibitive taxes. Thus, the links between the inhabitants of each *mahalle* and the local traders, as well as those between the traders and their suppliers, constituted a counterweight to the isolationism characteristic of many town quarters. In this way, then, everyday trading relationships helped turn a collection of small residential areas into a town or city.<sup>210</sup>

*“There are some excellent markets in Berat, with stores of shoemakers, curriers, coppersmiths. Along the river, there is a very beautiful bazaar constructed by Hysein Pasha, with about 100 stores, all with the similar plan. It is also the place where people and friends meet. Under the shadow one can see artisans and merchants working in their shops. There is a large square in the middle of bazaar with a watchtower with the watch brought from Transilvania. It rings 12 time at the noon. When it rings it can be heard far away”-Evliya Çelebi 1644.*<sup>211</sup>

### **2.11.2 Weekly Markets and Fairs**

Weekly market days were organized throughout the Balkans cities. It was a unique system, which allowed markets to be organized on Sundays and holidays. Evlia Celebi, while speaking about Elbasan, tells us about a big crowd of people of every age coming to the city on Sundays from the villages, cities of the *sancak*. After Tanzimat reforms, the market days were allowed to be organized on the other days of the week in order to provide the Christians to practice their religious ceremonies on Sundays.

A market day in the ottoman cities in the Balkans was a very busy day. By the rise of monetary economy, weekly markets became a very important feature in the city life and strengthening of the local economy. People coming from the villages, neighbouring towns and towns from the region, contributed not only to trading activities, but also building up social relations and giving cities a vitality which in a sense developed a kind of branding sometimes even used in the poetry and popular songs. Cherries and beans from Tetova, apples from Prizren and Tetova, plumes and beans from Peja, olives from Berat, oil from Vlora and Ulcin.

With in the markets, there were divisions usually named according to the goods that were sold in – such as wheat market, fruit market, dairy market, etc. Usually on the market days, many

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<sup>210</sup> Faroqhi, S. (2011) *Subjects of the Sultan*, p148-149 I.B Tauris&Co Ltd. New York

<sup>211</sup> Elsie, R. (2008), *Evliya Çelebi in Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro and Ohrid*; translated by Abdurrahim Myftiu, Publisher ‘55’ Tirana

artisanal home products such as carpets, rugs, and national clothing's, were sold by the women. As witnessed from a traveller due to a large variety of people coming from the different areas, the market days were considered an open exhibition of different popular clothing's. The presence of women in the market gave different colours to the market. In front of the mosque, they used to sell also the used clothing's. The tradition of the market days, in some cities in Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia are still preserved.

### **2.11.3 Regional fairs**

An important role in social and economic life on the cities played local and regional fairs. They were organized every year. Fairs were a traditional form of commerce since medieval period. An important role in social and economic life on the cities played local and regional fairs. They were organized every year linked to traditional holidays. Some of them were linked to a particular event or rites/rituals, historically inherited from ancient period. The fairs were organized usually close to religious buildings, mosques or churches – in the meydans.

Some of the biggest fairs organized in the western Balkans were organized in Prishtina, twice a year lasting 15 days. Prishtina counted around 6,000-7,000 people in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, but these fairs sometimes attracted from 12,000-15,000 traders from all over the Empire and even from Europe, with the products brought from very far regions of the Empire and outside.

In Elbasan, there were three of them: Saint John Vladimir held on 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, Saint Iliya 20<sup>th</sup> of July, and Saint Mary, 15<sup>th</sup> of August. In these fairs, a large number of people were coming to trade and meet people.

Another trade fair was in Struga, Macedonia with 1300 shops and market stoles. In Prizren two fairs were organized annually: Saint Fiday, and Saint Pantelemon. There was certain cooperation between fair organizers, who were members of the guilds/esnaf. In this way the ties between the regional traders was strengthened, which contributed to increase the variety of goods offered in the market.

Fairs and weekly markets were usually organized in meydan/square, the big open space around the mosque or church. Sometimes they were organized in the bazaar extending to the outskirts of the town with improvised market stoles sometimes temporary covered to protect the products from the rain and sun.

## 2.12 COFFEHOUSES

*“A cup of coffee is remembered for 40 years”* a proverb that has been told since 16th century when coffee started to be used by the Ottoman Turks.

Coffee that was to be known as a Turkish drink in 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe, arrived in the port of Istanbul in 1543-6. In 1555, two merchants, one from Aleppo and the other from Damascus, opened the first coffeehouses in the city. Others immediately followed them, but it took several years before this new institution became an integral part of Istanbul’s urban life. Many seventeenth-century Ottoman chroniclers repeatedly recorded how coffee and coffee drinking faced opposition from the Ottoman authorities and learned men. Apparently, it was the coffeehouse discourse with which the authorities were concerned, not the coffee itself: who went to coffeehouses, what they did there, and what they talked about or heard.<sup>212</sup>

### 2.12.1 Coffeehouses as public sphere

We know that it was primarily the authorities that labelled the coffeehouses of Istanbul as no place for honourable men. Women were not even included in this. They were seen as the source of criminal activities and sexual immorality in the city. Of course, as the above suggests, these were the most acceptable reasons for their suppression. Then, what were the authorities afraid of? They knew as early as in the seventeenth century that the nature of the coffeehouse discourse (spoken discourse, any conversation) differed from that of taverns.

Thus, the coffeehouses were also imagined to be places for the dissemination of seditious rumours among the general populace. This must have been what the authorities so greatly feared. Mustafa Naima, a court historian gives credence to this view of the coffeehouse and warns of their threat: At that time [in 1633] coffee and tobacco were neither more nor less than a pretext for assembling; a crowd good-for-nothings was forever meeting in coffeehouses . . . where they would spend their time criticising and disparaging the great and the authorities, waste their breath discussing imperial interests connected with affairs of state, dismissals and appointments, fallings out and reconciliation, and so they would gossip and lie.<sup>213</sup>

The consumption of coffee and tobacco in the 16th and 17th centuries was a novelty and a spontaneous rage, and it shocked the conservatives. A few traditional clerical jurists issued

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<sup>212</sup> Özkoçak, S. A. Coffeehouses, Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul *Journal Of Urban History*, Vol. 33 No. 6, September 2007 965-986

<sup>213</sup> Özkoçak, S. A. Coffeehouses, Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul *Journal Of Urban History*, Vol. 33 No. 6, September 2007 965-986

fatwas against the one or against both, both in the Ottoman empire (Hattox 1988) and in Iran (Ja`fariyan 1988).

Coffeeshouses were particularly popular on nights of Ramadan. While visiting coffeeshouses, people could show hospitality outside of its traditional place in the home: they could even buy rounds for the bar, so to speak, and show hospitality to strangers. The actions described here in coffeeshouses, strongly resemble what men do in bars: talk trash about women, tell tall tales, and listen to music.

Ibrahim Pecevi, well-known Ottoman historian, in his chapter on the introduction of coffee to Istanbul, tells of how those who would formerly have spent large sums giving dinners at home for their friends could, with the coming of the coffeeshouse, entertain for only a few coins. The proffering of hospitality was no longer something that could be undertaken solely in one's home.... The act of hospitality could now be transferred to a public place where one's responsibilities, and perhaps prestige, as host were more limited.... There, in the coffeeshouse, one could play host for relatively little outlay, and the "sport" seeking a reputation for magnanimity could, for a trifling sum, even show his generosity to those who were not originally members of his party. When someone is in a coffeeshouse, and he sees people whom he knows come in, if he is in the least ways civil, he will tell the proprietor not to take any money from them. All this is done by a single word, for when they are served with their coffee, he merely cries "djaba" (Turkish: caba), that is to say, "Gratis!"<sup>214</sup>

For Ibrahim Peçevi (1641), the coffeeshouses became meeting places of a circle of pleasure seekers and idlers, and also of some wits from among the men of letters and literati. Some read books and fine writings, some were busy with backgammon and chess, and some brought new poems and talked of literature. As time went on, all kinds of unemployed officers, judges and professors, all seeking preferment and corner sitters became the habitués of this space, besides the holders of high offices. Even great men could not refrain from coming there.

According to Mustafa Ali, in these meeting places, people from various levels of the people came together and consumed this space for diverse aims. One of the interesting points regarding the coffeeshouse clientele is its heterogeneous character.

Ottoman daily life was under the Islamic discursive basis, which did not allow mingling together and was structured in a religious hierarchical composition, so any kind of deviation from general norms, like segregation was a corruption. Although there was no written rule to

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<sup>214</sup> <http://www.hoboes.com/Politics/Prohibition/Notes/Coffee/>



exclude women and children, throughout its history it preserved its typical feature of being a male space. Nevertheless, for the observations of some travellers, women and children participate in some theatrical performances in the coffeehouse.

However, this presence of women and children does not mean that they were the active frequenters of this space and the coffeehouses were confronted with the intermingling of both sexes. They were just passive viewer of theatrical performances that took place in the coffeehouse at certain times. Therefore, the coffeehouse by way of male participants signified the existing diverse form of distinctions in society and also contributed to the masculinization of men in society.<sup>215</sup>

And third, women were excluded from the coffeehouses. Coffee entered women's life in association with the public bath, hamam in early modern Istanbul as separate from men. The public bath was the only public place for female sociability; women sometimes spent the whole day there, chatting and drinking coffee. For an early modern Muslim woman, this could be the most legitimate reason to go out.<sup>216</sup>

In western coffeehouses, the rule of the general exclusion of women was common. There are some special occasions when women found acceptance as part of coffeehouse society, but they are exceptions. However, they were not totally excluded from the social world of the English Coffeehouse.<sup>217</sup>

The coffeehouse was connected to the growth of urban culture as the new arena of a locally organized public life. Around these public spaces, the city inhabitants engaged in public life through different sorts of expressions – ceremonial, ritualistic, satirical, and theatrical. It is this informal cultural arena where people experienced and created forms of cultural and social communication and relationship.<sup>218</sup>

*“...An evening or two before our departure from Ioannina, we went to see the only advance which the Turks have made towards scenic representations. This was a puppet show, conducted by a Jew who visits this place during the Ramazan, with his card performers. The show, a sort of ombre Chinoise (Chinese shadow), was fitted up in a corner of a very dirty coffeehouse, which was full of spectators, mostly young boys. The admittance, was two paras for a cup of coffee, and two or*

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<sup>215</sup> Yasar, A. (2003) The coffeehouses in Early modern Istanbul, Master thesis, Fatih University, Istanbul

<sup>216</sup> Özkoçak, S. A. Coffeehouses, Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul Journal Of Urban History, Vol. 33 No. 6, September 2007 965-986

<sup>217</sup> Ibid. 201

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. 201

*three more or those small pieces of money put into a plate handed round after the performance....*<sup>219</sup>

### **2.12.2 Coffeehouses as public Space**

The emergence of coffeehouse that rearranged urban space formed a viable public space for the people living within the milieu of economic and religious activities, and by way of coffee habitués was included in these spatial organizations, sometimes within them, sometimes next to them. The coffeehouses became the new place of social interactions, with a sort of new dimensions, such as leisure activities and popular political discourse, as a new urban experience of citizens.<sup>220</sup>

Coffeehouses were located in the *bazaars* and *mahalles* as well. In the bazaars they played both an economic and a social role, providing the space for gathering of the artisans and consumers. Sometimes they served for *esnaf* member's gatherings. They were also place where one could get a shelter from the sudden rain or disturbing sunshine in the summer middays. As the streets of the bazaar were very lively, the opening towards the street of the coffeehouses, contributed to liveliness of the whole bazaar.

In terms of public space, the main venues in the neighbourhood were the mosque, public bath, local market with one or two grocery and baker's shops, and the street. Here, residents of the neighbourhood came together not only for prayer meetings or special sermons but also for neighbourly socializing activities. The coffeehouse found its place in this socio-religious and commercial centre. Some argued that it was able to establish itself there because it also functioned as an entertainment place for those who came to the nearby mosque and needed to be occupied before and after the prayer times. As with the other commercial enterprises in the neighbourhood centre, the coffeehouse was assigned to a pious endowment, waqf, and thus it was also financially a part of it.<sup>221</sup>

The coffeehouse, which is opened to the street, is a part of the public places pertaining to men that were situated on the network organized transportation system that included mosque, public bath and other work places from house to the shop or workshop. The novelty of

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<sup>219</sup> Hobhouse, J. C., (1817) A journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey, M.Carey & Sons, Philadelphia, USA

<sup>220</sup> Yasar, A., (2003) The coffeehouses in Early modern Istanbul, Master thesis, Fatih University, Istanbul

<sup>221</sup> Özkoçak, S. A. Coffeehouses, Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul journal of urban history, Vol. 33 No. 6, September 2007 965-986

meeting in this outer space was obviously quite striking in a society where the city inhabitants were engaged with the restricted circles of religious or the semi-secular spaces.<sup>222</sup>

### 2.13 OTTOMAN URBAN SPACE IN THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

Most of the Balkan cities were built in the second half of the sixteenth century. Due to the lack of investments in the seventeenth century Balkan cities suffered decline. Lack of investment in the most of public construction, due to the long periods of wars could be considered the main reasons. The stagnation of commercial activities and artisan productions, reached the peak during the last decades of the eighteenth century. But the rise of the cities reversed at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, urban space in the Balkans experienced larger changes. The urban population grew, with Christians increasing in number. Thanks to very active merchants and artisans, the urban economy as a whole flourished in many parts of the peninsula; and the cities townscape changed substantially.

Traditional Balkan historiography stand at the position that the basic driving force underlying these changes was the emergence of a national bourgeoisie. Such a view regards the changes in the urban space as a prelude to national independence. The same period, however, was the time when reform-minded Ottoman bureaucrats attempted to introduce a European-style rule to a wider range of administration fields, with particular concern for the renovation of the urban space.

In the city centres, along the old mosques and hamams (public baths), the new European-style buildings were built. These include city halls, community houses, clock towers, schools and the elegant residences of wealthy merchants. In some cities, the riverfronts were opened for pedestrian access and the riverbed were regulated with stonewall embankments, to protect also from flooding.

Due to unregulated city administration, the cities were vulnerable to disasters such as flooding's, big fires or epidemics. In the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, a small number of reform-minded bureaucrats and Western-oriented intellectuals considered necessary to improve the urban space. After the Tanzimat were promulgated in 1839, there were several attempts to reform the administration of the city. In 1858 the Ottoman government set up the new office of the city administration council (Belediye Meclisi), entrusted with various public works in

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid.205

the urban space, and on 25 July 1867 the new municipal law was promulgated.<sup>223</sup>

### **2.13.1 Beginning of the Municipal Reform during the Tanzimat**

All administrative duties within the municipality were entrusted to a council, composed by appointed government officials and councillors elected by the local population. The council had regular sessions twice a week to discuss issues of urban development, implement the decisions through approval of higher authorities. These decisions were taken by majority vote.

The council had its own budget- financial stable. The municipality was required to be financially self-sufficient with major income from property taxes, registration of real estate, various market duties and taxes payed to the municipality according to local usages. The budget covered the expenses of employees and different tasks carried out by the municipality in improving urban space and municipal services. These works include public services such as: infrastructure construction, social welfare, public sanitation, police, medical and fire fighting services.

Street paving and maintenance was the highest priority. The shopkeepers and households lining the street usually shared these expenses.

The Provincial Reform Law, then, added the construction and maintenance of water supply network and sewage canals, the installation of street lighting and the construction of public parks to the previous task list. The police was in charge for supervision of the transportation, permits for coffeehouses and cracking down the illegal businesses.

Fire fighters with specially employed officials were responsible for maintenance of pumps and other fire fighting equipment's.

Probably the most interesting innovation in contemporary city planning was the introduction of street lighting. In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century many small towns began to install gas lamps.

The municipality also provided ambulance services, assisted homeless people, provided vocational education for orphans, supplied medical aid to handicapped persons, managed the garbage collection and street cleaning, handled quality control for food and for measuring

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<sup>223</sup> Sahara, T. (2011) 'The Ottoman City Council and the beginning of the modernisation of urban space in the Balkans' in the 'The City in the Ottoman Empire-Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity' Edited by Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhmann, Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler, Rutledge, London, New York

instruments, and supervised real estate transactions and the population register.

‘Within this framework, Ottoman town planning of the Reforms aimed at the reconquering of public space through the creation of wider and straight streets for better circulation, of quays and bridges freed from housing, of squares and promenades that would embellish the city and upgrade the existing monumental architecture. The creation of residential quarters (new suburbs) was also a matter of interest, but it was left to speculative private programmes.’<sup>224</sup>

The city council took the authority in two areas. The first include functions previously carried by the judges/kadis muhtesibs and janissaries, religious communities and guilds, such as helping the poor, fire fighting, street cleaning, and the water supply. The second area of authority extended to construction of paved streets, parks and other public spaces, public lighting, traffic control, and statistical records.

Members of the Council were elected from the local communities, showing respect for the religious and ethnic composition of the council. Consideration was given, not only to equality of Muslims and non-Muslims members, but also to a fair distribution of seats among the different non-Muslim communities - Christians, Jews, etc. In this way, the Ottoman government attempted to simultaneously realise popular participation and religious equality<sup>225</sup>

According to Tetsuya Sukara analyses, Municipal reform in 1876 covered most of the Balkan The highest rate was in Eastern Thrace 100%, Bulgaria 94,5%, and Northern Greece 92,8% The rate in Albania was 61,9 %, Kosovo 75 %, Macedonia 94,1% and Southern Serbia 85,7 %, while the lowest was in Bosnia – 38,6%.

In this period Ottoman Empire approved first laws and regulation on urban planning and construction. According to Zeynep Çelik, ‘the first regulation governing urban planning and construction activities was prepared in 1848. Between 1848 and 1882, four major regulations were passed: the 1848 Building Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi), the 1858 Regulation on Streets (Sokaklara dair Nizamname), the 1863 Street and Building Regulation (Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi), and the 1882 Building Law (Ebniye Kanunu).<sup>5</sup> These laws and regulations concentrated on similar issues.’<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Yerolympos, A (2010)-‘Planning reform in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century’, in ‘Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean’, edited by Lorans Tanatr Baruh, Vangelis Kechriotis, Alpha Bank, Historical Archives, Athens

<sup>225</sup> Sahara, T. (2011) - The Ottoman City Council and the beginning of the modernisation of urban space in the Balkans in the ‘The City in the Ottoman Empire-Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity’ Edited by Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhnnann, Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler, Rutledge, London, New York

<sup>226</sup> Çelik, Z. (1993) The Remaking of Istanbul, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, California

### 2.13.2 Improvement of the Urban Space by the Municipal Governments

As often pointed out by Western travellers, Ottoman cities were in a miserable condition until the middle of the nineteenth century. Roads, other than major thoroughfares, were rarely paved, and turned into muddy streams when it rained.

To make matters worse, many roads were used either as sewage drains or garbage dumps, and consequently were foul smelling and extremely unhygienic. Naturally, one of the most important duties of the municipality was to improve street conditions.

Together with the enlargement of main streets, the authorities paid attention to the improvement of commercial areas as well. They tried to introduce some kind of order into the narrow and winding lanes, a traditional feature of the Ottoman cities. In Monastir, where a fire destroyed the old market place in 1862, the authorities introduced a system of straight streets and two-storey houses made of stone. Indeed, embellishment of the urban environment was a key element in official propaganda for the urban reform policy.

The Bulgarian newspaper ‘*Turcija*’ issued the following correspondence in 1866:

*“Recently, our native town has been becoming more like a European city. Some of the main streets have been enlarged, and all the other streets have been repaired. Many large hotels have been built in the city centre. The city hall has been reconstructed, and several private residences have been newly built. The army barracks have been renovated. Owing to these changes, Šümnü is really much more attractive now.”*

The so-called European style was at that time a common feature in reconstructing urban space. According to Boris Čipan, a Macedonian historian of urban architecture, in Macedonia there was a strong tendency for the Ottoman authorities to imitate European models. The governors' residences were a kind of imitation of European palaces. Schools, local courts, and the other public buildings were all constructed according to European models. Even the most oriental phenomena such as clock towers were constructed in a European style in Bitola (Manastir) and Prilep.<sup>227</sup>

In other cities, the clock towers were reconstructed in what was called a 'European style'. For example, an Italian architect was invited to build a new clock tower in Novi Pazar in 1866. 39

Judging from contemporary writings and memoirs, people tended to see the many public

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<sup>227</sup> Čipan, B. (1978) Makedonskite gradovi vo XIX vek i nivnata urbana perspektiva, Academy of science and Arts of Macedonia, Skopje

buildings constructed in a European style as a visible reflection of modernisation, and generally welcomed them.

Probably the most interesting innovation in contemporary city planning was the introduction of street lighting. In Ottoman towns commercial districts were traditionally separated from residential areas.

Merchants and artisans would return home after work, and the commercial districts would be locked during the night. Street lighting was usually unknown, or restricted to a handful of big cities. However, in the 1860's many small towns began to furnish themselves with gas lamps.

It was the city council that took the initiative to set up street lighting. Many city councils started such schemes soon after their establishment. Although the lighting was usually limited to commercial districts, due to the high costs, some municipalities enthusiastically announced plans to provide the entire town with street lighting.

Another important task for the municipality was to improve public hygiene. In the 1860s, towns and cities in the Balkans suffered from very poor hygienic conditions, and were constantly subject to epidemics. In order to improve the urban environment, the city council undertook the task of enhancing public sanitation, with services such as regular garbage collection, sewage disposal, security of food and water and medical services.

Regular garbage collection seemed to have been unknown until the establishment of city councils in most of the cities. Newly established city councils began to prepare areas outside of the urban space for the disposal of garbage. Many municipalities employed garbage collectors, and regularly cleaned the streets. The authorities also instructed individual households to carry waste to a suburban garbage dump.

To secure the water supply was another important task. Municipalities began to construct new waterworks and sewer systems in the 1860s. These were usually large-scale construction projects, in which pure water was brought from a long distance.

Municipalities operated their own medical services. Many, especially the large ones, had their own hospitals and employed medical doctors.

All these activities seem to have contributed to changes in the visual aspects of urban space and the way of life of the people living there. However, information provided by the press and the other writings are fragmentary, and it is difficult to use it to trace the entire activities of

the city councils.

In Kosovo, some of these changes could be traced in the communal buildings such as municipal administration buildings, secular public schools and public hospitals mainly built for the army, but used also by the residents.

## CONCLUSION to Chapter 2

- Ottomans brought into Balkans a new administrative system and land regime. Ottomanisation was a transformation process that changed the whole life of people including change of religion - Islamization settings in terms of social and economic development. Ottomanization consisted on construction of new or conversion of churches into mosques, construction of the neighbourhood facilities such as hamams, madrasa, imaret, library and hanns (inns), and especially development of Turkish upper quarter. Cities played an important role in the establishment of the administrative system. As a rule, administrative units were named after the larger cities that fell within their boundaries, cities that were also the seat of the territories' administrative-judicial and military authorities
- Ottoman city is organized around the great mosque. Close to the mosque there are public buildings such as hamam, library, medrese, caravanserais, and that it is made up of a residential urban fabric almost without hierarchy, with a small number of 'matrix' streets in irregular layout and alignment, and with numerous cul-de-sacs. The chief device of Ottoman city-making was the *külliye*, a functional centre of a well-defined neighbourhood, identified in the first decade's by family bonds, profession, or place of origin. It consisted of an interrelated group of buildings around a mosque installed and endowed by the sultan as the public nexus of obedient subjects.
- Main economic activities in the Ottoman city were artisan's production and trading. In the Ottoman Empire, trade was considered as priority economic activity. Merchants were responsible for supply of the citizens in the whole Empire and Sultan was constantly informed about difficulties and shortage in supply. Artisans and tradesmen constituted the most important strata of the cities. They played a crucial role in the city life. Ottomans, beside the new crafts, tools and techniques, brought to Balkan their guild system, *esnafs*. Ottoman guilds or *esnafs* was a social economic organization of



the artisans of a profession. The guilds' primary functions were economic, but they had important social and political functions too. They also looked after the welfare of their members and protected them from poverty. The artisans guilds, though not those of the merchants, were also imbued with a strong ethos of equality

- *Waqfs*, the charitable endowments provided the main services in the Ottoman city, and the main civic activity was obviously focused around them, although they kept strong connections to the ruling authorities. Small *waqfs* were also an important element of the public sphere, many of them being after all charitable by nature. A major part of the public environment in towns actually came into being as a result of endowments. This was true for new cities as well as for those parts of existing towns that developed under Islamic rule.
- The social life in the ottoman cities in the Balkans usually took place in the bazaar and the small squares, mainly developed in the street crossings. Since the artisans and merchants were organized in *esnafs*/guilds, it was possible to develop a diverse sense of being in the public space on different occasions. In the bazaar people met colleagues and clients, urban dwellers met villagers who came for trading in the city.
- Other forms of social life took place in the weekly markets where regional merchants brought their goods, mainly food, into the city market. In some larger cities, the markets were developed as regional fairs gathering traders from a wider region. Different traditional cultural events, food and races followed these events.
- Coffeeshouses could be considered as public sphere in terms of social settings and the public life that took place in them. They may be considered also as indoor public space in which people use to meet for random talks or any other purpose. Coffeeshouses spread through Ottoman Empire and further in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. During the long period of existence, drinking coffee and tea developed into a tradition, preserved nowadays.
- The main types of public spaces in the Ottoman Empire could be considered bazaars with the streets interrelated with the small squares linking different kind shopping areas. They typically consisted on the paved streets with one storey construction and open towards the street where artisans and merchants exhibited the products. This way of extension of the inner space in the public street, provided intensive interaction between the shopkeepers and residents passing by.

- Maurice Cerasi classifies the Ottoman open space in four principle types: *meydans*, *namazgah*, *mesire* or *çayir*. Meydan was a large fair ground, where weekly markets and fairs took place. Namazgah's were open places of worship with a regular shape.
- Other types of public space include small squares usually equipped with fountain or a well. The size of these squares was different and usually the character of the streets, which terminated in the square, defined the size of the open space. The floor space of the squares and the streets was with cobblestone-*kallderma*.
- Mesires and gardens that were green/park areas located in the periphery of the city in the open landscape. The open-air coffeehouses under a pergola, on a wooden verandah or under an ancient tree in a particularly beautiful meadow, take the place of the European Square. The attractions such as wrestling, cirit (an equestrian game), and shadow theatres, could be found in these spaces

### **Ottoman City in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

- During the late 1860s and 1870s, Ottoman municipal reform functioned quite well in the Eastern Balkans. Most of the county centres had their own city councils. The result of reform was that it opened the door to political participation by the local non-Muslim populace. Although this was restricted to the urban space, people began to choose their representatives in the administration. In other words, it enabled religious minority groups to participate in city administration alongside Muslims.
- As religious groups, especially Orthodox Christians, had begun to develop their judicial and social autonomous institutions shortly before the inauguration of Tanzimat, it can be said that the new system was expected to coordinate those institutions that had been functioning separately. What kind of evaluation can we give to this aspect? The city council successfully fulfilled its role as a coordinator of various religion and communal institutions.
- Many cities succeeded in improving their public space. The main streets of the cities were enlarged, and the dusty winding lanes of the market places were transformed into clean and paved streets. The central parts of the cities were furnished with parks, fountains, and new Western-style public buildings. Urban street lighting at night with gas lamps presented a sharp contrast with the darkness of the countryside. The fact that these changes were brought about mainly by local resources and initiatives reinforces our proposition.

## Chapter 3 TRANSITIONAL PERIOD 1912 - 1945

### 3.1 BALKAN WARS, INDEPENDENCE, NEW OCCUPATION

Due to political changes after the Ottoman Empire collapse and establishment of the new borderlines in the Western Balkans, it is possible to consider territories of Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia as separate entities and distinguish the cities although major changes are difficult to trace compare to 19th century Ottoman city.

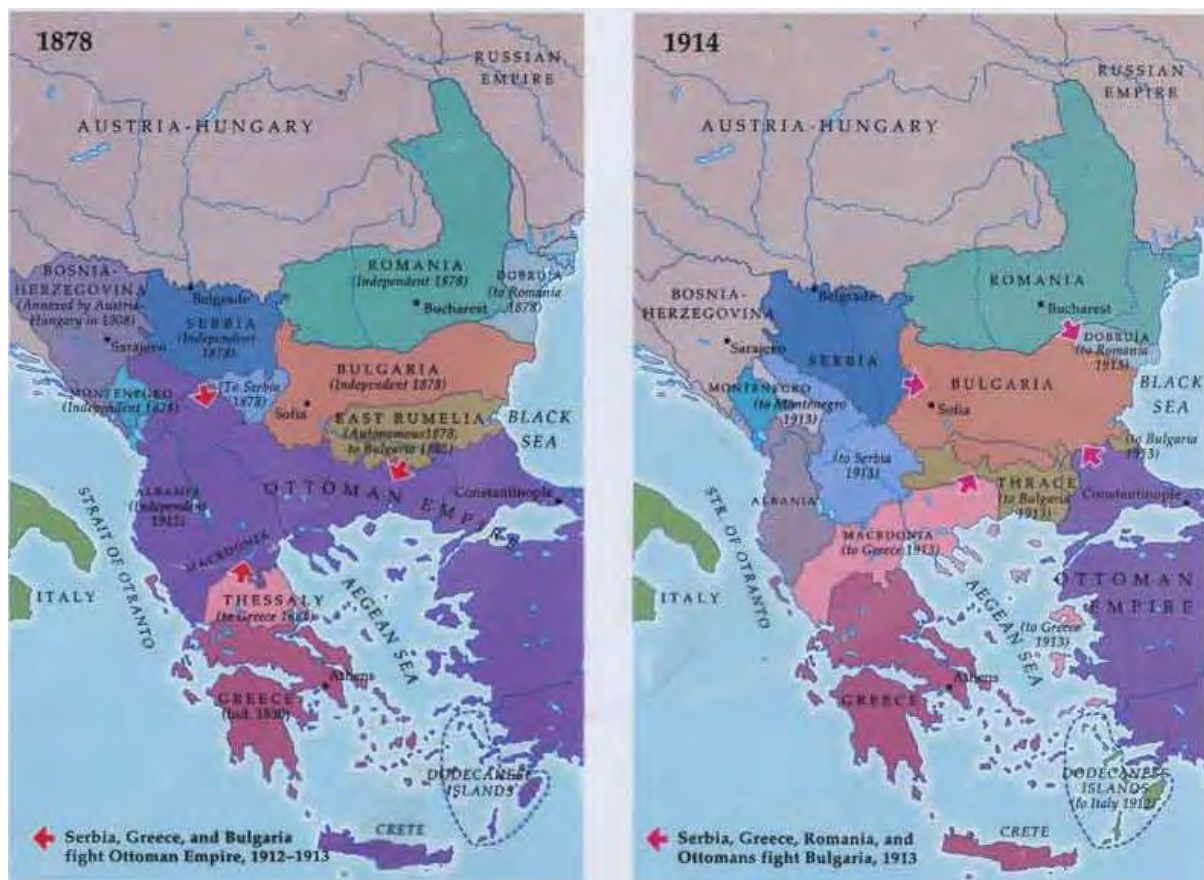


Fig.24 The Balkans, 1878-1914

In the beginning of the 20th century cities in Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia, still kept the Ottoman features both in terms of population structure and the urban structure. Although there were some changes during the period of Tanzimat reforms in early 19th century, due to the

constant decline of the Empire, there were no major changes in the cities of Western Balkans. Branislav Kojic<sup>228</sup> mentioned that due to this fact, and the World Wars in the first half of the 20th century, Ottoman cities in Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia have most preserved Ottoman structure. Prizren and Gjakova in Kosovo, Berat and Gjirokastra, Ohrid and Bitola are cases that clearly prove that.



Fig. 25 Prishtina bazaar in 1914

The interwar period is particularly important for Kosovo cities due to the political-territorial changes in the territory of Balkans. Until then the impact of Kosovo cities were in the framework of Ottoman Empire territory, more precisely, a territory mostly inhabited by Albanians named "Arnautluk" at the time by Ottomans. This territory includes – today territory of Kosovo, Albania, western part of Macedonia and northern part of Montenegro.

Setting the new borderline between the Balkan countries, especially between the southern Slavs and neighbouring Albania, was of major shift for the cities of Kosovo. The century hierarchical relations between Kosovo cities and those of North Albania were terminated immediately and new relations with the Serbian and Yugoslav Kingdom cities were

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<sup>228</sup> Kojic, Dj. B. (1976) *Stari Balkanski Gradovi, Varoši i Varošice*, IAUS, Beograd, Serbia

established. The railway lines from Skopje to Mitrovica and later to Belgrade, and the railway Skopje-Belgrade, played the main role in setting new relations between territories of new established borders. These lines were main axis to transport people and goods. On the other hand, new border lines between these two countries cut the connections between the region of the northern Albania and Kosovo and the links towards Adriatic Coast, causing economic decline in the both sides of the border. Cities in the border such as Prizren, Gjakova, and Peja suffered an economic decline. Established by international agreements in Bucharest and London 1912 and 1913, the new borderline will remain open half a decade from 1914 until the end of World War I in 1919.

During this period Prizren Gjakova and Peja kept more or less normal relations with the towns of Northern Albania and through Shkoder kept links with Italy. Artisan and industrial products and livestock were main subject of trading in this period.

Cities in Kosovo still kept the agrarian features with the citizens who produced vegetables and fruits in their home gardens and the so-called gardens in the urban fringe. Most of the families, usually kept livestock in their homes to provide meat, milk and dairy products for the family needs and sometimes to sell fresh products in the local market. The wealthy landowner families of the bigger cities kept renting the agrarian land in a feudal manner until the end of World War II.

Artisans and traders in this period kept their role and important portion of the city economy. Beside the production, services were also present in the cities in the Balkan city. The artisan's shops were still located in the bazaar/çarshia, usually located in the centre of the cities. The main artisan shops were: bakeries, butcheries, tailors, shoe makers, barbers, tanners-tabak, saddlers, silk and wool weavers, tinsmiths and blacksmiths, jewellers-filigree, cutlers, stove makers, coopers, pottery.

Due to the lack of official statistics and reliable data on the population of the cities in Kosovo in the years between the Balkan wars and World War I, the fact that Prizren, Gjakova, Peja, Prishtina and Vushtri in the period after 1919 that there was an intensive migration from Kosovo to Turkey and Albania.

According to some French statistical sources, the three cities in the western Kosovo, had bigger population number than during the period of Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Gjakova had 35.000 residents, Prizren 21.000, while Peja 18.000 residents. This is obvious because of the

border between Albania and Serbia, which after 1919 took the closed character, so Prizren, Gjakova and Peja lost an important market in the Northern Albania and link to the Adriatic coast. There was migration inside Kosovo as well, mainly towards Prishtina as a centre of province and Mitrovica and Ferizaj, the new centres with railway stations.

Many cities that remained in the other side of the border region, which previously belonged to the same country such as Gjakova and Prizren, are typical example of how changing the borders can be fatal for the development of the city, in particular if these borderlines are the closed type.

### **3.1.1 Kosovo 1919 - 1941**

This period is characterized with an intensive pressure to the local non-Slav population by the Yugoslav authorities including forced migration of the local population, from the villages in particular, leaving behind the land and homes. Those who remained were constantly persecuted. The most preferred method of pressure against Albanian was that they haven't been recognized as an ethnic minority. Since the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians in 1919- later Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Serbian authorities introduced the ban over Albanian language in the public. The second method was the wider programme of Colonization with Serbs from the other part of Yugoslavia – Croatia, Bosnia and Vojvodina. Usually the land of the Albanians would be confiscated and given to the Serbian colonists. In this way they provoked emigration of Albanian population mostly leaving to Turkey and Albania.

### **3.1.2 Administration**

During 1918 – 1945, Kosovo experienced at least four type of administrative systems. From December 1919 when Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established, the present territory of Kosovo was under the administration of South Serbia province. Fig.1 Prishtina, Prizren were of the main cities belonging to Kosovo territory.





Fig.26 Provinces of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1920-1922

From 1922-1929. The Kingdom of SCS, was organized in smaller territorial units – oblasts – provinces. The territory of Kosovo in this period was divided into 4 oblasts: Kosovo-Prishtina, Prizren, Ferizaj, Zeta- Peja, Gjakova, Vranje – Gjilan and Raska oblast - Mitrovica.



Fig.27 Oblasts of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1922-1929

In 1929, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians changed the name to Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This change affected the territorial administration. The Kingdom in this period was divided into larger regions-banovina. Fig.3. In this period, Kosovo territory was divided

between three banovina: Zeta – Peja, Mitrovica and Gjakova, Vardar – Prishtina, Prizren, Gjilan, Ferizaj, Morava – Vushtrri, Podujeva. Fig.3



Fig.28 Banovinas/Regions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1929-1939

It is clear that this was a tendency to break the solidity of the territory inhabited by the majority of Albanian population and erases the Kosovo as a territory inherited after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

From 1921 to 1931, Prishtina was the administrative centre of KOSOVO Province; then afterwards centre of the Kosovo oblast, which was much smaller than province. During this period, in Prishtina was placed the administrative, financial, military powers of the province/oblast. The institutions that were based in Prishtina we can mention here: The Governor (Zhupan) of Kosovo, Province Assembly, Province court, Department of finance of the Kosovo Province, Province Sector for Construction, Agrarian Reform Trusty, etc.

Beside the governmental there were professional institutions established in Pristina and some other cities. The agricultural Station established in 1927, was also a veterinary station. The Forest Departments were located in the larger cities: Mitrovica, Pristina, Prizren and Peja. The main Directorate of these services were in Skopje. This fact tells us that many services were subordinated to Skopje.



Since in Skopje was the regional stock market, there was a certain degree of interdependence of the cities in Kosovo from Skopje. In Skopje were established Stock Market Court and Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Thus, these activities, considered as urban as well, also demonstrate the aspect of hierarchical dependence from Skopje.

In Kosovo towns even in this period we find artisans guilds - esnafs. From 1932, 'New Law on shops' the guilds were transformed into 'artisans associations' dependant from Artisan Chamber based in Skopje as the centre of the Banovina of Vardar.

Skopje in the period the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was e major financial centre and larger creditor for Kosovo cities, especially those of the Banovina of Vardar. Thus the subsidiary of State Hypo Bank in Skopje funded hydropower plant in Prizren and Peja.

### 3.1.3 Population

According to the censuses from 1921 and 1931 the population in Kosovo declined. Despite the average natural growth of 1.3% and on the other side of colonization with a large number of Serbs from the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, the number of residents has declined over the period of 10 years. The main reason was the constant pressure and violent displacement of Albanians from their homes and land, who mostly emigrated in Turkey.<sup>229</sup>

	Prishtina	Prizreni	Gjakova	Peja
1921	14.338	16.438	14.293	14.772
1931	11.295	16.358	13.829	13.338

Table 2- Population in Kosovo according to censuses in 1921 and 1931 according to Q. Lleshi

## 3.2 ECONOMY

### 3.2.1 Agriculture

In his study 'Kosovo Cities'<sup>230</sup>, Qazim Lleshi notes that in this period cities in Kosovo had a mixed character. In Pristina and Prizren nearly 25% of the population were engaged in

<sup>229</sup> Lleshi, Q. (1977) Qytetet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtina

<sup>230</sup> Ibid. 214

agriculture production and livestock. But this doesn't mean that the cities should be categorized as agricultural cities. Animals were kept primarily to provide milk and meat, and eggs. Even household gardens were used to provide seasonal fruits and vegetables. Collection and commerce of the agricultural products was one of the primary activities of the city residents, which took place in the city markets and meydan in the urban fringe.

### **3.2.2 Industry**

During the interwar period there were very limited activities in the industrial production. The main production was brick industry, sawmills, small energy plants and mills. Mitrovica is an exception. Trepça, mine of lead and zinc was opened in 1930 by a British mining company – 'Trepça Mines Limited. In 1921, a lignite mine was opened in the area of today lignite mining close to Prishtina with 35-40.000 tone annual production. The shareholder company 'Kosovo' from Belgrade carried out exploitation. At the same time magnesium mine was opened at Golesh mountains.<sup>231</sup>

The extraction and exploitation of lead and zinc minerals had a big economic and social impact in the Mitrovica region. The city had grown since then. Construction of homes, schools, hospitals, library and other public buildings and infrastructure followed the city development. Mitrovica was known also for the first sawmill in the

These production plants and mines needed electrical power. First power plant was built in Ferizaj as early as 1922, with a modest capacity. By 1937 similar energy plants, with higher capacity and more flexible production were built in seven major cities in Kosovo.

Other industrial production in Kosovo towns in the interwar period was the production of construction materials, agricultural products for processing flourmills, sawmills, brick factories, cement factories, and graphic industry.

In the western part of Kosovo, the main production plants were brick factory in Prizren, Gjakova and Peja, sawmills in Peja and Mitrovica, and flourmills.

The production of building materials industry grew very fast because the need for construction which arose from colonisation of Kosova in the 1920-s and 30-s. with immigrants coming from other parts of Yugoslavia.

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<sup>231</sup> Lleshi, Q. (1977) Qytetet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtina

### **3.2.3 Artisan's Production**

The majority of urban primary economic activities in the interwar period were artisan production. Their products were dedicated mostly to the domestic market in the city and the rural population in the region. These artisan productions present the main feature of the oldest cities in Kosovo such as Prizren, Gjakova Peja and Pristina. In 1928, there were 500 artisan shops in Prizren, 178 in Peja 178, 400 in Gjakova, and 119 in Pristina<sup>232</sup>. The main artisan types were bakeries, butcheries, tailors, shoe makers, barbers, tanners-tabak, saddlers, silk and wool weavers, tinsmiths and blacksmiths, jewellers-filigree, cutlers, stove makers, coopers, pottery. Prishtina in 1940 had 356 artisan shops.

### **3.2.4 Home artisans in the cities**

Although this activity in the cities in the Ottoman period often might have been the only source of incomes, in the beginning of 20th century, families that carried this business decreased due to the raise of consume of industrial products. Cities of Dukagjini region are still nowadays producing some of these products as a traditional business and also as a cultural heritage products only. Sometimes these artisanal productions were characteristic for the different ethnic and religious groups – Serbian poor families were known as wool knitters (sweaters, pullovers, socks etc.) in Gjakova, Prizren and Pristina silk fabric weaved by Muslim Albanians women; in Peja carpets woven by Albanians; for metal products and jewellery from gold, silver and brass, catholic residents of Janjeva were known for centuries. They still keep the fame of these artisanal products.

Artisanal production for domestic needs was widespread in most of the Kosovo cities. In Prizren, women produced up to 50 pairs of socks each year, intended mainly for local market town. Women from Prizren weaved silk fabric for the market in Serbia. In Gjakova and Peja a large number of Albanians weaved silk fabric for the regional market and export. Peja women produced more than 400 carpets and rugs per year.<sup>233</sup>

### **3.2.5 Commerce**

Due to the political geography changes in the Balkans after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and with the establishment of new states, the main lines of communication changed and new centres of commerce arose in the region. Links with Albania and Adriatic coast were

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<sup>232</sup> Savic, M. (1977) Zanati i industrije u prisajedinjenim krajevima i zanati u starim granicama Kraljevine Srbije (Beograd), quoted by LLeshi, Q. in Qytetet e Kosoves, 1977

<sup>233</sup> Savic, M. (1977) Zanati i industrije u prisajedinjenim krajevima i zanati u starim granicama Kraljevine Srbije (Beograd), quoted by LLeshi, Q. in Qytetet e Kosoves, 1977

weakened and cut off entirely, and strengthened those with Serbia and Macedonia. Trading in the western Kosovo cities in this period decreased.

After 1934 citizens of Gjakova and Prizren, were allowed to trade on the other side of the border with the towns in the Northern Albania and Shkodra. Also the population of northern Albania used Prizren and Djakova markets to sell mainly dairy products and products for domestic needs.

The progress of trade is mainly related to construction of the railway. All cities in which train stations were built since the 19th century, had an increased volume of trade - Pristina, Ferizaj, Mirrovica in the Kosovo valley and Peja in the Dukagjini valley. Prizren in this period remained on the periphery of the main communication axis, which led to its drastic economic decline. Mitrovica and Ferizaj experienced the fastest growth due to the railroad Skopje - Belgrade that passed through Ferizaj and Mitrovica.

### **3.2.6 Finance**

In the interwars period Kosovo banks were hierarchically dependent of Skopje. In 1923 bank "Stara Serbia" was established with the main task to mediate between Skopje market and all important monetary institutions in Kosovo. In establishing of this bank participated smaller banks from Kosovo – bank of Prizren, Peja, Prishtina, Ferizaj, Mitrovica subsidiary of South Serbia Bank, and Gjilan Economic Bank.

## **3.3 TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN CITY**

The transformation of the Balkan city commenced in the 19th century, ending in the 20th century under influence of changes of the social and economic system and national emancipation of the Balkan nationalities – Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians and Greeks. The main feature of these changes is not quiet evolution, but it is more an erasure of the Ottoman city fabric, leaving behind only samples of monumental architecture, such as mosques, hamam's, han's.

In Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, these changes took place in the second half of the 19th century through regulatory plans, while in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia it started after 1920-s to continue after the World War II in the socialist system.

The new regulatory plans destroyed the ottoman city structure, although not in total. It is possible to recognize the parts of the ottoman city structure in the cities of the west Kosovo-Prizren, Gjakova and partly in Peja and Prishtina.

In Albania Berat and Gjirokastra have preserved the complete old city structure. In Berat, Elbasan and Shkodra the bazaars were demolished in the 60's. Bazaars in Albania didn't survive, mainly because the private sector was prohibited during the communism. In Macedonia, Prilep, Veles and Bitola in the central part and Tetova and Gostivar suffered from the modern planning. Only Ohrid preserved its Ottoman structure.

### **3.3.1 Housing**

As stated earlier, the population number during the interwar period decreased due to extensive migration of the local population forced by a constant discrimination of the Albanian population orchestrated by the Serbian authorities. Migration to Turkey was not characteristic only for Kosovo. It took place in Macedonia as well. In the other side, colonisation programme by the authorities affected housing stock. In the cities, very little housing has been built in this period because, usually, newcomers from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Vojvodina, bought houses of those who left. The new houses were built for the army officers and other officers brought from Serbia to establish the administration, education and health services. In Prizren in the area Lakuriq in the 30's a collective housing block were built for army officers.

Most of the housing were built in the villages for the immigrants who came through the colonisation programme. Serbian authorities gave the land and house for the families who populated existing villages and sometimes, entire new villages were built for the colonists.

### **3.3.2 New Communal Buildings**

- **Health care and Social Services**

Organised health services were offered mainly in Pristina, Mitrovica, Prizren and Peja. The first hospitals were built in the Ottoman Empire and they were dedicated to the army in the first instance, but have been used also by the residents. Those buildings were then used by the Yugoslav Kingdom.

The four biggest cities had hospital services. Health care primary service was provided in larger cities: Prizren, Pristina, Mitrovica and Peja. In the 30-es, new hospitals were built in the larger cities as well, the so-called "Banovina hospitals"; eg. Pristina in 1933 and Mitrovica,

completed in 1940. Some new-built health facilities were funded directly by the local residents or by a large enterprise.

Sometimes residents used individually health services outside Kosovo – in the cities offering more extensive services. As Qazim Lleshi quoted in his book, those who suffered from tuberculosis used to go up in Skopje to take pneumothorax.

Cities with a strong economy between the two wars have established different social and humanitarian associations for children care, for helping the poor, sport and cultural and artist associations, some of them patronized by the religious institutions.

- **Schools**

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was not only characterized for the absolutism of its political system, but also with large backwardness in education and culture. Beside the injustice and oppression in terms of economic development, Kosovo suffered an ethnic discrimination, being prohibited education and cultural activities in Albanian language.

Teaching in this period, in all schools, was only in Serbian language. Albanian language as the language of the majority population was not allowed in schools. Only in the religious schools – ‘meytep’ teaching in Turkish language was allowed.

High schools – so called ‘gymnasium’ were opened in larger cities. The teaching language was Serbian. The first full class gymnasium was opened in Prishtina in 1920/21, in Prizren 1924/25. In Peja in 1932/33 as a high school for administration was opened, which then shifted to gymnasium in 1935/36.<sup>234</sup>

In some cities in the 30's the so-called "citizen schools" were opened. Considered as professional school, the education was carried out in agriculture, industry and trade. First school of this kind was opened in Gjilan in 1929/30, then Ferizaj 1930/31) and Gjakova 1934/35. An agricultural school in Peja was opened in this period. Schools for girls of this type were opened in several cities in Kosovo, educating students in production of carpets, handicrafts etc.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Markovic S., Ivanovic J., Q., (1937) Skolstvo, J.S. ibid, quoted by Lleshi, Q. in Qytetet e Kosoves, 1977

<sup>235</sup> Rosic, D. (1937) Poljoprivredne skole, Spomenica, Skopje, quoted by Lleshi, Q. in Qytetet e Kosoves, 1977

### 3.3.3 New infrastructure

New roads were built to link Kosovo with Serbia – from Mitrovica to Kralevo and from Prishtina to Kurshumlia and from Peja to Berane in Montenegro. Construction of these roads shifted the main trading routes from those linking Kosovo with Shkodra and Adriatic coast to the routes linking with the north – Belgrade and other cities in Serbia.

The first railway line built in Kosovo, was from Skopje to Mitrovica in 1874- linking Kosovo with the port of Thessaloniki with north of Kosovo. The Yougoslav Kingdom continued the north-South axis linking Mitrovica with Belgrade, and Skopje with Nis.

Peja is the first city in Kosovo that has developed its regulatory plan in 1923, while some time later the plans were drafted for Prizren in 1925, Prishtina 1937 and Mitrovica. As we can see from the illustrations, the main features were new wide and strait streets, influenced by the European model of cities, mainly drafted by the Serbian architects and engineers who studied in Vienna. There were also architects engineers and from France ad Russia who worked for Yugoslav authorities, mainly on infrastructure projects.



Fig.29 Peja first urban plan from 1923 / approved 1925

In the cities, several interventions to open the new street axis destroyed the ottoman fabric of Prizren, Peja and Prishtina. It is obvious that Serbian authorities wanted to erase the Ottoman city and show the royal approach to configure the city structure. Due to the very short period in the interwars, they didn't achieve much, but in some cases damages were not only in terms of urban structure. The consequences were manifested in the economy. Usually bazaars/carshia were affected with demolition, since intervention in the

mahalles/neighbourhoods was more difficult due to problems with the residents. Example is the bazaar in Prishtina. Fig.

Similar situation was in Macedonia. City centre of Skopje was completely transformed with new colonial buildings – such as Theater along the river Vardar, the railway station, the main square- plostad, etc.



Fig. 30 Korzo - Peja -1936

In Albania similar situation occurred in almost the same manner. Reconstruction of the cities affected the Ottoman structure, although not always directly affected the old city core. In Berat for example the new city developed in the other side of the hill. In Gjirokastra, due to the topography, developments took place in the lower part of the city, so that the old city core remained almost untouched. Tirana as a new capital suffered most. The old bazaar was demolished to open ground for the ‘King Zogu Boulevard’ and government buildings.

Ottoman city did not pay attention to the riverfronts as a public amenity. Only after Tanzimat reforms, the riverfronts and the waterfront in general, became a public issue, but since the Ottoman Empire in this period were in constant decline, the rivers were not the focus of the city improvement. The main focus were schools, municipal buildings and hospitals. In



Kosovo cities during the transition period the riverfronts were considered as a topic to show the new

In Peja and Prizren, the opening of the riverfront caused big changes in the Ottoman city structure. Although the intentions were public oriented, such as protection from flooding's and opening of the riverfront to public, these changes affected in particular structure of the bazaar/çarshia because many shops were located just on the riverfront. Tabaks/tanners suffered most of all, because their workshops were on the riverfront. Fig/foto

In Prizren, river regulation was carried out in three main phases – 1928-1933 from the Stone bridge down to the Sozi Bridge at Tabakhane – tanner's shops. The second phase between Stone bridge and Arasta Bridge was constructed from 1934-1939. The third phase from Arasta bridge up to the end of Marash park, continued after the World War II – 1946-1949.

In Peja, the regulation of the river Lumbardhi took place in the period of 192... to 1940. Opening of the riverfront affected the part of the Peja 'Çarshia e Gatë'-(‘Long Bazaar’). Russian civil engineers who migrated in Yugoslav Kingdom after the October Revolution did the engineering of the waterfront, which still works very well against flooding.

### **3.4 TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC LIFE**

In the interwar period, the public life changed as the authorities of Yugoslav Kingdom took the power. The new state was oriented to the western culture. Due to different religious structure of the residents, there were big differences in the public life manifested in the public space. Beside the usual activities in the open spaces, the new activities with the model from the west, came to the cities of the former Ottoman Empire. Secular education, including female was introduced by the state. The education was allowed only in Serbian. Culture activities and sports came to Kosovo cities. These new forms of public life required new public spaces – playfields, parks and squares, and buildings – schools and culture facilities that were usually serving several functions. The same happened in Macedonia. Macedonian ethnic culture and language was not recognized. Neither the education in Macedonian language nor any literacy was allowed by the Yugoslav Kingdom.

In Albania, there was an obvious shift from Ottoman culture to European, mainly based on the influence of Italy and to a modest extent from Austria.

### 3.4.1 Culture

Culture activities in the interwar periods were extremely limited. In 1920, in Prizren the first national university was opened. It was in charge to organise public lectures in science, health, history and arts, using technical tools for demonstration such as films, slides etc. Lectures were free and no royalties were payed to lecturers Visitors are and lecturers. In Prishtina this university was opened in 1939 and in Mitrovica in 1940. The first cinema projector in Kosovo, was brought to Mitrovica in 1935. Since then Mitrovica possessed 3 cinema halls, while first public library in this city was opened in 1937.

During the interwar period, there was no theatre building in the whole Kosovo. Some temporary amateur drama activities were organised in Pristina and Prizren. Albanian drama troop in Prizren, supported by the local catholic priests, organised several performances the public in the city in the period from 1922 to 1935.

The music society were first organised in Prizren already in the end of the 19th century. Prizren had first musician society in 1885. Later these musician societies were established in Pristina, Mitrovicë, Pejë e Ferizaj. Prizren is the only city in Kosovo that had students society in the inter-wars period. This society published it's newsletter. Beside Prizren, Prishtina began to publish before the World War II "Kosovski Glasnikun" while Mitrovica "Kosovske novine"<sup>236</sup> published from 1935 to 1941. From 1926 to 1936 new printing companies were established in Prizren, Mitrovica and Prishtina, while Peja had its printing company since 1911. All publications after 1912 were only in Serbian.

