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OTTOMAN BAZAARS IN ANATOLIA AND THE BALKANS
AN OVERVIEW OF INFLUENCES IN DEFINING SPATIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL QUALITIES

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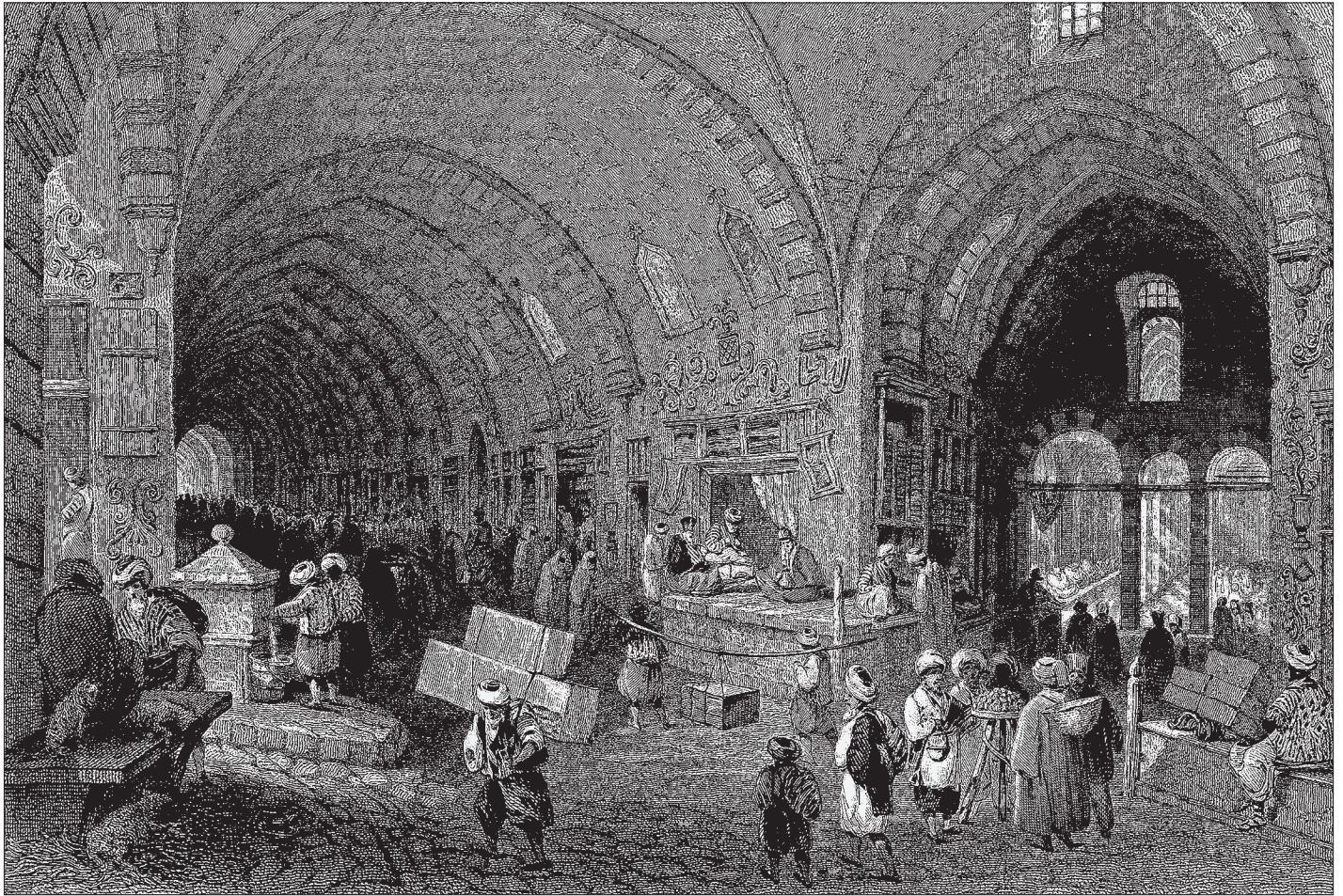


FIG. 1 ENGRAVING OF THE GRAND BAZAAR BY W.H. BARTLETT

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OTTOMAN BAZAARS IN ANATOLIA AND THE BALKANS

AN OVERVIEW OF INFLUENCES IN DEFINING SPATIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL QUALITIES

ANATOLIA
BALKANS
BAZAAR
HISTORIC COMMERCIAL SPACE
OTTOMAN CITY BAZAARS

Bazaars were spaces that formed the center of the cities during the Ottoman period, had a certain order, and were shaped spatially and architecturally depending on the geographical-topographical characteristics and commercial potential of each city. Proximity to the citadels, connection with city gates and main roads, relations with Friday mosque and other public buildings in the city were the main factors shaping the bazaar spatially. In bazaars, where *bedesten* and khans, and in some cases covered bazaar-*arastas*, appeared on a building scale, shops that lined on open or covered streets formed the

architecture of the bazaar. In addition to these, the sovereignty and order established by the state over trade during the Ottoman period, the institution of waqf, and the guilds of tradesmen also played a decisive role in the bazaar. With the bazaars examined, it is concluded that while administrative and commercial influences in the shaping of bazaars in Anatolian and Balkan cities during the Ottoman period created bazaar spaces with similar qualities, urban inputs led to the differentiation of bazaars in terms of scale and spatial and architectural qualities.

INTRODUCTION

“The Great Bazaar has nothing exteriorly to attract the eye (...). It is an immense stone edifice (...). But once inside you stand bewildered. It is not an edifice, but a labyrinth of arcaded streets (...). Every street is a bazaar, almost all leading out of one main street (...) a long confused perspective of bazaar (...). The confusion, however, is only apparent. This immense bazaar is ordered like a barrack (...).”

