

BİDGE Yayınları

Tarihte Özgün Bilimsel Çalışmalar I

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BÖLÜM I

Osmanlı'da Salgınla Mücadele Yöntemlerine Bir Bakış (Kolera Örneği)

Eylem ÖZTÜRKÇİ¹

Giriş

Salgın hastalıklar, Eskiçağlardan itibaren büyük can kayıplarına sebep olan ve insanları dehşete düşüren hastalıkların başında gelir. Hastalıklar toplumdaki yaygınlıklarına göre; endemi, epidemi ve pandemi olarak sınıflandırılırlar. Endemi, bir popülasyon içinde her zaman var olan bir hastalığı, epidemi; beklenmedik bir şekilde hızlı ve aniden yayılarak birçok insanı etkileyen bir hastalığı, pandemi ise bir kıta veya dünyanın tümü gibi büyük alanlarda yaygın olan ve çok büyük sayıda insanı etkileyen bir hastalığı tanımlamada kullanılır (Dinç, 2012: 43). Tarih boyunca dünyanın birçok yerinde devletleri ve insanları etkileyen salgın hastalıklardan biri de kolera pandemisidir. Kolera; insanda akut başlangıçlı bulantısız kusma,

¹Eylem Öztürkci, Dr., ORCID: 0000-0003-0434-7717, eylemozturkci@hotmail.com

karın ağrısız şiddetli ishal ile başlayan, kısa zamanda gelişen ve tedavi edilmezse oldukça öldürücü olan bir enfeksiyon hastalığıdır. Hastalığın etkeni olan “vibrio cholera”nın kirli suları içme ve yiyeceklerle alınmasıyla beraber bir ya da üç gün içinde belirtilerini göstermeye başlar. Hastalık, mikrobun mideden geçip bağırsaklara yerleşerek çoğalmasından meydana gelir (Menekşe, 2020: 388).

18. yüzyıl sonu ve 19. yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıkan koleranın çıkış bölgesi Hindistan’ın Bengal Eyaleti’nin Ganj vadisidir. Bu bölgede 1816’da görülen büyük kıtlık ve açlık, salgının ortaya çıkmasına zemin oluşturmuştur. Hastalık buradan başlayarak iki yönde yayılmış; bir taraftan Çin ve Çin Hindine, diğer taraftan İran, Astragan aracılığı ile Türkiye ve Batı ülkelerine ulaşmıştır. ticaret yolları ve Hindistan’dan Hicaz’a gelen hacılar vasıtasıyla tüm dünyaya yayılmıştır. 1817-1823 yılları arasında görülen bu salgından birkaç yıl sonra 1826-1836 yıllarında ikinci bir salgın ortaya çıkmıştır. Aynı istikâmetle Avrupa’ya sıçradıktan sonra İrlandalı muhacirlerle Kanada ve Amerika’ya ulaşmıştır. Bu salgında iki yol önem taşımaktadır. Bunlardan ilki kervanlarla kara yolu ile İran’dan Rusya’ya geçmiş, ikincisi ise deniz yolu ile önce Mekke’ye oradan Ortadoğu ve Avrupa’ya intikal etmiştir. 1846-1862 pandemisi ikinci pandeminin istikâmetini takip etmiştir. Ancak deniz yolu daha ön plandadır. Salgın Mekke ve Hicaz’a ulaştıktan sonra Ortadoğu’dan Napoli ve Marsilya gibi büyük limanlarda patlak vermiştir. Bir taraftan da hacılarla Kuzey Afrika’ya sıçramıştır (Tezok, 1971: 5). Bu salgının güzergâhını takip eden 1863-1875 pandemisi, Avrupa’da büyük kayıplar neden olmakla kalmamış, Amerika’da da iki dalga şeklinde kendini hissettirmiştir (Sarıyıldız, 1996: 2). 1879-1884 yılları arasında görülen beşinci

pandemi ise Hindistan'dan başlayarak biri İran diğeri Mekke yolu ile yayılmış oradan Mısır ve Anadolu'ya sıçramıştır. Hemen hemen aynı yolları takip eden 1892-1903 pandemisinde de deniz yolu ön plana çıkmıştır. 6-12 yıl süren bu salgınlarda pek çok insan hayatını kaybetmiştir (Tezok, 1971: 4-5).

19. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren etkili olan kolera salgınlar karşısında devletler bir taraftan bir takım teşkilâtlar kurmaya çalışırken diğerk taraftan da bu amansız düşmana karşı işbirliği yolunu seçmişlerdir (Sarıyıldız, 1996:4). Kolera salgınını durdurmak için sıhhiye konferansları düzenlenmiştir. 1851'de Paris'te düzenlenen ilk Uluslararası Sıhhiye Konferansı'nda salgının kontrol edilmesi ve engellenmesi konusunda tedbirler alınmıştır (Yılmaz, 2017: 71). İleriki yıllarda da benzer şekilde uluslararası konferanslar yapılmıştır.²

1.Osmanlı 'da Kolera Salgını ve Mücadele Yöntemleri

Osmanlı Devleti, kıtalar arası geçişi sağlayan coğrafi konumu itibariyle bir çok salgın hastalıkla karşılaşmıştır. Veba başta olmak üzere çiçek, sıtma gibi salgın hastalıkların görüldüğü Osmanlı coğrafyasında etkili olan bir diğerk hastalık da kolera olmuştur. Kolera salgını 1822'de Basra Körfezi'nden, Bağdat yoluyla Anadolu ve Akdeniz sahillerine ulaşarak Osmanlı topraklarında yayılmıştır. Bundan sonra gerek büyük salgınlar gerekse ara salgınlar Osmanlı

²İkincisi 1859'da Paris'te, 1866'da üçüncüsü İstanbul, dördüncüsü 1874'te Viyana, beşincisi 1881'de Washington, altıncısı 1885'te Roma, yedincisi 1892'de Venedik, sekizincisi 1893'te Dresd, dokuzuncusu 1894'te Paris, onuncusu 1897'de Venedik, onbirincisi 1903'te Paris, on ikincisi 1911'de yine Paris ve on üçüncüsü 1922'de Varşova'da yapılmıştır. Bkz. Sönmez, 2023: 99.

topraklarından eksik olmamış ve büyük çaplı zayiata sebep olmuştur (Ayar, 2005: 17; Yılmaz, 2017: 23).

Kolera hastalığının Anadolu’da en çok görüldüğü yerler kıyı şeridi ve geçiş güzergâhlarıdır. Anadolu’nun Batı kıyı şeridinde bulunan İzmir ve Aydın; güney şeridinde Adana, Mersin, Antalya; Karadeniz kıyı şeridinde Artvin, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Samsun, Sinop; Doğu ve Güneydoğu bölgelerinde Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Antep, Malatya, Erzincan; İç kesimlerde Ankara, Eskişehir, Konya, Yozgat, Sivas’ın yanı sıra İstanbul, salgının görüldüğü yerler arasındadır (Yıldız, 2014:37).

Osmanlı toprağı olan Hicaz’da ilki 1831 olmak üzere bu yılı takip eden seksen beş yıl içinde yirmi iki defa kolera salgını görülmüştür. 1893’te yaşanan salgın o zamana kadar çıkmış olan en büyük ve en şiddetli olanıdır. Bu tarihte hac görevini yapmak üzere çok sayıda hacının bu topraklarda bulunuyor olması, hastalığın büyümesinde ve ölüm oranının artmasında önemli bir faktördür (Sarıyıldız, 1996: 61. 66).

Toplumda insanların bir kısmı salgınları Allah’ın iradesiyle günahkâr insanlara gönderilen bir ceza olarak görürken, diğer bir kısmı da salgınları Allah’ın lütfu ve şehitlik mertebesine ulaşmak için bir yol olarak görmüşlerdir (Yıldız, 2014:61). Halkın söz konusu uhrevi yaklaşımlarına karşın Osmanlı Devleti, salgınlar karşısında rasyonel politikalar izleyerek çeşitli önlemler almıştır.

Halkı Bilinçlendirme

Osmanlı Devleti, bilinçlendirmeyi salgının daha da yayılmasını engellemede bir çare olarak görmüştür. Bu yüzden

layihalar³, risaleler bastırarak ve yabancı ülkelerden getirttikleri kitapları tercüme ettirerek halkı bilinçlendirme yoluna gitmiştir. Doğrudan halka ulaşmak zor olduğu için risaleler ve kitaplar taşradaki yöneticilere ve memurlara ulaştırılarak öncelikle bunların bilinçlendirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. 1831 yılında II. Mahmud döneminde başlayan kolera salgınında halkı bilinçlendirmek amacıyla devletin Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Efendi,⁴ Kolera Risalesini hazırlamış ve matbaa aracılığıyla 4000 nüsha çoğaltılarak devlet adamlarına ve halka dağıtılmıştır. Risale, üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde hastalığın başlaması ve belirtileri, ikinci bölümde hastalıktan korunma yöntemleri ve beslenme, üçüncü bölümde ise hastalık başladığında gerekli önlemler ve ilaçlar açıklanmaktadır (Pekdoğan, 2019:17-18). 1847 yılında ise Sultan Abdülmecid'in isteği üzerine dönemin Tıp Nazırı Hekim İsmail Paşa bu hastalık üzerine bir risale yazmıştır. Bu risalede, salgının kökenleri, nereden başlayıp yayıldığı, hangi durumlarda daha şiddetli olduğu ve hastalığın tedavi yöntemleri anlatılmıştır (İpek, 2023:50). İlerleyen dönemlerde de benzer risaleler yazılmıştır. Risaleler, Türkçe basıldığı gibi gayri müslimler için farklı dillerde de tertip edilmiştir (Yıldız, 2014, s. 62-63; BOA. A. MKT. 150/34; BOA. A. MKT. 152/5).⁵

³ Layiha: Osmanlı bürokrasisinde rapor veya taslak türü belgeye verilen ad. Bkz. Kütükoğlu, 2003: 116.

⁴ Mustafa Behçet Efendi (1774-1824), 1803 yılında III. Selim zamanında saraya başhekim olarak atanmıştır. III. Selim'in isyan sonucu öldürülmesi ile görevden alınmış ancak 1816'da teniden başhekimliğe atanmıştır. 1821'de görevden alınıp Keşan'a sürgüne gönderilmiştir. Bir müddet sonra İstanbul'a dönerek üçüncü kez II. Mahmud tarafından başhekim olarak atanmıştır. Tıbbın modernleşmesinde önemli rol oynamış, Karantina teşkilatının kurulmasında ön ayak olmuştur. Bkz. Kahya-Erdemir, 2000: 286.

⁵ Ermenice ve Rumca basılarak dağıtılmıştır.

Hekimlerin yazdığı risalelerin yanı sıra yurt dışında konuyla ilgili yazılmış kitapların tercüme edilmesine gidilmiştir. Kolerayla ilgili İngiltere’den getirtilen kitap tercüme ettirilmiş ve iki cilt basılıp bir nüshası padişaha sunulmuştur (BOA. A. MKT. 150/95). Bu risaleler dışında salgınla mücadele için bölgeye gönderilen hekim ve idarecilerin karşılaştıkları durumlarla ilgili hazırladıkları raporlar da mevcuttur. Osmanlı hükümeti, hekimlerden hastalıklarla ilgili ayrıntılı raporlar beklemiştir (Yıldız, 2014:64).

Halkı bilinçlendirmenin bir diğer yolu da gazetelerdir. Özellikle İstanbul basını büyük çaba göstermiş ve hastalıklara yönelik bilgilendirici yayınlar yapmıştır. Kalabalık mekanlardan uzak durulması, temizliğe dikkat edilmesi, kaynatılmış su içilmesi gibi hususlarda hassas davranılmasına değinilmiştir. İstanbul dışındaki bazı bölge gazetelerinde de benzer haberler yapılmıştır. Örneğin, 1893 yılındaki kolera salgınında Edirne gazetesinde yayınlanan haberde halk salgına karşı uyarılmış ve birtakım önlemler sıralanmıştır. Bu önlemler arasında evlerin havalandırılması, içilecek suların kaynatılması, umumi tuvaletlerin temizliğine dikkat edilmesi gibi hususlara dikkat çekilmiştir (Yıldız, 2014:65).

