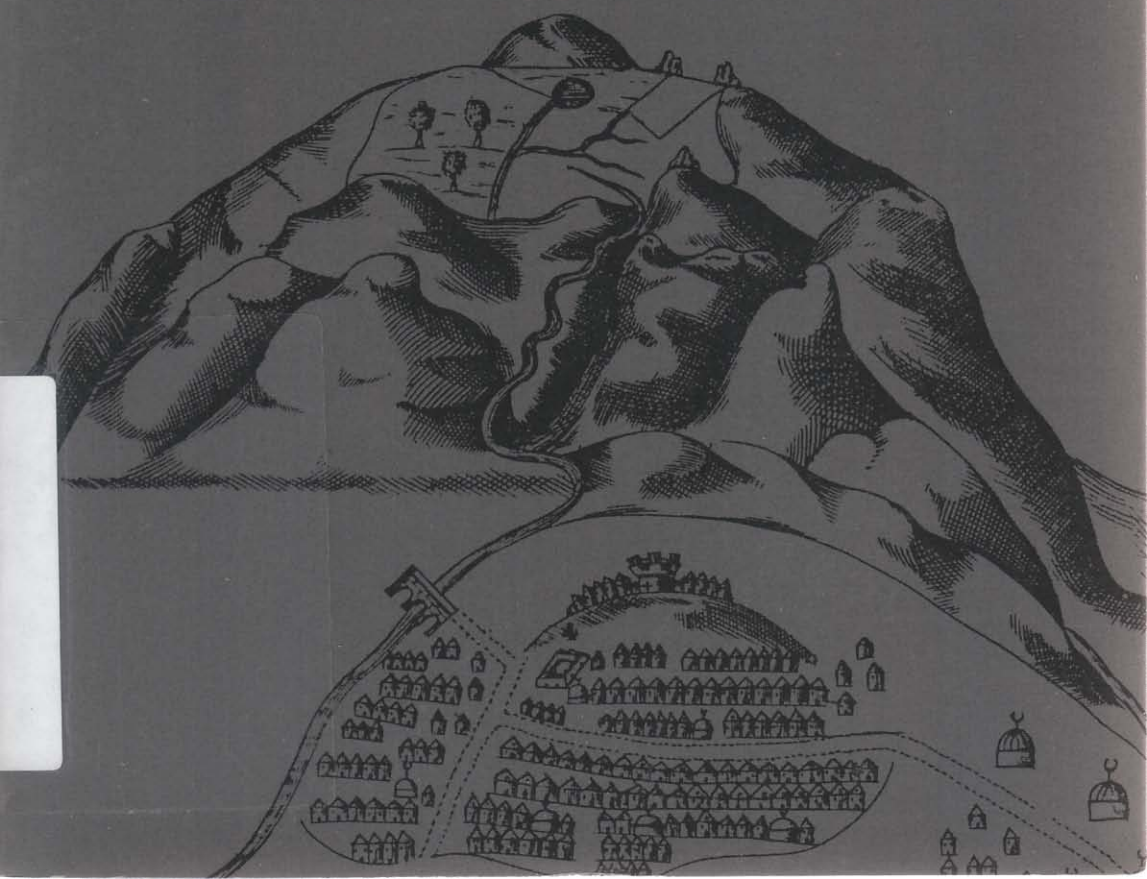
OTTOMAN BURSA IN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

HEATH W. LOWRY



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Fondly dedicated to the memory of my father and mother:

Heath W. Lowry, Sr. (d. 2001) and

Doris K. Lowry (d. 2002)

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ACE

est in the city of Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman state, grew
lesire to trace the state's institutional development in the first two
s of its existence. Implicit in my thinking was the idea that an ex-
ın of the history of Bursa might make it possible to follow the
in which the early Ottomans responded to the development of
lity in the overwhelmingly Christian milieu first of Byzantine
(northwestern Anatolia), and then of the Balkans. Might it be
ied within the accounts of visitors to the city, one could find ex-
f early Ottoman institutions which had disappeared by the time
rial chronicle tradition came into being in the 16th century?

decision to focus on travelers was necessitated by virtue of the
the formative centuries of Ottoman origins and growth are largely
contemporary sources, and of a belief on my part that the chroni-
tion of the 16th century and thereafter was shaped via the prism
reflecting the self image of the state following its incorporation of
Islamic regions of the Middle East in the first quarter of the 16th
Stated differently, in writing the history of the state's formative
hese later writers did so under the influence of what the state had
ather than what it had initially been.

ı this in mind, the present study represents a conscious attempt on
to view the important Ottoman city of Bursa through the written
of travelers who actually visited it, especially in the opening cen-
its history in the Ottoman period. It does so fully cognizant of the
the picture it portrays is necessarily warped by the very nature of
ces it employs. Specifically, the overwhelming majority of the visi-
ɒ left written impressions of Bursa in the Ottoman period were
ns who tended to record relatively little on the city's overwhelm-
ıslim majority. While they often described the major architectural
nts, when it came to treating the city's inhabitants, they tended to
ı their Christian co-religionists and the city's Jews. Their religio-
ias is reflected correspondingly in the choice of subjects dealt with
esent study.

n working with this genre, one must be continually aware of the
dangers of uncritically utilizing the information which it con-
ɔt only are these travel accounts uneven in quality, they tend often
ısed, partly or wholly, on works by earlier visitors to the same
ften presenting remarks that they have borrowed verbatim from
decessors as their own. Likewise, they frequently project an image
through the eyes and prejudices of their local guides and infor-

from levies charged for the weighing of silk in the city. The *mukata'a-i mizan-i harir* in Bursa brought in the annual sum of 1,166,666 *akçe*s [Ottoman silver coins], out of a total tax yield of 2,776,662 *akçe*s. When one adds into this equation the charges levied on guilds and markets [*ihtisab*], customs [*gümrük*] and market place levies [*kapan*], it becomes evident that close to 50 percent of the city's tax revenues were derived directly and indirectly from trade and manufacturing related to textiles (Özkılınç *et al.* 1995: 6).

Indeed, based on the data preserved in the 1530 tax register (fully supported as we shall see by the extant traveler accounts), one might well conclude that 16th century Bursa had two industries—mosques and silk—although not necessarily in that order of importance.

The North African traveler, Ibn Battuta, was the first visitor to Bursa in the Ottoman period who recorded his impressions of the city. His account of Bursa in 1333, less than a decade after its incorporation into the fledgling Ottoman polity, focuses on its religious infrastructure, but also contains the following observation relative to the size and economy of Bursa:

> We went on next day to the city of Bursa, a great and important city with fine bazaars and wide streets, surrounded on all sides by gardens and running springs. (Ibn Battuta 1962: II, 451-452; 1968: II, 317-318)

Though Ibn Battuta made no specific reference to the size of Bursa, his usage of the phrase "a great and important city with fine bazaars and wide streets" implies that he was impressed by what he saw of the city and its economic life.

The next sojourner in the city did not stay there of his own accord. Rather, Gregory Palamas, the Greek Archbishop of Thessalonici (Selanik), was brought to Bursa in 1355 as a captive of the Ottomans. His only reference to the city merely confirms that a generation after its incorporation into the Ottoman realm Bursa still counted Christians among its inhabitants:

> Here [Bursa] those of the Christians who excelled in wisdom used to meet us to discuss major matters, though the circumstances were not favorable; for the barbarians were surrounding us. But those who exerted themselves about piety disregarded the unfavorable time, as they unexpectedly had in front of them the man who would tell them about the things they wanted to know. (Arnakis 1951: 106)

In 1397, yet another captive, the Bavarian Johann Schiltberger who had been enrolled forcibly in the Janissary Corps, visited what he called "Wursa." His comments, scattered throughout the account of his *Bondage and Travels*, include the first, albeit somewhat problematic estimate of the city's population:

> The capital of Turkey is called Wursa. The city contains two hundred thousand [*sic!*] houses, and eight hospitals where poor people are received, whether they be Christians, infidels or Jews. (Schiltberger 1879: 40)

While confirming Palamas' statement of the existence of Christians among the city inhabitants, Schiltberger was the first visitor to mention a Jewish community in Ottoman Bursa. What is most vexing is his contention that the city "contains two hundred thousand houses." As our subsequent discussion will establish, this figure must be in the range of two thousand houses and, consequently, I would interpret this remark as either a misreading of Schiltberger's German text by its editor, J. Bacon Teller, or as hyperbole on the part of the author himself (Schiltberger 1879).

Aided by the accounts of Ibn Battuta, Palamas and Schiltberger, we may project the following profile onto 14th century Bursa and its population. For the times, it was a large and well-built city. Its inhabitants included Muslims, Christians and Jews, all of whom were free to benefit from the *imaret*s [soup kitchens], or religious endowments which had been established by the city's rulers on behalf of the inhabitants. By the end of the century, its population stood somewhere around 10,000 (based on an estimate of five residents per household). However, aside from Ibn Battuta's laconic reference to "fine Bazaars," none of these early visitors provided any information on the city's economy.

Our first detailed description of the Ottoman city belongs to a French traveler named Bertrandon de la Broquière, who visited "Bourse" in 1432. While containing no information on the religious makeup of its inhabitants, his account offers a number of useful comments on the city itself (page numbers refer to Broquière 1988):

> The city of Bursa is a very fine commercial center, the best city belonging to the Grand Turk. It is a very large city, situated as the foot of a high mountain called Olympia, to the south. From the mountain comes a river which passes through the city in several places. Because of this, the city seems even bigger than it is, for it is made up of villages separated by the river. The Lords of Turkey are buried here. There are very nice places, like hospitals. In three or four of these, bread, meat and wine are distributed to those who want to take them in God's name. (p. 83)
>
> On a low mountain at the western end of the city is a fine, large castle. There are about a thousand houses inside. This is the lord's very beautiful residence. It is also a pleasure house for the Grand Turk, with fifty of his wives. There is a garden and a very nice little pool where the lord takes his ease, when he pleases, with his wives, in a small boat. All this is hearsay, for I saw only the exterior. (p. 85)
>
> When I reached the edge of Bursa, I came to a place where three or four roads meet. God led me to the person I needed to find and guided me to the city bazaar where all the merchants are and all the business is done.

There, the first Christian I met was the one to whom Parvezin de Beirut had given me letters. He was one of the house of Spinola of Genoa, and was very surprised when I talked to him. He took me to the house of a Florentine, where I stayed with my horse. I stayed ten days and visited the city of Bursa at my own pace...

I met some merchants, as I mentioned above, who treated me well and took me everywhere. Four or five days after the captain [in another passage, Broquière identifies this individual as Hoyarbarach (Hoca Barak?), a notable of the city (1988: 35)—HL] arrived, they went with me to thank him for the good company he had given me, and to say good-bye. He was seated on a high stone seat, along with several others in the bazaar, for it was the gathering place of the notables of the city. There are all sorts of silk materials for sale there, precious stones, a very large number of pearls at good prices, and cotton cloth, among other things to numerous to mention.

Nearby is another bazaar where they sell cotton stuffs and white soap, which is an important trade item. It is there that I saw Christians sold, men and women, in a very high hall. It was a pity to see. They are seated on benches, and those who want to buy can see only the faces, hands and a part of the arms of the women. (pp. 83-84)

Broquière not only recorded the kind of interesting detail heretofore lacking, but the care with which he differentiated between what he actually saw and what he was told inspires a sense of confidence in his description. He corroborated Schiltberger's statement that the city's social welfare network (as exemplified by the soup-kitchens built by its rulers) was available to all inhabitants, regardless of their religious affiliation. His division of the city into a number of small villages (i.e., quarters) and the walled city containing "about a thousand houses" justifies my readjustment of Schiltberger's figure of "two hundred thousand houses." Several later visitors to Bursa confirmed that one-half of the population lived within the upper walled city, while the remainder resided in unwalled quarters spread out below it (e.g., Lubenau 1915: 76).

Of equal interest are the observations Broquière made on the economic life of the city. From his account we learn of the presence of Genoese and Florentine merchants resident in the city as early as 1432; of the prevalence of both silk and cotton in the city's bazaars; of the fact (confirmed by later visitors) that the city's notables gathered and held "court" in the bazaar, while seated on raised stone benches; of the presence of an active slave market (something no other visitor to Bursa described); and of the importance of white soap as a trade item in the Bursan economy. In short, by 1432, Bursa was a major commercial center with a resident community of foreign merchants.

Only five years after Broquière, the Spanish traveler Pero Tafur visited the city in the Fall of 1437. He recorded the following observations:

The next day I asked a friend of mine, a Genoese, who had a house in a city of Turkey which they call Brusa, at the extremity of the Gulf of Nicomedia, to take me with him, and he did so. We went by sea, and I saw the city, which is unwalled, but greater and better than any in Turkey. There are some 4,000 inhabitants, and but for the Gulf it would be of little value, for by it the merchants have communication with the city [Constantinople]. They bring there many things by land from Persia. It is situated very close to Greece, and since the Turks have owned it they have much improved the place, for it is a stepping-stone for the Turks from Greece to their own country. They have placed great stores there, for they use the city as a half-way port. I believe that in the whole of Turkey today there is no other place so large, nor so well-peopled, nor so rich. From there I returned to Constantinople and Pera, whence I had set out. (Pero Tafur 1926: 149)

Pero Tafur, writing only fifteen years before the fall of Constantinople, had the impression that Bursa was twice as large as the Genoese settlement of Pera in the Byzantine capital (1926: 149). More importantly, he was the second visitor of the 15th century to confirm the existence of a community of foreign merchants among the city's inhabitants, one member of which was his Genoese friend who had a house in Bursa. Likewise, without specifically mentioning silk, his description allows us to infer its importance to the city's economy, since it served as the *raison d'être* for the community of foreign merchants resident in Bursa. Stated differently, his references to the many items brought by land to Bursa, to the role of the city as a half-way station and to the presence of Italian merchants, all point to the inescapable conclusion that, by the 1430s, the Bursan silk trade was in full bloom.

By the end of the century, Bursa's role as a major silk emporium in the international trade between the Italian city-states and the East was even more firmly established. Thus, when two Florentine travelers, Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi, traveled to Bursa in 1498, they were accompanied by a Pera-based silk merchant named Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi who, as we shall see subsequently, had permanent agents stationed in the city. During their stay in Bursa, they lodged with yet another Florentine, one Tommaso Fronte, who showed them the city between their arrival on April 10, 1498 and their departure on April 18-20 (Bonsignore 1973: 163 [f. 116], 164). In letters written from Bursa, they made a number of interesting observations which may be highlighted in the following summary (page numbers refer to Bonsigniore 1973).

Having previously visited both Adrianople (Edirne) and Constantinople (İstanbul), the two travelers thought that "Bursa was the most crowded Turkish city they had yet seen" (p. 163 [f. 116]). During their stay (between April 10-20, 1498), they watched a fire destroy 800 buildings, which means that most of the city's houses were built of wood (p. 163 [f. 118]). Although

more silk and cloth of gold were manufactured there than in the whole of Italy, their quality was judged by Bonsignore as "less handsome" (p. 163 [ff. 119-120]). The Bursan silk trade was dominated by the Genoese, but the Florentines also were extremely active (p. 163 [f. 121]). In addition to silk, the city's bazaars were full of ornamental leathers [*cordovani*], skins worked into textiles [*ciambellotti*], rugs and jewels (p. 163-164 [f. 122]). During their visit, Bernardo Michelozzi purchased a total of nine Greek manuscripts, one of which he called a *Plotinus* (p. 164 [f. 124]).

The reference to a devastating conflagration which may have consumed close to half the city in 1498 serves to remind us of the sudden catastrophes which could wreak havoc on late medieval populations. Events such as fires, plagues, earthquakes and pillaging by enemies, as we shall see farther on, had the effect of periodically altering both the physical appearance and the demographic makeup of the city of Bursa.

Bonsignore's letters indicate that, by the end of the 15th century, Bursa had developed into a major textile-producing center, as distinct from and in addition to its earlier role as a transit emporium. Clearly impressed by the city's size and economic vitality, Bonsignore also attested to the continued presence of the Christian community (where his traveling companion purchased a Greek manuscript) that Palamas and Schiltberger had noted earlier.

In 1499, just a year after Bonsignore, Arnold von Harff, a German from Cologne, arrived in Bursa. In the account of his stay, he recorded the following:

> ...this town of Burtzia is fine and large and well built. It is subject to the Turkish emperor. I estimate that it is more than a good German mile in length and half a mile broad. It is full of people, ten times more, in my opinion, than in Cologne. They are for the most part merchants, and there are countless persons making silk goods, such as satin, gold and silver cloths, *cramoisy* and much *camelot*, so that one can buy there a fine *camelot* cloth for two ducats. (Harff 1946: 237)

He, too, was struck, not only by the size of the city, but by the extensive manufacture of and trade in silk and wool (*camelot* was a hand-spun long wool cloth, and *cramoisy* was a crimson velvet). Clearly, by the end of the 15th century, Bursa had developed into a thriving commercial center, a key component of whose wealth now was based on both the trade in and manufacture of textiles in general and of silk and woolen goods in particular.

The correspondence of a Florentine merchant stationed in Pera, one Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, further supports this conclusion. In a series of letters written between 1501 and 1502, he made numerous references to his own business dealings and those of his resident agents, as well as to the presence of a variety of other Italian merchants operating in Bursa (Richards 1932). From his correspondence (frequently cited by

İnalcık in his studies on the Bursan silk trade), we may extract the names of over thirty foreign merchants residing in Bursa at the beginning of the 16th century (see infra, pp. 27-28). Among these were a variety of Florentine, Genoese and Jewish traders and brokers. Of particular interest are his almost weekly references to the silk market whose fluctuating state was closely linked to whether caravans from Persia arrived or not. These references include vital details on such issues as current availability and prices of goods, price-fixing, and so on (Richards 1932: 44-46, 55, 57-59, 62, 68-72, 75, 77, 79-84, 87-92, 94, 99-100, 102, 105-107, 109-114, 118, 122, 125-128, 139-140, 143-144, 148, 154, 157, 160, 168-170, 178-179, 261-262, 283-293).

In 1546, the first of what was to become a steady stream of French travelers visited Bursa. Pierre Belon, in keeping with other contemporary visitors, was most impressed with the role played by silk in the economic life of the city. He wrote:

> We set out on the road to go to the city of Bursa, that was formerly called Prussa... We saw it from far away, located at the foot of Mount Olympus, where we arrived early and stayed for a long time before leaving. It is one of the cities of the world that have the best location: because as it is sunken, it spreads out on the mountain and there are no walls. It is more spread out than Lyon: because it is divided in various places by the feet of the mountain. It has its valleys making its sections distinct from each other...
>
> And still today Bursa is as rich and as populated as Constantinople and we may even say that it is even wealthier and more populated...
>
> The wealth of Bursa comes from silk: because not a year goes by that at least a thousand camels coming from Syria and other countries of the Levant bring silk to Bursa. There [in Bursa] it is dressed, spun, woven and made into various works; dyed in various manners: because the Turks wear their clothes of velvet in a variety of colors mixed with gold and silver and made very properly. (Belon 1555: 203-204)

While Belon refrained from estimating the population, he did make the rather startling claim that Bursa "is even wealthier and more populated" than Constantinople. As our earlier examination of the surviving 1530 tax register for the city established, this claim, if accurate, would mean that İstanbul would have had fewer than 30,000 inhabitants in 1546.

It is clear from Belon, as from the accounts of all other 16th century visitors to Bursa, that silk was indeed "king" in that period. Belon wrote down the first specific description of the city's "transit" role, that is, its status as the destination of caravans bringing raw silk from the East, and as the center where the silk was processed and manufactured into a variety of garments that ultimately were sold throughout the Ottoman Empire and in Europe.

The next European to leave an account of his visit to Bursa was John Newberie, who visited between February 23 and March 1, 1581. His very brief account at least contains the following interesting detail:

> ...and the same day we came to Borsa... [The next day] three theeves were executed in Borsa, which had robbed seven or eight yeres between Borsa and Stambol. In Borsa all strangers pay for custome of their merchandize three per cento [3 percent]. The *Kintall* of Borsa is fortie *Hockies*: and the *Kintall* of Cremes, is here worth eight thousand *Auctshas* [*akçes*]... (Newberie 1905: 475)

Newberie's rather laconic passage provides a remarkable example of Ottoman attempts to protect travelers and merchants through the execution of thieves, and also contains the first reference by a traveler to the customs dues levied on the merchandise brought by foreigners to the city (3 percent).

The most detailed account of life in Bursa penned by any visitor in the period under consideration is that of the German Reinhold Lubenau, who spent some time in the city in 1588. His description, which is equal in importance to that of the 17th century Ottoman visitor, Evliya Çelebi, has been largely overlooked by scholars studying the city's past. The following selections from it (less than 20 percent of the full text) are chosen specifically because they relate to both the city's inhabitants and to the importance of the silk and woolen trade and manufacture in its economic vitality:

> [The city] is divided into two equal halves. The upper city is almost a square and is surrounded by walls built on high rocks. [It] has bad little houses and narrow streets. The Palace faces sunrise, and is surrounded by an additional wall and kept locked. It has completely fallen into a state of ruin and decrepitude, and is inhabited only by a good number of *Atschamoglanen* [*acemi oğlans*], who are of the toughest Christian children. It is their job to sort the wheat, wash it several times, and dry it. They clean the flour thoroughly and purify it. The flour is delivered monthly, at 120 *Sahm* per delivery [1 *sahm* = 5 1/2 pounds], to Constantinople, where it is used to bake the Sultan's bread...
>
> There is also a nice garden along the walls towards the city. In the center of the garden is a square pond, filled with hewn rocks. In the center of the pond is a pretty pleasure house of marble, constructed on four marble columns. The fountain in the center of the pleasure house has decayed, and the house has no roof.
>
> The upper city, unfortunately, is built in most places on such overhanging rock that, if one wishes to look downward over the walls, one cannot see the lower city...
>
> The lower city stretches on the plateau parallel alongside the foot of the mountain. There [in the lower city] are the *Besenstein* [*Bezzazistan* 'market hall'], or trading center with all sorts of heavenly goods and other shops and *Botegen*.

> It is predominantly inhabited by Turks and Jews, who each have their respective quarters [in the city]. But there are only a few Christians.
>
> The inhabitants live primarily from the profit of silk and wool spinning and weaving, as well as gold spinning, and quite a bit of silk dyeing. And here they make many excellent textile pieces of gold with all sorts of pretty designs, as well as a very large number of garments of lower quality. And [the city] also has many enormous dye-houses.
>
> [On the mountain there are] shepherds who keep thousands of Turkish sheep, a breed with long ears and large tails.. These sheep have long, fat tails. [In fact, they are so fat] that one tail may weigh 12, 15, or 20 [pounds], but may also be larger than that. And many shepherds have to make a two-wheeled small cart, which is tied by a rope around the sheep's neck and pulled by it. The tail is laid on the cart, otherwise [the sheep] could not walk. The sheep feed on large [amounts of] moss [which they find] on rocks; they have long, pretty hairs like silk, so that the hair almost touches the ground; and yet the hair is still not shorn, but combed with a comb, so that it becomes like wool or silk. From this [hair] yarn is spun in all of *Galicia* or *Gallogrecia*, and the yarn is taken to Bursa and Ankara. The sheep are washed almost every third day. From these hairs, they make the *Shamlot*, *Macheir* [Mohair], and *Grobgrün*, and not from camel hair, as many people think. For only a very few things are made from camel hair. Thus, the people derive a large income from the sheep; and because there are so many of these on Mount Olymp, the largest source of profit and subsistence in Ankara and Bursa also comes from [the manufacture and sale of] *Grobgrün*, *Shamlot* and *Macheir*. But this manufacture is restricted to this mountain region. The rough wool is used for rugs, and there is a big difference among those made in the cities and those [woven] in the villages. (Lubenau 1915: 76-79)

As these passages indicate, Lubenau's account is crucial to our understanding of the economy of Bursa at the end of the 16th century. He was a keen observer who carefully recorded what he saw. From the preceding extracts of his work, we may add the following brushstrokes to our portrait of the city at that time.

Lubenau's observations on the city's populace are particularly important. He remarked that half of the city's population lived within the walled upper city and the other half in the unwalled areas stretched out below it. His statement that "[Bursa] is predominantly inhabited by Turks and Jews, who each have their respective quarters [in the city]. But there are only a few Christians" (1915: 77) substantiates the information in the 1530 *tahrir* for Bursa that there were distinct Muslim and Jewish quarters and a relatively smaller number of Christians who lived in communities attached to various of the city's Muslim quarters.

Lubenau noted that the Sultan's palace then was in a semi-deserted state and falling into ruin. A similar fate was befalling the pleasure garden and its

artificial lake on the grounds of the palace, the same garden accurately described 150 years earlier by Broquière on the basis of hearsay.

According to his account, the flour used to bake the bread eaten by the Sultans in İstanbul was prepared by *acemi oğlans* [*devşirme* conscripts] working in the Bursa palace. It may be noted that almost a century later, in 1675, the English travelers Wheler and Covel attested to the continuation of this practice. Wheler wrote that "In this Castle are two Seraglios, one old, and the other new. The old is almost demolished, and only serves to cleanse Corn and to make fine Flour for the Seraglio" (Wheler 1682: 215). For his part, Covel added the following remark:

> Hard by this monastery are the ruines of a small citadel, about 175 or 180 paces, the door just in the middle, the fore side into the castle; it is near upon a square. It was first made a seraglio after it was taken, but now a bouting house, where they make a sort of fine flour of wheat and rice, for biskot and other bread peculiarly for the Grand Signor use, which is sent to the court to him, wherever he is, as now quite to Adrianople. They have a way to dry their corn, after it is water'd here, so as to glaze the meal in a manner, and they inform'd me it could not be done so anywhere else. (Covel 1998: 150)

Lubenau provided important information on the textile industry (whose importance already was stressed by Broquière), detailing the process of dying, the selection of colors for dyes and even the reasons for these selections. His account also states that the slopes of Mount Olympus were a breeding ground for the fat-tailed, long-haired sheep whose wool was used in Bursa and Ankara.

Suffice it to say that, without the often fortuitous survival of the accounts of Lebenau and other travelers, our knowledge of the population and economy of Bursa during at least the first two centuries of Ottoman rule would be virtually non-existent.

To the extent that this survey of relevant data from travelers' accounts dating from the 14th-16th centuries, and the analysis of information from the 1530 tax register, have accomplished their aims, it may be evident that these two types of sources are most illuminating when used in conjunction with one another. Without the traveler accounts, we would possess few details about the social and economic life of the city in the early Ottoman period. Likewise, without the framework provided by the *tahrir defters*, the accounts of the travelers would yield only interesting vignettes.

2

CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, 1326-1701

To trace the roles played by Bursa's various non-Muslim communities over time is a task greatly facilitated by the survival of the more than 180 traveler accounts written by visitors to the city in the Ottoman period. Indeed, were it not for these accounts we would possess almost no knowledge of non-Muslims in the population during the first 150 years of Ottoman rule, because the earliest Ottoman administrative document referring to the presence of non-Muslim communities in Bursa is a *tahrir defter* [cadastral register] compiled in 1487 (*Tapu-Tahrir Defter* Nr. 23, 1487: 1-32; cf. Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 1-9).

The Ottoman chronicles are strangely silent as well regarding the status of the inhabitants of Bursa in the immediate aftermath of the city's surrender to the Ottoman ruler, Orhan Gazi, in 1326. Aşıkpaşazade, while giving a description of the manner in which the Byzantine ruler surrendered the city to Orhan Gazi and his companion in arms Köse Mihal who, in return for a payment of 30,000 Florins, provided safe passage for the ruler and his entourage to Gemlik, says nothing about the fate of the inhabitants of the city (Aşıkpaşazade 1992: 33). That they had suffered greatly in the extended siege of the city may be inferred from comments made by a Byzantine official who opted to stay in Bursa. Aşıkpaşazade identified him as a *vezir* of the Byzantine ruler named Saroz, who is credited with arranging the surrender of the walled castle of Bursa. When queried by Orhan Gazi as to why they had decided to surrender the city and why upon entering it they had found so many bodies of dead Christians in the Castle, Saroz replied:

> We surrendered for a variety of reasons. For one thing your state is growing bigger and bigger every day. Ours [in contrast] has turned. This we were well aware of... [As for the dead bodies] they died of starvation. (Aşıkpaşazade 1992: 33-34)

It is likely that, in a city starved into submission (it had been besieged for ten years), the first to die were the non-combatants, i.e., the civilian population that had taken refuge within the walls. Be that as it may, from the surrender of the city to Orhan Gazi in 1326 until the first extant *tahrir*

defter, that of 1487, the Ottoman administrative sources (with the exception of a few individual names of Italian merchants, and local Christians and Jews scattered throughout the earliest surviving *kadı* court records which date from 1478-1480 and 1484-1486 [İnalcık 1960c: 70-94; 1981: 1-91]) do not mention the presence or lack of non-Muslims in Bursa. Despite this fact, as was discussed in the previous chapter, we know that within a generation of the conquest there were Christians living in Bursa. This knowledge comes from the testimony of the Greek Archbishop of Thessaloniki, one Gregory Palamas, who spent four days as a prisoner in Bursa in the year 1354 and remarked:

> Here [in Bursa] those of the Christians who excelled in wisdom used to meet us to discuss major matters, though the circumstances were not favorable; for the barbarians [Turks] were surrounding us. But those who exerted themselves about piety disregarded the unfavorable time, as they unexpectedly had in front of them the man who would tell them about the things they wanted to know. (Arnakis 1951: 106, Palamas 1979: 144-146)

His comments allow us to posit that the community of co-religionists he encountered, just 29 years after Bursa's fall, were the remnants of the city's pre-conquest population. While Palamas did not hint at their numbers, the tone of his remarks establish that in fact a Greek Orthodox community existed in Bursa at the time of his stay.

Late in the 14th century, another captive, the Bavarian named Johann Schiltberger who later enrolled in the Janissary corps, indirectly confirmed this indication. In his 1397 description of the Ottoman capital, he wrote:

> The city contains two hundred thousand houses, and eight hospitals where poor people are received, whether they be Christians, infidels or Jews. (Schiltberger 1879: 40)

This brief remark, in addition to suggesting the presence of Christians among the city's inhabitants, similarly constitutes the first indirect reference to a Jewish element in the population. Given that Schiltberger was writing a century prior to the expulsion of Jews from Spain, we may infer that Bursa's 1397 Jewish community consisted of Romaniot or Byzantine Jews, i.e., the remnants of the pre-conquest community known to have lived in the city.

Of equal interest is Shiltberger's reference to what he called the eight "hospitals," where poor people were received "whether they be Christians, infidels [i.e., Muslims] or Jews." Clearly, he was describing the Ottoman institution of the *imaret*, or soup kitchen for the poor. Interestingly, the second extant cadastral survey for the city, which was compiled in 1530 (more than a century after Schiltberger's account was written), places the number of imperial *imarets* in Bursa at eight (Özkılınç *et al.* 1995: 6),

thereby confirming the Bavarian's account. Schiltberger's knowledge of the exact number of such religious foundations justifies our trust of his claim that these soup kitchens for the poor were open to Muslim, Christian and Jew alike. Unfortunately, the only contemporary religious foundation documents which have survived for any of the 14th century Bursan *imarets* are somewhat vague when it comes to the question of whom they were intended to serve. A typical example is that of a *zaviye-imaret* founded by Bayezid I (1389-1402), which states that its clientele include *şeyh*s, members of the *ulema*, *seyyid*s [descendants of the Prophet], the poor and travelers ["those who come and go"] (Ayverdi 1966: 63-65). The latter two categories are not designated as exclusively for Muslims, which opens the intriguing possibility that, in the beginning centuries of Ottoman rule, the largesse of the rulers was distributed equally to all those in need, regardless of their religious affiliation.

This possibility is strengthened by the account of the Frenchman, Bertrandon de la Broquière, who visited Bursa in 1432 and made an interesting observation on the city's *imarets*:

> There are very nice places, like hospitals. In three or four of these, bread, meat and wine are distributed to those who want to take them in God's name. (Broquière 1988: 83)

We may easily account for the fact that Schiltberger's eight *imarets* in 1397 had been reduced to three or four by the time of Broquière's visit in 1432, for, in the interim, Bursa had been sacked, pillaged and burned on two occasions. The Central Asian conqueror Timur laid waste to the city in 1402/3, and Mehmed Karamanoğlu, the leader of a rival Turkish state in Anatolia, attacked it a decade later in 1413. The havoc thus wrought is known to have affected the city's imperial foundations, so that the reduction of the formerly eight soup kitchens to three or four in Broquière's time is quite in keeping with the city's history.

Broquière did not specifically state that the *imarets* he saw were serving the poor among both Muslim and non-Muslims, but his comment that "bread, meat and wine are distributed to those who want to take them in God's name," implies that this may have been the case. More problematic is the menu of items which he reported were served in the city's *imarets*; in particular, his mention of "wine" along with bread and meat, if true, would represent a somewhat startling innovation. Broquière was one of those rare travelers who made a conscious effort to differentiate between what he actually had witnessed and what he had heard. As a case in point, we may cite his description of the Ottoman palace in Bursa:

> On a low mountain at the western end of the city is a fine, large castle. There are about a thousand houses inside. This is the lord's very beauti-

> ful residence. It is also a pleasure house for the Grand Turk, with fifty of his wives. There is a garden and a very nice little pool where the lord takes his ease, when he pleases, with his wives, in a small boat... All this is hearsay, for I saw only the exterior. (Broquière 1988: 85)

This kind of accuracy causes one to hesitate before rejecting out of hand Broquière's comment that the city's *imaret*s provided the poor with "bread, meat and wine."

The only other traveler to note that the city's soup kitchens were open to all was George Wheler, who visited the city in 1675 and later wrote:

> On the North-East side of the Town, is a Royal Mosque, and a College by it, with twelve Apartments for twelve Masters; who are obliged to teach to Write, Read, and the Understanding of the Law. Thither any poor man may come, and eat at any time; and on Fridays, be feasted with Rice. (Wheler 1682: 216)

Though he did not specify that this largesse was available to non-Muslims, his use of the phrase "any poor man may come and eat at any time" may be interpreted as including the city's poor Christians and Jews. If this reading is correct, it may well have been the case that, as late as the 17th century, the city's *imaret*s were open to all, regardless of religion.

Broquière's account also provides the first testimony to the residence of Italian merchants—thus, of a Latin Catholic element—in Bursa as early as 1432. He reported that upon his arrival in the city he met the Genoese representative of the merchant house of Spinola who, in turn, took him to the house of an unnamed Florentine merchant with whom he stayed during his ten days in Bursa (Broquière 1988: 83). Furthermore, according to his account, his relatively long stay in the city was occasioned by the fact that he was waiting for a group of Genoese merchants who were traveling to Pera with spices which they had purchased from a caravan in Bursa (Broquière 1988: 84-85). In yet another passage, he wrote that Florentine merchants (in the plural) in Bursa had asked him to take a Spaniard with him to Constantinople (Broquière 1988: 85-86). These Latin Catholics, unlike the Christians and Jews mentioned above, represented a new element in the admixture of Bursa's population. They were the first generation of what was to become a resident colony of Genoese, Florentine and Venetian merchants attracted to the city by its role as a key transit station in the international silk trade.

Finally, in a somewhat humorous passage, Broquière at least hinted at the presence of Greek Christians in Bursa at the time of his visit when he wrote: "It was here that I ate caviar with olive oil for the first time. It is alright when there is nothing else to eat, but it is really good only for the Greeks" (Broquière 1988: 84). While Broquière may not have appreciated

what today is regarded by many as a delicacy, by associating the eating of caviar with Greeks he may well have had in mind his first encounter with this item in the company of Bursa's Greek Christians.

