



Prospective Aspect of Topography: The Example of the Grand Bazaar (Kapalı Çarşı) in Istanbul

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Abstract

The Grand Bazaar was constructed, there have been significant changes in shopping practices. Particularly the spread of Global trade boosted the opening of new shopping centres, high-street department stores and shopping malls. Despite all these changes in shopping habits, the Grand Bazaar still continues to be an actively used shopping area; it has never lost its customer interest and its socially vivid atmosphere. This research explores the reasons why the Grand Bazaar has not been lost its social dynamism over the course of time? This question has various answers, but this research argues that one of them is particularly related to its peculiar spatial formation that encourages social interactions. In this account; this research methodologically focuses on two main components, these are: how the Grand Bazaar was spatially constructed and how it was experienced by users. These purposes will be accomplished by the analyses of the writings and drawings of the important Western travellers. It is revealed that articulated in topographical account, the Grand Bazaar eliminates the boundaries between the spaces and thus between the people. This continually enhances the mutual relationships between inside and outside. This study focuses on the main interest of the topographic approach which is not much the representative qualities; re-expression of the exterior appearance of the building in shape and profile or any stylistic display, but it is more to create an open venue or a stage which enhances the spatial and social connectivity between interior and exterior worlds, ergo between individual and collective lives. As a result, the study demonstrates how the Grand Bazaar's topographical attitude lends a 'formative' aspect to an architectural context. The Grand Bazaar tries to abolish borders by emphasizing topographical aspects such as permeability, spatiality, and delay in order to create an in-between environment, and also a common social ground.

Keywords:

Dükkân, Grand Bazaar, interior space, social interaction, topography.

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INTRODUCTION

Words and gestures beckon the visitor on all sides. The Greek merchants call out loudly and gesture imperiously. The Armenian, quite as cunning, but humble in manner, solicits you obsequiously; the Jew whispers his offers in your ear; the silent Turk, seated cross-legged on a cushion at the entrance to his shop, just catches your eye. A dozen voices call you: "Monsieur! Captain! Caballero!... At every turn, you glimpse arches and pillars stretching away through every side door, long corridors, narrow alleys... everywhere there are shops, merchandise piled up or hanging from wall and ceiling... there are a hundred little bazaars contained in one great one, and opening one into the other...each bazaar at the same time a museum, a passageway, a market and a theatre, where you may look at everything without buying anything, drink coffee, enjoy the coolness, chatter away in ten languages...(Amicis,1877, p:53).

In the quotation above the Italian traveller Edmondo De Amicis (1846 – 1908) addresses to the very vivid and colourful atmosphere of the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul which reflects the Ottoman's multicultural social life. In that sense Amicis emphasizes how this historic site architecturally persuades the social interactions between the people from different cultures, societies and religions. For him the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul was shaped like an open stage that invites the gathering of the members of different ethnic and religious groups.

As Amicis noted, the Grand Bazaar is not a single block or a self-isolated building; it is spread across the land with its small streets, passages and alleys. It has grown organically as new streets or spaces are added to the existing one (Amicis,1877, p:53). This led the Grand Bazaar to expand horizontally on the ground and to have a land-following character. Overall the whole complex comes out like a huge urban structure with its ground-like form which incorporates the form of the terrain on which it was constructed. Built in this manner, each space in the Grand Bazaar unveils itself as an extension of the previous one. Spatial Integration and connectivity became main principles that directed the formation of the Grand Bazaar (Cezar, 1983). Hence, the boundaries between the spaces are blurred. The Grand Bazaar does not attempt to put strong boundaries and divisions; instead, it makes the spaces open to mutual dialectics. In this regard Amicis draws attention to the reciprocal relations between the spaces, streets and alleys which in turn leads to establishment of the mutual relations between the people and the communities (Amicis,1877, p:53). As he noted even the absence of shop front (or vitrine) in front of the shops eases the communication between the seller, customer and neighbouring merchants.

Since Amicis made all these observations in the 19th century, there have been significant changes in shopping practices and places in İstanbul. Particularly the spread of Global trade boosted the opening of new shopping centres, high-street department stores and shopping malls (Durakbaşa & Cindoğlu, 2002; Işın, 2008; Pamuk, 2006). Despite all these changes, the Grand Bazaar sustains its existence as a social and

commercial venue which continuously persuades social interactions, meetings, gatherings and communications. As Amicis underlined, the Grand Bazaar carries potential for the construction of new social relations (Amicis,1877, p:53). In order to understand how the Grand Bazaar continues its existence as an active social and commercial venue in the present time, it would be useful to have a look at its organization process.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND BAZAAR

According to the Turkish historian Mustafa Cezar, the construction process of the traditional Turkish bazaars starts with the construction of the bedestans. All these spaces - mainly in a rectangular form - come out like an open courtyard or a venue and four doors are located opposite to each wall. Having access from four sides – they symbolize a central meeting point. After bedestan are constructed, they are connected to each other through their four doors and then the streets, passages and small alleys cluster around these central spaces (Cezar, 1983).