Devlet, halkı salgınlardan korumak için duyurular da yapmıştır. Buna örnek olarak 1895’te Tarsus’ta görülen kolera salgınının yayılmasını engellemek için, normal kanal suyunun içilmesinin yasaklanması, suların şehre uzak kuyulardan çekilmesi ya da nehrin gerisinden alınması ve kaynatılarak içilmesi yönünde halka uyarılar yapılmıştır. Ancak halk bu duyurulara pek kulak asmamış ve bu yüzden salgın toplum arasında yayılma göstermiştir (BOA. A. MKT. MHM. 564/4).

1.2. Karantina ve Kordon Uygulaması

Osmanlı topraklarına giren kolera salgınına karşı devletin bu salgının yayılmasını önlemek ve mücadele etmek için başvurduğu yöntemlerden biri de karantinedir. Karantinalarda bekleme süresi 40 gün olduğundan buna quarante (kırk- karantina) denilmiştir (Sarıyıldız, 1994:329). Osmanlı Devleti'nde karantina uygulaması 1831'deki kolera salgınıyla başlamıştır. Rusya'da çıkan kolera hastalığının Avrupa'ya yayılmasını önlemek için Fransa ve diğer devletler buradan gelecek gemilerin Osmanlı Devleti tarafından karantina altında bekletmesini istemiştir. Bunun üzerine Sultan II. Mahmud, halkın sağlık durumuna nezaret etmek, taun ve koleranın ülkeye girişine mani olmak, bu hastalıklar görüldüğü taktirde onu görüldüğü yerde ortadan kaldırmak ve yayılmasını önlemek amacıyla karantina usulünün uygulanmasını emretmiştir. Bunun ardından İstanbul'a gelen bütün gemilerin Boğaziçi'nde bekletilmesi, Karadeniz'den İstanbul'a gelecek gemilerin Büyük Limanda, diğer devlet gemilerinin ise İstinye Körfezi'nde beş gün karantinada bekletilmesi kararı alınmıştır. Bu kuruluş aşamasının ardından 1835'te Çanakkale'de daha sistemli bir hale gelmiş, burada çadırlar kurulmuş ve İstanbul'a gelecek gemiler burada bekletilmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti karantina usulünü uygulamaya başladığında bu kelimenin yerine daha çok “usul-ı tehaffuz”, karantina yerine de “tehaffuzhane” tabiri kullanılmıştır (Sarıyıldız, 2001:463). Şeyhülislam Asım Efendi'nin karantinanın caiz olduğuna dair fetva vermesi üzerine, gerekli kanunların hazırlanması için karantina hakkında bilgi sahibi olan kişilerin haftada birkaç kez bir araya gelmesi ile toplanacak olan mecliste bu konunun görüşülmesi kararı alınmıştır. Bu doğrultuda Karantina Meclisi

kurulmuştur. Osmanlı resmi gazetesi Takvim-i Vekayi’de bu meclisin kurulduğu ilan edilmiştir Bu meclis, Sıhhiye Meclis, Karantina Meclisi, Meclis-i Tehaffuz, Sıhhiye Nezareti, Karantina Nezareti gibi isimlerle anılmıştır (Sarıyıldız, 2001:464). Bu mecliste büyük devletlerin bir, Osmanlı’nın ise iki delegesi bulunurdu ve görevleri salgın zamanında karantina kurallarını uygulamaktı. Vilayet merkezlerinde ve şehirlerde hekimler, bunların emirleri altında da görevliler bulunurdu. Bu kişilerin de görevleri kolera vakasına rastladıklarında üstlerine haber vermek ve idari işlemleri yapmaktı (Yıldız, 2014).

İstanbul’un çeşitli yerlerinde karantina noktaları kurulup faaliyete başlandı. Hangi milletten olursa olsun toplu ölümlerde Karantina Meclisi’ne haber verilmesi ve meclisten tezkire alınmadıkça ölümlerin defnedilmemesi kural haline getirildi. İstanbul dışında Bursa, Trabzon, Midilli, Siroz, Çanakkale gibi pek çok yerde karantina noktaları kuruldu (Sarıyıldız, 2001: 464).

Osmanlı ülkesine dışarıdan salgın hastalıkların girdiği önemli bir güzergah olan İran Anadolu girişlerinin kontrol altına alınması için de gayret gösterilmiştir. 1869’da İran’da çıkan kolera hastalığının Osmanlı tarafına sirayet etmemesi için sınırın uygun yerlerine tehaffuzhaneler inşa edilmiştir. Ancak hastalığın bu dönemde Osmanlı topraklarına girmesi engellenememiştir. İran’dan gelecek salgına karşın tedbirlerin arttırılması ile 1892’de karantina tedbirlerinin bu defa etkili olduğu görülmüştür. Anadolu’nun korunması amacıyla özellikle İran ve Rusya sınırında bulunan dokuz sınır kapısından dördü kapatılmıştır (Yıldız, 2014:56).

Osmanlı Devleti'nin salgın hastalıkları önleme amacıyla uyguladığı karantinaya karşı birtakım isyan hareketleri de görülmüştür. Halk, Müslüman olmayan hekimlerin uyguladığı karantina önlemlerine güvenmemiş ve verilen ilaçlara da şüpheyle baktıklarından karantina tedbirlerine uyum sağlamaları zor olmuştur. Aslında bunu temelinde de karantina yüzünden işleri bozulan bilinçsiz kişilerin halkı “karantina şeriatı aykırıdır” diye kışkırtmaları yatmaktadır. Ayrıca gayri müslim hekimlerin halkın inançlarını hiçe sayarak sergiledikleri tutumları da başka bir sebeptir. Böylece halk isyan etmiştir. Devlet, isyanın önüne geçmek için sorumsuz davranan hekimleri azletmiş, isyan hareketine katılanları da sürgün etmiştir (Yıldırım, 2006b:21). Antep'te kolera hastalığının ortadan kalkması için halk duaya çıkmış ve duadan dönerken karantinayı taşıyarak uygunsuz hareketlerde bulunmuştur. Ayrıca duadan dönen cemaat halkı kışkırtarak asayiş bozmuşlardır. Bu durumun araştırılması üzerine olay çıkmasından sorumlu tutulan iki kişi Kilis'e sürgüne gönderilmiştir (BOA. MVL. 27/47; BOA. A. MKT. 149/81; BOA. DH. MKT. 168/6).

Karantina uygulamasının daha dar kapsamlı hali olan ve hastalığın çıkış yerinden dışarı yayılmasını engellemek, aynı yerde imha edilmesini temin etmek maksadıyla kordon altına alma uygulamasına da gidilmiştir. Vakanın ortaya çıktığı yer ablukaya alınıp, buralara giriş çıkışlar denetim altında yapılmıştır. Salgına yakalanan kişilerin evleri, eşyaları, elbiseleri temizlenip, kordon içerisinde kalanların yiyecek ve diğer ihtiyaçları karşılanmıştır. Hastaları nakl eden arabalara dikkat edilmiş ve hastalığın başka yerlere sirayet etmesi engellenmeye çalışılmıştır. Kordon bölgesinde görev yapan güvenlik güçlerinin sürekli aynı yerde beklemeleri onlar

açısından zor olacağından dönüşümlü olarak çalışmaları sağlanmıştır (Yağcıoğlu, 2019: 51-52).

Kordonun süresi genellikle on gündür. Ancak hastalığın artık görülmediği yerlerde bu süre beş güne kadar indirilmiştir. Sosyal yaşantılarının kısıtlandığı bir uygulama olması sebebiyle insanların, kordon altına alınma endişesiyle hastalarını gizleme yoluna gittikleri görülmektedir. Bu yüzden hastalığa yakalanan kişilerin tespiti zorlaşmış ve bu kişilerin başkalarıyla temas etmeleri önlenememiştir. Hatta hasta olan bir kişinin evi kordon altına alınsa bile halk kapıdaki zaptiyeleri atlatıp, damdan dama geçerek birbirleriyle görüşmüşlerdir. Bu sebeple salgın yayılmış ve kontrol altına alınması güçleşmiştir. Buna örnek olarak 1895 yılında Tarsus'ta ortaya çıkan kolera salgınına karşın halkın, benzer yöntemlerle devletin aldığı tedbirleri esnetmeye çalışmaları gösterilebilir (Uğuz, 2012:440).

Kordon uygulamasına bir başka tepki de 1894 yılında Bursa'da şehir dışına çıkamadıkları, ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamadıklarını ve ticaret yapamadıklarını gerekçe gösteren yaklaşık iki yüz kadının, valilik binasının önünde toplanarak kordonların kaldırılmasını ve mağduriyetlerinin giderilmesini istemeleridir. Yapılan tetkikler sonucu bu kadınlardan altmışının zor durumda olduğu anlaşılmış ve bunlara ekmek, et, pirinç verilerek kordon uygulaması kaldırılincaya kadar bu hizmete devam edilmiştir (Kumaş, 2011:227; BOA. Y. PRK. ZB. 14/42). Kordon uygulamasında yaşanan zorluklar sebebiyle hastalığın görüldüğü yerlerin dezenfekte edilmesiyle yetinilmesi diğer bir uygulamadır (BOA. İ. HUS. 18/7).

1.3. Temizlik ve Dezenfektan İşlemleri

Osmanlı Devleti'nde kolera salgını ile mücadele yollarından biri de temizlik ve hijyeni sağlamak, dezenfektan ile önlem almaya çalışmaktır. 1848 yılında İstanbul'da kolera hastalığının artması üzerine sokakların temiz tutulması, çöplerin ortalıkta bırakılmaması, kasapların kestikleri hayvanların deri, içkembe ve bağırsaklarını dükkanlara asmaması ve temizliğe dikkat edilmesi halka bildirilmiştir (BOA. A. MKT. 140/89).

Salgına karşı tedbir olarak, hasta olan kişilerin eşya ve giysileri basınçlı su buharı ile temizlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Hastalıkların görüldüğü ev, okul, iş yeri, araba, gemi, kayık gibi mekanlar ile postadan gelen mektup ve paketlerin dezenfekte edilmesi de önemli tedbirlerdendir. Bu işlemler için de tebhirhaneler oluşturulmuştur. Tebhirhane; buğu evi, temizleme evi anlamına gelmektedir. Buralarda etüv makineleri ve pülverizatörler kullanılmıştır. Etüv makinesi, bulaşık ve temiz olmak üzere iki bölüme açılan, iki kapağı bulunan, bulaşık eşya ve giysilerin 110 derece buharla dezenfekte edilip, kurutulduğu makinelerdir. Pülverizatörler ise, küçük boy etüv makineleridir (Yıldırım, 2006a:413; Yıldız, 2014:244). Bu makineler aracılığıyla dezenfekte işlemleri yapılarak salgının yayılma hızı azaltılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Salgınlar sırasında halka önerilen dezenfektan maddelerden biri de kolaylıkla bulunabilen kireçti. Edirne ve çevresindeki kolerada (1893-1984) aşçı, kebabçı, sebzeçi, berber dükkanları ve meyhanelerin kireçle badana ettirilmesi, bir evde hastalık var ise hekim gelinceye kadar hastanın odasına sönmemiş kireç dökülmesi, tuvalet ve hastanın kullandığı kapların hekimin tavsiye edeceği ilaçlarla ve kireçle dezenfekte edilmesi istenmiştir. İstanbul'da da

bütün sokaklara ve kolera odağı olabilecek yerlere kireç dökülmüştür (Yıldırım, 2006b:24).

Halkın daha önce karantinaya karşı gösterdiği direnci, dezenfekte işlemlerine karşı da gösterdiği görülmektedir. Hatta toplumun dezenfekte kelimesine alışık olmaması ve bu yüzden bu usullerin makul görülmesi için dezenfekte ve dezenfeksiyon tabirlerinin yerine temizlemek anlamındaki “tathir” ve “tanzif” gibi kelimelerin kullanımı tercih edilmiştir (Bingöl, 2020:81). Dezenfekte işleminden kaçan kişiler sebebiyle salgın hastalıkların yayılma hızı da artmıştır. Örneğin, Tarsus’ta bulunan gayri müslimler cenazelerini kimseler görmeden gece karanlığında defnetmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Bu şekilde herhangi bir dezenfekte işlemi yapılmadan defnedilen cenazeler hastalığın yayılmasına neden olmuştur (Uğuz, 2012:440).

