AN URBAN SOCIETY IN THE MAKING:

THE CASE OF BURSA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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The Case of Bursa in the Seventeenth Century

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

An Urban Society in the Making:

The Case of Bursa in the Seventeenth Century

This dissertation focuses on cultural dynamics of seventeenth-century Bursa, exploring transformations within the urban sphere of the early modern Ottoman Empire. By examining various aspects of urban cultural production, this study aims to uncover the constitution of urban culture and the development of a distinctive sense of belonging among urban dwellers. It investigates the roles played by specific social groups, particularly members of the middling sort, in creating and disseminating urban culture. Based on a range of archival and literary sources, the dissertation analyzes how urban cultural production was fostered through charitable acts, literary activities, and patterns of readership and book ownership. It emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the city and its inhabitants, highlighting how urban awareness and identity were constructed and expressed through acts of charity, the establishment of waqfs, literary production, and the patronage of arts and public works. By integrating the concept of early modernity, this dissertation situates itself within ongoing debates in Ottoman historiography and engages with the broader themes of urbanization and social change. Through a detailed case study of Bursa, the dissertation reveals how the city's cultural and social networks contributed to a unique urban identity, characterized by a strong sense of belonging and pride. Ultimately, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of early modern urbanity in the Ottoman Empire and the complex interplay between urban spaces, social groups, and cultural production.

ÖZET

Şehirli bir toplumun oluşumu:

On yedinci yüzyılda Bursa örneği

Bu tez, erken modern Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kentsel alanındaki dönüşümleri inceleyerek, on yedinci yüzyıl Bursa'sının kültürel dinamiklerine odaklanmaktadır. Kentsel kültürel üretimin çeşitli yönlerini inceleyerek, kentsel kültürün oluşumunu ve kent sakinleri arasında gelişen belirgin aidiyet duygusunu ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, özellikle orta sınıf üyelerden oluşan belirli sosyal grupların kentsel kültürü yaratma ve yaymadaki rollerini araştırmaktadır. Bir dizi arşiv ve edebi kaynağa dayanarak, hayırseverlik faaliyetleri, edebi etkinlikler ve okuma ve kitap sahipliği kalıpları yoluyla kentsel kültürel üretimin nasıl teşvik edildiğini analiz etmektedir. Şehir ve sakinleri arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiye vurgu yaparak, kentsel farkındalık ve kimliğin, hayırseverlik eylemleri, vakıf kurma, edebi üretim ve sanat ve kamu işleri himayesi yoluyla nasıl oluşturulduğu ve ifade edildiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu tez, erken modernite kavramını entegre ederek Osmanlı tarih yazımındaki devam eden tartışmalar içinde kendini konumlandırmakta ve kentleşme ve sosyal değişim gibi daha geniş temalarla ilişki kurmaktadır. Bursa'nın detaylı bir vaka çalışması aracılığıyla, şehrin kültürel ve sosyal ağlarının, güçlü bir aidiyet ve gurur duygusu ile karakterize edilen benzersiz bir kentsel kimliğe nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki erken modern kentleşmeyi ve kentsel alanlar, sosyal gruplar ve kültürel üretim arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimi daha derinlemesine anlamaya katkıda bulunmaktadır.

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NOTES ON SPELLING AND TRANSLITERATION

In this dissertation all terms and quotes in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, or Persian were transliterated according to the system observed by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES). All terms that have entered in English dictionaries such as madrasa or waqf have been used in their English spelling. When quoting from a published material that have transliterated or transcribed the source, the quote is taken as it is, and not edited to meet IJMES system. Some common words in Turkish, such as *çelebi* and *efendi* were not transliterated as well.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CULTURAL PRACTICES, SOCIAL NETWORKS, AND URBAN FOLK

I had the chance to spend the 2021-22 academic year as a visiting research fellow at Yale University. Although the experience was fruitful in an academic sense, it was also a first for me since I had not spent such a long time in what could rather be called a town than a city. During my fellowship, I had many conversations with other fellows there -who had also come from big cities all around the world- about New Haven, where Yale University is located. These casual conversations during coffee breaks revealed that there was simply something missing in our daily lives. We had been longing for something in the air, some sort of aura, or a sense of belonging, but it was not easy to put a finger on what it was exactly. At some point, we decided that what we lacked in New Haven was urban culture, and once we found it, we felt at ease as if we were able to make sense of our minor inner crisis. Naming what we had been missing felt so appropriate and meaningful that we all, everyone in the conversation, hummed and nodded in silence. I did the same and I was sure that what we lacked was urban culture but only later realized that there was no way for me to know whether what I understood from urban culture was the same with what it evoked for my colleagues. It turns out that urban culture is not simply the culture in a built environment or of a conglomeration of people. Yet, what it was exactly, eluded me.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to pursue a project as big and long as a PhD, without having a personal attraction to the subject matter. My personal motivation for this project has been simple: what is that urban culture I love, that I

miss and long for, and what is that urban society, of which I am a part, for which I need a sense of belonging? At its core, it is simply this question: how did I come to be who I am, part of something that brings me together with others even in places that I have never been? How did I, we, become *urbanites*,[1] what does it mean to be a city dweller? What is urban culture, what constitutes it, and how do we constitute it if we do?

Obviously, these are not academic questions. One has to be specific; one has to constrain oneself geographically and temporally. What I am interested in here, simply, is to find the relationship between the city and the urban dweller in the early modern Ottoman Empire. My aim is to define the urban dwellers who were not only residents of an administrative entity we call "the city" but also conveyors and constituents of a culture - that is, urban culture. In order to do so, I will try to focus on this culture and try to reveal it in its various aspects.

This dissertation is concerned with the changing dynamics in the urban sphere of the early modern Ottoman Empire. Trying to discover the lineaments of early modern urban society within the Ottoman domains, and the constitution of urban culture, it seeks to analyze how urban culture was created and disseminated, and whether and in what ways a distinctive sense of belonging was attached to it. In order to do so, I will be looking at a multitude of aspects and activities associated with urban cultural production such as particular social groups and their operations in the city, charitable acts directed to the city and its denizens, literary activities, and production in a set of genres, and readership and book ownership patterns. On the one hand, this study examines the various angles of early modern Ottoman urban culture. On the other, it follows urban awareness as manifested through charitable

[1] For lack of a better word in English, yet in Turkish we have more well-fitting words: *şehirli,* or *kentli,* etc…

acts, and the writing and reading of works that recorded the goings-on in a given city and which testified to denizen's pride in being inhabitants of that city.

Although identifying the Ottoman early modern society warrants numerous studies focusing on various aspects and different groups, the sources I have used have highlighted a specific group of Muslim males of considerable means as central figures in the creation and dissemination of urban culture. These individuals, while not always part of the empire-wide elite, formed a significant local elite with notable influence. The class dimension existed visibly and defined the urban folk I will be working on; yet, charity as a network still involved the poor and the less well to do, definitely as beneficiaries, and as endowers, too. For waqfs only, our sources were able to testify that women and non-Muslims, too, were active participants in charity networks, again as beneficiaries and endowers alike. In turn, this study seeks to understand how this urban folk cultivated a distinctive sense of urban belonging and identity, while actively contributing to the development and spread of urban culture.

Taking seventeenth-century Bursa as a case study, this dissertation analyzes the reciprocal relationship between this aforementioned urban folk and the city itself by scrutinizing what the city offered to the urban folk, and how they responded by providing for the city and their fellow denizens. I argue that early modern urbanity in the Ottoman Empire, and especially in Bursa, became manifest in cultural production, and in the constitution and dynamics of social networks in the city. In its essence, this mode of urbanity became visible with a dual understanding of temporality and spatiality. It was seen in the denizens' urban awareness in their sense of belonging to the city, and their keeping an eye on goings on about town, their attention to the lineages of their fellow denizens, their contributions to the posterity of the city, and in many other manners. This was only possible through the active

participation of urbanites. The early modern era, furthermore, witnessed increasingly blurred boundaries between makers of cultural products and participants of culture.

This dissertation closely engages with the concepts of early modernity and urbanity, positioning itself within the ongoing scholarly debates surrounding Ottoman early modernity.[2] In the broader historiographical context, "early modern" refers to a period roughly spanning from the late 15th to the early 19th centuries, a time marked by significant transformations in various spheres, including the emergence of new social and economic structures, increased global interactions, and cultural developments. This period is at times considered a bridge between the medieval and modern eras, laying the groundwork for processes that would shape the modern world.[3] Proposed also as an alternative to the decline paradigm in Ottoman historiography, the concept of early modernity has faced criticism for assuming universal key elements and transitions to modernity across global societies.[4] Still, early modernity as a periodization in the history of the Ottoman Empire might prove useful for interpreting transformations in the Ottoman domains following the Süleymanic age, and providing a possibility for a comparative perspective with other contemporary empires.[5] Yet, it is important to underline two points here. First, early modernity does not constitute simply a break *per se* but a period with transitive properties, continuities, and discontinuities from the late medieval period.[6] Accordingly, the framework of early modernity has been used to shed light on 15th

[2] One of the most recent efforts in this debate where scholars have highlighted their reservations for the use of this term. See, Virginia H. Aksan, Boğaç A. Ergene and Antonis Hadjikyriacou (eds.), "Chasing the Ottoman Early Modern."
[3] The teleological concerns surrounding the use of the concept early modern is discussed with references to recent debates in Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Early Modern Istanbul," esp. 10-11.
[4] Jack A. Goldstone, "The Problem of the "Early Modern" World," 254-5.
[5] Boğaç A. Ergene, "On Ottoman Early Modernity: Scattered Thoughts Pretending to be a Position Statement."
[6] Cemal Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night, how black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love: the changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early-modern Istanbul,"244-245.

and 16th centuries alike (that is, Süleymanic age and before), thus it might be simplistic and reductionist to limit the use of early modernity solely as a response to decline paradigm.[7]

One major way early modernity may be approached in relation to the Ottoman Empire is urbanization. During this period, while the majority of the population lived in the rural areas, cities assumed increasingly central roles in many developments from state-building to global trade.[8] As Ottoman cities expanded, they developed more articulated social hierarchies, sophisticated material cultures, and new forms of sociability characterized by everyday hedonism and intensive social exchange.[9] This urban dynamism prompted a reflexivity, a temporal and spatial questioning of the city itself in contemporary cultural production. This reflexivity often associated the emergence of new cultural and social dynamics, sometimes disapprovingly, with new spaces of sociability, consumption habits, and the formation of social classes.[10]

Cemal Kafadar argues that the city's dynamic and heterogeneous urban culture was characterized by its openness to various influences and its ability to incorporate and transform these influences into a unique urban identity.[11] This perspective aligns with the assertion that the growth of towns and the resulting social dynamism were crucial markers of early modernity. Grehan notes the reciprocal relationship between the urbanization fostering social mobility and innovation, and

[7] Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Early Modern Istanbul," 4.
[8] Ibid., 7.
[9] James Grehan, "Early Modernity: An Idea in Need of Greater Depth."
[10] Shirine Hamadeh, "Public Sphere in the Eastern Mediterranean," 1102.
[11] Cemal Kafadar, "The City Opens Your Eyes Because It Wants to Be Seen: The Conspicuity and Lure of Early Modern Istanbul."

the formation of more articulated social hierarchies and sophisticated material cultures.[12]

With its focus on early modern Bursa and its urbanites, this dissertation argues that as much as the city provided for the urban folk, they reciprocated by partaking in its practices and institutions of urbanity. Secondly, this study asserts that through multifaceted acts of assembling in various spaces, establishing waqfs, patronizing arts, architecture, and public works, reading and writing, the city dwellers created an urban culture which would be accompanied by a strong urban awareness. This brings us to our final argument that this urban awareness was manifested in three distinct fashions: (i) it created urban pride, by linking important personages and the city's history into their personal narratives, Bursans exhibited a sense of belonging; (ii) this sense of belonging and place attachment[13] was also manifested in their attention to and their different modes of recording what was going on around them, and what had happened in the past in their city; (iii) the recognition of requirements of daily life in the city led to their contributing to the city and the urban folk in various ways, particularly by establishing charitable institutions.

This study first sets the scene and seeks to define the urban dwellers of Bursa. It then goes on to demonstrate three distinct aspects that were constitutive of urban life, namely charity and endowments directed to the city and the urban folk, modes of writing centered on the city, and book ownership and readership. Reflexivity would be key, especially commenting on *vefeyātnāme*s, the bibliographic dictionaries

[12] Grehan, "Early Modernity."
[13] Borrowed from environmental psychology, there is a recent dissertation surveying place attachment in the Ottoman society: Handan Karakaş Demir, "A Matter of Belonging: Place Attachment of Ordinary People in the 18th Century Ottoman Society." Bilkent University, 2023.

almost specific to Bursa, since they were both products of urban culture and at the same time, media through which we are able to delve into that very culture itself.

1.1 Who were the urban folk?

In *Mevâ`idü`n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ`idi`l-Mecâlis,* Mustafa 'Ali tells the reasons why he wrote this work. In 1587, he was asked by Murad III to compile a *risāle* about the Ottoman city dwellers and their gatherings. Later, others suggested that he expand this treatise, however he could not find the time to do so. After his trip to Cairo and Jeddah in 1598, he thought it was time to write a new version of it, for during his trip, he witnessed a loss of customs and manners.[14] What happened in those twelve years to compel Mustafa 'Ali to write an extended version of his *Book of Manners* at the turn of the century? Being informed that he wrote it also to appeal for a position, should we regard his compulsion to write a book of manners as a career move, and his disdain as a personal frustration?

Many scholars of Ottoman history wrote about advice literature and books of manners, and how they could be rendered as a witness to transformations in Ottoman social life and statecraft alike. The idealization of the period from the mid-15th to the mid-16th century in these texts was contrasted to what was perceived as the empire's decline.[15] Not all advice literature from the early modern Ottoman Empire was in unison,[16] and taking everything in these texts at face value would cause misjudgments about the period. The argument that the Ottoman Empire was in

[14] Mustafa 'Ali, *Mevâ`idü`n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ`idi`l-Mecâlis,* 263-265.
[15] Cornell Fleischer, "From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman Nasihatname;" Douglas Howard, "Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature;" Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*; Nir Shafir, "Moral Revolutions: The Politics of Piety in the Ottoman Empire Reimagined."
[16] Baki Tezcan, "From Veysî (d. 1628) to Üveysî (fl. ca. 1630): Ottoman Advice Literature and Its Discontents."

decline from the late sixteenth century onwards, therefore, has been rightfully criticized.[17] Naturally, the value judgments of the contemporary authors were at play. This can be seen from the changing tone and subject-matter in Ottoman political writing from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century.[18] Going back to our question about Mustafa Ali, we would see that his disdain was in fact due to the newcomers to the society (or rather into the *elite*) by whom ill manners became widespread.[19] It is true that there was anxiety triggered by fear of losing one's privileges but there was also a transformation in the society, and in the politics of the state, with changes ranging from tax farming to patronage relations and social norms. In historiography, various symptoms of this transformation were seen as "epiphenomena of a failed transition to capitalism" in Western European states while for the Ottoman Empire it was erroneously attributed to "symptoms of a deeper moral and institutional decay."[20]

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed some of the most important political events in the course of the Empire's history; from the most serious coin debasement (*sikke tağşişi*) of Ottoman history in 1585-6 to the first regicide in 1622.[21] As a land-based empire, the Ottoman Empire was struggling to cope with a cash deficit. This required the state to adopt a policy of monetization. Within this context, starting from the late sixteenth century, tax-farming (*iltizām*)

[17] Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline;" idem., "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the post Süleymânic Era;" Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the modern state: The Ottoman Empire, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries*
[18] Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the modern state*, 41-46: Abou-El-Haj compares the writings of Mustafa 'Ali and Koçu Bey with those of Mustafa Na'ima.
[19] This becomes clearer when he argues that *reʿāyā* "must be barred from entering the political class." (Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Ruling Elite between the Politics and 'the Economy,'" 549).
[20] Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: "Privatization" and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," 393: Early modernity presents itself as a useful conceptual tool here.
[21] Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Principal Political Events," 414.

became increasingly prevalent and at the end of the seventeenth century, this led to the emergence of lifelong tax farms (*mālikāne*).[22]

In the seventeenth century, the process termed bureaucratic routinization by Suraiya Faroqhi started to show itself. Within the context of changing patronage relations, pages and black eunuchs came to gain important positions in the palace bureaucracy.[23] Furthermore, with the Grand Vizier's office moving to the Sublime Porte in 1654, *ḳapı*/household tradition crystallized, consolidating another recruitment system in addition to that of the palace, called *ḳapılanmaḳ*.[24] Although the process had already started in the mid-sixteenth century with the growing importance of the imperial household in appointments to high offices within the provincial administration,[25] it was the Grand Vizier's *ḳapı* and in particular that of the Köprülü family, allowing "outsiders" to enter the ranks of political elites.[26] With the introduction of new "venues" rival to the Palace, a new type of elite competition emerged.[27]

While "outsiders" were crowding the ranks of the political elite, the boundaries between *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā* were increasingly blurred. This state-imposed division, based on dynastic law, *ḳānūn*, divided the population in terms of their tax-paying status.[28] The inclusion to the ranks of *ʿaskerī* was from nowhere other than the city. It seems that what disturbed the elite and came to be inscribed in some of

[22] Martha Mundy and Richard Saumarez Smith, *Governing Property, Making the Modern State: Law Administration and Production in Ottoman Syria*, 21; Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*; Oktay Özel, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia."
[23] Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Ruling Elite between the Politics and 'the Economy'" 556-564.
[24] Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," 439
[25] Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*.
[26] Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households," 439.
[27] It is important to note that patronage relations were always present, and the notion of a full meritocracy was in large part an idealization throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire.
[28] Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic legal tradition,* 40-41.

the advice texts was not only the breach in the social boundary but also its symbolization in the mixing of the cultures of the city and the palace. Not only as individuals spreading unwanted practices but also as groups of people attempting to change the ancient order, *şehirlüler* were seen through a patronizing lens. On the other hand, in the same line of fire was *the elite* who chose to spend time *in the city* and referred pejoratively as *şehir oğlanları.*[29] Selim Sırrı Kuru argues that *şehir oğlanları* were "men from among the elite who were shaped by streetwise experiences" and "older members of the elite, who socialized with residents of the city and frequented gatherings at public places."[30] Evidently, the term *şehir oğlanları* was not exclusively used to refer to members of the elite. Evliya Çelebi provides fitting examples, narrating that the Abaza people in Tophane sent their children back to their homeland in the northwest Caucasus to be taken as slaves and become the sultan's servants, rather than ending up as *şehir oğlanı* in Istanbul.[31] The term *şehirlü* in a more neutral sense*,* on the other hand, was used to denote a civil composition of urban folk, which was "not associated directly or necessarily with the imperial household or with the *ʿaskerī* class."[32] Therefore, it seems that contemporary use of *şehirlü, şehirli,* or *şehrī* did not always mean simply the urban dweller - anyone living in the city.[33] For example, starting especially from the seventeenth century, janissaries were definitely urban, members of the urban folk. They were mostly artisans, but also more and more artisans started to become janissaries, too.[34] Still, during the 1622 revolt, it was not clear who *şehirlü*s were. According to both Katip

[29] For instance, see, Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Ali*, Mevā'idü'n-Nefāis fī-Ḳavā'idi'l-Mecâlis,* 273, 287, 316, et alibi.
[30] Selim Sırrı Kuru, "Istanbul: A City of Men," 75.
[31] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, I. Kitap,* 216.
[32] Cemal Kafadar, "The City Opens Your Eyes Because It Wants to Be Seen," 34.
[33] This is far from surprising because even by today's standards, *şehirli*, in contrast to *taşralı* or *köylü* for instance, has cultural and political connotations.
[34] Marinos Sariyannis, "Unseen Rebels: The 'Mob' of Istanbul as a Constituent of Ottoman Revolt, Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries," 161-162.

Çelebi and Mustafa Naima, those urban folks who were unarmed (*şehirlüden silahsız olanlar*) armed themselves with wooden sticks and when they were asked to leave (*şehirlü aramızdan çıksın*), they responded that they would stick with the soldiers (*biz askerden ayrılmazuz*).[35] This points to an ambiguous distinction between *şehirlü* and *ʿasker.* Therefore, a contemporary definition of *şehirli* - or urban folk - is elusive and this very difficulty to define *şehirli* points to the novelty and dynamism of this formation.

Thomas Bauer defines a group of men of letters who were active in both production and consumption of literature in the late medieval Cairo. Claiming that this group included even men from the lower strata of the society, he proposes to call this group *Bürgertum* - for lack of a better word, since *Bürgertum* "is less associated with economic status than" *bourgeoisie.*[36] Drawing upon Bauer, Cemal Kafadar sympathizes with this usage and uses it as a shorthand to refer to a rising public accompanying "new levels and forms of urbanization" in the early modern Ottoman cities. [37] Although the producers and consumers of literature, or cultural products in general, could not be classified as outright elite, more often than not they belonged to a middling sort (and sometimes, the well-to-do) in terms of general wealth. Evidently, members of this group were, especially in the case of Bursa, neither imperial or palatial elites of the empire nor bourgeoisie of capitalistic societies. Still, we do not have any evidence to show that urban poor could be included in this urban folk. Furthermore, this group was by no means isolated and static. The culture of the urban folk can only be explained via its relationship with military ruling class and the

[35] Mustafa Naima Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima. Cilt II,* 482; Zeynep Aycibin, "Kâtib Çelebi. Fezleke. Tahlil ve Metin," 677.
[36] Thomas Bauer, "'Ayna hādhā min al-Mutanabbī!' Toward an Aesthetics of Mamluk Literature," 7.
[37] Cemal Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night, how black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love: the changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early-modern Istanbul," 244.

religious establishment[38] while many members of these two also belonged to the middling sort in question. I use the term "middling sort" first and foremost as it is used to distinguish "those who were neither the richest merchants or gentry, nor the poor."[39] There are two other reasons why I choose to use the term middling sort, a concept primarily employed by historians of early modern England. First, it was used by the historians since it was employed by English contemporaries to distinguish themselves from the poor, and who were, in turn, distinguished from the elites.[40] Second, it was used again by English contemporaries in a locally contingent, essentially urban, context.[41] Therefore, it is important to stress that the term "middling sort" does not have a direct counterpart in the sources I have employed. We have briefly touched upon the usage of *şehirlü,* in a range of meanings and in different contexts, as it is important to consider the words and expressions used by Ottoman contemporaries to denominate their own and other groups.[42]

The sources used in this dissertation never suggest that partaking in the cultural domain was independent of economic and social capital. The urban folk in seventeenth-century Ottoman cities who actively participated in and contributed to urban culture seem to have been relatively well-off, though they were not necessarily the wealthiest. However, it would be erroneous to claim that urban culture relied solely on this group. In the end, every daily life habit, attraction and encounter across all strata of society contributed to that vibrant culture, even though our sources do not document most of them. Therefore, it is important to note that the cultural

[38] Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books: A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, 8.
[39] Craig Muldrew, "The 'Middling Sort': An Emergent Cultural Identity," 291.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Henry R. French, *The middle sort of people in provincial England 1600−1750,* Chapter 4.
[42] There have been studies on nicknames and sobriquet, or some other studies conducted on certain conceptualizations such as Aslıhan Gürbüzel's "Citizens of Piety: Networks of Piety and the Public Sphere in Early Modern Ottoman Cities" on *ṣulaḥā* (the pious); yet a comprehensive "linguistic turn" approach is still needed.

practices or aspects of urban culture I examine are those that were new or became more visible during our period. Consequently, my focus is on a middling sort. Although they were not the ruling elites of the empire, these Bursans could be regarded as local elites with considerable wealth, which allowed them to receive an education, pursue a profession, and occasionally own books. In Chapter 2, I further define this middling sort in terms of income and wealth, striving for consistency in the analysis.

1.2 Scholarship on Ottoman urban culture and history

The study of Ottoman urban culture and history has evolved significantly over recent decades, with scholars increasingly focusing on the complexities and dynamics of urban life in the Ottoman Empire. This dissertation situates itself within this rich body of literature, engaging thematically with key aspects of urbanity, sociability, and cultural production in early modern Ottoman cities. Although a fairly new subfield, it is possible to trace the roots of urban history back to the nineteenth century and for the Ottoman aspect, we can see that some questions were raised by scholars at least as early as in Celal Esad's writings in the late nineteenth century. However, it is after the 1970s that the subfield became a major area of historical study and within the following decade, of Ottoman history. If we look in a retrospective manner, we can find some urban historical aspects in some of the works -or works that can be seen completely as urban history- in Ömer Lütfi Barkan or Halil İnalcık's early studies. Of course, there were urban monographs such as Albert Gabriel's study of Bursa (1958),[43] Robert Mantran's on Istanbul life (1962),[44] or

[43] Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque.*
[44] Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale.*

André Raymond's *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (1973-1974).[45] However, coinciding with the Islamic city debate in the 60s and 70s, whereby a set of scholars argued against the orientalist idea that an unalterable and rigid Islamic law was responsible for shaping the city and urban life,[46] innovative and interdisciplinary studies on the city started to be published. This development followed two separate axes.[47]

The first axis came from architecture. Although the first major studies in the domain of architectural history were conducted by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, starting from 1950s, it was in the late 1960s and 1970s that scholars such as Aptullah Kuran, Ülkü Bates, Doğan Kuban, and Ayda Arel started a novel approach where their studies were not architectural history as a sub-branch of art history but rather - mostly- early examples of urban history, responding to the questions of urban form and structure. Westernization and western influence, urban planning and its socio-political aspects were also issues addressed in this body of work.

The second route that was taken by scholars working on Ottoman urban history was related to archival sources. From kadi records to *taḥrīr*s, waqf registers and *ḳānūnnāme*s, the sources provided vast information about urban life. *Taḥrīr*s, for instance, would reflect many features about Ottoman cities and many studies on migration, taxes, and communal division might be conducted with them. One of the earliest studies in that vein was Heath Lowry's portraits of Trebizond and Thessaloniki (1980-1). Lowry, using *taḥrīr*s, tried to show not only the changing

[45] André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle.*
[46] Babak Rahimi and Kaya Şahin, "Introduction: Early Modern Islamic Cities," 3.
[47] A third branch might be added as the cultural/entertainment aspect of Ottoman life, mostly conducted by Metin And and Özdemir Nutku. Having started as early as 1959 with And's *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece: Eski Donanma ve Şenliklerde Seyirlik Oyunlar*, one of the most recent examples of studies in this branch would be Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "The 1720 Imperial Festival in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," Boğaziçi University, 2017.

aspects of demography and religious patterns, but he also formulated the positioning of the quarters, development of neighborhoods (and their names) with distinguishing settlement patterns and the occupational patterns.[48]

Although it might be reasonable to see studies of Istanbul as more prevalent, we cannot say that studies of urban history on Istanbul were the dominant trend in the 1970s and 1980s. In scholarship on Ottoman history, it is no doubt that studies on Istanbul had the biggest share; yet, we can say that urban histories of cities such as Aleppo,[49] Jerusalem,[50] Damascus,[51] Cairo,[52] Ankara and Kayseri,[53] Ankara and Konya,[54] Bursa[55] and İzmir,[56] and other cities[57] also made important contributions to this area in the 1980s.

From the 90s onward, similar studies continued as well as other studies with a diverse and/or specialized focus started to be published. These foci consisted of architecture, trade, consumer culture, material culture, social policing, charity and public works, urban development, gender, law, epidemics and diseases, graveyards and many more subjects. The last twenty years, on the other hand, saw significant works of urban history with a novel approach. One of the most important examples that discusses the Islamic city assertions is a collection of three long articles (1999)

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[48] Heath Lowry, *Portrait of a city: the population and topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the year 1478*; idem., *Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşma ve Türkleşmesi 1461-1583*.
[49] Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the eve of modernity: Aleppo in the eighteenth century*; André Raymond., *La ville arabe, Alep, à l'époque ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles).*
[50] Amnon Cohen, *Jewish life under Islam: Jerusalem in the sixteenth century*; idem., *Economic life in Ottoman Jerusalem*.
[51] Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus 1708-1758.*
[52] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule: Institutions, waqf, and architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th centuries.*
[53] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance: house owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*.
[54] Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klâsik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı. XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya.*
[55] Haim Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700*; Özer Ergenç, *XVI. yüzyıl sonlarında Bursa.*
[56] Daniel Goffman, *İzmir and the Levantine world, 1550-1650.*
[57] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, crafts, and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650.*

by Bruce Masters, Daniel Goffman, and Edhem Eldem on Aleppo, İzmir, and Istanbul, respectively. The authors focused on the particular urban dynamics of these Ottoman cities in an effort to oppose the idea that the Islamic city was monolithic and standardizing.[58]

From urbanization to social network of endowments, urban identity formation to representations of the city, aspects of early modern urbanity have been addressed in the scholarship of the past decades. A central theme in the scholarship on Ottoman urban culture is the role of urbanization in shaping social hierarchies and cultural identities. Many scholars have explored how architectural developments, public works, public spaces, and leisure activities in cities like Istanbul fostered a distinct urban identity. Shirine Hamadeh's *The City's Pleasures* (2008) brought architectural history into urban history in an innovative manner, using not only architectural sources but also literary sources largely.[59] Dealing with eighteenth-century Istanbul, Hamadeh argues about an opening up in both architectural patronage and uses of the city. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, on the other hand, focused on the formative period of that imperial vision in Istanbul through a reorganization of the Byzantine capital. Her book, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul. Cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital* (2009), argues that it was a period in Ottoman history where making a capital coincided with, or even was conducive to, making an empire.[60] In a similar vein, Suna Çağaptay's book, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire* (2021) goes back in time to follow the making of another capital, Bursa, an important step in the Ottomans' journey from a frontier polity to an empire, again

[58] Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between east and west: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.*
[59] Shirine Hamadeh. *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century.*
[60] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul. Cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital.*

with a focus on reconciliation with the Byzantine past.[61] Heghnar Watenpaugh's *The image of an Ottoman city* (2004) critically engages with the urban development efforts on the part of the Ottoman ruling elite generating a new visual vocabulary between the imperial and local in Aleppo following the Ottoman conquest of the city. [62] Additionally, the role of charitable acts and endowments (waqfs) in urban cultural production has been a significant area of research. Kafescioğlu, Watenpaugh, and Çağaptay have noted how these acts were not only expressions of piety but also mechanisms for establishing social order and urban cohesion. All these studies underscore how urban settings were not just physical spaces but were imbued with social and cultural significance, shaping the identities and interactions of their inhabitants.

Another crucial area of research is the concept of urbanity, the examination of social networks and communal life within Ottoman cities. James Grehan's *Everyday life and consumer culture in eighteenth-century Damascus* (2007) uses probate inventories to delve into material culture and consumer culture in Damascus.[63] Hülya Canbakal's book on Antep, *Society and politics in an Ottoman town* (2007), on the other hand, employs court records to reveal the increasing dominance of the local elite over the economic and social life in the seventeenth century.[64] Although mostly on the 18th century, Tülay Artan's work has made an important contribution to the study of early modern urbanity especially in "Forms and forums of expression:

[61] Suna Çağaptay, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire: The religious, architectural, and social history of Bursa.*
[62] Heghnar Watenpaugh, *The image of an Ottoman city: Imperial architecture and urban experience in Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*.
[63] James Grehan, *Everyday life and consumer culture in eighteenth-century Damascus.*
[64] Hülya Canbakal, *Society and politics in an Ottoman town: 'Ayntāb in the 17th century.*

Istanbul and beyond, 1600-1800," in which she examines the changing daily life activities together with their visibility and representation.[65]

Inquiry into urban networks have also been an important approach for studying Ottoman cities in the seventeenth century. Charles Wilkins (2010) studied court records in the seventeenth century Aleppo in order to reveal the change in the urban institutions during a time of war.[66] Drawing upon domestic conflict, Eunjeong Yi (2004) worked on guild organizations and their flexibility during times of conflict and peace alike. Against the unchallenged claims of traditionalism, Yi provided new insights for the Ottoman guilds in Istanbul, which were not completely under control of the authorities but able to negotiate their position to a great extent.[67]

From the impact of long-distance trade on urban dynamics to book ownership patterns of urbanites, Nelly Hanna's studies coincide with this dissertation at many points. Her *Making Big Money in 1600, In praise of books,* and *Artisan entrepreneurs in Cairo and early-modern capitalism (1600–1800).* All deal with the making of an urban society and of a middling sort in the context of early modern Cairo with respect to patterns of class and culture.[68]

A major discussion about early modern urbanity in the Ottoman Empire revolves around the themes of sociability and public space in relation to the advent of new social institutions, such as coffeehouses, or new forms of association in the existing ones, such as bozahouses, taverns, and bathhouses. First major work covering the coffeehouse debate is Ralph S. Hattox's *Coffee and coffeehouses: the*

[65] Tülay Artan, "Forms and forums of expression: Istanbul and beyond, 1600-1800."
[66] Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640–1700.*
[67] Eunjeong Yi, *Guild dynamics in seventeenth-century Istanbul : fluidity and leverage*.
[68] Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant;* idem., *In praise of books: A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century*; idem., *Artisan entrepreneurs in Cairo and early-modern capitalism (1600–1800).*

origins of a social beverage in the medieval Near East (1985). Hamadeh's aforementioned work also deals with the emergence of a distinct urban identity in 18th-century Istanbul, shaped by new architectural forms, public spaces, and leisure activities, such as coffeehouses and gardens, which became sites of social interaction and cultural exchange. In addition, Cengiz Kırlı's study delves into the role of coffeehouses in late 18th and early 19th century Istanbul, exploring how these venues served as key sites of male public sociability, information exchange, occupational networking, and resistance, thereby illuminating the tensions and negotiations between the state and society.[69] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu's works, on the other hand, explores the transformation of visual and spatial practices in early modern Istanbul. They examine how the representation of urban spaces reflected broader social and cultural shifts, highlighting the intricate relationship between urban development, visual culture, and the evolving identity of Istanbul, showcasing how these elements collectively shaped a unique and vibrant urban landscape.[70]

The most recent example of significance in early modern Ottoman urban history is a "holistic approach" to early modern Istanbul with a critical and innovative look. Edited by Hamadeh and Kafescioğlu, *A companion to early modern Istanbul* (2021) brings together cutting-edge research articles on various aspects of Istanbul's past between the later fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries in a comprehensive collection.[71]

Challenging the idea of the Islamic city, these studies brought about new perspectives into the scholarship as not only alternative readings of early modern

[69] Cengiz Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780-1845."
[70] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580;" idem., "Picturing the square, the streets, and denizens of early modern Istanbul: practices of urban space and shifts in visuality."
[71] Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Eds.), *A companion to early modern Istanbul.*

Ottoman urban experience but also as analyses of various aspects of that experience from literature to trade, leisure to architecture. As the city became increasingly more central in the early modern period, the urban setting started to secure its place in the macro developments such as capital formation, state-building, the expansion of global trade networks, and changing social hierarchies. It also bears mentioning that these aforementioned studies, using the urban backdrop, have demonstrated a continuity in many aspects of urban experience from the late medieval era to modernity. This continuity could be used as a caution that not every development ascribed to early modernity is unprecedented.[72]

The work undertaken by the (early modern) Ottoman urban historians also challenged certain conceptual biases starting from the decline paradigm and the Islamic city, but also many other ascriptions or presuppositions stemming from Orientalist approaches, such as the randomness of the law, traditionalism, flexibility, absence of private property and many more. Therefore, the authors of these studies have embarked on their work by "taking to the streets." Through a case-specific approach most of the time, and whenever possible, incorporating the voices from below into their research, aforementioned studies have revealed the early modern urban dynamism in the Ottoman domain.

This dissertation engages with the themes of urbanity, sociability, and cultural production in early modern Ottoman cities by building on and contributing to the existing scholarship. Through a thematic exploration of architectural developments, social networks, charitable acts, and literary activities, it seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how urban culture was created and experienced in Bursa; how the city's vibrant and diverse culture was marked by its

[72] Boğaç A. Ergene, "On Ottoman Early Modernity."

receptiveness to different influences and its capacity to assimilate and reshape these influences into a distinctive urban identity. By situating itself within the broader debates on Ottoman urbanity, urban networks, and culture, this study offers new perspectives on the dynamic and multifaceted nature of urban life in the early modern period.

Additionally, this dissertation introduces *vefeyātnāme*s as city monographs, both as reflections of urban culture and as products of the same culture. By cross-reading vefeyātnāmes with other sources, it aims to better portray the reading and writing culture, understand practices of patronage and philanthropy, social networks, and group dynamics. This approach also demonstrates modes of inscribing established and novel senses of belonging (to some extent, being Bursan while competing with being an Istanbulite). Engaging deeply with primary sources and secondary literature, this study reveals the continuity and change in Ottoman urban culture during the seventeenth century.

1.3 Bursa

Bursa occupies a special place in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, as the first capital of the empire, Bursa had been important but even after it lost its status as the capital; it continued to be cherished. This exaltation kept Bursa alive in the cultural domain with its numerous Sufi lodges and many madrasas, while the trade routes coming from the east and bringing especially silk, which, later on, would bring along a full-scale silkworming and silk production industry, provided the economic means. Bursa's economic and cultural significance (to which we should add its symbolic significance due to Bursa's past as the capital, and the many members of the sultanic family whose tombs it housed) played into the making of a

Bursan identity. As this thesis will expound, an increasing urban awareness and a feeling of superiority, possibly in the face of a competition with Istanbul, is evident in the literature produced by Bursans.

Seventeenth-century Bursa, although being a large city itself, was still a "service city" as Suraiya Faroqhi argues[73] and had its strong ties with the palace.[74] During the seventeenth century, Bursa still had madrasas providing a career track to the highest offices in the judicial and teaching hierarchies.[75] On the other hand, the seventeenth century urban society and culture in Bursa has almost never been explored in detail. The only monograph dealing with seventeenth-century Bursa is Haim Gerber's *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700.* Gerber's book is a thorough study of every detail in the economic life and demography of the city but not everyday life and culture in the city. Özer Ergenç's study on the late sixteenth-century Bursa, on the other hand, has a brief section on social mobility and stratification. Ergenç comments on two modes of vertical mobility - one between *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*, and another one, of manumitted slaves.[76] Ergenç claims that, parallel to early modern Western European practices, the rich among the *reʿāyā* wanted to move upward for purposes of tax-exemption but were already considered within the *elite.* Although he argues that social mobility existed, he does not undertake a new conceptualization - except his brief remarks about the title *çelebi,* which he considers as an intermediate form.

[73] Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 358.
[74] Ömer Düzbakar, "Work and Organization in the Ottoman Empire: Notes on the Trade Guilds of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Bursa," 414-53.
[75] Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety, The Ottoman Ulema in the Classical Age*, 60-1: Especially Kaplıca and Yıldırım madrasas. See 4.4 for more information.
[76] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. yüzyılın sonlarında Bursa,* 119-120. As mentioned by many others and explained in detail by Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," this increasing rate of manumission and change from slaves to cheap free labor would be important in the silk industry throughout the 17th century. We will be dealing with this in the next chapter.

Many studies conducted on the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of Bursa -to which I will turn in the following review of scholarship- have focused on the social life within the dichotomies of *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*, with little attention to changes in the cultural life, social institutions, or patronage relations.

Another reason Bursa was chosen is that the city's history reflects important nodal points throughout the seventeenth century that would reveal significant changes in the urban fabric. The changing nature of the silk trade in Bursa marked a significant shift when the city began serving a domestic market rather than the court or the international market. Additionally, the wars with Safavid Iran halted the flow of raw materials. Towards the end of the century, shifting trade routes elevated İzmir as a major trading town. The sieges of Kalenderoğlu Mehmed Bey (1607) and Abaza Mehmed Pasha (1658) further impacted Bursa. Despite these challenges, Bursa retained its importance as a place of burial and retirement for members of the courtly elite, a place of residence for ulema who were retired or out of favor, and the birthplace of a significant number of poets. These reasons underpin my choice of Bursa as a lens to explore the social and cultural dynamics outlined above.

As we have noted the secondary studies that paved the way for this work above, this is an appropriate time to comment on the studies on Bursa. Probably the first book that dealt with Bursa in terms of its history and monuments was written by Joseph von Hammer in the early nineteenth century (1818).[77] In the twentieth century, perhaps one of the earliest and most important attempts in categorizing Ottoman archival documents, Kamil Kepecioğlu brought together his *Bursa Kütüğü* (1945),which may be regarded as an encyclopedia for Bursa.[78] This was followed by

[77] Joseph von Hammer, *Unblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa und dem Olympos, und zon da zurück über Nicaa und Nicomedien.*
[78] Kamil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü. 4 Cilt.*

Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu's book (1940) on Bursa in the sixteenth century.[79] Mid-century saw an increasing interest in the architecture of Bursa. Kazım Baykal published his famous *Bursa ve anıtları* [Bursa and its monuments] in 1950.[80] Later, Sedad Hakkı Eldem wrote about Bursa houses (1954).[81] Shortly after, Bursa was celebrated by Albert Gabriel in his book *Une capitale turque* (1958).[82] In this book, Gabriel provided historical information together with maps, plans, surveys, and cross sections of edifices, and a variety of photographs. Just two years later, Fahri Dalsar (1960) brought about many entries from court records to draw a picture of silk-worming and production in Bursa, making an important shift of focus which would be significant only later in the twentieth century.[83] Murat Çizakça wrote a dissertation (1978) and published extensively on the Bursan trade and silk industry and brought it into focus once more.[84]

In 1970, Klaus Liebe-Harkort published his study on economic and social aspects of Bursa in the sixteenth century.[85] This monograph was followed by Haim Gerber's monograph for seventeenth century Bursa (1987).[86] Hüseyin Özdeğer published a detailed study on Bursa *tereke* records (estate inventories) in 1988.[87] Another sicil-based study, Nurcan Abacı's (2001) book deals with the implementation of law in Bursa during the seventeenth century.[88] In 2009, İklil Selçuk defended her dissertation on Bursa in the fifteenth century.[89] Recently, Özer

[79] Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu, *On altıncı asırda Bursa (1558-1589).*
[80] Kazım Baykal, *Bursa ve anıtları.*
[81] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Bursa evleri.*
[82] Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque. 2 tomes.*
[83] Fahri Dalsar, *Türk sanayi ve ticaret tarihinde Bursa'da ipekçilik*.
[84] Murat Çizakça, "Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century Inflation and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Pattern for Ottoman Industrial Decline?" University of Pennsylvania.
[85] Klaus Liebe-Harkort, *Beiträge zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Lage Bursas am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts.*
[86] Haim Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700.*
[87] Hüseyin Özdeğer, *1463 - 1640 yılları Bursa şehri tereke defterleri*.
[88] Nurcan Abacı, *Bursa Şehrinde Osmanlı Hukuku'nun Uygulanması (17. Yüzyıl)*.
[89] İklil Oya Selçuk, "State and Society in the Market Place: A Study of Late Fifteenth-Century Bursa." Harvard University, Cambridge, USA.

Ergenç published a study for the late sixteenth-century Bursa (2014).[90] Architectural historians' interest continued with Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and İbrahim Aydın Yüksel's volumes on early Ottoman architecture (1972, 1973, 1989),[91] Aptullah Kuran (1968, 1996)[92] and Oya Pancaroğlu's (1995)[93] studies about early Ottoman Bursa. The most recent attempt for a Bursa monograph in this vein was conducted by Suna Çağaptay (2021), roughly for the time period between Bursa's conquest and Istanbul's being made the new capital.[94]

In addition to the scholarly interest in architecture in Bursa, the city was often addressed as a spiritual capital. In addition to Mustafa Kara (1990)[95] and Hasan Basri Öcalan's (2000)[96] works on Sufism, Sufi lodges, and orders in Bursa in the early modern era, many works that dealt with the history of Sufism in the city have been published. Studies on *vefeyātnāme*s (biographical dictionaries - which will be discussed in detail later on) revealed the relations and connections of many important mystics and Sufi lodges. Most important vefeyātnāme studies were conducted by Kadir Atlansoy (1998),[97] Suat Donuk (2016),[98] and Abdurrezzak Tek (2004; 2023).[99]

In addition to *vefeyātnāme*s, *şehrengīz* (a literary genre depicting the beauties of a city - more will be said on them later) was an important source of study. Bursa *şehrengīz*es have been examined in detail. Starting with Metin Akkuş's (1987)

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[90] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. yüzyılın sonlarında Bursa.*
[91] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and İ. Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri*; idem., *Osmanlı mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad devri*; idem., *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*; İ. Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı mimarisinde II.Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim devri.*
[92] Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in early Ottoman architecture*; idem., "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul."
[93] Oya Pancaroğlu, "Architecture, Landscape, and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital."
[94] Çağaptay, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire.*
[95] Mustafa Kara, *Bursa'da tarikatlar ve tekkeler, 2 Cilt.*
[96] Hasan Basri Öcalan, *Bursa'da tasavvuf kültürü: XVII. yüzyıl.*
[97] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri: Bursa Vefeyatnamelerindeki Şairlerin Biyografileri.*
[98] Suat Donuk, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Beliğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı.*
[99] Abdurrezzak Tek, "Osmanlı Tasavvuf Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmelerinden Ricâl-i Zeyniyye;" idem., *Süleyman Halis'in vefeyâtında Osmanlı dönemi Bursa'da dinî ve sosyal zümreler: Sûf'iler, müderrisler, kadılar, kâtipler, tüccarlar (1618-1769)*.

seminal study[100] which brought to light all known Bursa *şehrengīz*es, this genre continued to draw interest as attested to by studies by Nuran Tezcan (2001),[101] Selim S. Kuru (2005),[102] Emine Tuğcu (2007),[103] Zeynep Yapar (2020),[104] and others.

Being a former capital and retaining its ties with the new one, Bursa was a major city for sultanic waqfs. Waqf-based studies in Bursa, therefore, have been abundant, such as Samettin Başol's studies on the fifteenth- and the seventeenth-century waqfs (2001, 2008),[105] Cafer Çiftçi's works on socio-economic impact of waqfs (2002, 2004),[106] to name a few. Waqfs founded by women were also a focus of attention. Fatma Korkmaz (1997),[107] Kübra Abazi (2016),[108] and Nida Gür Kamut (2022),[109] among others, conducted studies on women's waqfs.

The same year when Fahri Dalsar's then-unorthodox book came out, Halil İnalcık published his well-known article "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant." İnalcık wrote on different aspects of Bursa's history in a range of publications. His interest in the economic life in Bursa was continued by Murat Çizakça (1978, 1980),[110] Suraiya Faroqhi (2003, 2005, 2005-6, 2008, 2015, and many more),[111]

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[100] Metin Akkuş, "Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Bursa Şehr-engizleri."
[101] Nuran Tezcan, "Güzele Bir Şehrengizden Bakış."
[102] Selim Sırrı Kuru, "Lami'i Çelebi'nin Gözüyle Bursa."
[103] Emine Tuğcu, "Şehrengizler ve Âyîne-i Hûbân-ı Bursa: Bursa Şehrengizlerinde Güzeller."
[104] Zeynep Yapar, "Bursa şehr-engizlerinde mekan tasvirleri."
[105] Samettin Başol, "Vakfiyelere Göre XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları;" idem., "Kentleşme, ekonomi ve sosyal hayat yönleriyle 17. yüzyıl Bursa vakıfları."
[106] Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Su Yollarının Bakımı ve Onarımında Vakıfların Rolü;" idem., *Bursa'da vakıfların sosyo-ekonomik işlevleri.*
[107] Fatma Korkmaz, "Selçuk Hatun ve Vakıfları."
[108] Kübra Abazi, "XVII. Asrın İlk Çeyreğinde Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri."
[109] Nida Gür Kamut, "XVII. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri,"
[110] Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650."
[111] Suraiya Faroqhi, "How to Live and Die Rich in Eighteenth-century Bursa: the Fortune of Hacı Ibrahim, Tanner;" idem., "Indebtedness in the Bursa area, 1730-1740;" idem., "Water, work and money-grabbing: mobilizing funds and rural labour in the Bursa region around 1600;" idem., "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa;" idem., "Surviving in difficult times: the cotton and silk trades in Bursa around 1800."

Mustafa Asım Yediyıldız (2003),[112] Eminegül Karababa (2006),[113] and others. Cash waqfs were also an important subject of scrutiny in the economic history of Bursa. Murat Çizakça's "Cash Waqfs of Bursa, 1555-1823" and Değer Alper & Canan Erdoğan's study on the economic impact of cash waqfs (2009)[114] were important attempts to reveal the nature of cash waqfs.

Various aspects of social life in Bursa have been explored by scholars. Halil Sahillioğlu's (1985)[115] study on slavery and its impact on social and economic life in Bursa has been furthered by Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin's (2020) long-term study.[116] Non-Muslim life in Bursa, although based only on Ottoman documents, were explored to some extent in Ali İhsan Karataş's (2009),[117] and Osman Çetin's (1999)[118] works. Çetin also worked on conversion. Haim Gerber's important study on Bursa women (1980),[119] and Ali İhsan Karataş's (2009)[120] interesting study on the exiles of Bursa are only some examples detailing Bursa's social life. Education and educational institutions in Bursa, on the other hand, were studied by Mefail Hızlı in two studies, one on *sıbyan mekteb*s (1999), and other on madrasas (2013).[121]

Multiple aspects of Bursa have been under the lens of the historian. In our study, on the other hand, we are exploring early modern Ottoman urbanity, sociability, and cultural production by examining architectural developments, social

[112] Mustafa Asım Yediyıldız, *Şer'iye Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Bursa Esnafı ve Ekonomik Hayat.*
[113] Eminegül Karababa, "Origins of a consumer culture in an early modern context: Ottoman Bursa." Bilkent University, Ankara.
[114] Değer Alper and Canan Erdoğan, "16. ve 18. yy arasında Bursa Para Vakıfları ve Bursa Ekonomisine Etkileri."
[115] Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries."
[116] Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Slavery and Decline of Slave-Ownership in Ottoman Bursa 1460–1880."
[117] Ali İhsan Karataş, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde gayrimüslimlerin toplum hayatı: Bursa örneği*.
[118] Osman Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa'da ihtida hareketleri ve sonuçları.*
[119] Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in Ottoman Bursa, 1600-1700."
[120] Ali İhsan Karataş, *Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Sürgünleri (18-19. Asırlar)*.
[121] Mefail Hızlı, *Osmanlı klasik döneminde ilköğretim ve Bursa sıbyan mektepleri*; idem., *Mahkeme sicillerine göre Osmanlı klasik dönemi Bursa medreselerinde eğitim-öğretim*.

networks, charitable acts, and literary activities in Bursa, bringing the focus more specifically down to the street level, and trying to shed light on the aspects of the social and cultural configuration of urbanites and their connections to various practices of social, professional, and literary life in the seventeenth century, to understand how and in what ways they constituted an urban society.

1.4 Sources and methodology

The main methodological challenge in this dissertation has been that the subject matter allows for a variety of differing approaches since urban culture, as a whole, can be approached in various ways, and the vast range of cultural products, from literature to architecture, from food culture to material culture call for various modes of engaging with the source material. The approach adopted here, therefore, is necessarily selective, and how and why it was chosen should be made clear. First of all, drawing upon Bruno Latour's warning that "the task of defining and ordering the social should be left to the actors themselves, not taken up by the analyst,"[122] I have consulted the many sources Bursa had to offer, which I will mention in detail. By prioritizing some of the least studied sources, or the least studied aspects of sources, I have strived to explore some of the most visible expressions of urbanity in early modern Bursa. Thus, the methodology I have selected has directed me to most relevant sources. Most importantly, *vefeyātnāme*s proved to be significant sources which reflected the urban culture of early modern Bursa. Through them and other sources that will be mentioned, I have encountered a close-knit network of endowments, expanding Sufi circles integrating into the city both socially and architecturally, and developing a culture of reading and writing. The choice to focus

[122] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 23.

on these three distinct aspects of urban culture has allowed me to trace the different dimensions of the overarching theme of Bursa-mindedness, and to study early modern Bursans as makers of and participants in their own cultural domain.

Therefore, for the aims of this dissertation, the most notable source in terms of their centrality to this dissertation's structure and arguments were Bursa court records, together with *vefeyātnāme*s. Simply, *vefeyātnāme*s are biographic, or even encyclopedic, works which bring together the lives of important personages who were born, lived, or died in a certain region.[123] This "region" could be a city or a different spatial entity - even a graveyard.[124] *Vefeyātnāme*s were not unprecedented as compilations of biographies. They may be considered part of a rooted tradition of biographical encyclopedias in the Islamic world at large and in the Ottoman Empire in particular. But the major difference between *vefeyātnāme*s and, for instance, *şuʿarā tezkiresi*, biographical encyclopedia of poets, is that the former specifies a group of deceased individuals according to their profession or locality.[125] There were many other *vefeyātnāme*s for different groups of professions.[126] However, the capacity that crosses paths with our concern is that most *vefeyātnāme*s are based on cities, for Bursa was the most important in the genre. There are thirteen extant vefeyātnāmes that were based on Bursa.[127] The authors of Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s often chose to include those important personages who, even briefly, lived in the city (such as Niyazi-i Mısri), including these people into a sort of lineage of being Bursan.[128]

[123] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri: Bursa vefeyatnamelerindeki şairlerin biyografileri*, 77
[124] For instance, the first known *vefeyātnāme* of Bursa, simply, lists people who were buried in Zeyniyye graveyard (Kadir Atlansoy, "Edebiyat Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmeleri I: Mehmed b. Sa'dî'nin Bursa Vefeyâtı").
[125] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri*, 142; Suat Donuk, *Türk edebiyatında vefeyatname ve İsmail Beliğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı*, 31.
[126] Donuk, *Güldeste*, 53-69.
[127] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri,* 80; Abdurrezzak Tek, "Osmanlı Tasavvuf Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmelerinden Ricâl-i Zeyniyye;" Donuk, 71-75.
[128] Donuk, 401.

Further, they sometimes spared considerable space to saints who had never been in the city, if the Sufi groups connected to them had flourished here. Among these latter are Eşrefzade Sultan, Karaca Ahmed, and Ebu İshak.[129]

In this dissertation, I will be using six *vefeyātnāme*s to various extents and in different capacities. I will be employing two shorter *vefeyātnāme*s, which are based on those who were buried in the graveyard of the Zeyni lodge in Bursa. One belonging to Mehmed b. Sadi and dated to before 1630 was published in full by Kadir Atlansoy.[130] The other belonging to Davudzade Mehmed and dated to before 1666 was published by Abdurrezzak Tek.[131] I will also be using a copy of this *vefeyātnāme* from one *mecmūʿa* in Bursa İnebey Manuscript Library.[132] These were used in comparison to the other *vefeyātnāme*s to reveal their role in the development of the genre. However, their biographical information about the deceased is scant compared to the other *vefeyātnāme*s we used. The two major works employed throughout the dissertation are *Ravża-i Evlīyā* [The Heavenly Garden of Friends of God] (1649)[133] by Baldırzade Selisi Mehmed (d. 1650) and *Güldeste-i riyāż-ı ʻirfān ve vefeyāt-ı dānişverān-ı nādiredān* [Anthology of the garden of wisdom and obituaries of the unique erudite] (1722)[134] by İsmail Beliğ (d. 1729). There is another *vefeyātnāme* from 1752 by Süleyman Halis, whose whereabouts was not known until recently. Abdurrezzak Tek's book about this rather short *vefeyātnāme* does not include a facsimile or a transliteration.[135] Therefore, I have consulted this book only

[129] Baldırzade, 274-285.
[130] Kadir Atlansoy, "Edebiyat Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmeleri I: Mehmed b. Sa'dî'nin Bursa Vefeyâtı."
[131] Abdurrezzak Tek, "Osmanlı Tasavvuf Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmelerinden Ricâl-i Zeyniyye."
[132] BİYEK, Genel 854, 78b-83a.
[133] Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed, *Ravza-i Evliya.* Hereon, *Ravza*.
[134] Suat Donuk, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Beliğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı*; İsmail Beliğ, *Güldeste-i riyāż-ı ʻirfān ve vefeyāt-ı dānişverān-ı nādiredān.* Hereon, *Güldeste*.
[135] Abdurrezzak Tek, *Süleyman Halis'in vefeyâtında Osmanlı dönemi Bursa'da dinî ve sosyal zümreler: Sûf'iler, müderrisler, kadılar, kâtipler, tüccarlar (1618-1769)*.

in a limited manner. The final *vefeyātnāme* I have used is the last Bursa *vefeyātnāme* published: Mehmed Şemseddin's (d. 1936) *Yādigār-ı Şemsī* (1913).[136] Although it was composed in the early twentieth century, I have employed this work since it is organized spatially around the Sufi lodges and has a focus on the history of Sufism in Bursa. Due to the fact that this study focuses on the seventeenth century, I have used this source to a more limited extent.

I have employed *Vefeyātnāme*s primarily in two different capacities: (i) as sources reflecting seventeenth-century Bursa and Bursans, (ii) as cultural products of seventeenth-century Bursa and Bursans. Therefore, I have chosen to include İsmail Beliğ's *vefeyātnāme* (1722), as it allocates considerable space to those who lived in the seventeenth century, covering also the second half of the 1600s unlike Baldırzade's work, which only covers the first half. In addition, İsmail Beliğ lived substantially in the seventeenth century and wrote his work in the first quarter of the eighteenth. Similarly, while working on these sources, I have considered them in their entirety since I regard them as cultural products. However, I have limited my focus when using them as sources of biographical entries. Therefore, I have chosen 384 people from *vefeyātnāme*s, who died or lived a substantial part of their life in the seventeenth century, covering a period between 1600 and 1722.

Through these sources, we can also see the dynamic cultural milieu of poetry and storytelling. *Vefeyātnāme*s include not only the important people within Sufi circles or the *'ilmiye*, who are indeed strongly represented, but also medical doctors, poets, storytellers, musicians, calligraphers, and painters.[137] In all extant Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s, a total number of 274 poets were mentioned.[138] *Vefeyātnāme*s are also

[136] Mehmed Şemseddin, *Bursa Dergâhları: Yâdigâr-ı Şemsi, I-II*.
[137] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri*, 92.f
[138] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri,* 73, 139-140.

rich in detail, and significant sources for literary and scholarly production circulation. Leafing through their pages, we can find who brought together what kinds of books and manuscripts, or what they read or commented on. A lengthy discussion about cultural production in terms of books and manuscripts will be presented in Chapter 5. In Chapter 4, on the other hand, I will be delving into *vefeyātnāme*s in greater detail, examining them both as cultural products of Bursa and as sources reflecting every aspect of Bursan life (from education to waqfs, Sufism to literature) in the seventeenth century.

Whenever possible, I have tried to include other literary sources. The *şehrengīz* genre was especially significant for the purposes of this dissertation. In a broad sense, *şehrengīz* depict the beauties of a city. Traditionally, most of them start with a description of the monumental landscape of the city and continue with describing the male beauties of the marketplace and the neighborhoods. The name of the genre includes the Persian word *engīz,* meaning "devastating." An English translation to the word was proposed by Elias J. W. Gibb as city-thriller.[139] Mehmet Zeki Pakalın states that *şehrengīz* is a broad term for poems about things that cause kerfuffle and hubbub, leading to gossip.[140] Spanning a vast geography of cities in the Ottoman domains, *şehrengīz* is a significant source also for Bursa. Barış Karacasu, in his bibliographical study on *şehrengīz*es, counts at least nine extant *şehrengīz*es on Bursa.[141] As much as the genre tends to paint an urban portrait, representing urban space in prose,[142] it is almost equally, or even more, vocal about the people (almost exclusively male) of the streets, hans, bazaars, and markets. For instance, Selim Kuru

[139] Elias J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry, II,* 17.
[140] Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, "Şehrengiz," 327.
[141] Barış Karacasu, "Türk Edebiyatında şehr-engîzler."
[142] For study about urban space depictions in Bursa *şehrengīz*es, see Zeynep Yapar, "Bursa şehr-engizlerinde mekan tasvirleri."

does not consider Lami'i Çelebi's *Şehrengiz-i Mevazi'-i Şerife-i Brusa,* which only deals with natural and architectural beauties of Bursa, and includes it in *menāzil* genre.[143] However, Lami'i Çelebi composed another poem that can be considered in the *şehrengīz* tradition. *Nâme-i şehr-engîz mahâbîb-i dilfirîb-i Brusa,* as in other examples, depicts the male beauties of Bursa. Nurhan Tezcan argues that this is not a distinct work but the second half of Lami'i's *şehrengīz*, and that he formulated his *şehrengīz* in two parts.[144] The genre demonstrates an increasing interest in what constitutes the city, and what was happening in and around the city alike. Examples of *şehrengīz* or other relevant poetry were found also in *vefeyātnāme*s and again, whenever possible, we have consulted these samples of poetry.

Another source I have used was the Ottoman chronicles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They have been used to set up the scene and to clarify the relationships between individuals. This was vital in order to understand the position taken by the elite of the empire to certain events.

In addition, the dissertation used extensively the travel literature of visitors from within and outside of the Ottoman Empire. This has allowed me to compare different visions as well as to form a more complex understanding of the cultural milieu of seventeenth-century Bursa. Although Bursa was not always described in a detailed manner in every travelogue, the bits and pieces of information gathered from a multitude of accounts have proved to be useful in establishing a comprehensive portrayal of Bursa.

Furthermore, I have consulted many manuscripts from Bursa İnebey Manuscript Library (Bursa İnebey YEK) which provided insight into the mentality and everyday life of Bursans. These sources have the utmost importance as they

[143] Selim S. Kuru, "Lami'i Çelebi'nin Gözüyle Bursa," 215.
[144] Nuran Tezcan, "Güzele Bir Şehrengizden Bakış," 164.

reflected what was deemed as important as to be written and noted down, and to be kept.

The court records, however, constitute the bulk of the sources used in this study. They have been employed especially to investigate (i) personal estates, and (ii) records of pious endowments. Although I have time and again consulted the pious endowment deeds from the Directorate General of Foundations Archive (VGMA), I have used the court record entries to delve into the charity efforts of the urban folk. Personal estates were used to reveal the book holding patterns in seventeenth-century Bursa, whereas the pious endowment deeds were instrumentalized to understand the relationships among the urban folk, and the relationship between the urban individuals and the city they had been living in.

Of the plethora of documents employed by the Ottoman administration, the court registers provide material for an in-depth understanding of the society. The court registers, known as *şerʿiye* or *kadı sicilleri*, include summaries of many types of legal cases that concerned public order as well as of notarial transactions. This is due to the nature and *modus operandi* of the kadi, who was the head of the court, assigned to the office by a *berāt*. Kadis were almost always appointed to a locality from an outside region, and often only for twelve to twenty months, as a precaution for their impartiality.[145] Graduated from the madrasa system, the kadi was responsible for administering both sharia based on Hanafi jurisprudence (in the lands of Rum, in general) and *ḳānūn* or dynastic law.[146] In addition to this role, kadi was responsible for overseeing municipal affairs,[147] while also recording in *sicil*s

[145] Boğaç Ergene and Metin Coşgel, *The economics of Ottoman justice: Settlement and trial in the Sharia courts*, 65-66.
[146] Yavuz Aykan and Boğaç Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire Before the Tanzimat," 208-210.
[147] Ergene and Coşgel, *The economics of Ottoman justice*, 66.

documents initially created for military, fiscal, and administrative processes "for notarial reasons."[148] As court records, *sicil*s rarely included records of punishment or judgments.[149] Yet, every entry in a *sicil* was less of a record than proof that shows the case had worked according to the law.[150] Furthermore, Najwa Al-Qattan argues that, in the Ottoman Empire, kadi becomes the archivist of the law.[151] Considering that the Ottoman archives provides the most extensive pre-modern corpus of court records still extant in the Muslim-ruled parts of the world,[152] this "archive" reveals many relationships in society: from marriage, divorce, and alimony to transfer of property; from murder, theft, and sexual harassment to conversion and division of inheritance.

Among the economic, political, and cultural information contained in these registers, one of the most important sources is the fundamentally economic and material data provided by the inheritance registers. Found sometimes as scattered entries within the *sicil*s, or often times bound as separate volumes,[153] the Ottoman inheritance/probate registers or estate inventories, *tereke*s or *muḥallefāt,* were another product of the office of kadi*,* compiled by another member of the court called *ḳassām* when the deceased belonged to *reʿāyā* - the taxed. Yet, the *ʿaskerī* - the untaxed - estates were also found bound among the court registers, which allows us to think that they were administered by the city court, although they were written/compiled by an official assigned by the *ḳāżīʿasker* - the *ʿaskerī ḳassām*.[154]

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[148] Boğaç Ergene, *Local court, provincial society and justice in the Ottoman Empire: legal practice and dispute resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 33.
[149] Başak Tuğ, *Politics of honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual violence and socio-legal surveillance in the eighteenth century*, 185, 210.
[150] Colin Imber, *Ebussuud: the Islamic legal tradition*, 52-53.
[151] Najwa Al-Qattan, "Inside the Ottoman courthouse: territorial law at the intersection of state and religion," 202.
[152] Aykan and Ergene, 207.
[153] Ömer Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Âit Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)," 1.
[154] Ibid., 4.

*Tereke*s were compiled by officials, and traditionally, they listed everything owned by the recently deceased, from immovables to personal property, from credits to debts. All items were evaluated and given a price, and the total value was split among the inheritors according to Islamic law.[155] However, not everyone had a *tereke* record. In order for a *tereke* to be compiled, one of the following was required: (i) If one or all of the inheritors apply to the court; (ii) when the deceased had no inheritors, and the inheritance had to be transferred to the treasury (*beytü ʿl-māl*);[156] or (iii) when the inheritors were not of age and the kadi intervened to protect their rights.[157]

The first problem with using *tereke*s to mine information about the whole society arises from this point. Since using the court was costly, it was mainly appealed to by people who had average or above average wealth.[158] The *tereke*s, in the same vein, have a tendency to reflect those who had a considerable estate. Of course, there are cases when the impoverished found their way to terekes, but the poor were almost always underrepresented. Moreover, enslaved people were always excluded as they were seen as property, and what they owned belonged to their masters.[159]

The second problem is that even with a *tereke* record, it is virtually impossible to detect whether a person gifted, donated, or granted part of their inheritance before death. Furthermore, when one of the spouses died, the other might

[155] Hüseyin Özdeğer, *1463 - 1640 yılları Bursa şehri tereke defterleri*, 12.
[156] Ibid., 10-11.
[157] Halil İnalcık, "15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi Kaynakları," 52.
[158] Courts tended to overprice certain services such as inheritance registers, more than those in official price manuals: Ergene, *Local court,* 97-98.
[159] Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Wealth and demography in Ottoman probate inventories: A database in very long-term perspective," 13.

have claimed ownership of assets whose primary ownership was impossible to distinguish, such as houseware.

Bursa Court Records (BCR) are the second richest after Istanbul, including one of the oldest extant court record archives of the Ottoman Empire. Almost continuous from the mid-15th to the early 20th century, Bursa court records comprise 1062 distinct volumes.[160] 133 volumes are from the seventeenth century and of those, I have consulted 76 volumes, a list of which can be found in the bibliography. Among them, I have extensively used seven bound volumes of *tereke*s, covering a period between 1638 to 1688. Of all seven, four were *beledī* (A-187, B-78, B-134, B-138), whereas the other three were *ʿaskerī* (B-72, B-119, B-137) registers. In Bursa court records, especially in the seventeenth century, *tereke* entries were mostly bound together, not scattered within the rest of the court records. Yet, the records were not always chronologically ordered.

Another critical factor in *tereke* records is that they were almost always written in Arabic. Although the use of Arabic in *sicil*s decreased in the seventeenth century, there are still many Arabic entries in the Bursa court records. This partly applies to endowment deeds but Turkish in deeds was still somewhat more prevalent. Yet, the *tereke* records continued to use Arabic as the main language. The main body of the entry, where the deceased, their profession, places of residence, and inheritors were written, was in Arabic. However, the rest, the inventory, debts, service fees, and other notes, and how the inheritance would be divided were all recorded in Turkish.

The pious endowment deeds were written into the court records as the endowments were established in the presence of witnesses and a kadi. While we

[160] Salih Pay, "Bursa Kadı Defterleri ve Önemi," 90. Also, there is a guide for Bursa Court Records: Mefail Hızlı, "Bursa Mahkeme Sicilleri Rehberi." Yet it does not specify which volumes are bound probate registers.

could pursue some of them from the archives of Directorate General of Foundations (VGMA), the court records proved to be more useful, accessible, and extensive. Having said that, we have also employed some *waqfiyya*s from the VGMA as well.

In writing the dissertation, there have been certain obstacles. As noted at the beginning of this section, the most important among these was evidently how to approach urban culture. Second, and the most technical problem, was the prevalence of Arabic in the court records. Thanks to the formulaic nature of the Ottoman documents, this did not pose a major problem. Third, and probably the most important obstacle, was the problem of inclusion. The sources allowed me to work mainly on the Muslim male majority. In order to overcome this, I have once again used court records. The vast content in the court records (especially *waqfiyya*s) enabled me to draw a realistic portrait of women's involvement and partaking in the city. The same, however, cannot be said for the non-Muslims as I have yet to find comprehensive data of non-Muslim book holding, and non-Muslim waqfs (or engagement in community endowments) in seventeenth-century Bursa. I am aware that the study might not be as complete as I had initially hoped it to be, without the sources to include women and non-Muslims in a comprehensive manner. This should be addressed in future research.