Linguistically, in the Turkish language the term used for shopping place, 'çarşı', originates from the Persian word, 'çihar/çar', which means 'four'. Although this term has a Persian origin, in Persian language there is no term as 'çarşı' to address to bazaar or bazaar-like trading places (Bazaar means Çarşı in Turkish based on 'Çar' (چهار) and 'Su' (سو) in Persian.). 'Çarşı' was made up by Turkish people by using the Persian words 'Çar' (چهار) and 'Su' (سو) to explain the Turkish type bazaars (Cezar, 1983). When we look at the meaning of these two words, we can see that 'Çar' comes to meaning as 'four' and 'Su' signifies 'side'. Hence the word 'çar-su' or 'çarşı' simply means 'four sides'. Mustafa Cezar (1983) noted that the term 'çarşı' suggests the central open spaces in the Turkish bazaars which are also named 'bedesten' (bedestan). Hence the term 'çarşı' - which emphasizes 'four' or 'four sides' - addresses the four main doors which open to a central meeting point in 'bedesten' (bedestan) (Cezar, 1983) (figure 1).



Figure 1. Bedestans (central meeting points) covered by the grey domes (Url-1)

As the renowned Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) noted in his book *Seyahatnâme* (book of travels) before the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul takes its complex form, initially İç Bedesten or Cevahir Bedesten

(also named as Old Bedestan) was built by the order of Mehmet II (Mehmet the Conquer) in 1453 (857 according to the Islamic calendar) (Çelebi, 2003). This building has four main doors and each were given different names according to the business group that it represents; the one on the north called Sahaflar Kapısı (the door of booksellers), the other door opens to the west called Takyeciler Kapısı (the door of hat sellers), the next one on the south named Gazazlar Kapısı and the last one opens to the East called Kuyumcular Kapısı (the door of Jewelers) (Çelebi, 2003). All these names show that the four doors made a pathway for the meeting of the different sellers and craftsmen, at the same time they serve as a basis or guide that governs the development of the all complex (Edgü, Ünlü, Şalgamcıoğlu, Mansouri, 2012). Çelebi noted that in later times another bedestan - which was called Yeni Bedesten (New Bedestan) - was built 100 steps away from the old one. Later on these two bedestans were connected to each other and they were circled by the streets, passages and alleys which intersected each other at certain points (Lewis, 1971). Eventually, the whole bazaar complex was intertwined by these small meeting points surrounded around the bedestan.

Arriving at one small meeting point evokes curiosity and the desire to reach the next one and then another journey starts towards the following destinations. The linkage of meeting points through organically winded narrow streets and alleys forms the Grand Bazaar (Gülersoy, 1980). This configuration was the natural result of a bodily movement from one meeting point to another, which encourages the Grand Bazaar to expand in a horizontal direction and take a land-like form (figure 2, 3).

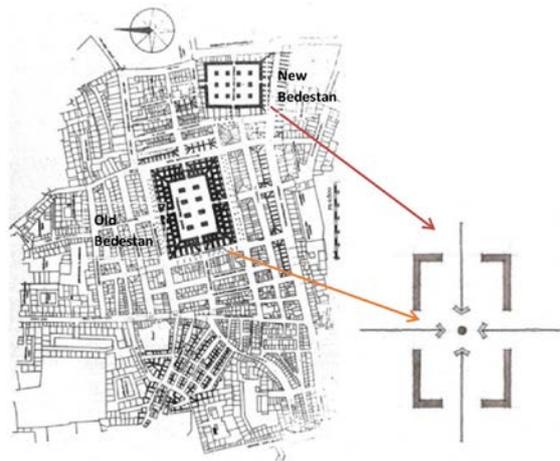


Figure 2. Bedestan and intersection of four directions (Author's drawing based on drawing by Mustafa Cezar in Cezar, M., 1983).

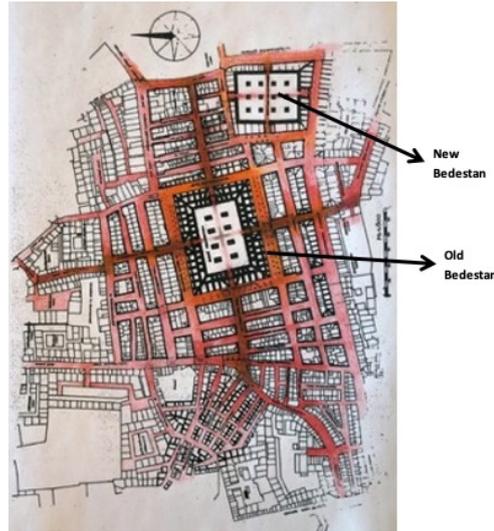


Figure 3. The small meeting points clustered around these bedestans and spread across the site (Cezar, M., 1983).