1.4. Okulların Tatil Edilmesi

Okullar, hem kalabalık olmaları hem de yaş grubu sebebiyle temizliğe dair bilinç seviyesi düşük olan mekanlar oldukları için herhangi bir hastalığın çıkması durumunda son derece tehlikeli sonuçlar oluşturabilecek yerlerdendir. Bu yüzden okul tatilleri Osmanlı Devleti’nde koruyucu sağlık hizmetleri kapsamında başvurulmuş yöntemlerdendi. Herhangi bir okulda salgın hastalık görülmesi ve bildirilmesi durumunda hükümet yetkilileri ilgili nezaretler (bakanlıklar) aracılığıyla gerekli sürelerde tatil kararı alıp bunu okullara tebliğ ederdi (Bingöl, 2020: 87). Kolera hastalığının görüldüğü dönemlerde de okullar tatil edilerek salgının yayılmasını önlemek amaçlanmıştır.

1893 kolera salgınının İstanbul'da ilk görüldüğü yer olan Hasköy ve Kasımpaşa'da salgınının yayılması üzerine yatılı okulda kalan öğrencilerin bir süre sadece gündüz okula devam etmeleri kararlaştırılmış ve gerektiğinde bu kararın uzatılması planlanmıştır. Ayrıca bu hususta yabancı okullarda da gerekli tedbirlerin alınması için bilgilendirme yoluna baş vurulmuştur. Kolera hastalığının okullarda yayılması üzerine ise tatil yoluna gidilmiştir (BOA. A. MKT. MHM. 591/23). Salgının yıl sonuna devam etmesi sebebiyle Küçükçekmece kazasındaki Hamidiye köyünde de okul tatil edilmiştir (BOA. MF. MKT. 190/48). Daha sonra bu bölgedeki tüm okulların tatil edilmesine karar verilmiştir. Koleradan dolayı tatil edilen okulların eğitime düzenli bir şekilde devam etmesi 1894 yılının başlarında mümkün olmuştur (Ayar, 2007:374-375). İstanbul dışındaki okullarda da hastalığın yayılmasını engellemek amacıyla tatil kararı alınmıştır. 1893 yılındaki kolera salgınında Trabzon'da okullar süresiz bir şekilde tatil edilmiştir (BOA. MF. İBT. 34/48). Malatya'da hastalığın yayılması üzerine Harput Vilayeti'nde eğitime ara verilmiş ve salgın bitinceye kadar bu durum devam etmiştir (BOA. MF. MKT. 224/10). Koleranın 1894 yılında Ankara'da etkili olması üzerine tatil kararı buradaki okullar için de verilmiştir (BOA. MF. MKT. 221/27). 1911 yılında tekrar etkin bir hale gelen kolera salgınında İstanbul'daki bütün okullar ikinci bir emre kadar tatil edilmiştir (BOA. MF. MKT. 1174/53).

Kolera salgını Tıbbiye öğrencilerinin eğitim süreçlerini de olumsuz etkilemiştir. Salgın sırasında yeteri kadar hekim bulunmadığı için henüz öğrenci aşamasında bulunan hekim adayları görevlendirilmiş bu sebeple öğrenciler bazı derslerden geri kalmışlardır (BOA. İ. DH. 166/875). Kolera hastalığı sebebiyle

Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane'nin son sınıf öğrencileri Teşrih dersini alamadıklarından mezun olacak öğrencilere uygulanan genel sınav ertelenmiştir (Yıldız, 2014:86).

1.5. Sağlık Kuruluşlarının Kurulması ve Hekim Tayinleri

Osmanlı Devleti, salgın hastalıklarla mücadele amacıyla ya mevcut hastanelerinden bazılarını salgın hastalara tahsis etmiş ya da yeni hastaneler yaptırmıştır. 1865'teki kolera salgınında Tıbbiye Mektebi olan Humbarahanenin Kışlası kolera hastanesi olarak kullanılmıştır. 1871-1872 kolera salgınında ise İstanbul'un çeşitli yerlerinde koleralılar için geçici hastaneler kurulmuştur.⁶ Bu salgının en önemli etkisi İstanbul'da Bakteriyolojihane-i Şahane'nin açılmasına neden olmasıdır (Yıldırım, 1985:1326). 1893'teki büyük kolera salgınının kontrol altına alınabilmesi için Fransa'da hastalıklar ve aşılar hakkında araştırma faaliyetleri yapan Pasteur Enstitüsü'nden yardım istenmiş ve bu ilişkinin sonucunda 1894'te İstanbul'da Bakteriyolojihane kurulmuştur. Bakteriyolojihane, ülkemizdeki ilk bilimsel araştırma kurumudur (Bingöl, 2020:81). Fransa'dan gelen Dr. Nicolle, bakteriyolojihane müdürü ve muallimi olarak tıbbiye öğrencilerine ders verirken bir yandan da kolera olduğundan şüphelenilen hastaların ifrazatını ve şehir sularının tahlillerini yapmıştır (Çakır, 2006:82).

Kolera hastalığının yaygın olarak görüldüğü Balkan Savaşları'nda ise Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti, İstanbul'da ve yakın cephelerde hastaneler kurmuştur.⁷ İstanbul'daki hastanelerde yer

⁶ Şehremini, Kuruçeşme, Beyoğlu, Beykoz, Üsküdar ve Haydarpaşa gibi birçok semtte geçici hastane kurulmuştur. (Yıldırım, 1985: 1326).

⁷Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyet'i; Darülfünun, Vefa, Ayestefanos, Kadırga, Demirkapı, Ispartakule hastanelerini faaliyete geçirmiş ayrıca Bandırma ve Taşkılla askeri hastanelerine personel tayin edip malzeme yardımıda bulunmuştur. (Ayışığı, 2020: 53).

kalmaması üzerine Hadımköy Hastanesi seyyar hastaneye çevrilmiştir (Ayıışı, 2020:53). Salgının devam etmesi sebebiyle seyyar hastane kurma faaliyeti devam etmiştir. (Yıldırım, 1985:1327).

Kolera salgınına karşı devletin almış olduđu bir tedbir de hekim tayinleridir. Hekimler bazen vilayetlerden gelen talepler üzerine tayin edilirken bazen de devlet tarafından merkezden salgın bölgesine doğrudan atanmıştır. Talep üzerine hekim gönderimine örnek olarak; 1848 kolera salgınında Sivas'taki yetkililer hükümetten hekim istemiş ve iki askeri hekim ile iki eczacı buraya gönderilmiştir. Ancak hastalığın daha da yayılması üzerine iki askeri hekimin daha gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmıştır (Yıldız, 2014:69). Merkezden hekim gönderimine ise, Düzce ve Üsküb kazalarında kolera hastalığının ortaya çıkmasının Bolu kaymakamı tarafından merkeze haber verilmesi üzerine buraya hekim gönderilmesi örnek olarak gösterilebilir (BOA. A. MKT. 139/49). Yine salgının görüldüğü yere yakın vilayette yeterli hekim varsa bu hekimlerden bazıları hastalığın yaygın olduđu bölgeye kaydırılmıştır. Buna örnek olarak Siirt'te çıkan kolera hastalığında şehirde herhangi bir hekim bulunmaması üzerine Bitlis'teki hekim buraya kaydırılmıştır (BOA. DH. MKT. 2025/58).

Hekimler gönderildikleri yerlerde hastaları tedavi etmenin yanı sıra bu bölgelerde salgınla ilgili tahkikat yapmakla da vazifelendirilmişlerdi. Bu hekimlerden biri olan Şerafettin Mağmumi, 1894'te Bursa'ya gönderilmişti. Mağmumi bir taraftan

hastaları tedavi ile ilgilenirken bir taraftan da hastalığın sebebi ve boyutu ile ilgili incelemeler yapmıştır.⁸

Gerek gelen talep üzerine gönderilen gerekse doğrudan merkezden görevlendirilen hekimler maliyeye de yük getirmiştir. Bu nedenle devlet, bazen hekimlerin ücretlerinin Maliye Nezareti'nce veya belediyeler tarafından karşılanmasına ya da halktan alınan vergilere bu maliyetin de ilave edilerek ödenmesine yönelmiştir (Yıldız, 2014:72).

1.6. Aşılama, İlaç Bulma ve Geliştirme Çabaları

Aşılama, özellikle salgın hastalıkların önüne geçilmesini sağlayan önemli bir etkidir. Osmanlı Devleti'nde aşı uygulamasının ilk örneği çiçek hastalığı için yapılmıştır.⁹ Kolera salgınını önleme adına yapılan aşı çalışmalarını¹⁰ takip eden Osmanlı Devleti, Avrupalı devletlerin kolera ile ilgili haberlerini Türkçe'ye çevirtmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nde kolera aşısı ilk defa Balkan Savaşları sırasında uygulanmıştır. Bu savaş sırasında Gülhane Hastanesi'nde Bakteriyolog Dr. Reşad Rıza ve Mustafa Hilmi Beyler ilk defa kolera aşısını hazırlamışlardır. Ordudaki

⁸Mağmumi, hasta insanlara ilaç dağıttığını, ölen kişileri halka sorduğunu eğer söylemezlerse gidip taze mezar var mı diye baktığını, daha sonra bu mezarlardakileri sorgulattığını, hastaları camide, kahvede, arabada muayene edip ilaç dağıttığını ve hastalıktan kurtulanların devlete dua ettiğini belirtmiştir. (Kumaş, 2011:222).

⁹ Osmanlı Devleti'nde çiçek aşısı bu konuda önemli bir yere sahiptir. Çiçek hastalığına en erken önlem alınıp, hastalıkta görülen deri döküntülerinin kabukları ceviz kabuklarında biriktirilip saklanmıştır. Çiçekten korunmak istenen kişilerin kollarında çizik yapıp, çiçek hastalarının döküntülerinden alınan kabuklardan o çizgiye sürülmüştür. İnsan çiçeği aşılması olarak adlandırılan bu aşılama yöntemiyle hastalığın hafif atlatılmasını sağlanarak, ölüm ve sakatlanma riskini ortadan kaldırmıştır. Avrupa da, çiçek aşısını Osmanlılar aracılığıyla tanımışlardır. Bunda en önemli etken 1717-1718 yılları arasında İstanbul'da olan İngiliz elçisinin eşi Lady Mary Wortly Montegue'dur. Bkz. Yıldız, 2014:26.

¹⁰ Başta Jaime Ferran Clua olmak üzere birçok bilim adamının bu konuda çalışmaları olmuştur. Yapılan çalışmalar sonucu ölü mikroplardan etkili aşılar yapılmıştır. Bu aşı 1902'de geniş ölçüde Japonya'da uygulanmışve sonra da yaygınlaşmıştır . (Yıldırım, 1985: 1327).

uygulamanın çok iyi sonuç . vermesi üzerine I. Dünya Savaşı'nda da askerlere kolera aşısı uygulanmıştır (Yıldırım, 1985:1327). Daha sonraki dönemlerde de kolera hastalığının yayılmasını önlemek adına bazı şehirlerde aşı uygulaması mecburî tutulmuştur (BOA. MV. 243/19). Halkın yanı sıra saray çalışanları da aşı uygulamasına tabi tutulmuş ve isim listeleri hazırlanarak uygulamanın her çalışanı kapsamasına özen gösterilmiştir (BOA. TS.MA.e 1330/11). Kolera aşısının tatbiki hapishaneleri de kapsamış ve bununla ilgili istatistikler tutulmuştur (BOA. DH. MB. HPS. 159/30; BOA. DH. MB. HPS. M. 28/61). Osmanlı Devleti'nin son dönemlerine kadar salgına karşı aşı uygulamaları devam etmiş ülke dışından gelenler de buna tabi tutulmuştur.¹¹

Kolera salgınları devam ederken bu hastalıkla mücadele adına Osmanlı hekimleri de birtakım çalışmalar yapmıştır. Hastalığın tedavisine katkı sağlamak için terkip ve ilaç hazırlama faaliyetlerine yönelmişlerdir. Bu konu ile ilgili en eski belge 1848 yılına ait Hekimbaşı İsa Efendi'nin Sultan Abdülmecid'e sunduğu dilekçedir. Hekimbaşı dilekçesinde Bursa'da Keşiş Dağı'nda yetişen karabaş otundan bahsederek birçok tabip tarafından hastalar üzerinde denendiğini belirtmiş, kolera hastalığının tedavisinde kullanılmak üzere İstanbul'a getirtilip eczanelerde sattırılmasına izin verilmesini istemiştir. Bu talebi Sultan tarafından kabul edilmiştir (BOA. İ. DH. 185/10308). Bunun dışında koleraya çare olarak pek çok ilaç terkibi önerisi ve uygulaması mevcuttur (BOA. Y. PRK. SH. 4/87; BOA. BEO. 423/317; BOA. Y. A. HUS. 206/29; BOA. Y. PRK. ASK. 94/52; BOA. İ. HUS. 32/11; BOA. Y. MTV. 47/36;

¹¹Romanya'dan deniz yoluyla gelenlerin Kavak Tahaffuzhanesi'nde, kara yoluyla gelenlerin Sirkeci İstasyonu'nda kolera aşısı yapılması istenmiştir. Bkz. BOA. DH. İ. UM. EK. 63/42.