Another obstacle is to draw a line between countryside and the city. Bursa court records involve entries from both neighborhoods in the city and localities outside. However, the early modern distinction between city and countryside calls for an explanation. How should we draw a line between a town and Bursa proper (or how do we define Bursa proper?) if cases from both parts were handled by the same court, even by the same judge? For regular cases, it might be the plaintiff's pragmatic choice to take the case to the court where they had thought they would win,

considering the high ratio of the cases that plaintiffs won in courts. Yet, it could not apply to probate registers. Astrid Meier argues that in the Ottoman Empire before the eighteenth century it was not possible to consider a bounded territorial entity but rather a collection of points of settlement.[161] This fits to our findings in probate registers, where the term *maḥalle* is used when mentioning neighborhoods in Bursa proper, and *karye* or *ḳaṣaba* were used when considering outer "points," sometimes specifying that they are dependent on Bursa (*at-tawābi*). Baber Johansen discusses various ways in which jurists attempted to delineate a city. Drawing upon the term *al-misr al-gāmi'*, Johansen gives examples how the city was defined socioeconomically, according to military strength, juridico-politically, and by its Friday mosque. He also says that there are two factors separating a large town from a village. One is *finā' al-misr*, the environs of the town that is outside the inhabited area and built environment: an open space for the common interest and common use of the denizens of *misr.* The second one, on the other hand, is "the hierarchical classification of the places of worship." Only in a large enough city, quarter mosques, and sometimes more than one Friday mosque, were needed; hence the hierarchical classification. While this underlines the fact that, with the increasing population and expansion of cities, it is impossible to define a city as one congregation, it also realizes large villages as congregational communities.[162] To what extent the scribes of terekes in question were aware of these, we have no way of knowing for sure. But as graduates of the medrese system, scribes would probably be aware of these discussions made in the Hanafi school of law. Therefore, the

[161] Astrid Meier, "For the Sake of God Alone? Food Distribution Policies, *Takiyya*s, and Imarets in Early Ottoman Damascus," 122.
[162] Baber Johansen, "The all-embracing town and its mosques: al-misr al-gâmi'," 140-152.

countryside includes everything outside *fināʾ* including those settlements dependent on the city.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

The present study consists of six chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter sets the stage in temporal and spatial terms, and deals with the economic means, social relations, political tendencies, and cultural engagements of the seventeenth-century Bursa urban population. Trying to depict this population in terms of their economic, social, and cultural relations, this chapter draws a portrait of a living urban culture and sets the scene for the following chapters with a brief history of Bursa and its urban development.

The third chapter examines non-sultanic waqf formations in seventeenth-century Bursa, focusing on their role in shaping and participating in, as well as contributing to, the city. This chapter draws forth the reciprocal relationship with the city, and how a culture of charity was formed by ways of paying it forward.

The fourth chapter focuses exclusively and in an in-depth manner on one of the major sources of the dissertation, *vefeyātnāme*s. Using primarily *vefeyātnāme*s of the seventeenth century, and at times, employing *vefeyātnāme*s of later centuries, this chapter uses these texts as sources reflecting the urban culture of seventeenth-century Bursa, and cultural products of that very culture. Through a close reading of *vefeyātnāme*s, we will be exploring the spatial, social, and political networks of the city by focusing on members of ulama, members of Sufi circles, poets, and authors. Lastly, following the urban awareness in the writings of seventeenth-century Bursans, Bursa-mindedness, taking pride in being Bursan, will be scrutinized.

In the fifth chapter, we will be delving into the reading patterns of seventeenth-century Bursans. First, through an extensive reading of *tereke* registers, the chapter unravels the book ownership patterns. Second, bringing in evidence from *vefeyātnāme*s and other literary sources, I try to approach readership and the link between readership and book ownership. Finally, this chapter, once again by using literary sources, explores the practices of writing and producing manuscripts.

The sixth chapter, Conclusion, will be commenting on how early modern urban culture was formed in our case study of seventeenth-century Bursa, and discussing the possibilities of future research.

Eminent Bursan poet of the seventeenth century, Naziki Abdullah, in his famous *şehrengīz*, says "You are Bursa, it is impossible to describe you."[163] So, this will be a humble attempt to see whether the poet was right.

[163] Metin Akkuş, "Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Bursa Şehr-engizleri," 175: "Bursasın ammā ki vaṣf itmek seni mümkün degil."

CHAPTER 2

SETTING THE SCENE

BURSA AND BURSANS THROUGH THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter aims to set the scene by providing a contextual framework for seventeenth-century Bursa, serving as a partial monograph supported by the dissertation's research material as well as the existing literature. While it cannot be exhaustive, it will cover the demography, economic relations, cultural concerns, and political events of the period. The chapter is closely linked to the dissertation's research questions, which are specifically addressed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. First, the chapter will present a brief overview of historical events and urban development from the Ottoman conquest of Bursa to the end of the seventeenth century. Next, it will depict the economic, social, and cultural landscape of the city during the seventeenth century, discussing (i) demography, (ii) economic relations, and (iii) cultural space. In the section on demography, the composition of the urban folk will be examined, including legal divides (*ʿaskerī -reʿāyā*, male-female, Muslim-non-Muslim, free-slave), honorific titles and their significance, and the wealth factor. The section on economic relations will utilize tereke records to comment on the economic status of seventeenth-century Bursans, followed by descriptions of trade, artisans, and guilds, and concluding with an overview of the silk industry, highlighting the involvement of women in the economy, particularly in the silk industry. Since as discussed in the Introduction, the cultural practices of the middling sort is a main focus of the dissertation, the sections on demography and economics are concerned particularly with the conditions of these groups. Therefore, we will be touching upon

the economic situation of the middling sort in early modern Bursa in sections on demography and economics. The final section will introduce the lively cultural atmosphere of the city, covering education, arts, poetry, social gatherings, the impact of Sufism, together with Bursa's importance as a place of exile or retirement.

2.1 History and urban development of Bursa

The city on the northern foothills of Mount Olympos, now Uludağ, and just above the green plains extending to the Marmara Sea was first built as Prusa at the end of 3rd century BCE. The third largest city of Bithynia, which was a small kingdom that emerged after Alexander's empire collapsed, Prusa was supposedly founded by one Prusias, a king of Bithynia - whose name was given to the city.[164] There is also another account which asserts that Hannibal founded the city. According to the account of Pliny the Elder, Hannibal, after he lost against the Romans, took refuge at the court of Bithynia, and founded Prusa. Since, according to Strabon, he had previously helped the Armenian king in laying the foundation of another city, during his tenure at the court of Bithynia, he might have done so for Prusa as well.[165]

Hannibal is not the only important personage from Western history that has been linked with Bursa. Frankish soldier, and the legendary hero of the medieval poem *La Chanson de Roland*, Roland was also associated with Bursa many times in the accounts of contemporary travelers.[166] This urban legend, according to which Roland's sword was present at the entrance of Bursa castle, went unnoticed in

[164] Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban life and local politics in Roman Bithynia: The small world of Dion Chrysostomos*, 21.
[165] Ibid., 22.
[166] Pierre Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Égypte, Arabie et autres pays étranges*, 204; Reinhold Lubenau, *Osmanlı ülkesinde 1587-1589*, 487; Jean Thévenot, *Thévenot seyahatnamesi,* 114-115; Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort seyahatnamesi*, *II. Cilt*, 236.

academic circles except for one study. Heath W. Lowry shows the transformation that this sword endured from a Christian relic into a Muslim one, owned by Abdal Murad, the ghazi warrior of Orhan Bey.[167]

Later, Bithynia was bequeathed to the Roman Republic, and then, it became a part of the Byzantine Empire until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1326.[168] During its tenure under Christians, Prusa was an important city with various monastic buildings, at least a hundred only in Mount Olympus. This caused, although unsuccessful, an attempt by the Latins to besiege the city in 1204-1205.[169]

Bursa was an important city in terms of its size and lively economic atmosphere in the fourteenth century. Ibn Battuta, who traveled there shortly after Orhan's capture of the city, said that it was a grand city with bazaars and avenues.[170] Similarly, a Bavarian captive of the late fourteenth century refers to the greatness of the city with a rather problematic estimation of two hundred thousand people, also claiming that the poor were received by eight hospitals regardless of their religious ties.[171]

After the conquest, the Ottomans took on a series of projects, which emphasized continuity rather than a break from the past. In his study of the Ottoman capitals, Aptullah Kuran found "a common denominator." Each of the three Ottoman capitals (Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne) had a castle in the middle, a bazaar very close and/or around the castle, and the development of new neighborhoods around the

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[167] Heath W. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in travel accounts,* 85-98.
[168] Clive Foss, "Prousa," 1750, claims that the city's name was rarely mentioned in the sources before the twelfth century. For medieval Bithynia see Bernard Geyer and Jacques Lefort (Eds.), *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge.*
[169] Suna Çağaptay, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire: The religious, architectural, and social history of Bursa*, 14-15.
[170] Ibn Battûta, *Ibn Battûta seyahatnâmesi,* 300.
[171] Lowry*, Ottoman Bursa*, 6-7. Same person also points out to the raw silk coming from the East, that was processed in Bursa (Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 365).

'imāret s or religious nodes.[172] In Bursa, similar, to some extent, to Istanbul, the Ottomans legitimized their existence in (or we can use a shorthand, *Ottomanized*) the city by not eradicating the past but respecting the structural continuity. While preserving what was Byzantine and incorporating it into the evolving Ottoman identity, the Ottomans did not only rely on the structures of the past, but by building a new axis for economic and social life outside the citadel, they rendered previously Byzantine axes less central.[173]

First, Orhan converted a church into his Friday mosque.[174] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı also reports that Orhan converted a monastery into the first madrasa of the Ottomans.[175] Besides obvious conversions of the churches, especially one converted complex stands out in the Ottomanization of the citadel, and largely, of Bursa. Orhan carried the remains of his father Osman inside the Citadel to the Monastery of Saint Elias - where he would be buried as well - and which was known by the Ottomans as *Gümüşlü Kümbet* (Silvered Dome).[176] This complex, in fact, had two separate buildings, the baptistery and the main church, converted into the tombs of Orhan and Osman.[177] This shows the blurriness of the line dividing two cultures that coexisted at the time, namely Byzantine and Ottoman. The Ottomans were most probably aware of the fact that their two sultans were buried under a Christian religious center but by altering its name, they appropriated it and made it Ottoman.[178] On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that Evliya Çelebi, three centuries later, did

[172] Aptullah Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," 114.
[173] Çağaptay, 24-25.
[174] Çağaptay, 84.
[175] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı,* 2.
[176] Kuran, 114.
[177] Çağaptay, 34.
[178] Ibid., 25.

not comment on the Byzantine past of the structure but simply called it "*türbe-i pür-envâr* (a radiant tomb)."[179]

Yet, their reuse of the Byzantine structures must have been visible in many other edifices in the following centuries, as many travelers from the West did not fail to point out. Jacob Spon states that there still were murals in Bursa, which reflected the Christian past of the city and mentions that "Turks" did not choose to demolish them.[180] Edmund Chishull includes in his book a Greek inscription which he found on the wall of a castle (*Hisar*?), and comments that it was a castle built by "one of the *Comneni*."[181] Another observer says that most of the mosques of the city are adorned by the spoils of the ancient buildings.[182]

This reuse in the walled city, though, was deliberately overshadowed by the Ottoman expansion to the "lower city," to which, also, non-Muslims of the citadel were forced to move following the conquest.[183] Bursa was developed and Ottomanized largely between the conquest of Bursa and Istanbul's becoming the capital. It was in Bursa that royal patronage took shape, at the hands of the first sultans. They followed a pattern of (i) building a large mosque for public worship, and (ii) establishing "the social and religious infrastructure required for the development of new quarters."[184]

First, Orhan reoriented the center of the city by building his own complex outside the walled city and carrying the spirit of the city center eastward under the

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[179] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap,* 24.
[180] Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, 210.
[181] Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England*, 51.
[182] Aubry de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, 217.
[183] İklil Selçuk, "State and Society in the Marketplace: A Study of Late Fifteenth-Century Bursa," 18. This seems to be an ongoing rule for two seventeenth century travelers observed that no Christians were allowed to live within the walled city (Jean Thévenot, *Thévenot seyahatnamesi,* 114; George Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, 215).
[184] Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," 191-193.

citadel (*Hisar*) - although, he also built a *bey sarayı* inside the citadel.[185] Orhan's complex was the earliest example of attempts to "facilitate urban growth," with complexes being not only religious centers but social and economic seeds of new neighborhoods.[186]

Again, in accordance with Kuran's common denominator, sultans following Orhan built other sultanic complexes in the city to lead new neighborhoods formed outside the citadel and the lower city. After Orhan, his son Sultan Murad I moved to the west to build his complex on and around the existing hot spas, which were famous during the Byzantine period.[187] In his complex, there was a two-story *'imāret*, whose second floor was shortly redefined as a madrasa, a soup kitchen, a public bath house and later, his own tomb.[188] The Old Bath was renovated and expanded to become a part of Murad I's own complex in addition to Kükürtlü Bath.[189]

Murad I's son Bayezid I followed the steps of his father and looked, this time, to the east of the city to build his own complex. [190] In addition to this, he built a large Friday mosque called Cami-i Kebir (lit. Grand Mosque), near Orhan's complex and also commissioned the *bedestān* (the covered marketplace) near his Friday mosque.[191]

Bayezid I's defeat against Timur brought turmoil to the lands of the Ottomans. After Timur left Anatolia, there was a civil war between pretenders to the throne, called the Interregnum Period (1402-1413) which ended with the

[185] Oya Pancaroğlu, "Architecture, Landscape, and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital," 43.
[186] Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 174.
[187] Clive Foss, "Prusa," 1750.
[188] Çağaptay, 88.
[189] Ibid., 33.
[190] Çağaptay, 90.
[191] Selçuk, 23.

enthronement of (Çelebi) Mehmed I. The sultan, then, worked on his own complex, also called Yeşil, between Bayezid I's complex and the lower city. Together with its *zāviye*, madrasa, bathhouse, and soup kitchen, it had the tomb of Mehmed I, which is famous for its spectacular façade with turquoise tiles.[192]

After the Ottoman court began to reside largely in Edirne, Murad II also built a complex in Bursa, which is still known as Muradiye, in a style following the footsteps of his ancestors. From the time that the complex was built, it started to host the tombs for many members of the royal family, such as princes and sultanas.[193] Many travelers, from the Ottoman Empire or abroad, visited the Muradiye complex and noted its importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire.[194] As opposed to his Yeni (Üç Şerefeli) Camii in Edirne, which could be considered as a transitional experimentation between Bursa and İstanbul, fashioning "a large dome and relatively unobstructed interior space,"[195] Muradiye Complex was centered by one of the last inverted-T edifices commissioned by a sultan.[196]

An important parenthesis about inverted-T structure and *'imāret*s is required here. Although they vary by material and influence, Howard Crane says that there were three types of mosques: the single dome, hypostyle, and reverse-T planned mosques.[197] Mostly called as *zāviye* -mosque since it had incorporated accommodation rooms for wandering dervishes into the mosque structure, this type of building, as Godfrey Goodwin claims, was developed by ahis, quasi mystical young men's associations, apparently taking into account of accommodation of

[192] Çağaptay, 92; Pancaroğlu, "Bursa," 45.
[193] Selçuk, 25.
[194] For instance, Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 7, tells the story of how he accompanied Okçuzade Ahmed Çelebi to Bursa on a trip to see the city of sultans and saints.
[195] Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 178-179.
[196] Çağaptay, 93.
[197] Howard Crane, "Arts and architecture," 279.

dervishes, and they influenced the Ottoman reverse-T type.[198] Aptullah Kuran, on the other hand, shows that this nomenclature might only be applied to the so-called Bursa mosque and it is more functional than being suggestive of architecture.[199] However, these "mosques" of inverted-T shape were not actually built as mosques. The rooms flanking the main space were separate but went through certain interventions later on to have a larger congregation hall by turning them into *eyvān*s as well. With the Sunnitization efforts particularly during the tenure of shaykh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi, inverted-T *'imāret* / *zāviye*s in Bursa and elsewhere were transformed into congregational mosques so that those who came and went would not disturb the ongoing normative religious practices.[200] However, it seems that this was not a sudden process and included not only these inverted-T shape buildings but also Sufi lodges. According to a firman dated 1631, Eşrefzade lodge in İncirli neighborhood was converted into a mosque.[201] In Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's study of early Ottoman architecture, no extant lodges were mentioned. As a staunch opponent of *zāviye*-mosque theory,[202] is it possible that he disregarded the fact that some mosques were actually built as lodges? He ignores any possible *zāviye* explanation for Abdal Mehmed mosque and Zeyniler mosque, for instance.[203] We know that, for example, Eşrefzade and also, Ahmed Paşa lodge was converted into a mosque,[204] this might still be a possibility.[205] Interestingly, Ayverdi gives the floor plan of Pustinpuş

[198] Godfrey Goodwin, "The Dervish Architecture of Anatolia," 57.
[199] Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in early Ottoman architecture*, 72.
[200] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Lives and Afterlives of an Urban Institution and Its Spaces: The Early Ottoman ʿİmāret as Mosque," 290-291.
[201] Kamil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü (BK), Cilt 2 (II)*, 75.
[202] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and İsmail Aydın Yüksel, *İlk 250 senenin Osmanlı mimarisi,* 49.
[203] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, 275-279, 350-353.
[204] Caner Taşkın, "15. ve 20. yüzyıllar arası Bursa tekkelerinin mekan ve cephe kurgusu," 43-45.
[205] Mehmed Şemseddin, 119.

lodge in Yenişehir, Bursa, which has a T-type plan similar to Abdal Mehmed or Zeyniler mosques, and comments that its plan is appropriate for its function.[206]

The inverted-T edifices were of plural capacity: they had accommodative, devotional, social, and hospitable uses. Its capacities, therefore, were beyond those of a mosque since it allowed people who visit there to stay, eat their fill, talk, share, perform rituals, read, etc… These edifices were called *zāviye*s as well as *'imāret*s. Just as the edifices were turned into mosques, the meaning of *'imāret* underwent a change from an open space harboring multiple uses and blurred lines between sacred and profane, into simply, a soup kitchen.[207] This change also reflected the Sunnitization efforts of the state. In a somewhat retrospective look, Howard Crane asserts that what we see in Murad I's complex, the synthesis of mosque, madrasa and *zāviye* in a single structure was unique and this might be due to "the uneasy balance and continuing tension between heterodox Sufi and orthodox ulema."[208] Thus, when balance was disrupted in the latter's favor, the semantic and architectural change came onto the T-type structures of early Ottoman polity. This seems surprisingly relevant for early Ottomans who had appropriated Byzantine structures to form a new identity. Now early Ottomans got appropriated by the early modern Ottomans to form a new normative religious outlook of the Empire.

After the conquest, with sultans' efforts, the city developed in all cardinal points as much as the geography allowed (Figure 1-2). In Figure 1, complexes built by the first Ottoman sultans, together with significant spots such as Cami-i Kebir, tombs of Orhan and Osman, and covered market area and inns around it are marked. We can see the development of the city from an eighteenth-century rudimentary map

[206] Ayverdi and Yüksel, 101.
[207] Ibid., 261-265.
[208] Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 175.

with south on top. In this map, it is seen that the city has mostly developed in an east-west axis, squeezed between the sharp heights of Uludağ and fruitful plains of Bursa (Figure 3).

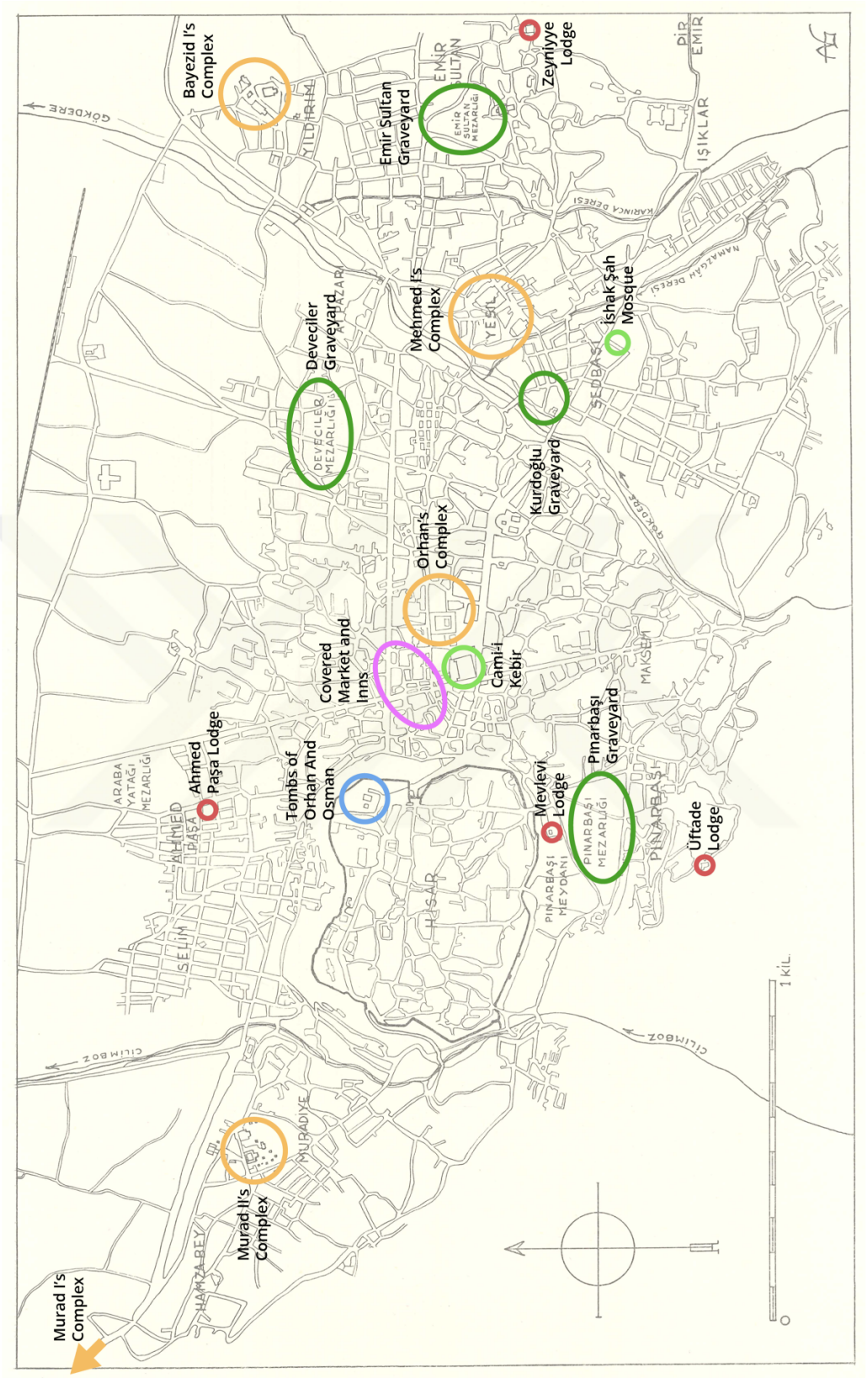

Figure 1. Significant locations over 20th century plan of Bursa (Base map by Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque,* 9)

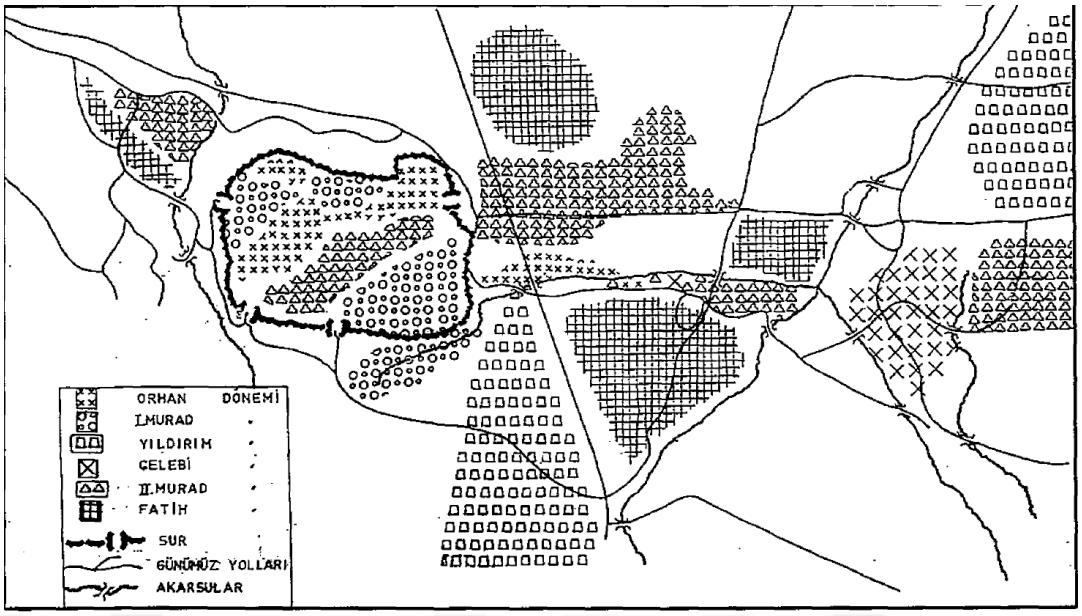

Figure 2. Historical development of the city (Özer Ergenç, *XVI. yüzyıl sonlarında Bursa,* 355)

The city saw two sieges after Bayezid I's defeat at the Battle of Ankara in 1402 by Timurids, and at the end of the interregnum period in 1413 by Karamanids.[209] Surviving both, Bursa became once again the capital during the reign of Mehmed I. It seems that Bursa recovered very quickly, too. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who visited the city in 1432, portrays a very lively atmosphere of trade and social life, with *'imāret*s and bazaars. Halil İnalcık also demonstrates a multicultural environment of trade, showing that Bursa was an important trade center, especially for silk and spices, with ties to the Persian, Arabic, Black Sea, and Italian -thus, European- lands.[210] Spanish traveler Pero Tafur also corroborates the existence of Italian merchants in Bursa, saying that Bursa was much bigger than the Genoese colony of Pera.[211]

[209] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 73-74; Aşıkpaşazade, *Âşık Paşaoğlu Tarihi*, 74.
[210] Halil İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant."
[211] Lowry, 9.

In addition to European merchants, the Sephardic Jews banished from Iberia at the end of the fifteenth century constituted an important part of the Bursa community. They were mostly living in the Kuruçeşme neighborhood.[212] A contemporary observer, Joseph de Tournefort, furthermore, says that all the Jews he talked to preserved their language since the day they had left Granada, establishing the Iberian origin of Bursan Jews.[213]

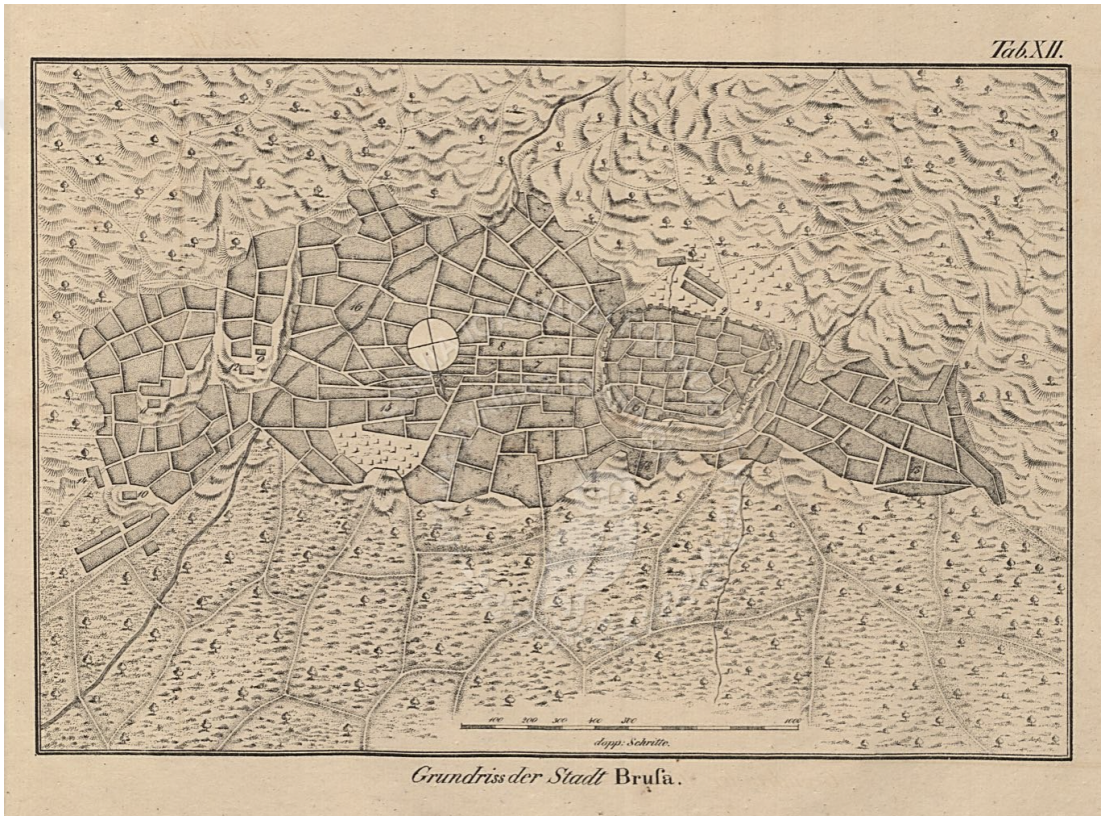

Figure 3. An 18th century plan of the city Bursa (Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach arabien und andern umliegenden ländern*, *Dritter band*, Table XII)

Although Bursa lost its status as capital city after the Ottoman court came to reside primarily in Edirne, it continued to be a major center of commerce. As we

[212] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 30.
[213] Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort seyahatnamesi*, 236.

have noted, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, foreign merchants were actively involved in trade in Bursa. A mid-sixteenth century account specifies the role played by silk in making Bursa a capital of commerce.[214] Pierre Belon writes that the silk came in caravans from the East, and it was processed and manufactured to be sold in the Empire and to the West.[215]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, urban development continued, too. Murad II and Mehmed II continued to build new neighborhood mosques, while Bayezid II and Süleyman I chose to contribute to the lower city, mainly the commercial district. During Murad II's reign, Bursa was expanded outward in both east and west directions. The construction of Muradiye allowed an expansion in the west, also with additions during Mehmed II's time. After the Yeşil complex in the east, Emir Sultan and Zeyniler neighborhoods were incorporated into the city.[216] This expansion came to a visible halt during Mehmed II's time and neighborhood mosques increased in number instead.[217] A series of inns (*ḫān)* were built, especially during the reign of Bayezid II, such as Pirinç Han and Koza Han.[218] This probably corresponds to the increasing volume of trade, since the *ḫān*s were not only for storage and sale, but also for lodging of the merchants. Also, due to its proximity to the newly established capital, Istanbul, the sultan's court, together with the increasing population of the capital, was subsidized by Bursa.[219] Two travelers in Bursa, almost 150 years apart, made a similar observation, stating that *ʿacemioğlan*s of Bursa were preparing the flour for the palace in Istanbul.[220] The greater volume of

[214] See a selection of court records related to foreign merchants in Bursa, in Fahri Dalsar, *Türk sanayi ve ticaret tarihinde Bursa'da ipekçilik*, 214-220.
[215] Lowry, 11.
[216] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri,* 275.
[217] Idem., *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri,* 61.
[218] İ. Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı mimarisinde II. Bayezid Yavuz Selim Devri*, 73-82; Selçuk, 26.
[219] Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," 358: Faroqhi claims that although it was a large city, it can be considered as a "service town."
[220] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 14.

production might be the cause of the increasing number of slaves in crafts and commerce in that period.[221] A similar observation can be made for the women, who, as well as owning silk looms, were involved to some extent in the trade.[222]

Silk trade and production of silk-based materials were important in the late fifteenth century. In the early sixteenth century, due to the rivalry between Ottomans and Safavids, the raw silk entry into the Ottoman domains was interrupted. With the English merchants standing for Ottomans, and the expansion of silk manufacturing together with silkworm growing in Europe, mostly in Italy, there had been minor problems in the industry. Yet, this seems to have been a temporary problem and the silk industry of Bursa did not fall into a crisis.[223]

Although the seventeenth century was not a time of very active public improvement and development,[224] Bursa continued to be an important town, with an elaborate silk industry and an active economic life. One notable economic change in this period was the decrease in the number of slaves used in silk manufacture. As explained by Faroqhi, since the costs of purchasing and training slaves in silk manufacture were considerable, when Ottoman silk lost its international market and the profit margin for Ottoman silk merchants shrunk, the latter increasingly turned to wage labor instead.[225]

[221] Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries," 63.
[222] Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in Ottoman Bursa, 1600-1700," 235, 237; Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," 371: Faroqhi draws our attention to the non-guild labor involved in the silk industry, in general.
[223] Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," 368: We will be commenting on this later in detail in the subchapter dealing with economy.
[224] Gerber, 71-72.
[225] Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," 368: More on that later in the demography, and also economy, subchapters.

Bursa was among the *bilād-ı erba'a* (with Damascus, Edirne, and Cairo), the four great cities that allowed for a higher career in *'ilmiye* after Istanbul.[226] Although this hierarchy was formulated in the very early eighteenth century, even in the sixteenth century Bursa was among the most important cities for judgeship. This information should have been readily available, since a sixteenth-century foreign traveler offered a hierarchy of judgeship starting with Aleppo as the least important, and continuing with Damascus, Cairo, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul.[227] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bursa had three *dārü'l-kurrā*s (Emircan, Mahmud Bey, and Zeyrekzade) and four *dārü'l-ḥadīs*es (Lutfullah Çelebi, Sufî Mehmed Bey, Muallimzade, and Seyyid Hüseyin Erzincanî), the last of which had an advanced education as the Süleymaniye Darülhadis[228] - the top institute in the educational hierarchy.[229]

Besides being an important center for the *'ilmiye* system, Bursa was also a hub of Sufi lodges and informal education. Mustafa Kara has established that 27 lodges were functioning in Bursa before the eighteenth century.[230] Evliya Çelebi, on the other hand, claims that there were 300 lodges, and lists 19 of them.[231] These lodges were also public places for informal education. Their libraries provided access to books for those who were keen on reading, and educating themselves on a variety of subjects.[232] Furthermore, lodges supplied a space for public lectures, reading activities, and religious ceremonies.[233]

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[226] Madeline C. Zilfi. *The politics of piety: The Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, 25.
[227] Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576, 1. Cilt*, 315
[228] Mefail Hızlı, *Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Bursa Medreselerinde Eğitim-Öğretim*, 53.
[229] See also 4.4 for more information.
[230] Mustafa Kara, *Bursa'da tarikatlar ve tekkeler, Cilt I,* 78.
[231] Evliya Çelebi, 14.
[232] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam: Ortaçağdan yirminci yüzyıla*, 224-229.
[233] See 4.3 for detailed information about Sufi life in Bursa.

Although we will be detailing it further below, it is important here to mention that Bursa accommodated a bustling background for cultural production, especially poetry. In biographical dictionaries of poets, 169 Bursan poets, and in *vefeyātnāme*s[234] 274 were named.[235]

During the seventeenth century Bursa experienced a major fire, an earthquake,[236] and two invasions during the Celali uprisings. In 1607, Kalenderoğlu Mehmed besieged Bursa for more than two months. This left the city almost in ruins with the burning of large numbers of residential houses and edifices belonging to royal waqfs.[237] Two contemporary observers stated that Bursa was burned and sacked, and at least two to three hundred people were murdered during the siege.[238] The second invasion came in 1658 when Abaza Hasan besieged the city, demanding the resignation of the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa.[239] Many contemporary observers narrated the destruction Abaza Hasan brought to the city.[240] While he was received with contempt in many occasions,[241] there were those who supported the coming of Abaza Hasan as well. Derin Terzioğlu conveys that in the face of a siege, the supporters of the government retreated to Hisar while some of the religious functionaries left to meet Abaza Hasan. This might have been due to the unpopularity of the Grand Vizier at the time, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.[242] After this siege, and when Abaza Hasan Pasha surrendered, Sultan Mehmed IV visited the city

[234] For the *vefeyātnāme* genre, see Chapter 1, for poets in *vefeyātnāme*s, see Chapter 3.
[235] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri: Bursa vefeyātnāmelerindeki şairlerin biyografileri,* 73, 139-140.
[236] Çağaptay, 19-20.
[237] Kepecioğlu, *BK, I*, 230. See Chapter 4 for examples regarding repairs.
[238] Polonyalı Simeon, *Polonyalı bir seyyahın gözünden 16. asır Türkiyesi,* 34; Jean de Gontaut-Biron, *Correspondance diplomatique & documents inédits,* 156.
[239] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)," 100-101.
[240] For instance, Suat Donuk, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Beliğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı*, 330-331; Ziya Akkaya, "Vecihi ve Eseri," 174.
[241] Nazire Karaçay Türkal, "Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Zeyl-i Fezleke, (1065-22 Ca.1106 / 1654-7 Şubat 1695)," 191.
[242] Terzioğlu, "Niyazi-i Mısri," 101-102.

and during his visit, hundreds of people who supported Abaza Hasan Pasha were executed.[243]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Bursa was still an economically significant, culturally vivid, and religiously important city.

2.2 Demography

This section, on the population and social composition of seventeenth-century Bursa, seeks to provide necessary information and auxiliary questions (and perhaps, responses) for the following chapters and the main theses of the dissertation. This section will, at the same time, introduce our *tereke* population which will (i) allow us to compare and contrast the findings in our sources with those in the scholarship on Bursa; and (ii) be dwelled upon primarily in the following chapters when considering the book ownership, and also, cultural production and consumption.

In the first chapter we have recounted reasons for choosing Bursa as our case study. Here, we start by discussing Bursa's place in terms of population among the cities of the early modern Ottoman Empire. This would allow us to better contextualize Bursa and reveal its representational value for our questions. Later, discussing the breakdown of Bursa's population in social, economic, and religious terms, we will be presenting factual evidence for the questions we have asked in the Introduction, and the subsequent answers that will be given in the following chapters. In order to do so, in addition to secondary sources, we will be employing *tereke* records.

The population figures for Bursa -or any early modern city in the Ottoman Empire, for that matter- are unfortunately open to debate. There were many factors at

[243] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, V. Kitap,* 141.

play in determining the population of a city, which might not be well-documented; therefore, it would at best be an approximation to determine the total population. Studies of historical demography in the lands of Ottoman Empire have utilized tax registers. It is true that there have been different methodologies employed to calculate the population in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Yet, the changes in the Ottoman tax surveying were mostly responsible for the changing numbers. Since there were no official censuses before the mid-nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, historians employed tax surveys.

During 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottoman officials kept *taḥrīr defter*s as tax surveys where the tax unit was *ḫāne*, house and by extension, family.[244] Yet, the number of people in a *ḫāne* was not specified. However, Ottoman system of land and tax surveys changed in the 17th century. The tax unit changed to *ʿavārıżḫāne*, where the number of *ḫāne*s included changed according to the locality's affluence.[245] This made population calculations further difficult. However, these documents were not kept as a census, they were tax surveys. Yet, in addition to *ʿavārıż* registers, Ottoman officials, sometimes and for some localities, kept detailed registers of *ʿavārıżḫāne*s, where the number of people included, together with the economic status of each individual, were specified.[246]

Sixteenth and seventeenth century Ottoman population trends were a historiographical debate for the good part of the twentieth century. Many scholars including Barkan and Michael Cook argued for a drastic increase in the population in the sixteenth century. This led to a "population pressure" where the number of individuals in the countryside cannot be absorbed by the existing arable lands. In the

[244] Gerber, *Bursa,* 5.
[245] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population," 364.
[246] Süleyman Demirci, "The functioning of Ottoman avariz taxation: an aspect of the relationship between centre and periphery - A case study of the province of Karaman, 1621-1700," 273-274.

early seventeenth century, this led to a flight from countryside to the cities. Mustafa Akdağ claims that this was also the reason behind the Celali unrest. However, historians such as Halil İnalcık and Huricihan İslamoğlu claimed that there was a "pull" factor of the cities as well, which offered many possibilities for the villagers.[247]

Using *taḥrīr defter*s of sixteenth century, Ömer Lütfi Barkan concluded that, in 1573, Bursa population was around 70,000. Barkan uses a multiplier of five for each household (*ḫāne*) to obtain this number and added a ten percent for *ʿaskerī*.[248] For lack of *taḥrīr*s and detailed registers of *ʿavārıż,* for instance, Halil İnalcık chose not to speculate on the population of the said centuries, and worked directly on nineteenth century *sālnāme*s instead to give an estimated population of Bursa in 1892 as 76,000.[249] If we take these numbers at face value, we might conclude that Bursa's population barely increased in 300 years.

On the other hand, Haim Gerber, drawing upon the problems of demographic calculations,[250] gives an estimated population for Bursa at five instances. This portrays an increase towards the mid-seventeenth century and a decrease towards the end of the century, with the highest number being 39225.[251] If Barkan's claim of 70 thousand people in 1573 is right, there should be a problem in Gerber's calculation. Gerber, for instance, says that there were 19,000 people in Bursa in 1631. Ergenç reminds us that this must be due to the Celali invasion at the beginning of the

[247] Oktay Özel, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered," 184.
[248] Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys," 169-170.
[249] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 111; Halil İnalcık, "Bursa," *EI2*: İnalcık says that according to *ʿavārıż* records, Bursa had 5000 *ʿavārıż* units.
[250] Gerber points out to the fact that *hane* was not family anymore, but more of an avarızhane, giving different numbers for different periods of time for family per hane. These numbers (2.2, 2.9, 8.6) are not telling and might not be useful (Gerber, *Bursa*, 5-8).
[251] Ibid., 12.

century.[252] Oktay Özel shows that, on the other hand, seventeenth century indeed witnessed a demographic crisis with a substantial decrease towards the mid-century with Celali unrest, natural disasters, migration and re-nomadization.[253]

A study on Bursa *ʿavārıżḫāne* showed that the number of *ʿavārıżḫāne*s decreased drastically towards the end of the seventeenth century because there were many petitions to do so on the grounds of poverty. This means that the number of hanes in *ʿavārıżḫāne*s increased. The same study estimates a population of 26 to 27 thousand towards the end of the century, similar to Gerber's around 24 thousand for the same period.[254]

There are other factors to consider when estimating the population. One of the least studied factors is children. For them, it is almost impossible to give an opinion based on *tereke* registers.[255] Since *tereke*s give us information only on the deceased, we have identified only one girl in our *tereke* population. Yet, Ergenç conveys an interesting finding about the number of people with and without children when they passed away. According to three *tereke* registers of Bursa in the seventeenth century, the number of people who died without an issue was almost half of the people in these *tereke*s. In addition, those who had one or two kids were the majority.[256]

The number of women is also a vital factor when considering the total population since this figure is not always easy to detect. The seven volumes of *tereke* records I have examined included 1814 entries -excluding a small number of

[252] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 112.
[253] Özel, 189-192.
[254] Özer Küpeli, "Avarız Defterlerine Göre 17. Yüzyılda Bursa Şehri'nin Avarız Yükü ve Nüfus Yapısı," 988-990.
[255] See Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Wealth and demography," 17, where the authors tried to classify the probate population into age groups based on several factors.
[256] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 112-113.

canceled entries. Having 26 entries with unidentified gender, 1070 of the deceased were male (60%), and 718 were female (40%). Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, in their long-term study of Bursa *tereke* registers, found a male percentage of 68.4% and 54.9%, respectively for periods of 1620-1640 and 1660-1680.[257] We need more demographic data to determine whether these figures reflect the demographics of seventeenth-century Bursa. This is partly due to how tax registers were compiled. Registers did not include all the residents of a *ḫāne* which becomes a statistical unit more than a household, only naming the head of the household, who were almost always adult male.[258] Heath Lowry, in addition, claims that tax registers tended to ignore when the head of a household was a woman - except for Christians.[259] Yunus Uğur, on the other hand, shows two examples from 1686 and 1703 which included the "women family heads" too.[260] Even if we had any information about women heads of households, the best demographic information we can get about women would be an approximation.[261] If we go by common sense and claim that the genders are evenly distributed, the male might be slightly overrepresented in our sample. Still, we might consider that, in actuality, the two genders were not necessarily evenly distributed, since the cities, and especially Bursa with its Sufi and trade connections, housed a multitude of dervishes, soldiers, single immigrants (*bekār*s), and traveling merchants.

[257] Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Slavery," 61: Authors do not comment on the high ratio of males.
[258] Halil İnalcık, "İstanbul," *EI2.*
[259] Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon şehrinin İslâmlaşma ve Türkleşmesi 1461-1583*, 191.
[260] Yunus Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 168: He cautions that it is very rare to see such records in *tapu-tahrīr defter*s.
[261] Canbakal and Filiztekin, in "Wealth and demography," 15, give a table of percentages of women represented in *tereke*s. In Bursa between 1620-1640, the women decedents had a share of 31.6%, while between 1660-1680, it was 44.9%. Partly falling between these periods, our data seems to be plausible with the upward trend of the share of women in *tereke*s from 1620 to 1680.

The number of slaves was an important part of the population in the early modern Ottoman Empire. In Bursa, however, Haim Gerber shows that the number of slaves in *tereke* populations gradually decreased throughout the seventeenth century. This has been recently corroborated in a research conducted by Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin.[262] Consistent with the general narrative in contemporary Europe, Gerber claims that the price of slaveholding increased, and this must be the reason for the early decrease in the number of slaves in Bursa, together with the decrease in the military power which would bring booty and slaves.[263] However, as I will be showing, recent findings might lead us to think otherwise

Halil Sahillioğlu shows that during the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-centuries, the slave population in Bursa was a considerable number, since they were not only working as servants but also as laborers in workshops. There was a constant demand for labor due to the textile industry, and iron and copper works.[264] It has also been shown that, for this reason, there was "a steady stream of workers" coming from the Balkans, and the slaves in Bursa were essentially of Balkan origin, especially in the fifteenth century.[265] Sahillioğlu says that in Bursa or in general for that matter, slaves were not widely used in agriculture. Yet, it was not non-existent. For instance, visiting Bursa in 1675, Jacob Spon sees a land which was cultivated by the Christian slaves, and laments that no Muslim were reduced to this position.[266] In addition, Bursa had an important slave market for the prisoners of war from the west together with slaves coming from trade routes of north and south. It was a big market, not only at the intersection of important trade routes, but also in need of

[262] Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Slavery and Decline of Slave-Ownership in Ottoman Bursa 1460–1880," 63.
[263] Gerber, *Bursa*, 11.
[264] Sahillioğlu, 63.
[265] Ibid., 47, 67.
[266] Spon, 214.

slaves for the sustenance of silk manufacture.[267] Yet, it seems that although the silk production continued, the number of slaves decreased, especially drastically after the mid-seventeenth century.[268] The reason for this does not seem to be the increasing prices, as prices were almost proportionally decreasing along with the number of slaves.[269]

The effect of the number of slaves in the population seems to be important, however. If we accept the population Gerber proposed and take into account the percentage of slave holdings and the average number of slaves per person Canbakal and Filiztekin put forward, for instance for the year 1640, we get a number of 32000 people as opposed to Gerber's original 24000. Thus, while slave numbers are important, these numbers are all approximations. It is important to note that without necessary demographic data on slaves, it is not possible to estimate an accurate population.

In order to understand and situate the Bursa populace, however, we can always compare and contrast the demographic numbers with other major towns in the Ottoman Empire during the same period. Bursa was a major city in the empire, and probably after Istanbul and Cairo, only Aleppo, or Damascus might have been comparable.[270] Alternatively, Yunus Uğur grouped the Ottoman cities of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in three groups: (i) the cities with more than one hundred thousand, such as Istanbul, Cairo, and Damascus; (ii) the cities with a population between twenty and one hundred thousand, such as Edirne, Bursa, Sofia,

[267] Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Slavery," 60.
[268] Ibid., 63.
[269] Ibid., 68.
[270] Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants: The Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 1, argues that Istanbul might have been the largest capital in the World between the sixteenth to late-eighteenth centuries, and only Cairo was comparable to Istanbul in terms of population.

Thessaloniki, and İzmir; (iii) the cities harboring a populace between ten and twenty thousand, such as Manisa, Tokat, Ayntab, and Denizli.[271]

Cairo, for instance, seems to be incomparably larger than Bursa, even considering the highest estimate of 70 thousand.[272] Aleppo, on the other hand, had a very similar population to that of Bursa's, with an estimated 75 thousand by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[273] Furthermore, throughout the seventeenth century, Aleppo had almost the same number of *ʿavārıżḫāne*s with Bursa's 5000.[274]

Considering other Anatolian cities, Bursa was expectedly much bigger than Ankara which had an estimated population of 25,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century,[275] and Konya, just above 15,000.[276] Therefore, it is safe to assume, as expected, that during the seventeenth century Bursa was most probably the largest city between Cairo and Istanbul (in terms of population) , with the only contesters being Aleppo and Damascus.

There, surely, were many factors at play, and some of these are dealt with above. Yet, suffice it to say that without necessary documents especially about children, women, and slaves, it is not possible to determine the population of Bursa within an acceptable margin of error. Still, it seems that Bursa followed the general trends of the seventeenth century Ottoman cities in Anatolia.

[271] Yunus Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City With Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 166.
[272] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population," 379: Faroqhi notes the population of Cairo by the end of the seventeenth century as 300 thousand.
[273] Ibid., 380.
[274] André Raymond, "The Population of Aleppo in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 458.
[275] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 53; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, 32-33.
[276] Ergenç, *Ankara ve Konya*, 58.

2.2.1 Social status and religious identity

To explore social status and religious identity in seventeenth-century Bursa, I turn to the seven volumes of *tereke* records I have thoroughly read through. In the 1814 entries here, 828 people of our probate population belonged to *ʿaskerī* while 986 belonged to *reʿāyā*. This seems plausible at first as Bursa is one of the largest cities and former capital of the Empire, and very close to Istanbul, so that the *ʿaskerī* population might have been closer to the *reʿāyā* population. However, Haim Gerber says that the villages and towns around Bursa had a large percentage of the *ʿaskerī* population but not the city.[277] In the tereke registers, we see that many entries from neighboring towns and villages not directly in Bursa proper were included in Bursa *terekes*. Even when we exclude them, we still have a rather sizable *ʿaskerī* population which suggests that, in our data, *ʿaskerī* might be overrepresented.[278] In addition, Ömer Lütfi Barkan famously offered a formula to approximate the total number of people living in the Ottoman Empire: multiplying the number of hanes in *taḥrīr*s by five and adding 10% for *ʿaskerī*s[279] - 20% for Istanbul.[280] Even if we accept the 20% formula for Bursa as well, we cannot account for the percentage of *ʿaskerī* in our sample.

When we look at the non-Muslim and Muslim populations, on the other hand, we are able to say that Muslims and non-Muslims are represented accurately. Of the 1814 probate inventory entries I have read, only 92 belonged to non-Muslims. Bursa was a Muslim-majority city, and a ratio of almost 1:20 seems plausible.[281] Özer

[277] Haim Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700*, 9-10.
[278] Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Wealth and demography," 3: Drawing upon their longitudinal study of *terekes* from seven regions in the Ottoman Empire, the authors say that "the askeri are probably overrepresented in the probate registers across the empire (...)."
[279] Mehmet Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerindeki Sayısal Veriler," 20.
[280] Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin nüfusu 1500-1927*, 5.
[281] This is the same percentage that Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Wealth and demography," 16, found for the 1660-1680 period, while the percentage they found for 1620-1640 is zero. Our data has 15 non-Muslims from 1639-1640.

Ergenç claims that, in the sixteenth century, only three percent of Bursa taxpayers were non-Muslims, and this percentage more or less stayed the same until the nineteenth century.[282] Still, non-Muslims -like women- might have been underrepresented - as were also the poor, as discussed above. The problem of representation applies to all sicil-based studies, however. Non-Muslims had their own courts and might have chosen not to bring the issue before the kadi when no Muslim party was involved. Yet here, the percentage we have is more significant than what Ergenç claims. This discrepancy might be due to the fact that not everyone recorded in *terekes* were taxpayers *per se*. The percentage given by Ergenç, derived from two *defters* from the sixteenth century, was based on *ḫānes*. Therefore, they do not directly represent the number of members of the household.

We know that in Bursa there were certain neighborhoods where non-Muslims tended to live. Although evidence shows that segregation did not reach the level of ghettoization, still the Armenians lived in Sedbaşı and Karaağaç, Greeks in Balıkpazarı, Kayabaşı, and Demirkapı, and Jews in Kuruçeşme.[283]

Another issue related to non-Muslims was conversion. Traditionally in the scholarship, those with Abdullah as their father's name in the registers are considered converts. In our data, the father's name for 362 people (21% of all Muslims) was noted as Abdullah.[284] One study conducted on sixteenth-century Bursa found many manumitted slaves with epithets of *ʿatīḳ* and *ʿatīḳa* attached to their names.[285]

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[282] Özer Ergenç, *XVI. yüzyılın sonlarında Bursa,* 121-122. Heath W. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in travel accounts*, 3, also shows that, according to a *tahrir* of 1530, the non-Muslim population in Bursa was rather small, even smaller than three percent, but grew throughout the sixteenth century.
[283] Ergenç, *Bursa,* 121; Osman Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa'da ihtida hareketleri ve sosyal sonuçları, 1472-1909*, 25-27.
[284] Excluding a few whose father's name was Abdullah Efendi.
[285] Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Yaygın Olan Kitaplar," 93: He also claims that when a father's title was written as Abdullah, they were most probably manumitted slaves. In addition, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population," 401, argues that a considerable number of Bursa and İstanbul population "were converts who had been slaves," in the 15th and 16th centuries.

However, we have not seen anyone recorded as *ʿatīḳ* or *ʿatīḳa* in our probate population, which must be due to the decreasing number of slaves in the seventeenth century.[286]

2.2.2 Honorific titles

We know that, in Ottoman society, although it was not easy to change one's legal status, legally set distinctions were not completely impenetrable. One could convert and be a Muslim, or using increasingly possible gateways, one *reʿāyā* could enter the ranks of *ʿaskerī*, or a slave could be manumitted to be a free person. As we have said, people changing their social status were a question of concern in the minds of the Ottoman learned elite. The boundaries were blurred; yet, even if they had not been blurred, would the social statuses have been based on the legal divides so as to allow for a social analysis based on these categories?

Ottoman society was roughly divided into two categories as a measure of kanun, imposed by the state: *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*. The former was exempted from tax, and constituted the military-administrative backbone of the Empire, whereas the latter were tax-paying subjects.[287] This divide between categories was maintained strictly; yet, the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries saw the blurring of this dichotomy, and increasing social mobility.[288] These categories, set by the state, have been used by historians as units of analysis, sometimes to the point that they are treated as equivalent to *elite* and *commoner,* while the seventeenth century witnessed

[286] Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 360; Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Slavery and Decline of Slave-Ownership in Ottoman Bursa 1460–1880"; Gerber, 10-11; Osman Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa'da ihtida hareketleri ve sonuçları*, 24. See also, below.
[287] Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600),* 5-6.
[288] Douglas Howard, "Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature," 140; Fleischer, 210.

the rise of a new *elite* including not only *ʿaskerī* but merchants, artisans, tax farmers.[289] Therefore, these boundaries might not be sufficient to explore the nature of seventeenth-century Ottoman urban society. For a more profound approach we might need different tools.

One helpful tool might be the honorific titles; and, considering there was a sort of "inflation of honors," people assuming more than one title on many occasions,[290] honorific titles had an utmost importance for the contemporaries. As we have noted above, in our *tereke* registers, *ʿaskerī* was probably overrepresented. Yet, it is not sufficient if we do not include the titles to discuss social status. Of 1814 people in our probate population, 44% have at least one title (800 people with 37 having more than one). The same ratio is 66% for 1620-1640, and 43% for 1660-1680, according to Canbakal and Filiztekin.[291] Although their second period has a percentage close to ours, the large size of 1620-1640 might be due to their sampling methodology, which might have less *reʿāyā* inclusion.

I have grouped titles and formulated the table below (Table 1). In my groupings, *efendi*, *çelebi*, *seyyid*, *el-ḥāc*, *ḫātūn*, and *şerīfe* have their own groups, while ağa, *beşe*, *beg*, çavuş constitute the military titles, and *ḫalīfe*, *dede*, *şeyḫ* constitute the titles labeled other. There are a few interesting questions to address.

The first thing that caught our eye is that there is one *reʿāyā* who has the title of *efendi*.[292] Although rare, this is by no means unprecedented. Suraiya Faroqhi claims that having an *efendi* title does not necessitate a person to be in the *ʿaskerī*.[293]

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[289] Saygın Salgırlı, "Manners and Identity in Late Seventeenth Century Istanbul," 4; Neumann, "Elites' Networks and Mobility," 116-117; Gülay Yılmaz Diko, "Blurred Boundaries between Soldiers and Civilians: Artisan Janissaries in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul." See also, note 68.
[290] Hülya Canbakal, Meredith Quinn, and Derin Terzioğlu, "Book Ownership Across Centuries: The Case of Military Men in Bursa, 1620-1840," 150.
[291] Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Slavery," 61.
[292] BCR, B-78, 40a.
[293] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, 151

Yet, I cannot conclude what might be the reason for the one *beşe* in the *beledī tereke* records.[294]

El-ḥāc and *seyyid* titles are the ones which occur, most of the time, with other titles. The fact that, although *ʿaskerī* is overrepresented in our sample, more *reʿāyā* went to pilgrimage and therefore bear the title *el-ḥāc* begs the question. This was probably due to the wealth distribution beyond these social boundaries, a topic we will be discussing later on.

Similarly, the title *ḫātūn* does not seem to be correlated with being an *ʿaskerī*. In our *tereke* population, 214 of 432 *reʿāyā* women and only 48 of the 286 *ʿaskerī* women had the title *ḫātūn*.

Table 1. Titles and Their Distribution Over *ʿAskerī* and *Reʿāyā*

	Efendi	*Çelebi*	Military	Other	*Seyyid*	*El-ḥāc*	*Ḫātūn*	*Şerife*
ʿAskerī	95	90	172	19	36	53	48	15
Reʿāyā	1	6	1	12	0	87	214	0
Total	96	96	173	31	36	140	262	15

The title *çelebi* is also worth mentioning here. Coming from an ambiguous background,[295] *çelebi* became a title that cuts across the boundaries of Ottoman society. Deriving neither from an official position nor a social group, this title is seen attached to Muslim and non-Muslim names alike; *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*; ulema and merchants… This title is definitely not one given; rather it is claimed; and how the

[294] BCR, B-138, 11a.
[295] For discussions about the origins of the word: Wilhelm Barthold, "Çelebi," *EI*^{2}; Ettore Rossi, "Çelebi Kelimesi Hakkında Ebu's-Su'ûd'a Atfedilen Bir Fetva" *Türk Dili Arastırmaları Yıllıgı Belleten*; Mehmet İpşirli, "Çelebi," *İA*; Nicholas N. Martinovich, "The Turkish Chalabi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; Tülüveli, 19.

çelebi title is declared and used changed in time. This change gives us a small opening to delve into the evolving dynamics of Ottoman society.[296]

Özer Ergenç, in his studies of sixteenth-century Ankara, Bursa, and Konya, states that the title *çelebi* was used by the sons of ulema and prominent merchants.[297] However in our data, only 18 of *çelebi* had a father with a title, and among them, only 9 were *efendi*s. Similarly, 16 of the efendis had a father with a title, and among them, only 8 were *efendi*s. There was only one *efendi* whose father was a *çelebi*, and two *çelebi*s with similar ancestry. That their father did not claim this title but the sons allows us to think that the title *çelebi* might also be a new "gateway" title to the *elite*. With the adoption of the title by Christians and Jews also, *çelebi*s ushered a non-religious aspect of social life, where intellectual, scientific, and cultural pursuits were justified.[298]

Now, let us turn to the wealth factor and see if it had any role in the use of titles such as *çelebi* and *efendi*. In our probate population, more than half of our *çelebi*s are in the top quartile, the same applies to *efendi*s as well. In addition, when we conduct T-tests in order to understand if there was a distinction between these two groups in terms of gross wealth, we see that the difference between gross wealth of these two groups is statistically insignificant.[299] Simply, we can say that *çelebi*s were as wealthy as *efendi*s.

Wilhelm Barthold argues that *efendi* replaced *çelebi* at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[300] This means both a certain degree of secularization for the title

[296] It is important to note that Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books: A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century,* 53, asks how a traditional culture "developed an 'educated' as opposed to a 'scholarly' culture.
[297] Özer Ergenç, *Bursa*, 255-257; idem, *XVI. yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 143-144.
[298] Cemal Kafadar, "The City Opens Your Eyes Because It Wants to Be Seen," 33.
[299] For more information about statistics used here, see Chapter 3.
[300] Barthold, 19.

efendi and the emergence of a new type of *efendi*. Our research shows that 90 out of 96 çelebis in our population were already *ʿaskerī*s. This parallels the blurring boundaries between *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*, and increasing social mobility in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the bottom-up appropriation of the title *efendi* by way of the title *çelebi*, not only were the titles democratized to some extent, but also those who were outside the learned elite, ulema, those who were outside the official education cycle; or those who now had means to produce or consume culture found a way into *ʿaskerī* - but maybe, even more importantly, into the intellectual and cultural elite of the empire - at the same time redefining it. The fact that 71 of 78 *çelebi*s whose father had no title were *ʿaskerī* might help corroborate this statement. However, further research on the title *çelebi* is needed to advance and make this statement into a claim.

2.2.3 Wealth factor

As a culturally and economically active city, and a former capital of the Ottoman Empire, Bursa was a wealthy town in every meaning of the term. When we have an overview of the credit relations, total wealth, and the economics in general of Bursa, it goes without saying that compared to many other cities in the Ottoman Empire, Bursa was among the major cities that ranked at the top in terms of its economic activity. Accordingly, the number of creditors, merchants, artisans involved in the large volume of trade were easy to find in Bursa. As we have mentioned above, without considering the wealth, it is not sufficient to analyze a society with its given and porous legal divides. Thus, in this section, we will be using our own *tereke* readings, together with secondary sources on wealth in Bursa, in order to understand the economic conditions of seventeenth-century Bursans.

First of all, seventeenth-century Bursa seems to have a huge wealth gap. As clearly indicated by the wealth distribution in quartiles, the top quartile has the lion's share in terms of wealth. Table 2 shows that while the top quartile have 81% of the total wealth, the bottom have only 1.3%.[301]

Table 2. Percentages of Quartiles in Total Real Wealth

	Percentage in total real wealth (%)
Q4	81,2
Q3	12,8
Q2	4,7
Q1	1,3

One study conducted for Kayseri provides interesting opportunities to compare and contrast our results. According to this study, in Kayseri between the years 1660-1680, the top quintile owned 82% of the total wealth while the bottom had only a share of 0.34%.[302]

The same study, drawing upon both Nikolai Todorov, and Jean Paul Pascual and Colette Establet, tried to establish "the middle class" in Kayseri. Todorov posits this "middle strata" to have between 3001 and 30000 real *akçe*s in his work on Balkan cities, while Establet and Pascual say "*les moyens* (the middle)" are between

[301] This was done according to the real values with 1 *akçe* = 1 in 1645. Henceforth every nominal monetary value is deflated according to the price indices given in Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve diğer kentlerde 500 yıllık fiyatlar ve ücretler, 1469–1998* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000).

[302] Pınar Ceylan, "Tracing a 'Middle Class': An Inquiry on the Ottoman City of Kayseri, 17th and 18th Centuries," 34-35: Ceylan, however, found a much less polarized results for the first and the last twenty years of the eighteenth century.

6000 and 24000 in Damascus.[303] Using the same methodology of this study in order to provide a comparison between Bursa of the seventeenth century, and Kayseri in the late seventeenth century, we obtain curious results (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of Wealth Among the People of Bursa vs. Kayseri

Real akçe in possession	# of people (Bursa)	% of people (Bursa)	% of people (Kayseri)
0-1500	228	12,5	33,33
1501-3000	180	10	14,04
3001-30000	991	55	45,62
3001-6000	263	15	14
6001-30000	728	40	31,58
6001-24000	627	34	26
24000-30000	101	6	5,58
30000+	415	22,5	7,02

According to the table, larger percentages of the Bursan population were included in the higher *real akçe* possession groups. This means that Bursa was a richer city than Kayseri, as expected.[304] The percentage of those who had more than 30,000 *real akçe*s in their possession was more than three times the same group in

[303] Ibid., 35-36.
[304] Perhaps with a whiff of exaggeration, Pierre Belon, who visited the city in the mid-sixteenth century, said it was even wealthier than Istanbul (Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 11).

Kayseri, between 1660-1680. Similarly, those who had between 3001 and 30000 *real akçe*s were considerably larger than those of Kayseri.[305]

In order to understand the middling sort of Bursa, we need to take into consideration other determinants and see a breakdown of this group. Since Bursa is closer to Damascus than Balkan towns in terms of wealth, culture, and population, we choose to follow Establet and Pascual's rendition of the middling sort. Thus, we will be focusing on the group with a total *akçe* between 6001 and 24000 in their probate inventories, fittingly constituting one-third (34%) of our probate population.[306]

Our middling sort reflects similar results with the general population. An almost negligible but expected rise in the number of people belonging to *reʿāyā*, women, and a decrease in *efendi*s were observed in the middling sort in comparison to general population (Table 4). The ratio of *çelebi*, however, is the same with the general population. Although holding the title of *çelebi* increases with increasing wealth, it is more evenly distributed than *efendi*s who mostly belonged to the upper wealth quartiles. Another interesting factor is book owning patterns.[307] The ratio of book ownership stays more or less the same for our middling sort, although it is less than the general population perhaps due to the chunks of books owned mostly by the rich. We see that the middling sort of Bursa reflects the general characteristics of our probate population. This might prompt us to think that social characteristics were more or less directly related to wealth. In order to corroborate this, we need more

[305] Still, it is again mandatory to remind that these are based on probate registers where the poor are almost always underrepresented. Yet, since the same conditions apply to both datasets, it is meaningful to compare and say that Bursans were richer in general.
[306] Gerber, *Bursa*, 25, draws the line of poverty at 20000 real *akçe*s. This seems only meaningful if we are willing to consider that a large portion of the Bursa population were poor. However, it is debatable. There are many factors at play, the first one being the problem of representation. As all the models, this or Gerber's model are all problematic and require amendments with the possible further data.
[307] Chapter 3 will be dealing with book possession, and reading and writing in general.

data to demonstrate in a more comprehensive way the relationship between culture and wealth. We will be examining this in detail when exploring the nature of book ownership, reading, and literary production in Chapter 5. Here we have presented this breakdown in order to provide a better portrayal of the wealth distribution and their potential implications. In the next section, we will be dealing with economic life in Bursa in detail.[308]

[308] It should be noted that, for a better understanding of the "middling sort" consumption patterns, consumer durables, and real estates should also be analyzed. While the present study is only tangentially concerned with consumption patterns, consumer culture, and changing patterns of holding property, exactly this kind of analysis has been done for seventeenth century Bursa by Eminegül Karababa in her doctoral dissertation "Origins of a Modern Consumer Culture." Bilkent University, 2006. Probate inventories are here shown for the implications of the relationship between wealth, and titles and belonging to social groupings.

Table 4. Titles and Social Groupings (Middling Sort vs. General Population)

	# of people	% of people in middling sort	% in whole population
ʿAskerī	327	52	54,4
Reʿāyā	300	48	45,6
Çelebi	33	5,3	5,3
Efendi	25	4	5,3
Military	59	9,4	9,5
Other	14	2,2	1,7
No title	496	79,1	78,2
Convert	97	15,5	20
Non-convert	530	84,5	80
Male	363	58,6	60
Female	256	41,4	40
Book owners	66	10,5	11,7
Book owners (w/o Quran)	35	5,6	7,1

2.3 Economic life

Still one of the main nodes of textile production and commerce, Bursa was famous for its sericulture and moriculture practices, even in the Byzantine era.[309] We have yet to find information on silk manufacturing in the early days of Ottoman presence in Bursa, yet from the late fourteenth century, we hear from travelers visiting the city that raw silk was coming into the city, which had already (re)assumed its title of a

[309] Çağaptay, 2, also 113n9.

manufacturing center.[310] This is corroborated by at least seven neighborhood names which bore a reference to textiles.[311]

Thanks to its role as a major hub in the East-West long-distance trade as well as a center of silk manufacture, the economic life in Ottoman Bursa has been well studied. Thus, in this part, we will mostly be drawing on other studies, concentrating on Bursa's silk industry, the involvement of middle to lower income families, together with women, in economic life, credit relations, and Bursa's general role in the economics of the empire.

Bursa became a commercial center for Persian silk in the fourteenth century,[312] and this was followed by an influx of Italian merchants in the fifteenth.[313] As a center of commerce, there was a constant demand for labor and slaves from the recent conquests in the Balkans arrived in the city.[314] Suraiya Faroqhi has found a lively atmosphere of silk trade at the end of the fifteenth century in the court registers.[315]

During the fifteenth century, the increasing demand for slave labor and ceaseless flow of silk-bearing caravans from Persia intensified the international trade in a rapid fashion, followed, evidently, by big money. It was such a commercial town that a contemporary German traveler from Cologne, Arnold von Harff, observed that the city's population was composed mostly of merchants.[316] This was not simply due to the geopolitics of the city; it also seems to have been an Ottoman policy to

[310] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 63.
[311] Ibid., 5: Makramacı Mahmud bin Mes'ud, Makramacı Hacı Hoşkadem, Gazzazoğlu, Çıkrıkçızade, Yeni Bezzaz, Sırmakeş, Hariri.
[312] Ibid., 63.
[313] Gerber, *Bursa*, 114; Halil İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant."
[314] Sahillioğlu, 47.
[315] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı dünyasında üretmek, pazarlamak, yaşamak,* 103.
[316] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 64.

establish their capital as a main hub for Persian silk, a first step to obtain the control of the Silk route and, eventually, the silk production centers in Iran.[317]

However, several developments in the sixteenth century complicated this plan. The rise of Safavids in Iran, and increasing tensions between the Ottoman Empire and Safavids brought about harsh measures to both traders and manufacturers, and by both the Ottomans and the Safavids. First, Selim I banned the import of Persian silk into the Empire.[318] Although merchants tried to find other ways such as diverting to Aleppo instead of coming to Bursa directly, this became impossible after the Ottoman conquest of Aleppo. Only Armenian merchants had a small opening and continued the trade to some extent.[319]

The wars and strained relations between the Ottomans and Safavids continued in an on-and-off manner until 1639. This directly affected the raw silk trade between the two states. Persians, too, took precautions. They tried to export their silk directly to Europe with the help of English merchants. However, this failed because the English were reluctant to supply the precious materials in return for raw silk.[320]

There was an evident change in the prices between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. While the prices of raw silk were increasing rapidly, the prices of silk products did not follow suit. Murat Çizakça shows that due to an increasing demand for raw materials in the European markets, with an emerging silk stuff production in England and Italy, the price for raw silk increased tremendously. This was followed by the introduction of silk textiles produced in Europe into the

[317] Halil İnalcık, "Ḥarīr," *EI2.*
[318] Faroqhi, *Osmanlı dünyasında*, 104.
[319] Ibid., 105; Ergenç, *Bursa*, 229.
[320] İnalcık, "Ḥarīr."