There are smaller commercial units in the Grand Bazaar which is called in Turkish language 'dükkân' (shops/stores). All these units are lined side by side along the street or in some cases the alley or the passageway. They are like tiny vaulted spaces without any vitrine or façade. The original meaning of 'dükkân' is based on the term 'dagana', which was first encountered in Sumerian language. 'Dagana' does not indicate any architectural structure but a table, a platform or any raised flat top object. Although in some resources 'dagana' is associated with a kind of bench to sit on, most commonly its function was related to commercial purposes, devised for exhibiting products on sale (Botterweck, Ringgren and Fabry, 1995). The surroundings of the 'dagana', a table-like platform was completely open. Neither the platform itself nor the products exhibited on it were covered. Even the platform itself was not located inside an enclosed architectural space; this way, 'dagana' allowed a person to come closer to this selling platform freely and inspect the exhibited item that was intended to be sold (Davies and Faulkner, 1947). Encountering no physical boundary between the selling platform and the customer enabled a person to feel whatever was exhibited from a distance which was close enough to touch; she/he was encouraged to touch, smell, grasp, taste and move around the product. 'Dagana' in that sense offers direct social and tactile contact; openly exhibited items / goods also encourage the customer to have direct social inter-personal contact with the shop-owner and other customers as well.

It can be said that the Grand Bazaar continued this Sumerian 'dagana' concept and there is a tendency not to change this way of exhibiting the products (Wortley, 2001; Pardoe, 1856; Cezar 1983). Accordingly, almost all the current 'dükkâns' (shops/stores) in Turkish bazaars have no front window or vitrine separating inside from outside (there are very small number of shops which have shop fronts). Even in many cases the selling stands are set up in front of those small shop units. This permeability between inside and outside spaces in 'dükkâns' (shops/stores) reminds Le Corbusier's term 'breathing' which he used to describe the Turkish

architecture during his journey to the east in 1911 (Corbusier, 1991; Corbusier, 2007). What Le Corbusier implies with this term is the reciprocity and connectivity of each space. Eliminating the boundaries between 'dükân' and the street allows these two spaces to be interlaced each other and doing so enhances the possibility of direct social engagements. This gives the idea that the primary concern of 'dükân' is not much the outer appearance of the shop's façade but the social interaction between outside and inside communities – between the shop owner and the customer, and the other neighbouring sellers as well (figure 4, 5).

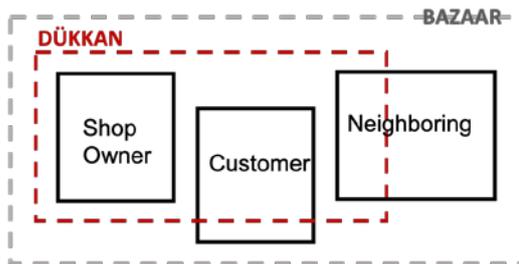


Figure 4. A schematic expression of the social interaction between the dükkan owner and the customer in Bazaar (Author, 2023)



Figure 5. Amadeo Preziosi, The Grand Bazaar, 1867- Carlo Bossoli, The Grand Bazaar, 1845 (Url-2, Url-3)

All these details regarding the organization of the Grand Bazaar show that it was constructed on the spatial and social connectivity. Creating a common ground for the people became a main emphasis in the formation of the Grand Bazaar. In this regard, it responds to the David Leatherbarrow's concept of topography. Thus, in order to formalize some principles, we will take the Leatherbarrow's ideas as a main reference.

CONCEPT OF TOPOGRAPHY

As Leatherbarrow (2004) pointed out in his book *Topographical Stories* as well as in his other works such as *The Roots of Architectural Inventions* and *Uncommon Ground* the relationship between a building and its surrounding site still remains as an important issue both in architectural theory and practice (Rykwert, 1982; Frampton, 1995). He claims that there are two approaches about this subject matter which also effects the way of conceptualizing architecture. Accordingly, while one approach considers the building design to be separated from its landscape and the subject of different discipline, the other idea proposes that these two are not distinct, but are complementary of each other. For Leatherbarrow

(2004) this first approach gives more account to the building form and the pictorial aspect of the buildings facades, however the second reminds that architecture is not only a three dimensional entity with its external walls or physical boundaries but at the same time a territorial issue.

According to this idea any space on earth has a floor or a ground layer which comes out as the part of its surrounding land. Therefore, 'the task of landscape architecture and architecture, as topographical arts, is to provide the prosaic patterns of our lives with durable dimension and beautiful expression.' In that regard, Leatherbarrow draws attention to the territorial or topographical aspect of architecture. He underlines that building has a ground-like organization or in other words, a landscape that carries all bodily and social occupations; performances of everyday life (Leatherbarrow, 2002). He noted that 'the nature and task of designing buildings and cities, [...] is territorial, environmental and topographical, [...], not only architectural' (Leatherbarrow, 2011). This Leatherbarrow's statement is quite parallel to the one that made by Kenneth Frampton; 'situated at the interface of culture and nature, building is as much about the ground as it is about built form' (Frampton, 1995).

As Leatherbarrow explained the term topography refers to the physical aspect of land, the graphic expression of the shape of the ground. In many cases we encounter it as a numerical reading of contour lines which gives us an idea about the changing altitude of the land. However, for Leatherbarrow topography goes beyond this physical definition, it associates with terrain or ground (it could be a ground of an architectural space) upon which we bodily move and act. Therefore, topography also addresses to footprints, enactments, performances, lived experiences and associations - in short, temporal unfolding of human events that all take place on the surface of the land, earth, stage or floor. The human subjectivity staged by the ground is the topic of topography. Thus, in a topographical sense, the main concern of architecture is not much the boundaries of a building or its physical form, but more primarily to articulate a terrain which provides a setting for ongoing pattern of life. As Leatherbarrow exemplified; 'in drama, the action not the actor is primary; similarly, in architecture the situation (such as greeting, gathering, or resting), not the object (a motif, shape, or element), is the radical basis of human significance.' So topography draws attentions to the social and emotional occupations of human body and suggests all these references as a main orientation for the formation of our environment.