(DE AMICIS, 1878: 75-76)

In the 19th century, Edmondo de Amicis, who visited the Grand Bazaar during his visit to İstanbul, mentioned that behind the chaos of this bazaar, there was a very strict order, and that people could find what they were looking for within a few hours without needing anyone’s guidance.¹ The bazaar in Ottoman culture always attracted the attention of western people. Because bazaars were lively shopping centers where men and women, young and old, Muslims and non-Muslims, foreigners and locals, and all segments of society could meet their needs. Thus, the bazaar, which was an important center of people’s daily lives in the Ottoman Empire, was also the place where European travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire visited and learned about Ottoman people, culture, trade, and commercial spaces (Fig. 1).²

The city’s bazaar included commercial spaces of various qualities, consisting of *bedestens*, khans, covered/open bazaar-*arastas*, and shops, as well as other public spaces such as mosques, baths, fountains, and coffee houses.³ Furthermore, bazaars were not only made up of the built environment, but also market-places, which were open spaces for the sale of fruits and vegetables or animals, and fairs⁴, which were established in certain periods, were also developed in or near the bazaar area. Thus, bazaars, with their buildings and open spaces, formed the commercial centers of the cities in the Ottoman period.

In fact, the commercial centers of cities in Islamic societies, bazaars, markets, or *sûk* (in Arabic), have similarities in their spatial layout and architecture as well as regional and cultural differences. In Islamic cities, the bazaar, located in the center of the city, had a public character as the commercial zone of the city, and developed in a spatially regular layout (relatively straight and vertical streets) where commercial, religious, and other social buildings were located. The neighbourhoods, on the other hand, surrounding the commercial center had an irregular, organic morphology as private zones (Raymond, 2008a: 59-62). This is the main feature that distinguishes the Islamic city from other cities. In the spatial development of the bazaar within this general setting of the Islamic city, the trading patterns of pre-Islamic societies and the religious, economic, social, and political inputs after Islam were effective (Gharipour, 2012: 27-51). Here, the commercial potential of cities (location, production and industry), as well as functional and regional characteristics that influenced architecture (factors such as security, nature of goods and trade, construction materials, climate), shaped bazaars of different sizes. For example, bazaars in the cities such as Isfahan, Yazd, Tabriz, Aleppo, Cairo, and Tunis were much larger and more complex. According to Raymond (2008b: 740), the fact that there were 5000 shops in the bazaar of Tunis in 1860, 6600 shops in Damascus in 1871, and 20,000 shops in Cairo in 1729 indicates the size of the bazaars of these cities. In fact, there were 4399 shops in the Grand Bazaar of İstanbul in 1886 (Eyce, 1992a: 512). This situation shows that the bazaars developed on different scales in the cities of the three continents where the Ottoman Empire ruled.

Actually, the urbanism and architecture that developed in this vast territory dominated by the Ottoman Empire were similar in the Anato-

¹ In his travelogue, de Amicis (1878: 71-94) described the Grand Bazaar in great detail, street by street, without omitting any detail.

² The Grand Bazaar, the most frequented place by travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire, was also described in Miss Julia Pardoe’s book and visualized in W.H. Bartlett’s drawings.

³ In cases where some of the terms used in the article do not have a common English equivalent, such as *bedesten*, *arasta*, the original version in italics is preferred. Others are expressed in words with common English equivalents, e.g. khan, shop, Friday mosque. However, in proper names such as Bursa Bedesten, the word is used without italics.

⁴ Established in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Balkans rather than Anatolia, fairs were organized for about a week or fifteen days at certain times of the year, inside or outside the city, linked to caravan trade, and developed in conjunction with waqfs established by the Sultan or senior courtiers (Faroqi, 1978).

lian and Balkan cities in terms of scale and characteristics. However, there was an architectural and urban unity created by the cultural geography of the area covering western Anatolia and the Balkans, defined as the core area of the Ottoman Empire (Cerasi, 1998: 129-132). Nevertheless, the similarity of the built environment also depends on the fact that the fief system, on which the military, administrative, and land cultivation of the state was based, was mainly implemented in the Anatolian and Balkan provinces (Inalcik, 2012). Moreover, while architectural production and the patronage behind it were similar in provincial cities such as those in Anatolia and the Balkans, they developed under the influence of the center, İstanbul.⁵ The construction of mosques in the conquered territories, indicating Ottoman dominance, took place rapidly, with models (projects) sent from the center, and materials and labour supplied locally (Kiel, 1990: ix-xv, Hartmuth, 2011). Even if the city was located on trade route, a bazaar was built along with the mosque. Moreover, the Ottoman urbanization policy established in the early period in Anatolia with T-plan mosques was also applied in the Balkans (Boykov, 2015, 2011). Pinon (2008) describes the cities that emerged as a result of these urbanization policies implemented by the Ottomans in the Balkans as the 'Ottomanisation of Balkan cities', rather than Ottoman cities. This is because the Ottomans built on the pre-existing settlements.⁶ However, there were many cities in the Balkans where the residential fabric was intensively developed with Ottoman identity (Pinon, 2008: 150).

As the Ottoman construction and urbanization in Anatolia and the Balkans interacted, the characteristics and scale of the bazaars established in Anatolian and Balkan cities varied according to the economic potential of the city and its location. Factors such as being on commercial and military routes, being

dominant in the trade of various goods (eg. silk trade in Bursa, mohair trade in Ankara) influenced the shaping of the bazaar space. While much larger-scale bazaars developed in cities such as İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara, and Kayseri, smaller-scale bazaars were formed in other Anatolian cities and cities such as Skopje and Sarajevo in the Balkans. Ultimately, this is also due to the fact that the Ottomans established a trade organization in the Balkan cities similar to that in Anatolian cities (Inalcik, 2005: 34-35), and that a significant proportion of religious and commercial buildings in the Balkans were endowed by Ottoman sultans or the ruling elite.

PREVIOUS STUDIES, AIM, AND METHODOLOGY

Urbanization and architecture in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Ottoman period have been the subject of many studies. While most of these studies focus on religious buildings and urbanization, studies on bazaars and commercial buildings are relatively limited. Among these, Cerasi's (2001) study of the Ottoman city is important in terms of the place of the bazaar in the city and the spatial analysis of building types. Kuban's (2007) book *Ottoman Architecture*, on the other hand, stands out for its analysis of the bazaars on an urban and architectural scale in the geography dominated by the Ottomans. Pinon's (2008) article entitled *The Ottoman Cities of the Balkans* discusses the nature of the Ottoman urban fabric in the Balkans, its connection to Anatolia, and the place of the bazaar within this fabric. In addition, Kiel's (1990) book on architecture in the Balkans and general assessments of Ottoman building processes in the Balkans in the introduction part provide important details. Ayverdi's (2000) three-volume study of Ottoman architectural works in Europe, which analyzed these works both from historical documents and in-situ, is a valuable source for including commercial buildings that still exist or have been lost.⁷ Indeed, the findings of Turan and İbrahimgil's study (2004) suggest that a significant proportion of these buildings no longer exist.

