

**FORMATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN FABRIC
IN THE 19TH CENTURY
BURSA**

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BY

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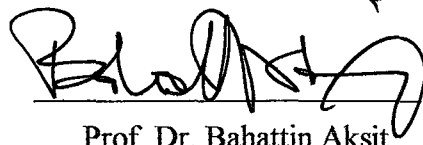
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences



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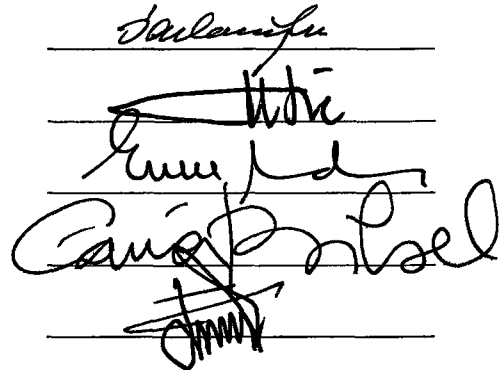
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ABSTRACT

FORMATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN FABRIC IN THE 19TH CENTURY BURSA

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This thesis examines the 19th century urban transformation of Bursa within the scope of the Tanzimat reforms. The main concern of this study is to see how and in which scale the western-based urban institutions, regulations, planning principles and the changing social, cultural and economic demands of this reform period altered the traditional urban fabric of Bursa.

Bursa, as the first capital of the Ottoman State continued to keep the Ottoman imperial glory for centuries not only as a religious, but also as a cultural and commercial center, became the focus of the Tanzimat's modernization reforms, after 1840's. The earliest impacts of these reforms on Bursa appeared as industrial changes leading to new factory districts around the city. The destruction of Bursa by an earthquake in 1855, and the need for a large-scale reconstruction and restoration coincided with Tanzimat's urban and architectural implementations; the opening of new avenues, the formation of

new residential quarters and the emergence of new building types altered the traditional urban fabric of Bursa in the second half of the 19th century. Ahmet Vefik Paşa, the governor of Bursa, was the most prominent personality of this reform period.

Although its 19th century urban fabric has been greatly changed within the last century, the existing structure of Bursa has still retained the traces of its significant heritage, which should be conserved as parts of the cultural continuity.

Keywords: Bursa, 19th Century, Western Impact, Tanzimat Reforms,
Urban Fabric, Transformation, Formation



ÖZ

19. YÜZYILDA BURSA'DA KENTSEL DOKUNUN OLUŞUMU VE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Türkoğlu, Sinem

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Bu tez, Bursa'nın 19. yüzyıldaki kentsel dönüşümünü Tanzimat reformları çerçevesinde incelemektedir. Bu reform döneminde, Batı kökenli kent kurumları, kanunlar ve planlama prensipleri ile değişen sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik taleplerin Bursa'nın geleneksel kent dokusunu nasıl ve hangi ölçüde değiştirdiği, çalışmanın özünü oluşturmaktadır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk başkenti olan ve önemini, dinsel, kültürel ve ticari bir merkez olarak yüzyıllar boyunca sürdüren Bursa, 1840'lardan sonra Tanzimat'ın modernleşme reformlarının da odağı haline gelmiştir. Bu reformların Bursa'ya ilk etkileri, endüstri alanında gerçekleşmiş, kentte yeni fabrika bölgeleri belirlemiştir. Bursa'nın 1855 depremiyle yıkılması ve geniş çaplı bir yeniden yapılanma ve restorasyona duyulan ihtiyaç, Tanzimat'ın kentsel ve mimari alandaki uygulamalarına olanak sağlamıştır. Kentin geleneksel dokusu, yeni caddelerin açılması, yeni yerleşim bölgelerinin

kurulması ve yeni yapı türlerinin ortaya çıkışıyla, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında değişmiştir. Bursa valisi Ahmet Vefik Paşa, bu reform döneminin en önemli ismidir.

Bursa'nın 19. yüzyıldaki kentsel dokusu, geçtiğimiz yüzyılda büyük ölçüde değişmesine rağmen kentin mevcut yapısı, önemli geçmişinin izlerini hâlâ taşımaktadır. Bu izler, kültürel sürekliliğin bir parçası olarak korunmalıdır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler: Bursa, 19. Yüzyıl, Batı Etkisi, Tanzimat Reformları,
Kentsel Doku, Dönüşüm, Oluşum**





To My Parents

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

...The 130 years from its conquest to 1453 produced not only a completely Turkish city down to the marrow, but also fixed its spiritual demeanor inalterably for the future. For all of the changes, disasters, negligence or the fortunate evolutions, it is entirely the atmosphere of its foundation period that remains; it is this epoch that speaks to us; it is the poetry of this epoch that breathes...¹

The efforts to regain its autonomy by modernizing its traditional institutions along western thoughts and tendencies pushed the Ottoman Empire into a reform process that started in the 18th century at the administrative and military levels and was accelerated after the proclamation of the Tanzimat Charter in a variety of areas such as political, social, economical, educational and urban. The modernization of the cities and their architecture involving the importation of western technology and artistic values was one of the major concerns of the Tanzimat reforms that transformed the traditional Ottoman urban fabric in the 19th century.

Tanzimat's urban reforms did not affect equally all parts of the empire. The importance of the city in terms of its heritage and of its social, cultural and economic values was the main criteria determining the degree to which the reforms were implemented. As the first capital of the Empire, reflecting its imperial glory, and as an important commercial and cultural center, Bursa became the focus of

¹ ...Fetihten 1453 senesine kadar geçen 130 sene, sade baştan başa ve iliklerine kadar bir Türk şehri olmasına yetmemiş, aynı zamanda onun manevi çehresini gelecek zaman için hiç değişmeyecek şekilde tesbit etmiştir. Uğradığı değişiklikler, felâketler ve ihmâller, kaydettiği ileri ve mesut merhaleler ne olursa olsun, o, hep bu ilk kuruluş çağının havasını saklar, onun arasından bizimle konuşur, onun şiirini teneffüs eder... TANPINAR (1946:79).

these reforms after 1840's. In addition, the destruction of the city by a devastating earthquake in 1855 gave the Ottoman government the opportunity for applying urban and architectural reforms of Tanzimat that resulted in a large-scale reconstruction on Bursa's urban fabric in the second half of the 19th century.

In this study, it is intended to examine the urban transformation of Ottoman Bursa within the concept of Tanzimat reforms. The major scope is to analyze the reflection of these reforms on Bursa's traditional urban fabric and thus, to evaluate the period extending from the pre-19th century Ottoman Bursa through to the 20th century modern, industrial city.

The special place of Bursa among Ottoman Anatolian cities and its urban character before the 19th century constitute a backdrop for each part of the thesis which allow to make a comparative study while analyzing its 19th century urban transformation. This study has a deductive approach in terms of the examined scales, which means that the existing macro-form of the city and the interventions that followed at a certain period form the point of departure leading gradually, where possible, to the scale of building. "Westernization" in the context of this study is viewed in terms of the modernization and restructuring of the traditional Ottoman institutions, as well as the urban institutions, along western thoughts and techniques. For a supporting framework, the social, cultural, and economical changes in the reform period and their reflections to the urban morphology are also examined extensively. The demographic fluctuations, the changing demands in the social and cultural life, the changing social status of the foreigners in the Ottoman society and new capitalist relations with western countries are discussed while analyzing the spatial transformation of the city within this framework.

The pre-Ottoman and Ottoman history of Bursa and the evolution of its macro-form and socio-economic structure until the second half of the 19th century are discussed in the first part of this thesis. The 14th - and 15th century evolution of Bursa's physical structure that was dominated by the citadel, the market area and

four major sultan complexes determined its urban character until the Tanzimat period. The components of this urban structure are examined together with its social, cultural and economic dimensions. In addition, the 1862 Suphi Bey map, reflecting the traditional fabric of Ottoman Bursa before the changes of the Tanzimat reforms, is also analyzed here as a backdrop for the following chapters.

The concept of “westernization” is discussed in the context of the second part that consists of the architectural and urban reforms of Tanzimat and their impacts on Bursa in the second half of the 19th century. The earliest effects of the Tanzimat reforms on Bursa were seen on industry and industrial spatial structure of the city. Following the transfer of new industrial technologies from Europe, the silk production in Bursa began to mechanize after the 1830’s and modern silk factories began to dominate the cityscape. The introduction of modern urban planning and architectural restoration methods altered the traditional urban fabric of Bursa after the 1850’s. The reorganization of the urban structure by way of opening new avenues, as well as formation of new residential quarters and emergence of new building types all around the city, coincided within that period. In this section, Ahmet Vefik Paşa is discussed as the most prominent figure in Bursa’s 19th century urban transformation.

The interventions to the urban fabric are examined as the case studies in the fourth chapter of this thesis. The restructuring of the Armenian Setbaşı quarter, which was totally demolished by 1855 earthquake, and then by a great fire in 1863, along Tanzimat’s urban planning principles is the first case. The second case study covers the urban evolution of the Altıparmak quarter that was established for the immigrants from Bulgaria at the end of the 1870’s. In contrast to the spontaneous formation of the traditional Ottoman neighborhoods, Setbaşı and Altıparmak were two of the earliest examples being planned within gridiron planning schemes along definite urban principles and regulations. The social, cultural and economic habits of their residents also brought different architectural characteristics to these quarters. Discussing their existing building stock and urban layout, which are the

products of a significant period in the Ottoman history and should be conserved and passed on to next generations, is important for that reason.

The above-mentioned studies on Bursa's 19th century urban transformation are evaluated in the last chapter, which also presents a connection to the present day, by discussing the 20th century sources. As an initial step for the restoration and conservation studies in the future, preparation of a regular urban archive system is advised in this chapter, while the importance of the cultural continuity is the major concern.

The 19th- and 20th century maps and photographs, which help to evaluate the urban and architectural transformation of Bursa, constitute the major sources of this thesis. The earliest maps of Bursa were prepared by the western travellers of Niebuhr and von Hammer; however, both of these are schematic maps and cannot be accepted as reliable sources. The Suphi Bey Map that began to be prepared after the 1855 earthquake and completed in 1862 was the first detailed map of Bursa, where the houses, religious and social buildings, factories and the street network before Tanzimat's implementations were rendered precisely. Although it is noticed a few mistakes are noticed while comparing the remaining building stock with those on the map, Suphi Bey Map contains necessary clues about the traditional urban fabric of Bursa and leads to clarify its urban transformation in the second half of the 19th century. Four maps are used to analyse the urban evolution of Bursa. Unlike Suphi Bey Map, the maps dating to 1895, 1907 and 1922 lack in details in building scale; however, the interventions to the urban fabric, involving the appearance of the new avenues and new neighborhoods, can easily be read on them. The 1907 and 1922 maps seem to be rendered more accurately, on which the prestige buildings were noted with their names, additionally. The Piccinato Map, reflecting the city's urban structure in mid-20th century and proposing new expansion directions, makes possible to check the reliabilities of the previous maps and to analyze the urban transformation of Bursa extending from the 19th century to the 20th century.

The archive photographs are used in this study, particularly, as supporting evidences of Bursa's architectural transformation in the second half of the 19th century. These are valuable sources, since many of the buildings on these photographs, reflecting the characteristics of a significant period, are non-existent today. These archive photographs lead one to make trustworthy criticisms while examining the 19th century urban and architectural characteristics of Setbaşı and Altıparmak neighborhoods. Within the context of this study, these photographs are also compared with the existing building stock in these neighborhoods in order to point out their dramatic annihilation in the 20th century.

Besides the visual documents, several studies from different disciplines were examined throughout this thesis. Two of these studies constitute the major sources. Béatrice St. Laurent's dissertation, "Ottomanization and Modernization. The Architectural and Urban Development of Bursa and the Genesis of Tradition 1839-1914", uses the research methods of an art historian to examine the modernization and Ottomanization in the architecture and urban environment in Bursa through a neo-Ottoman urban symbol. In this thesis, this period is studied within the ideologies of different sultans' reigns as an historical, as well as a political, analysis. Leila Erder's dissertation, "The Making of Industrial of Bursa: Economic Activity and Population in an Ottoman City 1835-1975", uses the research methods of an urban planner, considering the changing socio-economical aspects of the city. Besides examining the industrialization of the silk production from the pre-modern to modern Bursa, Erder also studies the imposition of western urban planning methods on the city in Tanzimat's reform period. Both of these studies, examining the 19th century Bursa from a multidisciplinary perspective, have provided a depth to this thesis and have made more complete and accurate evaluations possible.

All these maps, photographs and other written and visual documents on Bursa are provided through different official archives, such as the Ottoman Archive of the Prime Minister's Office, the archives of the Ministry of Culture, the archive of the Bursa Municipality, and through various libraries, universities and private archives.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF BURSA AND THE EVOLUTION OF ITS MACRO-FORM UNTIL THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

II.1. Pre-Ottoman History of Bursa

The history of Bursa region goes back till the pre-historic ages of Asia Minor. The Archaeological evidences indicate that the first settlement on this region dated to Chalcolithic Period¹.

The consensus is that the Phrygians were the first community migrating from Balkans to the environs of Bursa around 1200's BC². In the 7th century BC, Bithynians, a tribe of Thynis living in Thrace, passed through the straits and settled around Bursa, İznik and İzmit. They called this land "Bithynia"³. Following the sovereignty of Lydia between 561-546 BC, Bithynia became the land of the Persian Empire for the following two centuries⁴. Many of the Bithynian antique cities appeared during the Hellenistic Period in spite of the conflicts around the region. As it is learnt from the sources, these were Nicaea (İznik), Nicomedia (İzmit), Apameia

¹ Archaeologists identified certain tumuli around Bursa region belonging to the proto-historic age. The Tumuli in Sözlöz, Yepecik, Öğücek, Mekece, Ilıpınar, Hacılartepe, Karadin, Cumatepe, Doğutepe, Babasultan and Demirtaş were discovered in recent years indicating the first settlements on this land. KAPLANOĞLU (1996:6).

² The Phrygians settled on the south and southeast of the Sea of Marmara. During that period, the environs of Bursa were called as 'Hellespontus Phrygia'. BURSA (1996:30).

³ BAYKAL (1950:6), ÖZENDES (1999:20).

⁴ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:6).

(Mudanya), Aniocheia (Yalova), Cius (Gemlik) and Prusa (Bursa)⁵. According to Tanyeli, the antique cities of Bithynia were effective on the development of urban life in the northwestern Anatolia by means of creating crucial nodes in rural areas⁶. Prusa, the main settlement of which was inside the *hisar* (citadel) area, had been the capital of the Bithynian Kingdom until it became part of the Roman Empire around 100's BC⁷. In the 4th century, the Byzantines occupied the region⁸ (Figure 1).

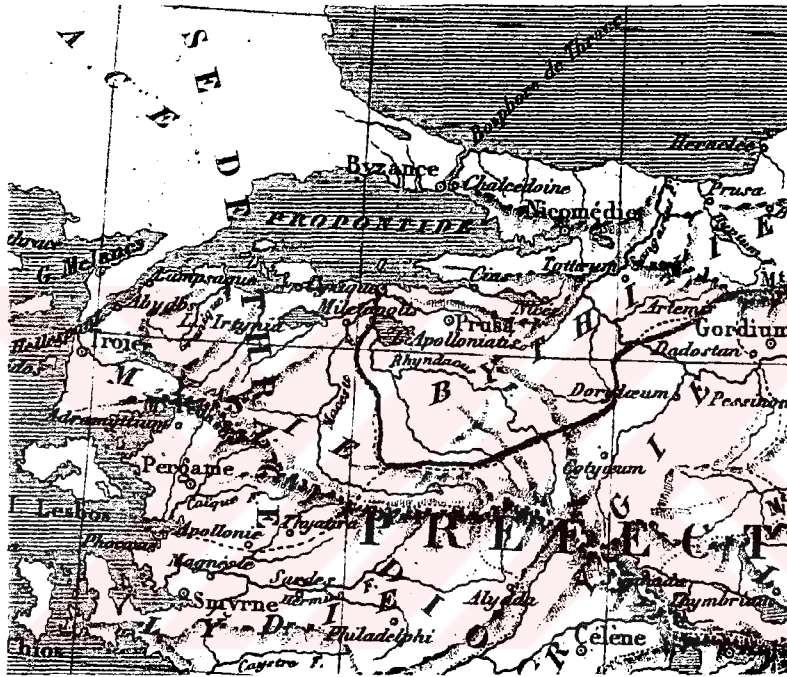


Figure 1. Northwestern Anatolia under the Roman Domination

⁵ Bithynian kings Antigonos (Nicaea), Nicomedes (Nicomedia) and Prusias I (Apameia and Prusa) were the founders of these cities. According to the antique sources, the most brilliant age of the Bithynian Kingdom was the reign of the King *Prusias I* (232-192 BC). BAYKAL (1950:6-7), KAPLANOĞLU (1996:6), ÖZENDES (1999:6).

⁶ TANYELİ (1984:29).

⁷ YURT ANSIKLOPEDI (1984:1630).

⁸ The provincial center of the Byzantine Bursa was in the palace (*Tekfur Sarayı*) on the citadel area, surrounded by an inner wall with 17 towers. Its name turned to "*Bey Sarayı*" under the reign of Orhan when some additions were made to the building. The voyagers visiting the city during the Ottoman period informed the presence of the palace. *Bey Sarayı* was seriously demolished by 1854 earthquake. KAPLANOĞLU (1996:7-8), YENAL (1996:24-25).

After the 1071 Malazgirt war against Byzantine Empire, the Turks commenced their conquest of Anatolia. Following the establishment of Anatolian Seljukid Empire, İznik, being conquered in 1075, became the capital. When the empire weakens around the 12th century, it split into numerous small Turkish Principalities (*Beylikler*). Bursa and environs were recaptured by the Byzantine⁹.

II.2. Ottoman History of Bursa

The appearance of the Ottoman city coincided with the era of Turkish Principalities. The 14th century witnessed both the rise of the Turkish rule in Asia Minor and an urbanisation movement in Balkans parallel with the expansion of Ottomans¹⁰.

The conquest of Bilecik, Yenikent, İnegöl and İzmit by the Ottoman Principality (*Osmanlı Beyliği*) in 1299 is regarded as the foundation of the Ottoman State. Bursa, which was a provincial center of Byzantine Empire, was captured in 1326 and became the first capital of the Ottoman State¹¹.

Bursa, following its conquest, developed rapidly and became one of the most important settlement regions in western Anatolia. Tanyeli explains the rise of Bursa as a result of the stable political situation that began to appear in the 14th century Anatolia¹². The increasing trade capacity of western Anatolian port cities in this period resulted in the development of a new trade route extending to Bursa. The

⁹ The main settlement area of Byzantine Bursa was inside the citadel area. There were also small settlements outside the city walls and at Pithya (now called Çekirge) around the hot springs. One of them was the area extending from 'Çakır Hamamı' to 'Çatal Fırın', the population of which was formed by Greeks and Jews. Another settlement was the area between Altıparmak and Muradiye, which was a Greek settlement during that period. According to Kâzım Baykal, Byzantine Bursa had 7 neighborhoods, 2000 houses, 7 churches (or monasteries), one single bath, a bazaar and 20 shops just before its conquest by the Ottomans. BAYKAL (1976:25), KAPLANOĞLU (1996:8), KARA (1990:12).

¹⁰ TANYELİ (1984:68).

¹¹ After its conquest in 1330, the administration center moved to İzmit considering its closeness to the battlefields. In 1335, Bursa was again the capital until 1365.

¹² TANYELİ (1984:69).

commercial advantage of Bursa as a crucial node on the routes between Istanbul and the hinterland of Asia Minor made it the trade center of the empire after the 14th century. In this period, the search for an Ottoman identity in the administrative, cultural, social, and economic institutions and the reflection of these efforts on architecture and the urban character made Bursa the first Ottoman city.

Following the foundation of the State, Bursa became the biggest Ottoman city of the 14th and 15th centuries. Although the administrative center has moved to Edirne in 1365, and then, to Istanbul in 1453, Bursa as the commercial, cultural and religious center of the Empire, continued its importance and Ottoman character until the 20th century¹³.

II.2.1. The Evolution of the Urban Form till the 19th Century

After it became the capital of the Ottoman State in 1326, Bursa extended immediately beyond the citadel walls and began its urban development. The 14th and 15th century evolution of its physical structure determined the urban character of Bursa until the 19th century.

The urban development of pre-19th century Bursa was dominated by three spatial elements that were the citadel, the market area and the religious complexes¹⁴. When Orhan Gazi conquered the city in 1326, the Turks settled inside the city walls. Until the city began to expand beyond the citadel, the urban interventions occurred inside the citadel area¹⁵. Due to the increasing population density within time, the city began to extend to the east of the castle. Following the erection of the royal mosque

¹³ When Istanbul was conquered by Mehmet II (Fatih Sultan Mehmet) in 1453, Bursa became a *Sancak Beyliği*, but then, was subordinated to *Anadolu Beylerbeyliği*. Bursa was the center of the *Hüdâvendigâr* province. KARA (1990:10).

¹⁴ ERDER (1976:206)

¹⁵ Eski Hamam, Sürmeli Meşjid, Alaaddin Mosque and Şehadet Mosque were built in this period. BAYKAL (1950:15)

of Orhan and its dependencies, Bey *Hanı* (today Emir *Hanı*) was built and formed the nucleus of the traditional commercial center of Bursa¹⁶.

Following the expansion out of the citadel area, four sultan complexes that were built during the 14th and 15th centuries dominated the urban structure of Ottoman Bursa. The first great complex that of Hüdâvendigâr was erected in the period Sultan Murat I (Murat Hüdâvendigâr, 1360-1389)¹⁷. The complex located 3.5 kilometres west of the castle, in the district of Pithya with hot springs proposed a new settlement area to the city. With the addition of new buildings around the Bey *Hanı*, the market district gradually began its Ottoman evolution towards a great commercial center¹⁸.

In the reign of Sultan Bayezit I (Yıldırım Bayezit, 1389-1402), the city continued its urban development. Following the construction of Yıldırım Complex around 1390's, Bursa began to expand eastwards, opposite to the complex of Hüdâvendigâr¹⁹. The erection of Great Mosque (*Ulucami*) and *bedesten* seems to be the first intentions to form a spatial center, including religious and commercial activities in it. At the end of the 14th century, Bursa, with a series of shops, *han*s and public baths around the *bedesten* and with open markets extending to the east on a linear axis, increased its trade capacity and became the greatest commercial center of the Ottoman Empire²⁰.

¹⁶ Emir *Hanı* is the oldest commercial building that appeared outside the citadel area. According to Kâzım Baykal, the *Hanı*, being established on an empty area, was surrounded by a wall and numerous small shops. This nucleus was enlarged by constituting other commercial buildings within the following centuries and formed the traditional commercial center of Bursa. BAYKAL (1950:26-27), YENAL (1996:26-27).

¹⁷ Hüdâvendigâr Complex consists of a royal mosque, the tomb of Murat I, an *imaret*, a fountain and public toilets. Hüdâvendigâr mosque, which unites the mosque and *medrese* in one structure, accepted as unique among its contemporary counterparts. BAYKAL (1950:27-29), KARA (1990:14).

¹⁸ Kapan *Hanı* and Bezir *Hanı* were built at this time.

¹⁹ Yıldırım Complex, locating on a high slope, was formed by a royal mosque, a hospital (*darüşşifa*), a *medrese*, an *imaret*, a public bath and the tomb of Bayezit I. BAYKAL (1960:155-157)

²⁰ YENAL (1996:27)

After the chaotic period (*Fetret Devri*) following the Ankara War in 1402, the empire was reunited by Çelebi Sultan Mehmet (1413-1421). Yeşil Complex, completed in 1425, led to the expansion of the city eastwards, as did the Yıldırım Complex²¹. In the reign of the Çelebi Mehmet, the commercial center continued its enlargement by the construction of new *han* buildings²².

The last of the great complexes was Muradiye Complex that was built in the period of Sultan Murat II (1421-1451)²³. The construction of the complex resulted in the formation of a new settlement to the west of the castle (Figures 2-6, Plates 1-4).

After having ceased to be the capital of the Empire, it maintained its importance as the center of trade. The commercial center continued its development up to the end of the period of Bayezit II (1481-1512)²⁴. The Sultans of the following centuries also gave a vital importance to Bursa as a center of trade and therefore built numerous *hans* in Bursa in parallel with the city's economic potential²⁵ (Figure 7). Besides the above-mentioned four royal complexes, many smaller religious buildings, which eventually led to the formation of the residential districts in the city, were erected by the members of the dynasty or by important personalities -such as the grand vizier, vizier or *kadi*²⁶.

²¹ Yeşil Complex, the name of which comes from its green tile decorations, consists of a royal mosque, a public bath, an *imaret*, a *medrese* and the tomb of the Sultan. Yeşil Mosque was completed in 1419 by the architect vizier Hacı İvaz Paşa for Çelebi Sultan Mehmet. BAYKAL (1959:137-141), ÖZENDES (1999:24).

²² İpek Hanı (Faytoncular Hanı), Geyve Han, Yoğurt Han, Katır Hanı, Sipahi Market, Hacı İvaz Paşa Hanı were built during this time. BAYKAL (1976:29).

²³ Muradiye Complex consists of a royal mosque, a *medrese*, a public bath and a fountain, an *imaret* and numerous royal tombs standing in the garden. The mosque of Muradiye shows the characteristics of early Ottoman mosques that it has a reversed-T type plan being designed as multi-functional structures. BAYKAL (1950:137-141), YENİŞEHİRLİOĞLU (1989:1345-1352).

²⁴ Bayezit II built two important *hans*, Koza Han and Piriç Han, in the market area.

²⁵ These *hans* were generally constructed as pious foundation buildings for Sultan's mosques in Istanbul to maintain them financially.

²⁶ Emir Sultan Complex, Timurtaş Paşa Complex, the mesjids of Selçukhatun, İvaz Paşa, Umur Bey, Alâaddin Bey, Çakır Ağa were some of these religious buildings. YENAL (1996:27-29)

The residential districts of Bursa grew up around the sultan complexes during the 14th and 15th centuries. Within the following centuries, vacant areas in between these neighborhoods (*mahalle*) were filled with houses that grew in an organic way to form new residential quarters. The green areas between the neighborhoods gave the city a loose character in terms of the urban density. Bursa preserved its organic and loose structure until mid-19th century, although it had been seriously affected by several disasters through the centuries²⁷.

The *mahalles* determined the macro-form of the Ottoman cities. They grew up around the religious buildings that were generally a mosque or *mesjid*. The sources give the presence of 7 *mahalles* in the citadel area when Bursa had been captured by the Turks in 1326²⁸. During the 14th and 15th centuries, this number increased to 150 in parallel with the rapid development of Bursa following the foundation of royal complexes. In 1530, it was recorded 147 *mahalles* in Bursa. Due to the Celali Rebellions at the end of the 16th century, many people migrated from the rural areas to Bursa and 22 new *mahalles* appeared in the city during this period. The total number of the *mahalles* of Bursa stabled around 170 and remained as such so until mid 19th century²⁹.

Bursa *mahalles* derived their names from different sources. Generally, the names of the religious buildings, around which the *mahalles* grew, were given to the districts. The sultans or viziers complexes (Yıldırım, Muradiye, Timurtaş), the mosques built by administrators or a member of the royal family (Emir Sultan, Umur Bey, Selçuk Hatun, Alâaddin Bey...), the mosques of artisans and tradesmen (Makremeci Hoşkadem, Lökçü Hamza, Kasap Hüseyin...), and the mosques, *tekkes* or tombs of different religious personalities (Abdal Murad, Pir Emir, Üftade...) gave their names

²⁷ The first known disaster was dated to 1453 as Karamanoğlu fires. Within the following 500-year, many fires and earthquakes occurred in the city. The archive documents inform 30 affairs in Bursa within this time period. BAYKAL (1948).

²⁸ BAYKAL (1976:25)

²⁹ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:9-10)

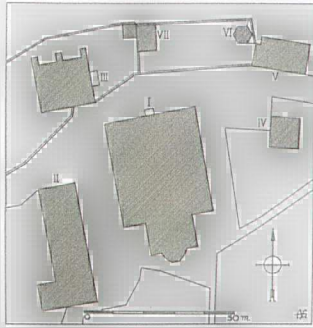


Figure 3. Hüdavendigar Complex



Plate 1. Muradiye

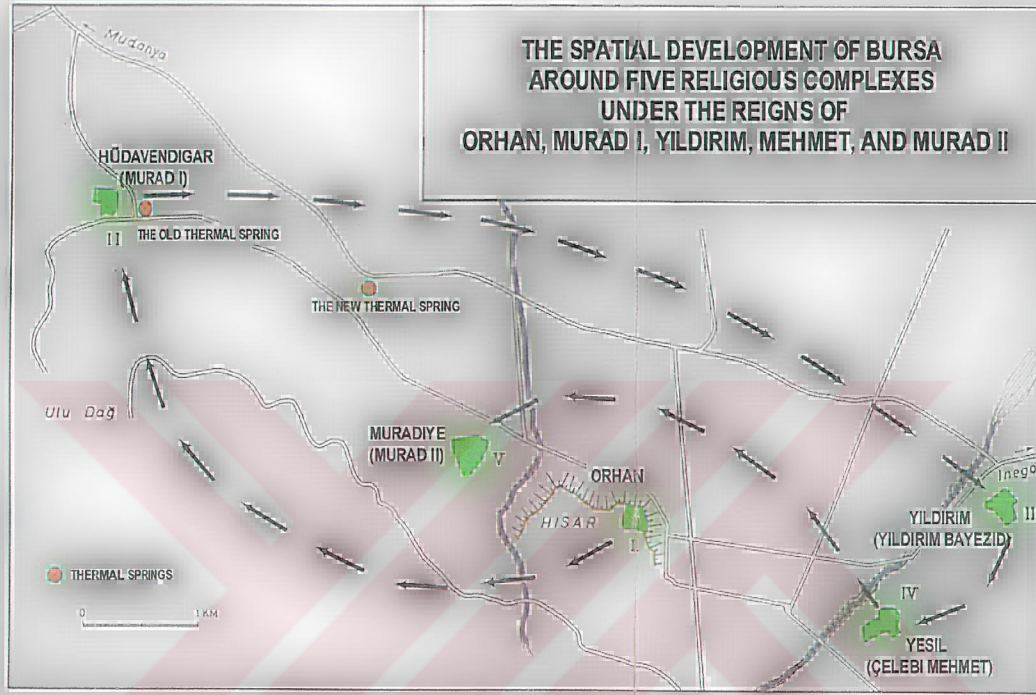


Figure 2. Spatial Development of Bursa around the Religious Complexes



Figure 4. Yildirim Complex



Plate 2. Yeşil

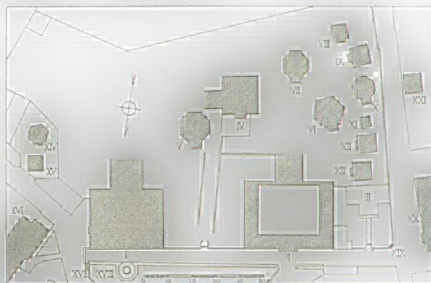


Figure 5. Muradiye Complex



Plate 3. The Tombs of Osman and Orhan



Plate 4. Emir Sultan

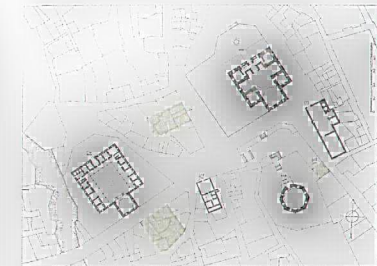
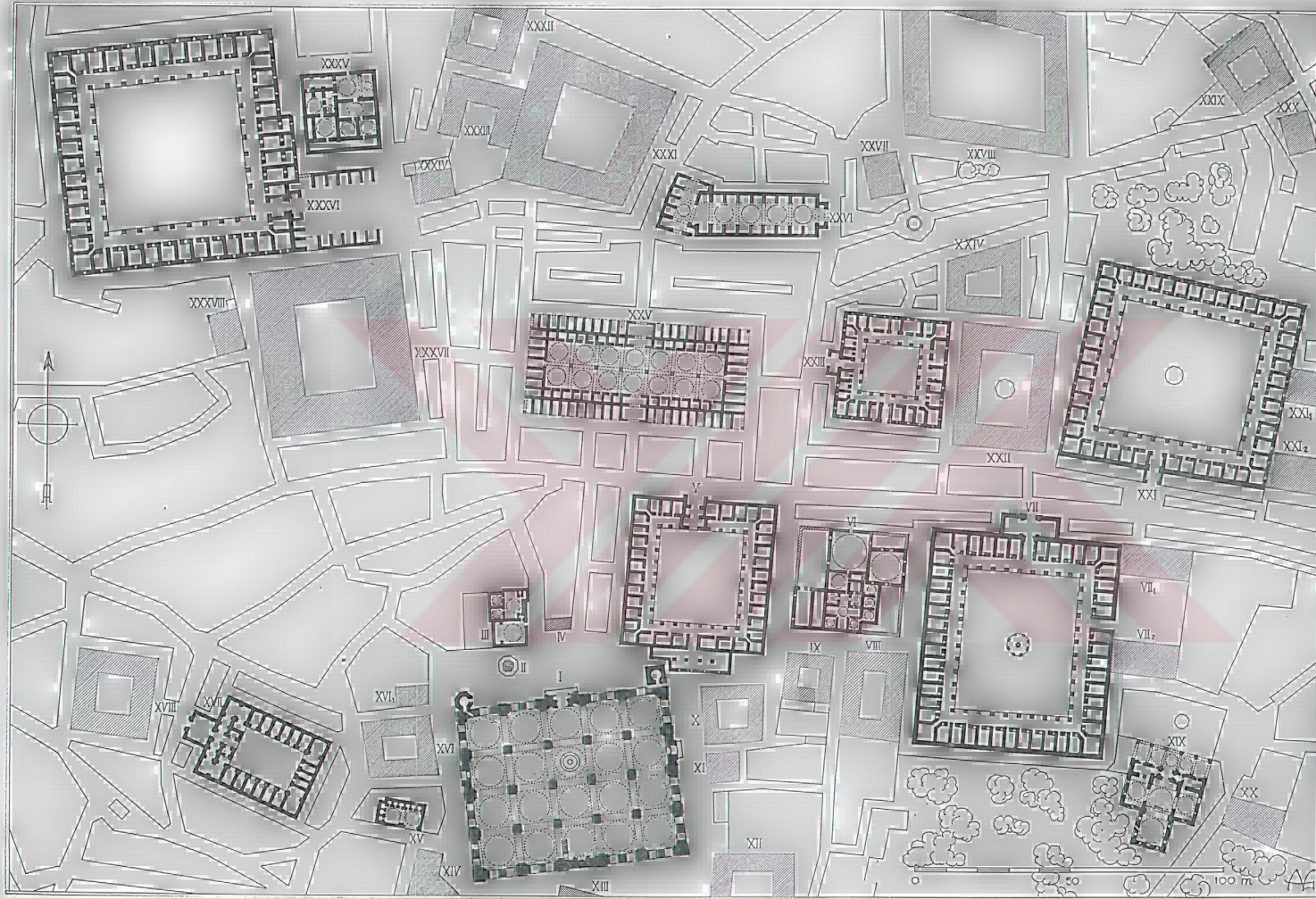


Figure 6. Yeşil Complex



- I. Great Mosque
- II. Fountain
- III. Şengül Bath
- IV. *Muvakkithane*
- V. *Emir Hanı*
- VI. Orhan Bath
- VII. *Koza Hanı*
- VIII. *Zeytin Hanı*
- IX. *K. Zeytin Hanı*
- X. *Medrese*
- XI. *School (Mekteb)*
- XII. *Medrese*
- XIII. *Mısri Tekkesi*
- XIV. *Misri Cemetery*
- XV. Public Toilettes
- XVI. *Vaiziye Medresesi*
- XVII. *Kapan Hanı*
- XVIII. *Doğangözü Hanı*
- XIX. Orhan Mosque
- XX. *İmaret Storage*
- XXI. *Fidan Hanı*
- XXII. *Yeni Harir Hanı*
- XXIII. *Geyve Hanı*
- XXIV. *Sandıkçılar Hanı*
- XXV. *Bedesten*
- XXVI. *Sipahiler Market*
- XXVII. *Ertuğrul Mosque*
- XXVIII. *Eski Yeni Han Medrese*
- XXIX. *Yığıtcedid Mosque*
- XXX. *Karacabey Hanı*
- XXXI. *Kuşbazlar Hanı*
- XXXII. *İvaz Paşa Medresesi*
- XXXIII. *İvaz Paşa Mosque*
- XXXIV. *Meyhaneli Bath*
- XXXV. *Pirinç Hanı*
- XXXVI. *Eski Harir Hanı*
- XXXVII. *Sağrıncı Songur Mosque*
- XXXVIII. *Mosque*

Figure 7. Restitution Plan of the Commercial Center

to the *mahalles* in which they were located. The names of the poets and scholars (Molla Arap, Molla Fenari...), the names of the dominant urban elements (Darphane, Namazgâh...), the types of production (Çömlekçiler, Debbâğan...) and the commerce (At Pazarı, Balık Pazarı...) also identified the *mahalles* of the city. Except these, the migrants coming from Bursa gave the names of their homelands to the newly established districts such as Sivasiler, Acemler, Sivasiler or Bilecikli³⁰ (Figure 8).

The street pattern connecting the *mahalles* within the city began to be formed spontaneously after the construction of the religious complexes. Following the formation of new neighborhoods by means of densely built timber-framed houses with their own gardens and irregular streets with many dead-ends in between them, Bursa generated its own urban identity and preserved it till the 19th century.

II.2.2. The Social and Economic Structure till the 19th Century

Following its conquest, Bursa had rapidly evolved and became the most important commercial and cultural center of the 14th and 15th centuries. The economy of Bursa based on the sericulture and silk weaving from the end of the 14th century. The fertile plain for the mulberry groves made Bursa an ideal center for the silk production. As being located at the intersection of the trade routes coming from Tebriz via Tokat and Damascus via Konya, Bursa became one of the greatest entrépot of Anatolia. After the 15th century, Bursa turned its face to Europe and became an international production and trade center. Although the wrong policies of the empire and the foreign competition affected the production and trade capacity from the end of the 16th century on, Bursa maintained its importance till the 20th century. The specialized places of Bursa for the silk trade were Bey *Hanı*, Koza *Hanı* and İpek *Hanı*, all of which had silk balances (*İpek Mizani*) as a necessity of that period.

