DESIGN AS CULTURAL REACTION: INTERPRETING THE EPHEMERA DOCUMENTS AS ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION DURING THE THAMES FROST FAIRS[1]

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ABSTRACT

Environmental factors like air, water, clime, nature, or land can push space to show how it is a complex phenomenon as a society can produce or transform spaces to meet their demands in response to unexpected happenings. Societies driven by environmental, climate, or exterior forces could re-produce new spaces or return to the previous spaces when these forces disappear. Even though people are recently recovering from the global pandemic, scientists believe that the climate crisis will be the next external force waiting for humanity. This paper examines how people react and respond to unexpected exterior forces and happenings when designing their urban life or architecture. As climatic change is expected as the ensuing global force after the pandemic, this paper takes the 16th-19th century Great Frost of London as an example to research urban and architectural assembly instead of this unexpected happening. It discovers that numerous visual documents are recorded that Londoners transformed the Thames River into Thames Frost Fair, and it disappeared when the frost was gone. However, all souvenirs and ephemeral documents as the memory of Frost Fairs still exist. As Lefebvre believes that every society produces its own space, this study aims to reveal that design is only sometimes planned; it sometimes happens even under difficult and impermanent circumstances, depending on the society. Furthermore, it discovers that the term ephemera is not limited by these documents in the case of Frost Fair as architecture and urban space can be ephemera themselves since space was the fundamental source of those, as mentioned earlier ephemeral memorial document.

Keywords: Great Frost, architectural ephemera, production of space, architectural theory and criticism, documentation architecture.

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INTRODUCTION

Inhabitants today are eyewitnesses to one of the powerful external forces, the global pandemic. Since it spread worldwide quickly, almost every country had to reshape their daily routine or the way of their "dwelling." Dwelling in this paper should be taken as a Heideggerian term, "man who lives on the earth" (Heidegger, 1999). Hence, the dwelling has changed from person to person and society to society; the spatial practice in the world has also changed, respectively. Many countries have adopted lockdowns and prohibitions. Customs and traditions that have not been lost for thousands of years were suddenly terminated. Many jobs and educational fields had to find new online platforms and virtual spaces to watch and follow their schedule and curriculum. Consequently, the pandemic has taught that its inhabitants could rehabilitate or revise the physical and virtual under severe circumstances.

As human beings multitask, they utilise their habitat in complex circumstances. According to Ginzburg, this ability was inherited from human ancestors who have been hunters for years and learned how to classify and order things. People knew how to find solutions quickly and instinctively for danger outside (Ginzburg, 1992). At the same time, they adjust their environment as much as they adapt to what nature gives them. Peirce describes this instinct and intuition knowledge skill as an unexaminable nature of human beings (Tejera, 1996). Therefore, occupants of the built environment have naturally been able to re-discover the meaning of spaces for ages. Spatial functions have been redefined, and sometimes new roles are reloaded into the existing space by examining their potential. Whenever humans face problems, they instantly try to find a way to deal with them. While the world has changed daily, human beings have changed accordingly. Undoubtedly, the world in the 21st century is different from previous centuries. Discoveries and technologies have changed the boundary between Earth and space. Spatial practices have slightly begun extending out of the world while the meaning of dwelling has been changing in parallel. Therefore, the global pandemic got various responses and solutions from multiple fields, including medical studies, communication, and design. In terms of architecture, the pandemic has revealed that space is as multitasked as human beings since it has implanted the potential to answer complex issues.

Nevertheless, the pandemic will not be the last global issue since technological development or increment in the population threatens word by other unexpected forces like political, economic, and environmental. Therefore, scientists and academics who work on pandemic studies always link pandemics to climate change. For example, in *Controlled Chaos Manufactured Climate Change,* Garrett points out that climate change is the real reason behind the pandemic. He believes the pandemic hit many people because changing climate affected ecological systems with poor-quality food and air that weakened human immunity (Garrett, 2021). *Global Climate Change and Human Health: From Science to Practice* shows that climate and public health are connected; thus, what people see as a pandemic foreshadows climate change (Lemery, Knowlton & Sorensen, 2021). Scientists and reports warn people about global warming as an invisible enemy waiting for us (Chaturvedi, 2021). By taking climate change as a generator of the pandemic, this paper wonders how society, as multitasked beings, could adapt itself and its spaces to the current situation when there are unforeseen