Ottoman market. Thus, the European merchants were buying raw silk in return for silk products.[321]

Another factor was the shift of the caravan routes from Bursa to first, Foça, and then to İzmir. This route was also favored by the Persian merchants who sought to avoid the taxes imposed in Bursa.[322] Silk also started to be produced in other cities in the Empire, this can be traced from the decrease in the number of European merchants in Bursa after the fifteenth century.[323]

However, Bursa seems not to have been significantly affected by the wars or the competition, although there were problems at times. It should be noted here that the Bursa silk industry turned to two different measures to overcome these problems. The first one was the appearance of indigenous silk in Bursa. Fahri Dalsar introduced a document from 1587 where a person rented his mulberry orchard, together with the leaves of the mulberry (*arazii hâliyesini ve içinde olan dut ağaçları yaprağını*).[324] This was the earliest account of renting mulberry leaves Dalsar had encountered, and he concluded that the renting of leaves could only be due to silkworm growing.[325] Rather circumstantially, Heath Lowry points out that Reinhold Lubenau, who visited Bursa in the late sixteenth century, was silent about the dependency of Bursa's silk industry on Persian silk and interprets this silence as a sign of indigenous silk cultivation at the time.[326] Yet, there were direct accounts of silk cultivation during the seventeenth century as well, the most important of which comes from Evliya Çelebi, who called Bursa "*dârü'l-harîr*" (house of silk).[327] He tells us that there were

[321] Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650," 539-541.
[322] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 229.
[323] Gerber, *Bursa*, 115.
[324] Dalsar, 386.
[325] Ibid., 361.
[326] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 48.
[327] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, V. Kitap*, 141.

extensive mulberry plantations in the Bursa plain around Filedar, which produced the silk, the main product of Bursa, and the quality of silk produced in Persian lands could not come closer to it.[328] Furthermore, during his later visit to Bursa, Evliya mentions the cocoon production undertaken by Christians in Filedar.[329] A few years after Evliya, Dr. John Covel observed the non-Muslims involved in the silkworm business.[330] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Bursan silk seems to have completely replaced Persian silk in the Bursa market. Aubry de La Motraye, who visited Bursa in 1701, remarked that the much-esteemed silk was produced in Bursa.[331] Even in the nineteenth century, an observer from Sweden, Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, painted Bursa with many trees, some of which definitely seem like mulberry trees, and green areas just outside the city center (Figure 4).

[328] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 22: "Ve yedi gûne dudu meşhûr-ı âfâkdır ve dud bâğları vardır kim Filedâr sahrâsını zeyn etmişdir. Zîrâ Bursa'nın mahsûl-i azîmi ipekdir. Bu diyârda olan ipek, Acem diyârının Lahîcan'ında ve Şirvân'ında olımazdır."
[329] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, V. Kitap*, 141.
[330] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 52.
[331] Aubry de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, 216.



Figure 4. A view of Bursa by Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm in 1824 (Uppsala University Library)

The second measure, in order to overcome the economic distress due to Safavid wars and European competition, was to turn from slave to wage labor. As discussed above, the slave population in Bursa was in constant decrease starting mostly from the seventeenth century.

From the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, there was an influx of rural population towards the major cities. Due to a rapid population growth in the sixteenth century, Murat Çizakça claims, the excess rural population was not absorbed by agriculture.[332] In addition, the effect of Celali revolts throughout the seventeenth century might have pushed people to live inside the citadels which might have been safer. In general, during the times of unrest and Celali rebellions, the waqf revenues tended to decrease due to the villagers' leaving their land outside the

[332] Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry," 534.

cities.[333] Thus, the cities were flooded by rural migrants which led to unemployment as the capacity of exiting industries were unable to absorb these recent migrants.

This, apparently, was not the case for Bursa. The Bursa silk sector did not go through a crisis.[334] This must be due to the switch to wage labor instead of using slaves in the silk sector.[335] With the arrival of inexperienced workers, the manumitted slaves who were working in the silk sector set up their own business.[336] By creating more job opportunities, Bursa was able to manage to contain the recent migrants.

It seems that, let alone a crisis, Bursa silk industry encountered an unprecedented improvement in productivity. This should be due to the increasing production of raw silk.[337] But also, there was a change in the market.

Silk stuff produced in Bursa before the seventeenth century was directed mostly at the Palace -or at the Greek Church in the Empire-, together with European markets, including important clients such as Polish nobles.[338] In addition to European nobles, even Shah Tahmasb I was a regular buyer of Bursan silk products in between the times of enmity.[339] However, the seventeenth century saw a shift towards the domestic market. The main reason for this was that Palace was not always a timely payer, and the foreign market sales were not enough to cover the expenses.[340] Firstly, the introduction of European-made silk stuff might have created competition in the domestic market. The decreasing demand from the palace might have also helped this. As we have discussed, since the prices of raw material increased, the silk stuff

[333] Yusuf Oğuzoğlu, *Osmanlı devlet anlayışı,* 64.
[334] Gerber, *Bursa,* 32.
[335] Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 368.
[336] Halil İnalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," 109.
[337] Faroqhi, *Osmanlı dünyasında*, 121.
[338] Idem., "The Story of Bursa," 372-373; İnalcık, "Capital Formation," 116.
[339] Faroqhi., *Osmanlı dünyasında,* 116.
[340] Ibid., 121.

producers turned to the cheap raw material. Consequently, this caused many problems among the producers of silk and silk products. From the court registers, we can follow complaints about the use of low-quality raw material. Dalsar shows that there was a steady tendency of decreasing quality.[341] On top of these records, there were other complaints by the members and the officials of guilds, stating that unskilled people (*hâm-dest*) were involved in the business.[342]

Here, it should be noted that guilds were very active in silk production in Bursa. As argued by the recent scholarship, Bursa guilds were not completely under control of the state, and the fluid dynamics between the lawmakers and the market folk affected the commerce and artisanship.[343] For the silk and silk stuff production, there were two main groups: *hamcı*s (raw silk manufacturers) and *doḳumacı*s (silk weavers), in addition to *ṣabbāğ*s (dyers). The first group were not necessarily those who produced the silk in Bursa, before the cocoons were grown, those who brought raw silk to the Ottoman lands were also called *hamcı*. There were many complex procedures to obtain silk stuff from the raw silk, and at every step of the process, different groups of artisans were involved. First, the silk was transformed into a thread. Then, it was prepared for looming. If it was to be loomed as a colorful cloth, it was sent to the dyers. *Hamcı*s were following these processes, and when it was ready to be sold, they sold it to *doḳumacı*s for them to weave it into different kinds of fabrics. All of these processes, and necessary steps taken in transforming raw silk into textiles, were under scrutiny by the different government and guild officials.[344] It

[341] Dalsar, 306-307; Gerber, *Bursa,* 69.
[342] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 222.
[343] Selçuk, 7.
[344] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 215-220.

was the main industry in the city, and thus, it brought a considerable amount of income to the state as well, thanks to *muḳāta'a*s.[345]

For the reasons stated above, the seventeenth century witnessed innovations introduced by the artisans to increase their profit.[346] One of these innovations was actually not an unprecedented one. As we have seen, it was not required to have an initial capital investment to be, for instance, a silk spinner. Spinning was conducted via unsophisticated instruments; thus, it was suitable to be a home industry. Therefore, raw silk producers or merchants bringing a great load of raw silk were using weavers working at home, not only in Bursa proper but also in the villages around.[347] It can be followed in *tereke* registers that people without shops owned silk spinning instruments.[348] Therefore, a system of putting-out emerged in the seventeenth century.[349] There were not many salaried workers because silk spinning was a seasonal work. Therefore, silk spinners were either men in the lowest economic strata of the city, or women - of different levels of the society.[350]

In the later parts of the seventeenth century, we see that women started to possess their own silk instruments. Half of the three hundred instruments used in silk weaving were owned by women in 1678.[351] There were many other women who did not own shops, but tools and slaves.[352] Not owning a shop, from time to time, provided an opportunity to evade tax, yet there are countering examples too.[353] Still, guild connection brought a definite tax requirement for those with or without shops. However, guild membership in seventeenth-century Bursa was not universal, as

[345] Ibid., 234.
[346] Gerber, *Bursa,* 70.
[347] İnalcık, "Capital Formation," 118.
[348] Gerber, *Bursa*, 36.
[349] Faroqhi, *Osmanlı dünyasında*, 122; Gerber, *Bursa*, 64-66.
[350] Gerber, *Bursa*, 86.
[351] Faroqhi, "The Story of Bursa," 370-371.
[352] Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Slavery," 67.
[353] Gerber, *Bursa,* 35-36.

many artisans, including women and the aforementioned salaried or seasonal workers, did not belong to any guilds. While this allowed them to evade certain taxes, it also meant they missed out on the privileges that came with guild membership.[354]

When European demand for raw silk increased, Bursa artisans immediately responded by focusing on the raw silk manufacturing. Conversely, later on, in the eighteenth century, the demand decreased, and the silk stuff production sector went through another breakout.[355]

Of course, manufacturing silk did not simply make Bursa a city of textile production and commerce. Producing dyes, dying the textiles, and also rearing the sheep for wool were important processes which could be seen in early modern Bursa.[356] In addition, linen was produced in Bursa,[357] and dyed linen fabrics were also sold in the markets.[358]

Bursa was a city of export for other materials as well. Iron, timber, pitch, and hide were taken to Arab lands from Bursa.[359] Also, the iron and steel coming from other places were processed there to make famous knives to be exported, together with the Ottoman treasury's orders of weapons, armors, arrows, and harnesses.[360]

Besides silk, catering other products for Istanbul was also a major part of the Bursan economy. Wheat, flour, *tarhana* soup, rice and other foodstuffs were supplied to the Palace from Bursa.[361] Ice from Uludağ had also a special place in this activity. The seventeenth century geographer Mehmed Aşık states that the ice from Uludağ

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[354] Ibid., 36-37.
[355] Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry," 550.
[356] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 14 and 48: According to Lowry, it was Reinhold Lubenau who, first, stated the relative importance of spinning and weaving wool in addition to silk.
[357] Richard Pococke, *A description of the East, and some other countries*, 120.
[358] Evliya Çelebi, 22.
[359] İnalcık, "Capital Formation," 109-110.
[360] Sahillioğlu, 63.
[361] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 233.

was brought to Mudanya and from there, by boats, taken to the capital.[362] The state was acting as if it was a merchant setting out a putting-out mechanism, through regulations, privileging the producers who worked for the state, and sometimes giving credit to the entrepreneurs.[363]

It is almost impossible to comment on the economic life in seventeenth-century Bursa without a note on credit relations. As a city of merchants, the commercial activity in Bursa was, therefore, not excluding sales on credit. In fact, in Edirne and Bursa, it was almost impossible to see a transaction without credit.[364] The credit was so prevalent that, in *tereke* registers, it is almost a given to see that a person was either a debtor or a creditor. On the creditor side, we can even see the poor.[365] Similar to cash waqf interests,[366] the interest on credit was generally 10 percent, with 15 percent at most.[367] Haim Gerber claims that Bursan credit institutions were well-developed and sophisticated, keeping the interest levels down, and that a credit revolution took place between the late-fifteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.[368]

For a better understanding of the credit relations, let us turn to our probate population once again. In our sample, almost everyone had a credit or debt relation. This could be due to the nature of the document, too. As we have mentioned, there were only a certain number of cases which resulted in an estate to be assessed by the court. Thus, when there are certain debts and credits, it is understandable that the estate could have been contested. Yet, it is also a fact that, as we have noted, credit

[362] Mehmed Âşık, *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim*, 178.
[363] Faroqhi, *Osmanlı dünyasında*, 100.
[364] İnalcık, "Capital Formation," 127.
[365] Gerber, *Bursa*, 139.
[366] We will be mentioning this in Chapter 3.
[367] Gerber, *Bursa*, 130-131.
[368] Ibid., 147.

relations were very prevalent in every aspect of economic life. Table 5 shows the nature and prevalence of credit relations in our probate sample. According to our data, one third of the total wealth of our debtor population was debt, while the creditor population's credit share was more than 16%. In a closed population, debts and credits should have balanced themselves out. Yet, due to the representative weakness of *tereke* registers, average estate after debts and credits lowered to less than 70% of its original value.

Table 5. Average Estate, Debt, and Credit

	# in real *akçe*s	% of total wealth
Average estate	33422	-
After debts and credits	23036	-
Average debt	10409	30,2
Average credit	9788	16,3

In a nutshell, the economy of Bursa was highly dependent on credit relations, and this was mostly due to the active economic life in the city. While the most important activity was the many aspects of silk manufacturing, the city had also assumed a role in commercial agriculture, and due to its proximity to the capital, a role in catering to Istanbul.

2.4 Social life and cultural milieu

Being the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, an important gate for goods traveling from the East, a harbor for a great deal of lands suitable for farming, all made Bursa

an important city economically. Due to its economic importance, and its history under Ottoman rule, Bursa became a favorite meeting point for merchants, artisans, unskilled laborers as well as Sufis, poets, the learned, and exiles alike. Having important educational facilities and also, Sufi lodges belonging to various orders transformed Bursa into a cultural hub as well. Its vibrant atmosphere hosted a number of important personages, providing them with spaces to meet such as lodges, coffeehouses, hans, bozahouses, *'imāret*s, and hammams with hot springs. Its proximity to the capital and its historic and dynastic significance added to the development of the city, where many sultanic waqfs were cherishing it, while, symbolically, it remained a spiritual capital where people of the Ottoman family were buried, and many important members of the Ottoman administration chose (or were made to choose) to spend their retirement in.

As we have noted above, Bursa was a home for many European merchants, manumitted slaves, exiles, members of the ulema, and Sufis who continued their tradition in the following centuries by establishing orders and dervish lodges at the heart of the city. Due to this fact, Bursa is still known by some as "the city of *evliya* and tombs of saints."[369]

The city prospered in terms of educational institutions through waqfs founded by sultans and members of the Ottoman family and took on the prospect of a network of schools. Following the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Orhan founded a madrasa, called Manastır, which was, as implied in its name, transformed into one from a monastery. In addition to subsequently founded madrasas, there were many *ṣıbyān* mektebs, some equivalent to primary schools, in Bursa. A total number of 134 schools were

[369] For instance, the governor of Bursa recently commented that Bursa is a city of *evliya*. Bursa Valiliği Bilgi İşlem Şube Müdürlüğü, "'Evliyalar Şehri Bursa,'" T.C. Bursa Valiliği, accessed April 7, 2024, http://bursa.gov.tr/evliyalar-sehri-bursa.

founded in Bursa, two of which still serve as primary schools.[370] Although many were founded by sultans, or members of palatial circles, or the ulema, one third of the schools were founded by artisans and merchants.[371]

Regarding higher levels of education, by the end of the sixteenth century, there were at least fifty madrasas in Bursa.[372] Although Istanbul became the major city for educating the future elites of the Empire, Bursa still had important ties, and Bursan madrasas were also providing a way to the top of the *'ilmiye* hierarchy.[373] The judgeship of Bursa was also a higher step in the same hierarchy, after Istanbul and Edirne.[374] Therefore, those who shaped the future of the Ottoman Empire almost always passed through the city at some point in their lives.[375]

Although important in the official hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire, Bursa was even more famous among the Sufis - whether dissidents or friends of the Empire. In *Bursa Kütüğü*, which was an encyclopedic attempt to categorize Bursa court registers, Kamil Kepecioğlu lists 68 lodges which were established before the eighteenth century.[376] Most of these lodges, especially the older ones, together with the tombs of the saints after which the lodge had been named - when possible, were important places of visits for those who wanted to pray, or just stop by during a promenade.[377]

In the seventeenth century, too, lodges were prevalent. Hasan Basri Öcalan found 62 active lodges, many of them belonging to the Sufi orders such as the *Bayrami*s, *Bektaşi*s, *Celveti*s, *Gülşeni*s, *Halveti*s, *Kadiri*s, *Kazeruni*s, Mevlevis,

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[370] Mefail Hızlı, *Osmanlı klasik döneminde ilköğretim ve Bursa sıbyan mektepleri*, 44.
[371] Ibid., 46.
[372] Mefail Hızlı, *Mahkeme sicillerine göre Osmanlı klasik dönemi Bursa medreselerinde eğitim-öğretim,* 17.
[373] Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 77n37.
[374] Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576, 1. Cilt*, 315
[375] Chapter 4 provides a thorough glimpse into the relationship between Bursa and *'ilmiye*.
[376] Kepecioğlu, *BK, IV*, 173-175.
[377] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 14.

*Nakşibendi*s, *Semerkandi*s, and *Zeyni*s.[378] A certain Bursan pride was taken in the prominent presence of these orders in the city as well. In order to understand this aspect of Bursa's urban culture better, we must briefly turn to one of the major sources of our dissertation, namely the *vefeyātnāme* genre. For instance, Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed (d. 1650) included three saints who had never been to Bursa but had convents in the city into his *vefeyātnāme*, *Ravża-i Evlīyā* (1649).[379] Through this inclusion, the author took pride in being Bursan, which had become a mystical node of saints. Another author of an important *vefeyātnāme*, incorporated Sufi orders which had been prevalent and essential in Bursa, such as *Celvetiyye*, into his work.[380] Thus, the saying "burc-ı evlīyā" (a fortress of saints) is encountered often in the manuscript when writing about his city.[381] Some significant personalities, for instance, even chose not to try their chances at the capital and stayed in their beloved Bursa.[382]

According to Evliya, during the mid-seventeenth century, there were seventy-five coffeehouses where many skilled storytellers and readers of legends performed. These places, besides being known as places of indulgence, were important hubs for oral culture and "quotidian patronage," where storytellers, singers, and dancers were given alms for their performances.

Although it did not have a new institution as in the case of coffee, public smoking became prevalent in the seventeenth century. It became even more affordable than coffee drinking, and continued the new sociability first seen thanks to

[378] Hasan Basri Öcalan, *Bursa'da tasavvuf kültürü (XVII. yüzyıl)*, 59-180.
[379] Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed, *Ravza-i Evliya*, 274-285.
[380] Donuk, 317, 336, 347.
[381] Ibid., 756. Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)", 95, makes a similar observation.
[382] Selçuk, 33.

the advent of coffee.[383] In the mid-seventeenth century, in one *vefeyātnāme*, there was at least one person noted for his addiction to tobacco.[384] By the late eighteenth century, smoking was still seen as a diversion from public morals, yet one observer narrates an event where a person smoked in front of a *ḫān* during Ramadan at the risk of receiving steely gazes.[385] It is not hard to imagine that coffeehouses were also a major place for tobacco smoking.

In addition to the coffeehouse, bozahouse had a longer history.[386] Again, Evliya says that the 97 bozahouses of Bursa were more acceptable venues, even for the dignitaries. In these places, there were also beautiful cupbearers, readers, and musicians.[387] Boza was a very popular drink and consumed in such large quantities that in the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya told of a barrel hanging from a door of a han, which had been supposedly filled with boza and drunk by a single person.[388]

People were coming together in many *'imāret*s of Bursa, [389] and the large waqfs provided for them.[390] In these complexes, some soup kitchens worked day and night,[391] and they caught the eye of many foreign visitors. Several accounts from the fifteenth century narrated that food was distributed not only to the Muslims, but to everyone regardless of their religious or social group belonging.[392] In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, only one traveler commented on the operation of soup

[383] Grehan, "The Great Tobacco Debate," 1355, 1375.
[384] Baldırzade, 259.
[385] Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach arabien und andern umliegenden ländern*, *Dritter band*, 149.
[386] Selçuk, "State and Society in the Marketplace," 53: Author says that bozahanes were very popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, hosting a great deal of people from every walk of life, until its popularity was overshadowed by coffee houses in the mid-seventeenth century.
[387] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 18.
[388] Ibid., 15.
[389] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap,* 15: Evliya names seven, and conveys that there were 21 others.
[390] Gerber, *Bursa*, 107.
[391] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 15: For instance, Emir Sultan *'imāret*.
[392] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa,* 16-18.

kitchens. George Wheler said that "any poor man may come, and eat at any time."[393] Heath Lowry concludes that this could imply that as late as late seventeenth century, poor Christians and Jews of Bursa were able to enter the soup kitchens. However, it might be hasty to accept this comment without further proof. When Joseph Pitton de Tournefort visited the city in the seventeenth century, a foreign physician by the name of Marc Antoine Cerci, who was apparently a resident of Bursa, showed him Murad I's *'imāret*.[394] It is interesting that Paul Lucas, who visited the city shortly after de Tournefort, also stayed at the same doctor's house.[395] It is compelling to think whether Dr. Cerci thought himself as some sort of unofficial guide and whether he considered, in the eyes of an expat, Murad I's *'imāret* (probably not the soup kitchen but the main building) as a sight to see, an important attraction to show to the foreign visitors.[396]

Outside the city, further away from the newly built spaces, due to the immediacy of Uludağ, Bursa also had many promenades. Some of them were frequented by Sufis and the location could be around a saint's tomb.[397] Uludağ had a significance in the eyes of the contemporary observers as well. For instance, a seventeenth-century visitor of Bursa included a city view in his travelogue with a majestic portrayal of the mountain overlooking the city (Figure 5). In the eighteenth century, a more realistic depiction of the city with the surrounding mountain ranges still reflects the importance and immediacy of Uludağ and its relationship with respect to the city development (Figure 6).

[393] Wheler, 216.
[394] Tournefort, 238.
[395] Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, *Second Volume*, 201.
[396] Cemal Kafadar notes on a similar "pointless" sightseeing activity -some sort of new way of experiencing the city- taking place in the Ottoman domains, and can be followed in the literary works (Kafadar, "How Dark," 263-264).
[397] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 19-20.

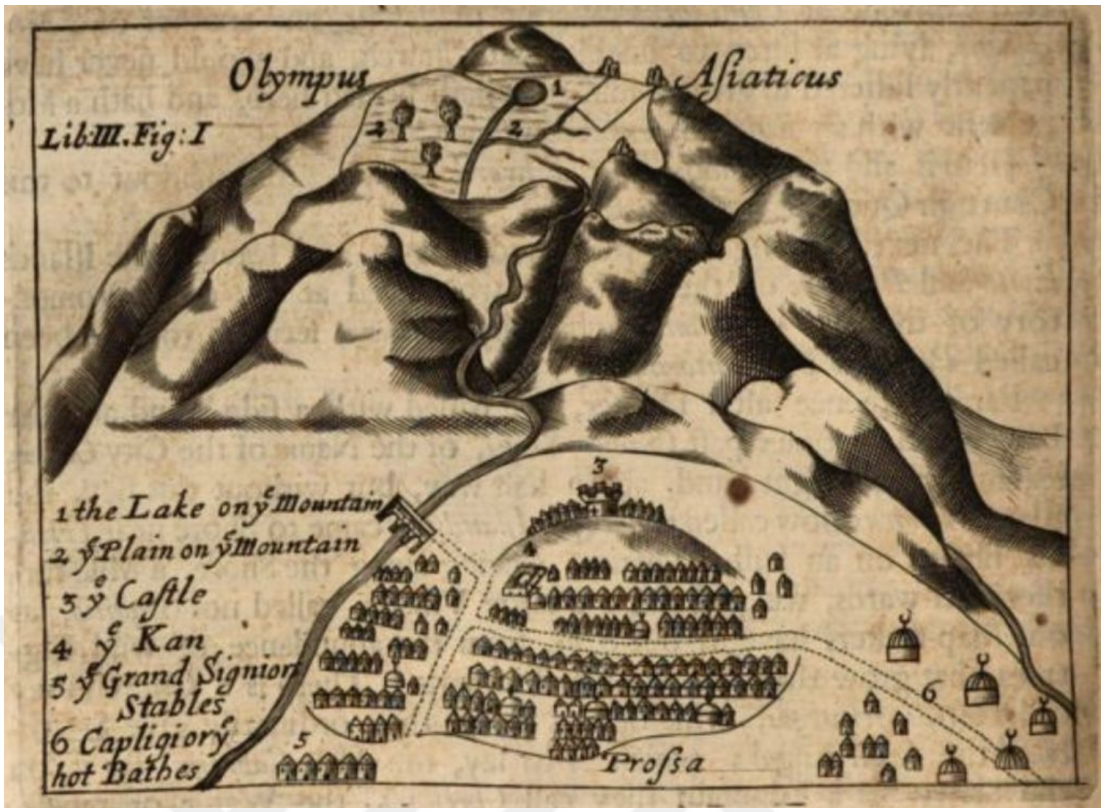

Figure 5. City view, drawn by a seventeenth-century traveler (George Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, 214)

Baths and hot springs were also important places to mingle. These places were among the few social institutions in the Middle East that were comparable to what coffeehouses had to offer.[398] Therefore, many contemporary Western observers visited and commented on bathhouses of Bursa. Moreover, Bursa was well-known for its bathhouses and hot springs as much as it was famous for its silk.

[398] James Grehan, "Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," 1375.

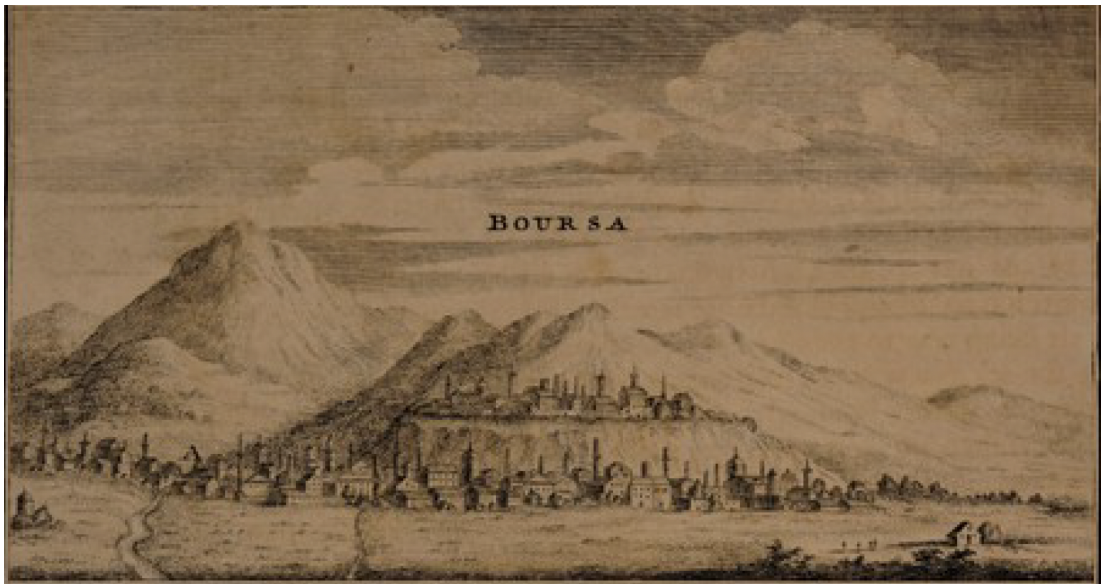

Figure 6. An eighteenth-century rendering of Bursa city-view (Richard Pococke, *A description of the East, and some other countries*, 115)

For instance, Thomas Smith says that "[a]t *Checkerghe*" there were hot baths frequented by Christians and Muslims alike.[399] These baths in Çekirge were founded on the old Byzantine baths which were cherished and incorporated to his own *'imāret* by Murad I.[400] Many commented on various baths serving both sexes.[401] Even when there was not a women's section, for instance, later on, it was amended to serve both sexes.[402] Some of them were apparently free of charge, while others were farmed out by the sultan and had an entry fee.[403]

Hot springs were frequented for various types of fun. For instance, Vahid Çelebi was noted for his ghazal-singing in the bath houses.[404] Evliya Çelebi, on the other hand, narrates that many people came to the bath houses with their beloved,

[399] Thomas Smith, "An Account of the City of Prusa in Bithynia, and a Continuation of the Historical Observations relating to Constantinople," 433.
[400] Çağaptay, 33.
[401] Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the world,* 88; George Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, 224; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 16; Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, 213.
[402] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri*, 276-283.
[403] Careri, 89; Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, *Second Volume*, 211-212.
[404] Donuk, 743.

playing various games in the pools, sitting side by side and enjoying their times there, even after it got dark, under the candlelight.[405] Bath attendants and the beauties at the hammam were also mentioned in poetry.[406] It was always a reason to celebrate when it was the time for hot springs.[407]

Hot springs were visited for their therapeutic capacities as well. One contemporary traveler to Bursa notes that there were more than one thousand people visiting the hot springs to be cured.[408] For instance, one Abdülgani Efendi came to Bursa *kaplucası* (hot spring) as a last resort to his ailments but passed away.[409]

Probably for all these reasons, Bursa was a significant spot for exiles and retirees, too. Many retirees died in Bursa for they came to spend their last years in the city. Thus, it is possible that they were included in *tereke* registers. However, the same cannot be said easily for those who were exiled to Bursa. There were many other places where exiles were sent. Yet, Bursa seems to be an important location for exiles since many requested the government to change their destination to Bursa.[410]

The exiles in Bursa can be traced in various sources. For instance, Arab Numan Efendi was banished to Bursa from Edirne and due to his service during the Abaza Hasan invasion, he was made the kadi of Bursa.[411] Even shaykh al-Islams were exiled to Bursa.[412] Not only the Muslims, but also Christians were exiled to Bursa. Probably one of the most significant cases was the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gabriel II who was exiled to Bursa by the orders of the grand vizier Köprülü

[405] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 17.
[406] Emine Tuğcu, "Şehrengizler ve Âyîne-i Hûbân-ı Bursa: Bursa Şehrengizlerinde Güzeller," 140-144.
[407] From Nāzik Abdullah's *şehrengīz*: "Müjdeler h̲ūbāna müjde ḳapluca eyyāmıdur." (Metin Akkuş, "Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Bursa Şehr-engizleri," 178).
[408] Thévenot, 112.
[409] Baldırzade, 207-208.
[410] Ali İhsan Karataş, *Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Sürgünleri (18-19. Asırlar)*, 58-60.
[411] Türkal, 191.
[412] Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-î âl-î Osmân*, 194-195.

Mehmed Paşa.[413] There were even self-exiles. For instance, there were few people who ran away to Bursa to escape the malice of Küçük Ahmed Paşa.[414] Besides exiles, there were many people who chose to return to Bursa. For instance, Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed returned to his hometown Bursa upon his retirement.[415] Similarly, Kurbânî Alîsî, a famous storyteller, returned to his hometown after a failed career in Istanbul.[416]

This social mobility must have created a livelier cultural atmosphere. However, the reason why the cultural elites of the Ottoman Empire chose Bursa as their place of retirement or expulsion should have been due to the fact that there had been a culturally active milieu already in Bursa, along with its proximity to the capital, and its reputation as a nexus of scholars and saints.

2.5 Conclusion

In examining the seventeenth-century history of Bursa, this chapter provides a comprehensive overview of how Bursa's historical legacy, economic dynamism, and rich cultural traditions contributed to its prominence during this period. Despite losing its status as the political and economic epicenter to Istanbul, Bursa maintained its symbolic and cultural importance. This was echoed by the black cloth covered over the pulpit of the Turkish Parliament to mourn the Greek occupation of the city in 1920.[417] Similarly, pride taken in being Bursan maintained and continued in so many forms even into the twenty-first century.[418]

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[413] Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923*, 99.
[414] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 742.
[415] Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed, *Ravza-i Evliya*, 287.
[416] Tülün Değirmenci, "An Illustrated Mecmua: The Commoner's Voice and the Iconography of the Court in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting," 211.
[417] Hacer Karabağ (ed.), *Milli mücadele dönemi Bursa'da işgal ve kurtuluş süreci 100. yıl,* 358-361.
[418] The most visible example would be from football, as Bursaspor and being Bursan are closely linked. For a survey about these ties, see Ersoy Soydan, "Bursa'da Kentlilik Bilincinin Oluşumunda Bursaspor'un Rolü ve Yerel Medyanın Önemi."

As a former capital of the Empire and a prominent city of trade and production as well as religion, culture, and arts, Bursa upheld its importance throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. Bursa remained as the largest city in Anatolia while occupying a spot as second only to Istanbul in every possible aspect in the Turkish-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire. The city's adaptability in the face of economic challenges, particularly in the silk industry, is notable. The shift from reliance on imported raw silk to domestic production highlights Bursa's resilience and capacity to innovate amid the geopolitical tensions with the Safavids. This economic vitality was not confined to the elite but extended to various social strata, including freed slaves, women, and merchants, fostering a dynamic and inclusive urban economy.

Bursa's social fabric was marked by a diverse population, contributing to a vibrant cultural life. The city's madrasas continued to be centers of learning despite centralizing efforts by Ottoman rulers,[419] and its Sufi lodges maintained a bustling social life in a spiritual atmosphere. The production of manuscripts and poetry, alongside the unique literary genre of *vefeyātnāme*s, offers profound insights into the cultural milieu of seventeenth-century Bursa. These cultural outputs reflect the city's intellectual vibrancy and its role as a center for scholarly and artistic pursuits.

Bursa navigated a tumultuous period marked by the Celali rebellions and broader shifts within the empire. The influx of exiles and its role as a retirement place for the elite underscore its continued cultural and political significance. Although Bursa remained in the shadow of Istanbul, its cultural and symbolic rivalry with the capital city emphasizes its persistent relevance within the empire.

[419] Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Eğitim-Öğretim Tarihi Konusunda Önemli bir Kaynak: 'Müderrisin Vezâifi'," 112-116.

The chapter has synthesized the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of Bursa, presenting a multifaceted portrayal of the city that maintained its prominence through adaptability, inclusivity, and cultural wealth. This preliminary overview sets the stage for a deeper exploration of Bursa's historical significance, which will be further elaborated in subsequent chapters. These chapters will delve into specific aspects of Bursa's social and cultural life, providing new perspectives on the dynamic interplay between urban folk and the city.

In conclusion, Bursa’s seventeenth-century history offers a compelling case study for understanding the broader urban dynamics of the Ottoman Empire. The city's ability to maintain its importance through resilience and innovation, coupled with its rich cultural heritage, positions it as a crucial locus for examining the multifaceted nature of Ottoman urban life.

CHAPTER 3

PARTAKING IN THE CITY

ENDOWMENT CULTURE AND A SENSE OF BELONGING

The city provided many opportunities and options, and simply, the dwellers gave back to the city in many ways. As constituents of the city itself, Bursans helped improve and operate the very city space which had provided for them and would continue to do so. This relationship can be seen as a bond established with the social and physical space in which they flourished. This is largely due to place identity, creating a sense of place. Through the endowment of property, individuals actively contributed to shaping the public sphere, demonstrating their connection to the community of believers and aligning themselves with its core values.[420] Thus, it was not only the physical space that brought people together; social bonds and feelings of belonging and security led to community formation.[421] Through giving back, the urbanites became not only simple partakers in, but also the makers of an urban culture of charity. This is especially visible in charitable waqfs of the Ottoman Empire. So, what was a waqf and how did it operate during the Ottoman Empire, especially in Bursa during the seventeenth century?

Although not mentioned in the Quran, waqf was an institution functioning within the framework of Islamic law. It is a charitable trust founded by a person upon declaring a property to be unalienable, and designating an institution, or people as beneficiaries.[422] This was done in the presence of the judge and a group of witnesses, and the endower relied on a trustee (a *mütevellī* or a *nāẓır*) to fulfill the conditions

[420] Miriam Hoexter, "The Waqf and the Public Sphere," 121.
[421] Tony Blackshaw, *Key concepts in community studies*, 97-123.
[422] Rudolph Peters, "Waḳf," *EI2.*

and operation of the waqf.[423] Although not strict, there are three main categories of waqfs: charitable (*hayrī*), familial (*zürrī/ehlī*) and mixed (*müşterek*). In the first, the endower dedicates the property to the charity, while in the second, it is endowed to a certain person or persons, such as members of the family. The third one is a mix of the first two.[424]

People endowed many things. Immovables such as land, houses, and other edifices were among the mostly endowed properties. For instance, people with a lower income mostly endowed their houses. According to Haim Gerber, the houses that were endowed proved to be less valuable, signifying that those who endowed houses were probably from the economically lower strata of the population.[425] Yet, waqf was also endorsed to endow movables, ranging from books and houseware to cattle and sheep. Sparking a debate in the sixteenth century, cash was also endowed, and as a result cash waqfs were established.[426] Furthermore, a multitude of beneficiaries were chosen. In this diverse list, one can find endowments for the oil lamps of a certain mosque, the salaries of certain müderrises, the repair of waterways, the expenses of pilgrimage, food distribution to the poor, picnics for school kids, housing benefits for imams, and many more.

Thus, in the Ottoman context, waqf as an apparatus shaped the Ottoman world in economic, cultural, and social aspects in a profound manner. Waqfs were employed in grand projects, too. In the early fourteenth century, Sultan Orhan used his waqfs to make Bursa the first capital of the Ottomans.[427] Mehmed II, likewise, used the endowments to develop and reconstruct the last Ottoman imperial capital,

[423] Selim Argun, "Elite configurations and clusters of power: The *ulema*, *waqf*, and Ottoman state (1789-1839)," 116; Haim Gerber, *Bursa*, 163.
[424] Randi Deguilhem, "Waḳf - .IV. In the Ottoman empire to 1914," *EI2.*
[425] Gerber, *Bursa*, 161.
[426] We will be commenting on cash waqfs in detail later in the chapter.
[427] Suna Çağaptay, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire*. See especially, Chapter 2.

Istanbul, after his conquest of the city.[428] In the last half of the sixteenth century, several waqfs of pashas reoriented the urban center of Aleppo.[429]

Although it is originally a spiritual charitable trust, waqf was also a space of contestation for the elites, the government, and the middling sort.[430] Due to its originally religious character as a gift to God, and the fact that it is very hard to revoke,[431] the endowing process is used to withhold property and to prohibit this property to be seized.[432] In our reading of waqfiyyas (endowment deeds), not only the rich but also the middling sort acted upon intentions not entirely selfless. But this does not necessarily mean that there were no acts of endowment based upon charity and partaking in the city and contribution to its dwellers. For the case of Bursa in the seventeenth century, this seems especially true. Haim Gerber states that confiscation of property was an exception. Thus, the waqfs of seventeenth-century Bursa were established not out of fear of seizure but to perpetuate the endowers' names, and with "a sense of public spirit."[433]

As an implementation intertwined with the social and economic life in the Ottoman Empire, waqf was used as a basis for many historical studies as well. Nurcan Abacı notes, however, that these studies were mostly based on waqfiyyas instead of court registers where we can trace the operation of waqfs.[434] In our study, in addition to waqfiyyas, we will be employing court records related to the operation and problems in that very operation of the waqfs.

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[428] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital*. See especially, Chapter 2.
[429] Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The image of an Ottoman city: Imperial architecture and urban experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th centuries.* See especially, Chapter 3.
[430] Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, 210.
[431] İstibdāl was employed to eliminate a waqf. For a general implementation of this method, see Yasin Erden, "Osmanlı Vakıf Hukukunda istibdal (XVI. ve XVIII. yüzyıllar arası)." Also see H. Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul evleri: Mimarlık, rant, konfor, mahremiyet.*
[432] Selim Argun, 116-117.
[433] Haim Gerber, *Bursa,* 157-158.
[434] Nurcan Abacı, *Bursa Şehrinde Osmanlı Hukuku'nun Uygulanması (17. Yüzyıl)*, 209.

In a rough attempt to categorize waqf-based studies, first, we could consider the general studies about waqfs and their role in the Ottoman Empire.[435] Secondly, there are more specialized studies, which focus on a single waqfiyya or waqfs of a single person.[436] These are mostly directed at sultanic waqfs, however. Thirdly, there are other studies that are not simply focusing on waqfiyyas, but similar to our chapter, using waqfiyyas as a source to delve into the economic, social, and cultural domain of the Ottoman Empire.[437] There were also many studies on the controversial cash waqfs (which we will be discussing later).[438] Specific to Bursa, also, there are many waqf-based studies.[439] As a main area of Ottoman historiography, it is almost impossible to note here every waqf-based study.[440]

As we have noted, from the beginning of the Ottoman polity, the court was actively involved in waqfs. In Bursa during the seventeenth century, there were five active sultanic waqfs: those of Orhan, Murad I, Bayezid I, Mehmed I, and Murad

[435] Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *XVIII. yüzyıl'da Türkiye'de vakıflar müessesesi: Bir sosyal tarih incelemesi*; Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslâm Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*; Richard van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and urban structures: The case of Ottoman Damascus*; Ziya Kazıcı, *İslami ve Sosyal Açıdan Vakıflar*; Hasan Yüksel, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü Üzerinde Bir Araştırma (1585-1683)."

[436] Tevfik Güran, *Ekonomik ve malî yönleriyle vakıflar: Süleymaniye ve Şehzade Süleyman Paşa vakıfları*; Ali İhsan Karataş, *Şeyhülislâm Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi (Hayatı-Eserleri-Vakıfları)*; İbrahim Ateş, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman su vakfiyesi*.

[437] Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Su Yollarının Bakımı ve Onarımında Vakıfların Rolü;" Kenan Yıldız, "Aykırı Vakıflar: Osmanlıda Fukarâ-yı Müslimîni de Gözeten Gayrimüslim Vakıfları;" Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The image of an Ottoman city: Imperial architecture and urban experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th centuries*; Muhammed Ceyhan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Mülk ve Vakıf Edinimi (18. Yüzyıl)."

[438] Çiğdem Gürsoy, "The financial analysis of the Ottoman cash waqfs;" Tahsin Özcan, *Osmanlı para vakıfları: Kanuni dönemi Üsküdar örneği*; Jon E. Mandaville, "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire;" Değer Alper and Canan Erdoğan, "16. ve 18. yy arasında Bursa Para Vakıfları ve Bursa Ekonomisine Etkileri."

[439] Samettin Başol, "Vakfiyelere Göre XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları;" idem. "Kentleşme, Ekonomi ve Sosyal Hayat Yönleriyle 17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları;" Hale Demirel, "Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bursa Vakıfları;" Fatma Kırçıl Akkoç, "Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında (1550-1565) Bursa Vakıfları;" Kübra Abazi, "XVII. Asrın İlk Çeyreğinde Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri;" Nida Gür Kamut, "XVII. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri,"

[440] For a more detailed bibliography, see Başol, "17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 8-16.

II.[441] In addition, there were waqfs of female sultans and women of palatial circles.[442] However, none of these waqfs aimed at creating new sources of income or starting new programs to allow them to do so, thus, their founders did not erect any public buildings in the seventeenth century.[443] Yet, they continued their significant impact on the city with issues of repair and maintenance. Furthermore, large waqfs were mostly responsible for the keeping of soup kitchens. They were either directly supplying money from their incomes, or at other times, purchasing rice and other foodstuff and donating it to the soup kitchens.[444]

In seventeenth-century Bursa, the public endowments were the largest employers in the city.[445] Sultanic foundations had a great deal of income sources, including shops, hans, and weighing scales known as *kapān*. Haim Gerber writes that what these waqfs provided for each Bursan was almost 170 *akçe*s a year, which might have been the highest figure in any Ottoman city.[446] Through opportunities that these facilities provided, waqfs were able to promote trade and commerce while obtaining income to a considerable extent.[447] These opportunities were not to be taken for granted. For instance, if one wanted to start a silk weaving business, no major capital investment was necessary, for no equipment of value was needed, and one could have well rented a waqf room in a sultanic han for reasonable prices.[448]

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[441] Gerber, *Bursa*, 161.
[442] Kübra Abazi, "XVII. Asrın İlk Çeyreğinde Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri," 26-31; Nida Gür Kamut, "XVII. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Bursa'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulan Vakıfların Kuruluş Amaçları ve İşleyişleri," 22-23.
[443] Gerber, *Bursa*, 71-72.
[444] Ibid., 107.
[445] Ibid., 25.
[446] Ibid., 163.
[447] Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 363-364: Faroqhi states that, conversely, commercial activity of the sixteenth-century Bursa financed the charities in Bursa.
[448] Gerber, *Bursa*, 62. Also see above, Chapter 2.

However, there were countless waqfs established by "the elites" and "the commoners" as well. As we will see, many people endowed their properties with the aim of protecting them, but also for the public good. Some chose to endow their property for the use of bigger waqfs, while others decided that they would help and improve living conditions of others by way of their own waqfs. In summary, the waqf played a crucial role in shaping the urban public space, with many aspects of a city's environment—including religious, educational, and economic infrastructures—being developed and sustained through endowments.[449]

In this chapter, leaving out sultanic waqfs, we are going to deal with the waqfs of the seventeenth-century urbanites, and whether and how they chose to partake in the society and whether their foundations manifested a sense of belonging to the physical space as well as to its constituents, fellow urbanites. Recorded also in court records,[450] waqfiyyas allow us to understand the economic and social relationships between certain groups and individuals. In addition to waqf deeds, records related to the legal problems around waqfs, misconduct of waqf employees, repair, amelioration, sale, or rent of waqf properties are helpful in drawing a bigger picture. Thus, through an analysis of five distinct cases of waqfs (one Ottoman gentleman, women, non-Muslims, water-related, and education-related) this chapter sets out to demonstrate that Bursans of the seventeenth century were actively involved in shaping their environments, cherishing their own neighborhood and their own city, and regardless of their ultimate goal, partook in the city, caring for the next generations, by way of their waqfs.

[449] Hoexter, 128.
[450] For a brief discussion about *sicil* and *tereke* registers in the Ottoman Empire, see Chapter 2.

3.1 Cultural elites and waqfs

In addition to waqfs established by sultans or members of the ruling elite, important personages of the cultural milieu created endowments in the city. Although we are mostly dealing with the middling sort contribution to urban life via waqfs, it is important to note here that, regardless of their backgrounds, there were prominent people who partook in the city in multiple ways. For instance, Naziki Abdullah Efendi (d. 1686), who is famous for his seventeenth-century *şehrengīz* of Bursa, established a waqf in 1647.[451] The famous preacher and royal tutor Vani Efendi, although not Bursa-born, also endowed everything he had been given in Bursa due to his services.[452] According to his biography,[453] he built a mosque, a soup kitchen, and other charities in Kestel (just outside Bursa) where he got the freehold (*temlīk*). Vani even took a liking to being Bursan, presenting himself as "from Van by birth and Bursan by choice," in his waqfiyya.[454]

Yet, the most important contribution to the city during the seventeenth century came from a Bursa-born, ex-shaykh al-Islam, Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi (d. 1658). The Karaçelebizade family was an important ulema family. Abdülaziz Efendi's grandfather was Hüsameddin Hüseyin Efendi, who was a brother of one of the viziers of Mehmed II, Mehmed Paşa -although it is not clear whether he was Karamani or Rum Mehmed Paşa- and was thought to be linked to Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi.[455] His father was Hüsameddin Efendi who had been *ḳāżīʿasker* (chief judge) of Rumelia. His older brother was Mehmed Efendi (d. 1633) who had

[451] BCR, B-71, 73a.
[452] Gerber, *Bursa*, 153-154.
[453] Donuk, 427-428.
[454] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)," 130.
[455] Ali İhsan Karataş, *Şeyhülislâm Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi (Hayatı-Eserleri-Vakıfları)*, 13-14.

been a well-known poet, teacher, judge, and *ḳāżīʿasker* of Anatolia, and Rumelia.[456] As we have seen in the previous chapter, it was none other than Mehmed Efendi b. Hüsameddin Efendi who commissioned Davudzade Mehmed (d. after 1666) to write a *Zeyniyye vefeyātnāme*.

To put it right, Abdülaziz Efendi was always politically active, too. This shaped his life and career, and due to his active involvement in politics, he ended up in Bursa. His first visit to the city was when he was around 28 years old. He was appointed as a *müderris* to Bursa, where he would stay for only nine months. Yet, his second visit was not as pleasant. In 1623, he was banished to Bursa on the grounds that he took part in what is known as the Fatih Mosque Incident,[457] this time as a *müderris* at Molla Hüsrev madrasa, and stayed there for 6 months until Murad IV was enthroned and he was pardoned.[458] After being promoted to judgeship and spending his time in various cities in the Empire, he was banished once again to Cyprus. He was held responsible for the shortage of plain oil as he allegedly mismanaged the *narḫ*.[459] After his return to Istanbul, he was not given a position for 13 years, during which he worked on his writings. This ended when Mehmed IV appointed him as *ḳāżīʿasker* of Rumelia,[460] a distinction which had been assumed by his father and brother. Later, something interesting -for the first time in the course of the Ottoman Empire- happened. After the shaykh al-Islam was dismissed, although he was a likely candidate, Bahâi Efendi was given the title. Yet, later on, he, too, was given the title of shaykh al-Islam – while holding the *ḳāżīʿasker* title as well.[461] This

[456] Nevzat Kaya, "Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz Efendi."
[457] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 509-511: During the event referred to as the "Fatih Mosque Incident," a group of ulema and sheikhs gathered to protest and ask the resignation of Grand Vizier Mere Hüseyin Paşa who, allegedly, had insulted and beaten a kadi.
[458] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 26-27.
[459] Eunjeong Yi, *Guild dynamics in seventeenth-century Istanbul: fluidity and leverage*, 181: According to Yi, he almost got executed by Murad IV.
[460] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 28.
[461] Ibid., 52.

created a problematic situation for Abdülaziz Efendi. Naima conveys a story where one of the viziers scolded him for not obeying the hierarchy in the entourage. Vizier says that if he is the chief judge he should be behind the line, and if he is the shaykh al-Islam, he has no place in that cortege.[462] This was amended in 1651, and Abdülaziz became the sole holder of the title. Yet, this would only last for four months.

As politically involved as he was, the turmoil found him while he was in that position, too. The artisan uprising of 1651 broke out. Although having refused their demands initially, Karaçelebizade was forced by the rebels to lead them.[463] This led to a complex turn of events, culminating in the killing of the queen mother Kösem Sultan. Later, when he had to side with janissary *ağa*s, whom he was supported by,[464] he was dismissed and banished to Chios.[465] Upon a threat of war in the Aegean Sea, he was allowed to return to Bursa, where he would spend the last six years of his life.

In 1656, just two years before his death, Abdülaziz Efendi established six waqfs.[466] Through these waqfs, he helped improve the conditions of living for many Bursans. It is possible to classify his contributions by way of his own waqfs in four main categories: (i) religious, (ii) social and public works, (iii) water-related, and (iv) educational.

The religious contribution he made to the city was through construction, repair, maintenance of, and catering for mosques. One of Karaçelebizade's waqfs[467] is very detailed in supplying olive oil and candles to the small mosques like Molla

[462] Naima, 1246.
[463] Gülay Yılmaz, "Urban Protests, Rebellions, and Revolts," 567.
[464] Naima, 1349.
[465] Kaya, "Karaçelebizâde."
[466] For their order and a summary of their content, see Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 101-113.
[467] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.

Arap and Namazgah, and building coffin rests for the others.[468] In the former mosques and Kutbuddin İzniki mosque in İznik,[469] on the other hand, one waqfiyya mentions allowances for prayer recitations as well. For the largest mosque of Bursa, Cami-i Kebir, the waqfiyya details a series of roles such as doormen and candle burners for which it would be paying the salaries. However, the most interesting contribution of Karaçelebizade in terms of religious services, was for a rather obscure and small mosque called İshak Şah mosque[470] (Figure 7). First of all, Karaçelebizade notes that he managed to transform it into a Friday mosque. Thus, two imams were appointed in addition to a preacher and a pulpit was built. Also, the Quran would be recited once a month and this recitation would be dedicated to the soul of Müşerrefe Hatun, the late mother of Karaçelebizade. The reason why he chose to cherish this small mosque lies in his ties with the neighborhood around the mosque. Karaçelebizade was born in a house in that very neighborhood, and returned to that house for the last years of his life. By going back to his childhood home, he must have formed a relationship with his early life - through which, his order of Qur'an readings for his mother's soul also makes sense.

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[468] These mosques are around the neighborhood where Karaçelebizade spent his last years (İshak Paşa). Molla Arap mosque in Çoban Bey neighborhood was built in the first quarter of sixteenth century by Mollā 'Arab el-Vā'iẓ (Donuk, 409-411; Kâzım Baykal, *Bursa ve anıtları*, 131; Kepecioğlu, *BK, III,* 200-201). Namazgah mosque, in its namesake neighborhood, was built by Umur Bey (d. 1461). It was and still is an open-air mosque, accompanied by a small, covered mosque at the east side of the open-air space, whose minaret resembles the nearby Umurbey Mosque which was built during the reign of Murad II (Baykal, 133; Kepecioğlu, *BK, III,* 265).

[469] Built by Kutbuddin İzniki in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it was ruined and rebuilt by İbrahim Pasha (Kepecioğlu, *BK, III,* 60). Kepecioğlu did not mention which İbrahim Pasha it was, yet it is probable that this was the Grand Vizier of Süleyman I. Thus, Karaçelebizade most probably endowed for the mosque which had been rebuilt by İbrahim Pasha.

[470] İshak Şah mosque is now known also as Müftüönü Mosque. It is in Kurdoğlu neighborhood, yet historically, which neighborhood it belonged to is a question. Özer Ergenç, *Bursa,* 66, says that it was in the İshak Paşa neighborhood, claiming İshak Şah might be İshak Paşa, one of the viziers of Mehmed II. Yet, Kepecioğlu, *BK, II,* 244 says that it is not known who İshak Şah actually is. One account is that he might have been İshakoğlu Mehmed who was known as Kurdoğlu also, but the mosque he was built as Kurtoğlu Mosque was not located at the same spot as İshak Şah Mosque. Furthermore, Kepecioğlu says that there is an inscription for a fountain above the door of the mosque which claims that the now non-existent fountain was built by İvaz Şah's son İshak Şah in 1440/1441. This cannot be the alleged architect of Yeşil *'imāret*, famous Hacı İvaz Pasha since, as far as we know, he did not have a son named İshak (Kepecioğlu, *BK, II,* 124-125).



Figure 7. İshak Şah mosque (Photo: Ömer Serez)

In addition to services in the religious domain, Karaçelebizade's waqfs undertook a series of acts which could be considered under social and public works. One of the interesting parts in his first waqfiyya mentions a han called Pirinç Hanı - which cannot be the famous Pirinç Hanı we know, for it was known to be built by Bayezid II. Yet, in his waqfiyya, he included and endowed this han he built, which

had two stories, with a total number of thirty-six rooms, and a pool.[471] In addition to his han which would bring the most revenue to his waqfs,[472] Karaçelebizade built roads and bridges around Bursa. For instance, he built a bridge over Nilüfer creek, called Acem Köprü, another in Şipali village in İnegöl, and rebuilt and ameliorated the bridge known as Tepecik Köprüsü. In his waqfiyya, he noted that if there was no need for repair of the roads and bridges, new roads and bridges should be constructed in accord with the demand of the people and the decision of the kadi. Furthermore, he stipulated that if the income of his waqf was still at surplus, he let it be used for the properties of other waqfs which were weakened and did not have sufficient funds to repair its own endowed properties.[473] Karaçelebizade seemed to care more for the infrastructure, and well-being of future Bursans than his own waqfs' continuity.

As many Muslims did,[474] Karaçelebizade also allotted funds to those who would go to Hejaz for pilgrimage. His waqfiyya notes that each year two pouches with thirty gold coins each would be given to a trustable person who would do the pilgrimage. This person, in return, would spend this money as follows: (i) ten gold coins to a Meccan for performing the pilgrimage on behalf of Karaçelebizade's soul, (ii) twenty to the poor of Mecca, (iii) ten to one Medinan who would recite prayers for the soul of the prophet, and (iv) twenty to the poor of Medina, again for the soul of Karaçelebizade.[475] It is evident that Karaçelebizade cared for this act very much for he mentioned that if there would be a problem gathering the money, *raḳabe*[476]

[471] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.
[472] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde,* 102.
[473] BCR, B-119, 55b-56b.
[474] For instance, see the subchapter below, about women and waqfs.
[475] BCR, B-119, 55b-56b.
[476] For *raḳabe*, see below.

should be employed in order to pool the necessary money for other expenses of the endowment, so that the money that would go to Hejaz stays the same.[477]

Similarly, and more to the point for our case, Karaçelebizade helped the poor of Bursa, too. First, he noted that every year four thousand *akçe*s would be donated to the *ʿavārıż* waqfs of five randomly selected neighborhoods.[478] In addition to his grant to the *ʿavārıż* waqfs, he stipulated that if the income of any of his waqfs exceeds its expenses, the surplus should be given to the poor of Bursa, whenever it is not possible to spend for the stipulations stated in waqfiyya.[479] Furthermore, if any waqf becomes inoperative and comes to an end due to economic reasons, the money left in the waqf account should be distributed to the poor again.[480]

Yet, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the most important benefits that Karaçelebizade brought to Bursa were water related. First and foremost, Karaçelebizade, with his waqf bringing water to the city, established three distinct distribution lines, encompassing most of the city.[481] This water was known as *müftī ṣuyu* (Figure 8). Three lines were serving the various neighborhoods that had been developed from the conquest of Bursa to the late sixteenth century. While the green line follows Setbaşı, Cami-i Kebir (Grand Mosque), Çatalfırın direction, the blue line follows Yeşil *ʻimāret* and ends in İncirli, just before Bayezid I's *ʻimāret*. The red line, on the other hand, followed a route beyond the initially developed neighborhoods (such as Kayğan neighborhood, now known as Kayhan), and supplied water to the neighborhoods mostly developed in the late fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries (such as Kiremitçi neighborhood, where the line ended). In addition to

[477] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.
[478] BCR, B- 119, 55b-56b.
[479] BCR, B-119, 67a.
[480] BCR, B-119, 66b.
[481] BCR, B-119, 65b-66a.

various fountains in these three main distribution lines, Karaçelebizade built fifty other fountains.[482] The main condition of the waqf was that although everyone was at liberty to use them to their own liking, it would not be possible to connect a private line to any house, or use them to build other fountains. Another interesting condition reveals that Karaçelebizade not only simply brought water to the city but cared for how it was distributed aesthetically as well. In the waqfiyya it is said that whenever a change of the faucet is needed, the trustee, under the supervision of the judge and superintendents, should change it with a faucet exactly in the same shape. The reason he gave for this was that toleration for even small changes would lead to great harm.[483] Also, it was noted that there were no faucets in the fountains before[484] and it was Karaçelebizade who first brought the faucets to the fountains that he had built.[485]

[482] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.
[483] BCR, B-119, 65b-66a.
[484] Kepecioğlu, *BK, I*, 248; Evliya Çelebi, 15; Çiftçi, "Bursa Su Yollarının," 66.
[485] BCR, B-119, 65b-66a.

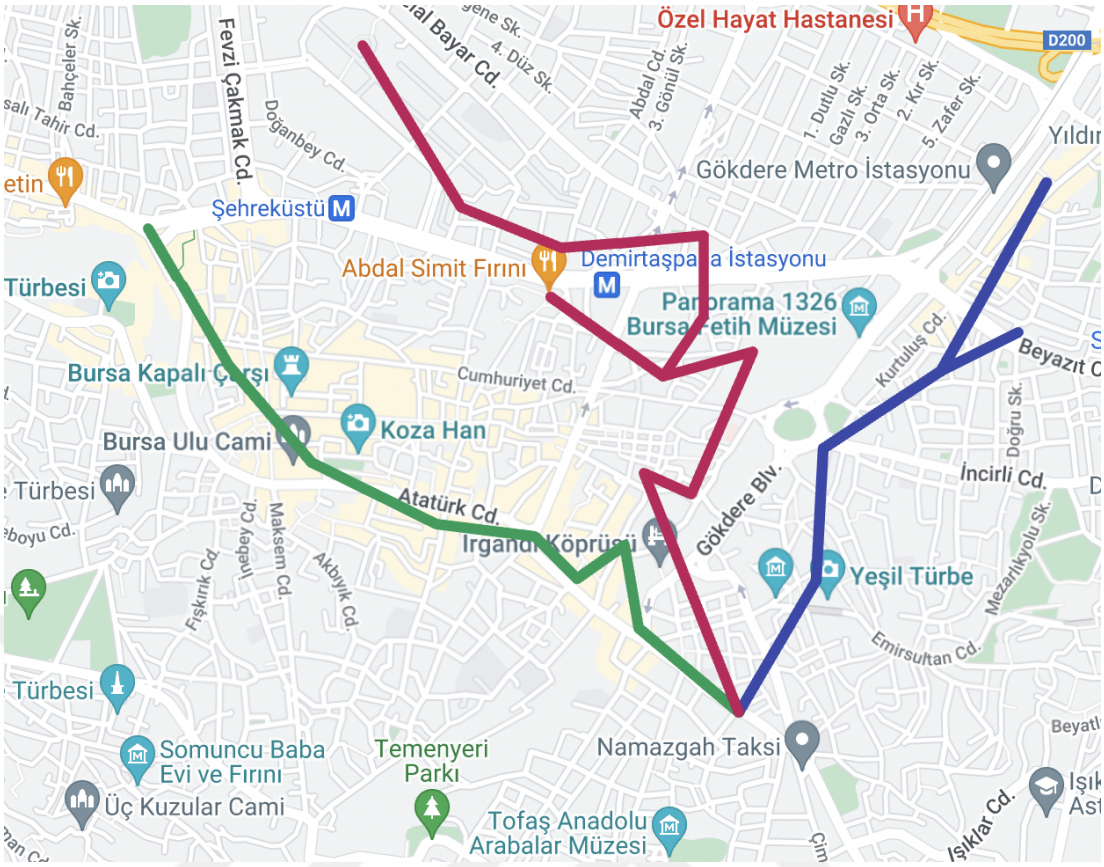

Figure 8. The three main distribution lines of *Müfti Suyu*, *Şuyu* (Marked on Google Maps, August 2024)

Building the fountains and waterways is one thing, while protecting the water coming into the city is another. For this concern, Abdülaziz Efendi appointed different water superintendents for waterways coming from Uludağ, and each of the three distribution lines. In addition to this, he appointed *şuyolcu*s who would clean, repair, and take care of the water lines.[486] He laid so much importance on this job that he paid the same amount to them as he paid to the schoolteachers.[487]

In addition to building new fountains and establishing new waterways, Abdülaziz Efendi spared money for the amelioration and repair of existing elements

[486] Ibid. See subchapter below on waterways and fountains for water superintendents and *şuyolcu*s.
[487] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 217

of water distribution such as fountains (especially, Acem, Sancak Beyi, Kızık, Abdal Mehmed, Hasırpuşdede, Aksu, İnegöl, and Bozburun fountains).[488]

The importance of the water brought to Bursa by Karaçelebizade made ground in the poetry as well. One of the most important Bursan poets of seventeenth century, and an instrumental witness in Karaçelebizade's waqfiyyas,[489] Naziki Abdullah wrote four couplets, celebrating Abdülaziz Efendi's contribution to Bursa waterways.[490] Similarly, İsmail Beliğ did not fail to mention the inscription above the Cami-i Kebir fountain Karaçelebizade built.[491] Fast forward to mid-twentieth century, we would see that Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar could not but touch upon Karaçelebizade and his waters when reflecting on Bursa. He says that the fountains in Bursa were still called by the Bursans as "*müftü* fountains,"[492] showing that Karaçelebizade's contribution to the city in water-related issues remained in the collective consciousness of Bursans for a very long period of time.

Last but definitely not the least was Karaçelebizade's concern for education. As mentioned in one of his waqfiyyas, he built a *mekteb*, appointed a teacher and other staff, and met the expenses of the school, including the maintenance, repair, and coal expenses and the regular picnics that the children would be taken to.[493] In addition to his school, he allocated funds for public lessons and sermons that would take place in the mosques.[494]

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[488] BCR, B-119, 60a-62a; 55a-56a.
[489] Ibid., 202, also 227.
[490] İsmail Beliğ, *Güldeste-i riyāż-ı 'irfān ve vefeyāt-ı dānişverān-ı nādiredān*, 325.
[491] Donuk, 544. For the endowment record of this fountain, see VGMA, Vakfiye Deft. No. 2163/60/45.
[492] Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş şehir*, 117-119.
[493] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.
[494] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 179: Although there is no mention of this public lecture (or those who delivered them, *dersiâm*s) in the waqfiyyas, Karataş found an entry in waqf accounts of 1775, spared for the salaries of *dersiâm*s.

Although not in Bursa, it seems that Abdülaziz Efendi endowed books as well. In one waqfiyya, it is mentioned that a library attendant's (*ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb*) salary would be paid by means of waqf for the books endowed to the Chios mosque.[495] Although it was not stated who exactly endowed the books, Ali İhsan Karataş claims that it is highly likely that the books were also endowed by Karaçelebizade.[496]

As we have mentioned, the public endowments were the largest employers in the city in the seventeenth century. Karaçelebizade's waqfs, on the other hand, diffused into the city, also through its employment network. Six Bursa waqfs of Karaçelebizade employed a total of eighty-eight personnel. Although he took a pro stance for *raḳabe* in his works of *fiqh,* Abdülaziz Efendi discouraged the use for his waqf personnel.[497] Waqfiyyas mention that 88 personnel would receive a total of 180 *akçe* each day, with each *mütevellī* receiving 29.[498] Although 56 of these personnel were employed in nine mosques, waqfs recruited personnel related to water ways and education, too. In addition to employment, another impact of Karaçelebizade waqfs that they stipulated acquisition of a male and a female slave to be manumitted each year in Ramadan.[499]

The Karaçelebizade family was not originally from Bursa. However, as members of the ulema, they had been closely linked with it. Unlike his brother, Abdülaziz was born in Bursa; however, he did not return to his birthplace until the last six years of his life - except for two occurrences where he spent just a few months as müderris. His last visit, and one visit as a müderris were due to

[495] BCR, B-119, 48b-49a.
[496] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 182.
[497] Ibid., 133-134.
[498] For comparison, an unskilled construction laborer in Istanbul was receiving 15,2 and 19,9 *akçe*s in 1649 and 1666, respectively; while one loaf of bread costed 3,1 *akçe*s in 1657 (Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve diğer kentlerde 500 yıllık fiyatlar ve ücretler, 1469–1998*).
[499] BCR, B-119, 55b-56b.

banishments. Although it does not seem like Karaçelebizade was in favor of living in Bursa on his own account,[500] this fact did not stop him from partaking in the city he had been born, had lived, and died in. As a person who grieved over familial relationship and heritance,[501] he did not appoint a trustee from his family. He gave a series of names in his waqfiyyas for potential trustees after his death and after their death, their next generations would take up the job. If their generation comes to an end, kadi of Bursa would be responsible for appointing a trustee.[502]

Ahmet Refik writes that Abdülaziz Efendi passed away in great sorrow, and with a longing for a big city - as he did when he was an exile in Cyprus and Chios.[503] Yet, as we have seen, Karaçelebizade cherished Bursa, helped improve the infrastructure, and cared for Bursans, and did not do this only in the name of his own soul. He helped other waqfs' properties, and allocated money for the demands of the public. As his meticulous descriptions even for faucets in his waqfiyyas show, he was deeply connected to the city he was born in, referring to Bursa time and again as "*cennet-âsâ*" (heaven-like)[504] and cherished it for the future generations.

[500] Note that Karaçelebizade family might not have possessed strong ties with Bursa, rather they were related to Bursa due to their career path: Abdülaziz Efendi's nephew Mahmud Efendi was told off by Nazik Abdullah, when the former positioned Bursa lower than Istanbul. See Chapter 4. However, this arrogance might be peculiar to the nephew, since Abdülaziz Efendi also wrote that his nephew did not possess a sense of shame (Kara Çelebi-zâde Abdülaziz Efendi, *Ravzatü'l-Ebrâr Zeyli (Tahlil ve Metin)*, 162).
[501] Kara Çelebi-zâde, *Zeyl,* 161: He lamented that his older brother did not do justice with the heritance from their father, which Abdülaziz had only been able to use when he came of age.
[502] BCR, B-119, 60b-63a.
[503] Ahmet Refik, *Alimler ve sanatkarlar,* 80.
[504] For instance, see Kara Çelebi-zâde, *Zeyl*, 129).

3.2 Women and waqfs

Women had always partaken in social life by way of their waqfs through the course of Ottoman history.[505] The contributions could have various intentions. They sometimes demonstrated political power and oftentimes they were simple deeds of transferring the wealth to the posterity. In form, likewise, they had a wide range, depending on the wealth and position of the endower in society: from cash waqfs to endowment of a property, or grand projects of architectural patronage.