Topography also evokes a way of conceptualizing architecture or a manner which addresses to a land-like articulation. For this point, some qualities such as permeability, spatiality and latency that need to be considered for topographical expressions.

Permeability:

In terms of permeability Leatherbarrow (2002) addresses to eliminating any separation between inside and outside by opening the walls of the building and thus, allowing one space to overlap into the other, bringing out the openness. The building has boundaries, external walls and frontal facades that conventionally define its limits and separate it from its landscape. However, eliminating these boundaries allow the landscape to interlace with the building ground. Integration of exterior and interior spaces in that way provides a topographical continuum. In that sense eliminating boundaries means eliminating the frontal exposure of the building, making it less frontal and more territorial and thereby more topographical (Leatherbarrow, 2002). For Leatherbarrow the building in such manner comes into being not in the sense of limitation or demarcation, exposing frontal walls which rigidly separate inside and outside spaces, but, in the sense of extension or continuation of a land from outside to inside and inside to outside (Harries, 2000; Leatherbarrow, 2004). He underlines that when more emphasis is given to the boundaries of the building, the attention is drawn more to the object-like (physical and representative) presence of this architectural setting (Leatherbarrow, 2004).

Amicis' observation about permeability was quite similar to the one by Montagu. Montagu first explains the interior organization of the Grand Bazaar, she talks about inter-connected alleys and mentioned that most of the shops are handsome squares and are admirably well provided (Wortley, 2015). Accordingly, the 'dükkân' (shop/store) in the Grand Bazaar attracts direct involvement. Having no boundary (between inside and outside) it introduces itself as an open stage where you can possibly meet your friend, talk with other people, have your drink and watch others' performance while more freely engaging with the goods (figure 6-7). Hence the 'dükkân' (shop/store) comes into being in the sense of an open platform and in this case, the openness enhances the possibility of inter-personal contact.



Figure 6. Cesare Biseo, shoe shop in the Grand Bazaar, 1877 (Amicis, ED,1877)

Figure 7. the 'dükkâns' (Shop/stores) in the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul (Url-4)



Topography on the other hand is not in favour of 'frontalism' (Leatherbarrow, 2004). Therefore, the main interest of the topographic approach is not much the representative qualities; re-expression of the outer appearance of the building in shape and profile, but it is more to create an open venue or a stage which enhances the spatial and social connectivity between interior and exterior worlds, ergo between individual and collective lives. Constructing society and culture through constructing relations is the key point of topographic articulation. For this purpose, Leatherbarrow suggests topography as an alternative to the approach that tends to favour frontality and pictorialism (Leatherbarrow, 2011).

Spatiality:

Spatiality is the other point that we need to consider for topographical articulations. As Leatherbarrow noted, topography has a continuous character; geographically ground extends from one place to another and this extension gives it a continuous form that leads ways, routes or paths for connecting different locations, habitations and destinations (Leatherbarrow, 2002). In other words, topography offers a journey or an expedition that takes us from one space to another, it acts like a bond that enables transition between different realms. Having continual aspect, topography suggests connectivity, an interconnection of spaces. Looking from a topographical point of view, space is not a self-contained, individual entity which encloses itself against its surrounding premises; it rather acts as a reference for the formation of the next one. Hence, one space comes into being as an extension of another.

The strong linkage between the spaces also encourages bodily movement; one space dissolving to the next one, paves the way for the progression of the sentient body in depth. Topography constructs spatial continuity which underlines spatiality and movement in the space (Leatherbarrow, 2004). It attributes that space is not only a three-dimensional geometric figure, therefore, it is not only pictorial but also territorial and situational: We move throughout the space(s) and doing that we experience the spatial and environmental changes. Changing our position from one location to another, we encounter different spatial qualities such as low and high, dark and bright, warm and cool etc. Each of these qualities evokes sentimental stimulus (Leatherbarrow, 2004). As a result of that, space becomes constructed mentally as the collection of all these experiences in a duration of time. Such approach suggests

approaching space from a corporeal aspect; it offers a mode of spatial perception which is gained by movement, touch, and other active bodily involvements (O'Neill, 2001). In that sense, space is not only meant to be seen but also meant to be experienced through a body in movement.

Latency:

Topographic articulations are horizontally extended structures; they continually direct themselves towards the back and thus tend to recede into a condition of latency (Leatherbarrow, 2002). As Rudolf Arnheim explained, when the objects take upright position, they gain more frontal character, they repose their frontal face and become more discernible with their facades or external surfaces (Arnheim, 1977). However, when they lie down, they eliminate their frontal exposure and become less frontal and more territorial. In the case of taking ground-like horizontal position the objects are directed towards a destination at the back. In other words, their frontal face is drawn towards the back and this withdrawal creates a land-like empty space in their front. The objects in this position do not characterize themselves as a frontal barrier but as a plane, a passage or a pathway that evokes a desire to arrive to a destination at the back.