climate issues. Even though the worst scenarios have always been expected about climate issues, it interrupts life discontinuously. Humanity is not taking emergent action since its impact suddenly appears and disappears like an ephemera. This paper is interested in reactional design responding to these ephemeral external forces. It questions the potential of space under these transient forces and how society reacts and responds to them spatially and productively. As climatic change is an actual but silent global issue behind the pandemic, it is mainly chosen to examine the potential of space. Since the future is unknown, a case study is selected from the past, The Great Frost, as one of these temporary climatic interruptions that emerged due to the little ice age in Europe.

Definition of the Problem

People have slowly adjusted their lifestyles under the pandemic since it began. This adjustment depends not only on the instinct and multitasking quality of the human being but also on the multitasked structure of architectural space in which various potentials can be generated and redefined in case of emergency. Space does not have to be permanent to be functional as its transiency also may promise numerous functions. External powers like pandemics or climate can make this potential use of space visible that humans cannot easily or naturally acquire. Disasters are unfortunate events because of the damage they leave and their unpredictability. Humans cannot measure or predict when and how they will happen. Therefore, this paper takes those unpredictable forces on space as primary problems. However, this study does not see them as hostile actions in space but instead prefers taking their positive aspects to generate space within a space that these extraordinary powers can only crate.

This paper calls them ephemeral spaces that disappear when the forces are left by investigating the emerging potential of space under temporary forces. As climate forces have been a powerful infinite problem for ages, the paper does not include finding a solution for this global issue. Instead, it reveals that architectural and urban spaces are structured by society and can rip to uncover spatial advantages beneath their space due to rapid change. Therefore, the Great Frost as an ephemeral climate force will be deciphered to observe how society pulled the space to produce its own utilised space in the Thames River within a limited period. Even though Thames Fairs happened almost once in two decades due to the little ice age in London, only 1683- 1814 will be focused on here. The paper aims to reveal how different potential is embedded in the spaces and how these external forces change this quality. It emphasises that various prospects can only be visible because of temporary and unexpected forces.

Fair will be demonstrated to analyse how society operated the potential of transient spaces by considering how space also produces ephemeral documents. First of all, the meaning of ephemera will be described terminologically. Then the term ephemera will be expanded and redefined regarding the urban and architectural context of the Thames Frost Fair to inspect what it takes to call a space ephemera. Bowen (2018) states that historians should have addressed Frost Fairs. Even though climate engineers and surveyors mainly discussed the Fair, its transient nature in everyday urban and architectural practice has been evaluated in this paper. Hence, this paper aims to fill this gap by proposing the Fair as an ephemeral happening that produced its

ephemeral documents and was created by a temporary force. Finally, what alternative terms can be used for neither permanent nor temporary situational happenings in urban or architecture will be discussed at the end of the paper.

METHOD

Various elements, data collection tools, theoretical approaches and historical reading will be combined and analysed to create a research model for this study. Although these collected data belong to cultural and historical documents, they will be examined within their social and architectural context. This process will be supported by spatial philosophical approaches to create a research model for this work. Thus this research has not needed ethics committee approval.

Research Model

This paper will be based on qualitative research. It will analyse the potential of ephemeral space in Thames Frost Fair using a history-grounded and spatial theory of Certeau. As aforementioned, humans are always up to changing their environment due to threats, disasters, or unfortunate happenings. These forces are called strategies, whereas urges and responses of human beings are called tactics by Certeau (1984). People must resist those forces that discipline their lives since there is no way to step outside society and the world. Certeau believes people can find a solution in small everyday ways through *tactics.* It was detected at Thames Frost Fair that occurrences that seem unlucky might have been transformed into luck by producing a new, purposeful space through the tactics of society. As the Frost Fair appeared as a temporary space determined and controlled by the weather, this space cannot be taken as permanent but temporary. However, it has not discussed what tactic society generated to re-produce this temporary space in a pleasing way in the case of Thames Frost. Therefore, this paper first debates the definition of ephemeral space as a space of tactics out of temporary events. Then, the meaning of the word ephemeral will be concisely described and discussed to relate it to temporality with frost fair.