³⁰ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:29), KÖSEOĞLU (1946).

The production and marketing of the vital needs of the community from its own sources constituted the main structure of the commercial life in Bursa. The *hans* and the open markets were specialized places for marketing of these products³¹. In addition, the grouping of the artisans, according to their professions, brought also a spatial differentiation in the market area³². The market area (*hanlar bölgesi*) had continued its importance as the center of the commercial activities in Bursa until the 20th century.

Following the extension outside the citadel walls and the urban evolution, the population of Bursa increased during the 14th and 15th centuries. From then on, the demographic conditions of the city fluctuated in parallel with the migrations, disasters or important social events. During the Suhte and Celali Rebellions at the end of the 16th century, the population was doubled by the migrating people from the rural areas for reasons of security³³. İnalçık informs that the population of Bursa until the 19th century varied between 30 000 – 70 000³⁴.

The Ottoman Bursa experienced a high influx of migrants, both Muslim and non-Muslim, after its conquest. Besides the Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Copts, Circassians, Bosnians, Tatars and foreigners from other nationalities constituted the rich mosaic of the city's population. Greeks were living around Bursa for centuries. The oldest Greek quarter in Bursa was the narrow area extending from the

³¹ *At Pazarı* (horse market), *balık pazarı* (fish market), *tavuk pazarı* (chicken market), *tahıl pazarı* (cereal market), and *odun pazarı* (wood market) were some of these open markets.

³² *Yorgancılar* (quiltmakers), *çuhacılar* (broadcloth weavers) and *sandıkçılar* (coffer makers) in *Sipahi Market*, *terziler* (dressmakers), *bezzazlar* (cotton weavers) and *hallaçlar* (carders) in *Gelincik Market*, *sof pazarı* (mohair weavers) in *Hacı İvaz Paşa Market*, *attarlar* (herbalists) and *taftacılar* (script writers) in *Emir Han*, *pabuççular* (shoemakers) in *Uzun Market* were some of these groups. KAPLANOĞLU (1996:23-24).

³³ ERDER (1976:7) informs that during these rebellions, the merchants of the city constructed a second city wall to protect their wares; however, this lower wall (*Aşağı Kale*) have not survive today.

³⁴ In his book, İnalçık gives the number of *hanes* (houses) as 5776 in 1485, 6531 in 1530's and 12852 in 1580's. He estimates the population of each *hane* as 5 or 6 persons, which corresponds between 30000 to 70000 persons. The results of the 1831 census indicate the population of Bursa between 40000 and 60000. İNALCIK, QUATAERT (1992:225), KARPAT (1985).

Çakırhamamı to the Yahudilik. Although most of the Greek citizens abandoned the city just after the conquest, their population increased again by the migrants coming from Demirkapı in the reign of Murat I and from the Morae during the period of Mehmet II ³⁵. The Armenians first arrived in Bursa in the reign of Orhan. The Polish Simeon, in his travel book, mentioned the presence of 300 Armenian houses in the early 17th century. Carsten Niebuhr, in 1776, informs that 1200 Armenian houses, having 3 churches of their own, existed around Karaağaç, Kurdoğlu and Setbaşı districts³⁶. The sericulture was the main occupation in which most of the Armenians were engaged. There existed many small ateliers, belonging to the Armenians, on the banks of the Gökdere River. The Jews first attained a significant presence in the city during the Byzantine period. Just after the conquest of the city, the Jews, who were settled inside the citadel area, moved to its northern slopes. The sources mentioned about 117 Jewish houses in 1537 that climbed to 128 in 1573 and 403 in 1594 ³⁷. The Jews of Bursa were generally occupied with trade, money lending, tailoring and goldsmithing³⁸. The Copts, who had been living in Bursa since earlier times, settled in Kanberler and Demirkapı neighbourhoods in the Ottoman period³⁹. The Caucasian and Rumelian citizens of Bursa migrated after the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War; hence, their presence cannot be detected before the 19th century.

The most popular public spaces of 16th and 17th century Bursa were the *bozahanes*. When the sale of alcoholic drinks was permitted in 1518, many taverns were opened around the city, generally in the non-Muslim quarters of Yahudilik and Setbaşı. From the 17th century onwards, Bursa became one of the most important tobacco

³⁵ The 16th century Greek neighborhoods in Bursa were Karamani, Hacılıyas, Balıkpazarı, Demirkapı, Dayıoğlu, Ulucami, Maksem, Orhan, Hocaenbiya, Umurbey, Azabbey, Kuruçeşme, Kayabaşı, Yahşibey and Ahmetbey. KAPLANOĞLU (1996:33), ÖZENDES (1999:25), SEVİM (1996:153).

³⁶ SEVİM (1996:153)

³⁷ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:35) explains the reason of this sharp rise with the migration of the Spain Jews to Bursa in between 1530 – 1573. This group was totally settled in Kuruçeşme district.

³⁸ ÖZENDES (1999 : 26).

³⁹ KAPLANOĞLU (1996 : 36).

processor, which led to the opening of the coffeehouses⁴⁰. Besides the *bozahanes* and coffeehouses, the Ottoman Bursa had many open public spaces, where the minorities had their own promenades⁴¹.

II.2.3. Bursa in the Travel Books until the 19th Century

Bursa has always been an attractive land for foreign and Ottoman travelers from various fields such as diplomats, soldiers, scholars, etc. More than 50 travelers visited Bursa and its vicinity from the 15th century onwards⁴². Most of them wrote their observations on city's physical, social, economical and cultural characteristics in their travel books (*seyahatname*) that are valuable sources for the historians.

İbn-i Batuta was the earliest of these travelers. Batuta describes Bursa in 1325 as a city surrounded by plentiful plains and having many spas. He also informs the presence of a lively bazaar area⁴³. Bertrandon de la Broquiere visited Bursa in 1432. Broquiere informs that the citadel of Bursa was on a lower hill on the skirts of the Mount Olympus and consisted of 1000 houses and a palace inside the citadel area⁴⁴. The French diplomat Jean Thevenot, who came to Bursa in 1656, described a city longer than a half *fersah* with a citadel into which only the Muslim inhabitants were allowed⁴⁵. According to him, Bursa had over 200 mosques and *hans* at that time; the hans, particularly, were the most densely populated places of the city. Thevenot also informs the plenty of water and spas in Bursa.⁴⁶ George Wheler visiting the city in

⁴⁰ YURT ANSIKLOPEDISI (1984:1638).

⁴¹ Temenyeri, Pınarbaşı, Işıklar, Atıcılar, Abdalmusa were some of the Muslim promenades. KAPLANOĞLU (1996:38).

⁴² MADRAN, ÖZGÖNÜL (1989:1).

⁴³ PARMAKSIZOĞLU (1971:42-47).

⁴⁴ GÜNAYDIN, KAPLANOĞLU (2000:23).

⁴⁵ *Fersah* indicates the distance of an hour's journey.

⁴⁶ THEVENOT (1978:209-215).

1675 gave precise numbers about the inhabitants of Bursa⁴⁷. He informed that the population was comprised of the Turks, Jews, Armenians and Greeks. Wheeler also described the imposing summerhouses, located at the western part, out of the city, with their gardens, pools, and fountains. Aubrey de la Motraye, who came to Bursa in 1699, was influenced from the market area (*hanlar bölgesi*). Paul Lucas, visiting Bursa in the following year, only describes the public baths of the city⁴⁸. Richard Pockocke describes a green city on the foothills of the Mount Olympus in 1745. He informs the presence of a Greek quarter, including 600 houses and 3 churches, at the west of the citadel and an Armenian quarter, having 100 houses and a church, at the east. Pockocke also describes the ruins of the old palace inside the citadel area. Pitton de Tournefort, Hans Dernschwam, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Edmund Chishull, Carsten Niebuhr, and Inatz von Brenner were other important foreign travelers describing the social, cultural and urban characteristics of Bursa before the 19th century (Figures 9-12).

The most detailed observations on the pre-nineteenth century Bursa was made by Evliya Çelebi, who visited Bursa in 1640, just after the Celali Rebellions. Evliya Çelebi informed the presence of 176 Muslim neighborhoods with 1040 mosques, as well as, 9 Greek- and 7 Armenian- neighborhoods. The inner citadel consisted of 2000 houses, palaces of several stories, 7 neighborhoods, 7 mosques, a bath and a small market area with 20 shops. According to Evliya Çelebi, the commercial center had 9000 shops that were gathered in and around the Bedesten and other *han* buildings. Bursa in the 17th century had about 75 coffeehouses, 90 *bozahanes*, and approximately 360 promenades all around the city⁴⁹. Evliya Çelebi mentions the presence of a third city wall (*Aşağı Kale*), which was constructed as a protection against the attacks of the rebels, and described it in his travel book⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ MADRAN, ÖZGÖNÜL (1989:1).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:21-22).

⁵⁰ However, as ERDER (1976:7) mentions, nothing from this *Aşağı Kale* remains today.

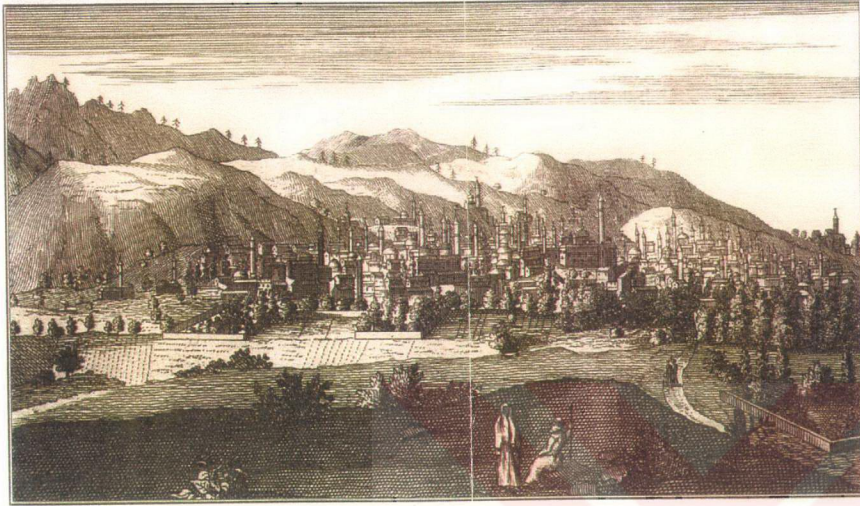
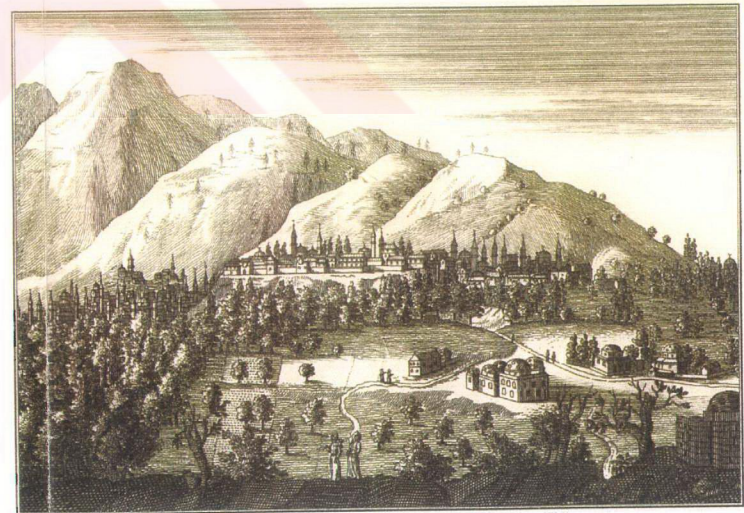
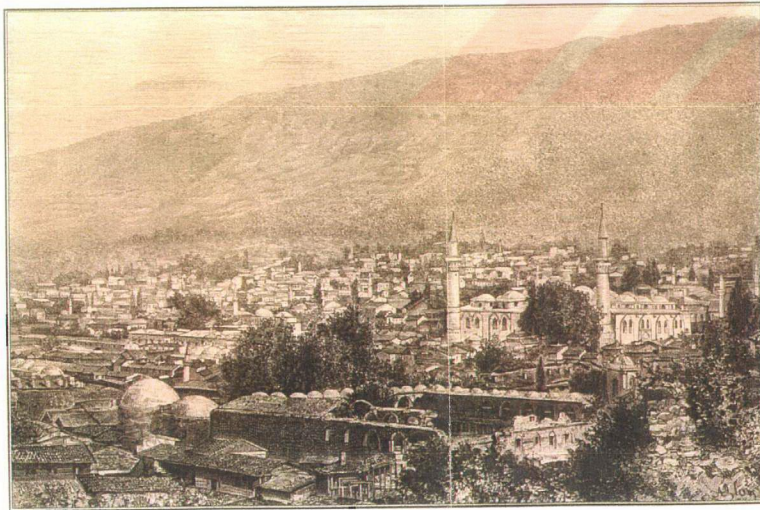


Figure 9. Bursa Seen from the Ankara Road (Tournefort)
Figure 10. Bursa-General View (Slom)



Figure 11. Bursa-General View (Beaumont)
Figure 12. Bursa (Tournefort)



II.3. The Physical and Social Conditions of Bursa during the First Half of the 19th Century

In the early 19th century, Bursa retained the urban features of the 14th and 15th centuries. Clustering around the mountain base like a crescent, the city expanded four kilometers on the east-west axis and one and a-half kilometers on the north-south axis. Two major rivers, Cilimboz and Gökdere flowing from south to north, geographically divided the city into three parts. Two smaller streams, Namazgâh and Karınca, divided the southeastern parts of the city.

The urban pattern of the early 19th century Bursa was formed by organically developed neighborhoods and narrow and irregular streets in between, with many dead-ends. The main roads generally led to the market area or to the Great Mosque, where the secondary streets in the *mahalles* were oriented to the local mosques. The major artery of the early 19th century Bursa was Saray Street that began from the east of the *hisar* and led to the Setbaşı Bridge to the east by passing the Great Mosque.

The Muslim quarters of Bursa at that time retained the characteristics of the traditional Ottoman *mahalle* concept with its irregular, narrow and stone-paved streets, houses of two or three stories with gardens, and religious and social units. The *mahalles* inside the citadel area and around the dominant religious buildings such as Yeşil, Yıldırım, Muradiye, Emir Sultan, Namâzgaah and the *mahalles* located at the north and the south of the market area and limited by Cilimboz and Gökdere rivers were important Muslim quarters (Plate 5). Each Muslim *mahalle* had at least one mosque; many of these mosques. Besides the mosques, the Muslim *mahalles* had a variety of social and religious institutions such as schools (*medreses* and *mektebs*) affiliated with the mosques, soup kitchens (*imarets*), hospital (*darüşşifa*), public baths, *boza*- and coffeehouses and occasionally, the dervish hospices (*tekkes*). These *tekkes* were particularly scattered on the southern slopes of the city⁵¹.

⁵¹ Ibid., 82.

The non-Muslim quarters, many of which settled in the 15th and 16th centuries, were distinct from the Muslim quarters. The non-Muslim *mahalles* of Bursa were located on the southern parts of the Gökdere and Cilimboz rivers and around the citadel area⁵². The Greek *mahalles* of the early 19th century Bursa were Kayabaşı on the west of the Hisar, Demirkapı in the north of the Muradiye, and Balıkpazarı in the northeast of the citadel (Plate 6). The Jews were settled at the north of the citadel. The Armenian mahalles were Setbaşı, Karağaç and Kurdoğlu at the eastern side of the Gökdere River, south of the Saray Street. These non-Muslim *mahalles* had their own religious and social units. The Greek *mahalles* of Balıkpazarı and Kayabaşı included two churches dating from the Byzantine periods⁵³. Armenian Setbaşı had a small Catholic and a large Gregorian church at that time. The Jewish neighborhood of Yahudilik had three synagogues. Ez-Ha-Haim, dating to the Byzantine time, was the oldest. Guérouch and Mayor were established in the 16th century⁵⁴.

The commercial center of Bursa, including numerous *hans*, a *bedesten*, open and enclosed bazaars, small shops, public baths and numerous mosques all around the market area, remained within its 16th century limits and did not grow until the early 19th century (Plates 7,8).

Although the commercial activities took place orderly in the city center, the manufacturing activities were monopolized in the distinct parts of the early 19th century Bursa. One of these extended from the western slopes of the citadel to the south along the Cilimboz River. The second was on the left and right banks of the Gökdere River where sericulture and weaving activities were carried on small ateliers. In the first half of the 19th century, there also began to appear small factories

⁵² KAPLANOĞLU (1989) and KÖSEÖĞLU (1946) give the names, the locations and the histories of these Muslim and non-Muslim quarters.

⁵³ ST. LAURENT (1989:83) records that the Church of St. Evangelist in Balıkpazarı is in ruins; but the Church of Notre-Dame still exists today serving as a military depot.

⁵⁴ Guérouch and Mayor were established in the 16th century. Ez-Ha-Haim, dating to the Byzantine period, still functions today. BAYKAL (1950 : 49).

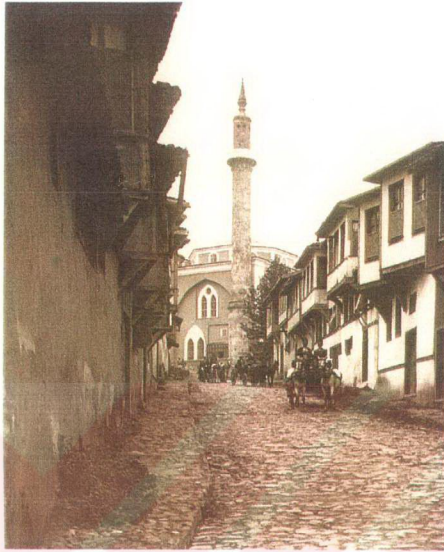


Plate 5. Hisar Mahallesi (Anonymous-1900)

Plate 6. Greek Quarter of Kayabaşı (Berggren-1880)





Plate 7. Small Shops around the *Bedesten* (Sébah&Joaillier-1894)

Plate 8. Road through the Commercial District (Anonymous- 1890)



on the northern edges of the city⁵⁵. The selection criteria of the entrepreneurs such as dependence on water sources, closeness to the workers' residences or inexpensive lands may explain the specific locations of the factories within the urban fabric.

As the commercial center, the public spaces of the 15th and 16th centuries still continued to function in the early 19th century. The public baths of Eski Kaplıca, Yeni Kaplıca and Kükürtlü Kaplıca were popular places in the social fabric, which also aroused interest of Christian merchants and foreign diplomats from Istanbul and Izmir⁵⁶ (Plate 9). Except these three baths, there were also many others around Çekirge, where small thermal hotels began to appear in the first half of the 19th century. The coffee- and the *boza* houses and the promenade areas of the previous centuries still served for public pleasure at that time. The coffeehouses around Gökdere, Pınarbaşı and Acemler were some of these public places (Plate 10).

In 1831, a census was made to determine the number of the Muslims eligible for military service and to correct the tax inequities in the society. The results of the census indicated 10.532 Muslim, 2.800 Armenian, 2.159 Greek and 627 Jews houses (*hanes*) in the town referring to 16.118 houses totally. If it is compared with the 1578 datas, the increase of the ratio of the non-Muslim population is obvious while that of Muslims was only 6,07 % in 1578, it became 34,65 % according to the results of the 1831 census⁵⁷. The travelers visiting Bursa during the first half of the 19th century inform that the population was between 60.000 and 80.000⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ ERDER (1976 : 222).

⁵⁶ St. LAURENT (1989:88).

⁵⁷ The results of the 1831 census were taken from KARPAT (1985).

⁵⁸ Although these numbers were based on the personal observations or rumours within the society, it is obvious that it seems to be stable than the fluctuating results of the previous centuries. Brown (1802): 6000 (7000 Armenians, 3000 Greeks, 1800 Jews); Lechevalier and Kinncir(1813): 50000; Turner (1816): 70000 (7500 Armenians, 4000 Greeks, 2500 Jews); Prokesch (1826): 70000 (10000 Armenians, 4000 Greeks, 2000 Jews); Bussiére (1827): 70000; Texier (1834): 75000 (5000 Armenians, 3400 Greeks, 1800 Jews); Wrongschenko (1835): 70000 (5000 Armenians, 3500 Greeks, 2000 Europeans); Fischer (1838) and Kiepert (1841): 80000. MADRAN and ÖZGÖNÜL (1989:88).



Plate 9. Yeni Kaplıca (Sébah&Joallier-1890)

Plate 10. Pınarbaşı Coffeeshouse (Sébah&Joallier-1890)



II.3.1. Early Maps of Bursa

The Ottoman government did not attempt to prepare a detailed map of Bursa until mid-19th century. Visual descriptions of Bursa from earlier times of the Empire had generally been executed by travelers visiting the city for different purposes. Many of these published their observations on the physical and social conditions of the city, but these descriptions were only supported by engravings or sketches.

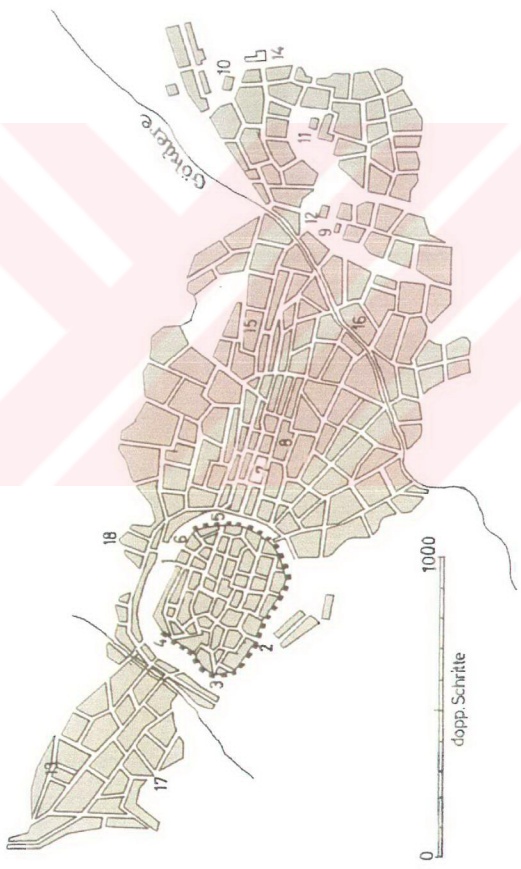
The earliest maps of Bursa were prepared in 1818 by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and in 1837, by Carsten Niebuhr. Carsten Niebuhr visited Bursa in 1776. Following a general view to the city, in his travel book, he described the citadel, the great religious complexes and the non-Muslim quarters. Niebuhr recorded the presence of 19000 Muslim houses, 1200 Armenian houses, 700 Greek houses and 400 Jewish houses. According to Niebuhr, the minorities of Bursa were living in great freedom and the majority were dealing with commercial and production activities. Besides these, he also mentioned about the thermal baths of Bursa in the late 18th century⁵⁹. Carsten Niebuhr published his travel notes as three distinct chapters between 1776-1837. The third chapter printed in 1837 included a schematic map of Bursa that was prepared by Niebuhr in the lights of his 1776 Bursa descriptions; so, this can be accepted as the earliest map of Bursa (Figure 13).

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall visited Bursa in 1804, in the course of his appointment to the Austria-Hungarian Embassy in Istanbul. His travel notes were published in 1818. Hammer, particularly, described the thermal baths of Bursa and recorded seven spring resorts that are Eski Kaplıca, Yeni Kaplıca, Kükürtlü Kaplıca Kara Mustafa, Çekirge, Vani Efendi and Boyugüzel thermal springs. Hammer-Purgstall published his Bursa map, indicating the locations of the Sultan complexes and thermal baths in the city in a schematic way, in 1818⁶⁰ (Figure 14).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ STEWIG (1970:195).

1. Inner Citadel
2. *Yer Kapı*
3. *Zindan Kapı*
4. *Kaplıca Kapı*
5. *Kırk Merdiven Kapı*
6. Tophane
7. Great Mosque
8. Orhan Mosque
9. Yeşil Tomb
10. Yıldırım Complex
11. Emir Sultan Complex
12. Yeşil Mosque
13. Muradiye Complex
14. Lunatic Asylum
15. Government Building
16. Armenian Quarter
17. Greek Quarter
18. Jewish Quarter



Niebuhr Map - 1776

Figure 13.

1. The Tombs of
Osman and Orhan
2. The Tomb of Murad
3. The Tomb of Bayezid I
4. The Tomb of Mehmed
5. The Tomb of Emir Sultan
6. Eski *Kaplica*
7. Yeni *Kaplica*
8. Kara Mustafa *Kaplicasi*
9. Kükürtlü *Kaplica*

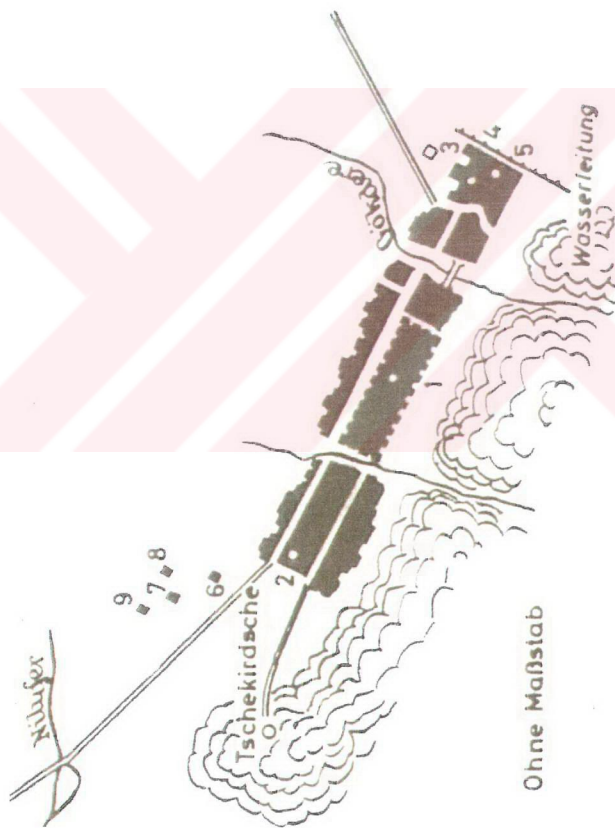


Figure 14. Hammer Map - 1804

II.3.2. The Map of Suphi Bey

A group of engineers of the Ottoman General Staff (*Erkân-ı Harbiye*) headed by Suphi Bey prepared the first detailed map of Bursa in 1862 (Figure 15). It is likely that the Suphi Bey Map was undertaken to determine the state of the city, following the devastating earthquake in 1855, before its reconstruction and informs the urban organization of the city in the initial phase of the Tanzimat reforms, until 1860.

On the 31st January of the year of 1855, at 15:15, a disastrous earthquake leveled the first imperial capital of the empire⁶¹; the fires in its aftermath and the aftershocks leveled the monuments, markets and houses of the city nearly into ruins. However, this natural disaster made Bursa the perfect candidate for urban reforms of Tanzimat. Cevdet Paşa, an important Ottoman historian, described the state of Bursa after the great earthquake as follow:

The tombs of Sultan Osman and Sultan Orhan fell down into complete ruins; the minarets toppled from the noble mosques of Sultan Murad and Yıldırım Bayezid Han; the Great Mosque with its seven domes and two minarets collapsed, and the other minarets of other mosques as well fell into ruin. Some neighborhoods around the İrgandı Bridge, constructed before the time of Sultan Murad, were damaged and the Setbaşı Bridge was injured to the extent that traffic could no longer pass. The silk factories collapsed and many baths fell into ruin. A great many people were killed when the ramparts on the side of the fortress buckled and fell on the Jewish houses below. Fire spread at night from the debris under the ruins and some thirty houses and a few stores burned. The reverberations of the earthquake did not cease; in some mineral baths, the water sank down back into the earth, in others it grew more abundant...

⁶¹ The Ottoman Archive of the Prime Minister's Office, Collection of *İrade-i Dahiliye (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İrade-i Dahiliye Tasnifi)* No: 20363, describing the 1855 earthquake in Bursa, gives the date as 12 Cemaziyelevvel 1271. According to the Turkish Historical Society, this date refer to January 31, 1855. OĞUZOĞLU (1999:76-78).

(A second quake followed)...The city rocked back and forth like a ship caught in a fierce storm between two great waves...Buildings moved forward and then back by one or two yards...Everyone was too bewildered to know what to do next. Mothers lost their children, children their mothers, and all rushed dazed and bewildered into streets, brick buildings were devastated ; the Demirkapı market totally collapsed⁶². (A conflagration ensued)...Since the Kayağan Market was made of wood throughout; the contagious fire could not be extinguished there. Instead, it spread to the Tatar neighborhood where it burnt down to the ground fifteen hundred wooden houses and shops with all their stores and possessions⁶³. The famous Setbaşı and Irgandı Bridges, which had stood straight and firm for four hundred and fifty years, collapsed...⁶⁴.

Just following the completion of the map prepared after this disaster, large-scale reconstruction activities began to alter the physical structure of Bursa. Opening wide and straight streets, appearance of new building types and settling new, gridal planned residential quarters changed Bursa's traditional Ottoman fabric. Suphi Bey map reflects the last years of the city before these changes.



Figure 15. Title Found in the Lower Lefthand Corner of the Suphi Bey Map⁶⁵

⁶² Here, it seems to be intended to describe the *Bedesten*.

⁶³ Tatar neighborhood was an older settlement locating to the southeastern slopes of Gökdere.

⁶⁴ This description was cited from ERDER (1976:247-248).

⁶⁵ *Sâye-i memalik-pirâye-i Hazreti tâcîdarîde emin-i defter-i hakani-i hakani atufetlu Suphi Bey*

II.3.2.1. Functional Division of the Urban Fabric

Suphi Bey Map, which was prepared at approximately 1/1600 scale, seems like a modern photogrammetric drawing, where the streets, buildings, gardens and other urban elements were rendered precisely⁶⁶. The legend on the map distinguishes the garden types with different symbols and the name of its owner or its local traditional name were noted additionally. The religious buildings of different ethnic groups were also identified with different symbols. The names of the streets and the street numbers of buildings were noted in some parts of the map. The commercial center was drawn precisely containing the names of each individual section of the market and religious buildings around them. The factories were clearly distinguished on the map where the word of *fabrika* or *hârir fabrikası* had noted on the buildings.

Suphi Bey Map containing the necessary clues for the traditional urban fabric of Bursa is the most important source while examining the transformation of the city in the second half of the 19th century. In that sense, a careful analysis is required as a basis of this study.

II.3.2.1.1. Residential Areas and Green Plots

The extension of Bursa on Suphi Bey Map, around 1860's, seems to be almost identical with 1837 Niebuhr map where it was limited by Yıldırım and Emir Sultan Complexes to the east and Muradiye Complex to the west⁶⁷. The residential fabric of a rich mixture of houses and gardens reflects the traditional Ottoman character of Bursa before its transformation.

Efendi Hazretlerinin nezaretiyle ve Erkân-ı Harbiye-i Şahane ve Mühendishane-i berri-i hümâyun zabıtânı marifetiyle bilhendese arz ve tersim olunup mühendishane-i mezkûre basmahanesinde tab' ve temsil olunan Bursa şehri harita-i mufassalıdır. Sene 1278.

⁶⁶ On the map, the scale was given as "1/1600, 200 Zirai Osmanlı Mikyasıdır".

⁶⁷ The mahalles of Hüdavendigâr and Pir Emir identifying the western and southeastern borders of the city were not taken part in the limits of the Suphi Bey map.

Before analyzing the residential areas of Bursa on 1862 map, giving a preliminary explanation on the common characteristics of an Ottoman Turkish city seems to be necessary. City in the Ottoman tradition was only a unit of social organization being constituted by the agglomeration of *mahalles* that were the units different ethnic groups. The Ottoman city, up to the 19th century, neither wants nor able to apply a total intervention on its urban structure within its own dynamics. The Ottoman society and the governing body, who did not live a rapid urban development and so did not believe in the necessity of an urban renovation, were shaped the city until the end of the 18th century when the western-based ideas and methods began gradually to affect the whole society.

The population of Bursa around 1860's probably varied from 70000 to 80000; 60000 belonged to the Muslim community while 11000 were Armenian, 6000 of the Greek and 3000 of the Jewish communities⁶⁸. Comparing with the results of 1831 census, the population of Bursa had changed little until the end of the 1860's⁶⁹. The written sources inform the presence of 173 *mahalles* in Bursa in the late 1860's while it was nearly equal to the number of the early 19th century⁷⁰. The Muslim and non-Muslim mahalles around the royal complexes and around the banks of Cilimboz and Gökdere rivers were dense parts of the city.

While studying the map, the loose character of the city can easily be identified. Each *mahalle*, either it was Muslim or non-Muslim, seems to be developed around at least one religious building. These buildings and their religious and social dependencies were symbolic centers of the *mahalles*. Almost all houses, which seem to be scattered on the urban fabric, had gardens or paved courtyards.

⁶⁸ ERDER (1976:21).

⁶⁹ According to ERDER (1976:214), who gives the population as 60.000 in 1830, the demographic entries of the city within the following 30-year period went parallel to the mechanization of silk factories and the rise of the labour force in sericulture.

⁷⁰ KAPLANOĞLU (1989:10), KÖSEOĞLU (1946).

However, in densely populated *mahalles*, particularly, in those of the non-Muslims, the houses were lined adjacently along the street.

The legend of the map distinguishes the separate garden categories as *hâne bahçesi* (house garden), *hâdika* (grove), *meyva bahçesi* (orchard) and *sebze bahçesi* (vegetable garden)⁷¹. The names of the owners were also noted on some of the garden plots (Figure 16).

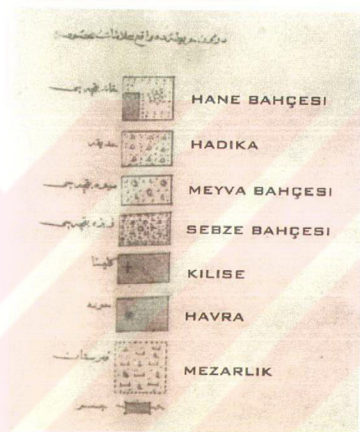


Figure 16. The Legend of the Suphi Bey Map

Analyzing from the map, the spatial organizations of Bursa houses show differences in terms of their positions on the parcel and their relations with the outside world. Tomsu determines four spatial planning models for the urban fabric of Bursa (Figure 17)⁷². In the first model, the building was settled on the street side of the parcel. The entrance to the building was directly from the street that was connected by a hallway to a back garden or courtyard or both. The service spaces

⁷¹ Erder gives the last name as olive groves (*zeytin bahçesi*).

⁷² TOMSU (1950:24-25).

were solved at one side of the garden. In the second type, the entrance from the street led to a garden or paved courtyard being separated from the outside by a wall⁷³. The building was at the backside and the service parts were elongated on one side of the court as in the first type. The building was settled at one side of the parcel in the third type. The deepness and the length of the parcel also provided different possibilities. The fourth model was the composition of the second and third types. In spite of the variations in planning methods, one aspect should be pointed out that nearly all houses seems to be protected and enclosed from the outside that was a general characteristics of the Muslim quarters in traditional Ottoman cities.

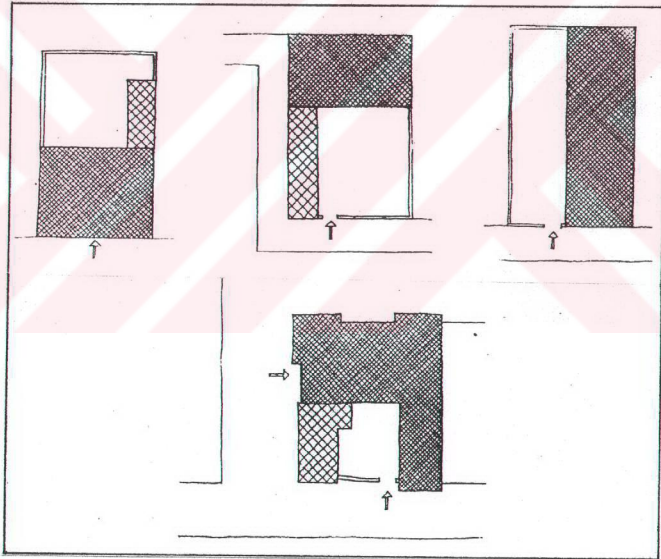


Figure 17. Four Types of Traditional Bursa Houses

⁷³ The height of the wall was approximately 2 meters.

Two different sections of the city are selected to examine the Suphi Bey Map in the scale of *mahalles*. The first quarter is inside citadel where the *mahalles* of Tophane, Zindankapı, Yerkapı, Kavaklı, Kırk Merdivenler, Şeyh Paşa, Oruçbey, Nakkaş Ali and İsabey Fenari were settled as the Muslim quarters. The citadel area, which was the nucleus of the city, was the oldest section of Bursa and showed all the characteristics of a traditional Ottoman *mahalle* (Figure 18).