Thus, female sultans of the Empire had been active in waqfs, too.[506] With Süleyman I's favorite Hürrem Sultan's choice to stay at the palace rather than leaving to a province when the mothers followed princes to their provincial seats,[507] the female sultans started to remain at the capital, close to the palace, and got involved in architectural patronage in Istanbul. This, evidently, did not mean altogether dynastic women were not involved in architectural patronage at all before the sixteenth century. The mothers of sultans built in provincial capitals where they spent time with their sons. For instance, Bayezid II's wife Hüsnüşah Sultan built a complex in Manisa in the late fifteenth century. Süleyman I's mother Ayşe Hafsa

[505] As an Islamic tradition, waqfs were present long before the Ottoman Empire. For instance, during the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, many women contributed to the built environment and also, social life, through waqfs and architectural patronage: Ülkü Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," 245-260; Howard Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," 1-57; Aynur Durukan, "Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kaynakları Çerçevesinde Baniler," 43-132; Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and saints: Sufism and the transformation of urban space in Medieval Anatolia*, especially Chapter 6; Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia*; Ahmet Demir, "Selçuklu Dönemi Vakıflarında Kadınların Yeri: Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darüşşifası Örneği."

[506] There are many studies on sultanic women's waqfs and some *vakfiyye*s were also published: Ahmet Arslantürk, *Turhan Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi*; Tülay Duran, ed. *Tarihimizde Vakıf Kuran Kadınlar: Hanım Sultan Vakfiyyeleri*; Tijen Sabırlı, *Afife Nurbanu Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi (1580)*; Nurhan Atasoy, *Haseki Hürrem Sultan ve Vakıfların Altın Çağı*; Arzu Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan Vakfiyeleri*. A good summary of building projects of Ottoman sultanas can be found here: Muzaffer Özgüleş, *The women who built the Ottoman world*, 37-60.

[507] Özgüleş, *The women who built*, 43-44.

Sultan, on the other hand, also built a complex in Manisa, after spending years there with his son.[508]

Especially in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women sultans came forward with grandiose projects. This became visible when Safiye Sultan started to build Yeni Cami in 1597, which, sixty eight years later, was completed by Hadice Turhan Sultan.[509] The latter was also famous for her project in the Dardanelles, in an effort to counter the contemporary threat of Venetian aggression, and through which she established her position as new *vālide*, and a protector of the Empire.[510] The late seventeenth century also witnessed important acts of architectural patronage by the sultanas. For instance, Gülnuş Emetullah sponsored the conversion of three churches, built hospitals and soup kitchens on the pilgrimage route, patronized fountains, and mosques.[511] Evidently, the women of the dynasty were not only pursuing architectural patronage. Through their waqfs they partook in society in many other ways, such as distributing money and food to the pilgrims and the poor.[512] By partaking in the society, they became involved in the urban life and partake in social networks.

As the first capital of the Ottomans,[513] Bursa, too, was an important city for waqfs of women of the palace and palatial circles. They founded primary schools,[514]

[508] For a brief summary of women sultanas and their architectural patronage efforts, see Eyüp Sabri Kala, "Osmanlı Dönemi Hanım Sultan Vakıfları ve Sosyal Politika Uygulamaları," esp. 115-122.
[509] Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders: The architectural patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan*, 187-268.
[510] Ibid., 180.
[511] Özgüleş, *The women who built,* 61-184.
[512] A brief summary of female sultans and their charitable waqfs in the seventeenth century can be found here: Eyüp Sabri Kala, "Osmanlı Dönemi Hanım Sultan Vakıfları ve Sosyal Politika Uygulamaları," 124-129.
[513] Starting from the very first years of Ottomans' Bursa tenure, women took part in waqf activities: Hatice Engin, "Bursa'da Erken Osmanlı Dönemi'nde Kadın Bânîler ve Eserleri."
[514] Hundi Hatun (d. after 1427) founded a *şıbyān mektebi* in the east of Cami-i Kebir (Başol, "Vakfiyelere Göre XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 60-63, 153).

endowed and leased shops,[515] distributed food to the poor,[516] and established waterway waqfs.[517]

Yet not only women of the palace, but many other female city dwellers of different backgrounds and social positions partook in the city via their waqfs. Yakup Tuncer found that, in fifteenth-century Bursa, 51% of the waqfs found in the court records were endowed by women.[518] Two studies conducted on the first and the second halves of the sixteenth century in Bursa found that the waqfs endowed by women had the shares of 47%[519] and 35%,[520] respectively. One dissertation which claims to bring together every waqf record from seventeenth-century Bursa postulates that the percentage of women endowments was 47.8%.[521] These percentages, of course, are short of reflecting the actual ratio due to the fact that they were only based on waqfiyyas mentioned in the court records. However, they could give a sense about the importance and the share of women waqfs in Bursa. In a thesis conducted on the fifteenth century waqfs of Bursa, the author was not able to find any waqfs by women outside palatial circles.[522] This study, on the other hand, was based solely on waqfiyyas in *evḳāf defter*s. Another study on the same time period which used again court records as its source did not specify the percentage of women. However, it revealed that 93% of the waqfs found in sicil documents belonged to *reʿāyā*,[523] while the former study found a percentage of 15.2.[524] The vast

[515] Ibid., 135-138: For instance, Mehmed I's daughter Selçuk Hatun (d. 1485) endowed many shops. See also, Ahmet Gündüz, "Çelebi Mehmed'in Kızı Selçuk Hâtûn Vakıfları."
[516] Fatma Korkmaz, "Selçuk Hatun ve Vakıfları," 71-77.
[517] Hale Demirel, "Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bursa Vakıfları," 15: Gülçiçek Hatun (d. unknown) brought water from Pınarbaşı and parted it into five branches for the city.
[518] Tuncer, "Mahkeme Sicillerine göre," 23-24.
[519] Hale Demirel, "Mahkeme sicillerine göre XVI. yüzyıl ilk yarısında Bursa vakıfları," 60.
[520] Fatma Kırçıl Akkoç, "Mahkeme sicillerine göre XVI. yüzyıl ikinci yarısında (1550-1565) Bursa vakıfları," 43
[521] Başol, "Kentleşme, Ekonomi ve Sosyal Hayat Yönleriyle 17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 138.
[522] Başol, "XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 45. However, the author also notes that this is not likely.
[523] Yakup Tuncer, "Mahkeme Sicillerine göre XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 25-27.
[524] Başol, "XV. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 28.

difference between the ratios of *reʿāyā* waqfs might help explain why there was no mention of *reʿāyā* women waqfs in the former study.

Studies conducted on waqfs of *reʿāyā* women prove to be problematic since it is not always easy to define whether a woman founder belonged to *reʿāyā* or *ʿaskerī*. Samettin Başol included the women who possessed the title *ḫātūn* into *ʿaskerī*. He also quotes a study made on Adana waqfs to corroborate his use of *ḫātūn* as an identifier of *ʿaskerī*. The author of this study says that those who were relatives of *ʿaskerī* mostly had the title *ḫātūn*.[525] This seems not to be the case. In our probate population,[526] 214 of 432 *reʿāyā* women and only 48 of the 286 *ʿaskerī* women had the title *ḫātūn*. Therefore, in this chapter, we will only be excluding the women whom we know certainly to have belonged to the palace and palatial circles.

First of all, it should be noted that women were not only and simply endowers, but also sometimes they were trustees,[527] or took up other jobs for the endowment.[528] One interesting case is worth mentioning here. Rabia, a trustee of a waqf, appealed to the Sultan's court to get a *berāt* (sultanic edict) in order to show that she was the righteous trustee, and not a man by the name of Ömer.[529]

Women litigated various cases about waqfs. In one case, Nesli Hatun's property was seized by the trustee of Sultan Orhan waqf, the woman turned to the court, asking for her property back, presenting a *fetvā* in her favor.[530] In another case,

[525] Idem., "Kentleşme, Ekonomi ve Sosyal Hayat Yönleriyle 17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 121, also note 405.
[526] See Chapter 2, for a general info of use of terekes in this dissertation and a breakdown of our probate population.
[527] For example, BCR, B-75 3a; B-97, 15b, 29a; B-35, 7a, et alibi.
[528] Hasan Yüksel, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü Üzerinde Bir Araştırma (1585-1683)," 226; Esra Baş, "Arşiv Belgelerinden Hareketle XVIII. Yüzyılın Osmanlı Toplum Hayatında Kadın," 66.
[529] BCR, B- 97, 22a.
[530] BCR, B-75, 43a.

a cookshop, property of a waqf, illegally changed hands and two daughters demanded the renting and operating rights of their deceased father back.[531]

It was not uncommon for women to do business.[532] From waqf records, we can also trace how women were active in commerce. For instance, one Hümayun Hatun bt. Abdullah asked the appointed trustee to lease out her three stores, and find someone to recite prayers after her passing in her name with the rental income.[533]

Sometimes, waqf properties were left to other women such as sisters or daughters,[534] even when there was a son.[535] They were not only endowed but also given to the use of women. In one case, Mustafa b. Ali gave a property he rented from Hazret-i Emir waqf to his sister Neslihan Hatun.[536]

Women were involved in various types of waqfs. While mostly estates were endowed, there were many other women who endowed movables including cash - and, with interest (*murabaḥa*).[537] In cash waqf, a certain amount of money is used to establish a trust, the interest of which was used however the endower pleased. Although it had been a controversial issue in the sixteenth century, it was widespread. Jon E. Mandaville proposes that the controversy around the cash waqfs were resolved when the usage of cash waqfs was deemed popular and shown to be

[531] BCR, B-35, 18b.
[532] Women owned, leased, operated, rented businesses and stores; got involved in commerce and trade, and production and sale of goods. See Chapter 2 for more information.
[533] BCR, B-141, 2b: In a similar case, another woman donated the rental income of the endowed store directly for the muezzin of her neighborhood to recite prayers for her soul (BCR, B-43, 105b).
[534] BCR, B-103, 57a; B-145, 7b; B-115, 30b; B-33, 72b, et alibi.
[535] BCR, B-33, 36a: The endowed property was adjacent to another one, which was owned by the endower's son.
[536] BCR, B-75, 39a.
[537] Başol, "17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 101, finds that cash was the second most preferred thing to be endowed after houses. Haim Gerber, *Bursa,* 150-151, makes a similar observation, saying that there were around 350 cash *waqf*s. For a general account of cash waqfs in Bursa between sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Murat Çizakça, "Cash Waqfs of Bursa," and Değer Alper and Canan Erdoğan, "16. ve 18. yy arasında Bursa Para Vakıfları ve Bursa Ekonomisine Etkileri."

for the welfare of the people (*istiḥsān*).[538] In our period, it had already become a rule rather than an exception.[539] Thus, there are many cases of cash waqfs in our sources, where the interest was used for various types of expenses. In the women's cash waqf cases I have found, six women chose to use the interest for the staff and the needs of the neighborhood mosque,[540] five chose to help the poor,[541] and three shared a part of their interest to pay people to recite prayers for their souls and in their names.[542] Although we have no way of knowing whether the trustees used the interest in the way it had been intended, it seems that the endowers in our cases intended for the interest to be used mostly for charitable purposes.

But how else did women partake in social life through waqfs? There had been various fashions of contribution; however, the waqfs were not, of course, entirely selfless. Many of the endowers paid money for reciting prayers on behalf of their souls after their passing.[543] Still, this can be seen as some sort of patronage for people connected to religious institutions, a small revenue donated for being pious. Furthermore, when the endowed property is a house, it is mostly stated in the waqf deed that the endower would live in the house until her passing, and it would be, later, given to the spouse or the descendants. Yet, sometimes, this right to live in the house was given to a servant, a slave, or a manumitted slave.[544] In one interesting example, for instance, one Fatma bt. el-hac Geyvan applied to the court to have her

[538] Mandaville, "Usurious Piety," 298: An important note here, I have no intention to argue that cash waqfs were used for public good, therefore they were accepted. On the contrary, Mandaville describes the religious and political discussions around the phenomenon, and the pragmatic mind behind its acceptance by the government. The discussion around cash waqfs is beyond our scope and evidently, our concern.
[539] Jon E. Mandaville, "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire," 289.
[540] BCR, B-38, 194b; B-83, 47a, 49a; B-96, 58a; B-115, 68a; B-144, 34a.
[541] BCR, B-83, 47a; B-96, 58a; B-109, 70a; B-115, 68a; B-144, 34a.
[542] BCR, B-154, 56a; B-186, 37a, 40b.
[543] BCR, B-43, 104a, 117b; B-25, 79b; B-33, 69b; B-39, 53a; B-186, 37b; B-109, 92a, 158a; B-115, 25a, 47a; B-88, 149a, 205a; B-210, 7a; B-112, 32a, et alibi.
[544] BCR, B-43, 104 a, 117b; B-33, 96b; B-154, 27b; B-22, 22a; B-109, 149a, et alibi.

waqf revoked since she had endowed her waqf to her slave who had passed away before she did.[545] In addition, there were many cases that the house would be given as an entail (*meşrūṭa*) to the staff of the neighborhood mosque or the sheikh of a Sufi lodge,[546] or to the poor in exchange of prayers for the soul of the deceased.[547]

Women directly partook in their mosque or convent of choice as well. They set up a foundation in order to meet the expenses of mosques and convents,[548] to provide money to the mosque for candles and lamps or distribution of food for the holy days,[549] and in one case, to give out money for those who visited the Great Mosque.[550]

There was a strong sense of neighborhood, too. Many women chose to endow their properties to the neighborhood *ʿavārıż* waqf.[551] In the seventeenth century, we begin to see a different method of tax collection where *ḫāne* was replaced by *ʿavārıż*, a change from family to a tax unit.[552] *ʿAvārıż* is a term, therefore, of legal fiction, "comprising several households."[553] *ʿAvārıż* waqf, on the other hand, is a property or, mostly, cash waqf which was established by the people of a *maḥalle* or village in order to pay the said tax.[554] Therefore, women endowing their property or savings for an *ʿavārıż* waqf is another way to help the poor of their own neighborhood. Yet, there were also a few cases where the endower preferred to donate her belongings to another neighborhood's waqf.[555] This might be due to their pre-marriage relations

[545] BCR, B-35, 19a.
[546] BCR, B-31, 90b; B-41, 7a; B-109, 92a; B-115, 25a, 26a; B-88, 205a; B-78, 47a; B-145, 7b; B-90, 53b; B-97, 6b, 8a; B-104, 57a; B-115, 47a.
[547] BCR, B-115, 30b.
[548] BCR, B-96, 58a, 73b; B-109, 158a; B-115, 68a; B-283, 73a.
[549] BCR, B-33, 69b; B-34, 34a; B-83, 47a; B-115, 26a; B-145, 17a; B-109, 149a.
[550] BCR, B-102, 93b.
[551] BCR, B-154, 27b; B-38, 127a; B-33, 90b; B-116, 12a; B-83, 47a; B-96, 73b; B-145, 17a; B-97, 18a, 19b, 23b.
[552] Haim Gerber, *Bursa*, 5-6.
[553] Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul," vii.
[554] Ziya Kazıcı, *İslami ve Sosyal Açıdan Vakıflar*, 89-91.
[555] BCR, B-33, 96b; B-210, 7a.

with those neighborhoods, or can be considered as a sign of intention to help poorer neighborhoods.

Maybe the most important contribution of the women endowers of seventeenth-century Bursa was those that aimed at the poor and the orphans.[556] These waqfs, contrary to those which gave money to *ʿavārıż* waqfs, were giving money directly to the poor and the orphans or aiding them by distributing food. The beneficiaries of these waqfs were mostly identified as the poor of a certain neighborhood, or sometimes, in a general manner, Muslim poor.

It seems that people of Bursa in general chose to endow for the existing waqfs, some of which were sultanic waqfs. Women, too, sometimes chose to donate their belongings to already established waqfs, other than *ʿavārıż* ones. In one case, one Rabia bt. Abdulvehhab donated the rental income of her endowed property in Altıparmak neighborhood to the waqf of Sultan Orhan.[557] In another, Ayşe bt. Abdullah endowed her estate to the waqf of İsa Bey Fenari mosque.[558]

I find it essential to touch upon here that women were interested in contributing to the built environment, in efforts that could be considered as architectural patronage. Their endowment records include the donations given to the city's mosques for repair.[559] In addition, women were concerned with the repair of waterways and fountains.[560] One specific case I have encountered, however, stands out. Abide bt. Ahmed Çavuş applied to the court as the Reyhan Paşa bathhouse that she rented had become almost derelict and she, herself, got it repaired -almost rebuilt

[556] BCR, B-33, 69b; B-34, 34a; B-39, 53a; B-54, 158a; B-83, 44a; B-88, 149a, 205a; B-90, 34a; B-96, 58a, 64b; B-103, 57a; B-109, 70a, 149a; B-112, 32a; B-115, 25a, 68a; B-132, 27b; B-144, 34a; B-186, 37b.
[557] BCR, B-78, 77b.
[558] BCR, B-75, 77a.
[559] BCR, B-283, 73a; B-210, 7a.
[560] BCR, B-45, 35b: Waterways, fountains, and how people contributed via waqfs related to them will be detailed in the subchapter 3.4.

it- twice with her own money.[561] Although the waqf had approved the repairs, she was never reimbursed, and demanded that the imperial architect of Bursa estimate her expenses which were to be reimbursed. The architect, then, listed every repair and improvement done to the building and decided on a minimum amount to be paid.[562]

As will be detailed in section 3.5, women also used their waqfs to contribute to education in seventeenth-century Bursa. For instance, one Kamer Hatun bt. Abdullah mandated that the 10% interest of her cash waqf be given each year to *müderris* Mehmed b. Mustafa.[563] Safiye bt. Himmet, on the other hand, provided a revenue for a teacher who was working in the *mekteb* of Kazzazoğlu neighborhood.[564]

It is important here to note that women did not always direct charities to the city they had been living in. There were many cases where the women (as did men) endowed their property or cash to the poor of the city of Medina (*Medīne-i Münevvere fuḳarāsına*).[565] In addition, some women stipulated in their endowment deeds funds allocated to send other people to pilgrimage.[566]

As we have seen, women in seventeenth-century Bursa partook in their environs and assisted fellow urban folk in various ways while being actively involved in economic life. Although mostly neighborhood-minded, the women helped the poor in various places, cared for education and infrastructure in the city,

[561] This should be a regular case of *icāreteyn* or double rent, where rebuilding or repair is loaded on the waqf's part (Haim Gerber, *Crossing borders: Jews and Muslims in Ottoman law, economy, and society*, 175-176).
[562] BCR, B-75, 18b.
[563] BCR, B-115, 25a.
[564] BCR, B-64, 186b.
[565] BCR, B-32, 17a; B-22, 22 a; B-33, 36a, 41a, 55b, 72b; B-186, 2b, 54a; B-109, 84a, 300a, 50a, et alibi. Also, Nurcan Abacı, *The Ottoman judges and their registers: The Bursa court register B-90/295*, 189.
[566] BCR, B-87, 23a; B-144, 34a.

used cash waqfs, interest and other economic means available to carry their name and their wealth into the future. While endowing their properties, they were also actively involved in waqf administration and used the court of law when subjected to injustice.

3.3 Non-Muslims and waqfs

Although waqf studies for the course of the Ottoman Empire are abundant, and there have been many studies on Bursa waqfs, the same cannot be said for the waqfs established by the non-Muslims of Bursa. This must have been due to the rather scarce number of non-Muslim waqf records in the Ottoman official records. In my research, too, I have found only six waqfs established by non-Muslims in our period among more than five hundred waqfs.

However, we know that non-Muslims, as well, could utilize waqfs in terms of Islamic law just as their Muslim counterparts could.[567] The only exception is that endowed property should not be directly given to the benefit of a non-Muslim religious institution.[568] Yet, on the condition that tenure stays with the endowment, it could pay for expenses of the community of a religious institution.[569] All of this was resolved during the tenure of shaykh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi, when he offered the jurisprudential opinion that non-Muslims could endow property and endowing the property to the poor of their communities could be a way of keeping government officials outside this donation.[570] Although this incorporated properties belonging to Christian monasteries and 128hurches into the framework of Islamic law within the

[567] Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslâm Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, 240.
[568] Haim Gerber, *Crossing borders*, 159.
[569] Muhammed Ceyhan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Mülk ve Vakıf Edinimi (18. Yüzyıl)," 173-174: Ceyhan narrates a case where a non-Muslim man endowed his property whose surplus would be spent for the poor of a certain church.
[570] Eugenia Kermeli-Ünal, "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Hukuku ve Gayri Müslimler," 444.

Ottoman context, there were similar endowments in other religions, too. For instance, *heqdesh* in Judaism was a form of endowment strictly limited to public purposes. Consequently, for instance, Haim Gerber claims that due to this strict nature, even Jews made endowments within the framework of Islamic waqf institution.[571] In addition, we know that in the eighteenth century, there were two major waqfs in Bursa for the poor of Greek and Armenian communities, respectively. The first one was established for the poor of Demirkapı neighborhood,[572] while the other was founded for the poor of the Armenian church.[573] Cafer Çiftçi narrates a few similar cases for Bursa in the eighteenth century, too.[574]

Yet, the relationship between waqfs and non-Muslims in Bursa was never limited to founding waqfs. They were often tenants in properties endowed by Muslim founders. First, and perhaps the most important, of all was that a considerable section of the Jewish community of Bursa stayed in rooms rented out by waqfs.[575] Mostly having lived -and still living to a much smaller extent[576]- in Kuruçeşme neighborhood which was also known as Yahudiler,[577] these rooms were rented out to Jews and known as "rooms of Jews (Yahudi odaları)."[578]

Non-Muslims, in addition to renting rooms to live, rented out other properties for various other uses from waqfs as well. For example, in one case, Ali Beg b. Mustafa transferred his right over four waqf houses to Hayran v. Karagöz.[579] In another case, four Christians rented a mill, which belonged to the waqf of Molla

[571] Gerber, *Crossing borders*, 31.
[572] BCR, B-240, 5b.
[573] BCR, B-212, 9b.
[574] Cafer Çiftçi, *Bursa'da vakıfların sosyo-ekonomik işlevleri*, 61, 63, 89, 142, 147.
[575] Başol, "17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 67-68.
[576] Dora Niyego, "Bursa'da Yahudi Yaşamı."
[577] Ergenç, *Bursa*, 55.
[578] Gerber, *Bursa*, 151.
[579] BCR, A-160, 56b.

Yegan.[580] In another case, an Armenian priest collateralized his house to a waqf in return for a cash loan.[581] Similarly, non-Muslims employed cash waqfs as credit institutions in many cases.[582]

Non-Muslims, when living in the same quarters with Muslims, were part of the same *ʿavārıżḫāne*. In one entry in court records of seventeenth century Bursa, we see that a group of Muslims and another group of non-Muslims arrived at the court to declare that they had reached an agreement on how to divide the required *ʿavārıż* tax.[583] Yet, it was not always in agreement. In one case, non-Muslims of Balçık neighborhood consulted the court for their own *ʿavārıż* tax to be paid from the interest of the cash waqf endowed for the poor of the said neighborhood. Upon presenting the endowment deed to the court, the kadi ruled in their favor.[584] Another case demonstrates a waqf where a non-Muslim donated his house and showed the neighborhood *ʿavārıż* as the beneficiary.[585] The neighborhood in question was Hoca Mehmed Karamani, and since it was not known as a non-Muslim neighborhood, it is plausible to think that the neighborhood was hosting Muslims and non-Muslims alike. In addition, Kenan Yıldız shows the existence of non-Muslim waqfs helping the poor of Muslims.[586] In our sample, we encountered two cases where non-Muslims endowed a property (a garden and a house), the rental income of which to be given to the poor – without specifying a religious bond.[587]

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[580] BCR, B-55, 93b.
[581] Abacı, *Bursa şehrinde*, 209-210.
[582] Cafer Çiftçi, *Bursa'da vakıfların*, 218-222; A. İhsan Karataş, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde gayrimüslimlerin toplum hayatı: Bursa örneği*, 199-201.
[583] Abacı, *The Bursa court register*, 196-197.
[584] Ayşe Erol, "17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Konya ve Bursa Gayrimüslimleri (Şer'iyye Sicillerine Göre)," 114.
[585] BCR, B-63, 78a.
[586] Kenan Yıldız, "Aykırı Vakıflar: Osmanlıda Fukarâ-yı Müslimîni de Gözeten Gayrimüslim Vakıfları," 154-157.
[587] BCR, B-59, 55a; B-36, 236a.

Similar to Muslims endowing their property and their income to the poor of Medina, in two different cases, we found that one Armenian and one Greek endowed their property and their income to the poor of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[588] The latter case is even more interesting since Nikola v. Yovan asked to revoke the waqf stating Abu Hanifa's view that it was legitimate to revoke a waqf. Against this statement, the trustee of the waqf Yorgaki v. Pandeli claimed it was, on the contrary, illegitimate to do so, basing his argument on the views of two other Jurists, Abu Yusuf and Shaybani.

The payment of poll tax could also entail non-Muslims groups and individuals' involvement with the city's waqfs, albeit in an indirect way. Poll taxes were not always transferred to the treasury but handed out to the use of waqfs. Although it had been a controversial issue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Mehmed II, in an effort of centralization, directed poll taxes as revenues to his waqfs.[589] It seems that in the seventeenth century, this process was not exceptional: non-Muslims paid their poll tax directly to a designated waqf. For instance, trustee of Sultan Orhan Gazi waqf, Ahmed Ağa, asked Dimitri v. Mesgur İstatros to pay his poll tax directly to the said waqf.[590] Another example reveals that the waqf of Emir Sultan in Bursa relied on poll taxes, too, and that its poll taxes were collected partly by *Ḥaremeyn* waqf. The amount collected at the end of the seventeenth century added up to 6900 *akçe*s.[591]

As noted earlier, only a limited number of waqf records related to non-Muslims have been preserved in the seventeenth-century court records. In two theses made on Bursa waqfs on different periods during the sixteenth century, one was not

[588] BCR, B-140, 28a; B-144, 76a.
[589] Kayoko Hayashi, "Fatih Vakfiyelerinin Tanzim Süreci Üzerine," 88.
[590] BCR, B-75, 62a.
[591] Nilüfer Ateş, "Emir Sultan Külliyesi (XV.-XVII. yüzyıllar)," 99.

able to find any[592] while the other found only 4 entries.[593] It is important to note that the latter states that the four entries of waqfs belonging to non-Muslims, donated the revenue of their waqfs for the use of churches in their own neighborhoods.[594]

Before we finish this section, two things should be made clear. As you might have noticed in the previous section, we have not made any references to non-Muslim women. In our sources, we were able to find only six records of non-Muslim waqfs, none of which belonged to women. We can, by no means, conclude that non-Muslim women did not show interest in waqfs. Further research is needed to understand the relation between non-Muslim women and waqfs in terms of seventeenth-century Bursa.

Secondly, as we have mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, seventeenth-century Bursa was a safe place for those who owned property. Can the same, however, be said for the non-Muslims? We have at least one case in which non-Muslims' houses being close to the mosque created a problem.[595] In this case, the imam of Miskî Hatun mosque complained about three non-Muslim houses being very close to the mosque and that his congregation was disturbed by that. After the court sent an expert to assess the situation, it was seen that one of the houses was not really close and the congregation was not disturbed by this house. In another, further compelling case,[596] several notables of a neighborhood demanded the court to force non-Muslims to sell their houses in the said neighborhood on the grounds that they were consuming wine. Yet, there is another important case worth mentioning here.

[592] Fatma Kırçıl Akkoç, "Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında (1550-1565) Bursa Vakıfları," 25.
[593] Hale Demirel, "Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bursa Vakıfları," 45.
[594] *loc. cit.*
[595] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 129-130.
[596] Ibid., 560.

In 1642, the Muslims of Azeb Bey neighborhood applied to the court of law to sue a group of Greeks. The claim was that the Greek Church in Kayabaşı neighborhood had originally been a *ṣıbyān mekteb* for Muslim children, and Greeks, somehow, took possession of the school from the trustee of its waqf and transformed it into a church – therefore, it was a new creation (*muḥdes*). Greeks, in return, claimed that this was not the case, and everything was in order. The court, thereon, decided to take an interesting measure and employed the testimony of Muslims living in the quarter, who were more than 100 years old. When the elderly responded in a way that it had been a madrasa before and the church was a new creation, the court decided that the church should be destroyed (*hedm*).[597]

This case, apparently, had an important place in the collective memory as we can follow accounts about it in many other sources. In several chronicles written by contemporary historians, such as Naima Mustafa Efendi, Katip Çelebi, Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, and Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi, it was claimed that the church could have stood albeit being new because the kadıs were bribed by the Greek community. Yet, when Hocazade Mesud Efendi was the judge, he did not allow it and locked the doors of the church. In return, the Grand Vizier dismissed him on the grounds that he did such an act without consulting the palace first. This created a turmoil in the city, and people came together to protest. As a result of these protests, several other churches were destroyed, and the ringleaders of these protests were brought into the Imperial Council.[598]

[597] BCR, C-2, 14a.
[598] Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 961; Zeynep Aycibin, "Kâtib Çelebi. Fezleke. Tahlil ve Metin," 919-920; Nazire Karaçay Türkal, "Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa. Zeyl-i Fezleke," 61; İbrahim Özgül, "Kara Çelebi-zâde Abdülaziz Efendi'nin Ravzatü'l-Ebrâr adlı eseri (1299-1648). Tahlil ve Metin," 352-353; Kara Çelebi-zâde Abdülaziz Efendi, *Zeyli* , 281-282.

Karaçelebizade narrates that Sultan Orhan, after his conquest of the city, transformed a church called Manastır into a madrasa.[599] Although it was probably not the church referred to in our case,[600] this might have been the case for the aforementioned church as well.

In conclusion, were non-Muslims of Bursa in the seventeenth century safe from potential practices of expropriation (*müṣādere* or *istimlāk*) just as their Muslim counterparts were? This requires more specific, focused, and profound research to answer. However, it is evident that there were communal tensions related to the mingling of different religious communities. According to Karen A. Leal, seventeenth century saw such a mingling and to some extent, cultural assimilation as non-Muslims followed Muslim habits, despite the restrictions enforced (however loose it might have been). In turn, Muslims assumed a more conservative role against the dhimmis.[601] One of the most important implementations regarding these tensions was dislocation or expulsion. The seventeenth century saw a rise in these trends.[602]

3.4 Waterways, fountains, and waqfs

Bursa was an exceptional city in terms of its rich water sources and springs. Although there was no big river near Bursa,[603] the abundance of springs and water coming into the city was noted by a considerable number of contemporary

[599] Özgül, 9; Nurdan Çimen, "Abdülaziz Karaçelebi-zâde'nin Tarih-i Ravzatü'l-Ebrar'ı Metin-Tahlili," 328
[600] Suna Çağaptay, *The first capital of the Ottoman Empire*, 88.
[601] Karen A. Leal, "Communal Matters," 375-376.
[602] Eunjeong Yi, "Interreligious Relations in 17th century Istanbul in the Light of Immigration and Demographic Change," 135-136: Yi also mentions that, although there was no direct proof, this could be due to the rising Kadızadeli effect.
[603] George Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, 216.

observers.[604] Some said it was the city with most fountains,[605] while some found the water flowing from Uludağ contaminated because it was mixed with snow.[606] Yet, nobody who visited Bursa failed to notice and remark upon the abundance of water in the city.[607] Furthermore, the poet Hatifi celebrated the emergence of Kırkçeşme waters in Istanbul by saying that Istanbul was now almost like the city of Bursa.[608] The Bursan waters got their share in poetry as well. In the eighteenth century, Ahmed Hasib Efendi wrote a poem called *Miyāhiye*, in which he illustrated every source of water of Bursa in one couplet.[609] Similarly, in şehrengizes, poets now and again mentioned the springs and the fountains of the city.[610]

The abundance of water led contemporary Bursans, and others who visited the city, to attribute mystical properties or to spread superstition around them. Kâtib Çelebi, for instance, conveys how people of Bursa think that a dog will never bite someone who drinks from Pınarbaşı, a thief will never steal anything from one who drinks water from Gökdere, and how Alişir water makes one numb.[611] Baldırzade, too, narrates a few examples along the same lines. For instance, those who drank

[604] Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü 1573-1576*, 446; Reinhold Lubenau, *Osmanlı ülkesinde 1587-1589*, 497; Kātib Çelebi, *An Ottoman cosmography*, 501; Jean Thévenot, *Thévenot seyahatnamesi,* 112; Aubry de La Motraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa*, 216; Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort seyahatnamesi*, 234; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach arabien und andern umliegenden ländern*, *Dritter band*, 141, et alibi.
[605] Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, 212.
[606] Thomas Smith, "An Account of the City of Prusa in Bithynia, and a Continuation of the Historical Observations relating to Constantinople," 432.
[607] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Naîmâ*, 1804, conveys Îsâ-zâde's comment that although Bursa did not need any more water, Karaçelebizade constructed new fountains. See the subchapter above on Karaçelebizde; also, below. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 15, makes a similar observation.
[608] Kazım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Su Yolları*, 45: "Stanbul oldu gûyâ şehr-i Bursa"
[609] Ali İhsan Karataş, "Bursa Suları ve Su Vakıfları," 382.
[610] Zeynep Yapar, "Bursa Şehr-engîzlerinde Mekân Tasvirleri," 78, 81, 92, et alibi.
[611] Kātib Çelebi, *An Ottoman cosmography*, 501.

from the fountain at the Başcı İbrâhîm Câmi[612] or the graveyard of Alî Dede[613] recovered their health.

Another aspect of the abundance of water in Bursa was -and still is- the hot springs. One of the most extensive accounts of hot springs - or water in general, for that matter - comes from Evliya Çelebi. Evliya talks about the fountains, watermills, streams, and hammams and hot springs. Evliya conveys that these springs were water sources which found their way to a sulfur source underground and became boiling hot. These hot springs were, he continues, very healthy and beneficial to drink and to bathe with. Also, the hammams built upon these springs were always built in a way to serve both men and women in separate sections.[614] Jean Thévenot also remarks upon hot springs that many hammams were built on.[615] It seems that, traditionally, the entrance to some of the hot springs were free.[616] Giovanni Careri says that the entrance to the Eski Kaplıca was free but the Büyük Kaplıca was farmed out.[617] Yet, Paul Lucas, who visited the city less than ten years after Careri, recounts a story where an outsider dervish visits the hot spring and although he claimed that he had no money and he was poor, the hammam servant took his coat as service fee.[618]

In the same vein with Jacob Spon, Joseph de Tournefort also wrote that Bursa was the city with the most fountains he had ever seen, perhaps only comparable to Granada in Spain. But Tournefort makes another interesting observation that should attract our attention. He says that due to the abundance of water sources, every house in the city had a fountain of its own.[619] We can substantiate this observation with the

[612] Baldırzade, 105.
[613] Ibid., 190.
[614] Evliya Çelebi, 16-17.
[615] Thévenot, 112.
[616] Çağaptay, 234 n66.
[617] John Francis Gemelli Careri, *A voyage round the world,* 89.
[618] Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, *Second Volume*, 211-212.
[619] Tournefort, 234.

help of contemporary Ottoman sources as well. In many waqfiyyas I have read, there are plentiful mentions about a property having a water well, stream, or a stream pool[620] (*hābiye-i mā-i cārī, bi'r-i mā, ʿayn-i cāriye*).[621] In addition, Evliya talks about house hammams, some of which were open to business, too.[622] This might be due to the use of *ḳatma*s, privately-owned underground waterworks;[623] however, we have yet to find any evidence for Bursa.

The rich water springs in Bursa were brought from Uludağ. In the seventeenth century, the pivotal attempt to expand the city's water infrastructure was made by Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi. As noted earlier, the water he brought was known as *müftī ṣuyu*.[624] Another important water brought to the city was Devlengeç, which was brought in the mid-sixteenth century[625] and was still active at least up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[626] The sultans were also important water-bringers. Sultan Murad I brought the Akpınar water and Nal Delikli water for his complex and the neighborhoods around.[627] Likewise, Bayezid I brought water from Uludağ to his own complex.[628] His mother, Gülçiçek Hatun, endowed five different springs gifted to her by her son.[629]

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[620] Stream pools, *hābiye-i mā-i cārī*, were pools to accumulate the stream water coming from the mountain. The accumulated water was transferred to the neighboring houses via clay pipes. In return, each of the said houses, also, had a stream pool (Selçuk A. Özer, *Pınarbaşından Doğancıya Bursa'nın İçme Suyu Tarihi*, 28).
[621] BCR, B-32, 17a; B-43, 117b; B-25, 79b; B-33, 96b, 90b, 55b, 41a, 36a; B-22, 22a; B-41,7a, et alibi.
[622] Evliya Çelebi, 16.
[623] Deniz Karakaş, "Water Resources Management and Development in Ottoman Istanbul: The 1693 Water Survey and its Aftermath," 186.
[624] See the subchapter above on Karaçelebizade (also, for fountains). See also, Orhan Fuad Köprülü, "Şeyhülislâm Kara-Çelebi Zade Abdülâziz Efendi ve Müftü Suyu," Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Su Yollarının Bakımı ve Onarımında Vakıfların Rolü," 63-64.
[625] Çiftçi, "Bursa Su Yollarının," 67.
[626] BCR, A-83, 62b; B-245, 25a; B-80, 98a.
[627] Özer, *Pınarbaşından Doğancıya*, 12.
[628] Osman Çetin, *İlk Osmanlı Hastanesi Bursa Yıldırım Dâruşşifası (Bursa Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre)*, 41.
[629] Karataş, *Karaçelebizâde*, 204.

Although rich in water supplies, fountains, and hot springs, Bursans still needed the water to be carried into their homes, baths, and fountains, and waterways to be repaired as they also needed to resolve issues related to the right to water and the sharing of water. Thus, waqfs were employed in order to meet the demands related to water.[630] In his dissertation, Samettin Başol found five waqfs founded for the establishment of fountains, water-tanks, and hammams, and nineteen for the repair and amelioration of waterways and fountains in Bursa during the seventeenth century.[631]

Waqfs were used in two major ways in relation to the water issues. One main manner was the employment of the personnel - such as *çeşmecī* (fountain keeper) or *ṣuyolcu* (water channel builder). For instance, el-hac Mehmed b. Cafer endowed the salaries of two *ṣuyolcu*s who would take care of the waterways in Çırapazarı and Kerpiççioğlu neighborhoods.[632] Müderris Ali Efendi, on the other hand, endowed his property's revenue for the repair of the waterways and the salaries of their keepers in various neighborhoods.[633] *Ṣuyolcu*s were also important witnesses in legal cases involving issues related to water. When two waqf authorities paid for the repair of a waqf fountain, *ṣuyolcu*s were asked whether they were telling the truth.[634] In addition to these professions, toilet keepers were also in charge of water. Since all the water is somehow connected in a network, every spot which received water was also conveying water. Therefore, toilet keepers were not only supervisors of sanitation but also maintenance workers for waterways.[635] The personnel, in general, were not

[630] Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Su Yollarının Bakımı Ve Onarımında Vakıfların Rolü," 57-74.
[631] Başol, "17. Yüzyıl Bursa Vakıfları," 187-188.
[632] BCR, B-152, 72a-74b.
[633] BCR, B-93, 90a-91b.
[634] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 88.
[635] Ibid., 375-376.

immune to demands from the public. There is at least one case where the receivers of the water demanded their fountain keeper and *ṣuyolcu* to be replaced with a certain person, on the grounds that the former was negligent.[636]

The other way in which waqfs were involved in water was through the repair and construction of waterways, fountains, and hammams. In one waqfiyya, for instance, we see one Mevlana İbrahim Efendi constructed a hammam,[637] while, at least two cases illustrate the process of survey and repair.[638] This process was done through the court, but the court would not act on by itself.[639] When a trustee or another authority of the waqf applied to the court saying that a certain water element was in need of repair, the court commissioned a committee of experts, usually including the city architect.[640] This committee, after surveying the site, established a detailed report, including an assessment. Through this, the waqf was entitled to undertake the repair.[641] In one case, the fountain keeper Hasan applied to the court for the fountains he was in charge of were in bad condition.[642] In the committee commissioned by the court, there was one Üstad Hacı Mustafa who was not only the city architect but also the deputy *ṣu nāẓırı* (superintendent of imperial waterways).[643] Else, the trustees might undertake the necessary steps before applying to the court, and later inform the court about their expenditure, and ask for a reimbursement.[644]

People who endowed their properties for fountains (*çeşme*) donated the revenue of their waqf to their own fountains at their homes, or the public fountains

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[636] Ibid., 393.
[637] BCR, B-50, 1a-1b.
[638] BCR, B-35, 30a; B-75, 60b.
[639] Abacı, *Bursa şehrinde,* 210-211.
[640] For city architects and their role, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan: Architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*, 157-161.
[641] Karataş, "Bursa Suları," 401.
[642] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 77-78.
[643] *Ṣu nāẓırı* was a centralized post established during the mid-sixteenth century. See Deniz Karakaş, "Water for the City: Builders, Technology, and Private Initiative," 313-314.
[644] See above, note 540.

they had built.[645] However, there were many others who chose to use their endowments for the fountains of the neighborhoods or other waqfs. For instance, a woman named Saliha bt. Abdullah donated 200 *akçe*s every year from the 10% interest of her cash waqf to the repair of Pınarbaşı fountain, operated by Sultan Mehmed Han waqf.[646] Another person endowed his property for the repair of the waterways leading to Cami-i Kebir fountain.[647] One waqf was endowed for the fountain in front of Kiremitçizade han,[648] while another was for the fountains of two different neighborhoods.[649] Perviz b. Abdullah, on the other hand, endowed his property for the materials that would be used in future repairs of Doğan Bey fountain.[650] The famous *müftī ṣuyu* was also supported by other personal waqfs. For instance, one Veli Çelebi donated the income of his waqf to the maintenance of the pipes for the water brought by mufti Abdülaziz Efendi.[651]

In one waqfiyya established for the functioning of the waterways and fountains in several neighborhoods, the waterways of two private houses were also included.[652] It was quite common in this period for people of means to bring water into their residences, however the waterways of these two private houses mentioned in the document needed to be repaired in order for the water to run fail-safe within the larger network. This was most probably due to the communicating vessels principle (Figure 9) used in Bursa waterways.[653]

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[645] BCR, B-142, 4a-4b; B-60, 15a-15b; B-51, 40a; B-114, 27b.
[646] BCR, B-45, 35b.
[647] BCR, B-44, 1a.
[648] BCR, B-59, 58a-59b.
[649] BCR, B-112, 81a.
[650] BCR, B-135, 67a-67b.
[651] BCR, B-107, 59b-60a.
[652] BCR, A-190, 39a.
[653] In physics, communicating vessels principle obliges when a group of containers filled with the same liquid, and connected further below the surface level, all containers have the same level of fluid regardless of their shape and volume. For the working principle of these vessels see Özer, *Bursa'nın İçme Suyu Tarihi*, especially 30.

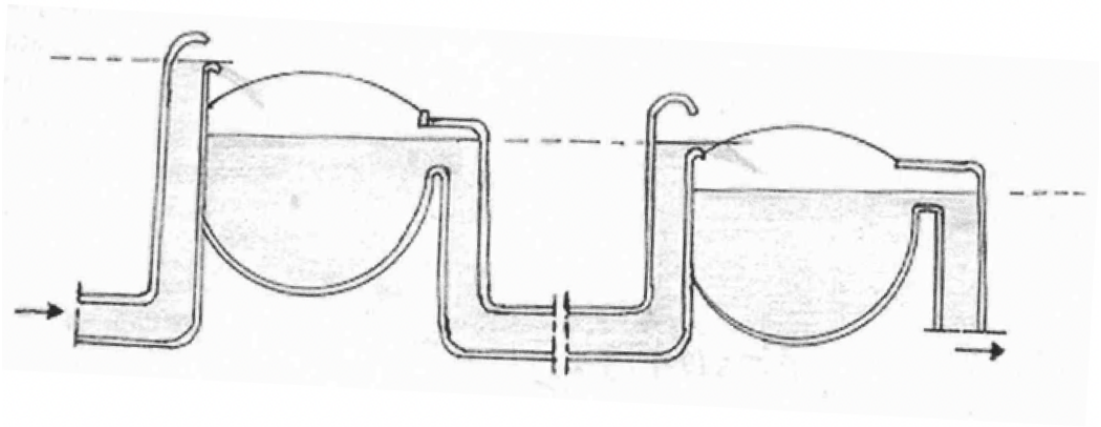

Figure 9. Communicating vessels principle as used in Bursa waterways, pools, and fountains (Özer, *Pınarbaşından Doğancıya*, 30)

Waqfs were using their reach to mend and improve the source that brought water to the fountains in their control. When a water source close to a village collapsed, the trustee of a waqf intervened for the repair of the water conduit (*mecrā*) for it was providing water to the fountains in the city.[654] Similarly, when old fountains which fell out of control of a waqf or operation of a trustee were in need of maintenance, someone from the public volunteered in an attempt to revive the waqf's control over the fountains.[655] In the same vein, in addition to the maintenance, the seventeenth century witnessed the water saving mindset - at least, in Bursa - too. It was noted that before our period there were no faucets in the fountains, which also worked with communicating vessels principle.[656] However, it was Karaçelebizade who first brought the faucets to the fountains that he had built.[657]

[654] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 194-195.
[655] Ibid., 265.
[656] Kepecioğlu, *BK, I*, 248; Evliya Çelebi, 15; Çiftçi, "Bursa Su Yollarının," 66.
[657] BCR, B-119, 65b-66a. See also, the subchapter above on Karaçelebizde.

Although there were, once again, endowments simply regarding the waterways built by the endower or for their houses,[658] there were also many other cases where public sources of water were included in waqfiyyas. Personal waqfs were established to endow money for the waterways under the operation of other waqfs.[659] In court records, we see the neighbors, artisans, or trustees of waqfs initiating the repair of waterways coming into hans and neighborhood fountains - most of the time including a list of worn-out pipes (*künk*).[660]

One interesting entry in court records details a case where a mosque was running out of water due to the burning of a marketplace and a bozahane during the Celali invasion in 1608. The trustee applied to the court for the repair of the said waterways and also demanded that the waterways extend to the Hasan Paşa neighborhood.[661] Another entry illustrates a case where a mosque was out of water due to the mischanneling of a conduit and the trustee of the mosque waqf asked it to be amended accordingly.[662] On a side note, the abundance of water brought about its peculiar problems, too. There were many cases in which waqfs were active in resolving, where an irrigation channel or rainwater due to lack of proper drainage caused serious harm to estates.[663]

The right to water was a serious issue. Although the city was rich in water sources, Bursans had many problems when sharing it. For instance, the water coming from Gökdere to the fountain in front of the Şehabeddin Paşa neighborhood mosque was distributed partly to the Jewish quarter. Notables of the neighborhood went to

[658] For instance, Abdullah Çelebi b. Ali endowed his property only for the waterways coming to his own house (BCR, B-50, 84a). See also, BCR, B-151, 11b.
[659] BCR, B-42, 28a, 123a.
[660] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 367-368, 377-378, 395-397, 456.
[661] BCR, B-35, 15b.
[662] BCR, B-87, 46a.
[663] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 366, 461, 547-548.

the court to approve the right to water of the Jewish community.[664] In a contrary case, a group of people declared in the court of law that they have no right to water which is coming to Mahmud Paşa han from Pınarbaşı. In return, the trustee of the said han stated that it was acceptable that the water could run into their neighborhood after the fountain of the said han.[665] There were also cases where two parties could not reach an agreement on the right to irrigation.[666]

The most interesting cases, however, were about the exploitation of this right to water. In two distinct cases I have found, trustees of the waqfs applied to the court stating that the residents well possessed a right to water but some of them were exploiting this right by building a water-tank with a fountain (*şadırvān*) in their gardens. This was weakening the flow of the water coming to the edifices belonging to their waqfs. In the first case, the expert found such a fountain in the garden of the neighborhood imam and demanded the tank to be demolished and the fountain to be tapped.[667] In the second case, the expert found out that there were many water tanks in the neighborhood, and it was demanded that this exploitation end.[668] Deniz Karakaş found similar cases for the end of the seventeenth century in Istanbul. In her cases, there were people protesting against this sort of survey and implementation.[669]

Similar to the salaries of mosque staff, the professionals of waterways were also paid by waqfs. As illustrated, there were many cases where people endowed their property not only to the maintenance of their own fountains but to the water assets under the control of sultanic or other neighborhood waqfs. Haim Gerber makes an important observation that small waqfs which were based on capital investment

[664] Ibid., 306-307.
[665] Ibid., 365-366.
[666] Ibid., 404, 413-414.
[667] Ibid., 414-415.
[668] Ibid., 420-421.
[669] Deniz Karakaş, "The 1693 Water Survey and its Aftermath," 183.

financed the city's water system rather than large waqfs of inheritance.[670] The building and the repair of the pipes, fountains, water pools, and tanks were assumed by people who were living in the quarters of Bursa, and they also endowed their lifetime assets for the future maintenance of the waterways and water supplies.

3.5 Education and waqfs

The city's sultanic waqfs mediated the operation of madrasas and other schools. In Bursa, the first madrasa Orhan Gazi built was called Manastır.[671] Later on, sultans and sultanic waqfs took on a project of a network of schools. By the end of the sixteenth century, there were at least fifty madrasas in Bursa.[672] Evliya Çelebi, when writing on his visit to Bursa, named only twenty madrasas and added that it would have required too much space if he would have written all the information about all the madrasas.[673] The main capacity we are dealing with education here is the people other than the ruling elite, contributing education via waqfs. In addition to sultanic waqfs, allocating funds to education or establishing waqfs completely related to education was one of the most popular manners of charity for people from every background.[674] Mefail Hızlı found that at least one third of the children's schools (*ṣıbyān mekteb*s) established throughout the empire were founded by artisans and merchants.[675] Founding and catering for *mekteb*s and madrasas alike was very prevalent especially among the upper strata women.[676] Although in the eighteenth century and in İzmir, one study documents an interesting contribution to the

[670] Gerber, *Bursa,* 72-73.
[671] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı,* 2.
[672] Mefail Hızlı, *Mahkeme sicillerine göre Osmanlı klasik dönemi Bursa medreselerinde eğitim-öğretim,* 17.
[673] Evliya Çelebi, 14. See next chapter for more information about Bursa madrasas.
[674] Mefail Hızlı, *Osmanlı klasik döneminde ilköğretim ve Bursa sıbyan mektepleri*, 40.
[675] Ibid. 46: Hızlı found 134 *mekteb*s, 38 of them were founded by artisans and merchants. However, he was not able to determine the founder of 41 *mekteb*s.
[676] Mustafa Öcal, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi*, 44-47.

education by women. According to Yasin Taş, there were cases of women endowing their house to be operated as schools.[677]

In our sources, on the other hand, we have found two kinds of contributions to education. One was through construction or repair of the schools, and the other was paying the salaries of teachers, or providing them houses. We can follow these contributions through a multitude of sources. For instance, Baldırzade tells us about Seyyid Mehmed Efendi b. Hac Sinan (d. 1630/1631) who built a madrasa and taught there until he chose to follow the way of Sufism.[678] Similarly, in court records, we see that one Aişe Hatun built a *mekteb* and stipulated that someone recite prayers on behalf of her soul. When those who were responsible to do so failed to meet this demand, they were replaced due to their negligence.[679]

When someone wanted to open a madrasa or a *mekteb*, they enlisted the support of the city architect and other masters to build the necessary edifice. Afterwards, an endowment should be established to meet all the expenses required. Later on, they should apply to the court of law, and in the presence of witnesses, declare they want to establish a waqf and appoint a trustee. In the endowment record, the physical characteristics and the salaries of madrasa staff and the students were written down. The copies of waqfiyya were handed to the waqf, the court, and to the "*evḳāf defteri*" in Istanbul.[680]

In addition to the construction of these buildings, their repair was an important and constant issue. For example, we gather that Hamza Bey *ṣıbyān mekteb* was in need of serious repair thanks to a repair survey record in court records.[681] In a

[677] Yasin Taş, *Osmanlı Dönemi İzmir Medrese ve Kütüphaneleri*. I would like to thank Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi for drawing my attention to this study.
[678] Baldırzade, 178.
[679] Abacı, *The Bursa court register,* 428.
[680] Mefail Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde*, 37-38. For an example see, BCR, B-29, 91b-92a.
[681] BCR, B-31, 12a.

similar record, we see that Hamza Bey of İnegöl had built a *muʿallimḫāne* in Zeyniler neighborhood of Bursa proper. However, the trustee of this waqf applied to the court for a survey of expenses for a possible repair of the said school.[682] Similarly, Hadice's *muʿallimḫāne* was in need of repair and the court sent a group of experts to assess the required amount to be spent for the repair.[683]

There were times when the waqf funds were insufficient to carry out a repair. For these cases, a certain procedure called "*raḳabe*" was sometimes employed. In *raḳabe*, when a waqf got the necessary approval from the court for repair but lacked the necessary means, the salaries of the school staff were halted for a period of time to generate the required amount for repair.[684] In the same vein, whenever a waqf was unable to pay the salaries, other big madrasa waqfs (or sultanic waqfs which endowed also for madrasas) intervened to pay the salaries in cash or in kind.[685]

However, there were specific -and mostly, smaller- waqfs which were established to pay the salaries of the school staff. For instance, Kamer Hatun bt. Abdullah established a cash waqf of 1000 dirhams. She demanded it to be put into use with 10% interest and the said interest to be given to *müderris* Mehmed b. Mustafa each year.[686] In another case, one man from Veled-i Enbiya neighborhood, similarly, established a cash waqf, the interest of which would be given to *ʿavārıż* waqfs of 17 neighborhoods and also to a *ders-i ʿām* of Cami-i Kebir.[687] This is not the only waqf mentioning the *ders-i ʿām*s. There are at least two other waqfiyyas,

[682] BCR, B-75, 57a.
[683] BCR, B-75, 68b.
[684] Mefail Hızlı, *Bursa sıbyan mektepleri*, 31.
[685] Idem., *Bursa medreselerinde*, 68.
[686] BCR, B-115, 25a.
[687] BCR, B-115, 7a-7b.

showing the *ders-i ʻām* of Cami-i Kebir and of Hüdavendigar Mosque as their beneficiaries.[688]

Similar to imams and other staff at the mosque as we have shown above in the subchapter about women, there were cases of entail (*meşrūṭa*) given to the school staff. For instance, Mehmed Ağa of İstanbul endowed his house in Alibey neighborhood in Bursa for a teacher.[689]

Müderrises were chosen and paid according to the conditions on the waqfiyyas.[690] Yet, they were sometimes appointed to more than one madrasa. Mefail Hızlı claims that this had not been seen in the sixteenth century, therefore it was a seventeenth century phenomena.[691] Also, we can time and again see that *müderris*es could assume positions in waqfs as well. This was a source of side income, but it was also a chance to intervene in the waqf politics -thus, the politics of madrasas.[692]

The waqfs did not only support the teaching staff and maintenance but also the students. The waqfs provided outright scholarships, rooms to stay, and other additional benefits.[693] For instance, the *müderris* of Yıldırım madrasa, Ahmed Efendi allocated two thousand *aḳçe* for the students on the condition that they would attend the classes regularly.[694] Another Ahmed Efendi also allocated money for the students of the same medrese, that would be spent as per diem allowance in addition to distribution of food for the students during the excursions.[695] Mefail Hızlı says that it was a tradition to go on a spring picnic for students with their müderrises.[696] Another

[688] BCR, B-66, 21a; B-96, 8a.
[689] İKS, no. 51, 181a-182b.
[690] Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde,* 72.
[691] Ibid., 83; Hızlı, *Bursa sıbyan mektepleri*, 59: this phenomenon applies also to the *ṣıbyān mekteb*s.
[692] Ibid., 121.
[693] Ibid., 132, 135-137.
[694] BCR, B-318, 1b.
[695] BCR, B-59, 53a-54a.
[696] Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde*, 168-169.

müderris and shaykh Ali Efendi, on the other hand, established a waqf to meet the expenses resulting from accommodation.[697]

In an interesting example, Hacı Mehmed b. Ali endowed his stores and books to the students in Bursa and to the trustee of his waqf.[698] Another record of book donation can be seen in a court record dated 1607. This record shows that 62 books belonging to the library of shaykh al-Islam Mustafa Efendi were endowed to the madrasa library by Lutfullah Efendi, and received by the *müderris* of the madrasa.[699]

As expected, there were problems within waqfs of education, too. Hızlı narrates a case where a trustee of a waqf closed the madrasa, destroyed the building, used the grounds for farming, and the remnants of the building for building his own house.[700] As mentioned above, we see *müderris*es sometimes challenge this type of misconduct. In one case, İsmail Efendi complained that he was not paid properly and demonstrated the lack of concern in the waqf by presenting the accounts of the waqf to the court.[701]

Bursans showed an interest in education through waqfs they established. There were those who could afford building a complete madrasa and meeting its full expenses. But there were also those who endowed cash and donated the interest for the salaries of the school staff, or for students, or for the expenses of madrasa.[702] In other words, Bursans helped build a scholarly and intellectual environment that we will be trying to unravel in the next chapter. This was not done via intellectual but

[697] BCR, B-93, 90a-91b.
[698] İKS, no. 70, 50b-53a.
[699] BCR, B-26, 129a.
[700] Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde,* 118.
[701] BCR, B-19, 1a.
[702] For instance, there is a cash waqf established to meet the coal expenses of Hacı İvaz Paşa madrasa (Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde*, 30).

economic means. Regardless of being an educated member of the society or not, Bursans contributed to their city and its lively cultural atmosphere.

3.6 Conclusion

What brought together the man who was once the shaykh al-Islam of the Empire and Elhac Kulu b. Mirza, a resident of Veled-i Enbiya neighborhood? Or müderris Ali Efendi and Safiye bt. Himmet? These were people from different strata and different social groups. Yet, their common point was that they decided to contribute to the social, educational, and economic well-being of the society they were living in. Although used as a means to pool and protect property or hand it down to the descendants, waqfs were still employed as an instrument of charity. Obviously, there are records of waqfs which seem to be established for entirely self-serving reasons. Furthermore, there were cases which not only make them seem as such, but prove them to be self-serving, like the case of Fatma bt. el-hac Geyvan.[703] Yet, in accordance with what we have noted in the introductory part of this chapter, and as shown in the pages above, there were many other cases which showed endowments committed entirely or partly to the public good – and fear regarding the seizure of property was not a motive. Haim Gerber chooses to call this a "rudimentary public spiritedness" which drove people to work for the public good.[704] Although this is a fundamental dimension of the concept of waqf, in our case, we see a Bursa-mindedness, helping the city, the urban folk, and keeping an eye to the needs of the city. While in many cases people chose to partake in their own neighborhood, there were plenty of others where people donated to the *ʿavārıż* waqfs of other neighborhoods, mosques outside their own, public waterways and fountains, repair of

[703] See note 545 above.
[704] Gerber, *Bursa*, 168-169.

schools, and many other fashions. This points out the fact that people were aware of the immediate needs of the community, -perhaps, they had suffered from lack of water, or a dysfunctional *muʿallimḫāne*, or a dimly lit mosque at times of Ramadan or other holy nights- a kind of social awareness, and urban-consciousness.

Using waqfs for public good can also be seen as a way to assume power. By using their wealth of various levels, people tried to make good what had been wrong or ill-conducted. Endowers, in their humble steps, attempted to ameliorate the lives of others by not making them go through the same kinds of problems – or else, as they had been helped by other waqfs in their lifetimes and now it was time to pay it back. As a charitable public, they had an aspiration toward growth and public action.[705] The waqf played a key role in transforming the urbanites into a society of influential autonomous groups, where an endower was able to select a specific group of people as his/her waqf's beneficiaries. These acts, and the distribution of endowments, in turn reflected the town's social fabric and evolving power dynamics.[706]

Although we did not have many examples for Bursa in the seventeenth century, non-Muslims were actively involved in waqfs, as either founders and beneficiaries or business partners and renters. Through waqfs we can follow the tensions between non-Muslims and Muslims in this century, too. Although the coming together of different religious communities existed to some extent, this did not mean that it had not created a backlash and sometimes in extreme cases such as the destruction of a church presented above. This backlash must have forced the state

[705] Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, "Introduction," 8.
[706] Hoexter, 128-129.

to take a solid stance and “enforce social order through sumptuary laws” in the eighteenth century.[707]

Call it charity, philanthropy, or the urge to absolve from sins, and put their names under good deeds, maybe not with words but with their acts, Bursans wanted to leave their mark on the same soil that would accommodate many generations to come.

[707] Marinos Sariyannis, “Sociability, Public Life, and Decorum,” 492.

CHAPTER 4

BURSA VIEWED THROUGH *VEFEYĀTNĀME*S

SPATIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL NETWORKS

This chapter revolves around a literary genre, namely *vefeyātnāme*, which became almost a specific genre for Bursa, especially from the seventeenth century onwards. By using them as literary sources for the urban life and culture in seventeenth-century Bursa, this chapter is organized around several important nodes in the *vefeyātnāme*s. Yet, before going into the details of *vefeyātnāme*s, we will start by a discussion of urban awareness and constructions of urban identity across different literary genres, with particular reference to Bursa. We then turn to the spatial aspect of the urban life as reflected in *vefeyātnāme*s, by delving into key urban centers that come up frequently in them. As we will see, *vefeyātnāme*s provide extensive information on two groups especially, namely Sufis and members of *'ilmiyye.* Through a close reading of *vefeyātnāme*s, we will first be stressing which aspects of Sufism and sufi communities in Bursa were included and highlighted in these texts. Later on, we will be commenting on the ulema as reflected in *vefeyātnāme*s. As biographical dictionaries of Bursans, they prove to be important sources for every aspect of urban life, from anecdotes on daily life and signifiers of urban culture to economic relations, power dynamics, urban development, and public works. Finally, we will be commenting on how burials of the personages mentioned were handled in *vefeyātnāme*s. By commenting on the graveyard and the grave neighbors of the decedents, authors tended to form a network of social promotion for the deceased and also for themselves around an overarching theme of Bursa-mindedness.

*Vefeyātnāme*s were, as we have noted above, important sources not only for their content but also for their almost specific focus on Bursa. The seventeenth century saw an unprecedented rise in the production of manuscripts in the lands of the Ottoman Empire,[708] which remained largely as a manuscript culture until the nineteenth century.[709] What also happened throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that there was an increasing interest in the city in these writings.[710] We can trace this trend in certain compilations, *seyāḥatnāme*s, and *vefeyātnāme*s, alongside works in other literary genres such as *şehrengīz*.[711]

Bursa was especially important for works that manifest a certain urban awareness. One study has noted that out of 68 *şehrengīz*es that have come down to us, nine are on Bursa.[712] More importantly, Bursa takes the lead as the subject of *vefeyātnāme*s with 11 extant works devoted to the people of this city.[713] What's more, the culture of compiling/authoring Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s continued from the late seventeenth into the twentieth century.[714]

In these Bursan sources (*şehrengīz*es, *vefeyātnāme*s, or *mecmūʿa* compilations), we can follow certain themes. One is Bursa-mindedness, the importance given to the city itself, a strong sense of belonging to and pride taken in being Bursan. The other is a certain urban awareness, keeping an ear to the ground for political, social, and cultural matters about the town. This ear is sometimes literal.

[708] Erol Özvar, "Osmanlı Dünyasında Yazma Eser Üretkenliği," 19.
[709] See Chapter 5 for more information.
[710] Snjezana Buzov, "Osmanlı'da Karışık İçerikli Mecmûalar: Bir Başka Arşiv," 37-38, 40; Kafadar, "Sohbete Çelebi," 50-51; Filan, "Saraybosnalı Mollâ Mustafa"
[711] I would like to call this *an urban awareness* which, I argue, would be one of the important aspects of early modern reading and writing culture, reflected in *mecmūʿa*s among other texts, culminating in genres such as *şehrengīz*, and later on, *vefeyātnāme*.
[712] Barış Karacasu, "Türk Edebiyatında şehr-engîzler," 302-304.
[713] See the Introduction for *vefeyātnāme*s as a source, and which ones were used in what capacity throughout this dissertation.
[714] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri,* 80; Donuk, 70-78.

Authors of manuscripts conveyed narratives that they heard from trustworthy people who happened to be there when the narrated event took place.[715]

Of course, it was not only in Bursa that the content of the text frequently turned towards what was urban. The travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi, the geographical works of Katip Çelebi and Aşık Mehmed were all products of a certain urban awareness. Furthermore, even sacred monuments started to be seen in a profane -or rather, touristic- manner. In some *meddāḥ* stories set in Istanbul, visiting the Grand Mosque, Hagia Sophia, played not a religious role but rendered simply as a sightseeing activity.[716] We witness a similar trend beyond the Ottoman domain, too. In Safavid Iran, topographical description penetrated into poetry and prose in an unprecedented way.[717] In Mughal Delhi, a similar tendency was observed where "texts and spaces together point to a new urban awareness."[718] In early modern London, on the other hand, theatrical development and urban awareness went hand in hand, where urban structures were used as dramatic elements.[719] Moreover, in one *mecmū'a*, the author wrote the stops - and distances between them - from Bursa all the way to Damascus instead of Mecca.[720] The reason why the author stopped this itinerary at Damascus eludes us, but it is significant to note that this traditional pilgrimage route ends in Damascus. In fact, there is no reason for us

[715] There are various points in the *vefeyātnāme*s where the author says that this was heard from trustworthy people (Baldırzade, 106, 129-130, 149, 195; Donuk, 291, 399, 419, et alibi).
[716] Kafadar, "How Dark," 264.
[717] Farshid Emami, "Discursive Images and Urban Itineraries: Literary Form and City Experience in Early Modern Iran."
[718] Kishwar Rizvi, *Affect, emotion, and subjectivity in early modern Muslim empires: New studies in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal art and culture*, 18-19.
[719] Kelly J. Stage, *Producing early modern London: a comedy of urban space, 1598– 1616*, 15-16.
[720] Bursa İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (BİYEK), Genel 1507-2, 12b.

to think that it was an unfinished pilgrimage route to Mecca, it might well be intended simply as what it is, a road map.[721]

Authors of the period in question also cared about what was found important or what was famous among the people. There is plenty of information related to the city, including what the urban folk were interested in, and what they opposed.[722] For instance, Baldırzade conveys a story about Üftade, which he deemed as known and famous among the people.[723] İsmail Beliğ also comments that *Dīvān-ı İlāhiyyāt* of Niyazi-i Mısri was famous and familiar among the people.[724]

The urban fabric and the built environment of the city also found a place in poetry. Although growing in numbers and transforming formally, the urban awareness in the text was not wholly new. Indeed, in ghazels, praises to the cities abound.[725] Yet, it became truly visible with the emerging genre of *şehrengīz* in the sixteenth century. While listing the male beauties visible in the city, the poets almost never failed to note their profession and, when possible, used literary devices to associate their occupational tools with their body parts and costumes.[726] This intricate relationship of commerce and homoerotic love can also be found in Indo-Persian counterparts of *şehrengīz*.[727] As artisans were primarily members of the economic life, commercial space almost always exists as an actor in the *şehrengīz* genre. The market, *bedestān*, as Halil İnalcık calls it for Istanbul, was definitely the

[721] See Nir Shafir, "In an Ottoman Holy Land: The Hajj and the Road from Damascus, 1500–1800." It addresses the growing significance of the Damascus/Sham vilayet as a pilgrimage destination during the early modern period.
[722] Donuk, 186.
[723] Baldırzade, 97-98: "…beyne'l cumhur şâyi' u meşhûrdur ki…"
[724] Donuk, 405: "…beyne'n-nās meşhūr u mütevātir olmağın…"
[725] For a study on cities in ghazels, see Ülkü Akçay, "The Geography of Ottoman Poetry: Cities in Ghazels."
[726] Nuran Tezcan, "Güzele Bir Şehrengizden Bakış," 184.
[727] Sunil Sharma, "'If There Is a Paradise on Earth, It Is Here' Urban Ethnography in Indo-Persian Poetic and Historical Texts," 242.

hub of the city,[728] and became an important space for daily interactions.[729] Similarly, it takes an essential place in Bursa *şehrengīz*es as well.[730] The daily interactions, the "goings on about town," people crowding the cities were definitely of interest to the poet.[731] Not only were they composed in a way reflecting the urban awareness, but they must also have played an important role in raising urban awareness in the audience. At least one study claims that *şehrengīz* has had a part in dispersing such an awareness, a sense of place perhaps.[732]

We see a similar interest in urban life and the city dwellers in the seventeenth century, with the *şehrengīz* genre starting to wane although important examples can still be found. In addition, one of the most important examples of Bursan pride was seen in a seventeenth-century *şehrengīz*. Nazik Abdullah (d. 1686), in his poem, says that Bursa is like a heaven and deserves all the appreciation, and it is such a city that is impossible to describe.[733] On another occasion, the same poet responds to his father's friend, Rum Ḳaraçelebizade Mahmud Efendi, saying although he thinks that Istanbul is unique, he can keep Istanbul to himself, it was Bursa which they cared for.[734] Similarly, in poetry, we can see that being Bursan was considered almost as important as being an Istanbulite, even for those who were outside Bursa.[735]

[728] Halil İnalcık, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul."
[729] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul. Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital,* 43.
[730] Yapar, 52.
[731] Haluk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebi Muhitler,* 224. It is important to note here that through poetry and other literary genres we can gather information about who came across who, who is represented more or less, and how people encountered in the public and/or semi-private spaces.
[732] Ali Cançelik, "Kent Kültürü ve Kentlilik Bilinci Oluşumunda Şehrengizlerin Rolü," 131.
[733] Metin Akkuş, "Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Bursa Şehr-engizleri," 175: "Merḥabā şehr-i Bursa kim behişt-āyīnsin / Ḫubsun ġāyet de hem şāyeste-i taḥsīnsin // Bursasın ammā ki vaṣf itmek seni mümkün degil / Ta'n ider Baġdād'a tarzun ġayret-i Ḳazvīnsin"
[734] Donuk, 728-729.
[735] Ergun, *Âşık Ömer*, 225: "Şehr-i İstanbullu yâ Bursalı olsa sevdiğim"

4.1 *Vefeyātnāme* as a genre

In prose, this century witnessed the emergence of the *vefeyātnāme* genre. The name comes from the plural of *vefāt*, death in Arabic, and the addition of Persian *nāme*. It is an umbrella word for all the works including the death dates and certain information about important personages.[736] One of the major differences between *vefeyātnāme* and *şu'arā' tezkiresi* is that there are examples of the former which specify the deceased according to their locality,[737] which we will be dealing with here. Coming from the tradition of biographical dictionaries in the Muslim world, *vefeyātnāme* is a product of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century increase in biographical and monographic works.[738] Working also as city monographs, *vefeyātnāme*s mention not only those who died in a particular city but also those who were born or lived there for a period of time and left their mark on the cultural space of the city.[739] Of more than twenty known *vefeyātnāme*s, eleven are on Bursa, making Bursa a significant town for the genre.[740] In addition, they are considered to be the first implementation of the biographical dictionary tradition with a city focus.[741] Some of the examples of the genre, on the other hand, have a narrower focus, concentrating only on a particular burial area.[742]

It is important to note that this tradition emerged in the seventeenth century. Although they were not unprecedented in the sense that they were collections of

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[736] Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, Cilt 1,* 422.
[737] Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri: Bursa Vefeyatnamelerindeki Şairlerin Biyografileri*, 142; Donuk, *Güldeste,* 31. Kerima Filan, "Saraybosnalı Mollâ Mustafa'nın Mecmuası Işığında bir Osmanlının Topluma Bakışı," 285, argues that vefeyat entries are less discriminating when incorporating decedents into their texts than tezkires. The only criterion is spatial membership - which we will be dwelling upon later. Sajdi, "A Room of His Own," shows that the Barber of Damascus went further and included an illiterate storyteller into his history "in the scholarly form of *tarjama*."
[738] This tradition is deeply rooted in the Islamic literature, and in the Arabic-speaking lands. For instance, for a discussion of biographic dictionaries of Aleppo, see Watenpauch, *The image of an Ottoman city,* Chapter 6.
[739] Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri,*77.
[740] Ibid., 80.
[741] Ibid., 142.
[742] Donuk, *Güldeste,* 70.

biographies, they were undoubtedly original in content, having not been copied from older biographies.[743] What's more important is the city and the locality focus of the genre. With a strong emphasis on *here* and *now*, the whole genre of *vefeyātnāme*s must have been written for the locality, and in turn, contributed to the creation of a sense of place.[744] Written by locals, this seems like an attempt to honor and cherish those who contributed to the creation and continuation of the cultural space of this town in which the author flourished and became a worthy member of that very cultural space. Authors of this genre almost always found their way into the following *vefeyātnāme*s.