There were also humanitarian organisations established in this period such as Red Cross which was present in all cities. In Prizren a Muslim based charity organisation 'Merhamet' were established, while in Mitrovica Serbian charity organisation 'Meraklia'

### 3.4.2 Sport

Sport as new way of public life and leisure activity became interesting since the beginning of 20th century. In the Yugoslav Kingdom, sport or physical education association were centres for youth mostly dedicated to Serbian residents. E first youth physical education societies in Kosovo cities in the interwar period, were the so-called societies Sokol". In Prizren such a

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<sup>236</sup> Mitropan, P. (1937), *Stampa Srbije*, *ibid.*, quoted by LLeshi, Q. in *Qytetet e Kosoves*, 1977

society was established in 1909. In 1930 this society built the first hall at the Shkodra square, adjacent to gymnasium building.<sup>237</sup>

In the interwar period, all larger cities established their football clubs. In 1928, Prizren established aero-club, a provincial branch of 'Nasa Krila' with the headquarters in Skopje. The club bought even a sport plane named 'Prizren'.

Prishtina was the fourth city of the Vardar Banovina to establish department for physical culture. In Mitrovica first chess club was established. These societies were established also in other cities: Peja (1910), then Pristina, Vushtrri, Mitrovica, Gjilan, Ferizaj and a bit later in the 30-s in Gjakova. Peja is the first Kosovar city to establish a sports association: Alpinism and ski association in 1928. Approximately in this period, football clubs were created in 7 major cities of Kosovo.

Regarding communal buildings, Prishtina and Prizren and Peja were the first cities to built markets and slaughterhouses. Amongst communal buildings we can also mention the Municipal buildings, army officers buildings such as in Prishtina.

Similar development of public life can be traced in Albania. After the independence in 1912, a great effort of the government was dedicated to education in Albanian language. As quoted before, Albanians are spread into three religions – Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox. Historically, there has always been recognized a harmony between these religions in Albania and other territories where Albanians live today. This was a strong feature for a nation, which just got independence, allowing a fast emancipation in terms of literacy and education. New schools of all levels were built in the whole territory of Albania. The culture life flourished based on people educated in Italy, Austria, Germany and France. But Istanbul remained an attractive education centre.

### **3.4.3 Street life**

Street life remained the same since the bazaar/carshia remained as the core area of business and shopping. Coffeehouses continued to play their social role within the bazaar and also in the neighbourhoods. Beside the sitting in the coffeehouses, walking in the streets – corso in the evening became a popular activity involving people of all ages. While most of Muslim

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<sup>237</sup> Lleshi, Q., (1977) Qytetet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtina

women still kept the tradition of not being present in the public, women of the Christian confession were more present in the streets and parks.

Electric power supply came to the cities of Balkans in the 1930's. Besides the lighting of houses, public lighting with electric power became also a goal of the cities. This provided a certain degree of safety and the opportunity to extend the public life in the evening.

### 3.5 PUBLIC SPACES

Probably due to very short period of existing of the Yugoslav Kingdom from 1919 -1941 the government was more focused on providing the basic public services and buildings – such as schools, hospitals, train stations etc. The open spaces remained in the background of priorities. But there were also some important public projects that influenced changes in the public life as well. Opening the riverfronts and riverbed regulation in cities might be considered public oriented projects. Parks that never existed before in the city centres, now took place as an important public amenity in the city.

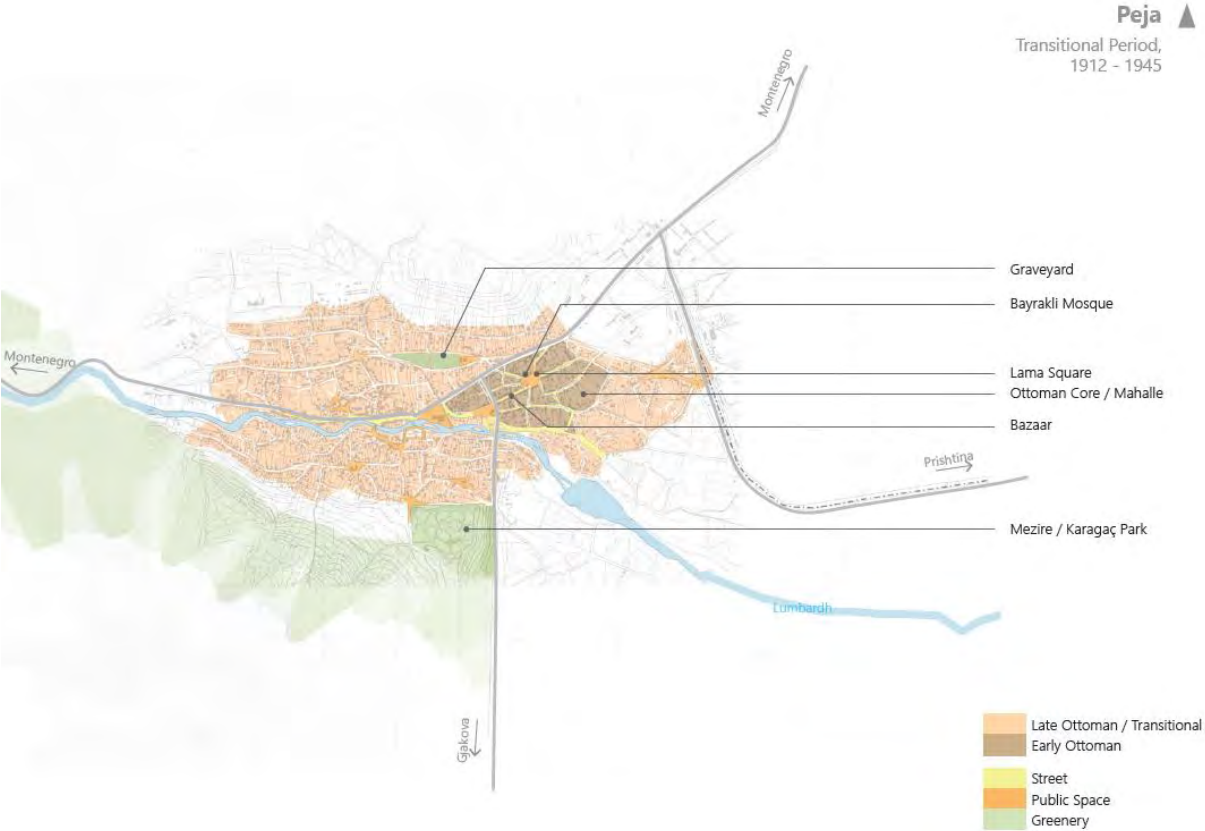


Fig.31 Peja public space in the transition period - Karaagci Park and grave yards turned to city park

### 3.5.2 New green spaces

After the Ottoman Empire decline, oriented towards the European city, the new Balkan states intended to create new green public spaces in the cities. These new green spaces such as parks were sometimes located in the old cemeteries such as city park in Prishtina, in Peja – Park around Culture House – called also Park at the ‘Long Cemetery’ as it was built over the cemetery. After the war in Kosovo it was named ‘Children’s park’, a monument dedicated to all children victims of the war. In Gjakova Park of Freedom is also built over the old cemetery. In Albania, in a similar manner, the Park of National Heroes in Berat, was constructed in the 1930’s over the old cemetery.

In some cities green areas and parks were developed along the waterfront – such as in Prizren – Marash Park which was a mesire in the Ottoman period, but than transformed to a park. In Peja the Small Park – ‘Milet Bahqe’ – (Peoples Park from Turkish) also from Otomman period. In Berat also the Osum riverfront Park dated from 1930’s followed the river regulation.



Fig. 32 Berat in the transition period - graveyards transformed into parks

### 3.6 THE WORLD WAR II

Due to economic crisis in 1930-s, cities in Kosovo experienced an economic decline. And because its cities were spread over four Yugoslav Kingdom provinces, they remained undeveloped because of their position in the periphery of these provinces. This fact is also based on a very weak infrastructure that was not able to support their economic development. Prizren, Peja and Gjakova were particularly affected, because their century ties with cities in Albania were broken and both kingdom of Yugoslavia and Kingdom of Albania were not interested to develop links between these territories.

#### 3.6.2 Kosovo during the war - 1941-1945

Kosovo in this period was divided into three occupation zones - Italian, German, and Bulgarian- see Fig.4. This is the reason why the cities were not lied up in a hierarchical way.

Due to constant discrimination of the authorities of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, The 'Greater Albania' as unitary area, occupied by fascist Italy, Germany and Bulgaria, which consisted of Albania, Kosovo, western parts of Macedonian, Sandjak and Montenegro territory, ethnically dominated by Albanians, provided a free trade and movement between Albania and Kosovo. Mitrovica was under German occupation authorities, while some parts of eastern Kosovo fell under Bulgarian occupation.



Fig. 33 Map of Albania 1941-45

During this period Prizren, Gjakova and Peja regenerated economy through trade, artisan production and services, utilizing extensively areas of north Albania. Peja raised again because it became the administrative centre of western and central Kosovo, eastern part of Montenegro-Plava and Gusia, and south Serbia – Sandjak – Rozhaj and Tutin.

Other important centre in Kosovo also with a military strategic role, was Mitrovica. It was the centre of northern Kosovo, Llap region, and Sandjak. The most important institutions in Kosovo in this time were in four cities: Prishtina, Mitrovica, Prizren and Peja. In addition to civil administration existed military administration.

Education in Albanian language and other civil rights, made ethnic Albanians to believe to fascist and Nazi occupation authorities. The primary schools in Albanian language were opened in all cities and towns in Kosovo. The administration was organised in Albanian language. High schools-gymnasiums in Albanian language were opened in three cities: Pristina, Prizren, Mitrovica. In Pristina the high school for teachers was opened as well.

During the occupation period the cities with strongest economy were Gjakova, Prizren in the western Kosovo and Mitrovica and Prishtina in Kosovo Valley.

### CONCLUSIONS to Chapter 3

- The interwar period is particularly important for Kosovo cities due to the political-territorial changes in the territory of Balkans. Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia were considered as separate entities
- Cities in Kosovo kept the agrarian features with the citizens who produced vegetables and fruits in their home gardens and the so-called gardens in the urban fringe. Most of the families, usually kept livestock in their homes to provide meat, milk and dairy products for the family needs and sometimes to sell fresh products in the local market.
- Artisans and traders in this period kept their role and important portion of the city economy. Beside the production, services were also present in the cities in the Balkan city. The artisan's shops were still located in the bazaar/çarshia, usually located in the centre of the cities.
- This period is characterized with an intensive pressure to the local non-Slav population by the Yugoslav authorities including forced migration of the local population, from the villages in particular, leaving behind the land and homes.

- The transformation of the Balkan city commenced in the 19th century. The main feature of these changes is not quiet evolution, but it is more an erasure of the Ottoman city fabric, leaving behind only samples of monumental architecture, such as mosques, hamam's, han's.
- In Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, these changes took place in the second half of the 19th century through regulatory plans, while in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia it started after 1920-s to continue after the World War II in the socialist system.
- Regulatory plans destroyed the ottoman city structure, although not in total. It is possible to recognize the parts of the ottoman city structure in the cities of the west Kosovo- Prizren, Gjakova and partly in Peja and Prishtina.
- In Albania, Berat and Gjirokastra have preserved the whole old city structure. Bazaars in Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat didn't survive, mainly because the private sector was prohibited during the communism. In Macedonia, Prilep, Veles and Bitola in the central part and Tetova and Gostivar suffered from the modern planning. Only Ohrid preserved it's Ottoman structure
- Public services were a new feature in the new Balkan states. Organised health services were offered in Pristina, Mitrovica, Prizren and Peja. The first hospitals were built in the Ottoman Empire were used by the Yugoslav Kingdom.
- Education was provided only in Serbian. Beside the injustice and oppression in terms of economic development, Kosovo suffered an ethnic discrimination, being prohibited education and cultural activities in Albanian language.
- New roads were built to link Kosovo with Serbia – from Mitrovica to Kralevo and from Prishtina to Kurshumlia and from Peja to Berane in Montenegro. The new infrastructure shifted the main trading routes from those linking Kosovo with Shkodra and Adriatic coast to the routes linking with the north – Belgrade and other cities in Serbia.
- In the cities, several interventions to open the new street axis destroyed the ottoman fabric of Prizren, Peja and Prishtina erasing the Ottoman city structure, but due to very short period in the interwars, they didn't achieve much.
- In the interwar period, the public life changed as the authorities of Yugoslav Kingdom took the power. The new state was oriented to the western culture. Due to different religious structure of the residents, there were big differences in the public life manifested in the public space.



- Culture activities in the interwar periods were extremely limited. In 1920, in Prizren the first national university was opened. It was in charge to organise public lectures in science, health, history and arts, using technical tools for demonstration such as films, slides etc
- The first cinema was opened in Mitrovica in 1935. In this period no theatre building existed in the whole Kosovo, but some temporary amateur drama activities were organised in Pristina and Prizren. The music societies were first organised in Prizren already in the end of the 19th century. Prizren had its first musician society in 1885
- Sport as a new way of public life and leisure activity became interesting since the beginning of the 20th century. In the Yugoslav Kingdom, sport or physical education associations were centres for youth mostly dedicated to Serbian residents.
- Street life remained the same since the bazaar/carshia remained as the core area of business and shopping. Besides sitting in the coffeehouses, walking in the streets – corso in the evening became a popular activity involving people of all ages.
- Public lighting with electric power provided a certain degree of safety and an opportunity to extend the public life in the evening.
- The open spaces remained in the background of priorities. Important public projects that influenced changes in the public life include riverfront regulation in cities, public parks in the city centres.

## **World War II - 1941-1945**

- Kosovo in this period was divided into three occupation zones - Italian, German, and Bulgarian.
- The 'Great Albania' as a unitary area, occupied by fascist Italy, Germany and Bulgaria, which consisted of Albania, Kosovo, western parts of Macedonia, Sandjak and Montenegro territory, ethnically dominated by Albanians, provided a free trade and movement between Albania and Kosovo.
- Education in Albanian language and other civil rights, made ethnic Albanians to believe in fascist and Nazi occupation authorities. The primary schools in Albanian language were opened in all cities and towns in Kosovo. The administration was organised in Albanian language.



## Chapter 4 - MODERN PERIOD

### 4.1 THE NEW SOCIALIST CITY - 1945-1970

For Kosovo, the period of the so-called 'socialist modernism' in former Yugoslavia, has not only been a transformations in terms of the development of architecture and the city, but it marks the beginnings of the architectural and urban profession in an organized and led by professionals, including education of architects in the different architectural schools in the former Yugoslavia as well as establishing of the school of architecture in Kosovo in the late 70's of 20th century.

Architecture and urbanism of this period presents direct outcomes of the transformations and development based on which, our cities have acquired a 'socialist/modernist identity'. Modernist actions in the socialist period occurred in the context of a wider urbanization in the region, often with conflicting ambitions expressed mainly through the plans and projects that demonstrate the utopian idea of building a spatial framework for a new society of which were affected by entirely pragmatic requirements.

Architecture of this period has not yet been valorised properly. It is often undervalued, although for Kosovo but also the region, it presents an important cultural layering, in a very important period of social development, regardless that most of the architects may have not been Kosovars.

The research tries to give an insight to different phenomena of the development of architecture and cities of Kosovo - such as decadent transformation of the historic core of the cities and construction of the new city areas planned in the spirit of modernism, through mass production and typical housing architecture, often through different offices throughout the former Yugoslavia. In these developments regional variations of modernism are possible to trace, expressed also through the influence on the Prishtina school of Architecture by the teachers coming from the respective schools - Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje, to the social position of architectural profession today and its presence in the media.

#### **4.1.1 Kosovo in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**

So-called liberation of Kosovo came in November 1944. For most of Albanians it was considered reestablishment of the Serbian rule over a territory where they were majority. The essential issue on the Kosovo status in the New Yugoslavia was decided again in the top down manner – in the Assembly. During 1944 and in the beginning of 1945, communist leaders discussed the whether Kosovo should join Montenegro, Macedonia or Serbia. In the beginning July 1945, the Provincial People's Council approved the resolution of annexation of Kosovo to the Republic of Serbia. The members of this council at that time represented only 2250 members of Communist Party in Kosovo. From 142 members of the Council, there were only 33 Albanian members.<sup>238</sup> Before these political activities, there was a rebellion movement in the beginning of 1945 as a respond to Serbian massacres of the Albanian population in Kosovo. In this way, Kosovo remained in the territory of New Federative Yugoslavia, with the borders valid today.

#### **4.1.2 Transformation of the Ottoman City**

Cities, as human settlements, experience continual and synchronized social and economic changes, in space and time. These changes affect the dynamics of their demographic, functional, and territorial development. This proves the assumptions that an urban entity, once established, despite the social-economic changes, develops without changing its initial territorial position.

After the World War II, the Ottoman city of the western Balkans faced larger transformations and changes. Most of the cities were under the pressure of reconstruction by the new social forces coming out from the liberation from the Nazi-occupation. These changes came also as a result of a long decline of cities in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the aftermath of the independence from Ottoman Empire. Because most of the Balkan cities were in the provincial areas of Ottoman Empire, they didn't go under the proper reforms during Ottoman period. They were also border cities before Balkan Wars in the 1912 and 1913 when the Ottomans were pushed to the present borderlines. Decline of economy and the wars contributed to the decline of all cities.

The period between two wars can't be appreciated as period of city regeneration, although some public amenities were added to the cities. The poor economic development could be in many aspects attributed to the new regime of Yugoslav Kingdom.

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<sup>238</sup> Malcolm, N. (1998), *Kosovo: A Short History*, Macmillan, London, Third edition, 2011, Koha, Prishtina

### 4.1.3 Setting up the New Socialist Administrative System

The main structure of the new state with 6 federal republics was projected since 1943. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, with Belgrade as the capital of Federation. The new state brought huge changes in all aspects of life. Macedonia and Macedonians gained recognition as a state and nation. From 1945-1963 Kosovo was an autonomous region of Serbia.

Until 1974, Kosovo was an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia. A Provincial government was established in Prishtina, responsible for administration, economy, education, health and culture.

The governance was organised in the districts with cities and towns as centres of administration. The cities became centres of the districts, later turned to municipalities. As the system changed to a socialist ruling system, the intention was to engage as much as possible people from the educated labour class. This was also an emancipation measure since the majority of the working class was illiterate.

Although a limited progress of Albanians in Kosovo in regard to education in Albanian language and culture, the main decisions were still taken by the Republic of Serbia. In theory, Albanian language was equal to Serbian, but since most of the administrative officers were Serbian, in the practice there were no distinctive changes.<sup>239</sup>

In the first post-war decade (1945-55) Kosovo cities didn't experienced significant changes in terms of administrative functions. The exception is Pristina, which turned to the capital of the Kosovo Province in 1947. Changes became obvious due to the fact that main cities became administrative district centres.

Even some villages became district centres, so in this period there were 17 districts in total, that later shaped the development of some villages into the smaller towns.<sup>240</sup>

Political-administrative functions of Kosovo cities experienced major changes in the 1960's, when in the territory of Kosovo Province abolished districts. At that time the administration were organized in the municipalities. The seven bigger municipalities acted informally as regional centres providing services that were not being offered in the smaller towns. Prishtina as a capital, in terms of administration didn't had any advantages, but it offered services of the

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<sup>239</sup> Malcolm, N. (1998), *Kosovo: A Short History*, Macmillan, London, Third edition, 2011, Koha, Prishtina

<sup>240</sup> Lleshi, Q. (1977), *Qytet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtinë*

central character such as higher education, culture and art. These services will become a sufficient reason for people from all over Kosovo to migrate towards the capital in 1970's and 1980's.

Population of Kosovo since from the Ottoman period was multi-ethnic. With the new socialist system, all ethnic groups were entitled to equal rights in employment, and social rights such as health care, education, culture and sport. Although Albanians and Turks got the right for education and services in their native languages, it took a long period until this right was implemented mainly because the Serbs were holding the real political power, while Albanians, only after the reforms in 1963 and finally 1974 constitution realised their rights when Kosovo gained an autonomous status within Yugoslavia.

The table below shows the population growth in four main cities in Kosovo analysed in this research as case study cities.<sup>241</sup>

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981
Prishtina	13.901	24.081	38.593	69.524	
Prizren	20.540	22.997	28.062	41.611	
Gjakova	15.003	16.702	20.778	29.638	
Peja	17.277	21.508	28.351	42.113	

Table 3- Population growth in Kosovo 1948-1981

#### **4.1.4 Land Policy / change of ownership / nationalization**

The idea of nationalization was worked out before the end of the war, but its roots reach more deeply into the very doctrine of socialism. In the programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as in the programmes of other communist parties, transfer of property was considered to be the main factor in building socialism.<sup>242</sup>

The transfer of property was ideologically motivated and was more often conceived as a long-term ideological postulate of the socialist revolution than as a short-term economic proposition addressed to the problem of how the war-shattered economy of Yugoslavia could best be organized.

A strong public-property sector had existed before the World War II in Yugoslavia. The state owned the railways and roads, forests, the army industry and coalmines. The state was also

<sup>241</sup> Lleshi, Q. (1977), Qytet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtinë

<sup>242</sup> Bicanic, R. (1973), Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia, Cambridge University Press, New York

the largest banker, controlling the five biggest state or privileged banks (the National Bank, the State Mortgage Bank, the Post Office Savings Bank and the privileged Agricultural and Artisan Banks). The trade of salt, tobacco, matches and petrol were also under the state control while the export of wheat and some other crops was entirely in the hands of state commercial corporations. This former state property was the first to be incorporated into the state sector.

Public corporations, such as social insurance, and state and government agencies before the war have been owners of considerable property which was transferred to overall state ownership. In the same way the village forests and pastures became part of the state sector.<sup>243</sup>

The land was partially nationalised and redistributed, and partially collectivised. Farmer households could own up to 10 hectares of land per household, except in cases where there were big families that comprised a community living from agriculture. The excess farmland was owned by cooperatives or socially owned agricultural companies. These could sell and buy land, as well as give it to people in perpetual lease.

The forms by which transfer of private property to the state sector took place were: sequestration, land reform, nationalization, confiscation, expropriation and gifts.

- a) **Sequestration** - As certain areas were liberated from the enemy, most of the firms in them were sequestered and provisional trustees were appointed by the new government to be responsible for current operations. This temporary solution was later followed by other, more permanent, measures. Two land reforms were carried out by federal laws providing the framework for subsequent laws in the republics, which worked out land distribution in detail. The provisional federal assembly passed the first land reform law in 1945, even before the constitution of the country had been approved. The second law was passed in 1953.
- b) **Nationalization** - Nationalization meant the transferring of a private property to the state ownership-in Yugoslav socialism 'peoples' in the beginning and social from the 1950's. There were two nationalization laws. Through the first nationalization, in December 1946, banks, industries of federal and republic relevance, wholesale trade, etc. were nationalized. The nationalization act 1948 covered industrial enterprises, including local manufacturing industries, transport, the retail and catering trades, etc.

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<sup>243</sup> Bicanic, R. (1973), *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Cambridge University Press, New York

- c) **Confiscation of property**- involved a transfer of property from the private to the state owned by the decision of the courts. This form affected mainly the properties of people sentenced in court - for war crimes, or for economic or political collaboration with the enemy. There is no doubt that some of these confiscations were less proper legal acts than they were instruments of revolutionary retaliation
- d) **Expropriation** - was a legal administrative act of the government to transfer private property to the state owned or socially owned for public interest. This again was subject to wide interpretation and in many cases it took a long time until a proper legal procedure was consolidated. The compensations were usually much lower than the market value.
- e) **Gifts** - Many persons after the war made gifts of their private property to the state. Some did it from revolutionary conviction, but many gave their property under pressure or from fear of being persecuted for their class position or activities during the war. Some owners struck a deal with the government to get the employment in their 'former' firm, a pension or some other compensation.

After the approval of The Law on Self Management in 1950, all nationalized property remained, but its character changed from state to "socially owned" property, which meant that management was taken out of the hands of the state administration and given over to the 'Worker's Council', whose power gradually increased. In 1959 nationalization of houses and building sites took place, but the forcible collectivization of peasant's property stopped in 1953. The basic fact was that, with the two exceptions of peasant holdings (limited to 10 hectares) and small handicrafts (limited to five workers), it was no longer possible to increase the size of the socialist sector by expropriation, but only by savings from the income produced by the workers themselves within the socialist sector.

The land reform and the property ownership transformation caused a massive migration to Turkey as a result of the constant pressure on Albanian population by the Serbian authorities. In the towns, beside the expropriation and confiscation of the properties from the wealthy city families, the pressure came through advantages that Serbian population got in employment, education and social housing. But, the most drastic migration was due so called 'Collection of the Weapons' from the rural population. Many families were forced to buy weapons just to handover them to the authorities, so they can free themselves from the constant pressure. Migration to the other parts of the former Yugoslavia was also quite often- especially for the artisans whose services and products were demanded in all parts of the country.



#### 4.1.5 The new Socialist Economy - Industrialisation and Nationalisation

In the first period, the new established Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia developed the economy according to Soviet type five-year planed economy and reconstruction. Massive voluntary work was a feature already seen in USSR in the aftermath of October Revolution. The countryside was electrified and heavy industry started to develop. The economy developed as a mixture of planned socialist economy and a decentralized, worker managed market socialist economy. The factories were nationalized, and workers were entitled to a certain share of their profits.

The formation of 'socially-owned' property was considered to be the most significant act in the policy of building socialism in Yugoslavia after the Communist Party seized power in 1945. In January 1946 the first Yugoslav constitution after the Second World War laid down that the economy should consist of three sectors, based on property relations:

*“The means of production in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia are the property of the entire people, i.e. property in the hands of the State, property of the people's cooperative organisation, or property of private persons or legal entities. All mineral and other underground wealth, the water resources, including mineral and thermal waters, the sources of natural power, the means of rail and air transport, the post, telegraph, telephone and broadcasting are national property.”<sup>244</sup>*

In the Stalinist centralized type of economic system- such as in the post-war Albania, the government machinery was completely merged with Party (Labour Party of Albania) and business management into one monolithic system, run by authoritarian, centralized command through the medium of directives. This meant that orders issued from above to those below in a hierarchical system were not binding to those above, but had to be implemented without question by those below.<sup>245</sup>

The Yugoslav model of socialism was an attempt to combine socialist ideals and policies at home with openness to the world economy – above all to foreign trade, aid, and supplements to the capital needs of their strategy for industrialization and national sovereignty.<sup>246</sup>

In the 1950 socialist self-management was introduced, which reduced the state management of enterprises. From 1953 onwards, when the Constitution was approved, in Yugoslavia there

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<sup>244</sup> Constitution of Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, (1946), Article 14

<sup>245</sup> Bicanic, R. (1973), *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Cambridge University Press, New York

<sup>246</sup> Woodward, S. (2003) *The political economy of ethno-nationalism in Yugoslavia*, *Socialist Register*, Vol.39, Fighting Identities

was no longer existing the state sector, state enterprises or state farms: in the first place, the enterprises were neither owned nor run by the state, i.e. the government bureaucracy, nor is the property owned by the state. Managers of socially owned worker councils, which were made up of all employees, supervised companies with one vote each. The Communist Party was organized in all companies and most influential employees were likely to be members of the party, so the managers were often, but not always, appointed only with the consent of the party.

The socialist enterprises were free to operate their current activities according to their own decisions and at their own risk. They sold their products in the market, bought raw materials, decided on the employment of personnel, contracted loans and made their own annual plans. They had to cover costs by proceeds from the market, and shared the benefits with the social community (federation, republic and municipality). This sharing underwent several changes, from profit sharing to income sharing. This distribution was, on an average, as follows: 60% of the income of the enterprise went to the social community, 27% to the workers, and 13% to the funds for self-financing. But investment resources remained centralized, and so did decisions regarding the founding of new enterprises—a matter left to the political authorities.<sup>247</sup>

In Kosovo, the modest industrial production plants were developed immediately after the war in the city periphery and sometimes even within urban areas. Some of the stronger guilds were transformed into state cooperatives to establish the first production facilities such as leather production, silver and gold accessories manufacturing, food production and clothing—such as in Prizren, Gjakova and Peja. In the mining areas the capacities were built for lead and zinc production – in Mitrovica and coal mine close to Prishtina in Obiliq.

The artisan production was still the main economic activity in Prizren, Gjakova and Peja, while as Prishtina turned to the Kosovo capital; the rise of service economy and administrative function provided an important employment sector.

In general, the annual turnover of artisans in the cities in this period decreased including the number of artisan shops due to the government focus on the industry as a massive employer, trade and tourism which were collectivised.

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<sup>247</sup> Economics of Socialism in a Developed Country, Foreign Affairs. N.p., 18 Apr. 2015. Web. 18 Apr. 2015.

While in 1950's the process of industrialization was very slow, it took a very intensive form during 1960's and 1970's. New industrial areas developed in the city peripheries, sometimes arbitrary decided by the politicians.

Kosovo cities, only in this period begin to experience a real urban life: the urban dynamics which other cities in the country and in the world experienced much earlier - early wakening in the morning going to the factory by local bus, night shifts, afternoon buzz, evening life – café restaurants, cinema, theatre etc.

The artisan production in this period experienced a decline. Since manufacturing had achieved a higher standard through merging of artisans and use of technology. The smaller shops have been pushed out of the market. Most of the artisans joined the cooperatives where they found reliability of the incomes. This is a process that other countries had gone through earlier.

Some of the artisans lost the market simply because the change of the habit. For example, the modern clothes gradually replaced traditional clothes with new modern fabrics produced in factory, although the traditional still remained popular in the rural areas.

The decline of artisan's production caused migration – from villages to the city but also from the cities of Kosovo towards bigger cities in the former Yugoslavia. Filigrees, photographers, and bakers were those wh migrated mostly in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and in the Adriatic coast.

In Prizren, Peja, and Gjakova home artisan production were fairly widespread. Women sewed silk shirts, and produced traditional souvenirs. The silk work was widespread in Gjakova, while in Peja and Gjilan carpets weaving. An overview of the employment in the 3 main sectors is presented in the following table:

	Population		Index	Immigration	Industry	Artisans	Services
	1948	1953					
Prishtina	13.901	24.081	122,7	26,1	13,7		25%
Prizren	20.540	22.997	112,0	13,2	2,5	35,3%	17,4
Gjakova	15.003	16.702	111,3	5,7	6,6	40%	12,4
Peja	17.277	21.508	121,9	14,6	10,3		

Table 4. Population dynamics between 1948 and 1953 and employment sector<sup>248</sup>

<sup>248</sup> Lleshi, Q. (1977), Qytet e Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtinë

#### **4.1.6 Trade**

Trade was an urban activity that marked the expansion of the cities in Kosovo. The new trade companies with the new means of transport were able to cooperate with the other regions in the former Yugoslavia and further in Europe and the world. The larger commercial enterprises were established by the state. The major market Yugoslavian enabled larger circulation of products from Kosovo to other parts of the country and from other parts of Yugoslavia to Kosovo. Many Kosovar products were exported to Europe and beyond. At the beginning of the 70's the Kosovo established its foreign trade enterprises. The main products to export were the mining industry, metal and textile industry.

Besides the shops, in early 70s department stores were constructed. Trade of agricultural products in cities was carried out in the cities markets. Every city has had its market day that is even today respected by citizens and farmers who bring their products in the city market and at the same time make their shopping's in the market and in the city.

#### **4.1.7 Tourism**

After the World War II, tourism appears as a new activity. Peja, Prizren and Gjakova possess very attractive urban tourism motifs such as rich cultural heritage and natural values close to the cities. As a new economic activity it began to take shape in the cities through local tourism agencies. Prishtina is more known for tourism development in connection with the business, regional administration and university. Natural values and national natural parks, which are very close to cities, encourage visitors from Kosovo and outside to visit the attractions. Hotels in Kosovo were built since before the war, but from 1950, they were built in all cities. In the socialism period, hotels and restaurants have been important points of the social life of citizens.

#### **4.1.8 Emergence of new Service Economy**

A new sub-sector called the social sector was added at this time to cover types of organisation dealing with non-productive occupations and services, such as cultural, political and sports organizations and labour unions. The overall state administration covered education, health, culture and other public services. In 1953, it employed 452,000 people.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Bicanic, R. (1973), *Economic Policy in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Cambridge University Press, New York

- HEALTH CARE

Health Care facilities in Kosovo cities before and immediately after the war had been at a very low level. Moreover, health education of residents and general sanitary conditions in Kosovo were considerably poor. In the aftermath of the war, in most of the cities there were hardly more than one medical doctor, sometimes 2-3, while only larger centres, such as Prishtina, Mitrovica, Prizren and Peja, had 5 up to 10 medical doctors; with a very limited number of specialist doctors.

Because of the wide spread tuberculosis in Kosovo, in the post-war period, a particular attention cities had paid to organize the preventive and curing services in the medical centres.

The progress in the health care is best presented through the development health building such as health care centres, hospitals, specialist clinics and increase of number of specialist doctors in cities. Since in the 1960's all large cities began to develop their hospital centre as a distinctive complex area in the city. In Prishtina the University Clinical Center, beside the health care services of all levels, was established to provide, the university education in the medical sciences.

- EDUCATION

After the World War II, Kosovo faced a high rate of illiterate population. The focus of the government was in opening of the new elementary schools in three main native languages – Albanian, Serbian and Turkish. A big number of residents was involved in learning reading and writing in the evening schools. Opening of secondary schools/high schools, technical, medical, economy, came gradually from 1950 to 1960 in the bigger cities such as in Prishtina, in Peja visual arts, secondary music school in Prizren, school for teachers in Gjakova.

The education in all levels - in the three official languages - Albanian, Serbian and Turkish experienced a faster development from 1960's. New primary schools were built and others were improved. Raised new secondary schools - high schools, normal schools, vocational - technical, economic, medicine etc.

Then, there were first scientific institutions: Institute of Veterinary (1950), Institute of Albanology (1950), which closed very soon. In 1949 Peja, Research Agricultural and Forestry Institute was established, while in 1950 in, Prizren, Livestock Institute.

In early 1960's university education started in Kosovo as part of the University of Belgrade. Faculty of Education, Philosophy, Law, Economy, Technology and Medical faculty were amongst the first units to establish the University of Prishtina in 1970.

University represents one of the turning points of the development of Kosovar society from 1970's he became a symbol of national development and is still today considered such. It poses multidimensional symbolic features embodied in the social development of Kosovo citizens and. Located on the territory of the former barracks it presents the transformation of the military power to the power of mind, the sublime achievement of human beings.

It also represents the place where professionals who have had a role in the overall development of Kosovo, are educated. From University of Pristina, higher educations begin to spread to other cities of Kosovo. In Mitrovica Faculty of Technology and Mining and Geology, in Prizren, Gjakova and Gjilan college for education for teachers, college of economy in Peja, and Ferizaj college for wood technology.

#### **4.1.9 Social Life**

- **CULTURE**

In the first period after the war, most of the cultural functions were concentrated in the capital Prishtina. This is a feature that most of the undeveloped countries faced. It is strange that the culture institutions were established in Prishtina although the city had not any previous tradition in cultural activities. Indeed, some cities, such as Prizren, had a more organized culture life. Until the transfer e Provincial Council in Pristina, at the end of v. 1946, Prizren was the main publishing centre in Kosovo, where the daily newspapers 'Rilindja' in Albanian and 'Jedinstvo' in Serbian were published.

National Theater of Kosovo (1949), Museum of Kosovo (1949), Provincial Archive (1954) was amongst the first culture institutions to be established in Pristina. After 1966 cultural activities were spread to other cities - Prizren, Gjakova, Peja and Gjilan - theatres, museums with traditional activities like theater and music festivals organized as Provincial events or at the country level. The main culture activities were carried out by the culture and art association established in all cities and towns. They were the nucleus of social and culture life in the city.

In Pristina in 1960's the Kosovo Province Library was established, later National University Library, national film company Kosovofilm, Shota Ensemble, Collegium Cantorum Choir,

the media and publishing companies developed their activities in three official languages. Radio Pristina, later Radio and TV Pristina, from 1970's broadcasts programs also in three languages.

New modern society had put away traditional rituals and ceremonies as relicts from the past something. Replaced by the new forms of cultural and leisure activities, they got closed within the families, friends and neighbours'.

The culture life developed so fast in all its fields so that the necessary linkage with other centres in Yugoslavia was necessary, notably Belgrade and Skopje, where Kosovars got university education in music, drama and visual arts. This was then extended to the intensive cultural exchanges through festivals in all over former Yugoslavia and further in Europe. As E.Hoxha notes, "...This period marks a more healthy public life and relationship between different nationalities, though ethnic conflicts were still not completely disappeared"<sup>250</sup>

- **SPORT**

Sport became the activity, which celebrated the new socialist system. As part of the education policy, it brought the new spirit to the young population and to the older generation of residents a new social activity gathering at the playgrounds and stadiums to watch a football match or a running race. Sports activities brought together boys and girls contributing the emancipation of women and men in term of gender equality. From a mainly 'man' oriented society, the new socialist society became gender balanced and the women enjoyed all citizens rights.

Beside to significant contribution to social life in Kosovo, sport contributed in architecture and urbanism of the Kosovo cities with new buildings that haven't been seen before. Stadiums and open sport fields were built from 1950's to 1960's, while sport halls started to be built in 1970's. Because of their dimensions, they played a significant role in defining the townscape of the cities. By 1970's all big cities in Kosovo had their sport halls.

#### **4.1.10 The new Socialist City - Planning as an Instrument for Political Goals**

With the new social ruling system came the propaganda on the new modern city for the labour class of New Yugoslavia. A new planned city was introduced, but instead of preserving the existing structure, the authorities decided to build the 'new city' over the old city patterns. In

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<sup>250</sup> Hoxha, E, (2006) PRISHTINA ESCAPE - Challenges for Urban Development - MSc Thesis, Katholieke University of Leuven

the first post war period the established way of doing things was to demolish the old houses and built the new housing estates.

In Prishtina the First Block was built in the city core, over the destroyed Ottoman houses. The same housing block we could find in Prizren and Peja. Construction of housing blocks including shopping in the centre became a usual way of redevelopment and city transformation until late 1960's, demolishing old for the new. In Prishtina Mother Theresa Boulevard, Korzo in Peja, in Prizren along the river Lumbardhi, in Gjakova main street, presents the cases of city restructuring to provide new identity for the new socialist city over the historical core.

What were the reasons for these transformations? Are the reasons only based on a political vision of the new socialist city<sup>251</sup>? Or is it because the private sector - artisans and traders, were considered the main rival of the new communist regime, and the destruction of their shops would be a step to push the wealthy 'capitalist' class to the margins of the city economy. In the other side we should also question the ability and the position of educated class amongst Kosovo Albanians in terms of understanding the city heritage from the past. Many of those intellectuals were engaged with the Albanian ruling authorities during the war, either left Kosovo, or were persecuted by the communist regime. Those associated with the communist regime, were not able to rationally judge about the importance of the inherited culture and the city from the past. The general knowledge of the intellectual class on the architecture and urban development and the needs to preserve the cultural heritage – material or spiritual was very limited. In Kosovo, until 1958, there were no local architect or urban planner at all. Most of the planning tasks were performed by the architects from Belgrade. Those who exercised planning tasks in Kosovo cities were coming by a school which eradicated the ottoman structure of most of the Serbian cities since late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were not able to understand the context and the social and economic background of the Kosovo society.

For example, when the 1953 Prishtina Plan was approved in the Assembly, according to Bashkim Fehmiu<sup>252</sup>, at that time senior student at Belgrade Architecture School, there were objections by many residents to unreasonably demolish the old bazaar.

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<sup>251</sup> Jerliu, F. (2014) Prishtina reinterpreted, interrogating heritage-memory-identity triad in the contemporary context, PhD Thesis, University of Sarajevo

<sup>252</sup> Hoxha, E. (2006) PRISHTINA ESCAPE-Challenges for Urban Development-MSc Thesis, Katholeke University of Leuven



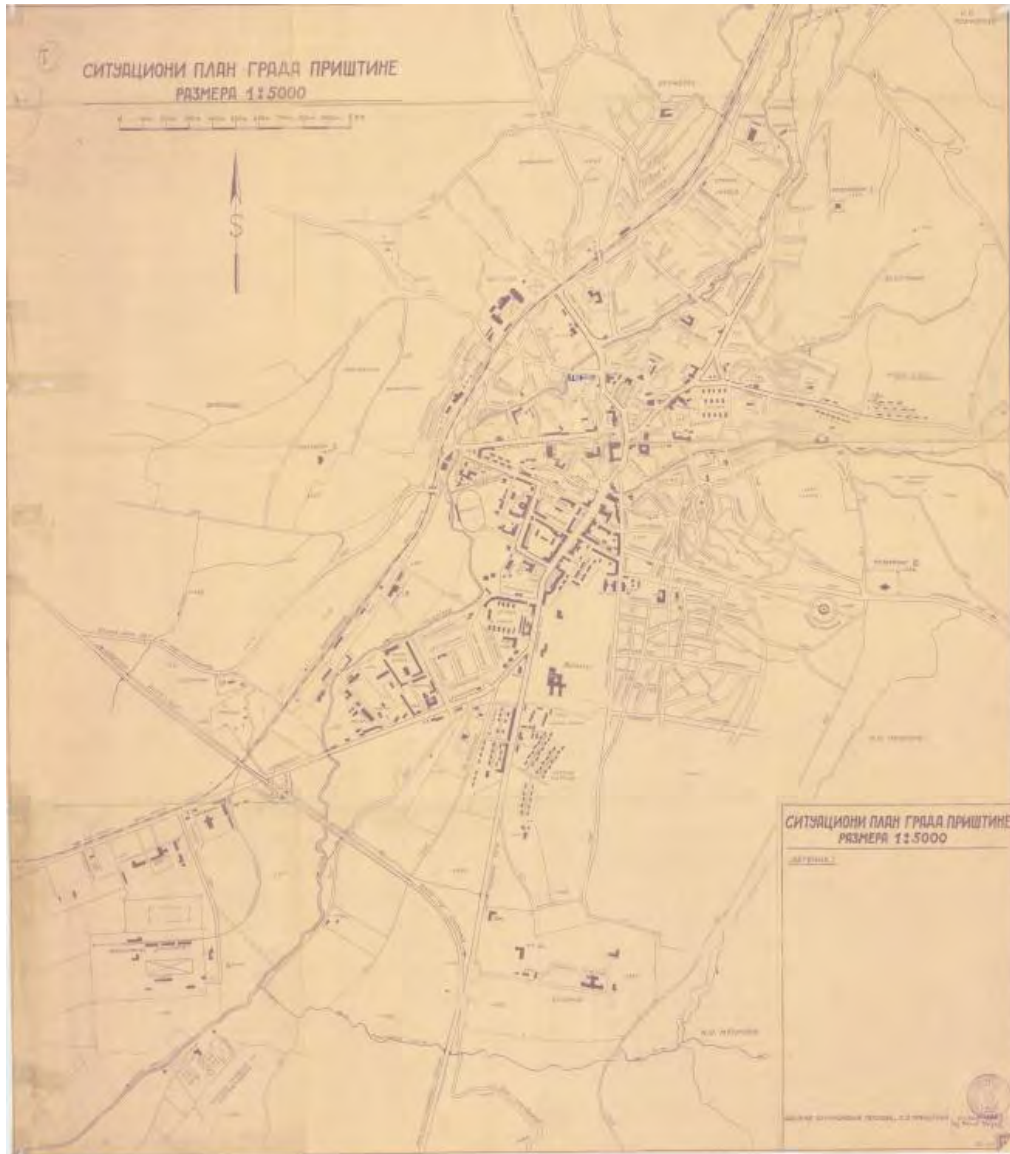


Fig.34 Prishtina Urban Plan from 1963

Another reason of massive demolitions might also be attributed to the old damaged structures that in some cases were difficult to preserve in both technical and financial terms, such as ‘Tufegxhi Carshi’ - Gunsmith bazaar in Prizren.

According to Jerliu, F., a new system of social-cultural values came to develop in the referenced regions, but at the expense of the inherited ones, regardless of their relevance and distinctiveness, as well as former spatiality and historic dimension. The documentation available in the archive containing data on the post-war construction activities in Prishtina

prove that the initial period between 1946 and 1953 is a narrative about massive destruction of the city's urban built heritage.<sup>253</sup>

#### 4.1.11 Destruction of the Çarshias/Bazaars – the most vital city ensembles

In this research we shall focus on the bazaar destruction since they were the most vital part of the public life in the cities all over Balkans. The bazaars were probably considered as opposite to socialist system in a twofold way. First it was the place of shops and artisan workshops owned by the wealthier class of the city population – the ‘bourgeois class’ that had to be eliminated. Bazaars were also places that were partly owned by the waqf’s, charities that belonged to the mosques, and since the new socialist authorities wanted to minimize the role of the religion, they considered the bazaar as a place of Muslim religion influence. As said before, the issue of long-term structural damages due to poor construction materials, such as mud bricks. Constant economic decline of the Ottoman Empire and transitions after the Empire dissolved in the beginning of the century should also not be underestimated, although the urban structure could have been preserved.

The most drastic case in Kosovo was the destruction of Prishtina Çarshia – The bazaar with more than 600 shops- including the covered market - bedesten. In this way the century old bazaar disappeared to leave space for the new ‘Brotherhood and Unity Square’. The part of the old bazaar was demolished after 1913, when the bazaar structure was broken to open up the today’s Prishtina inner ring corridor.



Fig. 35 Two pictures: Demolition of Prishtina bazaar and actual situation - Brotherhood and Unity square (1960)

<sup>253</sup> Jerliu, F. (2014) Prishtina reinterpreted, interrogating heritage-memory-identity triad in the contemporary context, PhD Thesis, University of Sarajevo

After the war the authorities gradually, until 1960's demolished almost all shops to leave the space for the new – modern buildings of the 'labour class' and communist bureaucracy and the new public space of socialist glory.

In terms of new public space this maybe considered, but as these spaces didn't manage to restore the vitality of the 'Çarshia'- the daily gaze of the artisans life, traders and consumers who came to bazaar every day for daily supplies and sometimes even just for a coffee or tea and talk with friends.

The destruction in the 1950 and 1960 didn't affect Prizren and Gjakova. Peja bazaar was also gradually demolished during the interwar period and immediately after the war. In Prizren 'Arasta Çarshia' were demolished in the early 1960's. The bazaar with mainly dairy products had been demolished and an apartment building complex with shops in the ground floor and a small park replaced the bazaar.

The same happened with the Tufegxhi Çarshia or the Gunsmith bazaar, which, according to a former municipal architect, was demolished 'due to extensive structural damages which were not possible to revitalize'.

In Peja the 'Çarshia e Gatë' – or Long Bazaar, was demolished during the several periods from 1913. Today the remained segment, which ends with a square around the Bayrakli Mosque, presents the most vital area in the city.

Since most of the shops in the bazaars were nationalized after the war, the authorities had legally cleared the way to demolish all these shops. The other shops, which were not nationalized, usually went under expropriation process and compensated well lower than the market value. But, many shops remained private since the authorities didn't have sufficient budget to expropriate them. This is the reason why in Gjakova, the shops of the 'Çarshia e Madhe' were not demolished. They remained private so most of the bazaar structure is preserved. Beside the massive demolitions, the Ottoman city core structure has kept the basic morphological features from the past. In Gjakova and to a certain extent in Prizren we can still trace the genesis and the history of the Ottoman town structure.

If we compare the situation with Macedonia, we could say that there were similar processes and the same procedures applied. In Tetova and Gostivar there are no traces left of the bazaar except the geographical position where new shops emerged and some local vendors sell agricultural products.

In Albania, there is slightly different situation. All properties in Albania were nationalized in 1945. The same happened with the bazaars and the shops. They were run either by the former owners or newcomers who got employed by the so-called cooperatives that became managers of the now national properties. The Bazaar in Tirana was demolished in the interwar period by King Zogu to open space for the Grand Boulevard and governmental buildings of the new Kingdom of Albania. This resulted with the big public spaces that we can witness today.

The bazaars in Shkodër, Elbasan and Berat were destroyed in 1960's. In Shkodër the bazaar was demolished due to flooding's that caused extensive damages to the bazaar structure. The bazaar had already been lost the importance because most of the public life was transferred in the centre of the city when the pedestrian area was built in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In Elbasan the bazaar in the city centre were demolished in the 1960's to leave the place for the Theatre, a hotel and a park. Some of the shops remained, but the structure of the bazaar disappeared

In Berat, the bazaar was demolished 1960's. Although very vital at that time, the prevailing reason was the damaged buildings. The former bazaar area was turned to a public park along the river Osumi.

#### **4.1.12 New forms of public gatherings**

Socialism brought some new forms of public gatherings such as walking in the city during the evening, so called 'korso', which usually took place in the main streets. People would meet in the evening and walk in a segment of the street making several rounds. Group of friends sometimes would gather around 'their own tree' where they would talk about the daily gaze, beautiful girls or even couples, and then the talks would continue in the city café.

Sitting and playing in the streets and in the parks was very popular especially in the afternoon and in the evening, in the spring and in the summer.

Some national holidays were used also as an occasion to gather in the parks. The tradition for the youth and families to go in the parks or natural picnic areas around the cities for The International Labour Day, 1<sup>st</sup> May, remained even today. Usually people would bring the food for the whole day, followed by play and music to enjoy the happiness of socialist life.

Sport and recreation were considered to be amongst the most important social life in the socialism. Organized by the sport clubs, schools or even self-organized youngsters, had put sport and play in the centre of their lives. No matter whether it was a sport pitch, a school playground or simply a green field, it was important to have a ball and sport shoes to start the game. As society got more organized the variety of sport games became richer and new sport fields were built, schools got the playgrounds and gyms and cities sport halls and stadiums. Participation of the clubs in the leagues brought people to stadiums, which was a totally new experience of the public life. Some successful sport clubs in the federal level, made cities famous that were previously unknown in Yugoslavia.

#### **4.1.13 New city spaces –the symbols for the new society**

In the socialist countries, most of the land was public. Private ownership was limited, in particular in the urban areas. The public space in the socialist cities differs from those Western European mainly in three aspects: 1) wide range of their share of land in public use; 2) distinctly different public space distribution and network; and 3) stark differences in functional dimension of public spaces<sup>254</sup>.

All streets, parks and public spaces were developed in the public land, usually acquired through expropriation as public needs. All state buildings were also built in the public land. There was literally no limit on acquiring the land. Most of the institutional buildings had their public face opened towards the public space, usually open to public. Socialist city significantly limited in the use of the public space as a marketplace. Sometime, a marketplace located in the city centre would be displaced in a remote area, which directly affected the vitality of the city centre such as in Prizren and Gjilan.

*“The ideologically charged monumentality of the central squares, decorated for the proper “celebrations” of the Communist Party’s glorious leadership, stood in stark contrast with the abundance of desolate, unkempt, and undifferentiated open spaces characterizing the majority of the urban landscape in the socialist city. Under these circumstances, social interaction remained the only viable function of public space.”<sup>255</sup>*

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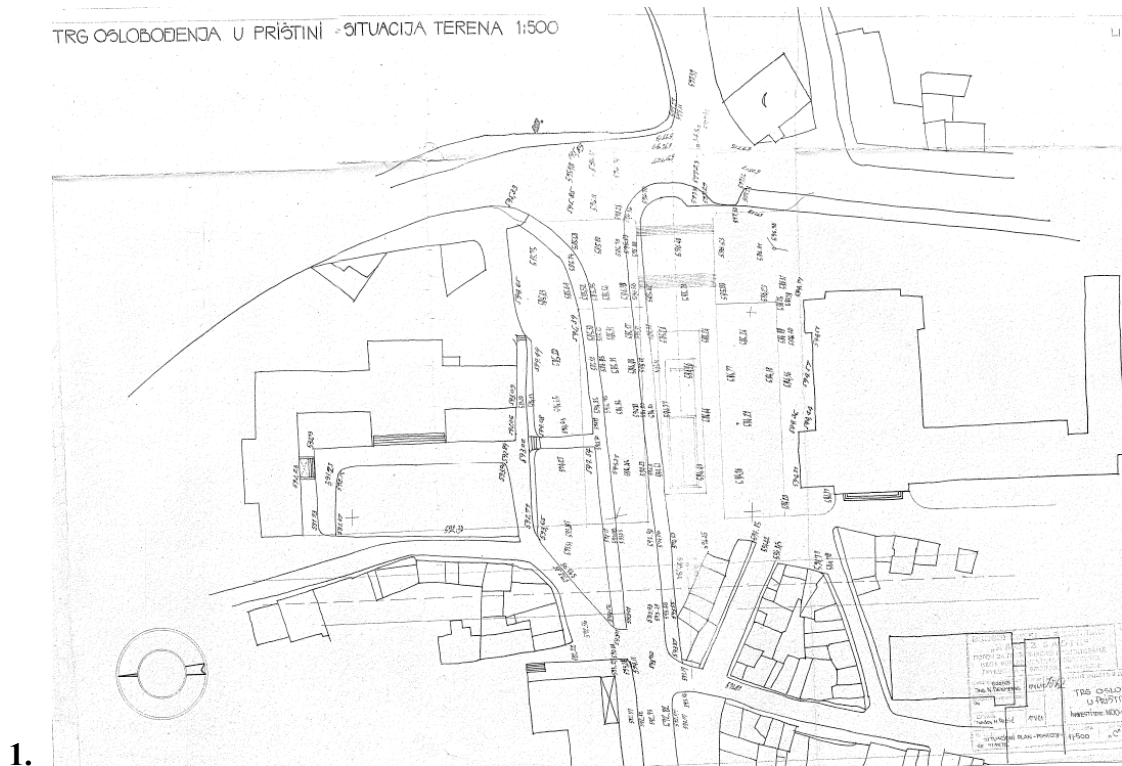
<sup>254</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

<sup>255</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

The new public spaces came as a need to create places for the monuments of glory to the new socialist system. The authorities used these spaces also for political meetings where party officials would give speeches in the celebration of the national holidays. These places were also places of gathering for different purposes and resting during the walks in the city.

**Brotherhood and Unity Square** was built over the ruins of the bazaar. A rectangular square with a fountain, a sculpture and a monument with triple columns should become the symbol of the longterm battle for human rights and equality between Kosovo nationalities – Albanians, Serbs and Turks.

In term of visual dimension, the square went totally out of scale and the triple column got in a some kind of competition with three minarets of the oldest mosques of the city, which stands in a perfect harmony in regard to their heights and distances between them. In terms of functional dimension it is passing square because it was placed in the crossroads of Divanyollu in the East- and Nazim Gafurri in the west West Street and North-South street. With no public facilities around it, socially, it produced a public space with no interest for being there. And since the fountain was not maintained, after some years it was filled up with the earth and planted with greenery.





