THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMERCIAL SPACE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL: THE CASE OF BÜYÜK YENİ HAN (1)

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ISTANBUL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: URBAN RENEWAL

There were two important developments in Istanbul at the beginning of the eighteenth century that were to have an effect on the khan-type structures. First, in 1701, Mustafa II (1695-1703) decided that many commercial buildings in the bedestan region would be covered with a vaulted roof structure. With this order, approximately 4000 shops, 2 bedestans, about 20 khans, mosques and other buildings that had partially arched masonry roof, were transformed into one big structure (Topal, 2001; 512). The other is that the Sultan and his court whose de facto residence was in Edirne between 1658 and 1703, returned to Istanbul following the "Edirne Incident" of 1703. New Sultan, Ahmed III (1703-1730) started construction projects to meet the essential needs of the city after half a century of absence of the court from the capital while he also organized a series of imperial feasts and ceremonies which enlivened the capital and kept its residents busy. Such events displayed the power of the royal family and made its presence felt in the city (Cerasi, 1999; Eldem, 1999; Hamadeh, 2007).

Furthermore, the eighteenth century was a period when public spaces became more visible in the urban landscape in the capital. Throughout this century, coffeehouses became bigger and more common (Kırlı, 2000; Yaşar, 2009), the number of public baths reached its highest point (Yaşar, 2014; Ergin, 2015), piers developed alongside waterfront palaces and residences along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus (Artan, 1989), public fountains offered socialization opportunities (Hamadeh, 2002), the number of excursion and picnic sites increased (Hamadeh, 2007) and numerous public libraries were founded (Sezer, 2016) and due to all of these Istanbul residents became more and more visible in the public space.

Besides, the construction of the Nuriosmaniye Mosque complex, completed in 1755, led to a renewed visibility of imperial mosques with a new architectural style in the urban landscape (Kuban, 2007; Peker, 2010;

Rustem, 2013). Following that, the construction of the Ayazma complex (1757-1760), Laleli complex (1760-1764) by Mustafa III (1757-1774), the construction of Hamidiye complex in Eminönü and Beylerbeyi Mosque (1777-1778) by Abdulhamid I (1774-1789), the construction of Selimiye complex (1801-1805) on the Anatolian side by Selim III (1789-1807), reestablished the presence and legitimacy of the royal family in Istanbul (Crane, 1991; Rustem, 2013). These blocks of buildings which brought together traditional architectural attitudes with Baroque influence and the new ornamentation elements in the interior spaces offered the public a completely different spectacle (Kuban, 2007; Rustem, 2013). Eighteenth-century Istanbul was revitalized by reconciling earlier trends with the new, which made it possible for the city to maintain its status as an imperial capital (Artan, 2010).

In the midst of all this expansion, Istanbul had to deal with a wave of migration perhaps more intense than it had ever seen before (Faroqhi, 1998; Zarinebaf, 2011; Başaran, 2014). This migration flow also coincided with the gradually increasing international trade following the Treaty of Pasarowitz (1718) and the increasing internal trade within the Ottoman Empire (Eldem, 1999). The question of how the need for the development of urban infrastructure that was necessitated by the expanding trade capacity and population pressure was met is an important issue that needs to be studied in detail. In this context, this paper will focus on the study of commercial building investments in the city to meet these demands, particularly the construction of khans in the city center, and the role of these construction projects in urban transformation by focusing on a specific example, Büyük Yeni Han.

CONSTRUCTION AND RENOVATION OF KHANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

As research draw attention, Istanbul experienced intensive masonry construction of khans through the eighteenth century (Benli, 2007; Yaşar, 2016). It would be meaningful to study these investments involving khan-type buildings in the eighteenth-century Istanbul in two categories: renovation work (tecdîd) and new construction (müceddeden inşa). Of these two categories of khan building, renovation work is mostly witnessed in the construction efforts following the return of the royal family to Istanbul and following natural disasters while new construction work is evident in the historical process that starts with the approximately 150 shops surrounding the Nuriosmaniye complex, that reaches its pinnacle with the new khan constructions of Mustafa III in 1760s and continues till the end of the century.

Within renovation practice, we generally observe that the existing structure was extensively rebuilt in a new plan and a new style, and in other cases, a timber khan was rebuilt in masonry. Many outstanding khans, namely, Simkeşhane in 1119 / 1707; Çuhacı Han on the site of Beg Caravanserai located to the east of Kapalıçarşı, which was a fifteenth century building and needed extensive repairs by this time, between 1718 and 1730; Bodrum Han, another fifteenth century structure, and Cebeci Han, which was built by the waqf of Rüstem Pasha in the sixteenth century, were renovated in this period. Moreover, many khans that were either destroyed by disasters such as fires or earthquakes or that fell into disrepair over the course of time were renovated within the framework of the timber versus masonry construction debate. The renovation efforts after the fire of 1717 covered

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about 25 khans that were timber constructions (Ergin, 1995, 992); after the 1766 earthquake, the khans that were damaged, namely, Hasan Pasha Han, Şekerciler Han, Vezir Han, and Esir Pazarı Han were renovated (Mazlum, 2011).