The *vefeyātnāme* literary tradition allowed authors and readers alike to connect to their locality by celebrating those who passed away in their towns. *Vefeyāt* entries also made their way into *mecmū'a*s. For instance, in one *mecmū'a*, we have seen *vefeyāt* entries which are not found in other known *vefeyātnāme*s. To give an example, the *vefeyāt* entry about İshak Hocası in this *mecmū'a* is entirely different from others.[745] So they must not have been copied but authored by the owner or some other compiler.

This interest does not seem peculiar to Bursa. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Molla Mustafa of Sarajevo recorded *vefeyāt* entries for a duration of fifty years for the deceased whom he had known, was acquainted with, or

[743] Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri,* 124.
[744] "Knowledge of place was deeply constructed through the senses—moving, seeing, listening, evoking smell—which endowed spatial images with emotional moods—nostalgia, rage, bitterness, hope, mocking distance, longing—to convey a sense of place, a place that was at once object of knowledge and object of feeling." Begoña Aretxaga, *Shattering silence: women, nationalism, and political subjectivity in Northern Ireland*, 25. It would be interesting to think of the sensual aspect in making sense of place in early modern Ottomans. To my limited knowledge, only the sonic, olfactory, and gustatory facets were studied but the link between sense of place and five senses were not elaborated.
[745] BİYEK, Genel 1507-2, 1a. Kadir Atlansoy lists all Bursan poets, and in which works they found a place. When we cross-check all the works listed with this entry, we see that it is an original record. The same applies to other entries in the same *mecmū'a*.

sometimes whom he only heard about.[746] While the unknown author or compiler of our *mecmū'a* in question only listed a few religious figures with madrasa education, Molla Mustafa chose to record a wider range of people as members of the urban society.[747] As noted earlier, this interest in "common" people, however, was not peculiar only to the contents of the *vefeyāt* genre.

Also, the authorship tended to shift. Authors of this genre were mainly madrasa-educated people; thus, their subjects were of the same social group. Yet, the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *vefeyātnāme*s include many Sufis and poets from among the artisans - there is even one Bursa *vefeyātnāme* written by an artisan.[748] Although written in the late eighteenth century, it is important to consider this work as an example of expanding the social base of the genre. Kadir Atlansoy, furthermore, claims that there were two distinct traditions in the *vefeyātnāme* genre. The first tradition follows the example of *Ravża-i Evlīyā* , written by Baldırzade Selisi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1650), which focuses only on religious personages in his *vefeyātnāme*, while the other tradition, starting with *Güldeste* by İsmail Beliğ (d. 1729), includes not only religious figures but individuals of other professions such as storytellers, *meddāḥ*s, doctors, musicians, and even *meczūb*, and *abdāl*s.[749]

It is not that the seventeenth century witnessed a rupture in the mentality. Still, the emergence of *vefeyātnāme* tradition and shift in the authorship, and the content of the works, together with *vefeyāt* entries increasingly taking place in journal-like *mecmū'a*s, or compilation of *mecmū'a*s, is one of the areas of cultural expression in which we see greater importance being given to the city.

[746] Filan, "Saraybosnalı Mollâ Mustafa," 273.
[747] Ibid., 280.
[748] Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri*, 32.
[749] Ibid., 124.

This change in authorship or indiscriminate inclusion of people and events of every social stratum from urban life indicates a tendency towards a view from below.[750] In addition, we start to witness an individual voice, the statement of the self. One manuscript of the famous Bursa *vefeyātnāme*, *Ravża-i Evlīyā* , was continued by the copyist.[751] In one folio, the copyist added the *vefeyāt* entry of his father with the title "*vālid-i merḥūm*" and starting with "*bu ʿabd-i faḳīriñ vālidi*(...)."[752] It seems that this unnamed father of the unknown copyist has been in and out of education, being a disciple to many vital figures in *ʻilmiye* hierarchy in Bursa, Istanbul, and Damascus; yet, he had only been a *müderris*, who, apparently, had no works whatsoever. The copyist (now he is the author actually, since this is his addendum to *Ravża*) even says that his father appeared from a sea of nothingness (*deryā-i ʿademden serdāde olub*) in Bursa.[753] Even though it is understandable why the father of the copyist landed in this *vefeyātnāme*, the way it was added as "the father of this poor man" begs the question why. The motivation behind this was probably the same as mentioned above. The author wanted to take part in the lineage of significant figures that created the cultural space of his hometown. Through the inclusion of his father, the unknown copyist wanted to guarantee his place in this lineage and cling to a sense of belonging both to his hometown and the great people it produced.

In the same vein, the author of *Ravża* included information about his relationship with certain people whenever it was possible. While writing about Bakkalzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1594/1595), he mentions that Bakkalzade was his

[750] Sajdi, "A Room of His Own," 19.
[751] BİYEK, Genel 1507: Although Kadir Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri,* 204-205, noted that and said it can be considered as an addendum, no study on this copy was made to the best of our knowledge.
[752] BİYEK, Genel 1507, 93a.
[753] BİYEK, Genel 1507, 93a.

teacher.[754] Also, he mentions that he took Arabic grammar lessons from Alaeddin Halife (d. 1601/1602).[755]

Another notable aspect of the *vefeyātnāme*s is the authors' tendency to grieve for important personages whose careers, for some reason, never took off although they were successful in what they did. Baldırzade mentions one Mustafa Çelebi (fl. late 16th c.), a disciple of the famous writer Cinani (d.1595), who was a poet but did not acquire fame.[756] Similarly, *Güldeste* author İsmail Beliğ writes about Hevayi Efendi (d. 1608/1609) who composed many poems but was never famous.[757]

In their awareness of political events the authors did not fail to mention the Celali uprisings and their effect on the dwellers of the city. *Vefeyātnāme*s detailed how their population reacted against Celalis whenever possible. During the 1607/1608 Celali invasion of Bursa, one Hasan Efendi chose not to retreat to the Bursa fortress and fought to death against invaders.[758] When Ḥasan Paşa entered Bursa during the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687), Seyyid Mahmud, a shaykh of Nakşibendiyye, cried his loyalty to the sultan.[759]

There is also an account of bantering between the preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi and Şeyh Ahi Mahmud. When Vani visited Bursa and had trouble sleeping due to the loud barking of dogs, the latter responded saying the dogs of Bursa do not bark unless they see an outsider dog.[760]

Furthermore, one *mecmū'a* recounts all the conquests of Ottomans from Bursa to Egypt, pointing out a particular historical understanding.[761] One *mecmū'a*

[754] Baldırzade, *Ravza*, 133-134.
[755] Ibid., 204.
[756] Ibid., 260.
[757] Donuk, *Güldeste*, 745.
[758] Baldırzade, 150; Donuk, 399-400.
[759] Donuk, 366.
[760] Ibid., 370-371.
[761] BİYEK, Genel 1507, 30a.

lists everyone who governed Bursa from 1329 to 1682,[762] ending with the arrival of a *nāʾib* of Hocazade Seyyid Osman Efendi.[763] The same *mecmūʿa* also details elsewhere those who died in office while governing the city.[764] A similar observation has been made for Safavid Iran as well.[765] These, however, were not "amateur" histories, like, for instance, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmiyya* (1741-1762), studied by Dana Sajdi in her book.[766] Yet, the fact that they were noted and kept in a *mecmūʿa*, points out that the compiler formulated his "notebook" around Bursa. Everything starts with Bursa's conquest. It is not directly related to the historical understanding of the Ottoman Empire but of Bursa, where the author(s) probably lived. In a similar way, Sehmi Efendi (d. 1651/1652) who wrote books on rhetoric compiled *mecmūʿa*s bringing together *menāḳıbnāme*s of Bursan saints.[767]

The strong urban awareness must have provided the urge to include not only those who were born there but also those who died during their tenure, retirement, or exile, or those who lived there only for a brief period. The same applies to Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s, in which those who, in one way or another, had been linked to the city were included. *Vefeyātnāme*s included more than those who were "originally" from Bursa, or those for whom Bursa was their hometown. Therefore, the definition of being Bursan, in *vefeyātnāme*s, was altered or even established altogether. As we will see in the following sections, authors of *vefeyātnāme*s would include people in their work according to not only their hometowns but also whether they partook in the cultural network of the city. Nevertheless, this does not mean that their limitation was totally fictitious or arbitrary. There is an interesting case to examine here. One

[762] Ibid., 13a-14a: "Medine-ī Brusayī ḥükūmet ile müşerref iden mevāli kirām esāmileridir ki (...)"
[763] Ibid., 14a.
[764] Ibid., 40b.
[765] Babayan, *The City as anthology: Eroticism and urbanity in early modern Isfahan*, 16.
[766] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau literacy in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Levant*.
[767] Donuk, *Güldeste*, 695.

Karakaşzade Ömer Efendi (d. 1637) was thought to be from Bursa, and an important author of Sufi literature.[768] However, he was included in neither Baldırzade's nor Beliğ's *vefeyātnāme.*[769] According to at least one major source,[770] he died in Edirne in 1637 and we know for a fact that he lived in Bursa around 1620.[771] One reason for his omission could be the fact that he spent a good part of his life in Edirne and died there. Perhaps while he was in Bursa, he was not that active in the cultural domain and did not come under the radar of the Bursan *vefeyātnāme* authors. Therefore, it might be said that *vefeyātnāme* authors had a sense of cultural impact in the city while assessing whom to include.

In addition, the authors occasionally brought up praises of the city when mentioning Bursa. It has been called the "spring of the friends of God,"[772] "alluring city of desire,"[773] "well-protected heaven," or "city of heaven."[774] Praises are also found in poetry, other than *şehrengīz*. For instance, in one *rubā'ī*, the poet says that Bursa hurt the vineyards of Heaven in their heart.[775]

The site-specific approach to city dwellers could allow us to understand the city in the mental universe of early modern Bursans. They definitely saw the city as the sum of the experiences of everybody who had been, and, more importantly, who had contributed to the city. Therefore, a *Bursan* (or Bursevi, or Bursalı) was not only

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[768] Aslıhan Gürbüzel, *Taming the messiah: The formation of an Ottoman political public sphere, 1600-1700,* 144, claims that his works were widely read.
[769] In fact, no *vefeyātnāme* of Bursa includes him. Only Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri,* 157-158, included him and claimed he was from Bursa. Kamil Kepecioğlu, *IV*, 28, noted that he was from Bursa, too.
[770] Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Vefeyât-ı Ayvansarâyî*, 251-252. Ayvansarayi included him in his *vefeyātnāme*. Yet, he says that he was from Aleppo originally, and makes no mention of Bursa. (Also, as a side note, it can be disputed whether this work is a *vefeyātnāme* or not. See page 20 for Ramazan Ekinci's justification for classification.)
[771] There is a Bursa court record about him from this date: BCR, B-40, 9a.
[772] Donuk, 374: "*maṭla'-ı erbāb-ı velāyet*"
[773] Ibid., 745: "*şehr-i dil-keş-hevā-yı Burusa*"
[774] Ibid., 714, 760: "*maḥrūse-i bihiştāsā,*" "*medīne-i bihiştāsā.*" There are many more praises of Bursa in *vefeyātnāme*s (Donuk, 364, 398, 420, 554, 761; Baldırzade, 115, 132, 180, et alibi).
[775] Donuk, 715.

someone who had been born there but someone who partook in the making of the city as a social and cultural entity.[776]

When considering the patronage and commissions of the *vefeyātnāme*s, we witness a similar tendency, too. Although he was not born in Bursa, Mehmed Efendi b. Karaçelebizade Hüsam Efendi (d. 1633) asked Davudzade Mehmed b. Mustafa (d. after 1666)[777] to compile a work on those who had been resting in the burial ground of the Zeyniyye *zāviye*: *"Bu faḳirden maḥrūse-i Burūsada zāviye-i Zeyniyye ki ahālī-i Burūsa beyninde Ḥācı Ḫalīfe Tekyesi dimekle ma'rūfdur. Anda medfūn olān meşāyiḫ ū 'ulemānıñ merāḳıdın senden ġayri bilūr kimesne yoḳdur. Taḥrīr ū tasṭīr itmek lâzımdır deyū ibrām ū ilḥāḥ buyūrūlur idi*."[778] This *vefeyātnāme*, however, draws heavily on what is known and considered as the first example of Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s, one written by Mehmed b. Sa'dî (d. 1630).[779] Although both authors belonged to the Zeyniyye order, the difference between these two *vefeyātnāme*s is, to begin with, that the latter was commissioned by someone outside the Zeyniyye order. Mehmed Efendi requested another work to celebrate the great personages of Zeyniyye, only 30 years after Mehmed b. Sa'dî's work. Unlike his brother Abdülaziz,[780] he was not born in Bursa. Therefore, this could surely be seen as an effort of Mehmed Efendi to cherish his residence and its history - to make it his hometown by connecting with the people who lived there and whom he cared for.

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[776] See Chapter 3 for partaking in the networks of giving and receiving in Bursa.
[777] Abdurrezzak Tek, "Osmanlı Tasavvuf Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmelerinden Ricâl-i Zeyniyye," 219: There are differing accounts considering his date of death. However, given that the last entry in his *Rical-i Zeyniyye* is about someone who passed away in 1666, Tek estimates his death date as sometime after 1666.
[778] BİYEK, Genel 854, 79b.
[779] Kadir Atlansoy, "Edebiyat Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Bursa Vefeyâtnâmeleri I: Mehmed b. Sa'dî'nin Bursa Vefeyâtı."
[780] Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri*, 126, states that Baldırzade's Bursa *vefeyātnāme Ravża-i Evlīyā* was named by Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi. The contribution to the built environment and cultural space of the city through waqfs and other means by the Karaçelebizade family, but especially by Abdülaziz Efendi, will be detailed in Chapter 4.

This becomes apparent content-wise as well. While Mehmed b. Sa'dî's *vefeyāt* has dhikr comments and includes a lineage of the Zeyniyye that starts with Ali b. Abu Talib,[781] Davudzade writes about the history of the convent by detailing the process of construction, who paid for it, and how it started to be used as a convent.[782] Only later, he goes on to list those who were buried in the burial ground of the convent. Furthermore, although Davudzade's *vefeyātnāme* is directly related to a Sufi order, in its contents, it possesses a nonreligious aspect with respect to its antecedent, dealing more with the worldly matters of the convent than the religious commentary. Although we know of Sufi records of daily life,[783] it is noteworthy that what is recorded is more in the mundane domain than ascetic experiences of a mystical nature.[784] Therefore, Davudzade's work is not only an addendum of the former but also finds itself a place in the *vefeyātnāme* tradition, together with Baldırzade or İsmail Beliğ's oeuvre. However, Mehmed b. Sadi's text might fall more into the category of *menāḳıbnāme* as also its title suggests.

The change in context and tone in the *vefeyātnāme*s continued into the following decades of the seventeenth century as well. One major and thought-provoking difference is the telling of miraculous deeds. There are many accounts of miraculous deeds in both Baldırzade's and Beliğ's *vefeyātnāme*s. While Beliğ's narration always belongs to the past and the actual deeds were only heard of, Baldırzade's accounts were sometimes witnessed by the author himself. For instance, in one, a man begged for salvation from his oppressor by the tomb of a

[781] Atlansoy, "Mehmed b. Sa'dî," 49.
[782] BİYEK, Genel 854, 79a-79b.
[783] Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618-94)," 143-144.
[784] Kafadar, "Self and Others," 147.

saint, and later, his oppressor died by the kick of a horse.[785] In the second, he witnessed people conduct a rain prayer by the tomb of another saint, and it rained.[786]

Urban awareness unfolds in the forgotten, ignored, or overlooked folios of *mecmū'a*s and other manuscripts, too. The interest in what is going on and around the city, and the care for city politics and its history can all be traced in the words of unknown authors and compilers and copyists of *mecmū'a*s, and other works. The interest in city life extends from political life to surprising daily events. For instance, one author noted in his *mecmū'a*[787] a fascinating account about a man who kept snakes and used them against the invading rats in a field.[788] Snakes were also an important symbol in miraculous stories such as the one where the antagonist was turned into a black snake.[789] It is no wonder that snakes found an important part in the stories and narratives since there is at least one contemporary observer who says that there were plenty of snakes in Bursa, especially in the foothills of Uludağ, where the city is built.[790]

There were also eye-witness accounts of events that were not miraculous. One account, which resembles an entry from court registers, details an interesting event from the year 1604 in Bursa, where a seemingly amicable discussion about religion goes wrong, and one abruptly blames the other for being blasphemous, going on to put the blame on a group of people, and the affair ending with the renewal of marriage.[791] Considering that the *mecmū'a* has entries from the late 17th century, it

[785] Baldırzade, 90-91.
[786] Ibid., 136.
[787] Although the author is unknown, the *mecmū'a*s were owned extensively by males. The woman ownership or authorship of the *mecmū'a*s is yet to be discovered and studied broadly. Kathryn Babayan, 2, makes a similar observation about Safavid Iran.
[788] BİYEK, Genel 1507-2, 41b.
[789] Baldırzade, 98.
[790] Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the world,* 88.
[791] BİYEK, Genel 1507-2, 28b-29b. This same event was also narrated on the margins of one copy of Baldırzade's *vefeyātnāme* (Baldırzade, 150-151). For renewal of marriage, see Guy Burak. "Faith,

was most probably not an event witnessed by the author. However, it was seen as an alluring case to be included in the *mecmū'a* - a case that happened in the same city where the owner was living. In another story, the famous musician Esved amazed music lovers from Istanbul with his skills in music and talent in memorization.[792]

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are also accounts in which a person chooses to return to Bursa at the end of their lives or after retirement – living or dead. For instance, Baldırzade chose to return to his hometown (*vatan-ı aslî*) after retirement,[793] whereas Ahmed Efendi b. eş-Şeyh Muslihiddîn died in Istanbul, but his body was transferred to Bursa to be buried near his own mosque.[794]

In this chapter, while expanding on urban awareness in *vefeyātnāme*s, we will delve into the rich implications provided by the source material, and how they were inscribed in the *vefeyātnāme*s. Therefore, we will first be commenting on the nodes of gathering in Bursa throughout our period, bringing in the spatial aspect. Then, following the organization of orders and their lodges, we will be looking into the politics and everyday life of Sufism in Bursa from the lens of the *vefeyātnāme* authors. Later, by analyzing how the tangled networks of appointments to professorships, judgeships, and other posts were reflected in our sources, we will be commenting on the place of Bursa and the importance of partaking in the Bursan network in pursuing a career in ulema. Last, going full circle, we will be dealing with the Bursa-mindedness and social promotion attempts, through burial practices and strategies, and how they were reflected in *vefeyātnāme*s.[795]

Law, and Empire in the 'Age of Confessionalization' (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries): The Case of Renewal of Faith," 5.
[792] Donuk, 748.
[793] Baldırzade, 287.
[794] Ibid., 122.
[795] See Introduction for the *vefeyātnāme*s we are using throughout the dissertation.

4.2 Nodes of gathering

As "nodes of gathering" themselves, *vefeyātnāme*s provide us with much spatial information. In the end, they are telling stories not only about the people of the city, but also about the city itself. *Vefeyātnāme* authors time and again give specific information about where an incident took place, even when their narration is otherwise laconic. Thus, a close reading of these sources can reveal what the nodes of gathering were in the seventeenth century Bursa and at the same time, which places were seen significant to be included in *vefeyātnāme*s.

In biographies, the authors presented anecdotal information about encounters of all sorts. These could be in the form of a scholarly gathering, a gathering of reading and dhikr, a fight, a funeral, an opening ceremony, a musical event, or a quick chat. These "encounters" sometimes happen in textual form as well. But oftentimes, they have a spatial aspect. Of course, the population we are dealing with here is mostly shaykhs, scholars, and poets due to the nature of our sources. Thus, the nodes of gathering are mostly confined to certain spaces, such as mosques, madrasas, and lodges. Albeit rare, there are still mentions of coffeehouses, markets, spas, bathhouses, or other public places. As the usual suspects, we have the mosques, including their gardens, with the highest number of references, followed by madrasas, lodges, shrines, loci of visitation, hans, bazaars, excursion spots, streets, coffee houses and many other places. In this part, following the steps of Chapter 2 where we discussed urban development, I will demonstrate and comment on how different spaces were used and referred to in *vefeyātnāme*s.

The most important spaces that come up in *vefeyātnāme*s are mosques and masjids. This is hardly extraordinary as the Ottoman mosques were definitely not closed, sacred spaces for devotional use only. They harbored many other functions

from seeking remedies from shaykhs and preachers to informal education.[796] Among the mosques and masjids mentioned in *vefeyātnāme*s, Cami-i Kebir easily takes the first spot since it was not only the largest Friday mosque in Bursa but a center for everyday life, a space where people came together for many occasions as we have said. Naturally, they were many events of religious nature, too. Cami-i Kebir witnessed a publicly held lawsuit, public teachings, dream interpretations, together with the narration of miraculous events. Other mosques or masjids, on the other hand, only come up in connection to an imam, or a preacher whose biography is included in the account. However, we see that some shaykhs were acting as an imam and/or a preacher at the neighborhood mosques where their lodges were located. Furthermore, in these mosques, they brought together people in circles of dhikr and tawhid (*ḥalḳa-bend-i zikr ü tevḥīd*). Süleyman Uludağ claims that members of orders preferred to do this mostly in lodges and masjids, instead of mosques, out of fear of any reaction that might have come from the members of ulema.[797] This seems mostly the case as we have detected around thirty masjids where Sufis were active imams, or preachers, and/or organizing *zikr ü tevḥīd*.[798] İsmail Beliğ, on the other hand, says that Açıkbaş Mahmud Efendi (d. 1666)[799] organized *ḥalḳa-bend-i cem'iyyet,* and Abdurrahim Efendi (d. 1713/1714)[800] did a *ḥalḳa-bend-i tevḥīd* day and night, both at Cami-i Kebir. There must be a fine line between endorsing and allowing these meetings. Terzioğlu, drawing on Rakım Mustafa's vita of Niyazi-i Mısri, narrates about a conflict that erupted when Mısri insisted on gathering at Cami-i Kebir for

796 Aslıhan Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety: Networks of Piety and the Public Sphere in Early Modern Ottoman Cities," 76-77.
797 Süleyman Uludağ, "Halka."
798 The list is too exhaustive to share here; suffice to say, Sufis were almost always in connection with the mosques of the neighborhood their lodges were located in. As we have discussed in Chapter 2, these mosques might have been *zāviye*-mosques, which could have continued their function to some extent. More on this later, when we will be examining the lodges.
799 Donuk, 364.
800 Ibid., 389

dhikr and this led to problems between him and the imam of the mosque. At one instant, the dhikr circle was joined by a Greek from Chios, and some of the circle (one of them was a former kadi of Erzurum) lashed and threw out the Greek.[801]

Not the gatherings he organized, but his subversive claims led aforementioned Açıkbaş Mahmud Efendi to his exile in Istanbul. According to a record from Bursa court, he tried to embezzle the inheritance of a girl, daughter of an artisan, and when he was denied, he gathered forty to fifty men, girded with swords, and occupied the pulpit and threatened everyone.[802] These sorts of deranged acts were not the rule, naturally. In peaceful ways, it was not rare to see Sufi shaykhs act as preachers or even imams at Cami-i Kebir.[803]

Besides, Cami-i Kebir witnessed public teachings. For instance, when Kürdi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1674) died, he was giving public lessons to students in various sciences at Cami-i Kebir (*ṭalebe-i ʻulūma fünūn-ı şettādan ders-i ʻāmm*).[804] Similarly, Piri Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d.1710) spent his last days publicly teaching at Cami-i Kebir (*taḳīr-i derse Cāmiʻ-i Kebīr'de ser-ḥalḳa-i zümre-i ṭālibīn*).[805] *Ders-i ʻāmm* as a post crystallized most probably in the late seventeenth century;[806] however, we have at least one person from our sources who bore the title *dersiʻām*, İbrahim Efendi (d. 1688/1689) who was also teaching at Cami-i Kebir.[807] These teachings were not confined to this Friday mosque. For instance, Muid Efendi (d. 1656) was actively teaching at Yıldırım mosque before his death (*dersḫ ̔ān-ı ʻāmme-i ṭalibīn*).[808]

[801] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)," 117.
[802] Kepecioğlu, *I*, 68-69.
[803] Donuk, 344, 412, 414, 415, 419, 420, et alibi; Baldırzade, 112, 253, 255, 258.
[804] Donuk, 595.
[805] Ibid., 638.
[806] For a brief summary see Mehmet İpşirli, "Dersiâm."
[807] Donuk, 661.
[808] Ibid., 424.

There were also those who frequented the mosque in many different fashions. Some were famous for always coming to Cami-i Kebir for certain prayer times.[809] One of those, Ali Efendi (d. 1641/1642), was so famous for always arriving at the mosque exactly on prayer time that everyone called him the Walking Clock (*Ayaḳlı Sā'at*).[810] Veli Dede (d. 1602), too, attended *ẓuhr* and *'aṣr* prayers every day at Cami-i Kebir, and afterwards, interpreted the dreams of the congregation.[811] Even Baldırzade was among those who got their dreams interpreted by him.[812] Some others, on the other hand, almost settled in the mosque. For instance, Süleyman Efendi (d. 1634) spent most of his life in front of a column by the fountain in Cami-i Kebir.[813] He held his *meclis* (pl. *mecālis*) there.[814] İsmail Efendi (d. 1701/1702) passed forty to fifty years by the pulpit of the mosque.[815] The same location was occupied by Kara Bey (d. 1668), too, who claimed that two sultans could not fit in one country, upon Sultan Murad IV's visit to Bursa.[816]

The most interesting event narrated in our sources that took place in Cami-i Kebir was a publicly held court case. The imam of Muradiye mosque and the preacher at Emir Sultan mosque, Abdullah Efendi (b. 1651), had a few ongoing lawsuits with a shaykh of Semerkandiyye, Kösec Ömerzade Hasan Efendi (d. 1607/1608). When they engaged in a war of words, a professor at Muradiye madrasa intervened to end their cases in a public tribunal that would be held at Cami-i Kebir in the presence of ulema and notables of the city. In the end, the court ruled against Hasan Efendi and precluded him from preaching publicly.[817]

[809] Baldırzade, 149; Donuk, 459.
[810] Baldırzade, 211; Donuk, 660:
[811] Donuk, 458-459.
[812] Baldırzade, 267.
[813] Donuk, 384.
[814] Baldırzade, 176.
[815] Donuk, 333.
[816] Ibid., 454.
[817] Baldırzade, 150; Donuk, 400, 659.

In *vefeyātnāme*s, many stories are told in a way that reflects the miraculous deeds of those whose biographies are included. One such story involves the Cami-i Kebir. In this story about shaykh Hayreddin Efendi (d. 1608) which was told by the imam of the neighborhood where Hayreddin's lodge was situated, Hayreddin Efendi followed the congregation to the Cami-i Kebir, which carried his own coffin, walking by his stick as if he was still alive.[818]

One of the most central spaces we have in our sources is the lodges. As the main center for many Sufi orders operating in Bursa, lodges were referenced in our texts a great number of times. We have detected twenty-five lodges in *vefeyātnāme*s (Table 6). Of course, we know that there were many others during the seventeenth century. Several of them, moreover, were built in our period. For instance, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1706) built his own lodge with a mosque in Enarlı neighborhood.[819]

Mehmed Efendi's building activities were no exception as many other Sufis were involved in building lodges and mosques, and *vefeyātnāme*s supply us with generous information on construction efforts. Born in Karaman, Ahmed Efendi (d. 1620/1621) entered the Mevlevi path and went to Baghdad to practice teaching and reciting the *Mesnevī.* Upon completing his education, he returned to Konya.[820] In Konya, the shaykh of the Mevlevi lodge, Ebubekir Çelebi Efendi said that the old capital Bursa was a city of saints, and unfortunately, there was not a single lodge of their path and offered to send him to Bursa.[821] Thus, he built a lodge in Pınarbaşı on a piece of land which he saw in his dream.[822] A few decades later, Evliya Çelebi

[818] Baldırzade, 155; Donuk, 328.
[819] No. 18 in Figure 10.
[820] Ibid., 335-336; Baldırzade, 113-114.
[821] Mehmed Şemseddin, 495: "Mevlānā, dārü's-salṭanati'l-ḳadime Burusa burc-ı evliyā dimekle müştehir bir şehr-i dil-ārādır. Ma'a't-te'essüf, ṭarīḳatımıza mensūb bir tekye yoḳdur. Sizi ol cānibe gönderelim."
[822] Ibid., 496 (No. 6 in Fig 8).

commented on this edifice, noting that it was the grandest of all lodges in Bursa with seventy or eighty rooms and plenty of gardens.[823] Hasan Basri Öcalan brings forward a document from court records showing that there might have been a previous Mevlevi lodge in the city. Ahmed I allocated one hundred thousand *akçe*s for the improvement of a then-deserted building to be reused as a Mevlevi lodge.[824] Another Sufi born in Karaman, Eyyub Efendi (d. 1620/1621), after renouncing the *ʿilmiyye* career, served under Üsküdari Mahmud (Hüdayi) Efendi and was sent to Bursa as a shaykh at his lodge in Setbaşı neighborhood. After a while, he decided to build an adjacent mosque to the lodge.[825] A Bursa-born shaykh, Kösec Ömerzade Hasan Efendi (d. 1607/1608) entered the Semerkandi path after giving up a career in *ʿilmiyye*. With his master İshak Efendi's permission he moved to İncirli neighborhood. According to İsmail Beliğ, he built the lodge and the mosque,[826] but Baldırzade notes that he built the mosque only when he was settled in the lodge.[827] When Muhyiddin Efendi (d. 1680) was a disciple of Ali Efendi in Makri, now Greece, he was sent to Bursa and built a lodge and a mosque in Üçkozlar neighborhood.[828] A most interesting case revolves around the conversion of a ruined bathhouse into a lodge. Ahmed Efendi (d. 1641/1642) bought the ruined Ali Paşa hammam from the waqf it belonged to in 1628, and repaired and reopened it as his lodge after a year. Apparently, there was an opening ceremony, which was attended by shaykhs and ulema alike, including the kadi of Bursa at the time.[829]

[823] Evliya Çelebi, *II. Kitap*, 14.
[824] Öcalan, 136; Kepecioğlu, *III*, 190-191, also asserts that there had been an active Mevlevi lodge in Bursa around 1514.
[825] Donuk, 342; Baldırzade, 105-106.
[826] Donuk, 400.
[827] Baldırzade, 150.
[828] Donuk, 397-398. (No. 24 in Figure 10).
[829] Ibid., 357; Baldırzade, 115. (No. 8 in Figure 10).

Table 6. Lodges Mentioned in *Vefeyātnāme*s

# on the Map	Lodge	Neighborhood	Order
1	Emir Sultan	Emir Sultan	Halveti
2	Zeyniyye	Zeyniler	Zeyni
3	Bahri Dede	Muradiye	Halveti
4	Hamzabey	Hamzabey	-
5	Ahmed Paşa	Ahmed Paşa	Halveti
6	Mevlevihane	Pınarbaşı	Mevlevi
7	Yakub Efendi	Karaağaç	Halveti
8	Hamam Tekke	Ali Paşa	Kadiri
9	Ali Paşa/Kasım Subaşı	Ali Paşa	Zeyni/Halveti
10	Nasuhi	Alaeddin Bey/Filboz	Halveti
11	Hacı Sevinç	Hacı Sevinç	-
12	Mısri	Şeker Hoca	Halveti
13	İncirli	İncirli	Kadiri
14	Yoğurtlu	Kapluca	Nakşibendi
15	Abdal Mehmed	Abdal Mehmed	Kadiri
16	Temenye	Molla Arab	Semerkandi
17	Üftade	Molla Fenari	Celveti
18	Enarlı	Enarlı	Halveti
19	Eyyub Efendi	Umurbey	Celveti
20	Kasaplar	Ali Paşa	Kadiri
21	Ali-i Mest	Acem Reis	Gülşeni
22	Zaferanlık	Reyhan Paşa	Halveti
23	Mir-i Büdela	Koca Naib	Halveti
24	Üçkozlar	Molla Fenari/Üçkozlar	Halveti
25	Pars Bey	Şehreküstü	Nakşibendi

The following map offers a visualization of *vefeyātnāme*s' landscape of Sufi spaces over the cityscape (Figure 10). Although this is, by no means, an exhaustive list of Bursa lodges and the map only gives place to those mentioned in *vefeyātnāme*s, it is still striking that there is only one lodge inside the citadel. There

could be various reasons for this but the most plausible is that Sufis came after the conquest of Bursa and contributed to the urban development, by constructing their lodges in the newly built and populated neighborhoods. The citadel was high in non-Muslim population although they were banished later, and it was one of the centers of attention for the state's efforts to Ottomanize the city. Thus, Sufis might have wanted to diffuse into the city in line with growing population and emerging neighborhoods.

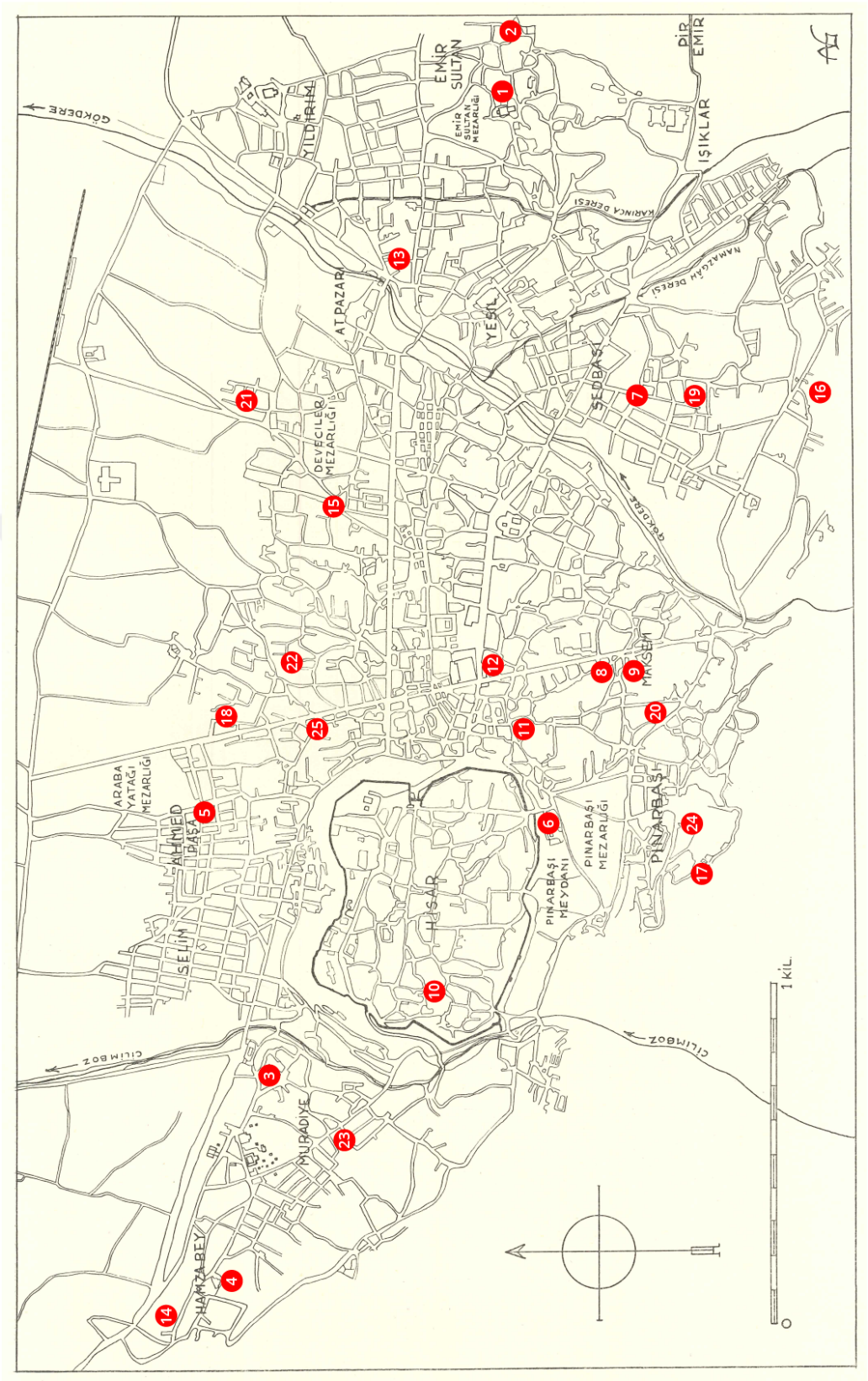

Figure 10. Bursa lodges mentioned in *vefeyātnāme*s over city map (Base map by Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, 9)

In addition to the internal dynamics of *ʿilmiyye,*[830] we are provided with intensive information about madrasas (not only but especially Bursa madrasas), their location, their conditions, their position in the educational hierarchy, and their prestige. As the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, Bursa was an important city in the learned hierarchy and as we have noted in Chapter 3, there were many educational institutions,[831] thanks to not only sultanic waqfs but also the waqfs endowed by Bursans. There are differing accounts as to how many madrasas were there in Bursa as we have discussed in Chapter 3. In our *vefeyātnāme*s, I was able to identify 34 active madrasas in our period. This, however, is far from reflecting the actual number. This is mainly because I have derived this number from the appointments of three hundred people who were most probably the most influential among many others. Still, as our scope in this chapter is limited to our *vefeyātnāme* population, I present here a list of madrasas mentioned in the *vefeyātnāme*s (Table 7), and a corresponding map providing a spatial distribution (Figure 11).

[830] See subchapter 5.4.
[831] Besides madrasas, there were also *ṣıbyān mektebs*. See, Mefail Hızlı, *Osmanlı klasik döneminde ilköğretim ve Bursa sıbyan mektepleri.*

Table 7. Madrasas Mentioned in *Vefeyātnāme*s

# on the Map	Madrasa	Alternative Names	Neighborhood
1	Bayezid Paşa		Bayezid Paşa
2	Cezeri Kasım Paşa	Emir Sultan; Hz. Emir	Emir Sultan
3	Çağalzade Sinan Paşa		Hisar
4	Çendik	Süle Paşa	Nalbantoğlu
5	Erzincani	Hüseyin Erzincani	Molla Gürani
6	Esediye		Cami-i Kebir
7	Gökdere	Kaygan	Kaygan
8	Hamza Bey		Hamzabey
9	Hançeriye	Hançerli Sultan	Musa Baba
10	Hüdavendigar	Kapluca	Kapluca
11	Hüseyin Çelebi	Eyne Bey	İnebey
12	İsa Bey	Eski Saray	Kuruçeşme
13	İvaz Paşa	İmadiye	Cami-i Kebir
14	Kadri Efendi	Kadriyye	Musa Baba
15	Kösec Ali Paşa		Ali Paşa
-	Köseler		Yeşil?
16	Lala Şahin	Arabiye	Veled-i Yanic
17	Leyszade	Haraççıoğlu	Kavaklı
18	Manastır		Hisar
-	Molla Cedid		-
19	Molla Fenari		Pınarbaşı
20	Molla Hüsrev		Zeyniler
21	Molla Yegan		Yıldırım
22	Muradiye		Muradiye
23	Müftü Ahmed Paşa		Cami-i Kebir
24	Peripeyker	Cafer Çelebi	Hisar
25	Sarrafiye		Cami-i Kebir
26	Sultan Orhan		Cami-i Kebir
-	Şücaiye		-
27	Vaiziye	Mahkeme	Cami-i Kebir
28	Veled-i Abdurrahman		Şehreküstü
29	Veliyüddinzade Ahmed	Geyikli	Muradiye
30	Yeşil	Bursa Sultaniyesi	Yeşil
31	Yıldırım		Yıldırım

In *Güldeste*, we come across just a single anecdote about madrasas, other mentions being simple remarks when indicating the appointment details of the members of the *'ilmiyye*. In this story narrated by İsmail Beliğ as told to him by Sirkezade İbrahim Efendi (d. 1681/1682), İbrahim Efendi was a student and met one night a fellow student Tavil Şeyhi Çelebi for a conversation at the Sultan Orhan madrasa. Then, İbrahim Efendi suggests that they should spend the whole night praying to God for their future. Just before the morning, they talk about what they asked from God. They find out that while İbrahim Efendi asked for a post from Sultan Orhan madrasa, Tavil Çelebi asked for a good livelihood and mastery over language (*mālik-i ṭalāḳat-ı lisān*). Later, İbrahim Efendi was appointed to Sultan Orhan as a *müderris*, and Tavil Şeyhi Çelebi was included in Shaykh al-Islam Bahayi Efendi's entourage.[832]

[832] Donuk, 605-606.

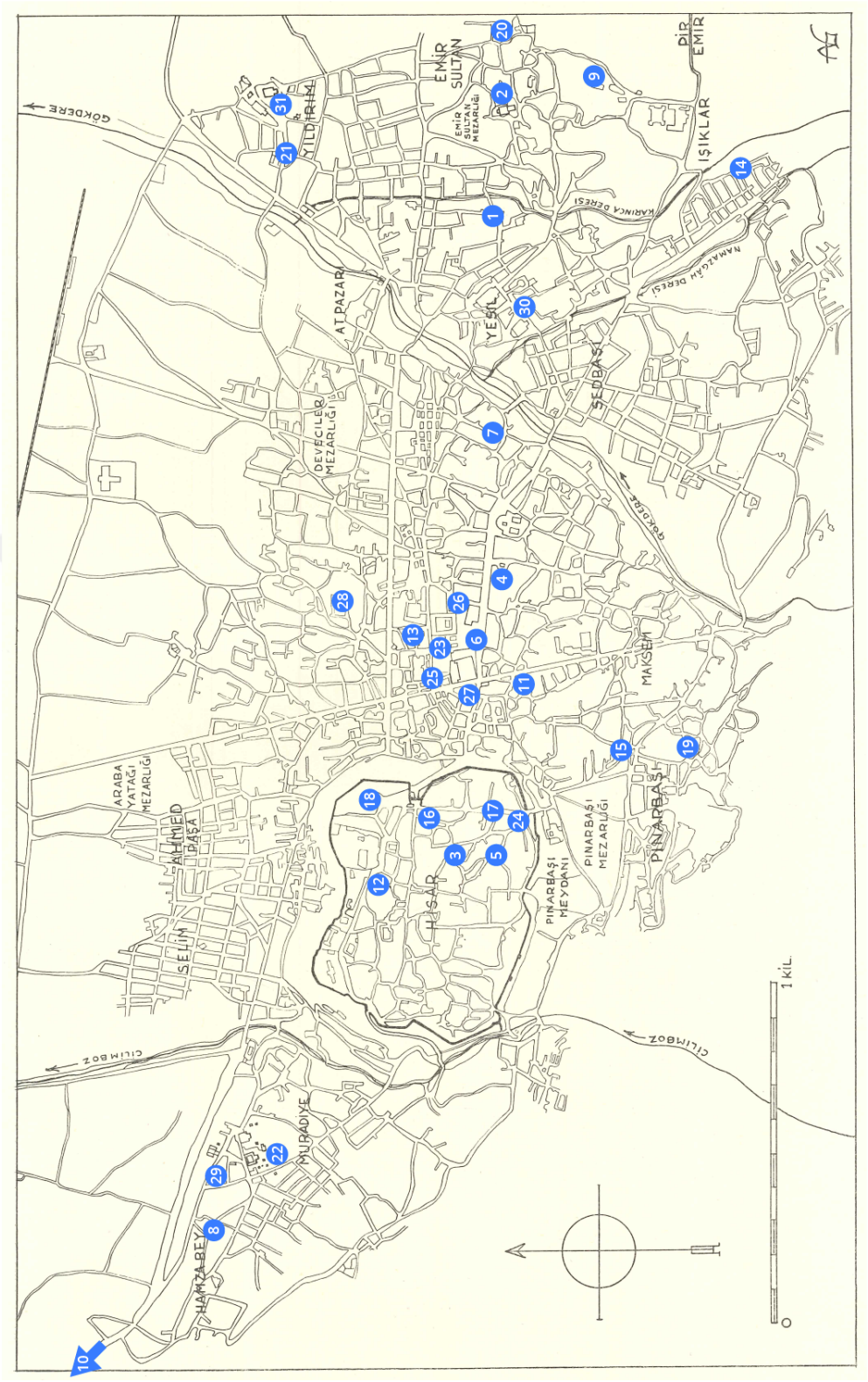

Figure 11. Bursa madrasas mentioned in *vefeyātnāme*s over city map (Base map by Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, 9)

In *vefeyātnāme*s, we can find information about madrasa and *muʿallimḫāne* construction. In Chapter 3, when we discussed the relationship between education and waqfs, we touched upon the construction of schools, as well. Still, it is useful here to comment on school construction efforts through the lens of *vefeyātnāme* literature. The only mention of the construction of a madrasa was in the biography of Şeyh Mehmed Efendi (d. 1630/1631), a Halveti shaykh. He built a madrasa in the garden of the mosque his father had built in Muradiye. We have no idea about the name, condition of this madrasa, and its position in the hierarchy.[833] There are two other mentions for *muʿallimḫāne.* The gardens of *muʿallimḫāne*s, apparently, served as a *ḥażīre,* a burial ground, and through this way, we have information about them in our sources. For example, Abdullah Çelebi was buried in the garden of his father's (Zeyni Çelebi or Zeyniler) *muʿallimḫāne*.[834] We know that Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi, also, constructed a *muʿallimḫāne* in the vicinity of Cami-i Kebir.[835] The most interesting narrative about school construction efforts is in Baldırzade's biography of Abdülhadi Çelebi (d. 1637/1638), who was appointed to Hamza Bey madrasa as a *müderris*.[836] Baldırzade claims that Hamza Paşa who was a descendent of the endower, demolished the madrasa stating it was not in the endowment deed. According to the author again, Hamza Paşa was famous for his oppression and injustices, as well as destroying Muslim waqfs. The identity of this Hamza Paşa is not clear. However, he must have been a descendant of his namesake, Hamza Bey, who was the envoy of Mehmed II to Vlad III. After the madrasa was demolished, the aforementioned Abdülhadi Çelebi employed the help and support of imperial architects and trustees of the waqf to rebuild it. Although outside our time

[833] Ibid., 335; Baldırzade, 178.
[834] Donuk, 553; Baldırzade, 209.
[835] Donuk, 543.
[836] Baldırzade, 213.

period, a construction effort by a merchant from the late sixteenth century could be cited here. The founder of Hüseyin Erzincani madrasa, Seyyid Hüseyin (d. 1595) was a rich merchant who flourished in Bursa after moving to the city during Süleyman I's reign. Having lived within the citadel, he had built a madrasa, a *ṣıbyān mekteb*, a masjid, and a tomb for himself. His wealth had allowed him to own property in Istanbul which he also endowed to provide income for his waqfs in Bursa.[837]

Surprisingly, we do not encounter many mentions of commercial areas. Surely, the bazaar and hans were the most important places for daily interaction. Thankfully, of the few references to commercial areas in the *vefeyātnāme*s, a few are quite interesting. From one we learn that a certain Ali Efendi (d. 1641/1642) hated interacting with people, and yet, interestingly, acted as the imam for the community of Mahmud Paşa *ḫān*.[838] Another concerns Shaykh İsmail (d. 1701/1702), who had originally come from Revan with his family, and who before joining the Sufi path, made and sold skullcaps in some unspecified shop.[839] Similarly, Hilmi Mehmed Efendi (d.1717) was a seller of waistcloth,[840] while Ali Efendi (d. 1660) was selling knives,[841] before they made a career in professorship. Furthermore, the poet Resim Efendi spent many days as a maker of precious stones at a jeweler's shop. Again, the location is unknown.[842]

The mentions of commercial areas are not always linked to commercial or artisanal activity. We gather that these areas were also meeting (or sometimes, living) places for Sufis - where they interacted with tradesmen and other people who visited bazaars. Dervish Mustafa (d. 1695/1696) passed twenty years of his life

[837] Saadet Maydaer, "Seyyid Hüseyin Erzincanî Vakfı," 289.
[838] Donuk, 660; Baldırzade, 211.
[839] Donuk, 333.
[840] Ibid., 650.
[841] Ibid., 587.
[842] Ibid., 689.

outside the *bezzāzistān* near Pirinç han, without talking to, or accepting anything from anyone.[843] Eskici Mehmed Dede (d. 1618/1619), on the other hand, was a cotton weaver at Bursa *bezzāzistān*. He was known for his miraculous deed at one of the commercial areas, Yenihan. One merchant saw that his rice at the warehouse was infested with rice weevil. He did not know what to do, and contemplating his problem, he saw Mehmed Dede sitting in front of the han. He asked the merchant to send him some rice and get closer to his path. The merchant quickly wanted to give Mehmed Dede some rice and when he opened the warehouse, he saw that the weevil had gone.[844] Şımti Ali Dede (d. 1669/1670) warned a group of people against their impudent behavior and speech when one of them, a janissary, scolded Ali Dede in the middle of the bazaar. Ali Dede responded by saying "whatever you do, you only do it to yourself." Later, it was informed that after reaching his home, the janissary died.[845]

Unlike Dervish Mustafa, there were a few Sufis who held their *meclis* at their workplace. One location mentioned was Gelincik souk, just north of the covered market of Bursa, where Shaykh Hasan (d. 1601/1602) was sewing coats. He was at the same time a shaykh of Bayramiyye. At his shop, he was both a follower of the path and the teacher of a group of disciples.[846] Bezcizade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1617) did not follow the path of the Sufi or *'ilmiyye*, although he had started his education. He decided to be an artisan. He was keen on talking, eating, and drinking; and was known for his frank and intimate behavior towards friends and strangers alike.[847]

[843] Ibid., 456.
[844] Ibid., 445-446; Baldırzade, 109.
[845] Donuk, 458.
[846] Ibid., 382; Baldırzade, 149.
[847] Donuk, 657; Baldırzade, 259.

Meclis, as expected, comes up here and there in our sources, although not frequently. Unlike Mehmed Efendi's *meclis* of drinking and chatting, these could also be religious meetings, or gatherings of preaching. For instance, preacher Ahmed Efendi was so famous that when he preached in a mosque, everybody lined up to kiss his hands. Likewise, his house was a meeting place both for Sufi shaykhs and esteemed members of the ulema, and his *mecālis* at home were full of the rarest pleasantries.[848] Apparently, some shaykhs were also invited from other towns. People of Mudanya, thinking their town was full of sin, invited Miskali Efendi (d. 1608/1609) for meetings where he directed them towards the right path.[849] İbrahim Efendi (d. 1710/1711), on the other hand, was famous for attending many *mecālis* with many ulema.[850] There were also mentions of *mecālis* of certain people, suggesting, perhaps in the vein of a threshold (*āstāne*), these were regularly held gatherings at the houses of certain personages.[851] In the religious gatherings, there was not only preaching and discussions of religious literature, but also music. In one interesting case, İbrahim Efendi (d. 1667), the shaykh of Emir Sultan lodge, went to an excursion spot to participate in a musical gathering. However, the music frightened the horse he was riding, and he fell and later, succumbed to his injuries.[852]

The same places might have been used for religious and "profane" gatherings.[853] One European account claims that Vani Efendi preached against "*publick Tavernes and ale-houses*" for years in Bursa yet the wine was still drunk and even more than before as a result of bribery.[854] In the vefeyatnames, there is no

[848] Baldırzade, 112-113; Donuk, 412-413.
[849] Baldırzade, 249.
[850] Donuk, 637.
[851] Ibid., 396, 646, 752.
[852] Ibid., 295.
[853] Helen Pfeifer, "Encounter after the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in 16th-Century Ottoman Damascus," conveys that the sources of sixteenth century reflects predominantly elite gatherings.
[854] James Theodore Bent, *Early voyages and travels in the Levant*, 269.

mention of Vani Efendi preaching in Bursa. Indeed, it is implausible that Vani would have preached on a regular basis in Bursa, considering that he was preacher at Yeni Cami in Istanbul and royal tutor to Mehmed IV. On the other hand, as we will be discussing in subchapter 4.4, Vani Efendi had close ties with the city via his many sons and sons-in-law, who obtained professorships in the city. Plus, the family was granted a large estate in the vicinity of Kestel and also acquired commercial property in the city itself. Members of the family went regularly to the Bursa kadi court to take care of their properties, as Derin Terzioğlu shows.[855]

In any case, the aforementioned Mehmed Efendi's case was definitely not an exception. Mecnun Osman Efendi (d.1625/1626) was known as a fun person in *mecālis* and this fun was almost in a slapstick fashion.[856] Vadi Çelebi (d. 1649/1650) was virtually like a comedian, and both Beliğ and Baldırzade commented that his jokes and pleasantries would have made him even more famous than Nasreddin Hodja if they had been compiled.[857] Kemalzade Mehmed (d. 1640/1641), on the other hand, was a famous host of *mecālis* as it was his custom to throw a banquet at his home for all the notables of the city, including officials.[858]

Another major spot was the bathhouses and spas. As we have discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, Bursa was rich in water sources. There are a few accounts of bathhouses or spas, and none of the *vefeyātnāme*s gives a location or even a name. However, from these distinct accounts, we understand that bathhouses were also places of gathering, and spots of socialization, where people came together to share music and poetry.[859]

[855] Derin Terzioğlu, "Niyazi-i Mısri," 130.
[856] Donuk, 531; Baldırzade, 211.
[857] Donuk, 739; Baldırzade, 267.
[858] Donuk, 531; Baldırzade, 262.
[859] Donuk, 453, 692, 741, 747; Baldırzade, 132.

Again, as we have mentioned in Chapter 2, Bursa had many coffeehouses. Yet, the only mention of a coffeehouse in our texts was related to the notorious story of Hayli Bey (d. 1630/1631) who killed a storyteller in a Bursa coffeehouse after a dispute over a story.[860] There is one interesting remark as to whether coffee should be banned or not. İsmail Beliğ, when telling the history of the Celveti order, narrates a story about Üftade Efendi's grandson Üftadezade İbrahim Efendi (d. 1678/1679), where he drinks coffee. What is interesting is that Beliğ added a pro-coffee couplet in Arabic within this narration, saying that "crude devout, you have no right to ban coffee, as one cannot be an enemy of something one does not know."[861]

Other substances were also mentioned. Tobacco, for instance, was also a controversial substance. Only one person was referred as addicted to tobacco,[862] and it was by Baldırzade only. Yet, we know that there were others. Most interestingly, Üftade Efendi's son Üftadezade İbrahim was criticized by Niyazi-i Mısri for smoking.[863] However, no mention of his habit was made by the *vefeyātnāme* authors. It is possible that Beliğ would not want to include this into the biography of someone with whom he had close ties. Therefore, he did not make any mentions at all about tobacco addiction. Instead, he gives an example of someone who hated tobacco so that he bought and broke to pieces all the pipes whenever he saw them.[864]

As we can see, *vefeyātnāme*s offer a multitude of anecdotes that would reveal the daily life of seventeenth-century Bursa. Although mainly focused on shaykhs and the ulema, there are still pieces of information about the everyday life around the market, bathhouses, and naturally, mosques, lodges, and schools. While they are not

[860] Donuk, 682.
[861] Ibid., 324.
[862] Baldırzade, 259.
[863] Terzioğlu, "Niyazi-i Mısri," 129.
[864] Kepecioğlu, BK, II, 160; Donuk, 422-423.

spatially organized and are at times laconic about spatial organization, *vefeyātnāme*s still aid us in our understanding of contemporary urban development and their authors' perceptions of urban space and its actors.

4.3 Ways of the Sufi

Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s give insight to the familial, intellectual, social, and power relations between Bursans. As Bursa had been an important node of saints as all the authors of *vefeyātnāme*s noted, Sufism and everything related to orders, their practices, and their operation found a place in them. Moreover, two of the *vefeyātnāme*s we are dealing in the scope of this dissertation, *Vefeyātnāme* or *Menakıb-ı Zeyniye* (before 1630) by Mehmed Sa'di and *Rical-i Zeyniyye* (before 1666) by Davudzade Mehmed, are strictly related to one order, that of Zeyniyye, in which they detail those who passed away and were buried in the graveyard of the Zeyniyye lodge. The others, therefore, were no exception. Both İsmail Beliğ and Baldırzade gave an important place for Sufi shaykhs and their impact on the city. What's more, İsmail Beliğ furthered this to open two parentheses about two orders, namely Celvetiyye and Mevleviyye, to provide the readers with basic information and history about them. Baldırzade, on the other hand, included three important religious personages who had by no means a relationship with Bursa, but later on, there were lodges opened in the city in their names.

As we have discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the criteria for inclusion in the *vefeyātnāme* differed from text to text. Aslıhan Gürbüzel argues that membership in Baldırzade's community (among others in contemporary texts) was centered on piety. Although himself a member of the higher echelons of *'ilmiye,* Baldırzade praises, according to Gürbüzel, those who left their career in the ranks of

ulema for preaching posts. [865] It is true that Beliğ is far more interested than Baldırzade in the operations of the learned hierarchy and every step in the career paths of Bursan ulema. It is striking that Beliğ as a Sufi was far more interested in state appointed career paths than a former kadi. Yet, does this mean that İsmail Beliğ was uncritical of the learned hierarchy whereas Baldırzade was trying to present "a moral and social authority that was equivalent, and at times superior, to the authority of the official scholarly bureaucracy?"[866] Or was İsmail Beliğ trying to grasp a different sort of Bursan identity vis-à-vis Baldırzade for which he was criticized by at least one *vefeyātnāme* author?[867] We will be returning to these questions; for now, let us turn to how the *vefeyātnāme* authors approached the Sufi population in Bursa.

In this subchapter, we will be commenting on the diffusion of Sufi orders, the changing nature and possession of lodges, the lineages and nature of different Sufi orders in Bursa, and their impact on the city. Furthermore, we are going to try to comment on how authors of *vefeyātnāme*s chose to reflect the operation of the Sufi path in different orders and lodges, together with the Sufi way of living including the economic, social, political relations, and when possible, their art.

In Bursa, especially in the seventeenth century, we witness many orders of the Sufi path with many physical nodes. At least eleven orders were active in Bursa during the 1600s: Bayramiyye, Bektaşiyye, Celvetiyye, Gülşeniyye, Halvetiyye, Kadiriyye, Kazeruniyye, Mevleviyye, Nakşibendiyye, Semerkandiyye, and Zeyniyye. These orders were naturally based on their lodges; however, Sufi life was not confined to the lodges. We have commented on the spatiality presented in the *vefeyātnāme*s in the previous subchapter. As sources reflecting the important deeds,

[865] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety," 85-87.
[866] Ibid., 81.
[867] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri*, 97.

exchanges, and to some extent daily lives of the Bursans of higher esteem, *vefeyātnāme*s did not fail to demonstrate the dynamics of Sufi life in all its aspects. This includes the relationship between Sufis, the operation of Sufi orders and lodges, the everyday activities of Sufis, alongside their pursuits in arts and literature - which, essentially, constituted a major part of the cultural milieu of Bursa in the seventeenth century. Thus, Sufi life reflected in the *vefeyātnāme*s were not only telling of Sufism, but also of daily life of Bursa beyond its mystical connotations. In this subchapter, therefore, we will be concerned with how *vefeyātnāme* authors approached the political matters of Sufi lodges, including paths leading to becoming a shaykh, the economic relations, and Sufis' activities in poetry, music, and painting.

First of all, *vefeyātnāme*s give an encompassing account of politics of Sufi orders and lodges in Bursa. These would include the succession patterns, the career shifts, the power struggles, the connections of Bursa with other cities, the strategies and tactics employed to overcome a series of problems, and the everyday life relations of Sufis, such as their involvement in commerce or other pursuits.

One of the major problems tackled in our texts was how, in fact, Sufi lineage passed from one shaykh to the other. *Vefeyātnāme*s highlight two distinct fashions in which this process evolved. The first was the familial relations in which, most of the time, either a son or a son-in-law took over the title after the shaykh passed away. This could, however, be bent to cover distant relatives, too. One of the most important examples for this was the title of *ḫalīfe*, the successor, to Emir Sultan. Emir Sultan (d. 1429?) was a Sufi from Bukhara, who had come to Bursa and after having risen to prominence, married Sultan Bayezid I's daughter, Hundi Hatun.[868] She had also been a patron of his complex, which is still extant.[869] In the seventeenth

[868] Donuk, 271-272; Baldırzade, 73-87; Öcalan, 91-93.
[869] Baha Tanman, "Emîr Sultan Külliyesi."

century, there were six people who had the title of successor - from the tenth to the fifteenth. When the tenth successor Ali Efendi (d. 1611/1612), whose father had been the ninth successor,[870] died, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1649) who had married Ali Efendi's daughter, became the eleventh successor. According to Mehmed Efendi, this had been the will of his father-in-law.[871] Yet, there was an ensuing discussion as to who deserved the title more. Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1617) joined the discussion and laid claim to the title. Abdurrahman Efendi was born in Umur Bey neighborhood of Bursa. He attended the household of Karaçelebizade Hüsam Efendi and followed a career path in *ʿilmiyye.*[872] Later, he abandoned this pursuit to join the Sufi path and wanted to become the next successor to Emir Sultan. The conflict as to who would succeed Ali Efendi turned into a legal battle. After many *berāt*s and court rulings, it was first decided that the two men would act as *ẖalīfe* during alternating weeks. Yet, later on, Mehmed Efendi's claim of the will was falsified by witnesses who testified that Mehmed was not there when Ali died.[873] Fortunately for Mehmed, Abdurrahman died after pilgrimage in 1617 and Mehmed became the sole *ẖalīfe.* When he died more than thirty years later, his son Mustafa Efendi (d. 1649) took his place; yet, he too died only two and a half months later.[874] Actually, there is no indication in our sources that this title was traditionally handed down from father to son. However, it seems that it was the *de facto* rule. It was noted that after Mustafa Efendi, his son Mehmed Salih was to take his place but since he was underage, a proxy (*ḳā'im-maḳām*), Selami Şeyh Ali Efendi was appointed.

[870] Donuk, 291; Baldırzade, 195.
[871] Öcalan, 95.
[872] Baldırzade, 197.
[873] Öcalan, 95.
[874] Baldırzade, 261-262; Donuk, 294.

Appointing a proxy seems not to have been confined to the Emir Sultan lodge. Ahmed Efendi (d. 1666) filled the position of the shaykh of Ahmed Paşa lodge of Halvetiyye order, when the incumbent shaykh died unexpectedly and he was to be replaced by his son who happened to be underage at the time.[875] The choice of a proxy was not random, either. Ahmed Efendi had been a long-time disciple of the last shaykh Musli Çelebi. Furthermore, the aforementioned Selami Ali Efendi was the third successor to Mahmud Hüdayi Efendi, and his teacher was also the successor to Üftade Efendi el-Bayrami. Apparently, Selami Ali Efendi occupied this position for a long time without any problems. Yet, when Mehmed Salih came of age, he was found to be unfit for this position and İshak b. Abdülaziz Efendi was chosen as the successor. İshak b. Abdullah was also not a random choice for he was (i) the scribe of the Emir Sultan waqf, and (ii) a relative to Emir Sultan.[876] Yet, why Selami Ali Efendi lost the position eludes us. He might have died or decided to retire.

A similar pattern could be observed in the Zeyniyye order, too. Zeyniyye order was brought to Bursa by Abdullatif-i Kudsi, who also died there. He founded the Zeyniyye lodge which was very active during the seventeenth century as well.[877] Two texts which qualify as Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s, including the first known one, are about those who were buried in Zeyniyye lodge's graveyard. Although both texts were written in the seventeenth century, only *Rical-i Zeyniyye* gave place to three people who lived in the said century, placing the others mostly out of our scope.

In the case of the Zeyniyye order, we are able to witness the second criterion that was taken into consideration in passing down the lineage: loyalty. Mehmed Efendi b. Abdullah (d. 1609/1610)[878] who was the eleventh successor of Abdullatif

[875] Donuk, 330-331.
[876] Ibid., 296.
[877] Ibid., 298-300.
[878] Baldırzade, 239-240; Donuk, 307; Tek, 220.

Kudsi, and whose father was the tenth, chose another Mehmed Efendi (d. 1630) as his successor for he was initiated by the former and followed the former in the order.[879] Although no source mentions the name of his father, it is highly likely that this Mehmed Efendi was Mehmed b. Sadi, the author of the first *vefeyātnāme Menakıb-ı Zeyniyye*. We know that he was the shaykh of the lodge at the time of writing.[880] When the twelfth successor Mehmed Efendi died, his son, Kemal Efendi (d. 1665),[881] took over the title. However, it seems that Kemal Efendi had not been a part of the order for he followed a different career path in his youth. He had his education from the learned son of the scribe of the sultanic waqfs, Davud Efendi, and pursued a career in judgeship. Yet, when his father died, he gave up this career to be the thirteenth successor to Abdullatif Kudsi. When he too died, his son Mehmed took over his place.[882]

There were many other examples of Sufis who chose to follow the Sufi path instead of a career in state positions, as in the case of Kemal Efendi above, or in commerce. A few decided not to continue their education in the *ʿilmiyye* path. For instance, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1616) was the son of a *mü'ez̲z̲in*. He got his education from Muradiye imam Muhyiddin Efendi, and the *müderris* of the same complex, Kepenekcizade; later, he became a disciple of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, the famous teacher of Murad III, then a *müderris* at Yıldırım madrasa. When Sadeddin Efendi left for Sahn madrasa in Istanbul, Mehmed Efendi stayed in Bursa and later, followed the Sufi path under Eşrefzade's grandson in İznik.[883] Similarly, Sunullah Efendi (d.

[879] Baldırzade, 181; Donuk, 307-308.
[880] Atlansoy, "Bursa Vefeyâtı," 48-49: Atlansoy says that he was the thirteenth shaykh, counting Abdullatif Kudsi as the first, as done in the last Bursa *vefeyātnāme* (Mehmed Şemseddin, *Bursa Dergâhları: Yâdigâr-ı Şemsi, I-II,* 365).
[881] Tek, 226.
[882] Donuk, 308.
[883] Baldırzade, 247-248; Donuk, 393-394.