BOA. DH. MKT. 1780/54; BOA. DH. MKT. 1984/77; BOA. DH. MKT. 1883/62).

1.7. Gıda Maddeleri ile İlgili Düzenlemeler

Kolera salgınının yayılmasını engellemek amacıyla devletin aldığı tedbirlerden biri de gıda maddelerine ilişkin yaptığı düzenlemelerdir. Bu bağlamda bir yandan yiyecek maddelerinin korunmasına özen gösterilmesi, bozulmuş yiyeceklerin tüketiminin yasaklanması ile ilgili kararlar çıkartırken diğer yandan da gerekli gıda maddelerini halka dağıtmaya çalışmıştır. Ayrıca temizliğe dikkat edilmesi için yetkililere uyarılarda bulunmuştur.

1893 yılında ortaya çıkan kolera salgınında hazırlanan ilannamede beslenme ile ilgili olarak, her türlü alkollü içki ve buzlu su içilmesinden kaçınılması, yiyeceklerin temiz olması, et ve nişastalı gıdaların yeteri kadar tüketilmesi ve iyice pişirilmeden yenmemesi, içilecek suların özenle korunması, bunların kaynatılıp soğutulduktan sonra temiz kaplarda saklanarak içilmesi, kaynak sularının içilmesinin daha faydalı olduğu belirtilmiştir (BOA. Y.A.HUS. 280/80). Hanlar ve bekâr odalarında kalanların içecekleri suları iyi muhafaza edememeleri sebebiyle bu tür yerlerde kolera hastalığının yayıldığı düşünüldüğünden buralarda kalanlara ücretsiz dağıtılmak üzere su kapları alınması kararlaştırılmıştır. Bu kaplardan biri su kaynatmak için diğeri ise kaynatılmış suyun konulması için tahsis edilecek ve ikisinin üzeri kapalı olacaktı (Ayar, 2005:255).

Kolera hastalığının sularla bulaştığının anlaşılması üzerine, dere ve kuyular ile sulanarak yetiştirilen sebze ve meyvelerin tüketilmesi yasaklanmış, etlerin ve sebzelerin açıkta satılmasına engel olunmaya çalışılmıştır (Yıldırım, 2006c, s. 24). Bu tedbirlerin

uygulanması için müfettişler görevlendirilmiştir. 1894 tarihli bir Hıfzısıhha Komisyonu kararında midye, salyangoz, istiridye ve yengeç gibi deniz mahsullerinin avlanması ve satılması yasaklanmış, lokantalarda bulunan bu gibi ürünlerin denize dökülmesi sağlanmıştır. Yasağın ardından gayrimüslim ahaliye bu konu hakkında nasihatle bulunmaları için Patrikhanelere tebligat yapılmıştır (Ayar, 2005:256).

Sonuç

19. yüzyılın ölümcül hastalıklarından biri olan kolera, dünyanın birçok yerinde yaygın olduğu gibi Osmanlı coğrafyasında da oldukça etkili olmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti salgın karşısında öncelikle ölümleri durdurmak, salgının yayılmasını engellemek ve ülkede sıhhi ortamı sağlamak amacıyla çeşitli önlemler almıştır.

Devlet yetkilileri bir yandan salgınla uğraşırken diğer taraftan halkı bilinçlendirmeye çalışmıştır. Bunun için salgın hakkında bilgi vererek alınması gereken tedbirlere değinen risaleler basmış ve ülke geneline dağıtmıştır. Gazetelerde de kolera ile ilgili haberlere yer verilerek hastalığın yayılmasını önlemek adına birtakım tavsiyelerde bulunulmuştur. Devlet hastalığın yayılmasını engellemek için karantina tedbirleri almıştır. Karantina kurumunun 19. yüzyılda sistemli bir hale getirilmesiyle dikkate değer bir başarı elde edilmiştir. Hastalığın görüldüğü yerlere hekim, aşıcı ve eczacı tayin etmiş, toplu mekânlarda önlemleri arttırmış, gerektiğinde okulları tatil etmiştir. Hastalığın ortaya çıkmasında ve yayılmasında etkili olan çevre kirliliği ve gıda temizliği konusunda önemli çalışmalar yapmıştır.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin aldığı önlemlerle salgının yayılma hızını azaltma ve durdurma çalışmalarına halkın yaklaşımı da önem arz etmektedir. Halkın salgına karşı kaderci bir şekilde yaklaşması, başta karantina olmak üzere devletin aldığı birçok önleme karşı çıkmalarına yol açmış ve hastalıkla mücadele sürecini olumsuz etkilemiştir. Hatta bazı yerlerde isyanlar çıkmış, halkla asker ve bürokrat kesim karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Temizlik kurallarını ihlal eden ve geleneksel yaşam tarzı sebebiyle mesafe kurallarını çiğneyen halk, salgının yayılma hızını da arttırmıştır.

Sonuçta kolera sebebiyle çok sayıda insan hayatını kaybetmiş, yakınlarını kaybeden insanların ruh sağlığı bozulmuştur. Salgın, toplumun psikolojik, demografik ve ekonomik yapısında değişimlere neden olmuştur. Dönemin koşulları göz önüne alındığında devletin salgınla etkin bir şekilde mücadele ettiği çıkarsaması yapılabilir.

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BÖLÜM II

Forests And Forest Industry In The Province Of Archipelago (1861- 1910)

Arzu BAYKARA TAŞKAYA¹

INTRODUCTION

In the XIXth century, the borders of The Eyalet of The Archipelago (Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti) consisted of Lemnos, Lesbos, Rhodes, Samos and Chios. (Dal 2008, Demircan 2014 ,Ünver ,2012). Forests, which are our subject, will be handled within this geography. The forests within the borders of the province have been tried to be handled in every aspect. The distribution, administration and usage area of the forests, taxes levied on them, and all kinds of issues reflected in archive documents are covered. Industrial forests used mostly by industrial enterprises are included in the scope of forests, fruit trees containing agricultural products are

¹ Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Meslek Yüksekokulu, Dış Ticaret Bölümü, Kütahya/Türkiye, Orchid No: 0000-0002-1712-4881, a.baykara20@gmail.com, arzu.bkaya@dpu.edu.tr.

not included in this sense². The province has many forests on Rhodes, Lesbos, Karpathos, and Chios islands. Forests were destroyed, especially for shipbuilding in the province and for the purpose of opening agricultural areas. Laws were also inadequate in dealing with the ongoing destruction of the forests. As in many other issues, the forests were handled with their economic dimensions in terms of supporting agriculture. The sources of the study are the Presidential Ottoman Archive documents, laws, annuals, and the works of research in this field (Örenç, 2006, 494-498). While discussing the situation of the forests in the province, the functioning of the industry, which is a part of the socioeconomic structure, is also explained, and the perspective of the people in the Ottoman State on forests is given accordingly.

In addition to the timber for shipbuilding, the forest industry was also a source of raw material for tar and coal produced from forests. Forests were also seen as the basic material for the construction of buildings in the province³. Timber was also brought from outside the province for construction. Considering the Ottoman

² For the fruit trees in the province, also see ;A. B. Taşkaya,2022, 50-75.A.B.Taşkaya ,2022,237-269.

³ In 1894, the timber for the houses to be built in Rhodes for Cretan immigrants was also supplied from the forests in the province. Another example is the timber to be used in the construction of the government house on the island of Sömbeki. In the document dated 22nd June 1909 (3 Cemazielahir 1327) written by the Minister of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, **it was requested to supply the timber to be used in the government mansion to be rebuilt as 21 rooms in Symi Island. (Sömbeki). The necessary documents for the cutting of timber by Petro Yani Kormakidi from the forests of Marmaris District were sent to the Ministry of Finance. A document dated 4th June 1909 (22 May 1325) was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago to state that it was not appropriate to charge forest tax for this work and to specify the amount and type of timber to be used. It was requested to examine what type and how much timber would be cut since the exemption of timber from forest tax was appropriate and the amount of timber would need to be reported (BOA, DH.MKT. / 2859 - 16).**

state's view of the forests and the behaviour of the people, we see that the situation was not very different from today⁴. In the XIXth century, Chandler mentioned the fires around the province while travelling there. As well as mentioning that the fires were normal, he also stated that fishermen and shepherds were the cause of the fires:

"Considering Bozcada and Lemnos and the mainland of Europe and Asia, on many islands and capes, as before in Lesvos, we could discern fires, often kindled by fishermen and shepherds, to burn the strong stalks of Turkish wheat and dry grass in the mountains. During the day, smoke, often visible from a distance, covered the area. " (Chandler,1825,18)⁵.

Osman Ragıp Efendi, a forestry officer, described the destruction of forests on the island of Lesbos in detail. It was reported that forests were being burnt to produce pitch from the forests on the state-owned lands in Lesbos, and the pitch produced was being sold. Again, while timber was obtained from the forests for shipbuilding, the timber obtained was sold, which came with forest destruction. The biggest factor destroying the forests in Lesbos was the unregistered transfer of forest lands belonging to the state to individuals by some ranches (Baykara Taşkaya, 2024, 116-132).

Cuinet does not give any good information about the forests in the province: *" Most of the islands in the countryside were covered with thick forests, almost all of which have disappeared. The forests of the entire province amount to 90,000 hectares. It is clear that unless serious care is taken of the once very rich forests of the Ottoman Empire, they will soon be depleted through abuse. However, some of the islands of the province still retain important remnants of*

⁴ For education : Akagündüz –Nizamoğlu, 2021 –Kılıç, 2022 .

⁵ Myrtle, Daphne, Juniperus Communis, Turkish Oak grow in The Eyalet of The Archipelago(Collas ,1861,234,Newton ,1865, 138; Biliotti, 1881, 671).

their former forest splendour. Rhodes remains the richest. Extensive coniferous forests cover a third of its territory, covering 651,067 acres, equivalent to 507 km². Chios has only mastic forests and olive plantations, and orchards of orange and lemon trees. The two sides of Nikaria⁶ are covered from one end to the other with pine and oak. The forests shine from one end of the island to the other, on the two slopes of the mountains that border it from south, east, and west (Cuinet, 1892, 444). In Lesbos, in addition to numerous groves and small forests, there is also a forest of 22 km² of fir trees. There are no forests in Lemnos. There is a shortage of firewood and construction wood. However, fruit trees grow there, especially almond trees, fig trees, and walnut trees; there are very few olive trees (Cuinet, 1892, 472). İmbros (Gökçeada) has small, sparse but dense, pleasant forests that are equivalent to a beautiful forest and meet its needs (Cuinet, 1892, 357-358). The island is crowned with small forests, the main species of which are sycamore, laurel, myrtle, cypress, cypresses, big trees (Cuinet, 1892, 485). Forests in the mountains of Lesbos are abundant in groves or isolated groups of chestnut, beetroot, elm, sycamore, pine, fir, cypress, gum tree, sycamore, laurel, myrtle, myrtle, hickory trees, but there are no significant forests. The most abundant is the fir group covering Mount Orion and its surroundings. Covering 22 square kilometres, this group provides a large amount of construction timber and bark (Cuinet, 1892, 452).