Meanwhile, the new construction was relatively less common at the beginning of the century but became a lot more frequent starting from 1760s. Generally speaking, these new construction investments were made by the royal family or by the viziers who were married into the royal family. Çuhacı Han by İbrahim Pasha, Ali Pasha Han by Çorlulu Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha Han by grand vizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha are prominent among khan investments by viziers. In addition, as seen in the case of Hacı Beşir Ağa, new khan constructions by the Chief Eunuch of the Harem are also documented. On the other hand, in the period starting with Mustafa III, the Sultans themselves appear among the chief investors in new khan constructions. To the extent of our knowledge based on existing records, Mustafa III (1757-1774) was the first Ottoman Sultan who commissioned khan construction project in Istanbul since Mehmed II (1451-1481). Among the khan projects by the Sultans in this period, Büyük Yeni Han, Küçük Yeni Han and Tas Han in Bahçekapı by Mustafa III, İmaret Han in Bahçekapı by Abdulhamid I, Sünbüllü Han on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, Çinili Han in Tarakçılar and Dülbentçi Han in Gedikpaşa by Selim III stand out (Yaşar, 2016). In addition to Sultans and bridegrooms (damad) of the royal family, many waqf founders and administrators also invested in the construction of new khans in the commercially lucrative districts of Istanbul, particularly in the central commercial districts (Pinon-Demircivi, 2009; Yasar, 2016). According to two registers, most probably from early nineteenth century, nearby 593 khans (including 175 bachelor chambers) operated in different parts of Ottoman Istanbul (Yaşar, 2016).

The intense khan building activity in the Ottoman capital in the eighteenth century can be read as the state's attempt to participate in and to direct the overland and overseas commercial traffic destined for Istanbul's central market. As will be discussed in more detail in the later parts of this paper, the strategic investments that also targeted the development of certain parts of the commercial center raises the question of whether these were carefully planned by the imperial power or done randomly. The data presented by Elena Frangakis-Syrett regarding trade between Marseilles and Istanbul in the eighteenth century points to interesting developments. Between 1750 and 1785, export from Istanbul to Marseilles increased 45% while import from Marseilles to Istanbul increased 203%, with an increase of 78% in the total volume of trade between the two cities (Frangakis-Syrett, 1992). The commercial capacity of the Ottoman capital, which increased steadily until the Ottoman-Russian war of 1768-1774, continued to increase, especially in terms of imports due to increasing internal demand. In this context, imperial khan investments in Istanbul can be seen as a result of the increasing trade in the Mediterranean, and in connection to the increase in the total volume of trade over land and sea (Murphey, 2008).

SULTAN'S PATRONAGE IN KHAN ARCHITECTURE: MUSTAFA III AND BÜYÜK YENI HAN

The relatively short three-year reign of Osman III (1754-1757) was followed by the longer and more eventful reign of Mustafa III. Mustafa III ascended the throne on October 30, 1757 and after 17 years of reign, died on January 21, 1774. The atmosphere of economic prosperity at the time

of his accession to the throne and the demands of the economy prompted Mustafa III to launch grand mosque projects that would consolidate his authority in the city and to make economic investments necessitated by the increasing volume of trade. Mustafa III continued the sultanic mosque projects that had restarted with Nuriosmaniye Mosque, with the construction of Ayazma Mosque in Üsküdar (1757-1760) and Laleli Complex (1760-1764) in the Laleli quarter (Rustem, 2013). Both construction projects in the first years of his reign and the repair and reconstruction work such as Fatih Mosque, carried out in the aftermath of the 1766 earthquake (*zelzele-i azîme*) constituted additions that changed the urban silhouette of Istanbul (Mazlum, 2011).

According to the records of Laleli Sultan Mustafa III waqf dating to March 13, 1764, to which an addendum was attached in 1773, Mustafa III commissioned the construction of three khans in different parts of Istanbul. The first two of these khans are Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han built on the Çakmakçılar Ramp. The construction of these two khans were completed towards the end of 1763. Of the two, Küçük Yeni Han, as described in the waqfiyya, was built in the form of a three-storey structure upon a land of 1790 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 1028 m²). This structure is a medium-size commercial khan that had 14 rooms, a toilet and a vaulted room on each floor with a total of 42 rooms, with 6 additional shops on the Çakmakçılar Ramp (VGMA 642, 1764). It was probably completed towards the end of 1763; gediks for the khan's rooms started to be given out in December 1763. The third khan built by Mustafa III, is Taş Han which was constructed in the Port area of Istanbul, just outside Bahçekapı. According to its wagfiyya, the khan was built outside Bahçekapı on a land of 970 zira'-i terbi' (approximately 557 m²) in the form of a two-storey structure with 15 rooms and two small rooms on the top floor, 6 vaulted rooms on the ground floor, 11 shops and a francala bakery that open onto the main road (VGMA 642, 1764).

The Construction of the Büyük Yeni Han

Among the khans included in the waqf of Mustafa III, Büyük Yeni Han, both in terms of its scale and architectural properties in comparison to other khans of Istanbul, has a distinguishing identity of its own. The khan is located quite close to Kapalıçarşı, up the Çakmakçılar Ramp across the street from Valide Han and next to Küçük Yeni Han (**Figure 1**). The Çakmakcılar Ramp and the Mercan region, especially following the construction of Büyük Valide Han in the middle of the seventeenth century entered a period of intense commercial transformation. Sünbüllü Han, Büyük Yeni Han, Küçük Yeni Han and many other small-scale khans were constructed along the ramp especially during the eighteenth century, which improved the commercial potential of this area through the concentration particularly of *sarrâfs* and other merchants dealing with precious metals (**Figure 2**). Büyük Yeni Han was clearly the most central and striking commercial building of this district extending between Mahmudpaşa and Uzun Çarşı (Pinon-Demircivi, 2009; Yaşar, 2016).