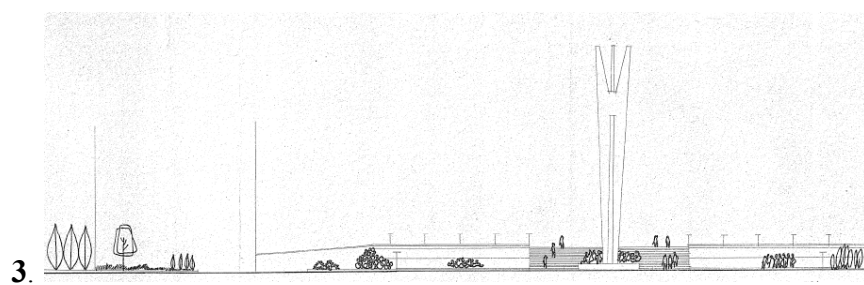
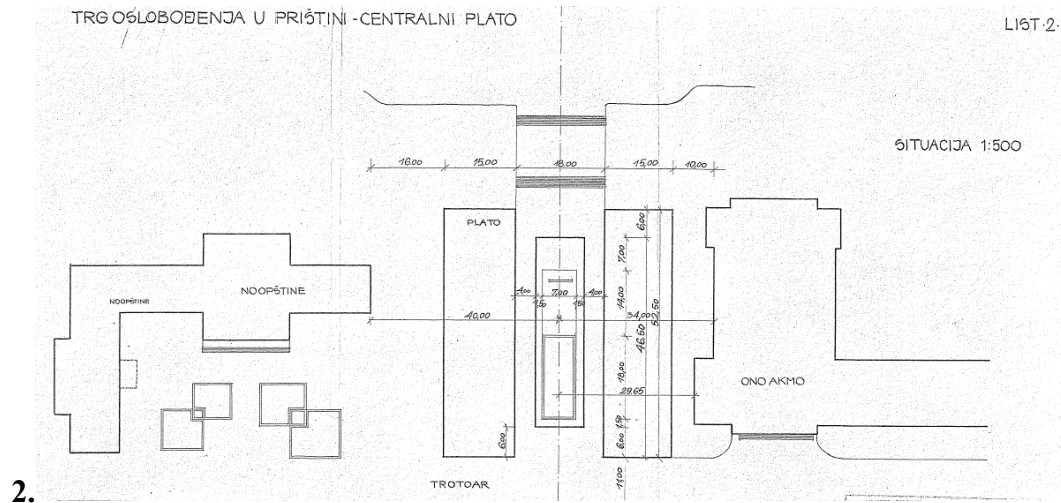


Fig.36 Brotherhood and Unity Square (1 - 4) - initially Liberation Square - plan form 1960 (source: City archive)

**Mother Theresa Boulevard** or Marshal Tito Street was first planned intervention in terms of urban design. Planned over the existing core street of Lokac Neighbourhood. The widening of the street required demolishing many houses of the Lokac neighbourhood, including Lokac Mosque and the Catholic Church. A new modernist street emerged with the national theatre, hotel Bozhur, modernist housing blocks, green alley and small squares between blocks. The shops in the ground floor, although with limited supply of goods, presented a kind of substitution of the bazaar, but the offer of the shops were very poor in the first decades. One of the planners, Professor Novakovic, a former professor of planning at Belgrade University,

while he was teaching as a visiting professor at Prishtina University had admitted that they made a big mistake when they decided to transform the whole neighbourhood for creating the boulevard. Fortunately, the Boulevard became really the most vital public space in the city. During 1980's it was turned to pedestrian area, but Serbian authorities in 1991, reclaimed the cars in the street until after the war when it firstly became pedestrian street from 18.00 to 24.00 and finally in 2007 it became a pedestrian boulevard named after Mother Theresa.



Fig. 37 Left - Mother Theresa Boulevard in 1970; on the right pedestrianized Boulevard, September 2015

In Prizren, most notable transformations include demolition of Arasta bazaar in late 1950' transformed to apartment block and a small park linked to the Lumbardhi waterfront opened as public space. Arasta bazaar was a dairy market with open stalls and small shops. The demolition of the bazaar eradicated the history of the families working in the bazaar. Most of them migrated to Turkey and to Croatia to find new opportunities, as they were simple craftsman.

The apartment buildings built in the Arasta are totally out of the scale in terms of footprint, density and way of construction. They do not possess any notable architectural quality, but the public space around did a contribution to provide open space for residents and free movement along the river. Shops in the ground floor made the place more vital.

#### **4.1.14 Politics of public spaces**

The public space in the socialist city was a controlled one. No public organized activity out of the frame of socialist society was allowed such as political gatherings and free political speeches. All these activities were considered against socialism and labour class. In Kosovo, in addition they were considered against brotherhood and unity of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.



During the national holidays, there were imposed gatherings organized by the authorities in the main squares where usually political speeches in glory of communism society took place usually followed by the music and dance performances of the so called 'cultural and artistic associations'. These were massive gatherings including all ages and nationalities.

Following the student's protests in the whole Europe, including Yugoslavia, in 1968, the student demonstrations in Kosovo in the streets of several cities, came with the political demands to upgrade the status of the province, which resulted in 1974 as Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. These events brought new symbolism to the public spaces. It was clear that people went out of the framed behaviour of the socialist labour class in the public space where they had to show the shine and wealth of the new society. More over, these protests became more radical in the years to come; in 1981 with the demands the Republic status for Kosovo, to follow in 1986 1988, by Serbian minority to 1989 with abolishment of autonomy by the Serbian government under army troops pressure. All these protests were characterized with strong police intervention and casualties sometimes with the death of protesters. The totalitarian regime has proved that they are not bale to control the public space without using the police forces.

## **4.2 THE MODERN CITY 1970-1990**

### **4.2.1 Kosovo's New Political Status in the SFRY**

From 1966 to 1974 there was a political struggle of the Kosovar authorities to obtain a more liberal status from Serbia leading to the status of a new Yugoslav republic. In 1974, Kosovo got the autonomous status in the SFRY, with almost all rights as other republics of former Yugoslavia had, except the right of dissolution. The Kosovo Assembly had the right to draft and approve all laws concerning all aspects of the life in the province. Since most of the decisions were made within the Communist Party, the Kosovo Communist Party leaders were committed to advance the economic and social life in Kosovo.

The new status created the opportunities for developing the new institutional urban planning and architecture such as RILINDJA Publishing Enterprise, Prishtina Radio and Television Building, Sport and Youth Centre, all followed by new public spaces around them.

Prishtina became a new university city in the former SFRY with the new university buildings, National Library, Institute of Albanology, Faculty of Technology. All of these buildings were designed so that they were surrounded with the new public spaces, which remained uncompleted until recently.

Beside many important laws, for the first time Kosovo Assembly approved a set of laws in the field of spatial planning and construction. Probably, the most important development in terms of laying the basis for the new Kosovo architecture and urbanism is the establishment of the School of Architecture within the University of Prishtina in 1978. In this sense, Professor Bashkim Fehmiu, recalling a proverb told by his father, used to say that when you seed a tree, it takes long time to germinate. Although very mixed influence from the visiting teachers from Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje university, the school started to create its path to the future. Soon, after only 13 years of operation, the university was closed down by the

#### **4.2.2 New Modernist Neighbourhoods**

Modern urbanism came to Kosovo after the first architects graduated in the schools of Architecture of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje. As a capital, planning of large scale neighbourhoods according to the Athens Charter in Prishtina founded an appropriate ground, in appropriate time. Change of political status 1966-1974, high rate of population growth and migration to Prishtina as it became industrial and a university city. The migration was mainly from the other cities of Kosovo, but migration from the western Macedonia, South Serbia and Montenegro should not be underestimated. From 1961 - 1971 Prishtina population almost doubled.

In the late 1960's in Prishtina the new modernist neighbourhood started to develop. 'Ulpiana' plan came as a result of a national competition won by prof. Bashkim Fehmiu. It took some years to develop it, although with changes and additions that negatively affected the quality of life. If the plan was considered a good example in the former Yugoslavia, the architecture built, was very poor, probably because of the low capacity of the city management to deal with such a big project. In contrary the public space was very well developed and it can be still considered an example how a residential neighbourhood should be equipped with public space, green and recreational areas.

From the mid 1970's to the end of 1980's, two other neighbourhoods were developed, Sunny Hill and Dardania. These housing estates were also modernist planning exercises of

the urban planners from somewhere else in Yugoslavia, Zagreb and Belgrade. The programme of development was also planned although with higher density in terms of building surface and population as well.

Due to economic decline in the late 1980's, only housing blocks and some of the schools and kindergartens were completed. What later occurred in all these neighbourhoods was larger number of residents than originally planned. This affected services such as overloaded schools and kindergartens.

Similar planned developments were done in Prizren and Gjakova, and to limited extent in Peja., where these plans were more modest in terms of area and number of population.

In Prizren we could mention Bazhdarhane, Lakuriq and Ortakoll, which could be compared to the neighbourhoods in Prishtina. In Gjakova the Block 1 is known for low-rise individual housing and the Mother Theresa neighbourhood in the city centre. In Peja Fidanishte is a neighbourhood combined with low-rise individual housing and apartment blocks.

A more detailed analyses is given in the chapter IV - Case Studies

### **4.2.3 Transformation of the City Centres**

The Kosovo autonomy became a backbone for city centre transformation in Prishtina as a capital including institutional buildings and public spaces. The most notable developments were the Youth and Sport Center, Palace of Media 'Rilindja', Place of Radio and Television, National Bank of Kosovo, University Clinical Centre, University Centre including National library, Institute for Albanology, Faculty of Philosophy and Natural Sciences, Kosovafilm, Grand Hotel. In terms of public life these buildings presents symbols of prosperity and emancipation of Kosova citizens, a new emerging republic in the former Yugoslavia.

These buildings today present landmarks of the cities, although some of them had been completely transformed due to transformation of the property ownership. As building were completed and used ever since, the public space around were never completely designed and cultivated for a proper use by the public. It seems that this was due to poor city management of the public spaces, which continued until recent years.



areas usually spread in two or more areas, covered more than 25-30 % of the urban territory. But the decline of socialist economy and industry in particular soon proved that the industry in the communism was an instrument to employ people but not really based on the economic viability. After transition of economy, most of these industrial sites are being transformed in business areas including shopping malls and sometimes, even housing. As the cities in Kosovo were with the small territory, workers travelled to work usually on foot, except in Prishtina where the distances were larger.

#### **4.2.5 Planning System and Instruments**

According to Rudolf Bicanic, in the period between 1945 and 1990 there were three models of planning:

- The centralized model of planning - 1947-1951
- The decentralized model - 1952-64
- Polycentric model - from 1965

Some economist's considers, in theory, the centralized planning model as the most rational planning pattern, although some of its supporters do not agree with its political presuppositions. This opinion of centralized planning is over-rationalized. It should be considered that the limitations of this model have been demonstrated in all operating planning systems.

The decentralized model had a certain level of rationality, although limited. The inequalities between the functions of centres and dependent periphery created tensions that were an obstacle for rational planning, because the decision on which powers belong to the centre, and what is left for the periphery was usually taken in arbitrary way.

The third model was the polycentric method, which seems to have been less homogenous than the centralised system. But its heterogeneity was recognised and institutionalised, so that, it was automatically taken into account from the beginning in an organised way.

As Eliza Hoxha notes in her master thesis, Enyedi argues, "Socialist urbanization was not a new model of modern urbanization" by saying that "south east European places replicated a more generally applicable global process of urban development."<sup>256</sup> However these countries exhibited different characteristic at each stages of urbanization – this had two sources, first

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<sup>256</sup> Gregory Andruz, Michael Harloe and Ivan Szelenyi in "Cities after Socialism", Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, Blackwell Publishing

delayed economic and urban modernization and second type of socialist political system”. In Yugoslavia advancement of socialist and economical system will improve planning system as well. As noted earlier, the socialist system was similar to centralized authoritarian regime of Soviet Union only until 1952, when through the Law on self-management, the system was decentralized down to the enterprises, of course lead by communist party. 1967, there were also reforms on the property ownership issues so the system was further democratized. For Kosovo itself, the autonomous status in 1974, brought the opportunity to exercise the planning system in the cities /towns and the whole province. In 1977 the first Spatial Plan for Kosovo was approved in the Kosovo Assembly, based on the spatial planning Law of Kosovo.

According to many authors, scholars, in former Yugoslavia could be classified into three main periods:<sup>257</sup>

- Centralized-directive planning 1947-1952;
- The decentralized and socialist self-management planning from 1953 to 1967
- Democratized polycentric planning model from the 1967 to 1990

More specifically, the planning system in Kosovo could be summarized in the following table<sup>258</sup>:

<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>TYPE OF PLANNING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>TYPE OF PLANNING DOCUMENT</b>
1947 - 1965	Central command planning (Controlled development, urban growth and city limits/ public interest over the private / focused on technical solutions)	Regulation and detailed plans
1965 - 1987	New system of voluntary planning, “social self-management planning”/ Communication and coordination of different bodies at all levels through agreements and commitments, with no hierarchical approval system	Top down master plans as goal formulations from - (land use) Regulatory and detailed plans as solution bottom-up driven (5 years plans)

<sup>257</sup> Hoxha, E, (2006) PRISHTINA ESCAPE-Challenges for Urban Development-MSc Thesis, Katholieke University of Leuven

<sup>258</sup> Ibid. 242

1974 - 1990	Decentralized - Provincial level and local planning  Spatial planning at the Provincial government level  Municipal and urban planning, regulatory and detailed urban planning	Spatial Plan of Kosovo  Regional spatial plans  General urban plans  Regulatory Plans  Detailed Urban Plans
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Table 5. Planning system in Kosovo, 1947 - 1990

## CONCLUSIONS to Chapter 4

1)

- For Kosovo, the period of the so-called 'socialist modernism' in former Yugoslavia, has not only been a transformations in terms of the development of architecture and the city, but it marks the beginnings of the architectural and urban profession in an organized and led by professionals, including education of architects in the different architectural schools in the former Yugoslavia as well as establishing of the school of architecture in Kosovo in the late 70's of 20th century.
- So-called liberation of Kosovo came in November 1944. For most of Albanians it was considered reestablishment of the Serbian rule over a territory where they were majority.
- Although a limited progress of Albanians in Kosovo in regard to education in Albanian language and culture, the main decisions were still taken by the Republic of Serbia. In theory, Albanian language was equal to Serbian, but since most of the administrative officers were Serbian, in the practice there were no distinctive changes.
- In the first post-war decade (1945-55) Kosovo cities didn't experienced significant changes in terms of administrative functions. The exception is Pristina, which turned to the capital of the Kosovo Province in 1947. Changes became obvious due to the fact that main cities became administrative district centres
- After the World War II, the Ottoman city of the western Balkans faced larger transformations and changes. Most of the cities were under the pressure of

reconstruction by the new social forces coming out from the liberation from the Nazi-occupation. These changes came also as a result of a long decline of cities in the second part of the 19th century and the aftermath of the independence from Ottoman Empire.

- The transfer of property was ideologically motivated and was more often conceived as a long-term ideological postulate of the socialist revolution than as a short-term economic proposition addressed to the problem of how the war-shattered economy of Yugoslavia could best be organized.
- The forms by which transfer of private property to the state sector took place were: sequestration, land reform, nationalization, confiscation, expropriation and gifts
- After the approval of The Law on Self Management in 1950, all nationalized property remained, but its character changed from state to "socially owned" property, which meant that management was taken out of the hands of the state administration and given over to the 'Worker's Council', whose power gradually increased
- The property ownership transformation caused a massive migration to Turkey as a result of the constant pressure on Albanian population by the Serbian authorities. In the towns, beside the expropriation and confiscation of the properties from the wealthy city families, the pressure came through advantages that Serbian population got in employment, education and social housing.
- Until 1950, Yugoslavia developed the economy according to Soviet type five-year planed economy and reconstruction. Massive voluntary work was a feature already seen in USSR in the aftermath of October Revolution.
- In the 1950 socialist self-management was introduced, which reduced the state management of enterprises. The enterprises were free to operate their current activities according to their own decisions and at their own risk. They sold their products in the market, bought raw materials, decided on the employment of personnel, contracted loans and made their own annual plans.
- In Kosovo, the modest industrial production plants were developed immediately after the war in the city periphery and sometimes even within urban areas. Some of the stronger guilds were transformed into state cooperatives to establish the first production facilities such as leather production, silver and gold accessories manufacturing, food production and clothing. The artisan production in this period experienced a decline.



Due to state controlled trade was mainly conducted in a controlled way by the socially owned enterprises.

- While in 1950's the process of industrialization was very slow, it took a very intensive form during 1960's and 1970's. New industrial areas developed in the city peripheries, sometimes arbitrary decided by the politicians.
- New economies of modern society such as tourism, education, health and culture soon became big employers.
- In this period an extensive infrastructure was developed, both technical and social were developed. New modern paved roads connected cities. New schools and hospitals were built all around Kosovo. The university education began the 1960 and soon in 1970 Prishtina University was establishment.
- With the new social ruling system came the propaganda on the new modern city for the labour class of New Yugoslavia. A new planned city was introduced, but instead of preserving the existing structure, the authorities decided to build the 'new city' over the old city patterns. In the first post war period the established way of doing things was to demolish the old houses and built the new housing estates. Massive demolitions might also be attributed to the old damaged structures that in some cases were difficult to preserve in both technical and financial terms
- The most drastic case in Kosovo was the destruction of Prishtina Çarshia – The bazaar with more than 600 shops- including the covered market - bedesten. In this way the century old bazaar disappeared to leave space for the new 'Brotherhood and Unity Square'. In Prizren 'Arasta Çarshia', bazaar of dairy products had been demolished and an apartment building complex with shops in the ground floor and a small park replaced the bazaar. Tufegxhi Çarshia (Gunsmith) bazaar, according to a former municipal architect, was demolished 'due to extensive structural damages which were not possible to revitalize'.
- Most of the planning tasks were performed by the architects from Belgrade. Those who exercised planning tasks in Kosovo cities were coming by a school, which eradicated the ottoman structure of most of the Serbian cities since late 19th century.

2)

- Socialism brought some new forms of public gatherings such as walking in the city during the evening, so called 'korso', which usually took place in the main streets. People would meet in the evening and walk in a segment of the street making several rounds.
- Sitting and playing in the streets and in the parks was very popular especially in the afternoon and in the evening, in the spring and in the summer. Sport and recreation were considered to be amongst the most important social life in the socialism.
- The new public spaces came as a need to create places for the monuments of glory to the new socialist system. The authorities used these spaces also for political meetings where party officials would give speeches in the celebration of the national holidays.
- The public space in the socialist city was a controlled one. No public activity, such as political gatherings and free political speeches organized out of the frame of socialist society, were allowed. All these activities were considered against socialism and labour class. In Kosovo, in addition they were considered against brotherhood and unity of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

3)

- Modern urbanism came to Kosovo after the first architects graduated in the schools of Architecture of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje. As a capital, planning of large scale neighbourhoods according to the Athens Charter in Prishtina founded an appropriate ground, in appropriate time. Change of political status 1966-1974, high rate of population growth and migration to Prishtina as it became industrial and a university city.
- New public spaces, squares, city parks, neighbourhood public spaces, sport fields, The public space in the socialist cities differs from those Western European mainly in three aspects: 1) wide range of their share of land in public use; 2) distinctly different public space distribution and network; and 3) stark differences in functional dimension of public spaces
- The Kosovo's new autonomous status within Yugoslavia, in 1974, created the opportunities for developing the new institutional urban planning and public architecture. The autonomy became a backbone for city centre transformation in Prishtina as a capital including institutional buildings and public spaces. The most notable developments were the Youth and Sport Center, Palace of Media 'Rilindja',

Place of Radio and Television, National Bank of Kosovo, University Clinical Centre, University Centre including National library, Institute for Albanology, Faculty of Philosophy and Natural Sciences, Kosovafilm, Grand Hotel. All these buildings were characterised by the public spaces around them without. In terms of public life these buildings presents symbols of prosperity and emancipation of Kosova citizens, a new

- Yugoslavia advancement of socialist and economical system will improve planning system as well. As noted earlier, the socialist system was similar to centralized authoritarian regime of Soviet Union only until 1952, when through the Law on self-management, the system was decentralized down to the enterprises, of course lead by communist party. 1967, there were also reforms on the property ownership issues so the system was further democratized. For Kosovo itself, the autonomous status in 1974, brought the opportunity to exercise the planning system in the cities /towns and the whole province.



## **5.1 BEFORE THE WAR 1990-1999**

### **5.1.1 Decline of Economy and public life**

The decline of socialist economy brought the problems such as unemployment, inflation, and bankruptcy of industries. The similar situation occurred in all socialist countries in the Central and Eastern Europe. Though in Yugoslavia, the human rights were to a certain extent more advanced, people required better living conditions and in the first instance they wanted a job. It was obvious that communism regime will have to shift to a democratic system with free elections and a market economy. The fall of Berlin Wall was the sign that all Europe is waking up and wind of changes will include all socialist countries leading to democratic elections. It was a hope that in Yugoslavia, these transition processes will go easier due to more liberal socialist system. But as the ethnic tensions grew up during the end of 1980's, the transition degenerated into the dissolution of Yugoslav Federation ending up with the serial wars of Serbia, beginning with Slovenia, shortly in 1991, then with Croatia more than on year and than a long devastating war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, concluding of decade with the war in Kosovo 1998/1999.

### **5.1.2 Abrogation of Autonomous status of Kosovo**

After the student's protests in 1981 and an emergency state in Kosovo, Provincial Government was under the constant pressure from Serbian politicians to dismiss the autonomy of the province. After a serious clashes between party leaders on the security of the people, and protests from both Serbian and Albanian ethnic communities, Serbian government, with the support of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia, abrogated the Autonomous status of Kosovo on March 28, 1989. This act was followed by another bloody protests of Kosovar Albanians. This was the beginning of the dissolution process of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Instead of shifting to a democratic system, the Serbian government decided to chose more authoritarian way of governing within whole Serbia. But in Kosovo, this took an apartheid way of ruling over Albanian majority. All existing socially owned companies and industry

became state-owned, transferring the ownership to the state of Serbia. This allowed to fire-out most of Albanian workers who were majority of the working class. Because the Serbians in Kosovo were really a minority of less than 10%, there was an attempt for a new colonization Kosovo with Serbs, bringing Serbs from Croatia that fled during and after the war.

Next ten years, Kosovar Albanians will be expelled from all institutions, including schools, hospitals, and cultural institutions. The institutional life of Albanians was transferred in the private premises. Primary schools were physically divided for Serbian pupils. High schools, University, and medical services were offered all around the cities in the houses of Albanians.

The same happened with the public culture life, which was transferred in the cafes and restaurants owned by Albanians.

The most of the Albanians were dedicated to peacefully fight for their rights. Kosovo Democratic League organized a parallel system of institutional life all over Kosovo. Sometime there was a feeling that this way of life will continue forever.

In terms of development of architecture and public space, we could say that in this period nothing has happened in particular in Kosovo in terms of construction and development except limited housing construction and business premises - mostly cafes and restaurants. What may be important to mention here was the development of café culture where the people, mostly youth used to gather and spend free time between courses in the schools and universities. The cafes were the places for political talks and analyses, places of joy and leisure, the only public places where Albanians felt some kind of freedom. The cafes were also places of art exhibitions, theatre performances and literature evenings.

### **5.1.3 Politics of Public Space - Celebrating New Monuments**

Through the history the uses in the public spaces shifts amongst three main functions the political, the economic, and the social. This usually depends on where the social energies are concentrated in a particular historic period. Whenever a political instability occurs, public space is charged as a vortex of social discontent<sup>259</sup>, often leading to falling of the regimes and releasing radical forces of changes. The collapse of the communist system in former Yugoslavia is indelibly linked with the gatherings and demonstrations in the streets and squares of cities in Kosovo earlier in 1981/ 1982 and 1988 /1989/1990 and Ljubljana in 1989.

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<sup>259</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

In 1990, the demonstrations caused the massive firing of Albanians workers from the state institutions and enterprises. These images in Kosovo came back in 1996/ 1997 and 1998 when massive demonstrations were calling for peace and stop of the war on civil population throughout Kosovo.

The politics of Serbian state had to become as much as visible in order to tell people that Kosovo is now 'Serbian territory'. Serbian authorities used the power to express the brutal nationalist intentions to make all places of Serbian origin and to belong to Serbs. And the best place to manifest these aims was the public space. New monuments celebrating the Serbian nation became the tool to implement these policies. From 'brotherhood and unity' heroes of antifascist war, the names of the squares and streets were changed to Serbian nationalist heroes and personalities since Middle Age. Statue of Serbian Kings were erected in the squares to exercise the power of Serbian state and make pressure to the majority of Albanian population.

Some decision in terms of management of public spaces were directly politically influenced, for example the former Marshal Tito Street in the centre of Prishtina, pedestrianized in 1987, was turned to car traffic again in 1991 just to prevent the protests, because it was a very lively street with mostly Albanian residents. Even the name of the street was change to 'Vidovdanska'. All street tables, directions, shops, institutions and advertising were Serbianized, written mainly in Serbian language and also in Cyrillic alphabet.

Serbian history and religion started to materially be present through new monuments and churches with the intentions to create new landmarks in the cities. New Churches were built, sometime left unfinished such as the church within the University Centre. It is event today a challenge for the authorities since, by the resolution 1244, 'all legal acts after 1989, that harms the previous acts, shall be considered invalid'. This Church started to be built in 1991 in the site of University of Prishtina centre. The municipal assembly composed only by Serbs, approved the site without any previous procedure although there was a master plan for the university centre since 1974 designed by Profesor Bashkim Fehmiu<sup>260</sup>. It occupied the place in which the faculty of Architecture should have been built. Unfinished church, a leftover building, is now an abandoned place in the centre of Prishtina.

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<sup>260</sup> Fehmiu, B. 'Plani Detal Urbanistik i Qendrës Universitare në Universitetit të Prishtinës', B.Fehmiu personal Archive

#### **5.1.4 The War in Kosovo**

As time passed, the tension between Serbian government and Albanians raised. Because the LDK (Kosovo Democratic League), were not able to convince all Albanians that a peaceful movement shall end up with a independent Republic of Kosovo, an armed group of young people were organized around Kosovo Liberation Army - KLA, with the aim to fight against Serbian regime. For them the apartheid of Serbians was no longer passible to withstand. In 1998 the war begin. Half of Kosovo villages were burned down from March to September. Many people, including children, were killed. In September a cease-fire was arranged through international mediation. In the meantime two peace conferences were organized in Rambouillet in France were organized to negotiate the end of the war and the future status of Kosovo. Unfortunately, Serbian government was not interested to bring back the 1974 autonomy for Kosovo. The result was the 69 days of NATO bombing of Serbian army positions and the Serbian war facilities in different cities of Serbia, including the capital Beograd. The bombing, beside the fights between KLA and Serbian forces, produced atrocities done by the paramilitary and police forces in the Kosovo cities and villages. Albanians were forced out from their homes in the cities and left for Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro where they were settled in the refugee camps or were welcomed from the Albanians in their homes. Than from the refugee camps, many of them migrated in Europe, USA and Canada. Most of the Albanian houses in the villages were burned down including parts of the cities such as Gjakova, Peja, and Mitrovica. Most of the cities were almost empty. Even Serbs, who remained in the beginning in the cities, after few weeks left for Serbia.

The war ended up with the UN resolution 1244, which demanded withdrawal of the Serbian Police and Army from Kosovo. The UN organized an international government-UNMIK. United Mission in Kosovo took the governance on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1999.

#### **5.2 AFTER THE WAR 1999**

Although the theory of transition considers that it is a primarily political process, in Kosovo the transition process should be seen in a more complex context including liberation from Serbian apartheid.

After the end of the war, Kosovo was administered by the UN Mission - UNMIK. It was a complex international organization involving also European Union and OSCE and other international Agencies specialised in particular sectors. The basic duties that UNMIK was responsible include:



- Performing basic civilian administrative functions;
- Promoting the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo;
- Facilitating a political process to determine Kosovo's future status;
- Coordinating humanitarian and disaster relief of all international agencies;
- Supporting the reconstruction of key infrastructure;
- Maintaining civil law and order;
- Promoting human rights; and
- Ensuring the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo.

These tasks were implemented through four pillars:

Pillar I: Police and justice (UN-led)

Pillar II: Civil Administration (UN-led)

Pillar III: Democratization and institution building (led by OSCE)

Pillar IV: Reconstruction and economic development (EU-led)

The period of nine years of international rule had a large impact in Kosovo society in terms of law and governance, economy, social development. In the beginning all discriminatory laws approved after 1989 were abrogated and the laws of the former SFRY were considered applicable. In 2000 UNMIK organized first elections for the local governments. In 2001, a Constitutional Framework was approved as a supreme legal act based on which a set of laws were designed and approved in next seven years. This was the base to organize the first election for the first Kosovo government - so called Provisional Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo, composed of three bodies - Kosovo Assembly, Kosovo Government and the President. The administrative system was divided in two levels - central and local government. Most of the competences concerning local development issues were transferred to the municipal assembly, including spatial planning.

### **5.2.1 Cities in transition**

The process of transition in Kosovo include political, economic, social and transformations of urban morphology of the cities after the war under UNMIK administration and the extensive presence of international organizations that turned the reconstruction process and status negotiations into a global agenda for more than 10 years.

According to Harloe, transition, is not a unilinear process in terms of contents, sequence or timescale. It depends on system of local governance, legal and institutional framework, the way in which privatized public assets are distributed and policy choices<sup>261</sup>. In the case of Kosovo cities, this was even a more complex process. While before 1999 it was an apartheid-like situation, after the war the international administration changed the situation to democratic governance that gave the shape to future Kosovo development. In terms of time, due to the war it took more than in the other countries of the region, especially compare to countries of former SFRY. Due to the long period of conflicts situation, Serbia and Bosnia suffered from delay in transformation from unitary to democratic state.

In Kosovo, the period of discontinuity lasted 10 years, from 1989 to 1999. After the end of the war, UN took the role to establish the Provisional Institutions of Self Government in Kosovo. Through process of privatization a new liberal economic order was set up, and a new legal and constitutional order created the path to the new statute for Kosovo in 2008. New rules of social integration came to place by establishing the civil society, supported by the international community, which supported the reconstruction and development in the fields where government was not able to act due to limited capacities.

During this transition period, institutional and organizational structures of the cities were under reconstruction led by UNMIK, and other international organizations such as EU, OSCE, and different international development agencies. Decentralization was one of the goals of this transition process. This was reflected also in the planning and construction matters. Although in the former socialist system the power were decentralised, considering that it was a single party rule, the decentralisation was more or less controlled by the communist party committee.

Due to changes in the city institutions and organization of the governance, changes of property rights, urban development was disturbed by the needs for reconstruction of housing and the long period of very limited construction activities. Beside these facts, unmaintained public spaces and buildings suffered damages that were necessary to improve. But the existing planning instruments were too rigid to provide planned construction. In the other side, UNMIK Administration didn't want to strictly control development due to the needs for housing.

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<sup>261</sup> Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z., (2006) *The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe* introduction to 'The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy' Edited by Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z., Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg

### 5.2.2 Liberal Economy

Dostal (1998) concludes that a successful early post-communist transformation means (1) a quick resumption of macroeconomic balance and economic growth resting on (2) genuine democratization and economic liberalization, and (3) higher level of modernization'<sup>262</sup>

Liberal economy or so-called market economy came as a logical result of transition. After a long economic decline during 1990's, after the war, there was a big amount of donor support in reconstruction process, which generated an economic revival in the first years of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

UNMIK Administration introduced free market economic development policies. The abandoned industry in the beginning started to operate under international administration, but in 2002, the privatization process started and gradually most of the, industries stopped production due to old technologies. Privatized industries in most cases were transformed in services or changed the production technology or sometimes even demolished to leave the sites for construction such as in the inner part of city of Prishtina.

Flea markets and improvised bazaars were a rapid respond to growing demand for different kind of goods - clothing, everyday articles, and different kind of tools. The abandoned sites were given at a very low rent to allow people set up their businesses. For example a flea market operated in the city centre of Prishtina and was a very vital area until it has been displaced in the industrial area in 2007.

Due to the very high price of the land and big pressure for housing, industry and service economy - retail the municipalities begin to plan for the periphery. Beside planned areas, a lot of illegal construction occurred along the main infrastructure corridors. It was obvious that investors wanted to bypass procedures and decrease the investment due to the taxes. New spaces for private small and medium-sized production were constructed sometime of a very poor quality. But there were also very serious investments that followed the regulations in terms of space standards and construction materials. Privatization provided the opportunity for the investors with clear programme to bypass construction process and they used existing premises very efficiently, sometime even combining the production with renting the unused facilities.

As investment begin to grow, the service sector grew as well. When the Government of Kosovo was established it became also an important employer, although with very modest salaries. Other services such as education, health and culture also provided a considerable number of jobs.

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<sup>262</sup> Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z., (2006) The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe-Introduction to 'The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy' Edited by Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z., Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg

There were also informal economic activities. Amongst them, illegal construction, which will cause big problems in the years to come. About illegal construction there will be some thoughts in the next pages of this research.

But, the investments and new jobs were not sufficient to provide jobs for growing number of unemployed population. Although there were a lot of informal economy, unemployment rate in 2002 was at the rate of 50-55%, down from a high of 74% in the second half of 1999.<sup>263</sup> According to RIINVEST, an institute for economic development in Prishtina, the unemployment in 2003, was at the rate of 49%.<sup>264</sup>

The table below shows the unemployment rate between 2004 and 2008

TABLE 2.3 Key labour market indicators, percentages (2004-2008)			
	2004	2006	2008
Labour force participation rates	46.2	52.3	46.0
Employment rates	27.9	29.0	24.1
Unemployment rates	39.7	44.9	47.5

Source: SOK, Labour Force Surveys (2004- 2008)

Table 6. Key labour market indicators in Kosovo 2004-2008

The latest studies shows that the unemployment rate has not been decreased. In 2010 there were 45 % while in 2012<sup>265</sup>, the various statistics shows that unemployment is between 40-50%<sup>266</sup>.

**5.2.3 Growing international competition**

As from 2000, Kosovo became a region with a high interest for the international investors and suppliers. Since there was very limited production, the supplies came primarily from import - the region and EU countries.

Import remains even today very high, because production is still at a very low level. Low production is caused by low investment potential of the local population, limited incentives from the government and growing international competition. As an example, after the highway that links Prishtina and Tirana, the import of agricultural products from Albania had roused. Kosovo has signed CEFTA- a regional free trade agreement, which adds more

<sup>263</sup> UNDP, Kosovo, (2002), Human Development Report 2002, Prishtina, Kosovo  
<sup>264</sup> RIINVEST, (2003)- Unemployment in Kosovo, Report, Prishtina, Kosovo  
<sup>265</sup> UNDP, Kosovo, (2010), Human Development Report 2010, Prishtina, Kosovo  
<sup>266</sup> UNDP, Kosovo, (2012), Human Development Report 2012, Prishtina, Kosovo

difficulties in regard to this competition. It will become even more difficult after Kosovo starts the Stabilisation Association Process with EU.

#### **5.2.4 Privatisation process**

Privatization of land and housing is the most radical aspect of the transition from state socialist systems to democratic and market system.<sup>267</sup> Property rights lie at the heart of that process (Marcuse1996). According to Webster and Lai (2003), “institutions that protect private property are essential for market activity and economic growth”(p3).”

The public housing stock has been privatised during the Serbian regime in 1992. At that time, Serbian government had two goals, to provide social peace within raising economic problems and unemployment. In the other side the acquired fund was used to finance the war in Croatia and Bosnia.

Immediately after the war, the property market boomed. Prices of properties owned by Serbs were sold quickly due to migration from Kosovo to Serbia, while many of these properties were soon transformed or sold out in higher price. During the years to come the property prices has grown tremendously, especially in Prishtina as a capital of Kosovo.

Beside achievements in setting the bases for a new independent state of Kosovo, UNMIK administration in Kosovo faced severe difficulties in terms of sustainable economic development. Privatization of the social owned properties to private ownership had as a goal economic development. But the way in which privatization was conducted, posed a lot of question starting from the source of investments, corruption and the future development of the industrial premises, agriculture land or other privatised assets. The former workers in these socially owned enterprises were supposed to be legal owners. From the total value of sold premises, the workers shared only 20%. The rest of the money was put in trusty fund, which even today remains unused and nobody knows when and how it will be used.

#### **5.2.5 Planning for the New Liberal City**

The latest planning activities in Kosovo happened during 1980's, when most of the cities drafted city master plans - so called General Urban Plans, comprehensive long-term planning documents for at least 10-15 years. Some planning activities were exercised during 1990's by

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<sup>267</sup> Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z., (2006) The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe introduction to 'The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy' Edited by Tsenkova, S, Budovic-Nedic, Z. Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg

the Serbian government in Prishtina and Prizren in 1996/97. But they were carried out away from public, and in particular excluding Albanians.

Until 2002, limited planning activities took place in the local level based on the applicable law on spatial planning from 1975. Few plans were drafted but with very limited impact in the ground. For example, the General Urban Plan for Prizren was drafted from 2001-2002. Although it took some 8 years to redraft it according to the law, beside limited impacts in infrastructure was not implemented according to decisions.

The following table<sup>268</sup> shows the planning activities in the period from 1990-2014 according to planning instruments used.

PERIOD	TYPE OF PLANNING ACTIVITIES	TYPE OF PLANNING DOCUMENT
1990 -1999	Central imposed planning from above – Serbian government (top-down control)  Exclusion of Albanians from planning process  (Planning activities oriented towards the goals of sustainability / not linked with the real context - superficial	Land use  Scenarios for development  Regulative plans
1999-2002	Reconstruction and emergency activities “shelter programs “  Some limited regulatory planning activities	Applicable planning law of Kosovo from 1987
2002-2012	Decentralized- central and local planning  Strategic planning at the central level	Central level: Spatial Plan of Kosovo, Spatial plans for special areas  Local level: Municipal Development Plan, Urban Development Plan and

<sup>268</sup> Hoxha, E, (2006) PRISHTINA ESCAPE-Challenges for Urban Development-MSc Thesis, Katholeke University of Leuven - adapted with the new law on Spatial Palnning 04//L-174-2013

	Municipal and urban planning, regulatory planning	Regulatory Plan
2012	Decentralized planning process, centrally approved plans,  Strategic planning at the central level  Municipal planning, zoning - land use plans, regulatory planning	Central level: Spatial Plan of Kosovo, Kosovo Zoning Map, Spatial plans for special areas  Local level: Municipal Development Plan, Zoning Map, and detailed Regulatory Plan

Table 7 Planning system since, 1990 - 2012

In 2001, before the first election, UN administration defined the main sectors that new elected government have to manage. Amongst main sectors, such as finance, economy, health, education, welfare, culture and youth, environment and spatial planning were chosen as one of the sectors. The Ministry of Environment was established in the beginning of 2002 and immediately, the Minister signed a cooperation agreement with UN Habitat to support the Ministry in developing the planning system, including legal framework and setting up the sector institutions in the central and local level.

The new Law on spatial planning approved in 2003 defined the way the spatial planning will be carried out in Kosovo. The law defined two modes of planning:

- Spatial planning, carried out at the central level with two types of plans: Spatial Plan of Kosovo and Spatial Plans for Special Areas for which central government will be responsible, and Municipal Development Plan (MDP) at the local level, for which municipalities will be responsible.
- Urban Planning, carried out at the local level with two types of plans - Urban Development Plan (UDP) and Urban Regulatory Plan (URP).

The planning system, illustrated with maps and relations is shown in the following scheme.



Fig.39 Planning System in Kosovo according to the Law on Spatial Planning 2003/14<sup>269</sup>

From 2003 until 2015, most of the municipalities in Kosovo drafted their MDP and UDP, and covered with urban regulatory plans partly or fully, the whole territory of the town/city, except Prishtina and Prizren, that used already completed the plans and drafted them later- Prizren 2009-2012 and Prishtina 2012-2013.

In 2012, the Ministry of Environment, under the influence of World Bank report on ‘Doing Business’ decided to change the law because it according to the afore mentioned report, Kosovo the procedures for acquiring the building permit, according to the law, were ‘highly’ bureaucratic. This fact was based on a very narrow and limited survey, which World Bank carried out with individuals and businesses in Kosovo. What was very symptomatic, in this process were involved ‘so called’ professionals involved from USAID, representing a pure American way of planning based on the market economy, living public interest in the margins. In the next scheme it is possible to see the differences compare to the Law of 2003.

<sup>269</sup> Source: Kosovo Institute for Spatial Planning





Fig. 40 Planning System in Kosovo according to the Law on Spatial Planning 04//L-174<sup>270</sup>

New planning documents, named Zoning Map of Kosovo, at the central level, and Municipal Zoning Map are now introduced. It is not clear what does zoning map mean and how it relates to Spatial Plan of Kosovo, or Municipal Development plan, since even after 2 years the administrative guidelines on Zoning Maps were neither drafted nor approved. The fact is that municipalities are still acting according the Law on Spatial Planning 2003/14.

New parts of the cities were planned, some of them in already illegally built neighbourhoods. Most of the plans were aligned with the situation found in the ground. This caused many problems due to the lack of the public land for public services and public space. This problem was reinforced with the lack of proper land legislation - such as law on construction land. And in the city core, due to the high pressure for development, the open space got scarce. High percentage of building footprint left very little space for public space and greenery. Prishtina as capital was more affected, because it faced migration of people and concentration of the capital and jobs. These were reasons for construction boom, which turned then to massive interest for investment of residents in housing.

Although without any standards, all plans required a certain percentage of public spaces in the areas where collective housing were planned. Parks were planned as well, but implementation

<sup>270</sup> Source: Kosovo Institute for Spatial Planning

of these public projects is still pending on land expropriation and compensation abilities of municipalities.

Many existing public spaces in the city centres were revitalised and streets turned to pedestrian use only. These actions brought vitality to city centres and the real estate prices rose. For example in Prishtina, since Mother Theresa boulevard turned to pedestrian street, the prices of the apartments doubled, while the prices of the shops got even 3-4 time higher. The same happened in Peja Korso. Pedestrianisation of the main street and the square made centre more lively. Prizren and Gjakova centre, as more historic, revitalised the streets through pedestrianisation.

### **5.2.6 Public Space and Public Life**

The nature of public spaces after socialism has significantly altered primarily in terms of functional and social dimension. The new socio economic system brought different social relations, replacing empty ideological function of the public space of the socialist system with a new energy of private initiative reflecting in the urban fabric and public space in particular, although in some cases commercialisation of the public spaces prevailed the public interest.

In his paper<sup>271</sup>. Kiril Stanilov gives an overview on the changes in public space in the transition societies in Central and Eastern Europe. The post socialist transformation of public space is mainly induced by privatization and commercialization of the public space, transformation of streets and transport and public policies that harmed public spaces. Stanilov states that public spaces suffered shrinking due to privatization of the public land/reclaiming the ownership of the original owners.

While his arguments could be fully considered in some of the former socialist countries, for example in Albania, we could hardly accept them in total for the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in particular Kosovo and Macedonia, the countries which are object of this study. Limited cases of privatization process affected mainly public places around hotels and department stores, such as in Prishtina, Prizren Gjakova, and Peja. But there was no privatization of the public open spaces in the modernist planned neighbourhoods, except illegally occupied spaces that are still subject of court procedures of reclaiming as public space by the municipal authorities. In this term, city residents in Kosovo, were very active in protecting the public space from usurpation. Perhaps this was result of the law on privatisation, designed only for privatisation of socially owned properties such as factories,

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<sup>271</sup> Stanilov, K. (2007) Democracy, markets, and public space in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe, in *The Post-Socialist City*, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands

shops, hotels and cafes and in some cases cinemas- such as cinema in Gjilan. But the cinemas in Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova, Peja were protected from privatisation and some of them are used as cinema. In Prizren, a long struggle of civil society succeeded to preserve the 'Lumbardhi' cinema, the main venue of DOKUFEST an international film festival. Anyway, even privatized properties, according to the law on privatization, couldn't be developed against planning regulation given by the regulatory plan.

Shrinking of the public space, could be understood also as a result of densification of the inner city areas, which means rise of the population number and decrease of m<sup>2</sup>/per resident of public open spaces.

After 1999, the public life was constantly enriched. There are many reasons for this. A large number of youth, who suffered during 1990's, were motivated for the new beginning and new social interactions in the public. The cafes were primarily used including sitting out in the terrace. The fear from the former regime disappeared from the streets. Although an unsecure period of nearly one year, limited the evening life in the public, the general feeling was that the liberation and the international security organisation such as KFOR and UNMIK Police, were considered as guaranty for the freedom of being in the public and political actions and gatherings.

The youth culture activities, banned for a long period, flourished at once. Music in the public space - including folk and rock groups, gave a message that beside many victims and destructions in the cities, the life should go on. And it was the youth energy that helped the cities to recover after a long period of social and cultural decline, lost of motive of living, and hopelessness. In Prishtina, in December 1999, in the central public space, during the whole month, in big tent, every evening until late hours rock bands of Kosovo from 1980's and 1990's held public concerts, although hard snowing conditions and very low temperature. This was a celebration for the new Year 2000 - for the New Millennium a symbolic new year for the whole world, but for Kosovars, after a long period of apartheid, a very special year.

Celebration of any national holiday takes place in the public space every year. Holidays of some countries who helped Kosovo liberation are also celebrated through many activities in the public. The celebration of the independence of Kosovo on 17 February 2008, lasted more than two days while the temperature felt to -20°C.

Inevitably, due to lack of the jobs, the street life include street vendors selling of food, flowers and miscellaneous goods, including books which returned back in the city centre.

One of the biggest problems in Kosovo cities, after the war, was the booming of car traffic, which overran the carrying capacities of the streets. For a low price, cars were brought from Germany and other EU countries, so almost every family got motorised. Due to this phenomena, cars were parked literally everywhere - in the streets and sidewalks, sometimes even in the greenery. It was very strange that, although the traffic regulation tools were missing, the accidents were very rare.

Protests in the public space due to different reasons, were organised again, although usually under control of the Kosovo Police and KFOR. In March 2004, the protests went out of control causing loss of lives in several cities in Kosovo and destroying many buildings including protected cultural heritage buildings in Prishtina and Prizren. This was a step back in Kosovo progress towards the independent status. Protests are nowadays organised, and sometime they are violent. But most of them are peaceful and organised by the civil society on any occasion important for the society.

By the time, local governments found out the importance of public space in terms of increasing the quality of life in the cities, in terms of social, economic and environmental dimension. Fight for new and reclaiming back and legally occupied public spaces, became a promising slogan of every election campaign. As the public awareness on the common and green space rose, politicians started to put as separate budget lines investment in the public spaces of the cities. This policy shift was supported by the international agencies and donor organisations. As public spaces grew in number and improved existing, it was possible to notice more people in the streets walking, being in the parks. Extending of the pedestrian areas in the cities such as Prishtina, Prizren and Peja, show the clear commitment of the local government to offer people the pleasure of being in the public space. Of course there is always the issue of design and standards to provide sufficient comfort, relaxation, engagement and discovery as basic functional features of the public space.

### **5.2.7 Public Space through Planning Instruments**

Amongst many definitions and principles given in the Law on Spatial Planning 2003/14, there are neither definitions nor principle for public spaces included. As the planning activities

started, the interest for the public space raised and it became one of the main goals in all local election campaigns since 2007. All candidates found important to consider public interest as crucial to win elections. And most of the public interest was visually manifested in the public space. In the other side the pressure from the civil society in regard to public interest rose permanently. Today there are several civil society organisations that deals with protection of existing and reclaiming of illegally occupied public space

As one of the actor during, involved directly in planning activities this period, I realised that public space should be considered as a special topic in all plans, in particular in the regulatory plans, so in the plans that I was involved, public spaces were regularly treated as a particular topic, in all planning phases, from analyses of the existing situation to implementation provisions.

It is strange that even new law on spatial planning does not give any definition on public space, so it will become impossible to put any regulation on the standards of public space, in terms of forms and spatial dimensions, and the public rights as well. As usually all laws in Kosovo states that they are aligned with EU standards, it is strange that the new law did not include any article about this topic, although there is an EU regulation that defines what public space mean, including classification in terms of types and rights of use<sup>272</sup>.

### **5.2.8 Design issues**

Design of public space, after the war, was usually considered as an extended task in urbanism, usually with little commitment to develop a transparent process where public as an end user would give ideas and opinion on the proposals. In the other side, lack of the professional education in urban and landscape design and in general, lack of experience in this field, produced poor design examples, including those costly investments that could have been avoided with a commitment for design. There are of course cases that may be considered as a success: such as Mother Theresa Boulevard and underground passage Dardania in Prishtina, Farkatari (*blacksmith*) street in Prizren, City park in Gjilan and City centre in Peja. In some cases, municipalities used design competitions to provide more than one idea, but usually they were unprofessionally organised, with poor briefs and regulations and often corrupted. These facts usually caused low number of competitors. There were some attempts to organise international competitions. EUROSPAN Competitions organised by Europan Kosova brought some advanced proposals such as: in Peja 2012 and Gjilan 2014.

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<sup>272</sup> European Common Indicators, (2003) - European Commission- Environment, prepared by Ambiente Italia Research Institute, Milano, Italy, May 2003

Other successful competition to mention were Ibrahim Rugova square competition in Prishtina 2010, Subway in Prishtina 2011, Peja riverfront competition 2013, competition of Kurrizi pedestrian pathway 2014, reconstruction of the city Park in Gjakova 2015.

The urban design education at the university level has become a compulsory subject with a studio work on the real sites in the cities where students learn to cope with wide range of problems providing solutions through design. The raising competition in the profession of architecture and urban design, with a more qualitative approach amongst young professionals, could probably contribute to improve the design of urban spaces. The question of quality is also linked to the process that does not allow fair competition, with more bureaucratic than substantial requirements from competitors.

## CONCLUSIONS

1)

- The decline of socialist economy brought the problems such as unemployment, inflation, and bankruptcy of industries. The similar situation occurred in all socialist countries in the Central and Eastern Europe. The fall of Berlin Wall was the sign that all Europe is waking up and wind of changes will include all socialist countries leading to democratic elections. Although with a more liberal socialism, in Yugoslavia ethnic tensions grew up during the end of 1980's, so that transition degenerated into the dissolution of Yugoslav Federation ending up with the serial wars of Serbia with Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, concluding of decade with the war in Kosovo 1998/1999. Serbian government, abrogated the Autonomous status of Kosovo in March 1989, followed by bloody protests of Kosovar Albanians. Next ten years, Kosovar Albanians will be fired from their jobs and driven out from all institutions, including schools, hospitals, and cultural institution. The institutional life of Albanians was transferred in the private premises all around the cities in the houses of Albanian residents.

2)

- The same happened with the public culture life, which had been displaced in the cafes and restaurants owned by Albanians. In terms of development of architecture and public space, we could say that in this period nothing has happened in particular in Kosovo in terms of construction and development except limited housing construction and business premises - mostly cafes and restaurants.

The cafes were the places for political talks and analyses, places of joy and leisure, the only public places where Albanians felt some kind of freedom. The cafes were also places of art exhibitions, theatre performances and literature evenings

- The collapse of the communist system in former Yugoslavia is indelibly linked with the gatherings and demonstrations in the streets and squares of cities in Kosovo 1980's. These images in Kosovo came back in 1997 and 1998 when massive demonstrations were calling for peace and stop of the war on civil population throughout Kosovo.
- The politics of Serbian state had to become as much as visible in order to tell people that Kosovo is now 'Serbian territory'. From 'brotherhood and unity' heroes of antifascist war, the names of the squares and streets were changed to Serbian nationalist heroes and personalities since Middle Age.
- As time passed, the tension between Serbian government and Albanians raised. In 1998 the war begin. Half of Kosovo villages were burned down from March to September. Many people, including children, were killed.
- Albanians fled for Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Than from the refugee camps, many of them migrated in Europe, USA and Canada. Most of the Albanian houses in the villages were burned down including parts of the cities such as Gjakova, Peja, and Mitrovica. Most of the cities were almost empty. Even Serbs, who remained in the beginning in the cities, after few weeks left for Serbia.
- The war ended up with the UN resolution 1244, which demanded withdrawal of the Serbian Police and Army from Kosovo. The UN organized an international government-UNMIK. United Mission in Kosovo took the governance on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1999.

3)

- After the end of the war, Kosovo was administered by the UN Mission - UNMIK. It was a complex international organization involving also European Union and OSCE and other international Agencies specialised in particular sectors.
- In 2001, a Constitutional Framework was approved as a supreme legal act based on which the elections for the first Kosovo government - so called Provisional Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo were organised. The administrative system was divided in two levels - central and local government.

- Due to changes in the city institutions and organization of the governance, changes of property rights, urban development was disturbed by the needs for reconstruction of housing and the long period of very limited construction activities. Beside these facts, unmaintained public spaces and buildings suffered damages that were necessary to improve. But the existing planning instruments were too rigid to provide planned construction. In the other side, UNMIK Administration didn't want to strictly control development due to the needs for housing.
- The abandoned industry in the beginning started to operate under international administration, but in 2002, the privatization process started and gradually most of the, industries stopped production due to old technologies. Privatized industries in most cases were transformed in services or changed the production technology or sometimes even demolished to leave the sites for construction such as in the inner part of city of Prishtina.
- Flea markets and improvised bazaars were a rapid respond to growing demand for different kind of goods - clothing, everyday articles, and different kind of tools. The abandoned sites were given at a very low rent to allow people set up their businesses.
- Due to the very high price of the land and big pressure for housing, industry and service economy - retail the municipalities begin to plan for the periphery. Beside planned areas, a lot of illegal construction occurred along the main infrastructure corridors.
- Privatization of the social owned properties to private ownership had as a goal economic development. But the way in which privatization was conducted, posed a lot of question starting from the source of investments, corruption and the future development of the industrial premises, agriculture land or other privatised assets.
- The Ministry of Environment was established in the beginning of 2002. The new Law on spatial planning approved in 2003 defined the way the spatial planning will be carried out in Kosovo.
- Urban Planning, carried out at the local level with two types of plans - Urban Development Plan (UDP) and Urban Regulatory Plan (URP). From 2003 until 2015, most of the municipalities in Kosovo drafted their MDP and UDP, and covered with urban regulatory plans partly or fully,



- In 2012, the Ministry of Environment drafted the new Law on Spatial Planning, introducing the American way of planning. Amongst many definitions and principles given in the Law on Spatial Planning 2003/14, there are neither definitions nor principle for public spaces included.
- Although lacking quality standards, all plans required a certain percentage of public spaces in the areas where collective housing were planned. Many existing public spaces in the city centres were revitalised and streets turned to pedestrian use only. These actions brought vitality to city centres and the real estate prices rose.