Data Collection Tools and Data Analysis

The history of Fairs can be read through archives and documents produced during the Fairs. Therefore, the approachable data collections such as newspapers, stamps, postcards, and posters related to Frost Fairs between the 16th and 19th centuries will be used as visual tools. As individually each of them is an archival piece, they will be reassessed here together as each piece is connected to render service to Frost Fair. Therefore, analysis of these archival data will show the space assemblage regarding social space production. This documentative quality of the space will be studied to show what is essential for a space to be called ephemeral. The play production in Thames Frost Fairs in different eras will be analysed to determine what tactics have enabled society to utilise and operate the fairs. As the *Chronology of Famous Frosts and Frost Fairs in Great Britain by William Andrew (1887)* is the most detailed source for frost fairs in England, it will be the primary source of this research along with British Library image archives and historical prints.

The pattern of this research will consist of visual and textual ephemera, historical sources and spatial theory and philosophy. As it was a spatial production, the three crucial spatial theorists concerned with the production of space, Lefebvre, Soja and De Certeau, should be stated to analyse urban creatures. Places like fairs correspond to the unique and believable space of De Certeau. Soja coined it as the third space (Soja, 2014). Also, Lefebvre called it *social production* (Lefebvre, 2016). Even though three describe space production in three phases, Certeau differs from the others. His methodological approach seems similar to Lefebvrian and Soja's triad. Still, he formulated the space critically, emphasising the action of experiencing it via human beings and their responses to the external forces (walking and connections in the space loaded per se by this act) (Certeau, 1984). Thus, Certeau will be at the centre of the theoretical background of this research to analyse frost fairs as a space of tactics and practical urban happening.

Humans have always promptly responded to issues while problems spontaneously occur in their environment. Consequently, the originality of this paper is based on the unforeseen characteristic of environmental forces and issues in our lives. Therefore, this topic will always be up to date. Moreover, today's world has to face a pandemic; it is worth discussing discovering these spaces that unexpectedly appear either for a short or a long time. As a result, this paper will attempt to re-discover what space takes to be called ephemera as long as it has an expiry date regarding its architectural and urban practicality.

Description of the Term Ephemera

In Greek, epi means "during", and hemera means "day". Together create a new noun, ephemera, as the plural of ephemeron and ephemeros (Brewer, 1882). Ephemeron means "living for a day, short-lived in the perfect state" (Craig, 1858)*. Also, the word ephēmerós means diurnal,* alluding to the shortness of their lives (Emmons, 1854). *Therefore, ephemeral is related to being short-lived and not permanent, as it lasts* only a short time*.* The word ephemeris was the title of Greek newspapers. Thus, ephemerides were used to define a category of documents related to temporal elements, including newspapers, stamps, and calendars.

Since these short-lived documents had a particular impact on human lives, ephemeral documents were "minor transient documents of everyday life" (Rickards & Twyman, 2000). Ephemera is primarily associated with trivial since it refers to temporal elements like bus tickets, stamps, cigarette cards, bookmarks, Christmas cards, railway tickets, and lottery bills. However, as these documents are social, business, and cultural history records, they have been collected by collectors or researchers who approach them as pieces of an archive. Considering this transient, short-lived, historical and documentation aspect of ephemera, architectural and urban ephemera in Frost Fair will be examined through collectable and archival peculiarities. Therefore, the ephemera refers to a short-lived physical space like Thames Fair, an urban happening that enables documentation (ephemerides) or a historical record through social practices. Thus, the Frost Fairs will be taken as temporary urban happenings that produced its singular archive by being generated by them.

Frost Fair: Design as Reaction

Frost's history in London dates back to 134 AD when the Thames was frozen over two months (Andrews, 1887, pp.1). Then, severe frosts lasted at least three months, in 153 AD and 250 AD. The Thames had been frozen over a year frequently, at least once in a fifteen-or twenty-year period until 1076. However, the cold drastically worsened when the Little Ice Age hit Europ*e* between the 16th and 19th centuries (Burroughs, 1980). Even though Londoners were used to experiencing the frozen river for centuries, the society of the 16th century was not the same as previous generations. The demographical reports show that the population was around 45.000-50.000 in the 200s AD, whereas it was about 350.000-400.000 in the 1650s (Barry, 2014). Increasement in Britain's population and especially in London, after the industrial revolution, expanded the urban city plan respectively.