Leatherbarrow (2004) likens this situation to a natural phenomenon: As we proceed horizontally on the ground we approach to the horizon but whenever we approach, it goes farther ahead and keeps itself remote like an unreachable target. As the horizon moves back, it gives us a piece of ground which continually drives us to move towards this final destination. Leatherbarrow underlines that in topographic articulations, the frontal façade is always withdrawn or hidden at the back. Latency is more important than any frontal exposure. Considering the main concern of topography is not picture-like display of representational shapes, styles and motifs, it is rather to create ground-like spaces, open platforms that invite bodily movements and occupations (Leatherbarrow, 2004).

TOPOGRAPHY IN GRAND BAZAAR

Permeability, Spatiality and Latency are highlighted by Leatherbarrow as the qualities that bring us a ground for understanding the topographic (land-following) manner in architecture. All these qualities respond to the western traveller's observations, writings and paintings about the Grand Bazaar, it is possible to encounter the similar aspects as noted in their recordings regarding this long-standing historic structure. In that account this chapter will analyse the memories of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), Julia Sophie Pardoe (1806 – 1862) and Edmondo De Amicis (1846 – 1908) - who are well-known in the western literature with their observations about the Ottoman city life and the engravings made by the British artist William Henry Bartlett (1809 – 1854) – who created the illustrations of the Pardoe's Book the Beauties of the Bosphorus.

Experiencing Permeability in the Grand Bazaar

Lady Montagu stayed in İstanbul 1717-18 as the wife of Edward Worthley, British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. She was the first English woman to write about her travels in Ottoman Lands, she recorded her observations in her letters which had been collected and published later on under the title *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (originally published in 1763). Montagu's letters became inspiration for the other English writer, Julia Sophie Pardoe who stayed in İstanbul from 1836 to 1837, as the daughter of a British Army Officer Major Thomas Pardoe. Like Lady Montagu, Pardoe collected all her travel notes, observations and memories and published them in her book *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* in 1838.

Montagu mentioned the Grand Bazaar in her letter numbered 42 as follows: 'The exchanges are noble buildings, full of fine alleys, the greatest part supported with pillars [...]. Every trade has their distinct alley [...] and people walk here as much for diversion as business (Wortley, 2015).' Montagu reveals the Grand Bazaar's organization, long pathways and then 'the greatest part supported with pillars' which is 'bedesten', and after addresses to the diversity of people walking and gathering in the Grand Bazaar. This is not so different from Pardoe's observations; however, Pardoe gives more detailed information about her experience in the Grand Bazaar:

The interest of Tcharchi exists in its great extent, its peculiar arrangement, and the picturesque effects constantly produced by the shifting groups who people it, and whose diversity of costume, countenance, and national character, tends to arouse the admiration and curiosity of every visitor (Pardoe, 1856).

Pardoe underlines the two important parts of the Grand Bazaar; one is the spatial arrangement of the building and the other is the dynamic social atmosphere produced by the crowd of people constantly moving from one place to another. At first glance, the text gives the impression that it is the peculiar arrangement of the building that facilitates the gathering of different ethnic people – whose diversity reflects upon their gestures. Pardoe continues her description as follows:

It must not be imagined that the bazaars of the East are vast apartments filled with rows of trim counters, over strewn with toys and trinkets, and all the gaud and glitter which are the charm of such lounging-places in London. There is no prettiness in the great commercial mart of the Moslems; their Tcharchi is composed of a cluster of streets, of such extent and number as to resemble a small covered town, the roof being supported by arches of solid masonry (Pardoe, 1856).

Similar to Montagu, Pardoe implies that the Grand Bazaar is not a single block building where the all goods are stored. The spaces in the Grand Bazaar stretched like a street and all the buildings are dispersed across the surface of the land-like a small town. In a similar way Bartlett emphasizes the topographic disclosure of the Grand Bazaar. He made four very well-known engravings about this traditional building for Pardoe's

book and none of them focuses only a single 'dükkân' (shop/store) or a single part of the building. They particularly showed how the interior spaces of the Grand Bazaar were extended in a ground-like manner and how these extended spaces were infilled with the crowd of people (figure 8).



Figure 8. William Henry Bartlett's engravings about the Grand Bazaar in İstanbul, in 1838 (Pardoe, J. S., 1856)

In these engravings the dark, gloomy archways (street or passage ways) are followed by the (comparatively) brighter ones and in some engravings a very bright doorway (probably the exit door) which was located at the far end. It gives the impression that after walking along the dark archway you encounter the new (brighter) one. It is like each time you approach to the end (or the exit), you are given another way to walk on. In Bartlett's engravings each space in the Grand Bazaar opens itself to the next one or a new world. In addition, the brighter space following the darker one draws attention to the back. What we understood from Bartlett's engravings is that the Grand Bazaar tends to present itself as a backdrop setting; it withdraws itself into a condition of latency.