Among the existing literature focusing on bazaars in the Islamic city, Gharipour's (2012) *The Bazaar in the Islamic City* deals with bazaars in the wider Islamic geography, including the Ottoman Empire, while Raymond's (2008a, 2008b) two articles in *The City in the Islamic World* evaluate the bazaar in Arab cities in different contexts. The pioneering works of Özdeş (1954) and Cezar (1983) stand out among the sources analyzing the urban and architectural characteristics of the bazaars developed in Anatolia during the Ottoman period.⁸ On the other hand, Tankut (1973) and Ergenç (1980)

⁵ Hartmuth (2011) divided architecture that developed in the Balkans into four periods as polycentrism, centralism, decentralisation and recentralisation in the context of the relationship between the center and its periphery, and discussed architecture in the context of the patronage.

⁶ Pinon (2008: 156) stated that only Sarajevo was founded by the Ottomans in the Balkans, while other cities already existed.

⁷ This work, the first edition of which was published in four volumes in 1975, was republished in three volumes in 2000. The study provides information on almost 20,000 buildings in the Balkans (Kiel, 1990: xi).

⁸ Akar (2009a) states that bazaars and its buildings have been examined separately by different disciplines such as urbanism, architecture, art history and history, and that interdisciplinary studies are required for their more holistic evaluation.

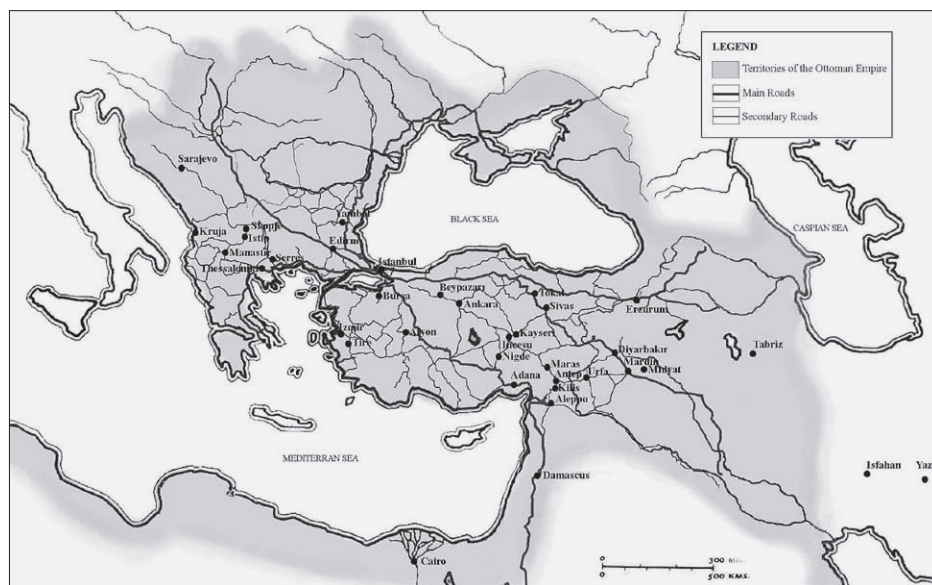


FIG. 2 THE LOCATION OF THE CITIES WHOSE BAZAARS WERE MENTIONED IN THE ARTICLE WITHIN THE OTTOMAN TERRITORIES AND ROAD NETWORK

have analyzed the spatial distribution of commercial functions in the bazaar and the influence of artisan guilds. Among these sources, Cezar (1983) discussed the bazaars together with the area covered by the Ottoman geography and examples of bazaars in other Islamic countries, and also partially touched upon the bazaars in the Balkans.⁹

Although the subject has been addressed in many studies, the inputs that shape the bazaar space were much more comprehensive and included differences across the vast geography of the Ottoman Empire. In this context, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature by investigating the spatial and architectural qualities that constituted the bazaar space, and the factors that shaped it in Anatolia and the Balkans, where the architectural and urban unity rather than variety was shaped by cultural geography of the Empire. At this point, it can be asked: What were the common features that determined the identity of the Ottoman bazaars in Anatolia and the Balkans, and what were the factors that shaped the bazaar? In order to answer this question, the article aims to identify the spatial and architectural character of the bazaar, and the administrative and commercial factors that formed it. Accordingly, the article analyzes the subject by overlapping information from documents¹⁰ and field data. Therefore, the administrative role of the state, guilds and waqfs in shaping the bazaar space in the Ottoman city were analyzed, and the impact of the trade and goods on the bazaar space were revealed. In addition, the spatial inputs that determine the location of the bazaar within the city and the architectural characteristics of the buildings that

make up the bazaar were discussed in the context of explaining the bazaar in the city as a whole. Since these bazaars were generally formed in time, the examples of the bazaars and commercial buildings analyzed in this study were built in different periods.¹¹ However, although the bazaars were generally shaped until the end of the 16th century both in Anatolia and the Balkans, there are also examples built or rebuilt until the 19th century, especially in Anatolia (Fig. 2).

ADMINISTRATIVE AND COMMERCIAL FACTORS IN SHAPING THE BAZAAR

During the Ottoman period, the formation and shaping of bazaars in cities was not random but was planned by the administrative and commercial mechanism established by the state. Within this mechanism, the size and quality of the bazaar were linked to the commercial potential of the city. This trade could be from rural to urban, as well as inter-regional or inter-country trade. It is possible to talk about various factors that determine how this commercial potential shaped the space.

The administrative and economic structure of the state was most influential in the spatial shaping of the city's bazaar. The state made various regulations in order to ensure that trade in the bazaar was safe, continuous and of a certain order and standard, and that it was accessible to the public on comfortable and equal terms. As an example of how the bazaar should be organized, a 15th century law regulating the prices of goods and food stated:

“For every good that comes from the provinces to the city to be sold, no one from the people of the city should meet that good and take it. Every good should come to the place allocated for it in the bazaar. For example, every type of nut should come to the nuts market. Let everyone see it there, let everyone

⁹ Among bazaars in the Balkans, the Skopje bazaar has been the subject of many studies with its relatively preserved condition. The spatial quality, values and changes of the Skopje bazaar were discussed comprehensively in Krstikj's doctoral thesis (2013), whereas Ibrahimgil's study (2022), comparing the historical bazaar of Skopje with other bazaars in Anatolia and the Balkan geography showed that the bazaars underwent rapid change and lost their character due to factors such as war, earthquake, fire, reconstruction actions.