The Construction Process

There no detailed monographic historical study of Büyük Yeni Han exists. Aside from encyclopedic articles on the construction details of this significant eighteenth-century khan, information on its architectural properties have been documented in a number of studies (Güran, 1976; Benli, 2007; Pinon-Demircivi, 2009; Gülenaz, 2011). However, property

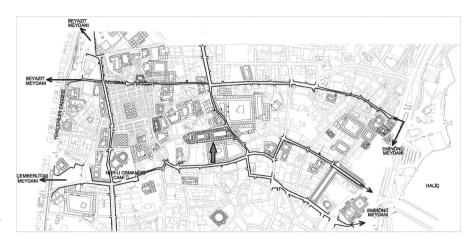


Figure 1. The location of Büyük Yeni Han in the commercial district of Istanbul (Gürpınar, 2009)

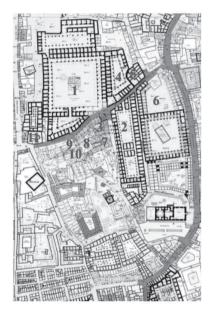


Figure 2. The khans located on Çakmakçılar ramp. The names of these khans and their date of construction are as follows: (1) Valide Hanı, 1650; (2) Büyük Yeni Han, 1763, (3) Küçük Yeni Han, 1763, (4) Sümbüllü Han, late 18th century; (5) Mustafa Paşa Hanı, late 18th century; (6) Kürkçü Han, late 16th century; (7) Kumrulu Han, 18th century; (8) Küçük Ticaret Han, early 19th century; (10) Çinili Han, late 18th century; (11) Boncukçu Han, 18th century.

exchange documents (istibdâl), waqfiyyas, construction registers and other archival documents offer information about the construction process, the chronology of construction, the appropriation of the land on which it was built, the materials used in the construction and on the construction officials. In fact, istibdâl records found in Istanbul ahkâm (verdicts) registers can give us an idea about the construction dates and how the land was procured (Özkaya, 2015). Istibdâl, which means an exchange of properties belonging to individuals and foundations, was one of the methods used for the procurement of land during the construction of Büyük Yeni Han. Three such property exchange decisions issued between August 2, 1761 and October 20, 1761 indicate that the construction of the khan began immediately following these dates. In the first property exchange decision that we have, dated August 2-11, 1761, in order to procure construction ground for the Büyük Yeni Han, defined as "müceddeden binâsına mübâşeret olunan hân" (the new khan whose construction is beginning), the land here belonging to Çavuşbaşı Ali Agha waqf, a 911 zira'-i terbi' (approximately 523 m²) plot which contained a stone vault, kitchen and miscellaneous outhouses was exchanged for properties in various places in Istanbul (BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/29/87, 1761). While the land was being procured for the khan on the one hand, on the other hand a petition was submitted to the palace for a permit on August 5, 1761 for one thousand kantars of iron from the Cebehâne-i Âmire (The Imperial Armoury) to be used in the foundation and structural framework of the new khan (BOA C.SM. 652, 1761). Also between September 1-10, 1761 "binâ ve inşâsına mübâşeret olınan hân-ı kebîr hudûdi dâhilinde" (within the site of the new khan whose construction is launching), a house built on a 700 zira'-i terbi' (approximately 402 m²) land was exchanged for an estate house in Edirnekapı (BOA A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d. 6/42/118, 1761). In another record dated from October 11-20, 1761, probably because the construction of the khan had already started, it is referred by the clerk as "Saka çeşmesi kurbunda Dâye Hâtûn mahallesinde vâkı' hân-ı kebîr" (the great khan that is located in the vicinity of Saka Fountain in the Dâye Hâtûn Quarter). In this document, it is also reported that a 1080 zira'-i terbi' (approximately 620 m²) land was subjected to property exchange in return for many other properties in various parts of Istanbul (BOA A.DVNS.AHK. İS.d. 6/45/125, 1761).

In the waqfiyya, it is explained that some of the land of the Büyük Yeni Han belonged to the Sultan's estates, while the rest was procured through the means of 'istibdâl ve temellük' (property exchange and seizing) from various

foundations (VGMA 642, 1764). The three above-mentioned 'istibdâl' records reveal that 1545 m² of the 8491.5 zira'-i terbi' (approximately 4647 m²) land on which the khan was constructed, which is almost one third of the total area, was procured through property exchange (VGMA 642, 1764). Although we cannot ascertain with certainty how the remaining two thirds of the land were obtained, it is obvious that the construction official spent intensive effort on the procurement of the land.

Meanwhile, no information on the architect exists in the secondary literature on the khan, while archival documents provide us only with a set of names. In one of the documents, it is pointed out that the khan was being constructed under the auspices of "Şehremini Haşim Ali Bey". Moreover, in all of the three property exchange documents mentioned above "Şehremini es-Seyvid Hâşim Alî Beğ" is designated as the building supervisor (binâ *emini*). The building supervisor (*binâ emini*) is the person charged with the construction of the structure and he was practically involved in various steps of the process from the construction to the management of the budget. It is a well-known fact that, by the second half of the eighteenth century, the hierarchical dynamics between the chief architect and the building supervisor had started to work more in favor of the latter and a new actor called "kalfa" (the master-builder) started to take over the role of the former (Şenyurt, 2008). The fact that we come across the name of the construction official more than that of the chief architect in the archival documents can be interpreted as a reflection of this new phenomenon.