4)

- The nature of public spaces after socialism has significantly altered primarily in terms of functional and social dimension. The new socio economic system brought different social relations, replacing empty ideological function of the public space of the socialist system with a new energy of private initiative reflecting in the urban fabric and public space in particular, although in some cases commercialisation of the public spaces prevailed the public interest.
- Shrinking of the public space, could be understood also as a result of densification of the inner city areas, which means rise of the population number and decrease of m<sup>2</sup>/per resident of public open spaces.
- After 1999, the public life was constantly enriched. The cafes were primarily used including sitting out in the terrace. The youth culture activities, banned for a long period, flourished at once. Music in the public space - including folk and rock groups, gave a message that beside many victims and destructions in the cities, the life should go on.
- Inevitably, due to lack of the jobs, the street life include street vendors selling of food, flowers and miscellaneous goods, including books which returned back in the city centre.
- By the time, local governments found out the importance of public space in terms of increasing the quality of life in the cities, in terms of social, economic and environmental dimension. Fight for new and reclaiming back and legally occupied public spaces, became a promising slogan of every election campaign.
- As the public awareness on the common and green space rose, politicians started to put as separate budget lines investment in the public spaces of the cities. This

policy shift was supported by the international agencies and donor organisations. As public spaces grew in number and improved existing, it was possible to notice more people in the streets walking, being in the parks

- Of course there is always the issue of design and standards to provide sufficient comfort, relaxation, engagement and discovery as basic functional features of the public space.
- Public space became a tool for political gains becoming main goals in all local election campaigns since 2007, as most of the public interest was visually manifested in the public space. In the other side the pressure from the civil society in regard to public interest rose permanently. Today there is a strong pressure by the civil society organisations that fight for reclaiming of illegally occupied public space
- Design of public space, after the war, was usually considered as an extended task in urbanism, usually with little commitment to develop a transparent process where public, as an end user would give ideas and opinion on the proposals. In the other side, incompetency in urban and landscape design and lack of experience in this field, produced poor design examples, including those costly investments that could have been avoided with a commitment for design.
- There are of course cases that may be considered successful, which proves that the design is gradually improving. The raising competition in the profession of architecture and urban design, with more quality oriented young professionals, will probably improve the design of urban spaces. Today, in the school more attention is given on designing the public space than ever before. The question of quality is also linked to the process that does not allow fair competition, with more bureaucratic than substantial requirements from competitors.

In the next chapter, the case studies will talk more in detail about the public space in the period after the war and the actual situation in four cities in Kosovo - Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova and Peja. They were compared with three cities in Albania; Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat, as well as two cities in western Macedonia: Tetova and Gostivar.

**PART III - ANALYSES OF PUBLIC SPACES- CASE STUDY IN  
KOSOVO, ALBANIA AND MACEDONIA**



## INTRODUCTION

There are many definitions on what case study method is. According to Robert Yin: A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.” 273

Linda Groat, has further specified the case study method as one of the architectural research methods: The essence of the case study strategy is its focus on studying a setting or phenomenon embedded in its real-life context. By deleting the word contemporary and adding the word setting, this definition would specifically accommodate the explicit inclusion of historic phenomena and both historic and contemporary settings as potential foci of case studies.274

Through the case study method, I tried to focus on real-life context of the public space in the Kosovo cities, extending the area to neighbouring countries such as Albania and Macedonia. Multiple cases were chosen due to the historic research on social context and different settings in the different periods in order to test the answers to the research question in a broader context of Western Balkans under Ottoman Empire and transformation of these territories in the 20th and in the onset of 21st century. Real life context here means the public life in a particular site, in particular time during a day, particular days in the week and seasons.

I used case study method to explain some causal links of transformations and current standings of public spaces in Kosovo cities and in a broader context of the Western Balkans. These causal links shows how the changes of socio-economic system and political settings have influenced the transformation of public life and public space.

### 1. Selection of cases

The multiple cases chosen in this research provide multiple source of evidence and data which are compared within Kosovo cities and than a comparison were made with cities in Albania and Macedonia. In Kosovo, four biggest cities were chosen: Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova and Peja. They are the oldest cities as well, with a relatively preserved Ottoman inner core which provide the ‘ground’

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<sup>273</sup> Yin, R. K. (1995), *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Thousands Oaks, London, New Delhi

<sup>274</sup> Groat, L.N., Wang D. (2013) *Architectural Research Methods - Second Edition*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey

facts for research. In Albania, Shkodra, Elbasan has been chosen because of their position towards Kosovo and western Macedonia, and linkages they had with Prizren and Gjakova, while Berat as one of the oldest city in Albania, could be compared to Prizren in terms of urban morphology that generates from the castle on the top of the hill. In Macedonia, Tetova and Gostivar were chosen due to comparable size and the connections that they have with Kosovo cities.

Within the cities, sites were chosen based on three criteria's:

- Urban morphology - the structure and the position in the city, which relates also to content and history. For example, while most of the public spaces with a historic setting tend to be within the city centre, there are parks - so called ottoman gardens, that were usually located in the periphery - such as Taukbahce in Prishtina, Marash Park in Prizren and Karaagac in Peja;
- Time dimension - historical background - in terms of when they were built and how they were transformed to actual situation, what is their usability and vitality today; Here comparison of social dimension tend to show why some places flourish due to historic features - cultural heritage and others although new can still compete with
- Functional dimension - what is the main content? - This defines then the typologies of public spaces in terms of morphological dimension, changes in content during the history due to changes of modes of production and social life.
- All these criteria have consequences in visual dimension. Most of the spaces have experienced changes in the buildings that create the public space. Floors are refurbished, the greenery has grown and the urban furniture replaced due to intensive use and sometime due to vandalism. Even public lighting has changed, because more and more, city authorities require higher aesthetic features of lighting poles and luminaries.

In each of the cities, different periods are represented with different typology. Typologies of the public spaces analysed in this research may differ slightly from what the definitions in the literature might suggest. The intention here is to describe as different types in regard to location, form and activities that are performed in the public space. The basic types chosen are listed below:

- Square
- Street/boulevard
- City park
- Neighbourhood park and playground
- Waterfront

## 2. Public life survey

*"...Please look closely at real cities. While you are looking, you might as well also listen, linger and think about what you see."*

*Jane Jacobs*<sup>275</sup>

Direct observation is the primary tool of studying the public life studies. The users of public space were not directly involved in the survey, but their activity and behaviour were observed and mapped in order to understand how the space is used. The choice of tools is based on the features that make chosen public spaces samples for finding answers to the research questions. For any area/site study, it is necessary to consider the study context holistically, including physical, cultural and climate aspects. A single tool is rarely sufficient. It is usually necessary to combine various types of investigation.

## 3. Choosing the proper time, day and weather

Usually this issue depends on the purpose of the study and local conditions. In order to cover the different time periods in a day, the survey took place from 10.00 to 16.00 and from 18.00 to 21.00. Counting took place 15 minutes each hour. It is considered that 15 minutes observation and counting during the hour could sufficiently illustrate the social life and activities in the public space. Concerning the nightlife, especially in the occasion of particular events- such as Rock Festival in Prishtina, Dokufest in Prizren, separate observation until midnight was made, in order to extract the features specific for a particular site. In the residential neighbourhood's, although optional and social activities takes place until early evening, different shops within the area, such as in Ulpiana, Dardania, etc. makes public space of these neighbourhoods to be very lively even during the late hours. This is why I considered that the same survey timing should apply in the neighbourhoods.

In order to see the daily differences, the research was carried out during weekdays and weekends, because patterns change during the non working days and holidays. In some of the cities such as Prizren, Peja and Gjakova, the traditional market day presents also a significant pattern change around the market and generally in the centre of the city.

Basic tools used for survey were: **counting, behavioural mapping, tracing, photographing and diary keeping**. By counting the qualitative data was acquired for making comparisons between different sites over time. Mapping activities in the public space show people's places, places for walking, staying or sitting, and for playing in the areas where the opportunities exist. Time based differences are shown in the diagrams as the survey took place from 10.00 to 16.00, every hour 15

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<sup>275</sup> Jacobs, J. (1962) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Edition 2000, Pimlico, Random House, London

minutes, than in the evening from 18.00 - 20.00 in the same manner. People's movements inside or crossing through the spaces, are drawn as lines of movement on a plan of the site being studied. The interaction of urban life and form were captured and documented by photographing. To register details and nuances of interaction between public life and space, the notes were taken in the diary, noting observations that can later be categorized and quantified.

What makes a public space a pleasant place to be and to use? The 16 quality criteria, based on Jahn Gehl methodology<sup>276</sup> on public life study, was used to evaluate the qualities that make a place that invite peoples to come and stay. The survey shows graphically how they change during the day and the days in the week. What is the best time to sit in the square or adjacent café, how time influence the use of parks or how working time of the shops triggers people to walk on a shopping street. These criteria are based on human senses and needs.

These 16 criteria reflect mainly functional and social dimension of public space including aesthetic qualities and management dimension. This means that public space qualities do not take its starting point in aesthetic parameters. People's needs for protection from cars, noise, rain and wind, are to be considered at first, as well as need to walk, stand, sit, look, speak, listen and express themselves.<sup>277</sup> People also need to be able to use features of local climate and surrounding environment in a human scale. Experience has shown that more than aesthetic qualities, a public space is valued and used by the presence of people and activities that are taking place. However, it is necessary to stress that for an overall quality, the functional and social dimension should be embedded within an urban- architectural framework that respects visual dimension. As final criteria, the maintenance shows the governance aspects such as: preserving views, care for nature-trees, flowers, water, maintenance - cleaning, repairing, and painting.

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<sup>276</sup> Gehl, J. Svarre, (B. 2013) How to Study Public Life - Island Press, Washington, DC, USA

<sup>277</sup> Gehl, J. Svarre, (B. 2013) How to Study Public Life - Island Press, Washington, DC, USA



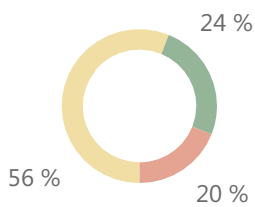
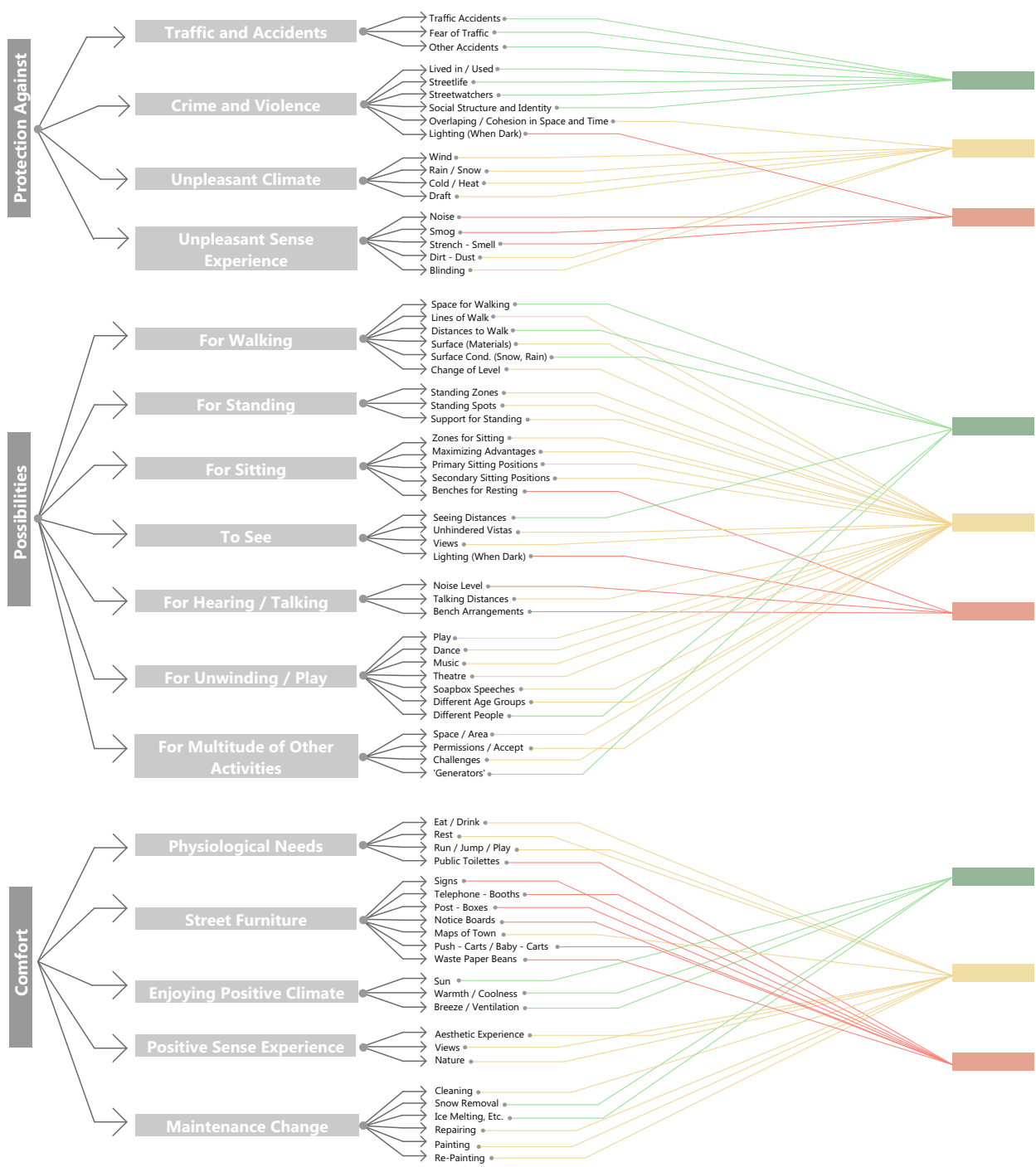


Fig. 41 Public life survey - evaluation chart

# ANALYSES OF PUBLIC SPACES IN FOUR CITIES IN KOSOVO

## 1.1 OTTOMAN SQUARES AND BAZAARS

### 1.1.1 SHADERVAN - (The Fountain Square) - Prizren

The Fountain Square – or ‘Shadervan’ in Prizren presents foci of public life with a long history, dating back to 16-17 century in the Ottoman Empire. Originally it was smaller square a place where several old bazaar streets terminate and meet each other, which has been transformed in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Through the century the artisans guilds of Prizren – so called ‘esnafs’ maintained the tradition of meeting at the ‘Shadervan’ for business exchange and coffee and tea talks during the whole year, whether outside or in the inner coffee and tea shops interiors. The fountain square – Shadervan preserved its importance because of its role as a crossroad of main bazaar streets. This remained even during the communism time when the esnafs dissolved and the shops were partly nationalized, and artisan’s products declined due to more industrialized production.

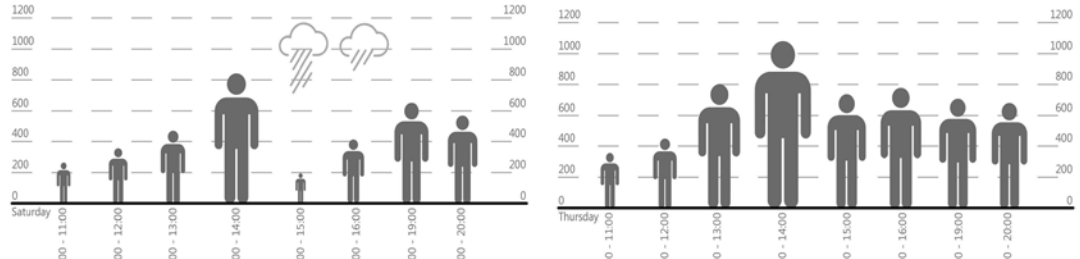
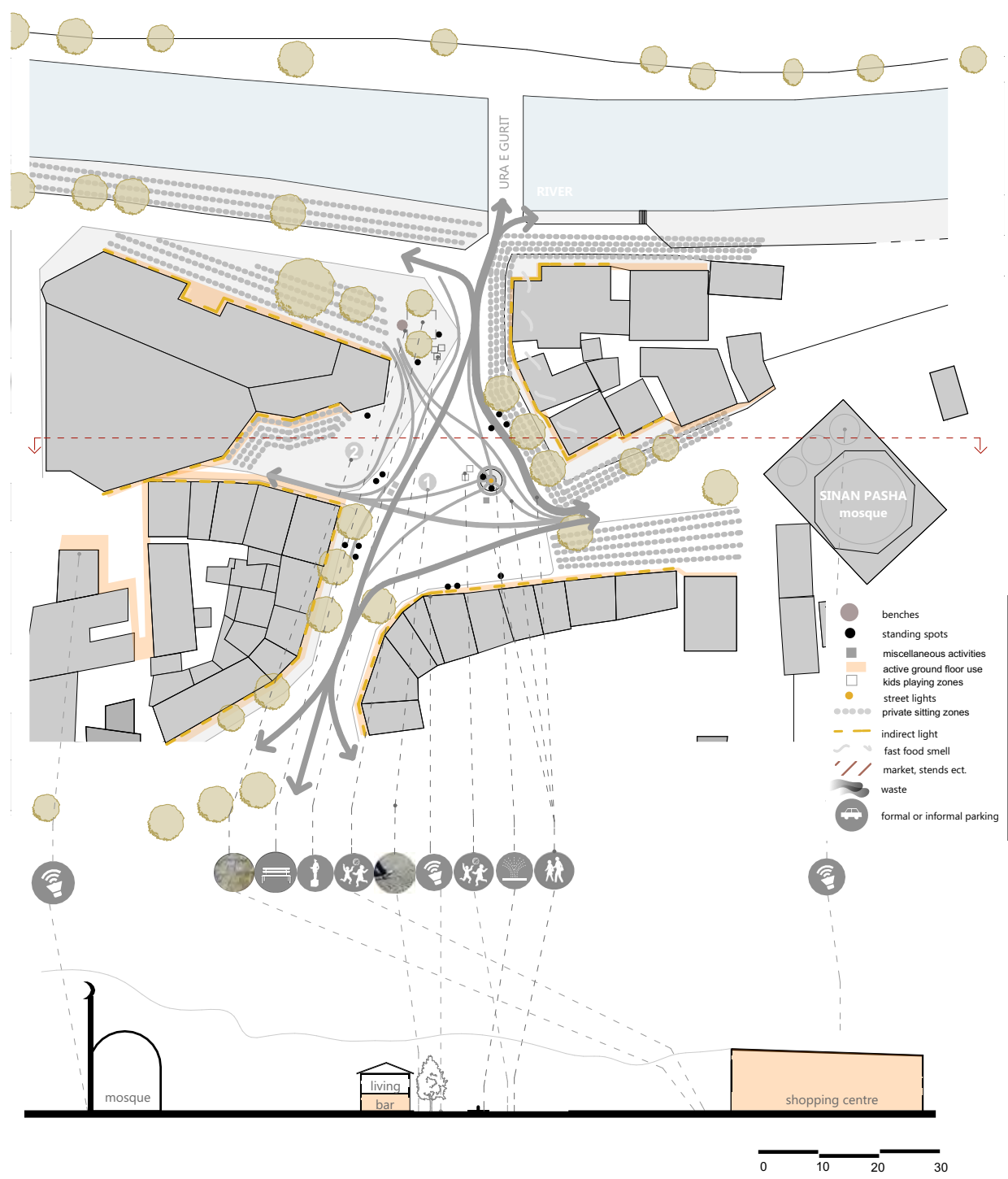
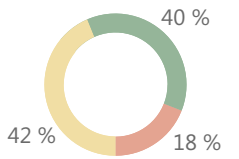
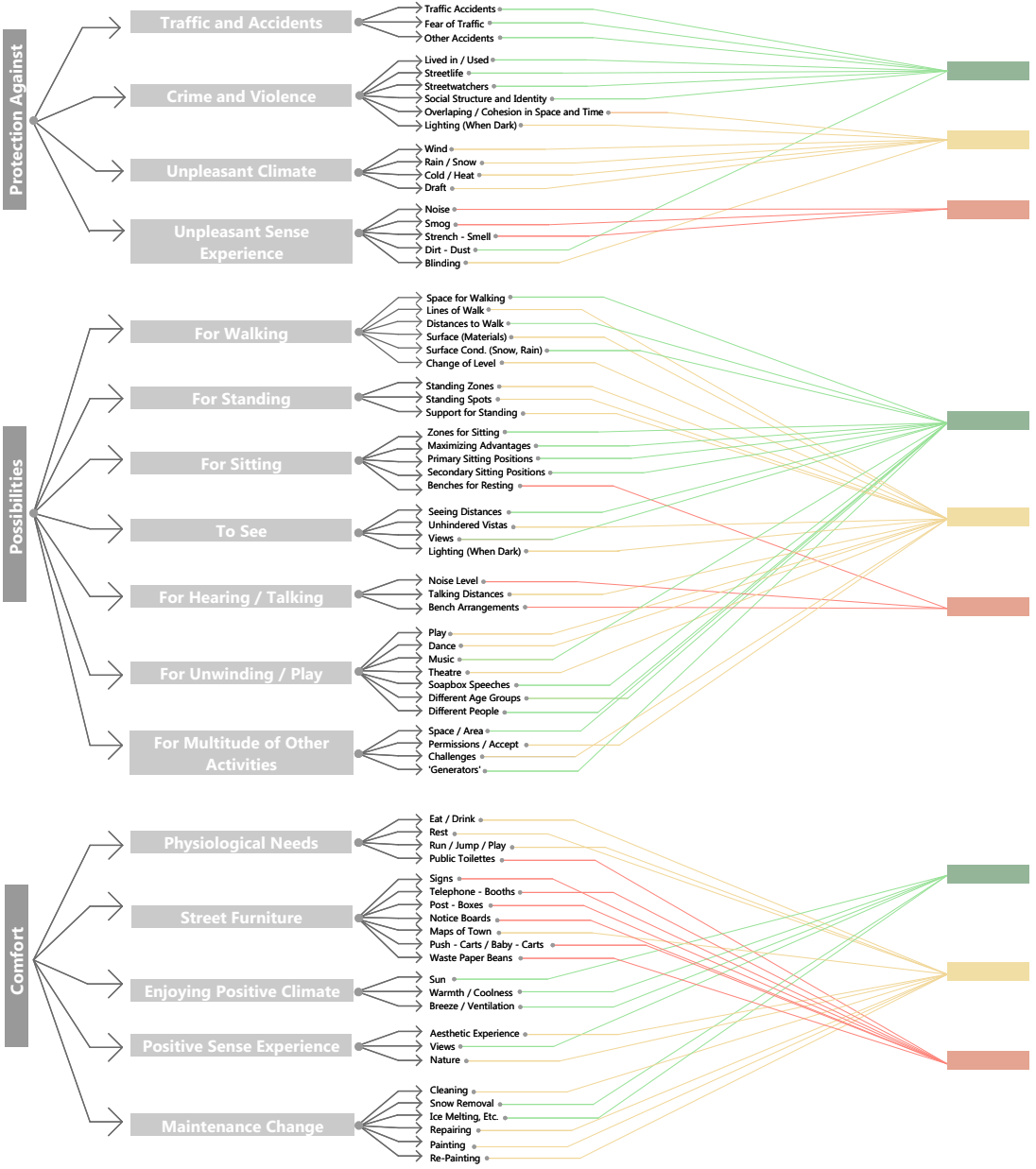
Shadervan or Fountain Square is the central square in the city of Prizren dating back from the 15/16 century. It is a typical square positioned in the intersection of main pedestrian axis in the city, leading to Sinan Pasha Mosque in the city centre. It is enclosed by the cafes and shops with maximum three stories that provide a human scale of the square. Most of the architectural features of the buildings are from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century when, the period when old shops were refurbished. Light colours with little details make the urban architecture to fit the purpose of the square. The urban landscape is dominated by the 17<sup>th</sup> century Sinan Pasha Mosque, a traditional Ottoman mosque with dome and minaret, The Mosque poses some monumental features such as big portique elevated more than 3,00 meters from the street level due to the topography. The floor of the square and the streets that terminates in the square is paved with granite cobblestone. Originally the floor was stone paved taken from the river. Recently the drinking fountain made of stone was refurbished.

The square is characterized by a set of formal and informal activities that takes place during the day. A very lively public life through the whole day can be experienced in the square.

There are periods during the year when the square is full of people through the night until early hours in the morning. This usually takes place during the DOKUFEST - the International Festival of Documentary Film in the summer, when the square becomes a kind of living room for all citizens and visitors of the festival. In the morning you can drink coffee or tea and have light breakfast in the terraces or inside. Then, around noon people gradually fill up the area around, sit in the cafes or do shopping. The street vendors are usually in the west side. They sell festival tickets and souvenirs.

Beside the environmental and social values that possesses, the square is very vital economic spot in the city. Cafes and shops are viable businesses that contribute to the vitality of the square. At the same time they play an important role for safety of the place. In the other side, the use of the terraces provides some incomes for the municipality from tax incentives necessary for an effective maintenance.

A mix of stakeholders in the square takes care on how the square is maintained. Shop-keepers, and local civil society organisations constantly keeps warning the city department for public services on whatever the square may need in terms of maintenance.



### 1.1.2 ÇARSHIA E GATË (The Bazaar) and LAMA (The Market) - Peja

The bazaar case shown in this study includes the bazaar- çarshia and the square - Lama as a place where several streets terminate. It is the historical area - part of Peja Kulliye including Bayrakli Mosque, Hanan and the han. The intensive use of bazaar nowadays could be considered as an incontestable argument that since the medieval period, it used to be the central area of the public life in the Ottoman town. Beside the artisan production and trade, the bazaar was the arena of social exchange - friends talks through food and drink on a daily basis or during the evenings in the holly month of Ramadan. The extension of the Mosque courtyard in the Lama square, makes it an arena of multiple public use, both in term of time dimension and variety of functions and user categories.

The bazaar consists on the street and the square. The 5-6 m' wide street is enclosed with small shops following the Ottoman principles od shaping the streets - architecture with pitched roof covered with antique roof tiles, with large wood windows and shutters opened during the whole day providing the extension of the street inside the private space so the vendors could follow everything happening in the street. In the other side, those outside could communicate with the vendors without entering the shop.

The Lama square is a small open place encompassed by the small shops, which give the liveliness to the square. It also provide some additional space when prying takes place outside the Bayrakli Mosque - during the Ramadan or Bayram Holidays.

The square is characterized by a set of formal and informal activities that takes place during the day. A very lively public life through the whole day can be experienced in the square, livelier in the summer when people spend more time in the open spaces. In the morning coffee or tea bring together vendors where they discuss general issues, business, politics and other gossips that tare spread in the city and bazaar. Then, around noon people gradually fill up the area around, sit in the cafes or do shopping. There are no street vendors as it was before in the Ottoman period. Rather, the place now is dedicated for are usually in the west side.

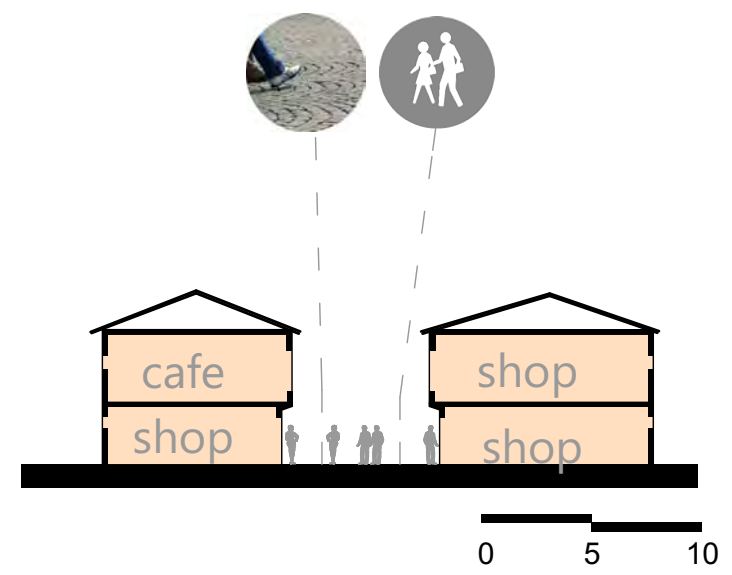
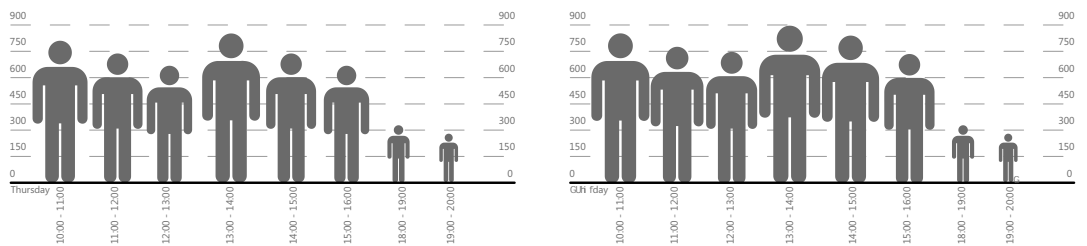
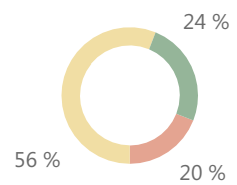
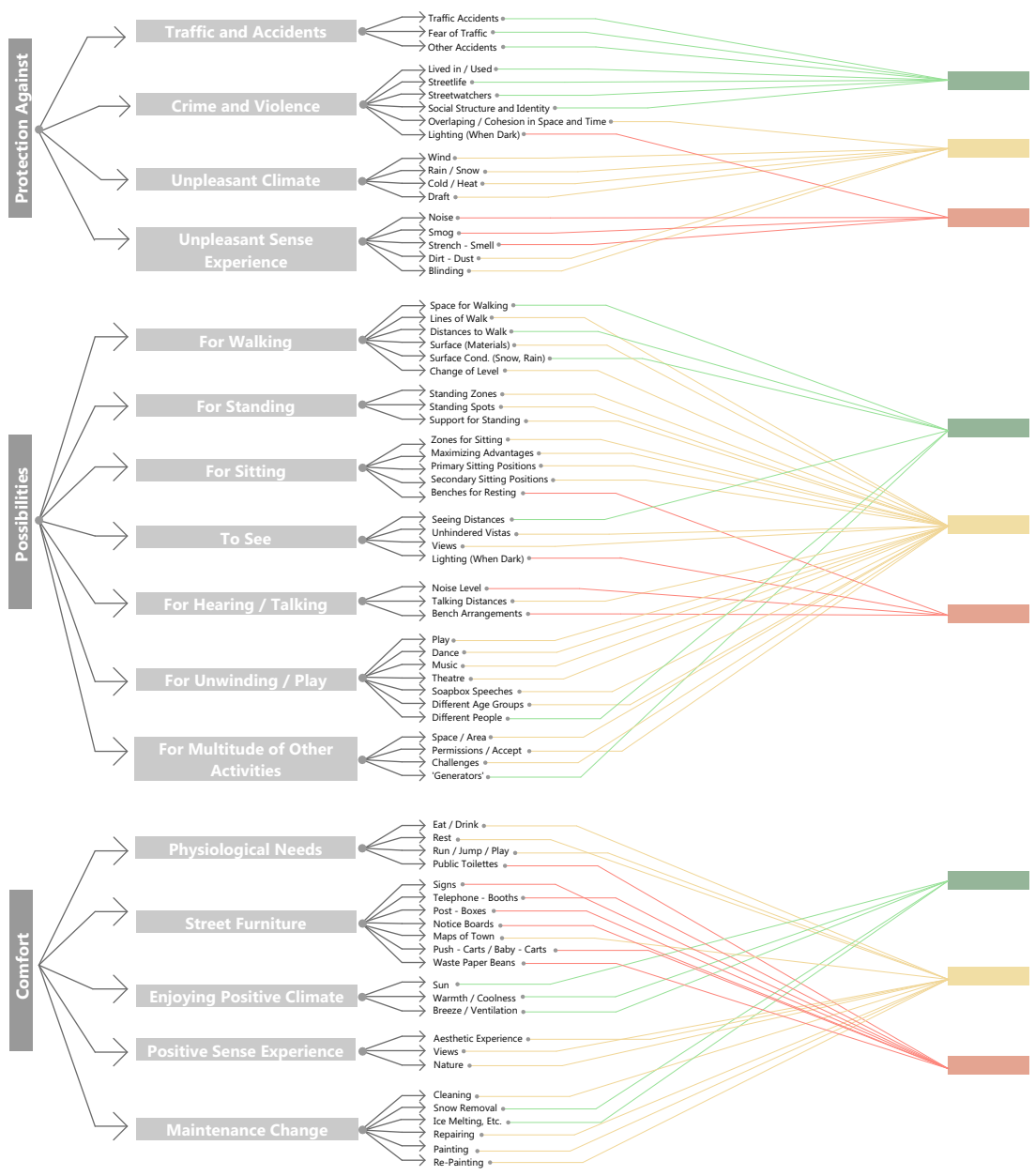
The common activities we can find in the bazaar and the square, mostly trade and services. From the activities in the past the only ones to survive are some blacksmiths and traditional costume producers. The traditional costumes are used only during different event ceremonies, such as weddings. Peja was famous for its textile manufacturing, and the çarshia was a perfect place for selling of local textile products. In turn, these products made the çarshia famous in

the wider region. Çarshia is the place to also buy cheap products usually imported from Turkey.

Cafes and shops contribute to the vitality of the bazaar and the square and at the same time they provide safety of the place. Use of the outdoors terraces of the cafes provides some incomes for the tax incentives to municipality necessary for maintenance.

A mix of stakeholders in the bazaar including the community of Bayrakli Mosque takes care for the maintenance albeit it is the responsibility of the municipal Public Service Department.





### 1.1.3 ÇARSHIA E MADHE (Grand Bazaar) and LAMA E DRITHIT (Grain Market) Gjakova

The Grand Bazaar is the central part of the Ottoman core of Gjakova. It dates back to 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century. It has more than 500 shops and is known as one of the largest bazaars in the Eastern Europe. It has housed a wide number of artisan and trade shops of different production such as processing of metals, leather, textile, wood, and necessary services for the citizens.

Until the 1873 it was a very important economic centre due to strong commercial connections with Shkodra and Adriatic coast, through which the export of production was enabled in the region the trading route (Shkodra-Gjakova-Nish-Sofia-Istanbul). With the construction of the Thessaloniki - Skopje- Mitrovica railway (1873), the bazaar declined due to shifting of the trade routes in the Balkans.

Bazaar was the centre of the development of social and political life of the city. The *esnafs*/guilds played an important role in the social and economic life not only in the bazaar, but in the city and the wider region as well. The *esnafs*, contributed to preserve the crafts and transferred their tradition from generation to generation.<sup>278</sup>

During the Balkan wars in 1912 it was destroyed and due to the new borders in the interwar period it declined as a continuous decline of artisan production and competition with imported industrial products. After World War II, due to the rapid industrialisation the Grand Bazaar lost the role it had in the Ottoman Empire.

The Grand Bazaar area is under protection by the decision No. 59/ 55 from 02.19.1955. According to documents the main crafts exercised in the bazaar were: wool-makers, curriers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, cutlers, sword makers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, saddlers, gunsmiths, watchmakers, goldsmiths and silversmiths/filigrees etc. Currently most of the buildings are residential spread across the whole area of the bazaar. Shops and other commercial buildings extend along the bazaar streets. Most of the uses differ from the initial use due to decline of the artisan production.<sup>279</sup> Currently Municipality is undergoing a project for urban revitalization. Recently it turned to pedestrian area to claim back the human scale of a typical Ottoman bazaar.

It is gradually shifting from artisan production features to commercial area with shops and restaurants, which has brought certain vitality in the city. The physical structure and the architecture have been preserved to a certain extent, because it was already revitalized in the

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<sup>278</sup> Historic Urban Area - Framework for the regeneration of the Grand Gjakova Bazaar - CHwB, Prishtina/Gjakova (2015)

<sup>279</sup> Ibid 6.



1980's. The public life is mostly based on the shopping, food and drinking opportunities and leisure. Some traditional event are being organized in the bazaar.

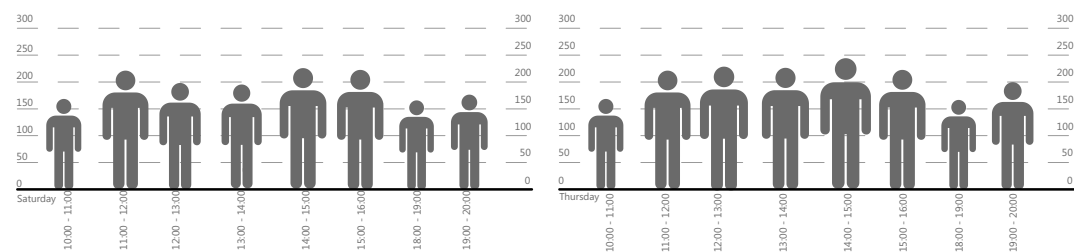
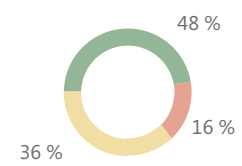
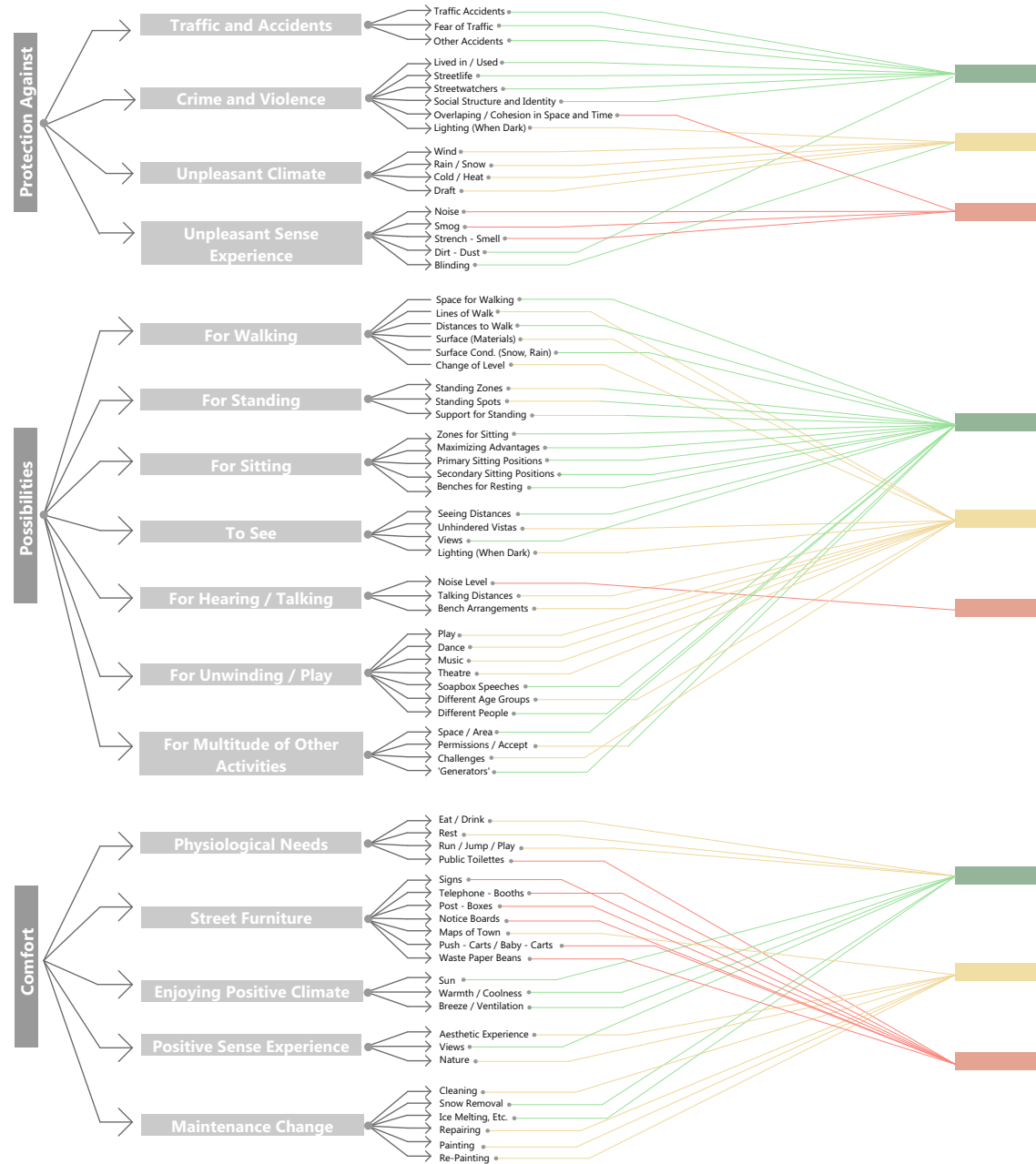
The Lama e Drithit Gjakova is a small square within the Grand Bazaar. It is a place originally dedicated to the farmers who brought to the city market their grain products. Although the grains are not products that are being trade in the city, the name tells us also what was the square used for and where would the farmers be able to expose their products.

Encountered with one-store shops in a triangle shape, the square is place where several Bazaar streets terminate. The simple Ottoman architecture with pitched roof covered with antique roof tiles, usually hand made, with big wood windows and shutters that stands open during the whole day and closes when the shops are closed. As the windows were usually standing open, the square extended inside the private space so the vendors followed everything happening in the square. In the other side, those outside could communicate with the vendors nor entering the shop.

The common activities we can find in the square, mostly trade and services. The square is characterized by a set of formal and informal activities that takes place during the day. A very lively public life through the whole day can be experienced in the square, livelier in the summer when people spend more time in the open spaces. In the morning coffee or tea bring together vendors where they discuss general issues, business, politics and other gossips that tare spread in the city and bazaar. Then, around noon people gradually fill up the area around, sit in the cafes or do shopping. There are no street vendors as it was before in the Ottoman period. Rather, the place now is dedicated for are usually in the west side.

Cafes and shops contribute to the vitality of the square and at the same time they provide safety of the place. Use of the outdoors terraces of the cafes provides some incomes for the tax incentives to municipality necessary for maintenance.

A mix of stakeholders in the square takes care on how the square is maintained.



#### 1.1.4 ADEM JASHARI SHOPPING STREET - Prizren

Formerly blacksmith street, it had been transformed spatially in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1960's it changed into shopping street in the period of transformation of the artisan manufacturing to industrial production, after the World War II. The street begins at the Gazi Mehmed Pasha Hamam ending with a small green public space with flowers dedicated to the residents of the apartment building aside. Paved with granite cobblestone, the street is characterized with a human scale with mostly two story buildings and trees in both sides.

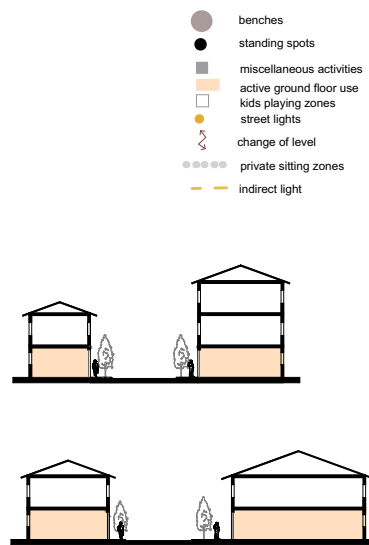
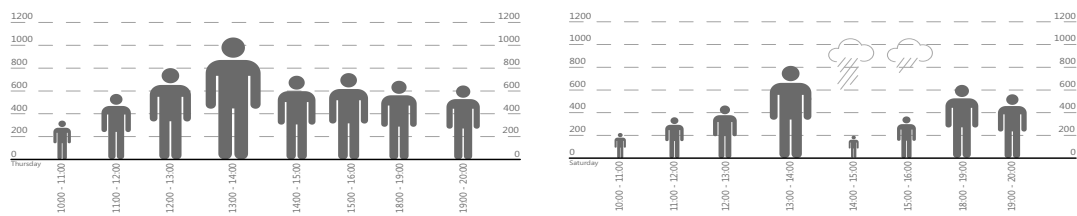
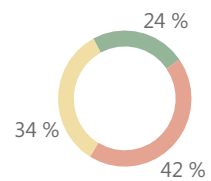
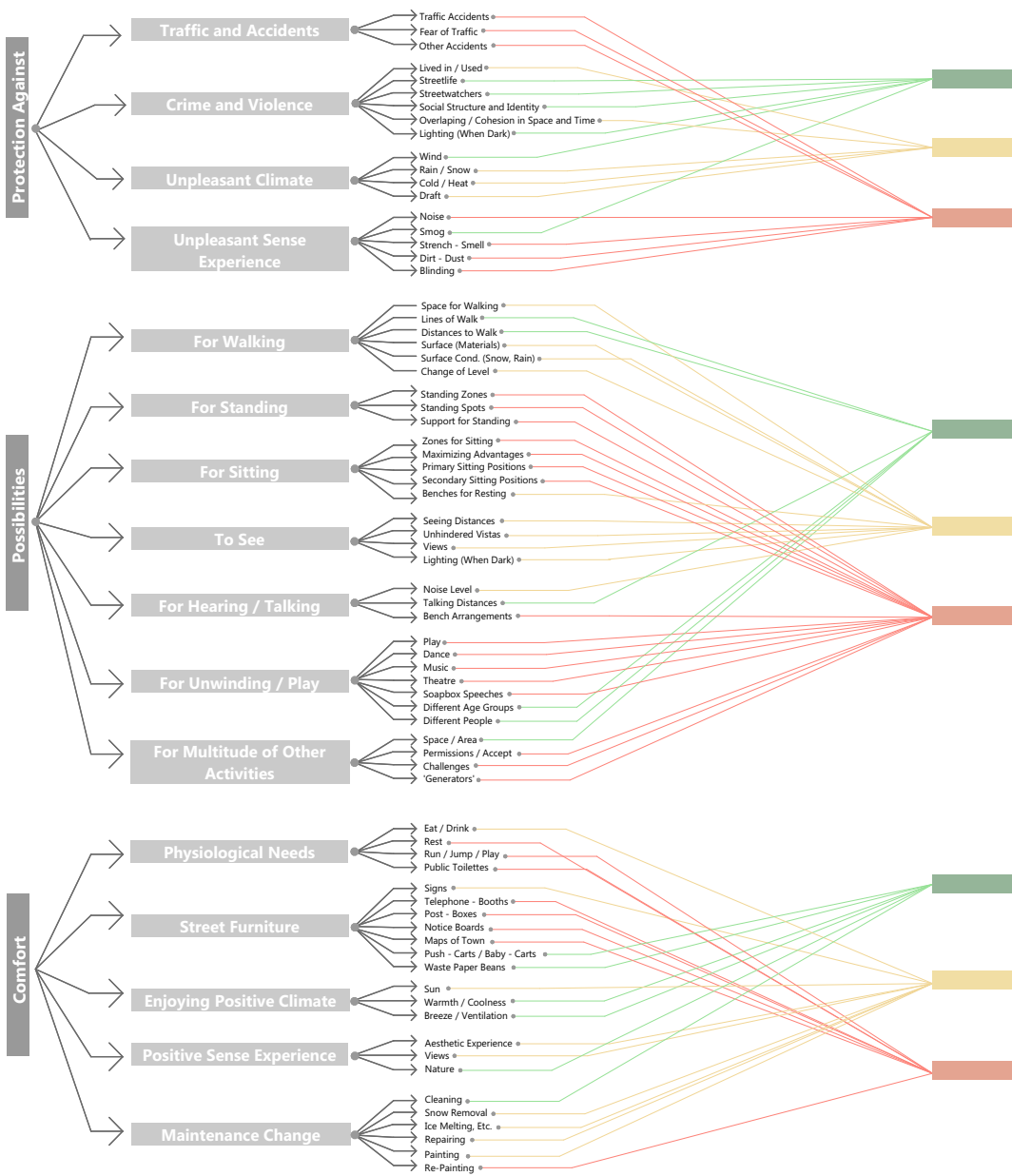
The street is dedicated both pedestrians and vehicle movement with one-way drive. Besides shopping it is main pedestrian access from the northern part of the city to the city centre. Active ground floor building front contributes to make it a very lively street from the morning up to the evening when shops are closed. Some shopkeepers use the sidewalks for exposing the goods in order to attract the possible clients. This adds some flavour to the street scene.

Shops are viable businesses that contribute to the vitality of the street and play an important role for safety in the street. Shopkeepers, and the city department for public services are main stakeholders to keep maintenance effective during the day.

The street has preserved the sense of the old traditional bazaar streets, although it was reconstructed in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Besides shopping a very intensive social relations between vendors makes the street unique in terms of social life and character that it gains.

In the upper part there is a square that is serving residents around consisting on green and paved area. Few benches provide the opportunity for socializing and relaxing under the shadow of the trees. Although very formally designed, it still creates a balance between built and natural elements of the city. Probably a rearrangement is necessary.





## 1.2 OTTOMAN PARKS

### 1.2.1 'TAUKBAHCE' PARK - Prishtina

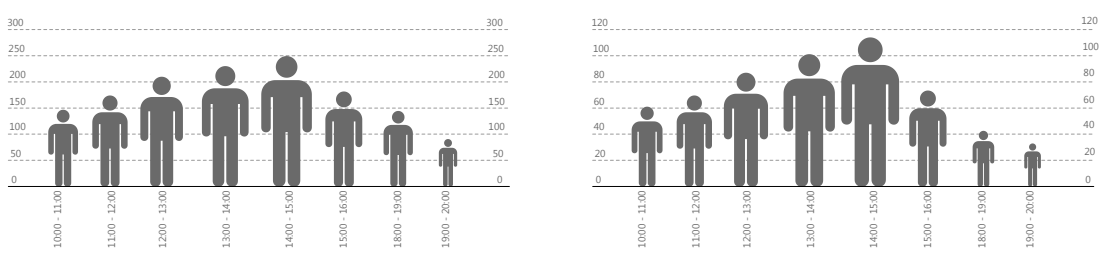
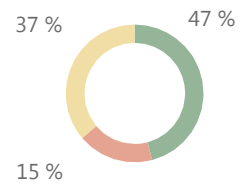
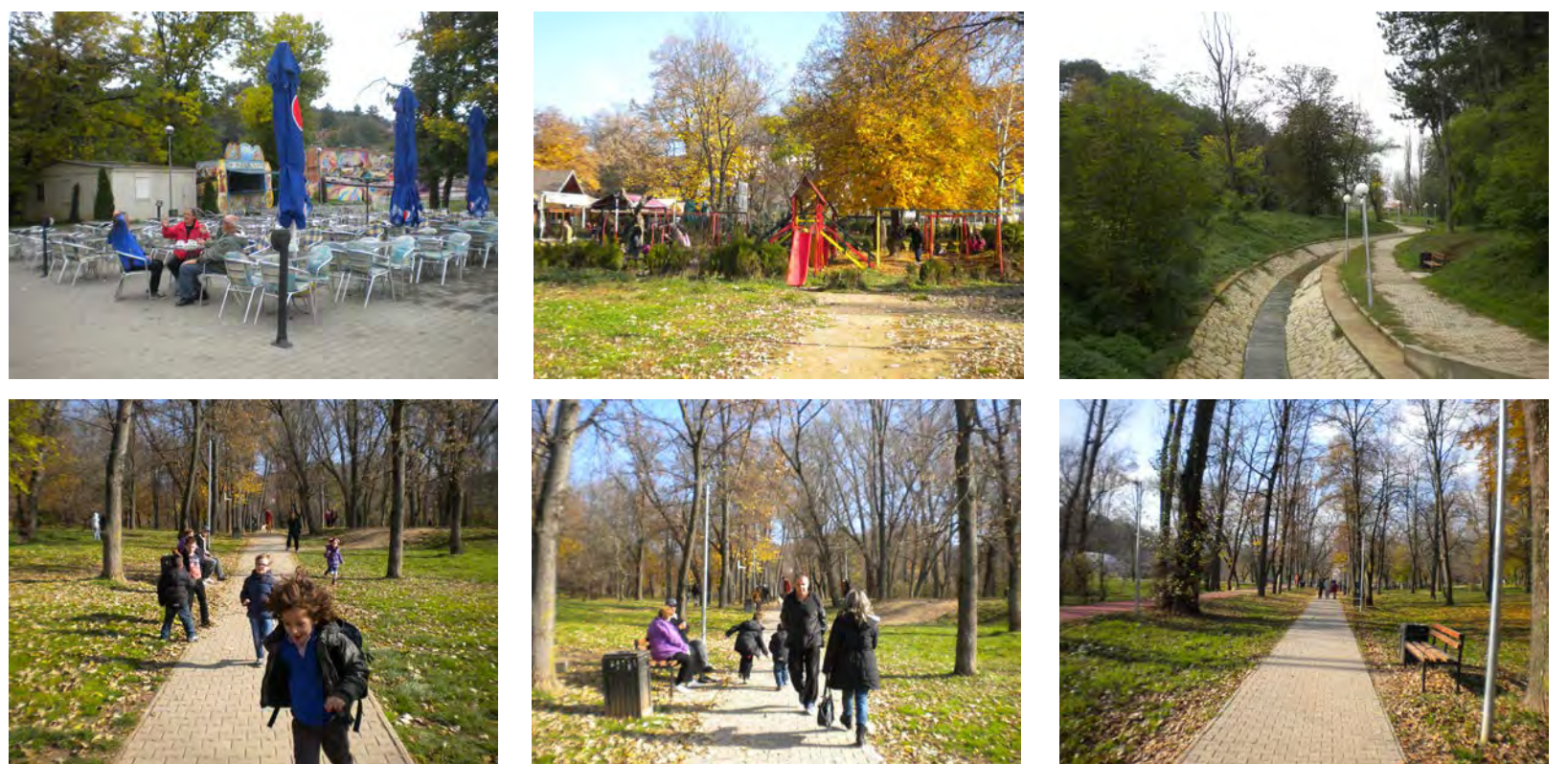
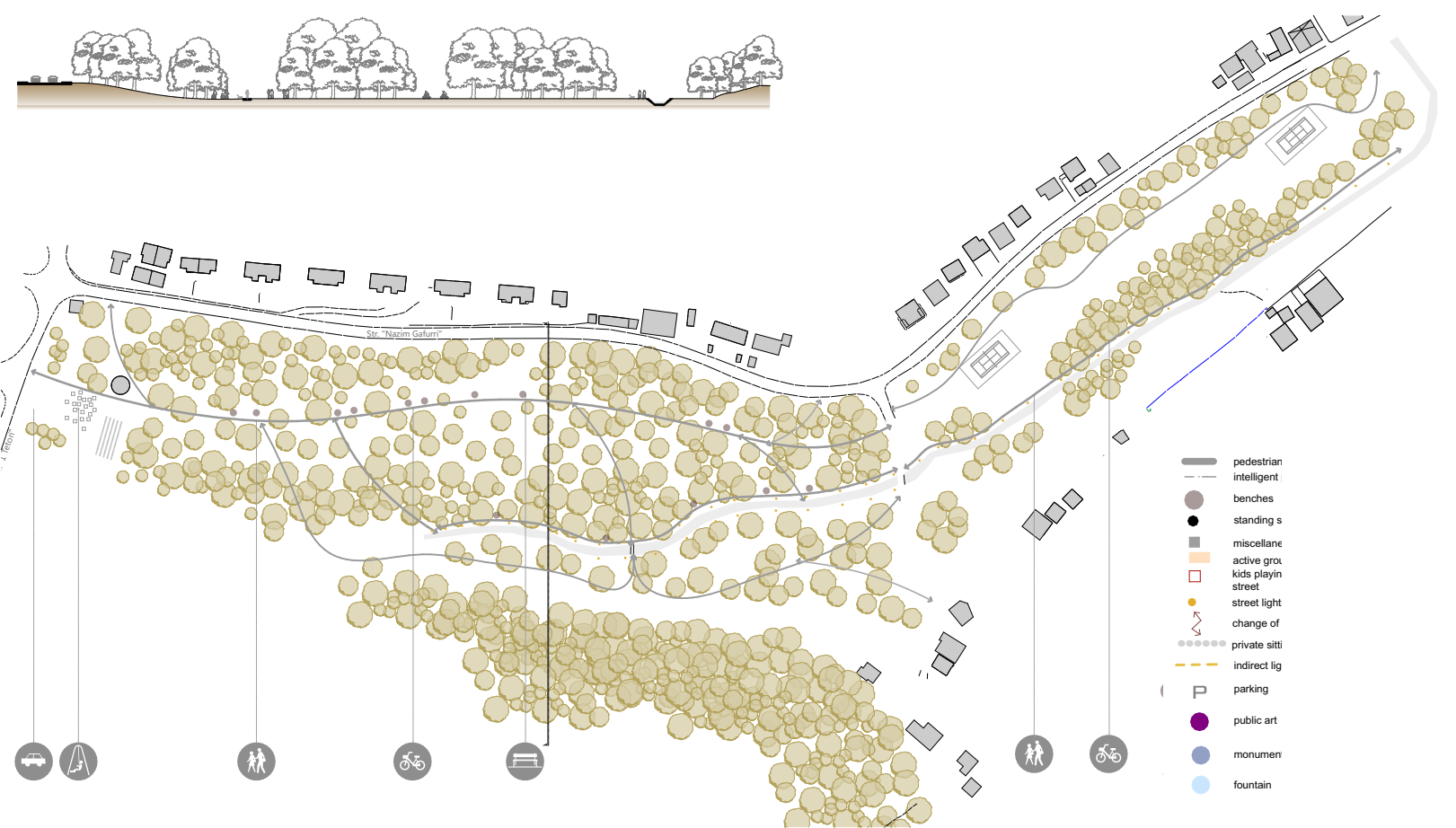
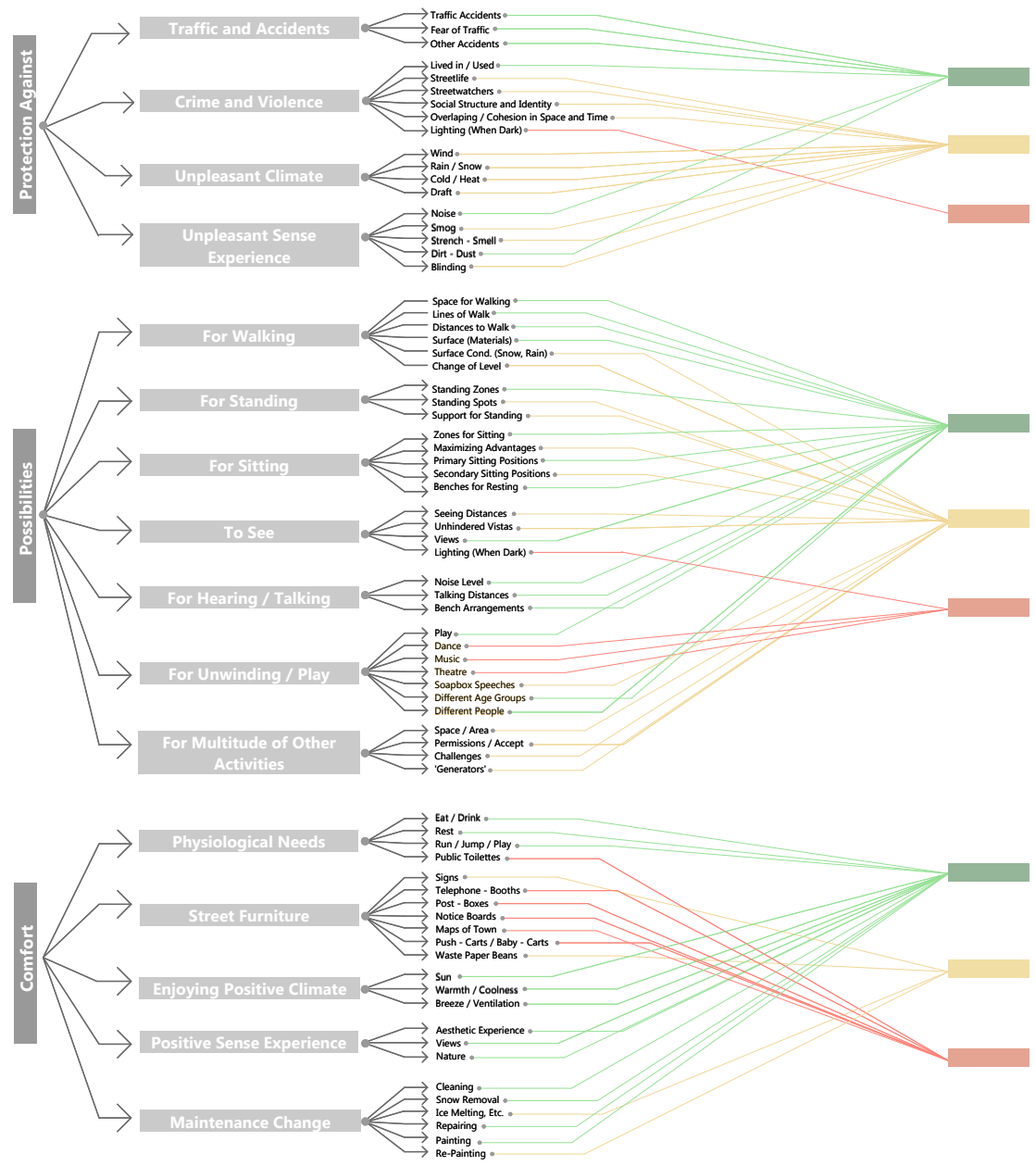
Taukbahçe is a park, formerly northeast periphery of Prishtina. It lies in the valley of Vellusha stream between two hills and is characterized with dense planting of high trees. It dates back to 19<sup>th</sup> century, referring to its Turkish name meaning: *chicken garden*. Taukbahçe has been a suburban garden where Prishtina residents used to go for walking and enjoying nature. As city grew, it became closer to the city so it may be considered as a city park.