¹⁰ These documents are mostly published works and some are based on archival documents. There are also original data such as cadastral maps.

¹¹ Although some bazaars in Anatolia can be traced back to the Seljuk and Principalities periods, it should be noted that they were mainly developed and shaped during the Ottoman period.

¹² This text, mentioned in Taş's (2010: 12) article citing the code published by Ottoman historian Ömer Lütfü Barkan (1942), was written in Ottoman Turkish. It was simplified and translated into English by the author.

take a piece as much as they need, not one person should take it all (...) and even fish and caviar should come to the bazaar and be shared there, and even flax should come to the flax bazaar and be shared there (...) or the official of each commodity should allocate a share, and the one who does not come can take it later."¹²

Thus, the state wanted every good sold to come to the bazaar and market allocated for it and to have a fair trade there.

Based on the practices reported in historical sources, the spatial characteristics of the bazaar were determined as follows (Ergenç, 2013: 171-173):

- Having a separate place for each good offered for sale in the bazaar, making it a place known by everyone, useful and convenient for the public.
- Commercial activities in the bazaar have an order (such as the unit of measurement, the quality and price of the goods sold) determined by laws and traditions.
- The goods traded must be in demand and must be delivered fairly to those in need.
- Collecting taxes on the goods traded in the bazaar, and having officials for this purpose.

Thus, while establishing both commercial and spatial order in the bazaar, the state also aimed to record the commercial goods and collect taxes.

The marketing and taxation of the goods produced in the Ottoman lands were also carried out in the bazaars under the control of the state. In particular, the nutritional needs of the people were provided from the rural areas on the periphery of the cities and towns and it was envisaged that the products grown in the countryside would be brought to the closest market (Taş, 2010: 12).¹³ As a matter

¹³ This was not the case for some raw materials or some cities. For example, İstanbul could procure raw materials from all other cities, or although mohair was produced in a widespread area around Ankara, it had to come to the Ankara market, not to the closest market (Kal'a, 1994: 428).

¹⁴ The word *kapán* means trap in modern Turkish and figuratively means trick. However, in Ottoman Turkish, it means the official big scale where the goods were weighed. Skopje Kapan Khan takes this name because the goods came here, were weighed and taxed in it, just like in the *kapán* khans in many Anatolian cities. Therefore, it was not due to the high security offered by the khan as Hartmuth (2016: 5) stated.

¹⁵ This organization, which was based on religious and moral foundations, played an economic and political role in Anatolia during the Seljuk period, but in the Ottoman period it became an institution that only regulated the administrative affairs of tradesmen's guilds from the 15th century onwards (Kazıcı, 1988).

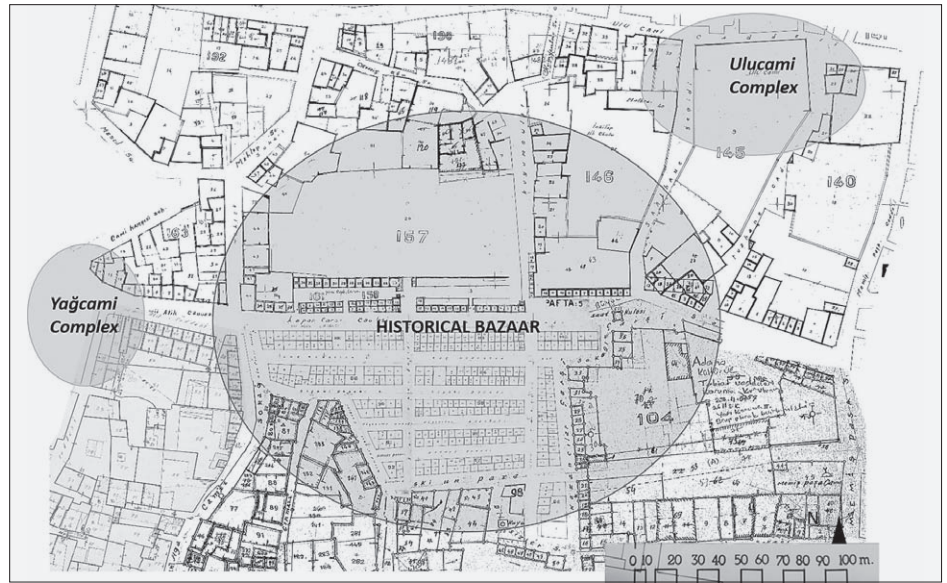


FIG. 3 HISTORICAL BAZAAR AND THE TWO COMPLEXES, ALL WERE THE WAQF OF RAMAZANOĞLU

of fact, the nature of the goods sold and the trade carried out in these bazaars shaped the space. In the bazaar, there were market areas where foodstuffs or animals from the countryside were sold. These could sometimes be open spaces, especially weekly markets where there were livestock sales or vegetables and fruits were sold on wooden *sofas* (stalls), or closed spaces consisting of shops in the form of *arasta*, such as the bazaar of nut vendors, molasses bazaar, etc. In addition, in the closest bazaars to which the countryside was commercially connected, spaces characterized as *kapán* or *kapán* khan functioned as places where commercial goods were weighed and taxed. This could be seen in the bazaars of many cities, such as cotton *kapáns* and wheat *kapáns*, or it could be independent of the type of product, as in the Skopje Kapan Khan.¹⁴ In addition to these, the bazaar had to be equipped with secure, castle-like *bedesten* buildings where valuable goods from inter-regional or inter-country trade could be sold, as well as commercial structures such as khans where merchants could both market their goods and stay.

Tradesmen's guilds also had an impact on the spatial organization within the bazaar, and had regulations on the quality and quantity of commercial space (Kal'a, 1994; İslamoğlu, 2017). The Ottoman tradesmen's guilds, which were founded on the tradition of *ahilik*¹⁵, applied an order in the shaping of the commercial space in which the business lines were positioned according to the *bedesten* (Ergenç, 1980). Issues such as the spatial proximity of interrelated tradesmen, such as the spatial proximity of butchers, candle makers and soap makers in the raw material-production



FIG. 4 GENERAL PLAN OF THE GRAND BAZAAR

relationship¹⁶; the determination of a place in the city for some tradesmen groups, such as the location of tannery engaged in leather-working on the periphery of the city, on the water's edge for public health and hygiene; or the number of tradesmen and related shops were all under the control of the guilds.