These property exchange records document, thanks to the efforts of the construction official, that the issue of where the Büyük Yeni Han would be built had been clarified by the summer of 1761; this was followed by the initiation of the construction towards the fall of the same year. In fact, in another register, the entries regarding the expenses made for imperially-owned or recently purchased revenue-bringing estates, including Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han, the great mosque, the goldsmith (*kuyumcu*) businesses situated in or near the Tekfursaray, start on January 10, 1761 (BOA D.BŞM.BNE.d. 15946, 1762). At the beginning of the register, the allocations for the project, which were handed out with receipt, are listed with the corresponding dates.

As can be seen in **Table 1**, the first of the eight allocations, probably as the initiation payment, was made on January 21, 1761. The following four allocations were handed out on August 10, September 2 and 5, and November 30 in 1761. In fact, the total of these four allocations corresponds to 58% of the entire budget. Based on this information, it can be assumed that the expenses made on the procurement of both the land and the materials have intensified during this period. In fact, on November 15, 1761, the construction official of the 'great khan' wrote to the Sultan saying that the present allocations were not sufficient and asked for increased funds (BOA C.SM. 151/7594, 1761).

Whereas, the date of the completion of the khan remains unknown. The date 1177 (1763-1764) carved next to the "Maşallah" script situated on the northeast corner of the khan probably indicates the completion date of the construction (**Figure 3**). It is also possible to establish the same approximate date as to the finalization of the construction based on the entries in the archives that document the *gedik* (the right to exercise a certain trade in a pre-determined locale) holders of the rooms of the khan, and the appointment of its *kethüda* (guild warden) and *odabaşı* (servant). In a decree from February 27, 1764, it was pronounced that all the revenue

Date	Amount (Kuruş)	
21 January 1761		25000
10 August 1761		50000
2 September 1761		10000
5 September 1761		31500
30 November 1761		50000
27 May 1762		25000
20 October 1762		14300
23 November 1762		37500
	Total	243300 Kuruş

Table 1. The Waqf expenses for Büyük Yeni Han and Küçük Yeni Han, for the Great Mosque... between January 21, 1761 and November 23, 1762.





Figure 3. The "Maşallah" script situated on the northeast corner of the khan (Author's photo, December 2015)

from the shops inside and outside the Büyük Han and Küçük Han and the Yeni Han (New khan) in Bahçekapısı, all the endowments of Sultan Mustafa III in Istanbul including those outside the Langa Gate; and those in Izmir that were not held as *gedik*s were to be allocated for charitable purposes (BOA C.EV. 251/12685, 1764). This was on the condition that they would be incorporated into the *gedik* system through auctioning, and on the condition that *gedik*s would be inherited by his descendants in case of the holder's death. In fact, it was during this period that an initiative to determine the *gedik* holders of the Büyük Han, then referred to as "Hân-1 Cedid-i Kebîr", was underway (BOA D.BŞM.ŞHE.d. 16526, 1764). Similarly, through another initiative, the *gedik* holders, *kethüda*, *odabaşı* and master craftsmen of the khan were assigned (BOA MAD. 21509, 1765). All these documents indicate that the construction of the khan began in the middle of 1761 and it was completed towards the end of 1763.

The Physical Structure

Whether the construction of Büyük Yeni Han, which lasted almost two years, had any pioneering effect on the construction tradition and architectural expression of its era is an important question for discussion. In order to understand this, a physical and spatial portrait of the khan needs to be drawn. The waqfiyya of the Laleli Foundation which was created after the construction of the khan throws light on the matter to a great extent.

According to the description in the waqfiyya, the newly-constructed khan is situated in Istanbul's Daye Hatun Quarter, close to the Tarakçılar Market across the Saka Fountain (VGMA 642, 1764). On one side of the khan, there is a public thoroughfare (*tarîk-i âmm*) leading to Kürkçüler Han, and on the other side lies a portion of Fatma Hanım's house, and the madrasa belonging to the Rahikizade Halil Efendi waqf. On another side, a public thoroughfare stretches between the Tarakçılar Market and the Saka Fountain and the façade of the building overlooks the wide road of the Çakmakçılar Ramp (**Figure 4**, **5**). The khan was built on 8491,5 *zira'-i terbi'* (approximately 4647 m²) of land.

The khan, which was built as a three-storey structure with two courtyards, was designed to be in harmony with its surroundings. The façade stretching parallel to the Çakmakçılar Ramp was cantilevered all along (**Figure 5**). The first courtyard, behind the main gate on the Çakmakçılar Ramp is 42 meters long, while the second is 25 meters in length. The width

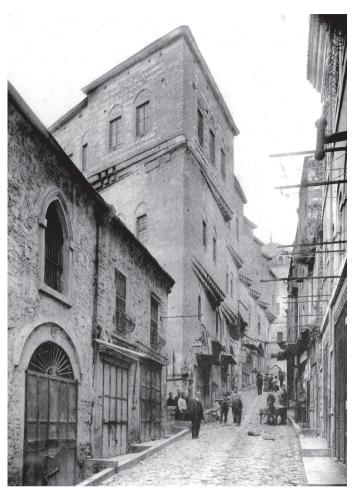




Figure 4. Büyük Yeni Han, façade (Gurlitt, 1912)

Figure 5. A street view of Çakmakçılar Ramp and Büyük Yeni Han in 1936, by Nicholas V. Artamonoff. (Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)

of the courtyards is not even, ranging between 12 and 15 meters. A vaulted passageway connects the two courtyards (**Figure 6, 7**).