From the early hours in the morning people gets to the Tukbahçe for morning jogging, walking or have morning coffee in one of the two cafes within the park. The park is dominated by the high trees, and has two longitudinal paths, one along the stream Vellusha. In the northern side the park is encountered with the Tashlixhe neighbourhood settled in a steep hill. In the southern part is a dense green forest in a steep hill, which contributes to the overall natural settings of the park. Different trees can be distinguished in the park such as linden, acacia, wild chestnut, elm, maple, etc.

In the recent years there has been some refurbishment works in the park. The paths have been paved, stream regulated with stone-concrete bed and some public lighting added. The poor design and works done suggests that there are no professional landscape designers involved in this project. At the western entrance to the park there is a private children playground rented by the municipality. This small amusement park attracts mostly children and young couples with small children and is very lively during the summer and in the afternoons after working hours. Most of the activities in the park are walking, sitting, playing and eating and drinking. The most frequented part of the day in the park is the in the noon and in the evening, although this depend on the weather and the day in the week. Within the park area there is a tennis sport field and a football pitch, managed by the private entities. In the other side of the park, there is café and restaurant with a terrace, managed also by a private owner.

The care for the trees and shrubs is not periodically conducted, so some older trees are damaged and may fall down. Private entities using the park are also stakeholders in the park management concerning the space that they are using. Renting of the part of the park provides the opportunities for more activities in the park and also incentives for maintenance of the park.





### 1.2.2 'MARASHI' PARK - Prizren

Marash complex located in the eastern outskirts of Prizren, where Shar mountains terminates in the Lumbardhi river. It is a green area from ottoman period - a mezure which had preserved its importance and vitality it had since than. Marash Park is a green belt, which links the fortress with the city and Prizren Ligue centre along the Lumbardhi river with a walking promenade with poplar tree alley. A 400-year old plane tree - (Platanus- Orientalis), two meters wide, is the only example of its kind in the Balkans is one of the special attractions of Marash.

Located near the center of town, but at the same time hidden from the crowd, this park offers a warm environment with jogging trails, which runs for kilometres up to the first power plant of Prizren from the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are paths leading to the fortress, sitting and play areas and some small cafe-restaurants.

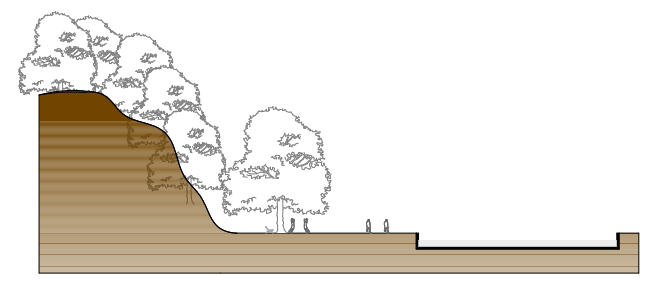
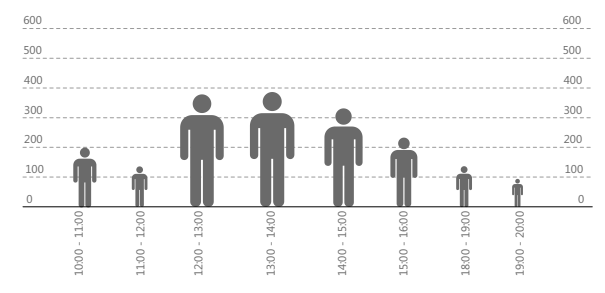
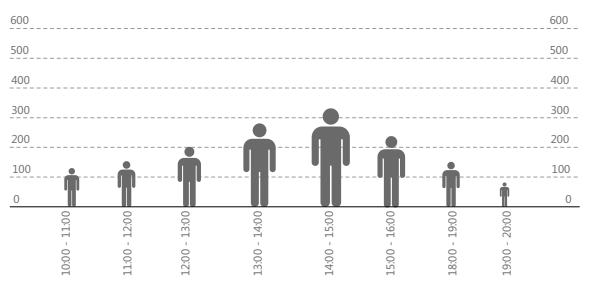
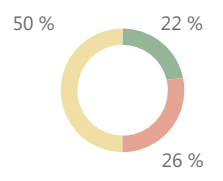
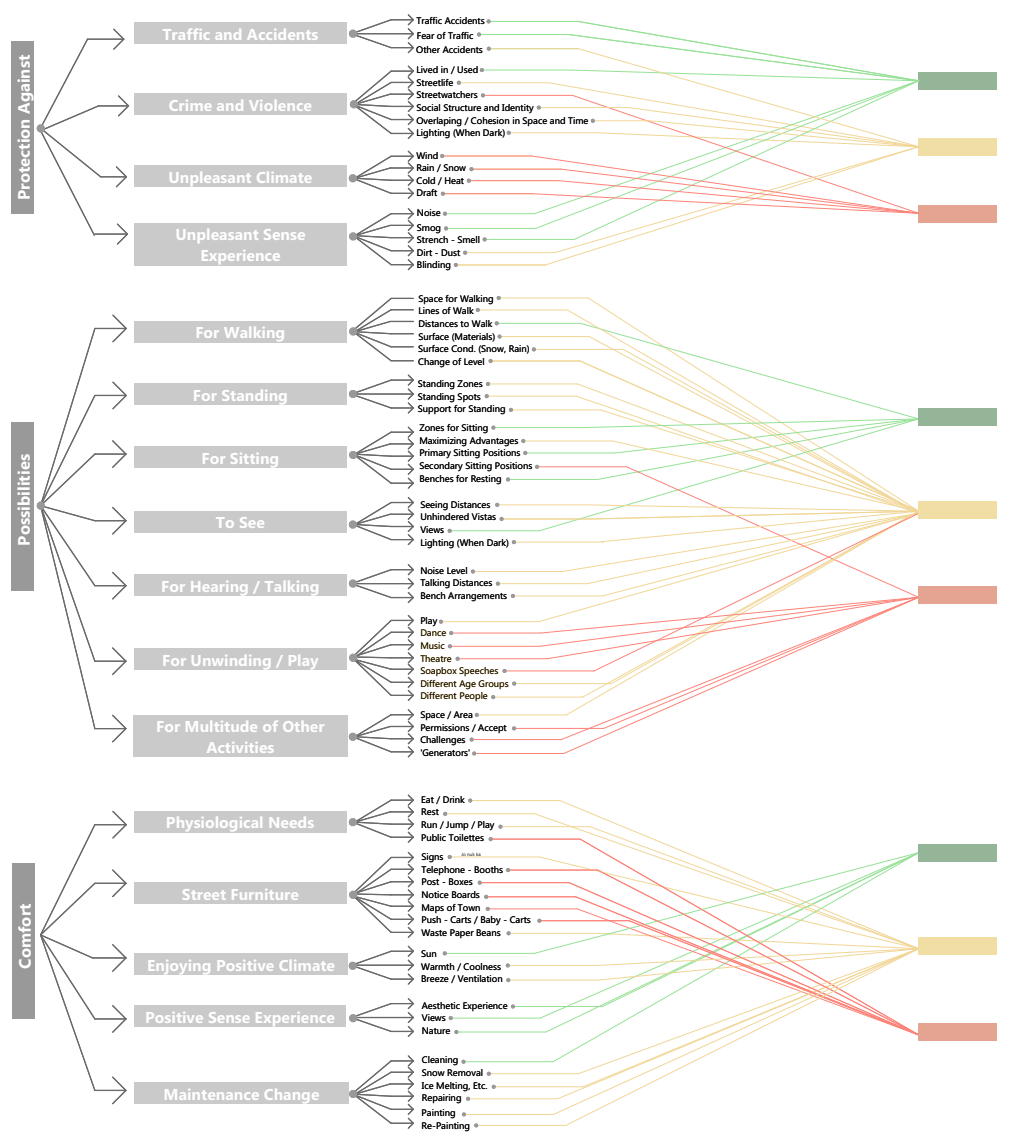
From Marash Park the paths leads to Dokufest Camp with the opportunity for walking upstream of the river, with the trails running several kilometers for walking and biking along the Lumbardhi riverfront, a magnificent natural settings.

Upon entering in the Marash one can feel the fresh breezing of the cold Lumbardhi water that runs from the Sharr mountains gripped with the freshness of mild mountain climate is combined with Mediterranean climate.

Marash is considered a pleasant symbiosis of natural and architectural heritage. At the park entrance some of the Prizren architectural heritage sites could be experienced such as Maksut Pasha Mosque 1833 the Türbe/Tomb of Saadi order and the revitalized Pintolli mill which provide a local food specialties. In the upper end, the Prisen's first Power Plant is recently revitalized.

Marash is a very visited and lively area especially in the spring and summer. People walk and run from the early morning hours but there are also food and drink opportunities and the open-air music in the summer, which make the park a convivial area. During the DOKUFEST film festival the Dokufest Camp organizes the music night events, which runs through the whole night, for 10 days.





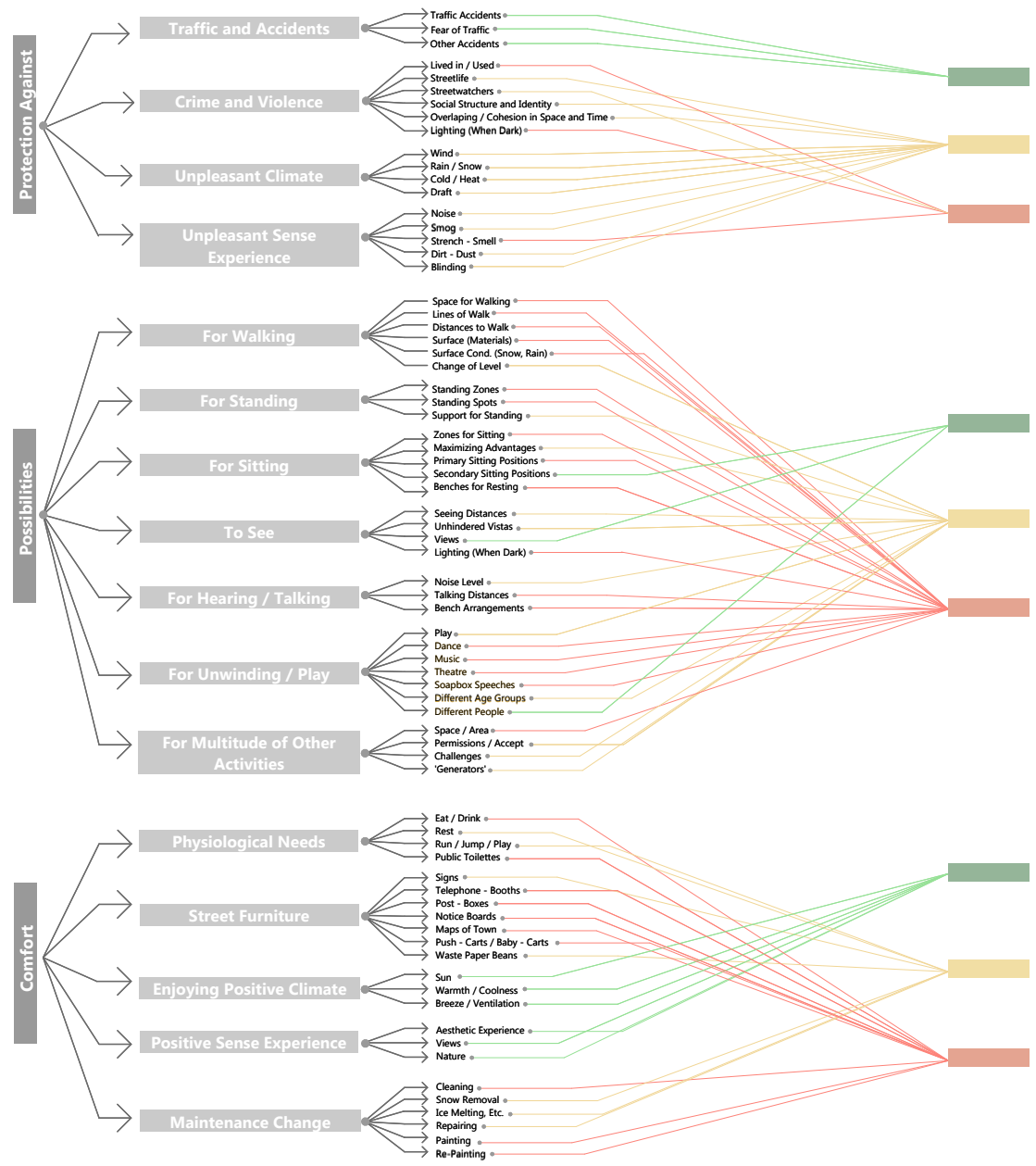


### 1.2.3 'KARAAGAÇ' PARK - Peja

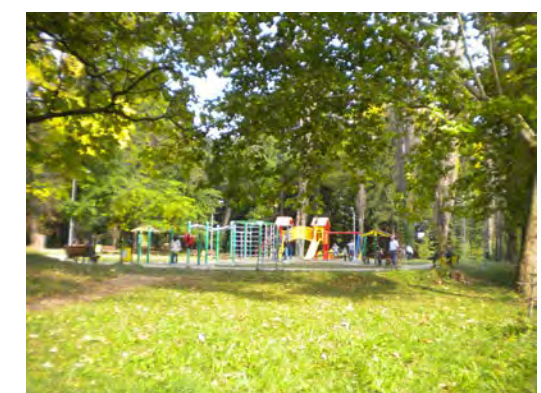
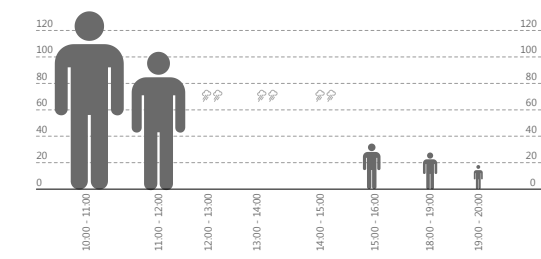
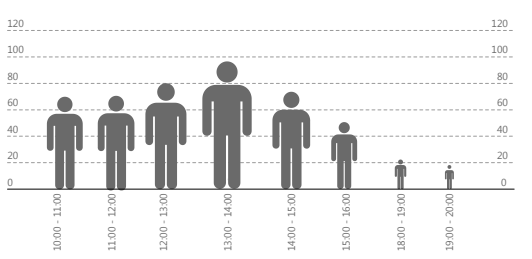
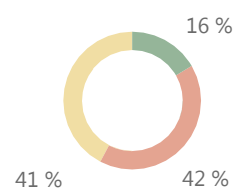
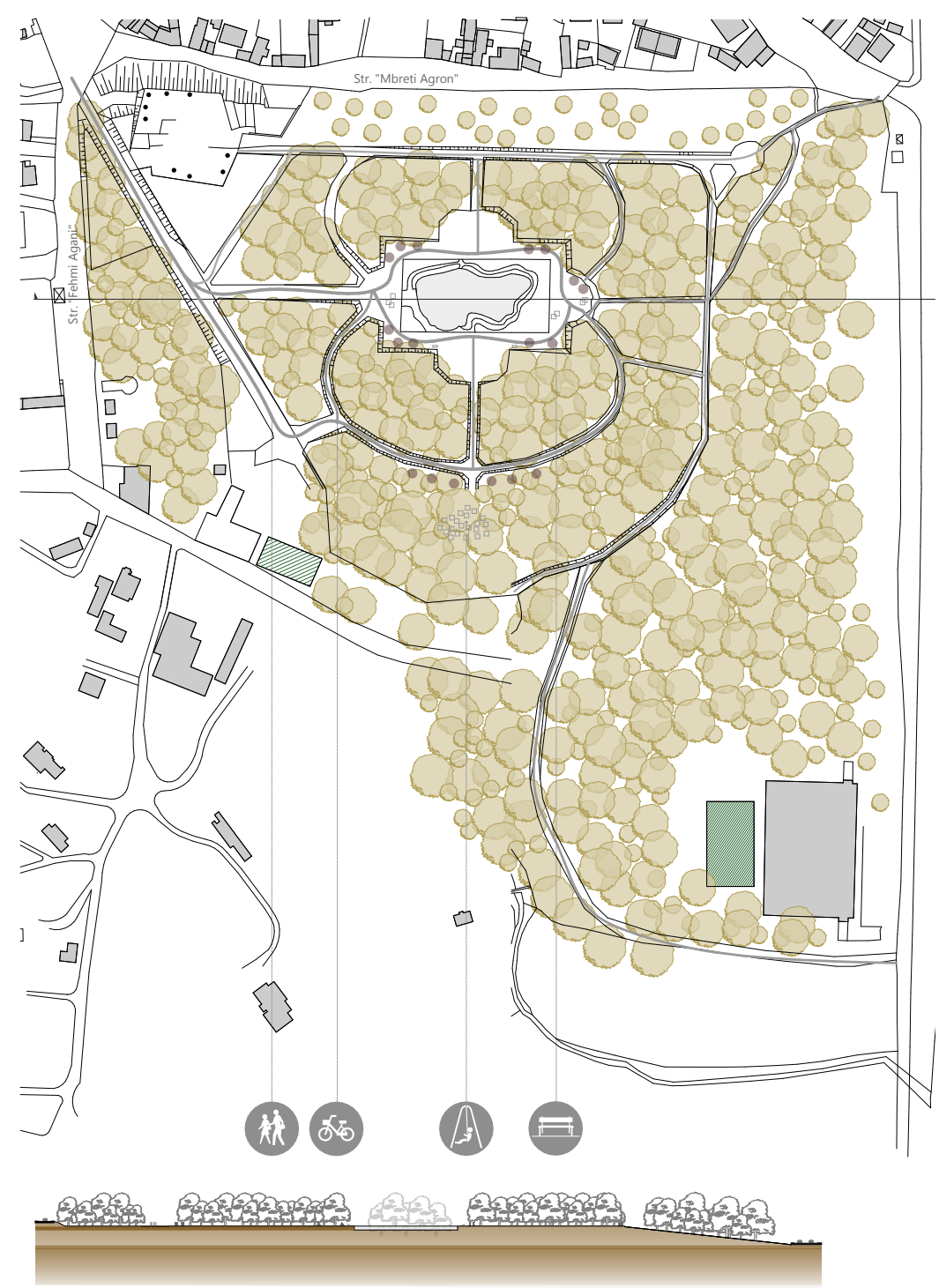
Karaagaç park dates back in the Ottoman period. In Turkish karaagaç means elm tree the most popular tree used in the Ottoman gardens, due to its big and dense crown. In the Ottoman period, Karaagaç was a leisure park in the periphery of Peja, in the footstep of Kosovo Alps.

In the period between two wars, Serbian authorities added a network of pedestrian paths and a fountain. During the modern period, it was a very popular park where citizens used to go for leisure. After the World War II a swimming pool was built in the southern part of the park, which in the 80's and 90's, due to maintenance costs was inactive for a long time. Karaagaç is a big park with high and mature trees. A wide open area along the fountain offers place to sit in the sunshine while big trees that are spread all over the park provide sanctuary from the hot summer days and place to relax. The park is only 5 minute walking from the city centre. Due to this position in the city, the park is intensively used although it lacks sufficient urban furniture such as sitting, proper lighting, bins etc. In the morning, older people come to the park. Here you could find people early in the morning jogging and walking. There are a variety of users during the day. After the war, the pool was refurbished offering an opportunity for swimming and recreation in the hot summer days. Recently, municipal authorities have given more attention to the maintenance of the park so the care about the cleaning and vegetation is more visible.

In the other side Karaagaç is linked to the former Yugoslav Army barracks, currently under transformation into the university campus and sport and recreation area. With this transformation, the park will be enlarged and become part of a big sport and recreational area in the city from which there will be a direct link to the ski slopes in the mountain area.



- benches
- standing spots
- miscellaneous activities
- active ground floor use
- kids playing zones
- street lights
- private sitting zones
- indirect light
- fast food smell
- market, stands ect.
- waste
- formal or informal parking



## 1.3 MODERNIST SQUARES

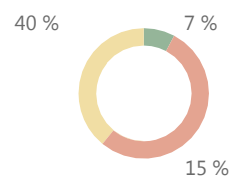
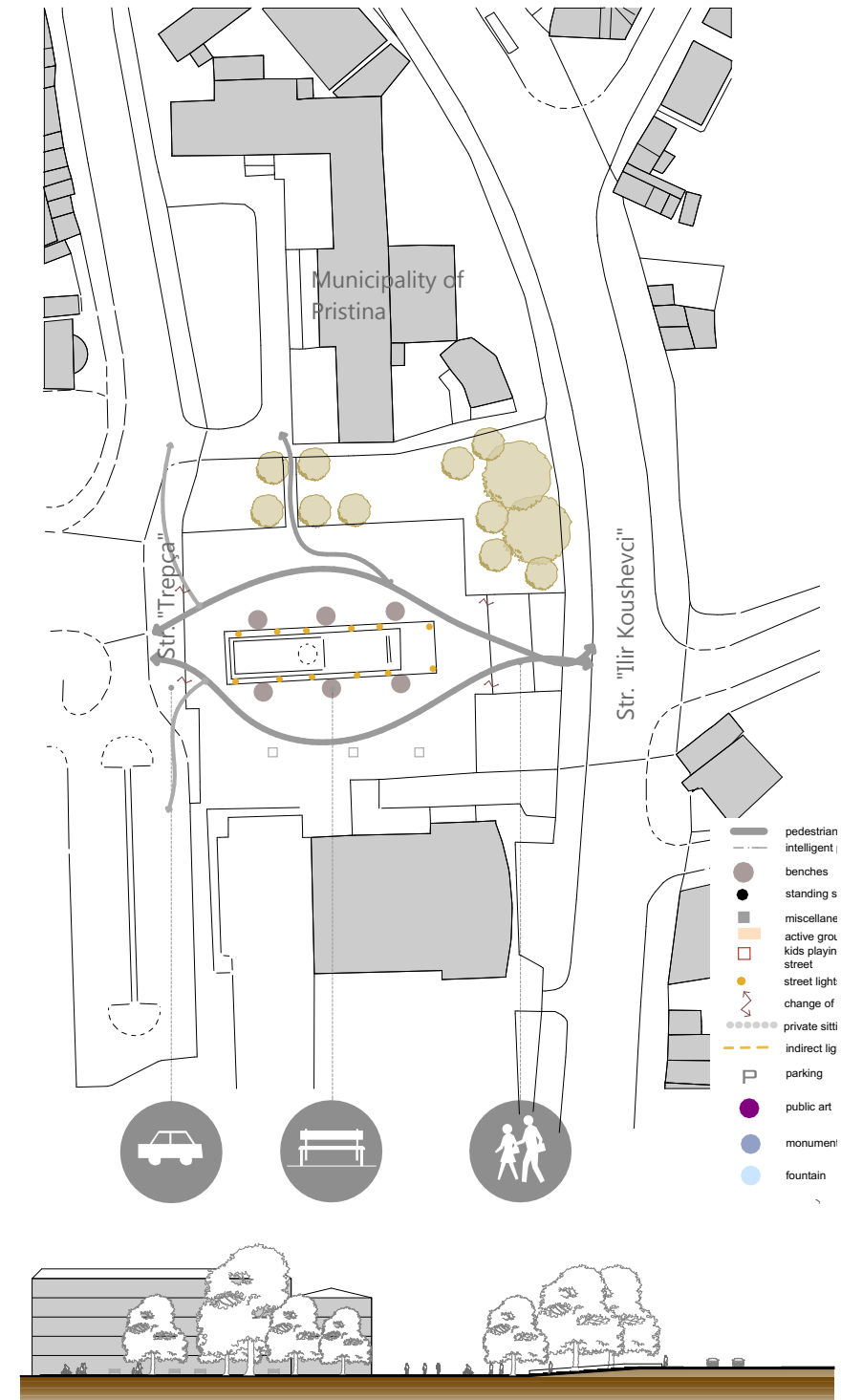
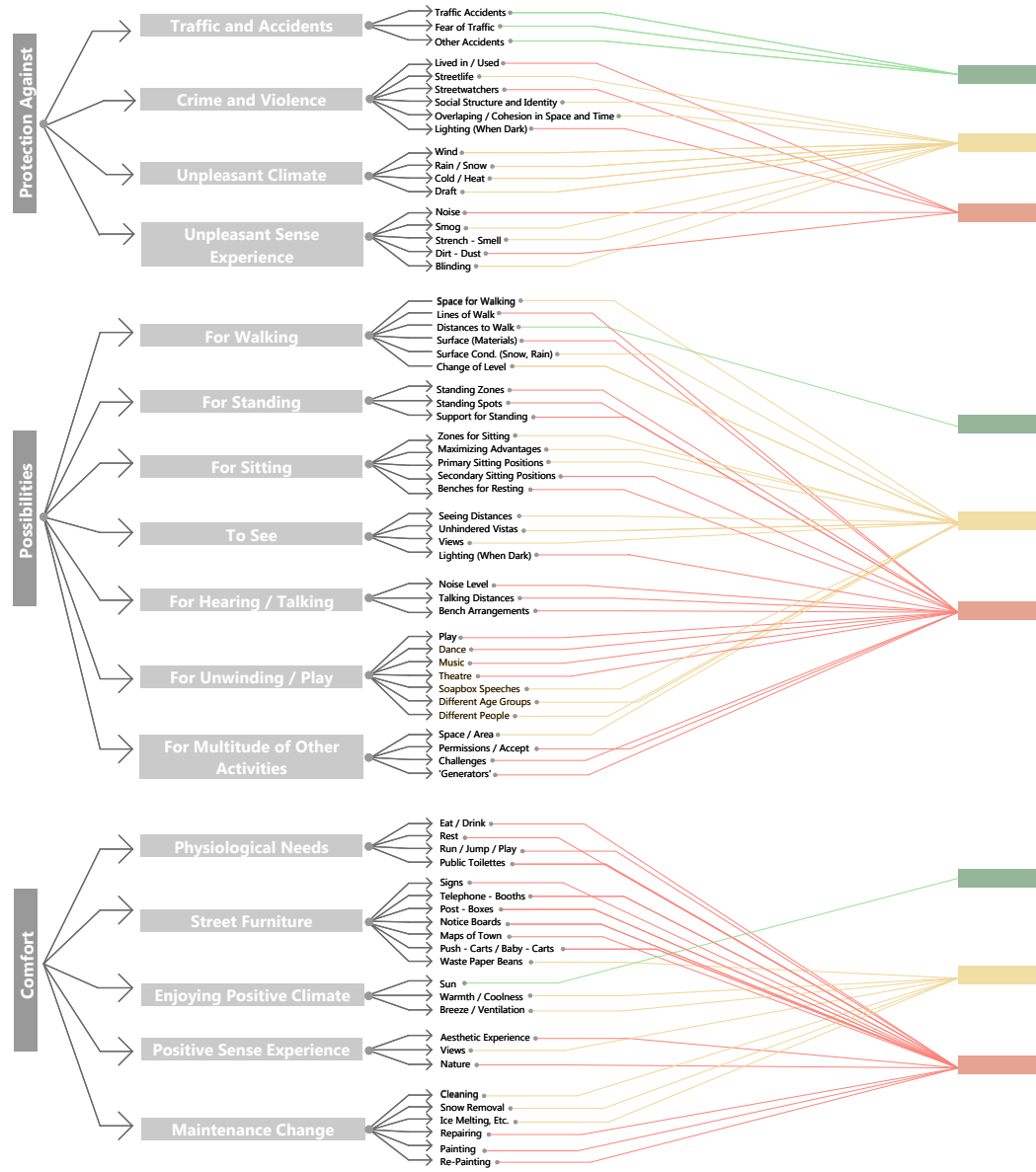
### 1.3.1 'ADEM JASHARI' SQUARE - Prishtina

The Brotherhood and Unity square with the monument dedicated to revolution, freedom and new society - for many years was an iconic symbol of the city, wherever a symbol was needed - in the postcards, in the festive events, schools etc... But it never gained the role of a peoples square. The Square was built over the destroyed bazaar. A rectangular plan with a fountain-pool, and a concrete obelisk rendered in white cement mortar, stands for 50 years as a symbol of revolution, freedom and equality between all people. But, was it really an equal society? The events, which followed soon after its construction, showed that a monument, built over a several hundred years historical bazaar, might only induce indignation of local people who were emotionally connected to the bazaar. And the stories about the demolition of shops and private life's, were told constantly and never been forgotten.

The Kosovo Parliament building in the South side, although with a totally closed façade towards the square, is fenced and no direct access to the building is possible. Before the war a pedestrian link in-between the Parliament and the Government building (earlier Bank of Kosovo) provided the link between Mother Theresa Bulevard and the northern part of the city aside the Municipality. Now it is closed to provide more 'secure' environment for the state bureaucracy. In the Eastern side the square is lined up with heavy car traffic of 'Agim Ramadani' Street, which adds to the negative features of the square. Municipality had recently made some attempts to revitalised, but with very poor results in the design and use as well. As a measure to make the square more lively, they installed a small skate-park but it is very rarely used.

The analyses show the positive and negative features. Negative features such as missing public life prevail and require a serious reconstruction and revitalisation of the square. Beside the missing social activities, the square suffers also from damaged floor and lighting, lack of urban furniture and accessibility for handicapped. In the western side for example, cars that are parked in the sidewalks, makes physical obstacles for pedestrians, especially those using wheelchair. Although the management of the public spaces in Prishtina has been improved a lot in the recent years, Brotherhood and Unity Square has problems with damaged floor and due to the high rate of pedestrians that passes through, the maintenance is not carried out properly.





## **1.4 BOULEVARDS**

### **1.4.1 'MOTHER THERESA' BOULEVARD Prishtina**

The Mother Theresa Boulevard is the most prominent public space in the city. It's history dates back to late 19<sup>th</sup> century extension of the city from the Bazaar to the South. As it took shape some important buildings gave the character to this shopping street. The Lokac Mosque, hotel Skenderbeg, Catholic Church, and marked the segment which, after the World War II will be totally transformed, leaving only hotel Skenderbeg, later hotel Union as a reminiscent of the past. This hotel is today bought by 'BENNETON' and serves as a shop and restaurant in the centre of the city. Most of the prominent public buildings, after the war were placed in this street, such as Kosovo Assembly/ The Parliament, Bank of Kosovo, National Theatre, Department Store, Kosovo Communist Party Committee (today the Ministry of Culture), Grand Hotel. All these buildings were landmarks of Socialist Kosovo and Prishtina as the capital. In the late 1970's the street begin gradually to turn into pedestrian area. In the beginning, it was 4 hours in the evening, to become pedestrian through the whole day in 1986.

When Serbia abolished Kosovo autonomy in 1990, the Serbian authorities decided to bring back again the car traffic in the street. The general opinion is that, due to constant uprisings and demonstrations they wanted to prevent larger gathering of Albanians in the city centre.

After the war, there was again an initiative for pedestrianizing the street. First in 2001, the monument of Skanderbeg was added in the north side of the street where a mall square with an amphitheatre was created.

In 2003, a joint project by the Municipality, University of Prishtina, UNDP and UN Habitat, and lead by the author of this research, identified problems and needs of the citizens living and working in the street and other residents. The project came up with the recommendations to transform the street to a pedestrian area. The decision came only in 2007 and the project was implemented for the celebration of the Independence of Kosovo.

In 2013, the boulevard extended to end with two squares - one in the south end of the street - Zahir Pajaziti square and in the north end, Ibrahim Rugova square. For both squares there were two separate competitions organised. The competitions process was repeated 3 times because there were no interested competitors to participate. The process of competitions is usually wrongly interpreted as a formal tender procedure where the financial offer prevail the quality of design.

Although very costly investment, both of these squares can hardly be considered real squares, because the main walking artery in the city - the boulevard, cuts the squares through the middle, so the peripheral spaces become empty during the day because there is no content in those sides, except when formal events take place in the square.

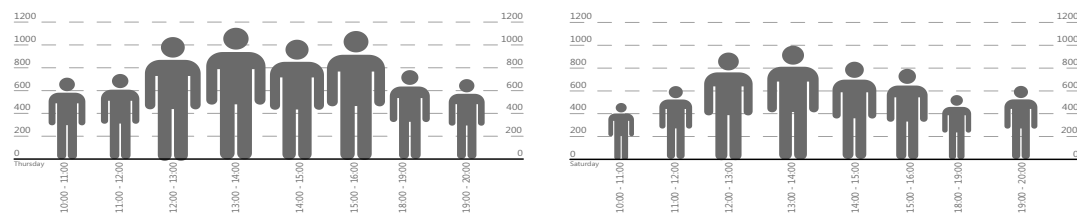
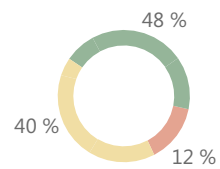
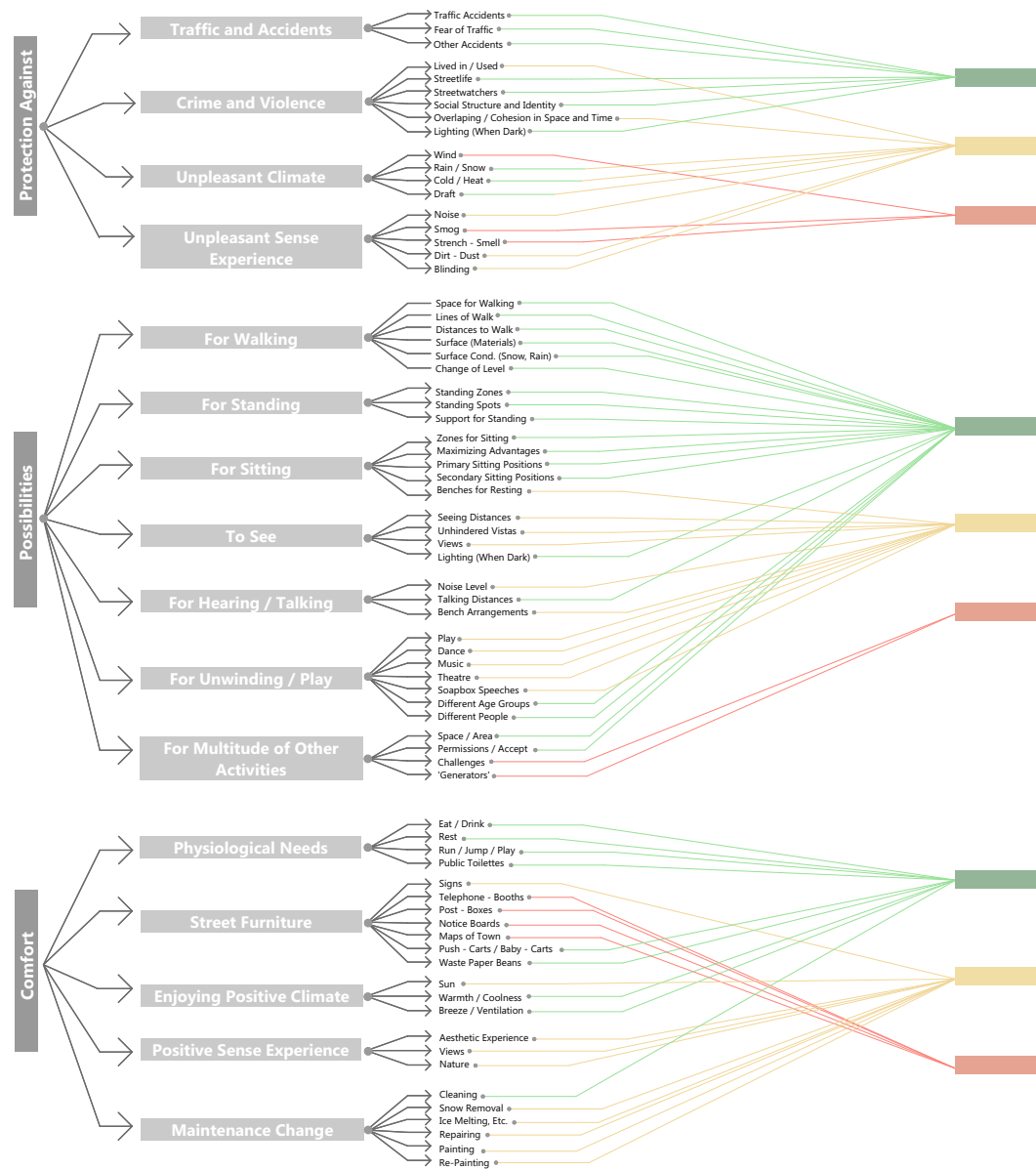
In terms of social life, Mother Theresa Boulevard is a most lively area in the city, active from the early morning to the late evening hours, sometime even to the early morning hours. The safety of the pedestrians makes it attractive for all ages and a sanctuary from the traffic pollution and noise. The shops and the restaurants with terraces add to the quality of the public life. There are street vendors as well - such as booksellers, fast food kiosks, tobacco kiosks. Different festivals and events bring also different groups of products such as artisanal products, agriculture products.

The boulevard is also the venue for concerts and other celebration events. The beer and wine festival which lasts two days until early morning hours, is becoming traditional now, although people living in the apartments over the ground floor complains against the noise after the late night hours.

As a main pedestrian area, the economic viability of the street is reflected in the high prices of the rents of the premises - shops and apartments. From 2008, when boulevard turned to pedestrian, the real estate prices doubled.

Municipal authorities take care about the Boulevard, because it is the most prominent city space. Extensive use needs a constant care in order to avoid complains of the users. Shops and restaurants contribute to cleaning as well.





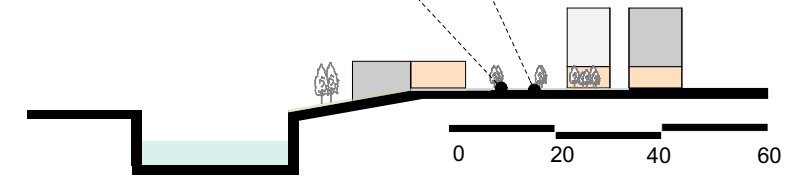
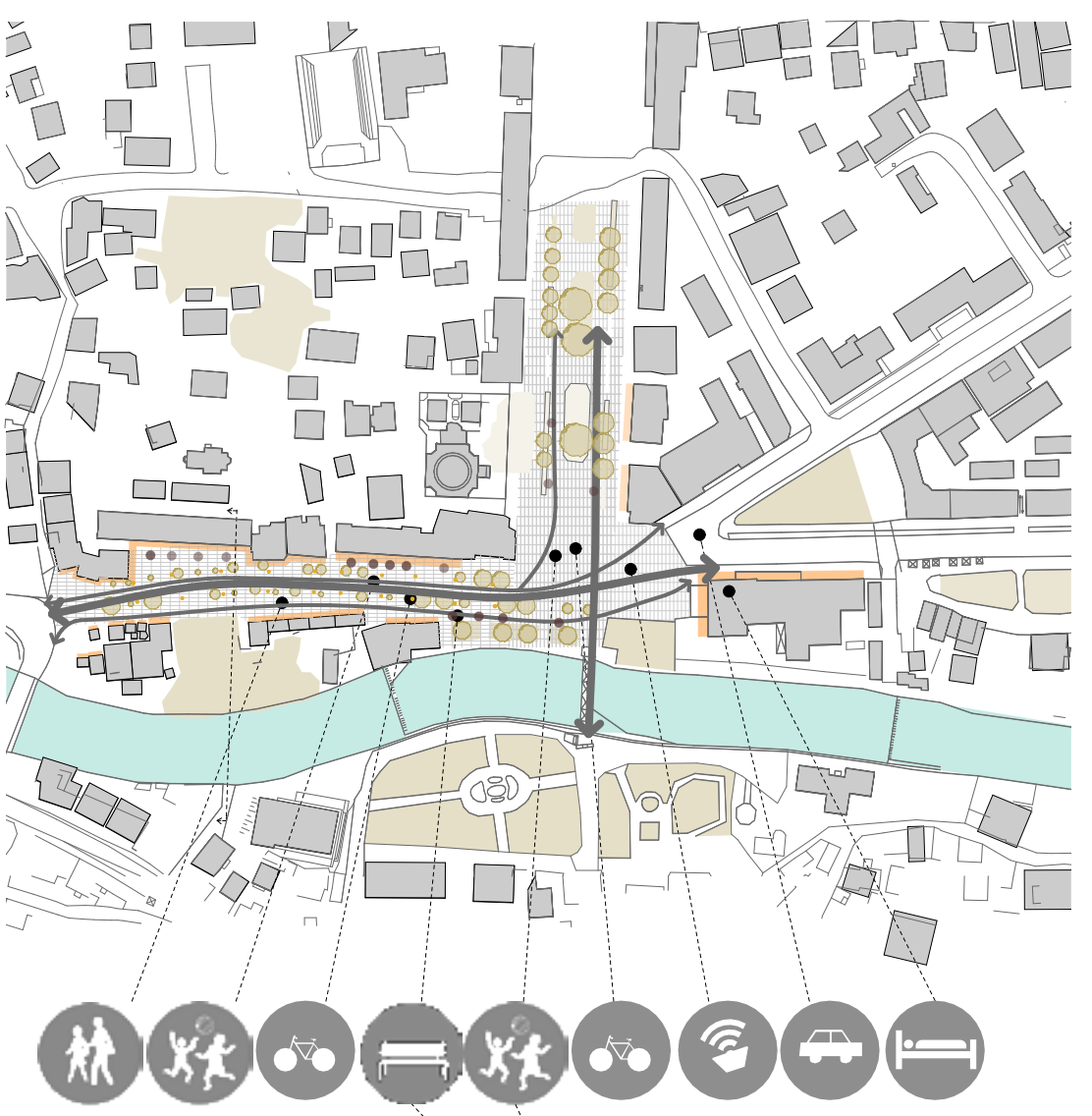
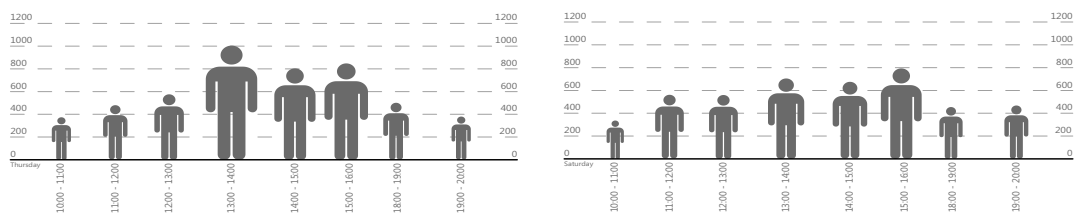
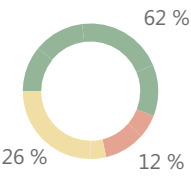
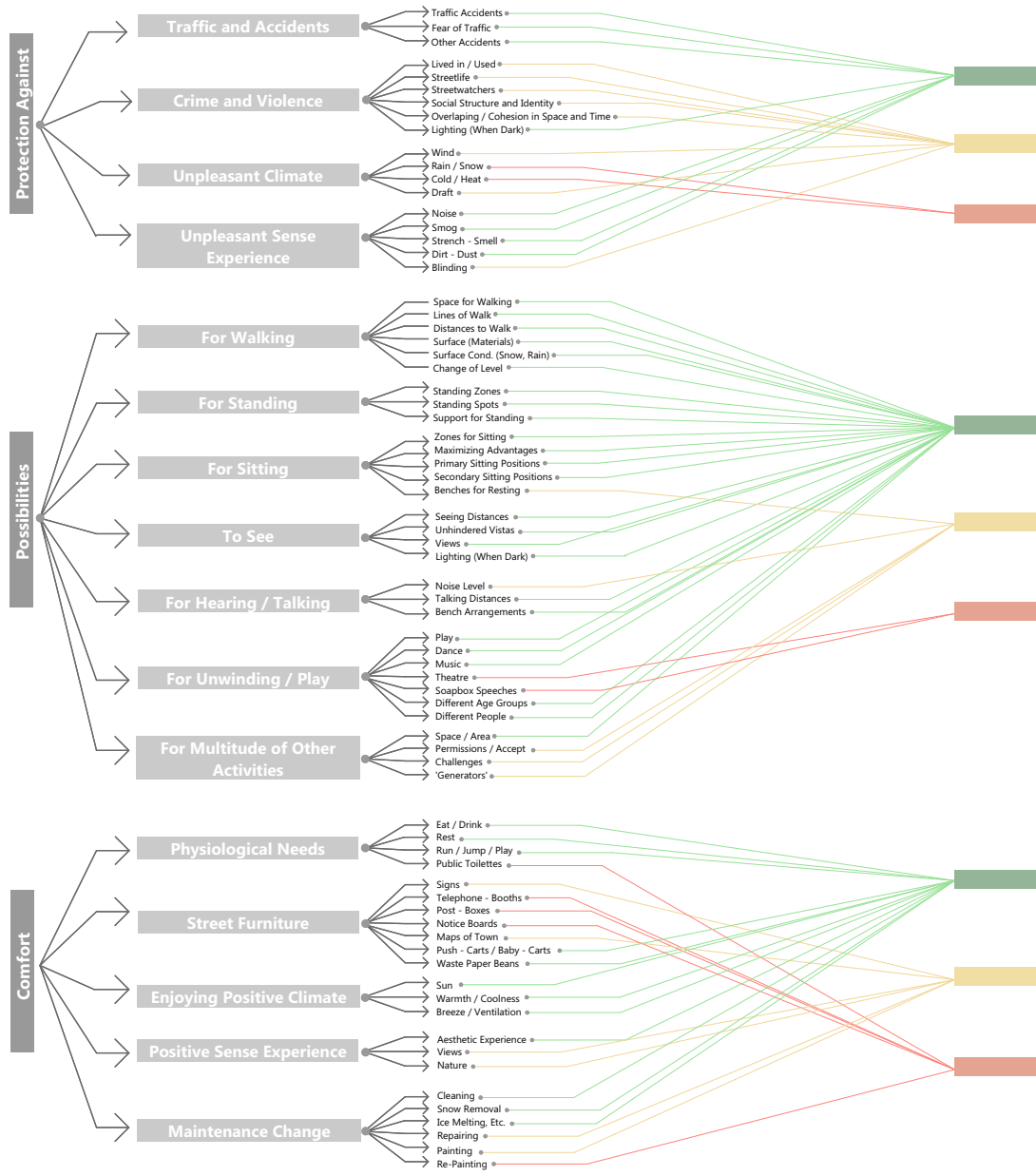
#### 1.4.2 'KORZO' - Peja

In the city centre of Peja there is a set of different public spaces very well linked offering a diversity of experience and activities. The area include Korzo - the walking promenade along the river, Scanderbeg Square, leading to the Pensile Park, and in the opposite side of the river the 'Ibrahim Rugova' Park (Milet Bahçe). Until 2011, the Korzo and Scanderbeg square were dominated by the car traffic. The situation changed in 2011 when Municipality turned the whole area into a car free zone. This measure taken by the Municipality showed the commitment for improving the qualities of the public space and life for the users in the public space, but also those living and working in the city centre. As a participant in a public consultation for refurbishment of the street, in 2009, I stood strongly in favour of transforming the street into pedestrian area, convincing residents and street vendors that it will contribute to their life and the businesses that they have. This turned to be true after Korzo became pedestrian. It has been witnessed that beside the improvement of the public space and the public life, the businesses has experienced a notable growth.

Here the public spaces, surrounded with mid-rise buildings, mainly housing and greenery are supported by an extraordinary landscape of Kosova Alps which creates a sort of natural background that offers a variety of visual experiences during the different seasons in the year - in the summer green and sunny, in the autumn with a colourful scene of trees, while in the winter sometimes white and sunny and sometimes foggy- an experience that makes Peja city centre unique for Kosovo and in the region.

Here we can find shops and cafés spread in the different parts of the area, which provide a continuous vitality to the public space. The Dukagjini hotel, although extended and refurbished without respecting the riverfront of Lumbardhi, still provide an important place for gathering and experiencing the riverfront and the folding mountains of Rugova valley in the background of the city.





- benches
- standing spots
- miscellaneous activities
- active ground floor use
- kids playing zones
- street lights
- change of level
- private sitting zones
- indirect light



## 1.5 CITY PARKS

### 1.5.1 CITY PARK - Prishtina

City's Park in Prishtina origin is from the interwar period. Previously graveyards from Ottoman period, it was turned into a park in 1930's. This was an attitude that Serbian authorities used to exercise in the interwars period, not only in Kosovo, but in Macedonia as well. Even Albanian King Zogu practiced this method of building new parks in the interwar period such as National Martyr's Park in Berat.

Today the park is right in the middle of Prishtina. It is very lively park. Surrounded by residential buildings, it provides safety from car traffic. Walking and jogging paths, places for relaxing and playing are far from roads. The park is fenced along the main road

There are paths for walking and jogging in the park, although short distances paved with green stone, in some parts not wheelchair accessible. No public toilets in the park but those private in restaurants. There is no place one can shelter from rain and/or snow, albeit high trees provide good shelter from the sun and strong winds. South and West ends are bounded with car traffic road so the noise, smoke and dust from cars are noticeable.