The Spanish traveler Pero Tafur visited the city in the Fall of 1437, five years after Broquière, and confirmed that Italian merchants resided there. Tafur traveled in the company of a Genoese friend who " had a house in a city of Turkey which they call Bursa" (Pero Tafur 1926: 149). He also reaffirmed the importance of Bursa as a transit center for goods moving West from Persia and gave the first realistic estimate of its population a century after its incorporation into the Ottoman realm in the following passage:

> We went by sea, and I saw the city, which is unwalled, but greater and better than any in Turkey. There are some 4,000 inhabitants... I believe that in the whole of Turkey today there is no other place so large, nor so well peopled, nor so rich. (Pero Tafur 1926: 149)

Just over a century after the Ottoman conquest of Bursa, the accounts preserved in the writings of travelers to the city allow us to establish that among its inhabitants were Greek Orthodox Christians, Romaniot Jews and Latin Catholics. Indeed, the only lacuna in this list is the probable existence of an Armenian Gregorian community in the city. Unfortunately, the travel accounts do not confirm the presence of Armenians in Bursa prior to Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople/İstanbul on May 29, 1453, and the earliest *tahrir*s lack specific references to Armenians at the times of their compilations. However, as I argued above (see *infra*, p. 4), it is quite probable that the Armenians had been forcibly relocated from Bursa to İstanbul following its conquest (cf. Barkan-Ayverdi 1970: xvi).

What the impact of the conquest of İstanbul may have been on Bursa's Muslim, Greek Orthodox and Jewish inhabitants also is difficult to evaluate. The Byzantine-Ottoman chronicler Kritovoulos, in describing the Sultan's efforts at repopulating his capital, wrote:

> When the Sultan had captured the city of Constantinople, almost his very first care was to have the city repopulated...He sent an order in the form of an imperial command to every part of his realm, that as many inhabitants as possible be transferred to the City, not only Christians but also his own people and many of the Hebrews. (Kritovoulos 1954: 93)

Given the importance of Bursa as the Ottoman state's leading commercial emporium in this period, it might be reasonable to assume that Bursa had a ready supply of the type of emigrants sought by Mehmed II. However, our sources are silent in regard to the actual number of Bursans (of whatever faith) who may have been transferred to the new capital.

From a number of references in the work of the Florentine chronicler, Benedetto Dei, who visited Bursa in 1471, we know that the number of Italian merchants in Bursa continued to grow throughout the reign of Mehmed II. Dei listed Bursa among the Ottoman cities in which one could find "Florentine merchants, bankers, places of business, shops, consulates and churches" (Benedetto Dei 1985: 133). In another passage, he bemoaned the fact that in Bursa "the cloth of Florence does not make more than 70% profit" (Benedetto Dei 1985: 169). The Bursa of his day clearly was a marketplace for Italian manufactured cloth and a major supply center for the Persian silks so highly prized in Italy.

The earliest surviving *kadı sicilleri* [*kadı* court records] of the city also confirm the presence of a variety of non-Muslims among its residents. Halil İnalcık published a selection of these court cases, together with copies of Imperial Orders received in the city, from the years 1478-1480. From these documents we may extract the following information relative to Christians and Jews in Bursa who were involved in various forms of litigation in those years (page numbers refer to İnalcık 1960c):

(1) a decision names the Genoese merchant Sangiacomi, son of Lorenzo, executor of the estate of the deceased Florentine merchant, Alessio, son of Piero (p. 70);

(2) a suit is argued between two foreign merchants—Filibo, son of Alexandros, and Girardo, son of Piero (p. 71);

(3) an agreement is reached between two Ottoman merchants and an Italian merchant named Lakropedi, son of Francesco (p. 72);

(4) a claim is brought by Hoca Sadreddin Şami against the estate of the deceased Florentine merchant Alessio, son of Piero (pp. 72-73);

(5) a claim regarding a debt between Francesco, son of Kirako, and one Yusuf is brought (p. 77);

(6) a claim involving debt is brought by Benedetto, son of Anton, against one Yusuf (pp. 78-79);

(7) a claim involving debt between Nicolo, son of Todoro, and one Hoca Bahıayii is brought (pp. 79-80);

(8) a claim involving debt between the Florentine merchant Bartolomi and one Hacı Ahmed is brought (p. 80);

(9) a case is argued between the Italian Mariotti and one İlyas (pp. 85-86);

(10) a case involving debt between the Florentine merchant Zenobio, son of Pierro, and an Armenian merchant from Erzincan named Vlazad is argued (pp. 87-88);

(11) a claim involving debt arising from the sale of cloth between the Jew Ivaz and one Hoca Cemaleddin is brought (p. 88);

(12) a suit involving debt is brought against one Yonardo, son of Anton (pp. 88-89);

(13) a case involving Battista, son of Anton, is argued (p. 94);

(14) and a case arising from the sale of Venetian fabrics by Sangiacomi to Hacı Ramazan and Ahmed is argued (p. 94).

Halil İnalcık also published a second register of 15th century court cases in Bursa that covers the years 1484-1486 and provides additional information from litigations involving non-Muslims in the city's Muslim religious courts (page numbers refer to İnalcık 1980/81):

(1) a Jew named Yahud, son of Solomon, is certified as having paid a debt of 32 *akçe* [small Ottoman silver coins] (pp. 2, 64);

(2) an Armenian named Oğul (?) acknowledges a debt of 30,000 *akçe*s to another Armenian named Yakub, son of İskender (pp. 4, 65);

(3) a claim of debt is brought by a Jew named Davud against one Hoca İbrahim (pp. 5, 65);

(4) a debt is settled between Maximos, the (Greek Orthodox) Patriarch of Bursa, and the city's (Greek Orthodox) Metropolitan, Mihal Medrofol, and is witnessed by the Priest Mihal, son of Karaca, and the Priest Androniko Yorgi (pp. 9-10, 67);

(5) a debt owed by Anna, daughter of Mihal, to Nikola is acknowledged (pp. 11, 68);

(6) the payment of 30,000 *akçe*s for rent of the city's *kapan* [scales] by the Jew Şamuyil to Silahdar Mehmed is recorded (pp. 19, 71);

(7) the Italians Ciano, son of Bertamo, and Maryot, son of Benedit, acknowledge a debt of 30,000 akçe to Hoca İbrahim (pp. 28, 75);

(8) the Italian Sanuchko, son of Lorenzo, acknowledges a debt of 22,000 *akçe*s to al-Hac İskender (pp. 30, 76);

(9) the Venetian Aluvizi, son of Carlo, gives Maryot, son of Benedit, the power to represent his business interests (pp. 34, 78);

(10) the Florentine Bertoma acknowledges a debt of 5,000 *akçe*s to the Doctor Yakub, and Bertoma's wife Sofiya, daughter of Nikola, is named as guarantor (pp. 35, 78);

(11) Hüseyin Çelebi acknowledges a debt to the foreigner Usku, son of Buz (pp. 36, 79);

(12) a suit is filed by Piero, son of Asalom (pp. 37, 79);

(13) the Jew Azrail, who has the tax-farming rights to income produced by the sale of slaves in Bursa, names Hasan as his representative (pp. 39, 80);

(14) the Jew Azrail acknowledges receipt of the tax for the sale of a female Circassian from the Jew İlyakim (pp. 40, 81);

(15) the Genoese Piero, son of Damyan, gives the power to represent his business interests to his brother Andria (pp. 50-51, 85);

(16) the Italian Yakomi signs an agreement to rent the house with garden which belongs to the *vakıf* [religious foundation] of Hacı Hamza for the annual sum of 2,800 *akçe*s (pp. 53, 87);

(17) and the Genoese merchant Zancikomi acknowledges a debt of 500 gold florins to Hoca Muslihiddin Mustafa (pp. 56, 88).

As our selection from İnalcık's examples (selected by him as typical of administrative, social and economic practices) demonstrates, non-Muslims flourished in Bursa in the years 1478-1486. These cases make clear that, among other things, Jewish merchants played an active role in the state's tax-farming and at least one Jewish doctor practiced in Bursa. Similarly, the city hosted a number of Genoese, Florentine and Venetian merchants, at least some of whom resided there (note Yakomi who signed a lease for a house with garden). These merchants were engaged in a wide variety of business transactions with Muslims and, in one instance, with a local Jewish doctor. Further, the mention of two Armenian Christians who register a debt one owes to the other is the first explicit reference to this group among the city's populace in the Ottoman period. Finally, the documents name the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, as well as the Metropolitan and two priests, thereby establishing both the existence of the Greek community in the city and the structure of their religious hierarchy at the end of the 15th century.

An imperial edict dated October 14, 1485, carries the Sultan's order that Bursa's *kadı* [religious judge] should make an extraordinary levy of 15 *akçe*s from each of the 5,000 households registered in a previous cadastral survey of the city (İnalcık 1980/81: 56-57, 88). Although that earlier survey did not survive, a new cadastral survey that does survive was carried out in 1487. From it, we may infer that the previous survey probably was carried out in the 1450s during the reign of Mehmed II, as it was an Ottoman practice in this period to resurvey each area at intervals of approximately twenty to thirty years. Moreover, that previous survey had established a total of 5,700 households in the city and attached outlying villages. Based upon an average of five individuals per household, plus 10 percent to account for those residents exempt from taxes of this nature, we may assume a population of somewhere in the vicinity of 27,500 in mid-15th century Bursa.

Our earliest specific references to non-Muslims communities (as distinct from individuals) in extant Ottoman documents are those contained in the aforementioned cadastral survey of 1487. This document is a detailed [*mufassal*] register, i.e., it provides the names of all tax-payers who are cited according to their quarters [*mahalle*] or communities [*cema'at*] of residence. Unfortunately, in the 500 years since its compilation some two-thirds of its pages (from the middle of the section dealing specifically with the city of Bursa) have been lost. What remains allows us to propose an estimate of the 1487 population, based upon the figure of 6,457 households which appears on the last page of the section preserved for the city (*Tapu-Tahrir Defter* Nr. 23, 1487: 32). Using the same formula of an average of five individuals per household, plus 10 percent of the total to account for those individuals

exempt from personal taxes, one may calculate that the population of Bursa at the end of the 15th century stood near 35,515 people. The number of Christians and Jews among them is indeterminable, due to the fact that the missing segments of the register most likely contained additional information on these communities. Clearly, whatever impact the forced relocation to İstanbul in the 1450s had on all communities of Bursa, the city's population continued to grow, undoubtedly fueled by its increasing role as a textile emporium.

Several references to non-Muslims may be found in those pages which have been preserved in the 1487 register (page numbers refer to *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* Nr. 23, 1487):

(1) The entry after that for the Quarter of Çukur Mescid reads *Cem'at-i gebran-i azadegan der kurb i mahalle-i Muradiye-i Bayezid Hüdavendigar* [the community of manumitted unbelievers in the vicinity of the Quarter of Muradiye-Bayezid Hüdavendigar]: households [*hane*] 25; households headed by widows [*bive*] 2 (p. 17). Since the individuals listed as belonging to this community have names such as Aleksi, Andranikos, Dimitri, Mavlos, Yorgi, Kaloyani, and so on, we may safely assume that it is a Greek Orthodox community.

(2) The entry immediately following the above entry reads *Cema'at-i gebran-i Alaşehir der kurb-i mahalle-i Muradiye mezbure* [the community of unbelievers from Alaşehir in the vicinity of the aforementioned Quarter of Muradiye]: households 6 (p. 17). Once more, since the members of this community bear names like Mihal, Yoraki, Aleksi, Kosti, etc., we may identify this as a Greek Orthodox community. Moreover, as this community is said to be from the town of Alaşehir, we may infer that these are newly-arrived Christians settlers in Bursa, which constitutes the first indication of the steady stream of immigrants in this period.

(3) Another Christian community is registered in the *Mahalle-i Kuru Çeşme* [The Quarter of the Dry Fountain?], which is said to comprise 13 households. Next to the name of the quarter is written *'an cema'at-i gebran* [the community of unbelievers] (p. 19). Once again, names like Kosti the son of Todoros, Yorgi son of Yani, Nikola, etc., indicate a Greek Orthodox community.

(4) Another Christian group is found in the *Mahalle-i Bazar-i Mahi—Gazi Hüdavendigar vakfından ve Bayezid Hüdavendigar vakfından ve Germiyanoğlu vakından müteferrik zimmiler bunlardır ki zikr olunur ve azadlu haracı'n cem' idene müterallikdir* [The Quarter of the Fish Bazar which has attached to it miscellaneous non-Muslims from the religious foundations of Gazi Hüdavendigar, Bayezid Hüdavendigar and the Germiyanoğlus]. This section lists 10 households and 16 renter households [*kiracıyan*] for the group (p. 29). Since these residents have names like

Mihal, son of the Priest, Todoros, Dimitri, etc., they surely also belong to a Greek Orthodox community.

(5) An entry following that for the Muslim Quarter of 'Alaüddin Beğ reads *Bursa'da olan beğlik taylar'a hizmet iden zimmiler bunlardır ki zikr olunur* [The non-Muslims who provide service to the Imperial Colts (Stables) are listed here]. This Christian community is shown as composed of 13 households and 1 household headed by a widow (p. 29). The names of these taxpayers (Yani, son of Martos, Kiryaki, son of Yorgi, the widow Maria, etc.) indicates that they, too, were Greek Orthodox Christians. In all probability, these Greeks were employed in the imperial stables (depicted as "Grand Signior Stables" in the map accompanying Wheler 1682: 214).

On the basis of this earliest surviving fragment of an Ottoman cadastral survey of Bursa, we can establish the existence of only five different communities of Greek Orthodox Christians scattered among the city's Muslim quarters. The five groups represented a total of 86 households, or approximately 430 individuals. Were it not for the travel account of the 14th-15th centuries, along with scattered references in the *kadı* court records of 1478-1480 and 1484-1486, we could not state with certainty that the city also had Roman Catholic and Jewish (and possibly Armenian) elements in its population in this period.

The letters of two Florentine travelers, Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi, attest that the Latin Catholic presence was still growing in Bursa at the end of the 15th century. They were accompanied on their trip to Bursa by Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, a Florentine merchant from Pera who had business interests in Bursa, and they stayed in the home of Tommaso Fronte, another Florentine expatriate, during their visit (Bonsignore 1973: 163). While there, they observed the flourishing silk trade, which, according to them, was dominated by the Genoese, whose main competitors were the Florentines (Bonsignore 1973: 163). While their accounts make no explicit reference to the Christian communities in the city, one does say that Bernardo Michelozzi managed to find and purchase a number of Greek manuscripts (including a *Plotinus*) which, in all likelihood, were sold to him by local Greek Christians (Bonsignore 1973: 164).

A valuable source of evidence regarding the Latin Christians and Jews in Bursa at the beginning of the 16th century consists of a series of letters written by the Florentine already referred to, Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, in the years 1501-1502. In communicating with his partners in Florence about his commercial activities in Bursa, Maringhi frequently mentioned by name a number of Latin Catholics and Jews, as well as one Greek, among the merchants residing in the city. Thus, his correspondence contains the following information on 31 non-Muslim residents of Bursa (page numbers refer to Richards 1932):

(1) Jacopo Ambrogi, a Florentine merchant (p. 283);
(2) Bernardo di Aretino, a banker from the Florentine possession of Arezzo (p. 284);
(3) Ser Polo di Atabia, an Italian cloth merchant (p. 284);
(4) Jacopo Boscoli, a Florentine cloth merchant (p. 285);
(5) Domenico Buti, an Italian merchant (p. 285);
(6) Francesco Calvo, a Genoese merchant (p. 285);
(7) Justasado Caragoso, a broker (p. 285);
(8) Tomasino Caviae, an Italian silk-weaver (p. 285);
(9) Chiano, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 285);
(10) Saidi Chialabi, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 285);
(11) Girolamo Cini, an Italian banker (p. 285);
(12) Giovanfrancesco Dazzi, an Italian cloth merchant (p. 285);
(13) Averado di Filicaia, an Italian merchant (p. 285);
(14) Jacopo di Francesco, an Italian money-lender (p. 286);
(15) Tomasso Fronte, a Florentine money-changer (p. 286);
(16) Giovanni Gazzetti, a Florentine merchant representing Maringhi's interests in Bursa (p. 287);
(17) Gianno, an Italian cloth merchant (p. 287);
(18) Filippo Girolami, a Florentine merchant (p. 287);
(19) Gianetto da Levanto, an Italian merchant (p. 287);
(20) Simone Lione, an Italian Jewish banker (p. 288);
(21) Domenico di Merzze, a Florentine used by Maringhi for communications between Bursa and Pera (p. 291);
(22) Chiano di Monachi, an Italian Jewish cloth merchant (p. 291);
(23) Cosano di Negroponte, a Greek broker (p. 291);
(24) Gianetto di Porto Venere, an Italian cloth merchant (p. 292);
(25) Abram Ruber, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 292);
(26) Davit Sichera, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 293);
(27) Federigo Spagniola, an Italian cloth merchant (p. 293);
(28) Francesco Spinola, an Italian broker (p. 293);
(29) Isaac Tapiero, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 293);
(30) Lionardo Venturi, an Italian agent of Maringhi's (p. 293);
(31) Abram Vilem, a Jewish cloth merchant (p. 293).

This list confirms the residence of Catholic, Jewish and Greek Orthodox businessmen in Bursa in this period. In citing the names of several Florentine bankers, merchants and businessmen, Maringhi backed up the claim made by Benedetto Dei three decades earlier that Bursa "contained Florentine merchants, bankers, places of business, shops, consulates and churches" (Benedetto Dei 1985: 133). Similarly, his reference to six Jewish cloth merchants and a Greek broker among the city's residents attests to the continuation of these non-Muslim communities in the city.

The second extant Ottoman cadastral survey of Bursa was compiled in the year 1530. Unlike the fragment from 1487, the 1530 survey survives in its entirety. Its usefulness, however, is somewhat limited by the fact that it is of the type known as an *icmal* [summary] register, i.e., it only cites the names and total numbers of residents of each quarter and community. In contrast to the *mufassal* [detailed] registers, it does not record the names of the actual residents of each quarter. The figures in the 1530 register indicate a total of 7,768 tax-paying households in the city, a not very substantial increase over the 6,457 households in 1487. Thus, using the standard formula, we may calculate that the city had a population of 42,724 people in 1530, compared to 35,515 in 1487 (Özkılınç *et al.* 1995: 6).

The information recorded in the 1530 register relevant to the non-Muslim component of the city's populace has been treated in the previous chapter (*infra*, pp. 2-3). Briefly, the figures preserved establish that, in the early 16th century, Bursa was a Muslim city with a rather small Jewish presence (approximately 585 people), and an even smaller Christian one (approximately 345 people). The figures do not indicate an Armenian presence in the city in this period, which might be interpreted either as the result of a forcible relocation to İstanbul during the reign of Mehmed II or as reflecting the virtual absence of Armenians in the city. In any case, the figures show that Bursa continued to be a major Ottoman city at the time this register was compiled.

In the second half of the 16th century, Bursa was visited by a number of travelers, several of whose account contain useful details regarding the city's non-Muslims. One such account was written by the German Hieronymus Beck on the basis of his visit in 1550. Without mentioning Christians specifically, he nonetheless stated that Mount Olympus was called in Turkish "Geishis Dage" [*Keşiş Dağ*] and in Greek "Mons Kolgeron," meaning "Mountain of the Monks" in both languages (Hieronymus Beck 1596: 116). His observation is the earliest evidence that Mount Olympus still may have been a site of monastic observance under the Ottomans.

The first specific reference to Christian sanctuaries within the city of Bursa itself was supplied by a German traveler named Stephan Gerlach, who visited in 1576. His description of the city reports that the city was home to 1,000 Christians who were served by three priests and the Metropolitan, whose seat was in the Church of Holy Apostles [*Heiligen Aposteln*], and also that there was a second Greek Orthodox church named Church of Saint Nicolas:

> The Greeks with their Metropolitan have only one church for observance, the 'Church of the Holy Apostles.' Every morning before sunrise their priests are explaining the Gospels, and when day breaks they perform the liturgy. I visited this church, which is very small, and like other Christian churches in Asia has a very low entrance through which one must bow to

> enter. From outside it looks more like a stable or a cellar than a church. The church is full of paintings [icons] and located in a very nice place. Their priest is a very fine and learned man.
>
> There is also another church dedicated to Saint Nicolas, but the liturgy there is given very irregularly.
>
> They asked if our Lord [the German Ambassador] could intervene with the Pasha to get them one or two more churches. Because there are 1,000 Christians residents in the town itself [who are a long ways from this church], they have to travel a long time and cross a high hill to get to the church.
>
> They have only three priests and a Metropolitan, but he doesn't live there. (Gerlach 1674: 259)

Another point of interest in this passage is that the 1,000 Greek Christians had no sanctuary for worship within the city itself, but rather had to travel some distance to attend the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was located in the Filadar region on the plain north of the city.

In 1588, Reinhold Lubenau, yet another German traveler to the city, gathered one of the most complete descriptions of Bursa ever written, even though his work contains only a few scattered references to the non-Muslim population (page references are to Lubenau 1915):

> [The lower city] is predominantly inhabited by Turks and Jews, who each have their respective quarters. But there are only a few Christians. (p. 77)
>
> About half a German mile high up the mountain lies a monastery which belongs to the Caloiris, or the Greek monks. This monastery is hewn out of the mountain rock, and not one bit of it is [held together] with masonry, neither the church nor the cells, in which the monks used to live... The Calori, however, no longer live on top of the mountain [in the monastery], but down below in the city; and all of them walk up each morning to conduct their prayers and hold their service. Often they are robbed by the shepherds who keep the thousands of Turkish sheep, a kind with long ears and large tails. And therefore the mountain side is rendered quite unsafe... (p. 78)
>
> Only the two of us, myself and Herr George Christof Fernberger, walked up to the monastery with the Caloiris. The others were afraid because of the shepherds who make it unsafe, and they also thought that there was not much to see up there. And if the walk to the monastery was very unpleasant because of the water from melting snow, the walk down was even worse, since we were not accustomed to this, as were the Caloiris. They walked barefoot. When going up we would fall and slide downhill on our bottoms as fast as an arrow, losing our sense of orientation. Just when we thought we would slide all the way back to the city, we would reach a level stretch and stand back up under the laughter of the Caloiris. We hurried on our way back because of the shepherds, but when we saw some shepherds, they greeted us quite friendly; but this was already pretty close to the city. (p. 80)
>
> In the lower city there is only a small Greek church. (p. 87)

Lubenau's account confirms the presence of Greek Orthodox Christians and Jews in Bursa, but makes no mention of Armenians. However, it testifies to the fact, recorded by Gerlach a decade earlier, that the Greeks had only one small church located in the suburbs. It also suggests that, whereas the Jews live as a concentrated community with its own quarter, the Christians live in various quarters of the city. Finally, it implies that the number of Jews was greater than that of the Christians, which is in keeping with the figures extracted from the *tahrir defter* of 1530.

The most important details which Lubenau's account provides on non-Muslims concern the Greek monks who, out of fear, no longer resided in their monastery on Mount Olympus, choosing instead to climb the mountain every morning for their services. It is reasonable to assume that the monastery referred to predated the Ottoman conquest and, as such, represented a Byzantine foundation still in partial use at the end of the 16th century.

A way to test Lubenau's observations regarding the settlement patterns of the Jewish and Greek Orthodox communities is to consult the data in the third of the surviving Ottoman cadastral surveys for this period, the one compiled in 1573. Preserved in Ankara's *Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü*, this register (TK Nr. 67), is the only extant detailed [*mufassal*] survey covering the city of Bursa. Unfortunately, I was unable to gain access to this archive, so that I have had to rely on figures derived from TK Nr. 67 in the works of Turkish scholars (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 1-9, Ergenç 1979: 108-120).

A striking conclusion that may be reached on the basis of the data in the 1573 survey is that Bursa had undergone something of a population explosion in the period since the 1530 survey. The number of households more than doubled, from 7,768 to 15,959 in the interim between the two registers. This represents a growth in population from approximately 42, 724 to 87,774. Such growth is not explicable in terms of natural increase and, consequently, ought to reflect the increasing economic importance of the city, specifically, a rise in the number of jobs in the silk and textile industries serving as a magnet to attract new settlers to Bursa.

By all accounts, this growth was not restricted to Muslims. Whereas the combined number of Christian and Jewish households stood at 186 in 1530, this figure had increased almost fivefold to 887 in 1573. It is impossible to further analyze these figures because Barkan and Meriçli and Ergenç do not provide the necessary details and, in fact, confuse the issue by citing figures which do not always jibe with each other; for example, Barkan and Meriçli list a total of 308 Jewish households in the *Kuru Çeşme* Quarter in 1573 (1988: 6), Ergenç lists a total of only 128 Jewish households in 1573 (1979: 118). Nor does either author note the presence of Armenians among the conflicting figures they cite for the city's *gebran* [unbeliever] population. Because relatively more details on the city's non-Muslims are available in

the work of Barkan and Meriçli (1988: 1-9), the following breakdown of this segment of Bursa's population is based on their data:

(1) Greek Orthodox Christians mentioned in the 1573 *tahrir* as attached to one or another of the 28 quarters of Bursa are listed in Table 1. The figures cited by Barkan and Meriçli show that there were 542 Greek Orthodox (and Armenian?) Christian households, of which 391 of their homes were owned and 151 were rented. Using the co-efficient of five individuals per household, one may calculate the figure of 2,710 Christians in the city at this date. Contrary to this, Barkan and Meriçli actually cite the figures differently as 427 households, and 152 renter households (1988: 9). Özer Ergінç, the only other scholar to consult first-hand the 1573 register, does not give a figure for the Christian households in Bursa, but simply states (incorrectly?) that the total non-Muslim households in the 1573 register amounts to 410 (1979: 117-118).

Table 1: Distribution of Greek Orthodox Christians in Bursa Quarters in 1573

QUARTER	HOUSEHOLDS	RENTER HOUSEHOLDS
Kepezler	1	-
Hoca Mehmed Karamani	34	21
Hacı İlyas	31	25
Dayı Oğlu	9	9
Şahzade	4	4
Hacılar	2	-
Sağruc Sungur	1	-
Cami-i Kebir	12	12
Maksem	8	-
Orhan Beğ	6	1
Bahadır Aga	9	9
Karaağaç	23	10
Hoca Enbiya	25	25
Umur Beğ	10	2
'Azeb Beğ	8	-
Medrese-i Hasan Pa1a	3	-
Kuru Çeşme	18	-
Bahadır Ağa	3	3
Murad Han	4	-
Hoca Naib	8	-
Bazar-ı Mahi	34	-
Hacı Ya'kub	2	-
Yahşi Beğ	15	15
Demir-kapu	32	-
Simaviyan	73	1
Mescid i Cafer Hoca	2	2
Mescid-i Ahmed Beğ	12	12
Bilecikli	2	-
TOTALS	391	151

(2) The community of Romaniot and Sephardic Jewish residents is registered in the 1573 survey as *Cema'at-i Yehudiyan-i Kuru Çeşme* [The community of Jews in the Quarter of *Kuru Çeşme*]: 308 households, or approximately 1,540 individuals. Barkan and Meriçli argue on the basis of their place of origin that this community was subdivided into four distinct communities, that is, in all likelihood, many of the 308 households represented newcomers recently arrived from Spain (1988: 6, fn. 113).

Clearly, by the last quarter of the 16th century, the population explosion in Bursa had resulted in a significant growth in the numbers of its non-Muslim residents. While they still accounted for only 4,250 of a total population of 87,774 (less than 5 percent), the numbers of both Christians and Jews had increased dramatically in the 43 years which separated the two surveys: the Christian population of 275 in 1530 had mushroomed to 2,710 in 1573, a ten-fold increase; the Jewish population of 585 in 1530 had nearly tripled to 1,540 in 1573.

Noticeably missing from all three of the extant Ottoman surveys is any mention of the community of Italian merchants residing in Bursa. This omission may be explained by the fact that, as resident protected foreigners, the Italians were not subject to direct taxation and consequently were not registered in the surveys whose primary function was to record the levies due from the city's taxpaying inhabitants.

The figures derived from the 1573 *tahrir* generally support the contentions of Reinhold Lubenau, who visited Bursa in 1588. Lubenau observed that Muslims and Jews lived in their own quarters, but did not specify that this was the case for the Christians. As the 1573 register shows, the 308 Jewish households were grouped together in the Quarter of *Kuru Çeşme* (where remnants of this community still live today), whereas the Christians were scattered among the 28 Muslims quarters of the city. This distribution surely accounts for Lubenau's indication that Jews out-numbered Christians in the city; we may surmise that he was impressed by the fact that the Jews had their own quarter and that he did not observe a similar grouping of the Christians.

Whereas the three extant Ottoman *tahrir defter*s, as well as the travel accounts prior to 1600, did not mention Armenians in Bursa, one Simeon, an Armenian from Zamotsa in Poland, visited the city in 1609 and attested to the presence of its Armenian community:

> In the large city of Bursa there are three hundred households of Armenians, five priests and a small wooden church. (Simeon 1964: 16)

Simeon's mention of this community, which worshipped in a single small church, suggests its relative newness in the city. Nonetheless, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Gregorian Armenian Christians had been

included among the 542 Christian households registered in the 1573 survey (a suggestion that could be tested by an examination of the names cited in TK Nr. 67). That the Armenians consolidated their community may be inferred from several passages in the work of John Covel who, on October 14, 1675, attended services in what remained the sole Armenian church in the city, but one which now had become a much larger structure thanks to the efforts of an unnamed Patriarch of the Armenians in Jerusalem who had found favor with the Sultan some decades earlier (Covel 1998: 164).

Interestingly, a number of visitors to Bursa from the 17th through the 19th centuries noted that the city's Armenians had only one church. As a case in point, the account written of his 1834 visit by the Reverend Richard Burgess of Saint John's College, Cambridge, reported that, even though the Armenians were the second largest group in the city (after the Muslims):

> ...possessing about 1,000 habitations: they have, however, but one church, whilst the Greeks, though fewer in number, have three. There are about 300 Jewish houses, and three synagogues. (Burgess 1835: 134)

When the indefatigable Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, visited Bursa in 1640, he also commented on the Armenians and other non-Muslims:

> There are twenty-thousand large and small houses built in the ancient style. There are in the whole town one hundred and sixty-six quarters of Moslems, seven of Armenians, nine of Greeks, six of Jews and one of Copts [i.e., Gypsies]. The quarter of the *Meskin*s [lepers] is a separate quarter leading to the road of Sultan Murad. (Evliya Efendi 1846/50: 5)

While prone to exaggeration, Evliya Çelebi, in this instance at least, may have been making a fairly accurate "guesstimate" of the city's population. His claim that it was comprised 20,000 houses is in line with the posited population of 1573, when the calculated figure of 87,774 residents represented, at five residents per household, 17,554 dwellings. Indeed, a growth to 20,000 houses over more than sixty years later, seems conservative. Similarly, Evliya Çelebi's breakdown of the relative number of quarters occupied by non-Muslims was supported by later travelers to the city, many of whom reported that the Greeks were the largest non-Muslim community, followed by the Armenians and the Jews.

In 1652, Paul of Aleppo visited Bursa as a member of the entourage of Macaire, the Patriarch of Aleppo. As might be expected Paul's account focused on the city's Greek Orthodox community which invited the visiting Patriarch to conduct a service in the church dedicated to Jean l'Evangeliste (Paul 1930: 81). The church was located in the *Balık Bazar* [Fish Market] quarter, which may be identified with the *Bazar-i Mahi* [Fish Market]

quarter that appeared as a Greek quarter in each of the extant Ottoman *tahrir defters*: (a) in 1487, it had 26 Greek households (*Tapu-Tahrir Defter* Nr. 23, 1487: 29); (b) in 1530, it was listed as the Greek Orthodox quarter of the *Bazar Kapı* [Bazar Gate] and had 19 households (Özkılınç *et al.* 1995: 3); and (c) in 1573, it again appeared under the name *Bazar-i Mahi* [Fish Market] as a Greek quarter with 34 households (Barkan-Meriçli, 1988: 7).

Paul's account also cited a second Greek church, this one dedicated to Notre-Dame, which was located in the quarter of the "Qaya Bachy" [*kayabaşı*] (Paul 1930: 79). The Quarter of *Kayabaşı*, or *Simaviyan*, as it appears in the 1573 *tahrir*, was home to the city's largest Greek community and had 74 households (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 88, Kaplanoğlu 1996: 91).

Finally, Paul mentioned a third Greek quarter, that of "Damir Qapou" [*Demirkapı*], or the quarter of the "Iron Gate," and said that its inhabitants also invited the visiting Patriarch to their church to celebrate the offices (Paul 1930: 81). The 1573 *tahrir* recorded 32 Greek Orthodox households in this quarter (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 8).

In short, during a relatively short stay in Bursa, the visiting prelate Macaire conducted services in three of the city's Greek Orthodox churches, each of which was located in an area with a heavy concentration of Greek Christians. Paul's specific mention of three Greek Orthodox churches may well reflect the actual number of such sanctuaries at the time of his visit. If so, it represents an increase from the two churches noted almost a century earlier by the German Stephan Gerlach, and accords well with the number recorded by later visitors to the city.

The French traveler, Jean Thevénot, visited Bursa in 1656. His otherwise valuable account contains only one statement regarding the city's non-Muslim inhabitants:

> This town [Bursa] is about half a French league in length, and not Walled in all places: Upon a little hill in the middle of it, there is a Castle, which is almost as big as the rest of the Town, it is Walled round, and no Christian permitted to live in it. This Castle is very strong, and hath a Bastion that commands the Town. (Thevénot 1686: 88)

The claim (unnoticed by earlier visitors) that Christians were prohibited from residing within the upper walled city, appears to be in keeping with the settlement patterns observable in the three extant *tahrirs* of 1487, 1530 and 1573. A close examination of the quarters to which these registers attach one or another Christian community establishes that all of them were in the lower city, i.e., not located within the walled upper town. Some twenty quarters may be identified as lying within the walled city in this period and none of them appear in the registers as having Christians in them (Kaplanoğlu 1996, Map at end of volume). Likewise, the Jewish quarter lay just below and outside the walled upper city.

Thevenot's account, therefore, provides the first evidence that restrictions were imposed on Bursa's non-Muslims. Whereas the evidence thus far considered has suggested that, unlike in most Ottoman cities of the period, the Christians of Bursa lived within its Muslim quarters. The 1573 register lists Christians as residing in communities [*cema'at*] that are attached to one or another of the 28 Muslim quarters [*mahalle*], rather than as occupying their own distinct quarters (which was the more common Ottoman practice in this period). While this was the case in the lower city, it appears that there was a prohibition against Christians residing within the upper walled city, as observed by Thevénot.

One of a trio of visitors in 1675, Jacob Spon made the following comments on the city's non-Muslim inhabitants:

> The quarter which is located on a rock escarpment next to the Bazar, is called the Castle or the Fortress. It is surrounded by a wall, which is separated from that of the city, and which is entered through four doors. It was the refuge of the Christians, but the place was better then than it is now... The city has about forty thousand Turks, and close to twelve thousand Jews. As for the Greeks and Armenians, they are in the suburbs and not in large numbers. (Spon 1724: 211)

George Wheler also provided a few details on the non-Muslim population that corroborate those of his traveling companion, Spon, and add other information:

> But Prusia parted with its Christian Liberty to the Turkish Tyranny with more difficulty, having before it was rendered, above a Hundred thousand Christians slain by those Infidels, and abundance more in cold Blood afterwards. For which reason they pay also double the 'Caratch' [*haraç*], that any other Place doth; and are not suffer'd to inhabit within the Walls, but only in the Suburbs; which nevertheless they bear with Patience, esteeming it a Mark of their Courage.
>
> The place is esteem'd to contain now about Forty thousand Turks, twelve thousand Jews; but not so many Greeks, nor Armenians. But Philadar, a Town four or five miles from Prusia, consists of only Christians. (Wheler 1682: 215)

As seen, Wheler made the somewhat startling claim that Bursa's Christians were massacred both at the time and in the wake of the city's conquest in 1326. His comments carry the implication that the tenacity of Christian resistance motivated the subsequent ban on their residence within the walled city (earlier observed by Thevénot) and the doubling of their tax obligations. While I am tempted to dismiss the otherwise unsubstantiated story of the slaying of large numbers of Christians as attributable, for example, to efforts of local Christian informants to account for the relatively small Christian presence in the city, I would not dismiss out-of-hand the

assertion that taxes were doubled for the city's Christians. Of course, this claim should be tested by an analysis of the data in the *tahrir defter*s which recorded all the taxes paid in the city. Unfortunately, the fragmentary register of 1478 is missing the pages where such information presumably would have been recorded, the register of 1530 makes of mention of personal taxes paid by the city's non-Muslims, and the register of 1573, as noted above, is inaccessible to me.