In its current state, Büyük Yeni Han has entrances on three of its façades; there is no entrance on the façade on the Tarakçılar Market. Among these entrances the one on to the Çakmakçılar Ramp is considered the main entrance, and for this reason, the façade on the ramp constitutes the principal front of the khan (**Figure 8**). On this front, which presents a dynamic design, five cantilevers have been integrated into the whole three-storey façade in order to adjust the building to its plot and to the slope of the Çakmakçılar Ramp. The cantilevers on this front side not only enrich the façade with their Baroque style dynamism, but also functionally enable the rooms to receive more sunlight by evening out the curve of the plot (**Figure 4**).

The two plates with "Maşallah" script written on them, situated on a corner of the upper floor with the presumed date of its completion next to them and the by now almost-effaced birdhouse are probably the most striking aspects of the Sandalyeciler façade, where the second entrance is located (**Figure 3**). Both these inscriptions and the birdhouse, and various exterior and interior decorations are in harmony with the Baroque ornamental trends of eighteenth-century Istanbul (Pinon-Demirçivi, 2012; Rustem, 2013). As you go further along the street, the three-storey front on the side of the Çakmakçılar Ramp is reduced to two floors due to elevation

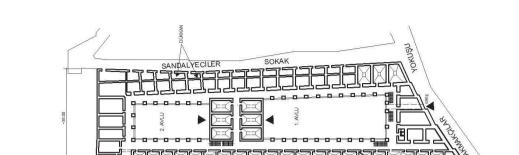


Figure 6. The plan of the second floor of Büyük Yeni Han (Sökmen, 2012)

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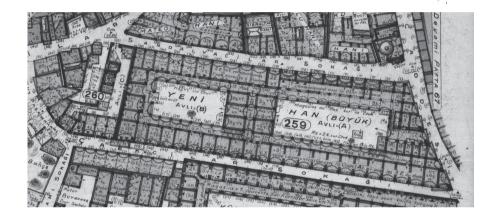


Figure 7. Büyük Yeni Han in the Pervititch Map, 1942.

difference. The other entrance of the khan is where it intersects with the Tarakçılar Street. Due to the slope, this entrance door leads to the thirdfloor porch of the second courtyard. İnciciyan states that this entrance was used by tradesmen, whereas the main entrance on the Çakmakçılar Ramp side was used more for the traffic of carts and loaded horses (İnciciyan, 1976, 24).



Figure 8. Büyük Yeni Han in the Bayezid II water distribution system map, 1812-13 (Çeçen, 1999)



Figure 9. The opened room for the gate in place of the toilets of the khan (Author's photo, December 2015)



Figure 10. View of courtyard galleries and later addition in rough stone that divides the han's courtyard into two (Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)

Furthermore, there is not much of a slope on the Çarkçılar Street. With the addition of the vault, the façade on this street rises up to four floors at the beginning of Çakmakçılar Ramp but is reduced to two storeys at the end of the street. On this side, there is a door that opens to the second porch of the second courtyard. However, both observations from field work and the descriptions in the archival documents confirm that the toilets of the khan were located where this door stands. For this reason, we understand that the toilets at this location must have been removed to provide room for this gate at an undocumented date (**Figure 9**).

From the main entrance on the Çakmakçılar Ramp, a long passageway leads to the first courtyard. The floors can be reached through the two sets of staircases facing each other at the two sides of the entrance. With the exception of the middle segment between the two courtvards of the khan, the courtyards are surrounded with porticoes on each floor. The ceilings of these porticoes are cross vaulted and have been constructed in brick (**Figure 10**). The most striking feature of this courtyard in terms of architectural perspective was the use of semi-circular arches that were generally common in other great khans built in eighteenth century (Güran, 1976; Gülenaz, 2011). The rooms are also generally very similar to each other. Each room has two windows overlooking the street, on the side that opens to the gallery, there is a window has a rectangularlyshaped stone jamb whereas the jamb stone of the door is around. Malakari ornaments, which had begun to be used also in khans during this period, can be seen on the ceilings of the rooms (Figure 11). As Pinon-Demirçivi examines, these Baroque style ornaments on the ceilings of only two rooms have survived until today and they show remarkable similarities to the ornaments painted in other important public buildings and private estates (Pinon-Demircivi, 2012).