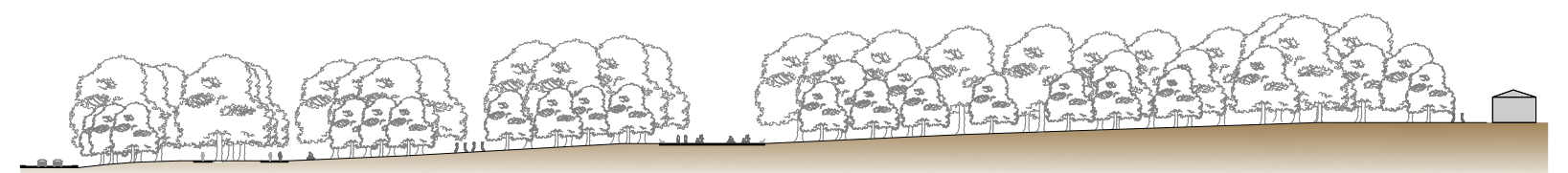
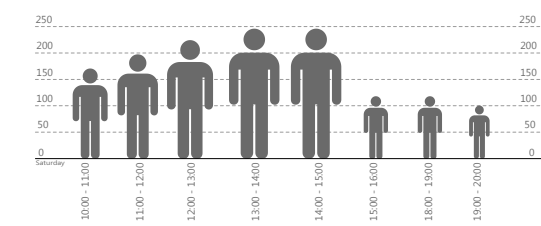
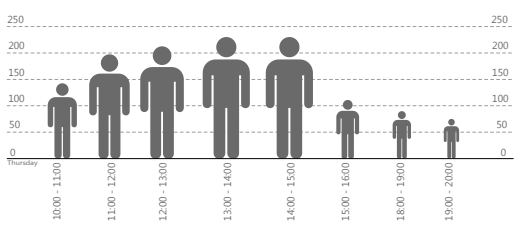
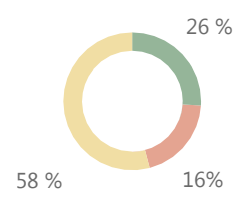
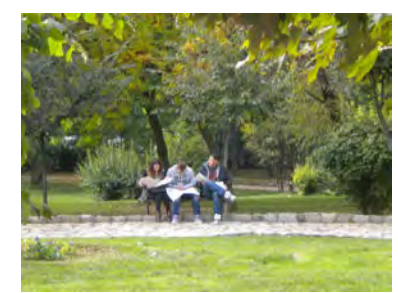
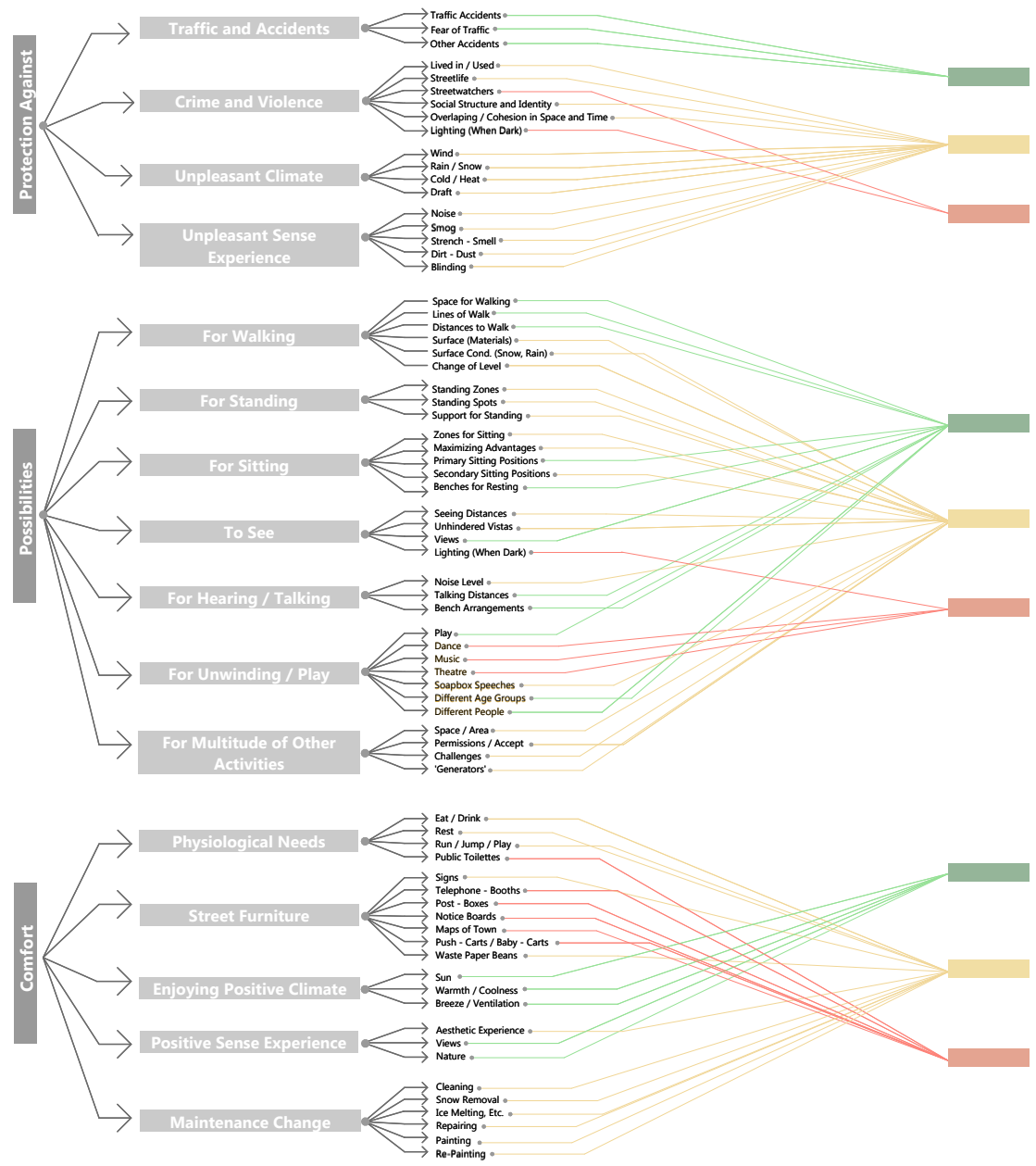
The park was refurbished in 2003 including pavement, public lighting, benches and play area. Due to insufficient number of benches, visitors sometime sit on the open grass areas. A small cafe with a small terrace contributes to the comfort in the park. The seat arrangement allows for hearing/talking. There are plenty of seating in the sun and shade. The high density of trees offers a lot of shade during hot seasons and a lot of sunlight passes through during cold seasons.

Views are oriented towards the centre. The views towards the greenery are pleasant, however they are disrupted by the change in ground level and tree density.

There are some signage (in need of repairing). Many rubbish bins, but damaged and not maintained. No phone booths, post boxes, or city maps

Very low level of maintenance for the street furniture and the park in general. Repairing and re-painting are not done regularly. The seasonal maintenance of the greenery is occasionally done, but not in a proper time intervals. During the winter, snow and ice is not being removed from the paths.



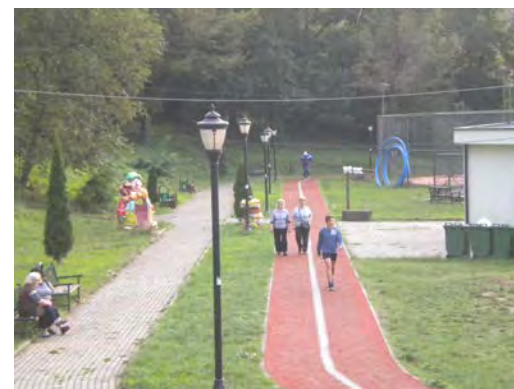
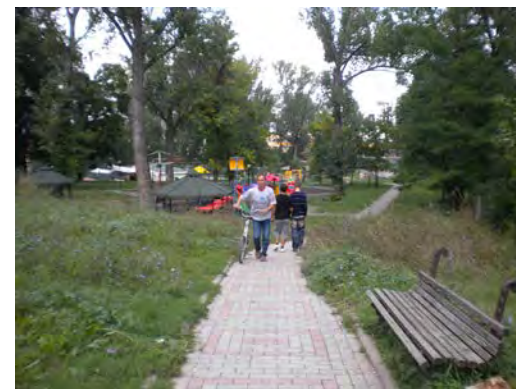
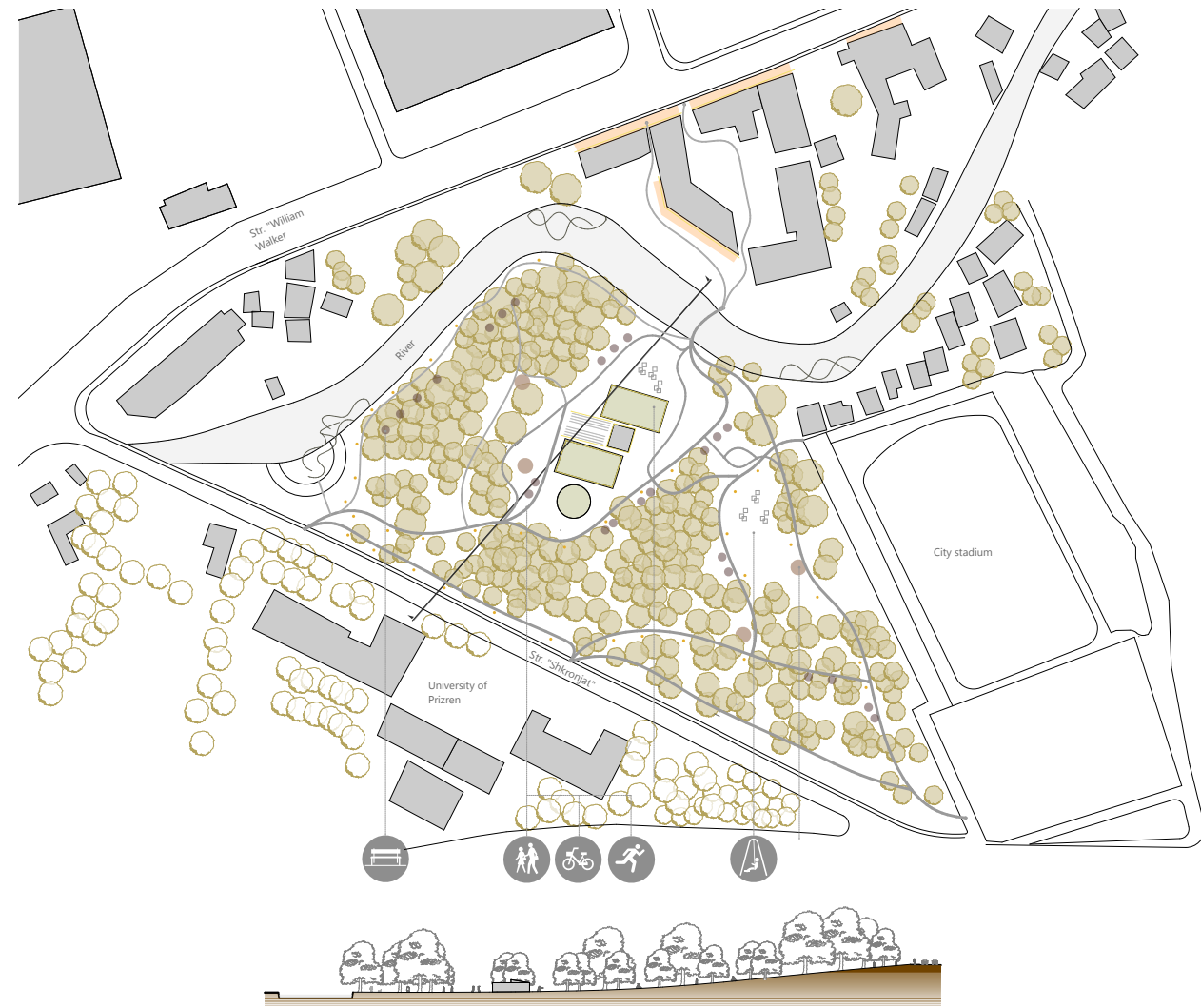
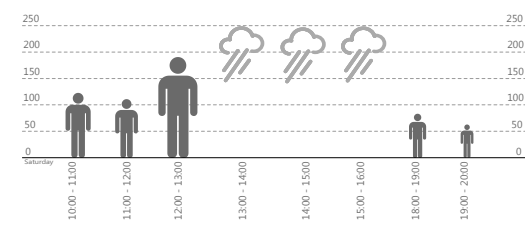
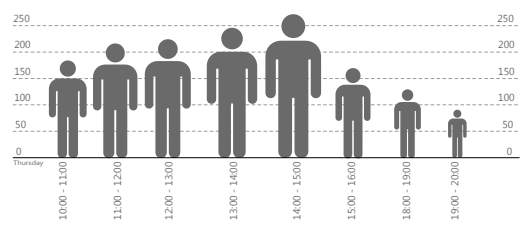
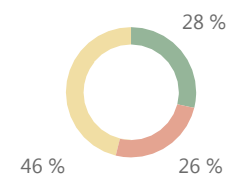
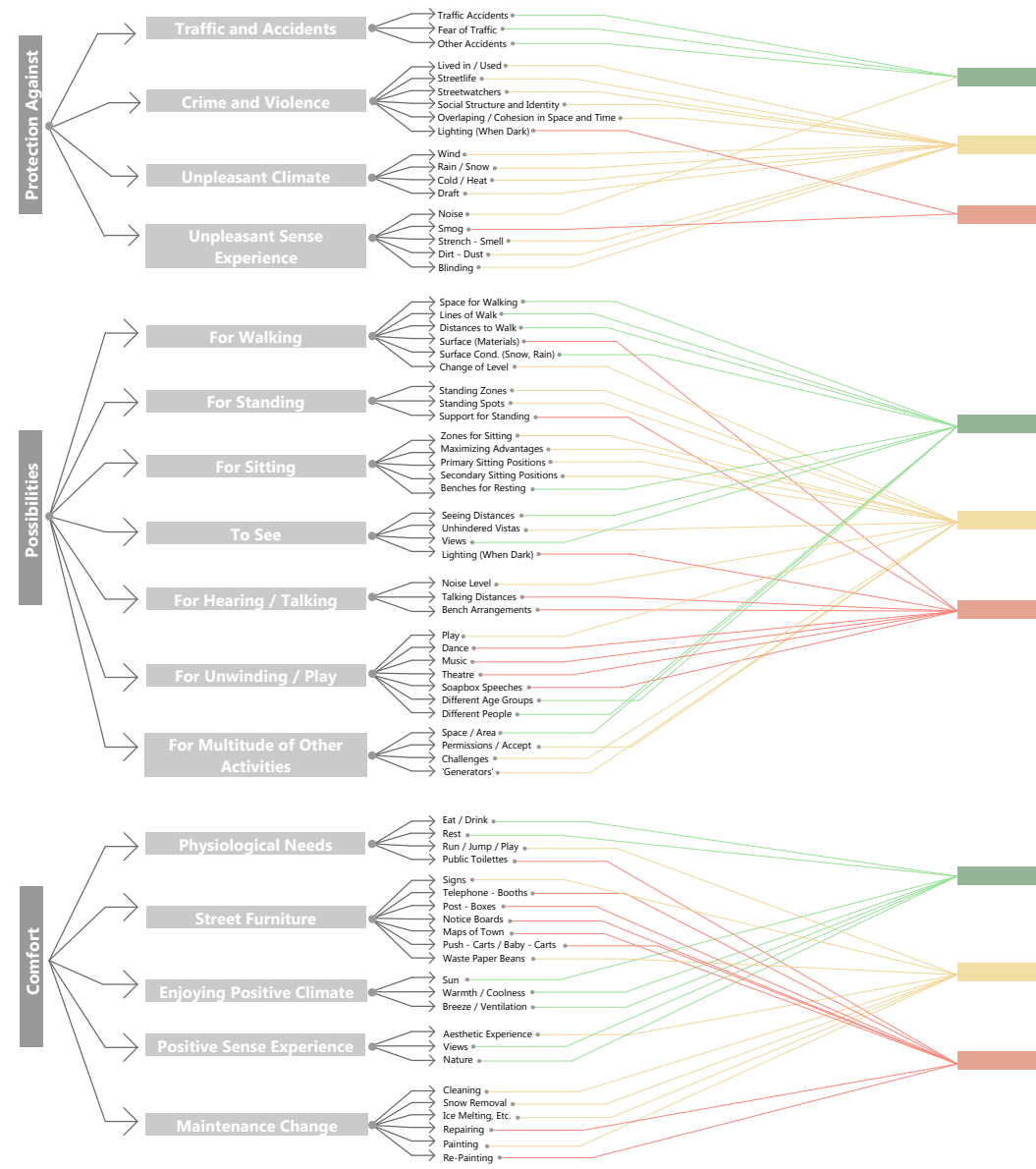


### 1.5.2 CITY PARK - Prizren

The city Park of Prizren is located in the western part of the city, along the river Lumbardhi. It was built in 1950's. In 2005 it was refurbished including playground with a restaurant added. Although in a remote area, the park presents a green public infrastructure, which could accommodate a large number of people. The trees are already reached the mature heights, providing a large shaded sanctuary during the hot summer days. Probably due to the distance of the people, the park is more visited in the weekend- on Saturday and Sunday. During working days, there are not so many people staying in the park. Recently, a small pedestrian bridge was built to connect the new housing block in the other side of the river with the park to provide the opportunity to new residents use of the park.

In the park, activities that take place are walking, running, biking, sitting and playing. Sitting is organised along the river and walking paths, around the playground. Although refurbished in 2005, the park furniture is damaged by vandal acts of irresponsible teenagers.





### 1.5.3 CITY PARK - Gjakova

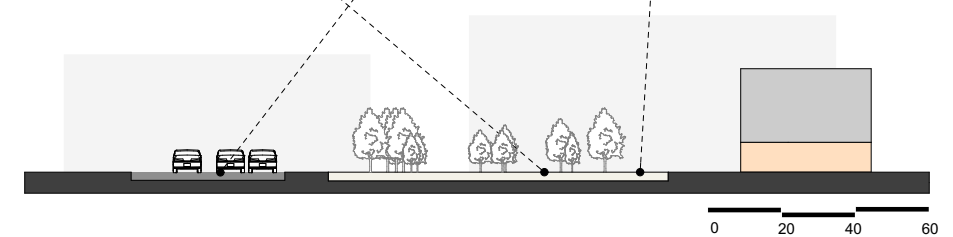
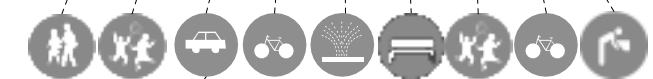
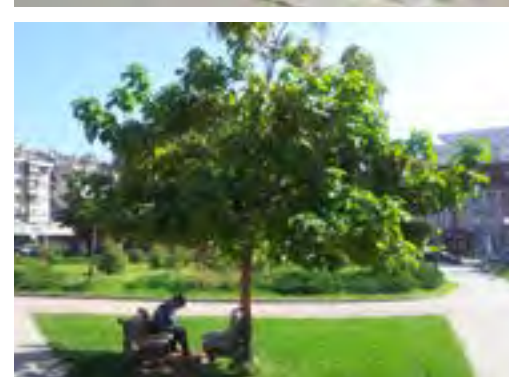
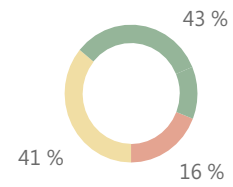
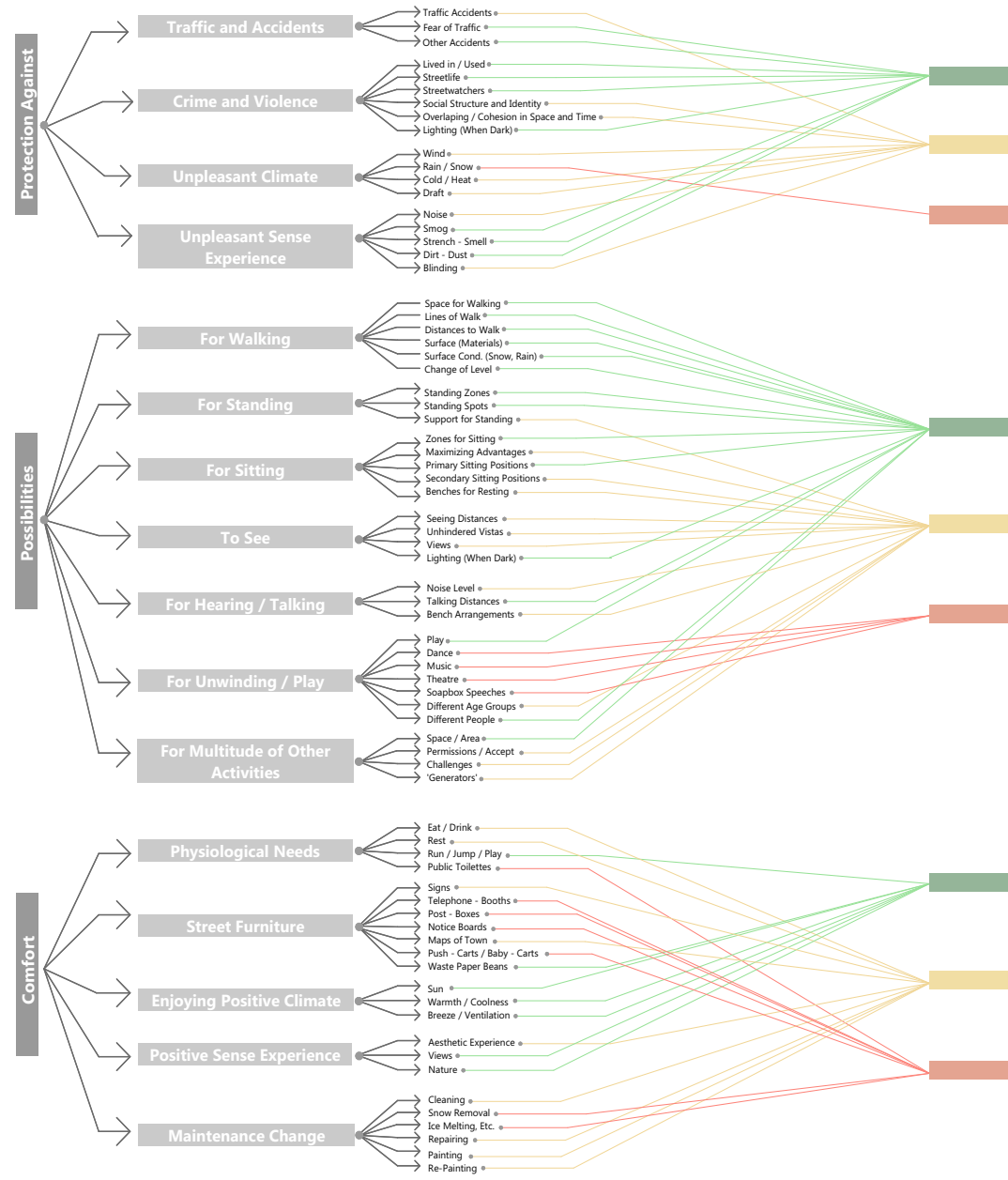
The city park dates back to the Ottoman period. A green area close to the river Krena, it used to be a public garden open to all citizens. It turned to an organised green space during the transitional period, but took the shape during the modern period when being in the public became available also to women.

During the modernist period, in the northern edge of the park, the city authorities decided to build the house of culture a prominent public building which increased the quality of the park due to many cultural activities that took place in the building. So after any culture activity, the performance penetrated in the park as well.

Park is characterised with high trees, but shrubs and grass area also present. The fountain designed initially with the Culture House does not function. In the park there are 5 monuments dedicated to different personalities whose merits are valued by the citizens. Unfortunately they have been placed in the park without any criteria so that there is no story that could tie these monuments in a whole. Recently, municipality decided through an open competition, to rearrange the position of monuments and the fountain, so that user of the park could experience them as a single story.

Due to its central position in the city, the park is intensively used although it lacks necessary urban furniture such as sitting, proper lighting, bins etc. Here you could find older people early in the morning. Users of all ages come in the park during the whole day. Children plays in the playground, while their parents sit outdoor or in the cafe located within the Culture House building.





- benches
- standing spots
- miscellaneous activities
- active ground floor use
- kids playing zones
- street lights
- change of level
- private sitting zones
- indirect light



## **1.6 MODERNIST NEIGHBOURHOOD PUBLIC SPACES**

### **1.6.1 Park and Fountain Square 'ULPIANA' - Prishtina**

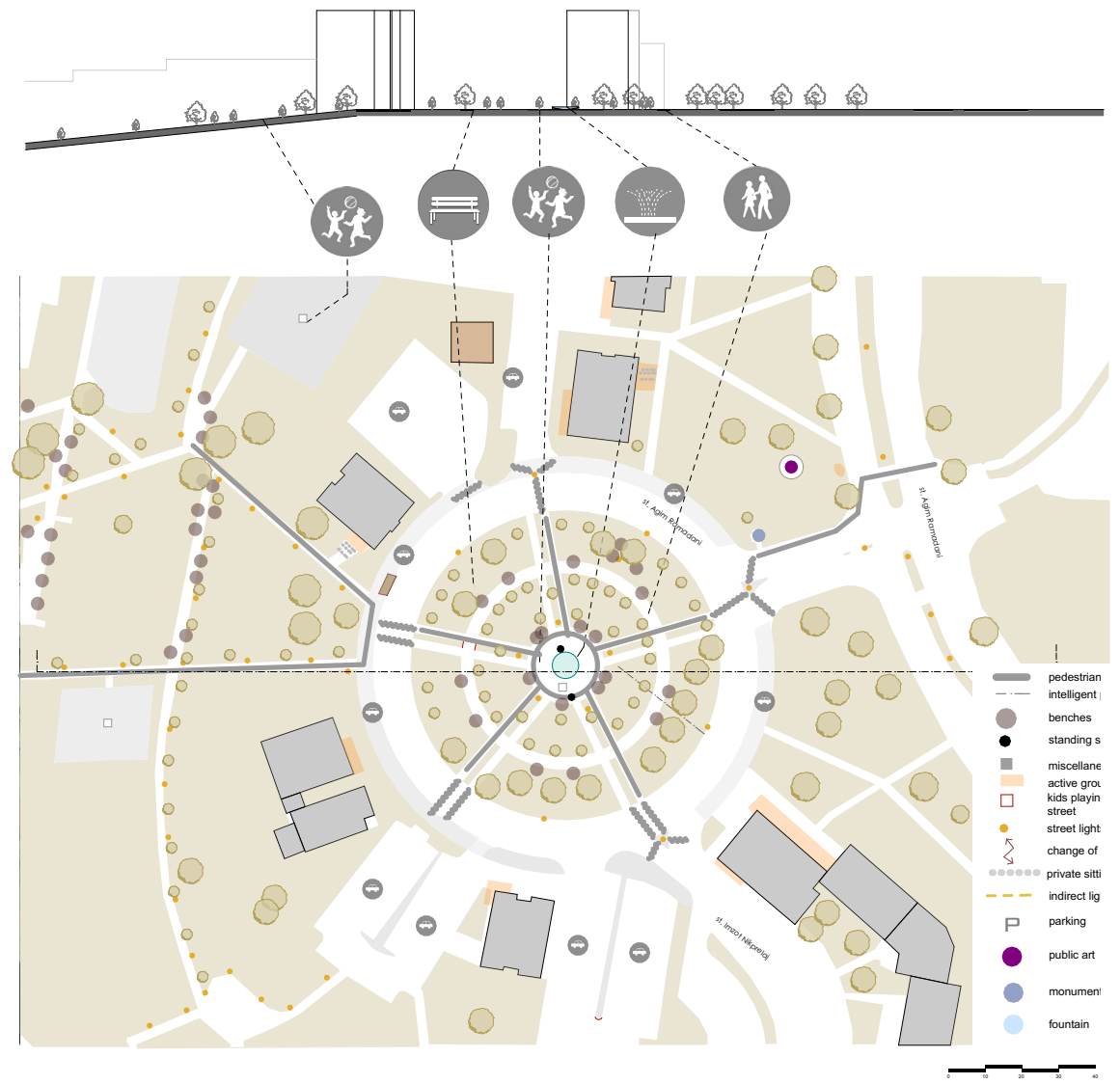
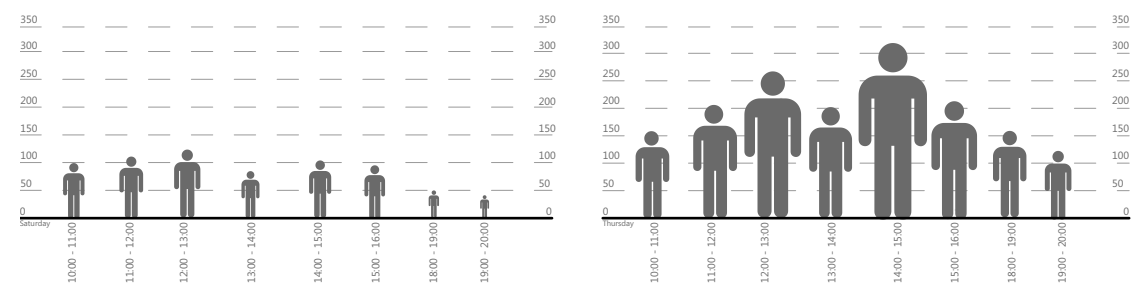
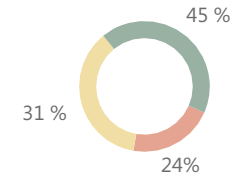
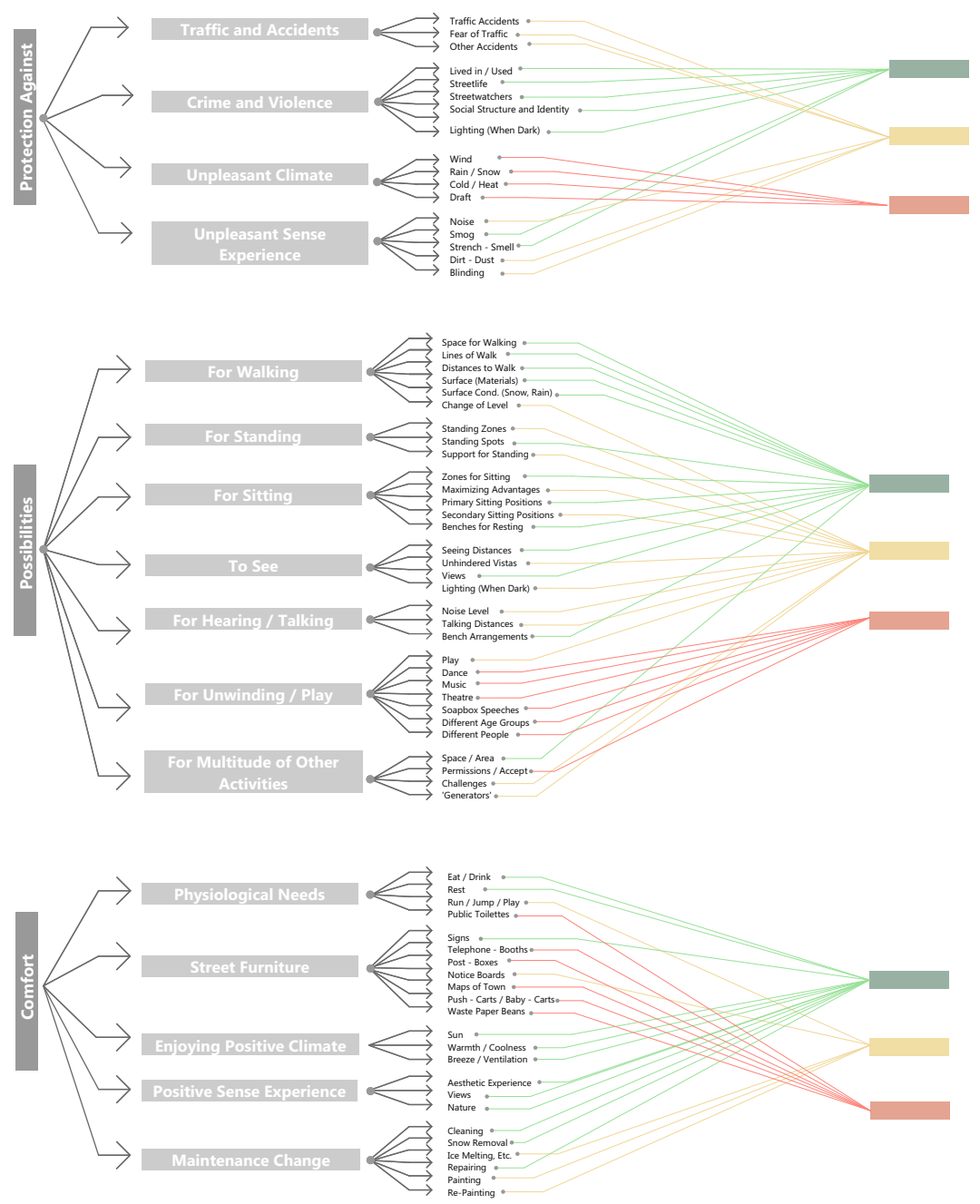
Ulpiana is a first planned neighbourhood in Prishtina according to modernist principles so that there are public spaces around every building block. There is a clear hierarchy of the public spaces starting from a neighbourhood park, playgrounds and small public spaces around each housing block. It can be also found just empty unused green space which lack connections to the major public spaces.

Ulpiana Fountain square is a very formal space - a green island of a round about roundabout with a fountain in the centre. Traditionally, it has been frequently used by the students from the University centre dormitories in the opposite side of the street Agim Ramadani that bounds the neighbourhood. Although a very lively, it may raise the question of how such a place, surrounded by car traffic, can attract such a number of people. The tradition might be the answer, because there is no other content to offer beside the green space, and the frequency of use changes as students leave the dormitories in the summer period.

The fountain square is also a hub linking other public spaces in the neighbourhood such as park, playfields and the market in the lower part of the neighbourhood. These linkages provide safe and pleasant walking for the pedestrians through the green area and a nice view towards lower part of the city.

The idea of linking public spaces is present in the larger scale, providing connections of public spaces between three neighbourhoods: Sunny Hill, Ulpiana and Dardania. The axis Fountain Square - Ulpiana marketplace extend further down to Dardania neighbourhood through an elevated pedestrian street called 'Kurrizi' (eng. the Spine). In the upper side of Ulpiana, Fountain Square is linked to dormitory complex and a small shopping mall ending with a small park and the school, which is not really connected to the public space.





### 1.6.2 Public Space at 'NEW BLOCK'- Gjakova

'New Block' is a planned neighbourhood in the southern part of the city since 1970's. It could be considered as a first modernist planning exercise in Gjakova. It is a typical modernist planning with freestanding family houses and row houses, and has four small blocks with apartment buildings. The neighbourhood includes all services such as schools, kindergartens and healthcare facilities. I analysed here the small neighbourhood park amongst the apartment buildings block constructed before and after the war. It is a typical modernist planning - the home/apartment, the parking, and the recreational space - park and playground. In addition, in the west side street of the block, ground floor of the apartment buildings contains also shops, which makes the street more lively and safer.

Apartment buildings of the different typology stands free in an amorphous 'space', although with a formal relation between 'pavilion' buildings and the street, the streets are only corridors of movement without any other content. The mixed-use public is a defined public space with a small square and playgrounds. Surrounded by the buildings it stands free from the car traffic providing space for different activities such as walking, sitting, playing for different ages.

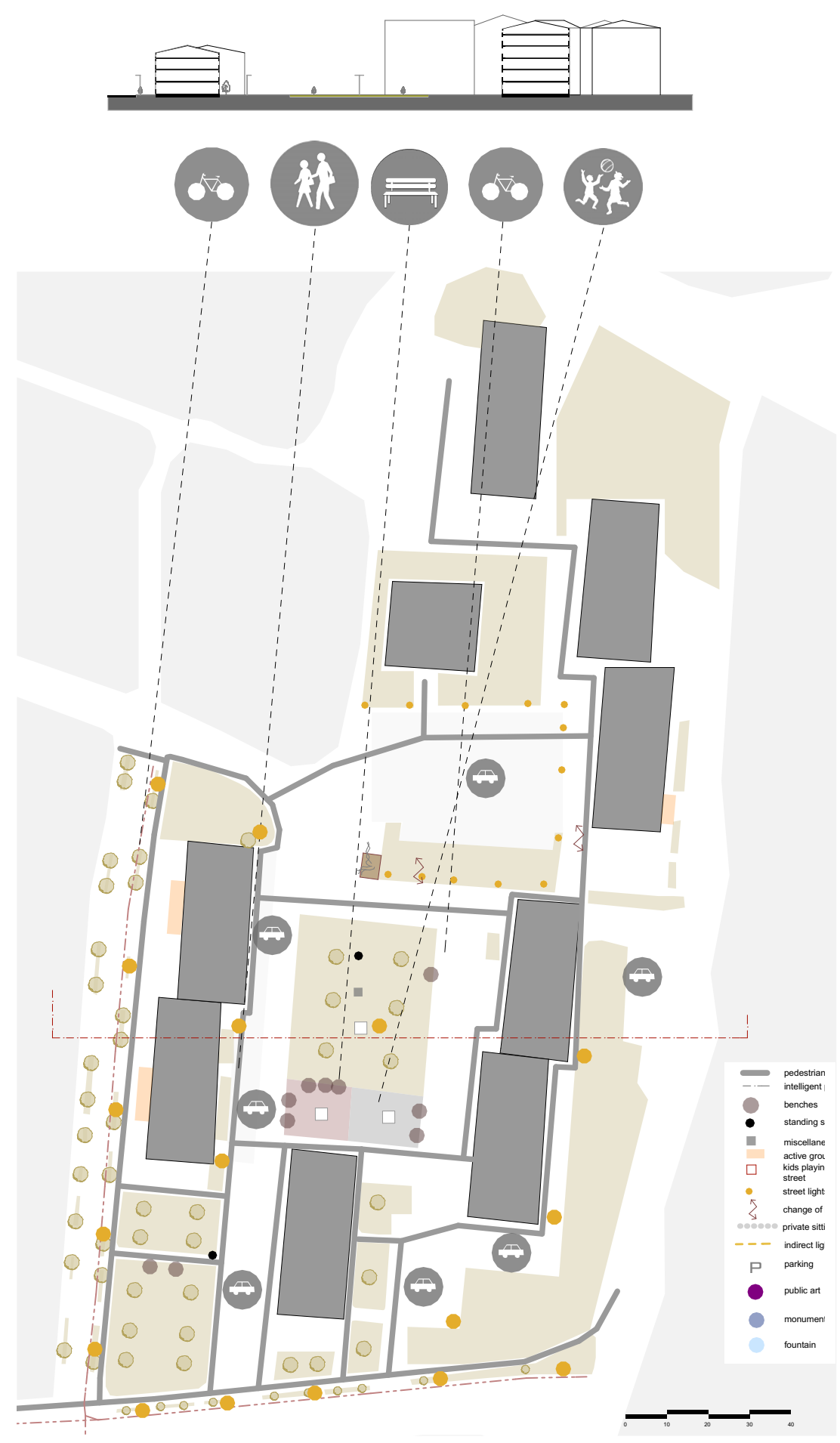
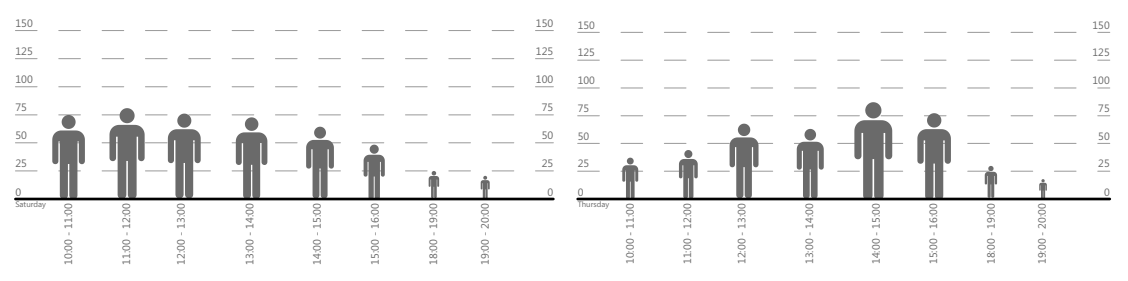
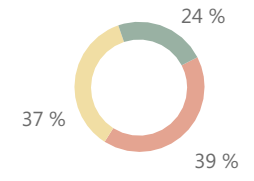
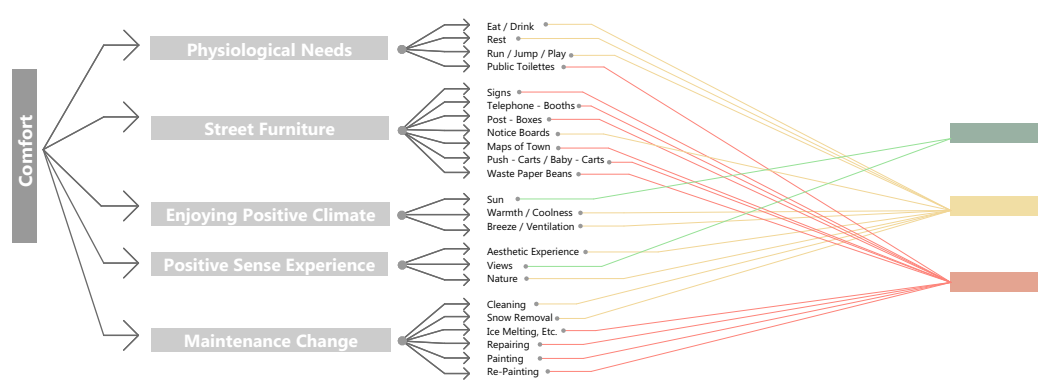
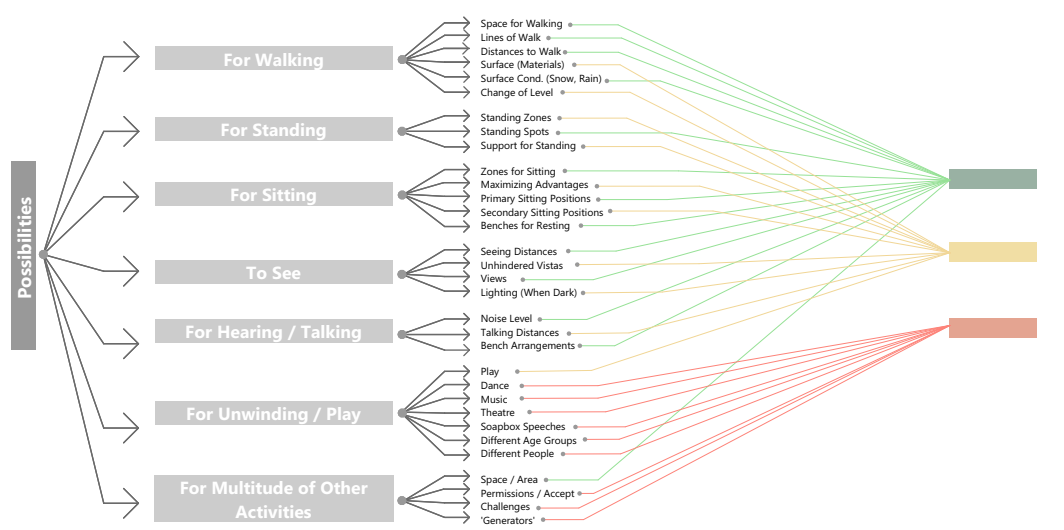
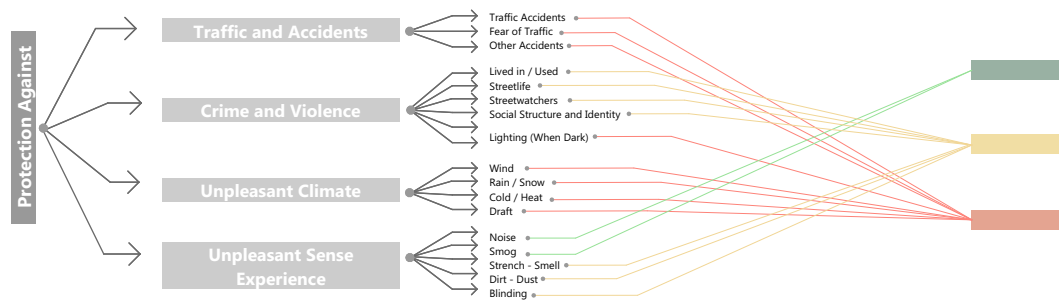
The area begins to develop in the 1980's, but interrupted during 1990's. Then after the war, the fragmented development disrupted the coherence of the original plan of public space. The open space is visibly separated into two parts - regulated where most of the construction can be attributed to developments in the 1980's. The other part is and unregulated area left over space with few trees and some pavements. According to the municipal authorities, since the investments after the war were mainly private, the refurbishment of public space was left in the 'mercy' of the developers. Although very poor quality, the place is used very frequently. The use of the public space is more frequent during the midday and in the afternoon, while less in the evening. The park is filled with larger number of people during the weekend, of course because they are at home.

In regard to environmental aspects, this type of public space has a potential to become a very qualitative space. The openness that it possesses provides opportunities for improvement with a small-scale investment. Green space combined with trees, is all around the neighbourhood with trees and grass so it is possible to chose whether the sun or shade are more appropriate at the time being in the public. In the Ortakoll neighbourhood, all buildings are with 8 stores,

which could be considered within the limits of human scale, albeit the distances between buildings are still within criteria's of optimal distances in regard to views and exposure to sun.

As it is in all cases, parts of the public space are used privately for the public, such as terraces of the café's. These public spaces managed by a private entity, are rented from the municipality mainly for two reasons - to provide incentives for public space management, and to contribute to vitality. In these cases these business activities contributes to overall safety issues in the public space.





### 1.6.3 Park and Playground in 'ORTAKOLL' - Prizren

Ortakoll is a neighbourhood in the northwest part of the city. Planned in 1970's and built during 1980's. It is a typical modernist planning with freestanding pavilion buildings in landscape settings<sup>280</sup>. Apartment buildings of different typology stands free in an amorphous 'space', surrounded by green space, parking lots, pedestrian streets and playgrounds. There's no formal relation between 'pavilion' buildings and the street, the streets are only corridors of movement without any other content. The central park of the neighbourhood is a defined public space with a small square and playgrounds could be distinguished in terms of hierarchy compare to other green and recreational space. Surrounded by the buildings it stands free from the car traffic providing space for different activities such as walking, sitting, playing for different ages. The use of the public space is more frequent during the midday and in the afternoon and evening when most of the inhabitants are back from work. The park is filled with larger number of people during the weekend, of course because they are at home.

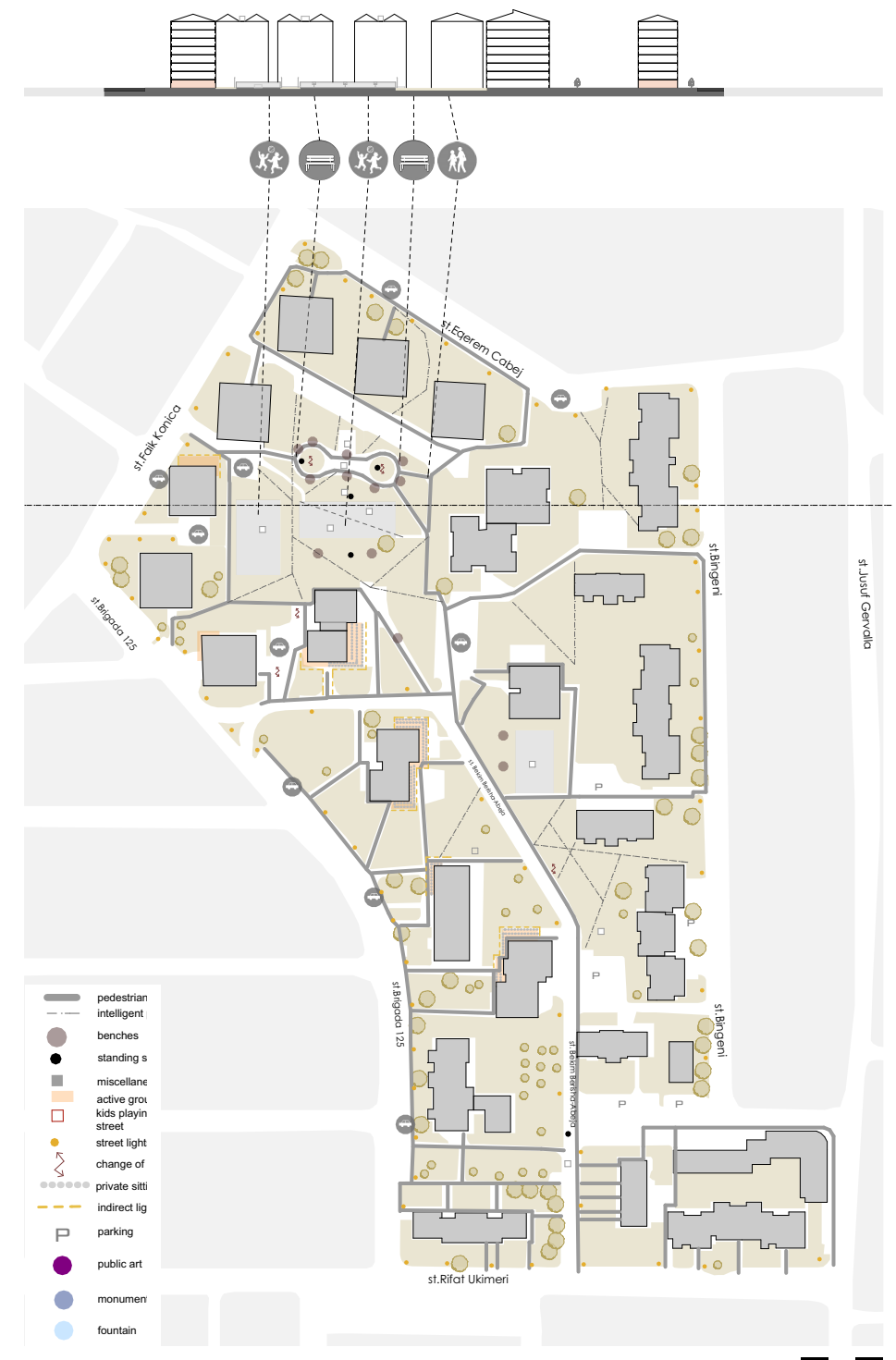
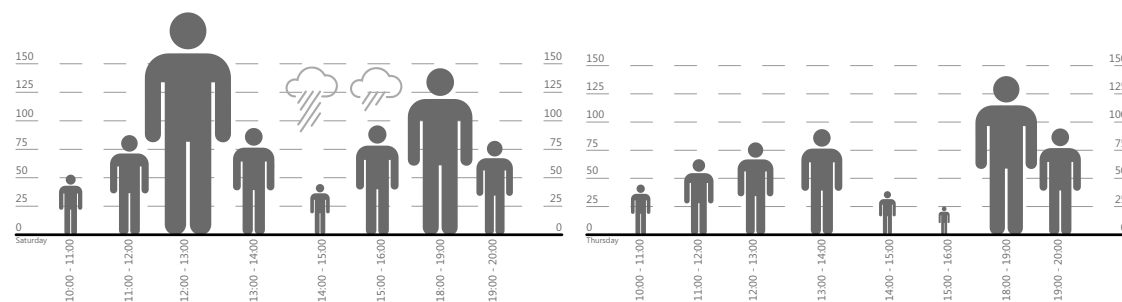
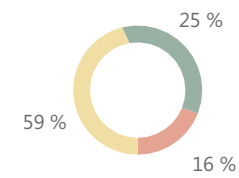
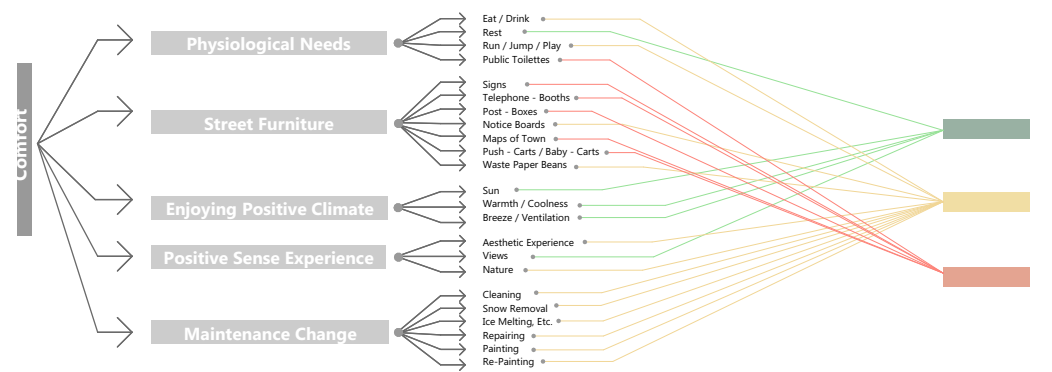
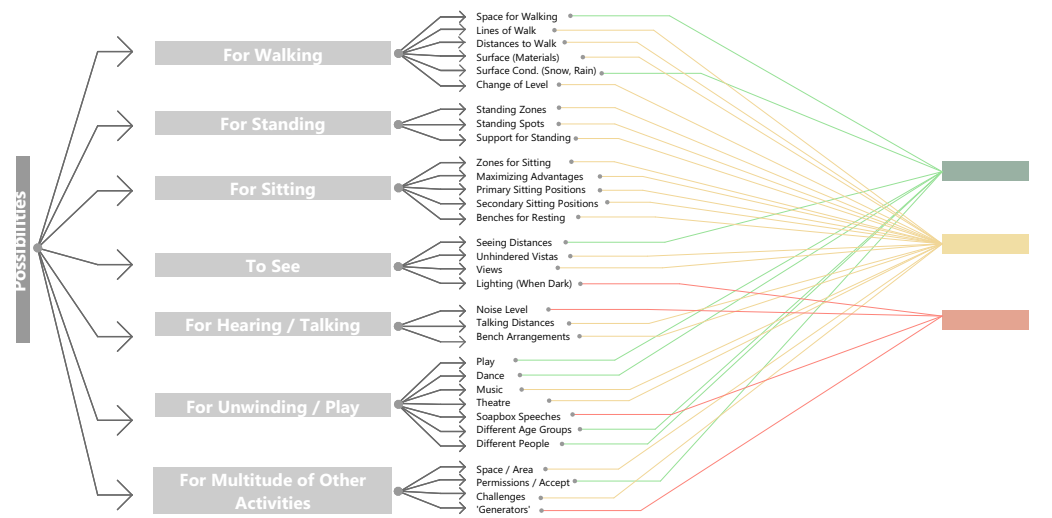
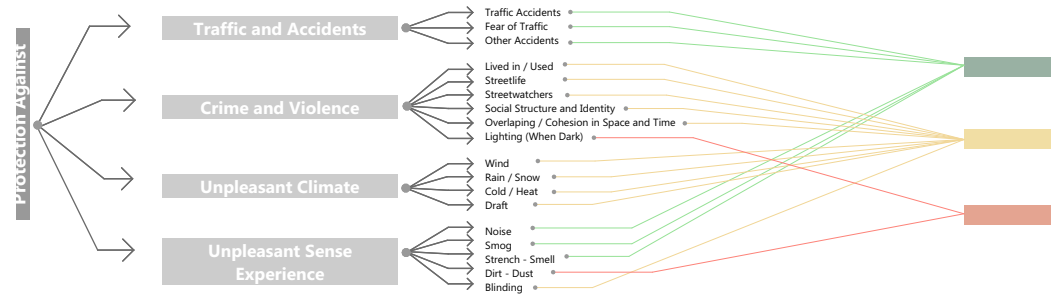
In regard to environmental aspects, it is obvious that this type of public space offers better conditions than the public spaces in the city, since they combine open and green space to create a public space within a park. Green space is all around the neighbourhood with trees and grass so it is possible to chose whether the sun or shade are more appropriate at the time being in the public. IN the Ortakoll neighbourhood, all buildings are with 8 stores, that could be considered within the limits of human scale, albeit the distances between buildings are still within criteria's of optimal distances in regard to views and exposure to sun.