Dr. John Covel, the third member of the English party that visited Bursa in 1675, also left an account of his impressions, including comments on the numbers and quarters of the non-Muslim residents of the city:

> At the foot of this cliff, from the north to the westwards, stand most of the Greekes, and all the Jewes' houses, the Armenians on the south side. The first [Greeks] are near 600 familyes, and three churches; the latter [Armenians] as many familyes, but one church; the second [Jews] not above 500 familyes at most. Not one mosch [mosque] on that valley, scarce any Turk lives amongst them. I fancy the Grand Signors that first placed them there had some fear of their rebelling, by putting their houses under such absolute command of the citadel. (Covel 1998: 150)

The account of an Englishman named Thomas Smith, who visited Bursa around 1683, contains the intriguing statement that the tomb of Sultan Murad II was "near whereunto was formerly the Metropolitical Church of the Holy Apostles" (Smith 1684: 432). More than a century earlier, in 1576, the German Stephan Gerlach had located the seat of the Metropolitan in the Church of the Holy Apostles (Gerlach 1674: 259), which raises the question whether the Metropolitanate had been moved elsewhere by the time of Smith's visit, or whether this sanctuary had been lost to the city's Christians. Concerning the latter possibility, it is known that churches were confiscated from Christians in the course of the 17th century, at least in Selanik, İstanbul and Trabzon, and the same fate may have befallen the Church of the Holy Apostles in Bursa.

The city was visited in 1694 by an Italian named Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, whose account fails to mention the presence of Christians. However, it does contain interesting passages regarding a local Jewish inhabitant who served as his sometime guide in the course of his visit:

> Continuing to take a view of the parts of this noble city, and to begin at the castle, or seraglio, I saw first the quarter of the Jews, at the end whereof on the same side of the mountain, I found a good 'Bedestan,' an inclos'd cover'd place, or exchange, where they sell rich commodities, and better 'Serseis,' or 'Bazars,' with rich shops; and going on saw several streets of all sorts of handicrafts, and all very populous. The houses and streets of this city are very good, considering they are in Turkey, and better than those of Smyrna, than which it is bigger, but I believe not better peopled.

> Having laid up my baggage in the 'Xan' [*Han*] of 'Eschiengi' [*Eski Yeni Han*], I took a Jew to show me the city, but as we were going to the castle, he was sent to gaol by the tax-gatherer for the tribute; so that I was forc'd to get another...
>
> [The next day] after dinner I went to 'Bugarbasci,' to see the 'Dervises' turn around, the Jew that had been apprehended by the tax-gatherer, going with me... (Gemelli Careri 1708: 85-86)

These passages regarding the overnight jailing of his Jewish guide for non-payment of "tribute" (the *haraç* mentioned by Wheler) provide rare evidence that the city's non-Muslims were subject to paying taxes.

In 1700, Aubrey de la Motraye visited Bursa, lodging with a local Greek (with whom he went trout fishing on Mount Olympus), confined himself to the following observation on non-Muslims:

> Prusa is pretty well Peopled, its Inhabitants are partly Turks, partly Greeks and Armenians, tho' the first are the most numerous. (La Motraye 1723: 216-217)

The account of the Frenchman Joseph Pitton de Tournefort contains a very detailed description of his 1701 visit, including the following information on Bursa's inhabitants:

> There are in Prusa ten or twelve thousand families of Turks, which make above forty thousand Souls, reckoning but four Persons to a Family. They reckon four hundred Houses or Families of Jews, five hundred of Armenians, and three hundred Families of Greeks. And yet this City did not seem to us well peopled... (Tournefort 1718: 355)

Tournefort estimated the city's population as somewhere between 11,200 and 13,200 households or, using his scale of four persons per household, 44,800 to 52,000 individuals. These figures, while possibly only educated guesses, are the first summary figures provided in the literature after those recorded in the 1573 *tahrir defter*, which listed 15,959 households or, using its multiplier of five per household, approximately 87,774 persons. Application of the multiplier of five to Tournefort's household number produces a figure of between 56,000 and 66,000 individuals as the population of Bursa in 1701, that is, one considerably smaller than in 1573. In attempting to account for this discrepancy, we should not forget variables that affected Bursa's residents in this period, the most important being the periodic outbreaks of plague (as many as twelve of which may have struck Bursa in the years between 1573 and 1701), and the attacks on the city in 1607-9 and again in 1649 by rebels [*celali*], who burnt half the city and killed thousands of its inhabitants (see *infra*, pp. 74-75).

In a second passage Tournefort commented on the religious sanctuaries held by non-Muslims, confirming that, by the time of his visit, most of

Bursa's Jewish inhabitants were the descendants of Sephardic Jewish immigrants:

> The Armenians have but one Church in Prusa; The Greeks have three. The Jews have four Synagogues. We were surpriz'd, as we were walking about the City, to hear them speak as good Spanish there as at Madrid. The Jews, to whom I addressed my self, told me that they always preserved their natural Tongue ever since their Fathers retir'd out of Granada into Asia... (Tournefort 1718: 356)

This passage confirms the reports of earlier travelers as regards the number of non-Muslim sanctuaries in Bursa. In 1609, Simeon of Zamotsa had reported that the Armenians had a single "small wooden" church (Simeon 1964: 16), quite probably the church seen by Tournefort. Similarly, Paul of Aleppo, who visited the city in the company of Macaire, the Patriarch of Aleppo, in 1652, described how the Patriarch preached in the three Greek churches of Jean l'Evangeliste, Notre Dame and the unnamed sanctuary in the Quarter of "Damir Qapou" (Paul 1930: 79, 81). Half a century later, Tournefort specified that the city's Greek community had three churches. Finally, the 1573 *tahrir defter* assigned the 308 Jewish households in the city's *Kuru Çeşme* Quarter to four separate communities, each of which (in keeping with their place of origin) may be presumed to have had their own rituals and place of worship (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 6, fn. 113). It would appear that Tournefort's report of the existence of one Armenian Church, three Greek Churches and four Jewish Synagogues in Bursa is remarkably accurate.

Tournefort also was the first traveler to establish the Spanish origin of Bursa's Jewish community, with members of which he conversed in their native tongue, Spanish. They informed him that they had preserved that language (as do their descendants in Bursa today) from the time of their expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century.

Like many of his fellow travelers, Tournefort was interested in the flora and fauna of the region. In his account, he relates an interesting vignette about meeting "two botanists at Prusa, one an Emir, the other an Armenian, who went for great Doctors" (Tournefort 1718: 358). These two gentlemen supplied him with twenty-five pounds of "Black Hellebore" which, in keeping with their injunction, he boiled in water until he ended up with an extract of two pounds which he tried out on three local Armenians:

> Three Armenians, to whom we gave it, all complained they were much troubled with Nauseas, Gripping of the Guts, Heats, a Sharpness in the Stomach, along with the Oesophagus, in the Throat and Fundament; of Cramps, Convulsive Motions, join'd with violent shooting Pains in the Head, which also return'd again some Days after. So that we abated one

> half of our Esteen for this great remedy... The Turks ascribe great Virtues to the Plant; but we could not learn them. (Tournefort 1718: 359)

By the beginning of the 18th century, Bursa had achieved the population admixture that it would maintain up to the First World War. Between 1701 and 1923, another 130 travelers visited Bursa and published descriptions of their journeys. Almost all of these accounts describe the city's population as composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, and of Gregorian Armenians (joined in the second half of the 19th century by a small Armenian Protestant group), Greek Orthodox and Jewish minorities.

The *tahrir defter*s and the travel accounts contain population data that pertain to the whole or a given community of Bursa at various points of time in the period 1326-1701. These estimates are presented in Table 2. Given the fragmentary nature of the various population estimates available for Bursa in this period, it is impossible to isolate and assess specific changes in the city's demographic profile between 1326 and 1701. Nonetheless, at least two general trends may be recognized in this data.

Table 2: Population Estimates For Bursa in Tax Registers and Travel Accounts

DATE	MUSLIMS	JEWS	GREEKS	ARMENIANS	TOTALS
1397 (Schiltberger)					10,000
1437 (Pero Tafur)					4,000
1450 (Ş.S. A4/4)					27,500
1487 (TT Nr. 23)					33,515
1530 (TT Nr. 166)	41,794	345	585		42,724
1573 (TTK Nr. 67)	83,524	1,540	2,710		87,774
1609 (Simeon)				1,500	
1640 (Evliya Çelebi)					100,000
1675 (Spon & Wheler)	40,000	12,000			55,500
1701 (Tournefort)	40,000	2,000	1,500	2,500	56-66,000

The first of these trends is that the city's population apparently experienced a steady growth between the late 15th and mid-17th centuries, regardless of which co-efficient is used to calculate the size of the Bursan household. The best evidence for this is provided by the Ottoman cadastral surveys from the 1450s up to 1573. Figures recorded in these registers document a rise in the city's population from 27,500 in the 1450s to 87,774 in 1573. This growth correlates with the increase in Bursa's economic importance throughout this period. The population growth cannot be accounted for solely by natural increase, which suggests that expanding economic opportunities in Bursa served to attract a steady stream of new immigrants in the 15th-16th centuries.

Second, the apparent decline in population between the 1640s and the end of the 18th century represents a more problematic trend. Although the figures cited in travel accounts cannot be more than estimates, they nonetheless indicate a drop of roughly 30 to 40 percent in the city's population in this period. The most probable causes of this decline were disasters, both natural and manmade, which befell the city. In the opening decade of the 17th century, rebel attacks on the city reportedly resulted in the deaths of several thousand of its inhabitants, as well as the destruction of half the city in the ensuing conflagrations. In addition, sources carry frequent reports of outbreaks of plague throughout this period, although they do not document numbers of resulting deaths in Bursa (see *infra*, pp. 77-79). That this decline nonetheless occurred is supported by numerous later travelers whose accounts indicate that Bursa's population gradually grew from a low of approximately 60,000 in the 18th and 19th centuries to a robust 100,000 by the end of the 19th century.

The value of travelers' accounts for a study of this nature becomes apparent when their information regarding Bursa's non-Muslim inhabitants is utilized in conjunction with other documents. These accounts offer a multitude of otherwise unrecoverable details about life in the city from 1326, the year of its conquest, to 1478, the year in which the first extant Ottoman documents note the presence of non-Muslims. In addition, these accounts happen to be the only surviving sources of evidence regarding the Christian and Jewish communities in the city in this period.

3

SILK AND TEXTILE INDUSTRIES, 1326-1800

Much of the scholarly attention devoted to Bursa in recent decades may be traced to the availability of the *kadı sicilleri* [records of *kadı* courts] and the *tahrir defter*s [cadastral surveys] as sources for the city's social and economic history. In 1947, Halil İnalcık published the first of nearly twenty articles and chapters on the role of silk in Bursa's economy. His work stimulated the use of the court records in the research of a whole generation of scholars (including Fahri Dalsar, Halil Sahillioğlu, Haim Gerber, Özer Erginç, Murat Çızakça, Hüseyin Özdeğer, Osman Çetin and Raif Kaplanoğlu). With the appearance of the long-awaited *Hüdavendigar Livasi Tahrir Defterleri* (1988) by the late Ömer Lutfi Barkan, together with Enver Meriçli, the earliest cadastral surveys from Bursa were made available to further research. It appeared that a significant body of primary source material could serve as the foundation for more systematic and comprehensive studies of the first capital of the Ottomans. The question arose whether an examination of the development of the first Ottoman center would make it possible to determine the actual origins of Ottoman institutions which, all too often, are assumed to have been the same in the 14th and 15th centuries as they were when chronicles of the 16th and 17th centuries described them.

However, aside from a handful of inscriptions and *vakıf* [religious foundation] charter documents, the earliest Ottoman administrative sources are the court records compiled in the last quarter of the 15th century and the incomplete cadastral survey drawn up in 1487. In other words, there remains a gap of over 150 years—from the city's conquest in 1326 to the earliest court records of 1478—for which there are no known extant Ottoman sources. A few studies of the city, especially those of Halil İnalcık, have utilized the information contained in a handful of the descriptions of Bursa penned mainly by European travelers during the dark century and a half. As the present study makes clear, however, the body of relevant literature is far larger than heretofore realized and such accounts contain far more pertinent information which, judiciously used, helps to clarify a number of topics in the history of Bursa, including in the first centuries of Ottoman rule.

The present chapter is an attempt to glean from the travel literature its information on the silk and textile industries which were the lifeline of

Bursa's economy from the 14th through the 18th centuries. By presenting the full texts of the descriptions in this literature which relate directly or indirectly to this sector of Bursa's economy, I hope to illustrate the importance of this material as well as spare those with an interest in this subject from the necessity of repeating this painstaking process.

Between the time that Bursa was conquered by the Ottoman ruler Orhan Gazi in 1326 and the year 1800, there are sixty extant accounts written by travelers to the city (see Chapter 6); of these, no fewer than thirty-five provide details on the city's economic life. With the exception of one Arab (Ibn Battuta) and three Turks (Mehmed Âşık, Evliya Çelebi and Katip Çelebi), these accounts were written by Europeans, primarily by German, French, Italian and English visitors. An examination of these works, in the order in which their authors visited the city, permits us to reconstruct some of the major trends in the city's economic life and to flesh out the often skeletal framework formed by Ottoman documents:

(1) The first traveler to Ottoman Bursa who left a written record of his impressions was the North African Ibn Battuta who visited the city around 1333. While rich in information on the religious life of Muslims in the city, his account contains only the statement that Bursa was "a great and important city with fine bazaars and wide streets..." (Ibn Battuta 1962: 449-450). Even this laconic comment indicates that less than a decade after its incorporation into the fledgling Ottoman state, the city of Bursa had begun to emerge as a trade and commercial center.

(2) The earliest specific reference to what was marketed in Bursa's "fine bazaars" occurs in the work of a Bavarian soldier who had been conscripted into the Ottoman Janissary Corps. This individual, Johann Schiltberger, observed the following in conjunction with his visit of 1397:

> After that he passed through a country called Lochinschan; there, also, silk grows; then through another called Schurban, where silk grows of which the good stuffs are made at Tamasch and at Kaffer, and also at Wursa [Bursa], the capital of the Infidels, situated in Turkey; this silk is also taken to Venice and to Lickcha, where good velvet is worked... (Schiltberger, 1879: p.34)

This passage from Schiltberger's account allows us to date the development of silk manufacturing in Bursa to a point in the second half of the fourteenth century, that is, almost a century prior to the evidence contained in Ottoman documents on the city's role in this sector.

(3) The account of a French traveler named Bertrandon de la Broquière contains the first substantial data on the economic life of Bursa. In the course of his ten-day visit in 1432, he made the following observations, beginning with his arrival in the city:

> God led me to the person I needed to find and guided me to the city bazaar where all the merchants are and all the business is done. There, the first Christian I met was the one to whom Pervezin de Beirut had given me letters. He was of the house of Spinola of Genoa, and was very surprised when I talked to him. He took me to the house of a Florentine, where I stayed with my horse. I stayed for ten days and visited the city of Bursa at my own pace.
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> The city of Bursa is a very fine commercial center, the best city belonging to the Grand Turk...
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> I met some merchants, as I mentioned above, who treated me well and took me everywhere. Four or five days after the captain arrived, they went with me to thank him for the good company he had given me, and to say good-bye. He was seated on a high stone seat, along with several others in the bazaar, for it was the gathering place of the notables of the city. There are all sorts of silk materials for sale there...among other things to numerous to mention.
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> Nearby is another bazaar where they sell cotton stuffs and white soap, which is an important trade item. It is there that I saw Christians sold, men and women, in a very high hall. It was a pity to see.
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> I waited rather a long time in Bursa to accompany some merchants who were going to Pera with the spices they had brought from the caravan people...
>
> In Bursa I accepted the responsibility from some Florentine merchants of taking a Spaniard along with me. I think he was a renegade slave of the Sultan who had fled there...
>
> I left Bursa with three Genoese merchants who were taking their spices to Pera... (Broquière 1988: 82-86)

The importance of Broquière's remarks can not be over-estimated. His description not only brings to life a bustling city but also documents certain facts about its economic life: (a) Bursa was then a major commercial center and, in Broquière's estimation, the most impressive city belonging to the Turks; (b) the main bazaar of the city served as a gathering-place for the leading merchants who traded in silk and other goods; (c) Bursa possessed a slave market where Broquière observed non-Muslim men and women being sold; (d) in another bazaar, cotton fabrics and white soap were major trade items; (e) in the first half of the 15th century, Bursa was home to a community of Florentine and Genoese merchants; (f) the Genoese merchants residing in Bursa also were active in the spice trade.

Broquière's account contains the earliest glimpse into an Ottoman city, which appears as a thriving international trade center for the sale of silks and cotton goods, but also of slaves, spices and other items.

(4) In 1437, a Spanish traveler named Pero Tafur journeyed from the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in the company of a Genoese friend whom he tells us has "had a house in the city of Turkey which they call

Bursa" (Pero Tafur 1926: 149), another witness to the presence of Italian merchants in the city. Tafur's account represents an important link in the chain of travelers' testimony regarding the economic important of Bursa:

> We went by sea, and I saw the city, which is unwalled, but greater and better than any in Turkey. There are some 4,000 inhabitants, and but for the gulf it would be of little value, for by it the merchants have communication with the city. They bring there many things by land from Persia. It is situated very close to Greece, and since the Turks have owned it they have much improved the place, for it is a stepping-stone for the Turks from Greece to their own country. They have placed great stores there, for they use the city as a half-way port. I believe that in the whole of Turkey today there is no other place so large, nor so well peopled, nor so rich. (Pero Tafur 1926: 149)

Tafur, for the first time, stressed the importance of Bursa as a transit center for the silk trade with Persia, as well as the richest urban center of the growing Ottoman state. Bearing in mind that his visit occurred prior to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, he also commented on the use of the city by the Turks as a stepping-stone between Greece (i.e. Byzantium) and their own territories.

(5) Benedetto Dei, a Florentine chronicler in the service of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, was the next foreign visitor to record his impressions of the economic vitality of the city. At the time of his visit in 1470, he considered Bursa to be among those Ottoman cities which have "all been penetrated by Florentine cloth and [where] you find Florentine banks, merchants, places of business, consulates and churches" (Benedetto Dei 1985: 133). From his account it becomes clear that an ever-growing number of Italian merchants were attracted to Bursa by its potential as a market for their woolen goods and by the profits they could make in turning their wool into silk for resale in Europe. That this was an extremely profitable business may be inferred from another passage in his work where he bemoans the fact that "in Bursa the sale of Florentine cloth is not making more than 70% profit" (Benedetto Dei 1985: 166). By the last quarter of the 15th century Bursa indeed had become a major trade emporium and a center for the processing of raw silk from Persia into cloth which, in turn, was exchanged with Italian merchants for the manufactured woolen goods they imported from Europe.

At this point in the record, the extant Ottoman documents begin to provide scattered references to the silk and textile trade in Bursa. Court records detail litigations involving Italian merchants and local Muslims (Turks, Persians and Arabs), Christians and Jews, while administrative records begin to deal with the farming out of taxes related to silk. However, prior to this time, only the accounts of the foreign visitors to Bursa

make it possible to trace the growth and progress of the silk industry in the first century and a half of Ottoman Bursa.

(6) Among the growing number of Italian merchants in late 16th century Bursa were two Florentine travelers, Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi, who visited in 1498. Their letters written to friends and family during their ten-day stay contain some pertinent details relevant to the city's economic life (Bonsignore 1973: 163-164):

(a) They were accompanied from Constantinople to Bursa by one Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, a Florentine merchant headquartered in Pera. While in the city they stayed with Maringhi's resident agent, another Florentine named Tommaso Fronte.

(b) Bonsignore wrote that Bursa was a great center of the silk trade, and that more silk and cloth of gold were manufactured in it than in the whole of Italy. He accompanied this assertion with the judgment that silk goods manufactured in Bursa were less handsome than those produced in Italy.

(c) The silk trade in Bursa was dominated by the Genoese, with the Florentines running a close second.

(d) In addition to silk, the city's bazaars were full of ornamental leather [*cordovani*] and skins worked into textiles [*ciambellotti*], rugs and jewels.

In the century separating the first mention of silk manufacture by Johann Schiltberger and the comments by Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi, Bursa clearly had emerged as a major silk manufacturer, where raw silk imported from Iran was worked on the city's looms into finished cloths for the markets of İstanbul and Europe. Genoese and Venetian merchants vied for the finished product which they purchased with their profits from a variety of woolen goods they imported and sold in Bursa's bazaars.

(7) The pivotal role of silk in Bursa's economy was underlined in 1499 by Arnold von Harff, a knight from Cologne who, in the course of his visit, observed:

> ...this town of Burtzia is fine and large and well built. It is subject to the Turkish Emperor... It is full of people... They are for the most part merchants, and there are countless persons making silk goods, such as satin, gold and silk cloths, cramoisy and much camelot, so that one can buy there a fine camelot cloth for two ducats. (Von Harff 1946: 237)

Clearly, by the end of the 15th century Bursa was home to large communities of merchants and silk weavers engaged in the sale and manufacture of a variety of silken goods. These impressions of a thriving and rapidly growing metropolis are fully substantiated by the earliest Ottoman reference we have to the city's population in the second half of the fifteenth century. As discussed previously (see *infra*, p. 22), an imperial order of Octo-

ber 14, 1485, that was recorded in the city's *kadı* court records allows us to deduce that Bursa's population in the late 1450s had consisted of a total of 5,000 *hanes* [households] (İnalcık 1980/81: 56-57, 88). The earliest extant Ottoman cadastral survey, that of 1487, lists a total of 6,457 households in the city (*Tapu-Tahrir Defter* Nr. 23, 1487: 32). Using the co-efficient of five individuals per household, we may calculate that the population of approximately 25,000 in the 1450s had grown to one of 35,515 by 1487. The information in the travel accounts supports the conclusion that the population explosion was linked directly to Bursa's emerging role as a commercial center.

(8) Our most detailed knowledge of the role played by Italian merchants in the transformation of Bursa into a silk emporium, comes from the series of letters written by Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi (the Pera-based Italian merchant referred to above) between the years 1501-1502. Maringhi, a frequent visitor to the city in those years, was corresponding with his business partners in Florence about such matters as the activities of his resident agents in Bursa. The following abstract of some of the details which may be gleaned from his letters illuminates the role played by Italian merchants in the economic life of Bursa (see Richards 1932: 44-46, 55, 57-59, 62, 68-72, 75, 77, 79-84, 87-92, 94, 99-100, 102, 105-107, 109-114, 118, 122, 125-128, 139-140, 143-144, 148, 154, 157, 160, 168-170, 178-179, 261-262, 283-293):

(a) The names of a total of thirty-two non-Muslim merchants residing in Bursa are cited in his letters. Among these are a variety of Florentine and Genoese bankers, brokers, money-lenders and merchants. In addition, he mentions Greek and Jewish merchants, and even one Italian silk-weaver, which raises the interesting possibility that Italian merchants were taking steps to ensure that the quality of the silk produced actually met the demands of their potential buyers in Europe.

(b) His letters contain the names of various silken goods produced in the city and of the woolen goods imported from Italy for resale in Bursa. The Italian merchants reinvested the profits from the sale of woolen goods in the silk which they exported to Italy. It seems clear that this process of "turning wool into silk" was responsible for the growth in Bursa's trade.

(c) The letters constantly refer to the fluctuating supply and demand for raw silk and the resulting impact on prices in the city's bazaars. Maringhi and other merchants used such information to speculate in the market by buying up existing quantities of silk at those times when caravans had not reached the city in order to drive prices up and resell at a profit.

(d) The Italians also purchased other goods such as spices, rhubarb, etc., for resale in Europe.

(e) Maringhi's letters relate how he requested and received a letter from the Ottoman ruler, Bayezid II, certifying that the goods he imported for resale

were true Florentine products. Besides this example of how the Ottoman ruler protected the interests of the Italian merchants, Maringhi also noted that Ottoman authorities assisted his attempts to be compensated for a load of silk which was stolen en route to Florence in the Balkan town of Novo Bazar.

(f) Remarks in the letters show that, on occasion, Maringhi commissioned the manufacture of specific items of apparel to meet the demands of clients in Florence. In addition, he could place an order for a specialty item, such as a hundred pairs of spectacles, for which he had determined there was a market.

(g) The letters also detail the terms of business transactions which his agents had with local Muslim and Jewish merchants, including the nature of buying and selling on credit, methods and terms of payment, etc.

Piecing together the testimony in Maringhi's correspondence allows us to visualize the complexities of the market economy which, by the beginning of the 16th century, had come to typify the commercial life of Bursa.

In the period between 1502 and 1546, there were no travelers to Bursa who left accounts of their visits. This is unfortunate, as it was in this era that the city underwent its first significant economic downturn. In 1518, the Ottoman ruler, Bayezid II, who was at war with Safavid Iran, ordered a complete embargo on the importation of raw silk from that state. Halik İnalcık studied the negative economic impact of this action for Ottoman and Italian merchants alike, and suggested that it must have resulted in extensive bankruptcies and unemployment in Bursa (1994: 229). The effects of this and a similar embargo enacted later in the 16th century (1586, during another Ottoman-Safavid war), appear to have prompted the growth and cultivation of raw silk in Bursa itself, as our examination of travel accounts of the 17th century will attempt to show.

(9) Whatever negative impact the 1518 silk embargo may have had on the city's economy, the comments of the French traveler, Pierre Belon, who visited Bursa in 1546, permit us to infer that commercial activities were revived:

> We stayed on the road to go to the city of Bource that was formerly called Prussa.. And still today Bource is as rich and as populated as Constantinople and we may even say that it is even wealthier and more populated... The wealth of Bource comes from silk: because no year goes by that at least a thousand camels, coming from Syria and other lands, discharge their loads in Bource. There it is dressed, spun, woven and made into various works and dyed in various manners; because the Turks wear their clothes of various colors of velvet which is intertwined with gold and silver and properly made. (Belon, 1555: pp. 203-204)

Belon's statement is the clearest of all the early travelers that Bursa in this period depended upon the importation of raw silk from the East. He linked the city's wealth to this import and to its processing, weaving, dying and manufacture. As well, he noted that the Turks took a particular interest in their wearing apparel.

(10) In 1553, the German traveler, Hans Dernschwam, while traveling in the vicinity of Bursa, observed camel caravans carrying grain to that city. He also noted a train of four donkeys carrying seedling pear trees which would be planted in Bursa and, after three or four years, dug up for sale in İstanbul for 6 aspers apiece (Dernschwam 1923: 164-229).

(11), In 1576 the German traveler, Stephan Gerlach, visited what he labeled as the "Merchant City of Bursa," remarking:

> In this town there is a very marketplace where the golden silk and brocade pieces and other kinds of expensive goods are sold, and there are Bazaars and Caravanserais for travelers. (Gerlach 1674: 259)

In his account, Gerlach described a variety of trees which filled the town and the surrounding plain. Without mentioning the mulberry tree specifically, he did notice a forest of fruit trees, which raises the intriguing possibility that the indigenous cultivation of silk may have been initiated in the region already by the end of the 16th century.

(12) The first English traveler to leave an account of his visit, one John Newberie, arrived in the city in 1581. His comments on its economic life, while terse, introduce two new elements into our discussion:

> ...and the same day we came to Borsa. The foure and twentieth day, three Theeves were executed in Borsa, which had robbed seven or eight yeres between Borsa and Stambol. In Borsa all Strangers pay for custome of their Merchandise three per cento. The Kintall of Borsa is fortie Hockies: and the Kintall of Cremes, is here worth eight thousand Auctshas... (Newberie 1905: 475)

Newberie's remark that he witnessed the execution of three thieves who had been plying their profession between Bursa and İstanbul for the preceding seven or eight years is of interest in two respects. First, we may assume that merchants were among their victims, so that the summary execution of these thieves may have been intended by the authorities as a warning that interfering with trade and commerce would not be tolerated. Secondly, we may detect in this incident a hint that the civil unrest which was to sweep the Bursa region in the next generation—unrest which peaked in 1607 with the sacking and burning of half the city and the murder of several thousand of its inhabitants by the rebels known as Celalis—already was making itself felt in the region (Simeon 1964: 16, Gontaut-Biron 1889: 6-7, 111-112, 156, 180-193, 282-283).

Newberie also provided a reference, unique in travel accounts of that time, to the Ottoman customs dues levied on merchandise brought by foreigners to the city, specifying that all such goods were taxed at 3 percent of their value.

(13) The earliest extant description of Bursa by an Ottoman traveler belongs to Mehmed Âşık, who sojourned for several months in the city in 1585. Although valuable for its information on a variety of other subjects, his account contains little of relevance to the Brusan economy, other than the statement that the city contained *bazzazistan ve hanları* [a cloth market and large commercial buildings] (Âşık 1997: II, folio 31v).

A year after Mehmed Âşık's visit, a second embargo on the importation of raw Iranian silk went into effect, again caused by an Ottoman-Safavid war. İnalcık, following Dalsar, wrote that due to this embargo the number of Iranian merchants arriving in Bursa dropped to half the norm. The result was a rapid increase in the price of raw silk and the closing down of three-quarters of the looms in the city. Large manufacturers (weavers owning 30-60 looms) went bankrupt and many of them disappeared, apparently as a result of their debts (Dalsar 1960: 200-213 [and document Nr. 273], İnalcık 1994: 229).

(14) Whatever the impact of this temporary crisis, the account of the German traveler, Reinhold Lubenau, who visited Bursa in 1588, contains no indication that he was aware of any slowdown in the city's economy. To the contrary, he described Bursa and its silk industry in glowing terms:

> The inhabitants [of Bursa] live primarily from the profit of silk and wool spinning and weaving, as well as gold spinning, and quite a bit of silk dyeing. And here they make many excellent textile pieces of gold with all sorts of pretty designs, as well as a very large number of garments of lower quality. And [the city] also has many enormous dye houses. The dye houses are unequalled in the world for their silk dyeing. Dyes are always available in this city, so that they pour vinegar on the dyed silk and rinse it with water and dry it. This is how the silk retains its new color. The 'Shamlot' [Camlet] here, too, is always watered, and for it they have special wringers. They sprinkle the wringers first with water, and then wring the 'Shamlot.' In this manner the 'Shamlot' absorbs the water, and those with the least water are considered the finest and most expensive...
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> Black, however, they dye very little; if one wears black, they think he must have met with great sorrow which changed his life or well-being. Silk they do dye black for the golden pieces, to make a contrast against the floral designs. At one dyer's I saw so many different kinds of hand-dyed silks that in the entire world not one color could possibly be found which is not represented by the colors into which silk is dyed here. And therefore they can work all kinds of floral designs into the golden pieces; one could mistakenly think that actual flowers, just as they grow in the gardens or the

fields, had been laid on top of the silk. And, if one wanted to buy of each color just a tiny piece, it would surely cost one thousand ducats.

One can find such gifted artisans here because they remain sober... At [the shop of] one dyer, I saw a large quantity of expensive dye, called indigo, equal in size to 20 or 30 loads of coal, which must have cost a large sum. The darkest color, which they use for 'Grobgrün' or 'Macheir' [mohair], is dark blue or steel colored, and they must have the indigo for this. Further, they wear a lot of green, for which, too, they need the indigo; as indigo and yellow dye [mixed together] yields green... (Lubenau 1915: III, 77-97)

Lubenau's report is among the most valuable of the 180 accounts considered in this study. He was the first to state that the wealth of the city derived not only from the manufacture and sale of silk, but also from the spinning and weaving of wool. One might conjecture that after having paid for imported woolen goods from Europe for more than a century, Bursa's textile merchants finally decided to begin meeting the demand for such goods themselves. The care with which Lubenau described the sheep-breeding practices on Mount Olympus, together with his account of how the heavy tails of the sheep were hauled in specially constructed two-wheeled carts (a practice noted by other visitors in the 17th and 18th centuries as well), lends some credence to his claim that the largest profits both in Bursa and in Ankara come from their woolen industries.

Lubenau's account also provides a unique glimpse into the actual process whereby the famous Bursa silks were dyed, although a brief mention this process was made by Belon in 1546. The details recorded by Lubenau in this regard may well have stemmed from his own profession as a pharmacist, which involved the mixing of chemicals. Interestingly, Lubenau did not refer to the dependence of Bursa's silk industry on the importation of raw silk from Iran. His silence in this regard may reflect the fact that, already by the time of his visit the indigenous silk cultivation which was to typify Bursa in the following century was underway.

(15) In 1630, one Vincent Stochove visited Bursa and described its cloth market and caravanserais in the following terms:

The Besestin [*bezestan*], or market, is also very beautiful and agreeable because of the great quantity of silk, cotton cloth and other goods that are sold there, and that arrive there, of which the greater part comes from Persia, where the inhabitants conduct a large trade, namely in silk.

In all of Turkey, there are no finer Caravanserais [*keravansaray*] and none as strongly built as in Bourse. They are set up for the most part like a cloister encircled with lofty and open walkways; below are large stables, above are beautiful rooms, though in the Turkish manner those who come there find no other accommodation than the roof. We stayed in one of these Caravanserais, which among its other wonders is [both] a public house, where all of the travelers are welcomed, which Bajazet [Bayezid] had built,

and very expensive, [for] it is built square of hewn stones, covered with lead [and] having more than a hundred rooms above, [while] below are the stables. (Stochove 1681: 175-176)

(16) By the time the indefatigable Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, arrived in Bursa in 1640, the transformation of Bursa from an importer of Persian silk to a producer of its own raw silk certainly had been realized. Evliya was the first visitor to mention the "mulberry plantations" spread across the plain lying to the north of the city. Thereafter, the majority of visitors who remarked on silk production likewise noticed the groves of mulberry trees through which one approached Bursa. Evliya, who provided the most comprehensive (albeit somewhat exaggerated) description of Bursa of any pre-19th century visitor, commented throughout his work on the role of silk in the city's commercial life:

After continuing our journey among gardens and vineyards for two hours, we reached the town of Brussa, the emporium of silk, the ancient capital of this country (Bithynia)...

The civil officers are...the inspector of the silk, of the custom-house, the Voivode of the town and the provost, who all have power of life and death...

There are one hundred and eight khans; the principal one is the rice khan, which has iron gates, a large stable, worthy of Antar, with two hundred cells; the silk khan, of the same size, where the inspector of the silk resides; the custom of the silk is let for three hundred purses a year...

Description of the Market of Brussa: There are nine thousand shops. The Bezestan is a large building with four iron gates secured with iron chains; its cupola is supported by strong columns. It contains three hundred shops (dolab) in each of which merchants reside, who are as rich as the kings of Egypt... There are also the markets of the tailors, cotton-beaters, capmakers, thread merchants, drapers, linen merchants... These markets are established around the Bezestan, and the shops are arranged in rows...

Description of the Bridge of Erghandi: A market for weavers is established on both sides of the bridge of Erghandi at Gokdere (the valley of Olympus) the small windows of each shop look onto the torrent of Gokdere, which flows beneath. The shops are covered with lead, and the bridge is shut on two sides by iron gates pierced with loopholes...