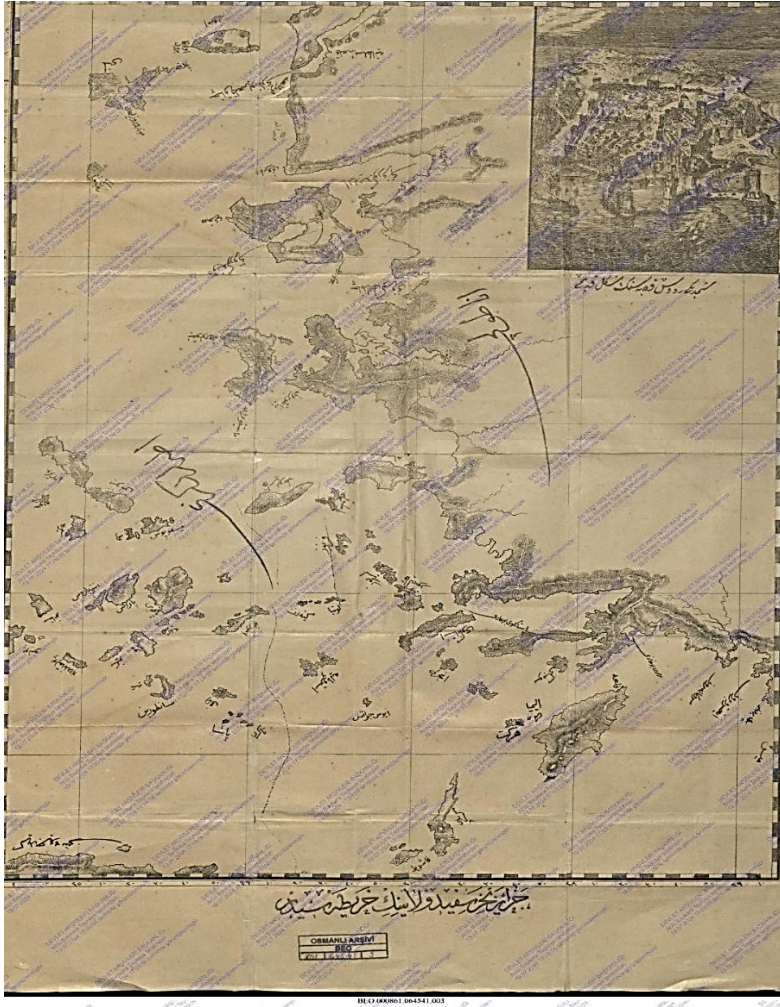
(....) The island of Rhodes has always been famous for its beautiful forests, and large quantities of firewood and construction timber have been exported. Even today, these latter forests, above all, give rise to quite large transactions. In the early days of the Ottoman conquest, the Turks used much of the wood from the forests of Rhodes in the construction of numerous galleys. On the one hand, the destruction is not regulated in any way, the forests are not maintained in any way, and neither planting nor transplanting is carried out; on the other hand, the destruction continues as if countless abuses were not taking place. The shepherds, suppressed unhindered, especially despite the harsh Irish laws which are not enforced, periodically set fires in the woods to obtain grass for their flocks in the burnt area; all these reasons, and many others which would take too long to

⁶ Ikaria or Nicaria is an island in the Aegean Sea in Greece, west of the island of Samos.

enumerate, are reducing the forested area of the island day by day. However, it is still about one-third of the total surface area (Cuinet, 1892, 374-375). In antiquity, Kos had sacred groves dedicated to Aesculapius, but Caesar's murderers cut them down to take revenge on Kos for not wanting to join them. However, the island is not devoid of trees; there are cypress, turpentine, pine, ash, and plane tree (Cuinet, 1892, 433).

Samos does not have enough forested land to deserve the name of the forest. But there are many beautiful trees there, especially magnificent sycamores, oaks, and pines, which could provide a valuable source for the island's exports, thanks to the turpentine that could be extracted in large quantities⁷. There are so many chestnut trees there that there is a village named Kestant or chestnut. In addition, there are many stalls, cotton trees, fig trees with large fruits, pomegranate trees, laurel trees, cypress trees, and finally, all kinds of fruit trees and orange and lemon trees that would constitute an important trade item with their fruits (Cuinet, 1892.504-505). According to the information given by Cuinet, the state of the forests in the province was terrible. The existing rich forests were also being destroyed. Since there was no obstacle to stopping this trend, destruction would continue.

⁷ Turpentine is a viscous liquid obtained by distillation of the resin of living trees (usually pine).



Map : The Eyalet Of The Archipelago (BEO 861 - 64541).

If we look at the salnames (**annuals**) of the state, the rich forest presence and forest diversity are emphasised. In addition, 90 thousand hectares of forest are mentioned. In the 1893 (1311) dated salname, it was stated that there were a total of 32 forest areas in Rhodes (1311 Salname of the Eyalet of Archipelago 157). In the

salname dated 1894 (1312), Chief Inspector Şakir Efendi, Clerk Ali Nihat Efendi, Rhodes Forest Cavalry Protector Mustafa Asım Efendi were in charge (1312 dated Salname of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti, 84). In the salname dated 1900 (1318), very extensive information was given under the title of forests. It was also stated that the people of the province were interested in shipping, and therefore, their need for timber was high. Since some of the extinct volcanoes in many of the islands were still emitting gas, it was noted that this led to suitable soils for growing trees. It was also noted that deer and goats roamed in north parts of Karpathos, west of Rhodes, Mytilene, and Chios, and that they created a marvellous scene. In the province, carob and olives grew in the trees overlooking the coast at the height of 1200 metres. The main forests of the province were 90.000 hectares (1318 Salname, 189-190). In the 1903 Salname of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti, it was mentioned that there were rich forests in Rhodes, Chios, and Lesbos within the province. It was recorded that there were birch, carob, yellow pine, olive, apple, pear, chestnut and pomegranate trees on the island of Lesbos (1321 Salname of Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti, 189-190).

It is evident that the large forest cover of the province, gathered at certain points, was eroded due to the livelihoods of the island. The rich variety of tree species also included fruit trees. (Şemsettin Sami, 1891, V.3, 1794-1795).Since the island's forests were a source of livelihood, their economic significance is also evident.

The most important issue that we should pay attention to when analysing forests is the status of the land, which is constantly mentioned in the documents. It is possible to divide the types of land in Ottoman land law into three: 1- Property Land. 2- Foundation

Land. 3. Miri Land (Cin, 1991, 342-346). The ownership (*rakabesi*) of the conquered lands belonged to the state and their use was given to individuals in return for a fee called *title deed tax*. These lands were called miri. However, the conquered lands were left as the absolute property of Muslims in some provinces (Hijaz, Basra, etc.) and non-Muslims in Lesbos, Basra and the Balkans while in some provinces, the land was divided among the soldiers as property. The sultan, as the owner of the state, could regulate the use and transfer of land to others as he wished; he could donate or sell a part of the miri land as property. The other type of land in Ottoman land law was Vakıf (Foundation) Land, and with the permission of the sultan, a portion of miri or property land could be turned into a foundation” (Çağlar, 1985, 1563-1574 and Koç,1999, 139-140, Çağlar, 2007:103).

Forests can also be classified according to the land on which they are located (Koç, 1999, 139-140). 1- Property Land. 2- Foundation Land. 3. Miri Land. In the first group, forests, groves, gardens and wooded areas were property and their status was as follows: First, it was given as property to the veterans who were seen to be useful during the conquest (Temlik) or left in the hands of non-Muslims in the same process. Second, it was transferred to the person who organized the reforestation and development of a place that was unfavourable for agriculture. Third, agricultural land was turned into a garden or forest as a result of afforestation. The fourth is the transfer of agricultural land and abandoned land to the person who made efforts to grow trees or bear fruit spontaneously (*huda-yi nabit*). The second type Vakıf- forests, groves, gardens and wooded areas- was one of the most important sources of foundations, the

income from which was to be spent on the needs of the believers (Koç,1999, 139-140). The third were forests, groves and coppices with Miri status. Miri forest, also called Miri Mountain, Karı-yı Miri, Karı-yı Hass or Karı-yı Hümayun, was largely reserved for military requirements, İstabl-ı Amire, hunting of the members of the dynasty and the fuel needs of Istanbul (Kutluk,1948,7).

There are two other forests belonging to the Miri Forest. These were forests called Cibali Mübaha, which were reserved by the state for the timber, fuel and architectural needs of the reaya (citizens). Unfortunately, these were the most destroyed forests. The second group of forests and groves were coppices set aside for villages or towns, and the residents were responsible for their protection and cultivation. People were also able to obtain their needs from these areas.

The status of forests in the Ottoman state should be placed within this framework until the Tanzimat period. With the Tanzimat edict issued in 1839, the state gave a layiha to the officials with the implementation of Tanzimat and the taxes to be levied in case of utilization of forests other than compulsory needs (Acun, 1945, 14 ;Koç, 1999, 152). Again in this period, while the operation of the forests was ensured with the operating rights granted to the Mültezim, the income obtained was low and the destruction of the forests was quite high (Dikel ,1947, 25).

In 1858, a new law regulating land was enacted, the Land Code. There were 5 types of land in the Ottoman Empire: 1- Arazi-i Mamluke 2- Arazi-i Miriye 3- Arazi-i Mevküfe 4- Arazi-i Metrüke 5- Arazi-i Mevat (Koç.1999,154). Especially for the parts of forest

areas that were converted into agricultural areas, it was stated that the registration of agricultural areas would be made by notifying the sipahi (cavalryman) of the change and the registration would be made upon payment of the title deed tax. Here, problems started regarding the registration of forest lands. The fact that the provisions of this law did not include the regulations needed by forests forced foreign experts to write a new text and after a three-year preparation period, they prepared a layiha consisting of 68 articles in 1861 (Koç, 2005, 235).

In the 1870 Forest Regulation, forests were defined as Miri forests directly belonging to the state. 2- Forests belonging to foundations 3. Coppices for towns and villages 4. Property (belonging to individuals). It was stated that the laws were valid only in the forest areas of the state. Villagers were prohibited from destroying only state-owned lands. Therefore, the application of the prohibition only in these areas increased the extent of forest damages (Koç, 1999,236). With this law, the state also regulated the export of forest products (Yiğitoğlu,1936,46-47 - Acun, 1945,14).

1 -Operation of Forests and Leasing (Iltizam)

The state authorised the sale of the products obtained from forests through tenders by applying the iltizam procedure. This practice was applied to prevent the misuse of forests⁸. The management was carried out under certain conditions. In iltizam, the state transferred the taxation of temporary land leasing (mukātaa) units, which generally referred to a bundle of legal and/or sharia tax

⁸ For The Fixed Tax Issue of the Sporades Islands.(Örenç, 2021,587) .

elements limited to a specific location, to the taxpayers who would accept the taxation for a limited period of time (bond) for a certain annual fee, which was open to competition, usually determined by an auction and part of which was required to be paid in advance, for a limited period of time, with a reliable guarantee (Genç, 2000, 154-158). The Tanzimat period, while the operation of the forests was ensured with the operating rights granted to the Mültezim, the income obtained was low and the destruction of the forests was quite high (Dikel ,1947, 25).The situation was quite different for individuals who used their own land. Article 19 of the Land Code of 30th June 1872 stated that if forests and pasturelands belonged to lands with title deeds, landowners could use these areas as they wished. In case the lands were common, it was reminded that they should consult with other people. The areas where the state applied the iltizam procedure were its own lands (Düstur, Cildi evvel, 1289, 165-200; Koç, 2005, 231-257; Erdem-Başkan, 2016, 283-303)⁹.