Some parts of the public space are used privately for the public, such as terraces of the café's. These public spaces managed by a private entity, are rented from the municipality mainly for two reasons - to provide incentives for public space management, and to contribute to vitality. In these cases these business activities contributes to overall safety issues in the public space.

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<sup>280</sup> Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T., Tiesdell, S. (2003) *Public Places-Urban Spaces*, Architectural Press, Elsevier, Oxford





## 1.7 RIVERFRONTS

### 1.7.1 'LUMBARDHI' Riverfront - Prizren

Lumbardhi riverfront in this research was analysed only in a short segment linked to the Shadervan Square and Sinan Pasha in the Southern side of the river, and the Farkatari Street and Lumbardhi cinema in the Northern side of the river. This segment is the most frequented pedestrian passing of the river with three bridges including the old stone bridge, which is one of city landmarks.

The river regulation started before the World War II. The stone-walls that encompasses the river bed do not provide the direct access to the water, although there are spots where it is possible to come closer to water surface. The problem consists on the fact that the no activity is present at the lower level of regulation.

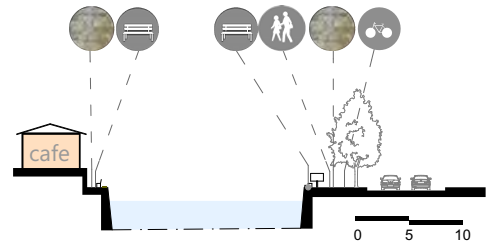
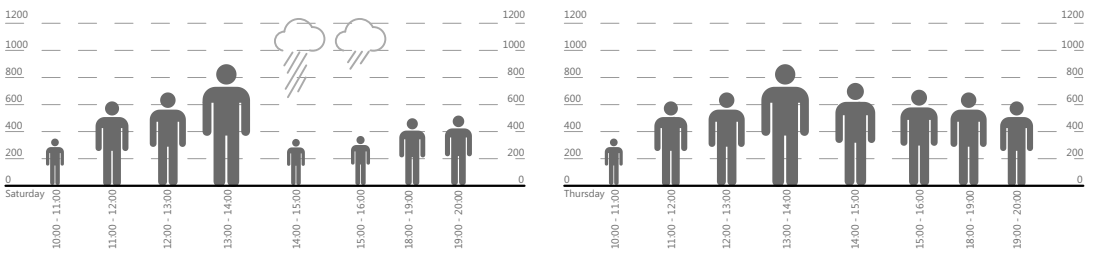
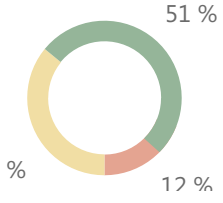
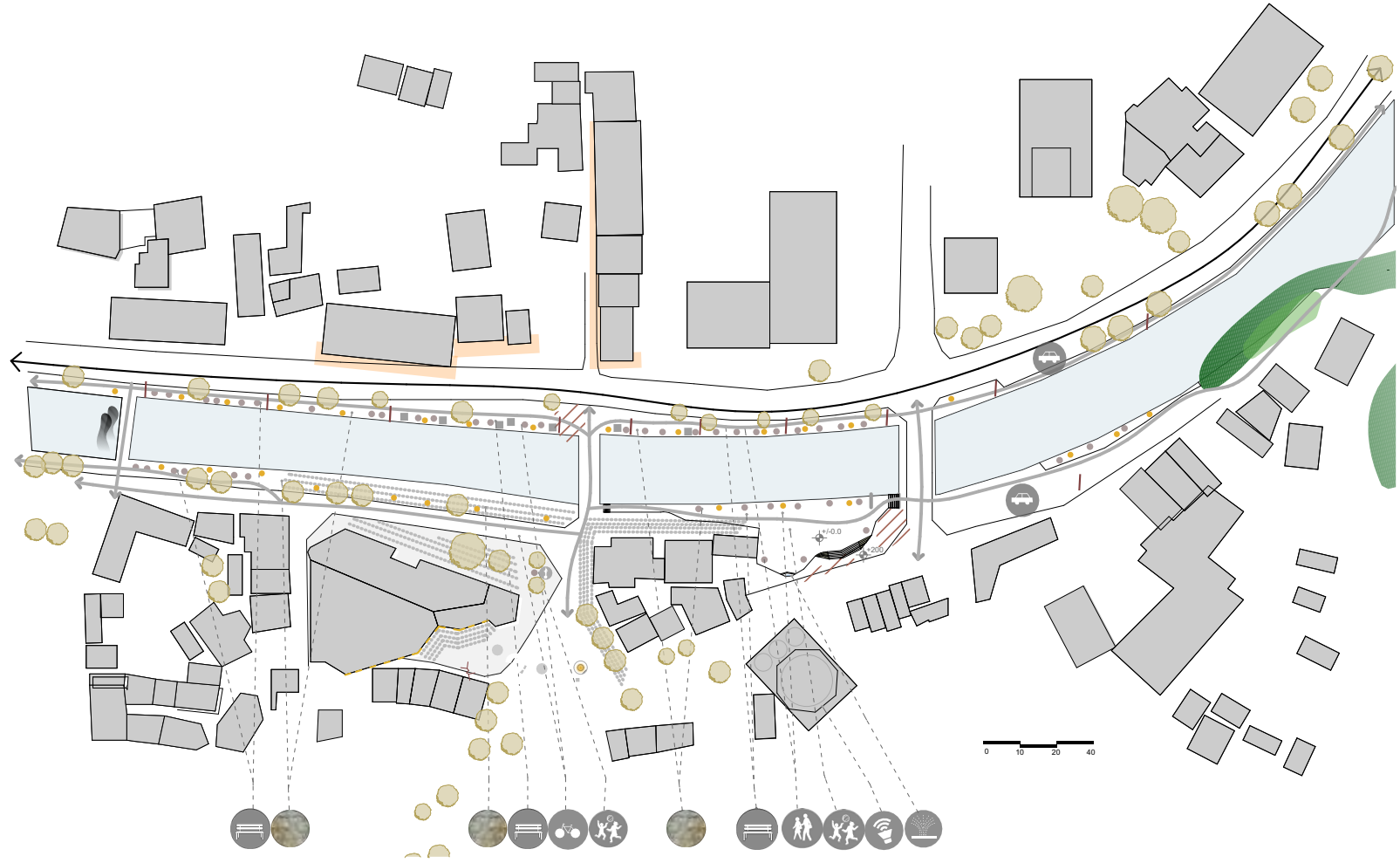
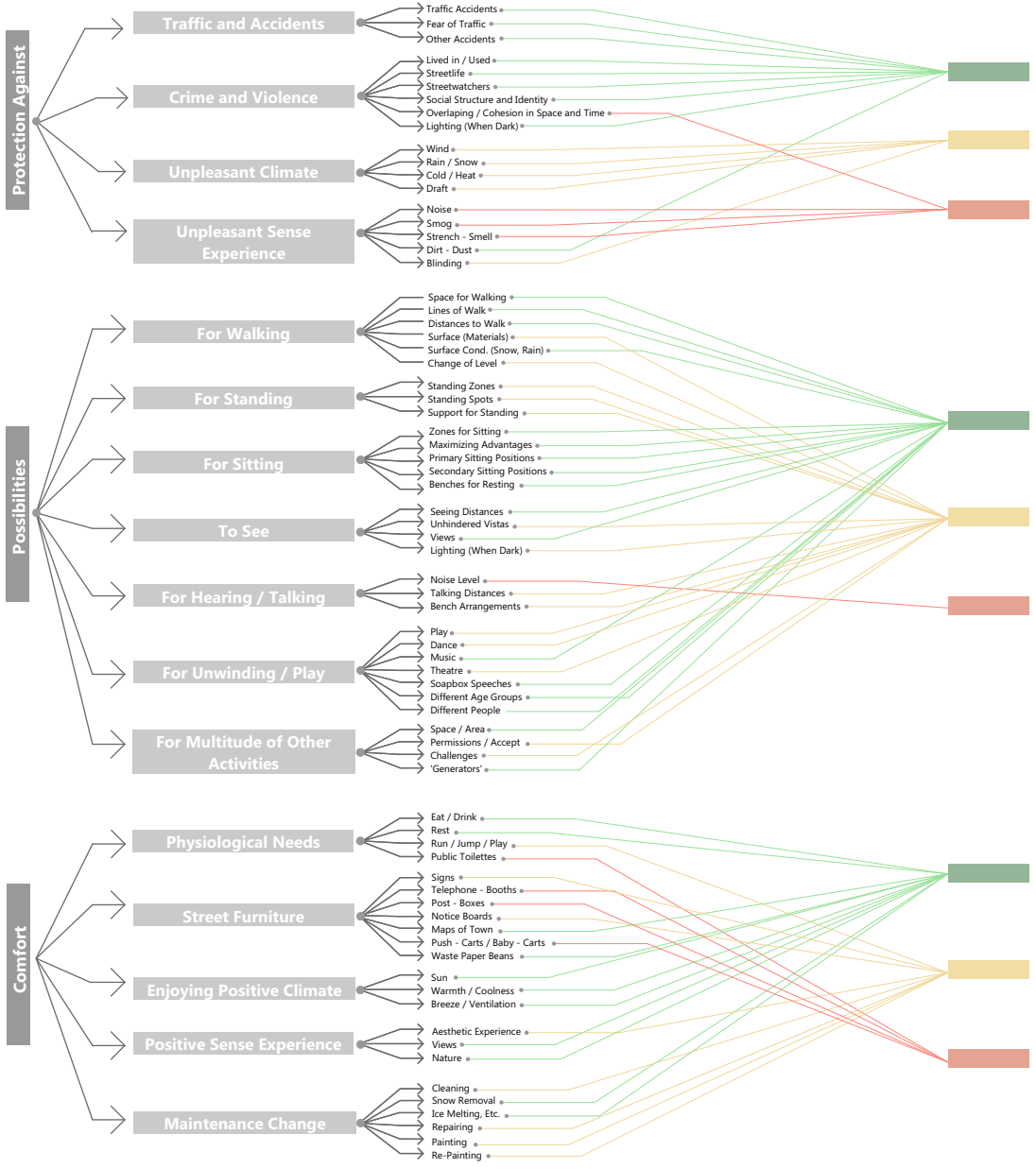
In the Northern side of the river the a green envelope with linden trees along the street provide shading for sitting, but instead of viewing the river and the mountain landscape in the background, the sitting is oriented towards the street and vehicles.

The lighting of the public space along the river provides the opportunity to use it in the evening.

In the Southern side, the cafes and restaurants uses the space for their purposes, which may be considered as a privatised public space, since the free movement along the river is impossible. Here, the economic interest prevails the public interest, although it contributes to the vitality of the public space as a whole. In the other side business activities contributes to the safety of public space during the day and the evening.

The river itself is not well managed. Although a responsibility for the rivers in Kosovo is primarily in the central level - the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, the city department of public Services should not be underestimated since the pollution comes from the wastewater discharge of the city sewage and from the upper villages, also under the city management.







### 1.7.2 'KRENA' Riverfront - Gjakovë

The current condition of many urban riverfronts in our cities shows how little value we have given to the water as a natural factor. Gjakova faces the same problem. Beside the physical intervention in the 80's in this part of the city, the Krena river remains the 'backyard of the city center', unused, unattractive and an abandoned area

Krena river front is in the city centre of Gjakova. Although the bed was regulated in 1980's the main problem is that the sewage is directly spilled in the river. Along the regulated segment of the river a plenty of municipal land is in disposal for public space

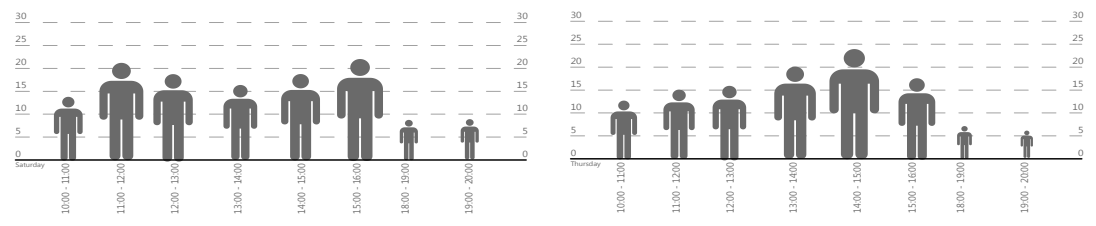
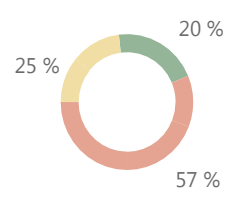
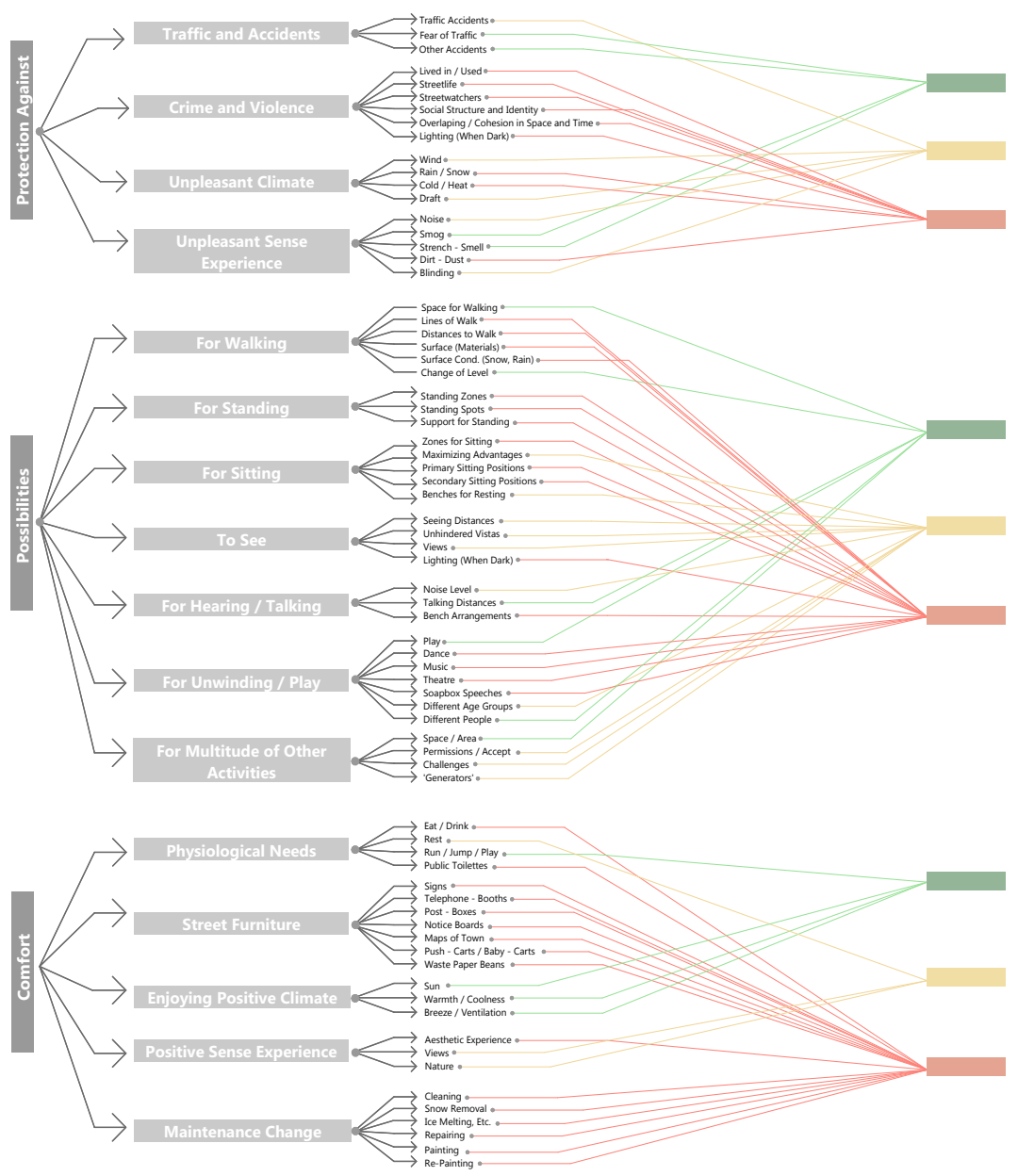
From north where the city park is located and Hotel Pashtrik as a landmark, the site stretches along the river down to south, crossing near old commercial areas, religious buildings, residential areas and newly developed commercial zones. Unfortunately all buildings along the river consider it as a backyard, an Beside the riverfront which is very passive and has no activities, on the northern part, a large unused public space close to hotel, music school, museum, commercial and residential area. Four bridges connect both sides of the riverbank only physically because there is a lack of function and activity that will connect this part to the rest of dynamic city centre.

Municipality has recently started the project for the new sewage system which will include the sewage parallel to the river flow and the purification of the river.

Beside the sewage project, in parallel regulation of the river and transformation of the riverfront into a new public space is under way. The riverfront is currently part of the EUROSPAN 13 Competition, due in November 2015.

The river Krena should turn into a valuable asset for the city. In this way the quality of life will increase and the riverfront will become more attractive. Including other important riverfront aspects – such as recreation, microclimate, natural drainage, etc.

Regeneration of the river Krena would enrich the urban and natural vista. Such spaces become the hearth of social, cultural and recreational activities within the city. Moreover, linking these spaces with the pedestrian and cyclist trails enables the creation of linear parks, which provide an attractive access into residential and public zones.



### 1.7.3 'LUMBARDHI' River - Peja

Lumbardhi river, in the city centre of Peja has been regulated since 1930's when Russian engineers employed by the Serbian authorities designed the walls of the riverfront to protect from the furious mountain river that used to flood the city. From that period the situation didn't change much.

Lumbardhi river is open to the public in a very short segment so in the recent years it has been in the focus of the Municipality of Peja to open the access to the riverfront for the public. In the city centre area where it is part of the integrated public space area it is surrounded with a variety of uses such as housing, Municipality buildings, city theatre, hotels, Korzo, Ibrahim Rugova Park and Skanderbeg square.

Korzo Boulevard which runs parallel to the river is enclosed with apartment buildings that contain shops on the street level so they make active building fronts with cafeterias and boutiques. The other side of the boulevard is enclosed with small shops that limit access to the riverfront.

In the west side of the area is 'Ura e Zallit' bridge, while on the south bank there is a small park and the city theatre 'Istref Begolli'. The area is closed for car traffic and is turned into a pedestrian zone where cyclists are welcomed.

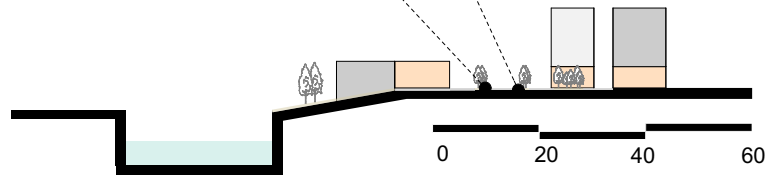
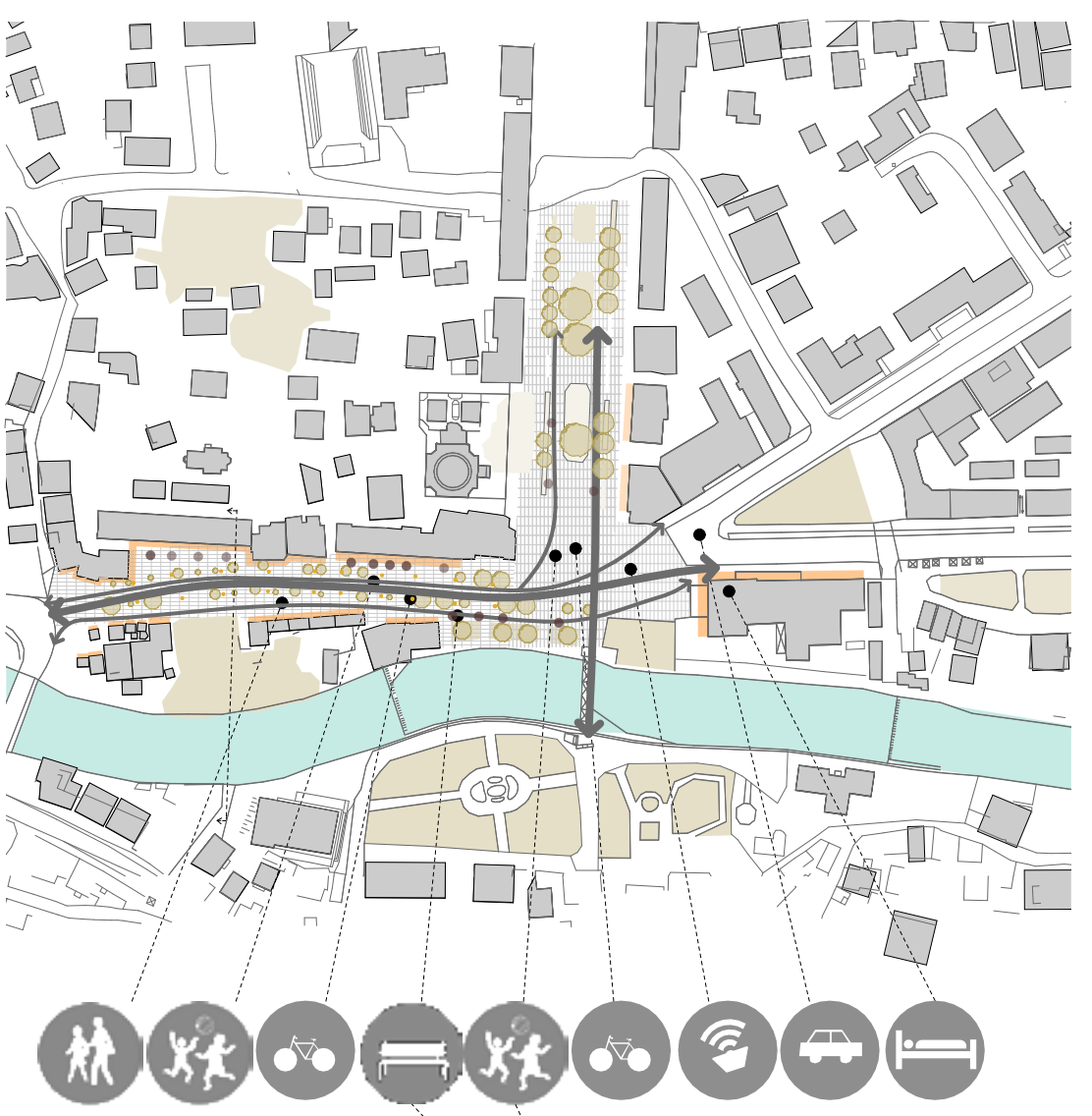
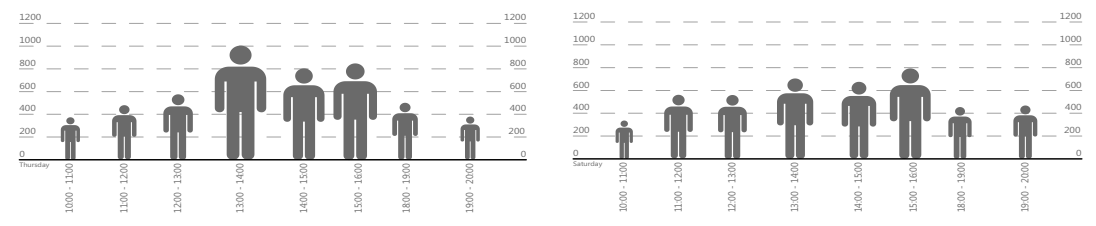
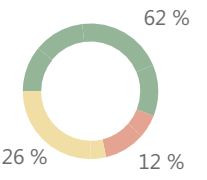
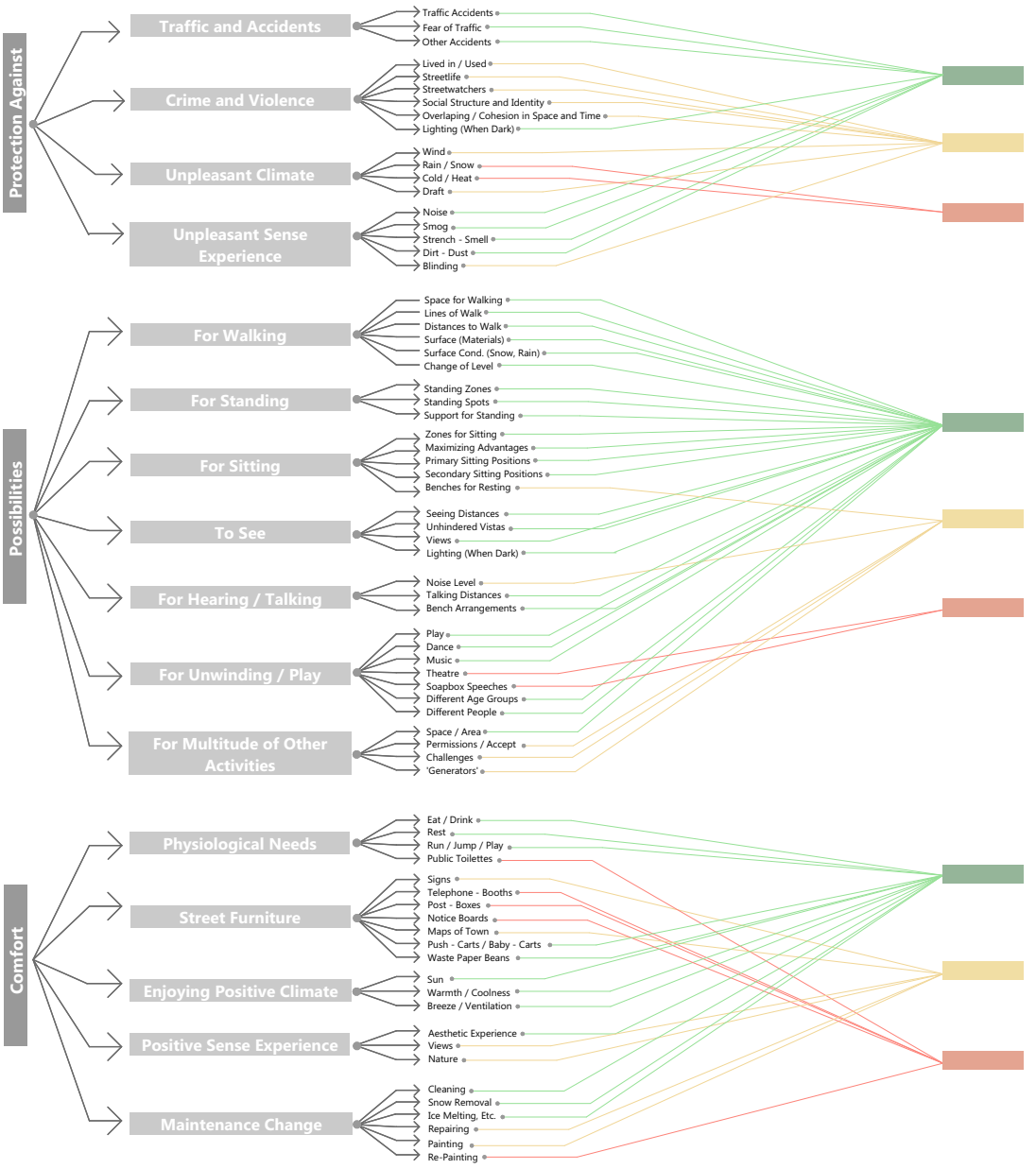
Multiple factors contribute to the dynamic experience of the environment. The most important role is attributed to the mountain green landscape in the background of the city, which is related to the river as well. Walking through the Korzo, from one side to the other side of the river, and turning towards the square, we experience folding mountain views, view towards the small park and square, where architectural features of the buildings tell us about different periods of city development. However, these experiences would be very poor without the sounds of the Lumbardhi and the activities in the public space, and the smell of traditional fast food shops in the Korzo Boulevard.

River Lumbardhi is one of the key elements of the whole urban setting in the city centre. We could distinguish the qualities of hard urban flooring and soft landscaping – small park and green area in the city centre. Two natural elements – folding mountain landscape in the background and the river contribute to create a clear image of the area. The main problem in regard to legibility is limited permeability on the riverfront.

Municipality of Peja in the following four years has planned as one of the capital investments the opening of the riverfront on both sides. The pathways on both sides will

provide opportunity for walking, jogging and resting. At the theatre, a deck shall provide direct access to the water, with amphitheatre shape where people can rest, play, read and experience the mountain landscape. In the opposite side the access to the water with the same features is provided.





- benches
- standing spots
- miscellaneous activities
- active ground floor use
- kids playing zones
- street lights
- change of level
- private sitting zones
- indirect light



## INTRODUCTION

The correlational research strategy intends to clarify patterns of relationships between two or more variables, that is, factors involved in the circumstances under study.<sup>281</sup> The following general characteristics of correlational research can be identified:

- Focus on naturally occurring patterns;
- Measurement of specific variables;
- Use of statistics to clarify patterns of relationships.

Focusing on naturally occurring patterns, a researcher tries to understand the behavioural dynamics of public space use, and in particular what physical features would encourage their use. Correlational research strategy seeks to clarify the relationship among a complex set of real-world variables.<sup>282</sup> Variables mean a range of features such as: physical features, social/people, functional/activities, or of meanings/place, that vary within the circumstance being studied and are also likely to affect the dynamics of socio-physical interaction. Correlational design assumes that the researcher simply measures the variables of interest and analyzes the relations among them.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Groat, L.N., Wang D. (2013) *Architectural Research Methods - Second Edition*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, 1

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, 1

## **RESULTS**

Selected public spaces in this research are most visited places in the respective cities. The comparison intends to show if the average use of public space relates to particular values that each of them carries such as history and meanings, visual appropriateness, protection, possibilities and comfort. The average peoples presence in the public spaces in different hours during the weekdays and in the weekend for different typologies was used to define the features that all of these.

As expected, public spaces in the historic core of the city and car free public spaces were more visited than the areas where car traffic is integrated with the pedestrians such as Adem Jashari Shopping Street in Prizren or Boulevard ‘Goce Delcev’ in Gostivar, Macedonia. which are very lively street basically because of the small shops with variety of goods. Than we can also see that the small squares in the city centres usually more visited due to the variety of the uses that are present and cultural heritage and meanings that they carry.

The number of people, safety, comfort, and visual appropriateness are compared and presented in the following pages. The number of people related to three main features in the public space can suggest the necessary measures to be taken for improvements.

The comparisons were made based on the typology, where Square, Street/boulevard, City park, neighbourhood park and playground. They possesses historical features with meanings embedded in them, showing in particular transformations through history of functional, social and visual dimension.

### **2.1 OTTOMAN SQUARES**

The first group of Public spaces are squares in the city centres. The Shadervan Square in Prizren, The Lama e Drithit/Grain Market in Gjakova, The Lama/Market in Peja and Brotherhood and Unity Square in Prishtina are the main squares in the respective cities. The Squares in Prizren, Gjakova and Peja are considered Ottoman squares because they are in the city core and part of the bazaars. In Prishtina, and the cities researched in Albania, and Macedonia there were no similar cases founded.

#### **NUMBER OF PEOPLE**

In terms of use, the number of peoples present in these places differs a lot. There are several reasons starting from the size of the city, role that it may have in the region, position in the

city, presence of architectural heritage, presence of natural elements, water, eating and drinking opportunities and tourism as a feature that is becoming more important. Shadervan could be considered one of the most valued Ottoman squares because of its position in the city and Prizren is a cultural heritage site.



Fig. 61 Analyses of people in the public space - Ottoman squares

**SAFETY**

In terms of protection, the results were summarised in the following conclusion surveys show that all three squares are characterised by similar results, which proves that these places are safe from car accidents.

Limited access for cars, few cyclists and unorganized walking lines contributes to pedestrian safety. There are no obstacles and physical barriers for free movement.



A very lively place through the whole day until late evening hours. Public lighting, although inappropriate for the character of the square, provides sufficient security in the evening.

Conviviality of Shadervan squares and public lighting contributes to a safe environment and violence prevention. Lama e Drithit in Gjakova has similar characteristics but the average number of people is less than in Prizren. In Lama/Market in Peja, the average number of people is much higher during the day but due to uses of the shops, it declines in the evening. We could conclude that there are several features that determine the safety in the public spaces amongst them number of people, variety of uses, absence of car traffic and good public lighting.

## COMFORT

In terms of comfort, these squares have similar features with some variations, which include different floor, different uses and presence of natural elements - trees, water and proximity of the river such as in Prizren. The central position in the city, bazaar, summer-time, architectural heritage, shops, are features that contribute to comfort and are present in all squares.

Activities such as walking, standing, sitting and talking take place, in all squares are intensively present during the day but in the evening differs. While in Prizren until late evening hours Shadervan Square is full of people, in Gjakova number of people in the evening is slightly lower. In Peja Market it diminishes drastically compared to presence during the day.

Protection from unpleasant climate is a factor that provides a certain degree of comfort in terms of standing, sitting and talking in the public spaces. Standing and sitting is possible mainly close to the shops, and talking is fostered by availability of sitting. No covered areas for shelter from sun, rain and snow, to protect from climate except the porches of the cafes.

Small area for walking, short distances, part of the Bazaar complex and stone non-slippery floor with little damages presents the common image of the squares. Some level variations may be obstacles for the hand-capped people. Eating and drinking is possible from early morning to the evening.

All squares may house other activities - play, music or other performances, during different city events and festivals - such as DOKUFEST in Prizren a film festival which is now rated very high in the world. Gjakova and Peja tend also to use the place for events although not yet in a successful manner.

What is common in negative sense for these squares is insufficient or missing urban furniture: sitting places/benches and chairs usually insufficient, while totally missing signs, phone boxes, post boxes, notice boards, city maps, waste separation bins. Public toilettes are also missing.

## VISUAL APPROPRIATENESS

The general aesthetic experience is positive due to human scale of architectural heritage, although recent refurbishment of the square could not be considered a good example how to deal with a heritage site.

A nice human scale view around is possible only in the terraces and coffee-shops. Common visual experience in these squares are architectural **heritage features that carries meanings and memories of the city such as** shops in the bazaar streets, Friday Mosque, but they differ due to background landscape. While in Prizren a strong mountain background juxtapose the river and the valley, in Peja there is a set of fording mountains that creates a limitles in respective cities in the evening, **lighting** of the square and the buildings contributes to visual qualities in the evening.

Albeit slight differences, general impression is that the squares are clean and well maintained with the contribution of the shopkeepers.

The score of the squares could be compared in the following table. In terms of features that support public life, it can be noted that the difference is not proporcional with number of people.

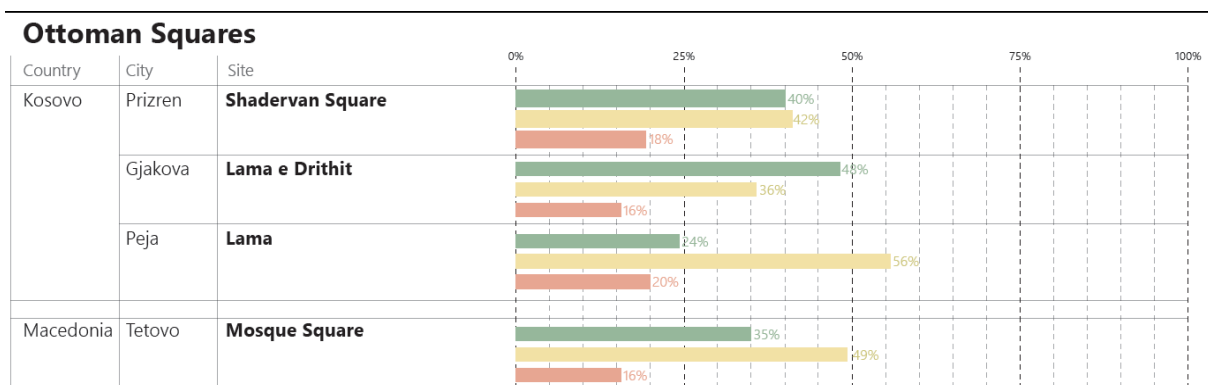


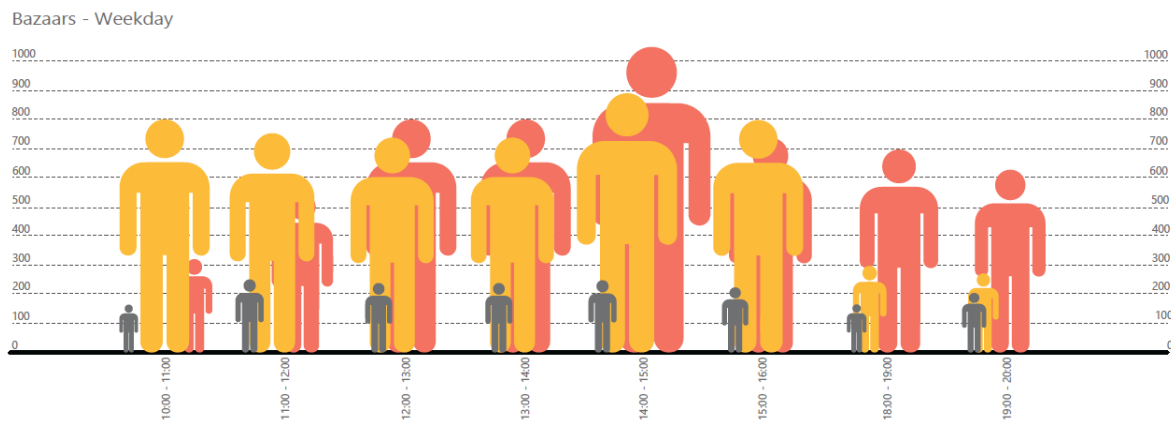
Fig. 62 Ottoman squares comparative analyses of spatial and public life qualities

## 2.2 ÇARSHIAS / BAZAARS

In this comparison i have chosen bazaars in, Peja, and Gjakova and the shopping street in Prizren, which is a transformed part of the bazaar in Prizren. Bazars in Peja and Gjakova which have preserved to a certain extent the Ottoman bazaars, presents the remaining core of the Ottoman city. Although burned down during the war in 1999, they were reconstructed and revitalised. These bazaars are still the liveliest parts of the city preserving the architectural and socio-economic features that they used to have. Shopping street ‘Adem Jashari’ in Prizren, is also a lively street. It use to be part of the Prizren’s bazaar, but the architecture was transformed in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main difERENCE is that this street combines car traffic and pedestrian movement, so the main issue here becomes the safety of pedestrians.

### NUMBER OF PEOPLE

Number of peoples present in the bazaara differs a lot from the shopping street. There main reason is the position in the city and the time dimension. Bazaars are heritage sites being livilly for the centuries. They have been tourism motifs for a long period and they are in the city centre.



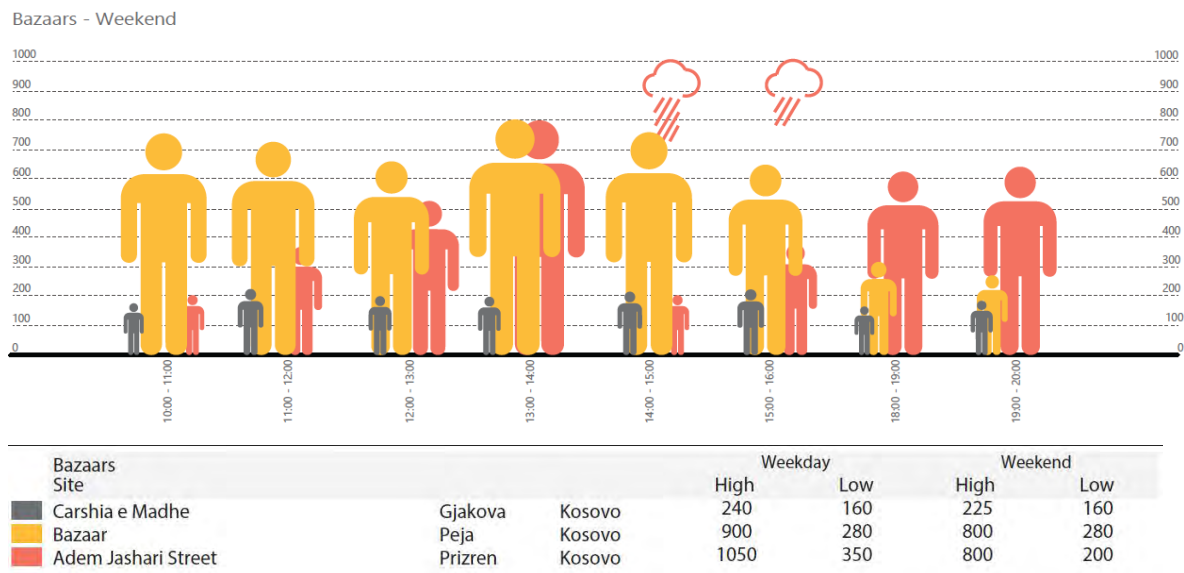


Fig. 63 Analyses of people in the public space - Ottoman bazaars

## SAFETY

In this comparison we have two different cases- car-free streets in Gjakova and Peja and car and pedestrian street in Prizren as transformed bazaar street.

In Gjakova and Peja, car free street and square, open to cyclists contributes to pedestrian safety. Walking line along the shops and across the square towards the other street. There are no obstacles and physical barriers for free movement. In Prizren, traffic accidents may happen due to one-way car movement. No measure for traffic calming was taken for accident prevention.

Gjakova's bazaar is very lively place, used of mostly by adult people for walking, shopping, food and drinking, active throughout the whole day until late evening hours. In Peja and Prizren, due to mainly shopping uses in the evening the activities in the streets decline. Only walking is recorded. Passive engagement dominates the behaviour of people. Public lighting provides sufficient security in the evening. No crime has been recorded.

There are no shelter from sun rain and snow. The eaves of the shops may be considered as shelter, but insufficient for all users to protect from **unpleasant climate**. The shops use parasols to provide the shadow. At Adem Jashari street in Prizren, there is a linden alley that provide shelter from the sun.

In Peja and Gjakova bazaars, loud music and uncontrolled smoke from fast food restaurants and bars present an **unpleasant experience** during the whole day. At Adem jashari street in

Prizren, loud noise coming from the cars, smog, smells, dust and blinding in the evening are every day unpleasant sense experience.

## COMFORT

In terms of comfort, the bazaars in Gjakova and Peja, provides the plenty of possibilities in terms of walking, sitting, standing and talking. Walking street distances. Stone non-slippery floor with little damages. Some level variations may be obstacles for the handy-capped people.

Sitting with a nice human scale view around is possible only in the terraces and coffee-shops. There are few benches in the in the square under the trees. In Prizren, there are no opportunities for sitting outside except vendors who sometimes sit at shop-fronts watching people passing by. **Talking** mainly take place mainly at the cafes and fast-food restaurants and at the fountain, although sometime with unpleasant noise. Standing is possible mainly close to the shops.

**Other activities** may occur during city events such as festivals or celebrations. In Gjakova, in the end of summer the traditional food festival celebrated the summer harvests. The generators are central position in the city, bazaar, summer time, architectural heritage, shops, etc.

**Street furniture** is also missing; signs, phone boxes, post boxes, notice boards, and city maps, waste separation bins. **Public toilettes** are also missing.

## VISUAL APPROPRIATENESS

The general **aesthetic experience** is positive due to human scale of architectural heritage in Gjakova and Peja. In Gjakova, the **views** are mainly towards the bazaar street. In the evening, street and shop-front **lighting** contributes to visual qualities in the evening.

In Peja the **Ottoman** architectural heritage is combined with Kosovo Alps mountains view, which raises high in the city background. The Mosque views enriches the whole image of the Ottoman city core. In the evening, poor **lighting** of the square and the buildings do not provide conditions to use it in the evening.

Aesthetic experience in Prizren, differs, because the most of the buildings have surrogate facades, but an interesting experience is created form the trees alley.

General impression is that these places are well maintained.

In the bazaars and streets the situation is even more neutral in terms of qualities off space related to number of people. Being in the bazaar/çarshia or shopping streets is a kind of tradition inherited from the Otoman Empire. People go to these space to meet others, so as these spaces have a histories and memories, the other features become less important.

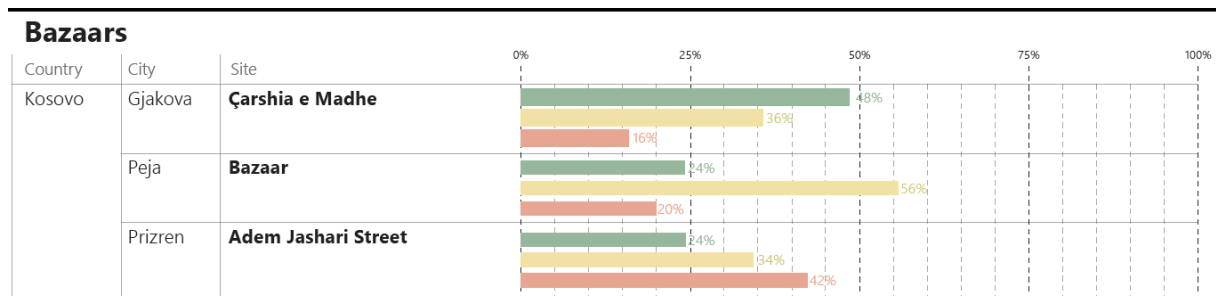


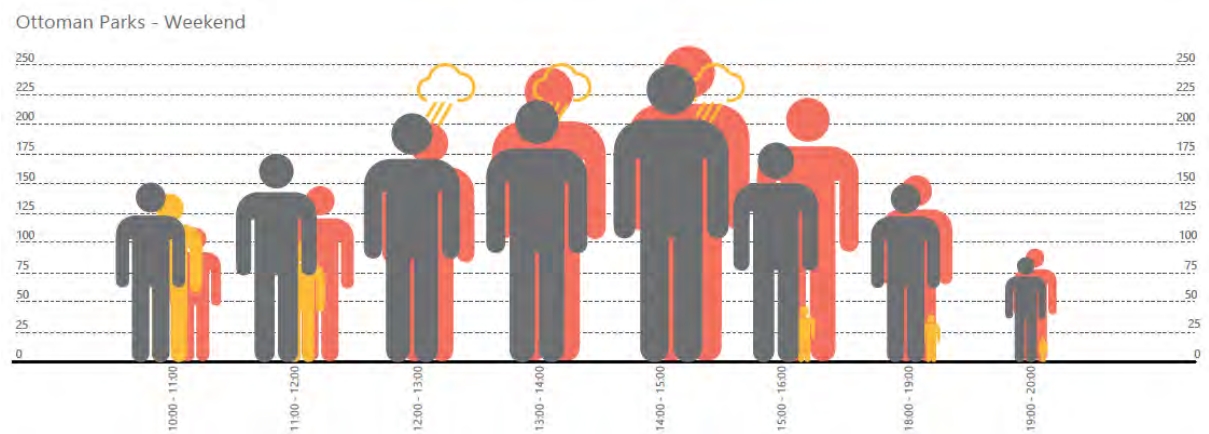
Fig. 64 Ottoman bazaars - comparative analyses of spatial and public life qualities

### 2.3 OTTOMAN CITY PARKS

These parks plays still an important role for the public life in the Kosovo cities. Comparison of Taubahçe Park in Prishtina, Karaagaç Park in Peja and Marash Park in Prizren were chosen as samples of the oldest green areas in the cities. These parks could be regarded to the Ottoman period as *mezire's* - green areas in the city outskirts, where families used to go for leisure. This fact is based on the toponymy of the places: *Tauk-bahçe* = *Chicken-garden* in Turkish ; *Karaagaç* = *Elm tree* in Turkish which used to be the most tipcal tee usedin the Ottoman gardens; *Marash* = Turish name for *Germanicia Caesarea* - an old Roman city in Asia Minor - now Kahramanmarash. These parks, due to the history and menaings, postion in the city and the natural features that they possesses, trees and water features, could be attributed as natural cultural heritage as well.

#### NUMBER OF PEOPLE

Ottoman city parks attract people probably because of tradition, mature high trees and position in the city away from car traffic. Number of peoples in the park differs due to positon and availability of other green spaces in the city. Presence of the water, in this case in Marash river Lumbardhi is probably the reason to have such a reputation.



Ottoman Parks Site				Weekday		Weekend	
Site	Location	High	Low	High	Low		
Taukbashçe	Prishtina Kosovo	110	30	250	80		
Karagac	Peja Kosovo	90	20	140	20		
Marash	Prizren Kosovo	400	100	340	80		

Fig. 65 Analyses of people in the public space - Ottoman city parks

**SAFETY**

The park is not prone to risks from traffic accidents. Walking and jogging paths, places for relaxing and playing are far from roads. The parks are fenced along the boundary streets. Walking and jogging paths, places for relaxing and playing are remote distance from roads. Lighting within the parks is insufficient. At Tauk bahce Park, in the northern side of the park buildings in the residential area residential buildings, provide lighting during the night. The residential zones around the park, make it safer and livelier. The Taukbahçe park and Marash Park, compared to park in Peja, are well used, but lack suitable components and activities for different age groups during the day.



Due to the lack of safety at night, the parks are not attractive place for the citizens to visit. The lighting is not functional (lack of maintenance). Due to lack of maintenance in Karaagaç the public lighting is not working and the park is completely in the dark during night-time.

Lack of residential zones around the park in Prizren and Peja, do not make them safe. The only safe places in the evening are around the restaurants located within the park. In Prizren, the surrounding spaces are not active enough and thus make the park inactive too. There is however a bit of activity near the restaurants just in the entry of the park.

In Prizren and Peja, there are cases of substance-abusing individuals, who are sometime present in the park, make it difficult for other people to visit.

## COMFORT

In terms of comfort all three parks could be rated as average quality parks. The main differences includes topography, presence of natural elements - trees, water and proximity of the river such as in Prizren. At 'Taubahçe' park a small spring passes through the park, unfortunately unused potential to enrich the natural features of the park.

Activities such as walking, standing, sitting and talking takes place, in all parks, although a limited number of benches are available. Sometime, people use grassed areas to sit. While in Prishtina until late evening hours 'Taubahçe' offers sanctuary during the hot summer days is full of people, in Peja number of people in the evening is much lower. Marash Park is very lively during the festival events such as DOKUFEST - an international annual documentary film festival in Prizren.

No covered areas for shelter from rain and snow, to protect from climate except the porches of the restorants.

Sufficient walking paths, walk able distances, also running paths in the greenery provide the opportunities for walking and running. Eating and drinking is possible in the restaurants withinpark, but people takes their own food as well. In Marash park, along the north shore there are a set of restaurants and playgrounds, although not so attractive because of the river Lumbardhi which divide the park into two longitudinal strips.

The Marash Park is used for other activities such as play, music or other performances, during DOKUFEST in Prizren. Peja Park is used also for the festivals such as ANIBAR International cartoon festival and BAR-Camp, a Yuth festival organized during the summer.

What is common in negative sense for all parks is insufficient or missing urban furniture: sitting places/benches and chairs usually insufficient, while totally missing signs, phone boxes, post boxes, notice boards, city maps, waste separation bins. Public toilettes are also missing.

## VISUAL APPROPRIATENESS

The general aesthetic experience is positive due to high trees and dense greenery. This feature provide the shelter from the sunshine in the summer.

Common visual experience in these squares are architectural **natural features and memories that have been layered in the different stories about the city** Natural views dominates in all three parks. As Taukbahce lies in Germia valley, the views are closed by the high trees. At Marash, the greenery is dominated by the rocky mountains that goes more than 1000 m' higher than the park floor. From Karaagac park in Peja, the Kosovo Alps and Peja valley provide a wide landscape scenery, unique for the whole Kosovo and the region.

Albeit slight differences, general impression is that the parks are not well maintained. Especially the trees are not maintained - seasonal treatment is not carried according to needs.