Another effective mechanism in bazaars was waqfs because in Ottoman building construction practices a significant portion of public buildings and even residences were built through waqfs or connected to a waqf after their construction, which made the waqfs effective in the bazaar.¹⁷ The shops, khans, and *arastas* in the bazaars could belong to separate waqfs, or the entire bazaar could belong to a single waqf. For example, the new bazaar established in Adana in the 16th century was a waqf of Ramazanoğlu Piri Pasha, the ruler of the region, and was endowed to generate income for the two complexes (Ulucami and Yağcamı) in the city (Fig. 3). The waqfs used the income from the rent-generating waqf properties within the bazaar (either rental income from leased properties or profit/income in cases where the waqf operated the property itself) to cover the functional costs of the buildings of the waqf, such as mosques and madrasas. Waqfs also spent their income on the repairs of the properties belonging to the foundation.¹⁸ Thus, waqfs were active and effective in the city's bazaar as property owners, operators of the buildings, as well as institutions that undertook the maintenance and repair of the buildings.

SPATIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL QUALITIES OF THE BAZAAR

In the city, in order for the bazaar to be administratively and commercially safe, accessible, and controllable, it had to be established and developed in a location that was spatially appropriate to the topography of the city. In this context, the bazaar in the city developed in the immediate vicinity of the citadel or city wall, and was located in the most convenient and easiest place for human transportation, taking into account the topography and the port and/or road network of the city within the scope of sea and/or land trade (Cezar, 1983: 35-58). The fact that the administrative and military administration of the city was located in the citadel also played a role in the positioning of the bazaar close to the citadel or city walls (Şahinalp and Günel, 2012: 155). In addition, the commercial area in the city developed between the Friday mosque and the *bedesten*, and that a functional gradation was formed around the *bedesten* (Cerasi, 2001: 119-120).¹⁹ Depending on the value of the goods sold, there was a proximity to the *bedesten*, while khans, craft districts, tanneries, and market-places spread from the center of the *bedesten* towards the periphery. Depending on the topography of the city, this spread was characterized by the settlement of commercial activities on a main axis known as Uzunçarşı²⁰ Street, or Bazaar Street, which was generally located around the *bedesten*.

When the location of the historical bazaar in the cities and the shaping of the bazaar were

¹⁶ Fat obtained from butchers was used to make candles and soap.

¹⁷ For detail, see: Cezar, 1983: 261-282.

¹⁸ For detail, see: Akar, 2009b.

¹⁹ In addition to Cerasi's publication titled Ottoman City, other Turkish sources such as: Ergenç, 1980; Tankut, 1973 and 1975; Kuban, 1968 have similar arguments.

²⁰ It means elongated bazaar, taking its name after its form, shopping units aligned on both sides of the street.

²¹ In the development of Skopje bazaar, the fact that the bridge built over the Vardar, like the slope, was an important factor providing accessibility, enabled the city's bazaar to develop as a regional center (Hartmuth, 2006: 4-5).

²² The importance of the road network passing through the city in the spatial development of the bazaar in Tire, an important commercial center in the Aegean region between the 14th and 16th centuries, is emphasized in Caner Yüksel's (2015) study.

²³ Inside the *bedestens* there were lockable compartments called chests, cupboards, cellars, or safes. Both bazaar tradesmen and wealthy people used to bring their valuable goods to the *bedestens* and store them in the rented compartments. In addition, official documents, such as books belonging to tradesmen's guilds and court registers, were also kept in the *bedestens*.

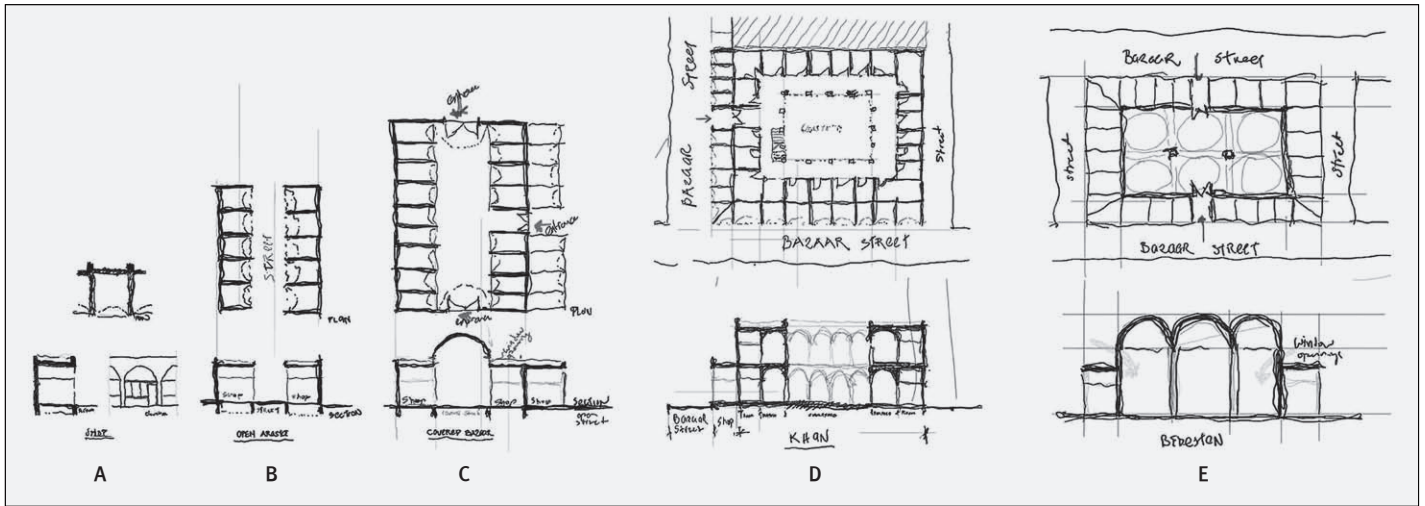


FIG. 5 SCHEMATIC DRAWINGS (PLANS & SECTIONS) OF THE COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS IN THE BAZAAR: A – SHOP, B – OPEN ARASTA, C – COVERED BAZAAR, D – KHAN, E – BEDESTEN

analyzed, it was seen that the bazaar was close to the citadel in the city. However, in cases where the citadel was located at a higher level than the urban area, as in Maraş, Antep, or Skopje²¹, the bazaar was located at the skirts of the citadel, at a lower level and on an area with less of a slope. In Ankara, the bazaar, located between the two city walls, was situated partially up and down, taking into account the slope of the area. In Adana, Diyarbakır, and Tire, where the slope of the land was relatively low, the bazaar was located on the main street where the city gates opened, or on the main road passing through the city, and in relation to Friday mosque and other public buildings, rather than in proximity to the inner citadel.²² In Bursa, the bazaar was located between the Friday mosque and the *bedesten* and along the Uzunçarşı Street.