Büyük Yeni Han and Its Functions

According to the waqfiyya, there were 64 rooms on each floor of Büyük Yeni Han (192 rooms in total) and there were a total of 80 shops and vaults surrounding the khan. However, even though the wagfiyya states that it has 64 rooms on each floor, neither archival documents nor the present physical structure of the khan verify this number. The most accurate and detailed early records about the use of the khan and the number of its divisions occupied by tradesmen that I have been able to reach in my archival research come from the document dated 1780 that lists the names of tradesmen who occupied the rooms of the khan and their monthly rents (BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1780). This register kept a record of the names of the tradesmen categorized by which floor and on which side of the building their rooms were located together with their business sector, and the monthly and annual rent that each was paying. According to this register, in 1780 the khan had a total of 164 rooms with 53 rooms on the ground floor, 56 rooms on the middle floor and 55 rooms on the top floor. Surrounding the khan on Tarakçılar, Çakmakçılar Gate and Mahmud Pasha Hamam sides are located 39 shops and 26 vaults that were actively in use. From a structural point of view, it does not seem possible for this khan to have had an equal number of rooms on every floor because of the location of the entrances to the khan. As also reflected in the current condition of the khan, 164 seems to be the actual number of rooms in the khan at the time of its construction, which is indicated in this register as being distributed in three floors as 53, 56, and 55. The waqfiyya probably indicates a case of generalization.



Figure 11. A detail from the Baroque style ornaments on the ceilings of Büyük Yeni Han (Pinon-Demirçivi, 2012)

The majority of the residents of Büyük Yeni Han in the register are made up of non-Muslim *sarrâfs* and merchants (*bezirgan*). Out of the 164 rooms in the khan, 74 were used by *sarrâfs* and 28 were in use by merchants (*bezirgan*). We can also see that *sarrâfs* were clustered together in certain parts of the khan. For example, all the rooms in the middle section of every floor (4+6+6) in the khan were occupied by *sarrâfs*. In addition, most of the rooms in the ground floor and top floor were also occupied by *sarrâfs*. Moreover, even the *sarrâfs'* guild room was located in this khan, on the Saka Fountain side of the top floor.

The sarrâfs who also conducted such business as "exchanging money, transporting and safekeeping valuables, giving credit" as important constituents of the Ottoman money and financial system, had important roles as financiers; they acted as guarantors in bids for mining, minting, in *iltizam* (short-term tax-farm) and *malikane* (life-long tax-farm) contracts (Akyıldız, 2009, 163-165). The overwhelming majority of sarrâfs belonged to the Armenian community and they mostly had their businesses in the khans within or around Kapalıçarşı, the main center of commerce. As Bölükbaşı demonstrates in his work on the inspections on tradesmen to determine *gedik* holders for *sarrâfs*, there was a significant move of *sarrâfs* from Kapalıçarşı area to Büyük Yeni Han after it was completed. In the list of sarrâf's gedik holders from 1782, 11 out of the total 73 dealers; in the list from 1820, 43 out of the total 179 dealers; in the list from 1824, 29 out of the total 75; and in the list from 1835, 47 out of the total 100 dealers who had warranty with the Imperial Treasury, had their businesses in Büyük Yeni Han. In 1835, nearly half of all *gedik* holding or licensed *sarrâfs* were gathered in Büyük Yeni Han. When we scrutinize the lists published by Bölükbaşı, over time, especially starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, sarrâfs were clustered around Çakmakçılar Ramp in Valide Han, Sünbüllü Han, and Küçük Yeni Han around the center of Büyük Yeni Han (2014, 19-96).

Based on developments following the completion of the construction of the khan, we can argue that the Sultan wanted to develop this area into a commercial district to create a space intended for the use of *sarrâfs*,

and hence to attract this group that was increasingly important for the economy to establish their businesses in the new location (Şahiner, 1995). In other words, the construction of this khan can be considered to be a representation of the Sultan's participation in the economy and the commerce of the city at a spatial level.

Büyük Yeni Han as a Revenue-Producing Building

The waqfiyya of Laleli Waqf also clarifies fundamental issues about Büyük Yeni Han such as the conditions of leasing and usage. The rooms, shops and vaults in the khan would always be rented in the style of "icâre-i sahîha-ı vâhide" (short term rent of waqf property) and never in the "icâreteyn" (double rent, long term lease of damaged waqf property) style. This policy which aims to guarantee the regular incomes of the waqf, is also observed in the appointment of the khan keeper. The waqfiyya stipulates that the position of the khankeeper should not be appointed through "hazine-mânde mukabili berât" or "mütevelli taraflarından temessükile", and it requires that in case the position was already given, "berât and temessük" (title-deed) records should be canceled immediately (VGMA 642, 1764). The wagfiyya makes a clear point of saying that the khan keepers should have a guarantor and should be trustworthy regardless of whether they are Muslim or non-Muslim and that the *odabaşı* officers should be trustworthy and hardworking. With respect to both the method of leasing khan rooms and the policy of appointing trustworthy and profit-chasing khan managers, the waqfiyya clearly shows that it aims to guarantee the income of this new khan which had a high potential to be a good investment for the Sultan's waqf.

The register that contains information about the tenants and rent incomes of the rooms of Büyük Yeni Han in 1780 is instrumental in determining the total income of the khan. This register indicates for how many months each room, shop and vault in the khan was rented and the monthly rent of each in *kurus*.