The Thames River crossed through London and departed them into North and South. Therefore, Londoners always had a cross on the river to connect the two poles of the city. As travelling was vital between north and south, London Bridge had to be replaced many times since its primary material was wood damaged by the fires in London or the Thames' water. Thus, in the 12th century, the cross was replaced with the Medieval London Bridge, which consisted of durable stone material. During the reign of King John in 1209, the bridge was a significant point of the Thames in London as it transported people along with goods and livestock across the river (Milne, 2006). It was an iconic building in London since the shops, houses, churches, and gatehouses were erected on the bridge (Barber, Thomas and Watson, 2013). London Bridge was like a street where almost every activity could be found in one place (Hearsey, 1961). Eventually, the cross, passage or bridge became an artery in London.

This Medieval bridge had nineteen narrow arches supported by starlings in the riverbed (Brown, 2005). Nevertheless, those starlings reduced the river's space to flow downstream, causing uneven flow that left a difference between the heights of the river on either side of the locks. Hence, the Thames water should be able to freeze immediately during the little ice age since it could not easily and quickly flow. Moreover, it meant that the artery would not pump as it should because the frozen Thames means frozen commerce, lives and communication as mobility in the river was provided by the mobility of the water that played a crucial role like a vein in the city.

Figure 1. London Bridge from Southbank of the Thames, 1200s (Humphreys, 2012).

Figure 1 shows London Bridge and its starlings embedded in the river that blocked the water as a massive wall. Also, the density of the city and the traffic on the river can be read from the same image. Londoners had tried to beat and pump this heart again during the Great Frost in 1683 when the first Fair began. Accordingly, they needed tactics to make the frost their territory.

Certeau describes that the real world is the realm of *strategy*, not *tactics*, as he uses the term *strategy* differently. It is not about strategic thinking for him; instead, it is a way of exercising power by following words: *"I call a strategy the calculus of force, a relationship which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an environment"* (Certeau, 1984, pp. xix). Consequently, the *strategy* belonged to the iced age that changed the everyday life of Londoners.

Tactics, on the other hand, are ways that strategies can be subverted or resisted. Therefore, in everyday life, there is always an exercise against the *strategy* of the real world. For example, while frost was the natural world and the outside action on the environment, Londoners were the subverters to resist frost with their *tactics*. Certeau describes that *tactics* and *strategies* belong to each other; therefore, no one could completely take over another. Moreover, *tactic* always depends on time and opportunities to seize and gain the space of strategies (Certeau, 1984, pp. xix).

Occupants of the space and external forces were against each other regarding *strategy*; however, they must be blended to create *tactics*. Tactic takes the place of the enemy to transform it into a space of opportunities. For that reason, while the Fair belonged to the iced age, it also suddenly belonged to Londoners. Even though the climatic conditions generated it, it was also a territory of Londoners who loaded this space with various functions for ages.

In his book Practice of Everyday Life, Certeau (1984) describes space with its three functions. According to him, the spatial practice of the urban can proceed by walking in the city, akin to Baudelaire and Benjamin's exploration of space. Therefore, Londoners who were walkers, shoppers and explorers are appropriate to Certeau urban practitioners. He believes that this action of walking loads "the believable, the memorable, and the primitive" functions into space. First, there is an infant space that initially exists in daily life. Then there is a memorable space where urban practitioners create memories within the infant space. Certeau (1984, pp. 108) states that when we start saying, "*Here, there used to be a bakery*" or "*That is where old lady Dupuis used to live*", we begin designating the presence of the absence through these memories. Stringer (2016) outlines that space is the story; the story is a memory; all three are "partial, fragmentary, and fleeting".