The bazaar of the city consisted of shops, khans, *bedestens* and covered bazaar-*arasta* on a building scale, while the rest was made up of streets (Kuban, 2007: 602). In fact, it is possible to say that the street was dominant in the bazaar when the quality and number of shops in terms of scale and the relations they estab-

lished with the street were taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul (Fig. 4), which had 61 streets (Ergin, 1945: 361), was a complex of streets. The shops, which were the most numerous and the smallest unit of the bazaar, surrounded the facades of the *bedestens* and khans and came together around a covered or open street to form *arastas* and artisan bazaars (Fig. 5).

The *bedesten*, the central structure, the heart of the bazaar in the city, was the building where valuable goods were sold or stored.²³ The presence of a *bedesten* indicated the presence of international trade in the city (İnalçık, 1980:2). However, although there was generally one *bedesten* building in most of the cities, there were more than one *bedesten* in cities with larger and more developed trade such as İstanbul, Ankara, Kayseri, Sivas and Sarajevo.

Bedestens were generally built in a spatial arrangement in the form of a large single space with several domes or a covered bazaar-*arasta*. *Bedestens* in cities such as İstanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Sarajevo (Bursa *Bedesten*), Istitip, Thessaloniki, Serres, and Yambol belonged to

FIG. 6 BEDESTENS OF: A – EDİRNE, B – İSTİP, C – SARAJEVO (THIS BUILDING, KNOWN AS BURSA BEDESTEN, IS ONE OF THE TWO BEDESTENS IN SARAJEVO.)

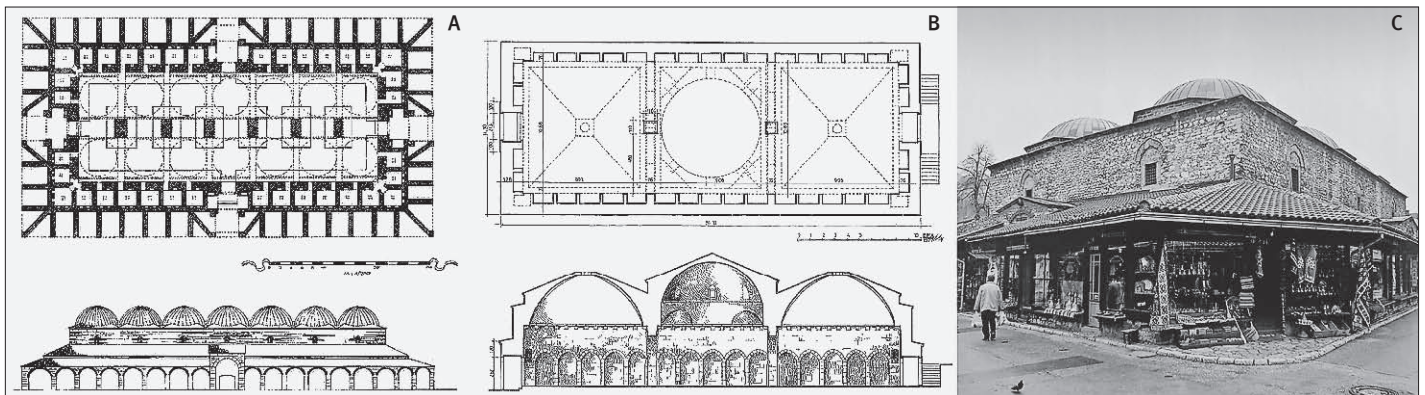




FIG. 7 COVERED BAZAARS OF: A – EDİRNE ALI PASHA, B – EDİRNE SELIMIYE, C – MANASTIR

multi-domed space group (Fig. 6). Such *bedesten* buildings were square or rectangular in shape, their walls were made of stone masonry, and their domes were usually covered with lead. The structure, which was as strong as a fortress, could only have small window openings with iron bars on the upper level of the walls. Generally, there were doors opening to the bazaar in four directions, and there were masonry shops adjacent to the building on four sides. Examples of the *bedesten* buildings as covered bazaar-*arastas* are the *bedestens* in Beypazarı, Antep (Zincirli Bedesten, Kemiksiz Bedesten), Niğde, Adana, Afyon, Gazi Hüsrev Bey Bedesten – another *bedesten* in the bazaar of Sarajevo, and the *bedesten* in Manastir. These buildings called *bedestens* (Gaziantep, Niğde, Adana and Sarajevo examples) consisted of shops lined up on a covered street. The Beypazarı Bedesten, on the other hand, was in the form of an open *arasta*, but the fact that the *bedesten* had doors opening to the street made it a more specialized and secure structure. There were also examples of both a large domed space and a covered bazaar-*arasta* surrounding it, such as the *bedestens* in Ankara and Tokat.

Apart from those called *bedestens*, there were also commercial buildings called *arastas* or bazaars, which were spatially covered bazaar-*arastas* (Fig. 7). These consisted of shops located around a covered street, and the building, which was massively closed to the outside, was perceived as a building with doors opening to the outside at the ends and in the middle of the inner street. For example, the *arasta*, which was added to the Selimiye complex in Edirne to generate income, was a covered bazaar-*arasta* structure. In this case, often similar or different tradesmen groups could be together in these bazaars. Edirne Ali Pasha Bazaar, İstanbul Spice Bazaar, Sipahi and Gelincik Bazaars in Bursa, and the covered bazaars in Mardin, Midyat and Urfa were similar structures.