As seen in Table 2, 152 of the khan's room were rented and only 12 of them did not have tenants. However, of these 12 rooms, only 5 of them remained vacant while 2 were employed as Dîvan Odası, 3 as water reservoir (ma-i *leziz haznesi*), khan's fire extinguishing system (*tulumba*) and stable (*ahır*) (As a general inclination for the great khans in this period, this khan housed no real stable for its clientele); two were occupied by the khan's odabaşı officers. When we look at the average monthly rents of the rented rooms, we see that the rooms on the top floor were rented for 7.43 kurus on average, the rooms on the middle floor were rented for 5.80 kuruş and the rooms on the ground floor were rented for 4.95 kuruş on average. If we take the average monthly rent of the rooms as an indication of their value, we can reach the conclusion that the rooms on the top floor were the most valuable while the rooms on the ground floor are the least valuable. We see differences in rents not only between floors but also between rooms on different sides of the same floor. While the average monthly rent of the rooms on the Kürkçü Han side of the top floor is 8 kuruş, the rent of the ones on the Saka Fountain side is 7.12 kuruş. Similarly, the rooms of the middle floor on the Kürkçü Han side have higher rents than the ones on the Saka Fountain side. The difference between the two sides on the middle floor was greater: 7.52 kuruş to 4.46 kuruş. There was almost no price difference between the rooms on the ground floor. Out of the 164 rooms of the khan, the room that brought the highest rent income was the room which is used as the Chamber of the Sarrâf Guild (Sarrâf Esnafi Lonca Odası)

	Upper Floor	Middle Floor	Ground Floor	All Floors	All Floors
	Room (<i>Oda</i>)	Room (<i>Oda</i>)	Room (<i>Oda</i>)	Shop (<i>Dükkan</i>)	Vault
	noom (ouu)	noon (ouu)			(Mahzen)
Number of Rooms / Rented	53	55	44	33	5
Number of Rooms / Untenanted	2	1	9	6	21
Total / Month	394	319	218	159	25
Monthly Average for Each	7.43	5.80	4.95	4.81	5
Yearly Average for Each	89.21	69.60	59.45	57.81	60

BOA D.B\$M.d. 4928.

Table 2. The incomes of rooms, shops and vaults in Büyük Yeni Han in 1780

located on the top floor on the Saka Fountain side. This room's monthly rent was $10 \, kuru\$$. The rooms with the lowest rent were two rooms on the middle floor on the side of Saka Fountain, each bringing in $3.5 \, kuru\$$ of monthly rent. In the same time period, 33 of the 39 existing shops in the khan were rented and their average monthly rent was $4.81 \, kuru\$$. As with the rooms in the khan, the monthly rents of shops surrounding the khan varied depending on their location and size. The register from $1780 \, \text{records}$ the $21 \, \text{vaults}$ in the khan as vacant and the $5 \, \text{vaults}$ as rented.

The second question about the incomes of the khan regards the place of Büyük Yeni Han's rent income within the total revenue of the Laleli waqf. The most important documents that might provide an answer for this question are the registers that include the incomes and expenses of the Laleli waqf. As also seen in Table 3 below, the seven registers among registers for the accounts of waqfs that cover the years from 1770 to 1816, compile the total annual income of the waqf for the given year and the total annual income of each khan that belonged to the waqf. According to the table, for the years between 1770 and 1789 about 5 to 6 percent of the total annual income of the waqf comes from Büyük Yeni Han's rent income. For the same period, about 8 to 9 percent of the total annual income of the waqf comes from the incomes of all four khans that belonged to the Waqf. The rent income of Büyük Yeni Han from 1770 to 1816 is generally within the range of 13000 to 14000 kuruş annually. It is interesting to note that even though there was an almost five-fold increase in the annual income of the waqf from 1789 to 1811, the annual rent income of Büyük Yeni Han during this period stayed almost the same. While the increase in the annual income of the waqf can be explained with the increasing revenue from customs duties of the Izmir Port, the reason for the relative stability of the annual rent income of Büyük Yeni Han during this period, as Mehmet Genç also explains, is that the dominant form of commerce in Ottoman economic life was the organization of tradesmen's guilds and the state's policies focused on protecting them (2013). However, this gives the impression that the condition of appointing hardworking and profit-chasing khan keepers in the waqfiyya worked only to make sure that the rooms did not remain vacant and the rents were collected on time. To sum up, it can be stated that even though Büyük Yeni Han was built to bring income to the waqf, the rent income of the khan remained constant over the years, and therefore, when compared with other sources of income for the Laleli foundation, its relative income-bringing value decreased.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The construction dynamics of khans in the eighteenth-century Istanbul were scrutinized as the main concern of this paper. The visibility of the

Date	Source	TOTAL Income (Kuruş)	Büyük Yeni Han (<i>Kuruş</i>)	Küçük Yeni Han (<i>Kuruş</i>)	Taş Han (<i>Kuruş</i>)	Laleli Taş Han (Kuruş)
1770	BOA EV.HMD.d. 5704	268186	13840	3680	1880	
1771	BOA EV.HMD.d. 5754	204470	13452	3569	1667	
1780	BOA EV.HMD.d. 6167	233830	12000	3000	2280	
1789	BOA EV.HMD.d. 6727	221730	13511	3869	2553	1000
1811	BOA TS.MA.d. 3767 0002	1015997	13842	4254	2790	3753
1813	BOA EV.HMD.d. 8266	1279693	13590	3245	2765	3985
1816	BOA EV.HMD.d. 8268	1296195	13890	4354	2765	3985

Table 3. The incomes of khans and the total revenue of the Laleli Foundation between 1770 and 1816