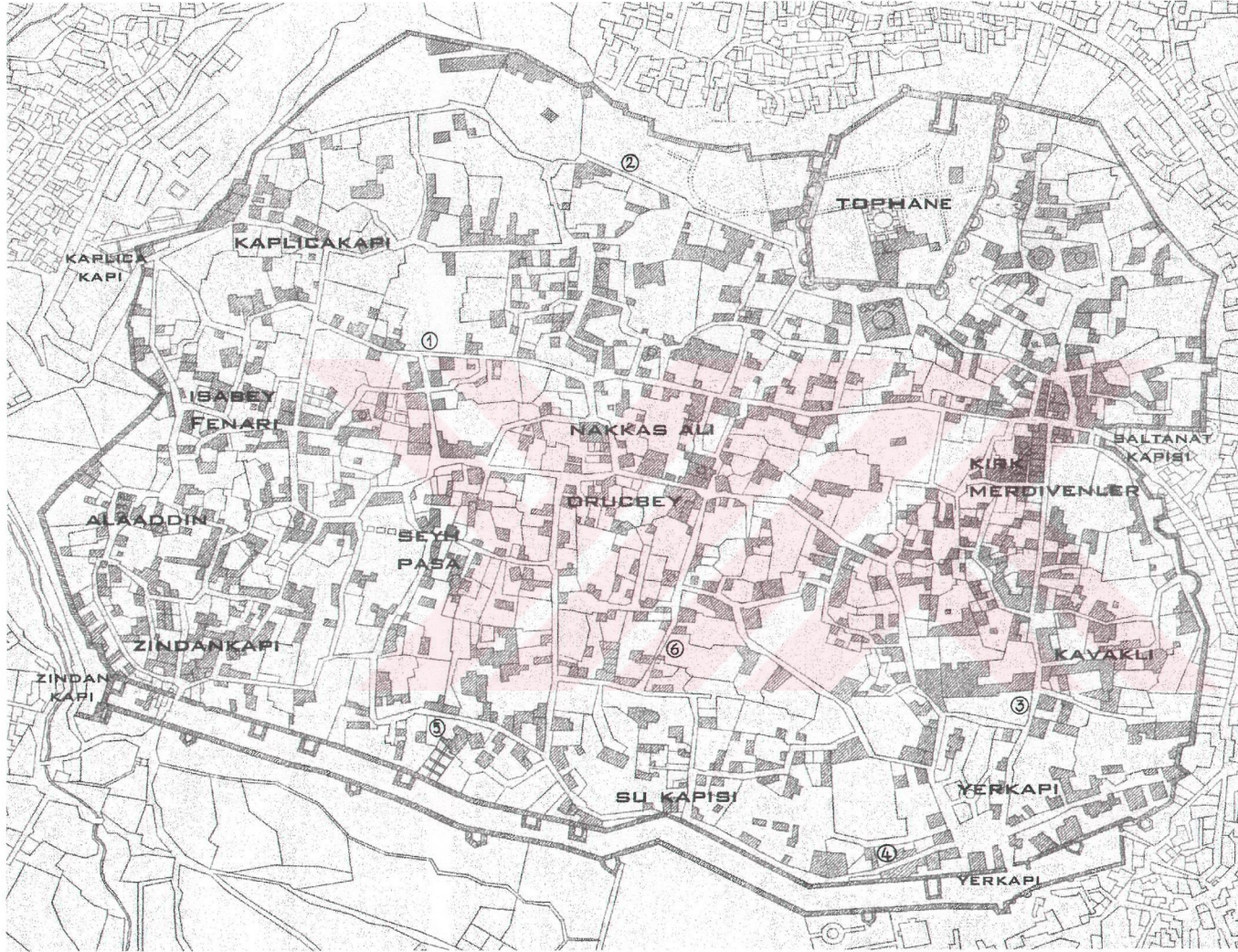
The second section is a non-Muslim quarter of the city that is Yahudilik, Çatalfırm and Altıparmak region to the north of the citadel. What are distinguished at first sight on this region are the adjacent houses faced towards the street and their small garden plots contrary to the houses in the Muslim quarters. This kind of an organization indicates a basic difference between the introvert and extrovert social characters of Muslim and non-Muslim communities. It is obvious that most of these houses giving direct entrance from the street had open to the outside world. Their courtyards or gardens seem to be minimalized in contrary to the houses in Muslim neighborhoods (Figure 19).

What should be pointed out while examining these residential areas that the general knowledge on the architectural and social characteristics of the traditional Ottoman *mahalles* helps to interpret the entries of the Suphi Bey Map.

II.3.2.1.2. The Commercial Center

Judging from the 1862 Suphi Bey Map, the commercial center of Bursa seems to have remained within its 16th century limits. The commercial center where numerous commercial, religious and social buildings dominate the land use in this section of the city were noted on the map in detail by their individual names.

The great covered market, *bedesten*, was the heart of the commercial center. The *bedesten* was enlarged as a separate part on the map and the names of its streets and specialized parts were written additionally. The names of shoe market



The Neighborhoods

Kaplıcakapı
İsbey Fenari
Alaaddin
Zindankapı
Su Kapısı
Yerkapı
Kavaklı
Kırk Merdivenler
Tophane
Nakkaş Ali
Oruçbey
Şeyh Paşa

The Streets

1. Orta Pazar Street
2. Eski Saray Street
3. Kavaklı Street
4. Kaleboyu Street
5. Zindankapı Street
6. Oruçbey Street

Figure 18. The Muslim *Mahalles* Inside the Citadel Area

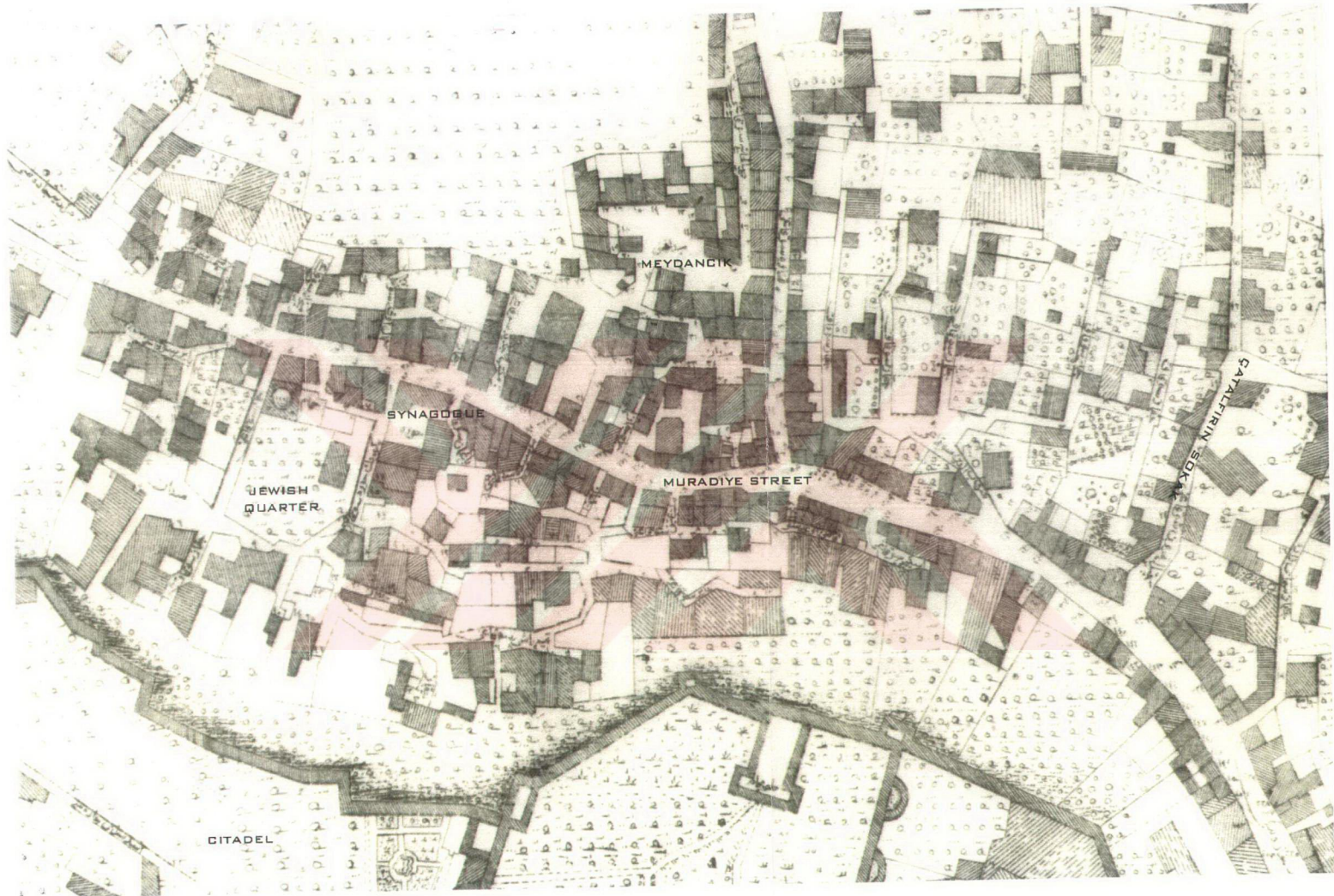


Figure 19. The Non-Muslim *Mahalles* of Yahudilik and Çatalfırın

(*haffaflar çarşısı*), silk manufacturers (*kazazlar*), jewellers (*kuyumcular*), poppy market (*gelincik çarşısı*), tailors (*terziler*), and Sipahi market were noted here (Figure 20). The *hans* naming as Emir *Han*, Koza *Han*, Zeytin *Han*, Kapan *Han*, Doğangözü *Han*, Fidan *Han*, Geyve *Han*, Sandıkçılar *Han*, Sipahiler Market, Karacabey *Han*, Kuşbazlar *Han*, Piriñ *Han* and Arabacılar *Han* were other commercial buildings on the map. Besides these hans and bazaar, numerous small shops were scattered around the commercial center (Figure 21).

No indication was found of a residential quarter in and around the commercial center on Suphi Bey Map, since the houses of the Muslim merchants were in different *mahalles* of the city. According to Erder, the foreign merchants in earlier periods resided in the Piriñ *Han* for reason of the proximity to the commercial activities. In the 19th century, some of them were still keeping their business offices and sleeping rooms in specific *hans* within the market area⁷⁴. However, it was known that due to its closeness to Bursa, many of the foreign merchants in the 19th century have tended to settle in Istanbul for the reasons of its business convenience. Consequently, the commercial life in Bursa did never present a specialized residential quarter like Pera in İstanbul or Bornova and Buca in İzmir.

II.3.2.2. Street Network

The street network of Bursa in 1860 was still illustrating its traditional organic character where new planning styles and new arteries did not begin to appear, yet. On the Suphi Bey Map, the names of the streets and minor side roads were noted in detail. The Bursa streets, as it can be analyzed from the map, were irregular and narrow; many dead-end roads characterized the urban fabric.

The Saray Street, as its presence in the early 19th century, was indicated as the major artery of the city. It wounds its way irregularly from the east of the citadel,

⁷⁴ ERDER (1975:96).

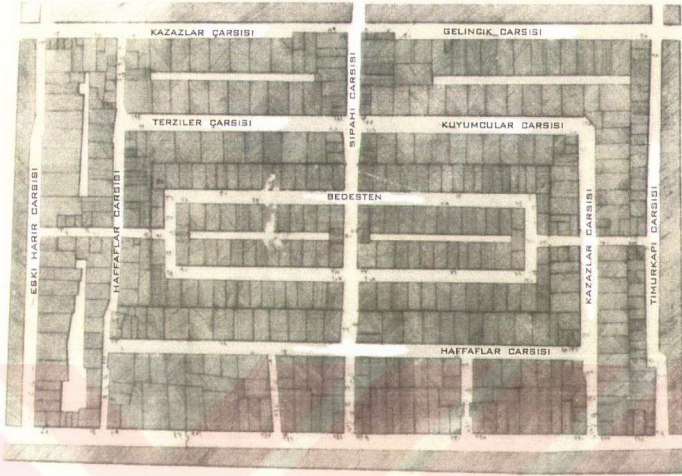
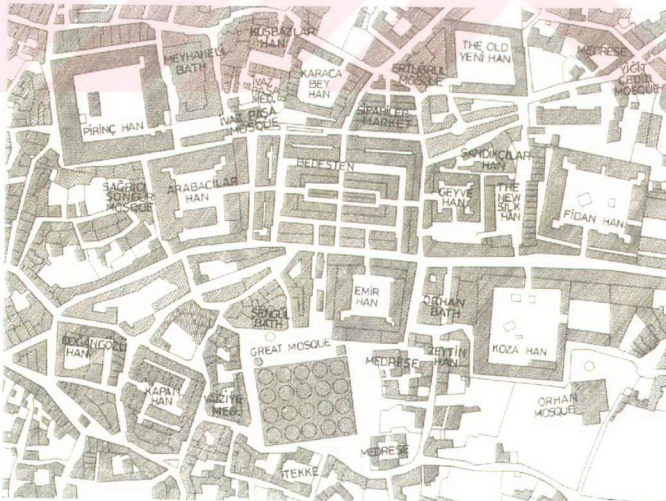


Figure 20. The *Bedesten*

Figure 21. The Commercial Center



past the great mosque toward the Setbaşı Bridge to the east; this road continued as Namazgâh Street until the *Namazgâh* to the southeast of the city⁷⁵. The main road leading from the east of the citadel, Çatalfırın, and passing Altuparmak and Yahudilik quarters connected the market region to Muradiye and Çekirge to the west and named as Muradiye Street⁷⁶. Another road began from the southwest of the citadel from Pınarbaşı and divided shortly thereafter into three branches; one was a narrow street skirting the sides of the mountain by passing Demirkapı and led to Çekirge; the other connected the southern quarters of the citadel to Muradiye and called as Kaplıcakapısı Street; the third branch was descending to the end of the valley by passing Kayabaşı and Yahşibey to the west of the citadel naming as Yahşibey Street. The important axes inside the citadel were Ortapazarı Street alongating from Kaplıca Kapısı to Saltanat Kapı, Zindankapı Street from Zindan Kapı to Su Kapısı, Kale Boyu Street from Su Kapısı to Yer Kapı, Kavaklı Street from Yer Kapı to Saltanat Kapı and Oruçbey Street in the middle of the Hisar Mahallesi. The street began from the southeast of the citadel, from the Veled-i Vezir neighborhood, separated just after into three roads; one of them was elongated between Pınarbaşı and Tahtakale and connected by Alacahırka Street to the southwestern parts of the city; the other led to İvaz Paşa quarter and took the name of it; the third branch was an important axis connecting Araplar, Ali Paşa, Konevi Molla Fenari and Üç Kuzular mahalles to the city center. The Pınarbaşı Street extended from *Pınarbaşı* to *Darphane* and ended up with the western banks of Gökdere. The market area was connected by Deveciler Street to Deveciler and Atpazarı quarters and by Kayan Street to Kayan quarter. The roads leading from the center to the northern neighborhoods directly or indirectly were noted on the map as Reyhan, Tayakadın and Elmalık Streets. The street network of the eastern section of the city was not as dense as in between Gökdere and Cilimboz Rivers. The Namazgâh Street seems to be the major artery providing an extension to the market region by Saray Street. Eşrefiler and Molla Arap Streets were connecting Temenyeri and Molla Arap. The major street of Setbaşı was leading indirectly to

⁷⁵ ST.LAURENT (1989:79).

⁷⁶ BAYKAL (1976:49).

the pavilion on the upper slopes of Temenyeri. Karaağaç and Karamani were other important streets of the quarter. Emir Street connecting Yeşil Mosque to the Emir Sultan and İncirli Street between Alancık (or Meydanlık) and Muallimzade Bath seems to be the other important roads at this side of the city. The narrower roads diverging from the main roads led to the various quarters of the city organically were completing the street network of Bursa around 1860's (Figure 22).

II.3.2.3. Other Urban Elements

In addition to the notation of the residential and commercial structures and the street network of the city in detail, the religious and social structures of the Muslim and non-Muslim communities, as well as, the factories, bridges, fountains, public gardens and cemeteries were also precisely rendered on the Suphi Bey Map.

II.3.2.3.1. The Religious Structures

The religious structures of Bursa in 1860's were listed in the legend of the Suphi Bey Map as *Kilise*, *Havra* and *Kabristan* (i.e. church, synagogue and cemetery), some of which were noted with their names.

The existing religious structures of Muslims during 1860's can be classified as mosques or meşjids, tombs, *tekkes* and cemeteries proposing focal points within the urban structure of the city. Besides the great complexes, approximately 120 mosques and meşjids and 60 tombs were identified on the *Suphi Bey* Map. The *tekkes* of Seyyid Usul, Çatalfırn, Köprülü Dede, Hamam, Üftade Seyyid Nasır, Mevlevi, Misri, Zeyniler, Kara Kadı, İsmail Hakkı, Hüsameddin, Şeyh Sabit and İncirli and the cemeteries of Ahmet Paşa Fenari, Alaca Hırka, Ali Paşa, Azabbey, Elvenbey, Emir Sultan, Somuncu Baba, Hamzabey, İvaz Paşa, Nakkaş Ali, Seyyid Usul, Tayakadın and Zindankapı were other important religious places in mid-19th century⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ BAYKAL (1950).

The religious buildings of the non-Muslim communities on the Suphi Bey Map are the Greek churches of St. John the Evangelist and Notre-Dame in Balıkpazarı and Kayabaşı, the Armenian Catholic and Gregorian churches in Setbaşı and Kurtoğlu and the synagogues of Ez-Ha-Haim, Mayor and Guérouch in Yahudilik⁷⁸.

II.3.2.3.2. The Social and Educational Buildings

The character of the social life in Bursa reflected to its architecture during its Ottoman history. Bursa as one of the great scientific centers of the Empire comprised important schools and *medreses*. The *medreses* of Ahmet Paşa, Bayezid Paşa, Fazlullah Paşa, Hacı Budak, Kanberler, Lala Şahin Paşa, İbrahim Paşa, Muradiye, Pir Ahmet, Sarrafiye, Vaiziye, İvaz Paşa, Yeşil, Yıldırım, Molla Yağan, Molla Fenari and Zeyniler were shown on the map.

The thermal springs and baths have characterized Bursa for centuries. On the Suphi Bey Map, several baths were drawn. Some of them were Atpazarı, Çakır, Bitpazarı, Muallimzade, Emir Sultan, İbrahim Paşa, İncirli, Perşembe, Kara Mustafa, Kayan, Kaynarca, Mahkeme, Nalıncılar, Nasuh Paşa, Umurbey, Oruçbey, Reyhan, Muradiye, Alaaddin, Pınarbaşı, Davut Paşa, Yeşil, Emir Sultan, Yıldırım and the baths of Orhan, Şengül and Meyhaneli in the market area⁷⁹. There was also a bath in Yahudilik region dating to 1552.

The written sources inform that the non-Muslim communities had also schools in Bursa and many of them were shown on the Suphi Bey map. The Jewish School was near the Guérouch Synagogue and known that a library for Jewish Scholars and rabies had been functioning there⁸⁰. The Gregorian church of Armenian community in Setbaşı was part of a complex also including a school and a residence belonging

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

to bishop⁸¹. A wall enclosed the complex with a gate providing entrance from the street; this wall is still standing today.

The public fountains, promenades and the bridges over the rivers of the city were drawn and noted on the map. The bridges over the Gökdere River were Irgandı, Setbaşı, Boyacı Kulluğu, Meydancık, Tatarlar and the bridge near Temenyeri⁸². The shops on the Irgandı Bridge were rendered with a painstaking attention. The three bridges over the Cilimboz River were drawn near Yahşibey, Kayabaşı and Alacahırka quarters. The promenades giving on the map as green areas were Pınarbaşı and Temenyeri (Figure 23).

⁸¹ ST. LAURENT (1989:84).

⁸² BAYKAL (1950:121-122).



1. Saray Str.
2. Muradiye Str.
3. Fabrika-i. Hümayun Str
4. Pınarbaşı Str.
5. Kuzgunluk Str.
6. Hisar Str.
7. Yağcılarpınarı Str.
8. Hamzabey Str.
9. Timurkapı Str.
10. Alacahrka Str.
11. Kaplıcakapısı Str.
12. Yahşibey Str.
13. Çatalfırın Str.
14. Şehreküstü Str.
15. Uzun Çarşı Str.
16. Tahıl Str.
17. Abdal Str.
18. Deveciler Str.
19. Tatarlar Str.
20. Narlı Str.
21. Gemlik Str.
22. Elmalık Str.
23. Hoca İlyas Str.
24. Atpazan Str.
25. Yıldızkahve Str.
26. Mahkeme Str.
27. Akbyık Str.
28. Molla Fenari Str.
29. Vezir Str.
30. Kayan Str.
31. Tayakadın Str.
32. Reyhan Str.
33. Namazgah Str.
34. Teferrüç Str.
35. Karaağaç Str.
36. Karamani Str.
37. Eşrefiler Str.
38. Molla Arap Str.
39. İncirli Str.
40. Emir Sultan Str.
41. Derebaşı Str.
42. Yeşil Str.
43. Yıldırım Str.
44. Toprakçı Str.
45. Çınarönü Str.

Figure 22. The Street Network on the Suphi Bey Map

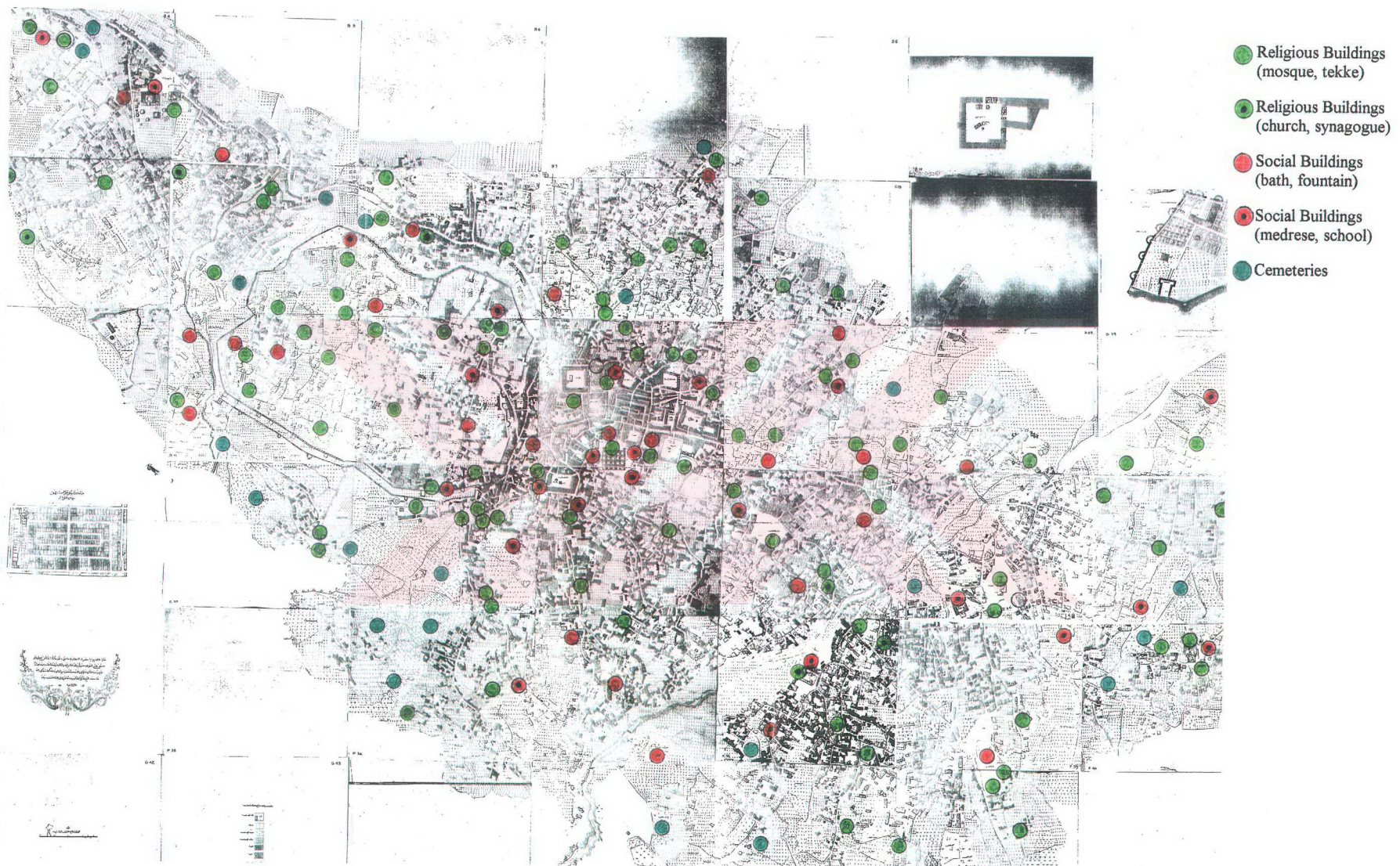


Figure 23. The Religious, Social and Educational Buildings on the Suphi Bey Map

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF THE TANZIMAT REFORMS AND THEIR IMPACTS ON BURSA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The Ottoman Empire was introduced to a new concept, westernisation, during the last two centuries of its history. From the end of the 17th century, the gradually increasing European power began to dominate the Ottoman Empire in many fields. Increasing political problems, deteriorating economic activities and continuous military losses rose up the relations between western countries and the Ottoman Empire. The efforts to become competitive with Europe pushed the Empire into a westernisation¹ process that started in the 18th century primarily at the administrative and military levels and continued throughout the 19th century in a variety of domains like political, social, economical, educational and urban. Following the proclamation of the Tanzimat Charter in 1839, the Ottoman Empire embarked on a series of reform movements to regain its power by modernizing its traditional institutions along western thoughts and tendencies. This reform period lasted until World War I.

The period of reform accelerated after the Tanzimat Charter was implemented throughout the second half of the 19th century, first in the capital, and then in other provinces of the Empire. However, the modernizing reforms of the Tanzimat did not appear equally in all parts of the Empire; the importance and the patronage of the city were the main criteria. As being the first capital of the Empire and reflecting its imperial heritage, Bursa became the prime candidate of Tanzimat's reform program in Anatolia in the second half of the 19th century.

¹ We prefer to use the word of 'westernisation' to identify the efforts of the Ottoman Empire to modernize its traditional institutions along western lines.

III.1. Changes through the Tanzimat Charter and the Impacts of the West

From the end of the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire struggled to regain its autonomy by modernizing its traditional institutions along western-based thoughts and innovations. However, the penetration of these innovations into an alien culture, that was the Ottoman, and the degree of such assimilation were the main problems.

The earliest conscious step towards the transfer and adoption of certain thoughts and innovations from the western civilizations came in the early 18th century, after the Ottoman defeat by Austrians. Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730) sent ambassadors to Europe for the first time to make a thorough study on western civilizations and to search its capable of applications². These interactions encouraged the new ideas for technological, educational, industrial, architectural and military developments and the innovations for the new life styles³. His followers Mahmud I (1730-1754), Osman III (1754-1757), Mustafa III (1757-1774) and Abdülhamit I (1774-1789) developed the reforms of Ahmet III⁴.

The first years of Selim III's reign (1789-1807) coincided with the French Revolution that was the first great social upheaval in Europe. The gradual penetration of the ideas of French revolution into the Ottoman society inspired Ottoman minorities for social revolt to find solutions to their problems. The important channel of transmission of these ideas was through military instruction. Selim III, at the end of the 18th century, planned a large-scale reform for the Ottoman army to bring them up to the level of the western armies in terms of technical equipment, training and skill⁵. He sent a special envoy to learn the new military systems as well as the thoughts and policies, of the European states. Under the light of these reports, he prepared a series of new instructions and regulations,

² LEWIS (1968:45-46).

³ ST.LAURENT (1989:23).

⁴ DENEL (1982 :22-23), ST.LAURENT (1989:24).

⁵ LEWIS (1968:56).

called *Nizam-ı Cedid*. Following the opening of new military and naval schools, he established a young army, familiar with the western military techniques and equipments⁶. Selim III also established Ottoman embassies in major European capitals to increase the diplomatic relationships between the Empire and foreign countries and to obtain more direct information from these countries.

The non-Muslim societies in the Empire were also affected by western influences. Particularly, the Greek and Armenian communities, which had been familiar with the western-based ideas for long, easily adopted the transferred western thoughts and began to obtain important positions in the Ottoman court and economic activities from the end of the 18th century⁷.

Mahmud II who was an important name through the Tanzimat Charter became Sultan in 1808. His first task was to declare war against Russia. From the end of the war in 1812, he intended to establish the authority of the central government in the provinces. During the early reform period, the authority had been in the hands of the local *derebeys*, *ayans* and *ağas*, who were forcing the peasants off their lands into the cities. The central government had no military control in the provinces. In 1826, Mahmud II terminated an important institution of the Empire and eliminated the Janissary Corps after an “Auspicious Event” (*Vak'a-i Hayriye*)⁸. Following the extermination of the Janissaries, Mahmud II began to work on a new style army. Due to the need of well-trained officers and the need of competent civil servants, he devoted his attention to the education and sent students to Europe. His special care on training of the young men as diplomats and civil servants helped him in reorganizing and modernizing the internal administration both in Istanbul and in other provinces of the Empire⁹. The first census to determine the men for the new

⁶ *Ibid.*, 58–59.

⁷ LEWIS (1968:62).

⁸ ST.LAURENT (1989:25).

⁹ LEWIS (1968:83–89).

army and the amount of money to support it was also done under his reign, in 1831. The renovations in communication were another group of reforms at that period.

Mahmud II not only extended and strengthened the central authority, but also changed the structure and organization of the government staff. His intention was to bring the personnel of the Ottoman government to the same level of their European equivalents and to affect the European observers with the modernity and progressiveness of the Empire¹⁰. He intended to replace traditional institutions with modern ones, as in Europe. The Ministries of War, Civil and Foreign Affairs, and Finance, the Council of the Ministers, the Council for the Military Affairs and the High Council for Judicial Ordinances were founded in his reign¹¹. These new institutions formed the basis of the reforms in the following period.

Two sons of Mahmud II, Abdülmecid I (1839-1861) and Abdülaziz (1861-1876), developed and implemented the reforms of their father and ushered in the great reforming edicts, *Tanzimat-ı Hayriye*, in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The Prime Minister of Sultan Mahmud II, Mustafa Reşid Paşa, is the father of the Tanzimat. Mustafa Reşid Paşa, with Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa and Keçecizade Mehmet Emin Fuat Paşa, prepared a reform program to replace the old institutions with new, secular ones and proclaimed them in the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) in November 3, 1839¹². The modernizing reforms of Tanzimat altered the traditional structure of the Ottoman state and society and affected Istanbul and other provinces of the Empire until the First World War.

Tanzimat was a complex period in which the administrative, military, judicial, economical, educational, social, architectural and urban reforms were attempted to modernize and secularise the traditional Ottoman institutions along western lines.

¹⁰ Ibid., 96.

¹¹ Ibid., 98.

¹² KAYNAR (1954).

The reform program of Mustafa Reşit Paşa constituted the basis of this period. Instead of the old institutions, which were directed under the Sharia Laws (*Şariat Hükümleri*), new secular ministries were established and the power of the *ulema* class was limited. The reformers of Tanzimat enacted a series of judicial reforms that were the codification of the civil laws, the establishment of a new court system, and the preparation of the Civil Code (*Mecelle*) and the Code of Public Laws (*Düstur*). By 1840, a new commercial code, which was based on French models, was prepared under the influence of Mustafa Reşit Paşa; this code encouraged large-scale commerce and trade activities and the foreign enterprises¹³. Although the foreign enterprises exploited the raw materials to the detriment of the native industry, they also encouraged the introduction of the contemporary European factory technology to the Empire; the industrial production began to modernize after the Tanzimat Charter.

In 1845, Mustafa Reşit Paşa issued a rescript (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*), in which he said that apart from the military reforms, good schools had to be established throughout the Empire, because the general ignorance of population was the real problem¹⁴. The introduction of a new and secular public and military education system, which was based on European models, altered all the previous methods. After the foundation of the Ministry of Public Education in 1847, military and civil schools were spread throughout the Empire.

To extend the central administrative control to the provinces, the Ottoman government commanded provincial armies against the regional military forces. After the 1850's, provincial regulations were refined and a municipal organization was formed in the cities. Following the issue of the Land Law (*Arazi Kanunnamesi*) and

¹³ LEWIS (1968:110).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

Cadastral Regulation (*Tapu Nizamnamesi*), western land surveying and cadastral planning methods were introduced to the Empire¹⁵.

The efforts to modernize the transportation after 1850's brought standardization to the provincial roads and the roads in the cities. Under the subsidies and guaranteed concessions of the Ottoman government to European enterprises, the construction of the railroads presented an alternative way of transportation. By the developments of the roads, both in the cities and at inter-urban level, the communication system began to modernize rapidly.

On the other hand, the reform government was faced with many problems while implementing the reforms of the Tanzimat. It is possible to say that the Tanzimat reform program worsened the financial problems of the Empire. The huge costs incurred to the implementation of the reforms, the extravagance, the debts of the government and the faulty revenue collection led to the insolvency. Besides the financial distress, the political struggle for domination in the Middle East and the nationalist movements in Balkans and in southern provinces of the Empire led to an unease in the society that affected the reform government too¹⁶.

Actually, the institutional reforms of the Ottoman Empire took a long process lasting from the 17th century to the First World War. The effect of the West firstly began to seen on the upper class -and only in Istanbul- gradually spread to the average Ottoman by the new secularised bureaucracy of the Tanzimat. However, all the efforts to modernize the Ottoman institutions along a western line were not enough to save the Empire from dissolution.

While studying the transfer of western urban planning concepts to the Ottoman Empire up to the 1840's, it is obvious that what was done in this period was not an actual transfer of urban planning techniques, but the awareness of European urban

¹⁵ ST.LAURENT (1989:32).

¹⁶ Ibid., 39.

planning systems and techniques and the aesthetic behind it. Practically, the Ottoman Empire, up to the 18th century, did not develop any concept of intervention on the urban structure as a whole. In a society, the governors who believe in the perfectness of the system and the members that had never been faced any rapid urban development; there was nothing to force any urban transition. In other words, in such a stable social system, nor wants neither able for an intervention to the urban fabric within its own dynamics. According to Uğur Tanyeli, what was done in the 18th century was being familiar with European aesthetic. So, the period until the 1840's can be identified as a process of transferring everything on urban planning, including the legal, administrative, social and cultural aspects of it without filtering. However, the “digestion” of these transfers within the Ottoman concepts changed the urban characteristics of the Ottoman cities after 1840's¹⁷.

III.2. The Idea behind the Architectural and Urban Reforms of Tanzimat

The institutional reforms implemented from the 18th century to the early 20th century greatly altered the traditional urban fabric and urban institutions of the Ottoman Empire. The urban and architectural character of the European cities that were seen by the Tanzimat reformers as the symbol of modernity affected the morphology of the traditional Ottoman cities after 1840's¹⁸. The effect of the Tanzimat reforms on

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ The letter that was written by Mustafa Reşid Paşa from London in 1836 proposed the western architecture and urban order as the most important sources for Ottoman reform movements.

Bu def'a zuhur eden hâriktan muhterik olan mahâller Dersaadet'in vasatında vâki' pek mu'teber yerler olduğundan kava'id-i hendesiyye üzere sokaklar bırakılarak ve bazı iktiza eden yerleri mümkün mertebe tesviye olunarak tarz-i nevin ve resm-i dilnişin üzere kâgir evler ve dükkânlar inşasına dair yapılacak yerleri nûmunesi şeklinde olmak ve herkesi şevk-ü hevese getirmek için ibtida oradan başlansa bir münasib şey olacağı derkâr ise de bunun tanzim ü'tersimi fenn-i hendeseve mimaride kemal-i meleke malumata mütevakkıf olacağından bazı evler ve dükkânlar Avrupa'da cari olan tarz-ı cedide göre yapılmak üzere ve bırakılacak sokaklar sonna medd ü ilave Kabul edecek surette hesap olunmak icab edeceğinden Avrupa'dan bir-iki nefer mütefennin mühendis ve mimar celbi lâzım gelip şu kadarki Fransa'da bir hanede on onbeş, ve hatta yirmi familya sakin olmakta olduğundan pek cesi ve tenasübsüz olarak ehl'i islâma dahi bu kadar familyanın bir hanede içtimai mümkün ve İngiltere'de bayağı memalik-i İslamiyye gibi her familyanın haline göre bir hanesi olub resimleri dahi gayet matbu ve tekellüfsüz ve küşayışli idüğünden binaen işbu iktiza, mühendis ve mimarın İngiltere'den gönderilmesi..... YERASIMOS (1992:3).

the traditional institutions and on the socio-economic structure of the Empire was the most important factor that also affected the spatial structures of these cities.

Stéphane Yerasimos relates the urban reforms of Tanzimat with two reasons. He claims that for the Ottoman government, the target of these reforms was struggling against the western superiority by using their ideas, techniques and cultural values and thus, modernizing the Ottoman society. The urban projection of this target was the imitation of a western city model¹⁹. The other was an internal reason that was the efforts of the Ottoman government to regain the central authority. According to Yerasimos, any intervention on the urban fabric was the most suitable way since the results of these interventions could be reflected to the society directly and immediately; so, this explains the hurriedness in timing of Tanzimat's urban interventions²⁰.

Istanbul, as the capital of the Empire, was at the focus of Tanzimat's urban and architectural reforms. Following the foundation of new institutions and promulgating of new regulations on urban planning and construction activities, the urban characters of the Ottoman cities began to change by mid-19th century.

III.2.1. The Reflection of Institutional Changes on the Urban Fabric

Tanzimat's westernizing reforms opened a way towards a modern urban administration that also brought new urban institutions and regulations. In the

¹⁹ YERASIMOS (1992:2).

²⁰ At this point, Yerasimos underlines one aspect that is the urban interventions of the Ottoman government prior to the Tanzimat Period. According to Yerasimos, the Ottoman government had issued many regulations on architectural and urban fields before the Tanzimat period; the solutions of many problems, such as the fires, anarchy, etc., had been sought in these regulations. However, gradually increasing discontentment proved that the measures taken by the government did not bring any solution to the problems of the city. Thus, it can be said that the lack of order in the urban life before the Tanzimat period did not depend on the lack of the interest, but the lack of the discernment of the previous governments. What lies under this was the success of the citizens against the lack of the authority and this explains why the government, whose major aim was to regain its authority, gave a special importance to the urban. YERASIMOS (1992:4-8).

traditional Ottoman urban administration, the administrative, judicial and municipal works were at the hands of the *kadis*. The residential buildings of the *kadis* also functioned for the governmental, judicial and municipal services. Following the declaration of the Tanzimat Charter, which aimed a centralized hierarchy by means of codification and systematisation of the traditional institutions, the duties of *kadis* in the cities were transferred to newly established institutions, which firstly appeared in İstanbul.