In one part of the text Pardoe (1856) notes that '[...] all the gaud and glitter which are the charm of such lounging places in London. There is no prettiness in the great commercial mart of the Moslems; their Tcharchi is composed of a cluster of streets [...].' For Pardoe the Grand Bazaar does not introduce itself in a visual attraction; there is not much gaud and glitter that pleases the eyes. In a similar way Bartlett depicted the interiors of the Grand Bazaar as a dark, gloomy atmosphere. Although the details were precisely elaborated, in major parts of the paintings they were obscured in shade and shadow; it gives the impression that the Grand Bazaar is embedded in a mysterious ambiance.

It seems Bartlett gives account of the emotional state created by the dim environment. In his engravings the Grand Bazaar tempts to hide its object-like physical presence and offers itself more in an emotional mode. In addition, he draws attention to the darker spaces counterpointed by the (comparatively) brighter one. The sequence of these opposite spatial qualities (having brighter space just after the darker one, and vice versa) creates a transitional effect between the spaces. Each passage introduces

itself as a threshold that paves a way to the next one, constructed in an opposite spatial quality (figure 9).

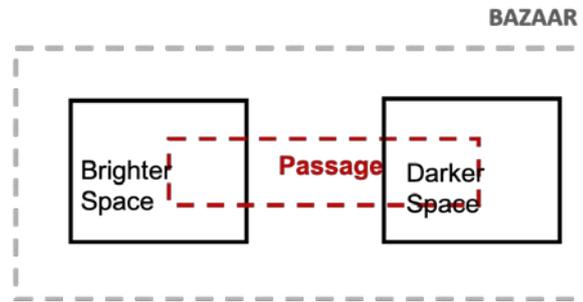


Figure 9. A schematic expression of the interaction between space and topography in Bazaar (Author, 2023)

Arriving from narrow and dark passages into open and light places gives the visitor a sensation of spaciousness. The numerous roles and sections of the covered bazaar (which can also be the entrance areas of other venues such as squares, mosques, or courtyards) are represented by these crossing points.

Experiencing Spatiality in the Grand Bazaar

The other fact depicted in the drawings is the moving people which were displayed along with these changing spatial and emotional qualities. It is as if Bartlett tried to show how the transitional effect and the changing spatial mood (from darker to brighter space, and vice versa) promote the movement of people. It can be seen in his paintings that changing spatial mood creates a rhythmic order that narrates the topographic structure of the Grand Bazaar. This at the same time converts such a cumbersome structure into a socially active place. Looking from Bartlett's point of view we can see Pardoe's words: "There is no prettiness in the great commercial mart of the Moslems; their Tcharchi is composed of a cluster of streets [...]" (Pardoe, 1856) - which draws attention to the topographic account of the Grand Bazaar that prioritizes the experiential and social qualities of the space. In the following part of the text Pardoe underlined how densely the Grand Bazaar was populated:

A narrow gallery, slightly fenced by a wooden rail, occasionally connects these arches: and it is extraordinarily to look down from one of them upon the changeful and motley crowd below; nor is it, perhaps, less singular to the stranger, when he has gained this giddy elevation, to find himself surrounded by numbers of doves, whom his vicinity fails to disturb, and who appear to be so habituated to human contact and human turmoil, and to have suffered both so long with impunity, as to have become regardless alike of the one and the other (Pardoe, 1856).

Again it might be helpful to read Pardoe's explanations through Bartlett's engravings. As seen in his works, Bartlett's interest is focused more on the spatiality of the Grand Bazaar; he particularly showed how spatial organization in this traditional premise situated human events; greetings, gatherings, areas of resting. In these paintings there are no

spaces parcelled out as isolated locations. Neither of them have rigid boundaries that internalize or externalize people. At almost every corner the Grand Bazaar unfolds itself as an open platform for hosting the possible social encounters. As evident in the paintings, as a result of this openness people stay and stand together, and participate in different activities. It is also possible to see the socializing people who are clustered around the openly exhibited goods in front of the 'dükân's' (shops/stores). In short, Bartlett's engravings show how the topographic qualities permeability, spatiality and latency hold potential for re-structuring social relations (figure 10).

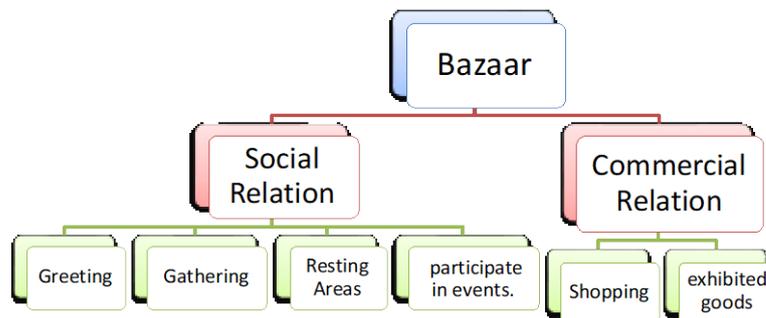


Figure. 10 The Schema of Spatial- Functional Configuration of Istanbul Bazaar (Author, 2023)