There are many thousand rich merchants and learned divines who dress in sable pelisses... Their principal occupation is the cultivation of silk, the manufacture of velvets and other stuffs of Brussa called 'Sereng' and 'Chatma,' it is also famed for the manufacture of cushions for sofas.

The plain of Filehdar is laid out in mulberry plantations, because the chief product of Brussa is silk, which is said not to be equalled by the Persian silk of Shirwan.

The manufactures are those of ruby-coloured velvet, like that made at Genoa, Brussa linen of different colours, aprons called *Kirk-kalem*, purses of silk, silken nets, and finally cushions of cut velvet called *Chatma munakkash* katifeh. (Evliya Çelebi 1846/50: 3, 5, 9, 12-13, 17-18)

So rich is the detail provided by Evliya Çelebi that, taken out of context, one might imagine that silk was the primary focus of his description. In fact, he devoted even more extensive treatment to the city's religious infrastructure, including its mosques, *medreses* [theological seminaries], tombs of the early Sultans, dervish lodges, etc. Indeed, from reading his account, one gets the clear impression that "silk" and "God" were the primary industries in 17th century Bursa.

By rearranging the order of Evliya Çelebi's presentation of information, we may reconstruct the entire structure of the silk manufacturing process in the city, and follow the process from the raising of mulberry trees for the husbandry of silk worms to the manufacture and marketing of the finished products:

(a) He described his approach to the city as one which led "through gardens and vineyards" and "mulberry plantations, because the chief product of Bursa is silk." In another passage, he elaborated that the plain of Filadar "is laid out in mulberry plantations, because the chief product of Brussa is silk, which is said not to be equaled by the Persian silk of Shirwan."

(b) Upon his arrival in Bursa, he initially labeled the city "the emporium of silk."

(c) He described the city's Ergandi Bridge (a covered bridge lined with shops) as a center of weavers, which is the earliest reference to this center that was so closely linked to the silk industry.

(d) As for the marketing of the products manufactured by the city's weavers, he stated that they were laid out as separate marketplaces around the city's silk market, and were peopled by "tailors, cotton-beaters, cap-makers, thread merchants, drapers and linen merchants."

(e) He noted the city's "Silk Khan" which he described (accurately) as one of Bursa's largest; according to him, it housed the administrative authority called the "Inspector of the Silk," who leased this state monopoly for three hundred purses [of gold] per year.

(f) He asserted that the wealth of the city's "many thousand rich merchants" was derived from their principal occupation which "is the cultivation of silk, the manufacture of velvets, and other stuffs of Brussa..."

(g) Evliya mentioned some of the locally manufactured textiles, including "ruby-colored velvets," "linen of different colors," "aprons called Kirk-Kalem," "purses of silk," "silken nets" and "cushions of cut velvet."

The frequent references in Evliya Çelebi's account to the role of silk in Bursa's economy, when taken in conjunction with the detailed description of silk-dyeing given by Lubenau, leave no doubt that, in the years between 1588 and 1640, the local cultivation and manufacture of silk had begun to replace the city's traditional dependence on raw silk imported from the East. While

we may only conjecture that this shift resulted from the wars which the Ottoman state fought with the Safavids of Iran, we may be confident that the city's indigenous silk industry emerged in these years.

(17) Despite this shift in the nature of the city's silk industry, Bursa remained an important transit stop for goods of all kinds moving throughout the eastern half of the Ottoman Empire. This fact was noted by the French traveler, Jean Thevénot in the course of his visit in August, 1666:

> There are many fair Buildings in this Town, and they reckon above Two hundred lovely Mosques in it.... There are a great many Hans in it also, all very Magnificent, and constantly Inhabited, because this Town is a common passage for Caravans from several places. (Thevénot 1686: 88)

(18) A quartet of visitors (Fermanel, Fauvel, Baudouin and Stochove) arrived in the city in 1667, leaving an account with only the following pertinent remark:

> There is also a very beautiful 'Besestein' [*bezestan*], or a bazaar, entirely vaulted with bricks...and a few 'Quiervansaras' [*kervansarays*] to lodge those who arrive in this city which, albeit rather abandoned, always maintains its splendor by its trade. (Fermanel 1668: 335)

(19) In 1675, Jacob Spon visited Bursa in the company of George Wheler and Dr. John Covel. Spon, as most of his contemporaries, commented on the city's silk market, which he associated with its role as a transit hub for caravans moving East and West, and with its importance as a center of fine silk:

> The 'Bazestan', where the merchandises are retailed, is a rather beautiful site; and Bursa is not only a city of great trade but it is also where the caravans going from Aleppo or Syria to Constantinople pass in large numbers and where very fine silk is made. (Spon 1724: 212)

(20) Spon's traveling companion, George Wheler, provided additional details on the city's commercial importance in the following passages:

> ...and [we] came by Noon to Prousa, ad Olympum Mysie... This City hath one of the pleasantest Comings to it imaginable; the Country on this side of it, being a large Plain near the City, shaded with Mulberry, Walnut, and Chestnut Trees, planted with Gardens on each side of the high way; which is plain, and with an easie ascent bringeth you to the City... This is a City, fair, large, and populous in Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks.
>
> Here there are three or four very good Kans, built two Stories high, covered with Lead, each Room a Cuppalo over it. For this Town is a great Thorow-fare, and of much Traffick; all the Caravans coming from Smyrna, Aleppo, and most part of those from Persia to Constantinople, passing by this place. The Bazars are well built, and furnished with Merchants, and all

> sorts of Merchandizes: A great deal of English Cloth is brought hither, and no small quantity of Silk made here; the Plains being covered with Mulberry-Trees, to feed the Silk-Worms. (Wheler 1682: 214-216)

These comments contain one new piece of information, namely, that English fabrics had begun to penetrate the Bursa market by the late 17th century. In addition, it may be noted that, in his remarks on the city's roles as a transit station for caravans and as a producer of silk, Wheler did not refer to the importation of raw silk from Iran.

(21) Additional details on the cultivation of mulberries in 1675 are contained in the account of the third member of the English group, Dr. John Covel who, while describing the view from the citadel of the valley below Bursa, wrote:

> We see all the plain in the semicircle, from west by north to the east, as if this was the pulpitum of a theater, likewise all the hills that border it, amongst the rest Philadar most plainely, then the high hills above to the south. The plain is fill'd with chestnut, plane, walnut, pomegranate, fig, elme, fruit, plums, apples, and some few ciprus, turpentine, bay, olive, etc., trees, but above all with infinites of white mulberys (as also upon the road we found many), set in rankes very orderly, and kept with cutting that they might always send out tender leaves (which are upon the same tree diversly shaped, some not, etc.) for the silkworms, from which there is driven a great trade of silk, all both Greekes, Jewes, Armenians feeding their wormes, and having their moretums apart. (Covel 1998: 150)

With this passage, Covel became the first visitor to state explicitly that all of the city's non-Muslim communities were actively engaged in the cultivation of silkworms.

(22) Corneille Le Bruyn was the next visitor to Bursa who mentioned its role as a center for the silk trade around 1678/79:

> The number of inhabitants is well up to five or six thousand [*sic*!], who are also Greek Christians, Jews and Turks, almost all [of whom] are merchants who subsist solely by the trade they engage in there. (Le Bruyn 1700: 60)

We know from a variety of Ottoman documents that the non-Muslim inhabitants of Bursa (Christians and Jews), along with the city's Muslims, played key roles in the textile industry in all periods, but Le Bruyn's remarks constitute the first explicit statement of this fact.

(23) Thomas Smith, an English traveler to the city in 1683, added an interesting note on local commerce:

> The 'Bezesten,' or Exchange seems to be much better and larger than the great one at Constantinople, as are the several Caravanserais built for the

> [p.433] use and accommodation of Merchants, and Travelers; in one of which, the 'Rice Chane,' I took up my quarters. (Smith 1684: 432)

(24) Despite the growth of indigenous silk production, an Italian visitor named Giovani Francesco Gemelli-Careri visited the city in 1684 and noted that it was still importing and processing raw silk from the East:

> It was as great a trade [as Constantinople], and more plenty of silk because of the vast quantity brought out of Seria [Syria] and all the east, which is there wrought, and some with gold and silver to trade into Europe.
>
> Continuing to take a view of the parts of this noble city, and to begin at the castle, or seraglio, I saw first the quarter of the Jews, at the end whereof on the same side of the mountain, I found a good 'Besestan,' an inclos'd cover'd place, or exchange, where they sell rich comodities, and better 'Serscis,' or 'Bazars,' with rich shops; and going on saw several streets of all sorts of handicrafts and all very populous. (Gemelli-Careri 1708: 85)

(25) As the century came to a close around 1699, Edmund Chishull, a Chaplain of the "Turkey Company" at Smyrna (İzmir), traveled to Bursa and recorded the first description of the actual production of silk in the city:

> Prusia is a large and fair city, situate at the foot of Olympus Mysenus, a mountain of exceeding height, and covered with perpetual snow; which from its bowels furnishes the adjacent city with many large and beautiful fountains, and by the same means gives nourishment to the beautiful and flourishing trees, which intermix themselves with the houses of the place. These are chiefly mulberries, which maintain the industrious worm, that produces the white and lovely silk of Prusia; which I here saw spun from caldrons of hot water, the several cods yielding at once three dron. (Chishull 1747: 50)

(26) The account of a French visitor named Aubry de la Motraye, who visited the city in 1701, contains the first indication that the silk produced locally in Bursa had begun to replace in volume that imported from Iran:

> Its Caravan-Serais are as magnificent as the finest of the Hans I have mention'd, also covered with Lead; the 'Bisistin' is no ways inferior to the finest at Constantinople. They sell there a great deal of silk of the Growth of the Country adjacent, which is most esteem'd, (besides some which comes from more distant Places with other Goods) which are carry'd from thence to Constantinople by Montagniack, where they are shipp'd off...
>
> We cross'd some Vineyards, with little Forests of Cherry, Mulberry, and other Fruit Trees... (La Motraye 1723: 216-217)

La Motraye stressed that the silk produced locally "is most esteem'd" even though some of the silk sold in the city "comes from more distant

Places," making it clear that indigenous silk production had begun to dominate the Bursa market.

(27) The well-known French traveler, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, also visited Bursa in 1701. His relatively lengthy description of the city provides a great deal of information on its silk industry that confirms the impression derived from La Motraye's remarks regarding the primacy of the indigenous versus the imported raw silk:

> At length we arriv'd at Prusa... We began to see there Plants and Chestnut Trees as tall as the Fir Trees upon the Mountain. It's true, the Lands are in some measure incommoded by the Stones which the Waters carry down; but in proportion as we approach to Prusa, the Fields are cover'd with Mulberry-Trees and Vineyards. Most of the Mulberry-Trees are low, and, as it were, planted in Nurseries. The largest are set one near another, and form small forests, divided by large Thorn-bushes; among which grows a species of Apocin, which not only twines along the Hedges, but also creeps up the highest Trees...
>
> On the North-side, the City stands upon the Edge of a large fine Plain, full of Mulberry and Fruit-Trees...
>
> The Caravanseras of the City are fine and commodious. The Bezestein is a great House well built, wherein are many Warehouses and Shops, like those of the Palais at Paris; and there are all the Commodities of the Levant to be found, besides those which are work'd up in this City. They use here not only the Silk of the Country, which is reckon'd the best in Turky, but likewise that of Persia, which is not so dear, nor much esteem'd. The Silk of Persia is worth fourteen or fifteen Piasters the Oque and half. All these Silks are well wrought; for it must be own'd that the best Workmen of all Turky are at Prusa; and that they imitate mighty well the Tapestries which are sent thither from France or Italy. (Tournefort 1718: 353-354)

Tournefort stated categorically that the locally produced silk was considered to be the best in Turkey and that it was more expensive than that imported from Persia. Clearly, by the beginning of the 18th century, local silk production had come to dominate Bursa's market. Whereas silk originating in Persia and processed in Bursa had been exported to Europe in earlier centuries, by the time of Tournefort's visit, locally produced silk had become an export item. From his reference to the high standards of the city's workmen, as well as his statement regarding the production of tapestries for the European trade which were woven to order on models sent from France and Italy, it is clear that the Bursan silk industry had come of age.

That this flourishing would prove to be short-lived will become apparent as we continue to trace developments in the travel literature of the 18th century. For, with the introduction and growth of power looms in the West, the silk industry of Bursa was to be dealt a blow from which it has never fully recovered.

(28) The French traveler Paul Lucas, who visited Bursa in 1702, likewise confirmed the importance of the city's silk as an export item:

> After dinner we went to walk around the city where we saw many 'Cams' [*Hans*], where all the merchants of Asia come to lodge because of the security that is found there. All these 'Cams' [contain] little mosques with very beautiful fountains which supply a lot of water, and, above most of the doors of these 'Cams', there are some sort of iron poles at the end of which are attached many cannon balls.
>
> The provisions are very cheap in this place; there is considerable trade of silk, cotton and wools that are very fine. It is the site in Turkey where the most beautiful silk fabrics in gold and in silver and velvet brocades [are produced]. I went to see many manufacturers where these [goods] are made for the Serail [Palace]. I saw some so beautiful I was chagrined not to be able to take some pieces with me to France. The designs are so beautiful and so distinctive that seeing them would have given pleasure. (Lucas 1704: 203-204, 213-214)

(29) In 1738, an English visitor named Edward Pococke recorded a great deal of interesting information relative to the production of silk for the local Ottoman market, but did not refer to exports to Europe:

> The town is divided from the eastern suburb by a deep channel or vale, over which there are several bridges; one of them with shops on each side, is ninety paces long and sixteen broad; the vale being planted with mulberry trees, makes the situation of the houses that are on it very delightful; a small stream runs through it, which swells to a torrent after rains...
>
> It is said they have three hundred parishes and mosques in the city, and many little mosques arched over with one dome, and the great ones with several, as well as the Khans and Bezestans, all which are covered with lead; these and the agreeable mixture of trees, together with the fine plain beneath, cultivated with mulberry-trees, altogether makes the prospect from the mountain most delightful.
>
> Trade: They make in the city a great variety all sorts of sattins, mostly striped, which are used for the under short garments of the Turkish habit; they make also a great quantity of 'meles,' of flax and silk used chiefly for shirts, and a sort of gause called 'brunjuke,' which is much wore by the ladies for their undermost garments; they export also a great quantity of raw silk both to Constantinople and Smyrna. (Pococke 1745: 119-120)

While stressing that mulberry cultivation was widespread within both the city and the surrounding plain, Pococke also provided valuable observations on various aspects of Bursa's silk industry, including the following: (a) the manufacture of silk undergarments; (b) the manufacture of a mixture of linen and silk [*melez* is a hybrid mixture] for making shirts; (c) the manufacture of a gauze-like material [*bürümcük* is a crepe made of raw silk]

for the making of female undergarments; and (d) the export of Bursan raw silk to İstanbul and İzmir.

In sharp contrast to the comments of Tournefort who, a generation earlier, had stressed the role of Bursa as an exporter of manufactured silken goods to West Europe, the observations of Pococke confirm that by 1738 Bursa had become an exporter of locally produced raw silk to other commercial centers in the Ottoman lands. This marked a major shift in Bursa's economy, one confirmed by later visitors.

(30) A Danish traveler named Carsten Niebuhr visited Bursa in January-February, 1767. His account contains the following remarks relevant to the city's economy:

> We arrived by caravan from Kütahya in Bursa on January 13, 1767. The plain we passed through was full of villages and mulberries. There were also chestnuts and other types of fruit trees, not only in gardens but even among the forests...
>
> Though the trade of Bursa is primarily in raw silk and silk cloth, the city is not only filled with all kinds of food, it also has every kind of fruit imaginable...
>
> In Adana, Konya, Karahisar, Kütahya and Bursa I did not see a single European merchant, nor did I encounter even a single missionary... (Niebuhr 1837: 140-141, 145)

Three of the remarks in his account may be highlighted: mulberries were cultivated in the Bursan plain; the city's trade "is primarily in raw silk and silk cloth"; and not a single European merchant was visible to him. The latter statement underscores the structural changes which had occurred in Bursa's economy. From a silk emporium which had attracted a wide variety of European merchants in the 15th-17th centuries, Bursa had been reduced, primarily due to the industrial revolution in Europe, to selling its raw silk and manufacturing for the local market.

(31) Our most detailed account of both mulberry cultivation and silk production in Bursa belongs to the Italian traveler, Domenico Sestini, who visited the silk in 1779. I shall quote his valuable description at length (page numbers refer to Sestini 1789):

> The vast plain of Brusse [Bursa] is covered with forests of mulberry and walnut trees, rich vineyards and thousands of other plants. On the way back we passed by the 'Besestein' [Bezestan], which is immense and well supplied with all kinds of goods. However, we cannot compare it with that of Constantinople, which I mentioned previously; thus I will not elaborate further on these buildings erected by various sultans, or even by individuals, in order to protect the wealth of the city from fire or any other accident. (p. 86)

> Today after lunch we went on a horseback ride in the plain of Brusse. Arriving at a large meadow where the Aga's horses were grazing, we found under a tent the 'Misciangi' [*Nişancı*] Efendi, that is, the superintendent general of the silk trade, who offered us cherries and coffee. (pp. 117-118)
>
> It was a curious thing to see, while passing by the 'besestein', women of all nations, a large muslin veil on their heads, rushing en masse and obstructing the avenues. For today is market day. The women of the countryside come down from their villages to sell their silk or wool, the proceeds of which are used to buy necessary things for the household for the entire week. (p. 119)
>
> The Armenian merchants number about two hundred in the city. There is one muslin manufacturer who is very wealthy. (p. 158)
>
> The city of Brusse...The large woods of mulberry and walnut trees, whose sinister shade covers a large part of the plain, also contribute to give the air a harmful quality. (p.169)
>
> This day is hardly less tedious than the preceding ones. It is true that nevertheless I had reason to travel in the countryside and to mainly examine the culture of mulberry trees about which I want to talk to you in this letter. Be contented with the observations that I was in a position to make in the short period of time that I spent to instruct myself.
>
> The large portion of the territory of Brusse is planted with mulberry trees, whose diverse plantations make the view infinitely pleasant. It is an interesting object for the inhabitants: there is no culture more useful and richer in the entire Bithinie than that of mulberry trees. (p. 183)
>
> These people do not begin by planting the mulberry tree; first they sow it. The first year, they transplant the cuttings and place them one by one and at a little distance [from one another]. They do the same thing the following year: they take them from where they were planted and replant them somewhere else. The third year they transplant them once again and place them in rows one after another and in square plots. Some are planted at one-and-a-half 'brasse' [fathoms] distance from one another, others are planted at two 'brasse' distance, and still others at little more than one 'brasse' distance [from each other].
>
> From this point on, they cut the top of the tree in order to delay its growth and to make it grow little branches all around the trunk. At that time, they are careful to remedy the dryness of the season by watering them; and they turn the earth twice a year, once in the month of April, and the other after they have gathered the leaves.
>
> When the mulberry tree has grown small branches and has sprouted at its top and sides, they do not pick the leaves yet in the silk worm season. On the contrary, they cut the little branches that are very close to the trunk and they make bundles of them to sell in town.
>
> Due to this process the mulberry trees only grow a little and are kept at the height of a man. If the trunk is already very strong, then in the first years they leave the principal branches at the top of the tree. Later, they

cut them to the same height and so they have three or four heads growing on the tree. As soon as the mulberry tree wood is formed, the trees are so thick and the leaves and the branches so dense that one would not be able to see a man who is hidden there. Those which are used to make plantings are almost all white mulberry trees. In Turkish thy are called 'dud-agagi' [*dut ağacı*], the white fruit is called 'byas-dud' [*beyaz dut*], the black fruit is called 'siah-dud' [*siyah dut*], the leaf is called 'iayprah' [*yaprak*], the silk worm is called 'bogek' [*böcek*], the cocoon is called 'hofek' [*?koza*], and silk is called 'ipek' [*ipek*].

Traveling in the countryside, I observed that when some of the trees had barely begun to lose their little branches they began to turn the earth. The soil in Brusse is in general sandy. The appearance of these woods of mulberry trees, arranged in order on the plain, forms a charming view. Sometimes a tree dies after six, ten or more years, the trunk rotting from too much humidity. They then substitute [it with] a tree of the same age which they buy at a fair which is held in the city for that purpose. (pp. 183-186)

There are also plantations of mulberry trees that grow large and extremely tall and become very old. These ordinarily are surrounded by large walnut trees and various other fruit trees, mainly cherry, plum and quince trees. In my opinion, when their trunks are too close together it is harmful. If one lets the mulberry tree grow without trimming it, it grows very thick and very tall.

The leaves are sold by the load and the load consists of four large bundles; in the beginning it costs little: twenty-five or thirty branches are sold for one or two paras [small coins]. But when the worm begins to grow and to eat, the price increases and it doubles or triples when the leaves have been hit by hail or when the silk worms succeed more than had been anticipated. Then, a load is sold for six, eight, ten or even twelve Levant piastres. They weigh two hundred pounds.

It seems to me that the plantations of mulberry trees are a very good product, because a plantation of five hundred mulberry trees occupies a very small piece of land. But what makes it very advantageous is that the same piece of land contains both mulberry trees and vines, all sorts of fruit trees and above all, cucumbers, melons, cabbages and other vegetables. Since the vines are low, they do not damage the plantation, just as the trees do not harm the vines, since they trim the little branches when it begins to flower. When the foliage of the mulberry trees disappears, that of the vine increases and replaces it. Then, the foliage of the trees only serves as a rampart against the hail and storms. An industrious farmer could benefit even more by sowing a fall grain crop.

So, here are the observations I made on this important subject, and I leave you with them. (pp. 186-188)

We had to leave Brusse this morning, my dear friend, but the storms that are raging since yesterday, and which were announced by an enor-

mous hail [storm], had us confined in the 'Kan' [*Han*] without allowing us to go out even for a moment.

It seems that talking with you, in my letter of the 5th of this month, about the cultivation of the mulberry tree, I promised you I would deal in the following letter with the manner of cultivating silk worms and all that relates to them. I would have liked to fulfill my promise and to satisfy your curiosity; but the truth of the matter is that because of the superstition of these dim-witted peoples, I was unable to learn anything. I will try to make up for it with a few observations on the manufacturing and commerce of this city, as much as I was able to learn in conversations that the bad weather provided me.

The old usage is to have the silk worm eggs hatch at the spring equinox as is practiced in all the nations of Europe (who know to take advantage of the knowledge that they acquired in their education), and in particular by the inhabitants of Palermo and later the people of Lucques.

It was they who brought from these lands, together with the seed of the silk worm, the rules and the superstitions that had taken root in the minds of these masters. Ruggieri, the first king of Sicily, after having become master of Thebes, Athens, and many other cities of Greece, brought with him to Palermo, [the means] to introduce a branch of commerce as precious as that of silk.

One does not abandon to nature the care of making the silk worms hatch. The skill is used with success. One keeps the larva in warm places in order to make them hatch earlier. As soon as they hatch, they slowly accustom the worms to the [mulberry] leaves, and first they lay them down in little baskets. When they begin to grow, they lay them out on mats, giving them every day the little branches necessary for their subsistence (without removing the older ones). And each meal forms a new layer which raises the level of their bed, which they change only three times during their entire upbringing. This happens at the times that mark its age, that is, at the passage to the different stages to which the silk worm is subject.

As soon as the time comes when they stop feeding, they place oak branches along the tables raised in levels one on top of another, and, choosing the site that each likes they go to build their own cocoons. (pp. 190-191)

They will begin on the 20th of this month to spin the silk. To do so they have large spinning wheels which they call 'mangan', from which the Sicilian word 'manganela' and also the word 'mangano' which is used among us (although with a different meaning), are derived. Everyone has the silk that he has collected spun in his own home. There are people who go from village to village working in this profession, like it was first done in Sicily, and this is how they do it. Having put the cocoons into the boiler, they beat them with a 'housinne' [whip] to make the first thread appear, and put it down on the wheel. The silk is white and, in general, fine, smooth and strong. It is sold by the 'tefe,' a measure weighing 610

drachmas. They say the annual product is 2000 'tefe,' an amount which equals the annual production of Sicily. As for the price, it varies according to the year, but ordinarily it brings (in keeping with the different quality of the silk) from 24 to 36 piastres the 'tefe.' A good portion of the silk is sent to the lands of Christendom, and mainly to France, Holland and England; but the majority remains in Brusse, or goes to Contantinople, Smyrne and Aleppo. Almost all the inhabitants of Brusse engage each year in this fruitful occupation. Some are occupied in raising the silkworms, others in spinning it, others in buying or selling it, and finally others in working it and in making fabrics.

The silk trade is a subject of interest for these people who, generally are wealthy and, among whom, a merchant who only has 30 or 40 thousand piastres in capital is not held in high esteem. In this city, there is a 'Kan' [*Han*] which is set aside for the sale of the silk, as well as for keeping it safe from some accident. It is the 'Misciangi-Basci [*Nişancı başı*], or superintendent general, who collects the payment of the tax to which it is subjected. (pp. 192-193)

This tax consists of a certain weight for each 'tefe' which provides millions of piastres to the treasury of the 'Grand Seigneur' [Sultan].

I told you that the majority of the silk remained in the country, to be worked in the various manufactures of Brusse. I will not finish this letter before giving some detail on this subject. But first I want to distance myself for a moment in order to remove, if possible, a preconception held by most of the nations of Europe. They do not imagine that these people have any capacity for the slightest thing, that they excel in anything, in any art, in any profession. Assuredly, they are in great error. The Turks are skillful in the majority of their arts.

Is it a question of their clothing? We can say that they are very good tailors. Their clothes, be it their style, their refinement or the strength of their stitching, are very superior to those of the Europeans. Is it a question of their cobblers? It is not possible to give more strength, refinement, brilliancy, smoothness, than they give to their various sorts of 'babucce' [*pabuç*], 'mest' [*mes*], 'pestal' [*postal*], and to their boots. The manner in which they finish their hides is something unique; they know how to give them all kinds of colors. They also work steel very well.

If the nations of Europe have good hatters, the Turks have excellent 'kaukci' [*kavukçu*], workers of 'kauk' [*kavuk*], of 'kalpak' [*kalpak*], of turbans, that they work with so much skill that we mistook some ewe's hair for the hair of a rabbit, 'couil' [?], or camel.

The art of working copper has been known to them for a long time, and there is no nation we may compare to them for the great use they make of it. Their way of tinning, again, is admirable. Finally, if I wanted to tell you all the various arts in which they excel, I would not be able to tell all. (pp. 194-195)

Let us turn now to the manufactures of Brusse, where they work the silk. In the city, there are at least one thousand professions where Turks,

Armenians, Greeks and Jews are employed without distinction; but the principal manufacture is that where a particular silk fabric is made, the name of which is 'pescemi.' It has stripes, some larger, some narrower and of various colors. The 'pescemi', the only kind of fabric worked in this manufacture, is sold by piece. The pieces are eleven feet long and only one foot wide: most often it is used to make 'anteri' [*entari*], 'custani' and 'fustagni [*fistan*]. They are sold at two different prices. Those that are worked more crudely are sold for nine piastres, while those that are made with more skill and more refinement are sold for eleven Levant piastres, and this is a set price.

There is another kind of fabric called 'cutun' [*kutun*], the weft of which is made of cotton, and the fabric, of silk; this cloth has small stripes. Jews make a kind of velvet with flowers, with which one ordinarily covers the pillows on the sofas. They are called 'juz-jastighi' [*yüz yastığı*], they are the same ones as are sent from Venice to Constantinople for the same purpose. (pp. 196-197)

But the manufacture of muslin has an interesting characteristic that deserves mention: it is mostly the Armenians who work in this [area]. The muslin which they manufacture is mostly used for a sort of handkerchief (dyed with various colors), which they call 'testemel' [*destmal*]. So, these are the principal articles concerning the productions of the territory of Brusse and its manufactures. These are the center of a very extensive commerce which they sustain and which brings immense sums to the city.

Brusse lacks sugar, coffee, paper, iron, nails, medicinal drugs, 'cochenille' and canvas. They [purchase] these goods from a French commercial firm which brings them from Constantinople to Mudagna [Mudanya], from where they are transported to Brusse on carriages. The trip is only a few hours long. The cotton arrives from Manassia [Manisa]. The caravans from Angeri [Ankara], Smyrne [İzmir] and Alep [Aleppo], and the 'haggi' [*hacıs*], on their return from Mecque [Mecca], bring other necessary things to this principal city of Bithinie. (pp. 197-198)

(32) The French officer, Lafitte-Clavé, who visited the city in 1786, was the first to take note of the child labor employed in Bursa's silk production:

> I do not know what the population of this large city is. I believe, however, that I can estimate it to be 30,000 men: Turks, Greeks Armenians and Jews. There is a considerable trade in silk, and they manufacture some sort of striped satin and coarse velvet almost like the ones of Utrecht, and they use them to cover the cushions of sofas. The manufacturers work especially in their [homes] or in Kans [*Hans*] assisted by young children aged 0-10 [*sic*!] years of age and one does not see large factories like in France. There are two French merchants, Messrs. Pastourel and David, who occupy an entire wing of the Yeni Kan with their assistants. They

buy silk from there, which they send on to France to be finely worked, as well as hare skins and other fabrics. This commerce could be much more lucrative if it were expanded, but, as there is no protection, no safety, no convenience for transportation in Turkey, a large portion of the commodities from the region of Brousse are taken to Smyrne where the transportation costs render them more expensive. There are many Kans or Hans in the city that are brick and are vaulted. there is always a fountain and a watering place in the courtyard of each Han. There is also a Bazar and a Bezestein [*Bezestan*], where there are many goods and where many merchants who are at the same time manufacturers work in their shops.

The countryside around Brousse is very pleasant and much cultivated. One can see there fields, vines and above all many fences of mulberry trees. They keep the stems very low, and they cut the two or three year-old shoots for the silkworms who eat their leaves. They use the little branches of oak trees to make them climb. The cultivation is the same everywhere from Mudagna [Mudanya] to Brousse. (Lafitte-Clavé 1997: 212-213)

(33) Jean Baptiste Lechevalier, the well-known French traveler who visited Bursa in 1786, said virtually nothing about the city's economic life, apart from the following remark:

> The city of Brousse is situated on a hill, at the foot of Mount Olympus. It dominates the fertile plain, covered with mulberry trees, irrigated by a thousand streams and in which are two very abundant thermal springs... (Lechevalier 1800: 29)

(34) Von Ignatz von Brenner, a German traveler to the city in 1793, left a very interesting account of Bursa's silk production:

> As far as the eye could see there were mulberry trees decorated with silk cocoons. The roads stretched out like a labyrinth, and from the rain and melting snow they were covered with water which had turned to snow. They, in turn, had been covered with stones...
>
> In the evening at 6:00 p.m. we arrived at Bursa, We entered the city through a broken down gateway which led us directly the Jewish Quarter. There, a French merchant greeted us with abundant hospitality...
>
> The basis of Bursa's trade is raw and manufactured silk. In Bursa and the surrounding countryside approximately 80,000 tefe [120,000 *okas*] of raw silk are produced, which sells for 30 piasters a tefe. The majority of this raw silk is sold outside the city and it brings an income of approximately 2,400,000 piasters to the city. When we learned that there were 700 looms in the city it was easier to understand the importance of silk manufacturing to the city. Of silks and mixed silks there are 126,000 pieces manufactured annually, which are sent to Istanbul, Izmir and Egypt; the average price per piece is 18 piasters. From this production the city of Bursa realized

> 2,268,000 piasters. These [silk] goods produced in Bursa are prized throughout all of Turkey. In addition, they will produce special designs to order. Also, what the Turks use for the making of shirts, a cloth known by the name of 'Burund schück' [*bürümcük*], is also produced in Bursa; the heaviest demand for these shirts comes from the city of Selanik. (Brenner 1808: 58-60)

Brenner provided detailed production figures and the incomes generated from both the sale of raw silk and manufactured items of apparel, but also stressed that the majority of the raw silk produced in the region was sold outside the city. In addition, he noted that the city's 700 looms turned out a variety of items of apparel that were sold within the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

(35) The Englishman, James Dallaway, was the last visitor to Bursa in the 18th century who commented on the city's silk industry:

> Bursa is extensive and populous... The 'bezesten is ample, and one of the 'khans' is singularly commodious...
>
> The merchandize of raw silk, of which Bursa is a great mart, and a small manufactory of silk stuffs, employ the inhabitants, and constitute the commerce of the place...
>
> The next morning we commenced the ascent of Mount Olympus, on of the most arduous that can be imagined. It is a collection of vast mountains, about forty miles in circumference, heaped one on another, rather than a single mass; and may be divided into three regions. The first abounds in mulberry and various shrubs... (Dallaway 1797: 177-180)

Fittingly, Dallaway summed up the structural changes which Bursa's silk industry had undergone in the 18th century by describing the city as a great market for "the merchandize of raw silk" and "a small manufactory of silk stuffs."

Certain trends and developments may be extrapolated from the data relative to Bursa's silk trade and manufacture which is preserved in the accounts of travelers who visited the city between its conquest by the Ottomans in 1326 and the year 1800, and partly from the surviving Ottoman documents. The following remarks summarize the most important points by century.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

As early as 1333 the city enjoyed an active commerce, as indicated by Ibn Battuta's remark that Bursa had "fine bazaars" (in the plural).

By the end of the century, Bursa was known as a manufacturing center of imported raw silk (Johann Schiltberger).

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By 1432, Bursa had developed into a silk emporium which attracted a large number of Genoese and Florentine merchants, drawn there by the availability of manufactured silks and cottons, spices and other goods (Broquière).

In 1437 Bursa had established itself as a transit point for raw silk from Persia and as a rich and important commercial center (Pero Tafur).

By 1470, the city was home to a large number of Italian merchants, bankers, brokers and money lenders, who imported Italian woolens and purchased Brusan silk with their profits (Benedetto Dei).

Ottoman documents from the last quarter of the 15th century establish that the Italian merchants were engaged in a wide variety of commercial transactions with Ottoman (Muslims, as well as Christians and Jews), Arab and Persian merchants.

By the end of the century, Italian visitors advanced the claim that more silk was manufactured in Bursa than in the whole of Italy. They also noted that its trade was dominated by the Genoese with the Florentines in close competition (Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi).

The city's inhabitants were described as "for the most part merchants," who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of silk goods (Harff).

Surviving Ottoman documents establish that a significant population growth occurred in the second half of the century, with a climb from approximately 25,000 people in the late 1450s to 35,515 in 1487. This may be viewed as a correlate of the flourishing economy noted by the travelers.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the opening years of the century (1501-1502), the records of Italian merchants establish that Bursa was an international trade emporium. Woolen goods from Italy were marketed in the city, and a host of Italian merchants were active as buyers of the silken goods manufactured in the city. Their commerce hinged on using the profits they made from their sales of woolen goods for purchasing raw silk and finished silk items which they exported to Italy for resale in Europe. This commercial activity was so important to the Ottoman authorities that they accorded the Italian merchants special treatment. The primary source of Bursa's raw silk in this period was Iran. While silk was clearly "king" in this period, a number of other items, including spices and rhubarb, likewise were purchased for export by the Italians resident in Bursa (Maringhi).

By 1546, the volume of raw silk imported from Iran was so high that a traveler ascribed Bursa's wealth to the steady stream of camel caravans delivering silk to the city, where it was spun, dyed, woven and manufactured into a variety of goods (Belon).

In 1553, another visitor to the city stressed the importance of the arrival of camel caravans with loads of raw silk in the city (Dernschwam).

In 1581, a report that thieves who preyed on merchants traveling between İstanbul and Bursa had been executed signifies the importance of Bursa's commercial activity and the tax revenues which it generated to the Ottoman authorities (Newberie).