In the 1870 Forest Regulation that was stated that the laws were valid only in the forest areas of the state. (Acun, 1945,14 - Yiğitoğlu,1936,46-47) .The first concession in the province was related to the sale of pine bark. In the document dated 26th December 1892 (6 Cemazielahir 1310), correspondence was made regarding the dry pine bark, which was wanted to be tendered by the Ministry of Forestry and Mining to give the miri (public property) forests on Rhodes Island to the suitors with the decision of the conseil de préfecture-county council (Meclis-i İdare-i Vilayet) (BOA ŞD. 2350 - 5). It was requested that 10.200 kurus be received in advance for the auction and contract to be made. The provincial forest

⁹ See Also: Keyder, 2007,102.

inspectorate informed the General Administration of Forest Mining and stated that the pine bark had been sold inappropriately even though a considerable amount of time had passed. It was requested that 6300 kurus, the price of 1500 scales¹⁰ (**kantar**) of dry pine bark found in the karyes (**villages**), be compensated from the fees previously received from the mültezims (**lodgers**), and the rest of the fee be returned. Only this amount of bark was allowed to be transported, and the contract was requested to be cancelled. The forest ministry was notified not to sell any more bark. The correspondence was repeated after it was reported that the importer would apply to the court and claim damages and losses. It was decided that in the event of an attempt by the mültezim to make such a claim, it would be beyond the authority of the law to claim damages and losses for this business, and the situation was reported to the administrative board of the council. It was emphasised that the matter should be examined and discussed, and a decision should be made in accordance with the procedure and order. It was written that the council was not responsible for this matter; the treasury inspector requested the termination of the contract within the agreed conditions. It was also stated that since the treasury would take care of the losses and damages in accordance with the contract, the fee deducted from the loss caused by the termination of the tender would be refunded. It was reported that if the bark collected from the forests was not sold, the treasury would suffer losses. In the document dated 25th September 1891 (20 Safer 1309) from the provincial council administration, it was requested that the provisions of the contract

¹⁰ The attar scale used in the 1830s was 54,608 kg, the greengrocer scale 61,434 kg and the large scale 92,151 kg (Kallek, 2001 , 317-320).

made by the government within the framework of the law should continue, and that the mültezim would have to deliver the bark.

Difficulties with the mültezim continued. It was stated that all provinces were notified that the bark of the dry pine trees cut from the forests in Rhodes Island could be collected and sold, and that no other way of bark collection would be allowed. It was requested that the decision on the cancellation of the tender be sent to the provinces by telegram, and it was reiterated that the sale of bark from the forests should be made at the determined amount (eşcar-ı maktua) and no other way of bark collection should be allowed. The situation was notified the lieutenant governors (**the mutasarrifs**), who were directly administered by the province, and it was decided to send the matter to the ministry. In the document dated 14th September 1893 (3 Rabiülevvel 1311), it was requested that the auctions be made on the price determined for the dispute between the Eyalet of The Archipelago and the Ministry of Forestry and Mining over the auction of the pine bark in the forests belonging to the state on the island of Rhodes. (BOA, MV. 76 - 37). Documents were sent to the province for the price to be paid for the pine bark on the island. The forest inspectorate was asked to notify the lieutenant governors to collect the bark in such a way that there would be no problem with the forest inspectorate, where 1500 kantars of bark, which was burned from the chamber forests by the inhabitants of the towns to open fields and which was no longer in a state of development, was put up for auction. In the document dated 1st October 1893 (19 September 1309), the necessary information was given to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture (BOA DH.MKT. 2063 - 99). In the document dated 2nd October 1893 (21 Rebiülevvel

1311) written by the Grand Vizier (**Serdar-ı Ekrem**), it was stated that the documents sent to the centre of the province due to some disputes with the ministry of forestry and mining and agriculture due to the sale of pine bark in the miri forests in Rhodes Island were processed in the internal affairs department of the Şura-yı Devlet (**Council of State**). In the memorandum that was read in the council of ministers, it was requested that the auction of 1500 new scales (cedid kantars) of dry pine bark from the forests held in the provincial council of administration be carried out as per the contract and that each kantar be given to the suitors for 12 kurus 30 coins. It was requested that the auction was cancelled and that the bark should be collected only from felled trees and no other bark should be collected. It was stated to the forest inspectorate that 1500 kantars of pine bark extracted from trees that had been destroyed by opening fields and burning forests in the villages would be auctioned. If it was understood that the bark would be stripped due to the damage caused by the fire, or if only the bark turned black or the leaves deteriorated due to the fire that did not harm the condition of the tree, it was permitted to strip the trees in this situation. Again, to prevent the abuse of mültezims, it was requested that the bark of trees that did not see fire should not be taken; it was found appropriate to sell bark provided that it was collected from burnt trees (BOA, DH.MKT. 45 - 18 -5).

The process of the correspondence was prolonged, and it was decided that the tender should be cancelled. In the document dated 2nd October 1893 (21 Rebiulevvel 1311), the tender of pine bark in the miri forests of Rhodes Island was cancelled, and the sale of bark by the forests was repeated to be collected from felled trees and

groves if necessary. No further action was requested. It was requested that all provinces and independent provinces be notified of the situation and that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Mines be informed. For the sale of pine and oak bark to be collected from the national forest, it was requested to consult with the Forest, Mining, and Agriculture Ministry (BOA BEO, 285 - 21345). In response to the document dated 2nd May 1893 (20 April 1309) of the provincial council administration and the document of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the internal affairs department of the Şura-yı Devlet sent a memorandum which was read in the Council of Ministers. According to the report, with the decision of the provincial council of administration, it was requested to auction 1500 quantities of cut dry pine bark of the forest at a price of 12 kurus and 30 coins per kantar to the suitors. It was reported that due to the contract in the terms of the auction, the final status of the auction was in the direction of collecting the bark, and a licence was requested. The Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture stated that the tender would have to be cancelled due to some reasons. The province stated that the delivery of the work about the barks was required in the contract. In response to the question received from the ministry, it was requested to inform the ministry of the auction of forest products and materials for fuel supply in case of demand from the forests. The forest inspectorate reported that the auction was held. The cancellation of the auction was to be notified immediately, and the province was notified to send the report (**lahiya**). With the correspondence made in this way, the tender was cancelled as it was deemed to be in the interest of the state.

Due to the destruction caused by the fires in Lesvos, some farmland was sold at auction. In the document dated 14th November 1909 (1Teşrini sani 1325) written to the Treasurer's Office of The Eyalet of The Archipelago, the correspondence with the treasury for the forest area and additional settlement place damaged by the forest fire that occurred in the Franko Farm on the island of Lesbos and put up for auction was sent from the ministry. In this way, 10 thousand loads were reduced from 42-44 thousand loads from the burnt part of the forest¹¹. Although these burnt trees had a suitor with a price of 44 thousand loads of money at the time, the tender was held only yesterday and it was requested that the necessary examinations be made by the provincial forest inspector and the result be notified. (BOA ML.EEM. 771 - 3 -12). In the document dated 3rd April 1910 (21 March 1326), after the investigations on the collection of the pine woods auctioned by the examination of the bookkeeper of the locality, an investigation was carried out to determine whether there was a case of intent. The written report was organised with the documents of Hasan Efendi, the branch officer, and other documents, including the laws of the Administrative Council of Sanjak (**Meclis-i İdare-yi Liva**). In the documents written by the investigation officer and the deputy officer of the province, it was requested to examine the tender of 44 thousand loads of forest trees that were burnt last year from a total area of 4000 decares, and to examine the purchases from these burnt trees. For this case, a commission was formed from Kulaksızade Halim Bey, one of the members of the provincial council of administration, forest officer Tahsin Efendi and Hasan Efendi, the officer of the farm, with the

¹¹ A load is goods or amount of one hundred thousand kuruş (piastres).

examination of the Ministry of Finance (BOA ML.EEM. 771 - 3-18). It was reported that the information required to determine the amount of wood transported from various trees was missing. In the explanations of the document, it was reported that 80 kurus 22 coins should be collected. If this collection could not be made, it was decided to collect it from the branch officer Hasan Efendi. Documents were written to the Lesbos accountant's office and sent to the Minister of Finance for the notification of which properties should be recorded as income (BOA ML.EEM. 771 - 3-15). We see that the collection problem experienced in the tender of the farmlands, despite the loss of income due to fires was tried to be solved. Since there are no other documents, we do not know whether the tender was made or not.

On the island of Rhodes, some parts of the forests were auctioned because of the destruction of the forests, and the operation of the forests by mültezims was not accepted. On the island of Lesbos, it was stated that there were irregularities in the revenue records of the land, which lost value due to forest fires in some farms. A commission was formed for the investigations, and the deficiencies in the collections were requested to be collected.

2-New Agricultural Areas and Pastures by Fires

Although the sanction for starting fires in Ottoman forestry was a life sentence of galleys, the fires could not be prevented. In addition to negligence and carelessness, forests were deliberately burned for personal benefit (Kılıç, 2020, 12). It is known that the fires that occurred in Rhodes were deliberately set and that the villagers were engaged in this work to open fields, and those who attempted this work were not punished. The punishment of

criminals, which came to the fore with the fires, did not benefit the forests. Since the villagers themselves were the perpetrators of the fires in the forests, the criminals could not be found. The most important problem is the return of the burnt lands to fields or pastures. For this reason, the most important problem is that agricultural lands cannot be returned to forest areas¹².

The state endeavoured to put into effect the articles of the law that it wanted to be implemented about forests. In the document dated 8th September 1880 (3 Shawwal 1297) written to the Ministry of Commerce of Lesbos Island, the penal proceedings to be carried out about forest fires were collected to add the chapter requested to Article 114 of the Forest Regulations. The Tanzimat (**Reform**) Department made the necessary examinations on the documents received by the Şura-yı Devlet, and the chief prosecutor Kata Efendi, gave them to the Tahrirat Department. Another document for the indictment was sent from the province to the Şura-yı Devlet. The indictment was requested to be sent with another document in case the Ottoman administration had an opinion (BOA, ŞD, 2348,3). In the document dated 13th September 1880 (8 Shawwal 1297) written by the Governor of the province to the Ministry of Commerce, the procedure sent to the Şura-yı Devlet for the letter on the legal procedures to be taken regarding the forest fires that occurred in Lesbos was repeated (BOA, ŞD. 2343 - 8). If the forest administration had an opinion on the draft, it was requested to be notified. We observed that the state was making regulations on forest fires and asked for opinions on the articles of law to be made.

¹² For forest fires : Kutluk, 1948,5.

To prevent the destruction of forests, the state introduced compensation (**kasame** procedure).¹³ However, since this was not seen as a solution, it was requested to be abandoned. In the document dated 14th January 1909 (21 Zilhicce 1326) written by the Minister of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture to the Ministry of Interior, it was stated that the inhabitants of Rhodes were burning forests and opening fields and that necessary measures were being taken to protect the forests. It was stated that the forgiveness of the indemnity collected by the forest administration with the kasame upon the lawsuit filed by the forest administration in the past encouraged the people. Since the compensation received was incomparably less than the damage caused by the fire, and since this indicated that there might be other causes of forest fires that the people did not know about, the Eyalet of the Archipelago was notified to protect the existing forests from destruction and abuse until a regulation on the necessary measures to be taken to prevent forest fires was prepared. For this purpose, the continuation of the "kasame method" or the organisation of a more effective method for this work was sent in the document issued by the administration council of the province. In the document dated 1st November 1908 (19 Teşrni evvel 1324), it is stated that the amount of compensation collected through the kasame procedure was finally 1000 kurus; however, the damage caused by forest fires was incomparably higher than this amount. Since there is no benefit from the application of the kasame procedure, it has been

¹³ **Kasame (Qasamah)** is a jurisprudential term that refers to the oath sworn by the people of the region where the murder was committed or the relatives of the deceased to determine the criminal and financial responsibility in murders whose perpetrators are unknown (Bardakoğlu, 2001, 528-530).

deemed appropriate to discuss the documents sent. It was requested that the measure considered for the elimination of forest fires be added to the forest regulation, and the situation was notified to the ministry (BOA DH.MKT. 2714 - 13).