1683/1684) who worked for the governor of Egypt, Ömer Paşa, and was the son of Habilzade, a member of ulema, left his career for being a disciple of Seyyid Osman Fazlı, known as Atpazarı Şeyhi, in İstanbul.[884] Again, Yahya Efendi (d. 1662), was a scribe in Egypt. Later, he became a disciple of Ahmed Efendi in Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi lodge in Istanbul. With the permission of Ahmed Efendi, he became the shaykh of Eyüb Efendi lodge in Bursa.[885] The founder of the Ahmed Paşa lodge of the Halvetiyye order, shaykh Hayreddin Efendi (d. 1608) did not even wait to finish his studies at the Hüdavendigar madrasa,[886] and the Nakşibendi shaykh of Alaeddin Bey lodge, Ali Efendi (d. 1630/1631) stopped following the lectures of Dokuz Mehmed Efendi[887] to join the Sufi path. Seyyid Mehmed Efendi b. Hac Sinan (d. 1630/1631), on the other hand, finished his education in his father's madrasa in Muradiye before becoming a disciple of the said Hayreddin.[888] On the other hand, Hüsameddin (or Husam) Efendi (d. 1632/1633) left his career as a madrasa professor upon meeting Mehmed Efendi of the Semerkandiyye order.[889]

As we can see, both authors chose to share those who left their careers for Sufi path. As Gürbüzel argues, this seems especially interesting for Baldırzade; yet, for İsmail Beliğ, this was by no means extraordinary as he was a disciple of Celvetiyye which was founded by Mahmud Hüdayi. Mahmud Hüdayi (d. 1628), probably, has one of the most interesting stories of leaving a state career behind to join Sufi ranks. Alaeddin Halife (d. 1601/1602) was the imam of Ali Paşa mosque. During the judgeship of Nazırzade in Bursa, the aforementioned Mahmud Efendi was the deputy judge. When a case required a ruling of *fiḳh*, present Alaeddin Halife

[884] Donuk, 388.
[885] Ibid., 344-345.
[886] Ibid., 326; Baldırzade, 154.
[887] Donuk, 378; Baldırzade, 200.
[888] Donuk, 335; Baldırzade, 178.
[889] Donuk, 350; Baldırzade, 152.

objected the decision of Mahmud Efendi, and furthermore, scolded him. This, apparently, led to his dismay from *ʿilmiyye* and eventually, he left it completely to be the disciple of Üftade Efendi (d. 1580).[890]

There were also those who engaged in commerce before turning to Sufism. Ali Efendi (d. 1616), the second shaykh of Ahmed Paşa lodge and the son-in-law of the founder Hayreddin Efendi, was actually a cloth seller (*bezzāz*) before meeting the founding shaykh.[891] Ebubekir Efendi (d. 1666/1667) was the son of a wealthy silk weaver (*kālā-bāf*) from Karaağaç neighborhood. He became a disciple of Yakub Efendi when he came to Bursa from İstanbul. Suddenly, his father died, and he was left as the sole inheritor of the wealth which he would give to his shaykh.[892] Similarly, Seyyid Abdullatif (d. 1706) who would replace Ebubekir Efendi as the shaykh of Zağferanlık lodge was a dyer (*ṣabbāġ*) before becoming his disciple.[893]

Conversely, there were others who, although coming from families in the Sufi path, or already members of Sufi orders, followed a different route for their careers later on in their life. For instance, İsa Efendi of Bosnia (d. 1712/1713) was a member of Halvetiyye and left Bosnia for Bursa when Austrians invaded his hometown. Yet, when he came to Bursa, he left the Sufi path for a career as a preacher.[894] Ahmed Efendi (d. 1608) who received his education from his father, a shaykh of the Nakşibendiyye, became a preacher at Cami-i Kebir instead of following in his father's footsteps.[895] Similarly, Asımi Efendi (d. 1666), the son of Muhyiddin Efendi, a Nakşibendi shaykh of Geyve, who first became a *sipāhi* when he was young,

[890] Baldırzade, 204; Donuk, 556.
[891] Baldırzade, 200-201; Donuk, 328-329.
[892] Donuk, 374.
[893] Ibid., 377.
[894] Ibid., 429: "(…) meşāyiẖ-i ṭarīḳ-ı Ḫalvetiyye'den ma'dūd iken Nemçe kefesi istīlāsında medīne-i Burusa'ya nüzūl ve ol ṭarīkdan bi'l-külliye teneffür ü 'udūl idüp (…)"
[895] Ibid., 412; Baldırzade, 112.

received education under Hafızzade Efendi's household, and spent many years as a *ḳassām,* and lastly, became a scribe for the sultanic waqfs of Hazret-i Emir and Cami-i Kebir.[896] Seemingly, all these people chose to be involved in with posts that were paid by waqfs. Thus, it can be said that waqfs were not only in the making of a charitable public, but they also provided a larger frame for Sufis to connect to a broader network.[897] Of course, one did not have to denounce the Sufi path to have a post as a preacher in a waqf masjid. In the end, as we will see, all masjids established by Sufi sheikhs were waqf properties. The waqf acted as a means through which a shared identity—in this case, a Sufi identity—was strengthened and evolved into an autonomous social group focused on safeguarding and promoting its members' specific interests, thereby becoming a significant influence in the public sphere.[898] Therefore, through the relationship between Sufis and waqfs, members of the orders found a way to touch the wider public in the neighborhood and the city network. As we have noted in the previous subchapter, besides dhikr and other religious ceremonies, teaching of the disciples in their lodges, many Sufis were also active imams, preachers, or exhorters in mosques.[899] In addition, some were giving public lectures,[900] and in one example, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1640/1641) was a *muḥaddis* at *dārü'l-ḥadīs* in Yerkapı neighborhood.[901]

In addition, there were Sufis who continued their careers, mostly in commerce. For instance Ahmed Efendi (d. 1601) who did not change his clothing or appearance (*taġyīr-i ziyy ü sūret olmamaġla*) even after serving under a Nakşibendi

[896] Donuk, 711-712.
[897] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety," 68: the author makes this claim for "pious" in general.
[898] Hoexter, 128-129.
[899] Donuk, 345, 378, 379, 384, 386, et alibi; Baldırzade, 148, 162, 176, 200, 206, 271, et alibi.
[900] Donuk, 425: "(...) dersḫ̆ān-ı 'āmme-i ṭālibīn (...)"
[901] Ibid., 419; Baldırzade, 256.

shaykh, continued his work as a *başmacı.*[902] A Bayrami shaykh, Hasan was known to earn his bread as a robe-maker (*ḳabā-dūz*).[903] Ahmed Efendi (d. 1666) was also working as a seller of wooden calligraphy molds while heading the Ahmed Paşa lodge.[904] An interesting example outside the commercial realm here might be Sirkezade İbrahim Efendi (d. 1681) who followed one Şeyh Mehmed of Halvetiyye when he was a kadi in Alasonya (now, Elassona in Greece).[905] The number of examples we have in these sources are obviously limited. Sufi circles were followed by many other artisans, sellers, producers, craftsmen, and merchants. As *vefeyātnāme*s tended to select and include Sufi shaykhs, the number of others mentioned in these sources are naturally low. Only to give a prominent example, the person who funded Niyazi Mısri's lodge in Bursa was one of his disciples, a Persian merchant named Abdal Çelebi.[906]

Here, it is important to note that Bursa stands out as a meeting place for Sufis. Of course, by including various saints not completely related to Bursa or sections on certain orders into their *vefeyātnāme*s of Bursa, the authors tended to create a broader definition of being a Bursan focused on partaking in the cultural network of the city. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that almost everyone – other than a few exceptional figures such as Niyazi-i Mısri–mentioned in the *vefeyātnāme*s died and were buried in Bursa. Thus, *vefeyātnāme*s present a clear understanding of Bursa as a node of saints, which is definitely not a fictional conceptualization. Just as the example of Abdal Çelebi, or many saints who came to set up their lodge in Bursa

[902] Donuk, 379; Baldırzade, 148.
[903] Donuk, 382; Baldırzade, 149.
[904] Donuk, 330-331.
[905] Ibid., 605.
[906] Ibid., 403.

after it changed to Ottoman hands[907] showed, Bursa has been a significant node of Sufism even beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. One alluring case told by Paul Lucas, a French traveler who visited Bursa in 1705, narrates a meeting of Lucas and seven dervishes of different places (one was an Uzbek) who were wandering around the world and meeting in Bursa.[908]

In addition to Mevlevihane, there is at least one other case in *vefeyātnāme*s where a shaykh moves to Bursa to establish his own lodge in the seventeenth century (Figure 12). Alaeddin Ali Efendi (d. 1618) was a disciple of Akşehirli Nasuh Efendi in the said town. With his permission, he moved to Bursa and settled in the Alaeddin Bey neighborhood. Later, he established a new lodge near Filboz Mosque, with the name of his shaykh: Nasuhi lodge.[909] He was followed to Bursa by Akşehirli Nasuh Efendi's son Mehmed Efendi (d. 1630/1631) who would replace Alaeddin Ali after his death.[910] Akşehirli Nasuh Efendi's grandson and Mehmed Efendi's son, the other Nasuh Efendi (d.1686/1687) got married to Alaeddin Ali's daughter and became his son-in-law. Expectedly, after his father's death, he became the shaykh of Nasuhi lodge.[911]

[907] Ibid., 429-460: Beliğ clearly states that he assigned this chapter for *mecz̲ūb*s and *abdāl*s who came to Bursa from Bukhara, after the Ottoman conquest of Bursa.
[908] Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, *Second Volume*, 99-103.
[909] Ibid., 386-387; Baldırzade, 193; Mehmed Şemseddin, 551.
[910] Donuk, 387; Baldırzade, 251.
[911] Donuk, 387-388.

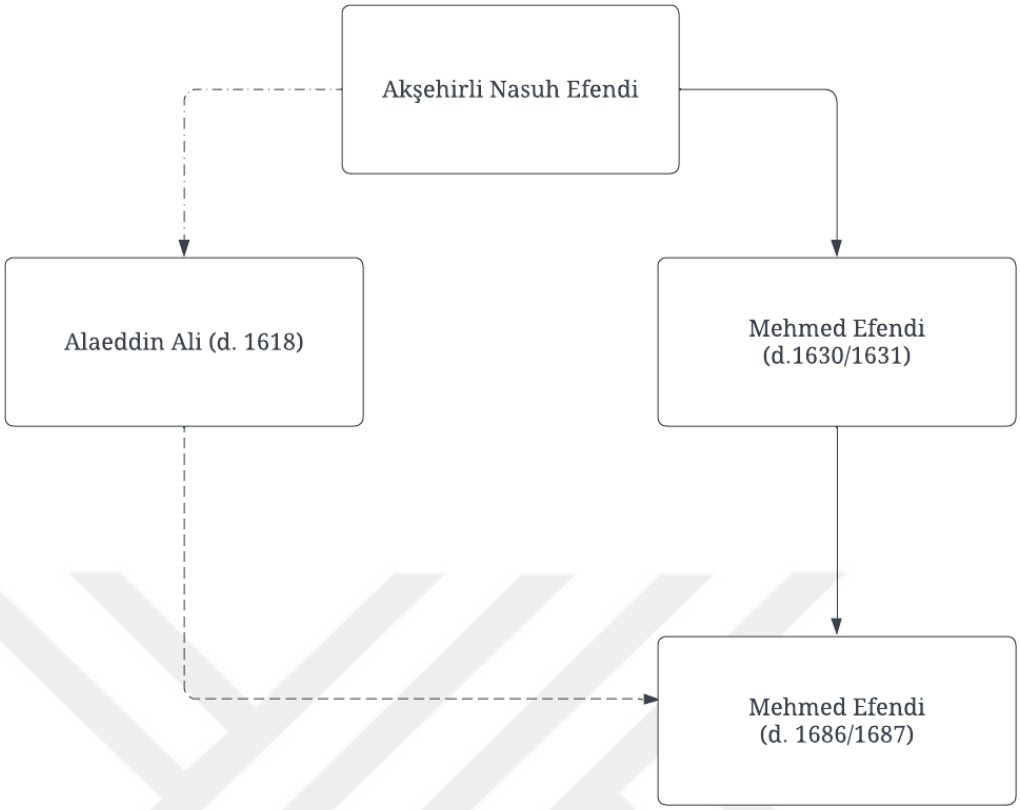

Figure 12. Nasuhi lodge succession diagram

Through *vefeyātnāme*s we have brief snapshots of politics at the lodges. Obviously, these texts were written subjectively through the eyes of the authors. The very choice to include or exclude a person, together with how certain cases were told by the author makes these texts political as well. Nevertheless, they still provide us with cases in which shaykhs left their position willingly or were forced to step down. Abdurrahim Efendi (d. 1645 or 1648/1649) was born in Aksaray and when he entered the Sufi path in Üsküdar under Mahmud (Hüdayi) Efendi, he was commissioned with bringing water from Alem Dağ. After his success, his master sent him to Bursa as his second successor. While he was a proxy to Shaykh Ahmed Efendi at Eyyub Efendi lodge in Bursa, some jealous people intervened and convinced Ahmed Efendi to dismiss him and appoint Kemal Efendi (d. 1656/1657)

in his stead. Abdurrahim Efendi bought a place for himself in Umur Bey neighborhood and retired into seclusion.[912] However, the same pattern of instigation fell upon Kemal Efendi, too. Ahmed Efendi removed him from the position and the lodge, and installed Yahya Efendi as his proxy. Following his predecessor's example, Kemal Efendi bought a place for himself in the same neighborhood. Yet, this was not enough for Yahya Efendi for he wanted him out of the neighborhood as well. Kemal Efendi decided to sell his place to Yahya Efendi to move to the Timurtaş neighborhood. However, he made a point of striking the right note: "Now I am not in the picture, it's between God and him."[913]

Politics was not, naturally, confined to the lodges. Seventeenth-century Bursa came under Celali threat at least twice and *vefeyātnāme*s demonstrate that Sufis had a role against these threats and sieges. Hasan Efendi (d. 1607), instead of escaping into the fortress, fought the Celalis outside and died of a rifle wound.[914] Musli Çelebi of Ahmed Paşa lodge, on the other hand, was chosen by the notables to go to Istanbul to ask for help against Celalis. However, the bandits caught Musli Çelebi on the road and killed him.[915]

Going back to how the posts changed hands in the lodges, as can be seen it did not only apply to the choice of the successor to the lineage of an order, but also to the head/shaykh (*şeyḫ*, *seccāde-nişīn*, *seccāde-pīrā*, *pōst-nişīn*, among others) of a lodge. In Kasım Subaşı lodge of the Zeyniyye order, Abdülgani Efendi (d. 1618/1619)[916] who was the head of the said lodge, died and his son in law, Ahmed

[912] Ibid., 342-343; Baldırzade, 205-206.
[913] Donuk, 343-344: "Biz çekildik aradan ġayrı günāgı boynuña"
[914] Ibid., 400; Baldırzade, 150. Mehmed Şemseddin, 322, on the other hand, claims that he was caught by the Celalis and executed with his son.
[915] Donuk, 331.
[916] Baldırzade, 198, gives his date of death as 1611/1612.

Efendi (d. 1647) became the new shaykh.[917] Kasım Subaşı lodge is also interesting for its shaykhs from different orders. After Ahmed Efendi died, his post was taken over by Receb Efendi (d. 1659) who had been a disciple of Üftadezade İbrahim Efendi (d. 1678/1679), the grandson of Üftade Efendi. Mehmed Şemseddin noted that this was due to the dissolution of the lodge.[918] Furthermore, in his entry on Recep Efendi, Kepecioğlu calls Kasım Subaşı lodge a Halveti lodge.[919] On the other hand, Kepecioğlu cites *Sicill-i Osmanî* as his source, in which the author Mehmed Süreyya says that Recep Efendi was a Halveti who was the shaykh of the said lodge.[920] However, as the following shaykh Hasan Efendi (d. 1679/1680) was also a disciple of Üftadezade İbrahim Efendi, it is highly likely that starting from said Receb Efendi Kasım Subaşı lodge was not a Zeyni lodge. After Hasan Efendi's death, this position was filled by Şeyh Mehmed (d. 1692), who was a disciple of Niyazi-i Mısri in Gelibolu, and returned to Bursa to head Kasım Subaşı lodge with his permission.[921]

Halvetiyye lodges have a history of changing hands in various fashions, too (Figure 13). Hayreddin Efendi (d. 1608) started the lodge known as Ahmed Paşa.[922] He was most probably a regular at Kasım Efendi's Bahri Dede lodge, while he should not have met him since he died more than a century before him. Mehmed Şemseddin pointed out this discrepancy and concluded that it was not Kasım Efendi but his successor Karahisari Muhyiddin for whom Hayreddin Efendi was a disciple.[923] After his death, Ahmed Paşa's shaykh became Hayreddin Efendi's son-

[917] Donuk, 395-396.
[918] Mehmed Şemseddin, 464-465.
[919] Kepecioğlu, *BK, IV,* 51.
[920] Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî,* 1366.
[921] Donuk, 407.
[922] Donuk, 326-328; Baldırzade, 154-156.
[923] Mehmed Şemseddin, 119.

in-law Ali Efendi (d. 1616).[924] Although Bostan Efendi (d. 1620/1621) was in his service, Hayreddin Efendi led him to another lodge in Hamza Bey neighborhood[925] - for whose existence or name we have no other source. Either it was the Hamza Bey mosque that was used as a *zāviye* also,[926] or stopped functioning after Bostan Efendi's death. The latter is also plausible because we have at least one example of a shaykh who did not want any successors.[927] After Ali Efendi, the head of the lodge fell into the hands of Süleyman Efendi (d. 1654), one of Ali Efendi's disciples.[928] His son Musli Çelebi (d. 1658) took over the role after his father's death. In 1658, the people of the city asked Musli Çelebi to visit Istanbul and call for help to save them from Celali Hasan Paşa. It is essential to note that the urban folk chose the shaykh of a lodge which had been established less than sixty years before is telling of the closely knit relationship between urbanites and Sufis. Musli Çelebi, however, died on the road. Since his son was not of age, his disciple Ahmed Efendi (d. 1666) took over the role by proxy.[929] After his death, Mustafa Efendi (d. 1674/1675) was sent from Istanbul by Hasan Efendi (d. 1677), the shaykh of Topkapı lodge to take Ahmed Efendi's place.[930] With the death of Mustafa Efendi, his place was briefly filled by Mehmed Efendi (d. 1706), who was sent to Bursa from Lofça, now in Bulgaria, and who, at the time, served as the head of Pars Bey lodge of Halvetiyye.[931] Mehmed Efendi, shortly after, decided to follow his own route and built a lodge and a mosque in Enarlı neighborhood[932] and left his post to İsmail Efendi (d. 1701). İsmail Efendi,

[924] Baldırzade, 200-201; Donuk, 328-329.
[925] Baldırzade, 132-133; Donuk, 401.
[926] Although Hamza Bey mosque was a *zāviye*-mosque, as we have discussed in Chapter 2, *zāviye*-mosque usage came to an end before the seventeenth century. This begs the question whether *zāviye*-mosque usage continued into the seventeenth century.
[927] Baldırzade, 148; Donuk, 379.
[928] Donuk, 329-330.
[929] Ibid., 330-331.
[930] Ibid., 331-333.
[931] Ibid., 335.
[932] No. 18 in Figure 10.

at the time, was a disciple of the aforementioned Süleyman Efendi, and followed the lectures of Ahmed Efendi and Mustafa Efendi.[933]

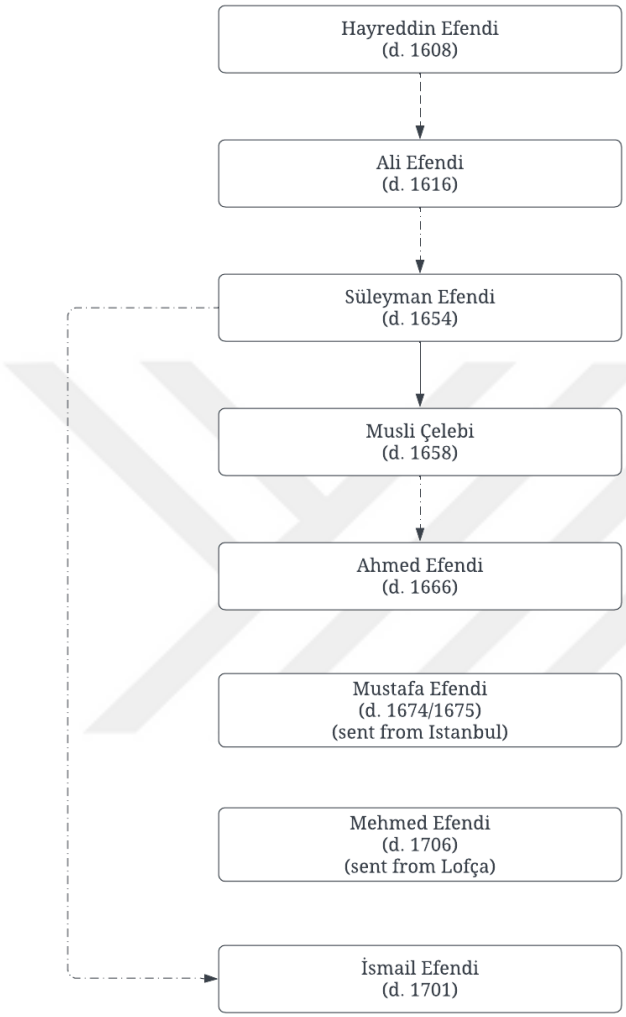

Figure 13. Ahmed Paşa lodge succession diagram

In the second chapter, we have touched upon how Sufi lodges were built and funded. In addition to providing a connection to the broader city network as we have noted above, waqfs, expectedly, played an important role in the financial aspect of Sufi establishments, too. *Vefeyātnāme*s reveal a few examples of sultanic waqfs

[933] Donuk, 333-335.

supporting Sufi networks. There were cases where positions or salaries within sultanic foundations were offered to important Sufi personages. Muhtar Efendi (d. 1624/1625), whose rain prayer had famously brought rain to Bursa, was offered alms from sultanic waqfs, but he refused by saying that his income was more than his expenditure and he did not need more.[934] Both Beliğ and Baldırzade tell us that in the same vein, Miskali Efendi (d. 1608/1609) rejected the offer of a tax farm (*muḳāṭaʿa*) from the customs at Mudanya.[935]

Although from the sixteenth century, in one case, there is a major difference between two *vefeyātnāme* authors. According to both Beliğ and Baldırzade, Emrullah Efendi (d. 1513/1514), a trustee of two sultanic waqfs, suffered from podagra disease all his life and claimed that this had happened to him because he had not listened to his father's wishes.[936] Only Baldırzade adds that Emrullah's last will to his children was that they do not accept any post, kadiship, or trusteeship.[937] In her formulation of network of piety, Gürbüzel claims that this was a praise on Baldırzade's part.[938] Although it bears questioning why Beliğ left this part out, an important fact that Gürbüzel overlooked should be mentioned here. Emrullah Efendi was the son of Akşemseddin Efendi, a shaykh of Bayramiyye and spiritual guide to Mehmed II. What was at play for Emrullah Efendi's comments could have well been due to his father's disillusionment with Mehmed II's insistence of making Constantinople his capital. It was written in hagiographies that he considered the city as the infidel's land, and only "finally able to breathe again" when he crossed to Üsküdar.[939]

[934] Donuk, 417; Baldırzade, 243.
[935] Donuk, 380; Baldırzade, 248.
[936] Donuk, 383-384; Baldırzade, 108.
[937] Baldırzade, 108.
[938] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety," 85.
[939] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 47.

We know from *vefeyātnāme*s that along with spending their time with politics, devotional rites, or education, many Sufis were involved in poetry, music, calligraphy, and painting. The seventeenth century was an especially lively time for Sufi poetry, and the number of Sufi poets (*tekke şairleri*) was greater than in previous centuries.[940] These poets used the forms of both divan and folk poetry, written in various genres.[941] According to Necdet Yılmaz, many of the Sufi poets imitated the poetic style of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century bard Yunus Emre.[942] This could have been one of the standards for contemporary poets or poetry readers as well. For instance, İsmail Beliğ shares a *manẓūme* of Seyyid Süleyman Efendi (d. 1654) which was written in plain Turkish and tells that Süleyman's poetry is *Yūnusāne.*[943]

Among *vefeyātnāme*s of the seventeenth century, Beliğ's *vefeyātnāme* stands out for including examples of poems written by his biographical subjects. This must have been important for Beliğ as he included many people who excelled in poetry in his chapter on poets. Yet, his major focus on poetry suggests that he cared for the works of *ādāb* produced in the city, and those who produced these as he also did for music and other arts. In addition, he gave place to pieces of poetry which were directly related to Bursa. For instance, one of the poets from *Güldeste*, Arif Çelebi (d. 1677/1678) wrote a short Persian poem praising Bursa. [944]

There were also others who were Sufis or members of ulema but were actively interested in poetry. Whenever possible, he also gave place to their poetry,

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[940] Abdullah Uçman, "XVII. Yüzyıl Tekke Şiir," 11.
[941] Murat Vanlı, "17. Yüzyıl Türk Şiirinde Tasavvuf Telakkisi," 18.
[942] Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlı toplumunda tasavvuf: Sufiler, devlet ve ulema*, 465.
[943] Donuk, 330.
[944] Ibid., 715: "Bursa ki nehāde bedel-i bāgh-i irem dāgh/Ḫākesh baʿaziz ast aziz az kul har bāgh//Sar kashta chu mā kard jahān kashta ki kasht/Sar chashma rūvān abla pā-i Kashish ṭagh (Bursa struck at the heart of heavenly gardens/Its soil is holier and holier than the roses from any garden//We got dizzy from wandering all around the world/So that a river started to flow from the foothills of Mt. Monk[Uludağ]"

almost always mentioning the poets' literary pennames. For instance, Hayreddin Efendi used the pseudonym Şeyhi, and although they had not met, he wrote a poem and sent it as a gift to Mahmud Hüdayi Efendi in Üsküdar.[945] Şemlelizade Ahmed (d. 1678) used the penname of Rindi in his ghazels. He was especially playful in the Persian language and was famous for witty epigrams. Beliğ conveys a case where he, a shaykh of Ali Mest lodge of Gülşeniyye, wrote a *naẓīre* to a shaykh of the Nakşibendiyye.[946] This shaykh was Resmi, or Seyyid Mahmud (d. 1666), who was also well-versed in ghazels and in the Persian language. Besides being a gifted poet, he was skilled at writing chronograms,[947] as proven by his chronogram for Mehmed IV's date of enthronement.[948] There were also those who composed poetry in Arabic. While Sükuni Mehmed Efendi (d. 1691/1692) wrote a *ḳaṣīde* of eighty-five couplets for the Prophet in Arabic,[949] Mehmed, a descendant of Molla Yegan (d. 1461) compiled a *mecmū'a* of his father Celal Efendi's (d. 1611) Arabic *ḳaṣīde*s.[950] "Bī-çāre" Mehmed Efendi (d. 1666), on the other hand, was famous for his *ilāhi*s;[951] similar to Kadiri shaykh Ahmed Efendi (d. 1675).[952]

İlāhi was a transitive form between poetry and music. Many of them were composed and sung. For instance, Ebubekir Efendi (d. 1666/1667) composed many *ilāhi*s, and he was *zakirbaşı* (head of dhikr ceremony) at Zağferanlık lodge.[953] There were many Sufi musicians in Bursa during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[954] The seventeenth century, also, was the first time when Ottoman music

[945] Ibid., 327.
[946] Ibid., 362-363.
[947] We will return to chronograms in the penultimate subchapter, 4.5.
[948] Donuk, 364-369.
[949] Ibid., 408.
[950] Ibid., 479.
[951] Ibid., 346-347.
[952] Ibid., 359.
[953] Ibid., 374-376; Mehmed Şemseddin, 408.
[954] İbrahim Benlioğlu, "XVII ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Bursa'da Yetişen Musikişinaslar."

was written down in notation. In addition, this century saw the new but upcoming order Celvetiyye's support in music, and many important Ottoman musicians.[955] By contrast, the same period witnessed the many attacks against the music and dance in Sufi ceremonies.[956]

In our *vefeyātnāme* population as well, we see many musicians -especially, those who were linked with Sufi orders- who lived in Bursa. Similar to Ebubekir Efendi above, there were many *zakirbaşı*, included in the circles of Sufi lodges. For instance, Akli Efendi (d. 1704) was a prolific composer and *zakirbaşı* at many lodges. He started his career in *ʿilmiyye* but then decided to enter the ranks of artists (*ṭā'ife-i hünermendān*).[957] He had his share of talent in calligraphy and *ney*-playing, too.[958] Similarly, Derviş Abdi (d. 1695)[959] and Havyarzade Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1704)[960] were among the sought-after composers and performers of Bursan Sufi circles in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Çatalsakal Mustafa Efendi (d. 1709/1710) was known with an ability to establish new maqams. He started his career at first as an artisan, then he tried his chances at *ʿilmiyye*, but then he left it and swayed to Sufi path.[961] Derviş Ali (or Esved Efendi), who was the son of the aforementioned Bostan Efendi, was famous for his musical memory for he could remember and sing a tune that he had heard only once. Even though he did not know how to read or write, he was able to compose various forms of poetry as well as lyrics.[962]

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[955] Yılmaz Şentürk, "Beş Şair Bağlamında 17. Yüzyıl Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri," 12; Necdet Yılmaz, 48.
[956] Derin Terzioğlu, "*Bidʿat*, Custom and the Mutability of Legal Judgments: The Debate on the Congregational Performance of Supererogatory Prayers in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," 327-328.
[957] Donuk, 716.
[958] Benlioğlu, 15.
[959] Donuk, 751-752.
[960] Ibid., 752.
[961] Ibid., 753.
[962] Ibid., 747-748.

Among the Sufi painters of the seventeenth century, one example stands out. According to İsmail Beliğ, Debbağzade Mustafa Efendi was a painter who could be compared to Mani or Behzad, and created new ways of painting.[963] This sort of praise can only be seen once again, for a physician in Bursa, who was nicknamed Nakşi, perhaps rightfully so, for he was called the second Mani by both Beliğ and Baldırzade.[964]

*Vefeyātnāme*s chose to convey the Sufis and Sufi life in all aspects. A major difference between İsmail Beliğ and Baldırzade was Beliğ's extensive focus on poetry, giving poem samples not only from people who were known as poets, but virtually anyone who tried their hand at poetry. Thanks to *vefeyātnāme*s we are able to gather that although they chose the mystical path, Sufis were active in the social life of Bursa in every imaginable way. They established waqfs, ventured in construction of mosques and lodges, preached and taught lessons in public, hosted social gatherings outside their lodges, and experimented in poetry, music, and fine arts in addition to composing prose, as we have commented on in the introductory part of this chapter. Therefore, *vefeyātnāme*s offer a comprehensive urban perspective for Bursan Sufism.

4.4 *Vefeyātnāme* as network map: Ulema families in Bursa and beyond

As with Sufis, *vefeyātnāme*s provides us with insights into Bursa's ulema. Both Baldırzade and İsmail Beliğ devoted an important part of their works to the topic. Especially Beliğ details the career paths of ulema he included in his work in minute detail. With their familial relations, the households they belonged to, members of

[963] Ibid., 332: "(...) mānend-i nigārger-i Erjeng ü Bihzād niçe nuḳūş-i ġarībe nigāristan-ı cihānde istiḫrāc ü īcād itmişlerdür."
[964] Ibid., 759; Baldırzade, 265: "Mānī-i ṣānī"

ulema they followed before or during their *mülāzemet* (internship), their connections in the upper echelons of the *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy, together with their patterns of appointment, we are able to understand the dynamics of the *ʿilmiyye* as played out in, and in relation to Bursa. It is important to stress that our main aim is not to portray a picture of *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy and its dynamics *per se,* rather demonstrate what *vefeyātnāme*s offer in terms of politics involved in *ʿilmiyye* for Bursans of importance. To what extent their connectedness was at play for appointments and promotion is an important question that can be answered through what our sources offer. Thus, in this subchapter, we will be commenting in detail on *vefeyātnāme* authors' portrayal of familial relations, the nodes of patronage, the importance of career steps and whether Bursa madrasas were important steps on the route to the top of the learned hierarchy, and within the networks at play in the politics of Bursan ulema.

Before going further with this, a few remarks about the *ʿilmiyye* in the Ottoman Empire is needed. Before Istanbul became Ottoman, İznik, Bursa, and Edirne madrasas were the heart of the Ottoman '*ilmiyye*. After Mehmed II decided to make Constantinopolis his throne, a series of madrasas were built in the new capital.[965] This was followed by the succeeding sultans. During Süleyman I's reign (1520-66), or more precisely during Ebussuud's tenure as a shaykh al-Islam (1545-74), education in the Ottoman Empire became centralized and systematized to an important degree.[966] Salih Pay compiled a list of madrasa hierarchy and their correspondence during Mehmed II, Süleyman I, a hierarchy written by Cevdet Paşa in the nineteenth century, and finally, compared all of them with the names he found

[965] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 18-22.
[966] Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultans Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medrese*s prescribed in a *fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973 (1565)," 185.

in the sources (Figure 14). Madrasas were grouped into *dāḫil* and *ḫāric* madrasas, with *dāḫil* being superior. Most of the sultanic madrasas were *dāḫil*.[967] Sometimes, they were known according to the salaries of the *müderris*es teaching in.[968]

After finishing their education, madrasa graduates had two distinct routes to choose from for their career path. One was becoming a low-level town kadi, and the other was to become a *müderris* in the low-level madrasas. The first one provided a higher salary without a promise of obtaining high-level positions, while the madrasa route was lower in salary but it was the road to take for a better future in *'ilmiyye* ranks.[969] Either way, there was a waiting period where they needed to be written down in *defters* of certain ulema in the higher rank (from shaykh al-Islam to chief judges of Anatolia and Rumelia, or the kadis of bigger cities) as *mülāzım* (roughly, intern).[970] Naturally, it was better to have their names written down in *defter*s of influential personages to get a better chance for appointment.[971]

After being appointed to a madrasa, *müderris* had a chance to become a kadi according to the level of his institution. For a *müderris* of a 20-30 *aḳçe* madrasa, the only place to go was the small towns. For fifty *aḳçe* madrasas, they could go to bigger *sancāḳ*s of 150 *aḳçe* per diem. *Müderris*es of sixty *aḳçe* madrasas or Sahn (before the seventeenth century) were able to be appointed to *eyālet* judgeships such as Damascus, Aleppo, or Cairo.[972] The "official" path was after serving as a judge in Istanbul, Bursa or Edirne, the judge could be appointed the chief judge of Anatolia, then Rumelia, and only then shaykh al-Islam.

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[967] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 11-12.
[968] Ibid., 11.
[969] Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The route to the top in the Ottoman *'ilmiye* hierarchy of the sixteenth century," 490.
[970] Ali Uğur, "The Ottoman 'ulema in the mid-17th century: An Analysis of the *Vakaiü'l-Fuzala* of Mehmed Şeyhi Ef.," xli.
[971] Ibid., xliv.
[972] Uzunçarşılı, 66-67.

Fatih Dönemi Tasnifi	Kanûnî Dönemi Tasnifi	Cevdet Paşa Tasnifi	Belgelere Göre
Hâşiye-i Tecrîd			
Miftah	İbtidâ-i Hâric	İbtidâ-i Hâric	İbtidâ-i Hâric
Kırklı	Hareket-i Hâric	Hareket-i Hâric	Hareket-i Hâric
Dâhil	İbtidâ-i Dâhil	İbtidâ-i Dâhil	İbtidâ-i Dâhil
	Hareket-i Dâhil	Hareket-i Dâhil	Hareket-i Dâhil
Sahn-ı Semân	Mûsıla-i Sahn	Mûsıla-i Sahn	Mûsıla-i Sahn
	Sahn-ı Semân	Sahn-ı Semân	Sahn-ı Semân
		İbtidâ-i Altmışlı	İbtidâ-i Altmışlı
		Hareket-i Altmışlı	Hareket-i Altmışlı
		Mûsıla-i Süleymaniye	Mûsıla-i Süleymaniye.
		Havâmis-i Süleymaniye	
	Süleymaniye	Süleymaniye	Süleymaniye
	Dâru'l-Hadîs	Dâru'l-Hadîs	

Figure 14. The madrasa hierarchy (Salih Pay, "Bursa İvaz Paşa Medresesi Müderrisleri," 255)

Although it had been developed as an Istanbul-centered system, this hierarchy had essential madrasas in other cities -especially in Bursa and Edirne.[973] Mefail Hızlı names 50 madrasas in Bursa by the end of the sixteenth century,[974] while Levent Kuru lists a total number of 191 madrasas which paid 40 *akçe* or less to their *müderris*es.[975] Erol Özvar, on the other hand, claims that only in the seventeenth century 50 madrasas opened in Bursa - together with the previous 97, it added up to 147 madrasas by the end of the seventeenth century.[976] These numbers, however, are impossible to be certain about. They might be altogether wrong or include *medrese-i ma'dūm*s, nonexistent madrasas where the appointment was honorary.[977]

[973] Madeline C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 61.
[974] Hızlı, 51-52.
[975] Levent Kuru, "XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Bursa Medreseleri ve Müderris Tevcîhatı," 1051-1059: Kuru derives this list from the *rūznāmçe defter*s of the *ḳāżī'asker* of Anatolia. He shows that there are wrong entries as well as repeating entries due to the different names given to a single madrasa. Therefore, the number 191 must be lower.
[976] Erol Özvar, "Osmanlı Dünyasında Yazma Eser Üretkenliği," 27.
[977] Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, 73.

In line with our aims in this subchapter, firstly, by analyzing those who had been to the upper echelons of the *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy, we can gather the importance of Bursa madrasas as reflected in the *vefeyātnāme*s. Which madrasas were more important career steps for the road to the top? Drawing upon Madeleine Zilfi's *'ilmiyye* hierarchy table (Figure 15), I have grouped the *vefeyātnāme* population according to major judgeships: There are five chief jurists (shaykh al-Islam), five chief judges of Rumelia, four chief judges of Anatolia, six kadis of Istanbul, sixteen kadis of *Ḥaremeyn* (kadis of Mecca or Medina), thirteen kadis of *erba'a* (kadis of Bursa, Edirne, Cairo, or Damascus), sixteen kadis of *maḫrec* (kadis of Aleppo, Eyüp, Galata, İzmir, Thessaloniki, Üsküdar, Larissa, Jerusalem). As we descend in the hierarchy, we begin to see more and more Bursa madrasas in the biographies. From the top, only Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi who was the shaykh al-Islam, and chief jurist of both Rumelia and Anatolia, had been a *müderris* in two Bursa madrasas (Molla Hüsrev and Yeşil/Bursa Sultaniyesi) - and, as we have noted in Chapter 3, only briefly. From kadis of Istanbul, the said Abdülaziz Efendi was joined by Vanizade Ahmed Efendi (Yıldırım) and Damad Hasan Efendi (Hançeriye). Of sixteen people who had been the kadis of either Mecca or Medina, twelve served as a *müderris* in one or more Bursa madrasas. Among thirteen people who served as a kadi of Bursa, Edirne, Cairo, or Damascus, on the other hand, seven had been a *müderris* in a Bursa madrasa. For kadis of *maḫrec,* nine out of sixteen people served in Bursa madrasas. Since there were those who served with one or more titles mentioned, the total number of people here is 25. This is out of 302 people who spent their life substantially in the seventeenth century and found a place in the Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s we have used. Of these 25 people, eighteen were a *müderris* in at least one Bursa madrasa throughout their careers. Five people served at Yıldırım madrasa

(two of them served in two different periods), four people at Yeşil (or Bursa Sultaniyesi), three people at Muradiye, two people for each of Veliyüddinzade Ahmed Paşa, Kadri Efendi, and Molla Cedid madrasas. These are not entirely surprising as the first three were among the top madrasas in Bursa as sultanic madrasas. Yet, the other sultanic madrasas such as Sultan Orhan or Hüdavendigar (Kapluca) were served by only one person who had been to the top of the hierarchy.

According to a nineteenth-century document,[978] the Yıldırım Madrasa was equal to Süleymaniye Darülhadis (the top institution in the hierarchy), while Yeşil, Veliyüddinzade and Sultan Orhan madrasas were just below, equal to Süleymaniye. Below them were Hüdavendigar, Muradiye and Kadri Efendi madrasas that were on the same level with Musıla-i Süleymaniye. Molla Cedid, on the other hand, was two levels below them, in the *ibtidā'-i altmışlı* madrasa group. It could be gathered that the madrasa hierarchy in Bursa stayed more or less the same through the end of the Empire. However, we know that the hierarchy of educational institutions was more or less an idealization. It has been shown that, although madrasas mostly were named according to the per diem that they gave to their professors, the per diem varied across the experience level of the professors or their connectedness. Ideally, when a *müderris* started his career, he was expected to follow a route starting from *medāris-i resmīye* and after some time in madrasas paying forty *akçe*s, he was to be appointed to a madrasa of *ḫāric elli.* A firman dated 1578 reminded all the *müderris*es that a specific route to the top should be taken, and there were many students who sought ways to be a *mülāzım* without completing necessary steps.[979] According to this document, those necessary steps in order were *Hâşiye-i tecrid*, *Miftah*, *Kırklı*, *Hâriç*,

[978] Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Eğitim-Öğretim Tarihi Konusunda Önemli bir Kaynak: 'Müderrisin Vezâifi'," 112-116.
[979] Uzunçarşılı, 13-14.

and *Dâhil*, before Sahn-ı Seman. In *vefeyātnāme*s, there are no mentions of a person's career before forty *akçe* madrasas. Most of the time, the appointments and steps in a *müderris*' career started after he was discharged from forty *akçe* madrasa (*ḳırḳdan ma'zūl*). Also, the per diem of a certain madrasa could change over time.[980]

It seems that Bursa madrasas were not frequented on this road, or to put it differently, were not necessary steps to the top of the *'ilmiyye* hierarchy. However, the madrasa hierarchy was not directly related to the city the madrasas belonged to. As can be seen again in Figure 15, the top institutions were in Istanbul, however Bursa had its share of madrasas in the higher echelons as we have noted above.

[980] Hızlı, *Bursa medreselerinde,* 46-48; Levent Kuru, 1046-1047.

Şeyhülislam (Grand Müfti of Istanbul)

Major Judgeship (Great Molla) Hierarchy[a]

Grade	*Occupant*
Rumelia	Chief Justice of Rumelia and titular justices
Anatolia	Chief Justice of Anatolia and titular justices
Istanbul	Judge of Istanbul and titular judges
Haremeyn	Judges of Mecca and Medina and titular judges
Erbaa	Judges of Edirne, Bursa, Cairo, Damascus and titular judges
Mahrec	Judges of Aleppo, Eyüp, Galata, Izmir, Salonika, Üsküdar, Yenişehir (Larisa), Jerusalem and titular judges

Medrese Hierarchy (Diploma-holding Professors)

Grade	*Constituent Medreses*
Darülhadis-i Süleymaniye	Süleymaniye's Darülhadis only
Süleymaniye	Four Süleymaniye medreses only
Hamis-i Süleymaniye	Various
Musile-i Süleymaniye	Various
Hareket-i Altmışlı	Various
Ibtida-i Altmışlı	Various
Sahn-i Seman	Eight Fatih medreses only
Musile-i Sahn	Various
Hareket-i Dahil	Various
Ibtida-i Dahil	Various
Hareket-i Haric	Various

Figure 15. The *'ilmiyye* hierarchy (Madeleine C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety: The Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, 25)

Still, *vefeyātnāme* authors included many personages who had been to the top of the religio-judicial hierarchy. This leads us to think that there must be other factors at play for paving the way to the top. These could be (i) familial ties, and (ii) connectedness. I use connectedness here as a well-established network outside familial relations - although, and as will be shown, they might not be easy to separate. It might denote the education taken by, or internship spent under then-influential personages of the *'ilmiyye* hierarchy. Before delving into these factors, it bears mentioning that the people that were written into *vefeyātnāme*s were already

deemed influential and included by a subjective eye. Thus, it is always important to keep in mind that no overarching argumentation on the seventeenth century Ottoman religio-judicial system has been offered. Our sources, on the other hand, provide us with a profound snapshot of the networks and how they operated in that system.

In Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s, several important families rise to prominence. That is, either many members of the same family were included or at least one member of an already important family was linked to Bursa. Of course, coming from an influential family brings important leverage in the career path - especially but not necessarily, if it was an ulema family. Sons of ulema in the higher echelons were able to be appointed to a madrasa in correspondence to their fathers' rank.[981] The fourth son of the notorious shaykh al-Islam Feyzullah Efendi (who was, at the time, the chief judge of Rumelia), for instance, was given a special treatment and got his name written down for *mülāzemet* with the initiative of then-shaykh al-Islam Ankaravi Mehmed Efendi. The same year he got the professorship and again in the same year he had the "titular judgeship" of Damascus.[982]

In *vefeyātnāme*s, we see titular appointments of *i'tibār* and *pāye*. Mostly, *i'tibār* was used when a *müderris* was appointed to a certain madrasa (mostly, of lower rank) and had the title, therefore the salary, of another, higher rank madrasa. Generally, when a *müderris* was discharged from forty *akçe* madrasa, they expected to be appointed to a *dāḫil* madrasa. Whenever it was not possible, although not necessarily, they were appointed to a *ḫāric* madrasa with the title of *dāḫil*.[983] There were also cases where a *müderris* was not appointed to another madrasa for a promotion, but got it "on the spot (*yirinde*)."[984] However, there were also high level

[981] Uzunçarşılı, 71.
[982] Donuk, 635-636: "Anḳaravī Meḥemmed Efendi sevḳıyla evlād-ı 'ulemāya virilen mülāzemet(...)"
[983] Donuk, 614, 621, 628, 647, 702.
[984] Ibid., 640, 649.

*i'tibār*s, such as sixty *akçe* madrasas, Sahn, or Süleymaniye.[985] Fahri Unan claims that this was an implementation due to the increasing number of members of ulema; and thanks to this, it was now not necessary to find a vacant position to promote a member of ulema.[986] He further shows that this implementation was also applicable for judgeships. City *pāye*s would allow *müderris*es to become titular judges without performing judgeship at all.[987] But, of course, this was not the only case. There were other instances where a kadi was promoted with a title to a higher position while still acting judge at a lower town.

In the *vefeyātnāme*s, we time and again see three families mentioned. The first one is the Menteşzade family. Menteşzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1623/1624) was the son of a rich Bursan merchant Hace Menteş. He was, at first, a disciple at the threshold (*āstāne*) of Hoca Sadeddin,[988] the famous tutor of Sultan Murad III;[989] and later, he spent his internship (*mülāzemet*) under him. Afterwards, apparently without any madrasa education, he was appointed at İshak Paşa madrasa in İnegöl. After spending some time in Bursa madrasas and climbing up the ladder, he became a kadi to Tripoli, Chios, Kayseri, and Diyarbakır, respectively.[990] His son, Menteşzade Mahmud Efendi (d. 1654), on the other hand, was a *mülāzım* to some ulema whose name was not given, and later, taught at the lesser madrasas and discharged from forty *akçe* madrasa (*ḳırḳdan ma'zūl*) and spent his life as a *müderris* at various Bursa

[985] Ibid., 599, 606, 623, 635, 647, 648.
[986] Fahri Unan, "Osmanlı İlmiye Tarikinde 'Paye'li Tayinler yahut Devlette Kazanç Kapısı," 46-47.
[987] Ibid., 49-50; Donuk, 581, 583,
[988] We will be commenting on Hoca Sadeddin and his role as an important node in the network, later.
[989] *Müderris*es, during their teaching careers, could have found other options to bring about further income. One of the more important of these side posts was an imam to the Sultan or a prince or some other person with a high title. Most of the time, they also acted as a teacher of the princes. Another post was *fetva emaneti*, which was most of the time combined with professorship, and other times with judgeship. In addition to these options, we see side careers as inspector of waqfs, or clerkship and regentship at the court (Ali Uğur, l-lvi). For examples, see Donuk, 566, 627, 604, 635, 636, 711, 739, et alibi.
[990] Donuk, 564-565; Baldırzade, 256-257.

madrasas. After his last post at Yıldırım madrasa was given to some Nureddin Efendi, he was given Atranos (Orhaneli) district as an *arpalıḳ* (stipend) which was given to high-ranking officials for their retirements or the waiting time between two posts.[991] His son-in-law, who was aptly known as Menteşzade damadı İbrahim Efendi (d. 1670) was originally a *müteferriḳa*, thus a frequenter of the *mecālis* of the higher ulema. Later on in his life, he decided to take the path to become a *müderris*. After his discharge from forty *aḳçe* madrasa, he came to Bursa and was responsible for tax collection of silks and worked at the court as a clerk. There, he met his father-in-law and, probably thanks to him, rekindled his career as a *müderris* at prominent Bursa madrasas. We do not know much about Menteşzade Mahmud Efendi's son, young Menteşzade Mehmed (d. 1667) except that he was a *müderris* at two madrasas in Bursa; however, his son-in-law, Menteşzade Abdurrahim Efendi (d. 1716)[992] was a shaykh al-Islam for seventeen months. One source cites Abdurrahim Efendi as the son-in-law of Menteşzade Mahmud.[993] Given the sixty-four years between their death dates, this seems unlikely. In some sources, it has been said that Abdurrahim Efendi married Manavzade Abdurrahman Efendi's daughter.[994] Although we haven't witnessed any other account of a person who married twice in our sources, it is perfectly plausible. Thus, it seems Abdurrahim Efendi married daughters of two different influential families. He had his *mülāzemet* under shaykh al-Islam Minkarizade Yahya Efendi[995] and after being discharged from forty *aḳçe* madrasa, he

[991] Donuk, 565-566.
[992] Ibid., 644-646.
[993] Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâyi'u'l-fuzalâ, Şeyhî'nin şakâ'ik zeyli, Cilt III,* 2663.
[994] Beliğ says that he married Manavzade's daughter but also says he was known as Menteşzade and writes his title as Menteşzade Abdurrahim (Donuk, 644). On the other hand, in *Sicill-i Osmani*, 136, it has been said that Menteşzade Abdurrahim married Menteşzade Mehmed's daughter. It is not possible that he was his son, since his father was specified in each source as Kurd Mehmed. Kurd Mehmed was also a son of a rich merchant who decided to pursue a career in *'ilmiyye* (Donuk, 577).
[995] His relationship with Minkarizade continued so that Abdurrahim compiled a collection of his teacher's fatwas (Özgün Deniz Yoldaşlar, "Minkārīzāde Yahyā and the Ottoman Scholarly

started his career in professorship. Later, he became a *müderris* at Süleymaniye Darülhadis and after a year, started his judgeship career in prominent cities such as Larissa, Üsküdar, Cairo, Edirne, Mecca, and Istanbul, before moving on to chief judgeship of Anatolia, and three times, of Rumelia. Finally, after around twenty days in his last appointment to chief judgeship of Rumelia, he became shaykh al-Islam and held the post for seventeen months.

Another prominent family is the İlahizade family. Coming to Bursa during Mehmed II's reign, Şeyh İlahi was a Nakşibendi shaykh who re-established Yoğurtlu Baba (Dede in some sources) lodge. His kin followed his footsteps and headed the lodge. However, there was a branch of the Şeyh İlahi family that took up careers in the *'ilmiyye*.[996] The first member of the İlahizades to be included in the *vefeyātnāme*s was İlahizade Ali Çelebi (d. 1618/1819).[997] Apparently, he died before even being discharged from forty *akçe* madrasas. The information we have about him is scarce, yet there is a single striking piece of knowledge. He was a *mülāzım* to shaykh al-Islam Mustafa Efendi who was known for his liking to shaykhs.[998] This meager piece of information does not allow us to form the link yet gives us an idea whether this connection was due to Ali Çelebi's familial history in Sufism. Whatever it may be, Ali Çelebi joined the ranks of ulema with an upper hand but his career was cut short due to his untimely death. The second person is İlahizade Seyyid Yusuf Efendi (d. 1627/1628).[999] It is not apparent how he was linked to Ali Çelebi, but it is probable

Bureaucracy in the Seventeenth Century," Chapter 4; see also Chapter 5 for Minkarizade as a patron of ulema).

[996] It is important here to note that the following members of the İlahizade family had never been a shaykh in any lodge. Some studies claim that they were the heads of Yoğurtlu Baba lodge. This is due to Mehmed Şemseddin's inclusion of them into his *vefeyātnāme*. Still, several members of the family, even after a career in the *'ilmiye,* were buried in the burial area of the said lodge. For more information about the place of burial and its importance, see next subchapter.

[997] Donuk, 556-557; Baldırzade, 210.

[998] Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî,* 1164.

[999] Donuk, 557; Baldırzade, 273-274.

that they were brothers. Yusuf Efendi was also a *mülāzım* to a shaykh al-Islam - this time Sunullah Efendi. Instead of going into the madrasa career, he decided to be a town kadi and spent his life in places such as İznikmid. His son, İlahizade Seyyid Mehmed Efendi (d. 1675)[1000] had a private education in Bursa by Mustafa Efendi, known as the *müderris* of Çendik, and Muidzade Mehmed Efendi, member of another influential Bursan family. Later, he moved to İstanbul for *mülāzemet* and was appointed to Molla Fenari madrasa thanks to the connections he had with Hacezade Mesud Efendi, then-shaykh al-Islam. His relationship with the Muidzade family should have been sustained since a chronogram for his death date was written by Muidzade Fazlı Efendi, his teacher's son, and his student.[1001] After a career in professorship, he was given the judgeship of İzmir, yet he lost his life on the road.

İlahizade Mehmed Efendi had three sons, all of whom were included in İsmail Beliğ's text. His eldest son, İlahizade Zeynelabidin Efendi (d. 1708/1709)[1002] was orphaned when he was very young. He, too, had a private education in Bursa, and later, had furthered this education under *mülāzemet* by İshak Efendi Hacesi Ahmed Efendi, another influential node in our texts. Unlike his father, he was given a professorship in lower madrasas and discharged from forty *akçe* madrasa. Only later, he was appointed to important Bursa madrasas and died when a *müderris* at Kasım Subaşı madrasa. His two other brothers moved through a career path similar to their father, without a madrasa education[1003] and after a *mülāzemet*, they were

[1000] Donuk, 558-559.
[1001] Ibid., 617. For chronograms, and how they provide us with insights on networks, see next subchapter.
[1002] Donuk, 559-560.
[1003] It is likely that certain connections could have overridden the need for a madrasa education. In *vefeyāt* entries, I have witnessed many cases where no madrasa education was mentioned instead it was stressed that these people got their education from some famous ulema. For instance, it looks like even the shaykh al-Islam Feyzullah Efendi did not have a proper madrasa education (Madeline C. Zilfi, "Feyzullah Efendi," *EI3*).

directly appointed to Bursa madrasas of fifty *akçe*. However, none of them received a kadiship; both died as a *müderris*.[1004]

The last family we will be commenting on is Muidzade. Muidzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1614) was the son of a *ṣıbyān mekteb* teacher, Muid Hayreddin (d. 1591/1592). He came from Karasi, and he had a modest income as a teacher and sometimes as an imam. According to Beliğ, his son, on the other hand, found a chance to be a disciple and *mülāzım* to shaykh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi or Hoca Sadeddin. Baldırzade says that he was a *mülāzım* to Ebussuud and married Hoca Sadeddin's sister. Later, he spent his life as a *müderris* in various Bursa madrasas, receiving the grade of Mecca at the end of his life.[1005] He had one son, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1646) whose uncle was Hoca Sadeddin. Hoca Sadeddin took him under his wing as a *mülāzım* and he was appointed to the lower madrasas. He became a *müderris* at Sahn, Süleymaniye, and Darülhadis before moving on to becoming a judge in Damascus and Edirne.[1006] Muidzade Mahmud Efendi (d. 1678) was either the son or the brother of the young Mehmed Efendi.[1007] We do not have any information about his education or internship. After some time at Bursa madrasas, he went on to become a kadi in various cities such as Ankara, Kütahya, and Maraş.[1008] Muidzade Fazlı Efendi, the son of young Mehmed Efendi, had his education from his father and aforementioned İlahizade Mehmed Efendi. His life was cut short after spending some time in Bursa madrasas as a *müderris*.[1009]

[1004] Ibid., 560-561.
[1005] Donuk, 545; Baldırzade, 251-252.
[1006] Donuk, 546; Baldırzade, 252-253.
[1007] It is not apparent whether Mahmud Efendi was the son of Mehmed Efendi the younger or the elder. Yet, Mehmed Efendi the Younger has a one son Muidzade Fazlı Efendi, whose biography is not directly after and written elsewhere. But the difference between death dates suggests that they might not be brothers.
[1008] Donuk, 547-548.
[1009] Donuk, 617.

Although they came from different backgrounds and had different patterns of establishment, these three families used the means provided by the city itself. Thanks to Bursa's position in larger webs of trade and commerce, its prominent place within Sufi networks of the Ottoman domains, and its well-established and prestigious madrasas, these families were able to flourish and got incorporated in the greater grid of *'ilmiyye*. As we have mentioned, there was an inflation of honors which continued into the eighteenth century. This was partly due to the Ottoman state's attempt to broaden its limits of control.[1010] This gave way to using connections to get titles and, as a consequence, to get connections using titles. The changing importance of titles from mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth century can be followed, once again, through *vefeyātnāme*s. While Baldırzade, who wrote his work in 1649, used single titles such as *efendi, çelebi,* or *şeyḫ* for each entry titles, İsmail Beliğ, after almost seventy-five years, gave many more titles to his *vefeyātnāme* population. This was not only done for people who lived in the seventeenth century, too. To give examples, Emrullah Efendi[1011] became eş-Şeyh Emrullah Efendi[1012] or Hayreddin Efendi[1013] became Kutbu'l-'arifin eş-Şeyh Hayreddin Efendi el-Halveti.[1014] While adjusting the respectability and prestige of his subjects by adding the "necessary" extra titles to their names, İsmail Beliğ, essentially, was updating Baldırzade's work to the standards of his own time.

In addition to updating the dignity status of Bursans, Beliğ extends the base of the prestige network of Bursans. In his account, we witness a reciprocal relationship where established families incorporated themselves in the Bursan

[1010] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of piety," 79.
[1011] Baldırzade, 107.
[1012] Donuk, 382.
[1013] Baldırzade, 154.
[1014] Donuk, 326.

network, of course not always voluntarily. We can follow the families of two interesting and notorious figures in the seventeenth century Ottoman history primarily in *Güldeste.* Most importantly, furthermore, tracing these family histories sheds light on how Bursa played a principal part, probably after Istanbul, as a strategic point, sometimes close enough to Istanbul for still possessing an influence and other times far enough to be on the safe side. The first family is Vani Efendi's (d. 1685). He was a preacher in Erzurum when he got acquainted with Köprülüzade Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa who invited him to Istanbul and introduced him to Mehmed IV. In a short time, he became a *vāʿiẓ* of the palace, and the teacher of the princes. After the failed Vienna campaign where he was the preacher for the army, he was expelled to Kestel, Bursa and the location was given to him as a freehold.[1015] In *Güldeste*, in addition to Vani Efendi himself, we can find the biographies of his four sons, one son-in-law, and one grandson. All of his four sons got a *mülāzemet* from contemporary shaykh al-Islams: two from Feyzullah Efendi who was also the son-in-law of Vani Efendi (Süleyman Efendi and Hüseyin Efendi), one from Ali Efendi (Ahmed Efendi), and one from Debbağzade Mehmed Efendi (Mahmud Efendi). Expectedly, they all had exceptional careers. Ahmed Efendi (d. 1703), after being discharged from forty *akçe* madrasa, he was appointed as a *müderris* to Yıldırım madrasa but with a grade of Medina. One year later, on top of Medina grade, Jerusalem grade was given to him. Again, after a year, he was given the grade of Bursa with a stipend of Kete. Three years later, he received Mecca grade, and three years after that he was given İstanbul grade, together with a stipend of Marmara.[1016] His brother Süleyman Efendi (d. 1703) was appointed to İshak Paşa madrasa. Later, he was given musıla-i Sahn grade and promoted to Emir Sultan madrasa. In 1698, he

[1015] Ibid., 427-428.
[1016] Ibid., 626-627.

was sent to Bursa as *naḳīb-i sādāt* (the representative of the descendants of the prophet), proxy overseer of the *Ḥaremeyn* waqfs, and *ḳassām-ı ʻaskerī*.[1017] Both Ahmed and Süleyman Efendis were detained after the Edirne Incident in 1703, spent a month in Gelibolu, and were shot and killed. Mahmud Efendi (d. 1713/1714), on the other hand, had a rather less eventful career, having been a *müderris* to many madrasas before being promoted to Sahn, and after, he received the Jerusalem grade. Later, he went back to Bursa as a recluse, most probably after his brothers were murdered.[1018] The youngest brother, Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1717) had the least successful career although the Edirne Incident seems not to have affected him since, after the Incident, he got the grade for musıla-i Sahn and was appointed to Bursa's Çendik madrasa.[1019]

Feyzullah Efendi had nine sons;[1020] Beliğ included only two of them due to their relation to Bursa. One of his sons, İbrahim Efendi (d. 1709) benefited from the *mülāzemet* provided to the sons of the members of ulema under then-shaykh al-Islam Ankaravi Mehmed Efendi. He spent some time as a *müderris* in Bursa and was promoted to Sahn. Later, he continued his pursuit in kadiship and was sent to Larissa. Then, he received the grade of Istanbul. During the same year, he was appointed as the teacher of the princes - a position that had been filled by Vani Efendi, and later his father Feyzullah. The following year, he became the chief judge of Anatolia and later, of Rumelia. After the Edirne Incident, he was detained and expelled to Cyprus. Thanks to his position as the son-in-law of then-Grand Vizier Ammizade Hüseyin Paşa, he managed to change his place of exile to Bursa. Similar to his brother,

[1017] Ibid., 627.
[1018] Ibid., 641-642.
[1019] Ibid., 647.
[1020] Mehmet Serhan Tayşi, "Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi."

Ahmed Efendi (d. 1716)[1021] was also a *mülāzım* to Ankaravi Mehmed Efendi and after a year in an Istanbul madrasa, he was appointed to Sahn. A few years later, he was given the kadiship of İzmir, together with the grade of Mecca. A year later, he was appointed as the kadi of Bursa, where he was detained and expelled to Cyprus. However, during his years of exile, he was given the stipends of Dağardı, İvrindi, Karacaşehir, Sobuca, and Domaniç. Apparently among ulema circles, grudge-holding was not an issue. Although Feyzullah and his son Fethullah were executed, one of his sons, Mustafa Efendi was able to be a shaykh al-Islam later on in his career. Of course, the career dynamics and patronage relations of Mustafa Efendi lies beyond our scope.

In addition to families, there were other nodes of prominence with which people rose to importance in the *'ilmiyye* hierarchy. These could be teachers, or members of ulema who provided *mülāzemet*, or simply aided them along their career journey. Eighteen people from our top ulema list of twenty-five had a *mülāzemet* from a shaykh al-Islam. While everyone who later became a shaykh al-Islam, chief judge of Rumelia or Anatolia, or kadi of Istanbul had had their *mülāzemet* from a shaykh al-Islam, only one person who was a kadi of either Mecca or Medina did not have his *mülāzemet* from a shaykh al-Islam. As we descend on the hierarchy, we start to see less and less influential figures, expectedly. *Vefeyātnāme*s provide us with many names who helped set up careers. Some of them, on the other hand, appear frequently. Among these patrons of ulema were Hoca Sadeddin (d. 1599), his son Esad Efendi (d.1625), his son Ebusaid Mehmed Efendi (d. 1662), Sunullah Efendi (d.1612), and Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi (d. 1644) - all five were shaykh al-Islams. Hoca Sadeddin is the one person who is mentioned in our sources the most

[1021] Donuk, 642-643.

frequently. Among his *mülāzım*s were Şah Mehmed (d. 1642)[1022] who was a descendant of Molla Fenari, and the son-in-law to Üftade Efendi's son, and who became the kadi of Medina and Bursa; Muidzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1646)[1023] who was his nephew, and who pursued a career as a kadi in Edirne and Damascus; Şems Efendi (d. 1620)[1024] who was a *müderris* at a madrasa of sixty *akçe* when he died; the famous poet Edibi (d. 1617/1618)[1025] who died during the plague when he was at Sahn; Acem Abdülgani Efendi (d. 1644/1645)[1026] who was originally from Revan, and who, after a certain time as a *müderris*, became a kadi in lower cities; the son of the Halveti shaykh Hayreddin Efendi, the poet Hibri (d. 1616)[1027] who died early because of the plague.

Second most prominent person to appear in our texts is Shaykh al-Islam Esad Efendi (d. 1625), who was the son of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. One interesting *mülāzım* of Esad Efendi was Baldırzade, who is the author of *Ravża-i Evlīyā* , one of our *vefeyātnāme*s. What is interesting about Baldırzade is that he got his *mülāzemet* originally from Arabzade Abdurrauf Efendi, and he was appointed as a *müderris*. Then, he became a *mülāzım* once more, this time to Esad Efendi, and got promoted.[1028] Another one was Vadi Çelebi (d. 1649) who went on to become a poet, and instead of a career in professorship, served at the court.[1029] One prominent *mülāzım* of Esad Efendi was the future chief jurist, Hacezade Mesud Efendi (d. 1656) who was the son of the tutor of Ahmed I. Kamranzade Ali Efendi (d. 1663/1664), on the other hand, was the son of a notable member of the society (*şahṣ-ı zī-şān*), and

[1022] Donuk, 472; Baldırzade, 180.
[1023] Donuk, 546; Baldırzade, 252.
[1024] Donuk, 554; Baldırzade, 180.
[1025] Donuk, 668.
[1026] Ibid., 551; Baldırzade, 208.
[1027] Donuk, 679.
[1028] Baldırzade, 286; Donuk 570.
[1029] Baldırzade, 267; Donuk, 739.

became a *müderris* at many Bursa madrasas, with having once the titular judgeship of Mecca.[1030]

Esad Efendi's son Ebusaid Mehmed Efendi was also an influential shaykh al-Islam who patronized Bursan hopefuls. Abdülkadirzade Receb Efendi (d. 1683), for instance, was a son of a very rich merchant, but decided to renounce his father's way since "at the time of death, gold and silver could not help."[1031] One story worth noting about Ebusaid's patronage was related to a *meddāḥ* (storyteller). Nuhzade Seyyid Mustafa (d. 1680) wanted to follow the route of the town kadiship, and the Çorlu post was promised to him by Ebusaid Efendi. Yet, he was not given the post and he left the *'ilmiyye* and became a storyteller.[1032]

Sunullah Efendi, on the other hand, was a patron for the aforementioned İlahizade Yusuf Efendi, and Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi. Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi, too, was influential, lending a hand most famously to Esiri Mehmed Efendi (d. 1681) who was the son of a prominent member of the society who moved to Bursa and became acquainted with higher members of the *'ilmiyye.*[1033]

From these, one can gather that these nodes were important to reach to the top of the ulema hierarchy, but to get in touch with these nodes, one had to be also well-connected, well-known, or well-off. In the above examples of three families, we have seen the various ways in which a family was established as a network and incorporated themselves in the larger ties of patronage: capital, Sufi connections, or seemingly, merit. In turn, those who reached to the top by way of their own connections, thanks to their social and economic capital, imposed themselves as nodes of patronage in the political network of the ulema. Of course, it has always

[1030] Donuk, 583.
[1031] Ibid., 610.
[1032] Ibid., 756.
[1033] Donuk, 601.

been important who your superior (teacher, boss, or in this case, *mülāzemet*-giver) is. Yet, it is also important to note that patronage ties reveal another important relationship, this time top to bottom. By occupying a position that allowed them to become a patron, the possessors of these posts used this opportunity to establish relationships with others with power, such as shaykhs of powerful lodges, rich merchants, other members of ulema, mostly through having their sons as *mülāzım*s. Thus, it was also important who your follower, student, or disciple would be.

Although Bursa was not directly central, at least in comparison to Istanbul, in *'ilmiye* hierarchy, the authors of *vefeyātnāme*s presented a network of patronage, which, not only worked vertically but horizontally, or even when it was vertical, it was bidirectional. They tried to keep up with the times (especially in the example of Beliğ), while broadening the base for the definition of being Bursan. Demonstrating the intricate relations within ulema, they situated Bursa in the larger network of political and social relations in the *'ilmiye* hierarchy. By emphasizing certain relations outside of or at the fringes of Bursa, they tended to provide a broad definition for being Bursan. This was an attempt to not only expand the social base but also amplify the prestige for everyone connected. The authors showed that those who were linked somehow to the city had still an essential role in it and used their influence for other fellow Bursans to succeed. The reciprocal relationship between city works as those who rose in the ranks thanks to the city and its network, gave back to the same network, creating a loose pattern of Bursan patronage.

4.5 Politics of afterlife

Naturally, in their core, our *vefeyātnāme*s deal with the dead.[1034] While each entry can be read as a short bio of a deceased person, they could also be seen as epitaphs. Most of the time, they include the specific information about where (the graveyard or burial ground, its neighborhood or location) and next to whom (his father, his teacher, the shaykh he was a disciple of, and such) the deceased were buried, together with the chronogram for their date of death and who wrote it, and when possible, the cause of death. In fact, the epitaphs started to resemble *vefeyātnāme* entries. As early as the sixteenth century, funerary epitaphs came to reflect a standard pattern with an invocation to God, information about the deceased, a prayer for their soul, and date.[1035] As *vefeyātnāme*s, the funerary epitaphs had an audience. Starting from the eighteenth century, they became more and more detailed, including the occupation and family links of the deceased, and the networks they belonged to.[1036] Of course, for epitaphs, personal or familial strategies were at play. On the other hand, *vefeyātnāme*s were written by a single author, who had already selected a group of people. Still, this author -perhaps with the motives detailed in the introductory part of this chapter- wanted to illustrate a network of great men, stressing the importance of each person with linking them to other great men in their lives, as well as in their afterlives. Simpler as it was, Baldırzade wrote his work in the hopes of bringing together the lives of many esteemed personages.[1037] In the end, these texts were written to immortalize the memories of a group of people, perhaps

[1034] The exception to this is, of course, the authors. However, only Süleyman Halis chose to share the details of his career. (Abdurrezzak Tek, *Süleyman Halis'in vefeyâtında Osmanlı dönemi Bursa'da dinî ve sosyal zümreler: Sûf'iler, müderrisler, kadılar, kâtipler, tüccarlar (1618-1769)*, 227-232).
[1035] Edhem Eldem, "Urban voices from beyond: identity, status and social strategies in Ottoman Muslim funerary epitaphs of Istanbul (1700-1850)," 236.
[1036] Ibid., 247.
[1037] Baldırzade, 72-73.

expecting that someone else in the future would do the same. As a matter of fact, Beliğ admitted that he had decided to write his work after contemplation led to an ambition of immortality. He further chose not to write an addendum for *Ravża-i Evlīyā* , but a completely new work.[1038] Therefore, both authors decided to include the burial places of the deceased, together with whom they were buried next to, making it closer to the spatiality of a cemetery or burial ground. Through this, we are able to grasp the strategies of burial. For example, Edhem Eldem narrates that especially in the eighteenth century, people were using "whatever form of linkage was available" for a greater visibility, for a better placement of the deceased's memory in the collective consciousness.[1039] Apparently, the person whom they lied next to or near became a status symbol, too.