Sultan's presence in the urban space of Ottoman capital was established with the completion of the Nuriosmaniye Complex in 1755, and the same trend continued with the construction of royal mosques and khan projects during the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). In this context, Mustafa III's construction of Büyük Yeni Han between 1761 and 1763 is sufficiently representative of Sultan's and dynasty's presence and intervention in the capital city's commercial space during the period. Büyük Yeni Han, which was a sultanic enterprise, was built on the western side of the Grand Bazaar, in the area called the Çakmakçılar Ramp in Mercan. This ramp constitutes an important part of the commercial region, which started to develop with the construction of Büyük Valide Han in the middle of the seventeenth century and acquired greater prominence with the construction of Büyük Yeni Han and many other khan buildings that followed it. With the relocation of sarrâfs to this area at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the heart of commerce and money expanded from the Grand Bazaar centered around the Bedestan to include Çakmakçılar Ramp.

In addition to revealing the possible symbolic meanings of the construction, research on the building process of Büyük Yeni Han contributed to our knowledge about the material culture of khan construction in eighteenth-century Istanbul. This sultanic architectural enterprise is exceptionally well-documented. To my knowledge, such documentation does not exist for any other khan project of the period. The particular aspects of the construction process including the procurement of the land for the construction, the appointment of the building supervisor (*bina emini*), obtaining funds for the construction expenses, the establishment of the foundation (waqf) for the khan, and its incorporation into the *gedik* system were studied in detail. By way of examining the innovative architecture of the khan, its functions in economic sphere, and its visibility in the public space of the city, this paper claims that the court intervened in the capital city's commercial space and tried to control the spatial and economic dynamics in it.

Another aspect of these discussions is whether the intense khan construction activity in the eighteenth century was the outcome of the economic growth during this period or an instigator for this economic growth. As seen in the example of Büyük Yeni Han, on the one hand, these elements of commercial infrastructure were built in the city as a result of the increase in both domestic and international trade and the growing economy; while on the other hand, the construction of these new masonry structures in the capital stimulated economic and commercial development. In other words, the construction of khans was both the object and the agent of urban development. In this manner, these imperial khan

investments in Istanbul can be seen as a result of the increasing trade in the Mediterranean, as well as a cause of the increase in the total volume of trade over land and sea

ABBREVIATIONS

A.DVNS.AHK.İS.d: İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

C.SM: Cevdet Saray C.EV: Cevdet Evkaf

D.BŞM.d: Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi Defterleri

D.BŞM.ŞHE.d: Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Şehremini Defterleri EV.HMH.d: Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği Defterleri

MAD: Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri VGMA: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü

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BOA D.BŞM.d. 4928, 1 M 1194 - 29 Z 1194 / January 8, 1780 - December 26, 1780.

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BOA EV.HMD.d. 5704, 1 M 1183 - 29 Z 1183 / May 7, 1769 - April 25, 1770

BOA EV.HMD.d. 5754, 1 M 1184 - 29 Z 1184 / April 27, 1770 - April 15, 1771

BOA EV.HMD.d. 6167, 1 M 1193 - 29 Z 1193 / January 19, 1779 - January 7, 1780

BOA EV.HMD.d. 6727, 1 M 1203 - 29 Z 1203 / October 2, 1788 - September 20, 1789.

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BOA EV.HMD.d. 8268, 1 RA 1228 - 29 Z 1231 / March 4, 1813 - November 20, 1816

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Osmanlı İstanbulu; on sekizinci yüzyıl; mekân; han; inşa.

BÜYÜK YENİ HAN ÖZELİNDE ON SEKİZİNCİ YÜZYIL İSTANBUL'UNDA TİCARİ MEKAN İNŞASI

Bu makale on sekizinci yüzyıl İstanbul'unda hanların inşa dinamikleri hakkındadır. Özellikle III. Mustafa'nın 1763 yılında inşasını tamamladığı Büyük Yeni Han özelinde Sultan'ın başkentin ticari mekânına müdahalesine odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda han inşasının kent bağlamı, baninin muhtemel niyetleri, hanın inşa süreçleri, vaziyeti, işlevleri ve gelir getirici potansiyelini vakfiye ve çok sayıdaki arşiv belgesi ışığında incelemektedir. Bu makale çalışması, şehir mekânındaki dönüştürücü etkileri ve canlandırıcı rolüyle bir Sultan girişimi olan Büyük Yeni Han'ın inşa süreçleri ve işlevlerine odaklanarak, Osmanlı Sultanının başkentin ticari bölgesinde, ekonomik ve ticaret alanına müdahil olarak mevcudiyetini yeniden tesis ettiğini ileri sürmektedir.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMERCIAL SPACE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL: THE CASE OF BÜYÜK YENİ HAN

This paper is about the construction dynamics of khans during the eighteenth-century Istanbul. It particularly focuses on the Büyük Yeni Han built by Mustafa III and completed in ca. 1763, as a representation of the court's interventions in commercial space. In this manner, it investigates the urban context of the building, the builder's possible intentions, its construction process, layout, functions and revenue producing capacity in the light of its waqfiyya and a number of other registers. By focusing on the construction processes of the khan and its functions with their transformative consequence on the landscape of Istanbul and their revitalized role, this paper claims that the Ottoman Sultan, by getting involved in the economic and spatial realms, reestablished the presence of the dynasty in the commercial district of the Ottoman capital.

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