In 1908, it was seen that the part of the Forest Regulations related to fires wanted to be reorganised. Since the compensation for burnt forests was quite low, the state thought to regulate this business in a more deterrent way.

a-Captured Offenders

Offences related to forest fires were also reflected in the archive. In the document dated 31st December 1862 (9-Recep 1279), it is stated that although it was known that Kostanti and Kori, who were shown as the suspects of the forest fire in the villages of Dimelye and Polotanya in Rhodes, were the actual perpetrators, those who accused Yuni did not have enough information and stated their statements by swearing to the metropolitan hall. It was stated that the perpetrators were Yuni, a Greek citizen of the forest of Polotanya Karye, and Dimitrin, the blacksmith Katzi Katzi from Çamlıca. Investigations were initiated after three people from the town reported the crime (BOA, MVL: 804 - 5 -2). While it was stated that there was not enough evidence, it was understood that the perpetrator of the forest fire in Polatanya Karye, blacksmith Katzi Katzi from Çamlıca, a Greek subject, did not intentionally set this fire. It was stated that it was caused by the carelessness of the fire that had been lit in the forests and spread. Since there was no penalty in the penal code for causing a fire with such carelessness, it was requested that no penalty be imposed on the persons (non-prosecution). After three months of the trial, it was decided that the

individuals should be released. As shown in the reply received from the correspondence with Admiral in chief (**Kapdan-ı Derya**), since the forests were connected to the Main Navy Yard (**Tersane-yi Amire**), it was requested to authorise the sale of the burnt trees if they were useful. It was stated that the trees were miri forests and that the forest timber would be allowed to be used as fuel for the kitchens of the local artillery units and the soldiers there. It was requested that the matter be reported to the governor of the province and the Admiral in chief (BOA MVL: 804 - 5).

The people were seen as the culprits of the forest fires on Rhodes Island. How to prevent this problem could not be solved. The forest destruction in 1862 repeated, and it was stated that the villagers destroyed the forests again. The fees demanded by the state for compensation were also not paid. According to the content written by the deputy governor of the province and given by the provincial forest inspectorate and read in the council of the provincial administration, 37 thousand trees were burnt in forest fires in Perufya and Dimelya and Alayorsa and Pilataya towns of Rhodes in August. As stated by the dwellers, it was understood that it was not possible to find out those who had done this. It was stated that there were large forests on the island until ten years ago, and that the people did this because they wanted to burn them and plant agriculture in their place. If the perpetrators were found, they were required to pay a tree burning fee (**eşcar-ı muhterika bedelatı**) upon the lawsuit filed by the forest administration. It is reported that the fines should be collected from the inhabitants of the villages as compensation "**kasame**"; the appropriate thing should definitely be done, because the total amount was close to over one million kurus.

In the document dated 7th October 1908 (11 Ramadan 1326), it was requested to give an opinion on the document received from the Administrative Council of the Eyalet of the Archipelago regarding the continuation of the kasame procedure or taking a more effective measure for the protection of the forests in Rhodes, which were destroyed by the villagers for the purpose of opening farms (BOA DH.MKT. 2643 - 3-2). The document received from the Provincial Court of Appeal to the Court of Justice stated that the forest fires were deliberately continued. In fact, it was stated that the villagers needed more land for their fields due to the lack of housing on the island land, and that the villagers, who could not appreciate the value of the forests after the first and second years, when good crops were obtained in the places where forests were opened, burned a lot of forests every year. In this way, while the forests should be protected, it was stated that the people were more daring with the amnesties. In the statements given by the muhtar, the council of elders, and the villagers acting in unison, it was revealed that they were protecting the guilty. Although the district directorates, forestry inspectors and officers were warned to prevent the villagers from cultivating, it was stated that they were still cultivating in forest areas. It would be ensured that forest areas were taken and recorded in accordance with the law. It was stated that if the burnt forests on the island were allowed to grow for one or two years, it would be possible for the pine saplings to grow again during this period. The villagers would be discouraged from forest destruction in this way and the forest structure of the island would be restored within 5-10 years. It was requested that this should be emphasised to the villagers in an appropriate language and that this should be strongly emphasised to

the officials. Therefore, the province was notified to continue the kasame procedure or to find a more effective measure.

Lesbos Island was also one of the important areas where forests were destroyed. The state wanted to analyse the bad situation in the forests and ensure that measures were taken accordingly. In a document dated 15th September 1861 (10 Rabiulevvel 1278) written to the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Finance, a document was sent to the district governor of the island to examine the pine forests in Lesbos belonging to the shipyard. In the correspondence with Ministry, the necessary measures regarding the forests were sent to the judicial council, and a document was prepared by the council reporter (meclis-i muabir). The translated meclisi muabir's report states that although the forests were connected to the Main Navy Yard, many parts of the forests were turned into cultivated fields and olive groves, and large and small trees were cut down and sold. Since a very high amount of tar was being produced from the forests, it was stated that the trees were set on fire by shepherds to provide pasture. It was also stated that sometimes travellers and various people set fire to the forests and these fires caused damage to many places. Since it was known that these actions caused damage to all parts of the forests, it was requested that this situation be prevented as soon as possible. Considering the fact that forests provided collective benefits to the treasury, it was requested that these evils be eliminated to ensure the protection of forests, and if production was to be carried out, action must be taken in accordance with the forest regulations in force. It was requested to examine the forests according to science and the laws in force, to take the necessary measures, and to send one of the

forest engineers, who had graduated from the forestry school with a diploma, to Lesbos. The duration of the engineer's stay in Lesbos was estimated to be about one and a half months, and 5000 kurus was requested to be found for the departure of the engineer and for his per diem to be paid from the property chest. The matter was sent to the Ministry of Finance, and the necessary measures were ensured that the Ministry of Commerce would be sent with the examinations of the forest engineer in accordance with the Forest Regulations. It was stated that the 5000 kurus received from the property chest should be reported in accordance with the Council of Justice and that the treasury would ensure that the necessary action was taken (BOA, A.)MKT.MVL. 132 - 26). In 1861, after this correspondence, we know that an engineer came to Lesbos and recorded the deplorable situation in the forests (Baykara Taşkaya, 2024).

While the suspects caught in forest fires were somehow released despite the penalties in the regulations, the inadequacy of the compensation procedure for the burnt forest areas was seen, but no other alternative to this method could be found. On the islands of Rhodes and Lesbos, which harboured the richest forests of the province, the destruction of forests by the villagers continued. On the island of Lesbos, since the forests were damaged, an engineer was requested to be sent to examine the extent of the damage. The examination carried out by the forest engineer was a complete disaster (Baykara Taşkaya, 2024).

b- Registration of Forests and the Migrant Problem

We learnt from the documents that the forest lands were opened to agriculture after the fires and that the villagers had deliberately burnt these lands to open them for agriculture. Attempts

to turn these lands into licenced lands also caused problems. The state wanted these areas to be returned to their former state, that is, to forest. Another controversy that started in these years was the sale of the deforested areas in 1902 and the utilisation of the proceeds for the resettlement of Muhajirs.

Table. Forest Areas Used by Rhodes Timar Karyes in 1845

Karyes	Amount And Value Of Land	
	Amount (Acres)	Value (Kurus)
Marça	65	1.180
İpsitoz	4	585
Dimliye	213	2.411
Dimliye Dul and Bekar	3	30
Dimliye Kilise and Manastır	127	2.470
Arkipoli	27	380
Arkipoli Kilise	1	100
Isporoz	1,5	150
Apolke Manastır	25	1.375
Total	466,5	8.681

In 1845 the total land of some pine forests and bushes was 4.66.5 acres and its value was 8.681 kurus. (Örenç, 2006,495).

In 1858 , Especially for the parts of forest areas that were converted into agricultural areas, it was stated that the registration of agricultural areas would be made by notifying the sipahi (cavalryman) of the change and the registration would be made upon payment of the title deed tax. Here, problems started regarding the registration of forest lands (Koç, 2005,235). The state has been in a combative endeavour to keep the burnt forest areas as forests. It even demanded that the miri forest areas be used as forest areas

again, no matter what the reason was. In a document dated 18th August 1904 (6 Cemazeyilahir 1322), it was requested that those who claimed ownership with or without a deed should apply to the forest administration, although it was clear that the forest, mining and agriculture ministry would be notified about the reforestation of the areas converted into fields from Rhodes forests by the state. Upon the telegram sent to the province and the negotiations with the ministry, it was stated in the memorandum written to the Şura-yı Devlet Mülkiye Dairesi (**Civil Chamber of the Council of State**) that forests belonged to the state in general and that not even a part of the miri forests would be given away for any reason. In the opinion of the Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture, forests or forest areas should be returned without any further examination. In case of favouritism shown to individuals by land registry officials and land registry clerks, legal proceedings were requested against the officials. The Ministry of Land Registry and the province were notified of this situation, and the matter was sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BOA, MV. 109 - 109).

The state wanted to ensure that the records pertaining to the forests were kept in an orderly manner, and tried to penalise the officials who would act in violation of the law. At the end of August, for the decision of the Parliamentary Assembly (**Meclis-i Mahsusa**) regarding the forests of Rhodes, the officials of the Defter-i Hakani (**Land Registry Office**) and the land registry clerks were asked why they did not give title deeds to the people (BOA, BEO / 2401 - 180021-4). The disputes over what to do with the forests that were turned into agricultural land continued with the request of the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture to reforest the burnt

areas. Some of the inhabitants on the lands with title deeds and some without title deeds applied to the court. In the document dated 31st August 1904 (19 Cemazielahir 1322) written by the Grand Vizier, it was asked whether the persons with deeded and non-deeded zilliyets (**ownerships**)¹⁴ who had the right to use the forests, which could be restored to their former state, even if they had been opened in the past, should apply to the forest administration or the zilliyets should apply to the court. This matter was sent to the Ministry with a telegram from the State Council. With the document written in the Mülkiye department and read in the council of vice presidents, it was stated that the forests were part of the miri forests. While applying to the courts regarding the forests in Rhodes and the forests cut down, those who had deeds were asked to prove their deeds, and those concerned were notified to pay attention to the protection of the forests. Due to various reasons arising from the law, the other party's right of disposition must be surrendered, and it could not be claimed that every forest and forest place belonged to the heritage. It was stated that the right to dispose of the forest area would be determined by examining which party was right in case of a dispute with the forest administration. It would be ensured that the case would be heard in accordance with the general laws of the regular court. In this way, the matter would go to the court, and the ministry would decide on the status of these places in the court and decide to hand them over to the forest administration, regardless of the deeds of zilliyets. It was stated that real estate and income could be intervened, if necessary, in transactions with zilliyeds, and it was

¹⁴ Zilliyet is taken as "The person who uses a property, whether the owner is his own or not, the person who holds it in his hands, the possessor." If we express the word possession in a shorter sense, we can understand it as the dominance established over movable and immovable property.

requested that the administration should not accept those who presented promissory notes. It is stated that for interference and encroachment, the laws of the Şura-yı Devlet would show evidence and reason. Since it was known that this was not the case in this matter, the Ministry notified the Ministry of the Bookkeeper's Office to penalise the bookkeeper's officers and title deed clerks in the miri forests or within the miri (BOA DH.MKT. 888 - 44).

Another issue that was considered important by the state was the unresolved problem of registering the burnt forests and transferring them to individuals. In the document dated 9th June 1909 (27 May 1325), it was stated that the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes had destroyed the forests that had been burnt and turned into fields to expand their lands and that they had been planting these fields for several years. Although it was necessary to make an investigation in case of such cases, it was known that even the owners of the fields in the vicinity of the location did not mention their names instead of informing the people who had attempted to do so based on the destruction of the forests. In this way, it was requested that some of the people who did not have title deeds in their hands would not be given the deeds they wanted in the sale to transfer transactions by converting them into land. The increase in the number of people attempting this work increased the destruction by the locals. In this way, there would be no forests left on the island. To put an end to this situation and to eliminate the destruction, it was requested that the records of the lands be kept together with the director of the Defter-i Hakani and the persons to be determined by the council administration. It should be ensured that the forests and the fields in the vicinity be visited, and the owners be given deeds,

and according to the examination records of the Kuyud-u Hakani (**Old Land Registries**), the status of each field should be examined, and deeds should be issued accordingly, and then the records should be arranged in a book¹⁵. In this way, it was stated that the inhabitants would be prevented from opening the forests and encroaching on the neighbourhoods. It was emphasised that forests would be opened based on the deeds to be given, and that the people would continue to encroach, therefore, in order to return the places opened from the forests back to the forest, a daily wage should be arranged for the person to be appointed by the Defter-i Hakani council administration. The situation was reported to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture and the provincial council of administration. In this way, the sale of the forests on the island to the suitors at a price to be determined was requested to be abandoned (BOA DH.MKT. 2883 - 63).