The traditional institution of *Şehremaneti*, which had worked as the financial comptroller of Sultan's buildings, was abolished in 1822²¹. Foundation of the Council of Public Works (*Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü*), which was responsible for the supervision of building activities, was an important step taken in the reign of Mahmud II²². In 1855, a new İstanbul *Şehremaneti* was founded similar to the French institution of *Prefecture de la Ville*. The responsibilities of the new *Şehremaneti* were formulated as the construction and repair of the roads, cleaning and embellishment of the city, controlling the collection of the taxes and providing the basic needs of the city²³. In the same year, the Commission for the Order of the City (*İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) was formed to prepare a more fundamental urban program for İstanbul²⁴.

The Commission for the Order of the City prepared a regulation draft to propose a municipal model for İstanbul. In 1868, the Sixth District Administration (*Altıncı Belediye Dairesi*) was founded as a model municipality in İstanbul that also encouraged the municipal organizations not only in other districts of İstanbul, but also in other Anatolian cities, particularly in the port cities and in the cities having dense trade activities. Two new regulations that the Ottoman government had

²¹ KUBAN (1996:381).

²² DENEL (1982:14).

²³ ERGİN (1914–1922:1374) give it as *Şehremaneti Nizamiye Layihası*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1376–1380.

declared in 1867 constituted the basis of these municipal organizations. The Bursa municipality was established in the same year along these two regulations²⁵.

Fires were the main problem of Tanzimat's urban reform program. In 1836, Mustafa Reşit Paşa prepared a report; the content of which was based on the proposals against the fires destroying the traditional character of the Ottoman cities. In 1839, a German engineer, von Moltke, invited by the Ottoman government to prepare a renovation plan for Istanbul²⁶. The proposals of Mustafa Reid Paşa and von Moltke stressed on the conversion of the timber constructed buildings into *kârgir* (brick or stone) and on the regularization of the street system formed the basis of the new urban regulations of Tanzimat after 1840's²⁷. Between 1848 and 1882, there passed six major regulations, three of them also affected the urban changes in the Anatolian cities. 1848 Building Regulation (*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) was the earliest that brought standards to the streets and buildings. The cul-de-sacs were forbidden and straight streets were proposed concerning the fire danger²⁸. The 1848 *Ebniye Nizamnamesi* was followed by other regulations dated 1849, 1864 Street and Building Regulation (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) and 1875 Regulation on the Construction Methods in Istanbul²⁹. The 1877 Municipal Law (*Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu*) regulating the municipal organizations was an important step within Tanzimat's institutional reform period. The 1877 law redefined the duties of the municipalities and proposed founding of a municipality for each 40000-citizens³⁰. The 1882 Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*) concentrated on the street and building standards, planning

²⁵ DOSTOĞLU, ORAL (2000:222). These regulations were "Vilayette Belediye Meclislerinin Tertibi ve Memurların Vezâifi Hakkında Kanun" on the organization schemes of the municipalities in the cities and the tasks of the officials and "Vilayette Devair-i Belediye Meclislerinin Vezâifi Umumiyesi" on the duties of the council of municipalities.

²⁶ KUBAN (1996: 382).

²⁷ ÇELİK (1986:55-56).

²⁸ DENEL (1982:App. 4.2)

²⁹ Ibid., App. 4.3. and App. 4.4.

³⁰ DOSTOĞLU, ORAL (2000:222).

principles of the conflagration areas in grid pattern, the repair and construction standards of the buildings and roads, the land-surveying methods, etc.³¹. However, the application of 1882 law should be thought together with another law that was 1873 Expropriation Law (*İstidlâk Kanunu*). The new quarters on the conflagration areas and the new, immigrant quarters were formed according to these laws³².

As a result of the foundation of new urban institutions and acceptance of new regulations, many new building types such as government houses, municipality buildings, court buildings, etc. began to appear in the cities, thus leading to the emergence of a new administrative center.

III.2.2. The Reflection of Socio-Economic Changes on the Urban Fabric

The interaction with the western countries and the changing internal dynamics affected also the social and economic structure of the cities. Analyzing these internal and external factors helps to explain what lies behind the urban transformation of traditional Ottoman cities.

One of these factors was the demographic flows in the Empire. Depending on the land losses, particularly in the Balkans, a large number of people from these lost lands migrated to the cities, in which the demographic composition began to change and required new settlement areas. The developing transportation technology as a supporting factor that eased the urbanization resulted also in a drastic change in the Anatolian urban population³³.

Besides the growth of the Ottoman cities following the rapid urbanization, the spatial distribution of different urban activities also changed in the 19th century. As a

³¹ DENEL (1982:App. 4.5).

³² TEKELİ (1985:167).

³³ Tekeli (163) gives that the ratio of 16th century Anatolian urban population (*kentli nüfus*) was 8-9 %, which rose up to 25% in the 19th century.

result of the western-dependent, extrovert trade activities, the 16th century traditional commercial center with *bedesten*, lost its importance and a new center began to appear as a secondary focal point within the city³⁴. This duality forced the traditional urban morphology that had developed around *bedesten* for centuries towards a new urban formation. As a result of the extrovert trade activities in the 19th century, the port cities in Anatolia grew rapidly; İzmir became Anatolian second biggest city³⁵.

The spatial transformation of the city centers also affected the residential areas. Besides the ethnic differentiation of 16th century Ottoman neighborhoods, the 19th century additionally brought a social classification to the residential areas. As a result of the developments in transportation and communication, rich citizens moved to new sub-urban settlements and appeared a social differentiation between these settlements and those within the city. New building types, such as *köşk*, *yalı*, *konak*, defined the social status of these residents³⁶. These new building types also appeared around the residences of the dynasty and along the prestige axes of the city.

The granting concessions to the foreign entrepreneurs in the second half of the 19th century resulted in the development of the transportation. The opening of the railways and maritime lines and the reconstruction of the roads along new standards eased the civil transportation and the transportation of the goods. New building types, such as hotels, *entrépôts*, station buildings, quays, post offices, etc., were constructed. The new capitalist relations with western countries brought also new demands to the social life that was reflected on the urban fabric as new building types such as banks, theatres, coffee houses, recreation areas, luxury shops, etc.³⁷.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

³⁶ The *Konaks* in the sub-urban settlements differs from those using as winter house in the city center.

³⁷ DOSTOĞLU, ORAL (2000:223).

The loss of the importance of 16th century waqf institution in the 19th century and granting the rights of being landownership to the foreigners increased the number of the private investors; all the construction activities passed into the hands of these private investors, who incited the increase in the land values. However, this had a more serious result that the 16th century character of the Ottoman city, which had been recreating itself within its traditional identity till the 19th century, began gradually be disappeared.

III.3. The First Impacts of the Tanzimat Charter on Bursa: Changes in Industry and New Factory Districts

Bursa, being the first Ottoman imperial capital and the burial place of the family of the Ottoman dynasty, had a special place in the history of the empire and was revered by all Ottoman governments, including the reform government of Tanzimat. After mid-1840's, the changes resulting from Tanzimat's institutional and socio-economic reforms began to affect Bursa in many fields. The rapid changes in the first half of the 19th century were seen on industry and industrial spatial structure of the city.

Following the foundation of the Ottoman State, Bursa became the most important trade center of Anatolia. The Ottomans pulled all the ancient trade routes, on both east-west and north-south directions, towards Bursa that made it the entrépot for trade through Anatolia³⁸. Bursa was unrivalled in the Empire as a center for the trade and the production of silk, also after the conquest of Istanbul. The great amount of raw silk was produced in and around Bursa, which had a suitable climate and soil to sericulture. Part of it was imported from Iran³⁹. İnalçık recorded that about one thousand looms were in operation in Bursa during the 16th century⁴⁰. Besides the silk products, cotton, wool, mohair and spices were other trade goods in Bursa *hans*.

³⁸ ERDER (1976:89).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴⁰ İNALCIK (1960:45-102).

However, the developing industrial technology in Europe and the mechanized manufacture from the end of the 18th century on affected the silk production and trade capacity of Bursa. With the signing of the 1838 Trade Agreement, first England and then, other European nations penetrated into the internal markets of the Ottoman Empire by proclaiming their mercantilist position⁴¹.

One fact should be pointed out that Bursa did not have a factory production in terms of an organized and mechanized system until the 19th century. The production activities that were operated in separate and personal looms belonging to single merchant-owners did not dominate specific spatial sections in the city. Mechanization in Bursa, which had a vital importance for rivalry, started after mid-1830's rapidly by means of transferring new industrial institutions and technologies from Europe. Following the emergence of steam-powered equipments, where proximity of a water source was needed for boiling as well as for waste disposal, the silk factories began to be seen on city's landscape. According to Erder, the modernizing of manufacture in Bursa lies between the years 1835 and 1875, since after 1875, until the 1920's, neither an increase in the production of raw silk did bring any innovation in terms of technology nor an expansion in the number of establishments or the total employment was experienced⁴².

The expansion of Bursa's factory districts dominated spatially distinct sections of the city that were excluded of other urban activities⁴³. As it was analysed from the Suphi Bey Map of 1862, the city had three factory districts around 1860's. Two of them were homogenous distinguished districts on the map; the third that had also a

⁴¹ ERDER (1976:98-99) made a citation from a traveler book reporting the condition of manufacture activities as follows:

Silk manufactories...are spread all over the city, but there is nothing that can be called a silk factory. The weaving is all done by job-work; these stuff so remarkable for their beauty, are woven in miserable little rooms, only large enough to contain the loom and the weaver or two weavers, as the case may be.

⁴² Ibid., 97.

⁴³ ERDER (1975:85).

distinguishing character was more scattered than the other two districts. The first group extended from the western slopes of the citadel on the left and right banks of the Cilimboz River. The second homogenous distinguished factory district was in the opposite direction to the first, on the southeastern parts of the city, between Gökdere and Namazgâh Streams. The occasionally scattered factories on the northern sections of the city formed the third group⁴⁴ (Figure 1). Although the functions of factories were not differentiated on the map clearly, their sizes and locations lead us to distinguish the two factory districts around Cilimboz and Gökdere Rivers. The first region contained large factories. The hostels for workers (*Bekâr Odaları*) were located on the surrounding open lands and around Muradiye and Hamza Bey quarters. However, since 96% of Bursa's factory workers were female at that time, these barracks may have housed only a few single male workers⁴⁵. In Cilimboz District, nearly all female labor was from Greek community explaining the closeness of this factory district to the Greek quarter (Plate 1).

Reeling, whether operated by hand or steam-powered machines, and the wet cocoons must have been at the same site where the waste water after boiling of cocoons should have been disposed immediately. Therefore, the rapidly running Cilimboz Stream with its surrounding was a suitable place for silk-reeling operation. The travelers visiting this area around 1860's recorded that here the steam filatures were performed in silk reeling⁴⁶. The first filature of Bursa, which is mentioned as a Greek School in 1907 yearbook, was established in that area. Erder adds one supporting evidence that Imperial Silk Factory (*Hümayun İpek Fabrikası*) located

⁴⁴ In the figure, the factory districts were indicated according to the entries of the Suphi Bey Map. Only clearly written *fabrika* or *harir fabrikası* buildings and their surroundings were marked on this redrawn map. Due to this reason, the actual number of establishments is not so reliable.

⁴⁵ According to ERDER (1976:110-114), women formed nearly all factory labor force at that time. The workers were graded by their experience and performance on reeling and the payment was regulated accordingly. The records give the number of female workers as 1700 around 1850's when they increased to 9000 in 1872. The women, who were working long hours under unpleasant conditions, were preferred from single ones. The women labor force of Bursa factories at that time was largely Christian. This may be due to the excess of female ratio in Christian community –mostly Greek and Armenian- than the Muslim community.

⁴⁶ ERDER (1975:91).

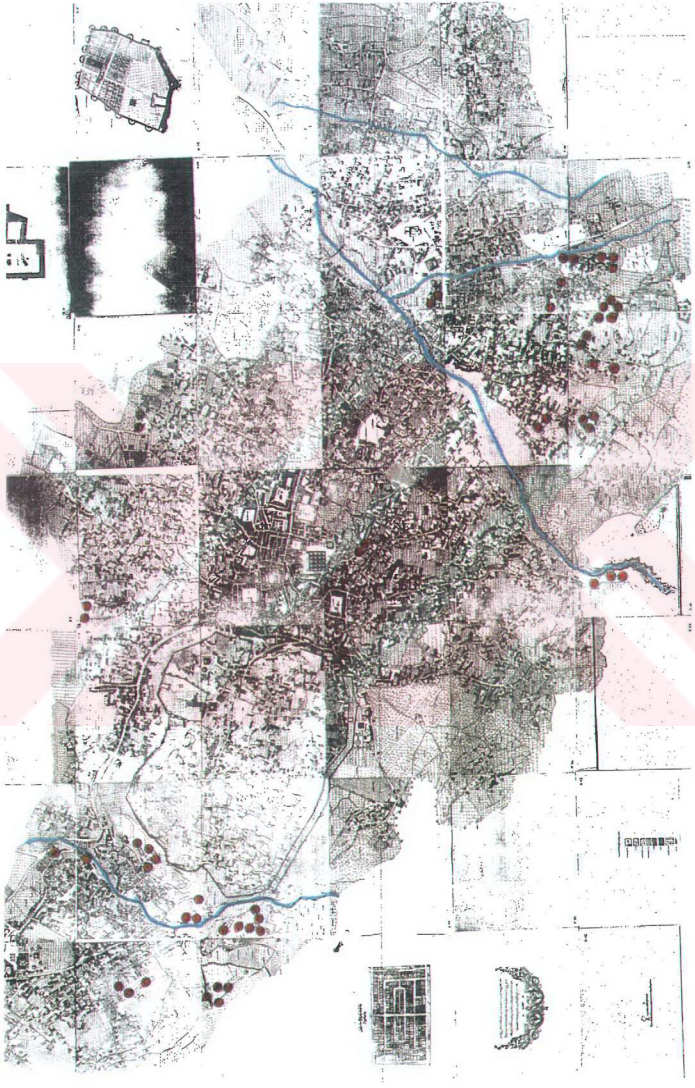


Figure 1. The Factory Districts of Bursa around 1860's



Plate 1. Silk Workshop belonging to the Bay Brothers (Sébah&Joaillier- 1890)

near this area was a totally silk-reeling factory⁴⁷ (Plate 2). The survived silk depots, cocoon depots (*kozahane* or *kozak*) and filatures in this section of the city demonstrated that the Cilimboz District specialized functionally in silk manufacture. The eastern factory district of Bursa was expanded near southeastern banks of the banks of Gökdere, which was inhabited predominantly by Armenians as the labor force. Spatially distinct from the Cilimboz district, Gökdere region had smaller factory buildings located on a more heterogeneous and dense vicinity that did not allow open spaces around the buildings (Plate 3). The establishments in different types may have operated for conducting, weaving or dyeing, but they were also filatures⁴⁸. The filatures of Gökdere factory district may have been older than those

⁴⁷ Sarim Manas Paşa established Imperial Silk Factory in 1852. Like other imperial factories—such as Basmane in İzmir and Feshane in Istanbul—operating for the palace, Bursa Silk Factory had been modernized and mechanized before the local factories. Unlike the local factories, Imperial Silk factory had an imperial pavilion (*Kasr-ı Hümayun*) being the residence of the director of the factory. Today, this pavilion is in a ruinous state; the factory that had served as tobacco warehouse of *Tekel* until 1980's is not functioning today. ERDER (1976:225), ST. LAURENT (1989:96).

⁴⁸ ERDER (1976:225).

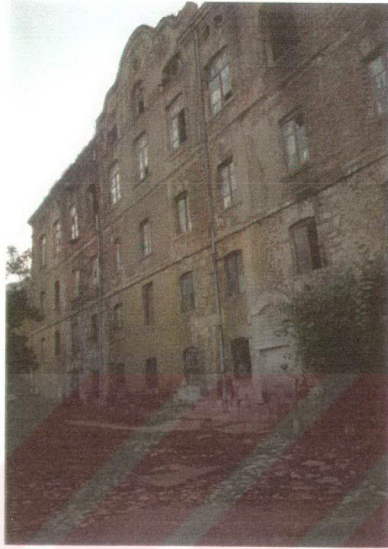


Plate 2. Imperial Silk Factory (November-2001)

Plate 3. Silk Cocoon Shop in Gökdere (Papazyan-1890)



around Cilimboz and had fewer workers and reels relatively⁴⁹. They must have been mechanized workshops, since by 1857, hand reeling was totally left in Bursa⁵⁰.

The third factory district of Bursa seems to have scattered on the northern fringes of the city's agricultural plain. This appearance on the inhabited sections of the city may have been related with the need of large areas for filatures that also led to an increase in land values⁵¹ and expanded the city toward the vast northern plain.

Following the analysis of the three factory districts of Bursa, one aspect should be pointed out that, there was an absence of factory activities in the city center where the Muslim population of Bursa lived. As it is noted, nearly all factory labor force of Bursa in the 19th century was made up of women and nearly all of them belonged to Greek and Armenian communities. Thus, this may explain why the Muslim city center did not comprise of any factory building. Moreover, high land values, the water problem as well as the population density also affected the center as an inconvenient area for factory activities.

The urban skyline of Bursa began to change after 1840's by means of industrialization; large factories and chimney stacks mingled with traditional Ottoman fabric of Bursa, with its mosques, minarets or clusters of houses in greenery. Following the opening of the first silk factory by Taşçıyan-Falkeisen Partnership in 1846 and the opening of Imperial Silk Factory in 1852, 38 new factories were established until 1858⁵². This increased to 90 around 1870's. Each factory was opened with a capacity of 10 to 132 reels; 20 to 350 workers were employed in the second half of the 19th century. According to Erder, 9 to 11% of the inhabitants of Bursa earned wages in silk-reeling around 1870's. In the following

⁴⁹ ERDER (1976:226).

⁵⁰ ERDER (1975:90).

⁵¹ ERDER (1976:229) reported that according to *Ahmet Vefik Paşa*, stimulating agriculture and commerce were effective on rising land values, which was a conscious preference after 1860's.

⁵² These numbers vary in different sources. ERDER (1975:91) gives the factories in 1855 as 29.

years, Muslim and Jewish women were added to Armenian and Greek women in order to cope with the rising manufacturing capacity⁵³.

The rapid industrialization along Tanzimat reforms accelerated also the commercial activities in the city. Many business offices appeared closer to the market region and new urban districts –such as the İpekçilik Street⁵⁴- were formed within the changing demands of industry and commerce. Following the above-mentioned developments, two new institutions, which were the Bursa branch of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Ottoman Bank, were opened near the market area. After the opening of the Institute of Sericulture (*Harir Darü 't-Talimi*) in 1888, many qualified sericulture workers were trained until 1922⁵⁵ (Plate 4).

Besides the silk factories, many other factory types –such as flour mills- are identified on the Suphi Bey Map. St. Laurent also mentions about the presence of a *rakı* factory in Bursa⁵⁶. The hydraulically operated flourmills were seen clustering around Setbaşı along the upper parts of the Gökdere River⁵⁷, and in Demirkapı and Kayabaşı around the Cilimboz River. These mills were located separately from the silk factories in those regions.

The architectural characteristics of most of the factory buildings and mills were typical. These were large buildings having a rectangular plan. Steep pitched roofs generally formed the upper structures with clerestory windows for daylight. This was a new form in Bursa's traditional urban fabric. Steep pitched roofs with

⁵³ ERDER (1975:92), YURT ANSİKLOPEDİSİ (1984:1645).

⁵⁴ Detailed information will be given in the following chapters.

⁵⁵ Referring to YURT ANSİKLOPEDİSİ (1984:1647-1648), the name of the directors of the board of Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, being formed in 1891, were Parseh Efendi, Balabanyan Agop Efendi, Boduryan Ohannes Efendi, Elefteryadis İsak Efendi, Hombusyan Ohannes Efendi, Demciyan, Atnas, Nahebetyan Karabet Efendi; these names indicate the importance of the minorities in the rich ethnic mosaic of Bursa.

⁵⁶ ST.LAURENT (1989 : 97). *Rakı* is a kind of alcoholic drink.

⁵⁷ CUINET (1894:97), DUTEMPLE (1883:243).



Plate 4. Institute of Sericulture (Postcard)

clerestories may be imported from Europe after the proclamation of the Tanzimat Charter and the insertion of western-based fashions into the empire (Plates 5, 6). The regional construction method, which consisted of timber-framed sun-dried bricks and stucco covering, were generally preferred in contrast to the alien forms of the buildings. However, in the construction of the big factories, such as the Imperial Silk Factory in Cilimboz, stone was the preferred building material.

An important and a unique architectural structure in the 19th century Bursa was *Irgandı* Bridge where small workshops were lined up along its sides. These typically constructed workshops were facing towards the river by windows and had tile-covered pitched roofs. The architectural evolution of the *Irgandı* Bridge within the course of time can easily be analysed from the photographs⁵⁸. The first photograph was taken by Trémaux in 1854 and shows the original architecture of the *Irgandı* Bridge (Plate 7). The second photograph that was taken by Sébah and Joaillier was dated circa 1890 (Plate 8).

⁵⁸ The original *Irgandı* Bridge was destroyed in 1922 in the time of the Independence war; the present bridge was built in 1949. ÖNGE (1981:425-448).



Plate 5. Factories in the Cilimboz Region (Moustier-1862)

Plate 6. Factories in the Gökdere Region (1970's)



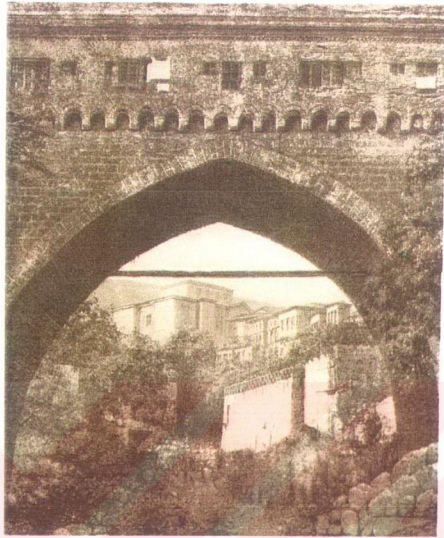


Plate 7. Irgandi Bridge (Trémaux-1854)

Plate 8. Irgandi Bridge (Sébah&Joaillier-1890's)



III.4. Formation and Transformation of Urban Fabric: Bursa in the Second Half of the 19th Century

Following the industrialization of the silk industry, the introduction of western urban planning and architectural building methods into the traditional Ottoman system changed the character of Bursa in the second half of the 19th century.

As a city in the focus of the Tanzimat reforms, a special importance was given to the administration of Bursa. Its governors were those who had held important positions, such as grand vizier, vizier or upper-ministerial positions, in the central government in Istanbul and those who were concerned with the reform program of Tanzimat. Therefore, many of these personalities assigned to Bursa were ambitious reformers working for the city. Among these provincial administrators, Ahmet Vefik Paşa was the most important personality, whose ideas to create a modern Ottoman city altered Bursa in the second half of the 19th century. However, even earlier two prominent reforming figures influenced the city in the first half of the 19th century, before the tenure of Ahmet Vefik Paşa. The first was Mustafa Nuri Paşa, who became governor in 1845⁵⁹. During his tenure, he encouraged the industrial developments of Bursa and intended to extend mechanization in silk reeling. Mustafa Nuri Paşa set up a modern steam-powered filature, but failed to compete with foreign investors due to lack of capital⁶⁰. İbrahim Sarım Paşa was the other name who became governor in 1849. During his ambassadorial mission in England in 1834, İbrahim Sarım Paşa observed the results of industrialization in this country. He was also aware of the French methods in silk production and during his governorship in Bursa, he intended to develop the industrial sectors of the city within its own resources. In the second half of the 19th century, Nazif Paşa, Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, Ahmet Münir Paşa and Reşid Mümtaz Paşa were other prominent figures who altered the classical Ottoman character of Bursa⁶¹.

⁵⁹ LEWIS (1968:93).

⁶⁰ ERDER (1976:103-104).

⁶¹ The names of the 19th administrators of Bursa are given in YURT ANSIKLOPEDISI (1984:1646)

The urban evolution of Bursa in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century can be analyzed from three maps. Two of them dated to the years of 1895 and 1907, reflecting the reconstruction and modernization works during the reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid II. The third map that was prepared by the *Keşfiyat ve İnşaat Türk Anonim Şirketi* probably dated to 1922 or 1923. 1895 map does not include a scale while the scale of 1907 Map was noted as 1/10000. The 1922 map as has two scales that are 1/8000 and 1/2000 on the lower lefthand corner of the map. All these three maps, unlike the Suphi Bey Map, lack in details, while only the names of the major avenues and prestige buildings were noted on them.

III.4.1. New Avenues: Re-organization of the Urban Structure

In the following years of the great earthquake in Bursa, the reform government embarked on a large-scale reconstruction program for restoring the city to its former glory. The first changes in Bursa in the second half of the 19th century began to appear after the assignment of Ahmet Vefik Paşa as Regional Inspector of Northwestern Anatolian Provinces (*Anadolu Sağ Kol Ciheti Müfettişi*). Following his ambassadorial experience in Paris, where he observed the planning and reconstruction activities of the city under Baron Haussmann, Ahmet Vefik Paşa was appointed to Bursa on March, 1863. In charge of a city needing an extensive reconstruction, he attained the opportunity to choose the areas to restore and those to build under new ideas of Tanzimat. As a proponent of the Tanzimat reforms, he combined his vision on importing western technology with the preservation of traditional Ottoman figures⁶².

as a list. Besides this source, BAYKAL (1976), LEWIS (1968) and ST.LAURENT (1989) also discuss most of these administrators.

⁶² Ahmet Vefik Paşa was a statesman, scholar and linguist. He came from a family of translators working for the Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*). Due to the charge of his father in Paris, he attended the Lycée Saint-Louis for three years. In his return to Istanbul, he continued his education on languages, literature and history. Ahmet Vefik Paşa began his career in the translation bureau of the Imperial Council, having several missions in foreign countries; he became a member of the Academy of Science in Istanbul. After 1855, in the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, Ahmet Vefik Paşa held important positions in educational and judicial programs of the government. Following his experience in Paris as ambassador, he became a member of the Supreme Council of the Judicial Regulations (*Meclis-i Valâ*) in 1861 and appointed as the head of the Ministry of Endowments and

During his two tours of duty between 1863 to 1864 and 1879 to 1882, Ahmet Vefik Paşa worked to improve the urban life and to solve the infrastructure problems of commercial and agricultural development. Besides planning and construction of new neighborhoods and organization of new institutions, he gave a vital importance to the supervision of the roads, both on inter-urban level and within the city. His statement four years before his first appointment to Bursa reflects also the viewpoint of the reform government on the functions of the roads in the urban life and Ottoman economy:

What we most want ... are roads. We have nothing but tracks filled with stones in our towns, so that it takes you an hour to walk a mile...Except in the immediate neighborhood of our towns, the land is not half cultivated because the peasant cannot carry the produce to the market...⁶³

At the inter-urban level, the connection of Bursa and its ports on the Marmara Sea was improved to ease the transportation. In 1861, the Mudanya Road was widened and extended to connect with the Çekirge and Gemlik roads, leading eastward out of the city⁶⁴. Ahmet Vefik Paşa extended the old Gemlik Road to the city limits and opened a new artery, Gemlik Street, connecting the old Gemlik Road through the administrative center by bisecting the Deveciler Cemetery⁶⁵. Around the same years, a new road, the Çekirge Street, was opened from Bursa through the village of Çekirge incorporating it as a part of the city (Plate 9).

the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye Osmaniye*) in the same year. Ahmet Vefik Paşa became the regional Inspector of the Northwestern Anatolian Provinces on March- 1863 and continued until September 1864. From his return to Istanbul in 1871, he held various positions in the Imperial Council being appointed by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Ahmet Vefik Paşa was the governor of Bursa from February of 1879 to September of 1882. See ERDER (1976:239-246), ST.LAURENT (1989:50-53), TANSEL (1964a: 117-139), TANSEL (1964b: 249-283).

⁶³ ERDER (1976:249).

⁶⁴ ST.LAURENT (1989:104).

⁶⁵ DANIŞMEND (1948:39).



Plate 9. Gemlik Road and View of Bursa and Uludağ (Sébah&Joaillier-1894)

The road construction program of Ahmet Vefik Paşa that preceded the latter developments in the second half of the 19th century included widening and straightening the major arteries of the city and eliminating the cul-de-sacs impeding the traffic. Linking the major monuments of the city with wide straight avenues, much like Haussmann's boulevards in Paris, to the new institutions and building new roads leading to old ones was part of this program. On the other hand, the major conflagrations eased the path of the program. The destroyed streets in the path of the fire were straightened; the traditional irregular street network of the neighborhoods

In his first tenure, Ahmet Vefik Paşa widened and straightened the major artery extending from the citadel to Setbaşı Bridge and changed its name from Saray Street to Hükümet Street, which was the origin of the present Atatürk Street. This axis eased the transportation through the city from east to west. Connecting the new

Government Building (*Hükümet Konağı*) to the Great Mosque and citadel by Hükümet Street and to the north of the city by Gemlik Street reflect the effects of Haussmann's Paris on Ahmet Vefik Paşa. The irregular streets connecting the northern and southern neighborhoods of the city to the Great Mosque and market area were widened and a number of cul-de-sacs were eliminated.

The destruction of the Armenian Setbaşı due to two major disasters in 1854 and 1863 allowed straightening and widening of its streets giving its present day configuration. A new axis, İpekçilik Street, that led from the Setbaşı Bridge to the recently constructed pavilion for Sultan Abdülaziz's visit on the southeastern slopes of the city was opened just after the 1863 fire and became a fashionable street for wealthy merchants, rich Turks, minorities and foreigners⁶⁶. This axis linked a prestige building to the administrative and commercial center on the other side of the river.

The destruction of the houses to eliminate the cul-de-sacs and widening the streets and bisecting the Muslim cemetery by a street evoked the ire of the local population. Ahmet Vefik Paşa was recalled to Istanbul on September 1864. Until his major active tour between 1879 and 1882, the urban reconstruction activities continued only in several parts of the city only in limited scales. One of the most important was the replanning of Kayan market district after its destruction by a fire in 1870⁶⁷. The conflagration area was rebuilt with a grid plan, but did not integrate with the traditional streets of the bazaar area.

On his second tenure as governor, Ahmet Vefik Paşa worked for large-scale projects and initiated to extend or complete the projects that he began in his first tenure. His desire to connect the old and new monuments of the city continued to affect the urban fabric in his second tour of duty, too. He may have tried to testify his ideas on

⁶⁶ ST. LAURENT (1989:107).

⁶⁷ BAYKAL (1948:38-39) gives the date of the Kayan fire, which destroyed the Kayan Mosque and all of the shops around it, as 1870.

balancing the western and Ottoman values by preservation and restoration of the early Ottoman monuments. One traveller described the condition of Bursa in the time of Ahmet Vefik Paşa's governorship as follows:

...We drove along a well-kept road, up into Brusa... This place, said I to myself, will turn out to be even more desperately modernized than Constantinople. When I went out from my first stroll in the narrow streets of Brusa, I soon realized that it was possible in the east, to have well-kept roads and clean streets without obliterating the landscape...The enlightened governor (Ahmet Vefik Paşa) endowed with a sense of the beautiful, and a noble zeal for the preservation of the antique, exerted himself, while he held office, not only to preserve the national monuments, but also render the city agreeable to strangers by repaving the streets, creating admirable roads, and augmenting its attractions by every means in his power. The government of Ahmet Vefik Paşa proved that an intelligent man, with a free hand, may give back prosperity to the fertile countries...⁶⁸

The resettlement of the refugees in Bursa from the end of the 1870's became the major problem of Ahmet Vefik Paşa. These immigrants were settled in two parts of the city. One of it was dubbed Rusçuk quarter in the northern part of the citadel for the immigrants from Bulgaria; the other was on the southeastern slopes of the city for Tatar immigrants, both of which were planned as orthogonal grids with wide, straight streets. The formation of new neighborhoods also resulted in the opening of new avenues easing the transportation or in the development of existing roads. Following the foundation of Rusçuk quarter, the Çekirge Road that opened in 1863 was repaired and new shops and hotels for the visitors were constructed to foster the development of this part of the city⁶⁹ (Plate 10). The Ahmet Vefik Paşa Hospital that was erected in 1868 on the citadel, was enlarged in 1879. In order to ease the transportation, he opened carriage roads to the citadel from the Hükümet Street

⁶⁸ ERDER (1976:257).

⁶⁹ ST. LAURENT (1989:108).



Plate 10. Çekirge from the Çekirge Road (Sébah&Joaillier -1890's)

below. Additionally, he continued elimination of cul-de-sacs and widening the streets in several *mahalles* at the cost of iring the anger of the residents.

After the governorships of Ahmet Vefik Paşa, Bursa continued its urban renewal until the early 20th century under different governors, many of which followed his ideas in the lights of the Tanzimat's reform program. Between the years of 1883-1885, Nazif Paşa was the governor of Bursa. He widened the Uludağ and Mudanya roads. Çekirge-Hamzabey-Kaplıcakapı-Zindankapı-Işıklar route drawing the southwestern boundary of the city was dating around 1883 ⁷⁰. The road extending from Acemler to the west of Çekirge was built in 1885 ⁷¹. His follower, Mahmud Celaledin Paşa (1889-1891) opened an important artery, Mahmudiye Avenue,

⁷⁰ BAYKAL (1950:25).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

running parallel to the newly constructed railway in the east- west direction. In 1891, Ahmed Münir Paşa became governor. He extended the Hükümet Street to the north of the citadel and opened new streets around the Great Mosque and the Government Building⁷². The period of Reşid Mümtaz Paşa was an active period in the urban development of Bursa. The avenue of Mecidiye, the construction of which began in the reign of Ahmet Vefik Paşa, was opened by Reşid Mümtaz Paşa in 1904 and was connected the Hükümet Street and Mahmudiye Avenue (Plate 11). Mecidiye Avenue extended till the Maksem for Sultan Reşad's visit to the city and formed a vital artery connecting northern and southern borders of the city to the commercial and administrative center⁷³. Hamidiye Avenue, lying in the east-west direction perpendicular to Mecidiye Avenue, was also opened in his period (Plate 12). Crossing the Mecidiye and Gemlik avenues, Hamidiye Avenue connected the northern and southern neighborhoods to the east and west. In 1906, Reşid Mümtaz Paşa widened the Altıparmak Street providing an important link between the Hükümet Street and Çekirge.

While analysing the opening of the new avenues and re-organization of the urban fabric of Bursa in the second half of the 19th century, the insertion of the railway transportation into the urban form should be examined, additionally. In 1873, the construction of a narrow gauge railway began to connect Bursa to its port town Mudanya. However, all the works stopped in 1875 due to the lack of the capital⁷⁴. In 1891, the Ottoman government granted a 99-year concession to a French-Belgian company to finance and complete the railroad project. The line was opened in 1892 and began to be operated as *Société du Chemin de Fer Moudania-Brousse*⁷⁵. The

⁷² BAYKAL (1976:58).

⁷³ KARA (1990:60).

⁷⁴ ST.LAURENT (1989:104).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

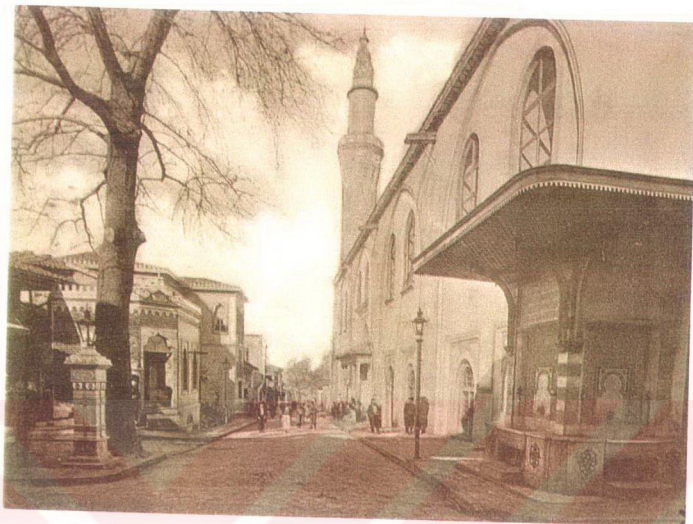


Plate 11. Mecidiye Avenue (Postcard)

Plate 12. Hamidiye Avenue (Postcard)



building of the railroad prompted the development of the northern sections of the city. New roads provided movement from the railway stations to the city center. Bursa had three railway stations at that time. The main station was at the end of the line and was connected to the city by the Gemlik Avenue; the second was called as Muradiye Station or *Bursa Beklemesi* that was connected by a straight road to the Çekirge Street; the third was Acemler Station, which led to Çekirge by Acemler Street⁷⁶ (Plate 13). In the last years of Sultan Abdülhamid's reign, the total length of the new roads, both inter-urban highways and roads within the Hüdavendigâr Province was 1300 kilometers and the length of the railroad line was 42 kilometers⁷⁷.



Plate 13. Opening Ceremony of the Bursa-Mudanya Railroad in the Station (Papazyan-June 17, 1892)

⁷⁶ Ibid., 126.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 124-125.

III.4.2. Re-planning of the Traditional Ottoman *Mahalles* and the Formation of New Residential Quarters

In the second half of the 19th century, a special importance was given to the planning and construction of new neighborhoods and re-planning of the traditional neighborhoods along western-based urban planning principles. The conflagrations affecting the old neighborhoods made them the focus of the Tanzimat's urban projects that superimposed over their traditional fabric. According to Çelik, the reform government of this period intended to rebuild the neighborhoods that were destroyed by conflagrations as square (*murabba*) or rectangular (*mustadil*) blocks without concerning the older urban fabric. The imposition of the orthogonal planning methods in Istanbul around 1860's began to be implemented to the conflagration areas in Bursa around the same years⁷⁸. Following the settlement needs of the immigrants after 1880's, the western-based gridal urban planning methods began to be implemented to the new neighborhoods too.

Three mahalles, on which the ideas for a new urban fabric were applied in the second half of the 19th century, were important models. The re-planning of the Setbaşı quarter after the fire of 1863 was the earliest example. Following its total destruction, the orthogonal planned grids replaced with its old irregular street network. The opening of the Ipekçilik Street connecting the city's major road to the Sultan's hunting lodge made this area a fashionable place. With the large houses that replaced those that had burned in the fires, the Armenian Setbaşı completed its transformation into a modern *mahalle* in Ottoman Bursa until 1870's.