While he describes what is no longer there via "here, there used to be…", we demonstrate what this current place is composed of, invisible in this visible state that reveals different layers of the space (Certeau, 1984, pp. 108). Considering memorable space in the Thames, there used to be a link and passage between north and south London. It was a centre of commerce and trade for those ships and ferries. Also, it was the shop and dining for those who visited the bridge. Thus, people had to find an alternative way to cross the river during the frost since the bridge was unsafe. As it was not the first time Londoners saw the Thames frozen, people got

enough intelligence and experience about behaving within the ice (Castella, 2014). They know how thick the ice is, how safe walking on it, or how long it may survive. Therefore, the first need was a quick and safe passage between the north and south of the Thames. Then there was a psychological need as well. For instance, it was Christmas when frost arrived, stopping almost any social activities. Society needed to communicate and merry their special day of the New Year. Those need to be triggered believable space to find an alternative and possible way to use the Thames as if there was a dry land like a bridge surface or a wet flow where trade and mobility proceeded along with new memories through spatial activities.

According to Certeau, function in believable space should stand for spatial appropriations because it should represent some realistic approaches to be constructed. The frost fair is a social production with likely, memorable, and primitive functions in one space. Thus, it takes the "geometrical space of visual, panoptical, or theoretical construction" (Certeau, 1984, pp. 93). While believable function stands for spatial appropriations that let people utilise it, memories of this space and repetitive movements signify the memorable role. For example, a solidly frozen river was open to Londoners to use there as if it were a vast land. Londoners combined their memories to utilise this space, crossing the river, shopping, dining, trading, and enjoying it and on the Thames. They used the surface of the Thames as a new cross where people from different classes could come here to share Christmas Eve while entertaining themselves or simply crossing the river.

Nonetheless, Londoners also knew from their previous experiences that the frost would melt once a day, and they would go back to a typical day. Therefore, The Thames Frost Fair was a social production and ephemera with an expiry day. Because they knew frost was transient, they created documented memories that could not melt or disappear while the ice did. These archival documents are ephemerides and memories to demonstrate the detail of these unexpected urban happenings in the past. Thus, the history of London can be read and analysed through those records.

Thames Frost Fairs As An Unexpected Happening In The History

As mentioned before, the history of London was full of Frost Fairs between the 16th century and to 19th century. In 1564-65 the famous frost occurred since Christmas Eve was the first-time people went over frost and ice. Some of them played football as there was dry to play soccer on. Suddenly the glazes on the Thames become more crowded than any street in London. It was the first time the Thames was discovered as a potential place for gathering, celebrating Christmas Eve, and playing soccer. Later, it had been floods, frost, and winds; thus, the surface of the Thames had not been used as a gathering place until 1683, when the next ice completely froze a massive part of the river. Between December 1683 and February 5th, 1684, people erecting stalls, streets, shops, furniture, and carriages turned the Thames River into a new city (Andrews, 1887, pp. 17). Historian Evelyn called it Great Frost in his diary on January 24th, 1684. He witnesses,

> "the frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London, was still planted with booths [booths] in formal streets [streets], all sorts of trades and shops furnished (furnished) and full of commodities, even to a printing presse [press], where the people and ladyes [ladies]

tooke [took] a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and yeare [year] set down when printed on the Thames" (Thomson, 1862, pp. 342).

Figure 2 shows a view of the Thames in the winter; groups of people are skating, driving their carriages and rambling around stalls. There is London in the background. It represents a carnivalesque atmosphere created by a race between a horse and coach, a bullbaiting on the left back, puppetry shows, and various foods.

Figure 2. The Thames Frost Fair, 1683-4 (British Museum, 1683a).

As in Figure 2, the Fair was settled on the river as it was dry land. The Fair welcomed anyone from any London street opening to the river. Visitors of the Fair could print their names on a ticket to remember this happening. For example, a ticket belongs to King George, who visited the Fair and got his ticket to prove that he attended this short-lived space with his family members, whose names were also printed on the ticket, as in Figure 3.
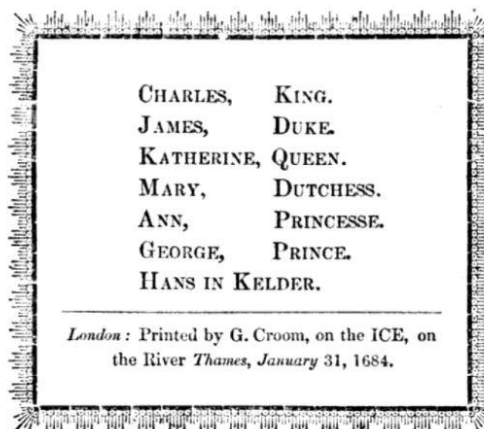

Figure 3. The Ticket of King George, Printed on JANUARY 31st, 1684 (Rimbault, n.d.)