By 1588, Bursa's well-established silk trade and manufacturing was joined by a growing industry of wool spinning and weaving. For the first time, the silk industry's reliance on raw silk imported from Iran was not mentioned. This silence may be construed as the first indirect reference to the development of an indigenous silk industry in the region (Lubenau).

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In 1630, a traveler referred to the presence of Persian merchants in the city, which indicates that Persians not only delivered raw silk for the city's looms, but also purchased its manufactured goods for resale in Iran. Such commerce contributed to the city's wealth and economic prosperity (Stochove).

By 1640, there is clear evidence of the growth and development of an indigenous silk industry in Bursa in Evliya Çelebi's account which describes the region's plantations of mulberry trees whose leaves were essential for the feeding of silk-worms. Other details in his account demonstrate that, in the years between 1588 and 1640, the local cultivation and manufacture of silk had begun to replace the city's traditional dependence on raw silk imported from the East. Evliya's description of the various types of silk-related industries which existed in Bursa at this time make it evident that the city's economy was closely tied to this product.

In the 1660s and 1670s, a number of visitors cited the importance of Bursa as a transit station for goods of all kinds moving between İstanbul, İzmir and Syria (Thevénot, Fermanel, Spon and Wheler).

In 1675, three visitors commented on the cultivation of mulberries in the plain lying north of the city which they linked to the production of local silk. Importantly, they noted the role of the city's Christians (both Greek and Armenians) and Jews in the cultivation of silkworms (Covel), and commented on the presence of English cloths in the city's bazaars (Spon and Wheler).

In 1678/79, a visitor to the city commented on the important role played by Jews and Christians in the marketing of its silk (Le Bruyn).

That the importation of raw silk from the East remained an important factor in Bursa's silk production is attested in an account of a 1684 visit. The same traveler also mentioned that silks manufactured in Bursa were exported to Europe (Gemelli Careri).

By the end of the century, locally produced silk dominated the local industry, thanks to the large number of mulberry trees cultivated in the region (Chishull).

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1701, a visitor commented on the fact that the "most esteem'd" silk in Bursa was that produced locally, although one also could find "some which comes from more distant places." The same traveler described his passage through "little forests of mulberry" near the city (La Motraye).

In the same year, a second visitor described his approach to Bursa as passing through "fields cover'd with Mulberry Trees," which apparently were transplanted from nurseries. That traveler stated categorically that the locally produced silk was "reckon'd the best in Turkey," and that raw silk imported from Persia sold at prices lower than those for silk produced in Bursa (Tournefort).

In 1702, a visitor praised the locally manufactured silks and noted that a portion of such products goes to the palace in İstanbul (Lucas).

An English visitor of 1738 described the cultivation of mulberry trees in Bursa itself and in the outlying plain, as well as various products manufactured for local Ottoman markets from this silk, noting that such goods were sold in İstanbul and İzmir (Pococke).

In 1767, a Danish visitor also noted the extensive mulberry cultivation, and remarked that Bursa's trade was "primarily in raw silk and silk cloth." His most interesting observation is that he did not see a single European merchant in the city, the first indication that Bursa, traditionally only an importer of raw silk, also had become an exporter of its production (Niebuhr).

In 1779, the Italian Domenico Sestini composed the first detailed account of mulberry cultivation and silk production in Bursa. Among the facts which his account contains, the following may be highlighted: (a) mulberry trees covered a great deal of the plain to the North of the city; (b) local Armenian merchants played a key role in the city's silk production; (c) some of the local production was exported to Europe (particularly to France, Holland and England), but the large majority of locally produced silk stayed in the city or was sent to İstanbul, İzmir or Aleppo; (d) the locally produced silk that remained in the city was manufactured into various items of apparel; (e) most of the inhabitants of Bursa (including its Turks, Armenians, Greeks and Jews) in one way or another make their livelihoods from silk; and (f) Bursa remained a major transit station for goods moving through Anatolia. In the course of his description, Sestini also provided the Turkish terminology for mulberry cultivation and silk production, as well as information on the various local officials involved in controlling silk production and sales.

A visitor of 1786 mentioned the employment of child labor in the city's silk industry and noted that two French merchants were in the city to purchase silk for their home market. His account also comments upon the extent of mulberry cultivation in the vicinity of the city (Lafitte-Clavé). A

second French visitor of that year also noticed the abundance of mulberry trees (Lechavalier).

In 1793, a German traveler described at length the "mulberry trees decorated with silk cocoons," and noted that Bursa's trade was concentrated in raw and manufactured silk. He stated that the majority of the city's raw silk was sold outside the city, but, at the same time, the city's 700 looms manufactured 126,000 items of silk apparel annually for the markets of İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik and Egypt (Brenner).

In 1794, the final 18th century visitor to leave an account of his stay in Bursa noted that the city's primary activity was "the merchandize of raw silk," supplemented by "a small manufactory of silk stuffs" (Dallaway).

When presented serially, the information contained in these 35 travel accounts from the period of 1326-1800 forms the basis for a reconstruction of the phases through which Bursa's silk industry passed.

In the 14th century, Bursa imported raw silk from Persia and turned it into silk cloths for export. While our sources do not name the markets for the finished products, they allow us to infer that, by the end of the century, these goods had begun to attract the attention of Italian merchants.

The 15th century witnessed a burgeoning growth in the city's manufacture of silk products, paralleled by an increasing volume of imported raw silk from Iran. By the 1430s, Italian merchants (primarily Genoese and Florentines) traded actively in the city. Similarly, Iranian and Arab merchants also played an important role in the city's silk trade, as evidenced by transactions between Muslim and Italian merchants that are recorded in the records of the local courts. Throughout the century, the number of Italian merchants grew along with Bursa's silk production, and, by the end of the century, more silk was being produced there than in the whole of Italy. In one way or another, the great majority of the city's inhabitants were engaged in the manufacture and trade of silk. This growth of the silk industry was paralleled by a steady increase in the city's population which, by the second half of the century, had grown from approximately 25,000 to 35,000 inhabitants.

The 16th century was marked by growing tensions between the Ottomans and their eastern neighbors, specifically the Safavids of Iran. A series of wars led to several embargoes upon the importation of raw silk, which had negative effects on the local silk industry, but also for the Italian merchants who both depended upon Bursa as a market for their imported woolen goods and depended upon the profits from the silk cloth which they purchased in Bursa and exported to Italy.

By the end of the 16th century, local wool production was a growing industry in Bursa, a development that may have reflected the desire of Bursa's indigenous merchants to lessen their dependence on Italian imports

or, at least, their decision to cash in on the lucrative market created by the Italian merchants. Another factor may have been an attempt to divert the city's economy to another sector of production, given that the periodic embargoes on imported raw silk from Iran could have decreased production in the silk industry. From all indications, after the end of the 16th century, Italian merchants ceased to play any role in the silk markets of Bursa. Whether this phenomenon was related to Bursa's growing woolen industry, or to the frequent disruptions in trade due to the wars with Iran, is impossible to discern in the travel literature.

By the opening decades of the 17th century, Bursa possessed an indigenous silk industry. The overwhelming majority of visitors to the city commented upon the expanses of mulberry trees in the region, and most referred to the production and sale of silks in the city. Despite its local production of raw silk, Bursa must have continued to rely to some degree on imports from Iran to provide its manufacturers with the raw material. While this period also witnessed the first appearance of English cloths in the city's markets. Similarly, there also are indications that Bursa's silks had begun to find outlets in England, France and Holland.

By the first years of the 18th century, the importance of Iranian raw silk had declined to the point that its prices had fallen below those of the locally produced commodity. Virtually every visitor continued to comment on the fields of mulberry trees in the city and on its northern plain. At this time, Bursa, an importer of raw silk in the previous four centuries, began to export a share of its locally produced raw silk to İstanbul and İzmir. Numerous visitors in this period described the city's trade as dominated by the sale of "raw silk and silk cloth." By the last quarter of the 18th century, Bursa was exporting its manufactured silks to the markets of France, England and Holland, and even served as residence for a small group of French merchants. However, the majority of the raw silk produced locally was utilized in the manufacture of wearing apparel for export to the markets of İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik and Aleppo.

After 1701, sources do not mention Bursa's importation of raw silk from Iran, suggesting that the volume of local production had grown to the point that the city's merchants no longer had a market for what had come to be regarded as an import of inferior quality. By the end of the century, references to the expanding numbers of mulberry trees and a situation typified by the comment that the city's primary activity was "the merchandize of raw silk," supplemented by "a small manufactory of silk stuffs," points to the inescapable conclusion that Bursa had come full circle. From an importer of raw silk needed as a raw material for its manufacturer of silks, it became an exporter of locally produced raw silk which surely represented a surplus not needed by local manufactures.

The accuracy of this reconstruction, which is based primarily on the testimony of accounts written by visitors to the city, ought to be assessed by a consideration of the conclusions reached by scholars who have relied entirely on the surviving Ottoman documents from the same period. In this regard, the most useful of such studies belongs to Murat Çızakça, who published an article entitled "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900)" (Çizakça 1983). In this pioneering effort to analyze both primary and secondary sources, the author did not consider the travel literature and therefore had to confine himself to the period after 1500 to which the surviving Ottoman sources belong. As a result of his decision to overlook the accounts of Ibn Battuta, Bertrandon de la Broquière, Pero Tafur, Benedetto Dei, Bonsignore Bonsignore, Bernardo Michelozzi, Arnold Von Harff and Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, Çızakça could not investigate the period when the silk industry first developed.

This lacuna aside, Çızakça's discussion of the stages in which Bursa's silk industry developed between 1500-1800 remains a useful means of weighing the results presented in this study. According to Çızakça, Bursa's silk trade consisted primarily of "re-exporting or processing" Persian raw silk in the 15th century (1983: 143). Although he cited no source for this assertion, the travelers' accounts confirm that raw silk imported from Persia was vital to the city's silk manufacture. At the same time, they provide no evidence that the imported silk was "re-exported" in turn. To the contrary, they establish beyond any doubt that Bursa became a major manufacturer of silk goods in the course of the 15th century. Recalling the judgment of Bonsignore Bonsignore that at the time of his visit in 1498 Bursa was producing more finished silk than all of Italy, one must question Çızakça's claim that the city's silk industry was primarily engaged in "re-exporting or processing" Persian raw silk in the 15th century.

Çızakça's discussion of Bursa's silk industry in the 16th century focused upon the negative impact of the Ottoman wars with Iran. The author argued that the consequences of these wars included the use in Bursa's workshops of raw silk supplied by other silk-producing areas of the empire, and the beginning of raw silk production in Bursa itself (1983: 143-144). Although travelers to Bursa referred to the importation of silk from Syria in the 16th century, they did not link this activity to a lack of supplies from Iran. These accounts, however, support Çızakça's conclusion that the beginning of indigenous silk production dates to the late-16th century, although they do no provide solid evidence for this until 1640 and increasingly thereafter.

Çızakça posited that, in the second half of the sixteenth century, a variety of outside factors (including the inflow of American silver which resulted in a price revolution and world-wide inflation) produced a negative impact on Bursa's silk industry which, by the beginning of the next century, "had drastically transformed the structure of the industry" (1983: 147-148).

In addition, according to him, between the years 1577 and 1618 silk cloth production in Bursa "declined rapidly and then entered into a long period of stagnation" (1983: 148). During the 17th century, these factors led to increasing specialization in the production of raw silk which supported the growing European textile industries (1983: 148-149). Two points in this analysis appear to be in conflict with the testimony provided in travel accounts of the period. First, these sources indicate that the indigenous production of raw silk burgeoned in the city and surrounding region in the 17th century. Secondly, in contradiction to his claim of a rapid decline in local silk manufacturing and resultant stagnation between 1577 and the late 17th century, the accounts of Lubenau, Evliya Çelebi and others provide abundant evidence that local manufacturing flourished in this period. On the other hand, the accounts of travelers strength his contentions that local production of raw silk expanded rapidly in the 17th century to the point that it may have begun to meet the expanding demand in Europe.

Çızakça's presentation of developments in the 17th century points to attempts of the Ottoman state to ensure a steady supply of raw Iranian silk, including making this a condition of the 1613 treaty signed between the two states (1983: 146). The evidence in travel accounts, which continue to mention the imported raw silk from Iran in this period, appears to support this conclusion, as well. However, by the end of the century, the Iranian share of the raw silk market had declined significantly.

Çızakça viewed the first half of the 18th century as a period in which the raw silk of Bursa was used primarily to meet the growing demand in Europe (1983: 148-150). However, he based this conclusion on secondary works that deal mostly with the European textile industry. In so doing, he argued a point that is at odds with the testimony of numerous visitors to Bursa. While remarking that the city was an exporter of raw silk, they also documented its growing importance as a producer of silk garments for the Ottoman market.

Finally, in regard to the second half of the 18th century, Çızakça argued that the European demand for Brusan raw silk declined which, in turn, led to a renaissance of silk manufacturing in the city due to its increased availability (1983: 150). In this regard, the account of travelers confirm that the majority of raw silk indeed was being utilized in the local manufacture of wearing apparel, but at the same time state that a portion of the goods thus produced were being marketed in France, England and Holland.

The secondary literature on the Brusan silk industry all too often has been based predominantly or at times exclusively on Ottoman administrative sources. It has hoped that the present chapter has met its intended goal of demonstrating the value of travelers' accounts for the study not only of the period not covered by surviving Ottoman documents (1326-1478), but also, as a supplement, of subsequent periods.

4

HAZARDS OF DAILY LIFE

The often catastrophic impact that natural and man-made disasters periodically wrought upon the urban inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire's major population centers has yet to grab the attention of scholars. Not a single study (including Lowry 1981) has attempted to assess the population figures extracted from the Ottoman *tahrir defter*s (tax-registers *cum* cadastral surveys) in light of the plagues, fires, earthquakes, brigands and conquerors which, with devastating results, frequently reshaped the demographic profile of Ottoman cities. Exceptionally, Halil İnalcık has used a variety of other sources to address this issue in his entry on "İstanbul" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1978: 224-248), where he lists the major fires and earthquakes which periodically altered the character of Ottoman İstanbul (1978: 237-238), as well as various outbreaks of plague and their impact on the capital's citizenry (1978: 243). Yet, the extant travel literature and the reports of European envoys and merchants, both voluminous, leave little doubt that plague was a periodic menace in the city that occurred more frequently than indicated by İnalcık.

In this regard, two cases will suffice to illustrate the need to utilize the observations of foreign residents and visitors in Ottoman cities for a more systematic study of the epidemic diseases. The first involves an outbreak of plague reported by the Florentine merchant Giovanni Maringhi, a resident in Pera in August, 1501. In a series of letters written to Ser Nicolo Michelozzi in Florence, Maringhi referred to the disease he alternately called "plague" or "cholera":

> The cholera continues here [Pera], touching in Constantinople also, although mostly among the lower classes. We are alert and on our guard, and now the air is cooler, with the approach of autumn, we think it will entirely stop, if God so wills. (Richards 1932: 130; cf. p. 132)
>
> The plague here has done, and continues to do, damage enough, and two of our drapers in Pera have died... Because we are definitely approaching the heart of winter, we hope there will be a decrease of the plague... For some weeks past, this has been one of the worst plagues both in Constantinople and in Pera that I have seen since I have been in the country.

> At the present time there have been over 25,000 deaths. May God care for our good. (Letter dated October 29, 1501; Richards 1932: 140-141)
>
> The plague here has ceased completely and does no more damage; but up to now it has been disastrous. May God, who can help and restore us, send us his grace. (Letter dated January 14, 1502; Richards 1932:148)

Accepting İnalcık's estimate that İstanbul's population stood at close to 100,000 in the late 15th century (1978: 238-239), the plague outbreak of 1501 appears to have taken the lives of one out of every four residents. Interestingly, Maringhi explicitly stated "that this has been one of the worst plagues both in Constantinople and in Pera" that he had witnessed since he had been in the city (Richards 1932: 141). Bearing in mind that Maringhi had only been in Pera since 1497 (Richards 1932: 54), we may infer from his comments that plague must have struck the city on several occasions during the four years he had been residing there.

The second case noted in an account by a foreign visitor concerns Sir Thomas Roe, the English envoy who noted in a dispatch of 1625 that an outbreak of plague had killed "over 200,000 people in Istanbul alone" (Roe 1740: 443). İnalcık has argued convincingly that the pre-19th century populations of İstanbul and Galata combined never exceeded 400,000-500,000 inhabitants (1978: 244). One could conclude from these figures that up to half of the inhabitants of the city perished in 1625. Roe, as anyone familiar with his dispatches will aver, was an extremely conscientious diplomat, one not generally given to exaggeration. From the frequency of his references to this 1625 outbreak, there can be little doubt but that plague exacted a massive toll on the residents of the capital.

While İnalcık did not take notice of the 1501 outbreak observed by Maringhi, he did include the 1625 outbreak in his list of plagues that struck İstanbul (the list cites the years 1466, 1470, 1511, 1526, 1561, 1584, 1586, 1590, 1592, 1599, 1625, 1637, 1648, 1653, 1673, 1765, 1792, 1837, 1845/47), without indicating its severity (1978: 243). Thus, these two cases serve the illustrate the need for a much more thorough examination of the impact of plagues on urban populaces in the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, Ambraseys and Finkel's recent work entitled *The Seismicity of Turkey and Adjacent Areas (A Historical Review, 1500-1800)* (1995) has enhanced significantly our knowledge of earthquakes in the 16th-18th centuries. As the first systematic attempt to trace this phenomenon for any area in the Ottoman period, their study includes a catalogue of a total of 377 major and minor quakes, a high percentage of which struck in the Marmara region, over the course of three centuries. Unfortunately, the other types of disaster noted above (fires, plagues, conquest and banditry) thus far have not received such in-depth treatment.

In the course of my research on the first Ottoman capital, Bursa, I was struck by the frequency with which visitors to the city witnessed one or another of these disasters. The present chapter is an attempt to collect such references and, where possible, to juxtapose them with surviving Ottoman documents and chronicle narratives in an effort to illustrate the manner in which such catastrophes affected Bursa's inhabitants. At the same time, it will demonstrate how the testimony of travelers may explain in some cases the seeming inconsistencies in the documentary evidence.

The following register of such incidents mentioned by the travelers who left written accounts of their visits to Bursa in the Ottoman period, supplemented by the information on earthquakes affecting Bursa that were reported by Ambraseys and Finkel (1995), represents little more than a preliminary inventory of a composite catalogue of outbreaks of epidemics, fires and attacks by bandits or invaders on the city. After all, with the exception of the earthquakes noted, the remaining natural and man-made disasters were events that happened to coincide with the visit of a given traveler to the city. Nonetheless, the list will illustrate some of the variables of this kind which had an impact on life in Bursa.

Attacks and Conquests

Timur "the Lame" (Timurlenk, Tamerlane) attacked the city in 1402. Following his defeat of the Ottoman Sultan, Bayezid I, at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, the Central Asian conqueror moved against the city of Bursa, which he breached and proceeded to pillage and burn. This sack of the city presumably was responsible for the fact that no local documents survive for the years 1326-1402. It likewise accounts for the absence of monuments dating from the period in which Bursa was the capital of the emerging Ottoman state (1326-1361) (Darkot-Diez-Yinanç 1961: 812). From the account of the Spanish envoy, Clavijo, who visited Timur's capital of Samarkand in 1404, we learn that items pillaged from Bursa included the following:

> ...double doors covered with plates of silver gilt ornamented with patterns in blue enamel work, having insets that were very finely made in gold plate... In the one door was figured the image of Saint Peter while in the other was Saint Paul, and each saint had a book in his hands, the entire work being of silver. They afterwards told us that these doors had been brought hither from Bursa, where Timur had found them when the treasure of the Turkish sultan [Bayezid] had come into his hands. (Clavijo 1928: 269)

As indicated by this passage, Timur's sack of Bursa undoubtedly relieved the Ottoman state of the treasures it had accumulated in the course of its own

conquests in the preceding century. What impact this conquest had on the citizens of Bursa is more difficult to evaluate.

In 1413, during the interregnum which followed the death of Bayezid I, the city of Bursa was sacked and burned by Mehmed Karamanoğlu, who then besieged the city's fortress for a month. The contemporary Ottoman chronicler Aşıkpaşazade described this event in the following terms:

> Karamanoğlu attacked...destroying and looting in all four directions he advanced on Bursa. When Karamanoğlu arrived in Bursa he burnt the city. He then proceeded to besiege the castle. (Aşıkpaşazade 1992: 74 [b. 71])

Whatever damage was wrought by the two sackings of the city in 1402 and 1413, there are indications that Mehmed I (1414-1420) and his successor Murad II (1420-1451) completely rebuilt the city. When the Spanish traveler, Pero Tafur, visited Bursa in 1437, he observed:

> We went by sea [from Constantinople], and I saw the city [Bursa], which is unwalled, but greater and better than any in Turkey. There are some 4,000 inhabitants... I believe that in the whole of Turkey today there is no other place so large, nor so well peopled, nor so rich. (Pero Tafur 1926:149)

Evidently, the Ottoman rulers had eradicated any sign of their disastrous defeats at the hands of Timur and the Karamanoğlus, to the degree that their capital made a very positive impression on Pero Tafur.

The Celali rebels attacked Bursa in 1607-1609. This major assault occurred during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I, when rebels led by Kalendaroğlu sacked the suburbs of Bursa. The results of their handiwork were reported by the Armenian traveler, Simeon of Poland, who spent a month in Bursa in 1609. In describing his climb of Mount Olympus with some of his companions, he wrote:

> From there we observed that half of the city which had been burnt and destroyed by the Celalis. (Simeon 1964: 17)

Simeon's vision was confirmed by remarks contained in the reports of the French Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Jean de Gontaut-Biron, the Baron de Salignac. In a letter to the King dated January 9, 1607, Gontaut-Biron wrote that "all of Asia [Minor] is occupied by the rebels who are headquartered in the vicinity of Bursie" (1889: 111). In a second letter to the King dated July 5, 1607, he stated that "The rebels have sacked and pillaged part of the city of Bursie and killed two or three thousand people in it" (1889: 156). In yet another letter to the King, this one dated December 6, 1607, Gontaut-Biron reported that "the alarm [caused by the rebel attacks] is so great in Bursa that he [the Sultan] has dispatched 'Assam Bassa' to the city" (1889: 181-182). On December 23, 1607, Gontaut-Biron provided the King

with yet another update on the activities of the rebels operating in the Bursa region (1889: 185-186). Finally, on January 8, 1608, Gontaut-Biron informed the King of the progress of the campaign led by "Assam Bassa" against the rebels led by one "Calendar Ogli" [Kalendaroğlu] in the Bursa region (1889: 188).

The passages cited from Gontaut-Biron's correspondence with the King thus pertain to on-going episodes of destruction carried out by Kalendaroğlu and his rebels in 1607, whose aftermath was glimpsed from Mount Olympus in 1609 by Simeon of Poland.

The Greek army occupied Bursa between July 9, 1920, and September 11, 1922. Somewhat paradoxically, the first Ottoman capital slipped temporarily out of Ottoman control only at the end of the First World War, during the two years, two months and two days that it was occupied by the invading Greek army. Unlike during the earlier temporary occupations by the armies of Timur, Mehmed Karamanoğlu and Kalendaroğlu, this was the first time that the city's Muslims found themselves occupied and administered by Christians. Ironically, it also was the only time in six centuries that invading forces did not sack and burn the city.

Fires and their Aftermaths

As the preceding discussion already has touched upon fires which were intentionally set by invading forces, this section will deal with fires which, although man-made disasters, presumably resulted from accidental causes. After the fires set in 1402 by Timur and in 1413 by Mehmed Karamanoğlu, the first major fire reported by travelers to Bursa was the fire of April, 1498. At that time, two Florentine travelers, Bonsignore Bonsignore and Bernardo Michelozzi, accompanied by the Pera-based Florentine merchant, Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, were hosted in Bursa by his resident agent, one Tommaso Fronte. In a letter written from the city, they mentioned almost in passing that right before their eyes a fire had destroyed 800 of the predominantly wooden buildings of the city (Bonsignore 1973: 163). Given that the earliest surviving Ottoman *tahrir defter* covering the city, that of 1478, lists a total of 2,068 households (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 1-9), it is reasonable to conclude that the fire witnessed by these Florentines destroyed over a third of the city. It is unclear whether this fire was the same as that which the French traveler, Charles Texier, referred to in the account of his 1833 visit as "the great disaster which ravaged the twenty-five quarters of the city in 1490" (Texier 1839/40: 63).

Apart from the burning of half the city of Bursa in 1607 by the Celali rebels, the next fire documented in travel accounts belongs to the year 1801. The English traveler, William George Browne, visited the city in June, 1801, and again in June, 1802. In the interval between his two visits (late in 1801),

a major fire had destroyed half the city. Browne was able to make some before-and-after observations of the city:

> Between my first visit to Broussa in June 1801, and my second in June 1802, a dreadful fire had destroyed almost one half of the city. The natives say that is was the best half, and contained the most elegant and valuable buildings; and they pretend that the stone edifices offered no effectual resistance to the flames, but perished almost as soon as those of timber. The conflagration terminated at the gate of the Sarmakesh Khan, a spacious building where I lodged. A considerable portion of the houses had already been rebuilt; but they were constructed principally of timber, and so slightly and hastily put together, that a stranger might almost imagine it was the intention of the builders to facilitate the return of a similar calamity. (Browne 1820: 111)

The German traveler and scholar, Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall], who visited Bursa in 1804, was very much aware of the 1801 conflagration when he wrote:

> Two-thirds of the city was consumed by an awful fire in 1800 [*sic*! 1801], and it has not recovered from its ashes entirely. One can see from the top of the castle, by the new roofs of the houses, the extent of the ravages of this bane; and the minarets that have almost all lost their roofs in the shape of pointed bonnets look like columns that rise up as if they were "monuments" to this terrible fire. (Hammer 1920: 279-280)

Hammer's vivid description of a city still trying to recover from the effects of the fire that, four years prior to his visit, had consumed two-thirds of its buildings, of a city presenting both new construction and of isolated minarets standing as stark monuments to the carnage, leaves little doubt that the 1801 conflagration represented a major disaster for the city and its inhabitants. In a second a passage, Hammer noted that the Quarter of Emir Sultan, one of Bursa's oldest and more important areas of settlement, was among the areas of the city destroyed in 1801 (Hammer 1820: 255).

A major fire accompanied the great earthquake that struck the city in 1855. The American missionary and teacher, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, was in Bursa the day before the quake struck and returned ten days later for the first of several visits. His brief account of the disaster containing the following lines:

> All the solid stone and brick buildings were either ruined or injured. The twenty-four domes of "Ooloo Djami" fell in. Every minaret but one was decapitated...the bazars were destroyed and burned. (Hamlin 1878: 248)

Although further details are lacking on the extent of the damage caused by this fire, that it occurred is beyond doubt, thanks to the testimony of this foreign visitor.

Plague and Epidemic Diseases

Considering its role as a major transit station for caravans carrying foodstuffs, raw materials and other goods into the city and out to other cities like İstanbul, Bursa was well-situated to be affected by all the outbreaks of plague that afflicted other urban areas, especially İstanbul. The evidence that survives in sources on Bursa does not permit us to pinpoint the exact date of major outbreaks, but does provide significant information on other aspects of these disasters.

The first of these outbreaks was mentioned in the travel account of Dr. John Covel, who stayed in Bursa for a month in 1675. In extracts from his diary published thus far, there is one that makes the following reference to plague:

> ...[I] should certainly have been pleased with my voyage [to Bursa] had not a sad accident embitter'd all to me. One of the gentlemen, my dear friend, fell sick of a very high feavor: we fear'd it was the Plague. All the rest of the company left me and my man alone with him; and after 13 days he died there. I was ill treated by the Turkes; but I got leave to bury him with much adoe... (Covel 1893: 278)

This passage reminds us of the human side of epidemics like the plague, as it relates that Jacob Spon and George Wheler, out of fear for their lives, abandoned Covel and his fever-stricken companion to almost certain death.

An outbreak of plague occurred in 1814. The English traveler, John Macdonald Kinneir, visited Bursa in March 7-9, 1814, and left the following description of the affects of the plague that was ravaging the city:

> ...the population, amounting to forty thousand souls, according to the estimate of the Greek patriarch, is composed of Turks, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who have each their respective places of worship. During my short stay there many thousand(s) died of the plague, which raged with such violence all over the city that I found it necessary, when I went into the streets, to use the precaution of having two people armed with sticks, to prevent any person from approaching or touching me; but as I had occasion to enter the houses of the natives, I ran considerable risk of taking the disorder. (Kinneir 1814: 246-247)

Despite the brevity of his stay, Kinneir himself took sick en route to the nearby port of Mudanya from which he planned to embark for İstanbul. After six days, during which his servants "despaired of his life," he had recovered enough to take a boat. When bad weather forced it to take shelter on the other side of the gulf at the village of Armalli, he discovered that the "plague was raging in the place, and had destroyed most of its inhabitants" (Kinneir 1814: 248-249).

An indirect indication that plague was present in Bursa in 1835 is found in the account of William Hamilton, an English visitor to the city in December of that year. While visiting the home of an Armenian merchant, he observed the following custom:

> In his house, we saw for the first time, a practice which is prevalent among the Franks as well as the Greek and Armenian merchants, viz. of covering the carpets and divans with a coarse cloth made of goats' hair, in order to prevent the contagion of the plague. This course cloth is, as well as wood, everywhere considered as a non-conductor of plague. It is therefore usual for travellers and merchants in the interior, who are at all apprehensive of this disease, to have large sacks made of it, into which smaller articles, or such as are susceptible of communicating infection, are placed, in order that they may not come in contact with the surijis, the horses, or their pack-saddles. (Hamilton 1842: 76)

Regardless of whether goats' hair is effective as a preventative of plague, we may infer from this passage that this Armenian merchant must have felt that there was plague or a warning of plague in the city at that time.

An American missionary named Elizabeth Schneider, who lived in Bursa in the late 1830s and early 1840s, provided the only first-hand description of plague and preventative measures. In her *Letters from Broosa*, she made the following remarks:

> You may be aware that the plague has prevailed most fearfully in this country at intervals. In this city, it is said, as many as eight hundred have died in a day. There is a difference of opinion existing as to the manner by which it is communicated. It is supposed by some, that the air where it exists becomes infected and communicates it. By others, (and this is the general opinion), it is thought, that it is taken by coming in contact with infected persons and things. A system of quarantine has been established within the past few years, but on a very imperfect plan. But, although imperfect, it has resulted in much good. During the past three years very few, if any, cases of the plague have occurred in this vicinity. To give you an idea of the manner in which quarantine is performed in some places, I will give an instance. I well recollect what peculiar sensations came over me, as I was travelling with our little daughter a few years since, when we heard of the report of a case of plague in Constantinople, and that in consequence of it, the passengers on board the steamboat were all to be put into quarantine at Gemlik, the port of Broosa. Some said it was to be a period of three days; and others said of seven. It was in the month of February. Snow lay on the ground. And more than all, there was no quarantine establishment, which could receive us. When we disembarked at Gemlik, which you may remember is situated about 15 miles from Broosa, I inquired respecting the rumored quarantine. It was replied, that we were only to be fumigated. I accordingly stepped into the box for fumigation. But the attendant immediately cried out 'tchick' (come out). Wishing to pay respect to all public orders, I was on the point of putting in my little girl also. But some merciful Turk standing by exclaimed, 'Yazick' (unfortunate) to put the little girl in. "It is not necessary.' So she was suffered to pass on without suffering the inconvenience of quarantine, which, however, did not deserve the term in this instance. (Schneider 1846: 45-46)

Earthquakes and their Aftermaths

A great earthquake struck Bursa on September 10, 1509. Centered in the Sea of Marmara to the north of Bursa, this quake was one of the strongest in the last five centuries and resulted in widespread damage from Bolu lying east of Bursa to Edirne in western Thrace. The greatest damage appears to have been suffered in İstanbul. The earliest account of its effects there is preserved in a letter dated September 15, 1509, by a Venetian named Nicolo Zustignan. He reported that "the shock felt in Istanbul was also experienced at the same time and with the same damaging effects in Bursa, Gelibolu and Edirne" (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 42). According to the account preserved in the *Diaries* of the Venetian Marino Sanuto, the quake killed 4,000-5,000 people and injured thousands more, and it also damaged every single house in İstanbul and Pera (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 38). Given this level of destructive power, it is probable that the damage suffered in Bursa also was severe. Unfortunately, travelers to Bursa between 1509 and 1546 (when Pierre Belon visited the city) did not leave any accounts that would confirm the statement of Nicolo Zustignan.

An earthquake centered in the Sea of Marmara caused damage to İstanbul and Bursa on May 10, 1556. A notice in a *kadı* court register from Bursa dated May 20, 1556, reports that the minaret of the city's Ertuğrul Cami was destroyed during this earthquake, and that a decision had been made to demolish its remains (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 50 [citing Ayverdi 1966: 398]).

The shock waves of an earthquake that struck the Ankara region on August 15, 1668, may have been responsible for the damage to Bursa's Emir Han in the Uzun Çarşı which was recorded in a *kadı* register of July, 1674 (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 76). In any case, a contemporary Armenian source confirms that this quake caused some damage in Bursa:

> In the year 1668 [on] September 22, a man came to Agulis from Rum bringing a letter in which it was written that just after the festival of the Virgin [August 15] there was an earthquake; that many people died and that there was a great deal of damage done to the following towns: Tokat, Niksar, Bolia, Bursa, Marzivan [and] many other places were ruined. (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 80)

Our sole reference to an earthquake which struck Bursa on August 8, 1705, comes from the work of the French traveler named Paul Lucas who noted that, upon his arrival in Bursa on that date:

> A very violent earthquake was felt: it was—I was told—the third one that day. Terror was spread to every living soul. Many stones and even a few buildings had shifted from their places and during the last one of which I became aware despite my drowsiness, the plaster of the camp where I was, fell down. But finally, we were left with only fear and Brousse got off with a dozen of its houses that were toppled from top to bottom. (Lucas 1720: 98)

This quake, described by Lucas as creating alarm among the populace, destroyed a dozen houses in the city without inflicting any human casualties.

On May 25, 1719, an earthquake centered in the eastern part of the Sea of Marmara did a great deal of damage to towns on both sides of the Gulf of İzmit, and reportedly resulted in the loss of over 6,000 lives. An Ottoman document reported that the damage inflicted by this quake on the imperial flour mill in the city of Bursa had to be repaired (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 106).

The great earthquake of September 2, 1754, was responsible for major damage in İstanbul. A contemporary document reported that "To the east and south of Istanbul, in the region of Nicea [İznik] and Bursa, a few houses were ruined, without casualties, and most of the people in this region camped in the open after the earthquake" (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 129).

A quake of considerable destructive power struck on May 22, 1766. Centered in the eastern portion of the Sea of Marmara, this quake was reported to have inflicted extensive damage to buildings in Bursa and other places (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 136). Major damage was sustained by the Emir Sultan Cami and Tomb in Bursa, rendering it impossible to conduct prayers in this major religious sanctuary (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 143 [citing Ayverdi 1972: 287]).

Another quake, this one centered in the western portion of the Sea of Marmara, struck on August 5, 1766, and reportedly caused damage as far as Bursa (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 145, 148).

Shortly after 5:00 pm on January 30, 1767, Bursa was rocked by a strong quake that lasted for fifteen minutes. A witness to this event was the Danish traveler, Carsten Niebuhr, who was staying in one of the city's larger *hans* at the time. He reported that fellow guests fled into the streets and that tiles fell from the roof (1837: 147). The same earthquake also affected İstanbul (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 150).

Carsten Niebuhr also reported that a second earthquake struck the city at 8:00 pm on the night of February 8, 1767, but that it was hardly more than a

tremor (1837: 147; again reported as having affected only İstanbul by Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 150).