In the years following the Crimean War and the end of the Russo-Turkish War in 1878, the Ottoman Empire absorbed a great amount of refugees. Bursa, at that time, became Anatolia's capital of immigrants⁷⁹. The still pressing necessity for urban

⁷⁸ ÇELİK (1986:88).

⁷⁹ ERDER (1976:254).

reconstruction and the state orders for the resettlement of immigrants gave Ahmet Vefik Paşa the opportunity for applying the Tanzimat ideas for a new urban layout.

Two sections of the city were on the focus of Ahmet Vefik Paşa's attention. The first was on the southeastern slopes of the city⁸⁰. The severe damage in the earthquake and several disasters in the following years made this part of the city a suitable candidate to apply the new, western-imported planning methods. The Tatar immigrants were settled here. The reconstruction of its road network followed a rectilinear gridal plan on a hilly area; however, this kind of topography did not lend itself to linear streets that resulted in a configuration, neither organic nor gridal. Tatarlar Mahallesi was a good example showing that orthogonal planning without considering the suitable tasks caused a failure within the urban texture.

The second was on the north of the citadel where a new neighborhood was built by the government for immigrants from Bulgarian in 1878 and being named as 'Ruşçuk' neighborhood⁸¹. As in the previous examples, Rusçuk was also planned as orthogonal grids and the houses were built inside the rectangular plots of the grids. In addition to the opening of the new public buildings on the Çekirge Road to foster the development of this part of the city, Ahmet Vefik Paşa supplied the quarter with modern urban services such as infrastructure and channels for drinking water.

The opening of the new avenues and the railroad resulted in a linear residential development along these axes in the last quarter of the 19th century. New social and industrial buildings that were constructed along these avenues also fostered the developments of their surroundings. The area around Mecidiye Avenue, which was providing a direct access to the market area, became a new educational and cultural district after the construction of new schools, a museum and several coffeehouses. The area along the Hamidiye Avenue on the east-west direction began to develop

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁸¹ ST.LAURENT (1989:108).

following the construction of a new factory, an industrial school and other small social buildings from the end of the 19th century. The extension of the Mudanya Road to the Kütahya Road to the east fostered the development of the area on the north of the Yıldırım where new neighborhoods comprising large houses (*konaks*) with large gardens began to appear. A similar formation with the large *konaks* having vistas of the plain and small commercial structures was also seen along the Çekirge Road after 1895⁸². A new residential area appeared near the old Acemler neighborhood. Acemler, which had been used for the weekend strolls and as fairground for a long time, was maintained and developed by the Ottoman government as a public garden in the last years of the 19th century⁸³.

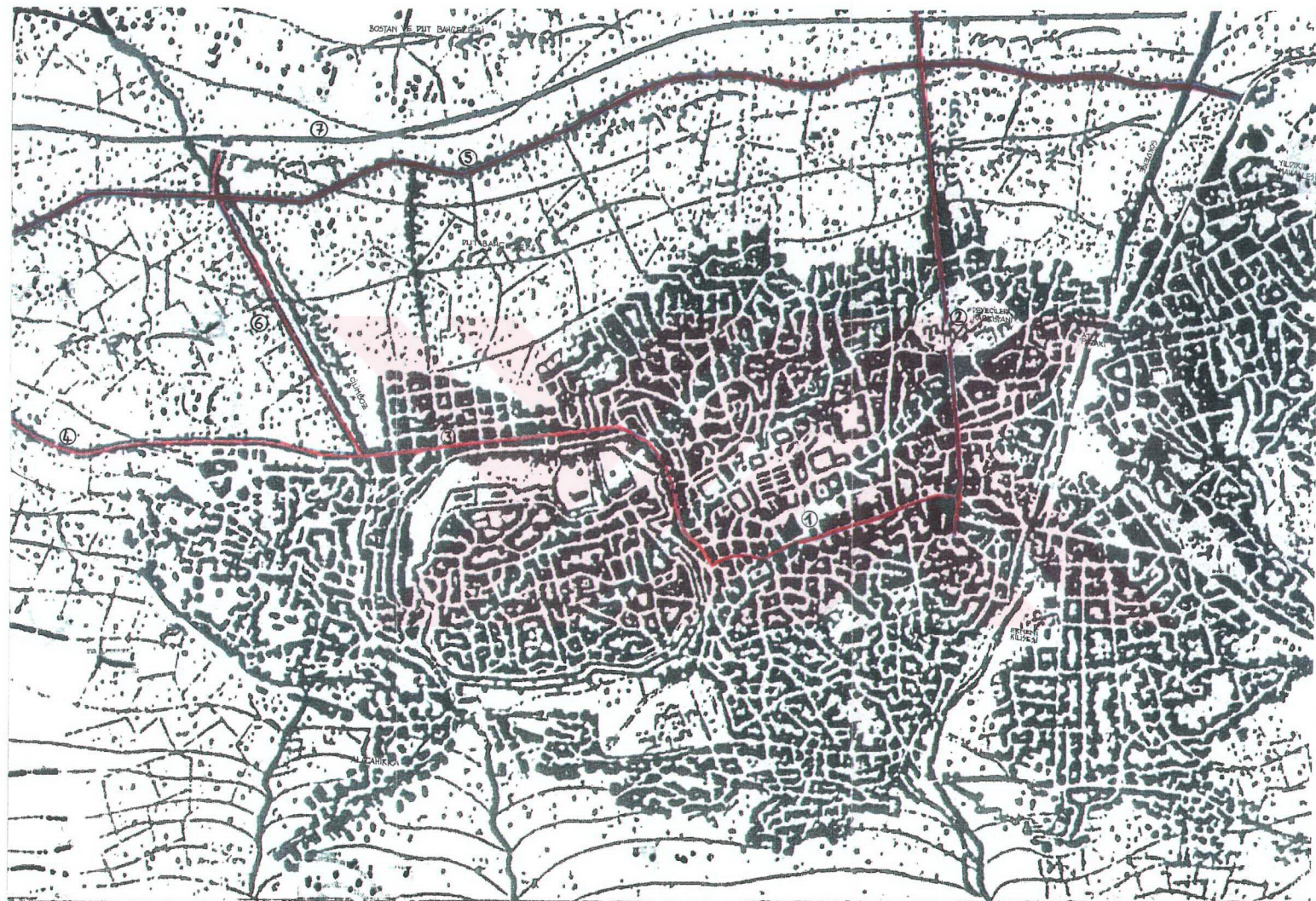
In contrast to the organic growth of earlier times, the entire neighborhood began to be planned as a unit in the second half of the 19th century. Under the effects of the western-based orthogonal gridal planning, the priority was given to the overall street pattern and secondary consideration to the siting of the houses and other buildings in that pattern. The newly established Tatarlar and Rusçuk *mahalles* were planned along these lines and included the traditional neighborhood mosques and shops too (Figures 2-4).

III.4.3. Restoration of the Old Monuments

The Ottoman government, in the second half of the 19th century intended to the restoration of the monuments of Bursa damaged by the great earthquake and several fires. This project comprised not only the restoration of the religious buildings, but also the commercial buildings of the city.

⁸² Ibid., 129.

⁸³ Ibid., 130.



- New Avenues**
1. Hükümet Avenue
 2. Gemlik Avenue
 3. Altıparmak Avenue
 4. Çekirge Street
 5. Mahmudiye Avenue
 6. Muradiye Station Street
 7. Bursa- Mudanya Railway

Figure 2. 1895 Map of Bursa



Legend	
Esame-i Mevaki ve Saire	No
Meydan-i Osmani	1
Daire-i Askeriye	2
Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi	3
Hamidiye Hastanesi	4
Sultan Murad Han	5
Cami-i Şerifi	6
Selatin ve (?) Türbeleri	6
Cami-i Kebir	7
Mülkiye Mektebi ve Müze	8
Umaş (Kız) Rüşdiyesi	9
Hükümet Dairesi	10
Belediye Dairesi	11
Sultan Orhan Cami-i Şerifi	12
Düyun-u Umumiye ve Bank-ı	13
Osmani ve Ziraat Bankası	14
Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimin	14
Medrese-i İdadi-i Askeri	15
Harir Darü't-Talimi	16
Kasr-ı Hümayun	17
Yeşil Cami-i Şerifi	18
Emir Sultan	19
Yıldırım Cami Şerifi ve Türbesi	20

New Avenues

1. Hükümet Avenue
2. Gemlik Avenue
3. Çekirge Street
4. Acemler Street
5. Mahmudiye Avenue
6. Muradiye Station Street
7. Mecidiye Avenue
8. Hamidiye Avenue
9. Altıparmak Avenue
10. Bursa- Mudanya Railroad

T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ

Figure 3. 1907 Map of Bursa

The earthquake of 1855 had levelled down many religious monuments in Bursa. The tombs of Orhan and Osman and the 14th century Şehadet Mosque in the citadel area were nearly in ruins; the minarets of Yıldırım and Muradiye mosques were broken down; the tombs and medrese in the Yıldırım Complex collapsed; the mosque of Hüdavendigâr and the complex of Yeşil were seriously destroyed⁸⁴. Many of the hans in the commercial center and the *bedesten* were subjected to heavy damages⁸⁵.

The reconstruction and restoration to maintain the city's imperial heritage was the major problem in the time of Ahmet Vefik Paşa's governorship who employed both French and local architects to realize his ideas on combining modern western technology with traditional crafts. In 1863, he invited the French architect Léon Parvillée to Bursa. His work included supervising the restorations of four major 14th- and 15th century monuments that were the Great Mosque, the tombs of Orhan and Osman, and the mosques of Yeşil and Muradiye. Parvillée's work in Bursa allowed him to continue his studies on early Ottoman architecture and its structural principles, decorative vocabulary and technology of crafts⁸⁶. The restoration of the Yeşil Mosque was one of his important works. During its restoration process, the damaged domes of the Yeşil Mosque were encircled in iron and liquid cement was injected in the crevices⁸⁷. The marvellous ceramic İznik tiles on the mosque were restored and some of them were replaced with Kütahya tiles. Parvillée restored the domes and one of the minarets of the Great Mosque. The calligraphies on the interior columns were renewed. The tombs of Orhan and Osman, which had totally collapsed in the earthquake, were reconstructed nearly to their original forms, but different in

⁸⁴ BBA: Irade-i Dahiliye, No: 20363 (1271).

⁸⁵ ERDER (1976:247).

⁸⁶ Léon Parvillée worked in Istanbul in the service of the Sultan between the years of 1855-1863. During this period, he had worked on several restoration projects in the Ottoman capital and became aware of the Ottoman art and architecture. After his return to Paris, he continued to work for the Ottoman government. He designed the buildings of the Ottoman pavillion for the Universal Exposition of 1867 in Paris. The model of Yeşil Mosque served as the Turkish pavilion in the exposition. After the exposition had been closed, Parvillée turned from architecture to ceramic art using the Ottoman decorative vocabulary and methodology. ST.LAURENT (1989:178-208).

⁸⁷ Ibid., 183.

the construction materials, that of brick and stucco rather than stone. The restoration of the minarets of Muradiye Mosque and reconstruction of the crumbled walls of Murat's tomb in brick and stucco also dated to that period⁸⁸. Today, the restoration works of Parvillée in Bursa are criticized by some of the historians who believe that his applications on the destructed monuments did not reflect their original Ottoman character⁸⁹.

Besides the major monuments, many other monuments and houses were also restored according to the traditional methods. Ahmet Vefik Paşa during his first tenure acquired the mansion of Damat Efendi, located on the original site of the Byzantian palace on the citadel, and restored it to serve as a hospital. The hospital was opened in 1868 in the name of *Guraba Hastanesi*⁹⁰.

III.4.4. New Building Types in the 19th century Bursa

Besides new urban planning schemes, the architectural character of the city's landscape began to change with the construction of new institutions and reorganization of the public works. In the second half of the 19th century, the monumental architectural tradition of the Empire hitherto focused on religious buildings gradually began to turn towards a new, secular monumental architecture, the sources of which were found in the western cultures. Besides the practical function of constructing new building types as a result of the newly established secular institutions, the usage of western models with the Ottoman concepts had also a symbolic function of giving a modern imperial image to the outer world.

After 1860's, many new administrative, educational, social and cultural buildings appeared in Bursa. Following the transmission of western architectural and artistic

⁸⁸ Ibid., 120.

⁸⁹ ARMAĞAN (1998:59-65).

⁹⁰ ERDER (1976:260-261), DOSTOĞLU, ORAL (2000:224).

ideas to the Empire, many large-scale official buildings having a neoclassical vocabulary were constructed around the city. These were generally erected on higher parts of the city, adjacent to city's earlier religious monuments, or on the prominent nodes of the new arteries. The efforts to balance these western features with the traditional vocabulary of Ottoman architecture was the main problem of this period.

III.4.4.1. Administrative Buildings

As a result of the efforts to extend the central authority, the Ottoman government reorganized the administrative services in the provinces that led to the construction of new administration buildings.

In honor of the visit of Sultan Abdülmecit to Bursa, within the image of sultanate to fit the modernized administration image of Tanzimat, a royal pavilion (*Hünkâr Köşkü*) was built above the Armenian Quarter in 1844⁹¹ (Plate 14). It was a two-story structure in timber-framed sun-dried brick that was covered by stucco and painting. An iron fence enclosed the decorated paved garden that had an elaborate fountain made of Kütahya tiles⁹². The entrance to the building from this garden opened to an entrance hall, and then to a large salon and a balcony that presents a magnificent vista to the city⁹³.

In 1863, a new government house was constructed in the eastern part of the city as the administrative and judicial center of the Hüdâvendigâr province. As it is notified from the written sources, it was a two-story *kârgir* (brick or stone) structure on a rectangular plan scheme that resembled the traditional Ottoman *konaks*⁹⁴. The upper floor housed the residence of the governor and the bottom floor included offices.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 92.

⁹² BAYKAL (1950:124).

⁹³ *Hünkâr Köşkü* was just restored by the Turkish government and opened as a museum.

⁹⁴ BBA: Irade-i Dahiliye, No: 35498. This building no longer exists.



Plate 14. Sultan Pavilion

According to St. Laurent, the exterior of the building derived its character from classical western models and had little ornamentation on the facades⁹⁵.

Following the foundation of the municipal organization in Bursa, a Municipality Building was constructed to house the Tanzimat's new municipality government in 1879. The site of the building was at the city center, next to the Orhan Mosque, between the Great Mosque and government house. The sources give the name of Architect Kütahyalı Şehbender as the designer of the building⁹⁶. The Municipality Building, which still remains in the heart of the city, is rectangle (22x28m) in plan;

⁹⁵ ST.LAURENT (1989:111).

⁹⁶ BAYKAL (1950:102).

the traditional brick and timber were chosen as the construction materials, but was not covered by stucco and left exposed in a decorative manner (Plate 15). The basement floor has offices on either side of a rectangular enclosed corridor. The main entrance on the ground floor opens into a foyer and a central hall where the staircases rise to the second floor. First and second floors have several large and small rooms. The windows were framed by timber with a curve at the top. A well-decorated, large bay window is over the western entrance where double ascending stone staircases lead to the entrance porch (Plate 16). Between these stairs, there is also a small entrance in the basement floor level. The main entrance is on the east façade that accentuated by the projection of the second floor. The timber-framed brick construction reflects the effects of Tanzimat's new regulations against fires. The decorative elements on the facades and the broad projecting eaves are reminiscent of Ottoman baroque architecture of the 18th century.

The consulates were other types of administrative buildings that were constructed in more domestic scales. These were mainly located around the quarters of the minorities (Plate 17).

III.4.4.2. Education Buildings and Military Schools

The reform program of Tanzimat in the second half of the 19th century brought an expanded educational program throughout the Empire. The efforts of the reformers, who believed that the solution to the problems of the Empire lay in education, resulted in the construction of many schools after 1850's.

Following the opening of the new schools, Bursa became an important education center of the Empire. The Industrial School (*Mekteb-i Sanayi*), the Art Institute (*Sanat Enstitüsü*), the Agricultural School (*Ziraat Mektebi*), the Civil Preparatory School (*Mekteb-i İdadi-i Mülki*), the Işıklar Military School, the Silk Institute (*Harir Darü't-Talimi*), and the Teacher Training Schools were important education institutions that affected Bursa's social and economic life. The plan and building



Plate 15. Municipality Building (November-2001)

Plate 16. Entrance of the Municipality Building (Papazyan-1901)



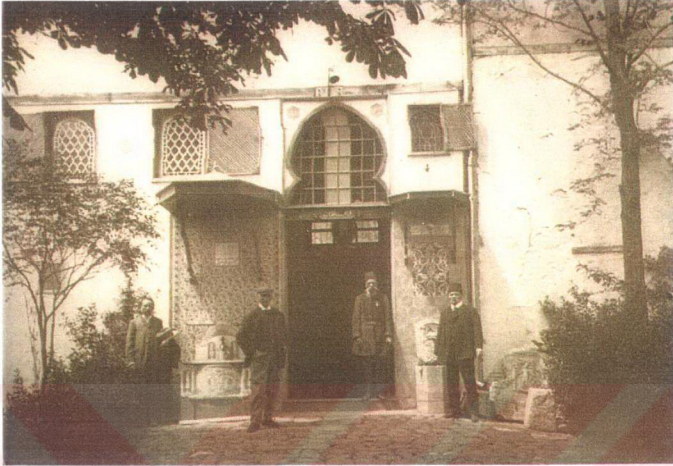


Plate 17. French Consulate (Cilliere-1909)

types of many of these schools were derived from the 19th century European schools. The Işıklar Military School was the largest school built in the Hüdâvendigâr Province in the second half of the 19th century⁹⁷. As a proclamation of the Empire's military strength, it was built on a higher part of the city in a neo-classical manner. The school complex includes a large building and secondary buildings around a courtyard, an octagonal mosque and two guard kiosks in front of the entrance gate. The main building is a two-story structure including offices, classrooms, a library and a dispensary. It has a rectangular plan and the construction material is stucco-covered fired brick. The plan and decorative vocabulary of Işıklar, which derived from contemporary European models, resembles the Kuleli Military School in Istanbul (Plate 18).

⁹⁷ Işıklar, dating to 1894, is still functioning as the Military School today.

In 1891, an Agricultural School to give practical training in agricultural technology was built on the Mudanya Road. The school consisted of a main building, several smaller buildings and a farm. The main building was a two-story rectangular structure including classrooms and a mosque in the second floor⁹⁸. The building material was fired brick that was covered by stucco in the ground level (Plate 19).

Hamidiye Industrial School on Hamidiye Street consisted of two identical three-story houses that were connected at the ground floor by a passageway. Each identical section had cross-shaped plans and was built in exposed brick. The tripartite division, both vertically and horizontally, defined the mass character of the building where the projecting central portions had the entrances. This building might also have served as a government house since some written and visual sources identifies the building as *hükümet konağı*⁹⁹ (Plate 20).



Plate 18. Işıklar Military School

⁹⁸ The Agricultural School is nonexistent today. ST.LAURENT (1989:136).

⁹⁹ The Yearbook (1906:207) of the Hüdâvendigâr Province identifies the building as Hamidiye Industrial School. However, it is given as government house on an early postcard.



Plate 19. Hamidiye Agricultural School (Sébah&Joaillier-1894)

Plate 20. Hamidiye Industrial School (Postcard)



The Institute of Sericulture was built at the top of the İpekçilik Street in 1894. The still existing institute building is a two-story structure with a pitched gabled roof (Plate 4). The three-story central section accentuates the colonnaded entrance porch. The construction material is stucco-covered fired brick. The false timber frames on the facades and elaborate woodcarvings on the gables are the decorative elements. The porches on both sides of the first floor are covered by wide eaves and have wooden balustrades. The Institute of Sericulture reflects the picturesque character of 19th century French country houses in terms of the plan type and decorative vocabulary.

The Art Institute that was opened in the same year in Tophane became the unique Art School of the early years of the Republic¹⁰⁰ (Plate 21). The Teacher Training School (*Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimi*) was built on the İpekçilik Street, just below the Silk Institute, in 1906¹⁰¹ (Plate 22).

After 1870's, the foreign mission groups established many educational institutions in Bursa. In 1875, the American Board of Foreign Missions opened an orphanage and a school that were moved to Setbaşı on the site of an old church in 1883¹⁰² (Plate 23). A French missionary group, *Filles de la Charité*, opened a girl's school, an orphanage and as infirmary complex in 1881. Another French group, *Augustins de L'Assomption*, established a school in a large house in Muradiye. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* built three schools in Bursa between 1886-1889¹⁰³. The Greek community also had a school in the western part of the city (Plate 24). Many of these schools resided in the non-Muslim neighborhoods that were the Greek quarter near Muradiye and the Armenian quarter in Setbaşı. Except a few examples, the construction techniques and building materials of these schools was traditional.

¹⁰⁰ BAYKAL (1950:70).

¹⁰¹ A fire demolished this building in 1979. Today, Çelebi Mehmet Lisesi is functioning there.

¹⁰² It still functions as an orphanage today. ST.LAURENT (1989:154).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 154–157.

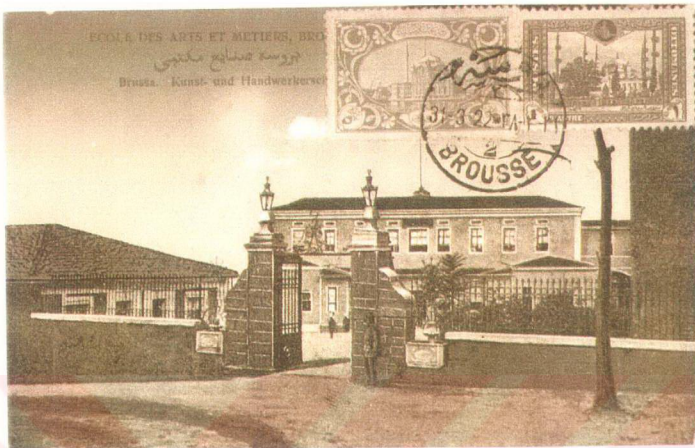


Plate 21. The Art Institute (Postcard)

Plate 22. The Teacher Training School (Papazyan-1901)



III.4.4.3. Social Buildings

As a part of the government's reform program, many social and cultural institutions began to appear in the cityscape in the second half of the 19th century. The health buildings, hotels and several cultural structures such as theatre, museum, etc. altered the social life of Bursa.

A modern hospital building that was built in the northwest of the citadel by Ahmet Vefik Paşa was an important secular monument in Bursa. In 1864, Ahmet Vefik Paşa acquired the old *konak*, named *Damat Efendi Konağı*, on the citadel; after its restoration, the *konak* began to function as Guraba Hospital by 1868¹⁰⁴. In his second tenure, Ahmet Vefik Paşa built a new hospital, as symbol of Tanzimat's modernization efforts, beyond the old Guraba Hospital. The new hospital was a two-story *kârgir* structure reflecting the contemporary European neo-classical tendencies. According to St. Laurent, its pavilion plan was derived from the French pavilion models¹⁰⁵ (Plate 25).

Ahmet Vefik Paşa Theater was built in 1879 on the site across the government building and functioned only until 1882; it was burned down when the Greeks captured Bursa. As St. Laurent notifies from the book of Dutemple, the exterior of the theatre building had a neoclassical decorative vocabulary derived from the western models, and the interior resembled French theatres. The construction technique was stone and timber¹⁰⁶. Another culture building that was the Bursa Museum was opened on the Mecidiye Street at the end of the 19th century. It was a rectangular, single-story building with a pitched tiled roof; the construction material was stucco-covered brick; the decoration was simple.

¹⁰⁴ The written sources indicate that the visibility of the hospital site toward the plain and all around the city was an important criterion in its selection that the historical background of the site as the area of an old palace was the other criteria. BAYKAL (1950:70-71).

¹⁰⁵ ST. LAURENT (1989:113).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 113-114.



Plate 23. Eşrefiler Orphanage (March-2001)

Plate 24. Greek School (Postcard-1900)





Plate 25. Hospital and German Consulate Building

The hotels were other important building types that began to be seen in the late 19th century parallel to the changes of the social life and to the increase in the economic and tourist activities. These hotels were mostly opened near the hot water springs of the city. Hotel Splendide sited on the hills of Çekirge was a four-story, timber building and had 80 rooms. Hotel Splendide was used as a military hospital between 1922 and 1959 and was demolished after 1960¹⁰⁷. Hotel D'Anatolie, which was functioned until the early years of the republic, was a large hotel in the Altıparmak Quarter. Its major clients were foreign merchants¹⁰⁸. The owners of these hotels mostly belonged to the non-Muslim communities (Plates 26- 28).

¹⁰⁷ DOSTOĞLU, ORAL (2000:226).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*



Plate 26. Hotel Splendide (Postcard)

Plate 27. Hotel d'Anatolia (Postcard)



III.4.4.4. Other Building Types

Besides the new administrative, educational and social buildings, many other building types appeared in Bursa in the second half of the 19th century. Many of them had an eclectic style in terms of combining the Ottoman and European forms, construction techniques and decorative vocabulary within the traditional Ottoman character of Bursa's urban fabric.

Following the economic developments, the bank buildings appeared in the city after 1890's. In 1895, the Ottoman Bank (*Osmanlı Bankası*), the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) and the Public Debt Office were opened in the İpek Han on the Hamidiye Street¹⁰⁹. In the first years of the 20th century, the Ottoman Bank moved to a new building beside the Municipality. The bank building was a small, rectangular structure incorporating Ottoman and Gothic details in decoration. The facade was vertically tripartite and the central part had the main entrance (Plate 29).

After 1880's, a series of small police stations (*karakol*) appeared throughout the city. Many of them combined the western derived construction methods and decorative styles with Ottoman decorative vocabulary (Plate 30). A police school (*Jandarma Mektebi*) at the opposite of the Hüdâvendigâr Mosque in Çekirge was another building dating from the last years of the 1890's (Plate 31).

The opening of the Bursa-Moudania Railway in 1892 prompted the construction of railway stations along the railway line. As stated before, three railway stations were opened within the city limits at that time. Bursa stations were intended to be modern, functional and simple structures. As St.Laurent notifies from a travel book, "...the railway stations at Bursa was a most unromantic fact, a facsimile of the ordinary terminus to be found in almost every second-class provincial town in France; a railway station with a bookstall, a buffet, ... a modern railway station."

¹⁰⁹ ERDER (1976:237).

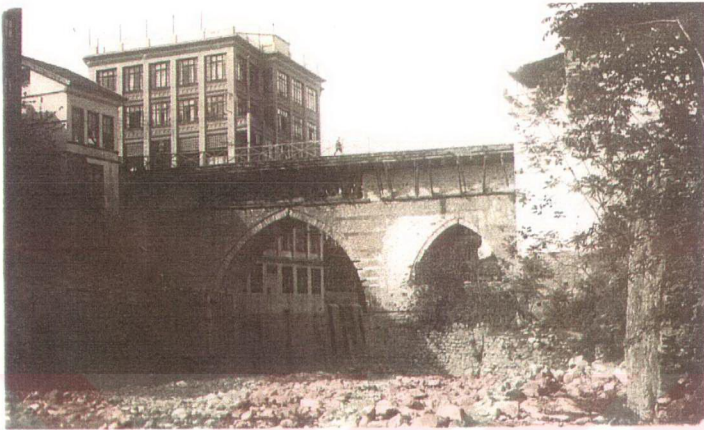


Plate 28. Hotel near the Setbaşı Bridge

Plate 29. Ottoman Bank (1970's)



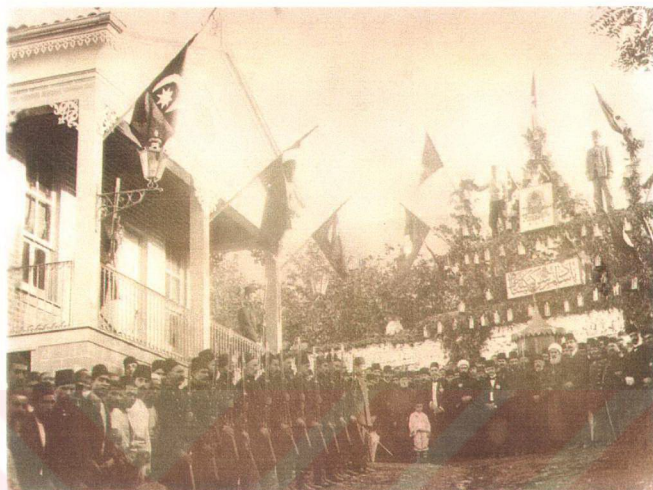


Plate 30. Hamidiye Gendarme Station (Papazyan-1901)

Plate 31. Gendarme School (Papazyan-1901)



The Tanzimat reform government also constructed new buildings for public services. In 1908, a slaughterhouse was opened beyond a stream parallel to the Cilimboz River. It was a two-story building with a pitched roof and clerestory windows providing proper ventilation. Although its construction technique, that was stucco-covered sun-dried brick, was traditional, the building form derived the European factories of that time (Plate 32). The post offices, a clock tower on the citadel area, a gas storehouse and distribution center and an ice factory on the Gemlik Road, a new prison near the intersection of Mahmudiye and Gemlik Roads and an electricity generator were other new building types of Bursa¹¹⁰ (Plates 33,34).

After the foundation of the municipal organization in Bursa, new western urban amenities began to appear around the city, particularly in the form of street signs and gas lamps. Lightning all around the city brought also a modern atmosphere to Bursa at the end of the 19th century.



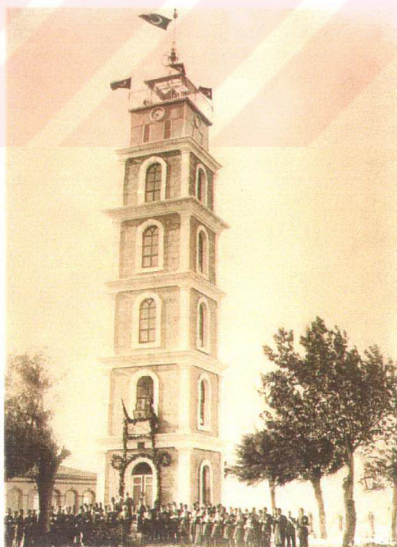
Plate 32. Bursa Slaughterhouse (Papazyan-1901)

¹¹⁰ BAYKAL (1950:46) claims that these buildings were the last ones to be built in Bursa under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. In BAYKAL (1976:38), he gives a detailed enumeration of Bursa's buildings in the last quarter of the 19th century.



Plate 33. Post Office (1970's)

Plate 34. Clock Tower (Papazyan-1901)



CHAPTER IV

INTERVENTIONS ON THE URBAN FABRIC (CASE STUDIES)

The urban laws of Tanzimat regulated the urban and architectural developments in the cities in the second half of the 19th century. In contrast to the organic and spontaneous formation of Ottoman cities for centuries, the Tanzimat reforms proposed a more planned urban evolution in that period. The intention of the reform government to re-plan the fired neighborhoods as orthogonal grids began to affect Bursa after 1860's¹. Following the demographic growth due to the immigrants and the needs of new settlement areas, the western-based grid-iron planning schemes were also implemented to establish new neighborhoods from the end of the 1870's.

The Armenian quarter of Setbaşı and the new immigrant quarter of Altıparmak are chosen as the subjects of this case study. Both of them were the earliest examples that were established according to definite improvement plans reflecting the urban planning ideology of the Tanzimat period. Hence, the remains, which are important witnesses of a significant period and provide cultural continuity between past and future, should be documented as major archival sources for the following studies.

This chapter studies the 19th- and early 20th century evolution of Setbaşı and Altıparmak quarters by referring to the various written and visual sources. The aim is to examine to which degree altered Tanzimat's urban reforms the traditional Ottoman *mahalles* in the second half of the 19th century. However, the limited number of the remaining buildings and the interventions to their original structure up

¹ ÇELİK (1986 : 88).

today do not allow to make a systematic analysis or a typological classification, while only presenting a general evaluation is possible.

IV.1. Re-planning of a Traditional Quarter: Setbaşı Region

The 1855 earthquake and the fires that occurred immediately after had leveled the historic monuments, markets and traditional urban fabric of Bursa, as well as the Armenian quarter of Setbaşı. As it is learnt from the documents of the Ottoman historian Cevdet Paşa, “some neighborhoods around the Irgandı Bridge, constructed before the time of Sultan Murad, were damaged and the Setbaşı Bridge was injured to the extent...” The conflagrations that ensued the earthquake “spread to the Tatar neighborhood where it burnt down to the ground fifteen hundred wooden houses and shops with all their stores and possessions...”²

After 1860, the Ottoman government started in a large-scale reconstruction program to rebuild and restore Bursa along Tanzimat’s new urban program. Suphi Bey Map was prepared to inform the existing urban organization and guide the following reconstruction activities. However, a second disaster that was the great Setbaşı fire (*Hârik-i Kebir*) changed the layout of the map, as well as the priorities in the city’s reconstruction program³.

IV.1.1. The Evolution of the Urban Fabric

Setbaşı, Karaağaç and Kurdoğlu were the neighborhoods where the Armenian population of Bursa had been settled for centuries. In order to grasp the traditional character of the neighborhood before its 19th century transformation, its physical and social background should also be discussed here.

² ERDER (1976:247-248).

³ As BAYKAL (1948:38) informs, a great fire started in 2, Rabiulahir, 1280 from Setbaşı and expanded through a large area comprising the neighborhoods of Setbaşı, Kurdoğlu, Karaağaç and Umurbey to the east of the Gökdere and Hocaalızade and Selçukhatun to the west.

The Armenians first arrived to Bursa in the reign of Orhan Gazi, in the 14th century⁴. Where these Armenians had been settled in Bursa at that time is not known exactly; however, some 15th century archive documents indicate the presence of Armenians inside the citadel and around the Yeşil Complex⁵. One of the judicial records informs three Armenian churches in the Karaağaç neighborhood in 1630⁶. Carsten Niebuhr, who visited Bursa in 1776, gives the presence of 1200 Armenian houses in Setbaşı region, while the results of the 1831 census indicates 2800 houses (*hane*)⁷.

Most of the Armenians in Bursa were dealing with sericulture in small, personal ateliers until the first half of the 19th century. Following the mechanization in the silk industry after Tanzimat Charter, the Armenians opened large silk factories around Setbaşı and provided employment to many people from their own community. The developments in silk industry also increased the prosperity in the Armenian quarter, which became a rich and fashionable place in the city in the second half of the 19th century.

The residential fabric and dependently, the street network of the traditional Ottoman city had an irregular and organic character. The houses with its environs, i.e. the neighborhood, can be accepted as the dominant factor in the Ottoman city image, though these neighborhoods were formed by different ethnic groups and had different urban characteristics. The Muslim neighborhoods in the Ottoman cities were closed to the commercial and industrial activities and displayed an introvert character. Almost all houses in the Muslim neighborhoods had their own internal zones, i.e. a garden or a courtyard, towards which the houses turned their faces. The efforts for concealing the vision of this internal zone from the neighbors and the street determined the orientation of the Muslim houses within the irregular urban

⁴ KAPLANOĞLU (1996:33).

⁵ According to SEVİM (1996:153), during the reign of Çelebi Sultan Mehmet, 10 Armenian houses (*hane*) were settled between the Irgandı Bridge and Yeşil complex. These were poor people and were cleaning the shoes in the Yeşil mosque to get the aid of *fodla* (a kind of bread).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁷ KARPAT (1985).

parcel, in which the houses seemed to be scattered spontaneously. Additionally, the green plots in between these houses gave the Muslim neighborhood a loose character. Such a layout began to transform into a denser urban fabric due to the demographic changes and Tanzimat's new urban regulations, in the second half of the 19th century. On the other hand, the non-Muslim neighborhoods in the traditional Ottoman cities proposed an extroverted image. The non-Muslim houses tended to turn towards the street and thus gave less importance to a private zone as those were seen in the Muslim houses. The aim of being closer to the outside world generally resulted in the emergence of the row houses on both sides of the streets. Besides their residential function, it is known that some of the non-Muslim houses were also used as private production centers.

The residential fabric of Setbaşı, most of the residents of which belonged to the Armenian community, seems more dense on the Suphi Bey Map, if it is compared with the surrounding Muslim quarters. What is obvious in the Armenian Setbaşı quarter is the presence of the houses that aligned along the street adjacently. Unlike the scattered houses within the large green plots in the Muslim neighborhoods, the houses in Setbaşı had small courts or gardens at their back yards that seems to be shared also by the neighboring houses.

It is known that during the 1860's, there were many small, individual silk factories around the Setbaşı region. Erder also informs us of the presence of personal looms in the second stories of the houses of in the Armenian Setbaşı in the same years⁸. This information proves the density of the neighborhood where also a production activity occurred within the residential fabric and was offered to the urban life.

As a distinctive feature from the Muslim neighborhoods, the two major religious buildings of the Armenian Setbaşı were located on the northwestern and northern edges of the neighborhood. According to St. Laurent, the Gregorian church was part

⁸ ERDER (1976:90-91).

of a complex consisting a large basilican church, a school and the residence of the bishop. The complex was enclosed by a wall and had an ornamented gate giving access from the street⁹. The other religious building, smaller in scale, was the Catholic Church near the Setbaşı Bridge (Figure 1).

The street network in traditional Ottoman cities was an organic and spontaneous formation depending on irregular division of the urban land and on irregular siting of the houses in these plots. The twisted movement and the dead-ends deriving from this division were the major characteristics of the Ottoman street network. On the other hand, the regularly aligned adjacent houses on both sides of the Setbaşı streets seem to determine a more defined character (Figure 2).

The assignment of Ahmet Vefik Paşa as the Regional Inspector of North-western Anatolian Provinces coincided just after with the 1863 Setbaşı fire, which gave him the opportunity to rebuild the conflagrated neighborhood. The Setbaşı region was re-planned according to the rules of 1864 Street and Building Regulation (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) that brought renovations in the planning of conflagration areas. Although the previous regulations had also been effective on straightening of the roads and eliminating the cul-de-sacs, the re-planning of the fire-damaged areas in the form of a gridiron plan was firstly defined in the 1864 regulation¹⁰. The division of the urban land into rectangular or square blocks was brought as a rule in

⁹ The school, which still functions as a school building today, was a large building for boys accommodating 300 students in 1836. ST.LAURENT (1989:84).