The results below shows that Taukbahçe i

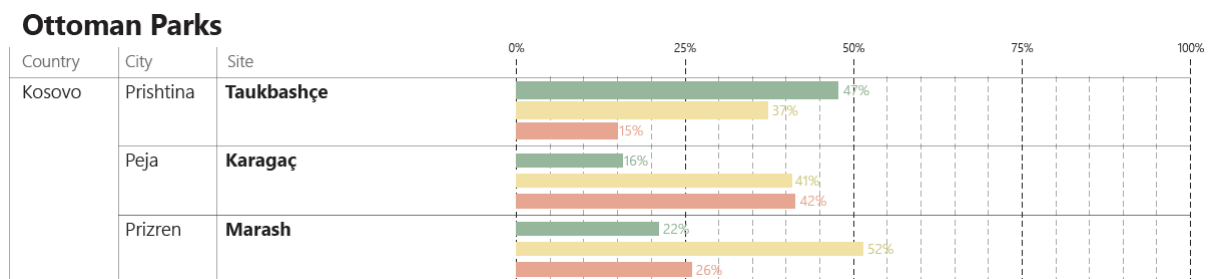


Fig. 66 Ottoman parks - comparative analyses of spatial and public life qualities

## 2.4 MODERNIST SQUARES

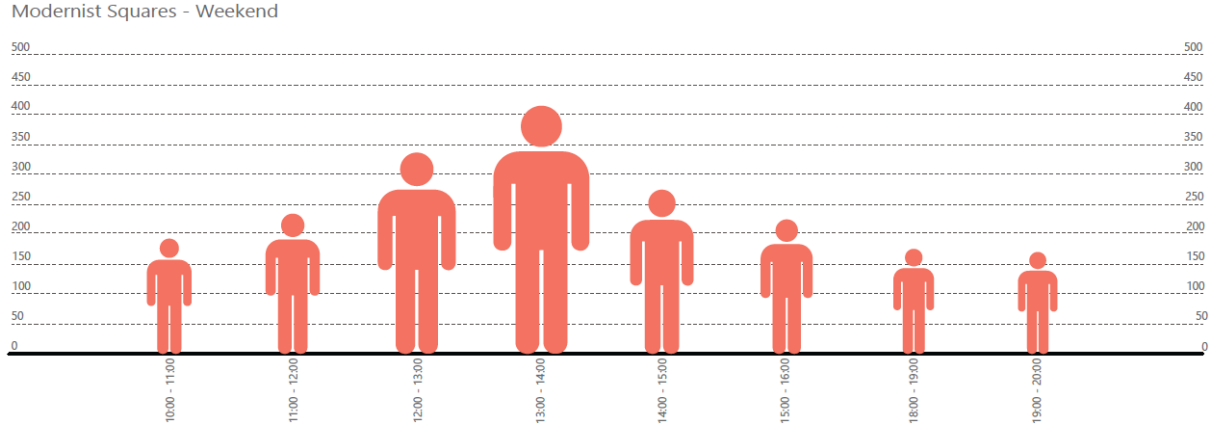
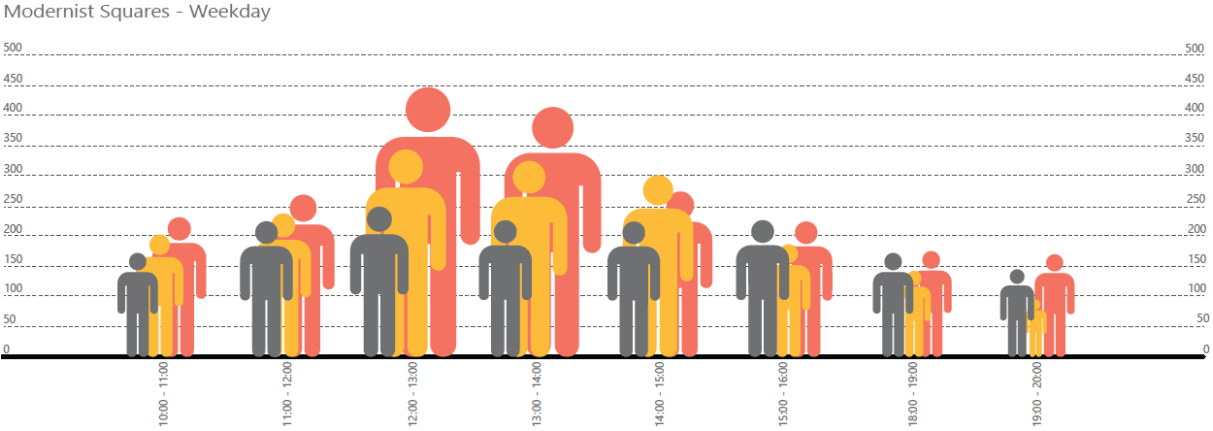
Here the comparisons of public life in the modernist squares try to show the public life of a 'socialist' public space which are mainly transformation of the Ottoman public spaces such as bazaars. Squares chosen in this comparison are Adem Jashri Square - formerly Brotherhood and Unity Square in Prishtina, Sqaure in Tetova, Macedonia and Martyrs Square in Berat, Albania. These squares are in the city centre and are characterised mainly as passing squares

Adem Jashari Square is a modernist square built over Great Ottoman Bazaar of Prishtina. We could see in the comparison how the transformation of the bazaar into a square did not contributed to create a lively place as the Bazaar used to be.

In Tetova, the small Ottoman square was extended around over the bazaar, while in Berat, Albania, part of the old bazaar turned to martyr’s square with a monument to celebrate the war against fascism.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE

It is obvious that transit squares have more pedestrian flow, which in Prishtina, i suppose is the positon of the square close to the Muncipal public services. Otherwise the quality of the other features is lower than squares in Berat and Tetova.



Modernist Squares			Weekday		Weekend	
Site			High	Low	High	Low
Brotherhood and Unity Square	Prishtina	Kosovo	450	175	405	150
Republika Boulevard	Berat	Albania	350	90	\	\
Iliria Square	Tetovo	Macedonia	250	140	\	\

Fig. 67 Analyses of people in the public space - Modernist Squares

## SAFETY

Regarding the safety from car traffic, these are car free squares, open to cyclists contributes to pedestrian safety. Walking line along the shops and across the square towards the other street. Except in Prishtina, where for the access to the square is provided only through stairs, two other squares in Tetova and Berat have no obstacles or physical barriers for free movement.

Due to lack of the content these squares are hardly used as real public spaces. They are more a sort of transit square, mainly used to link different parts of the city.

Well lit and safe place through the whole day, probably also because of the institutional buildings such as the Municipality of Prishtina, Kosovo Parliament and European Commission Kosovo Office, Municipality in Berat square and shopping centre and Culture Centre in Tetova Square.

## COMFORT

These are mainly transit square. In Prishtina walking lines link upper with lower part of the city, and the Municipality of Prishtina one of the most visited buildings in the city centre. In Berat the square is a kind of link from the city to the riverfront, while in Tetova, old shopping street is linked with the modernist city through the square.

Due to lack of other activities there are not so many people in the square. Sometime events take place in the square. There are no food and drink opportunities in the Square. In Prishtina, sitting is provided in few benches, which are positioned right in the main pedestrian flow a very unpleasant position that diminishes the privacy and talking. In Berat and Tetova sitting is organised in the edges. In Tetovo and Berat, the squares are linked with the small parks where sufficient sitting places provide the opportunity to enjoy the square as well.

Smoke, Noise, unpleasant smell and smog are an **unpleasant experience** during the whole day. There's no shelter from rain and snow. In the northern part, however the high trees provide opportunity for sitting in the shade.

Insufficient or missing urban furniture is common to all these squares: sitting places/benches and chairs usually insufficient, while totally missing signs, phone boxes, post boxes, notice boards, city maps, waste separation bins. Public toilets are also missing.

## VISUAL APPROPRIATNESS

Aesthetic experience is mainly characterised with the triangle Monument to the Brotherhood and Unity and the ottoman background with three main mosques Carshi Mosque (1423), Sulltan Mehmet Mosque (1461) and Jashar Pasha Mosque 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some green area contributes to the balance between built and free space.

In Tetova beside the architecture and green spaces, the Shar Mountains are a positive visual experience. In Berat the mountain background and Osumi river with the park along provide a unique visual experience.

Poor maintenance of the square is only recorded in Prishtina, probably because it will soon be refurbished and will get a new image.

Opposite of what we've seen at the Ottoman squares or bazaars, the number of people is not influenced by the qualities that square may have. The most important activity in the Brotherhood and Unity square in Prishtina is walking - transit waking, but compare to two other squares the features that makes a square attractive are of higher quality.

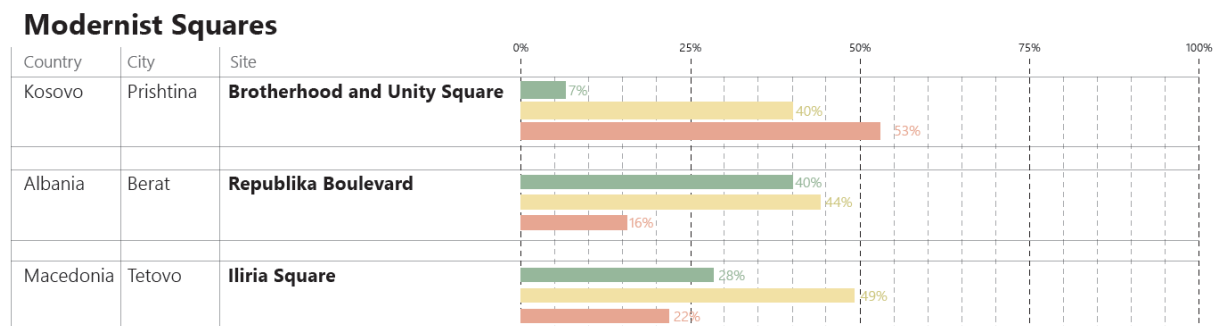


Fig. 68 Modernist Squares - comparative analyses of spatial and public life qualities

## 2.5 BOULEVARDS

The boulevards became symbol of new socialist cities. Socialist authorities transformed the Ottoman shopping streets into wide boulevards with tree alleys. Midrise housing blocks introducing the continuity of the facades and modern architecture lined up the streets, albeit with the shopping character. Boulevards in Prishtina and Peja were taken for the analyses in Kosovo and boulevards from Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat. In Albania the boulevards were introduced even earlier in the transition period by Italian influence.

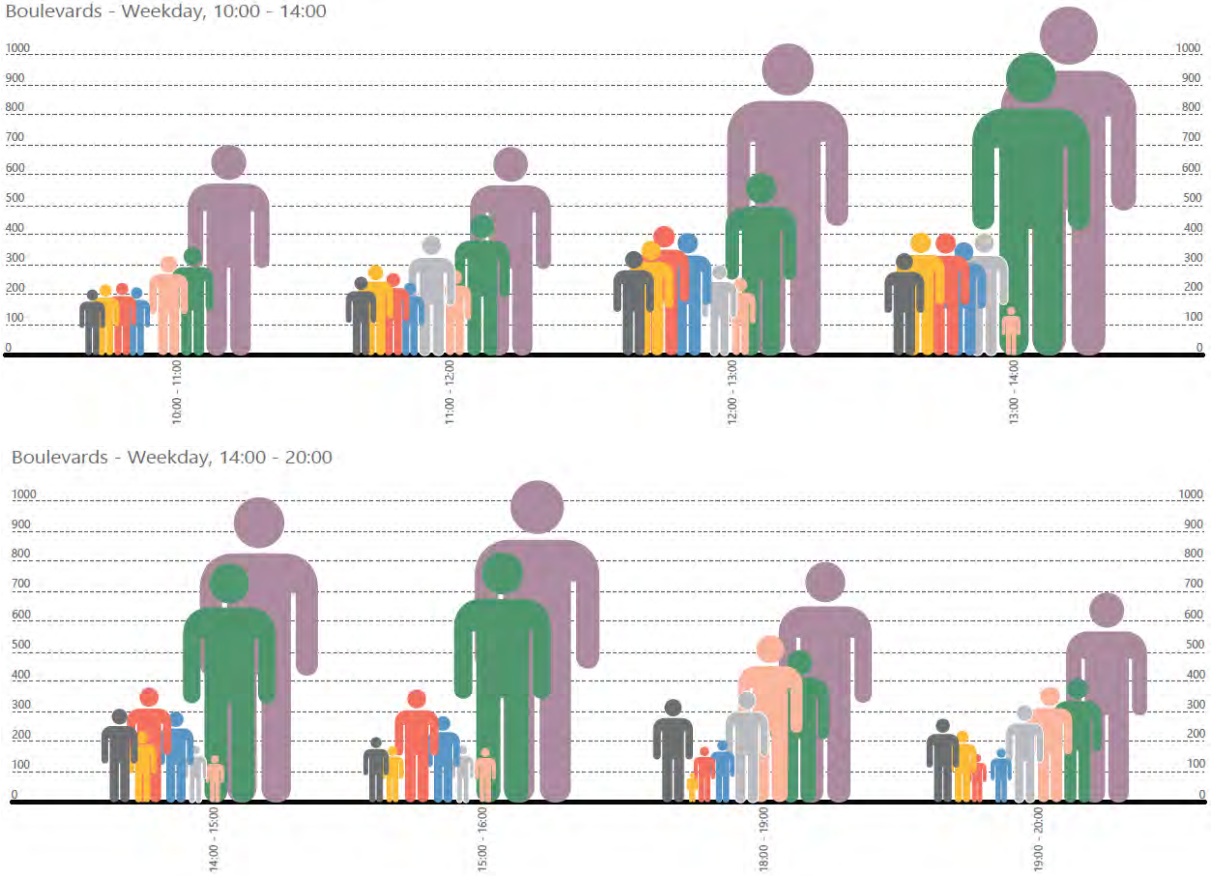
The boulevards present a typical public space mainly for walking, shopping, eating and

drinking. Recently they were turned to car free pedestrian areas and some leisure activities were added to the overall public life settings. In most of the analysed cases, the pedestrianisation includes refurbishment with a certain design qualities.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE

Compare to boulevards in other cities, the Mother Theresa Boulevard and Korzo in Peja, have much higher number of pedestrians. The reason might be the size of the city, the role of Prishtina as a capital city, and uses in the boulevard. What has been seen in Albania, from 14-18 most of the people goe home for lunch and rest so number of people decreases more than 50%.

Boulevard in Gostivar is a car traffic street, which pedestrians, those interested for being in the public, usually tries to avoid. Number of visitors in some cases is also influenced by the short length of the boulevards.



Boulevards Site			Weekday		Weekend	
			High	Low	High	Low
Mother Theresa Boulevard	Prishtina	Kosovo	1180	700	1000	500
Korzo	Peja	Kosovo	1000	380	800	300
Republika Boulevard	Berat	Albania	350	210	\	\
Pedonale	Berat	Albania	550	130	\	\
Aqif Pasha Boulevard	Elbasan	Albania	400	200	\	\
13 Dhjetori St.	Shkodra	Albania	400	100	\	\
Pedonale	Shkodra	Albania	400	150	\	\
Goce Delemov Boulevard	Gostivar	Macedonia	400	160	\	\

Fig. 69 Analyses of people in the public space - Boulevards

## SAFETY

In terms of protection, the results were summarised in the following conclusion surveys show that all three boulevards that are free of car traffic, are characterised by similar results, which proves that these places are safe from accidents.

Limited access for cars, few cyclists and unorganized walking lines contributes to pedestrian safety. In Peja Corso, the access is granted through rising bollards. There are no obstacles and physical barriers for free movement.

In Pedonale - Shkodra, bicycle accidents can occur due to narrow paths and street occupation with the sitting area. But in the other side - the boulevard 13 December, timely managed traffic is a good control of pedestrian safety. Gostivar in Macedonia is a different case. Very frequently used by the pedestrians, due to the presence of car traffic, it is constantly at risk of accidents that may occur easily.

In all cities the Boulevards are very lively public places during the whole day. This is a very important feature in terms of safety and crime prevention. Good public lighting makes these spaces useful until late evening.

Protection from unpleasant climate may decrease the number of people in the boulevards.

## COMFORT

Highly active street life characterises all these boulevards. Very satisfying combination of different age groups and genders, throughout the day. All boulevards are well oriented and wide enough to make walking, sitting and talking pleasant and undisturbed. The feature of all car free boulevards are plentiful of sunshine, shade, warmth, breeze and ventilation, which makes them healthy places for people.



While usually there is a lack of seats, some are not well maintained. But there are still some zones for sitting and enjoying in all boulevards. The surrounding environment does not disturb hearing and talking.

Seeing distances in most of the zones are open, sufficient space for walking with various lengths and pleasant views. Due to the position in the city all boulevards contains restaurants and bars, including shopping. They provide a sense of identity for the area and contribute to the vitality of the places.

All of these boulevards lack street furniture, especially the ones regarding communication and information. Low number of signage, telephone booths, post boxes or maps. Missing public toilettes in Peja, Shkoder, Berat, and Gostivar. Only in Prishtina public toilettes were built recently.

Except boulevard in Gostivar, all other boulevards offers a wide range of possibilities for different social activities because of their physical dimensions and flexibility of soace arrangements. In Pishtina, the Bulevard house almost all fesivals and trade fairs that are organized throughout the year.

#### VISUAL APPROPRIATENESS

Good aesthetic experiences with decent views due to preserved urban morphology, architecture and natural features such as in Peja towards the folding mountains of Kosovo Alps, in Berat toward the fortress Mangalem - the historic neighbourhood, both vistas combined with the Osumi riverfront. Pedonale in Shkodra takes the strength from the architectural heritage and historical meanings that the buildings carry. In Prishtina the combination of the buildings and trees contributes to the identity of boulevard.

Maintenance i.e. cleaning and snow removal, are exceptionally good, whereas street furniture maintenance and repair are still undervalued. Some repair works has been witnessed in during the research. The overall awareness of the citizens in terms of maintenance is growing. As these areas are in the city centre, it is obvious that the maintenance is considered a way of representation of good city management.

The results show that the pedestrian boulevards in the city are very lively places. Especially when they integrate eating and drinkinig, or if suitable, the culture events. Boulevards where car traffic is present, the pedestrians tend to avoid. Although Mother Theresa boulevard was

recently refurbished with the new granite and concrete paving, as we can see, it is not best ranked compare to Korzo in Peja and Pedonale in Shkodra.

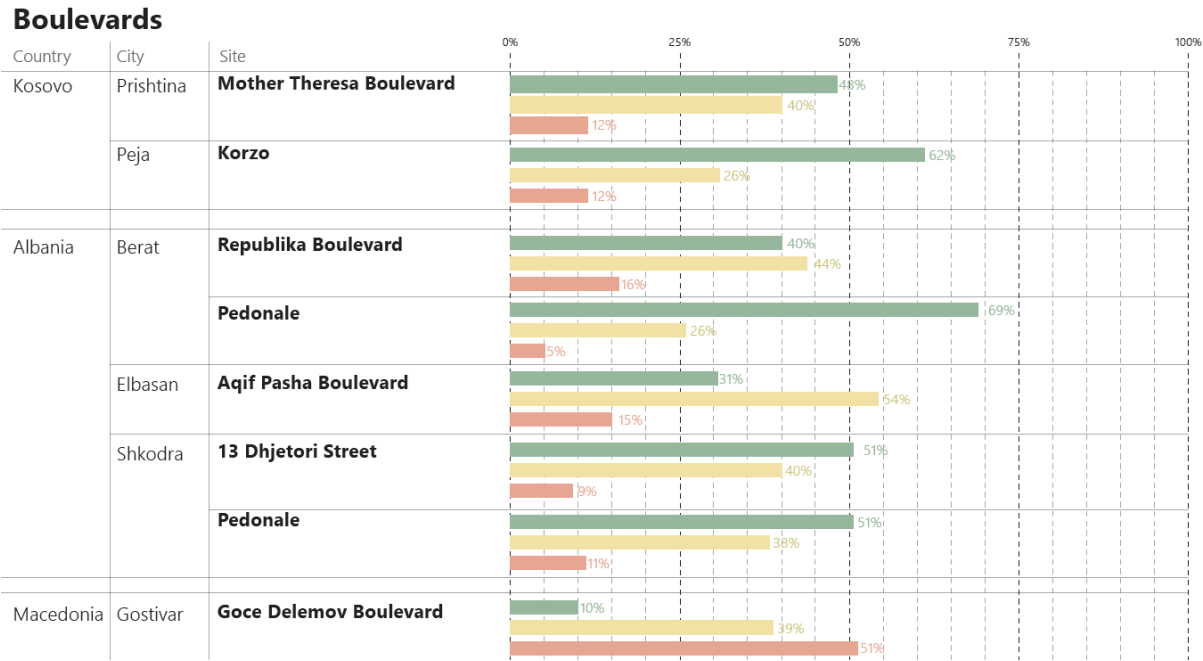


Fig. 70 Modernist Squares - comparative analyses of spatial qualities and public life

**2.6 NEIGHBOURHOOD PARKS**

Planning for the new socialist city was based in territorial urban structure consisting on neighbourhoods as basic governing units - neighbourhoods or as they have been named by the administration as Local Communities where people ‘exercised’ their right and duties towards the society. These local communities were to house 5000-8000 inhabitants, based on which, all social infrastructure, including nurseries, primary schools, health care services, culture, and recreation was planned. So were with planning of public spaces or open free spaces, as they were called in that period. In this research I have analysed these open spaces in several neighbourhoods in Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia. Here I resented the comparisons of three neighbourhood public spaces in neighbourhoods Ulpiana in Prishtina, Ortakoll in Prizren and Blloku i Ri (New Block) in Gjakova. These are typical modernist neighbourhoods with the buildings planned as free pavilions in the landscape with a free open space around and park and play areas.

## NUMBER OF PEOPLE

In these places, the number of people differ due to position in the city, availability of space and uses that attracts people. Fountain Square in Ulpiana neighbourhood for example is used also from the students who are coming from the dormitories opposite to the fountain. In gostivar, although a small city compared to Prishtina the use of the park and play area in the neighbourhood is high.



Fig. 71 Analyses of people in the public space - Neighbourhood Public spaces

## SAFETY

In terms of protection, the results were summarised in the following conclusion surveys show that in Prishtina - central part (fountain) is in constant risk of traffic accidents because it is

surrounded by heavy traffic. The place is used both as a transit point as well as for stay. Usually used by older generations and students that live in the neighbourhood. Always lively due to the large number of cars and residential buildings surrounding it. Well lighted place but considerably noisy and polluted from the car traffic.

In Gjakova - there is a high risk of traffic accidents. Streets and pavements are well planned, however cars tend to go over them, often at speed. The inner part of the block is used for parking and playing, and is often dangerous for the latter part. The site is mainly used by residents and children that play there, sometime as a transit for getting around. Public lighting in place, however not functional. There's no shelter from rain and snow.

In Ortakoll -Prizren, streets are mostly quiet and safe due to narrow profiles that makes them unsuitable for high speed traffic. Lighting infrastructure exists, however not functional. Due to incorrect design of the pedestrian paths they are not used frequently. The site is used in the afternoon. Lack of shelter from rain and snow

## COMFORT

In **Prishtina**, The Fountain Square's position allows for it to be well-ventilated and prone to sunshine. The fountain square is on top of the hill, always windy. There are short distance walking paths with paved with concrete pavers. Changes in level, in some places even dangerous

Site suitable for standing, however very flat. Plenty of greenery, used by joggers and walkers. Mainly used by older generations (60-70 years) and younger children (4-6 years). Plenty of seating options that are used well. Short communicating distances Quiet neighbourhood, however still very noisy streets. Pleasant stay for visitors. No areas for children play, however children often improvise with benches and streetlights.

Old street furniture, however still very functional. Signage exists, however damaged. Other urban furniture missing.

In **Gjakova** the block is covered by housing and is mainly quiet. Plenty of space for walking Place is mainly used by the residents. Short distances and plenty of possibilities to move in and out of the block. Short talking and hearing distances although missing sitting places. Well protected against noise

The place is mainly flat, with changes in eastern part. Streets on the southern part are paved, however streets on the northern part are full of dust and mud. Lack of trees and green space.

Lack of urban furniture Only one bench has been recorded for sitting. The site has potential for development, so improvements of public spaces are expected

In **Ortakoll**- walking paths with long distances paved with concrete pavers provide opportunity for walking and jogging. Some changes in level, making them inaccessible for wheelchairs.

Plenty of seating, however not maintained. Seating facing buildings or put in places with no views. Site is used by different age-groups.

Not enough high trees, albeit plenty of green space. Most of the green space enclosed with a low fence is not accessible to the visitors. The place is sunlit, well ventilated and the greenery offers shadow when needed. Plenty of space for playing sports. The site is suitable for such activities as singing, dancing, etc.

## VISUAL APPROPRIATENESS

Pleasant views, especially towards the city and student campus, combined with green spaces. Well maintained and kept clean. Regularly maintained green areas and repair of the street furniture. Painting and repairing of other elements is however not regularly

In Gjakova New Block, public space is surrounded with a residential architecture of 1980's, the place, has poor visual qualities due uncompleted landscape works and to lack of trees. Low maintenance and cleaning of the place.

In Ortakoll, freestanding residential building allows for wide views. The overall awareness of the citizens in terms of maintenance is growing. As these areas are in the city centre, it is obvious that the maintenance is considered a way of representation of good city management.

## Housing Blocks

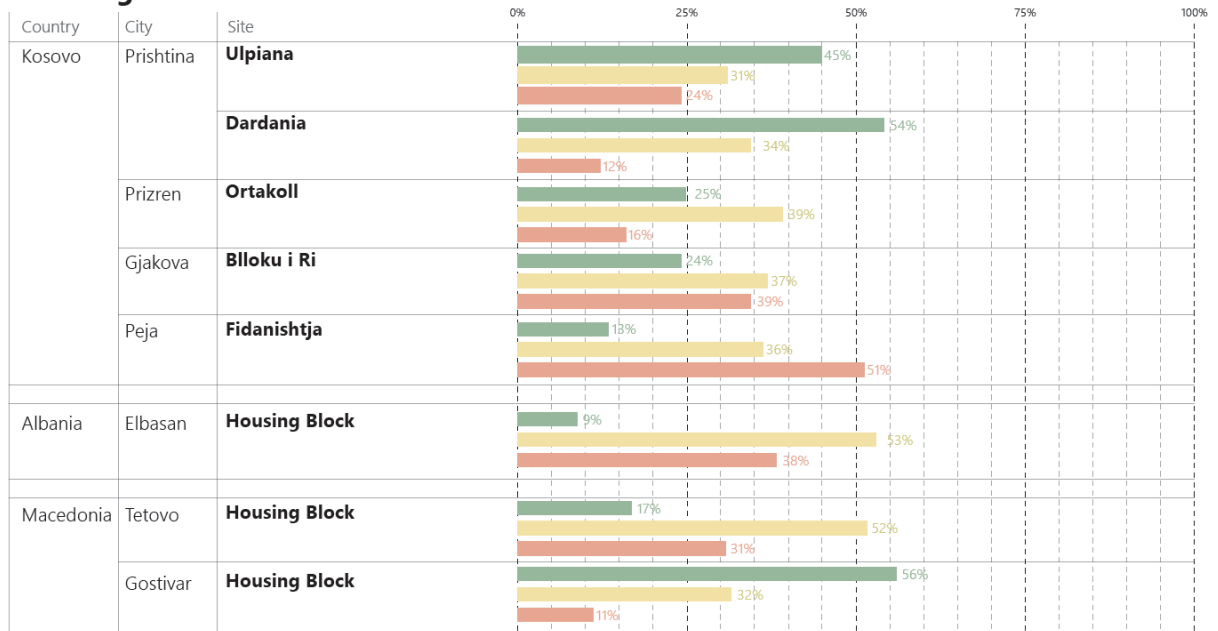


Fig. 72 Neighbourhood public space - comparative analyses of spatial qualities and public life

## CONCLUSIONS

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### Chapter 1

- As shown in the first chapter, a clear distinction of the territory of the object of study is difficult. Kosovo, in this period is only mentioned in a fragmented way, so the territory of research is extended to the wider area of Western Balkans. Intensive trading connections between the continental part of Balkans and the Adriatic and Ionian coast documented in different written documents from Venetians, could be considered as an argument for very intensive public life in the market places.
- In terms of social and cultural context for the public life, it is not possible at this level of research to define very precisely what were the forms of public life that were manifested in the public space. Obviously, exchange activities in the market places, along with the artisans and food services could have constituted the public life.
- The main forms of settlements were fortified towns mainly located in the top of the steep hills and mountains in order to ensure natural protection against the danger from the raiders and aggressors. The fortresses had usually a limited area for development, so the public space was conditioned by the shortage of land. Main typology of public spaces, based on the material facts, were streets and marketplaces. These remains prove that the streets were usually paved with river stone and had rainwater drainage solutions included in the profile. The market place areas were also paved and sometimes contained a well from which people and cattle were supplied.

### Chapter 2

- Ottomans brought into Balkans a new administrative system and land regime. Ottomanisation was a transformation process that changed the whole life of people including change of religion - Islamization and settings in terms of social and economic development. Ottomanization consisted in the construction of new mosques or conversion of churches into mosques, construction of the neighbourhood facilities such as hamams, madrasa, imaret, library and hansas (inns), and especially development of the Turkish upper quarter. Cities played an important role in the establishment of the administrative system. As a rule, administrative units were named after the larger cities that fell within their

boundaries, cities that were also the seat of the territories' administrative-judicial and military authorities

- Ottoman city is organized around the great mosque. Close to the mosque there are public buildings such as hamam, library, medrese, caravanserais, and that it is made up of a residential urban fabric almost without hierarchy, with a small number of 'matrix' streets in irregular layout and alignment, and with numerous cul-de-sacs. The chief device of Ottoman city-making was the külliye, a functional centre of a well-defined neighbourhood, identified in the first decade's by family bonds, profession, or place of origin. It consisted of an interrelated group of buildings around a mosque installed and endowed by the sultan as the public nexus of obedient subjects.
- Main economic activities in the Ottoman city were artisan's production and trading. In the Ottoman Empire, trade was considered as priority economic activity. Merchants were responsible for supply of the citizens in the whole Empire and Sultan was constantly informed about difficulties and shortage in supply. Artisans and tradesmen constituted the most important strata of the cities. Ottomans, beside the new crafts, tools and techniques, brought to Balkan their guild system, esnaf. Esnaf were social economic organization of the artisans of a profession. Their primary functions were economic, but they had important social and political functions too. They also looked after the welfare of their members and protected them from poverty. The artisans guilds, though not those of the merchants, were also imbued with a strong ethos of equality
- Waqfs, the charitable endowments provided the main services in the Ottoman city, and the main civic activity was obviously focused around them, although they kept strong connections to the ruling authorities. Small waqfs were also an important element of the public sphere, many of them being after all charitable by nature. A major part of the public environment in towns actually came into being as a result of endowments. This was true for new cities as well as for those parts of existing towns that developed under Islamic rule.
- The social life in the ottoman cities in the Balkans usually took place in the bazaar and the small squares, mainly developed in the street crossings. Since the artisans and merchants were organized in esnaf, it was possible to develop a diverse sense of being in the public space on different occasions. In the bazaar people met colleagues and clients, urban dwellers met villagers who came for trading in the city.



- Other forms of social life took place in the weekly markets where regional merchants brought their goods, mainly food, into the city market. In some larger cities, the markets were developed as regional fairs gathering traders from a wider region. Different traditional cultural events, food and races followed these events.
- Coffeehouses were public sphere in terms of social settings and the public life that took place in them. They may be considered also as indoor public space in which people use to meet for random talks or any other purpose. Coffeehouses spread through Ottoman Empire and further in Europe in the 17th and 18th century. During the long period of existence, drinking coffee and tea developed into a tradition.
- The main types of public spaces in the Ottoman Empire could be considered bazaars with the streets interrelated with the small squares linking different kind shopping areas. They typically consisted on the paved streets with one storey construction and open towards the street where artisans and merchants exhibited the products. This way of extension of the inner space in the public street, provided intensive interaction between the shopkeepers and residents passing by.
- Ottoman open space, according to Cerassi, is classified in four principle types: meydan, namazgah, mesire or çayir. Meydan or plaza was more like a large fair ground, where weekly markets and fairs took place. Namazgah's were open places of worship with a regular shape. They were usually located in the remote areas of the city periphery where the access to the mosque were difficult.
- Other types of public space include small squares usually equipped with fountain or a well. The size of these squares was different and usually the character of the streets, which terminated in the square, defined the size of the open space. The floor space of the squares and the streets was with cobblestone-kallderma.
- Mesires and gardens that were green/park areas located in the periphery of the city in the open landscape. The traditional sociability in the Ottoman means country outing: whole families and groups of friends occupy a given space for hours, eating and singing. The open-air coffeehouses under a pergola, on a wooden verandah or under an ancient tree in a particularly beautiful meadow, take the place of the European Square. The attractions such as wrestling, cirit (an equestrian game), and shadow theatres, could be found in these spaces.
- Ottoman City in the 19th century

- During the late 1860s and 1870s, Ottoman municipal reform functioned quite well in the Eastern Balkans. Most of the county centres had their own city councils. The most noteworthy result of reform was that, for the first time, it opened the door to political
- Participation by the local non-Muslim population was restricted to the urban space. People began to choose their representatives, who could make their voice heard in the local administration in the city administration alongside Muslims.
- As religious groups, especially Orthodox Christians, had begun to develop their judicial and social autonomous institutions shortly before the inauguration of Tanzimat. The city council successfully fulfilled its role as a coordinator of various religion and communal institutions.
- Owing to concerted activities under their councils, many cities succeeded in improving their public space. The main streets of the cities were enlarged, and the dusty winding lanes of the market places were transformed into clean and paved avenues. The central parts of the cities were furnished with parks, fountains, and new Western-style public buildings. Urban street lighting at night with gas lamps presented a sharp contrast with the darkness of the countryside. The fact that these changes were brought about mainly by local resources and initiatives reinforces our proposition.

### Chapter 3

- The interwar period is particularly important for Kosovo cities due to the political-territorial changes in the territory of Balkans. Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia were considered as separate entities
- Cities in Kosovo kept the agrarian features with the citizens who produced vegetables and fruits in their home gardens and the so-called gardens in the urban fringe. Most of the families, usually kept livestock in their homes to provide meat, milk and dairy products for the family needs and sometimes to sell fresh products in the local market.
- Artisans and traders in this period kept their role and important portion of the city economy. Beside the production, services were also present in the cities in the Balkan city. The artisan's shops were still located in the bazaar/çarshia, usually located in the centre of the cities.
- This period is characterized with an intensive pressure to the local non-Slav population by the Yugoslav authorities including forced migration of the local population, from the villages in particular, leaving behind the land and homes.

- The transformation of the Balkan city commenced in the 19th century. The main feature of these changes is not quiet evolution, but it is more an erasure of the Ottoman city fabric, leaving behind only samples of monumental architecture, such as mosques, hamam's, han's.
- In Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, these changes took place in the second half of the 19th century through regulatory plans, while in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia it started after 1920-s to continue after the World War II in the socialist system.
- Regulatory plans destroyed the ottoman city structure, although not in total. It is possible to recognize the parts of the ottoman city structure in the cities of the west Kosovo- Prizren, Gjakova and partly in Peja and Prishtina.
- In Albania, Berat and Gjirokastra have preserved the whole old city structure. Bazaars in Shkodra, Elbasan and Berat didn't survive, mainly because the private sector was prohibited during the communism. In Macedonia, Prilep, Veles and Bitola in the central part and Tetova and Gostivar suffered from the modern planning. Only Ohrid preserved it's Ottoman structure
- Public services were a new feature in the new Balkan states. Organised health services were offered in Pristina, Mitrovica, Prizren and Peja. The first hospitals were built in the Ottoman Empire were used by the Yugoslav Kingdom.
- Education was provided only in Serbian. Beside the injustice and oppression in terms of economic development, Kosovo suffered an ethnic discrimination, being prohibited education and cultural activities in Albanian language.
- New roads were built to link Kosovo with Serbia – from Mitrovica to Kralevo and from Prishtina to Kurshumlia and from Peja to Berane in Montenegro. The new infrastructure shifted the main trading routes from those linking Kosovo with Shkodra and Adriatic coast to the routes linking with the north – Belgrade and other cities in Serbia.
- In the cities, several interventions to open the new street axis destroyed the ottoman fabric of Prizren, Peja and Prishtina erasing the Ottoman city structure, but due to very short period in the interwars, they didn't achieve much.
- Culture activities in the interwar periods were limited. In 1920, in Prizren the first national university was opened. It was in charge to organise public lecturers in science, health, history and arts, using technical tools for demonstration such as films, slides etc

- The first cinema was opened in Mitrovica in 1935. In this period no theatre building existed in the whole Kosovo, but some temporary amateur drama activities were organised in Pristina and Prizren.
- The music society were first organised in Prizren already in the end of the 19th century. Prizren had first musician society in 1885. Later these musician societies were established in Pristina, Mitrovicë, Pejë e Ferizaj.
- Sport as new way of public life and leisure activity became interesting since the beginning of 20th century. In the Yugoslav Kingdom, sport or physical education association were centres for youth mostly dedicated to Serbian residents.
- Similar development of public life can be traced in Albania. After the independence in 1912, a great effort of the government was dedicated to education in Albanian language. As quoted before, Albanians are spread into three religions – Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox
- Street life remained the same since the bazaar/carshia remained as the core area of business and shopping. Coffeeshouses continued to play their social role within the bazaar and also in the neighbourhoods. Beside the sitting in the coffeeshouses, walking in the streets – corso in the evening became a popular activity involving people of all ages. While most of Muslim women still kept the tradition of not being present in the public, women of the Christian confession were more present in the streets and parks.
- Public lighting with electric power provided a certain degree of safety and an opportunity to extend the public life in the evening.
- The open spaces remained in the background of priorities. Important public projects that influenced changes in the public life include riverfronts regulation in cities, public parks in the city centres.

#### World War II - 1941-1945

- Kosovo in this period was divided into three occupation zones - Italian, German, and Bulgarian.
- The 'Great Albania' as unitary area, occupied by fascist Italy, Germany and Bulgaria, which consisted of Albania, Kosovo, western parts of Macedonian, Sandjak and Montenegro territory, ethnically dominated by Albanians, provided a free trade and movement between Albania and Kosovo.

## Chapter 4

- For Kosovo, the period of the so-called 'socialist modernism' in former Yugoslavia, has not only been a transformations in terms of the development of architecture and the city, but it marks the beginnings of the architectural and urban profession in an organized and led by professionals, including education of architects in the different architectural schools in the former Yugoslavia as well as establishing of the school of architecture in Kosovo in the late 1970's.
- So-called liberation of Kosovo came in November 1944. For most of Albanians it was considered reestablishment of the Serbian rule over a territory where they were majority.
- Although a limited progress of Albanians in Kosovo in regard to education in Albanian language and culture, the main decisions were still taken by the Republic of Serbia. In theory, Albanian language was equal to Serbian, but since most of the administrative officers were Serbian, in the practice there were no distinctive changes.
- In the first post-war decade (1945-55) Kosovo cities didn't experienced significant changes in terms of administrative functions. The exception is Pristina, which turned to the capital of the Kosovo Province in 1947. Changes became obvious due to the fact that main cities became administrative district centres
- After the World War II, the Ottoman city of the western Balkans faced larger transformations and changes. Most of the cities were under the pressure of reconstruction by the new social forces coming out from the liberation from the Nazi-occupation. These changes came also as a result of a long decline of cities in the second part of the 19th century and the aftermath of the independence from Ottoman Empire.
- The transfer of property was ideologically motivated and was more often conceived as a long-term ideological postulate of the socialist revolution than as a short-term economic proposition addressed to the problem of how the war-shattered economy of Yugoslavia could best be organized.
- The forms by which transfer of private property to the state sector took place were: sequestration, land reform, nationalization, confiscation, expropriation and gifts
- After the approval of The Law on Self Management in 1950, all nationalized property remained, but its character changed from state to "socially owned" property, which meant that management was taken out of the hands of the state administration and given over to the 'Worker's Council', whose power gradually increased

- The property ownership transformation caused a massive migration to Turkey as a result of the constant pressure on Albanian population by the Serbian authorities. In the towns, beside the expropriation and confiscation of the properties from the wealthy city families, the pressure came through advantages that Serbian population got in employment, education and social housing.
- Until 1950, Yugoslavia developed the economy according to Soviet type five-year planed economy and reconstruction. Massive voluntary work was a feature already seen in USSR in the aftermath of October Revolution.
- In the 1950 socialist self-management was introduced, which reduced the state management of enterprises. The enterprises were free to operate their current activities according to their own decisions and at their own risk. They sold their products in the market, bought raw materials, decided on the employment of personnel, contracted loans and made their own annual plans.
- In Kosovo, the modest industrial production plants were developed immediately after the war in the city periphery and sometimes even within urban areas. Some of the stronger guilds were transformed into state cooperatives to establish the first production facilities such as leather production, silver and gold accessories manufacturing, food production and clothing. The artisan production in this period experienced a decline. Due to state controlled trade was mainly conducted in a controlled way by the socially owned enterprises.
- While in 1950's the process of industrialization was very slow, it took a very intensive form during 1960's and 1970's. New industrial areas developed in the city peripheries, sometimes arbitrary decided by the politicians.
- New economies of modern society such as tourism, education, health and culture soon became big employers.
- In this period an extensive infrastructure was developed, both technical and social were developed. New modern paved roads connected cities. New schools and hospitals were built all around Kosovo. The university education began the 1960 and soon in 1970 Prishtina University was establishment.
- With the new social ruling system came the propaganda on the new modern city for the labour class of New Yugoslavia. A new planned city was introduced, but instead of preserving the existing structure, the authorities decided to build the 'new city' over the old city patterns. In the first post war period the established way of doing things was to

demolish the old houses and built the new housing estates. Massive demolitions might also be attributed to the old damaged structures that in some cases were difficult to preserve in both technical and financial terms

- The most drastic case in Kosovo was the destruction of Prishtina Çarshia – The bazaar with more than 300 shops. In this way the century old bazaar disappeared to leave space for the new ‘Brotherhood and Unity Square’. In Prizren ‘Arasta Çarshia’, bazaar of dairy products had been demolished and an apartment building complex with shops in the ground floor and a small park replaced the bazaar. Tufegxhi Çarshia (Gunsmith) bazaar, according to a former municipal architect, was demolished ‘due to extensive structural damages which were not possible to revitalize’.
- Most of the planning tasks were performed by the architects from Belgrade. Those who exercised planning tasks in Kosovo cities were coming by a school which eradicated the ottoman structure of most of the Serbian cities since late 19th century.
- Socialism brought some new forms of public gatherings such as walking in the city during the evening, so called ‘korso’, which usually took place in the main streets. People would meet in the evening and walk in a segment of the street making several rounds.
- Sitting and playing in the streets and in the parks was very popular especially in the afternoon and in the evening, in the spring and in the summer. Sport and recreation were considered to be amongst the most important social life in the socialism.
- The new public spaces came as a need to create places for the monuments of glory to the new socialist system. The authorities used these spaces also for political meetings where party officials would give speeches in the celebration of the national holidays.
- The public space in the socialist city was a controlled one. No public activity, such as political gatherings and free political speeches organized out of the frame of socialist society, were allowed. All these activities were considered against socialism and labour class. In Kosovo, in addition they were considered against brotherhood and unity of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.
- Modern urbanism came to Kosovo after the first architects graduated in the schools of Architecture of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje. As a capital, planning of large scale neighbourhoods according to the Athens Charter in Prishtina founded an appropriate ground, in appropriate time. Change of political status 1966-1974, high rate of population growth and migration to Prishtina as it became industrial and a university city.

- New public spaces, squares, city parks, neighbourhood public spaces, sport fields, The public space in the socialist cities differs from those Western European mainly in three aspects: 1) wide range of their share of land in public use; 2) distinctly different public space distribution and network; and 3) stark differences in functional dimension of public spaces
- The Kosovo's new autonomous status within Yugoslavia, in 1974, created the opportunities for developing the new institutional urban planning and public architecture. The autonomy became a backbone for city centre transformation in Prishtina as a capital including institutional buildings and public spaces. The most notable developments were the Youth and Sport Center, Palace of Media 'Rilindja', Palace of Radio and Television, National Bank of Kosovo, University Clinical Centre, University Centre including National library, Institute for Albanology, Faculty of Philosophy and Natural Sciences, Kosovafilm, Grand Hotel. All these buildings were characterised by the public spaces around them without. In terms of public life these buildings presents symbols of prosperity and emancipation of Kosova citizens, a new
- Yugoslavia advancement of socialist and economical system will improve planning system as well. Through the Law on self-management, the system was decentralized down to the enterprises, lead by communist party. For Kosovo itself, the autonomous status in 1974, brought the opportunity to exercise the planning system in the cities /towns and the whole province.

## Chapter 5

- The decline of socialist economy brought the problems such as unemployment, inflation, and bankruptcy of industries. The similar situation occurred in all socialist countries in the Central and Eastern Europe. Although with a more liberal socialism, in Yugoslavia ethnic tensions grew up during the end of 1980's, so that transition degenerated into the dissolution of Yugoslav Federation ending up with the serial wars of Serbia with Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, concluding of decade with the war in Kosovo 1998/1999. Serbian government, abrogated the Autonomous status of Kosovo in March 1989, followed by bloody protests of Kosovar Albanians. Next ten years, Kosovar Albanians will be fired from their jobs and driven out from all institutions, including schools, hospitals, and cultural institution. The institutional life of Albanians was



transferred in the private premises all around the cities in the houses of Albanian residents.

- The public and culture life had been displaced in the cafes and restaurants owned by Albanians. In this period in terms of development of architecture and public space, nothing happened in particular in Kosovo except limited housing construction and business premises - mostly cafes and restaurants.
- Important for this period was the development of café culture, places for political talks and analyses, places of joy and leisure, the only public places where Albanians felt some kind of freedom. The cafes were also places of art exhibitions, theatre performances and literature evenings
- The politics of Serbian state had to become as much as visible in order to tell people that Kosovo is now 'Serbian territory'. From 'brotherhood and unity' heroes of antifascist war, the names of the squares and streets were changed to Serbian nationalist heroes and personalities since Middle Age.
- As time passed, the tension between Serbian government and Albanians raised. In 1998 the war begin. Half of Kosovo villages were burned down from March to September. Many people, including children, were killed.
- Albanians fled for Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Than from the refugee camps, many of them migrated in Europe, USA and Canada. Most of the Albanian houses in the villages were burned down including parts of the cities such as Gjakova, Peja, and Mitrovica.
- The war ended up with the UN resolution 1244, which demanded withdrawal of the Serbian Police and Army from Kosovo. The UN organized an international government-UNMIK. United Mission in Kosovo took the governance on June 12th 1999.
- From 1999 Kosovo was administered by the UN Mission. It was a complex international organization involving also European Union and OSCE and other international Agencies specialised in particular sectors.
- In 2001, a Constitutional Framework was approved as a supreme legal act based on which the elections for the first Kosovo government - so called Provisional Institutions of Self Government of Kosovo were organised. The administrative system was divided into two levels - central and local government.
- Due to changes in the city institutions and organization of the governance, changes of property rights, urban development was disturbed by the needs for reconstruction of

housing. Unmaintained public spaces and buildings suffered damages that were necessary to improve. Due to very rigid planning instruments the planned construction was bypassed by illegal construction, which UNMIK Administration didn't want to strictly control due to the needs for housing.

- The abandoned industry in the beginning started to operate under international administration, but in 2002, the privatization process started and gradually most of the industries stopped production due to decline of the technologies.
- Flea markets and improvised bazaars were a rapid response to growing demand for different kind of goods - clothing, everyday articles, and different kind of tools. The abandoned sites were given at a very low rent to allow people set up their businesses.
- Due to the very high price of the land and big pressure for housing, industry and service economy - retail the municipalities begin to plan for the periphery. Beside planned areas, a lot of illegal construction occurred along the main infrastructure corridors.
- The Ministry of Environment was established in the beginning of 2002. The new Law on spatial planning approved in 2003 defined the way the spatial planning will be carried out in Kosovo.
- Urban Planning, carried out at the local level with two types of plans - Urban Development Plan (UDP) and Urban Regulatory Plan (URP). From 2003 until 2015, most of the municipalities in Kosovo drafted their MDP and UDP, and covered with urban regulatory plans partly or fully,
- In 2012, the Ministry of Environment drafted the new Law on Spatial Planning. American professionals contracted by USAID, introduced the American way of planning, which is based on the driving forces of the market economy. Amongst many definitions and principles given in the Law on Spatial Planning 2003/14, there are neither definitions nor principle for public spaces included.
- Although lacking quality standards, all plans required a certain percentage of public spaces in the areas where collective housing were planned. Many existing public spaces in the city centres were revitalised and streets turned to pedestrian use only. These actions brought vitality to city centres and the real estate prices rose.
- The nature of public spaces after socialism has significantly altered primarily in terms of functional and social dimension. The new socio economic system brought different social relations, replacing empty ideological function of the public space of the socialist system with a new energy of private initiative reflecting in the urban fabric and public space in

particular, although in some cases commercialisation of the public spaces prevailed the public interest.

- Shrinking of the public space, could be understood also as a result of densification of the inner city areas, which means rise of the population number and decrease of m<sup>2</sup>/per resident of public open spaces.
- After 1999, the public life was constantly enriched. There are many reasons for this. A large number of youth, who suffered during 1990's, were motivated for the new beginning and new social interactions in the public. The cafes were primarily used including sitting out in the terrace. The youth culture activities, banned for a long period, flourished at once. Music in the public space - including folk and rock groups, gave a message that beside many victims and destructions in the cities, the life should go on.
- Inevitably, due to lack of the jobs, the street life includes street vendors selling of food, flowers and miscellaneous goods, including books which returned back in the city centre.
- By the time, local governments found out the importance of public space in terms of increasing the quality of life in the cities, in terms of social, economic and environmental dimension. Fight for new and reclaiming back and legally occupied public spaces, became a promising slogan of every election campaign.
- As the public awareness on the common and green space rose, politicians started to put as separate budget lines investment in the public spaces of the cities. This policy shift was supported by the international agencies and donor organisations. As public spaces grew in number and improved existing, it was possible to notice more people in the streets walking, being in the parks
- Of course there is always the issue of design and standards to provide sufficient comfort, relaxation, engagement and discovery as basic functional features of the public space.
- Public space became a tool for political gains becoming main goals in all local election campaigns since 2007, as most of the public interest was visually manifested in the public space. In the other side the pressure from the civil society in regard to public interest rose permanently. Today there is a strong pressure by the civil society organisations that fight for reclaiming of illegally occupied public space
- Design of public space, after the war, was usually considered as an extended task in urbanism, usually with little commitment to develop a transparent process where public, as an end user would give ideas and opinion on the proposals. In the other side, incompetency in urban and landscape design and lack of experience in this field,

produced poor design examples, including those costly investments that could have been avoided with a commitment for design.

- There are of course cases that may be considered successful, which proves that the design is gradually improving. The raising competition in the profession of architecture and urban design, with more quality oriented young professionals, will probably improve the design of urban spaces. Today, in the school more attention is given on designing the public space than ever before. The question of quality is also linked to the process that does not allow fair competition, with more bureaucratic than substantial requirements from competitors.

## CONCLUSIONS to Part III

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### GENERAL

- Selected public spaces in this research are most visited places in the respective cities. The comparison intends to show if the average use of public space relates to particular values that each of them carries such as history and meanings, visual appropriateness, protection, possibilities and comfort.
- As expected, public spaces in the historic core of the city and car free public spaces were more visited than the areas where car traffic is integrated with the Small squares in the city centres are usually more visited due to the variety of the uses and cultural heritage and meanings that they carry.
- The number of people related to three main features in the public space, suggest necessary measures to be taken for improvements.

### OTTOMAN SQUARES

- In terms of protection, the results were summarised in the following conclusion surveys show that all three squares are characterised by similar results, which proves that these places are safe from car accidents.
- Limited access for cars, few cyclists and unorganized walking lines contributes to pedestrian safety. There are no obstacles and physical barriers for free movement. We could conclude that there several features that determines the safety in the public spaces

amongst them number of people, variety of uses, absence of car traffic and good public lighting.

- Activities such walking, standing, sitting and talking takes place, in all squares are intensively present during the day but in the evening differs. Small area for walking, short distances, part of the Bazaar complex and stone non-slippery floor with little damages presents the common image of the squares. Some level variations may be obstacles for the handy-capped people. Eating and drinking is possible from early morning to the evening.
- What is common in negative sense for these squares is insufficient or missing urban furniture: sitting places/benches and chairs usually insufficient, while totally missing signs, phone boxes, post boxes, notice boards, city maps, waste separation bins. Public toilettes are also missing.
- The general aesthetic experience is positive due to human scale of architectural heritage, although recent refurbishment of the square could not be considered a good example how to deal with a heritage site. Albeit slight differences, general impression is that these squares are clean and well maintained with the contribution of the shopkeepers.

## BAZAARS

- In the bazaars the main difference car traffic and pedestrian movement, so the main issue here becomes the safety of pedestrians. Car-free streets in Gjakova and Peja still keep the human sense of the space, while in Prizren car and pedestrian street in do not provide safe environment for pedestrians except in the sidewalks, because no measure for traffic calming was taken for accident prevention.
- Bazaars are lively place, used mostly by adult people for walking, shopping, food and drinking, active throughout the whole day until late evening hours. Passive engagement dominates the behaviour of people.
- In terms of comfort, the bazaars in Gjakova and Peja, provides the plenty of possibilities in terms of walking, sitting, standing and talking. Sitting with a nice human scale view around is possible only in the terraces and coffee shops but urban furniture is not sufficient. Talking mainly take place at the cafes and fast-food restaurants and at the fountain, although sometime with unpleasant noise.

- The general aesthetic experience is positive due to the human scale of architectural heritage in Gjakova and Peja, while in Prizren differs, because the most of the buildings have surrogate facades, but an interesting experience is created from the trees alley

#### OTTOMAN PARKS

- Ottoman Parks still keeps their fame in the respective cities. They are well used, safe from the traffic, but with a bit lower safety in the evening due to insufficient lighting. They are sometime used by the substance-abusing individuals, which make safety in the evening even lower.
- In terms of quality and comfort, we could conclude that the natural potential is not used to improve the comfort. In all parks the urban furniture is insufficient. Sometime they house different events that are periodically organised in the cities.
- The general aesthetic experience is positive due to high trees and dense greenery. Albeit slight differences, general impression is that the parks are not well maintained.

#### MODERNIST SQUARES

- The compared squares are mainly transit squares with no activities linked to the surrounding uses. Because they are divided from the car traffic streets, they are safe. There are no food and drink opportunities in the Square
- Insufficient or missing urban furniture is common to all these squares: sitting places/benches and chairs usually insufficient. Smoke, noise, unpleasant smell and smog are unpleasant experience during the whole day. There's no shelter from rain and snow.
- These squares possess some visual qualities, due to the spatial order and the monuments given by the plans, but as the maintenance is very poor, these qualities are diminished.

#### BOULEVARDS

- The boulevards became symbol of new socialist cities. They present a typical public space mainly for walking, shopping, eating and drinking.
- Limited access for cars, few cyclists and unorganized walking lines contributes to pedestrian safety. In all cities the Boulevards are very lively public places during the whole day. This is a very important feature in terms of safety and crime prevention. Good public lighting makes these spaces useful until late evening.

- Highly active street life characterises all these boulevards. Very satisfying combination of different age groups and genders, throughout the day. All boulevards are well oriented and wide enough to make walking, sitting and talking pleasant and undisturbed. All boulevards lacks on street furniture, especially the ones regarding communication and information.
- Good aesthetic experiences with decent views due to preserved urban morphology, architecture and natural features such as in Peja, Berat and Shkodra takes the strength from the natural and the architectural heritage. In Prishtina the combination of the buildings and trees contributes to the identity of boulevard.

#### NEIGHBOURHOOD PARKS

- Usually used by older generations and youth that live in the neighbourhood. Always lively due to the large number of cars and residential buildings. Well lighted places but considerably noisy and polluted from the car traffic. Situations differ depending from the positions in the city.
- Common to all is lack of high trees, albeit plenty of green space. Lack of urban furniture for sitting diminishes the comfort.
- Pleasant views, especially towards the city and student campus, combined with green spaces. Well maintained and kept clean. Regularly maintained green areas and repair of the street furniture. Painting and repairing of other elements is however not regularly.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

- Policy-makers, designers and managers of public spaces need to provide physical improvements such as path connectivity, wide sidewalks, trees, and urban furniture.
- Historic public spaces need particular care in terms of design and maintenance. As the pressure for transformation is constant, a wise policy should be established in order to balance the demands with the preservation provisions.
- Pedestrianisation of the streets and other areas may contribute to improve the safety and overall qualities public space network in the cities. This could be done through parking policies that could discourage car owners to use cars in the city centres.
- It is important to focus on the range of social and environmental qualities that support social life and the activities such as sitting and walking. Culture activities may increase the qualities of public life so the public spaces may become more convivial.

- The key to achieve attractiveness could be enjoying scenery and social milieu and enjoying the health benefits of being in the public spaces especially those car free spaces. Improvement of public face of the buildings through façade colouring may also be a good tool
- The researchers should further consider environmental aspects emerging from increasing environmental problems both at the local and global level. For policy-makers, designers and managers of public spaces, the recommendation of this study is to consider simultaneously the physical, land-use and social aspects of the built environment to support walking.



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