In Bartlett's engravings the interior of the Grand Bazaar is depicted as a dark ambience, in most part its object-like presence was presented in an unclean and weary appearance. This gives this setting an aged impression. It is unavoidable that with its physical (object-like) presence the Grand Bazaar already took its place in the past as an old building. On the other hand, Bartlett created a contrasting effect against this dark, frozen and weary look of the Grand Bazaar by putting actively moving people. As if the environment of this old and tired setting was re-energized by the people in the act of moving, greeting and socializing. Even today it can be seen that the Grand Bazaar provides common and sharable ground that enables to re-structure social relations – it still delivers an equal ground for everyone, inviting gatherings and meetings. The same social density and integration can be found in the present Grand Bazaar although many things have been changed in this traditional premise since 1830. In this regard, both Pardoe's text and Bartlett engravings suggest us to re-consider the topographic structure of the Grand Bazaar, making this setting promising for the future as it continuously allows and encourages social engagement.

Edmondo De Amicis, the Italian novelist, journalist, poet and short-story writer, shared the same ideas with Montagu, Pardoe and Bartlett about the experience of the Grand Bazaar. Amicis visited İstanbul in 1874 and makes very detailed observations about the city's daily life and its architecture; important public spaces, locations and squares. Later he collected all his notes and published them in a book under the title of *Costantinopoli* in 1877. Later publications of this book were enriched by

the illustrations by the Italian painter Cesare Biseo (1843 – 1909) who accompanied Amicis during his travel to İstanbul and Morocco.

The Grand Bazaar was one of the places that attracted Amicis attention. In his book he so often underlines that Grand Bazaar is the heart of İstanbul as it offers a ground for the gathering of different ethnic, religious and social groups that dwelled in the city. After this notation he begins to narrate his experience of the Grand Bazaar with his arrival to the complex:

The outside of the Grand Bazaar has nothing to attract the eye, or give an idea of its contents. [...] The principle entrance is an arched doorway of no particular architectural distinction; in the streets outside you hear no noise from within at all – even when you are standing just in front of the door it still seems that there's only silence and solitude within those fortress walls. But once inside you stand wildered. You find yourself not in a building, but a labyrinth of streets under vaults and flanked by carved columns and pillars; a veritable city, with its mosque, fountains, crossroads and little squares, dimly lit like a thick forest into which no ray of sunlight penetrates; and filled by a dense throng of people (Amicis, 1877).

Experiencing Latency in the Grand Bazaar

As Amicis claimed, the gates of the Grand Bazaar are not conspicuous and thus not very distinctive from the built environment. The other common point of these gates is that the entrance is provided through an arched doorway and their heights are lower than the height of the arched vault or ceiling in the inside of the building (figure 11) (Kuban, 2016; Gülersoy, 1980). To enter the building, someone passes through a (comparatively) quiet street and then is faced with an arched doorway with light grey colour due to its limestone cladded surface. After walking through this doorway with the lower ceiling, one is startled suddenly by a very high, noisy and dark interior space and thus the building itself makes people aware that they are actually inside. As Amicis noted, in the Grand Bazaar you feel your entrance by experiencing the changes in the atmosphere of the spaces while bodily moving on the ground.

Figure 11. The entrance of Grand Bazaar (Url-5).



In line with Amicis' perception, the Grand Bazaar tends to introduce itself more in a spatial and experiential way, giving it a more topographical account.

Each street is a bazaar and almost all lead out of one main street, with an arched roof of black and white stone, [...] At every turn, you glimpse arches and pillars stretching away through every side door, long corridors, narrow alleys, distant and confused views of the bazaar, and everywhere there are shops, merchandise piled up or hanging from wall and ceiling, [...] Each kind of merchandise has its own particular quarter, its street, its corridor and its public square. There are hundred little bazaars contained in one great one, and opening one into the other [...] (Amicis, 1877) (figure 12).



Figure 12. Latency in frontal section of Istanbul Bazaar (Pardoe, J. S., 1856)

As understood from Amicis' text, each street (or passage way) – which in a way specializes in one particular merchandise – comes out as the extension of the previous one. As Amicis noted, 'At every turn, you glimpse arches and pillars [...]' (Amicis, 1877). This means when you arrive to the end of one street surprisingly the next one appears. Each of these streets, arranged in a rhythmic order, prolongs the curiosity by delaying arrival to the final destination. Hence each arrival to one street evokes a desire to reach the distant one. In that sense, Amicis' experience of the Grand Bazaar is quite parallel to what Le Corbusier observed about traditional Turkish architecture during his journey to the east in 1911. In his notations, he mentioned that Turkish architecture comes into being in the account of 'back' (Corbusier, 2007). As David Leatherbarrow explained, back is less frontal. It is never a destination that comes into being as just a frontal aspect; rather it is part of journey yet to be completed. From another perspective, 'back' means emptying; drawing back the frontal façade of a building to create an open platform in the front that invites bodily movement (Leatherbarrow, 2002). In a similar way, in the Grand Bazaar one street opens to the other one and thus arrival to the final exit is delayed. This delay encourages someone to move throughout the streets. In that sense the Grand Bazaar narrates itself as a chorographical experience; it expects someone to communicate

with the space by moving from one point to the other and to have active bodily participation with the environment.