¹⁰ The 12th article of the regulation brought new rules on the re-planning of the conflagration areas. Besides the division of the urban land into rectangular or square blocks, the share of the new parcels between the previous owners was also organized in this article. The following section of the 12th article was taken from DENEL (1982: App. 4.4).

Etrafi yol ile mahdud odalar yahut mahalleler muhterik oldukta sokakları mücerret tevsi ve istikâmet ve tathir zımnında icabı vechile tanzim ve tesfiye olunacaktır. Binaenaleyh mahal-i mezkurun bir harita -i umumiyesi tersim olunub şöyle ki harita-i mezkurede evvela hârikden mukaddem mevcud olan kadim yollar ve arsalar ile bunların mesâha-yi sathiyeleri ve saniyen müceddeden açılacak olan sokaklar ile yeniden yer sahiplerine ait olacak arsaların dahi mesâha-yi sathiyeleri resm ve işaret olunacaktır. İşbu haritanın tersimiyle taksim olunacak arsalar mümkün mertebe murabba yahud müstadil şekil olarak sathlarıyla yüzleri kadim arsaların sath ve yüzlerine kıyas ve nisbette olacak ve herkese eski arsasının fevaid ve muhassenatına göre yer tahsis kılınacaktır...



Figure 1. Residential Fabric of Setbaşı on the Suphi Bey Map



Figure 2. Street Network of Setbaşı on the Suphi Bey Map

this regulation. The new building and street standards of the 1864 regulation preserved its validity till the declaration of the 1882 Building Law¹¹.

The re-planning of Setbaşı started with the opening of a straight avenue joining the city's main lateral route to the Sultan's pavilion, inspired from Hausmann's boulevard pattern for Paris. Its name, İpekçilik Street, was derived from the rows of the large houses that replaced those that had been burned in the fire. They belonged to the wealthy silk manufacturers, merchants, wealthy Muslims and Ottoman officials coming from the upper rank. The İpekçilik Street became a prestige axis in Bursa after 1860's and affected the development of Setbaşı in the following years. The archival sources write that during this period, the Ottoman government provided financial support to those, who were not able to reconstruct their burned houses¹².

The replacement of the old, irregular street network with the orthogonal planned grids, as the new urban planning concept of Tanzimat's urban regulations, was completed within a few years. However, a logical connection with the streets of the surrounding traditional neighborhoods could not be afforded at the end.

The evolution of the Setbaşı after 1860's can be analyzed from the 1895, 1907 and 1922 maps in detail. On all of the maps under study, the Setbaşı quarter seems to complete its 19th century urban evolution. The presence of three important buildings

¹¹ The 1st article of the same regulation gives the standard road widths as follows:

...Evvvela birinci sınıfta bulunan tarik-i amenin genişliği ebniyesinin iki tarafından sath-ı zemin kollarının dış yüzlerinden ölçülerek lâakal 15, ve ikinci sınıfta bulunanların 12, ve üçüncü sınıfta bulunanların 10 ve dördüncü sınıfta bulunanların 8, ve tar-müteaddid haneler mahsus olan çıkmaz sokakların genişliği 6 arşın olacaktır...

¹² BBA: Irade-i Dahiliye., No: 35277 (1863) informs that:

Ermeni cemaatinden geçen hârikde musab olanların mikdar ve keyfiyatı yüzyetmişsekiz adedlâ arızamla arz olunmuşidi. İslam hârikzedegânının dahi bu kerre pusilesini almak nasib olup tahkikate nazaran bunlar onaltı parça arsaya baliğ olmağla ve beşinin ashab-ı efkar-ı fukaradan ve muhterik hanelerini inşaya muktedir olamayan takımdan ve kusuri dahi oldukça ashab-ı servet ve iktidardan bulunmağla pek fakir ve bivaye olanların diğer arz olunanlara kıyasen beşbin gurus kadar atıyye-ı seniyye ihsan buyurulmuş...

of the quarter can be read on the 1895 map. These were Armenians Gregorian Church, the Institute of Sericulture and the Teacher School of Hamidiye that were also rendered with their names on 1907 and 1922 maps. The urban layout of Setbaşı seems to be identical on 1907 and 1922 maps (Figures 3-5).

The present urban layout of the Setbaşı region was dated to 1860's. Unfortunately, nearly its entire architectural heritage, witnessing its transformation period, has been demolished up today. The remains documented here may be the last samples.

IV.1.2. The Social and Architectural Character

The developing silk industry after 1840's increased the wealth of Armenian and Greek bourgeois and their quarters became important places within the social structure of the city. The opening of the İpekçilik Avenue and the evolution of the Setbaşı quarter as a prestigious place in the city coincided with that period. On the other hand, the number of the Muslim residents as the additional labor force for the silk industry also began to increase in Armenian and Greek quarters after 1870's. It was this cosmopolitan structure that affected the formation of the residential fabric of Setbaşı in the second half of the 19th century.

The most important factors shaping this environment in that period were the social behaviors of its residents and the impacts of the developments in western cities at that time. The tendencies of the residents for being closer with those who were coreligionists or in the same social status affected the division of the urban fabric. On the other hand, the rising social and capitalist relations with the European, particularly French, cities and Istanbul aroused the interest to the amenities in those cities, which also had an impact on shaping the residential fabric of Setbaşı.

Due to the limited number of the buildings that have survived, the archival sources from the second half of the 19th century become major sources for this study. Two photographs of the Setbaşı dating to 1894 are the most important ones. On these



Figure 3. Setbaşı Quarter on the 1895 Map

1. Namazgah Street
2. İpekçilik Street
3. Karamani Street
4. Karaağaç Street
5. Sakaldöken Street
6. Eşrefiler Street
7. Armenian Gregorain Church and Dependencies
8. The Teacher School of Hamidiye (*Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimin*)
9. The Institute of Sericulture (*İpekçilik Enstitüsü*)



Figure 4. Setbaşı Quarter on the 1907 Map

1. Namazgah Street
2. İpekçilik Street
3. Karamani Street
4. Karaağaç Street
5. Sakaldöken Street
6. Eşrefiler Street
7. Armenian Gregorain Church and Dependencies
8. The Teacher School of Hamidiye (*Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimin*)
9. The Institute of Sericulture (*İpekçilik Enstitüsü*)



Figure 5. The Setbaşı Quarter on the 1922 Map

1. Namazgah Street
2. İpekçilik Street
3. Karamani Street
4. Karaağaç Street
5. Sakaldöken Street
6. Eşrefiler Street
7. Armenian Gregorain Church and Dependencies
8. The Teacher School of Hamidiye (*Hamidiye Medrese-i Muallimin*)
9. The Institute of Sericulture (*İpekçilik Enstitüsü*)

photographs, which were taken from the İpekçilik Avenue, the residential structure of the Setbaşı differs from the traditional Ottoman neighborhoods at first sight. The splendid houses, regularly aligned and adjacent to one another on both sides of the properly paved street, have an impressive image¹³ (Plates 1,2). Today, only two of these buildings remain from that period, while the photographs of five others were found in the archives¹⁴.

While analyzing the residential buildings in Setbaşı, their different architectural features should be interpreted in terms of their residents and their social life. One of these differences is the change of the spatial importance and function of the *sofa*. In traditional Ottoman houses, the *sofa* is a central area providing access between the rooms. As well as providing a passageway, the *sofa* also serves as a meeting place inside the house and has specialized sitting sections. Instead of any particular plan, the arrangement of the rooms around the *sofa* was more dictated by their functional importance within the house and by the site restrictions. On the other hand, *sofa*, in most of the houses in Setbaşı, can be identified as a central hall that only regulates the interior circulation of the house and no more functions as a common meeting space. It was usually in the form of an interior *sofa* (*karmıyarık sofa*) (Plates 3,4,12, 13,27; Figures 10,16). However, the exterior *sofa* comprising the service spaces and staircases was also seen in some of the Setbaşı houses (Plates 20,38; Figures 9,13). Besides the examples where the hall ends up with a balcony or a projection, in some of the houses, the rooms around the hall are projected beyond the ground floor (Plates 5,12,14,21,28,46,55). These projections have rectangular or circular forms (Plates 39,47,48). In some of the houses, the central part was heightened and constituted a separate section as a third floor.

¹³ One of these photographs was taken from the northern origin of the İpekçilik Avenue; the other was from near the Armenian Church. The photographers were Sėbah & Joallier.

¹⁴ The total number of the remaining buildings within the limits of the entire neighborhood is only about 50.

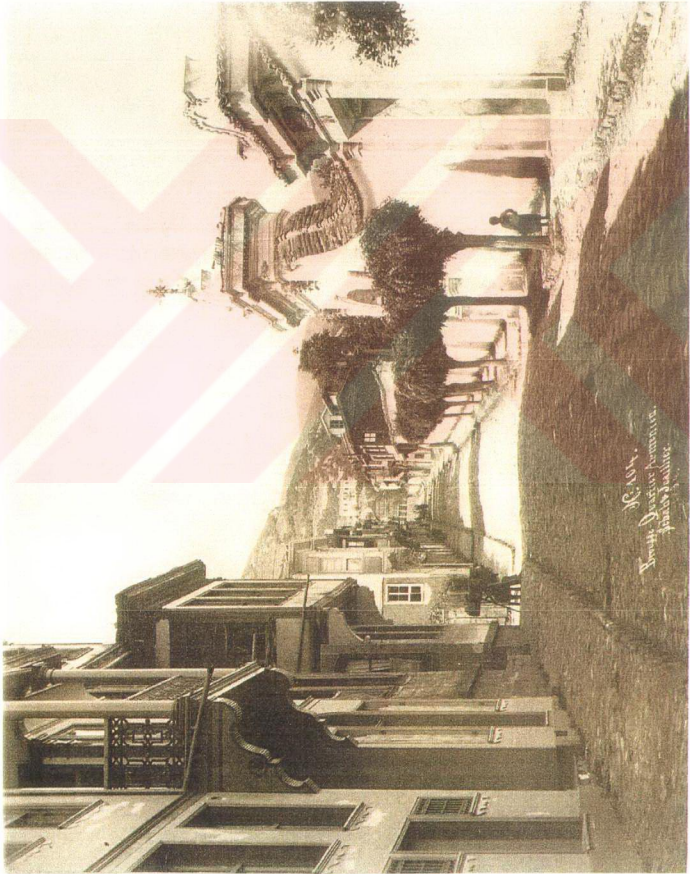


Plate 1. İpekçilik Street-1894
(Sébah&Joaillier)



Plate 2. İpekçilik Street-1894
(Sébah&Joaillier)

In conformity with the formation of the building mass that has a completeness in itself, the service spaces in the Setbaşı houses -such as kitchen, bath, WC, etc.- were usually solved around the interior hall¹⁵ (Figures 9,13,14,15,16,20). The storages mostly expanded as on full basement floor (Figures 19,22). Although it is difficult to interpret how these basements were functioning at that time, they might relate with the sericulture activities besides functioning as a storage space.

As a result of an extroverted social life, the balconies began to appear on the building facades. Due to the smaller open spaces, these balconies provide the relation of the house between the outside world and with nature; in other words, they connect the privacy of the house to the publicity of the city (Plates 4,8,11,12,43,46,56; Figures 19,20).

The characteristics of the windows in the Setbaşı houses were different from those of the traditional Ottoman houses. Besides the increase in the number of the windows, reflecting a more transparent life style, their dimensions were also changed as a result of some internal factors. The disappearance of the *sedirs*, which brought some restrictions to window dimensions and the elimination of the upper windows (*kafa pencereleri*) were the basic ones. There also began to appear circular or oval window forms that were decoratively divided and colored by stained glasses (Plates 12,15,24; Figures 6,7).

The major changes in the Setbaşı houses were seen on the decorative vocabulary, both in the interiors and exteriors. The increasing wealth and the close interactions with the western countries brought many decorative elements, particularly, to the non-Muslim houses. The Empire style was introduced to the empire through the French inspired art objects and furniture and the Christian architects¹⁶. The Turkish Empire style that appeared as a new trend, first in Istanbul, affected other cities of

¹⁵ In traditional Ottoman houses, as well as in the Bursa houses, the service spaces had generally been solved around the courtyard as separate units.

¹⁶ HASOL, D. (1990); Ansiklopedik Mimarlık Sözlüğü, İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, pp.38-39.

the empire, that of Bursa too, within a short time. Instead of the changes in the architectural characteristics, this trend mostly affected the interior and exterior decorations of the houses of the wealthy class. Stylized flower motives, garland or rosettes around the windows, doors, on the supports, along cornices and rooflines were parts of the exterior decoration (Plates 3,4,8,21). Additionally, there were also seen Art-Nouveau details on some of the building facades dating to the end of the century (Plates 3,4). The interior decorations were seen on balustrades, furniture (Plates 7,16,17). Although they do not exist any more, the old residents of the quarter mention the presence of wall paintings depicting nature or city panoramas.

The Setbaşı houses had various construction techniques. Besides the traditional construction system of Bursa houses that was timber-framed adobe infill with stucco covering, the timber-framed lath-and-plaster was also used widely (Plates 15,23,30). The exterior façade of some of these houses were covered with timber cladding resembling to the houses in Istanbul and Rumelia (Plates 3,4,8).

Due to the lack of the academic trained architects in the city at that time, the architectural and structural knowledge of the building masters, many of whom were Armenians, were impressive in the spread of the new attempts. The Muslim residents of the quarter espoused all the renovations on architecture and decoration within a short time. Thus, it is difficult to make a certain division between Muslim and non-Muslim houses in Setbaşı. Following plates and figures reflect the architectural characteristics of the 19th century Setbaşı within the limits of the remaining building stock and of the archive documents.

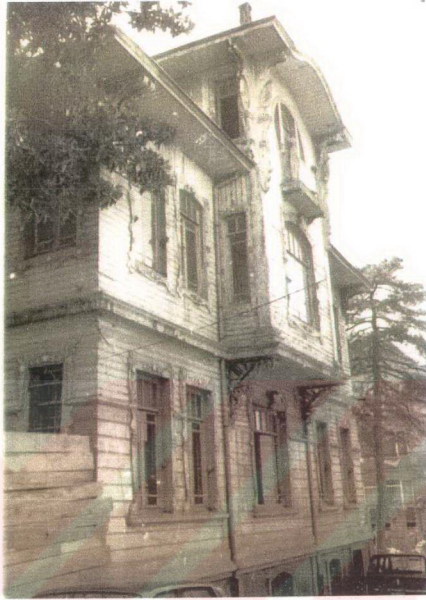


Plate 3. A *Konak* on the İpekçilik Street (non-existent, 1970's)

Plate 4. Another View





Plate 5. İpekçilik Street, No. 5 (non-existent, 1970's)

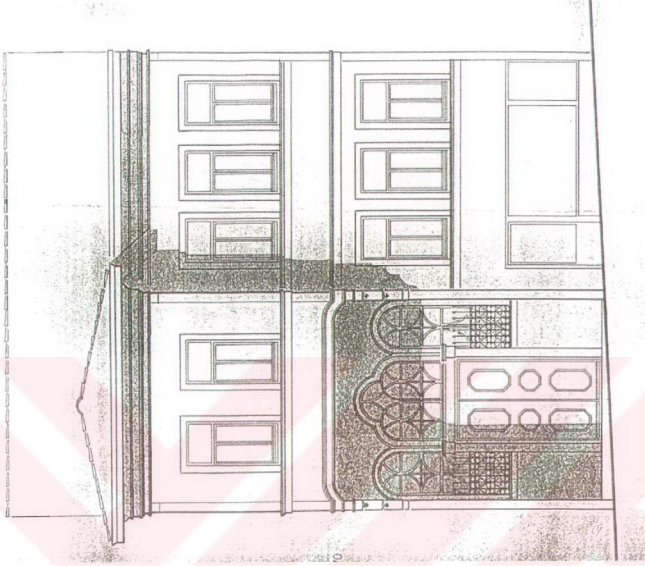


Figure 6. İpekçilik Street, No: 5, Street Façade

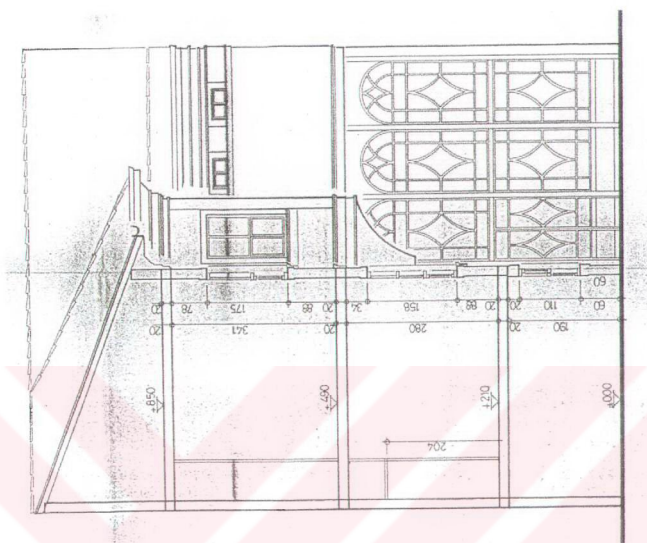


Figure 7. Courtyard Façade



Plate 6. Courtyard



Plate 7. *Sofa*

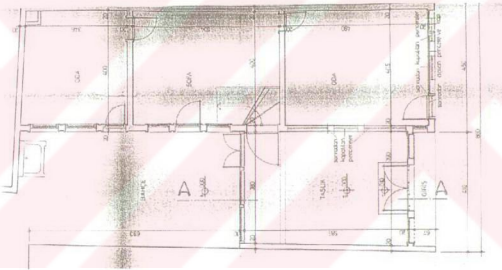


Figure 8. Ground Floor Plan

Figure 9. First Floor Plan

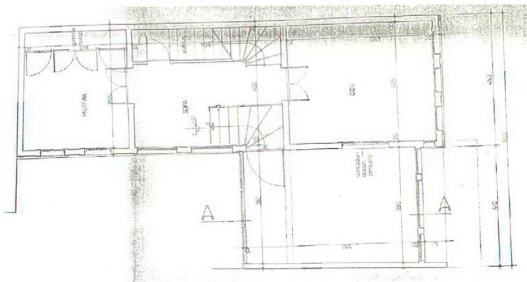




Plate 8. İpekçilik Street, No: 42 (non-existent, 1970' s)

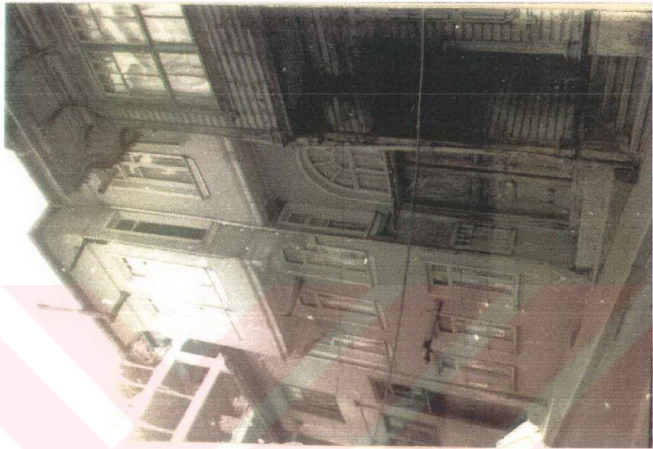


Plate 9. İpekçilik Street, No: 44 (non-existent, 1970' s)

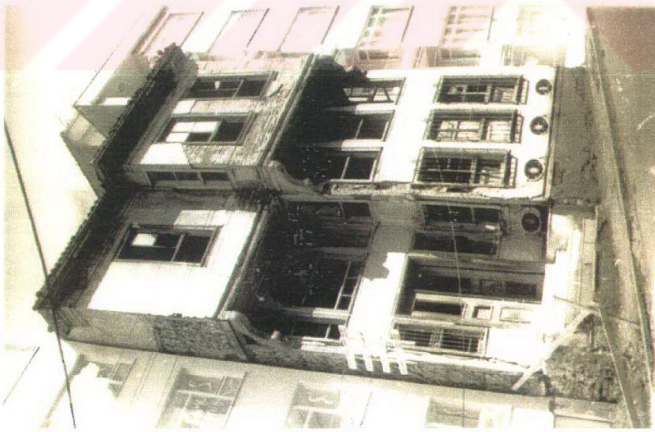


Plate 10. A House on the İpekçilik Street (non-existent, 1970' s)



Plate 11. Sakaldöken Street, No: 20 (non-existent, 1970' s)



Plate 12. Karamani Street, No: 8-8A (non-existent, 1970's)

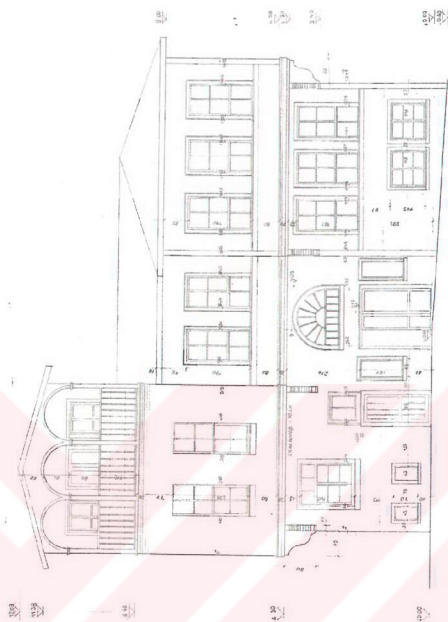


Figure 10. Karamani Street, No: 8-8A, Street Façade

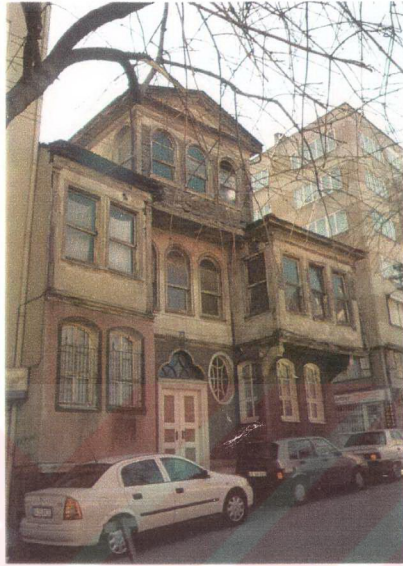


Plate 13. İpekçilik Street, No: 23 (March-2001)

Plate 14. Another View (March-2001)





Plate 15. Entrance Gate (March-2001)

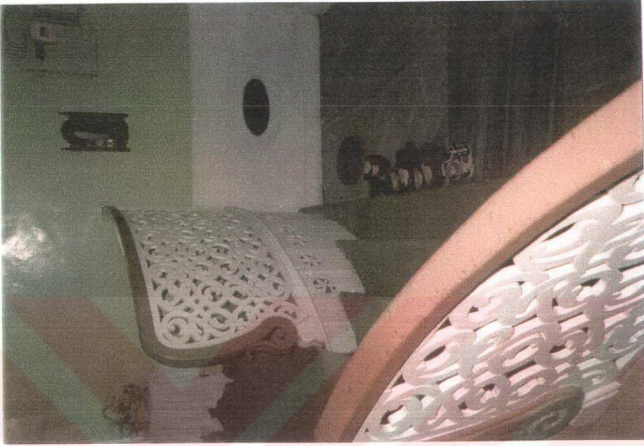


Plate 16. Entrance Foyer (October-2001)

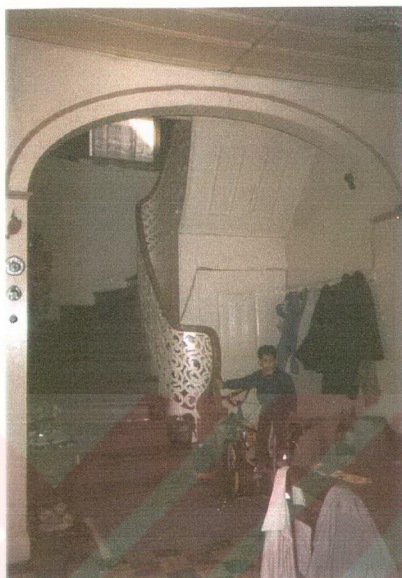


Plate 17. *Sofa* (October-2001)

Plate 18. *Courtyard* (October-2001)





Plate 19. Şükürü Naili Street, No: 12-10 (March-2001)

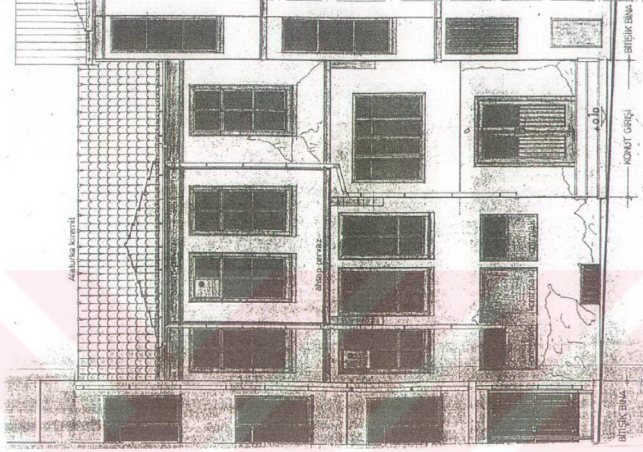
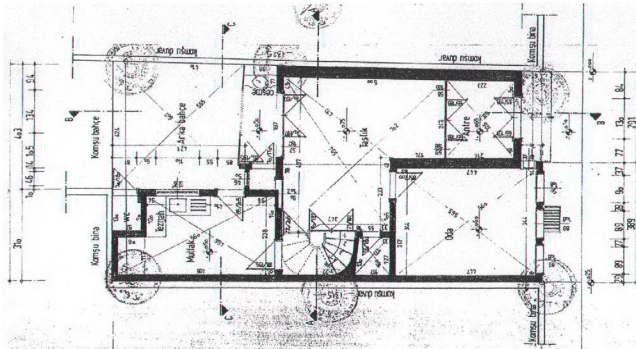
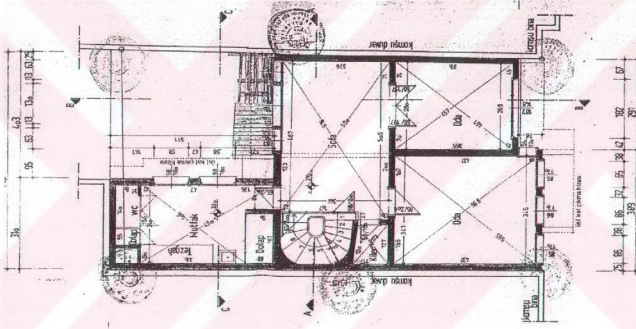
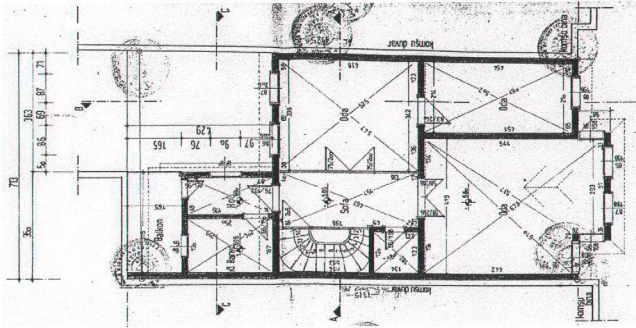


Figure 11. Şükürü Naili Street, No: 12, Street Façade



Figures 12-13-14 Şükrü Naili Street, No: 12, Floor Plans



Plate 21. Bracket Detail (March-2001)



Plate 20. Şükri Naili Street, No: 10 (March-2001)



Plate 22. Şükrü Naili Street, No: 18-18A (1970's)
Plate 23. Structure (March-2001)



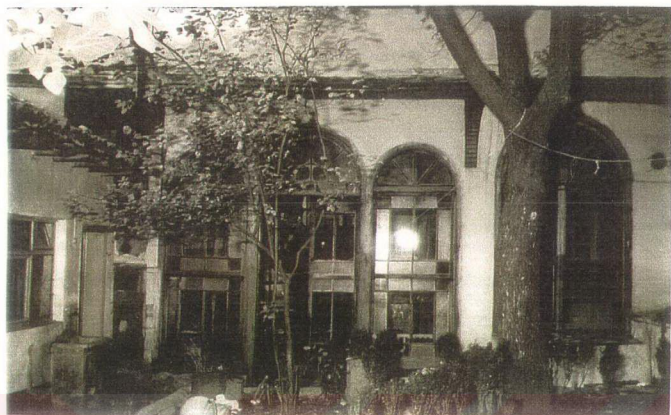


Plate 24. Courtyard (1970's)

Plate 25. *Sofa* (1970's)



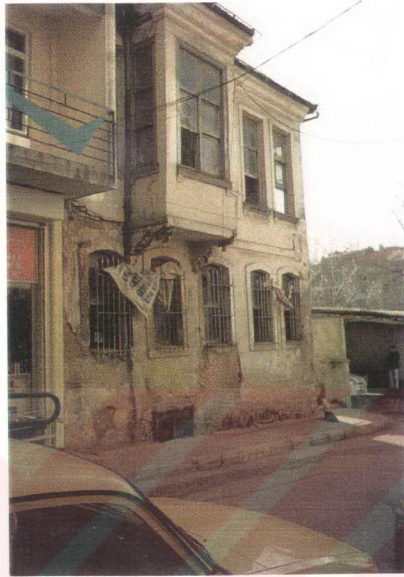


Plate 26. Mustafa Necip Street, No: 6 (March-2001)
Plate 27. Another View



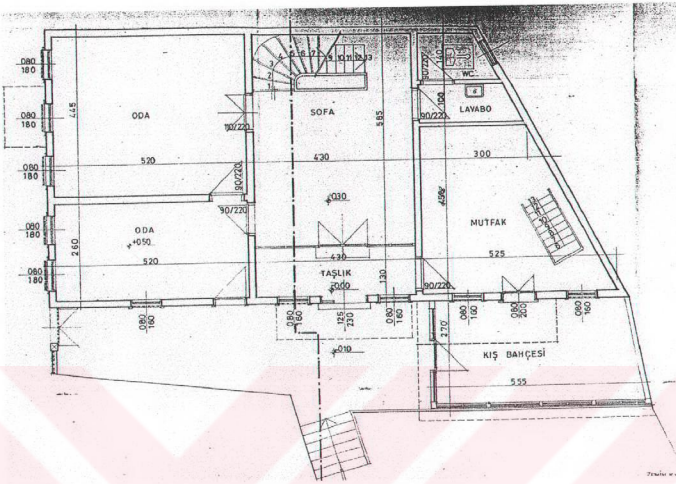
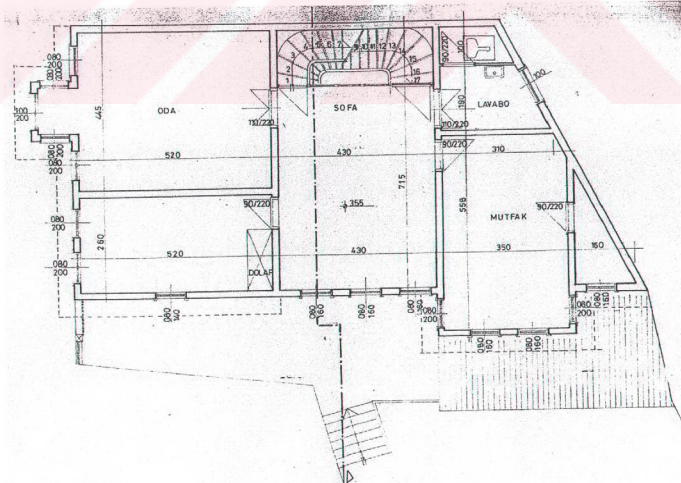


Figure 15. Mustafa Necip Street, No: 6, Ground Floor Plan

Figure 16. First Floor Plan



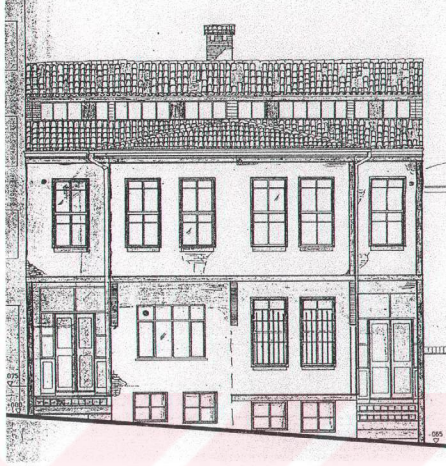


Figure 17. Sakaldöken Street, No: 4-6, Street Façade

Figure 18. Courtyard Façade



ULUSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU
MANTASYON MERKEZİ

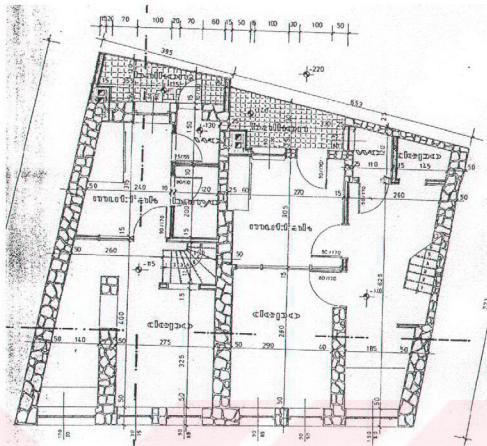
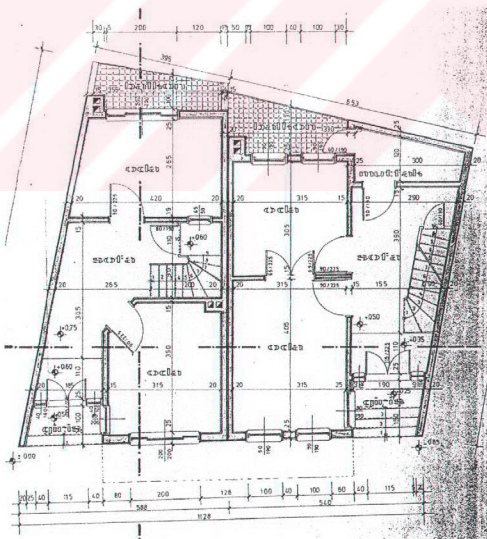


Figure 19. Basement Plan

Figure 20. Ground Floor Plan



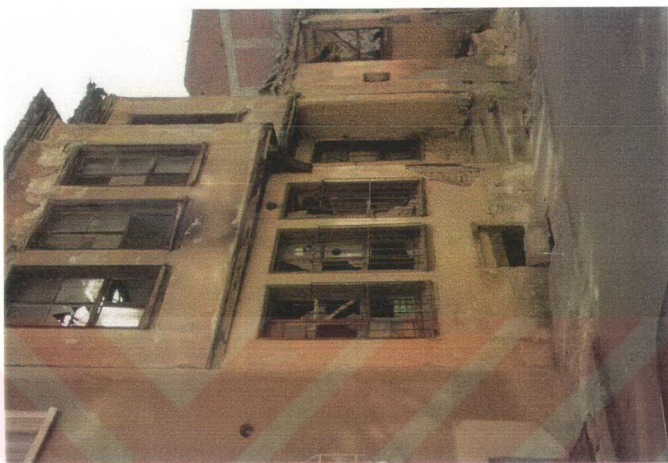


Plate 29. Çeşmeli Street, No: 16 (March-2001)



Plate 28. Bahçe Street, No: 12 (March-2001)

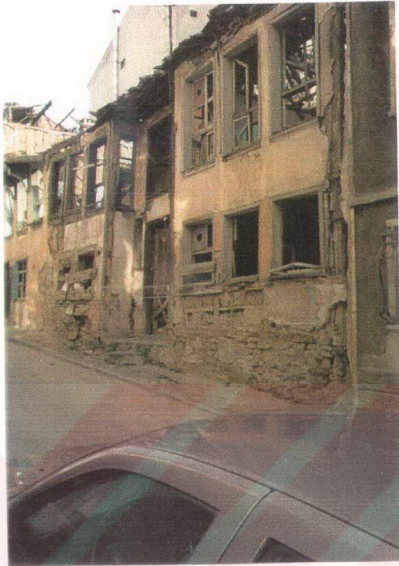


Plate 30. Çeşmeli Street, No: 12 (March-2001)

Plate 31. Dere Street, No: 1 (March-2001)



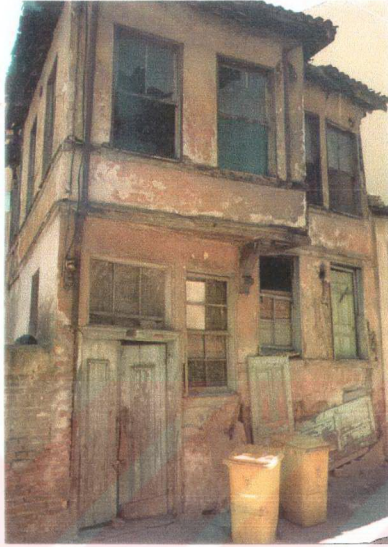


Plate 32. Dere Street, No: 3 (March-2001)

Plate 33. Row Houses on the Eşrefiler Street, No: 16-22 (March-2001)

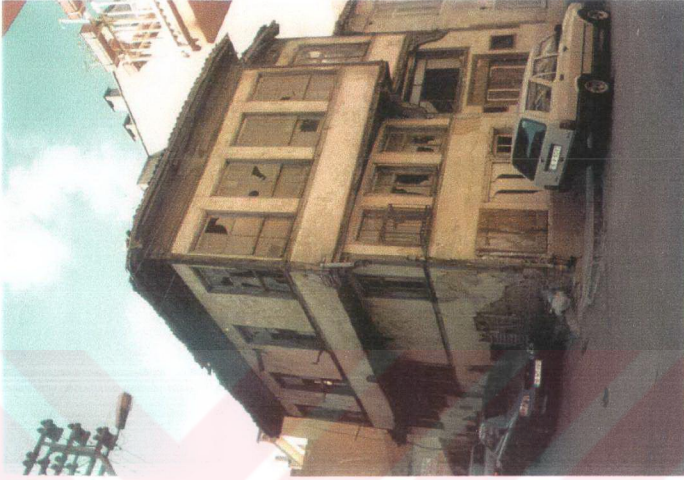




Plate 34. Sakaldöken Street, No. 22 (March-2001)



Plate 35. Sakaldöken Street, No. 23 (March-2001)