A major earthquake struck from its epicenter in central Anatolia on July 18, 1794. A marginal note in an Ottoman almanac described its effects in the following terms: "A light earthquake [in İstanbul]; strong in Bursa and even stronger in Amasya and area; Çorum was completely destroyed and many died" (Ambraseys-Finkel 1995: 166).

One of the most devastating earthquakes in Turkey, one that affected Bursa as well, occurred in 1855. As it happened, the missionary and teacher, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, founder of Robert College in İstanbul, was in Bursa supervising the rebuilding of a church at the time of the quake. He wrote of a prior tremor the following remarks:

> The building was not quite finished within, when it was injured by an earthquake. Bursa was terribly shaken. A mass of tufa weighing hundreds of tons, broke off from the brow of old Bursa...fell upon a 'filature' (silk-winding establishment), and crushed about thirty operatives within it. Many buildings were cracked, but few were seriously injured. The city was thrown into a great consternation. I went up to see to the repairing of the church, which was not very seriously injured. (Hamlin 1878)

Following a one-day visit to Bursa to inspect the damage, Hamlin returned the same evening to the port of Gemlik where he took the steamer for İstanbul. While at sea, the big quake struck. Two weeks later, he returned to Bursa, where he recorded the following impressions:

> At Bursa, the church-building was destroyed; the house from which I started and where they had ernestly impressed me to stay for the night, also went down. All the solid stone and brick buildings were either ruined or injured. The twenty four domes of 'Ooloo Djami' fell in. Every minaret but one was decapitated, and that the one highest up the side of Mt. Olympus; the bazars were destroyed and burned. Well-built wooden houses of course escaped, but the 'adobes' were wrecked. It was reported that six thousand persons perished. The whole population spent a fearful night in the cold open air...
>
> It was two weeks before I could return. Bursa, at first sight, seemed to be in ruins. Its 'six hundred minarets', which gave such life and brightness to the distant view, were gone. All the people who could not flee were under canvas. Dismay and woe were on every countenance.
>
> The earthquakes were still frequent, but mild. I enjoyed three one night; and every twenty-four hours there would be one or two; but the force was spent. I slept in a wooden house, which had, as most of the Eastern houses have, wooden ceilings. I persuaded others to do the same. The plastering of the walls was generally ruined, and the house was slightly 'lurched' to the east, but the doors had plenty of leeway for other lurches still, before they would bind at any point...

I soon began to see in the course of my ten visits, that while the destruction of property was immense, the loss of life must have been small. The great solid structures, the churches, the mosques, the baths, the bazars, were all unoccupied at the time. The first shock sent people out of their houses. It was the next which spread destruction. The houses were empty. Those that fell, the 'adobes', mainly in the Jewish quarter, fell every way, leaning against each other, presenting a scene of wild confusion, and yet few fell so as to bury their owners if within.

Lord Napier came up from the English embassy to distribute aid to the sufferers. I helped him in the distribution; and we found surprisingly few widows and orphans, made such by the earthquake. No one of my acquaintances could say that he knew personally a man who had been killed. Some began to put the number down to five thousand and even to four thousand. I came finally to the conviction that 'two hundred' would be nearer the truth. And yet there was a way in which the large number could be justified. Had the earthquake occurred when people were in the mosques, baths, bazars, and khans, six thousand 'might have perished!' This is oriental. (Hamlin 1878: 248-250)

A second account of this earthquake belongs to the German scholar, Andreas Mordtmann, who visited Bursa in 1854 (and again in 1859). he described the duration of this quake in the following passage:

Being the first seat of the Ottoman dynasty, Bursa offers many historical monuments. However, I refrain here from a description of these, partly because such can be found in any account of the place, and partly because the earthquake which lasted from February through May 1855, destroyed many of them. As I have not been back to Bursa since that time I am unaware which of these monuments were destroyed and which were preserved.

I can however ensure that as long as I have been going to Bursa I have been unable to find among its inhabitants any signs of [religious] fanaticism. The mosques and the tombs of the Ottoman sultans and princes, from Osman I to Murad II (who are all buried there), are all open and no one either asks you to show your *ferman* [Imperial Order] nor to burden yourself with removing your shoes—with the exception of Ulu Cami (which is the main mosque). If the traveler takes care to show respect to the houses which are dedicated to the veneration of God, as well as to the tombs of the royalty; and, if he is careful to stay off the carpets upon which the Turks perform their prayers in times of bad weather, all the Imams and Turbedars in Bursa will extend him not only a nice welcome, but they will show their friendly inclination, especially if he speaks their language and if he is acquainted with their history. (Mordtmann 1925: 300-301)

The devastation caused by the 1855 earthquake remained quite visible to the French traveler, Georges Perrot, who visited the city in June, 1857:

Almost all the houses suffered from the earthquake, the houses of the Turks as much as those of the Christians. For the most part, they were rebuilt in haste after the disaster, as they are of very poor appearance. The city is entirely [made] of mud and [wooden] boards. One asks oneself how these one- or two-storied shacks can resist a storm or even rain showers. The most miserable ones are those in the Jewish quarter, to the west of the *Bazar*; one would not believe what is left of the women and children, lying one on top of another, among cushions, in a very little room—our streams are not more swarming with fish in spawning time. (Perrot 1864: 60)

Similarly, the Englishwoman Emily Anne Beaufort came to Bursa in July, 1859, and recorded the following impressions of the aftermath of this quake:

But the glory of Broussa is in its mosques...and as a mosque or the ruins of one is seen literally at every twenty yards throughout the town, it is not unlikely that the reputed 360 may be counted. They are continually destroyed by the earthquakes, and as neither the rents in the walls are repaired, nor is it considered right to remove the ruins of a mosque, but a new one is immediately built up to replace the fallen one, they increase in number very rapidly, and a marked feature in the characteristics of the place is this contrast of gay, brightly-painted houses, brilliant and gaudy bazaars, and handsome, finely-ornamented mosques and baths, with the masses of ruin and tatteredness intervening at every step. It was something quite new, an innovation on hitherto invariable custom, that the most ancient of all the mosques had just been restored: this was the Ulu Jami: the dome had fallen in, though the minaret, which is very pretty, had not been touched... (Beaufort 1874: 534-535)

Beaufort seems to have been unaware that the brightly painted houses she saw were newly rebuilt, and that the ruined mosques were awaiting restoration.

Even decades later, the effects of this disastrous earthquake were visible to the English traveler, Henry Barkley, who visited the city in 1878:

Having heard much of the beauty of the mosques here, we hired two diminutive donkeys in the afternoon and, with our cavas in attendance, started to inspect the one said to be the most beautiful, and after jolting and stumbling over the stones of the miserably paved Turkish quarter for a mile, reached the 'Green Mosque', which stands on a small mound overlooking the town and plain. Externally, there is not much worth seeing, nor is there any architectural beauty about it. In 1855 is was greatly shaken by the earthquake, and to this day large rents and cracks gape open all over the walls. (Barkley 1891: 31-32)

Thirty years later, in 1885, the visitor, Mrs. Mary T. Walker, described the progress made in restoring the city following the earthquake:

> Broussa in the present time is a city restored and renovated. Those only who knew it in its former desolate condition can fully appreciate all that it owes to the energetic governor of the province, Ahmet Vefyk Pasha. By the terrible earthquake of 1855, Broussa was shaken to its foundations: the mosques and minarets half thrown down, large spinning factories destroyed, even the course of the mineral springs disturbed; the city was impoverished and ruined. At that time, no better means of conveyance existed than miserable 'talikas' on an almost impassable track, and one hotel sufficed for the small number of adventurous travellers. The Broussa of to-day has arisen from its ruins. Gradually, the fine remains of monuments that once adorned this cradle of the empire have been repaired with the utmost taste and skill, while the welfare of the modern city has been studied with equal solicitude. (Walker 1886: 107)

It is clear that it took decades to erase the devastation wrought by the 1855 quake, and that the provincial governor, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, must be credited with this accomplishment.

5

A TALE OF TWO SWORDS: THE LEGENDS OF ROLAND AND ABDAL MURAD

Travelers to Bursa over the centuries were much taken with its hot springs, flora and fauna, Mount Olympus, tombs and mosques, and dervish lodges. Their accounts shed considerable light on two relic swords, those associated with Roland and Abdal Murad, and the cult centered on the dervish lodge founded by Abdal Murad, which form the subject of this chapter. Virtually ignored in two of the most important books on the city (Barkan-Meriçli 1988, Gerber 1988), travelers' accounts provide exactly the kind of evidence crucial to an understanding of legends that played significant roles in the lives of Bursa's inhabitants. Here, we will examine such evidence regarding the Bursan legends of the swords of Roland, the legendary hero of the 11th century French epic *La Chanson de Roland*, and Abdal Murad, a companion of Sultan Orhan who conquered the city in the 14th century. In particular, the 16th century account of Reinhold Lubenau will illustrate the importance of this genre for the study of Bursa's history.

The first visitor to mention the existence of a relic sword in the city was the Frenchman Pierre Belon in 1546. His work contains the following relevant passage:

> And still today Bourse is as rich and as populated as Constantinople and we may even say that it is even wealthier and more populated. To this day the big sword of Roland still hangs at the door of the Bourse castle. The Turks keep it as dear as some relic: because they think that Roland was a Turk, at least if what the man in the street thinks can be true. (Belon 1555: 204)

While there can be no doubt that Belon, writing for a French audience, was referring to the legendary sword (known as Darandal) of Roland, the companion of Charlemagne, who his informant concerning Turkish beliefs about this sword may have been is unknown. Bearing in mind that those few travelers to the city who did name their informants, invariably mentioned one or another of the local Christian (Greek or Armenian) or Jewish inhabitants, it seems plausible to assume that Belon's "man in the street" was a member of one of these communities. If so, Belon may have been told a Christian legend which his informant attributed to the city's Muslims.

Almost a century later, around 1640, the Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, in describing the tomb of Abdal Murad, commented on the existence of a second relic sword that likewise played an important role among the Muslim population of Bursa:

> Şeyh Hazret-i Abdal Murad: was one of the Holy Men [*eren*] from Horasan who participated in the conquest of Bursa. He was one of the saints lost in God. His tomb is located to the south of Bursa in a woods overlooking the city. In his tomb [*türbe*] is a sword three cubits in length. Sultan Ahmed had one cubit cut from this sword and transferred to the Treasury. (Evliya Çelebi 1846/50: 24, Evliya Çelebi 1986: 423)

In still another passage, where he describes the *tekke* [dervish lodge] which bore the name of Abdal Murad, Evliya added the following details:

> The *tekke* of Abdal Murad Sultan of the *Bektaşis*: is located in a beautiful spot carpeted by grass, which overlooks Bursa. Visitors to this beautiful walk are served by men in fervent piety, who are barefooted, bareheaded and with uncovered breasts. This *tekke* was built by Orhan Gazi. It contains over a thousand kettles, pots and copper vessels which have been donated to it. Visitors perform their devotions there. (Evliya Çelebi 1846/50: 8, Evliya Çelebi 1986: 403)

Were we to accept the accounts of Belon and Evliya Çelebi at face value, we could assume that, in the 16th century, the sword of a Christian warrior named Roland was displayed over the entrance to the Bursa castle (Belon), and that, three generations later, the sword of one of the city's Muslim conquerors likewise had taken on the character of a relic and was displayed in his tomb (Evliya Çelebi). Furthermore, the *türbe* [tomb] of Abdal Murad, attached to a *Bektaşi tekke* bearing his name, had become a site frequently visited by supplicants who donated a variety of kitchenware to it. Finally, both the *türbe* and the *tekke* were located in a beautiful wooded area to the south of the city on the slopes of the Bithynian Mount Olympus.

Within a generation of Evliya Çelebi's visit, these two legends evidently had become interwoven in the memory of Bursans. Thus, when the French traveler Jean Thevénot visited the city in 1665, he was told a lengthy fable concerning the origins of the Bursa castle, according to which it allegedly had been founded by the leprous daughter of a Byzantine Emperor who, having been miraculously cured of her affliction in the natural hot springs of the region, requested assistance from her father to build a retreat, namely, the Bursa castle. Thevénot's narration of this legend continues:

> And because the Saracens [Turks] were bothering her with their raids, she asked for help from her father, who sent her some men under the leadership of one Roland or Orland, a very strong and robust man. He was also very valiant and killed many Saracens.

> Close by the town there is a hill, on the top of which a Turkish hermit lives in a Chapel; that Chapel is enclosed with good walls and iron gates. But for a small present of a few aspres, the hermit let me in, and showed me the sword of the aforesaid Roland, which is about seven inches broad. It is four feet long (I mean the blade of it alone), for the handle is almost a foot long; and they say, that this is but one half of the blade, the other half being in the Grand Signior's [Sultan's] Treasury. It is so heavy that it is as much as one can do to hold it out with one hand. Near to this sword is the mace of arms of the same Roland, which is an iron baton, twice as thick as one's thumb, and about two feet long. The handle of it is covered with copper, which makes it very big, and the end of it is armed with a great lion of copper. In the same Chapel [*türbe*] there are two coffins, each covered with a pall of black velvet, and at the end of each of them there is a turban. They say, that in these coffins, are the bodies of Roland and his son, who (as they believe) both died as Muslims. The sword and mace of arms lie on a table just before the tombs.
>
> The top of the hill is but narrow, but very pleasant, there being a little woods upon it: and the Turks go often there to feast and make merry. (Thevénot 1686: 89)

Accepting Thevénot's account, we could conclude that sometime between Belon's visit in 1546 and that of Evliya Çelebi in 1640, the legend attached to the Sword of Roland had been transferred from the Christian warrior to the Muslim mystic Abdal Murad. Accordingly, the sword of the Christian warrior Roland was removed from above the entrance of the Bursa castle, and placed in the tomb of the Muslim saint Abdal Murad, for there can be little doubt that the site described by Evliya Çelebi and Thevénot are one and the same. The only difference in their descriptions is that, in 1640, Evliya Çelebi reported that the tomb contained the remains of Abdal Murad together with his giant sword, whereas, in 1656, Thevénot stated that the tomb contained the remains of the warrior Roland and his son (both of whom reportedly had converted to Islam), as well as Roland's sword which he described in terms identical to those used by Evliya Çelebi for that of Abdal Murad (including the fact that a part of the sword's blade had been transferred to the Imperial Treasury). Thevénot, in addition, provided a description of Roland's lion-headed copper-enclosed mace which also was preserved in the tomb.

Already somewhat confusing, the legend soon became even more complicated. Early in the 18th century, Bursalı Belig, a local recorder of Bursan history and the lives of its Muslim saints, added a new dimension to the story. In his *Güldeste-i Riyaz-i 'İrfan*, he described the tomb of Abdal Murad in a manner which, while fully confirming Thevénot's account of it as containing a giant sword and mace, leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that he regarded it to be a purely Muslim site:

> Abdal Murad was one of the forty Abdals who came from Bukhara prior to the conquest of Bursa. Abdal Murad came to Bursa prior to its conquest and settled in the place where he is now buried. He had a donkey and when it was necessary he would send the donkey to the Zindan [prison] Gate of the Bursa castle. The Christians in the castle who believed in his Holiness would fill the donkey's saddlebags with food. In the course of Orhan's conquest of the city, he, together with the other Abdals and Alp Erens, assisted his army. After the conquest, when he died, he was buried in the same place. He had a giant sword with which he fought. One third of this holy sword (which still lies in his tomb) was taken by Sultan Süleyman and placed in his Treasury as a holy relic. Together with this sword there is a bronze mace in the shape of a snake which is also preserved in the tomb. There is a legend about this mace: in the reign of Orhan two dragons rose out of the sea and wrecked great havoc on the villagers who lived along the coast. Eventually they complained to Orhan who in turn assigned Abdal Murad to resolve the problem. Abdal Murad went to the coast and with a loud shout summoned the dragons from the sea. He then killed them with one blow. Orhan's men who had accompanied him poured each of them into a bronze mold. In this fashion were shaped the two maces, one of which is in the Treasury and the other of which remains in the tomb. (Bursalı Belig 1884: 212-213)

Bursalı Belig's account opens the intriguing possibility that Thevénot's insistence that the original possessor of the sword and mace had been a Christian warrior named Roland who ultimately converted to Islam and died a Muslim, thereby entering the city's folklore, in fact may contain a kernel of truth. Could it be that Roland and Abdal Murad were one and the same individual? Or, stated differently, that the Roland of the city's Christians was the Abdal Murad of its Muslim inhabitants? For Belig, despite naming Abdal Murad as one of the forty Bukharan Abdals, likewise situated him as a Muslim holy man living on the slopes of Mount Olympus prior to the Ottoman conquest of the city in the early 1320s. Not only did he place Abdal Murad in pre-Ottoman Bursa, but he likewise characterized him as a venerated figure among the city's Byzantine Christian inhabitants. Needless to say, the origin of the myth of Roland's sword must be sought in the history of the late Byzantine period of the city. Can it be that in the 18th century both the Muslims and the Christians of Bursa were venerating the same site, albeit linking it to two different individuals? While we may never gain an answer to this question, at least we have sufficient sources to piece together the subsequent fate of Abdal Murad's tomb and its giant sword.

The next western traveler who reported seeing the Sword of Roland in the tomb of Abdal Murad was the Frenchman Tournefort in 1701:

> In a Turkish Chapel [i.e. *türbe*] near the city, they keep an old very large sword, which they pretend was Roland's sword. The Chapel stands upon an eminence on the southwest side [of the city]. (Tournefort 1718: 356)

Our most detailed description of the dervish order associated with Abdal Murad, the lodge of which was located next to his tomb, is that provided by the Italian Dominique Sestini, who visited the site in 1779:

> The day was so beautiful and the countryside so charming in this season, that we could not resist a desire to take a morning horseback ride and visit a tekie [*tekke*], or derviches [*dervi*ş] lodge, which is perched on a hill overlooking the city. It is named Abdalla-murad, Murad, the slave of God, and the order of the derviches are called the Abdalli.
>
> These monks belong to the institution of the Hagi-bektasce [Hacı Bektaş], that is of the grande-manche [big sleeve?]. The founder of the tekie was a certain was a certain Abdalla-murad, who is buried in a Chapel [*türbe*] next to the derviche lodge in which is preserved an enormous sheath made of leather (its as long as two arms and as wide as one sixth [of an arm]). The sheath contains the sword of a certain Scief [?*Şeyh*], who carried it undoubtedly as a sign of the defense of religion. I don't know for certain by whom it was actually carried, because there are some travelers who say that this sheath was that of the sword of Roland, but I'm not forcing you to believe that.
>
> These Derviches, who numbered seven or eight, were dressed in white, and their heads were covered by a hood which was attached to their tunics. They have a special talisman, some made of green alabaster, others of which or green jasper that they hang on their necks and that they never take off [the *teslim taş* worn by the *Bektaşıs*]. There are some who attach it to their ears for devotional purposes. They live off of the alms which they never ask for, but which they will take if it is proffered without design or planning. They only thank you with an e-yallab [*sic*! for *eyvallah*], which signifies, more or less: may God return it to you; for the rest, they do not recognize Mohammed as their Prophet and they never invoke his name in their prayers. In sum, they are a sect of fanatics as are all the others.
>
> Located on this hill, at the foot of which stretches out the whole city of Brusse, one enjoys a magnificent view. The plain of Brusse with its pleasant greenery and the mountains appear to be arranged with respect to Mount Olympus and offers an entrancing prospect. (Sestini 1789: 111-113)

Sestini's account makes clear that in the late 18th century, the *tekke* and *türbe* of Abdal Murad were important pilgrimage sites in Bursa. Although he appears to have been a bit confused about the legend attached to the sword, claiming that it was the sword of a certain "Scief," he nonetheless provided us with details of the dress and devotional practices of the dervishes who resided in the *Bektaşi tekke* of Abdal Murad. His account

further complicates the legend by raising the possibility that it was the sheath rather than the sword itself which was associated with Roland. In the end, he disassociated himself from the Roland legend with his remark that, although other travelers had linked the sheath to Roland, he would not insist on this.

In 1804, the future Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall], then a young scholar, visited the city. His lengthy description of Bursa includes a rather garbled segment about Abdal Murad that attempts to reconcile the Ottoman chronicle traditions with the accounts of Evliya Çelebi and earlier European visitors to Bursa. On Abdal Murad and the legend of the Sword of Roland, he wrote the following:

> Abdal Murad, that is the 'Crazy Murad,' a dervish from Khorassan who participated in the conquest of Brussa, and who is buried in his monastery at the foot of Olympus in a beautiful spot which carries his name. On display here is his wooden sword which European travelers consider to be the 'Durindana' of the raging Roland, confusing the wooden sword of the crazy dervish with the steel one of the raging 'Paladine;' such holy swords, even if only wooden, served the first Ottoman Sultans not any less than the steel swords which they set into action by their example. Sultan Ahmed I acknowledged this [for the state] useful superstition by cutting off one 'Elle' of this three-elle long sword and sending it as a relic to the Imperial Treasury in Constantinople for safekeeping. (Hammer 1818: 57)

A century after Tournefort, as visitors before him, had described the heavy steel sword of Abdal Murad, Hammer clearly viewed a wooden sword that had taken its place. Moreover, subsequent visitors to Bursa only described a wooden sword.

Several other travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries mentioned the tomb of Abdal Murad, but in the context of its location at the end of a beautiful walk and as a pleasant site for picnicking and gathering to the southwest of the city. Even Evliya Çelebi had described the site in 1640 in such terms: "Abdal Murad Sultan...is buried on the south side of the city in a pleasant place, which at the same time is a pleasure garden for the inhabitants of Bursa" (1846/50: 24). In another passage, Evliya elaborated:

> The Abdal Murad Sultan Promenade: is located in a valley on a high hill on the slopes of Mount Olympus, from which the whole city can be seen. It is such a relaxing, grassy area that it is as if God had covered the earth with green velvet. Here stand Plane trees, Willows, Cypresses and Box trees of such immense height that ten thousand people can rest in their shade. From some of these trees hang vines which support a number of swings. Friends and lovers swing each other. In some spots there are benches and prayer niches where the devout gather... It is a place to relax

> with beautiful water and breeze. (Evliya Çelebi 1846/50: 14, Evliya Çelebi 1986: 409-410)

An Ottoman contemporary, Katib Çelebi, was satisfied to add laconically: "Abdal Murad's grave and dervish lodge [*tekke*] are located in a pleasant excursion site [*mesire*]" (1732: 657).

Western visitors to the site in the 19th century without exception were impressed by the beauty of its location. Most prominently, Julia Pardoe devoted four pages of glowing prose in her account to describing the *mesire* (1838: 197-201). Others to mention the tomb of Abdal Murad included Jerningham (1873: 222), Scholer (1893: 123, 125) and Cuinet (1895: 128-129). Of these later visitors, only two (Scholer and Cuinet) took note of the sword which, as Hammer was the first to remark, had "miraculously" turned into wood.

Scholer, who lived in Bursa as a British Vice-Consul in the early 1890s, in a description of the city he wrote for the 1893 edition of *Murray's Handbook for Travelers in Constantinople, Brusa and the Troad*, wrote the following:

> The tombs of Babas, Dedehs, Abdals, and Sultans are innumerable. Amongst the most celebrated are those of Geyikli Baba, 'Father of the Stags,' who accompanied Orhan on his campaigns; Ramazan Baba, a Bektash dervish; Abdal Murad, 'Simple Murad,' who was present at the capture of Brusa, and whose wooden sword is still shown. (Scholer 1893: 125)

One year later, the French statistician, Vital Cuinet, added the following remark:

> Among the many tombs of Muslim saints...is that of Abd el-Mourad [Abdal Murad], in which is displayed his sword of wood, which several travelers, due to an error which is difficult to comprehend, have confounded with the famous 'Dardanal,' the sword of Roland, nephew of Charlemagne. (Cuinet 1895: IV, 128)

The reference to "several travelers" suggests that Cuinet was familiar with the works of Belon, Thevénot and Tournefort, and yet he failed to realize that, had his French predecessors seen a wooden sword, in all likelihood, they also would not have associated it with the legendary Sword of Roland. Europeans understood the phrase "Sword of Roland" as referring, not to any sword belonging to any Roland, but to the mighty steel sword which had belonged to the Roland of "La Chanson de Roland." Indeed, travelers from Belon through Thevénot to Tournefort (all Frenchmen) had this national epic in mind when they described the legend they encountered in Bursa. They knew their French audience would be familiar with

the 8th century legend of Roland and therefore would be interested in learning that this legendary hero's sword had found its way to the first Ottoman capital.

The first and, to date, only scholar to examine some of the recountings of this legend by travelers was F. W. Hasluck, the British archeologist and Orientalist whose *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* (1929) remains a valuable resource for anyone interested in Anatolian folk religious practices. After extensive fieldwork in Anatolia between the years 1899 and 1916 (including several visits to Bursa), Hasluck began to explore the manner in which Christian and Muslim folklores were interwoven in Asia Minor. Given this aim, it is not surprising that travelers' descriptions of the Bursan legend of the Sword of Roland would intrigue him. References to this legend, as well as to travelers, may be found throughout his work (1929: I, 230, fns. 3-5 [citing Belong Evliya Çelebi, Tournefort, Sestini], 306, fn. 4 [citing Belon and Thevénot]). Essentially, Hasluck drew the logical conclusion that the legends around the sword reflected the transformation of a Christian relic (the sword of Roland) into a Muslim one (the sword of Abdal Murad):

> The famous sword called by 'Franks' the 'Sword of Roland' originally hung over a gate of the citadel of Brusa and later became associated with the dervish warrior-saint Abdal Murad and was deposited at his tomb. (Hasluck 1929: I, 230)

The renown scholar Fuat Köprülü simply repeated the views of earlier travelers and scholars in his entry on Abdal Murad in the *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* (1935: 60). In another work, however, Köprülü evidently relied on the presentation of these legends in Hammer's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* to fashion a somewhat confusing account in which he variously attributed the sword to Geyikli Baba, Abdal Musa and Abdal Murad (1976: 254, fn. 110; cf. Hammer 1835: I, 154-155). In this version, the scholar bestowed upon Abdal Murad the wooden sword of Geyikli Baba and identified Sultan Süleyman as the ruler who transferred one-third of Geyikli Baba's sword to the Imperial Treasury.

In fact, it may have been Hammer's mingling of several legends concerning the roles played by various "Babas" and "Abdals" in the 14th century conquest of Bursa that gave rise to the contention in the accounts of Scholer and Cuinet that the sword in the tomb of Abdal Murad was wooden. After all, a series of earlier eye-witnesses had averred that the sword was made of heavy steel, so heavy in fact "that it is as much as one can do to hold it out with one hand" (Thevénot 1686: 89). Hasluck collected legends about several wooden swords associated with a variety of Muslim saints, including the sword of Sarı Saltuk (1929: II, 435), but none

of those legends suggested that the swords of Roland and/or Abdal Murad were made of anything but steel.

We might be left in this confused state were it not for the extremely valuable 16th century account of the German Reinhold Lubenau, hardly utilized up to now (cited only by Gabriel 1958). Although published centuries after his visit to Bursa in 1588 under the title *Beschreibung der Reisen der Reinhold Lubenau* (1915), his account provides extensive materials relevant to the legends about the swords of Roland and Abdal Murad which aid us in clearing away some of the confusion regarding them.

In his description of the upper city of Bursa, Lubenau remarked that "On the gate to the palace hangs the big sword of Roland. The Turks say he was a Turk and helped Orhan in conquering the city. The Turks honor it [the sword] a great deal" (1915: 76-77). This passage establishes that the Sword of Roland continued to hang above one of the city's gates as late as 1588, or four decades after Belon first noticed it there. But, by far Lubenau's most relevant observations are those he made concerning the Abdal Murad cult. In his chapter entitled "Description of the Tomb of Abdal Murad on a Promontory of Mount Olympus," he wrote:

> We also took a walk to the tomb of one of their supposed saints, whom they call Abdal Murath [Murad], which means Crazy Murad. But the Turks take it to mean Holy Murad, or Slave of God Murad. And Murad means in Latin the same as Desiderus, in Greek Erasmus, and in German the same as the Desired One, or the Much Beloved. The Turks call him Seithi Abdal Murath [Seydi Abdal Murad]. His tomb is situated pretty high up on the mountain in a very pleasant spot, from which one is able to overlook the entire panorama of the city and the pleasant and pretty imperial quarter, as well as the plateau around the city. The city stretches about a large German mile in length and width.
>
> This Murad was supposedly a grandee of Orhan at the time of the conquest of the city of Brussa. At the tomb, a very large and wide sword is shown and kept in a rough calf skin, inside of which is a special scabbard. The sword is eight large hand spans long and a good hand span wide; and it is so heavy that one can barely hold it up with two hands. Their supposed Holy Men or Dervishes carry this very large sword to a large holy place and then around the Turkish towns and collect donations for the poor with it. For they say that the aforementioned Abdal Murad split rock with it, and that the rock and the grooves in it can still be seen when one walks up and down from the city going to and from the mentioned tomb. But it is obvious to anyone that the grooves are not hewn or cut, but natural. With a fabricated superstition, they claim that anyone, be it Turk, Jew, Christian, man or woman, who visits the tomb and leaves or donates something to it in his memory will reap benefit from so doing. Supposedly, a big snake makes herself appear in the aforementioned grooves when one is descending from the tomb [if the wish is to be

granted]; but if not [to be granted], she is not seen. Each of us took something up to make a wish with. I since, I did not want to stay in Constantinople but wanted to depart that fall from my master, wished to be able to take a journey by sea via Venice back to my homeland. And although I did not see any snake, may plans found success, praise be to God the Eternal, the Almighty; glory, honor and gratitude in eternity and eternity. Amen.

We also were shown a mace, 'Pusikan' in Turkish [i.e. *bozdoğan*], and called Streitkolben' in German, and which weighed in our measures over twenty-four pounds. On top, it had a lion, with each of its four paws cast in copper, as was also its grip. But its shaft was of iron and thus so heavy that a man could not hold it with one hand, and which Abdal Murad supposedly carried with him in battle...

We also were shown a very large Paternoster [Prayer Beads] with red corals the size of Duracinus apples. Below it was attached a mirror which is supposedly made from a precious stone and is set in gold. I wrote an epithet:

> Here lies buried Abdal Murad
> Who was eaten by ravens.
> [*Hier leidt Abdal Murath begraben*
> *den gefressen haben die Raben*]

The priest thought I wrote my name or something important. (Lubenau 1915: 85-87)

Lubenau's account, clearly the most important report on the Bursan cult of Abdal Murad to have survived, completely unclouds the issue of the swords of Roland and Abdal Murad, for he saw them both in 1588. This report establishes that two originally separate sword tales had merged into a single legend by the time of Thevénot's visit in 1656: one legend concerned the sword of the Christian warrior, Roland, which hung over the gateway of the city's palace; a second, distinctly Muslim tale concerned the sword of Abdal Murad, which rested in his *türbe* [tomb]. In the following century, these two legends became intertwined and the Roland and Abdal Murad cults merged into one.

In another section of his account, Lubenau added one more interesting detail regarding the Abdal Murad legend. In describing a visit to a Muslim dervish lodge on Mount Olympus, he wrote that next to the dervishes "resides one called Azem Baba, the highest father, who every year calls together all the Dervishes, Delis and Turkish monks and Holy men and holds a synod by the grave of Abdal Murad" (Lubenau 1915: 79).

Assisted by the wealth of information provided by Lubenau, we now have the opportunity to re-examine the accounts of the other travelers (Muslim and Christian) in its light. The picture which emerges, while not answering the question of how a sword associated in the minds of some

with that of the legendary 8th century Christian warrior, Roland, was commingled with one which was to become a key component of the flourishing Abdal Murad cult in Bursa, nonetheless provides insights into the exact nature of the practices associated with the Abdal Murad cult in the late 16th century. What we have learned from the travelers' accounts may be summarized in the following way.

Between the years 1546 and 1588, there indeed was a large sword displayed above the gateway leading into the Bursa palace (Belon, Lubenau). Informants who guided European visitors around the city apparently linked this sword to that of the French hero, Roland, and further claimed that it was an object of veneration to the Turks (Belon, Lubenau). Likewise, the same visitors were told that the Turks viewed Roland as having been a Turk (Belon, Lubenau) who assisted the Ottoman ruler Orhan in conquering the city in 1326 (Lubenau).

Thevénot's account of the Byzantine Princess who was assisted in her battles against the Saracens (i.e. Turks) by a warrior named Orlando or Roland, may well provide the clue to Belon's later confusion (which he passed on to subsequent visitors). What Belon took to be the sword of the French Roland may well have been that of the Orlando or Roland of Thevénot's account. In other words, when Belon heard that the Turks believed the sword hanging over the Gateway of the Palace to be that of Roland, he probably assumed that they meant the legendary hero of *La Chanson de Roland*. In point of fact, the Roland described to him by his informant more likely was an early 14th century Catalan mercenary named Orlando (Roland), whose exploits had found their way into the city's folklore (see Goodenough 1921).

From at least as early as 1588 (Lubenau) until 1779 (Sestini), there likewise was a large steel sword and a copper-covered iron mace displayed in the tomb of Abdal Murad, which was located next to a *Bektaşı* dervish lodge bearing his name. These sites were built next to each other on the slope of Mount Olympus to the southwest of the city (Lubenau, Evliya Çelebi, Thevénot, Bursalı Belig).

Beginning in 1640, with the visit of Evliya Çelebi, all travelers who mentioned the Sword of Roland located it in the tomb of Abdal Murad. Similarly, all those who described the Sword of Abdal Murad stated that it was located in his tomb.

Almost all of the visitors who described the sword in Abdal Murad's tomb took note of the fact that approximately one-third of it was missing. Some ascribed this to the transfer of the missing segment to the Imperial Treasury by Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617) (Evliya Çelebi, Hammer), while others attribute it to Kanuni Süleyman (1520-1566) (Bursalı Belig); at least one traveler simply noted that it was missing (Thevénot). Because Lubenau, in 1588, described the sword as a complete weapon, one "so

heavy that one can barely hold it up with two hands," it would appear that Evliya Çelebi's account of the missing piece to an action taken by Ahmed I is the correct one, because if Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) had removed it, Lubenau could not have seen the whole sword.

The *tekke* [dervish lodge] of Abdal Murad was a *Bektaşı* lodge (Evliya Çelebi, Sestini), which was built by Orhan Gazi in the 14th century (Evliya Çelebi). This *tekke* was a site of religious pilgrimage and the tomb of Abdal Murad lying adjacent to it was one of the most venerated (by Muslims and Christians alike) religious sites in the city. By 1640, pilgrims had donated over 1,000 kitchen utensils (Lubenau, Evliya Çelebi), following a custom that both Muslim and Christian visitors donated such items and then made wishes (Lubenau) in the course of their devotions (Evliya Çelebi).

By the late 16th century a significant religious cult had developed around the legend of Abdal Murad, one in which an annual gathering took place of all of the dervishes in the region (summoned by their leader 'Azim Baba) at the tomb of Abdal Murad in which his sword was displayed. As part of the ceremony, the sword was removed, taken to a holy place and then carried throughout various Turkish towns in Anatolia as a means of collecting alms for the poor (Lubenau). This practice recalls similar practices surrounding the display of the relics of Christian saints in late Medieval Europe.

Closely linked to the rise of the Abdal Murad cult was the spectacular beauty of the site where his tomb and the associated dervish lodge were located. Situated on a promontory on the slope of Mount Olympus which overlooks the city, this site became one of Bursa's favorite gathering spots, described in glowing terms by a variety of travelers from the 16th through the 19th centuries (Lubenau, Evliya Çelebi, Katib Çelebi, Thevénot, Tournefort, Bursalı Belig, Sestini, Von Hammer, Julia Pardoe, etc.).