Another document is Figure 4, which shows a remarkably composed song for the frost fair of 1683-4. Even though the Thames has been frozen frequently in history, people have never been sure when would be the next time it will happen again. The Fair was a once-in-a-lifetime experience for those who may not see the Fair again. Therefore, the impermanence of the Fair produced its souvenirs and memorial documents like prints and

compositions. After three months, when the ice finally melted, those tickets were left as a memory and the record of this ephemeral urban happening with an expiry date.
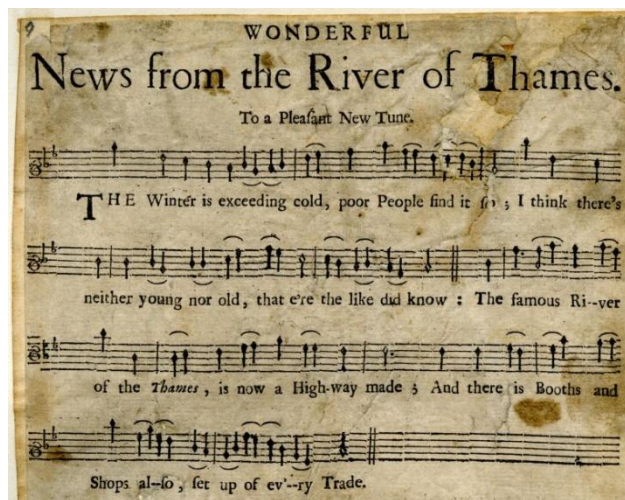

Figure 4. Song-Sheet for a Ballad with Music and Verse; Printed on the Thames During the 1683-4 Frost Fair (British Museum, 1683b).

Thirty-two years after the first frost fairs, the Thames River covered solid ice again between 1715 and 1716. The *January 14th, 1716, newspaper* announced that The River Thames turned into a piece of solid ice on which anyone could find wine, brandy, liquors and ale to buy (Andrews, 1887, pp. 41). Figure 5 shows those stalls and shops besides how Londoners enjoy the Fair on the river again. Stalls were put diagonally on the ice to form paths. In the foreground, people are playing games. London Bridge can be seen on the right; St Paul's dome is visible in the back. As this Fair was supposed to end eventually, an advertisement appeared to invite Londoners to print their name as a memory of a temporary frost fair to future generations as follows:

> *"You that walk there and do desyn [design] to tell*
> *Your children's children what this year befell*
> *Go print your names, and take a dram within;*
> *For such a year as this, has seldom been"* (Andrews, 1887, pp. 41).

Figure 5. Frost Fair on the Thames, January 1716 (British Museum, 1716).

The frost might have seemed like a natural disaster or unfortunate event for previous generations. Still, it has been taken as a stroke of luck and spatial advantages by Londoners since 1683. The Fair was open-air, urban happening during Christmas time, and Londoners were the audience of this social interaction on the stated date on their personalised tickets.

In 1739 Thames was frozen partially; however, Londoners still installed the Fair following the frosted area (Andrews, 1887, pp. 47). They were invited to the Frost Fair by a printed advertisement of January 29th 1739-40 as the following lines:

> "*Behold the liquid Thames now frozen o'er*
> *That lately ships of mighty burden bore;*
> *Here you may print your name, 'tho cannot write,*
> *'Cause numbed [numbed] with cold; 'tis done with great delight.*
> *And lay it by, that ages yet to come,*
> May see what things upon the ice were done" (The Saturday Magazine, 1838).

Many tents and stalls were erected on the ice, a couple of paths leading out across the ice, most of the tents assembled close to the stairs; men were selling goods and making merry.