Plates 36-37 Karaağaç Street, No: 10 (March-2001)



Plate 38. Karamani Street, No: 37 (March-2001)



Plate 39. Firin Street, No: 3-5-5A (March-2001)



Plate 40. İpekçilik Street, No: 4 (1970's)



Plate 41. İpekçilik Street, No: 4 (March-2001)



Plate 42. Back Side (1970's)

Plate 43. Balcony Detail (March-2001)





Plate 44. Savcıbey Street, No: 16 (March-2001)



Plate 45. Şabanbağçe Street, No: 1 (March-2001)



Plate 46. Şabanbahçe Street, No: 1-3-5-7 (March-2001)

Plate 47. Şabanbahçe Street, No: 13 (March-2001)



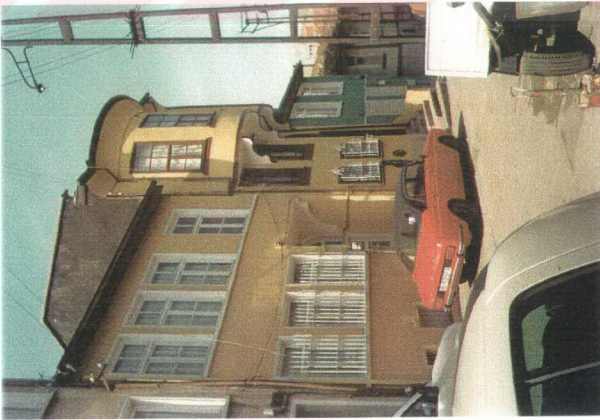


Plate 48. Selçukhatun Street, No. 21-23 (March-2001)



Figure 21. Selçukhatun Street, No. 21-23, Street Façade

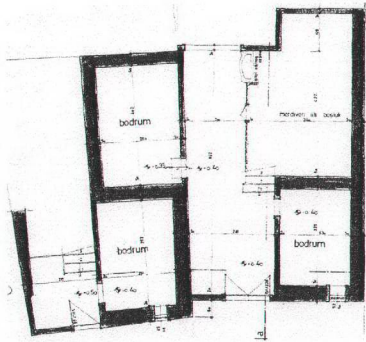


Figure 22. Basement Plan

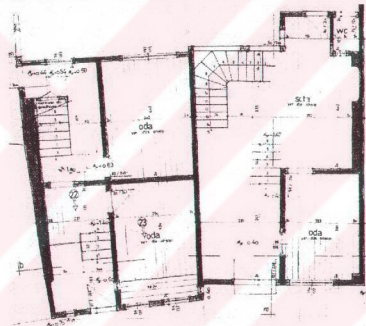


Figure 23. Ground Floor Plan

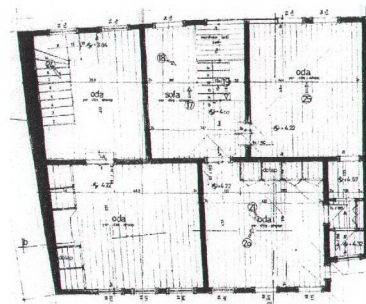
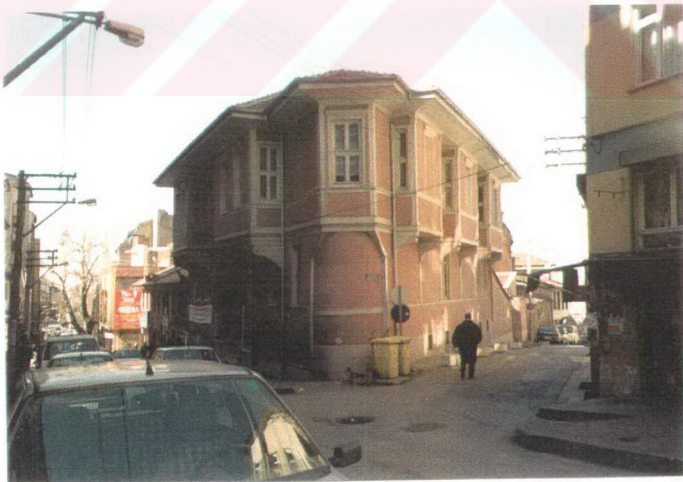


Figure 24. First Floor Plan



Plate 49. Namazgâh Street, No: 17 (March-2001)

Plate 50. Another View (March-2001)



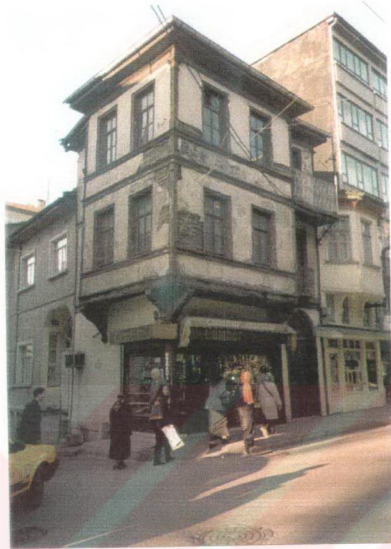


Plate 51. Yeşil Street, No: 17 (March-2001)

Plate 52. Yeşil Street, No: 23-25 (March-2001)





Plate 53. Akdemir Street, No: 6-8 (March-2001)

Plate 54. Derebaşı Street, No: 8 (October-2001)





Plate 55. Another View (October-2001)

Plate 56. Yaşit Street Façade (October-2001)





Plate 57. İpekçilk Street, No: 76 (1980' s)

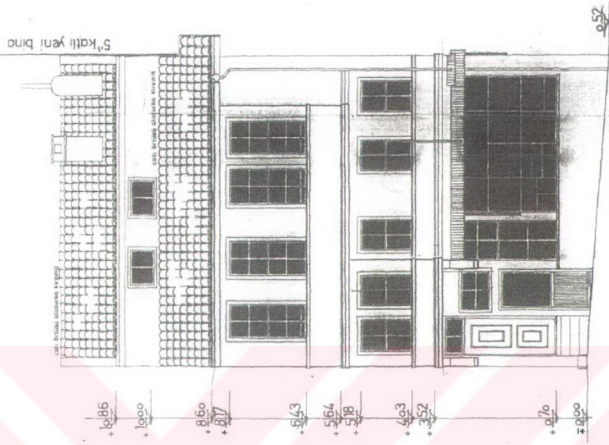


Figure 25. İpekçilk Street, No: 76, Street Façade

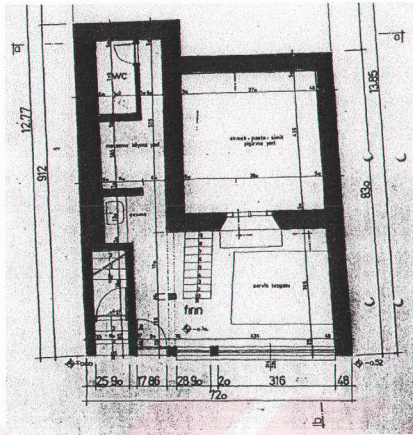
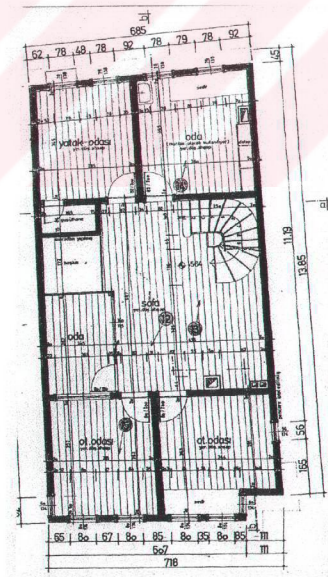


Figure 26. Ground Floor Plan

Figure 27. Second Floor Plan



IV.2. A New Quarter for the Immigrants: Altıparmak Region

From the end of the 1870's to the early 20th century, nearly one million refugees migrated, particularly, from the former Ottoman lands in Rumelia and Caucasia to Anatolia, which also brought a new, spatial character to the Anatolian Ottoman cities¹⁷. Besides the demographic growth, the resettlement problem of these immigrants forced the Ottoman government to establish new neighborhoods along Tanzimat's urban planning reforms.

Following the foundation of the Commission for the Immigrants (*Muhacirun Komisyonu*) to cope with this influx, a new system was brought to solve their resettlement problem. In this system, the government provided the immigrants housing assistance, in the form of state-built houses or credits, orchards and gardens, and, in some cases, assistance to set up a business. In return, these immigrants had to stay where the commission assigned them for a minimum of five years to have citizenship¹⁸. It was this system that resulted in the foundation of new quarters for the immigrants in Anatolian cities after 1870's.

Its location near Istanbul and its importance as an industrial and cultural center in the Empire made Bursa an ideal spot for the immigrants, particularly for those from Bulgaria, Romania and Caucasia. The growth of Bursa in the last two decades of the 19th century resulted from the settlement of non-Turkish speaking, Muslim (*iskânli*) immigrants who were added to the city's Muslim community and were housed in new neighborhoods established after 1878¹⁹. Many of these neighborhoods were

¹⁷ ERDER (1976:161).

¹⁸ These were the settled (*iskânli*) immigrants who registered with the *Muhacirun Komisyonu*. The others who did not register were free (*serbest*) immigrants and had no right to obtain official housing assistance. These immigrants established also neighborhoods in the cities after 1870's. ERDER (1976:162).

¹⁹ According to ERDER (1976:161), the early immigrants of Bursa were merchants and tradesmen while later immigrants were largely the farmers. She claims that 82% of the immigrants settled by the government after 1890's came from farming background. The merchants and tradesmen at that period settled freely within the city. ERDER (1976:164) additionally gives the following chart indicating the fluctuation in Bursa's city population within a 15-year period. As it is understood from this chart, the

established in Bursa during the governorship of Ahmet Vefik Paşa between the years of 1879 – 1882. The necessity for the resettlement of the immigrants gave Ahmet Vefik Paşa a field for implementing the ideas for a new urban layout in the frame of Tanzimat’s architectural and urban planning principles. The Altıparmak quarter that was established by Ahmet Vefik Paşa for immigrants from Bulgaria in 1879 and formed the neighborhoods named as Rusçuk, Selimiye, Çırpan, Hocahasan and İntizam was the greatest of these new formations in Bursa.

The residents of the Altıparmak Quarter coming from a different society reflected their social, cultural, as well as architectural, traditions to their new settlement area, the traces of which can still be found in a limited way today. The analysis of its urban evolution and architectural heritage by discussing and documenting of these limited remains, may clarify Tanzimat’s urban planning policies in the last quarter of the 19th century²⁰.

impacts of immigration and resettlement on Bursa’s demographic structure showed itself as swelling in the ranks of city’s Muslim population.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Muslim</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Non-Muslim</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
1870	22 826	64	12 833	36	35 659	100
1895	48 053	75	15 211	25	63 264	100

²⁰ BAYKAL (1976:36) gives the number and the new settlement regions of the immigrants that were housed in the period of Ahmet Vefik Paşa in the city as follows:

Immigrants from Rumelia:

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Population</u>
Rusçuk	61	232
Selimiye	202	703
Vidin	49	169
Demirtaş	61	234
Deveciler	37	143
Kanberler	19	63
Tırnova	25	103
Cuma-i Cedid	40	190
Total	414	1837

Immigrants from Caucasia:

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Population</u>
Yıldırım	110	385
Mecidiye	100	443
Hıdırlık	97	361
Vefikiyye	81	325
Mollaarap	102	114
Namazgah	60	255
İhsaniye	17	72
Alacahurka	15	65
Total	582	2020

IV.2.1. The Evolution of the Urban Fabric

The evolution of the urban fabric of Altıparmak quarter, as it is mentioned in the previous paragraphs, started at the end of the 1870's and continued to the early 20th century. However, in order to see the departure point of its formation, the former condition of this part of the city should be analyzed as the first step. In this case, the map of Suphi Bey is the most valuable source dating from 1862. As it is analyzed in the second chapter, the area on the north of the citadel and Yahudilik quarter, where later the greatest immigrant quarter of Bursa would be established, was rendered on the Suphi Bey map as a green plot (*hâdika*). Two roads on the map, one of which was Muradiye Street, connecting Çatalfırın and Yahudilik to Muradiye and Çekirge, and the other was Çatalfırın Street, extending from Çatalfırın to the north, were enlarged in the early 20th century and constituted the southern and eastern limits of the Altıparmak quarter²¹. On the map, the adjacent houses faced towards these streets and the houses in the non-Muslim Yahudilik and Çatalfırın neighborhoods seem to be the only settlement plots around this section of the city. There were also a few houses, probably the farmhouses, scattered around this green plot (Figure 28).

Following the migrations to Bursa after 1878, this section of the city was chosen by Ahmet Vefik Paşa as the site of the new immigrant quarter. Ahmet Vefik Paşa's determination to enlarge the city to the west led him to focus on this vast, vacant plane. The Altıparmak quarter was shaped according to the rules of three main regulations that were 1864 Street and Building Regulation (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*), 1873 Expropriation Law (*İstımlâk Kanunu*) and later, 1882 Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*). Additionally, the 1877 Municipal Law, redefining the duties of the municipalities, eased the realization of Tanzimat's new urban projects in a much more organized way.

²¹ The road extending from Çatalfırın to the western part of the city was enlarged by Reşid Mümtaz Paşa in 1906 and its name changed from Muradiye road to Altıparmak Street.

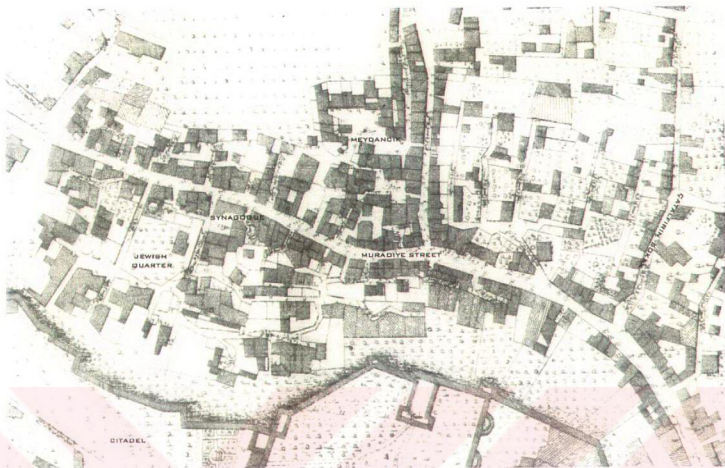


Figure 28. Altiparmak Quarter on the Suphi Bey Map

The rules and restrictions that were mainly concentrated on the re-planning of the conflagration areas were also the major concern on the planning of the new neighborhoods. As it is analyzed while examining Setbaşı, it was also the 1864 Regulation that was in force while the new immigrant quarter of Altiparmak was established at the end of the 1870's. The 1873 Law that was prepared to eliminate the negative impacts of the private possession system as an obstacle in front of Tanzimat's urban activities also affected the new formations in the Ottoman cities²². Following the planning of the gridiron street network of the Altiparmak quarter, its maps were prepared as a requirement of the 1864 Street and Building Regulation²³. Kâzım Baykal informs that, as the housing assistance, each *arşın* (approximately 60 cm) of the rectangular planned parcels in that area was sold to the immigrants for a value of 10 *para* (1/4 of the *kuruş*) by installments expanding within a 20-year time

²² TEKELİ (1985:167).

²³ DENEL (1982:App. 4.4) gives the related article on this rule.

period²⁴. In addition, Ahmet Vefik Paşa promoted shops and hotels to foster the development of this area; those provided daily shopping services for the residents and a stopping place for businessmen and merchants²⁵.

The 1882 Building Law (*Ebniye Kanunu*), which brought new rules in addition to the contents of the previous laws, can be accepted as the first planning law (*imar kanunu*) of the Ottomans. The most determined innovations in the 1882 Building Law appeared as the rising importance of the secular buildings and public amenities while establishing new neighborhoods along Tanzimat's urban ideology²⁶. The rules on standardization of the roads, elimination of the cul-de-sacs, the planning and division principles of the conflagrated areas, etc. were also redefined with this law. After its proclamation, the 1882 Building Law became the only regulation affecting the development of Altıparmak and many other new neighborhoods around the city.

The urban evolution of Altıparmak quarter, as that of Setbaşı quarter, can be followed from, above-mentioned, maps that are dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The 1895 map shows the early condition of the quarter that did not thoroughly expand to the plain. What was rendered on the map refer to the Rusçuk and Selimiye neighborhoods dating just after their establishment. On the other hand, the 1895 map of Bursa seems to have exaggerated the street dimensions and the divisions of the building plots in the Altıparmak quarter; thus, it only provides a general view of the quarter at the end of the 19th century. (Figure 29)

²⁴ BAYKAL (1976:36).

²⁵ ERDER (1976:259).

²⁶ *Ham arazi ve bağ ve bostan üzerine ebniye inşası ile mahalle teşkili için parça parça satmak isteyenler teayyün edecek lüzum ve icab üzerine orada meccanen bir karakolhane ve bir de mekteb mahalli terketmeye ve hududu nihayetine değin lüğüm yapmağa ve satılan yerler bedaletinden kaldırım mesarifi için Şehremanetine beher arşında 5 para tediyesine mecburdur....*

DENEL (1982: App. 4.5)

The gridiron fabric of the Altıparmak quarter is more apparent on 1907 map. The widened Altıparmak Road is one of these arteries that accentuated the immigrant quarter as an important node on the connection between the commercial center and the western part of the city. The presence of two new neighborhoods, Çırpan and Hocahasan, being established after 1895, is shown on the 1907 map (Figure 30).

The immigrant quarter of Altıparmak seems to complete its urban evolution on the 1922 map. The orthogonal planned neighborhoods of Rusçuk, Selimiye, Çırpan, Hocahasan and İntizam, that created a different character within the traditional layout of the city center, reflect, at the same time, the changes in urban planning ideology throughout the 19th century. If it is compared with the previous maps, the urban layout of the Altıparmak on the 1922 map seems more accurate and complete in terms of its street network, building plots and extension limits (Figure 31).

Altıparmak has preserved its gridiron pattern up today. Although only a few houses have survived from its foundation times, they can be accepted as important sources within the current urban texture of the city.

IV.2.2. The Social and Architectural Character

As the Muslim immigrants came to Bursa during the Balkan upheavals, they brought their social, cultural and economic habits, as well as their architectural methods, with them. Thus, the examination of their social structure and architecture in Bulgaria should be the initial point while criticizing their effects on Bursa.

In the second half of the 19th century, the great majority of the urban population in Bulgarian cities was Muslim. Besides the handicraft production and commercial activities, agriculture and animal husbandry were other important occupations in the Bulgarian cities at that time. It is known that the commercial activities were mostly in the hands of the non-Muslims, while the Muslims were craftsmen and farmers

having middle-or lower income groups than the non-Muslims²⁷. According to Erder, the great majority of these immigrants settled by the Ottoman government in Bursa came from the farming background and belonged to that middle class population²⁸. Although the occupations of these immigrants in Bursa are not known exactly, they might continue working as craftsmen or farmers and use the credits of the Ottoman government to set up a business.

The 500-year Ottoman sovereignty in Bulgaria affected also the architectural character, where a resemblance appeared between the Anatolian and Bulgarian cities in terms of their urban formation. The Ottoman houses in Bulgaria dating to early periods under the Ottoman sovereignty were defined as asymmetric types with exterior sofas, which were similar to many of the Anatolian houses around the same periods²⁹. The evolution of the exterior sofa through an inner sofa type in the Bulgarian and Anatolian houses was also a parallel development. In the houses having interior *sofas*, the number of the rooms was increased and the functional divisions between the rooms became more apparent than those having exterior *sofas*.

The interior decoration of these houses also had similar characteristics with the Anatolian houses. The ornamented wooden ceilings, cupboards, doors, the elaborated gypsum fireplaces, the upper lights, etc. were the common elements. The traditional *sedirs* were seen in most of these houses. The exterior decoration had also similar features. On the other hand, the new European-based trends affecting the Anatolian cities in the second half of the 19th century also changed the decorative vocabulary of the Bulgarian houses, particularly that of the upper class.

Following this evaluation, it is easy to grasp why the architectural characteristics of the Altıparmak immigrant quarter is likely to Bursa's traditional residential fabric. It

²⁷ AKIN (2001:31-33).

²⁸ ERDER (1976:161).

²⁹ AKIN (2001:37), ELDEM (1968).



Figure 29. Altıparmak Quarter on the 1895 Map

1. Altıparmak Street
2. Rusçuk Neighborhood
3. Selimiye Neighborhood

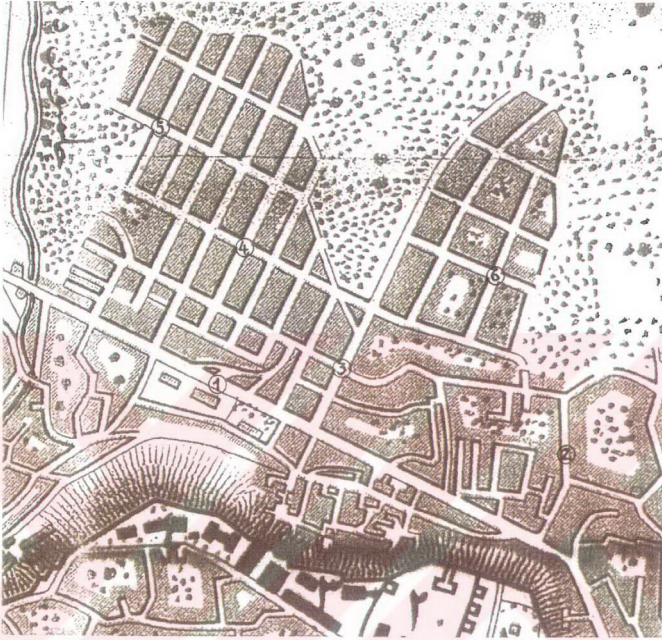


Figure 30. Altıparmak Quarter on the 1907 Map

1. Altıparmak Street
2. Çatalfırın Street
3. Rusçuk Neighborhood
4. Selimiye Neighborhood
5. Çırpan Neighborhood
6. Hocahasan Neighborhood



Figure 31. Altıparmak Quarter on the 1922 Map

1. Altıparmak Street
2. Çatalfırın Street
3. Rusçuk Neighborhood
4. Selimiye Neighborhood
5. Çırpan Neighborhood
6. Hocahasan Neighborhood
7. İntizam Neighborhood
8. Selimiye Mosque
9. Hocahasan Mosque

must be the shared Ottoman heritage, the same religious beliefs and similar social, cultural and economic habits what lies under this resemblance.

Adjacently aligned houses having two- or three storeys on both sides of the straight streets constituted the characteristic of the Altıparmak quarter (Plates 61,64,65,66). Due to the population density, the efficient use of the urban parcels became an important criterion at that period. Thus, the open spaces of the houses were belittled and became shared areas for the surrounding buildings. The adjacent construction of the houses was also due to this reason. Although the general urban layout of the Setbaşı and Altıparmak quarters seems to be similar in terms of their gridiron planning schemes, the architectural characteristics of the houses were different. If it is compared with those in Setbaşı, the houses in Altıparmak were more simple and smaller in scale. This was directly related with the economic and social structure of the residents, most of which belonged to middle class in terms of their revenues. The personal needs and demands also brought a typological variety among the houses of Altıparmak that were constructed by the residents by using the government credits (Plates 61,71,75,79,80).

Most of the houses in Altıparmak, like those in Setbaşı, had interior *sofas* controlling the interior circulation. The balconies were seen in some of the houses (Plates 61,63,66,72,79). As it is mentioned in the previous section, the projection of the *sofa* or the rooms beyond the ground floor had rectangular or circular forms that were widely seen in the 19th century houses (Plates 58,61,75,76; Figures 33,34,37,38). The service spaces were usually solved around the *sofa*, while in some of the houses; they were placed adjacently to the garden or courtyard wall as separate units (Figures 33,34,37,38,39,41,43). Most of the houses had basements, but they did not cover the entire bottom of the house. The entrance gates, providing direct access from the street, were not elaborated more than those of the Setbaşı houses. As a result of an extroverted life style, the number of the windows was increased and living units appeared in the ground floor level.

From the existing buildings, it is difficult to make trustworthy critics on their decorative vocabulary. What is observed is the simply decorated interior and exterior façades reflecting a modest life style. It is the expression of the social and economical status of its residents that also created the difference between the houses in Setbaşı and Altıparmak.

The personal demands shaping the houses also affected the selection of the construction materials. Timber framed adobe infill with stucco covering, timber framed lath-and-plaster and the use of timber clad on the exterior facades were the preferred construction systems. The composite use of these techniques was also noticed (Plates 63,65,68).

Although the street network and urban parcelation in Setbaşı and Altıparmak quarters were shaped according to Tanzimat's urban laws and regulations, their residential fabric seems to be formed more arbitrarily. This means that, the building heights, the proximities to other buildings and to the street, the building materials, etc. that were clearly defined in these regulations were not exactly applied to the residential architecture in the second half of the 19th century. Plates 58-85 and figures 32-45 present the existing building stock in Altıparmak Quarter dating from the second half of the 19th century.



Plate 58. Kanara Street, No: 10 (1980's)

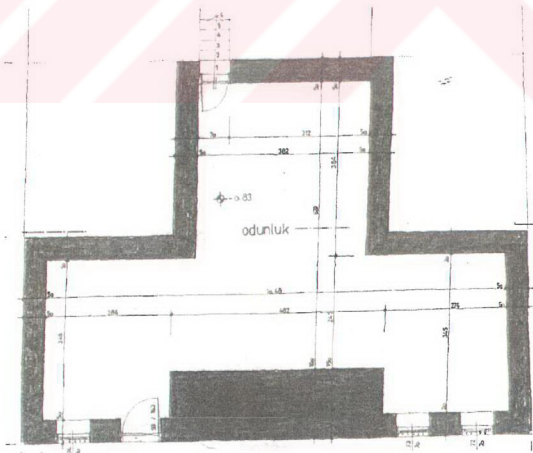
Plate 59. Kanara Street, No: 10 (October-2000)





Plate 60. Backside Façade (1980's)

Figure 32. Basement Floor Plan



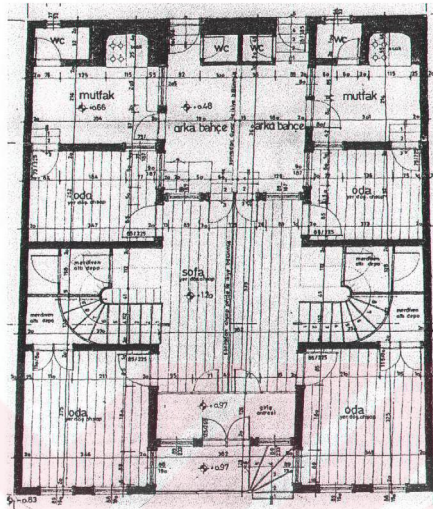


Figure 33. Ground Floor Plan

Figure 34. First Floor Plan

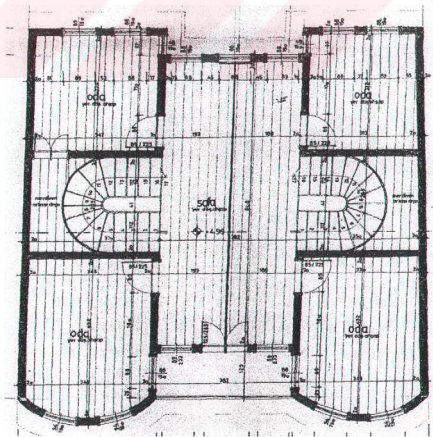




Plate 61. Kanara Street, No: 10-12 (1980's)

Plate 62. Kanara Street, No: 12 (1980's)



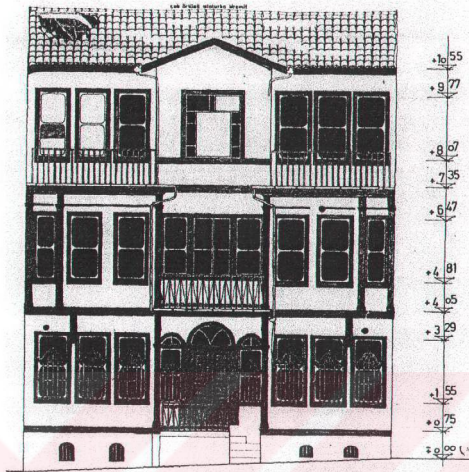


Figure 35. Kanara Street, No: 12, Street Façade

Figure 36. Backside Façade



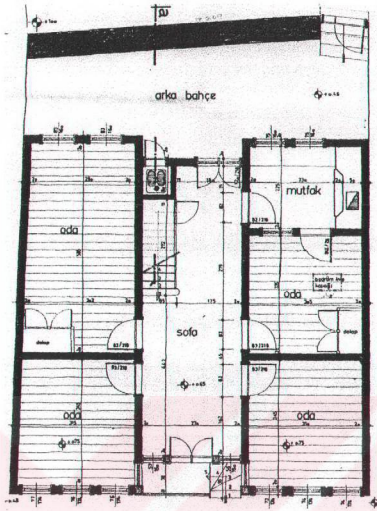


Figure 37. Ground Floor Plan

Figure 38. First Floor Plan

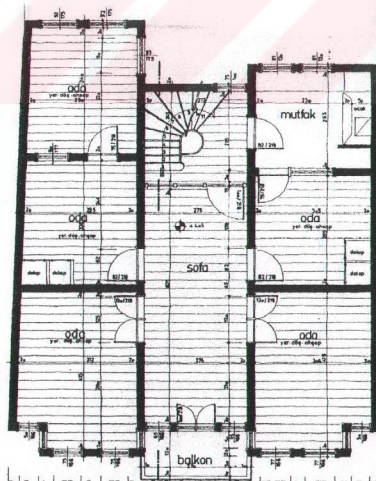




Plate 63. Kanara Street, No: 17 (October-2000)

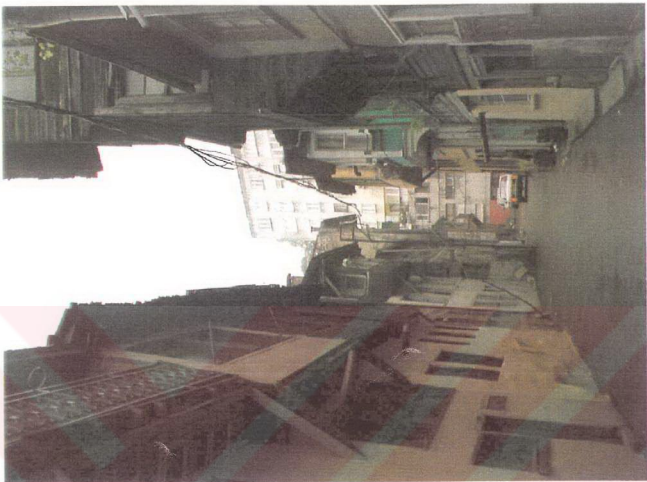


Plate 64. Yeniğün Street (October-2000)



Plate 65. Yenigün Street (October-2000)



Plate 66. Yenigün Street (October-2000)

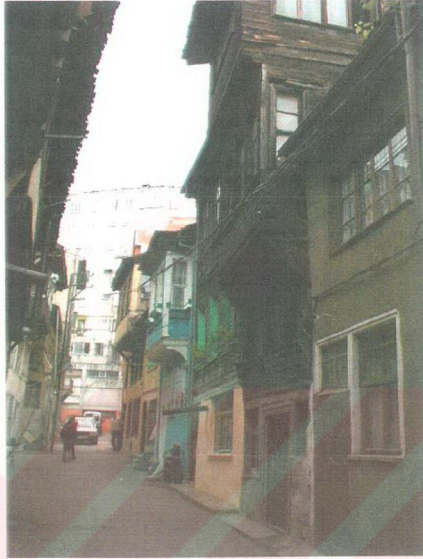


Plate 67. Yenigün Street (October-2000)

Plate 68. Kanara Street, No: 27 (October-2000)





Plate 69. Dikleme Street, No. 8 (October-2000)



Plate 70. Detail (October-2000)

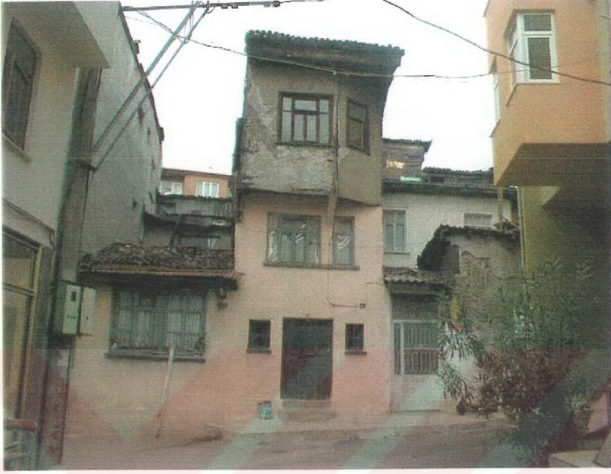


Plate 71. Dikleme Street, No: 4 (October-2000)

Plate 72. Dikçeşme Street, No: 18 (October-2000)





Plate 73. Dikçeşme Street, No: 18 (October-2000)

Plate 74. Çeşmeci Street, No: 8 (October-2000)





Plate 75. Çeşmeci Street, No: 16 (October-2000)

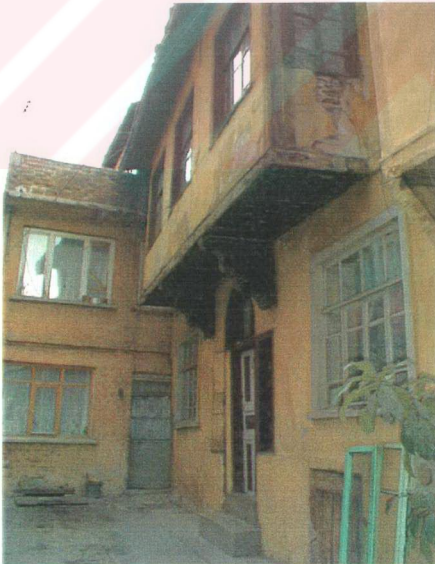
Plate 76. Çeşmeci Street, No: 17 (October-2000)





Plate 77. Çapa Street, No: 24 (October-2000)

Plate 78. Çapa Street, No: 26 (October-2000)



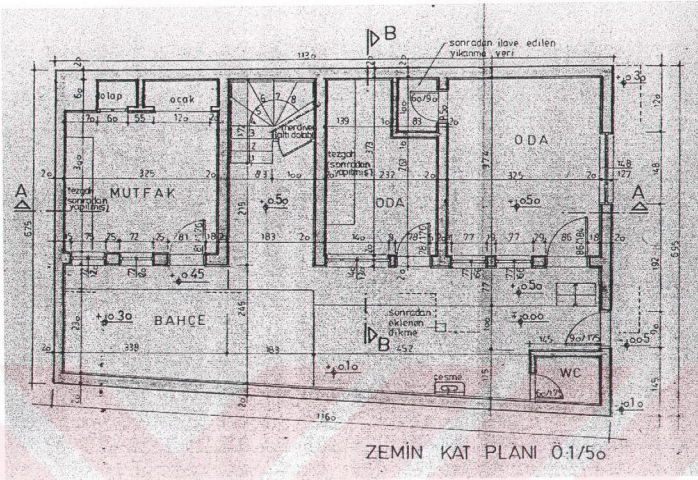


Figure 41. A House on the Çatal Street, Ground Floor Plan
 Figure 42. Courtyard Façade



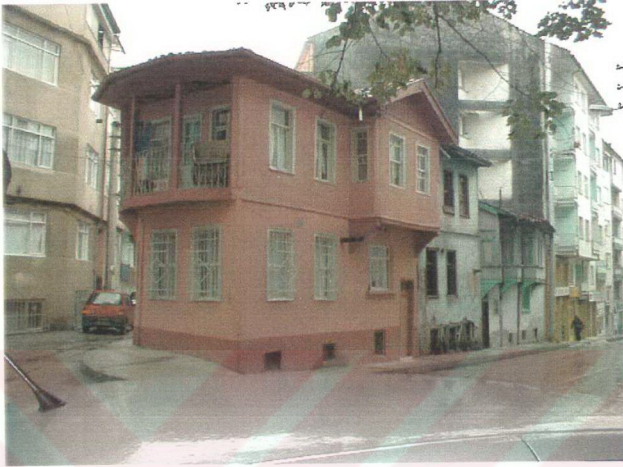


Plate 79. Bursalı Tahir Street, No: 77 (October-2000)

Plate 80. Bursalı Tahir Street, No: 79 (October-2000)





Plates 81. Kuruçeşme Street, No: 4 (October-2000)

Plates 82. Another View (October-2000)





Plate 83. Yurt Street, No: 17 (October-2000)

Plate 84. Façade Detail (October-2000)



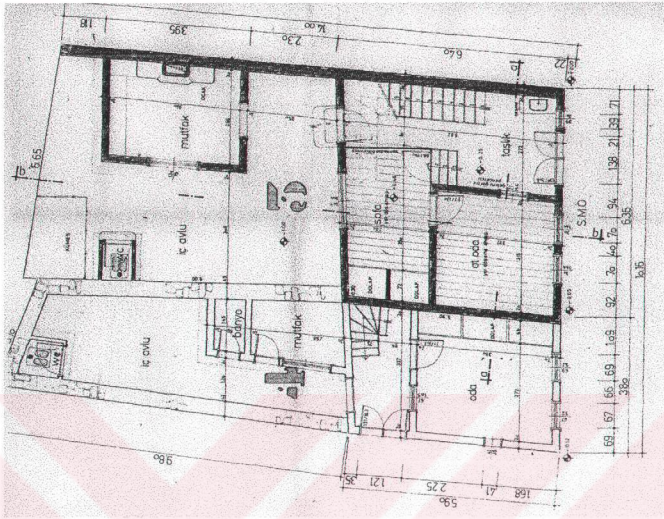


Figure 43. Yurt Street, No: 13, Ground Floor Plan

Figure 44. First Floor Plan

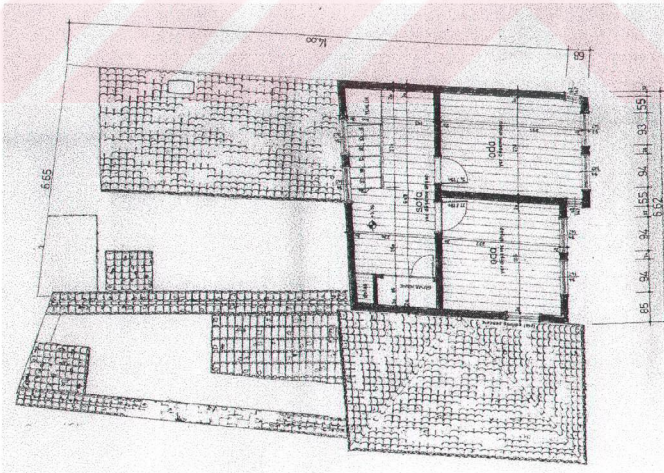




Figure 45. Original Street Façade
Plate 85. Yurt Street, No: 13 (October-2000)



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The reform process that was aimed by the Ottoman government to modernize its traditional institutions along western thoughts and tendencies, started in the 18th century at the administrative and military areas and continued throughout the 19th century in a variety of fields under the name of the so-called Tanzimat reforms. Bursa, as the first capital of the Ottoman Empire and sustaining its imperial glory as a religious, cultural, commercial and industrial center for centuries, had a special place among the Anatolian cities. It was this importance and patronage that made Bursa the prime candidate of Tanzimat's implementations involving, particularly, the institutional, industrial, urban and architectural reforms, after 1840's.