In the following parts of his writings, Amicis explains his shopping experience and the 'dükkân' (shop/store) in the Grand Bazaar as follows:

[...] and each bazaar is at the same time a museum, a passageway, a market and a theatre, where you may look at everything without buying anything, drink coffee, enjoy the coolness, chatter away in ten languages, and make eyes at the prettiest women in the Orient. [...] There are two rows of glittering shops, making the street look like a room in a palace, or like one of those gardens in Arabian tales, where the trees have golden leaves blossoms of pearl. [...] The walls are stacked with slippers; in velvet, in leather, in brocade, in satin, in the most startling colours and the oddest shapes [...] (Amicis, 1877).

Amicis resembles the passageway and the shopfronts to a theatre or an open stage where one can encounter social acts and performances. He emphasizes that these are the places that not only the products are exhibited at, but also where social interactions happen. What we understood from Amicis' notes are the products are not stored inside of the 'dükkân' (shop/store), they are taken out and hang on the outside walls – therefore they look like leaves of an arched tree branch. As mentioned before this way of arrangement provides unobstructed access to the goods on display.

The analysis of these western scholars' works reveals that the Grand Bazaar addresses to the topographic qualities of permeability, spatiality and latency. It is also portrayed that these qualities play important role in converting this old setting into a socially active location. It can be said that its unbounded character enables itself to unfold for the performance of the everyday events.

Politics of the Grand Bazaar

This topographic account can also be read from the perspective of Ottoman Economic Policy. As the Turkish historian Halil İnalçık's (1916-2016) outlined in his book titled *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300 – 1914*, the Ottoman Empire had autocratic centralist government and a command economy: "The Ottoman Sultans endeavoured to indicate to the masses that the sultan was their ultimate protector against all manner of local abuses and injustices" (İnalçık, 1994). Hence the purpose of this central power was to provide equilibrium in the state and the society which is necessary to maintain this multi-cultural empire, united and whole. Regarding this approach İnalçık showed the reign of Mehmed II (Mehmet the Conqueror) as an example. After taking over İstanbul, he repopulated the city with Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish colonies from various parts of the state. He also invited the Greek and Armenian patriarch to take up residence in İstanbul and proclaimed himself as a protector of equality among these communities (İnalçık, 1994; Işın, 2008).

All these ethnic people were skilled in a particular craft and were used to maintain their life as tradesmen. The idea was that giving those tradesmen and artisans equal status would gather them on a common ground, encourage them to cooperate and share their knowledge and experiences. This would pave the way for the establishment of reciprocal relations and cultural exchanges which was all necessary for reviving the economy and creating a highly skilled universal society (Işın, 2008).

Looking from this perspective, construction of the Grand Bazaar just after the conquest of İstanbul was not a coincidence. As Montagu, Pardoe and Amicis noted, bazaar was populated with the Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish tradesmen and artisans. Accordingly, the Grand Bazaar was used as a device to facilitate reciprocal relations among those different ethnic and religious communities. As discussed above, the topographic structure of the Grand Bazaar unveils the boundaries, homogenizes the spaces, unifies and binds together almost everything that strives apart. From this point of view, the topographic manner in the Grand Bazaar cannot be thought independent from Ottoman social and economic policy which was set up on the purpose of creating a universal empire.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of this study highlights that, owing to its topographic character the Grand Bazaar intends to open its doors to the members of all classes – supply the needs of everyday life of all the society at the same venue; while removing the boundaries between inside and outside it provides a more homogenous ground that does not suggest to distinguish the consumption norms and practices based on the income of upper and lower class. Along with that the Grand Bazaar exemplifies that the main concern of topographic mode is not much the aesthetic display of the commercial goods or the attractive appearance of the façade of the shops but the social connectivity which eradicates the social barriers between the societies.

The topographic manner in the Grand Bazaar fulfils the cultural desire of social connectivity; it shows the unchanging temptation to be open to all social interactions.

The Grand Bazaar underlines the topographic qualities of permeability, spatiality and latency – all of which are constructed with the notion of the reciprocity between the spaces and the people. They intend to eliminate the boundaries to give space for constituting an in-between realm, or a common world.

In this regard, the Bazaar is an important topographical example that strengthens both socio-cultural and commercial linkages, developing human relations, bringing people together, and bringing them into a partnership or dialog. At this point we can say that the Grand Bazaar consistently fulfills this need as putting reciprocity in its central focus. This permits this historic environment to sustain its existence in a fast

changing modern world while maintaining the same dynamic atmosphere.

Moreover, the Grand Bazaar shows how the topographic manner gives an architectural setting 'formative' aspect; with its external appearance, stylistic motifs, construction techniques and materials the Grand Bazaar represents to a particular period in history. However the topographic qualities – permeability, spatiality and latency – continually encourage new social engagements and dialectics through the course of time. Charged with all these qualities the Grand Bazaar remains promising for the construction of new relations in the future. This gives this old setting a 'formative' and thus a prospective (future-directed) vision. In that sense we can say that topography offers a renewable ground that takes setting beyond the representational, pictorial and historicist limitations.

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