Between November 25th, 1788, to January 1789, when the Thames River frosted again, numerous entertainments appeared, such as a show of a wild beast and puppetry performances. This Fair lasted about two months (Andrews, 1887, pp. 55)

Following a great fog, the next century frost arrived on December 27th, 1813. The fog lasted until January 3rd, 1814, and a heavy fall of snow launched non-stop and fell for forty-eight hours (Andrews, 1887, pp. 61-62). Figure 6 shows the Fair where numerous tents, stalls, and flags are on the left; people are playing, dancing, drinking, or swinging on the river. The Sussex Advertiser Journal, 7 February 1814, from a British newspaper archive, describes the fair as an extraordinary spectacle, and people were willing to pay for it since it offered:

> "*Gambling, in all its branches, threw out different allurements…leaving kind customers without a penny to pay for the passage over the plank to the shore. Several parties played Skittles, and the drinking tents filled by females and their companions, dancing reels to the sound of fiddles, while others sat round large fires, drinking rum, grog, and other spirits. Tea, coffee, and eatables were provided in ample order*" (The British Newspaper Archive, 2019).

As the Thames had frozen over 26 times between 1408 and 1814, The Frost Fair of 1814 was not the first event of its kind, the last one and although only lasting for five days, this was to be one of the largest fairs on record. Thousands of people turned up every day, and there was said to be "every possible form of entertainment including a parading elephant!" (Historic UK, The Thames Frost Fair).

Figure 6. Fair on the Thames, February 3rd, 4th, 5th, 1814 (British Museum, 1814).

Even though there has been frost in London since 1848, The Thames River did not freeze over entirely enough for Fairs due to climate changes (The British Newspaper Archive, 2019). Since there was harsh weather between 1813-14, several houses stood on London Bridge, which received substantial damage (Andrews, 1887, pp. 49). Henceforth the bridge had to be renewed. Consequently, after replacing the London Bridge in 1831, cold winters gradually became milder because the barrier in front of the flowing river was finally detached (Burroughs, 1980). According to the Museum of London Archives, the last Frost Fair occurred in 1813-14, and it was one of the most famous and long-lived ones among the others (Selli, 2018).

FINDINGS

All printed documents, including postcards, stamps, and newspapers, show that plans, visions or patrons, natural environment, society, and culture structure architecture and urban. Frost Fair is an example of perceiving space as a phenomenon that is not fixed but flexible to serve an unexpected function as a response to unexpected happening. As previously stated, a human who was a hunter has constantly adjusted and ordered their habitat for centuries. They could always produce or re-produce their spaces to survive different difficulties or environmental stress. Considering everyday life in urban, this research analyses how society created its own space and discovered the potential of space when there was an unexpected situation or enemy like a natural disaster. The space's functional and spatial potential is open for inspection. This paper explored how the area can have an enemy that Certeau calls and how society uses tactics to re-generate and regain territory against those unexpected ephemeral strategies. The London Thames frost fairs between the 16th and 19th centuries were taken as a case study to explore those tactics and what made frost's urban ephemera. Certeau's idea of tactics for everyday life was used as a guide to examine the uncertainty and temporality in the fairs. Considering the spatial trilogy of Certeau, the Thames frost fairs discussed how tactics were created to produce this space with three functions. It was found that the river was a primitive space where passers-by of London Bridge, the travellers, or sailors of the ships, made lots of memories and experiences. This vast empty land became a strategical new primitive space opened to new spatial discoveries and functions when frozen. Therefore, Londoners who already had memories of this site re-generated a new spatial spot to meet their

previous daily experiences in London Bridge. They turned this space into a space of tactics where dining, walking, and shopping were already embedded. Since they were aware that this was a temporality situation and they could never fully own the space, there was a silent negotiation between society and the climate. They tried to capture and record their memories into ephemerides, documents like tickets, invitations, poems, and engravings. Their production date was also printed since they believed in the impermanence of these fairs. Finally, it is revealed that an ephemeral space is not only a short-lived and temporary space but also a cultural and historical generator of its ephemerides or ephemera documents through spatial happenings. It is unsurprising that today, Londoners build stalls as Christmas markets each year. One of the biggest Christmas markets and entertainment spaces is called the Winter Wonderland, where the modern version of the Frost Fair can be observed through the playgrounds as well as the areas reserved for eating and dining areas in Hyde Park.