By the mid-17th century the Bursan legends of the swords of Roland and Abdal Murad had become interwoven in local folklore (Thevénot). Roland now was portrayed as a Muslim warrior who had assisted Orhan Gazi in the conquest of the city. His remains, together with his sword and mace, were shown and described to some visitors in the same terms that the same artifacts and the legend of Abdal Murad were presented. Moreover, visitors who heard these two similar accounts were shown the tomb of Abdal Murad as representing that of Roland and his son. In short, it appears that the Christian turned Muslim warrior (Roland) and the Central Asian dervish companion of Orhan Gazi (Abdal Murad) had merged into one and the same figure in the Bursan collective memory (Thevénot, Bursalı Belig).

At some point between the visit of Sestini in 1779 and that of Hammer in 1804, the steel sword was removed from the tomb of Abdal Murad

and subsequently replaced by a wooden replica. Whether it was stolen, or perhaps lost while on its annual pilgrimage from town to town in search of donations for the poor, is unknown. In any case, it was the wooden replica which Hammer, Scholer and Cuinet described in the 19th century.

By the early 20th century, the stories of Roland and Abdal Murad were so interwoven that even a scholar as perceptive as Hasluck could conclude that "the famous sword called by the Franks the Sword of Roland originally hung over a gate of the citadel of Brusa and later became associated with the dervish warrior-saint Abdal Murad and was deposited at his tomb"(1929: I, 230).

One thing is certain: the 14th century Muslim warrior-saint, Abdal Murad, was a key figure in the religious history of the city of Bursa for half a millennium. The tomb built in his honor by the city's conqueror, Orhan Gazi, his sword and mace which were housed within it, the adjacent dervish lodge, the beautiful excursion area located by the tomb and dervish lodge, as well as the religious rituals associated with the memory of Abdal Murad—all these were an integral part of the religious observances and collective memories of Bursans for fifteen generations.

We may presume that this remained the case until the closing of the dervish lodges in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1925). Without the infrastructure provided by the functioning *Bektaşı* lodge, the tomb fell into ruin and the memory of the warrior-saint who had participated in the city's conquest began to fade away.

So completely was Abdal Murad erased from the collective memory of the people of Bursa, that one looks in vain for any reference to his tomb, lodge, sword, mace or excursion area in the plethora of local histories published in the past century (see Baykal 1950, Dara 1997, Kaplanoğlu 1994, Kaplanoğlu 1996, Kara 1990, Kara 1993, Koyunluoğlu 1937, Okyay 1996, Pay 1996, Turyan 1982, Turyan 1989, Uzer 1945, Yenal 1996, Yücelt 1948). Indeed, the work published under the title *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler* (1983) by the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, which describes every conceivable religious or historical monument in the city, only contains the following laconic note:

> Abdal Murad came from Buhara prior to the conquest and fought in various battles in the region. He has an important place among the saints of Bursa. His grave is on the slopes of Uludağ above the lime kilns, in a spot where stands a single cypress tree. In the past his grave was enclosed with a tomb of which nothing whatsoever remains at present. (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü 1983: 302)

To the extent that this study has served to revive the memory of the role of Abdal Murad in the Ottoman history of Bursa, it has done so due to the survival of the accounts left by various travelers to the city between

the years 1326 and 1923. Just as these accounts have allowed us to reconstruct the legend and cult of Abdal Murad, they also provide access to a myriad of other forgotten facets of Bursa's history.

6

HANDLIST OF TRAVEL ACCOUNTS, 1326-1923

With the opening of the Ottoman archives in İstanbul to the scholarly community some fifty years ago, academic attention understandably shifted from the traditional sources for the writing of Ottoman history (chronicles, diplomatic reports, traveler accounts, etc.) to the official records of the state itself. When it became known that up to 100 million documents covering all periods of Ottoman rule were preserved in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* a generation of young scholars (myself included) began making the pilgrimage to İstanbul in an effort to uncover the long buried "truth." A perusal of the scholarship which has emerged as a result of these efforts fully confirms the importance of this approach. At the same time, it raises the disturbing possibility that the pendulum indeed has swung too far in the opposite direction. Thus, our absorption with Ottoman documents, which is intensified due to the greater expenditure of time and effort required to attempt to decipher their contents, may have led to a neglect of the other genres of sources which likewise must be plumbed in the research phase of any study purporting to deal comprehensively with the Ottoman Empire. One such genre is the extant corpus of travel literature, penned by visitors to the Ottoman lands in all periods.

In the course of researching this study of the first Ottoman capital, the city of Bursa (Brusa) in Bithynia, I began to realize that the relevant travel literature is vast (this preliminary "Handlist" includes some 180 visitors who wrote about their impressions of the city), and that modern scholars have underutilized this literature (fewer than 50 of the relevant accounts have been cited in the secondary literature on the city). Two examples may serve to illustrate this latter conclusion.

In 1984, Suraiya Faroqhi published an important study entitled *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*. A pioneering study of Ottoman urban life, this work's "Bibliography" lists only four of the eighteen travelers who visited Bursa (and many other Anatolian towns) in the period of 130 years which her work covers. Given the fact that not all visitors to Anatolia traveled to Bursa, the omissions are even more significant. Notably absent are references to the important accounts of visitors between 1520 and

1650 such as the Frenchman Pierre Belon ([16] in the survey below), the German Stephan Gerlach [20], the Englishman John Newberie [24], the Ottoman Mehmed Âşık [26], the German Reinhold Lubenau [28], the French envoy Jean de Gontaut-Biron [30] and the Belgian Vincent de Stochove [31]. Faroqhi's use of the extant travel literature is far more extensive than most of her colleagues, inasmuch as she utilizes the accounts of over twenty other visitors in periods outside the immediate time frame she is concerned with. Moreover, she has done a commendable job of extracting data from a wide variety of Ottoman archival materials, including the *tahrir defter*s [cadastral tax surveys], the *mühimme defter*s [registers of outgoing orders], and the *kadı sicilleri* [records of the *kadı* courts]. However, the kind of data preserved in administrative documents limits her portrait of Ottoman urban life to certain colors. For instance, her work does not deal with the *bozahane*, one of the most important urban social institutions of the Ottoman world in the 15th-17th centuries. The *bozahane*s were sites in every city where the slightly fermented millet drink known as *boza* was produced and consumed. This oversight is difficult to comprehend given the frequency with which the *tahrir defter*s list taxes on the *bozahane*s in Anatolian towns and cities. As early as May 21, 1484, a rental agreement preserved in the first extant *kadı sicilleri* for Bursa lists no less than six such establishments in the quarters of the Balık Pazarı, Odalar, Setbaşı, Galle Pazarı, Tahtakale and At Pazari, each of which is leased from the *vakıf* [religious foundation] of Hacı Kasım (İnalcık 1980/81: 18, 71).

The likelihood of such an oversight would have diminished considerably had greater use been made of the relevant travel literature. Travelers often mentioned the institution of the *bozahane* in terms which leave little doubt as to its importance as an urban institution. In the course of his visit to Bursa around 1640, the Ottoman Evliya Çelebi observed the following:

> There are also no less than ninety-seven Bozahanes, which are not to be equaled in the world; they are wainscoted with faience, painted, each capable of accommodating one thousand men. In summer the Boza is cooled in ice, like sherbet; the principal men of the town are not ashamed to enter these Bozahanes, although an abundance of youths, dancers and singers, wrapped in Bursa girdles, here entice, their lovers to ruin. (Evliya Çelebi 1846/50: 13)

Had Faroqhi uncovered this passage in Evliya Çelebi (most of which was censored in the published version of his work cited in her "Bibliography"), I feel confident that she would have discussed it along with other important places for social gathering, such as the *meyhane*s [wineshops] and *kahvehane*s [coffeehouses] (Faroqhi 1984: 70-71).

A second example of the importance of travel literature to research concerns the single-most important monograph to appear on the city of Bursa, namely, Haim Gerber's *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City, 1600-1700* (1988). In the 17th century, there were a total of eighteen visitors to the city who left accounts of their observations. Of these eighteen, not a single one is listed in the "Bibliography" of Gerber's monograph (although Evliya Çelebi is mentioned in a footnote). Even a glance at the section on 17th century visitors to Bursa in this preliminary "Handlist" [29-46] will indicate the potentially negative effect on Gerber's otherwise valuable research. Based primarily on the surviving records of local court cases tried before the *kadı*, his study is most bare when dealing with the actual impact which the economic institutions made on the lives of people.

A case in point is his treatment of the guild of the silk dyers (Gerber 1988: 44, 52, 58, 63, 65). While he cites several court cases involving members of this guild, there is nothing in his work to suggest the importance of this particular trade in Bursa. Were he to have included the following passage from the account of Reinhold Lubenau (discussed *infra*, Chapter 3), who visited Bursa in 1588, he could have given an effective appraisal of the role which the silk dyers would play in the city's economic life in the coming years:

> The inhabitants live primarily from the profit of silk and wool spinning and weaving, as well as gold spinning, and quite a bit of silk dyeing...and [the city] also has many enormous dye-houses. The dye-houses are unequalled in the world for their silk dyeing. Dyes are always available in this city, so that they pour vinegar on the dyed silk and rinse it with water and dry it. This is how the silk retains its new color...
>
> Black, however, they dye very little; if one wears black, they think he must have met with great sorrow which changed his life or well-being. Silk they do dye black for the golden pieces, to make a contrast against the floral designs. At one dyer's I saw so many different kinds of hand-dyed silks that in the entire world not one color could possibly be found which is not represented by the colors into which silk is dyed here. And therefore they can work all kinds of floral designs into the golden pieces; one could mistakenly think that actual flowers, just as they grow in the gardens or the fields, had been laid on top of the silk. And, if one wanted to buy of each color just a tiny piece, it would surely cost one thousand ducats.
>
> One can find such gifted artisans here because they remain sober... At the shop of one dyer, I saw a large quantity of expensive dye, called indigo, equal in size to 20 or 30 loads of coal, which must have cost a large sum... (Lubenau 1915: 77)

Cases such as this point to the quintessential value of the travel literature. When used in conjunction with the surviving archival sources, travel

accounts can bring to life what otherwise often is a dry and lifeless presentation of data. Had Gerber taken into consideration the account of Lubenau and the many other travelers to Bursa, he might have bestowed a human face upon the economy and society of the city in the 17th century.

I have been able to gather a certain number of references from several works on travel literature and Bursa. Albert Gabriel's *Une Capitale Turque Brousse (Bursa)* (1958) incorporates detailed information from and references to the travel literature, and cites 42 accounts of Bursa. Halil İnalcık's article "Bursa" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1960a) also makes extensive use of the travel literature for Bursa, listing 16 of the travelers to the city. Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam Under the Turks* (1929) was an early demonstration of the utility of travel literature for the study of Anatolia, drawing information from 13 of the accounts included herein.

Nursen Gunaydin and Raif Kaplanoglu's *Seyahatnamelerde Bursa* (2000), the first book specifically devoted to the travel literature on Bursa, contains selections from the works of 40 travelers (four of whom—Dernschwam, Busbecq, Ricaut and Grelot—never actually set foot in the city). *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIVe - XVIe siècles)* by Yerasimos (1991) is a pioneering effort to list all travelers to the Ottoman Empire in the 14th-16th centuries, and contains references to 19 of the 28 visitors to Bursa in the centuries surveyed. Iorga (1928) and Liebe-Harkot (1970) cite a few 16th century visitors overlooked by Yerasimos. The volume entitled *On Travel Literature and Related Subjects: References and Approaches*, edited by Droulia (1993), focuses on 17th and 18th century travelers, and cites the accounts of 12 of the 30 visitors in that period. Shirley Weber's *Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801* (1953) lists 9 of the 60 pre-nineteenth-century visitors. The same author's *Voyages and Travels in the Near East Made During the Nineteenth Century* (1952) provides references to the works of 41 of the 101 nineteenth century visitors to the city included in this "Handlist." Pınar (1994) provides Turkish translations of the accounts of three Bursa visitors in the 18th and 19th centuries, while Saint-Laurent [no date], Erder (1976) and Navari (1989) cite several 19th and 20th century travelers not mentioned in other works.

Given the fact that fewer than 50 of accounts included in this preliminary "Handlist" have ever been cited by scholars writing on Bursa, it is my hope that the considerable time expended on examining each work will spare future scholars a similarly tiring, time-consuming and dusty enterprise.

In the survey below, I have identified holding libraries for most of the works cited, except for volumes published in the last 50 years or so, for books held in my private collection, or for books or manuscripts which I could not locate or examine (marked with an asterisk [*]).

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[1] *Ibn Battuta* visited the city of "Brouse" in September of 1333. This North African traveler provided the first account of the city following its incorporation into the newly emerging Ottoman state, offering details on the city's wealth, its *Akhi* brotherhood and its religious practices. The standard English translation of this work by H.A.R. Gibb (cited as Ibn Battuta 1962; for Bursa, see Volume 2: 449-452) was based on the Arabic text edited by Defremery and Sanguinetti in 1853-1858 (cited after the reprint as Ibn Battuta 1968; see Volume 2: 318-322). A more recent edition of this work with additional notes was published by Yerasimos (cited as Ibn Battuta 1982; see Volume 2: 449-452); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 98.

[2] *Shihabeddin al-Omeri* visited the city of "Bursa" during the reign of Gazi Orhan (1324-1359). This Arab traveler provides little detail aside from commenting on the ill-nature of the inhabitants and the large number (300) of hot springs found in the city. I have used the Turkish translation of the section on Bursa in Omeri's *Mesaliku'l-Ebsar* published by Yaşar Yücel (cited as Omeri 1988; see pp. 196-197).

[3] *Gregory Palamas*, the Greek Archbishop of Thessalonici, stayed in "Brusa" as a captive of the Ottomans in 1354. His remarks on the city's Greek Orthodox community a generation after its conquest were studied by G. Georgiades Arnakis (1951 and 1952); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 98. The full text of Palamas' work, with French translation and commentary, was published by Philippidis-Braat (cited as Palamas 1979; see pp. 114, 144-146, 152, 201, 203-204, 215-216), but it provides little additional material on Palamas' four days in Bursa.

[4] *Gilles Le Bouvier* visited some Anatolian towns around 1380, including one called "Amoratezeray" [*Murat Saray*] that might have been Bursa. His "Bruge Itinerary" was published by E.T. Hamy (cited as Bouvier 1908; see p. 203). (Princeton: 1007 .569)

[5] *Johann Schiltberger* visited "Wursa" in early 1397. His work, which provides several brief, but important references to the city. The original German edition of this work appeared under the title *Ein wunderbarliche und Kurzweilage Historie, wie Schiltberger Einer aus der Stadt München in Bayern, von den Türken gefangen in die Heidenschaft geführet und wieder heimkommen.* (Frankfurt am Mein, 1554). I have utilized the recent German edition (cited as Schiltberger 1983; see pp. 117-119) and the older English translation (cited as Schiltberger 1879; see pp. 6-7, 10, 34, 40); also see Liebe-Harkort 1970: 390, and Yerasimos 1991: 100-101. (Princeton [1879]: 1001 .426)

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[6] *Clavijo*, a chamberlain to the King of Spain, passed near "Brusa" in 1403 en route to Tamerlane's court in Samarkand. While he did not enter the city of Bursa itself, he described several artifacts which were pillaged from the city by Tamerlane in 1402 and which he saw in Samarkand. An English translation of his account was made by Guy Le Strange (cited as Clavijo 1928; see pp. 59, 269); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 103. (Princeton: 1714 .906 .41)

[7] *Bertrandon de la Broquière* visited "Bourse" in 1432. His work provides the first detailed description of the Ottoman city by a western visitor. He was the first to refer to Italian merchants resident in the city, and to describe various bazaars, the slave market and the Ottoman palace. A very useful English edition of his work was published by Galen R. Kline (cited as Broquière 1988; see pp. 35, 81-86); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 106-107.

[8] *Pero Tafur* visited "Brusa" in the Fall of 1437. His account, which stresses the wealth of the city and also confirms the presence of foreign merchants among its inhabitants, was published in an English translation by Malcolm Letts (cited as Pero Tafur 1926; see p. 149); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 108-109. (Princeton: 1003 .894 .12)

[9] *Konstantin Mihailović* presumably visited the city of "Bursa" on numerous occasions during his service as an Ottoman Janissary in the years 1453-1463, although only one visit around 1461 can be documented. His account, which contains few details on the city, was published in an English edition by Stolz and Soucek (cited as Mihailović 1975; see pp. 37, 49, 53, 123, 127).

[10] *Basile* visited "Brousse" in 1465. A French translation of his work, which hardly contains more information than a mention of Christians among its inhabitants, was published by B. Khitrowo (cited as Basile 1889; see pp. 243-245, 250, 255-256); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 113. (Princeton: 14084 .864 . 2 Vol. 5)

[11*] *Anthoni Charcon* visited "Burussa" in 1468. I have not yet been able to examine this unpublished work which is preserved in Harvard University's Houghton Library as Manuscript Riant 11., 8f (cited as Charcon 1468); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 113-114.

[12] *Benedetto Dei* visited "Brusa" or "Bursia" in 1470. His work clearly states that he visited the city, but does not contain much useful information other than a statement that Florentine merchants were active in the city. It was published by Roberto Barducci (cited as Benedetto Dei 1985;

see pp. 82-83, 95, 120, 130, 133-134, 137, 154, 158, 162, 166, 169); also see the important study on the author and his work by Pisani 1923, and Yerasimos 1991: 113.

[13] *Bonsignore Bonsignore* and *Bernardo Michelozzi* visited "Brusa" in 1498 in the company of Giovanni Maringhi (see [15]). During their ten-day sojourn, they lodged with a Florentine merchant, watched a fire destroy over 800 wooden buildings, witnessed the rivalry between Genoese and Florentine merchants in the city's silk trade, and purchased a number of Greek manuscripts. Their letters from Bursa and sections from Bonsignore's memoirs were edited by Eve Borsook (cited as Bonsignore 1973; see pp. 149, 163-164); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 121-122.

[14] *Arnold von Harff* visited "Burtzia" in 1499. His work contains an interesting early description of the silk trade in the city and was translated into English by Malcolm Letts (cited as Harff 1946; see p. 237); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 122-123.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[15] *Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi* visited "Brusa" first in the company of Bonsignore and Michelozzi in 1498 (see [13]) and then again in 1501-1502. As a Florentine merchant resident in Pera he was in constant communication with his agents in Bursa during these years. His letters, written from Pera to Ser Nicolo Michelozzi in Florence, are filled with references to events in Bursa. Most important are his almost weekly comments on the fluctuating state of the silk market, including current availability, prices, etc. An English edition of Maringhi's letters was published by Gertrude R.B. Richards (cited as Maringhi 1932; for Bursa, see pp. 44-46, 55, 57-59, 62, 68-72, 75, 77, 79-84, 87-92, 94, 99-100, 102, 105-107, 109-114, 118, 122, 125-128, 139-140, 143-144, 148, 154, 157, 160, 168-170, 178-179, 261-262, 283-293); also see İnalcık 1960a: 1335. (Princeton: Annex III, HF3589 .F6M4)

[16] *Pierre Belon* visited "Bource" in 1546. Certainly the best-known and most widely cited of the 16th century visitors to the city, Belon was the first traveler to see the "Sword of Roland" and to describe the caravans bringing silk to Bursa. His account, which went through several editions in the 16th century, was published in English (cited as Belon 1555; see pp. 203-204); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 205-207. (Princeton: EX 8672 .163 .12)

[17] *Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf* visited "Prusa" in 1550. His work provides an itinerary of his travels in the Ottoman realms, as well as a description of Bursa and Mount Olympus. It was published in a Latin edition

by Johannes Leunclavius in the late 16th century (cited as Hieronymus Beck 1596; see pp. 3, 115-116); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 223. (Princeton: Goertz 10497)

[18] *Hans Dernschwam* passed near the city of "Brussa" in 1553. His diary was published by Hans Babinger, but contains little of interest on Bursa (cited as Dernschwam 1986; see pp. 56-57, 60-61, 74, 88, 137, 154, 157-8, 161, 164-165, 167, 169, 171, 177, 229).

[19] *Luigi Graziana* visited "Prusia" around 1570. His work was published in the 18th century (cited as Graziana 1744; see pp. 335-354); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 285. (Harvard and Illinois)

[20] *Stephan Gerlach* visited "Prusa" or "Prusia" in 1576. His work contains a useful description of the city and mentions the churches of Saint Apotres and Saint Nicolas. It was published in the 17th century (cited as Gerlach 1674; see pp. 259-261); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 302-305. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul: A II Gerl)

[21] *Hans Jacob Breüning von Buchenbach* visited "Prusa" in 1579. Only some brief remarks on the city may be found in his account, which was published in the 17th century (cited as Breüning 1612; see p. 97); also see Droulia 1993: 196, 283, 307. (Princeton: Ex 1780 .211q)

[22*] *Wenceslas de Budowitz* visited Bursa in 1580. According to Iorga (1928: 13-16), Wenceslas' account provides a valuable description of Bursa, including details on the tombs of the Sultans. It was published under the title *Literae Wenceslai a Budowitz, magistri Aulae caesarei apud Turcorum imperatorem Legati, hoc anno 1580 Constantinopoli allatae, in quibus veritas narrationum in oratione de statu, ecclesiarum Graeciae et Asiae confirmatur et proximorum Persiae, reguni series et historia, et de Gorganis, et aliae res quaedam coguitu non indignae recensenter* ([Germany] 1580).

[23*] *Pietro Cedulini* visited "Bursia" in 1580. I have not had the opportunity to examine this unpublished manuscript which is preserved in the Vatican Manuscript Collection as Ms. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Pio No. 107, under the title *Visite delle chiese di Constantinople*; cf. Yerasimos 1991: 333-334.

[24] *John Newberie* visited "Borsa" in 1581. His account contains little of interest about the city, although he cites figures for customs dues and describes the execution of three thieves who had preyed on merchants. The work originally appeared as part of a collection of travel literature made by Samuel Purchas in 1625 ("Borsa" is mentioned on p. 1418), which has been reprinted (cited as Newberie 1905; see pp. 449-481); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 330-332. (Princeton [1905]: 1003 .742)

[25] *Johannes Leunclavius* visited "Burusa," "Bursa" or "Prusa" in 1584-1585. He wrote two works which include important information about the city, the first published in Latin (cited as Leunclavius 1591; see pp. 158-160 [on Mount Olympus], 801-824 [on the tombs of the Ottoman Sultans]), and the second in German (cited as Leunclavius 1595; see pp. 174-175). (Princeton: Goertz 10701 and Goertz 10673)

[26] *Mehmed Âşık* spent ten weeks in "Burusa" in 1585. His unpublished work entitled *Menazırül-Avalim* recently was edited by Mahmut Ak as a doctoral dissertation at the Social Sciences Institute of İstanbul University (cited as Âşık 1997). The manuscript is preserved in the İstanbul Süleymaniye Library as Halet Efendi Kütüphanesi Nr. 616. Âşık's work was the first description of Bursa by an Ottoman man of letters and served as an important source for Evliya Çelebi in the 17th century. His information on Bursa may be found in three sections: *Humme-i Burusa* [The Bursa Hot Springs], Folio 121v (Ak's edition, p. 154); *Cebel-i Rahib* [The Mountain of the Priests (Mount Olympus)], Folio 143v (Ak's edition, pp. 177-178); and *Burusa*, Folio 31 v, r (Ak's edition, pp. 410-411).

[27] *Georg Christoph Fernberger* visited "Brusa" in July, 1588, as a traveling companion of Reinhold Lubenau (see [28]). The unpublished manuscript of his daybook, which only briefly mentions Bursa, is preserved in the Ms. Österreichische Nationalbibliotek in Vienna as Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, No. 15434, 117 Folios, under the title *Peregrinatio montis Synai et Terrae Sanctae cum itineribus Babylonico, Persico et Indico confecta breviterque descripta anno 1593* (see f. 1v-2r); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 363-366.

[28] *Reinhold Lubenau* visited "Prussa," "Prusia," "Brussa" or "Bursa" in 1588. Lubenau's travel account by far is the single most detailed and therefore significant description of the city by a traveler in the first two centuries of Ottoman rule. He described, among other things, the state of the Ottoman Palace, the training of *acemioğlan*s, the "Sword of Roland," shops and markets, the composition of the populace, silk production, artisans and craftsmen, bridges and shops, the Greek Monastery, fat-tailed sheep, the Mohair for which Ankara became famous after importing sheep from Bursa, the shipping of snow and ice from Mount Olympus to İstanbul and elsewhere, monasteries on Mount Olympus, the use of snow and ice by the Turks, nomads on Mount Olympus, the major Ottoman mosques and imperial tombs in Bursa, etc. This little utilized description of the city is as important as that of the Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, who visited Bursa half a century later. Lubenau's work was edited by W. Sahm (cited as Lubenau 1915; see Volume 3: 70-97); cf. Yerasimos 1991: 385-390. (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 330 L82)

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[29] *Simeon*, an Armenian from Zamotsa in Poland, spent a month in Bursa in 1609. His account, which includes references to the negative impact of the Celali uprisings on the city and to the Armenian community of 300 households, was published in a Turkish translation by Hrand D. Andreasyon (cited as Simeon 1964; see pp. 16-17, 85).

[30] *Jean Salignac de Gontaut-Biron* visited "Bursia" in 1610 during his tenure as French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. His observations of the city were published in two separate works in the 19th century (cited as Gontaut-Biron 1888 [see p. 126] and 1889 [see pp. 6-7, 111-112, 156, 180-193, 282-283, 412-413]); cf. Hasluck 1929: 108, fn. 1. (İstanbul Arkeloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi [1888]: 38/216-4; Princeton [1889]: 1509 .16 .401)

[31] *Vincent Stochove* visited "Bourse" or "Prusa" in 1630. His work provides data on the role of Bursa as a transit center in the silk trade with Persia, as well as details concerning the city's mosques. I have utilized the Brugghe edition (cited as Stochove 1681; see pp. 173-176), although the work first appeared as *Voyage du Levant du Sr. de Stochove Escr. Seigr. de Sts. Catherine* (Bruxelles, 1650 [revised second edition]); also see Droulia 1993: 196, 287, 314. A copy of the Brugghe edition may be found in the (Dumbarton Oaks [1681]: Geog 320 S82)

[32] *Evliya Çelebi* spent 40 days in "Brusa" in 1640. His description is the most important and detailed account of the city by an Ottoman visitor, and includes chapters on the city's buildings, officials, mosques, other public buildings, baths, hot springs, markets, promenades and parks, language and dress, climate, beverages and fruits, imperial tombs; and tombs of local saints. Although his work has been published on several occasions, it awaits a critical edition. As I have not had an opportunity to examine the *Topkapı* manuscript, I have had to rely on the printed editions which contain numerous flaws. The first of these was printed during the reign of Abdülhamid II and suffered from the heavy hands of his censors, so that many of Evliya Çelebi's comments on the non-Muslim inhabitants were omitted (cited as Evliya Çelebi 1896; see pp. 8-58); cf. İnalcık 1960a: 1336. Even the best of the recent Turkish editions only modernizes the script of the Ottoman printing (cited as Evliya Çelebi 1986; see pp. 393-430). An abridged translation by Hammer-Purgstall retained the material omitted from the Ottoman edition, but left out many of proper names and other details (cited as Evliya Çelebi 1846/50; see Volume 2: 1-30); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, viii. (Princeton [1846/50]: 1003 .332 .11)

[33] *Katib Çelebi* visited "Brusa" around 1645. His work includes only laconic references to several Ottoman monuments in the city (cited as Katib Çelebi 1732; see pp. 657-658); cf. İnalcık 1960a: 1336. (Princeton: Ex2070 .46 .349q)

[34] *Paul of Aleppo* visited "Brousse" in 1652. His account describes two of the city's churches and his visit to a bathhouse (cited as Paul 1930; see pp. 79-81); also see Saint-Laurent [no date]: 210, fn. 17. (Princeton: 2208 .701 Vol. 22)

[35] *Jean Thévenot* traveled to Bursa in August, 1656. His work contains a very useful description of the city, as well as a detailed legend about its founding. It was published in French under the title *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant dans laquelle il est curieusement traite des Estats sujets au Grand Seigneur, des moeurs, religions, forces, gouvernements, politiques, langues et coustumes des habitants de se grand empire...* (Paris, 1689), but I have used the edition by François Billacois (cited as Thévenot 1965; see pp. 243-248), as well as a 17th century English translation (cited as Thévenot 1686; see pp. 87-89); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 289, 314. (Princeton [1686]: Ex1705 .911 .11)

[36] *Fermanel*, *Fauvel*, *Baudouin* and *Stochove* (see [31]) visited "Pruse" or "Bourse" in 1667. Their account contains little of interest on the city (cited as Fermanel *et al.* 1668; see pp. 334-339). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.6041 Ob7)

[37] *George Christoff von Neitzschitz* visited "Bursia" around 1670. His work contains only a few lines about the city (cited as Neitzschitz 1674; see p. 30); cf. Liebe-Harkort 1970: 390. (Princeton: Ex 1003 .671)

[38] *Jacob Spon* visited Bursa in the company of Wheler (see [39]) and Covel (see [40]) in 1675. His account specifically notes that the name of the city may be pronounced as "Prousa," "Boursia" or "Bursa," and also provides some details on the composition of its inhabitants (cited as Spon 1724; see pp. 209-215); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 293, 313. (Princeton: Ex1401 .868 .11)

[39] *George Wheler* visited "Prusia" or "Bursia" together with Spon (see [38]) and Covel (see [40]) in 1675. His work includes the first published plan of the city and the first description of its New Seraglio, built seventeen years prior to his arrival (cited as Wheler 1682; see pp. 213-217 and Map); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 293, 315. (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 338 G7W5)

[40] *Dr. John Covel* spent a month with Jacob Spon (see [38]) and George Wheler (see [39]) in "Brusa" in 1675. Extracts from the record of his impressions and experiences (including an episode when one of his traveling companions died and he had to deal with Ottoman officialdom) appeared in the 19th century (cited as Covel 1893; see p. 278), but the full text of his manuscript recently was published in a French edition by Jean-Pierre Grélois (cited as Covel 1998; see pp.); cf. Hasluck 1929: xxxii. The original manuscript is preserved in the British Library (Add. MSS. 22,912; 22,913 & 22,914).

[41] *Corneille Le Bruyn* visited "Bruza," "Bronza," "Bursia" or "Bursa" around 1678-1679. His account, which contains some very brief remarks on the city (cited as Le Bruyn 1700; see p. 60), also appeared in an English edition (cited as Le Bruyn 1702); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 294, 308. (Princeton [1780]: 1780 .218q (missing from the shelf); [1702]: Ex 1705 .216 .2q)

[42] *William Joseph Grelot* may have visited "Brusa," "Brousa," "Bursia" or "Bursa" around 1682. His account describes Mudanya and the road to Bursa, but does not state that he actually visited that city (cited as Grelot 1683; see pp. 32-33). (Princeton: Ex DR721 .G825)

[43] *Thomas Smith* visited "Prusa" around 1683. His work contains some interesting remarks about the city (cited as Smith 1684; see pp. 431-433, 437). (Princeton: 8001 .79 .2)

[44] An unnamed German traveler visited "Bursia" around 1686. His record, which contains little of interest about the city, was published as *Die hoche stein-klinnen und gebürge Cynaeae, Olympus und Athos* (Wursburg, 1688), which appeared more recently in a modern publication (cited as [Anonymous] 1978; see p. 33).

[45] *Giovani Francesco Gemelli Careri* visited "Prusa" or "Bursa" in 1694. His account first appeared under the title *Giro del Mondo del Dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri. Parte Prima: Contenente la cose piu ragguardevoli vedute nella Turchia* (Napoli, 1708), which I have not been able to locate. However, I have utilized editions in English (cited as Gemelli Careri 1704; see Volume 2, Book 2: 83-87) and in French (cited as Gemelli Careri 1719; see Volume 1: 363-371); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 296, 309. (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi [1719]: P/5 1719)

[46] *Edmund Chishull* visited "Prusia" around 1699. His account provides some details on mulberry cultivation, silk production and the hot springs (cited as Chishull 1747; see pp. 49-51); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 297, 308-309. (Princeton: Ex 1788 .253q)

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[47] *Aubry de La Motraye* visited "Prusa" or "Broussa" in 1701. His work includes a description of trout fishing on Mount Olympus and information on the role of Bursa as food supplier for İstanbul. It was published first as *Voyages en Europe, Asie et Afrique*. Volumes 1-2 (La Haye, 1727), but I have utilized the English translation (cited as La Motraye 1723; see Volume 1: 216-217); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix. (Princeton: Ex 1003 .557 .11q and Ex 1003 .557q)

[48] *Joseph Pitton de Tournefort* visited "Prusa" or "Prouse" in 1701. His account provides a detailed description of agriculture, water resources, mosques, caravansaries, the new palace, silk industry, availability of foodstuffs, composition of the population, residential patterns, tombs of the Sultans, Janissary Ağa, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Mount Olympus, the Baths of Kaplica, flora and fauna, etc. First published as *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par Ordre du Roy, contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne des plusiers isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des cotes de la Mer-Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse, et de l'Asie-Mineure...* (Lyon, 1717), the work also appeared in English translation (cited as Tournefort 1718; see Volume 2: 352-362, and the gravures on pp. 353, 355); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 298, 314. (Princeton: Ex 1780 .922 and Ex 1780 .911 .1718)

[49] *Paul Lucas* visited "Brousse" in 1702. His work contains a lengthy description of the tombs of the Sultans, the hot springs, silk production, Jews, etc. (cited as Lucas 1704; see pp. 200-216); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 298, 311. (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 320 L82)

[50] *Paul Lucas* apparently visited "Brousse" a second time in 1705. A second account written by him includes some details on "Governor Assen Bacha" [*Hasan Paşa*], fortifications, an earthquake, a prison, dervishes, etc. (cited as Lucas 1720; see Volume 1: 90-112); cf. Droulia 1993: 196, 298, 311. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul: *A II Luca 5)

[51] *Bursalı Belig* (Es-Seyyid İsmail Belig Efendi), a native of Bursa, was born in 1668 and died in 1729/30. His work entitled *Güldeste-i Riyaz-ı 'İrfan* was written around 1710 and contains a wealth of information about the city and its inhabitants, particularly on their religious practices (cited as Belig 1884; see pp. 1-545). (Dumbarton Oaks: TM629 S56T5 1884)

[52] *Richard Pococke* visited "Boursa" in 1738. His account describes Greek and Armenian settlement patterns, textile manufacturing, natural

resources, *Yürük* settlements on Mount Olympus, and other subjects (cited as Pococke 1745; see pp. 118-121, and the gravure on p. 115); also see Droulia 1993: 196, 301, 312, and Weber 1953: 116 (Nr. 513). (Princeton: 1780 .727 .11f)

[53] *M. de Guys* may have visited "Bursa" or "Prusa" in 1748, but it is not clear from his account that he actually went to the city. His work first appeared in English (cited as Guys 1772; see Volume 3: 209-213) and later in a French edition entitled *Voyage litteraire de la Grece, ou, Lettres sur les Grecs, anciens et modernes, avec un parallele de leurs moeurs.* Volumes 1-4 (Paris, 1783); cf. Weber 1953: 120 (Nrs. 529-531). (Princeton [1772]: Ex 1664 .421).