On the other hand, we are yet to gain an in-depth understanding of the burial practices in seventeenth-century Bursa. For *intra-muros* Istanbul, Nicolas Vatin states that burials were under strict government control. For instance, burial in a private property was prohibited.[1040] The burial other than designated cemeteries, such as *ḥażīre* of madrasas, lodges, or mosques, were also overseen as one had to form a valid reason to be buried there. Only if the deceased was the patron/founder of the building that the *ḥażīre* lied next to, or the deceased had had a familial, professional, or patronage relationship with the patron, or that it had been a family tradition to be buried in that specific location, would the government give permission.[1041] This might or might not have been so for Bursa, since Bursa was expanded beyond its intra-muros area very early. Still, it is plausible to think that for a burial in a *ḥażīre,*

[1038] Donuk, 202-203.
[1039] Eldem, 253.
[1040] Nicolas Vatin, *Les cimetières dans la ville: statut, choix et organisation des lieux d'inhumation dans Istanbul intra muros*, 5.
[1041] Idem., "L'inhumation *intra-muros* à Istanbul à l'époque Ottomane," 161-162.

even if it had not been subjected to a permission from the government, one had to, presumably, be related to the lodge, the mosque, the madrasa, or any other building that housed the burial ground. In a compelling example, İsmail Beliğ states that Mahmudzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1680) was buried in the *ḥażīre* of Hoca Mehmed Karamani masjid and next to Dede Efendi, who happened, in fact, to be his grandfather.[1042] Similarly, although a *müderris* in his life, Ahmedzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1704) was buried in the *ḥażīre* of the İncirli lodge of the Kadiriyye since he had been the teacher of the then-head of the lodge, İzzeddin Efendi. Ahmedzade was also buried next to İzzeddin Efendi's father Mehmed Efendi, who had been the founder of the lodge.[1043]

Therefore, *vefeyātnāme*s provide insights into the patronage and commitment links through the burial ground they were interred in and the person next to whom they would spend the eternity. Furthermore, *vefeyātnāme*s had another aspect that epitaphs did not have: chronograms. Chronograms which were written for the death date of significant people were added in *vefeyātnāme*s most of the time. Sometimes, the authors chose to write a chronogram, sometimes they just dropped an anonymous one, and at other times they cited someone else's chronogram for the deceased in question. Social capital loaded on these chronograms might move both ways. It was a status symbol to do homage to a person of merit; yet, it might be honorable for the deceased also to be remembered with such a poetic act. Most of the time, naturally, the deceased was older than the "chronographer" and the former sense is applicable. Yet, there were cases which would have made sense in the future. When a young poet or an alim who wrote a chronogram for a then-well-known person would become famous too, in retrospect, it might have become the latter sense. Although

[1042] Donuk, 609.
[1043] Ibid., 622.

rarer in our sources, there were instances where a poet wrote a chronogram for something else than a date of death. For instance, Talib Efendi (d. 1706) wrote a chronogram for the date Arif Abdülbaki Efendi became the kadi of Bursa.[1044] Similarly, the poet Nisari (d. 1657) wrote a chronogram in the form of six couplets for the date when Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi built his famous fountains in Bursa.[1045] In short, chronograms (or lack thereof) would allow us to comment on the status of the deceased and to some extent, the ones who wrote their chronograms.

The burial followed a series of patterns. The most common one was the burial to the designated areas. 258 people out of our *vefeyātnāme* population (of 302 people) had their places of burial written down. Eighteen were buried outside Bursa. At least 101 of them were buried in graveyards (67 in Pınarbaşı, 20 in Deveciler, 6 in Yeniyer, 4 in Kurdoğlu, 3 in Zindankapı, and 1 in Şehreküstü).[1046] This number is not exact since for the case of Emir Sultan, it is not always explicit whether the deceased was buried in its *ḥażīre* or graveyard. Even when a graveyard is named, our sources time and again try to give an approximate location. For Pınarbaşı graveyard, for instance, they mostly specify whether the deceased was buried near Kalenderhane,[1047] towards Mevlevihane,[1048] or near a shrine.[1049]

Furthermore, there were those who were buried at *ḥażīre*. These could be *ḥażīre* of mosques, lodges, or even schools (madrasas or *muʿallimḫāne*s). Accordingly, in order to be buried in a *ḥażīre* of a lodge, one should be connected to that lodge in one way or another. As we have seen above, being a tutor for a shaykh

[1044] Ibid., 706.
[1045] Ibid., 731-732.
[1046] For a brief summary of Ottoman graveyards in Bursa, see Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa Mezarlıkları."
[1047] Baldırzade, 140, 148, 211, 248; Donuk, 379, 380, 459, 478.
[1048] Baldırzade, 252; Donuk, 546.
[1049] Baldırzade, 256; Donuk, 565: "Düstūr̲ẖ̆ān Türbesi ḳurbında(...)"

might qualify one for that burial ground. Feyzullah Efendi's fourth son, İbrahim Efendi (d. 1709), also known as Şehzade Hacesi, was buried in Yoğurtlu Baba, a Nakşibendi lodge. Beliğ gave no reason whatsoever for his connection to the order, but wrote that he was buried in the vicinity of Süleyman Çelebi's grave, the famous author of *Mevlid*.[1050] Many shaykhs, expectedly, were buried in their own lodge. However, there were also others who were buried in graveyards, such as Pınarbaşı. One intriguing example portrays a Nakşibendi shaykh, Özbek Pir Mehmed (d. 1666-1667) who spent his time in a *muʿallimḫāne* in the Kavaklı Mescidi neighborhood – which also housed a Nakşibendi lodge - was buried in the *ḥażīre* of the school.[1051] This striking example for a shaykh was not a grand exception for professors. Muallim Ali Efendi (d. 1641/1642) was first a disciple to Semerkandiyye order. Then, he became an imam at Mahmud Paşa han; and a teacher at Akçeli Ebubekir *muʿallimḫāne* where he was buried.[1052] Except him, all of these professors were teaching at a higher level, at madrasas. Still, they were buried in the *ḥażīre*s of another institution of education. One particular example is Abdullah Efendi (d. 1601/1602) who was buried in Zeyni Çelebi *muʿallimḫāne,* built by his father.[1053] Although we have not encountered an example during our period, Baldırzade and Beliğ noted that Veliyüddinzade Ahmed Paşa (d. 1496/1497) had been buried in his namesake madrasa.[1054]

Another determining factor, perhaps the more significant one, is whom the deceased was buried next to or nearby. Of course, this could be seen simply as a guide for visitations - an effort to locate the deceased's grave for those who would

[1050] Donuk, 636.
[1051] Ibid., 372.
[1052] Ibid., 660; Baldırzade, 211.
[1053] Baldırzade, 209; Donuk, 553.
[1054] Donuk, 665-666; Baldırzade, 116-117.

want to pass by, visit, or pray for their soul. However, the fact that this was only done when the grave neighbor was well-known suggests that this was a strategy on the author's part to strengthen the importance of his chosen candidate for his work. In addition, sometimes, the authors just say that the person was buried among the shaykhs (*meşâyih-i Nakşibendiye âsûde oldukları makâm*), the successors (*ḫulefā-yı kirām civārında*), or the dervishes (*Şeyḫ Üftāde Efendi fuḳarāsı meyānında*). Therefore, this should not have been done for the sake of locating a grave only. Naturally, most of the time, the deceased was buried next to his father -who, on almost all occasions, had been well known, as well. Thus, we could see a lineage of people buried in the same grounds. Out of 302 people, only 62 were given an exact location as to whom they would spend the eternity with. 37 of them, on the other hand, were buried next to their relatives, mostly to their father. But these fathers were also almost always included in the *vefeyātnāme*s. In addition, when a close relative was not enough to underline the importance of the deceased, the *vefeyātnāme* authors pointed to the most important person possible as their grave "neighbor." For instance, Menteşzade damadı İbrahim Efendi (d. 1670) was buried among members of the Menteşzade family. Eskici Mehmed Dede (d.1618/1619), on the other hand, was buried next to his wife's grandfather.[1055]

Outside the circles of family, there were those who were buried next to their patrons. For shaykhs, this was most of the time their fathers as well. There were of course others who were buried next to their shaykhs when there were no familial relations.[1056] If there was no patronage relationship, the deceased with the highest degree possible from the same burial area was connected with the owner of the biography. For instance, Piri Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1710), although being a

[1055] Baldırzade, 108-109; Donuk, 444-445.
[1056] Baldırzade, 123, 199; Donuk, 395, 396.

müderris all through his life, was said to be buried near Nimetullah-ı Veli, a saint of the times of Emir Sultan.[1057] Damad Hasan Efendi (d. 1711), on the other hand, was buried next to the Seyfizade family graves.[1058] Similarly, Ömer Efendi (d. 1716) was interred next to İshak Hacesi Ahmed Efendi in the Deveciler graveyard. The degree of the person linked also ascended with the title of the deceased. For instance, shaykh al-Islam Menteşzade Abdurrahim Efendi (d. 1716) was buried next to shaykh al-Islam Ali Efendi.[1059] Furthermore, when a person who was included in *vefeyātnāme*s died outside Bursa, whenever possible, the authors followed a similar strategy. They noted that they were buried near the highest degree person that was supposed to be buried in the same cemetery. Thus, Hayli Bey (d. 1630/1631)[1060] was buried near Abu Hanifa, and Nazik Abdullah (d. 1686)[1061] was near Sadreddin Konevi. Suitably, the grave neighbor of engraver and painter Fahri Çelebi (d. 1611/1612)[1062] was the famous calligrapher Abdullah Kırımi (d. 1591).

Edhem Eldem claims that these links provided an opportunity for social promotion.[1063] Yet, our population did not need this promotion as they had already been the crème de la crème. However, in their justification to include these people, these links might have been a useful tool for *vefeyātnāme* authors. While including personages they deemed significant, yet vaguely or not directly linked to Bursa, they always give justification. For instance, Beliğ starts his biography on Niyazi-i Mısri by explaining why he chose to add him.[1064] Similarly, Baldırzade wrote entries for three important saints claiming that although they had no connection whatsoever to

[1057] Donuk, 638.
[1058] Ibid., 640.
[1059] Ibid., 646.
[1060] Ibid., 684.
[1061] Ibid., 729.
[1062] Ibid., 758.
[1063] Eldem, 247.
[1064] Donuk, 401.

Bursa, they had significant convents in the city.[1065] By linking these saints to Bursa, Baldırzade might have aimed to convey a sense of his city being a mystical node of saints. In the end, this was, naturally, about the integrity of their work, but also, it was an attempt to present Bursa as a city of saints. Correspondingly, many idioms praising the city for its links to great personages come here and there in the manuscripts.[1066]

Finally, among 302 people, only 19 people were given a chronogram for their date of death. Some of them do not specify the author. We do not have any reason to think that it was by the author of the *vefeyātnāme* since they specified when they wrote the chronogram. There were other cases where chronograms were written by a friend of the deceased (*aḥbābından birinden*). Again, a student, a friend, or a relative sometimes wrote a chronogram. For instance, Muidzade Fazlı Efendi wrote a chronogram for his tutor.[1067] Resim Efendi, on the other hand, wrote one for his master, Talib Efendi who was also famous as a chronographer (*tārīḫ-gūy*). Talib Efendi's three chronograms found a place in our sources. Abdülhadi Efendi, Sebzi Çelebi, and Tablizade Akli were the most prominent chronogram writers in the *vefeyātnāme*s. The authors, and especially Beliğ, also used these chronograms as a way to show the mastery and skill of their chosen poets. With the exception of Abdülhadi Efendi, the biographies of the rest were given in *Güldeste*.

In conclusion, reading biographies in *vefeyātnāme*s spatially as epitaphs would allow us to have a sense of the burial strategies. Close readings of the information given about the place of burial, on the other hand, would give us a passage to the mindset of the author. Through linking their great personages together,

[1065] Baldırzade, 72-73.
[1066] Ibid., 115, 132, 142, 180; Donuk, 374, 398, 420, 554, 714, et alibi.
[1067] Donuk, 559.

or with the uncontested saints, they highlighted their actual subject, Bursa, as the spring of great personages. Also, it should be kept in mind that there was a sense of competition with Istanbul, the indisputable capital of culture, culminating in Nazik Abdullah's couplet we have noted in the introduction to this chapter. Although the sense of competition between Istanbul and Bursa would require a deeper reading, the Bursa-mindedness presented throughout the texts brought about a notion or a sense of superiority.

4.6 Conclusion

Together with an inflation of honors, the seventeenth century saw an increase in the composition of biographical compilations written in the Ottoman lands.[1068] *Vefeyātnāme*s were localized works within this large body of biographical literature, specific to a place, and in our case, to Bursa. The prevalence of Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s almost qualifies it as a genre specific to Bursa. This trend of writing about Bursa within the framework of this genre was crystallized in the seventeenth century and culminated with Beliğ's work as the most inclusive example of the genre. Both in form and content, *vefeyātnāme*s underwent changes throughout the seventeenth century.

There was politics of writing involved, also. Although Beliğ borrowed to some extent from his predecessor, Baldırzade, he clearly expressed his wish to write not an addendum to his work, but an original one. His work was original in its organization and in being more inclusionary. Süleyman Halis, the author of the Bursa *vefeyātnāme* of 1752, on the other hand, criticized his approach of aiming at an original work instead of writing an addendum to its superior predecessor; and

[1068] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of piety," 79.

announced that his would be an addendum to Baldırzade's work.[1069] Baldırzade compiled his work alphabetically, which was seen as a subversion of official hierarchy as scholar-bureaucrats might stand on the same page with a *meczūb*.[1070] Taking into account that İsmail Beliğ chose to group people according to their profession, is it possible to say that Beliğ centered his account on official hierarchy? I argue that Beliğ wanted to broaden the social base of his *vefeyātnāme* population, while amplifying their prestige via updating their titles to the social codes of his era, and connecting them to the larger network of social and political relations. Even while grouping the *vefeyātnāme* population, Beliğ did not directly conform to the norms. For instance, there were many times when he gave examples of poetry written by the subject of the entry. This means many people dabbled in poetry but were not deemed by the author as poets. On the other hand, there were people who were members of ulema, but İsmail Beliğ chose to consider them in his section of poets. One significant example was Cinani (d. 1595), who is famous for his poetry and story compilations.[1071] It can be argued, therefore, that the perspective was not on the normative social categories of the period, but how the subject partook in the cultural network of the city. More than their assigned, attributed titles or ranks, how they were seen in the cultural domain mattered. If Baldırzade's attempt can be considered as binding "horizontal connections that brought official and unofficial religious authorities together,"[1072] Beliğ's was to include the social and cultural aspect beyond the religious authority into the larger web of Bursans.

[1069] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri*, 97.
[1070] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety," 75. In her article, Gürbüzel claims that Baldırzade's work is a bibliographic dictionary of the pious, which subverts the official hierarchy-centered approach of *tezkire*s, such as Taşköprülüzade's. Why Baldırzade would limit his focus on Bursa if he wanted to make an overarching claim was overlooked by the author.
[1071] Donuk, 673-678.
[1072] Gürbüzel, "Citizens of Piety," 86.

Although differing in their approaches, *vefeyātnāme*s still provide us with a multitude of details in every aspect of social life in the city. If we read them simply as biographical dictionaries, we might miss out the spatial aspect, for instance. Therefore, reading beyond their first layer as collections of individual biographies, it is possible to explore the networks of relationships within Sufi circles, among ulema, between artists and poets; and what's more, in the familial and power relations.

This chapter, therefore, is organized around these nodes. First, we explored the spatiality in our sources to get a better understanding about the surroundings that each person and account was set within. Second, analyzing the relationship between Sufis, we were able to render visible the power dynamics within certain lodges, the economic means of the orders, their construction efforts, and their relationship with the neighborhood and other people outside the order. Third, we have delved into the networks within the ulema through the vefeyatname lens, the position of Bursa madrasas within the ulema hierarchy, in order to expose the place of Bursa and the significance of being part of a Bursa network in the career paths of the ulema. The overarching theme of the chapter is Bursa-mindedness, sparked from an urban awareness in the writings. This Bursa-mindedness was manifested in many works, but crystallized in the form of *vefeyātnāme*s in the seventeenth century. Through uses of their texts, authors also demonstrated an effort to give Bursa its due.

*Vefeyātnāme*s work in three layers. First, the author connected himself to the great personages he had written about. Evidently, as we have seen, these personages could be quite modest, too. Yet, the authors found a greatness in their modesty or lamented that they died too soon or did not attain the fame and attention they had deserved. Second, the great personages were linked to Bursa in an attempt to emphasize the city's importance. Third, correspondingly, the great personages were

created by linking to each other or already established notables outside Bursa. Thus, Bursa became a city of saints because of the great personages it embraced, and these personages were great because Bursa had been a city of saints. The texts abound with attempts to identify with Bursa, to connect with the city's past, and to articulate a sense of place and a sense of belonging there. Drawing upon Aspa Gospodini, we may argue that this tendency built up to form a "spatial membership" where more and more people gradually chose to hold on to real places and identities.[1073] These identities encompassed the city's heritage, also. Through these texts, members of the urban space "write their own place in the city."[1074]

[1073] Aspa Gospodini, "European cities and place identity," 28.
[1074] Babayan, 2.

CHAPTER 5

READING, WRITING, AND OWNING THE WORDS

MANIFESTATIONS OF AN URBAN CULTURE

This chapter aims to shed light on reading and writing cultures of seventeenth-century Bursans. In doing so, I will be employing mainly probate records (tereke defterleri) and *vefeyātnāme*s. Although the link between readership and book possession is not direct, by cross-reading *vefeyātnāme*s which refer to the books that were read and probate records which list the books that were owned, we will be striving to make observations on reading practices of Bursans in general. On the other hand, terekes provide more information on the social aspect of book ownership, as they allow us to see how social categories affected -if they did- book possession patterns. The same might not be possible directly for reading, or even writing cultures as our sources do not allow us to delve into the different social categories. The main reasons for this are (i) as we have noted, the assumption that there was a direct link between book ownership and readership would be misleading, and (ii) our main source for writing patterns are almost exclusively *vefeyātnāme*s, which only rely on male Muslims who belonged almost exclusively to the the learned elites, most notably ulema and Sufis.

In the first three sections of this chapter, we will be dealing with the reading practices of Bursans. As noted above, we will employ a strategy of combining sources in order to ruminate on the reading culture in Bursa during the seventeenth century. Later, we are going to use terekes for a better understanding of book possession, i.e. who owned books, which books were likely to be owned, and for which reasons. Then, we will turn to our *vefeyātnāme* sources once more, in order to

see which books were actually read. In this part, we will also delve into the practice(s) of reading. Whenever possible, we will comment on the book endowments and public libraries and how they contributed to the reading practices. Finally, in section 5.4, we will be dealing with authorship. As an important cultural and intellectual hub, Bursa was a center for manuscript production in the seventeenth century as well. As a follow-up of sorts to our *vefeyātnāme* chapter, this section will demonstrate the works produced by different groups of people and over various genres.

All "written documents" -from cave paintings to love letters, poems to subpoenas, the little notes taken on books to personal notebooks- have a life and importance beyond their content. Their materiality, ownership information, and journey throughout history make them cultural objects. They are media conveying a message, but they also produce a cultural space, producing knowledge exceeding the mere message written on them.

Books are no different. As much as with their content, as objects in production and as knowledge in circulation, and with their possession patterns, they have been constituent elements of the cultural space of society. However, the book is not a historically given concept. It is the continuation of a written culture, taking up the form of bound pages. Before the printed book, written culture was in circulation via many forms of manuscripts. In pre-modern times, the written culture was not prevalent, yet it still functioned as a means to disperse information, culminating in Europe with the famous *Republic of Letters,* where handwritten letters, papers, and pamphlets were exchanged by a group of scholars and thinkers crossing borders.[1075]

[1075] Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting public and private spheres*, 7; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A cultural history of the French Enlightenment*, 17.

The emergence of the printing press, of course, made a difference. However, for the early modern Ottoman Empire, it is not possible to speak of a printing culture before the nineteenth century. Although İbrahim Müteferrika established an Arabic script press in the early eighteenth century, the press had a limited life span.[1076] Therefore, the Ottoman Empire remained largely a manuscript culture throughout the early modern period.[1077] Even though it did not produce a republic of letters,[1078] the manuscripts in circulation increased in number. The paper prices were not, in fact, in decrease,[1079] yet the production of manuscripts was on an increase. This can be accounted for with the economic growth, urbanization, and bureaucratization in the sixteenth century. The late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an expansion of manuscript culture with more and more people not only owning but also authoring and copying manuscripts, and keeping anthologies - not only copying what they found useful but also expressing themselves and their personal experiences, and interacting with what was going on around them through the written word.[1080] Thus, we see a gradual change in the owners *and* producers of manuscripts. The rise of

[1076] Meredith Quinn, "Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," 40. In the late eighteenth century, a printing house in the Imperial School of Military Engineering was also opened, see Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane, Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776-1826).*

[1077] The first printing press was set up in the Ottoman Empire was by members of the Jewish community in the late fifteenth century. Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler*, 100, dates the beginning in 1494. In 1567, the first Armenian printing press was opened (Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı*, 28-29) and the Greeks followed suit in 1627 (Nicephore Moschopoulos, *La Presse Dans La Renaisssance Balkanique*, 30). See also, Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453–1566*, 250–263; Yaron Ben Na'eh, "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire," 73–96; Raymond H. Kévorkian, "Le Livre imprimé en milieu arménien ottoman aux XVI'e siècles," idem., *Les imprimés Arméniens de XVIe et XVIIe siècles*; Pars Tuğlacı, "Osmanlı Türkiyesi'nde Ermeni Matbaacılığı ve Ermenilerin Türk Matbaacılığına katkısı;" Nil Pektaş, "The Beginnings of Printing in the Ottoman Capital: Book Production and Circulation in Early Modern Istanbul."

[1078] There is at least one example of transnational letter exchange between scholars: Jan Just Witkam, "Precious Books and Moments of Friendship in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,"

[1079] Erol Özvar, "Osmanlı Dünyasında Yazma Eser Üretkenliği," 38: Paper prices peak after mid-seventeenth century only to decrease at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

[1080] Derin Terzioğlu, "Mecmû'a-i Şeyh Mısrî," 319.

mecmūʿa culture, furthermore, blurred the boundaries of the owner and the producer, the author and the copyist, and the reader and the writer.

The study of reading culture or book culture has offered historians a broad perspective and extensive material for cultural and intellectual history as well as the history of *méntalites.* As a result, book possession has become a significant area of historical inquiry in recent scholarship. Similar to our study, these works are often based on tereke registers and endowment records. Some rely mostly (and sometimes, exclusively) on book-owning patterns but do not seem to show an interest in their readers.[1081] While some studies explore questions of audience and reading patterns,[1082] they often do not lay much importance on the intricate relationship between reading/book-owning and writing. This may be natural, as it is not possible to assume a readership with the existence or absence of book-possession data. Work on journals, menakıbnames, and most importantly *mecmūʿa*s have expanded through the last decade. There are also studies dealing with the complex world of manuscripts via the marginalia they contain,[1083] even presenting it as a textual space.[1084] Other

[1081] These studies were systematically conducted studies on prevalence of books, book prices, genres, the location/the neighborhood where the books were held: Ali İhsan Karataş, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi;" idem., "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Yaygın Olan Kitaplar;" idem. "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavülde Olan Kitaplar;" Esra Muhacir, "XVII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar'da Kitap Kültürü;" Talha Yılmaz, "Tereke Kayıtlarına göre XVII. yüzyılda İstanbul'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi;" Saim Yörük, "XVIII.Yüzyıl Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Adana'da Kitap Sahipliği;" Nisa Öktem, "XVIII.yüzyıl Galata Terekelerine göre Osmanlı'da kitap kültürü;" Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes);" idem., "18. Yüzyıl Diyarbakır'ında Kitap Sahipliği;" Said Öztürk, "XVII.Yüzyıl Askeri Kassam Defterlerinin Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlili."

[1082] Christoph K. Neumann, "Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa: Yeniçağ Osmanlı Dünyasında kitap yazmak ve okumak;" Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı'da okurlar ve okuma biçimleri üzerine bazı gözlemler;" Khaled El-Rouayheb, "The Rise of 'Deep Reading' in Early Modern Ottoman Scholarly Culture;" Henning Sievert, "Eavesdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Bureaucrat."

[1083] Sami Arslan, "Der-Kenar'ın Gölgesinde: Carullah Efendi' nin Tasavvuf Kitaplarına Düştüğü Notlar;" Özgür Kavak, "Bir Osmanlı Aliminin Bir Ömre Yayılan Okuma Serüveni: Veliyyüddin Carullah Efendi'nin Füru-ı Fıkıh Eserlerine Düştüğü Notlar;" Meredith Quinn, "Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul:" It is important to note that Meredith Quinn's dissertation is closer to what we are trying to do here. Quinn brings together a tereke-based study and a careful reading of the notes on the margin in two personal notebooks.

[1084] Elif Sezer, *The Oral and the written in Ottoman literature: The reader notes on the story of Fîrûzşâh.*

studies, especially on *mecmūʿa*s, deal with the manuscripts directly, and try to delineate a reading and writing culture, although without a statistical approach and a tereke-based study.[1085] It is important to note that one study by Nelly Hanna stands out in terms of its relevance to this dissertation. Hanna, through a discussion of book ownership and readership, argues for a middle class between the *mecālis* of the elite and commoners.[1086]

In this chapter, I aim to approach the mentality of the early modern Bursan middling sort through the lens of book ownership, readership, and their potential relationship. Specifically, I will investigate the relationship between books, reading, and the urban culture of Bursa. In doing so, I will explore how and to what extent studies of books and reading can enhance our understanding of early modern urbanity.

5.1 A culture of reading

Ottomans owned books. The ratio of book holding changed geographically and differed in Arabic-speaking and Turkish-speaking domains. But also, as we will see in the following, book ownership was far more prevalent in major cities – and it is safe to assume that, as also will be shown, book owning was a largely urban phenomenon.[1087] However, the book owners were still a minority. Just as book ownership does not necessarily add up to literacy,[1088] book owners being a minority does not mean that only them were dabbling in reading.

[1085] Kathryn Babayan, *The city as anthology: Eroticism and urbanity in early modern Isfahan*; Hatice Aynur et al. (eds.), *Mecmua: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*.
[1086] Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books: A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century.*
[1087] An important exception to this was the Sufi lodges in the countryside. For instance, Abdal Musa lodge in Antalya had a rich library. See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, esp. 148-153.
[1088] Literacy in the early modern sense is not something we could take for granted. From an early modern Ottoman scholar's perspective, for instance, those who knew only Turkish might be

Historians of books and reading have noted that pre-modern reading was often more than just reading alone or deep reading by oneself. There were many reading circles where people read aloud while many others listened. Obviously, reading the holy book Qur'an out loud was the most prevalent form. From *vefeyātnāme*s we can find out that there were many people who were famous for their Qur'an reading.[1089] In addition to the Qur'an, hadiths were also recited. In a *berāt* dated 1662, a shaykh was appointed to Kasım Subaşı lodge in Bursa for reciting hadiths.[1090] Also, there were many endowment deeds which specified the Qur'an to be read for the soul of the endower.[1091] Of course, catechisms, too, were read by preachers.[1092] There is an account of Ahmed Gazzi, the founder of Gazzi lodge in Bursa, where he read Turkish books of exhortation to women.[1093]

Probably the most famous books that were read in public circles were *Muḥammediye*, *Mesnevī*, and *Mevlid*, the last of which was written by a Bursan, Süleyman Çelebi. Seyyid İbrahim Efendi (d. 1709/1710) was famous for his bass (*dāvūdī*) voice when reading both *Muḥammediye* and *Mevlid*.[1094] There were other accounts of famous *mevlid-ḫᵕān*s (reciters of *Mevlid*) in *vefeyātnāme*s.[1095] The famous musician Ubeyd Efendi (d.1657) learned reciting the *Mevlid* from the person who composed its music.[1096] Besides, there were people who endowed cash for

"illiterate," too. "Nushī also characterizes the same group as ümmī, a word that is usually translated as 'illiterate', but which had a broader range of meanings." Derin Terzioğlu, "Where *ʾilm-i hāl* Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization," 90. On the other hand, there is at least one account of an efendi who composed poetry and songs without knowing how to read or write (Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed, *Ravza-i Evliya*, 132-133).

[1089] Donuk, 345, 388, 425, 655; Baldırzade, 271, 286.

[1090] Öcalan, 257.

[1091] See Chapter 4 for more information.

[1092] Mustafa Kara, *Bursa'da tarikatler ve tekkeler* (2012), 655.

[1093] Ibid., 580.

[1094] Donuk, 752.

[1095] Baldırzade, 260; Donuk, 749, 753.

[1096] Donuk, 750: "*Mevlid-i Süleymān*'ı beste iden sekbāndan ta'allüm idüp ḳırā'atına me'z̲ūn olmışdur."

Muḥammediye recitals. In 1642, Karaca Dede endowed the cash that would be gathered from selling of his house to Eşrefzade lodge, where he wanted *Muḥammediye* to be recited every day after the afternoon (*'aṣr*) prayers.[1097] Similarly, Kerime Hatun endowed cash for *Muḥammediye* to be recited in Üftade mosque;[1098] while two other people endowed cash for the same recital at the Emir Sultan mosque.[1099] Another famous reading material was the *Mesnevī* and its recitation was also a subject of at least one cash waqf. In 1614, Fatma Hatun from Tefsirhan neighborhood endowed five thousand *akçe*s, with which the trustee of the waqf would buy a house for the founder of the Mevlevihane of Bursa, Cünuni Ahmed Efendi (d. 1620/1621), to live in. In return, the shaykh would recite the *Mesnevī* to dervishes.[1100] Ahmed Efendi was a famous *mesnevī-ḫ ̌ān*, who, before coming to Bursa, learned how to recite this text in the Mevlevihane of Baghdad.[1101] In addition, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1716/1717) became popular and was a beloved person in the eyes of the public due to his skills in reciting the *Mesnevī*.[1102]

Many books were read for educational purposes, too. Mainly, the education at the time was through oral-aural learning in which the teacher reads, and the pupils listen. This only started to change in the seventeenth century to another form of learning, one where the student reads by oneself, where "a more impersonal and textual model of transmission of knowledge" became more prevalent.[1103] Therefore, while reading to the pupils was the norm, we did not encounter accounts of education in class in our sources. Yet, there were other instances of teaching, not in madrasas

[1097] Öcalan, 255.
[1098] BCR, B-45, 32a.
[1099] BCR, B-142, 3b; BCR, B-39, 71a.
[1100] BCR, B-33, 65a.
[1101] Donuk, 336; Baldırzade, 113.
[1102] Donuk, 341.
[1103] Khaled El-Rouayheb, "The Rise of 'Deep Reading' in Early Modern Ottoman Scholarly Culture."

but at the lodges. For instance, the disciple of Niyazi Mısri, and founder of Gazzi lodge, Ahmed Gazzi (d. 1738) read to his students every morning the famous exegesis of Beyzavi (d. 1286?) titled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa al-asrār al-taʿwīl*, first in Cami-i Kebir, then in his lodge.[1104] Muid Efendi (d.1656), on the other hand, was reading out loud the same exegesis at his home.[1105] In addition to *Beyzavi*, another famous exegesis, *Keşşāf* (*al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl*) of Zamakhshari (d. 1143) was read. Mehmed Efendi (d. 1616) was noted for having read *Keşşāf* during his early education. Furthermore, although he did not possess any books, Ahmed Efendi's (d. 1609) biography included his ability to recite *Keşşaf* and *Beyzavi* by heart.[1106]

Naturally, there were many other mentions of different books read in public, such as Fuzuli's *Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā*, an account of the martyrdom of Husayn, which was read every year during the month of Muḥarram in Ramazan Baba lodge, until the late nineteenth century.[1107] Various versions of the Miʿraj (Ascension) of the prophet Muhammad were also recited.[1108] As an interesting story, Öcalan conveys that, due to a waqfiyya from 1888, *Miraciye* of Nayi Osman Dede is still recited at the night of Mi'raj at Mahkeme Mosque in Bursa.[1109] There is a similar waqf record from the seventeenth century, too. One Mümine Hatun endowed a house to the imam of Şeyh Hasan mosque in return for his reading every night from Gazali's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* for the sake of the endower's soul.[1110]

[1104] Tek, *Süleyman Halis'in vefeyatında,* 41; Öcalan, 256-257.
[1105] Donuk, 424.
[1106] Baldırzade, 112; Donuk, 412.
[1107] Mehmed Şemseddin, 361.
[1108] Tek, *Süleyman Halis'in vefeyatında,* 88.
[1109] Öcalan, 259.
[1110] Ibid., 267.

Poetry was also recited in public, or in particular social circles. However, we only have rare records of reciting poetry in our sources (mainly in *vefeyātnāme*s). One case illustrates that İlahizade Ali Çelebi, whom we mentioned in Chapter 4, was famous in *mecālis* for reciting poetry he composed in Turkish.[1111] Similarly, storytelling cases were rarely mentioned, yet we have more information about storytellers, interacting with written materials. In Bursa, coffeehouses were swarming with storytellers. During the infamous bans of Murad IV, it seems that Bursa was not affected, and many people rushed to Bursa for some coffeehouse fun.[1112] Evliya, furthermore, likens these coffeehouses to institutions of wisdom and knowledge.[1113] Bursa seems to have had its share of storytellers throughout history,[1114] and they were so famous that they were employed by the Palace. Bursalı Emir Çelebi participated in the festival in Edirne in 1675 held by Sultan Mehmed IV and brought down the house.[1115] Another interesting yet not so delightful story is the story of Hayli Beg. İsmail Beliğ (d. 1729) in his *vefeyātnāme*, *Güldeste* (1722/1728), narrates that Hayli Beg killed a storyteller in a Bursa coffeehouse after a dispute over a story.[1116] Around the same year, the traveler George Wheler was introduced to "a most obscene Puppet - Show" in a coffee house by a French renegade residing in Bursa, who pretended to be a physician.[1117] Similarly, Vincent Stochove wrote that in coffeehouses, Turks had a habit of drinking coffee while watching farces. They attended one such performance and felt as free as they would have in Christian

[1111] Baldırzade, 210; Donuk, 556.
[1112] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi, II. Kitap*, 18. Katip Çelebi also claims that the ban did not affect the coffeehouses outside Istanbul - while Istanbul coffee houses were dismantled, they were reopened (Katip Çelebi, *The balance of truth*, 61).
[1113] Evliya Çelebi, *II. Kitap,* 18: "mecma'u'l-irfân-ı kân-ı zurefâ."
[1114] Özdemir Nutku, "XIV. Yüzyıldan XVII. Yüzyıla kadar Bursalı Kıssahanlar ve Meddahlar;" Değirmenci, "An Illustrated Mecmua: The Commoner's Voice and the Iconography of the Court in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting."
[1115] Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-î âl-î Osmân*, 213.
[1116] Donuk, 682.
[1117] George Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, 213.

lands.[1118] İsmail Beliğ, on the other hand, spared a subsection of his *Güldeste* for storytellers, "*Gürūh-ı Meddāḥān-ı Şīrīn-zebān"* (Group of sweet-talking storytellers). Among them, for instance, Pertevizade Ahmed Çelebi (d. 1684) was especially famous for his recitals of the *Şehnāme*.[1119]

Besides reading circles, practices of reading aloud, and related performances, there were libraries which were also direct signifiers of a reading culture. Although the first public libraries arrived in the late seventeenth century in Istanbul,[1120] there were endowed book collections, and libraries in Sufi lodges and mosques.[1121] As we will see, these were most of the time small collections of books that were kept at a corner in a mosque, or sometimes in a small cabinet, and rarely in a separate room. For a separate building, one would have to wait until the seventeenth century. Besides, the books endowed to madrasas and their libraries were not open to anyone who wanted to leaf through pages of any manuscript. However, book collections of Sufi lodges or mosques functioned rather differently. They were a gate to books for those who wanted to have an informal education.[1122] Still, not all libraries and book collections were welcoming. For instance, Shaykh Mehmed Çelebi b. Shaykh Yakub endowed books for İlahi lodge and stipulated that they could be read only by lodge dwellers.[1123] On the other hand, some tried to preserve the books by not allowing them to leave the premises. In Umur Bey's waqfiyya, probably the earliest reference

[1118] Vincent Stochove, *Voyage du Levant du Sr. de Stochove*, 181-182: "(...)nous y estions avec autant de liberté que si nous eussions esté en Chrestienté (...)."
[1119] Donuk, 756.
[1120] Quinn, 74-78.
[1121] İsmail Erünsal worked extensively on the functioning and history of libraries in the Ottoman Empire. See İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman libraries: A survey of the history, development and organization of Ottoman foundation libraries* and *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II* for a detailed study. Also see, Yavuz Sezer, "The architecture of bibliophilia: eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries."
[1122] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam: Ortaçağdan yirminci yüzyıla*, 224-229.
[1123] Gönül Gülşen Türk, "Tasavvuf Kültüründe Derviş-Kitap Münasebeti ve Tekke Kütüphaneleri," 47.

to a mosque library in Bursa, it was prohibited to take the books outside the mosque.[1124]

Endowment was a major way for founding or contributing to existing libraries. Most famously, Molla Yegan (d. 1461?) endowed around three thousand books and founded a library.[1125] Similarly, half a century later, one Muslihiddin Çelebi donated his books to Cami-i Kebir for the use of those who were in need.[1126] Library as a concept (and also, a building type) arose in the late seventeenth century with the Köprülü library in Istanbul.[1127] However, not even the famous late eighteenth century Cami-i Kebir book collection which was considered as a library by Kamil Kepecioğlu, [1128] İsmail Erünsal[1129] and others was not called a *kitābḫāne* in contemporary documents. In the founding waqfiyya of this library by Abdullah Münzevi, a shaykh of Nakşibendiyye, it is specified as a cabinet.[1130] One reason why the late eighteenth-century library of Cami-i Kebir was considered important is that this collection was maintained until the books became a part of Bursa Manuscript Library (now, BİYEK). Also, the books which were donated to Cami-i Kebir before the late eighteenth century were probably left there for people to be read there or to be taken home. Besides, Cami-i Kebir was known to be a place of exchange for books. In tereke records, we see time and again that books that were in possession of the deceased were sometimes sold at Cami-i Kebir and added to the total amount of the estate.[1131] Or else, they were simply put in a cabinet.[1132] Visiting Bursa in the late

[1124] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 10.
[1125] Ibid., 22-23.
[1126] Ibid., 33.
[1127] For more information on the development of the library as a building type, see Yavuz Sezer, "The architecture of bibliophilia: eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries."
[1128] Kepecioğlu, *III,* 257.
[1129] Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 204, 244, 261, et alibi.
[1130] Hasan Basri Öcalan, "Bursa'da Abdullah Münzevi Dergahı Vakfiyyesi," 23. However, there is at least one account where the word *kitābḫāne* was used to denote a tin cage cabinet. See note 1146.
[1131] BCR, B-119, 52a, 136a; BCR, B-137, 27a; Kepecioğlu, *II,* 160.
[1132] Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 51.

sixteenth century, Stephen Gerlach refers to small cabinets around the graves filled with books for visitors or preachers to read from.[1133]

In addition to mosques, books could also be endowed to madrasas and dervish lodges. For instance, Ahmed b. Hızır Bey (d. 1521) endowed books for the library of his own madrasa.[1134] This must be Müftü Ahmed Paşa Madrasa in our sources as Ahmed Bey was the brother of Sinan Paşa. In the sixteenth century, Erünsal claims that libraries became an inseparable part of madrasas. For instance, Emir Sultan madrasa had a library in the mid-sixteenth century.[1135] Hüseyin Çelebi madrasa had a library, specified in a repair estimation document from 1682.[1136] It is only too plausible for madrasas to have libraries or some sort of book collection. Yet, as we have mentioned above, these books were most probably not accessible to outsiders as those in most of the lodges were.

One thesis found that at least nine lodges in Bursa had a considerable number of books in their collection. The author compiled lists of books held in nine lodge libraries.[1137] However, she followed a retrospective approach in compiling the list of books, going through the BİYEK collection and determining which books came from lodge libraries. Thus, these lists, besides being short, reflect the books held in 1925 when the lodges were closed. On the other hand, the oldest waqfiyya related to book collections in Bursa lodges was from the late sixteenth century. It was a donation of books to Şeyh İlahi, or Yoğurtlu Baba, lodge in 1572. Another library donation in a Bursa lodge was made by Hüsameddin Efendi, who also founded Temenye lodge.[1138] Yet, when we read the endowment deed, we see that these were still books in a

[1133] Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü 1573-1576*, 448.
[1134] Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 40.
[1135] Ibid., 42.
[1136] Kepecioğlu, *II,* 200.
[1137] Türk, 48.
[1138] Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 55. Kamil Kepecioğlu, *III,* 72, dates this library to 1630.

cabinet.[1139] Another one was seventeenth-century Ahmed Gazzi lodge. Although the founder endowed 70 books belonging to his shaykh Niyazi Mısri and himself to his own lodge,[1140] a library as a specified part of the lodge would only be established in 1819.[1141] Probably, Nakşibendiye lodge in Kavaklı neighborhood had the first lodge library in this sense. Its library building was mentioned in a waqfiyya of 1780.[1142]

We are yet to discover more book endowment records from the seventeenth century. In a dissertation on seventeenth-century Bursa waqfs, Samettin Başol states that he has found eight waqfs endowing books in Bursa. All of these date to the early seventeenth century, the latest dating back to 1631.[1143] Kepecioğlu mentions one Mehmed Çelebi who endowed 32 books in 1670.[1144]

Although rare, there are accounts of personal libraries as well. Hasan Efendi (d. 1607/1608) was buried in front of a cell, which was his personal library on the right side of his mosque.[1145] Nimeti Çelebi (d. 1650), on the other hand, crafted a library for himself, resembling a tin cage, to keep various books in it.[1146] Not surprisingly, we know that Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi (d. 1658), too, had a library where he liked to spend his free time, implying that it should at least be a separate room.[1147]

Besides libraries, books were changing hands in various other fashions. As we have noted above, Cami-i Kebir was a place of bookselling. In addition to this,

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[1139] Kara, *Bursa'da tarikatler ve tekkeler*(2012), 504. For a list of books endowed, see Öcalan, 252-253.
[1140] Hamdi Tekeli, "Ahmed Gazzi'nin hayatı ve tasavvufi görüşleri," 41.
[1141] Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi II,* 125.
[1142] Ibid., 107.
[1143] Samettin Başol, "Kentleşme, ekonomi ve sosyal hayat yönleriyle 17. yüzyıl Bursa vakıfları," 103.
[1144] Kepecioğlu, *III,* 145.
[1145] Baldırzade, 150: "…kendi kitâbhânesi…" Suat Donuk, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Beliğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı*, 400: "…kitab-ẖānesi olan ḫücrede…" Although it seems like a mosque library, the way it was written in the accounts was different. They stressed, in both accounts, that it was his library.
[1146] Donuk, 734: "…telden ḳafes miṣāl müşebbek kendüye bir kitāb-ẖāne īcād idüp…"
[1147] Kepecioğlu, *I*, 52.

there were booksellers. Bookselling must have been an ancient business; however, the first record we can find for bookselling (*ṣaḥḥāf*) in Bursa is from 1463.[1148] It should have been a prevalent business already in the sixteenth century since there was a market of booksellers in Bursa - and it continued to be named as such until it was burned down in 1958.[1149] Booksellers served a wide range of individuals from foreign travelers to members of the ulema, madrasa students to middling sort artisans.[1150]

One case about bookselling is especially interesting. We know that most probably Zinciri Ali Efendi lodge was previously used as a library by Üftade Efendi in the late sixteenth century.[1151] Either Üftade's collection had been a large collection, or it grew in time; but before his grandson İbrahim Efendi died in 1678, he wrote a will allowing 440 books from this very collection to be sold in order to compensate for the salaries of the imam, preacher, and other attendants of Üftade mosque.[1152] Although from the end of the sixteenth century, one example of book selling is worth mentioning here. Kepecioğlu narrates a case where someone named Kemali applied to the court in 1590 to state that he obtained the fee of the books he sold forty-five years ago in Akseki, Antalya. Apparently, the person whom he sold the books died and his inheritor, his brother Mustafa came all the way to Bursa to pay the price.[1153]

Renting was also an important way for books to change hands. Although we did not encounter any cases for Bursa, Meredith Quinn observes, in a *tereke* entry,

[1148] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar,* 55.
[1149] Ibid., 61-63; M. Asım Yediyıldız, *Şer'iye Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Bursa Esnafı ve Ekonomik Hayat*, 206: There were 43 Muslim sahafs in Bursa in the second half of the sixteenth century.
[1150] Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 146-148.
[1151] Mehmed Şemseddin, 381.
[1152] Kepecioğlu, *II*, 218-219.
[1153] Idem, *III,* 33-34.

that one Ahmed Efendi of Istanbul owned many copies of certain books which might be kept for renting purposes. It is seen that through renting books, people who could not afford or were not interested in buying books, got acquainted with books and their contents - whether they were catechisms, legends, stories, or compilations of jokes and poetry.[1154] The phenomenon was also observed by a contemporary, again in Istanbul. Antoine Galland, in his journal, states that there were book-renters who let the readers keep certain books in return for four or five *akçe*s.[1155]

In addition to the circulation via selling and renting manuscripts, there must have been another evident fashion. Books were also gifted or lent between households. Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual found at least one example where books left home in this fashion.[1156] We know that Sebzi Efendi, taking into account a famous Arabic idiom that "unique books are the best treat that a friend can offer," compiled *mecmūʿa*s and gifted them.[1157] There is another account of grievance over a *mecmūʿa* of poetry gifted but then, the receiver lost it.[1158] Besides gifting, *mecmūʿa*s left home via stealing. Talib Efendi (d. 1706/1707) wrote a *rubā'iyye* for the poet named Faiz, whose *mecmūʿa* had been stolen.[1159]

Unfortunately, for our period and city, we cannot know who read what in any library that existed then or what people rented out, exchanged, or loaned. As we have seen there were lists of books belonging to lodge libraries which remained there as late as 1925. Although these books most probably were in these lodge collections at earlier dates as well, the information we have is not sufficient to comment on a

[1154] Quinn, 138-139; Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı'da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," 16-17.
[1155] Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland,* 242.
[1156] Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700," 145-146.
[1157] Donuk, 694-695: "n'am āl-ānis mecmūʿa ān-nafīs"
[1158] Ibid., 713.
[1159] Ibid., 707.

library of a seventeenth-century lodge. However, in order to understand the approach towards books and what kinds of books were read in seventeenth century Bursa lodges, we could consider two lists given by two Sufis from the seventeenth century Bursa. Besides donating a batch of books, Hüsameddin Bursevi compiled a list of books that should be read.[1160] Likewise, Niyazi Mısri recommended a series of books in his works.[1161]

With no public libraries in the modern sense or no records of inventories or book-borrowing logs in the mosque or convent libraries,[1162] we can only consider book ownership through the estate inventories and endowment records. As endowment records we found are scarce, in order to better understand the books owned in the seventeenth century Bursa, we will turn to estate inventories to shed light on book-owning patterns and to readership.

5.2 Who owned books?

Considering all the problems that *tereke* and *sicil*-based studies pose,[1163] it is impossible to claim that tereke registers perfectly reflect the whole population. Yet, they provide significant information regarding book ownership. However, it is once again important to keep in mind that there would be many discrepancies. For instance, it is expected for professors of madrasas to own books regardless of their wealth, or at least, comparable to their wealth. In my reading of terekes, I have found eight people who have been specified as *müderris*. While five had more extensive collections in their estates, two had no books at all, and one had only a Qur'an. Of

[1160] Öcalan, 253.
[1161] Ibid., 260. We will be returning to these lists in the following subchapters.
[1162] Quinn, 68.
[1163] For a brief discussion about *sicil* and *tereke* registers in the Ottoman Empire, and breakdown of the tereke population used here as well, see Chapter 2.

five *müderris*es with book collections in their estates, one İbrahim Efendi b. Mustafa had sixty-five books, and they were worth almost half of his estate.[1164] Interestingly, by wealth,[1165] he ranked last among *müderris*es with possessions that were only one-tenth of the second-least rich *müderris*, Mehmed Çelebi b. Abdülgani Efendi. This latter's books were worth only four percent of his total estate.[1166] There is no reason for us to think that İbrahim Efendi b. Mustafa gifted part of his belongings. While his tereke suggests that he was a poor müderris, we know that he probably was not poor. İbrahim Efendi was known as Girihgirzade and when he died, he had an *arpalık*[1167] of Atranos, and was recently discharged from the judgeship of Kete district.[1168] Is it, therefore, more plausible to suggest that he might have gifted the more valuable part of his belongings? Why, then, did he not gift or donate this book collection too? Maybe his wife claimed ownership of the rest because she could not have done the same for the books. This example, too, strengthens our warning of using tereke registers.

Here it is vital to emphasize that owning books does not necessarily add up to literacy or readership.[1169] However, it might help locate a "middle ground" between the bookish elite culture and the oral popular culture.[1170] On the other hand, this data on book ownership might provide insights into the cultural space of a

[1164] Bursa Court Records (BCR), B-72, 57a.
[1165] These are the real values with 1 *akçe* = 1 in 1645. Henceforth every nominal monetary value is deflated according to the price indices given in Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve diğer kentlerde 500 yıllık fiyatlar ve ücretler, 1469–1998*.
[1166] BCR, B-72, 70a.
[1167] See Chapter 4.
[1168] Donuk, 569-570; Baldırzade, 123.
[1169] Hülya Canbakal, Meredith Quinn, and Derin Terzioğlu, "Book Ownership Across Centuries: The Case of Military Men in Bursa, 1620-1840," 145.
[1170] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," 122: Kafadar points out to the dualism dominating the historiography of the Ottoman Empire, of the popular and courtly culture; Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books: A cultural history of Cairo's middle class, sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, 4.

seventeenth-century Ottoman city via the relationship of book ownership with wealth, class, gender, title, and places of residence.

As an intellectual and cultural hub, Bursa was an essential center for book culture as well.[1171] A close reading of estate inventories reveals that book ownership was prevalent in seventeenth-century Bursa. We see many people owning books, and although it seems that certain groups had a higher tendency to possess them, book ownership seems to be a phenomenon that cuts across certain social boundaries to some extent.

In this part, I will be dealing with those groups of Bursans who owned more books than others, and inquire whether patterns of book ownership give us insights into the social composition and social boundaries in Bursa. I will be using the data I have obtained from estate records and, when possible, I will be comparing this data with previous studies conducted for other cities in the Ottoman realm, or for Bursa in different time frames. In addition, with the help of manuscripts produced during the period in question in Bursa, I will try to show which books were read and utilized.

Before going into details about my research, I would like to discuss methodologies I and other researchers have used, and handicaps inherent to these. The first and foremost issue to be addressed should be the choice of tereke registers. As we will see, many studies used terekes of only *ʿaskerī*, or only *reʿāyā*. In addition, sometimes the tereke defters were sampled while sometimes they were chosen at random. There are studies that do not give any information about their methodology as well. Many times, we do not have an understanding of the size of the tereke population. Also, many studies do not focus on non-book owners and only comment

[1171] Tülün Değirmenci, "An Illustrated Mecmua," 194: Değirmenci argues that the book culture developed thanks to the increasing economic ability, literacy, and the decrease of book prices due to cheap paper imported. Bursa among other places fits perfectly in this picture as a major cultural and economic hub of the Empire.

on book owners while we know that, especially in our period of study, book owners were a minority. A major problem arises when comparing the book prices. As I have explained above, I am deflating the prices of books and other numbers for a meaningful comparison. As we will see, researchers might altogether ignore this or choose to use different methodologies. Therefore, it is vital to keep in mind that comparisons based on other studies of book holding patterns should add up to an impressionistic understanding of the issue. Yet, I believe that it is still important to sustain a comparative perspective, despite its weaknesses and drawbacks, since the number of studies done in this context are too few and without any comparison it is not possible to further our understanding about book holding patterns in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

In my research, I have gone through seven volumes of tereke records with a total of 1814 distinct entries. Only 212 people among this total owned books, which corresponds to a rate of 11.7%. It is not surprising to find such a low rate for two reasons. The first one is, as we have noted in the Introduction, tereke records might not reflect the true nature of book ownership as they do not include everyone. Even when there is a record of a person, we cannot know with any certainty whether they owned books before their death, i.e., they might have donated or gifted or even sold them - and this is valid for many other objects and commodities. The second one is that book ownership needed a particular set of requirements: (i) since they were not cheap,[1172] books required a certain number of means; (ii) they are objects that are

[1172] Erol Özvar, 38: Paper prices peaked after the mid-seventeenth century only to decrease at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

meant to be read, so they required literacy;[1173] and, (iii) they indeed call for a certain mentality.

An obvious question can be posed: Does a person need to know how to read or write to have a Qur'an in their household? At this point of the study, I decided to leave out those who only have the Qur'an for most of the analyses, unless stated otherwise.[1174] This decreases the owners of books to a mere 128 and the percentage to 7.1%.[1175] This is less than what Meredith Quinn found for seventeenth-century Istanbul (11.5%), while her percentage of all book owners was 16.5%.[1176] Understandably, in seventeenth-century Istanbul, more people tended to own books than Bursa. Yet, Said Öztürk found a soaring percentage of 24 in his study of Istanbul from the late sixteenth to late seventeenth century.[1177] This is due to Öztürk's focus on *ʿaskerī* solely. In my data, of 828 *ʿaskerī* records, 159 owned books, leading to a percentage of 19.2. The difference (almost 5%) is proportional to that between Quinn's and my data.

On the other hand, Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual conducted a study for *reʿāyā* book-ownership in seventeenth-century Damascus, where they found a book-ownership percentage of 11.6.[1178] In the data I have gathered, of 986 *reʿāyā* entries, only 53 had books. This percentage (5.4%) is much lower than what Establet and Pascual found. That Damascus was among the *bilād-ı erbaʿa* (with Bursa,

[1173] Unless they are objects: Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)," 41, and Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 157-158, emphasize the symbolic value of devotional texts, especially the Quran.
[1174] Though, later, I will return to them, trying to understand them as a group.
[1175] Quinn, 86-92, also follows a similar method, showing statistically it does not yield a meaningful difference.
[1176] Ibid., 86.
[1177] Said Öztürk, "XVII.Yüzyıl Askeri Kassam Defterlerinin Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlili," 124.
[1178] Establet and Pascual, 147.

Edirne, and Cairo), the four great cities that allowed for a higher career in *'ilmiye*,[1179] necessitates us to rule out the learned elite effect. Even when we factor out the obvious reasons (their study focused on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and their sample size is a quarter of ours), there might be other reasons for this difference.[1180] Establet and Pascual also notice this as a high ratio (barely lower than that of Western contemporaries), mentioning with caution that Damascus might be a particularly literate city.[1181] As a reminder of our warning above, James Grehan found that 6% of male in eighteenth-century Damascus owned books.[1182] As both studies chose tereke registers at random and without sampling, such contrasts in the findings might be expected.

In the late seventeenth-century Sofia, on the other hand, Orlin Sabev shows that Muslim book owners had a ratio of 12.2%.[1183] This produces a very similar result to our data for Bursa. Of 1722 Muslims, 211 were book-owners - which is 12.2% again. On the other hand, Bursa ranks over Adana as expected, even considering the percentage of eighteenth-century book ownership for Adana. 55 out of 665 recorded entries showed books - a mere 8.2%.[1184] Again, Sabev conveys that in Diyarbakır, in the eighteenth century, the number of books found in probate registers are almost negligible.[1185]

[1179] Madeline C. Zilfi. *The politics of piety: The Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, 25. It is important to keep in mind that this hierarchy was organized in the very early eighteenth century. Yet, at least one foreign observer from 16th century states the importance level of cities for judgeship from less to more was Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul (Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576, 1. Cilt*, 315).

[1180] Arabic-speaking domains in the Ottoman Empire had a closer relationship with the written culture, dating back at least to the late medieval period. See Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*, especially Chapter 1.

[1181] Establet and Pascual, 148.

[1182] James Grehan, *Everyday life and consumer culture in eighteenth-century Damascus, 182.*

[1183] Sabev, "Private Book Collections," 36.

[1184] Saim Yörük, "XVIII.Yüzyıl Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Adana'da Kitap Sahipliği," 476.

[1185] Orlin Sabev, "18. Yüzyıl Diyarbakır'ında Kitap Sahipliği," 157. A question might be raised about literacy here too. What does it mean to own books in lands where the primary language is not Turkish or Arabic? We see that *'askerī* owned books at a higher rate. So, no direct conclusions can be drawn

Here it is vital to mention that most of the studies on book possession focus on only the book owners. This limits our comparative scope, as it is essential to look at those who did not own books in order to understand which groups held books. As discussed above, the book-ownership ratios for Bursa compare well with the other studies done around the Ottoman Empire. So, what were the factors that affected book ownership? Was there a pattern for book possession? Were there any groups that tended to own books more than others? In what particular ways did wealth, gender, class, and titles play into book ownership patterns?

First, let us look at our data. We have 1814 entries for a time period of roughly 50 years (1639-1688) [Bursa Court Records A-187, B-119, B-134, B-137, B-72, B-78]. As discussed before, some representation problems might be inherent to every *sicil* and, therefore, every *sicil*-based study.[1186] Although our data corresponds roughly to the composition of seventeenth-century Bursa (except obviously for the poor; and for *reʿāyā*, as *ʿaskerī* is possibly overrepresented),[1187] it might not be possible to make observations on non-Muslim book possession. Of 1814 records, we have 92 non-Muslims in our data set - but only one woman, Sultana bt. Kostanti had a book.[1188] Although the percentage of non-Muslims matches well with the previous studies mentioned above, it would be statistically impossible to compare Muslims and non-Muslims for book possession, due to diverging production, ownership, and

about literacy when almost only the government officials owned books. As we will be discussing further later, coming from a religious education background, *kassām*s tend to be biased towards books in Arabic as it was the main language of religious education. We often times see books named in probates as *Türkī* or *Fārsī kitāb* while Arabic books were named with their full or partial titles. This might not be the case in Arabic-speaking lands. Yet, this discussion is beyond our scope of study.

[1186] For a discussion about the shortcomings and strengths of quantitative approach to *sicil*s: Ergene and Coşgel, Chapter 1.

[1187] See Chapter 2, for a detailed breakdown of our probate population.

[1188] BCR, B-134, 72a.

collection patterns.[1189] Together with other reservations about representation, there is another possibility that the officials did not consider books in different languages or scripts (other than Arabic, Persian, and Turkish) as books or even objects of value.

In addition, we can also look at converts. Conventionally, those with Abdullah as their father's name in the registers are considered converts.[1190] In his work on sixteenth-century Bursa and book ownership, Ali İhsan Karataş says that there are many manumitted slaves with mentions of *ʿatīḳ* and *ʿatīḳa* attached to their names.[1191] However, we haven't encountered anyone recorded as atik or atika in our data. This must be due to the decreasing number of slaves in the seventeenth century.[1192] In our data, the father's name for 362 people (21% of all Muslims) was noted as Abdullah.[1193] Of all possible converts, 20 had books (12 had books other than Qur'an). Possibly non-convert Muslims, on the other hand, had a percentage of book ownership at 12.4 (7.4 for those who owned books other than Qur'an). The average wealth of non-converts is almost three times the converts, whereas the percentage of books in their gross wealth shows a similar tendency. Being a non-convert and possessing a book returns a barely significant value (p = -.095). This is

[1189] How the books were circulated for non-Muslims in Bursa, whether they were kept in church/synagogue libraries, or for instance, what rabbis or priests had in their homes are yet to be revealed. For Christians of the Arabic-speaking lands of the Empire, the seventeenth century witnessed a growth of manuscript works, together with locally printed works, and it was followed by the diffusion of literacy: Bernard Heyberger, "Livres et pratique de la lecture chez les chrétiens (Syrie, Liban) XVIIe - XVIIIe siècles." Similarly, we know that in Istanbul, Armenian patriarchate had libraries, and by the end of the seventeenth century had opened its first printing house: Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul tarihi: XVII. asırda İstanbul*, 82.

[1190] As a contrary example, İsmail E. Erünsal demonstrates that Abdullah was also used as a father's name when the father's name was not determined or irrelevant (İsmail E. Erünsal, "Terekelerin İzinde Osmanlı Araştırmaları," 50-52).

[1191] Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Yaygın Olan Kitaplar," 93: He also claims that when a father's title was written as Abdullah, they were most probably manumitted slaves. In addition, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population," 401, argues that a considerable number of Bursa and İstanbul population "were converts who had been slaves," in the 15th and 16th centuries.

[1192] Suraiya Faroqhi, "At the Ottoman Empire's Industrious Core: The Story of Bursa," 360; Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Slavery and Decline of Slave-Ownership in Ottoman Bursa 1460–1880"; Gerber, 10-11; Osman Çetin, *Sicillere göre Bursa'da ihtida hareketleri ve sonuçları*, 24. See also, Chapter 2.

[1193] Excluding a few whose father's name was Abdullah Efendi.

due to the hefty size of the sample. Therefore, we can conclude that there is no meaningful correlation between book ownership and conversion.

What about wealth in general? Do we find wealth as a significant factor in book possession? First, let us make a comparison of the average gross wealth. The average gross wealth for all entries (except for six unclear entries) is 33442 *akçe*s. Book-owners have an average gross wealth of 82173 *akçe*s while those who owned books other than Qur'ans rank slightly above with 84565. It seems that book owners were wealthier on average than the general public. When we analyze our data, we see that wealth is somewhat significant with book possession.[1194] When we divide our data into quartiles according to the gross wealth, we see the top quartile (Q4) leads the ratio of book ownership with 26%. The third quartile (Q3) has a ratio of half of it and the rest is even lower. The average prices of book collections also seem to be very high in the top quartile (Table 8). It seems that wealth is not correlated to book possession; rather the wealthiest tended to have books. Meredith Quinn came to a similar conclusions in her dissertation about seventeenth-century Istanbul. Quinn found that the top quartile had a book-owning ratio of over 25%, but these ratios fell drastically for other quartiles.[1195] Also, Ali İhsan Karataş, in his qualitative observation of Bursa in the sixteenth century, stated that there is a discrepancy between gross wealth and the number of books owned.[1196]

[1194] Here, I would like to thank Prof. Tanju Göksoy for his valuable insight about statistical analyses, and comments on how to advance with my data set.
[1195] Quinn, 91.
[1196] Ali İhsan Karataş, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi," 323; idem, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da," 17.

Table 8. Book Ownership Characteristics According to Gross Wealth

	Book-owners (%)	Average Book Collection Prices (in *akçe*s)	Total Book Collection Prices / Gross Wealth (%)
Q4	25,6	2181	2
Q3	12,2	355	3
Q2	6,4	383	7
Q1	2,7	362	18

The same thing might not be said about the importance given to the books. Ottomans of seventeenth-century Bursa tended to have collections (though smaller) regardless of their wealth. When we compare the ratio of total prices of books over the gross wealth of book owners in all quartiles, we reach some exciting results. While book owners in the top quartile spent only 2%, and the third quartile spent only 3% of their wealth on books, the second quartile spent 7% and the bottom quartile spent 18% (Table 8). This might be due to İbrahim Efendi b. Mustafa mentioned above, who is in the bottom quartile and owned 65 books, comprising half of his estate pricewise. Yet, even when we exclude him, we get similar results. In our analyses, the relationship between gross wealth and the percentage of books in that wealth is not significant.[1197] Our major takeaway would be that the rich tended to spend more money, but having less money did not stop people from owning books, and from having book collections comprising a larger percentage of their total estate.

Did the importance given to books increase in the seventeenth-century Bursa? Our data shows the percentage of gross wealth spent on books is 1.7. For the sixteenth century Bursa, Ali İhsan Karataş finds a similar percentage (1.9) for an

[1197] The result is the same for the relation between gross wealth and the percentage of non-Qur'an books.

equal number of book owners (200).[1198] However, the total prices of books and gross wealth are significantly lower than our data - even when the prices are deflated. Since Karataş uses nominal values, comparing and commenting without further data is impossible. We do not know how many estate records Karataş read in total. Yet, he notes that he read almost two hundred *sicil* volumes from the sixteenth century.[1199] Compared to our seven volumes covering nearly fifty years, it is surprising that only 200, less than our 212, had books. Considering the decrease in Bursa's population in the seventeenth century,[1200] we might say that books became increasingly popular. Also, collection sizes seem to increase in the seventeenth century. Compared to Karataş's 2098 books with an average book collection size of 10.49,[1201] our data shows 2636 books with an average of 12.43 books per book-owner.

How can we analyze the book collection sizes in our probate population? Is there a correlation between collection size and wealth, i.e., did the richer segment own more books? In order to understand this, we analyzed our data to see if wealth and collection size correlate and found that wealth and collection size have a marginally significant correlation. In addition, the relationship between the total price of the books owned and gross wealth turned out to have a higher significance. This might be due to the investment value of the book as an object. In our data, fourteen of the top twenty most expensive among all the specifically named books were Qur'ans, and half of 84 people who only owned the Qur'an were from the top quartile. However, when we compare the total collection prices with and without Qur'an, we get a surprising result. The average collection price in the top quartile

[1198] Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da," 25-26.
[1199] Ibid., 7.
[1200] Gerber, 12; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları," 22.
[1201] Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da," 16.

increases once we omit Qur'ans. This does not directly contrast with the idea of books as an investment; however, this allows us to think that the top quartile tends to own Qur'ans with a collection around them.[1202]

From the analysis above, we can conclude that even the poorest[1203] could own books. Another defining factor, namely, belonging in *ʿaskerī* or *reʿāyā* categories, may also be associated with book culture across all levels of wealth. So, were the categories such as *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā* determining factors in book ownership, and if so, to what extent?

In our data of 1814 entries, 828 belonged to *ʿaskerī*, while 986 belonged to *reʿāyā*. 159 people from *ʿaskerī* (19.2%) owned books, whereas 53 from *reʿāyā* (5.4%) were book owners. If we exclude Qur'ans owned, we get similar results: 98 *ʿaskerī* (11.8%) and 30 *reʿāyā* (3%) owned books other than Qur'an. At first reckoning, it seems that being *ʿaskerī* increased the chances of book holding. Although, in general, the relationship between wealth and book owning is barely significant, this still may be due to the fact that *ʿaskerī* members of the society accumulated more wealth. Yet, when we factor out the wealth, we still find a correlation between being an *ʿaskerī* and being a book owner. When we look at the collection sizes, there is a correlation but now with a lower significance, and even a lower significance, with the percentage of books in their gross wealth. However, when we only look at the book owners, we see the member of the *reʿāyā* who had the most extensive collection owned only 13 books, while the average number of books in *ʿaskerī* collections is 16, with six people holding more than 100 books. If being *ʿaskerī* increased one's chances of owning a book, and with so many sizable

[1202] In the following subchapter, I will discuss those who only owned the Qur'an in detail.
[1203] See my reservations about the poor in Chapter 1 when I am dealing with the sicil and terekes: the court was employed mostly by those who have certain means of wealth.

collections, why are the significances of the correlations between book owning, and collection size versus being *ʿaskerī* so low? First, we must remind ourselves that book owners were a minority. Of 1814 people, only 212 owned books (%11.7); if we exclude Qur'ans, we get 128 people (7.1%). Secondly, there might be yet another factor at play: titles.

In our data, consistent with the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, we see people bearing a variety of titles. Some of these titles were used to denominate one's social status, rank, or profession, while many people bore various titles simultaneously.[1204] Some of these corresponded to specific social grades. For instance, *el-ḥāc* or *hacı* refers to those who make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Likewise, *seyyid* was the title used by those who claimed to come from the prophet's lineage. While *efendi* was most strictly related to the ulema,[1205] *çelebi* was a title of flexible use.[1206] There are other titles used for military members such as *āğā, beşe, bey,* and *çāvūş* together with occupational positions mentioned in *sicil*s such as *cündī, rācil,* and *el-bevvāb el-sultānī.*[1207] There were other religious titles given to essential personages of a sufi order or lodge, like *dede* and *şeyḫ*.

For the sake of convenience, I have grouped the data set into five groups: while *efendi* and *çelebi* are separate groups, I brought together military men (those with titles mentioned in the paragraph above) together to form a third group, the rest of the titles to be the fourth, and those who didn't bear any titles is the fifth group. While doing so, I excluded the titles of *seyyid*, *şerīfe* and *el-ḥāc*. As units of analysis,

[1204] Güçlü Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation," 18.
[1205] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, 151, claims that having an efendi title does not necessitate a person to be in the *ʿaskerī*. For instance, I have found, in beledi probate registers, one İbrahim Efendi who was not *ʿaskerī*: BCR, B-78, 40a.
[1206] Tülüveli, 19.
[1207] Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 150.

they do not yield meaningful results regarding book ownership.[1208] Also, they tend to be present with other titles, making it harder to conduct a proper analysis.