However, bazaar-*arastas* consisting of shops located on an open street within the bazaar were more common (Fig. 8). They were usually areas where shops belonging to the same tradesmen group were together. For example, names such as shoemakers' bazaar or coppersmith bazaar indicated that the same tradesmen were together. The bazaar-*arasta* was no longer a building, but a street and shops lined up around the street. These

FIG. 8 OPEN BAZAAR-ARASTAS OF: A – ANTEP, B – ADANA, C – MARAŞ





FIG. 9 SHOPS: A – A SHOP FACADE IN MARAŞ BAZAAR; B – A SHOP FACADE IN BEYPAZARI BAZAAR, ITS METAL SHUTTERS WERE FOLDED AT BOTH SIDES; C – TIMBER SHUTTER OF A SHOP IN İNCESU ARASTA

streets can be observed in many bazaars in Anatolia, as well as in bazaars that still preserve their textural characteristics in cities such as Skopje (Eski Çarşı), Sarajevo (Başçarşı), Manastır, and Kruja in the Balkans. In some cases, these streets consisting of bazaar-*arastas* may have been covered.²⁴ However, this cover is only to cover, shade, and protect the street from climatic conditions such as sun and rain. In this case, there are no doors on the bazaar-*arasta* street.

The shop, which was the smallest unit of commercial spaces in the bazaar, whether it was in a covered or open bazaar-*arasta*, or adjacent to a *bedesten* or khan, was usually completely open to the street and surrounded by masonry walls on the other three sides (Fig. 9). The street-facing facades of the shops were closed with timber (or metal) shutters in the evenings. Shops may have had cellars or basements on the lower levels for storage purposes.

Another type of commercial building in historical bazaars was the khans. The classical spatial scheme of khans consists of a courtyard in the center, porticoes surrounding the courtyard and rooms placed behind the porticoes. Although this scheme remains the

same, the outer boundaries of the khan were shaped according to the lot on which it was located. In addition to the typical scheme, different spatial analyses were rarely applied. For example, the İzmir Kızlarağası Khan was more like a complex of *arastas* than a khan (Kuban, 2007: 395) or Erzurum Taşhan was an architectural solution in a cold climate with an atypical plan scheme.²⁵

Depending on the street situation, shops may have been located on the exterior facades of the khan. Generally built as two-storey masonry, the khans may have rarely been built with three storeys or have a basement depending on the slope of the land. Basement floors were usually designed as stables, as in the case of the Ankara Çengel Khan. In khan buildings with two courtyards, such as the Bursa Koza Khan, Edirne Rüstempaşa Caravanserai²⁶ or Skopje Kurşunlu Khan, the stables were located in the second courtyard (Fig. 10). In addition to the stables, khans may have also contained a masjid, a fountain, a latrine or, in some cases, a bath as in the Ankara Suluhan. Although the khans were located in the bazaar within the city, since the khan doors were locked at night (closed after the evening prayer and opened after the morning prayer), the bathing, ablution and worship needs of khan residents were met.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As Edmondo de Amicis points out, the order in the bazaar, the organization of space in such a way that one could easily find what one was looking for, was in fact an indication that the basic goal stated in the Ottoman laws had been spatially achieved. While the laws stipulated that the bazaar should be accessible, useful, and convenient for the public, this required a very clear order behind the chaos of the bazaar. This order was provided

²⁴ In addition to these street covers, which are thought to be original, there is a tendency in many historical bazaars in Anatolia today to cover the streets with current interventions, either with primitive solutions by tradesmen or projected by municipalities.

²⁵ Cezar (1983: 217) stated that the upper floor of this khan, which has an atypical plan, was designed as a *bedesten* and grouped it as a floor *bedesten*.

²⁶ Caravanserais were generally built in Anatolia during the Seljuk period on the commercial road network, outside the city, for the safe travel and accommodation of travelers. In the Ottoman period, caravanserais were built as part of the *menzil külliyes* on the pilgrimage route, outside of the city or on its periphery. However, there were also a few examples where some khans within the city were referred to as caravanserais.

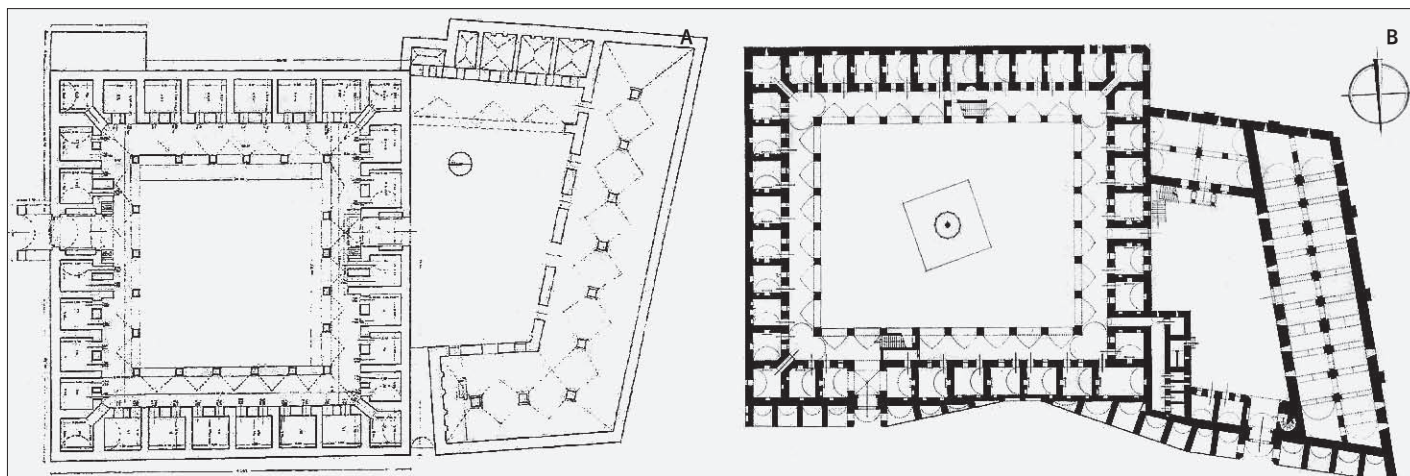


FIG. 10 PLANS OF THE KHANS: A – SKOPJE KURŞUNLU KHAN, B – EDİRNE RÜSTEMPAŞA CARAVANSERAI

by the hierarchical relationship of the administrative and commercial factors with spatial and architectural qualities of the bazaar space.