It was observed that unpredictable environmental disasters could unveil the potential of urban space. A space is meaningful to its occupants since they are the actual producers. Urban ephemera are not independent spaces from their original ephemerides that are tangible or intangible memories generated site-specifically. Ultimately, the meaning of design can be expanded to embodying past and present memories along with social demands rather than just a planned process and progress.

CONCLUSION and DISCUSSION

Covid-19, as an enemy of space and human health, affected humankind by restricting their urban practices and social lives. Michel de Certeau believed that the actual practitioners of the cities were the walkers who experienced the places while their movements "wrote" their towns as a text. Whilst their bodies and actions typed and recorded this city's daily life, these characters could not read what they had written (Certeau, 1984, pp. 93). Therefore, we are all experiencing the environment through our daily activities and movements. The movement and behaviour of social bodies do not depend on our will today. We all have been recording and writing loads of memories in the space.

We still have the same physical space as last year, yet we cannot create and collect the same memories as before the virus. Certeau called it a memorable space since it was the space of feelings and experiences. According to Certeau, "*The memorable space is that which can be dreamed out of space. In this place, it is a palimpsest; subjectivity is already linked to the absence that structures it as the existence and makes it be there Dasein*" (Certeau, 1984, pp. 108). Dasein in Heideggerian means how we live on the Earth (Elliston, 1978). While we try to adapt to our environment if our bodies survive in the pandemic era, the pandemic also updates our primitive and memorable space accordingly.

We pretend the pandemic will end one day and we can return to normal. Consequently, we have already collected many documents and archives about it. For example, when the pandemic end, people will memorise the quarantined days whenever they see masks, photos of intubated victims or empty vaccine bottles. Therefore, all those data and items related to the pandemic are documents or ephemerides that will play

eternal and ephemeral archival roles. However, there is still no clue whether the pandemic is temporary or permanent. Even though we want to believe it is an ephemera, we still cannot name this situation between ephemera and eternal. There is limbo for uncertainty and being between, and up for lasting and during in Latin. That uncertainty puts our daily activities and urban experiences in limbo. Therefore, this paper proposes the term ep-limbo for the limbo space on the fence. In the pandemic, ep-limbo is our situation now since we are not sure how much this undistinguished and sub-spatial situation in limbo will last.

SUGGESTIONS

This paper tried to discover the meaning of architectural and urban ephemera through space, time, memories, everyday life and performative space by going further than its plans and sections or drawings. For my research in the future, I would like to look at other geographies and cultures to see how they reacted to unwanted happenings and disasters like earthquakes, fire, and flood, such as the catastrophic İstanbul Fires that took place in 1569, 1633, 1660, 1755 and 1756, to compare the cultural architectural and spatial reactions in different realms. This research and paper mainly focus on England and the Great Frost, but it does not compare London with other cities and disasters. However, it is not surprising that each society produces its own space in their way. For example, thousands of houses collapsed after the Great Fires of Istanbul because of their timber framework. However, these public and private buildings were rebuilt following the previous material and urban layout (Yıldız, 2014). This pattern is similar to the Winter Wonderland, which memorialised the festive season of the Fair by establishing stalls and playgrounds every Christmas season. These dynamic comparisons can be extended to further discussion in cultural and traditional approaches. They also have the potential to discuss cultural production and ephemera, and I plan to focus on those comparisons in my future research.

This paper discovered that many terminologies and philosophical approaches could be discussed through time, space, and architecture as it is interdisciplinary. Nonetheless, philosophical vocabularies in architecture are still starving for new terms to explain space's various potentials. Thus, this paper encourages architects and researchers to find and use interdisciplinary words to reveal the neglected potential of spaces.

ETHICAL TEXT

"In this article, the journal writing rules, publication principles, research and publication ethics, and journal ethical rules were followed. The responsibility belongs to the author (s) for any violations that may arise regarding the article. This research does not need ethics committee approval".

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