As expected, the group which had the most book owners and the most books for that matter was *efendi*s. Of 96 *efendi*s, 62 had books (65%), and 55 had books other than Qur'an (57%); while of 96 *çelebi*s, only 28 had books (29%) with 11 having non-Qur'an books (12%). The military men, on the other hand, had a book-owning percentage of 9.8, and 4.6 when Qur'ans are excluded.[1209] The fourth group, on the other hand, had a book-owning percentage of 16.1. This high number is due to the small size of this group (n = 31).

In addition to these percentages, collection sizes differed significantly according to the title. The average size of *efendi* collections, with and without the Qur'an, respectively, were 35.2 and 38.8, while for *çelebi* collections, it was 4 and 8.3. Although the difference was so significant ever to require statistical analysis, I have conducted T-tests, which compare a set of mean values, for the total number of books, total prices of books owned, the percentage of books in gross wealth (for all both with and without Qur'an), and gross wealth. As expected, the difference between the total number of books, the total prices of books, and the percentage of books in gross wealth is significant. To corroborate that being an efendi is more likely to make one a book owner, the difference in gross wealth between these two groups turned out insignificant. Thus, we come to the conclusion that rather than

[1208] Ibid., 150: As also observed in western Europe during roughly the same period, there has been an "inflation of honors" in our probate population as well. Therefore, it is almost nonexistent that we found titles such as *seyyid* or *el-ḥāc* without other titles. Consequently, I chose not to add these titles as they did not provide any additional information for book-holding patterns. Also, I will discuss the women's title, *şerīfe*, later on.

[1209] For the sake of comparison, I have added 12 military men who held no title but their occupational positions (*oṭabāşī, cündī, rācil, bevvāb*) were mentioned: the resulting percentages were 10.3 and 4.9. These results are more or less comparable to findings of Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 153.

wealth, being *ʿaskerī*, and rather than being solely *ʿaskerī*, having the title of *efendi* is more distinctive in owning books.

What about gender? Was book possession an exclusively male phenomenon? Our data is roughly 60-40 divided for males and females. Forty-seven women (6.6%) owned books but only 18 of them (2.5%) had books other than Qur'an, whereas 165 men (15.3%) had books, with 110 (10.3%) owning non-Qur'an books as well. So, while 40% of our data is composed of women, only 22% of book owners were women. Within the limits of our sources, it seems that being a male highly increased the chances of owning books.

Still, since women did own books, we may inquire what factors determined their ownership. There are only two titles held by the women in our data, *şerīfe* for women who claimed to be of prophet's ancestry, and *ḫātūn.* Of 15 *şerīfe*s, only two had books with collection sizes of 4 and 1. Of 262 *ḫātūn*s, seventeen had at least one book, and if we exclude Qur'ans, only five had books. The most extensive collection that belonged to a woman was of Aişe bt. Mehmed Efendi, with 13 books.[1210] Although she was the daughter of an *efendi*, the father's title seems not to be correlated to book owning in women. Of 47 women with a father who had held a title, 11 had books, while 8 of 21 *efendi* daughters owned books. Even when *efendi* (or *çelebi*, or another title of the learned) daughters possessed books in their estates, we cannot conclude whether it is due to a book culture running in the family, or they were inherited from the father. When we look at four men in our data who do not bear a title but whose fathers were of the learned elite, we see that only one owned a single copy of the Qur'an.[1211] We do not have the necessary data to compare whether

[1210] BCR, B-134, 94a.
[1211] BCR, B-137, 59b: *Fahrü'l-müderrisin* Hüseyin Abdullah b. el-mevali Osman Efendi owned a single copy of Qur'an. It is unsure why Hüseyin Abdullah was not noted as efendi as well.

the title of the father affects book ownership. Also, evaluating that effect is not thoroughly possible since it would come with all other economic, social, and cultural connotations.[1212]

Up to this point, we have a predominantly Muslim male group of book-owners whose chance of owning books increases by being *ʿaskerī*, and even more by being a member of ulema, especially with the title of *efendi*. *Çelebi*s are strong contenders but still not very close to *efendi*s. [1213] When we look at all the studies conducted about book possession in the early modern Ottoman Empire, we see that they all come up with similar findings.[1214] However, the previous studies seem not to have been interested in comparing book possession in an urban context versus countryside.

In our reading of *tereke*s, we found several people living outside Bursa proper, in *ḳaṣaba*s and *karye*s, in a certain proximity to Bursa. Although these cases cover a rather small amount of our data (8%), we can statistically compare the urban and the non-urban/rural to understand if living in the city is a more definitive factor for book possession.

As with *çelebi* and *efendi* samples, I have conducted T-tests -which compare the sets of mean values- for total number of books, total prices of books owned, the percentage of books in gross wealth (for all both with and without Qur'an), and gross wealth. The difference in gross wealth between these two groups turned out to be insignificant while the difference between total number of books, total prices of

[1212] For general remarks on book ownership and women, especially in Ottoman Istanbul, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Terekelerin İzinde Osmanlı Araştırmaları," 103-114: The author shows that by far the most owned books by women were *Muḥammediye* and Birgevi.
[1213] Right after *efendi*s, the second group with the most books in their possession was *çelebi*s. For a discussion about *çelebi*s and their social, cultural, and economical implications on Ottoman society, see Chapter 2.
[1214] Karataş, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre;" idem, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da;" Quinn; Esra Muhacir, "XVII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar'da Kitap Kültürü;" Talha Yılmaz, "Tereke Kayıtlarına göre XVII. yüzyılda İstanbul'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi."

books owned, and the percentage of books in gross wealth[1215] are significant. As Haim Gerber pointed out, the *ʿaskerī* population is higher in the environs of the city.[1216] This is the case for our data as well. The *ʿaskerī* population outside Bursa proper (66%) is higher than the urban *ʿaskerī* percentage (44%). Even though the *ʿaskerī* population is denser in the countryside, we still see that book possession is more prevalent in the city. Therefore, without any doubt, we can conclude that book ownership is strictly an urban phenomenon. To support this argument, we may note that Yunus Uğur, in his thesis on Mudanya between 1645-1800, makes no mention of books even when he details the belongings of *efendi*s, and *efendi* relatives.[1217] Tülay Artan, also, conveys that book owners in eighteenth-century Eyüp were mostly urbanites.[1218] In addition, we have found 33 people who owned paper, pen, or both in their estates. All of them were urbanites. Also, there were two people with bookbinding tools.[1219] Considering *mecmūʿa*s as an important sign of a reading and writing culture, it is worth noting that we came up with 71 *mecmūʿa*s in the probate registers in question and none of them belonged to non-urban residents.

Finally, let us take a closer look at those who owned more extensive collections. Our information on those with more extensive collections comes largely from sources other than *tereke*s. The largest collection owner of our probate population is Nizami Mehmed Efendi b. Ali Bey (d. 1657), with a collection of 267

[1215] The difference of the percentage of non-Qur'an books in gross wealth turned out to be insignificant. This could also point out to the book-awareness in the city. Book investment can only happen where books are prevalent. Another factor might be that only three people out of 143 non-urbanites owned books other than Qur'an.
[1216] Gerber, *Bursa*, 9-10.
[1217] Yunus Uğur, "The Ottoman court records and the making of 'urban history,' with special reference to Mudanya *sicil*s (1645-1800)," 142-144.
[1218] Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyil Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası," 58.
[1219] BCR, B-72, 70a; BCR, B-137, 27a.

books.[1220] The only thing we know about Nizami Mehmed Efendi is that he was the imam of Selçuk Hatun mosque at the time he died.[1221]

We have rather detailed information for the owner of the second largest collection. Hasan Efendi b. Bahtiyar (d. 1659) was a preacher (*vāʿiẓ)*, whose stern and fervent sermons made him famous. Apparently, he wrote a manuscript about range stones in Atıcılar square in Bursa, called *Subhatü'l-Ebrâr*.[1222] Another noteworthy feature of Hasan Efendi is, perhaps fittingly with his sermons, that he was an enemy of tobacco and smokers. He used to visit the stores selling meerschaum pipes, buy, and break all of them for good deeds.[1223]

The third largest collection of 205 books belonged to one Çendik Mustafa Efendi (d. 1659),[1224] a müderris in Süle Paşa madrasa. He worked at this madrasa for ten years so that Süle Paşa madrasa began to be referred as Çendik madrasa.[1225] Kepecioğlu notes that he was a stranger (*yabancı*).[1226] Since his father's name was not indicated, it is not clear whether he was from outside the Ottoman Empire, or perhaps a renegade.[1227]

The çelebi with the most extensive collection (27 books) was Mehmed Çelebi b. el-mevla el-merhum Abdülgani Efendi (d. 1648).[1228] Although we cannot find any information about him, we can assume his father was Abdülgani Efendi who worked as a müderris, kadı, and kadıasker, and who rests in the Zeyniler burial ground.[1229]

[1220] BCR, B-119, 85b; Kamil Kepecioğlu, *BK, III*, 277: Kepecioğlu incorrectly gives the death date as 1658.
[1221] Donuk, 591.
[1222] Kepecioğlu, *II,* 160 says that he was not able to find this book.
[1223] Kepecioğlu, *BK, II,* 160; Donuk, 422-423.
[1224] BCR, B-119, 119a.
[1225] Donuk, 582.
[1226] Kepecioğlu, *BK, III,* 241.
[1227] Donuk, 582: "Diyār-ı āḫardan ẓuhūr (...)"
[1228] BCR, B-72, 70a.
[1229] Kepecioğlu, *BK, I,* 56; Baldırzade, *Ravza-i Evliya*, 207-208; Donuk, 536-538.

Many of the owners of larger collections have found themselves a place in *vefeyātnāme*s. We will be referring to them when need be. Now, in order to better understand book holding patterns, we are going to delve into what the nature of these book collections has to offer.

5.3 The nature of book collections

In this subchapter, we are going to take a closer look at the personal collections of seventeenth-century Bursans. In our data, 212 people had books (11.7%); and 128 people (7.1%) had books other than the Qur'an. This means that we will be dealing with 128 distinct collections and 84 Qur'an owners. Before going further into the collections, I would like to briefly discuss problems I have encountered and how I chose to overcome them.

The main problem when working on the books in probate registers is that only sometimes the scribes chose to write the names of the books. Sometimes books were already sold, and the total price is noted as books sold at the Great Mosque (*cāmiʿ-i kebīrde fürūḫt olunān kütüb* or *müteveffā-i mezbūrun cāmiʿ-i kebīrde beyʿ olunān kütüb*).[1230] Sometimes, some books were noted simply as a group of books (*kütüb*), or when they are in bad condition or simply unbound (*mutebber bāt kütüb, kütüb perīşān, perīşān kitāb*). This makes it impossible to see what a collection had. Also, we do not always have the number of books noted. To overcome this problem in analyses, I have employed a method of means. First, I have decided to take *kütüb* entries as 2 books.[1231] Then, after deflating every book price, I obtained an average real value for books. Later, I used this average value to approximate how many books were there in collections where we could not determine the number of total

[1230] BCR, B-119, 52b; BCR, B-119, 136b; BCR, B-137, 27a.
[1231] This was done only three times in our data.

books.[1232] This, as with every approximation, is problematic. But for quantitative analyses, I have also employed the ratio of total prices of books in gross wealth so that the final analyses would be remedied. For qualitative analyses, it has no effect since when there is no book name, no comment can be made on collections - except what its total value was.

5.3.1 Book collections by size

The average library size for 212 people was 12.4 books. The average library size for 128 people with books other than the Qur'an was 19.9 books (including their Qur'ans if they owned one).[1233] As we have said before, this average is higher than what was found (10.5) in a previous study for sixteenth-century Bursa.[1234] In another study conducted for Istanbul in the second half of the seventeenth century, it was found that the average library size was 25.3 books.[1235] This is more than double our average. Furthermore, this study found 102 book owners (16.5% of the probate population in question). Another study for the same period in the same city found 129 book owners with an even larger average library size (27.4).[1236] This difference might be because Istanbul was the central cultural hub of the Empire; or due to our approximation of the number of books.[1237]

Establet and Pascual, for Damascus, also found a higher average. Working only on *reʿāyā* probates, the authors found that 52 probate records had 1110 books in them, leading to an average library size of approximately 21.4 books.[1238] With the

[1232] This was done only for 9 book owners.
[1233] The average number of non-Qur'an books for the 128 libraries is 19.2.
[1234] Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da," 16.
[1235] Quinn, 188.
[1236] Talha Yılmaz, 51.
[1237] When we do not take into account the entries with an unknown number of books, the average library size decreases further to 11.3.
[1238] Establet and Pascual, 153: Our average library size of *reʿāyā* book owners is 2.3!

higher percentage of book owners, it seems Damascus was a highly literate city. Another reason might be the abundance of religious figures outside the formal education in Arabic-speaking lands, who did not go through the official madrasa system, and therefore did not belong to *ʿaskerī*.[1239]

Another study conducted for Üsküdar in the seventeenth century found a rather low average, closer to ours. 49 book owners had a total number of 475 books, adding up to an average library size of 9.7.[1240] In Adana, even in the eighteenth century, the average library size (8.1) is lower than our findings.[1241] Moreover, Sabev found for Sofia that in the 1670s, 31 people owned 70 books - of which 25 were Qur'ans - with an average library size of 2.3 books.[1242] In a study on book ownership of military men of Bursa, the authors found an average library size of 3 books for the seventeenth century.[1243] This is close to the average library size of military men in our data, with 3.8 books.

The library sizes, as the percentage of book owners, are lower than those of Istanbul and Damascus while Bursa ranks above Adana, Üsküdar, Sofia, and Diyarbakır.[1244] In addition, both seem to increase compared to the previous century in Bursa.

So, what were the factors determining the average library sizes? Who tended to own bigger libraries? In order to understand this, though, we must look at individual collections for their sizes and content. Is it that one or two substantial

[1239] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman ulema," 216; Judith E. Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, 24-26.
[1240] Muhacir, 12.
[1241] Saim Yörük, "XVIII.Yüzyıl Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Adana'da Kitap Sahipliği," 478.
[1242] Sabev, "Private Book Collections," 52-54, 66-69.
[1243] Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 156.
[1244] Sabev, "18. Yüzyıl Diyarbakır'ında," 157.

collection owners dominate the average sizes for an upward bias, or that those who only own Qur'ans work for an opposite effect?

For a better understanding, I have grouped collections according to their size. I have named the collections with more than 100 books as substantial, with 20-100 books as large, 4-20 as middle-sized, 1-3 as small. I have also separated only Qur'an owners. So, the grouping was done according to the number of non-Qur'an books; yet, when considering the average number of books, and percentages, distinct values were given both for with and without Qur'ans (Table 9).

Table 9. Characteristics of Collections According to Their Size

Collections	Number of Individuals	Average Number of Books in a Collection (w/Qur'an)	Percentage of Books (%) (w/Qur'an)	Value of Books in Gross Wealth (%) (w/Qur'an)	Average Number of Books in a Collection (w/o Qur'an)	Percentage of Books (%) (w/o Qur'an)	Value of Books in Gross Wealth (%) (w/o Qur'an)
Substantial libraries (more than 100)	6	173,2	39,4	18,9	169,7	41,4	18,6
Large collections (20-100)	22	45,5	37,9	9,6	44,9	40,1	8,7
Middle-sized collections (4-20)	37	10	14	5,6	9,5	14,3	4,4
Small collections (1-3)	63	2,2	5,4	2,3	1,6	4,2	1,3
Qur'an owners (1-2)	84	1,1	3,4	2	0	0	0

It seems that the larger the collection gets, the more money tends to be spent on books by the owner. Furthermore, not only the percentage of the value of books in gross wealth but also the actual money spent on the books increase. While we see

that the correlation between gross wealth and the total percentage of books in gross wealth is insignificant, there is a significant relationship between the collection size and total percentage of books in gross wealth. If we consider that the book owners from the top quartile (Q4) owned substantial and large collections in a higher percentage, we can also see that the total money spent on books is higher (Table 10).

Table 10. Collection Sizes vs. Gross Wealth

Collections	Number of Individuals	Q1 (bottom)	Q2	Q3	Q4 (top)
Substantial collections (more than 100)	6	0	0	1	5
Large collections (20-100)	22	1	2	1	18
Middle-sized collections (4-20)	37	4	5	10	18
Small collections (1-3)	63	5	8	18	32
Qur'an owners (1-2)	84	2	15	25	41

The six people who owned substantial collections were all male, *ʿaskerī*, and *efendi*, while 5 of them belonged to the top quartile in wealth. 22 people who owned large collections, on the other hand, were also all *ʿaskerī* and male, but there were one *ḫalīfe*, one *ağa*, and a *çelebi* among them. Starting from middle-sized collections, the scene gets to be more diverse. As the collection sizes shrink, the percentages of female, and rural book owners rise. Whereas the possible converts have a higher rate in middle-sized collections than those in smaller ones, *reʿāyā* tend to increase its percentage as the collections shrink except for only Qur'an owners (Table 11).

Table 11. Characteristics of Collection Owners

Collections	Number of Individuals	*ʿAskerī*	*Reʿāyā*	Male	Female	Rural	(Possible) Convert
Substantial collections (more than 100)	6	6	0	6	0	0	0
Large collections (20-100)	22	22	0	22	0	0	0
Middle-sized collections (4-20)	37	29	8	35	2	1	6
Small collections (1-3)	63	41	22	47	16	2	6
Qur'an owners (1-2)	84	61	23	55	29	6	8
Total	212	159	53	164	47	9	20

5.3.2 Scholars, Sufis, and their books

As the holy book of Islam, the prevalence of the Qur'an in the *tereke* registers is not surprising. In most entries we have encountered in seven volumes of probate registers, the Qur'an was noted at the beginning, at times separate from other books. The importance given to the Qur'an is understood well if we look at the Qur'ans in our data. Fourteen of the top twenty most expensive books of all the specifically named books were Qur'ans. It might be owned as a holy book to be read, a sacred object, traditionally believed to possess magic and healing powers,[1245] and perhaps also as an investment.[1246]

Among the 1514 entries for books I have found in the probate inventories, some had no title. They were only listed as *kütüb*, or sometimes as *evrāk*, together

[1245] Sabev, "Private Book Collections," 41.
[1246] Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 157-158.

with designations of their condition such as *mutebber, köhne,* or *perīşān.* 133 of the 1514 entries were indecipherable. From among the remaining 1381, I was able to decipher and make sense of the title, and decide on a genre of 1006 titles. *Evrāk*, *risāle*, *mecmūʿa*, and *kütüb* are excluded from this number, as we are unable to determine the contents of these volumes.[1247]

Works in jurisprudence rank first with a percentage of 22.4. Quran follows with 17.4%, Literature with 9.8%, Arabic grammar with 9.6%, Sufism-Exhortations-Ethics with 8.3%, Exegesis with 7.1%, and so on (Table 12).[1248] As expected, Qur'ans rank high in our data as other studies have also found. In Karataş's study of sixteenth-century Bursa, Quran, and Quranic recitations have a percentage of 18.3, ranking second after Sufism and Literature (24.66%), while works in jurisprudence comprise 16.37%. These values are similar to what we have in the seventeenth century, except in our data, jurisprudence works are higher in number than Sufism-Exhortations-Ethics and Literature books combined.[1249] This increase might be due to the overrepresentation of *ʿaskerī* in our data - although we do not know how *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā* were represented in Karataş's data. Else, the difference might be due to the increasing number of madrasa-educated individuals.

[1247] I also excluded *el-Muḫtaṣar* among other titles, which I was unable to determine. There are different *Muḫtaṣar*s; or *Muḳaddime*s. In addition, it is not always possible when only the author's name is noted, who exactly the author is, or which book it is. For instance, I have two entries named İsfahani, which I cannot determine, although it is possibly the Quran commentary by Shams al-Din Abu al-Thana' Mahmud b. Abd al-Rahman al-Isfahani.

[1248] I have borrowed these categories from Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 158-160, since the authors, as they mentioned, were after the "native" categories, through which an Ottoman reader would categorize the books.

[1249] For Üsküdar of the seventeenth century, similar to ours, Muhacir, 77, found that jurisprudential works have the lion's share too, followed closely by Sufism and Literature, and Quranic Sciences. For Sofia in the same century, Sabev, "Private Book Collections," 52-54, 66-69, found that the Quran had the highest share among Sofia probate registers.

Table 12. Books by Genres

Genre	Average Book Price	Total Price of Books	Percentage of Book Prices	Percentage of Books
Arabic grammar	84	8171	3,98	9,6
Biography, History, Cosmography	133	6760	3,29	5,1
Dictionary	204	10203	4,97	5
Dogmatics and Theology	66	1845	0,9	2,8
Exegesis	273	19685	9,58	7,1
Jurisprudence	207	46739	22,75	22,4
Literature	77	7641	3,72	9,8
Logic	32	672	0,33	2,1
Medicine	50	503	0,24	1
Occult Sciences	106	849	0,41	0,8
Other	112	446	0,22	0,4
Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics	65	518	0,25	0,8
Prayers	41	82	0,04	0,2
Prophetic Traditions	164	6709	3,27	4,1
Quran	442	75499	36,75	17,4
Quran recitations	45	223	0,11	0,5
Religious primers	159	2068	1,01	1,3
Rhetoric	265	4245	2,07	1,6
Sufism, Exhortations, Ethics	150	12579	6,12	8,3
Total	204	205437	100	100

There is a possibility that madrasa-educated people who were not included in the ranks of *ʿaskerī* might still own madrasa-taught books. Nelly Hanna argues that, due to the overcrowded ulema positions, every single madrasa-educated person neither did nor was able to pursue a career in the religious or judicial system.

Therefore, former students or graduates of madrasas might have moved to non-religious or non-scholarly careers, taking up jobs in trade or crafts.[1250] This becomes apparent when *sūḫte*s realized there were not enough positions to accommodate all the graduates and joined what is now known as Celali revolts.[1251] Contemporary texts, likewise, reflect the disillusionment in the madrasa-educated state elite. A whole tradition of *naṣīḥatnāme*s reveals the angst they suffered due to the changing milieu of social and political structure in the Empire and the consequent feeling of loss of their privilege. They were outspoken texts, targeted at the bureaucrats of the Empire, reflecting the increasing distinction between the Sultan and the subjects and the increasingly blurry lines between *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā*.[1252] Furthermore, it has been shown in the literature that members of the *ʿaskerī*, especially janissaries, had been employed in jobs in the trades and arts, allowing an opposite alley for tradesmen and craftsmen, and merchants into *ʿaskerī*.[1253] This is also clear in contemporary texts - for instance, Mustafa Ali warns that *reʿāyā* "must be barred from entering the political class."[1254] In such a period where the boundaries between *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā* were blurred, it is all too understandable that people who were supposed to be part of *ʿilmiye* or *ḳalemiye* would end up in the markets, bazaars, and inns, selling, producing, and trading goods. Examples of these can also be found in *teẕkīre*s or similar works. For instance, Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic mention a sixteenth-century madrasa graduate who decided to go on with his life doing commerce rather than being a *müderris*.[1255] Inversely, we see at least one scholar

[1250] Nelly Hanna, *In praise of books*, 71-72. Also, see Chapter 4 for examples of Sufis or poets who did have a madrasa education but instead followed another path than *ʿilmiye*.
[1251] Karen Barkey, *Bandits and bureaucrats: The Ottoman route to state centralization*, 156-163; Mustafa Akdağ, "Celâli İsyanlarının Başlaması," 33-35; idem., "Medreseli İsyanları," 361-387.
[1252] Douglas Howard, "Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature," 140, 150-151.
[1253] Gülay Yılmaz Diko, "Blurred Boundaries," 175-176.
[1254] Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Ruling Elite between the Politics and 'the Economy,'" 549.
[1255] Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultans Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medrese*s prescribed in a *fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973 (1565)," 185.

complaining about the emerging *nouveau-literate*, who read only popular books, had a superficial education, and wanted to be "şehrî."[1256]

Similarly, working on the *reʿāyā* population[1257] Establet and Pascual also found over 200 works of jurisprudence in eighteenth-century Damascus, while *sciences coraniques* (which corresponds to Quran, Quranic recitations, and Exegesis categories in our data) only amount to 61 books (8%).[1258] These findings, unsurprisingly, differ entirely from ours. 60% of the books owned by our *reʿāyā* probate population were Qurans, while works in jurisprudence only have a share of 4.3%. Yet, this discrepancy -the reasons for which are discussed above- is again in line with our previous comparisons.

Here, we can compare the books primarily found in the madrasa curricula with those owned by our probate population. Ali Uğur claims that, even though there are cases suggesting otherwise, the curriculum was mostly uniform in the madrasa system in the seventeenth century.[1259] Thus, I have compiled a list of books taught at the madrasa drawing upon a series of studies. In Shahab Ahmad and Nenad Filipovic's work, we see a list of books to be taught in the imperial madrasas at the end of Suleyman I's reign.[1260] In a more recent take on the same document, Ahmet Tunç Şen compiled a list of books listed in the Registers that had 122 books (13 of which were included in Ahmad and Filipovic's study of 39 books).[1261] The other

[1256] Terzioğlu, "Mecmû'a," 320.
[1257] Yet, they included the ulema. See above.
[1258] Establet and Pascual, 157, 159.
[1259] Uğur, xxxix.
[1260] Ahmad and Filipovic, 186.
[1261] A. Tunç Şen, "The Sultan's Syllabus Revisited: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Madrasa Libraries and the Question of Canonization," 225-235.

studies gathered information from the estates of the deceased madrasa students.[1262] There are, therefore, problems in compiling such a list.

First, being owned by a madrasa student does not necessarily grant a book a place in the curriculum. Secondly, Ahmad and Filipovic's list includes only the books taught in the highest strata of educational hierarchy, thus consisting primarily of works in jurisprudence. However, in the lower strata, literature and Arabic grammar books were also taught.[1263] Therefore, only 12 of 39 books cited by Ahmad and Filipovic were also in the lists given in the other studies mentioned. If we include the list drawn up by Şen, this number goes up to 28. Yet, from the list of the books compiled (a total number of 164), 96 were owned by fifty people from our probate population (out of 128 people who owned books other than the Quran).[1264] This is a relatively high ratio, but considering the prevalence of *efendi*s in our book owner data, it might not be surprising.

The ratio of *efendi*s among book owners is 29.3%, while in non-Quran book owners, this ratio rises to 43%. The balance of *efendi*s in madrasa-taught books, on the other hand, is 54%. How should we account for 46% who were not *efendi*s? Besides, the non-*efendi* population who owned books read in the higher echelons of the education hierarchy is still 33%. Although we are not dealing with a huge crowd -after all non-Quran book-owning ratio was 7% in our probate population, we still

[1262] Bilgin Aydın and Ekrem Tak, "XVII. Yüzyılda İstanbul Medreselerinde Okutulan Kitaplar (Tereke Kayıtları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme);" Bilgin Aydın and İsmail E. Erünsal, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Osmanlı Medrese Talebelerinin Okuduğu Kitaplar (XVII-XX. Yüzyıllar);" Hızlı, *Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre*; Mustafa Ergün, "Ders Programları ve Ders Kitapları Tarihi I : Medreselerde Okutulan Dersler ve Ders Kitapları."
[1263] Ahmad and Filipovic, 189n17
[1264] If we consider solely the document Ahmad and Filipovic considered, we have only 24 people, 16 of whom were efendis. When we include Şen's findings into account, the numbers and ratios do not change – that is, there is no one in our probate population who owned a book from the list in Şen's article but didn't own a book from the document Ahmad and Filipovic published.

must account for people who owned books taught in madrasas but were not members of the *'ilmiye.*

Two explanations might be proposed. The first one is home education. Home education was an essential stage for primary school when the child's father was a member of the ulema.[1265] Yet, it was not a necessity. Having been educated in the palatial circles, Katip Çelebi's father Abdullah, a *silāḥdār*, and not a member of the ulema, gave Katip Çelebi his education at home. It was not only the father who taught the kids, private tutoring was also provided.[1266] This should not be the only example of informal education in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Again, we understand that Katip Çelebi had received some sort of education from Kadızade Mehmed Efendi.[1267] Having been a *vāʿiẓ* and not a *müderris* at a madrasa, Mehmed Efendi taught a group of disciples privately.[1268] This type of education outside formal circles was by no means an anomaly or unprecedented, especially in and after the seventeenth century. Gottfried Hagen claims that many people outside the ulema circles, coming from private education backgrounds, even ventured to write histories.[1269] One century later, a Damascene barber went on to have lessons from influential scholars on grammar, jurisprudence, rhetoric, and theology and ended up writing a history himself.[1270] Also, the fact that not only the works penned by "outsider" intellectuals such as Katip Çelebi but those written by a barber from Damascus are accessible today in manuscript libraries means that these books were deemed important enough to be preserved by their contemporaries. Thus, the

[1265] Uğur, xxxvii.
[1266] Gottfried Hagen, *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı işbaşında Katib Çelebi'nin Cihannümâ's ve Düşünce Dünyası,* 31.
[1267] Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Kâtip Çelebi. Hayatı - Şahsiyeti - Eserleri*, 5-6.
[1268] Hagen, *Bir Osmanlı Coğrafyacısı,* 40.
[1269] Idem, "Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century," 253.
[1270] Dana Sajdi, *The barber of Damascus: nouveau literacy in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Levant*, 44.

importance given to "ordinary" people who had an education not in the formal sense and to their works had started to increase.[1271]

Furthermore, in our probate data, we observe the existence of women who owned books from madrasa curricula. As we have discussed before, this might be due to the women whose fathers were from among the ulema; it does not necessarily mean that these women studied these books. When we look at the fathers of the seven women (of fifty people) who owned madrasa-taught books, we see that two had the title *efendi*, one was a *şeyḫ*, two did not have any title at all, and one's name is unfortunately indecipherable. From this account, it is somewhat inconclusive whether women had inherited these books from their fathers, or whether they studied them. Yet, there seems to be no significant correlation between being an *efendi*'s daughter and owning a madrasa-taught book. Also, the books owned by women are mostly *Muḥammediye* - one of the most frequently encountered books in probate registers, and one of the famous books that were read aloud.[1272]

As a closing remark, it is essential to think about madrasa-educated individuals working outside *'ilmiye* or *ḳalemiye*. As discussed above, the overcrowded madrasas and insufficient positions led the madrasa-educated to consider other careers. Non-formal education and formally educated working outside the state institutions, therefore, might have led to the emergence of a group of people who had an understanding of scholarly culture but were not part of the ulema. Therefore, the seventeenth century might have witnessed the infusion of a scholarly culture through the madrasa-educated taking up jobs outside *'ilmiye* or the increasing opportunity to have an education via informal channels. This scholarly culture could have well been due to Sufi culture in the city as well, as we have mentioned in

[1271] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Foreword," xii.
[1272] Zehra Öztürk, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kıraat Meclislerinde Okunan Halk Kitapları," 405.

Chapter 4. This, in turn, might have helped the emergence of a more urban, what we may term "non-elite" reading and writing culture in the city.[1273]

5.3.3 Books in Turkish and their owners

Another aspect of this culture can be followed from probate registers. As we have noted, clerks sometimes tended to list books under one entry as *kütüb*. Sometimes, they recorded books without giving the title (which were generally cheaper) but specifying the language when it was not in Arabic. Although I have not found any books specified in languages other than Persian or Turkish, ownership of Frankish books, for instance, was observed at least by one historian in eighteenth-century Istanbul.[1274]

The books that did not have a specified language but a title, were almost always in Arabic - this, of course, excluded "famous" titles such as *Muḥammediye*, or Divan-ı Hafız. Sometimes, when an Arabic book is translated into another language, it is specified as such.[1275] Some of these books were also meant to be read aloud. For instance, the famous jurisprudence book *Viḳāye* was translated into Turkish and was one of the most-read books in reading circles.[1276] But whenever the name is given without the complementary *Türkī* or *Fārsī*, we have no reason to think that it was not in Arabic. One reason Arabic books were named while Turkish or Persian books were written as *kitāb* solely -or with other generic denominations-

[1273] One case is worth mentioning here. Eşşeyh Eyyub Efendi (d. 1620) completely renounced the way of madrasa to follow the Sufi way under Şeyh Mahmud Efendi: "…cānib-i ṣalāḥa meyl ü raġbet ve ṭarīḳ-ı medreseden bi'l-külliye ferāġat idüp vāṣıl-ı merātib-i 'ayān u şühūd Şeyḫ Maḥmūd Efendi ḥażretlerinüñ cevf-i māhī-i kerem ü 'ināyetlerine duḫūl idüp…" (Donuk, 342). See Chapter 4 for similar examples.
[1274] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of The Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 100-107.
[1275] For instance, one *Türkī Gülşen-i Rāz* was owned by one Eşşeyh Ahmed Efendi (BCR, B-137, 58b).
[1276] Zehra Öztürk, 422-423.

must be the positive bias towards Arabic of the officials compiling the probate registers. These officials, *kassām*s, were madrasa graduates. While compiling the estate, they probably recognized the titles in Arabic easily. The madrasa (or equivalent) education was based on the Arabic language; because the works in jurisprudence, positive law, theology, and other religious works were written chiefly in Arabic. Arabic was the language of the educated. This mindset is reflected best in Katip Çelebi's *Keşfü'ẓ-ẓunūn*, when he says that he would specify the language of a book only when it was in Persian, Turkish or if it was a translation.[1277]

However, it seems that *kassām*s tended to ignore the titles of the cheaper books. The more affordable books, on the other hand, seem mostly to be in languages other than Arabic.[1278] This might be due to the fact that Arabic books in religious sciences were held in greater esteem, having been written by essential scholars from the Muslim world. They were, as opposed to the Turkish books, directed at an audience who either needed books due to their profession or had (cultural and economic) means to pursue them. However, it might also emphasize that those without the means could still access Turkish books. Persian, on the other hand, was still an important language especially in the field of literature. However, it was only known occasionally outside madrasa circles since it required a certain economic means to get a tutor in Persian.[1279]

The dispersion of scholarly culture does not necessarily anticipate the democratization of reading.[1280] Although wealth was not a significant determining factor in book ownership, books were primarily owned for private study by those whose upbringing necessitated a scholarly culture or those who had some sort of

[1277] Katip Çelebi, *Keşfü'z-zunûn an esâmi'l-kütübi ve'l-fünûn, 1. Cilt*, 16.
[1278] Quinn, 25, also makes a similar observation.
[1279] Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü,* 222.
[1280] Sabev, "Private Book Collections," 46, raises important questions on the issue for Sofia case.

calling for it. What about the cheap books that were not an integral part of scholarly culture? What about Turkish books? It is not impossible to picture a seventeenth-century Bursa home where a Turkish book (a compilation of stories and poetry, or simply exhortation) was read, and maybe women, children, and perhaps even the slaves in the household got a chance to listen.[1281] It is plausible to think that unnamed Turkish books were not religiously significant but rather "pulp" literature in the eyes of the officials compiling probate registers, making them mainly, but of course not necessarily, "secular."[1282]

In order to better grasp the prevalence of Turkish books and what it could tell us, let us turn to our probate population. In our data, only 84 books are definitely in Turkish (whether they are known titles, or have the complimentary *Türkī* before them). Although they are mostly given without a title, the only way we can compare the prevalence of Turkish books in our data is through Katip Çelebi. It has been estimated that only 7% of all the books mentioned in his *Keşf* were Turkish.[1283] Our data shows that 6% of all the entries that can be deciphered were in Turkish. The prevalence of Turkish books in the seventeenth century seems consistent with what Katip Çelebi favored to include.

Of 128 people who owned books other than the Quran, forty had books known to be Turkish. If we exclude books known as Turkish and given a name or

[1281] It is important to mention here for a better understanding of the infusion of reading (or listening) into the household or other circles that these cheap books (whose names are beyond our knowledge most of the time) could also be for private study, but they were most probably not books of religious sciences unless they were translations. Even when they were, they were read aloud.
[1282] Canbakal, Quinn, and Terzioğlu, 168. Derin Terzioğlu, "Where *ʾilm-i hāl* Meets Catechism," 95, conveys the account of a religious scholar who thought there was a "secularizing trend among the Ottoman literati and reading public at large." On the contrary, Hanna, 12, reminds us that the existence of a nonreligious dimension in the middle-class culture does not necessarily render it a secular culture.
[1283] Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Questing Mind: Katib Çelebi, 1609–57," 133-158, quoted in Quinn, 118n240: when we exclude Qurans, the ratio becomes almost 10%.

described as a translation,[1284] we get 26. This group of 26 people owned books in Turkish that were either not found important to be named by *kassām*s or were named but fall mostly in the domain of nonreligious literature. This group of 26 includes seven *reʿāyā*s, four women, eleven *efendi*s, one *çelebi*, one *ḫalīfe*, one *beşe*, and twelve people with no title. This data shows that owners of Turkish books are either those with collections of more significant size or a small group of people who owned a couple of books with half or most of them being in Turkish. For instance, one İbrahim Halife b. Mehmed owned seven unnamed Turkish books in his modest collection of fifteen books - none of which were Qurans.[1285] In the same vein, Abdullah b. Elhac Süleyman owned eight books - no Qurans -and four were unnamed Turkish books.[1286] In addition, seven people were possessors of small collections (1-3 books), with an average percentage of Turkish books as high as 70%. They all came from different economic backgrounds, but it shows that there was a reading culture (or at least reading aloud or listening culture) outside the scholarly circles even when we ignore the infusion of this scholarly culture into the city. Derin Terzioğlu, in addition, states that major cities, starting from the late sixteenth century, witnessed the rise of a new reading public. It included not only the officials, madrasa-educated, and learned sufis, "but also merchants, artisans and rank-and-file soldiers."[1287]

[1284] The method I follow here is to exclude books which were in the religious domain mostly, to get a sense of owning patterns for books in the domain of literature. I excluded books in Turkish when they were considered important to be named except legends and story compilations. Thus, here, I excluded *Muḥammediye*, *Mevlid*, exegeses, fetava collections, and translations of *Gülşen-i Rāz*, and *Keşşāf*, but not *Baṭṭālnāme*, and *Yūsuf Züleyḫā*. Although the latter is a classic retelling of a Quranic story, it is not found in any of the studies done on medrese curricula but was one of the books most-read in the storytelling circles (Zehra Öztürk, 434-436).
[1285] BCR, B-72, 55b.
[1286] BCR, B-119, 127a.
[1287] Terzioğlu, "Where *ʾilm-i hāl* Meets Catechism," 84; Nelly Hanna, "The Chronicles of Ottoman Egypt: History or Entertainment?," 244-245, also argues that reading spread circles outside the ulema.

This definition of reading culture is shy from fully delineating the emergence of a culture which was accustomed to interacting with written material. To begin with, it needs to take into account writing culture. There is no way for us to know that these unnamed Turkish books were somehow copied by those who owned them. What we can gather is actually the opposite: a group of people, possibly without adequate education, held those unnamed books. Also, these are still books, not compilations, if we trust the judgments made by *kassām*s while writing the estates, as they tend to distinguish *mecmūʿa*s.[1288] Also, we have not included *mecmūʿa*s in our Turkish books. Although they have an important part in manuscript culture, they can be in various languages, sometimes one *mecmūʿa* can even have pieces written in different languages, therefore it is not possible to categorize them as Turkish books most of the time.

Although not necessarily,[1289] *mecmūʿa*s could be considered as important signifiers of reading - often they included parts copied from other manuscripts. At the beginning of this chapter, we have commented on various fashions of reading aloud. However, deep reading, reading by oneself should have also been practiced in the seventeenth century. One of the most important sources that books were read, studied, digested alone was the books itself. What I denote by this is that the authors referred to other books as their sources. We know, for instance, that *mecmūʿa*s were read by others as well. Baldırzade conveys three stories about Üftade Efendi (d. 1580) and one about Abdal Mehmed by stating that it was written in some *mecmūʿa*s.[1290] As manuscripts dealing with important personages in the city of

[1288] Selim S. Kuru, "Mecmûaların İçine, Edebiyatın Dışına Doğru…," 20: Kuru says that there is no comprehensive study on how Ottomans perceived books, yet there are known genres due to the names given.
[1289] *Mecmūʿa*s could have been used as books for reading aloud (Tülün Değirmenci, "An Illustrated Mecmua," 187).
[1290] Baldırzade, 97, 99, 100.

Bursa, *vefeyātnāme*s[1291] offer a multitude of information about books and *mecmūʿa*s. From studies on the written -and also oral- sources of these works, we can gather that a lively atmosphere of reading or at least, a certain accessibility to the books did exist.[1292] Authors of *vefeyātnāme*s employed plenty of bibliographic dictionaries, *mecmūʿa*s, poetry collections, and other manuscript sources.[1293] Also, *vefeyātnāme*s were read as sources, too. İbrahim Râkım Efendi (d. 1749/1750) consulted *Güldeste* when compiling his *menāḳıb* for Niyazi Mısri.[1294] Similarly, with a tradition of addendums, Süleyman Halis claimed that he would write an addendum to Baldırzade's work, while criticizing İsmail Beliğ's *Güldeste* for going astray.[1295] As we have mentioned in Chapter 4, especially İsmail Beliğ but also Baldırzade, used many examples of poetry. It was not only the high-brow culture, too. Poets from Bursa were famous and well-read inside and outside the city. Aşık Ömer, in his *Şâirnâme*, gives place to poets from Bursa which points out that poets of Bursa were cherished.[1296]

When we consider the aforementioned lists of lodge libraries, reading recommendations of two major Sufis, together with books that were mentioned to be read in any fashion[1297] in *vefeyātnāme*s, and compare them to the books owned by our tereke population, these two lists match to a great extent. 57 books from these

[1291] More on that later. Also see Chapter 2.
[1292] Donuk, 127-139; Baldırzade, 44-46.
[1293] One thing unfortunate is that we do not have Baldırzade's tereke record but we have his son's. Yet, his books were not named individually. Although we do not know the number of books he had in his tereke, expectedly the books were more than one-third of his total estate (Saadet Maydaer, "XVII. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Emekli Bir Kadı: Baldırzade Oğlu Derviş Mehmed Efendi ve Serveti," 584-585). However, we have a *mecmūʿa*, most probably compiled by Baldırzade and his son, including pieces of poetry and other works copied in it (Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, "On Yedinci Yüzyıldan Bir Kırkambar: Baldırzade Ailesine Ait Bir Mecmua," 549-578).
[1294] Kâmil Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi. Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 52.
[1295] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri,* 97.
[1296] Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Âşık Ömer. Hayatı ve şiirleri*, 431-434: for instance, "Anlar ma'rifetle buldu devleti // Bursa'da meşhurdur Derviş Uzleti"
[1297] This means I have included books that were read, commented on, written an addendum to, or especially referred to as sources, etc...

lists were among the 94 most commonly found books in our tereke registers. Even though we cannot say that these people owned these books which were definitely read and therefore these people too read these books, it is plausible, even with the circumstantial evidence, to think that they were readers. We have only partial evidence about their reading practices - that is, if they were also mentioned *vefeyātnāme*s or other sources. Furthermore, it is once again essential to remind ourselves that book owners were most probably a minority. Nevertheless, with books sold and changed hands, books lent and endowed, books owned or borrowed from collections -mostly from lodge libraries, it is not impossible to picture a livelier atmosphere of reading than perhaps our tereke sources would manifest. A possible reason for this could be the effect of Sufism in the city, as the books owned by Sufi libraries and recommended by Sufis were also owned by our tereke population.

Also, we know that new examples of written word were produced, and it is not feasible to do so without access to previously written words. In Chapter 4 we have commented on the written culture, how it took shape in Bursa, and with reference to the city and what was urban. In a follow-up to that part, we will turn to manuscript production and writing practices of contemporary Bursans in general, in order to shed better light on reading and writing cultures.

5.4 Bursan authors of the seventeenth century

*Tereke*s provided insight into book ownership, who owned books, and what books were owned. As discussed above, owning a book does not necessarily make one literate, let alone an intellectual. Some grand collections do point out to bibliophile individuals. However, if we are to depict a reading and writing culture, we need to know for a fact that these people had an interest in receiving and dispersing

knowledge utilizing written culture. A complimentary method for this task, and perhaps, the best one, would be exploring manuscripts produced during the period in question. They allow us to touch the literate indirectly, providing us with what they read, cared for, and thought about what they read.[1298]

One important and fitting way to tackle this issue is to work on *mecmūʿa*s. Recent work on *mecmūʿa* has opened new venues for discussing how prevalent the interaction with written culture was.[1299] To give an insight about what *mecmūʿa*s of seventeenth-century Bursa included, I may point to one *mecmūʿa* which includes *vefeyāt* entries that were not included in any known *vefeyātnāme*, together with the narration of an incident that had taken place in Bursa in the early seventeenth century, copied from Baldırzade's *vefeyātnāme*.[1300] It is clear that *mecmūʿa* studies should give us a better understanding of the seventeenth-century Bursan literates' relationship with reading and writing. However, it is far beyond the scope of this study to do a thorough analysis of Bursan *mecmūʿa*s of the seventeenth century. Yet, from our sources, we can gather that there was a lively culture of manuscript production either in the form of books, *mecmūʿa*s, *risāle*s, translations, or through the collection of important calligraphers' or painters' works. Besides original works, there were many compilations, commentaries, critiques, or addenda to famous works. Books were authored in different languages. The range of subjects and genres was vast as well. There were books on Sufism, poetry collections, books on crafts and sciences, and books on various aspects of Islamic law, to name a few.

[1298] Derin Terzioğlu, "Mecmû'a," 293-294.
[1299] A comprehensive compilation on *mecmūʿa*s gives space to many questions revolving around *mecmūʿa* studies such as practices of reading and writing or classification problem of *mecmūʿa*s (Hatice Aynur et al. (Eds.) *Mecmûa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*). A recent work on *mecmūʿa*s but this time in the Safavid Iran delves into the early modern urbanity and cultural sphere in Isfahan through *mecmūʿa*s (Kathryn Babayan, *The city as anthology: Eroticism and urbanity in early modern Isfahan*).
[1300] BİYEK, Genel 1507-2, 1a, 28b-29b.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, perhaps among the most important authors of Bursa in the period in question were the authors of two distinct *vefeyātnāme*s, bibliographical dictionaries of those who were born, lived, or died in Bursa.[1301] Baldırzade Selîsî Şeyh Mehmed (d. 1650) wrote *Ravża-i Evlīyā* (1649) and İsmail Beliğ (d. 1729) compiled another one called *Güldeste-i Riyāż-ı ʿİrfān* (1722/1728).[1302] Now, it is the most suitable moment to look into *vefeyātnāme*s for insights into literary and intellectual production in seventeenth-century Bursa. To begin with, Kadir Atlansoy counts the number of poets in *Ravża* and *Güldeste* as 15 and 149, respectively.[1303] Beliğ had a chapter on poets in his work; however, there were many others in other chapters who were composing poetry, too. Beliğ gives examples of poetry whenever the biography owner wrote poetry.[1304] In addition to these, most famously, Feyzullah Efendi's second son Mehmed Dede Efendi wrote a *mevlid* which would later be known as "Dede Efendi Mevlüdü." He was also skilled in composing poetry in three languages.[1305]

Although a sixteenth-century tradition mostly, *şehrengīz* was still written in the seventeenth century. The most famous one was Nazik Abdullah's *Terkīb-i bend berāy-ı Brusa*. However, there were other instances we gather from İsmail Beliğ's *Güldeste* that some other poets might have written *şehrengīz*es or poetry inspired by the *şehrengīz* form. These are small examples of one or a few couplets written in affection towards young boys. Şeyh İsmail Efendi (d. 1701/1702) admits his love towards young boys increased as he got older.[1306] A poet called Katib Çelebi (d.

[1301] For detailed information about *vefeyātnāme*s, see Introduction and Chapter 4.
[1302] Donuk, 120: Beliğ strictly states that it was not an addendum to Baldırzade's work.
[1303] Atlansoy, *Bursa şairleri,* 127-131: Although there are repeating entries, the total number of distinctive poets mentioned in both is 157.
[1304] For instance, he says that although he was not famous for his poetry, Hacezade Mesud Efendi wrote several couplets, and then goes on to give an example (Donuk, 580).
[1305] Kepecioğlu, *III*, 148.
[1306] Donuk, 334.

1701/1702) wrote a stanza for a young boy called Kösele,[1307] while Vahid Çelebi (d. 1682/1683) wrote for Mahmud, a city-confounding beauty (*şehr-āşūb*).[1308] Although *şehrengīz* as a genre started to wane in the seventeenth century,[1309] homoerotic themes found their way into *vefeyātnāme*s also in prose. There is an interesting story about Kadiri shaykh Ahmed Efendi (d. 1675). When he was younger, he fell in love with a young boy. He was miserably wandering around when he encountered an African who gave him an apple to eat. He ate the apple and suffered for seventeen days. But, in the end, he was relieved of his love.[1310]

Works in prose were abundant, too. Necdet Yılmaz, for instance, claims that many Sufi shaykhs of the seventeenth century penned at least one work.[1311] An important example from Bursa was Şeyh Hüsameddin Efendi (d. 1632/1633) who wrote a book on Sufism, *Mühimmātü'l-mü'minīn.* Hüsameddin Efendi believed in his work so much that he asked that it should not be defamed, stating that it is a unique book.[1312] His other famous book was a book on rhetoric called *Mir'āt-ı Kā'ināt*. The seventeenth century saw a rise in *menāḳıbnāme* production and translation.[1313] The most famous Bursan *menāḳıb* from seventeenth century was again by Hüsameddin Efendi on Şeyh Üftade, famous Sufi and the shaykh of Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, the founder of the Celvetiyye order.[1314] Another important personage who composed manuscripts in Bursa was Niyazi Mısri. His *Dīvān* and *Mevā'idü'l-'irfān* were among the most read books in Sufism.[1315] In one interesting book, Mehmed Efendi (d. 1666) composed a *Ṭarīḳat-nāme-i Ḫalvetiyye* in which he cites more than 120

[1307] Ibid., 723.
[1308] Ibid., 742.
[1309] See Introduction.
[1310] Donuk, 358-359.
[1311] Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlı toplumunda tasavvuf: Sufiler, devlet ve ulema,* 467-468.
[1312] Kara, *Bursa'da tarikatler ve tekkeler*(2012), 496.
[1313] Yılmaz Şentürk, "Beş Şair Bağlamında 17. Yüzyıl Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri," 14.
[1314] Donuk, *Güldeste*, 350-351; Baldırzade, *Ravza*, 152.
[1315] Donuk, 405; Öcalan, 244-245.

shaykhs of the order whom he met personally.[1316] Muhyiddin Efendi (d. 1680) penned books called *Müşāhede, Tevḥīd-nāme,* and *'İbret-nümā*.[1317] In addition to books on Sufism and poetry, shaykhs wrote in other genres, too. Mustafa Efendi (d. 1674/1675) wrote a pamphlet on tanners,[1318] while shaykh of Enarlı lodge, Mehmed Efendi wrote a pilgrimage *menāzil-nāme* in 1698/1699.[1319]

There were also those who copied, compiled, commented, or criticized other works that made them famous. For example, Şevki Çelebi (d. 1691/1692) compiled around 1800 hadiths and proverbs.[1320] While Şeyh Ahmed el-Gülşeni (d. 1678), with a pseudonym Rindi, copied five volumes of *Mesnevī-i Şerīf* twice;[1321] Rum Fahri Çelebi (d. 1611) copied influential Persian prose *Gülistān* by Şirazi.[1322] Eşrefi shaykh Mehmed Efendi (d. 1616), on the other hand, wrote summaries for famous books such as *Şifā, İḥyā-yı 'Ulūm,* and *Minhācü'l-'ābidīn.*[1323] Sükuni Mehmed Efendi (d. 1691/1692) annotated *Mevlānā Cāmī,* and commented on *Ḳasīde-i Bürde.*[1324]

Authors and poets composed in various languages, too. For instance, Celâl Efendi (d. 1611) who had been a teacher at various madrasas throughout his life and famous for his medical knowledge, wrote poems in Arabic.[1325] Whereas Alî Çelebi (d. 1619) was famous for his ability to compose poems in Turkish.[1326] In addition to original works, translations brought acclaim to people. For instance, Ahmed Çelebi (d. 1644/5) translated İmâm-ı Yâfi'î's *Ravżu'r-reyāḥīn* into Turkish.[1327] One Alî

[1316] Donuk, 347.
[1317] Ibid., 398.
[1318] Ibid., 332.
[1319] Suat Donuk, "Bursa Enarlı Zaviyesi Şeyhi Seyyid Mehmed Efendi ve Manzum Hac Menâzilnâmesi."
[1320] Donuk, *Güldeste*, 700.
[1321] Ibid., 364.
[1322] Ibid., 757-758.
[1323] Ibid., 395; Baldırzade, 247.
[1324] Donuk, 408.
[1325] Baldırzade, *Ravza*, 141.
[1326] Ibid., 210.
[1327] Ibid., 115-116: "İmâm-ı Yâfi'î'nin Ravzu'r-Reyâhin nâm kitâbını Türkîye tercüme edüp ol dürc-i ma'âriifde nice dürer-i letaif derç etmiştir."

Efendi ibn Sâlih, on the other hand, translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna,* an Arabic rendition of a Sanskrit text.[1328] Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi did translations from Persian,[1329] whereas Acem Ali Çelebi translated *Kitāb-ı Mūcez* into Persian.[1330] İshak Hacesi, on the other hand, translated Quranic works from Arabic into Turkish.[1331]

From these accounts, we also see that producers of knowledge were not limited to certain circles. To give some examples, there was at least one manumitted slave and convert, Yûsuf Efendi (d. 1627/1628) who was well-versed in Arabic,[1332] and one candy-seller poet, Kandi.[1333] Although there are no entries for a woman in the *vefeyātnāme*s, İsmail Beliğ conveys that the son of Halveti shaykh Bostan Efendi, musician Esved (d. 1614/1615) had a sister who was known for her musical abilities, and sang alongside her brother during recitals.[1334]

As a final remark, it should be mentioned that there were many others who made their name in calligraphy. Şeyh Sunullah Efendi, among others, was famous for his *ḫaṭṭ-ı ta'līḳ-ı laṭīf.*[1335]

Literary patronage, also, was an important part of the culture in Bursa of the seventeenth century. The musician Arif Çelebi, for instance, sold one stanza of his music for one dirham to "*erbāb-ı ma'ārif*," the learned connoisseurs.[1336] Similarly, narrator of famous Nasreddin Hodja jokes, Vadi Efendi composed poetry upon commissions.[1337] As we have mentioned in Chapter 4, *vefeyātnāme*s referring to Zeyniye order were both commissioned by esteemed people of the society. Besides,

[1328] Ibid., 204.
[1329] Donuk, 542.
[1330] Ibid., 760
[1331] Ibid., 632.
[1332] Baldırzade, 273-274.
[1333] Donuk, 722-723.
[1334] Ibid., 748-749.
[1335] Donuk, 388. There were many others commended for their calligraphy. (Donuk, 732-735; Baldırzade, 175, 256, 260, 265, 267-268, etc.)
[1336] Donuk, 715.
[1337] Ibid. 740.

although this was not a direct commission, it was Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi who chose the name for Baldırzade's *vefeyātnāme*, *Ravża-i Evlīyā.*[1338] Karaçelebizade himself also dedicated his chronicle *Ravżatü'l-ebrār* to Sultan Mehmed IV.[1339] Similarly, Mahmud Efendi wrote a *risāle-i laṭīf* and dedicated to Köprülüzade Ahmed Paşa.[1340]

In short, the seventeenth century was a time where Bursa housed prolific authors, who wrote in many different genres, in poetry and in prose, tackling various subjects. The significance attributed to writing in Bursa during our period is best exemplified in one of Nimeti Çelebi's couplets: "*chun haṭ sebeb-i beqā-i 'ilm u huner āst* (writing is the reason of perpetuity of knowledge and skill)."[1341]

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, first, we have delved into the reading practices of seventeenth-century Bursans. To do so, we have employed tereke registers in order to demonstrate the book possession patterns, and *vefeyātnāme*s and other literary sources to understand the readership. Secondly, we have explored writing practices and production of manuscripts.

We have seen that book holding ratios were higher in seventeenth-century Bursa than (i) sixteenth-century Bursa, and (ii) other cities of the lands of Rum, except Istanbul. However, in accordance with our warning about book studies based on tereke registers, it should be kept in mind that future work may call for a revision of these findings. Yet, to a large extent, they can be corroborated as Bursa was a

[1338] Ibid., 572-573.
[1339] Ibid., 543.
[1340] Ibid., 369.
[1341] Ibid., 732-733.

major cultural hub, a former capital, and a center for manuscript production, education, and Sufism.

Although predetermined social codes affected book-owning patterns, the collections we have examined reveal that not only a variety of people from different social backgrounds (women, people with low income, etc.) owned books, but also people who did not belong to the official learned elite owned books that were part of madrasa curricula. This latter trend might also be connected to book ownership and reading patterns of individuals connected to Sufi circles.

One important shortfall in our chapter was the absence of non-Muslims. In our sources, we have not been able to find data to discuss non-Muslims' reading or writing patterns. This might be due to the rather sparse use of kadı courts by non-Muslims. Further studies could be conducted to address the reading and writing culture of Jews, Armenians, and Greeks of Bursa.

It can be argued that there was a reading culture cutting across the legal divides of *ʿaskerī* and *reʿāyā* and divides defined by gross wealth. The book owning patterns, on the other hand, showed us that book-owning was a strictly urban phenomenon. Although being male, *ʿaskerī*, and bearing the title efendi increased the chances of owning a book, it was not only these factors that were at play when holding a book. Others were active readers, regardless of their having received non-formal or formal education. We have seen that books in Turkish were popular especially among those who owned smaller collections, among them *reʿāyā*, women, and those without any titles. Through the inclusion of an increasing number of people who were educated in madrasas into the urban public and a similar increase in the interest of the non-ulema in reading, thanks not only but to an important degree

to the Sufi network, a culture of reading that encompassed groups beyond the elites emerged.

The period in question also witnessed a rise in the manuscript production. Although the connections between writing and reading seem to be rather vague -in the sense that not everyone who owned a book necessarily wrote, copied, or produced written works- it is important to note that those who owned pen, paper, and *mecmūʿa*s, signifiers of a reading and, most probably, writing culture were almost entirely the members of the urban society.[1342] In a divergence from the Western path due to the limited and belated advent of the printing press, handwriting was incorporated into orality in the early modern Ottoman Empire through *mecmūʿa*, as *mecmūʿa*s emerged as liminal intermediaries between written and oral literature.[1343]

[1342] Terzioğlu, "Mecmû'a-i Şeyh Mısrî," 294: Terzioğlu argues that we might not say everyone who owned books actually read them but the same does not apply to *mecmūʿa*s.
[1343] Buzov, 39.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Gerçi dirsüz dehr içinde yoḳdur İstanbulımuz
Ṭursun İstanbulıñuz Bursa bizüm maḳbūlimüz.
Nazik Abdullah

By the end of the seventeenth century, the former capital Bursa had already been through its "golden age." The shifting of trade routes towards İzmir started to eclipse the economic prosperity Bursa had once tasted. Still, Bursa was a major town of commerce. Despite the shifting political and economic landscapes, Bursa remained the largest city in Anatolia and a key player in various sectors. The silk industry adapted to changing circumstances such as competition and shifts in trade routes by rearing silkworms locally, targeting domestic markets, and turning to free wage labor. This adaptability ensured the continued economic vitality of Bursa and provided opportunities for the urban folk to engage in productive activities.

Thus, perhaps even more importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, Bursa remained a hub of cultural production, too. Its proximity to the palace most probably provided a safe haven for the city to flourish also as a cultural hub. Its cultural and social institutions thrived due to a combination of economic prosperity and the active tradition of endowments. Woven into the social fabric of the city, social institutions such as madrasas and Sufi lodges, hot springs/bathhouses and coffeehouses provided spaces for social interaction and spiritual practices at the same time. The presence of a strong middling sort and the attraction of individuals from various walks of life further enriched the social dynamics of Bursa. It was very close to the capital but since it was not directly under the latter's control, Bursa offered a

certain freedom and many Sufis and scholars, merchants and exiles chose to stay at or move to the city.

This dissertation has endeavored to provide a comprehensive understanding of how urban culture was created, experienced, and disseminated in early modern Bursa. By capturing the essence of Bursa's urban culture, and offering insights into the urban folk, we have aimed to reveal how they came to make and partake in this culture. In doing so, each chapter has focused on a different aspect of urban culture, while attending to the economic, social, cultural, and political setting of seventeenth-century Bursa. As the interest of the urban folk in the city increased, the boundary between the makers of and participants in particular practices connected to urban life became blurred. As a result, this interest led to an urban awareness and this urban awareness culminated in, in our case, Bursa-mindedness.

In this study, I have argued that the city dwellers and the city have a mutually constituting relationship. This may seem obvious; nevertheless, I believe, shedding light on the making and dynamics of this mutually constituting relationship under new light and understanding the making of and modes of participation in urban culture is still vital. It is evident that early modern Bursans manifested a self-awareness about the public nature of their own actions through which they created, participated in, and were shaped by a range of urban practices. Therefore, akin to the mutually constituting relationship between the city dwellers and the city, urban society and urban culture was in a similar reciprocal relationship in a process of creation.

As a major city through the course of Ottoman history, Bursa offers the historian a multitude of aspects of urban culture. Through the lens of peculiar and diverse source material, I have selected a number of distinct approaches to the urban

culture: What the city had offered to the urban folk (book culture), what urban folk offered to the city (endowment culture), and finally the reciprocal relationship between the two through surveying *vefeyātnāme*s both as sources for and cultural products of urban culture. Scrutinizing these three distinct aspects has also provided me with a perspective for a sense of belonging and Bursa-mindedness in seventeenth-century Bursa.

Before considering the various aspects of urban culture, in Chapter 2, we have used primary and secondary documents in order to introduce the space and the social setting. Bursa was a major town in economic and cultural terms. It had been the first capital, and remained one of the most significant cities for the Empire. Its relationship with silk brought abundance, and its fruitful plains always catered to areas beyond the immediate hinterland, especially İstanbul. Being a meeting point for many Sufi orders, and a favorite spot for elite exiles, Bursa had been an indispensable city for poets, religious personages, high-ranking officials, and even foreign diplomats and merchants.

Chapter 3, where waqfs have been studied in close detail, has sought to understand the nature of charitable culture in seventeenth-century Bursa. It has revealed a complex network of deliberative contributions to the city and fellow urban folk, established by a diverse range of individuals including women and non-Muslims. Through these contributions, endowers became active participants and constituents of a network of charity, not simply contributing to an existing structure of receiving and giving, but at the same time reshaping it. It showed how different groups in the city, although not always selflessly, manifested (i) an understanding of the needs of the city, certain neighborhoods, and institutions, and (ii) a sense of

belonging to the urban social networks they were actively creating via a culture of giving back to the city which had provided for them in the past.

This study has approached waqfs as early modern city networks, constantly in the making, integrated into the greater web of education, piety, charity, public works, and sociability. These networks culminated in the making of a charitable public, where those who established, worked for, and benefited from the endowment met in an anonymous membership. This tradition of charity and communal support was vital in building a cohesive urban identity and fostering a sense of community among the inhabitants. Therefore, providing the spatial dimension of the said public, the waqfs had an active role in making space public. Perhaps, the expansion of the social base of this active creation might be rendered as one of the traits of an early modern urbanity. It was not that early modern practices were altogether new, on the contrary, many had predecessors in the late medieval times, especially in the Arabic-speaking lands such as Cairo. However, in early modern Ottoman cities, these elements were likely combined and transformed by the urban folk to create a distinct form of urban life, although the uniqueness of this transformation and the extent of urban participation in the late medieval era require further investigation.

This culture of receiving and giving was grounded in a certain urban awareness, which, in turn, was accompanied with an understanding of temporality and spatiality. The most immediate spatial dimension of this was a certain pride taken in being Bursan. Being Bursan, however, was understood in a broad sense. Not surprisingly similar to our own urban identities, being Bursan was a self-fashioned title in which a person could claim to be a Bursan in all these cases: (i) if s/he was born in Bursa, (ii) if s/he spent a lot of time in Bursa, (iii) if s/he felt as a Bursan. Furthermore, a person could be given the “honorary title” of Bursan (Bursevi,

Bursalı) by other Bursans, if s/he died and was buried there. This created a lineage of being Bursan, not necessarily and not always in a spiritual sense.

In Chapter 4, therefore, we have discussed how authors tried to incorporate religiously important personages into their writings about the city. Besides this, we have seen that authors included their own family members into this lineage to claim the significance of being Bursan. Although these authors were already included in lineages of spiritual orders, *vefeyātnāme* authors used this religious significance to establish the importance for Bursa in a broader manner. While the very first *vefeyātnāme*s were written only for members of an order, the tradition of *vefeyātnāme* grew to encapsulate all the important people in one city, and later on to include many other people who might not be seen as important as the former. By way of this, authors first established a sense that Bursa was indeed a city of saints and later, linking their own familial or religious ties to Bursa, manifested a pride in being Bursan. Thus, this establishment of pride was also bilateral, and the religious ties were instrumentalized to demonstrate the significance of their hometown.

This pride was necessarily accompanied by an understanding of the past. Authors came to manifest an increasing attention to the history of the city. Yet, it was not only the past but also the present which was at the center of attention of Bursans. They showed a concern for what was going on around them, not only regarding the people but also the edifices, the recreational spots, and the natural beauties of their cities. In poetry, we witnessed this with the *şehrengīz* genre first in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, we see that contemporary observers dealt with the surroundings of the city as well as daily life. In various literary genres and *mecmūʿa*s alike, authors and poets wrote about daily life. Especially *mecmūʿa*s give us access to an early modern mentality, as products of an

expanding reading and writing culture in the Ottoman Empire. Although in the seventeenth century there were still *mecmūʿa*s which were focused on a particular subject, increasingly, people wrote about what was happening around them in the city. We can also trace this trend in certain journals, travelogues, and *vefeyātnāme*s, together with works in literary genres such as *şehrengīz.* These works contain many simple notes ranging from how long it would take to go to a certain city from Bursa to the names of Bursa kadis, or interesting events taking place in their city or neighborhood. This dual understanding of past and present can be seen as an emergent signifier of modern temporality, emphasizing the present not just as a moment in time but as a transient and contingent phase that breaks from the past, thrusting us into the future. [1344]

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this dissertation, therefore, was its use of *vefeyātnāme*s both as cultural products of a certain urban culture and also sources of that culture. Presenting a web of connectedness spatially and temporally, Bursa *vefeyātnāme*s manifest in their form and content a Bursa-mindedness. If we step back for an instant and consider this besides the Bursan pride, we will see that the authors of seventeenth-century *vefeyātnāme*s (one retired kadi and one prolific Sufi) made a deliberate choice. They brought together a group of people that they thought would belong together. Therefore, in their work, it is not only the rationale of being Bursan that was bent or altogether created anew, but also being urbanite was redefined or even generated from scratch. Thus, the active act of defining a group of people as urbanites might be interpreted within the context of Ottoman early modern urbanity. The networks in the city must have become so visible that cultural

[1344] Espen Hammer, *Philosophy and temporality from Kant to Critical Theory*, 37.

producers of the city had an urge to come up with an encapsulating definition for the urbanites, or perhaps a riveting portrayal of the public sphere.

In Chapter 5, extensive attention is given to the book owning patterns of seventeenth-century Bursans while considering the relationship between book owning and readership. First, we have come to see that, as much as social status was at play with regard to book ownership, it was diffused into different layers of society, perhaps with an increase among the madrasa-educated who remained outside the religio-judicial hierarchy. Dabbling in reading material could have also been due to the prevalence of Sufi circles in urban life thanks to their mostly open access libraries. In both cases, cross reading of sources might allow us to think that certain books, especially books listed in madrasa curricula or recommended by prominent Sufis, were read or listened to, together with books in Turkish and works of "pulp literature" which were meant to be read aloud. This intellectual environment was enriched by contributions from various authors and translators who produced works in multiple genres and languages. The vibrant literary scene in Bursa was supported by a network of madrasas and other centers of education that fostered the development of scholarship and learning.

Despite the extensive research conducted in this dissertation, certain limitations need to be acknowledged. One significant gap was the lack of comprehensive data on the book ownership and endowment activities of non-Muslims in Bursa. This omission highlights the need for further exploration into the cultural contributions of Jewish, Armenian, and Greek communities in the city. Additionally, the methodological challenges inherent in studying urban culture, with its diverse and multifaceted nature, necessitate a selective approach that may leave out certain aspects. The reliance on specific types of sources, such as *tereke* registers

and *vefeyātnāme*s, also poses limitations in capturing the full spectrum of urban life in Bursa. These sources, while rich in detail, may not fully represent the experiences of all social groups, particularly women and non-Muslims.

The findings of this dissertation underscore the importance of studying urban culture through a multidisciplinary lens, incorporating historical, sociological, and literary perspectives. Future work should especially be focusing on (i) non-Muslim waqfs, and their charitable relations especially keeping in mind the question of waqfs where Muslims and non-Muslims came together; (ii) reading and writing (and also, simply, the book-holding patterns) of women should be explored further; (iii) the same applies to the non-Muslim of Bursa, in addition to their libraries and book-holding patterns; (iv) new institutions, the most important being the coffeehouse, that came to be widespread in the seventeenth century, together with such substances as coffee and tobacco; (v) sociability with respect to the said institutions – and in particular, the question of female sociability.

While the poet Naziki Abdullah may have found Bursa indescribable, this study has aimed to present a nuanced and detailed portrayal of the city with its diverse social groups, dynamic economic activities, and vibrant intellectual life. It has been written in the hope of shedding new light on the formation of urban society, urban culture, and (the roots of) a modern public sphere in the early modern Ottoman Empire, through the use of archival documents, chronicles, travelogues, poetry, and other literary genres. Future work remains to be conducted.

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