In the Ottoman city, the Friday mosque and bazaar had an important place in the urbanization policies of the state. As a matter of fact, in Ottoman documents, the characteristic of the settlement was expressed as ‘The market stands, Friday pray is performed’. The mosque indicated the existence of a population to perform Friday prayers, and the bazaar indicated the existence of trade to meet the needs of this population. Thus, by establishing a prosperous developed city with a mosque and a bazaar, the state would provide its people with comfortable and convenient shopping, its tradesmen with safe and regulated trade, and generate revenue by collecting taxes on every product sold in the bazaar.

The value of the goods coming to the bazaar from different distances and the type of trade played an important role in the shaping of the bazaar structures. Long-distance trade involved the international trade of valuable goods. These valuable goods had to be sold and stored in a sheltered place in the bazaar of the city. This was only possible in the *bedesten*, which was located in the center of the bazaar, and was shaped as a solid and secure structure. Short-distance trade, on the other hand, involved interregional trade or trade in goods produced in the neighbouring region. These goods (such as cotton, wheat, silk, salt, etc.), which constituted the income from agriculture, animal husbandry and partly mining-related fief system, were brought to the khans, where they were sold and/or stored for wholesale. The khans located in the bazaar, around the *bedesten*, could be closer or further away from the *bedesten*, depending on the value of the goods sold in them. The goods such as artisanal products, fruits, veg-

etables and livestock, which were produced locally (in the village or in the neighbourhood) and offered for retail sale, would reach the consumers in the tradesmen’s bazaars or the marketplace. These bazaars and shops were located around the *bedesten* and khans, connected to the bazaar street, the main axis of the bazaar. The bazaar street was also the main route connecting the city to the outside or had a strong relationship with it. Marketplaces were located on the periphery of the bazaar. As a result, the commercial goods coming to the city would find themselves directly in the bazaar, and the distance it took and value of the commercial goods would determine their place in the bazaar.

This hierarchy formed by the nature of trade and goods in the bazaar, the topography and the geographical conditions of the city (slope, natural assets such as rivers and the sea, climate), the citadel, city walls and gates, roads, and the location of the Friday mosque all determined the location of the bazaar within the city. Therefore, although bazaars in cities had similarities, each bazaar was shaped according to the city it was located in. In addition, the location, production and industry of the city also determined the presence of the *bedesten*, the number of khans and shops, and the size of the bazaar. Thus, while some cities had large bazaars because they were located on trade routes, some towns or small cities might have only one khan, arasta or shops, or only a marketplace.

While the bazaars were shaped according to the cities, it was clear that the buildings in the bazaar were also shaped according to the trade within it. *Bedestens*, covered bazaar-arastas and khans were buildings intended to create closed, sheltered and comfortable spaces. As a matter of fact, the existence of covered bazaars and street coverings in hot regions was an indication that climatic factors

were also taken into consideration. The shops that were attached to the facades of these closed buildings or that were originally part of the building, together with the shops lined up opposite each other along the streets of the bazaar, were usually the areas where goods were stored and exhibited. However, shopping was not done inside the shop, but in front of the shop, i.e. on the street, as shown in Bartlett's engraving (Fig. 1).

While the spatial organization of the buildings in the bazaar such as *bedesten*, *khan*, covered bazaar-*arasta* was generally the same, different spatial experiments were sometimes seen, albeit to a lesser extent, with the adaptation of the buildings to the form of the lot and land elevation. While stone and brick were used as the main construction materials, locally available materials were generally preferred. For example, the bazaar in Adana was built entirely with brick, the main construction material in the city. Commercial buildings were built with masonry to ensure the safety of the goods, to survive for a long time, and also be fire resistant.

These masonry buildings and the lively trade within them also represented the power of the state. Because almost all of the buildings in the bazaar were waqf buildings and these waqfs belonged to sultans, viziers or ruling elites both in the Balkans and in important cities of Anatolia. Therefore, the well-maintained and strong condition of these commercial buildings, which were waqf, not only created a space for lively trade in the bazaar, but also expressed the continuity of religious, social and public services and the continuity of the state by generating income for the waqf.

In cases concerning the bazaar and tradesmen, in addition to the laws, the state also adopted the traditions and practices of tradesmen guilds by saying 'since time immemorial' or 'as it was customary'. In the relationship of the guilds with the bazaar

space, the prayer dome/prayer square, usually seen in the covered/open bazaar-*arasta*, was one of the reflections of the tradesmen's tradition on the space. The tradesmen would gather under the prayer dome every morning and start the day with prayers for abundant and auspicious earnings. In addition, the co-existence of tradesmen groups in the bazaar and in the *arasta* order, was a spatial formation that allowed the guild to control the quality of commercial goods or services, competition among tradesmen, and the public to demand quality goods.

In conclusion, while the commercial organization established by the Ottoman state with its laws and practices, waqfs, and guilds created common features in the spatial shaping of the bazaar in the city, the contextual characteristics of the cities differentiated the bazaars from each other. Commercial buildings such as *bedesten*, *khan*, covered or open bazaar-*arasta*, shops, etc., which emerged as a result of commercial goods and trade patterns, were located in the bazaars of many cities. However, since the number of these commercial structures varied according to the commercial potential of the city, bazaars differed from each other in terms of scale. Nevertheless, the pattern of the main bazaar street forming the backbone of each bazaar and the pattern of other bazaar streets made the bazaars similar to each other. However, the fact that each bazaar was shaped according to the topography and contextual inputs of the city in which it was located differentiated the bazaars among each other. Thus, every bazaar in Ottoman cities was both similar to and different from each other. Therefore, while the bazaars in Anatolia and the Balkans, where the organization of the Ottoman state was implemented in the same way, were spatially and architecturally similar, urban inputs created bazaars that were not identical.

[Proofread by Lisa Anna Meredith]

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SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- FIG. 1 PARDOE, 1839: 29
- FIG. 2 Produced by the author using GOODWIN's (2003) map showing the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, and HALAÇOĞLU's (2002) map on the roads used in the Empire
- FIG. 3 Marked by the author on the cadastral map dated 1938
- FIG. 4 GÜLERSOY, 1979
- FIG. 5 Sketches by the author
- FIG. 6 A – ÖZDEŞ, 1998: 24; B – AYVERDİ, 2000(III): 68; C – KUBAN, 2007: 398
- FIGS. 7-9 Photos by the author
- FIG. 10 A – KUMBARACI BOGOYEVIÇ, 2008: 287; B – ÜLGEN, 1948

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