Following its capture by the Ottomans in 1326, Bursa became the capital of the state and started to its urban development. The 14th- and 15th century evolution of its physical structure determined its urban character until the 19th century. The citadel, the market area and the sultan complexes were the major dominants of this structure. After the city began to expand beyond the citadel just following its conquest, the nucleus of the traditional commercial center of Bursa appeared to the east of the castle and continued its development up to the end of the 15th century. In parallel with the erection of four important sultan complexes on the east and west of the city, the residential districts began to be formed around them. In the following centuries, the vacant areas in between these districts were filled with houses spontaneously and formed the organic and loose urban character of Bursa.

Sericulture was the major economical activity in Bursa from the end of the 14th century. As being at the intersection of the trade routes, Bursa became one of the greatest entrépot of Anatolia, as well as an international production and trade center, and continued its importance till the 20th century. The commercial center was the heart of the trade and artisans' activities, which can also be identified as the physical center of Bursa.

The demographic conditions of Bursa had been fluctuated in parallel with the migrations, disasters or important social events for centuries. Bursa had a rich ethnic population resulting from a high Muslim and non-Muslim influx of migrants from its conquest onwards. Besides the Muslim residents, the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were important communities that affected the city's architectural, social and cultural structure till the 20th century.

The Suphi Bey map that was prepared just after the 1855 disaster informed the urban organization of the city before the Tanzimat's urban reforms and guided the following reconstruction activities. The analysis of the map proves that in the first half of the 19th century, Bursa retained the urban features of the 14th- and 15th centuries. The street network of Bursa around the 1860's seems to have an organic structure, which was characterized by irregular and narrow roads with many dead-ends. Suphi Bey Map, showing the urban organizations of the neighborhoods, also provides important clues while examining the architectural and urban transformations of Muslim and non-Muslim sections of the city in the second half of the 19th century.

The first impacts of the Tanzimat reforms on Bursa appeared as industrial changes and new factory districts, after 1840's. This is not an arbitrary date, which marks the introduction of mechanical factory production in Bursa. Following the opening of the first factory, this new form of production altered the older urban landscape of Bursa within a few decades. The expansion of the factories dominated spatially distinct districts in Bursa. Besides the convenient natural conditions, the ethnic

structures of these districts were the most important determinant factor, since nearly all factory labor force in the 19th century belonged to the Greek and Armenian communities. The development of these sections of the city as factory districts also affected their urban transformation in the second half of the century. One of these factory districts expanded near the eastern banks of the Gökdere River that was predominantly inhabited by Armenians. Following the opening of the İpekçilik Street and then, the opening of the School of Sericulture, this section of the city became a fashionable place for wealthy merchants, minorities and foreigners of Bursa. The opening of the Imperial Silk Factory over the southwestern banks of the Cilimboz River specialized this part of the city for silk manufacture. The appearance of the factories on the inhabited fringes of the city's agricultural plain led the expansion of the city towards north in the following years.

The introduction of western-based urban planning, architecture and restoration methods into the traditional Ottoman system altered the urban fabric of Bursa in the second half of the 19th century. Ahmet Vefik Paşa was the most prominent figure of this period, whose implementations to reconstruct the city in the years following the great earthquake changed the traditional character of Ottoman's first imperial capital.

During this reform period, the priority was given to the repair and development of the road network. The road modernization program included widening and straightening the major arteries of the city and eliminating the cul-de-sacs. The interventions in Haussmann's Paris and in other important cities of Europe were the models of these changes. The opening of the new avenues led the city to enlarge towards all directions. The insertion of the railway transportation into the urban form was another innovation.

In the second half of the 19th century, a special importance was given to the re-planning of conflagrated neighborhoods and construction of new neighborhoods along western-based urban planning principles. The imposition of the orthogonal

planned grids over the traditional urban fabric began to be implemented to the conflagration areas after 1860's. The urban transformation of the Armenian Setbaşı quarter just after a great fire coincided to that period. The resettlement problem of the immigrants from the end of the 1870's forced the Ottoman Empire to establish new neighborhoods that also gave opportunities for applying new urban planning methods. Unlike the organic development of the earlier times, it seems that these principles brought a primary consideration to the overall street pattern and secondary consideration to the siting of the buildings in that pattern. This street pattern still retains its 19th century characteristics today, although the buildings has been greatly altered within time.

The restoration of the religious and commercial buildings that were damaged by the earthquakes and fires was also a large-scale project in the second half of the 19th century. The Ottoman government employed both French and local architects to realize the restoration projects by means of balancing the modern western techniques with traditional crafts.

The secularization of the monumental architecture in the 19th century was one of the most significant transformations in Ottoman architectural tradition. Following the secularization of Ottoman institutions after the proclamation of Tanzimat, the monumental architectural tradition of the empire hitherto focused to religious buildings gradually began to shift into a new secular architecture. Besides the reason that the new, western-inspired institutions of Tanzimat required different building types, this transformation had also served to a symbolic function that the stylistic association of western models with the Ottoman concepts proclaimed a modern imperial image to the outer world.

After the 1860's, many new administrative, educational, social and cultural buildings appeared in Bursa's urban fabric. Many of the official buildings derived their architectural characteristics from the European neoclassical models. The military buildings, particularly, those that might be aimed proclaiming the military power of

the empire were expressive examples of this monumental architecture. As a result of Tanzimat's reform policies, where the solutions to the problems of the empire were also sought in education, many school buildings were constructed around the city. Additionally, the appearance of several social and cultural buildings, such as hotels, theatre, museum, hospital, banks, police stations, etc., also changed Bursa's traditional Ottoman image in the second half of the 19th century, just as it did in other major cities of the Empire in the same period.

About this transformation period, one aspect should be pointed out particularly. Besides the modernization efforts of a traditional Ottoman city with new secular institutions, this process had also another foci, which was the efforts of balancing the imported western ideas with the traditional Ottoman ideology to sustain the image of the city as an important religious and imperial center of the Ottoman heritage. This continuity was particularly apparent in the neighborhoods in the second half of the 19th century. The mosques, for instance, retained their traditional Ottoman characteristics in terms of their architecture and structure, yet. The traditional residential architecture of Bursa also retained the similar planning principles as in the previous periods while the changes were generally be observed in the decorative vocabulary. Continuity of the Ottoman tradition also affected the siting of the new buildings in the urban landscape. In siting of the earlier monuments, the visibility was the major concern that led to the construction of the buildings on higher slopes of the city. Many monumental buildings of the Tanzimat period were also located on prominent sites considering this tradition.

Tanzimat reforms brought a more planned urban evolution in the second half of the 19th century. The Armenian quarter of Setbaşı and the new immigrant quarter of Aluparmak were two of the earliest examples being planned according to the definite principles and regulations. Although only a limited number of 19th century buildings remain today, they are important witnesses of Tanzimat's reform period.

The urban transformation of the Setbaşı quarter became a model for applying Tanzimat's new urban planning principles. The conflagrated Setbaşı quarter was re-planned along 1864 Street and Building Regulation that proposed straightening of the roads, eliminating the cul-de-sacs and the re-planning of the conflagrated areas in the form of a gridiron plan. The development of Setbaşı as an important center for the silk industry in the city increased the prosperity of its residents, which had been Armenians for centuries. After 1860's, Setbaşı became a fashionable place for wealthy –Muslim and non-Muslim- manufacturers, merchants and for important Ottoman and foreign officials. Following the opening of the İpekçilik Street, in 1863, as a prestige axis in that section of the city, the rows of the large, splendid houses along both sides of the street appeared as unique examples in Bursa's traditional urban fabric. In the following years, these examples expanded all around the Setbaşı quarter. It should be the cosmopolitan structure of the neighborhood, the changing social, cultural and economic conditions of its residents and the rising –capitalist- relationships with the western countries and Istanbul that affected its urban and architectural identity in the second half of the 19th century.

The foundation of the Altıparmak quarter coincided with the increasing number of the refugees from the end of the 1870's. Three main regulations, which were 1864 Street and Building Regulation, 1877 Expropriation Law, and later, the 1882 Building Law, affected the planning and development of the quarter within a gridiron plan scheme. In this thesis, the sources of the architectural and social characteristics of the Altıparmak quarter are sought in the homelands of its residents that were the Muslim immigrants from Bulgaria. It must be the shared Ottoman heritage, the same religious beliefs and similar social, cultural and economic habits between these immigrants and the residents of Bursa created a resemblance affecting the formation of the Altıparmak quarter.

What should be pointed out is the presence of some questions that is difficult to answer by way of using the written or visual archival sources and using the limited remaining building stocks of these neighborhoods. One point is how and to which

degree the changing social and cultural demands altered the plan types, functional divisions and other architectural features of the houses in Setbaşı and Altıparmak. Due to the lack of the academically trained architects in the city at that time, the construction works were in the hands of the local artisans. They probably were effective in the spread of new architectural and decorative attempts and renovations; however today, it is difficult to find the traces of these implementations and thus to make trustworthy evaluations from the existing buildings in these neighborhoods.

The houses in Setbaşı and Altıparmak show an extroverted character, which means that they open directly to the street and many of them have balconies connecting the privacy of the house to the outside world. For Setbaşı, having a cosmopolitan structure with its Muslim and non-Muslim residents, this can be thought as the continuity of the previous architectural practices. However, for the Altıparmak quarter, the residents of which were the Muslim immigrants, this extrovertedness may be related with the habits and demands of its residents as practiced in their homelands or that may have been due to the general tendencies seen in the second half of the 19th century.

V.1. Turning Points in the 20th Century Bursa and the Decisions for Conservation

As physical, social, and economic reflection of a significant period in the history of the Ottoman Empire, the remaining buildings of Bursa, as well as of the Setbaşı and Altıparmak quarters, should be conserved and rehabilitated for contemporary use and should be passed on to future generations.

Bursa, until the 1940's, did not show an expansive character in terms of its urban layout; however, due to the continuing migrations, the population density increased within the limits of the city. The opening of the factories in the north of the Cilimboz River led the urban development toward the plain after 1940's. Around the same years, the traditional commercial, as well as administrative and financial,

center of Bursa also began to extend towards Gemlik Avenue in the north, Altıparmak Avenue in the west and Setbaşı in the east¹. In 1941, the first master plan of Bursa was prepared by Henri Prost along axial planning principles. Many of the present-day avenues were opened according to that plan that also guided the implementations of Haşim İşcan, another important governor of Bursa.

After 1950's, the rapid industrial and agricultural developments began to affect the urban fabric of the city. In order to organize this rapid development, a planning bureau was established with the supports of Emlak Kredi and İller Banks, and a 1/4000 master plan was prepared under the guidance of Luigi Piccinato, in 1958. Instead of an expansion towards the plain, Piccinato map proposed a linear development to the west and, encouraged a new city center to the north of the historic center. However, the urban developments of Bursa after 1960's couldn't be realized according to the plan of Piccinato, since, the plan became inefficient due to the rapidly increasing population and urbanization (Figure 1).

The old residential fabric of Bursa was dramatically annihilated beginning from the 1970's. From then on, the settlement problems that aroused by the rise of the population began to be solved within the existing residential fabric, instead of proposing new settlement areas. The urban plots, on which the old buildings had been sited, began to be evaluated by their owners to construct new apartment blocks that seemed to be a more profitable investment after the 1970's. The owners, who couldn't convert their houses into apartments, intervened to their architectural and structural characters in parallel with the changing demands and new spatial requirements of the 20th century. However, the consciousnessless interventions to the buildings, without taking their historical values into consideration, also accelerated this demolition and transformation period (Figures 2,3).

¹ The İpekçiş (1935) and Merinos (1938) factories were opened in this period. KARA (1990:27-29).



Figure 1. Piccinato Map

The houses in the Setbaşı and Altıparmak quarters are seen on the aerial photographs of 1930's and on the Piccinato map as two-or three storey houses in green plots, which were, most probably, dating back to the second half of the 19th- or early 20th century (Figures 4-7, Plate 1). However, the maps and the inventory cards, provided through the Ministry of Culture in the 1980's, reveal a tragic result about the number of the remaining buildings. If it is compared with the 1958 map, it becomes apparent that 95% of the old buildings were replaced with the apartment blocks. A more tragic result is that most of the registered buildings on these maps and inventory cards are non-existent today. Today, as a result of the site studies, the total number of the remaining buildings was determined as about 50 in Setbaşı and 20 in Altıparmak regions.

What is intended in this thesis is to study these remaining historical building stocks as component parts of a significant cultural heritage. Besides their architectural and environmental values, the documentary values of these buildings are also important for the cultural continuity; hence, these buildings should be evaluated as a link between the past and the future and protected as witnesses of more than a 100-year time period.

Within this framework, preparing a regular and detailed urban archive system can be advised as an initial phase. This system should be accompanied with the necessary visual and written documents, reflecting the historic and current conditions of the city with all of its components. The maps, photographs, architectural drawings, the datas on the spatial layout, or the social and cultural characteristics of the citizens, etc. would be important starting points for the restoration and conservation studies in the future. For that reason, documents dispersed in the archives of various institutions such as ministries, municipalities, universities, and as well as, in the private archives should be collected and reorganize under this urban archive system. The use of computer technology is the most suitable way while classifying all these documents under various titles and preparing them for the use of public. At this

point, the use of Internet for a worldwide accessibility can also be advised additionally.

In Bursa's old houses, the repair and restoration works for a contemporary use should be allowed on condition that the new interventions should be in conformity with their original characteristics. Even the rising land values of the urban plots of these old houses and the settlement requirements due to the rising population, additional storeys and drastic functional, as well as stylistic, changes both in the interiors and exteriors should not be allowed. Additionally, the points that may be open to negative interpretations in the current laws about the interventions to the traditional residential fabric should be reevaluated in order to prevent the unconscious applications.

As the last words:

The urban reforms of Tanzimat and their reflection on Bursa's traditional urban fabric are tried to be examined in this thesis within a time period extending from the pre-19th century to the 20th century. Although its traditional residential fabric has been greatly changed within this time period, Bursa has still preserved the spirit of its imperial heritage. Therefore, the conservation of all the features of the city that characterize this heritage will be a respect to be paid to our cultural history and will also cast light on the future.

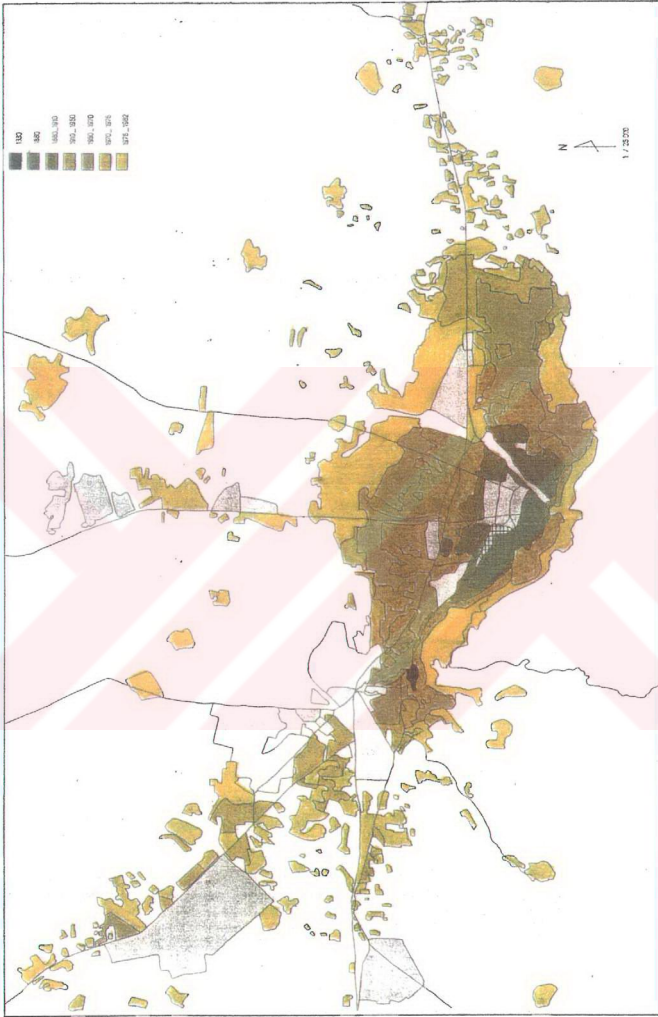


Figure 2. Bursa's Spatial Development Phases until 1980's

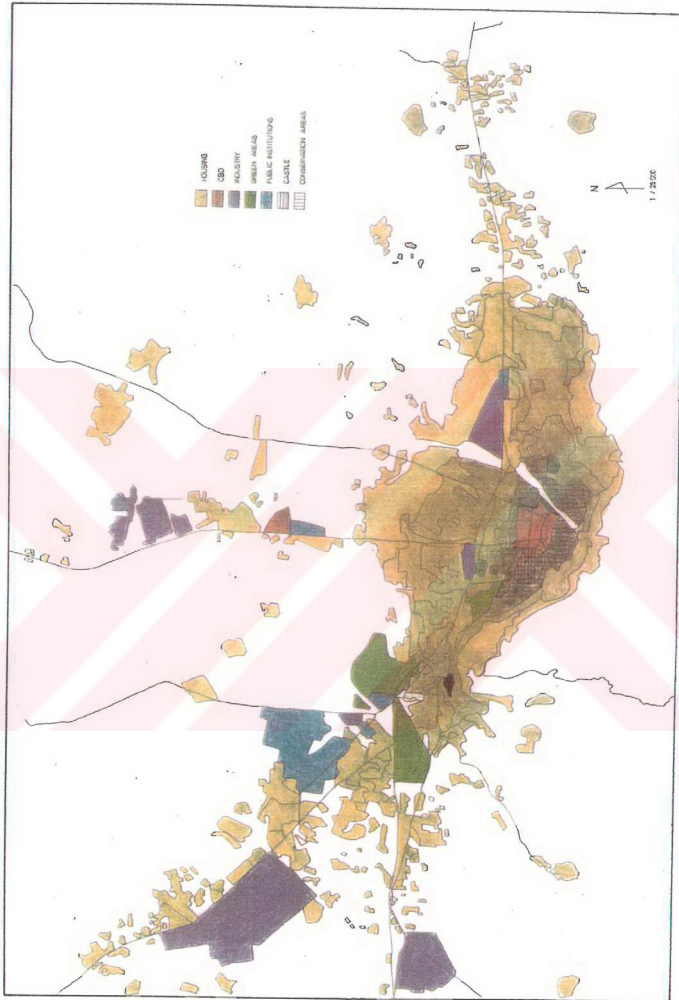


Figure 3. Spatial Division of Bursa's Urban Fabric around 1980's

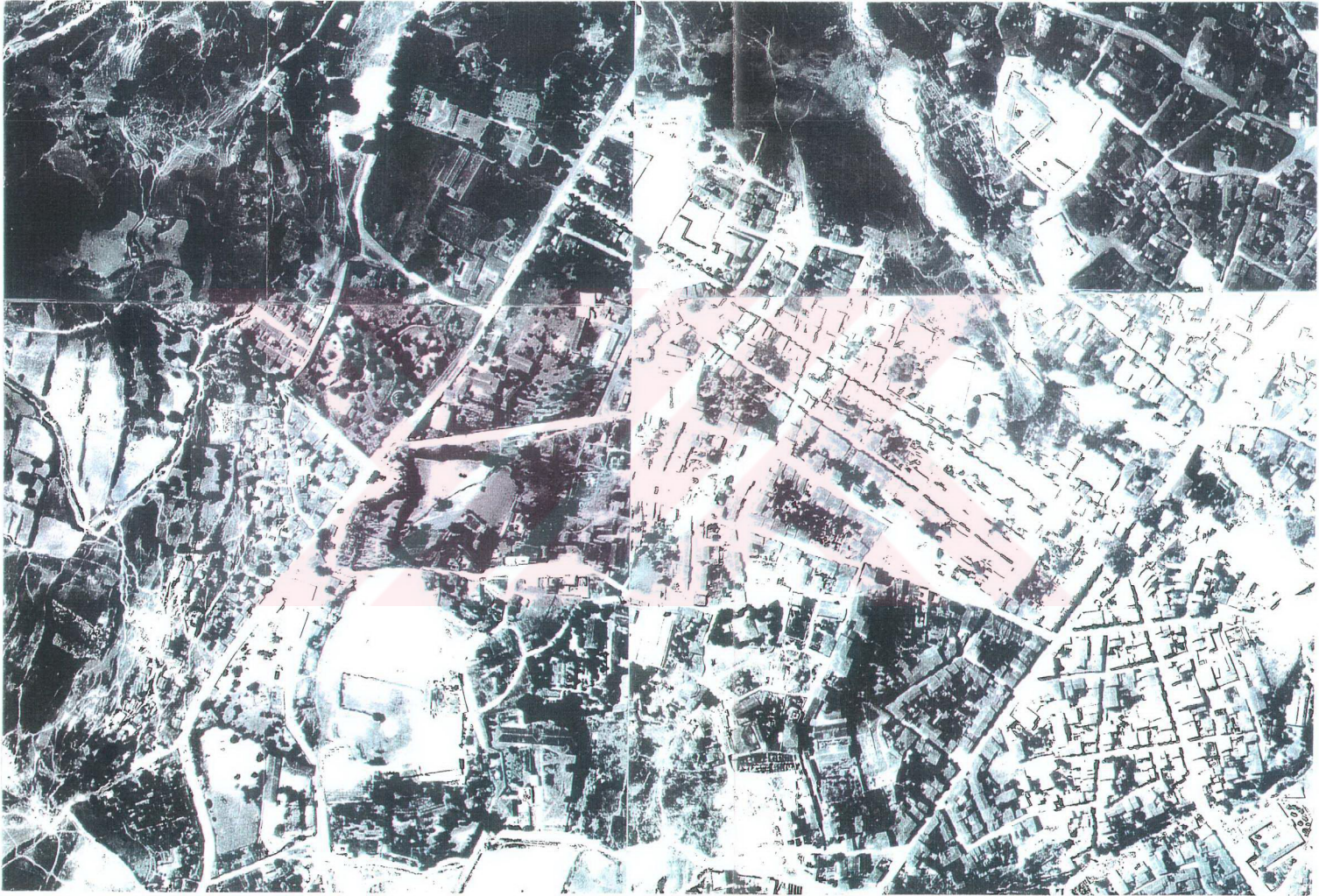


Figure 4. The Aerial Photograph of the Setbaşı Quarter around 1930's



Figure 5. The Aerial Photograph of the Altıparmak Quarter around 1930's



Figure 6. Setbaşı Quarter on the Piccinato Map (1958)



Figure 7. Altoparmak Quarter on the Piccinato Map (1958)



Plate 1. Altiparmak Street in 1940's

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Suphi Bey Map (1862)

Piccinato Map (1958)

APPENDIX

A. İRADE-İ DAHİLİYE COLLECTION, DOCUMENT NO: 20363 (1855)¹

Mâh-ı hâlin onikinci Çarşamba günü saat altı raddelerinde hava ziyâdece kararıp şiddetlice bârân nüzülü esnâsında gök gürleyip ve saat dokuzu çeyrek geçerek Cenâb-ı Hak cemî büldân ve memâlik-i şâhâneyi masun buyursun hiç işitilmemiş derecede gâyet şedid hareket-i arz vuku'uyla münhedim ve münşakk olan hayrât-ı celîle mahall-i sairenin kefiyetleri,

Sultân Emir Efendimizin câmi-i şerifleri zâhir-i hâlde zararsız ise de minâreleri münşakk olduğu ve türbe-i şerifeleri dahi cüz-ice zedelenmiş ve imâret-i âmire ve hinta anbarı münhedim ve civarında bulunan medrese ziyâdece zedelenmiş olduğu,

Sultân Orhan Gâzi Hazretlerinin câmi-i şerifleri zâhir-i hâlde zararsız olup minâresi şerefesine kadar münhedim ve alt tarafı münşakk ve civarında kâin mektep münhedim ve imâret-i âmireleri cüz'î zedelenmiş olduğu ve derûn-ı kal'ede kâin anasıl manastır olup şimdi türbe-i şerifeleri bulunan mahâl ve civârında medreseleri külliye münhedim olduğu ve ittisâlinde Sultan Orhan Gâzi hazretlerinin türbe-i şerifleri münhedim olmamış ise de zedelenmiş olduğu,

Sultân Yıldırım Hazretlerinin câmi-i şerifleri zâhirinde zararsız olup minâresi nısfından münhedim ve türbe-i şerifelerinin suffesi bulunan iki kubbeleri münşakk ve türbe-i şerife kubbesi zararsız ve imâret-i âmireleri civârında bulunan medreselerinin bir tarafında vâki suffe kubbeleri münhedim ve etrâf-ı selâsesi ve odaları zararsız olduğu,

Çelebi Sultân Mehmed Hân Hazretlerinin cami-i şerifleri zararsız olup câmi-i şerif-i kubbesi üzerinde vâki fener tâbir olunan mahâl ve minâresi şerefesine kadar münhedim olup ve alt tarafı dahi münşakk olduğu câmi-i şerifi havâlisinde şadırvân ve hâne duvarları münhedim ve türbe-i şerifeleri ve medreseleri cüz-ice zedelenmiş olduğu ve imâretleri dahi harâb olduğu, Murâd-ı Sâni Hazretlerinin câmi-i şerifleri cüz-ice zedelenmiş ve minâresi dâhi münşakk olmuş ve türbe-i şerifeleri kubbesi dahi münşakk olduğu ve medrese ve dershâne ve civâr duvarları zedelenmiş olduğu ve imâretlerinin zâhirde zarar görülemediği,

¹ OĞUZOĞLU (1999:77-78).

Hazret-i Üftâde Efendimizin câmi-i şerifleri münşakk olub minâresinin dahi şerefesinden üst tarafı ve burc üzerinde vâki Şeyh Efendi dâiresinin bazı mahâlleri münhedim olduğu ve müşârun iley hazretlerinin tariki üzerinde vâki Yerkapu tâbir olunan mahalle kal'enin burcu münhedim olarak tarik-i mezkûru doldurmuş idiği,

Yıldırım Bâyezid Hân Hazretlerinin vasat-i şehirde binâ buyurdıkları Câmi-i Kebir demekle meşhur yirmi kubbeli mâbed-i münifin mihrâb kubbesi sırasında kapıya kadar üç kubbe ziyâdece münşakk olmuş ve mâadâ kubbelere dahi zedelenmiş ve zâhirde civârlarında sakatlık ve sağ taraftaki minârenin tahtında kâin mekteb münhedim olmuş ve hamdü lillahi teâlâ bir mikdar evvelce sibyan âzâd olunmuş bulunduğuy,

Derûn-ı şehirde yüz yirmi beş aded minâreler câmi-i şerif ve mesâcid olup onların ekserisi kârgir bulunduğundan ve Kayan-zâde Câmi-i Şerifi dört kubbe üzerine mebnî olarak ve Tuz Pazarı'ndan kâin Hayreddin Paşa câmi-i şerifi ikisi dahi külliye münhedim ve minâreleri şerefelerinden münhedim olduğu ve minârelerden yirmi kadar sağlam görünür ise de onlardan dahi bâzıları münşakk olduğu ve cevâmî ve mesâcid-i şerifenin ekserisi zedelenmiş ve bâzılarının zararsız olduğu haber verilmiştir.

Bursa'da kâin kârgir hanlardan Umur Bey vakfından Eski Yeni Hanı ve Karaca Ahmed Paşa vakfından Karacabey Hanı ve Şahin Lala vakfından Demir Hanı bunlar ziyâdece münhedim olduğu ve mâadâ hanlardan Kapan ve Tahta Kal'e ve Mudanya hanlarının dahi bazı mahalleri münhedim olmuş ve Han-ı Harir ve Han-ı Emir ve Simkeş Mahmud Paşa ve Piriç ve Geyve ve sair hanların bâzı mahâlleri münşakk olduğu haber alınmıştır. Vasat-ı şehirden câri Gökdere nehri üzerinde vâki Sedbaşı ve Irgandı ve Boyacıkulu nâm kârgir köprülerin münşakk olduğu haber alınmıştır.

Ber-vech-i bâlâ câmi-i şeriflerin zararsız olanlarına dâhi kârgir olduğu ve sakatlanmış bulunduğu cihetle girilmeğe cesâret olunamadığından ahâli-i belde edâ-yı salât-ı cum'a için Sultân Yıldırım Câmi-i Şerifi meydânında hatib vekili İbrahim Efendi ve Çelebi Sultân Mehmed Han Câmi-i Şerifi meydânında hatib Nimet Efendi ve Murâd-ı Sâni Hazretlerinin Câmi-i Şerifi meydanında Hâfiz Kâmil Efendi ve Pınarbaşı nâm sahrada Hâfiz Rıza Efendi ve vasat-i şehirde Veled-i Habib mahallesinde câmi-i şerifi ittisalinde Bahaeddin Efendi'nin mutasarıf olduğu hadika derûnunda dahi muvakkaten sâhibi izniyle muteber ve vaz'ına ruhsat ve müsâade-i âliyye-i cenâb-ı pâdişâhınm erzân ve şâyân buyurulması,

Şu mesâib-i ilâhiyyenin külliye indifa'sı için mekremetlü Müfti Efendi marifetiyeler teberriken ve teyemmünen Şifa-i Şerif-i Nebevî kirâ'at buyurulması için bi'l-cümle Hoca Efendiler hazarâtı celb birle hatim buyurulmuş olduğundan duâ-yı vâcibü'l-edâ-yı alisi bâzı ed'iyeyi me'sûre ve istiğfâr-ı lâzime ilavesiyle Bursa'da kâin Namazgâh başı nâm mahall-i vâsiâda ba'de edâ-yı salât-ı cum'a ifâ ve tanzim kılınmış münâdiler nidâsıyla kâffe-i ahâli-i İslâm da'vet olunarak ol vechile mahall-i mezkûrda edâ-yı fârize-i salât ile dua-yı vâcibü'l-edâ cemâat-ı kesire ile kemâl-i husus üzere ifâ ve ref-i bâr-gâh-ı cenâb-ı Rabb-i mu'allâ kılınmış oldu.

خداوندگار مال خنده و خنده اوقه و در این شهر است
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راضی و خفته بنام این شهر است
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بوندک بوندک این شهر است
رضه و خنده

Atûfetlû Efendim Hazretleri

Burûsa Şehri'nde geçende vuku bulan hârikde ahâli-i İslâmiyye'den olarak hârizede olanlardan beş kişi efkar-ı fukarâdan buldukları cihetle muhterik olan hânelerinin tekrâr inşâsına muktedir olamadıklarından sadaka-i sermeâli efser Hazret-i Şehinşâhî olmak üzere bunlara dahî beşbin gurusî atıyye-i seniyye ihsân buyurulmuş ve Evkâf Muhâsebesi ru'yet olundukta mâhiyye tahsîsâtından alınmış bin gurusî mütecâviz tasarrufât husûle gelmiş olmağla Hallede Aşiyân Sultân Orhan Hazretleri Câmii Şerifi'yle medresesinin ve Çelebi Sultân Mehmed Hân Hazretleri medresesiyle mektebinin ta'mirleri için bu kadar akçenin havâle mekâmında canib-i Nezâret-i Evkâf-ı Hümayûn'a iâdesi ifâdesine dâir Atûfetlû Vefk efza Hazretlerinin tahrîrâtı arz ve takdîm kılındı. Muvâfik emru fermân-ı âli-i Hazret-i Hilâfetpenâhî buyurulduğı halde zikrolunan atıyye-i seniyye medresenin tesviye-i icâbı zımında Maliye Nezâret Celîlesi'ne havâlesine ve diğerk maddenin dahi Nezâret-i Evkâf-ı Hümayûn ile icrâyı muhâberesiyle tesviye-i muktezâsına ibtidâ olunacağı beyânıyle tezkere-i senâverî takdîr olundî Efendim.

Sene 12 Cemaziyelulâ 1280

Ma'rûz-i Çâkerkemîneleridir ki

Resîde-i dest tâ'zim olan işbu tezkere-i seniyye-i ahfâneleriyle tahrîrât-ı merkûme menzûr Hazret-i Şehriyâri buyurulmuş ve husûsât-ı muharrirenin bermûcib-i istindân icrâyı iktizâları şerefsünuh ve sudur buyurulan emr ve irâde-i seniyye-i Hazret-i Hilâfetpenâhî mantuk-i münîfünden olarak taharrîrât-ı merkûme yine sübu sâmi-i Sadaretpenâhîlerine iâde kılınmış olmağla olbâbda emru fermân Hazret-i Vekilû'l-Emrindir.

Sene 13 Cemaziyelulâ 1280

Makâm-ı Âli-i Hazret-i Vekâletpenâhî'ye Ma'rûz-i Çâkerkemîneleridir ki

Ermeni cemâatinden geçen hârikte musâb olanların mikdâr ve keyfiyatı yüz yetmiş sekiz adedlû arzıamla arz olumuş idi. İslâm hârikzedegânının dahî bu kerre pusulîseni almak nasîb olub tahkîkâte nâzaran bunlar on altı parça arsaya bâliğ olmağla ve beşinin ashâb-ı efkâr-ı fukarâdan ve muhterik hânelerinin inşâya muktedir olamayan takımdan ve kusuri dahî oldukça ashâb-ı servet ve iktidârdan bulunmağla pek fakîr ve bivâye olanların diğerk arz olunanlara kıyâsen beş bin gurusî kadar atıyye-i seniyye-i ihsan buyurulmuş ve Burusa'nın Evkâf Muhâsebesi yoklandıkta leffen takdîm olunan pûsileler mücibince mâhiyye tahsîsâtından altmış bin gurusî mütecâviz tasarrufât husûle gelerek bunun mukâbilinde bir aylık Evkâf senediyle bir kıt'a tahsîlât pusulası Evkâf-ı Hümayûn'a gönderimek üzere leffen takdîm kılınmış olmağla eğer Sultân Orhan Hân Hazretleri Câmii-i Şerifi'yle medresesinin ve Çelebi Sultân Mehmed Hân Hazretleri'nin medresesi ve mektebi tâ'mirleri için bu kadar havâle makâmında canib-i Nezâretten iâdesi münasib görünir ise de icrâyı icâbı mütevakkıf re'yî rezin olmağın her halde irâde-i fermân Hazret-i Menlehu'l-Emrindir.

Sene 25 Safer 1280 An Burusa 27 Teşrinievvel 79

Atûfetlü Efendim Hazretleri

Burûsa Hükümet Konağı'nın defâtirin hıfzı için gösterilen lüzûma mebnî keşf olunan sekiz bin dokuz yüz gurûş masrafla bir kârgir mağaza ve bir bekçi odasının inşâsı ve Köstence Kazası'nda bir هفته cihârşembe ve Fersuh Kazası'nda bâzâr günleri birer bâzâr küşâdî zımında muâmelât-ı muktezîyenin ifâsı ve Erdel Sancağı'nda meskûn muhâcirîn fukarâsına verilen nân bedeliyle nakliyye ücreti ve mesarîf-i sâire olan yirmi sekiz bin iki yüz altmış yedi buçuk ve yine muhâcirinden Konya'da(?) bulunanlar fukarâsiyçün sarf olunan bir yük evâni sekiz bin altı yüz yetmiş dokuz ve muhâcirîn-i merkûmeden Hüdâvendigâr Sancağı'yle elviye-i sâirede iskân olunmak üzere murûr ve ubûr edenlere verilen nân bedeli vesâire olan on iki bin yüz on gurûşun icrâyı mahsûb ve hârîk amelesine sâbıkları misillü i'tası lâzım gelerek i'mâl ettirilen üç yüz takım elbisenin esmâm bulunan yirmi dört bin üç yüz kırk yedi gurûşun i'tası istîzanına dâir Maliye Nezâret-i Celîlesi'nin altı kıt'a takrîri arz ve takdîm kılınmış olmağla ber-mûcib-i istindân ifâyı muktezâlarına nazaran müşârun ileyhâya havâlesi hakkında herneveçhile emru fermân-ı Hazret-i Mülûkâne Şerefsünuh desdûr buyurulur îse ona göre hareket olunacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâveri terkîm olundi Efendim.

Sene 19 Şaban 1280

Ma'rûz-i Çâkerkemînelerdir ki

Resîde-i dest-i ta'zîm olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiye-i ahfâneleriyle zikrolunan takrîrler manzûr (?) Hazret-i Padişâhî buyurulmuş ve husûsât-ı merkûmenin bermûcib-i istindân ifâyı muktezâlarının nezâret müşârun ileyhâya havâlesi müteallik ve şerefsudûr buyurularak emru fermân mekârîmi u'nvân Cenâb-ı Cihânbanî iktizâyı âliyyesinden olarak mezkûr takrîrlere sübu sâmien ahflerine iade kılınmış olmağla olbâbda emru fermân Hazret-i Vekilü'l Emrindir.

20 Şaban 1280

ŞERHİT KIRILU
MERKEZİ
T.C. YÜK
DOKÜMANTU