[54] *Carsten Niebuhr*, a Dane, spent about a month in "Brusa" in January-February, 1767. His account contains valuable descriptions of an earthquake which struck on January 30, 1767, as well as the practices associated with *Ramazan.* In addition, it offers a unique narrative of the manner in which a Byzantine Christian of the city betrayed Bursa to the Ottoman Sultan Orhan in 1326, and a wonderful map (drawn to scale) that includes the city's street grid and identifies the locations of 18 sites (cited as Niebuhr 1837; see pp. 140-153); cf. Erder 1976: 321. (Princeton: 1797 .676 .11)

[55] *Domenico Sestini* visited "Brusse" in 1779. His extensive account of the city covers every aspect of life, including such subjects as taking a bath in the *kaplıca*, dining, mosques and tombs, the *tekke* of Abdal Murad, *han*s and *bedestan*s, meetings with Hüseyin Ağa (ruler of the city), a Karagöz show, the cultivation of mulberries and silk production, and so on. It first appeared in Italian under the title *Lettere odeporiche o sia Viaggio per la penisola di Cizico per Brussa, e Nicea* (Livorno, 1785), and in French (cited as Sestini 1789; see pp. 76-198); cf. Weber 1953: 131 (Nrs. 586-588). Sestini wrote a second work entitled *Opuscoli del Signor Abate Domenico Sestini* (Firenze, 1785), which describes the flora and fauna, as well as the agricultural products grown in the region of Bursa. Both of his works were published together as *Viaggi e opuscoli diversi di Domenico Sestini* (Berlino, 1806); cf. Weber 1953: 132 (Nr. 592). (Dumbarton Oaks [1785/1789]: Geog 356 S47; [1785]: S750 S48)

[56] *Lafitte-Clavé* spent May 29-31, 1786, in "Brousse." His work contains useful material on the city's population, fortifications and other subjects (cited as Lafitte-Clavé 1997; see pp. 209-216).

[57] *Jean Baptiste Le Chevalier* visited "Brousse" in June, 1786. His account provides some interesting data on Bursa and its inhabitants, also

provides us with a detailed map ("La carte particuliere de la plaine de Brousse en Bithynie") of the region (cited as Le Chevalier 1800; see pp. 28-33); cf. Weber 1953:144 (Nr. 649 [date in error]). (Princeton: Annex II, 16935 .571)

[58] *Von Ignatz von Brenner* visited "Brussa" in 1793. Author of the first full-length book dealing only with Bursa, this traveler described every aspect of life in the city, from its religious orders to its silk production (cited as Brenner 1808; see pp. 1-102); cf. Weber 1953: 140 (Nr. 630). A Turkish translation of selections from Von Brenner's account recently was published by İlhan Pınar (1994: 22-24). (Yale: Eei B83 793)

[59] *John B.S. Morritt* visited "Brusa" in 1794. His account contains virtually nothing of interest regarding the city (cited as Morritt 1914; see pp. 106-108); cf. Weber 1953: 141 (Nr. 633). (Princeton: 1401 .6535)

[60] *James Dallaway* visited "Brusa" in 1794. His work includes some very useful observations on monuments, the Armenian Bishop and a visit with a former magistrate named İsaat Efendi, as well as the earliest mention I have encountered of drinking "raki diluted with water" (cited as Dallaway 1797; see pp. 174-182); cf. Weber 1953: 142 (Nr. 640). (Princeton: UES 47755).

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[61] *William George Browne* visited "Brousse" in 1801 and again in 1802. His account is particularly valuable for its description of the city before and after half of it was destroyed by a fire in the interim between his visits (cited as Browne 1820; see pp. 106-140). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 W16t)

[62] *Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall]* visited "Brussa" in 1804. His book represents the first book-length study devoted to the city by a Western scholar and provides a detailed description of Bursa at the beginning of the 19th century. It was published both in German (cited as Hammer 1818; see pp. 1-89 and the Map) and in French (cited as Hammer 1820; see pp. 241-335); cf. Weber 1952: 13 (Nrs. 52-53), 170 (Nr. 927). (Dumbarton Oaks [1818]: Geog 356 H351; Princeton [1820]: Ex Dillon Collection)

[63] *Lady Hester Stanhope* visited "Brusa" in May-June, 1811. Her account provides at least a description of the Bulgarian refugees who were resettled in the Bursa region (cited as Stanhope 1846/1983; see Volume 1: 73-85); cf. Weber 1952: 81 (Nr. 390). Her better-known volume entitled *Memoirs*

of the Lady Hester Stanhope as Related by Herself in Conversations with Her Physician. Volumes 1-3 (London, 1845) contains no information on Bursa.

[64] *Charles Lewis Meryon*, in his capacity as physician to Lady Hester Stanhope [63], visited "Brusa" in May-June, 1811. His few observations on the city are contained in a letter dated May 30, 1811, that was published a century later in Frank Hamel's biography of Stanhope (cited as Hamel 1913; see p. 109). (Princeton: 14464 .874 .42)

[65] *Christophe Aubin* visited "Brussa" in April, 1812. A representative of the Glasgow merchant house of J. Finlay & Company, Aubin was sent to Bursa and other cities of Anatolia to compile a report on the Levant trade. In this capacity, he recorded aspects of Bursa's trade, including costs of various products, that remain valuable. His formerly unpublished manuscript, consisting of letters he wrote to his employees, recently was edited by A. Cunningham (cited as Aubin 1983; see pp. 75-80).

[66] *John MacDonald Kinneir* visited "Boursa" in 1814. His account contains an important description of an outbreak of plague that killed thousands in the city (cited as Kinneir 1814; see pp. 239-249). (Princeton: 1780 .527)

[67] *William Turner*, a British diplomat, visited "Brussa" in January, 1816. He recorded figures on the city's population and silk production in his journal (cited as Turner 1820); cf. Weber 1952: 21 (Nr. 94). (Brigham Young University: DS48 .T94 Vol. 3)

[68*] *Richard Taylor* visited "Brusa" on October 8, 1818. His observations on the city appeared in his account entitled *Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1829); cf. Weber 1952: 38 (Nr. 179).

[69*] *John Fuller* visited "Brussa" in 1818. It is unclear to me whether his account is contained in the same work as that published by Richard Taylor [68], because Fuller is said (see Weber 1952: 40 (Nr. 188)) to have published a volume under the same title in the year 1830.

[70] *Comte de Marcellus* visited "Brousse" in 1820. His account contains little of interest regarding the city (cited as Marcellus 1839; see Volume 2: 505-512). A second publication by this author appeared under the title *Episodes litteraires en Orient.* Volumes 1-2 (Paris, 1859) and apparently also has some material on Bursa; cf. Weber 1952: 111 (Nr. 561). (İstanbul Arkeloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi [1839]: 1781 P/7; Dumbarton Oaks [1839]: Geog 320 M36)

[71] *Victor Fontanier* visited "Brousse" in 1821. His account represents a standard description of the city, with some details on the hot springs (cited as Fontanier 1829; see Volume 1: 83-95); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, viii. (Princeton [Volume 1]: Ex DF806 .F65, [Volume 2] 1788 .353; Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul: VH36)

[72] *Otto Friedrichs von Richter* visited "Brussa" or "Prusa" in 1821. His account contains an interesting description of the city's baths (cited as Richter 1822; see pp. 396-409). (Princeton: 1780 .771)

[73] One of the first guidebooks for travelers in the Ottoman lands was published without its author's name. It contains some materials on "Broussa" that reflect a visit to that city around 1823, but also a use of the works of Browne [61] and Kinneir [66] (cited as [Anonymous] 1824; see Volume 2: 316-321). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.6 Sy8)

[74*] *Anton von Osten Prokesch* visited "Brussa" in November-December, 1825. His work was published under the title *Erinnerungen aus Agypten und Kleinasien.* Volumes 1-3 (Wien, 1829-1830); cf. Weber 1952: 38 (Nr. 180). (Princeton: 1821 .738 [missing from shelf])

[75] *J.-Marie Jouannin* visited "Brousse" in 1825. His account contains some standard remarks on the city and its baths (cited as Jouannin 1829; see pp. 288-291); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix. One may find a gravure of the "Brousse Castle" in a second work by this author (cited as Jouannin 1840). [Cornell University's Olin Library [1829 journal]: G11 S67; Princeton [1840]: 1789 .503)

[76] *Léon de Laborde* visited "Brusa" in 1826. His lavishly printed account contains some remarks on the city, as well as two gravures entitled "Brousse: Vue de Grand Mosquee et d'une partie de la ville" and "Brousse: Tombeaux des sultans" (cited as Laborde 1838; see pp. 20-25) cf. Weber 1952: 58 (Nr. 278). (Princeton: 1780 .553e)

[77] *Th. Renoüard de Bussierre* visited "Brousse" in 1827. His account contains some standard comments on the city, as well as a description of his ascent of Mount Olympus (cited as Bussierre 1829; see Volume 1: 147-162); cf. Weber 1952: 37 (Nr. 171). (Wilbour Library of Egyptology of The Brooklyn Museum: N370 .41 R29)

[78] *George Keppel* visited "Brusa" in January, 1830. His account describes his hosts, the Armenian Catholic family of the Tinghiroglous, in some detail (cited as Keppel 1831; see Volume 2: 391-397). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N516.61041 Al13n)

[79] *Charles Texier* visited "Broussa" or "Prusa" in 1833. His account contains a wealth of detail on the city's major monuments, religious communities, etc. (cited as Texier 1839/40; see Volume 1: 59-73 and plates); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, xi. Texier later published another account of this trip which, besides a description of Bursa, provides gravures of the grand mosque, the mosque of Sultan Murad, the covered bridge and the religious school of Sultan Murad (cited as Texier 1862; see pp. 115-135). (Dumbarton Oaks [1839/40]: AJ310 T495)

[80] The *Reverend Richard Burgess* visited "Broussa" in 1834. His description of the city and its inhabitants is one of the rare accounts whose tone generally is negative (cited as Burgess 1835; see Volume 2: 124-144); cf. Weber 1952: 48 (Nr. 227). (Drew University: WS 27w, Microfiche)

[81] *Duc de Raguse* visited "Brousse" around 1834. His account provides a fairly detailed description of the city, as well as information on the Turkmen tribes living on the slopes of Mount Olympus (cited as Raguse 1837; see Volume 2: 135-157). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.6041 M34v)

[82] *Aucher-Éloy* visited "Brousse" in 1835. His work includes a description of Greek musicians in the city (cited as Aucher-Éloy 1843; see Volume 1: 138-143); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, vii. (Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul: VH236)

[83] *Charles G. Addison* visited "Brusa" or "Prusa" in 1835. His account includes a brief description of mulberry cultivation in the city (cited as Addison 1838; see Volume 1: 282-287); cf. Weber 1952: 56 (Nr. 268). (Princeton: Ex 1791 .114)

[84] *William J. Hamilton* visited "Brusa" in December, 1835. His work contains some general remarks on the city's history and on the current state of its silk industry (cited as Hamilton 1842; see Volume 1: 68-78); cf. Weber 1952: 72 (Nr. 341). (Princeton: 1788 .431)

[85] *Helmuth von Moltke* visited "Brousse" in June, 1836 (see [93]). His account is notable primarily as one of the first descriptions of the famous kebab of Bursa (cited as Moltke [*circa* 1872]; see pp. 56-60). A Turkish translation of Moltke's letters concerning Bursa was published by Hayrullah Örs (1960: 56-60). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 M73l)

[86] *Miss Julia S.H. Pardoe* visited "Broussa" in 1836. Her account has exceptional value, as it provides a wealth of detail on many aspects of the city and its inhabitants, including its agricultural role; flora and fauna;

Gypsies; Ottoman and Byzantine monuments and remains; Christian, Jewish and Muslim populations; Abdal Murad; silk industry and home production; varieties of dress; bazaars; silk market; the *derviş tekke*s; baths; Mount Olympus; Turkish officials; cultivation of mulberries; homes of wealthy Turkish women; etc. (cited as Pardoe 1837; see Volume 2: 171-278, and the gravures of the "Covered Market Bridge," the "Ulu Cami" and the "Interior of a Sultan's Tomb" on pp. 203, 206, 218, respectively); cf. Weber 1952: 54 (Nr. 257). (Princeton: 1788 .697)

[87] *R. Walsh* visited "Brousa" around 1836 (see [92]?). His work includes an interesting description of the growing of silkworms, as well as the statement that "the Jews have two synagogues, but lie under an extraordinary prohibition to which no other sect is liable: they are not allowed to feed silkworms nor enter a particular bath which is open to all the rest" (cited as Walsh 1836; see Volume 2: 190-215). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N914.96 W16r)

[88] *Leon Parvillee* visited "Boursse" in 1836. His work on Turkish architecture includes a brief description and some gravures of the monuments in the city (cited as Parvillee 1874; see pp. 1-16 and plates); cf. Navari 1989, Nr. 1261. (Princeton: (SA) NA1468 .P27f)

[89] *Edmund Spencer* visited "Brusa" or "Prusa" in 1836. His account contains some remarks on the city (cited as Spencer 1838; see Volume 2: 156-162); cf. Weber 1952: 60 (Nr. 285). (Princeton: 1631 .245 .86)

[90] *Charles Boileau Elliott* possibly visited "Broussa" in 1837, but in any case included a description of the city in his travel account (cited as Elliott 1838; see Volume 2: 18-19); cf. Weber 1952: 57 (Nr. 271). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 330 E55)

[91] *Baptistin Poujoulat* visited "Brussa" in 1837. His work includes a detailed description of the city, especially of its inhabitants and their lifestyles (cited as Poujoulat 1841; see Volume 1: 115-123); cf. Weber 1952: 65-66 (Nr. 313). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 320 P68)

[92] *Robert Walsh* visited Bursa in 1837 (see [87]?). His account includes a description of burial practices in the city (cited as Walsh 1838; see Volume 1: 28-32 and plates of Mount Olympus and Emir Sultan, Volume 2: 49-51 and plate of the tomb of Mehmet I). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.611 A15c)

[93] *Helmuth von Moltke* visited "Brussa" a second time in 1838 (see [85]). His account provides a standard description of the city and its history

(cited as Moltke 1917: 67-73); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, x. (Princeton: 1789 .648 .1893)

[94] *Comte Jaubert* visited "Brousse" in 1839. His account relies somewhat on the works of Von Hammer (see [62]) and Texier ([79]), but also includes a description of a Karagöz show (cited as Jaubert 1842; see pp. 361-366); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix. (Princeton [1842 journal]: 0904 .762)

[95] *Sir A. Henry Layard* visited the "Brusa" region in October, 1839. His memoirs contain a detailed description of the Bursa region along the road from İstanbul to Mudanya (cited as Layard 1903; see Volume 1: 154-160). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N923.2 L45a)

[96] *A. Grisebach* visited "Brussa" in 1839. His travel account contains a description of the city (cited as Grisebach 1841; see Volume 1: 58-85); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix. A second work by this author contains information on the flora and fauna of the Bursa region, especially around Mount Olympus (cited as Grisebach 1843). (University of California at Los Angeles [1841]: DS 48.3 G887 Vol. 1; Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi [1843]: N581.9496 G8)

[97] *C.A. Bernard* visited "Brousse" in 1840. Bernard, who was a doctor at Galatasaray in İstanbul, was fascinated with the city, claiming to have been cured of ophthalmia in its hot springs. His work is rich in information on Bursa and also contains plans of the city and countryside (cited as Bernard 1842; see pp. 1-105); cf. Weber 1952: 70-71 (Nr. 35). (Dumbarton Oaks: AJ390 B6B4; Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.63 B45b)

[98] *Cyrus Hamlin* made the first of many visits to "Brousa" in 1843 (see [113]). His autobiography contains an account of this trip and of his ascent of Mount Olympus (cited as Hamlin 1893; see pp. 223-227). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N922.5 H18m)

[99] *Philippe Le Bas* visited "Brousse" in October, 1843. His account deals for the most part with archeological finds in the region (cited as Le Bas 1888; see pp. 37, 113-114); cf. Weber 1952: 168 (Nr. 911). A letter written by Le Bas from Bursa was published in a later edition of his correspondence (cited as Le Bas 1898; see p. 31). (Princeton [1888]: N5630 .R4; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul [1898])

[100*] *Charles Reynaud* visited "Brussa" in 1844. His account was published under the title *D'Athenes à Baalbek (1844)* (Paris, 1846); cf. Weber 1952: 81 (Nr. 389).

[101] *Elizabeth C.A. Schneider* lived in "Broosa" as a missionary in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Her volume of letters about the city is the earliest witness to its life and inhabitants by a long-time resident. As such, it contains interesting material on a wide variety of topics, including diseases, animal husbandry, agriculture, silk manufacturing, prisons, taxes, Franks, Armenians, Muslims, dervishes, and so on (cited as Schneider 1846; see pp. 3-120). (Princeton: 17894 .218 .82)

[102] *Hayrullah İbni Abdülhak Efendi* visited Bursa on three occasions in 1844, 1851 and 1863. His work, which contains a unique description of the city's major streets, was published in a volume commemorating the opening of the Yapı Kredi Bank in Bursa in 1948 (cited as Abdülhak Efendi 1948).

[103] *Antoine de Latour* visited "Brousse" in 1845. His work provides only a cursory glimpse of the city (cited as Latour 1847; see pp. 173-175); cf. Weber 1952: 83 (Nr. 399). (Michigan State University: D973 .l3 (1847))

[104] *Charles Macfarlane* visited "Brusa" in 1847/48. His account contains some interesting insights into the city's administration and its governor "Mustapha Nouree" (cited as Macfarlane 1850; see Volume 1: 175-201). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 M16t)

[105] *Charles James Monk* visited "Brusa" in 1849. His work provides some information on the governor "Mustapha Pasha" and on mulberry cultivation (cited as Monk 1851; see Volume 1: 48-57); cf. Weber 1952: 90 (Nr. 437). (Princeton: 1780 .649)

[106] *Caroline Paine* visited "Broussa" in the Summer of 1851. Her account includes a description of a visit to the harem of the governor in the company of the wife of an American missionary in the city (cited as Paine 1859; see pp. 46-59). (Princeton: 1780 .692)

[107] *Adalbert de Beaumont* visited "Brousse" in 1851. His work provides a detailed account of his visit and describes secular and religious monuments, commerce, the baths, dervishes, and other subjects (cited as Beaumont 1851/53); also see Saint-Laurent [no date]: 214, fn. 27. (University of Minnesota [1851/53 journal: AEG 6547)

[108] *Boucher de Perthes* visited "Brousse" in 1853. His account contains a fairly standard description of the city (cited as Perthes 1855; see Volume 2: 296-306). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N914 B66v)

[109] *Bayard Taylor* visited "Brousa" in 1853. His account describes his visits to various mosques and tombs in the city (cited as Taylor 1855; see pp. 300-321). (Princeton: 1780 .895)

[110] *A. Ubicini* visited "Brousse" in 1853. His work provides a wealth of interesting statistics about the city, as well as information on its history (cited as Ubicini 1855; see pp. 16-52). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 .U23)

[111] *George William Frederick Howard Earl of Carlisle* visited "Broussa" in 1853. His work includes an account of a visit with an Arab Emir in the city (cited as Howard 1855: see pp. 34-37); cf. Weber 1952: 102 (Nr. 507). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 320 .C35)

[112] *Patriarch Kevork Keresteciyan*, before becoming Patriarch of the Armenian Orthodox in Etchmiadzin, served the Armenian community of Bursa in the years 1844-1855. An account of his Bursa years is preserved in an unpublished history of the Etchmiadzin Catholocate written by Vahram Menguni. Five chapters of this work were translated into Turkish by Kevork Pamukciyan (cited as Keresteciyan 1986), and deal with: the city and its population (Chapter 22); the great earthquake of 1855 (Chapter 23); fires and other disasters in Bursa's history (Chapter 24); the great fire of September 7, 1863 (chapter 34); and Ahmed Vefik Efendi's investigation in Bursa following the 1855 earthquake (Chapter 35).

[113] *Cyrus Hamlin* visited "Brusa" on a number of occasions in 1855 (see [98]). His general work on his experiences in Turkey includes a valuable description of the devastating 1855 earthquake and its aftermath (cited as Hamlin 1878; see pp. 244-260). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 H18a)

[114] *Andreas David Mordtmann* visited "Brussa" in 1855 and again in 1859. His account includes useful information on trade and industry (cited as Mordtmann 1925; see pp. 289-301, 349-356); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, x. (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 M67; Princeton: 1780 .851)

[115*] A Prussian jurist visited "Brussa" around 1854, and apparently included some remarks on the city in his account, which appeared as *Nach Constantinopel und Brussa. Ferien Reise eines preusischen Juristen* (Berlin, 1855); cf. Weber 1952: 104 (Nr. 516).

[116] *D. Sandison* lived as the British Consul in "Brussa" in the 1850s. One of his Consular Reports from 1857 contains some remarks on the city and was published by J. Lewis Farley (cited as Sandison 1862; see pp. 102-115); cf. İnalcık 1960a: 1336. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N330.956 F22r)

[117] *Georges Perrot* visited "Brousse" in the Spring of 1857 and again in 1861. His work contains very useful information on the city's population,

dervish festivals, Jewish inhabitants, and so on (cited as Perrot 1864; see pp. 62-83); cf. Weber 1952: 122 (Nr. 624). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 .P475)

[118] *Emily Anne Beaufort (Strangford)* visited "Broussa" in 1859. Her account provides interesting information on the silk industry and such subjects as the dancing and "howling" dervishes (cited as Beaufort 1874; see pp. 531-543); cf. Weber 1952: 115 (Nr. 581). (Princeton: 1780 .884)

[119] *Charles Texier* and *R. Popplewell Pullan* visited "Broussa" in 1862. Their study of Byzantine architecture contains a description and plan for the city's Church of Saint Elias (cited as Texier-Pullan 1864; see pp. 155-157); cf. Hasluck 1929: 18. (Dumbarton Oaks: AJ330 T49)

[120] *Alexander Freiherr von Warsberg* visited "Brussa" in the Summer of 1864. His account provides some interesting details about the city (cited as Warsberg 1869; see pp. 91-174); cf. Weber 1952: 133 (Nr. 691). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61041 W26e)

[121] *Anna Vivanti* visited "Brussa" in the Summer of 1865. Her work has some information on the city (cited as Vivanti 1865; see pp. 118-123); cf. Weber 1952: 125 (Nr. 644). (University of California at Berkeley: D972 V5)

[122] *Mary T. Walker* visited "Brousse" in 1866 (see [140]). Her "historical album" of Bursa consists of 24 lithograph plates with explanatory texts and a folding panorama (cited as Walker [*circa* 1870]; cf. Weber 1952: 212 (Nr. 1177). (A copy of this extremely rare volume is preserved at the Yapı Kredi Bank in İstanbul.)

[123] *P. de Tchihatcheff* visited "Brussa" in 1866. His travel account contains little of interest on the city (cited as Tchihatcheff 1866; see p. 23); cf. İnalcık 1960a: 1336. (Princeton: 1780 .252)

[124] *Émile Guimet* visited "Brussa" in the Summer of 1867. His work describes his visits to the standard sites (cited as Guimet 1868; see pp. 139-149); cf. Weber 1952: 129 (Nr. 668). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 G94o)

[125] *Émile Gehbardt* visited "Brousse" in 1867. His account is concerned primarily with Mount Olympus (cited as Gehbardt 1867; see pp. 985-1006). (Princeton [1867 journal]: 0904 .762)

[126] *Vice-Consul Maling* lived in Bursa in the years 1869-1872. Two reports which he submitted to London dealt with the city's craftsmen and

works in 1869 and its silk production in 1872, and recently were translated into Turkish by Ergün Türkcan (cited as Maling 1985).

[127] *Hubert E.H. Jerningham* visited "Broussa" in the Summer of 1870. His account contains a lengthy section on the tombs of various holy men and some information on the silk industry of the city (cited as Jerningham 1873; see pp. 213-235); cf. Weber 1952: 137 (Nr. 714). (Princeton: 1788 .503)

[128*] *Ernst Heinrich Philipp August* visited "Brussa" in 1875. His work, which apparently contains some materials on the city, was published under the title *Brussa und der asiatische Olymp* (Berlin, 1875); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix.

[129] *A. Gallenga* visited "Broussa" in 1875. His work records the impressions he experienced during a day walking about the city (cited as Gallenga 1877; see Volume 2: 36-47). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61041 G13t)

[130] *Auguste Choisy* visited "Brousse" in 1876. His account contains some interesting remarks on the city's Jews, celebrations during *Ramazan*, and so on (cited as Choisy 1876; see pp. 69-92); cf. Weber 1952: 140 (Nr. 737). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 C45)

[131] *A. Ritter Helle von Samo* visited "Brussa" in 1872. His work provides population statistics for the city and province (cited as Helle von Samo 1877; see pp. 69-72). (Princeton: 1788 .447)

[132] *F. Blunt* visited "Broussa" in 1878. In her work, she comments on the curative powers of the city's hot springs (cited as Blunt 1878; see Volume 2: 226-228); cf. Hasluck 1929: 109-110. (Princeton: 1788 .187)

[133] *Henry C. Barkley* visited "Brusa" in 1878. His account contains a detailed description of the city's unfinished railroad, markets, silk manufacturing, and other subjects (cited as Barkley 1891; see pp. 24-46). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 B39)

[134] *John Murray* visited "Brusa" around 1878. His popular travel guide has some detailed remarks on the city (cited as Murray 1878). (Princeton: 1788 .6665)

[135] *Edmond Dutemple* lived in "Brousse" as the French Vice-Consul in 1880. His account contains a wealth of information on the city, not to mention some of the earliest published photographs (cited as Dutemple 1883; see pp. 1-253); cf. Weber 1952: 157-158. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Kütüphanesi: N915.61 D95t; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul: AIII Dute)

[136] *Marie de Launay* visited "Brousse" in 1880/81. Her work, which is rich in information on all aspects of life in the city, was published in Ottoman Turkish (cited as Launay 1880/81), and recently was published in a modernized Turkish version by Günaydın and Kaplanoğlu (2000: 152-163).

[137] *Karl Humann* and *Otto Puchstein* visited "Brussa" in 1882. Their account contains little of interest on the city (cited as Humann-Puchstein 1890; see pp. 7-9); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, ix. (Princeton: Annex IV, N5480 .H8 (Dpa))

[138] *Basileios I. Kantes* was a native of "Prousa" who wrote a detailed survey of the city and its history in 1883 (cited as Kantes 1883; see pp. 1-236 and plates and map); cf. Hasluck 1929: xliii. (Dumbarton Oaks: Hu998 B8K3)

[139] *Charles Bigot* visited "Brousse" in the Summer of 1885. His work includes a fairly detailed description of the city (cited as Bigot 1889; see pp. 189-218); cf. Weber 1952: 169 (Nr. 914). (University of California at Berkeley: Df30 B52)

[140] *Mary T. Walker* visited "Broussa" around 1885 (see [122]). Her account constitutes a valuable source for all facets of life in the city at the end of the 19th century (cited as Walker 1886; see Volume 2: 93-197). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 Wl5e)

[141] *Bernard Schwarz* visited "Brusias" around 1888. His work deals with the region rather than with the city (cited as Schwarz 1889; see pp. 24-65). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 S25)

[142*] *Theophile Roller* visited "Brussa" in 1889. His account was published under the title *Le Tour d'Orient: impressions de voyage en Egypte, Terre Sainte, Syrie et à Constantinople* (Lausanne, 1891); cf. Weber 1952: 173 (Nr. 942).

[143] *Sami Bey (Fraschery)* visited Bursa in the late 1880s. His encyclopedia contains some remarks on the city (cited as Sami Bey 1889; see Volume 2: 1294-1296). (Princeton: SY 2068 .361)

[144] *Edmund Naumann* visited "Brussa" in 1890. His account contains little information on the city (cited as Naumann 1893; see pp. 67-82); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, x. (Princeton: 1780 .671)

[145*] *Reverend Gregory Baghadasarian* lived as an Armenian pastor in "Broosa" in the early 1890s. He published a volume entitled *The Dealings of the Lord with the Broosa Orphanage in 1891*; cf. Saint-Laurent [no date]: 225, fn. 61.

[146] *Clement Imbault Huart* visited "Brousse" in 1891. His account of travels in Anatolia contains little of interest on the city (cited as Huart 1897; see pp. 7-16); cf. Weber 1952: 183 (Nr. 1013). (Princeton: 17896 .536 .48)

[147] *İbn ül-Celal Sezayi* visited Bursa in 1891. He was one of the rare Ottoman travelers to publish an account of his visit to the city (cited as İbn ül-Celal 1308). A modernized Turkish version of this useful source recently was published by Nedret İşli (cited as İbn ül-Celal 1996).

[148] A travel guide published in the series *Meyers Reisebücher* was based on the visit of its anonymous author to "Brussa" around 1891 (cited as [Anonymous] 1892; see Volume 1: 350-359). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 T78)

[149] *A. Scholer* lived as the British Vice-Consul in "Brusa" in 1891. His remarks on the city were published in a later edition of *Murray's Handbook for Travelers in Turkey* (cited as Scholer 1893; see pp. vi, 120-129). (Princeton: 17895 .666)

[150*] *Antoine Salles* visited "Brussa" in 1893. His travel account was published under the title *De Constantinople à Corfou: Promenade à travers la Mediterranee* (Paris, 1894); cf. Weber 1952: 177 (Nr. 970).

[151] *Charles William Wilson* visited "Brusa" around 1893. His revision of Murray's guidebook for travelers in Turkey was based on his wide experience in Turkey as the British Military Consul and incorporated materials from his visit to Bursa (cited as Wilson 1893; see pp. 14-19, 57-61). (Princeton: 1780 .66)

[152] *Von der Goltz* visited the "Brussa" region in the Spring of 1893. Although his work does not include a description of the city, it has some information on the province (cited as Goltz 1896; see pp. v-ix); cf. Weber 1952: 180 (Nr. 992). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 .G64)

[153] *Vital Cuinet* visited "Brousse" around 1894. His account contains an impressive amount of information on the city and province (cited as Cuinet 1895; see Volume 4: 3-141); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, viii. (Princeton: 1780 .277)

[154] *Pierre Loti* visited "Brousse" on May 29, 1894, and wrote a romantic literary essay on the Green Mosque (cited as Loti 1896; see pp. 213-248); cf. Weber 1952: 181 (Nr. 998). (Princeton: 3296 .2 .337)

[155] *Fatma Fahrunnisa Hanım* visited Bursa in 1895. Her observations on the city's sites were serialized in the women's journal *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (cited as Fatma Hanım 1895), and recently were published in modernized Turkish versions by Günaydın and Kaplanoğlu (2000: 185-202).

[156] *Mary A. Walker* visited "Brussa" in 1896. Her book summarized the materials she had gathered on the city during her stay (cited as Walker 1897; see pp. 116-134); cf. Weber 1952: 184-185 (Nr. 1021). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 Wl.50)

[157] *Georgina Adelaide Müller* visited "Brusa" around 1896. Her work provides a sympathetic tourist's view of the city, and its bazaars and mosques (cited as Müller 1897; see pp. 149-163). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.611 M9)

[158] *Ahmet Fuad Nafizade* visited Bursa in 1897. His observations on the city were published as an appendix to Reşad Ekrem Koçu's *J.E. Dauzats 1588 de Anadolunun Bir Kölesi* (cited as Nafizade [no date]; see pp. 29-45). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: T915.61 Dz)

[159] *Jose Ramon Melida* visited "Brussa" in 1898. However, his work entitled *Viaje a Grecia y Turquia. Memoria que presenta al Ministerio de Fomento Don Jose Ramon Melida* (Madrid, 1899) contains only a single mention of the city (p. 1); cf. Weber 1952: 188 (Nr. 1041). (İstanbul Arkeloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi: 88/1 1899)

[160] *Paul Lindau* visited Bursa in 1897 and published an account of the city which I have not been able to locate. However, İlhan Pınar published a Turkish translation of the relevant section (1994: 24-27).

[161] *Cyrille van Overbergh* visited "Brussa" in 1899. His work contains remarks on the interests of Belgium and France in the city (cited as Over-

bergh 1899; see pp. 386-413); cf. Weber 1952: 188 (Nr. 1042). (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul: A III Over)

[162] *Marius Bernard* visited "Brousse" in 1899. His work contains some observations on the city and two gravures (cited as Bernard 1899; see pp. 221-233 and plates facing pp. 237 and 241). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 320 .B47)

TWENTIETH-CENTURY TRAVELER ACCOUNTS

[163] The anonymous author of a detailed guidebook for "Brousse" clearly spent some time there around 1900-1903 (cited as [Anonymous] 1903).

[164] *Anna Bowman Dodd* visited "Brusa" around 1900. Her account, contains nothing of importance about the city (cited as Dodd 1904; see pp. 405-410). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61031 D66i)

[165] *Régis Delbouf* visited "Brousse" in 1905. His account is rich in information about every aspect of life in the city, and is particularly important as a source for the silk trade at the turn of the century (cited as Delbouf 1906; see pp. 1-234); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, viii. (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 356 D44)

[166] *Hasan Taib Efendi* visited Bursa in 1905. His work contains a good deal of information on the city's monuments, quarters, and so on (cited as Hasan Efendi 1907); cf. Günaydın-Kaplanoğlu 2000: 214-217.

[167] *Paul Fesch* visited "Brousse" in 1906. His account provides economic statistics and information on French commercial activity in the city (cited as Fesch 1907; see pp. 529-540). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.611 F4z)

[168] *Richard Davey* visited "Brusa" around 1906. His work offers a number of interesting vignettes of the city, including a description of a Jewish festival (cited as Davey 1907; see pp. 405-417). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61031 D27s)

[169] *Louisa Jebb* (Mrs. Roland Wilkins) visited "Brusa" in 1907. Her account provides little of interest on the city, apart from descriptions of people she met (cited as Jebb 1908; see pp. 11-29). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 J3)

[170] *Eugène Gallois* visited "Brousse" in 1907. His work contains a description of several monuments in the city (cited as Gallois 1907; see pp. 52-60). (Princeton: 1780 .376)

[171] *Ahmet Şerif* visited Bursa on June 6, 1909. As the first Ottoman visitor to report on Bursa in the wake of the 1908 revolution, Şerif portrays a gloomy picture of a non-functioning bureaucracy (cited as Şerif 1977; see p. 13).

[172] *Hans Wilde* visited "Brussa" in 1909. His study of the architecture of the city contains a large number of very important photographs and drawings (cited as Wilde 1909; see pp. 1-135); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, xi. (Dumbarton Oaks: AJ 390 B6W5; Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N720.9563 W64b)

[173] *Richard Eisenstein* visited "Brussa" in 1911. His account provides some interesting photographs of the city (cited as Eisenstein 1912; see pp. 78-91). (Dumbarton Oaks: Geog 320 E38)

[174] *Maurice Pernot* visited "Brousse" in 1912. His account includes a description of French educational institutions in the city (cited as Pernot 1912; see p. 30). (Princeton: 1780 .708)

[175] *L. De Launay* visited "Brousse" in 1912. His work includes some information on and photographs of the city (cited as De Launay 1913; see pp. 193-212). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61041 L37t)

[176] *Alfred Philippson* visited "Brussa" in 1913. His account focuses on the geographical layout of the city and surrounding regions (cited as Philippson 1913; see Volume 3: 69-80). (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul)

[177] *André Gide* visited "Brousse" in 1914. His essay, consisting of literary descriptions of monuments he visited, originally was published as "La marche turque" in *Incidences* (Paris, 1924; see pp. 101-126), and later republished in Andre Gide: Journal, 1889-1939 (Paris, 1948; see pp. 399-415), of which an English translation was made (cited as Gide 1948; see Volume 2: 7-10); cf. Gabriel 1958: iii, viii.

[178] *Ewald Banse* visited "Brussa" in 1918. His work on the geography of Turkey contains little information on the city (cited as Banse 1919; see pp. 70-72). (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: N915.61 B2.2)

[179] *Cahid Burhan* visited Bursa in April, 1919. His account of the city offers little detail, which is disappointing in view of the fact that he was an Ottoman prince working as a correspondent for *Yeni Gazete* (cited as Cahid 1992; see pp. 12-14).

[180] *Roy Elston* visited "Brusa" in 1923. His travel guide contains a section on the city (cited as Elston 1923; see pp. 194-201).

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