Forest destruction on the island had been an important issue reflected in the documents since 1904. Since it was known that villagers cultivated the burnt forest areas on the island of Rhodes and burnt forests for the purpose of opening farms, the issue was repeatedly raised. In the document written from the province to the ministry of forestry, mining and agriculture, it was reported that efforts were underway to return the forests that had been burnt and turned into fields back into forests (BOA DH.MKT. 2869 - 99 -2). In the document dated 19th June 1909 (30 Cemazeyilevvel 1327) written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, it was stated that the forest areas burned on the island were left unattended

¹⁵ Defter-i Hakani is the centre where the land registry records were kept and registry books were kept during the Ottoman period.

and were cultivated badly by the villagers. It was requested to ensure the preservation of the forests. A document was sent to the province about the benefit to the treasury if the places where there was no doubt that the lands were burnt for the purpose of opening farms were sold at a price or by auction (BOA, DH.MKT. 2849 - 58). In the document dated 4th July 1909 (15 Cemazielahir 1327) written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the decision of the Şura-yı Devlet was sent for the measures to be taken for the restoration and protection of the areas in Rhodes that were burned down from forest to field without giving them to anyone. The forest areas burnt down in Rhodes and Zakynthos island were taken advantage of the looseness due to the loss of protection, and the villagers started to cultivate them insignificantly by claiming to save them. In the document dated 19th June 1909 (6 June 1325) sent to the province, it was reported that the places that were no doubt burned for the purpose of opening fields for land needs would be sold at auction or by taking into consideration the principle of profitability close to their value, thus providing profit to the treasury. It was stated that the trees in the Mavroz forest, which burnt down in the vicinity of Sanle karye of Kastelloz sub-district, decayed and 32 decares of the area was turned into fields by the inhabitants of the karye. It was not possible to restore the forests that had been turned into farms in this way for a while. It was stated that if they were allowed to be handed over to the people in return for their value or by auction, the destruction would increase. It was stated that the state had started to reorganise the forests with the reform activities planned to be carried out. At that time, it was requested that these forests be planted with pine trees or other tree species (BOA DH.MKT. 2869 - 99).

The second region where there were problems with the registration of forest land was Lesbos Island. While the state was categorising the registration of forest land, it was in fact streamlining the tax system. It categorised and explained how the lands were registered. In the document dated 7th June 1903 (11 Rebiülevvel 1321) (11 Rebiülevvel 1321) of the Minister of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, it was decided that the deeds to be submitted by the provincial forest inspectorate to the province for the forests of Lesbos and the deeds to be examined by the commission to be formed from the island for those who claimed ownership of the forests would be examined in accordance with the law. In the examination made by the inspector who came to the island, it was stated that the island land belonged to the treasury land and that the ownership of the forests to the miri, or individuals would be decided by a commission. The decision was notified to the Meclisi İdareyi Liva. In Article 2, Paragraph 1 of the Land Law, **haraci arazi (tax taken for the conquered land given back to the owners)** was divided into two parts: **haraci-yi mukaseme** and **harac-ı mevzufe**¹⁶. In this record, it was stated that the land on the treasury would be determined by the *kuyud-u hakani*. It was stated that the necessary examinations of the land whose owners in the treasury land died and whose registration was cancelled by law (**arazi-yi ahiriye**) would not be appropriate. The types and parts of the island land and the

¹⁶ The ownership (*rukabesi*) of the conquered lands belonged to the state and their use was given to individuals in return for a fee called *title deed tax*. These lands were called miri. However, the conquered lands were left as the absolute property of Muslims in some provinces (Hijaz, Basra, etc.) and non-Muslims in Lesbos, Basra and the Balkans while in some provinces, the land was divided among the soldiers as property (Koç, 1999, 139-140). In the *harâc-ı vazîfe* or *harâc-ı muvazzaf*, the head of state imposes a tax according to the area of arable land and the type of crop. This tax is collected even if there is no sowing or harvesting; on the other hand, if there is more than one harvest during the year, no separate tax is collected (Kallek, 1997, 88-90).

records of the unclaimed (**mahlul**) land were stated in the documents requested from the Defter-i Hakani office. When the island was registered as treasury land in the general writing of the island, it was stated that the land that was not suitable for agriculture (**arazi-yi haliye and saire**) was sent in the book given in the kuyud-u hakani department, and for the haraci-yi mukasseme, agriculture was not suitable. In the document dated 12th October 1903 (20 Recep 1321), it was deemed to be a requirement of the law to take a certain amount of money in the measure of arşın¹⁷ from the revenue of the place specified as harac-ı mukasseme and to take a determined (**maktuiyet**) amount of money in the name of harac-ı mevzufe. The objections to this were rejected since the island's land was included in the external territory and miri forest exports had to be applied for the export of forests. The timber and fuel exported for trade purposes were sent to the ministry and kuyudu hakani administration to be subjected to stamp tax in accordance with the forest laws in accordance with the instructions of the forest regulation (BOA ŞD. 532 - 64). It was requested to the forest, mining and agriculture ministry to do the necessary things (BOA, BEO, 2192 - 164354). While keeping records of forest lands, the state endeavoured to collect taxes from the places that belonged to it. In the document dated 11th September 1903 (18 Cemazielahir 1321) sent to the Tanzimat Department upon the document of the forest, mining and agriculture ministry sent to the Şura-yı Devlet, it was reiterated that

¹⁷ The arşın is a measure of length equal to approximately 68 centimetres.

¹¹ Harâc-ı mukâseme consists of collecting a certain proportion of the crop, such as one-fourth or one-fifth, regardless of the amount. (Kallek, 1997, 88-90).

the stamp tax was to be levied on the island together with the öşür (**tithe**) tax (BOA, İ.OM. 9 - 32).

We observe that the use of state-owned lands was clearly defined, and where taxes should be levied was reiterated. In the document dated 22nd May 1909 (9 May 1325) written to Reisi Sani Bey Efendi, Mustafa Bey and Vasilaki Bey, it was stated that the forests on the island of Lesbos belonged to the land belonging to non-Muslims according to Article 2 of the Land Law, which was registered in the treasury of the kuyudu hakani. The timber and forest products to be exported by the inhabitants from the trees on the unclaimed land (**cibal-i mübaha**) on the island were requested to be stamped in accordance with the provisions of the forestry regulation; and a document dated 18th April 1909 (27 Rebiülevvel 1327) was sent from the Tanzimat Department. According to the documents sent by the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture to the Şuray-ı Devlet, according to the documents received from the Lesbos Sanjak Council Administration, the deed procedure for the forests on the island, which as applied with the kuyudu hakani for the law of the forests, would have to be applied. Since the forests were considered miri forests, it was clear what to do about the forests of Lesbos, which were divided land (**arazi-yi mukasseminden**)¹¹, to request and examine their deed to determine the location of the forests. In this way, the situation would have to be explained to the provincial forest inspectorate. In the telegram, the special treatment of all forests on the island depends on the decision of the council of administration. Since this decision could not be challenged, the documents sent to the forest survey committee stated that all the lands of the island of Lesbos were registered as memluke-yi haraciye

land. In accordance with the articles of the Land Code, it would not be possible to determine the areas of unclaimed land (cebel-i mübaha) called miri forests, which were classified as basic land (arazi-yi mevad). The stony and bushy areas on the island, which were not suitable for agriculture, had long been left free for everyone to use. Since the mountains were open to the use of the people and the places that were not suitable for agriculture were left to the use of the people and since the objection of the Lesbos council administration was based on this point, it was necessary to tax the timber and products to be exported from the forests on the island for the decision of the Şura-yı Devlet. The situation was discussed with the signature of Ali Rıza Efendi, the head of the forest investigation committee, and Sadık Bey, the deputy director of the deed, who were sent to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and the Defter-i Hakani. It was not possible to use the unclaimed land (cibal-i mübaha), which was a miri forest and belonged to the Lesbos Island arazi-yi haraciye, in accordance with the law. It is necessary to know the boundaries of the coppices that will be abandoned and appropriated by the inhabitants of the towns and karyes in the unregistered residence owned by Ali Rıza Efendi. It was requested that the timber, wood and coal from the island should be levied in accordance with the provisions of the regulations. In case of death in the forest land belonging to individuals, it was stated to be treated according to the miri forest laws. It was also requested to inform the Defter-i Hakani department for the records sent to forest, mining and agriculture (BOA ŞD. 543 - 22).

In addition to the fields opened on forest lands, the idea of settling immigrants in these areas was also brought to the agenda

(BOA, A.}MKT.MHM. / 519 - 1). 25th June 1902 (18-Rabiulevvel 1320) dated unfavourable financial status of the province was conveyed to the province with 23rd June 1902 (10 June 1318) dated telegram by the resettlement officer, and the ministry of mining and agriculture was informed. It was requested that the lands that emerged with the burning of forests in Rhodes be sold, and the money be used for the settlement of Cretan muhajirs in Rhodes and Kos (BOA, A.}MKT.MHM. / 519 - 1). The province was notified that the area consisting of more than 40.000 acres of land was determined by the commission, and the fee was given to the cost settlement of the muhajirs. The accounting department was asked to do what was necessary and the Ministry of the Defter-i Hakani was also notified of the situation (BOA,A.}MKT.MHM. / 519 - 1-9). It was stated that the proposal to generate income by selling the forests on the island of Rhodes to those who destroyed the forests and opened fields and dwellings would increase forest destruction and cause more losses to the Treasury. Instead, it was thought that forest destruction could be prevented by severely penalising those who destroyed forests. It was notified to the province that more than 64.000 acres of land not used for the settlement of Muhajirin would be allocated for the settlement of Muhajirin by the commission formed by paying the price. The additional forest with documents sent to the Ministry of the Defter-i Hakani was sent by the Minister of Mining and Agriculture on 24th July 1902 (17 Rebiülahir 1320) (BOA DH.MKT.: 613 - 13-2). We know that forests were cut down for the construction of the houses of the muhajirs coming from Crete (BOA, BEO / 2954 - 221537). We do not know whether the burnt forest lands in Rhodes were sold and given to the immigrants or not.

Because we could not find any other documents on the subject in the archive, however, this view is negative because it was thought that the destruction of the forests would increase in this way.

In Rhodes and Lesbos, the state wanted to ensure that the records of the lands belonging to the state were accurately recorded and that the lands belonging to the inhabitants were categorised accordingly. For this purpose, by making the records precisely defined, the objections to the taxes that the state was supposed to collect were invalidated. At the beginning of the twentieth century, to solve the problem of immigrants on the island of Rhodes, it was planned to sell the unused forest lands and give the proceeds to the immigrants. While the destruction of forests was to be prevented, the fact that these areas were wanted to be sold even for the immigrants explains how unsystematic the state's policy was. The problem here, unfortunately, was that the state acted with economic concerns. In addition, since it was known that a profit would be made from the sale of forest areas, we see that the use of these areas by the villagers was also wanted to be prevented.

3- Taxation and Forestry Levy

In the 1858 Land Law, it was stated that only the inhabitants of a village or town could cut down the trees of groves and forests that had been allocated to a village or town in the past and that these forests were not subject to levy (Gülen - Özdönmez, 1981, 4). In a document dated 5th November 1893 (25 Rabiulahir 1311) written to the Ministry of Forest Mines and Agriculture, the general inspectorate of the province was informed. The situation was approved by the council of the province and notified to Şükrü Efendi, the forest inspector of Rhodes. Although the forest inspectors were

notified to give permission to the suitors to cut wood and burn coal before the winter season, a petition was sent with the seal of informer Mustafa (BOA, BEO 306 - 22929) stating that the forest inspector of Rhodes ignored the matter for his personal interests. It was stated that the inspector's practice was illegal. It was requested that the necessary investigations be carried out by the ministry.

The taxation of forests was organised in such a way that the state would not suffer any loss. Also the customs clearance of the sale of forest products abroad was also addressed. In the document dated 19th November 1887 (14 Zilkade 1227), it was requested that the timber tax levied on the forests of the miri lands in Rumelia and Anatolia, which were later transferred to the hands of this or that person, was much higher than the tax levied other than customs, and that no tax should be collected for wood and similar things. It was reported that the owners of the forests registered in the deed or accident book with permission in accordance with the decision of the sultan with the decision of the Supreme court and State Council (**Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye**) and the sultan's decision were taxed in accordance with the tax custom, regardless of the type of timber to be cut. After this, it is stated that the customs undersecretariat should not charge fees under other pretexts and that the miri forests were considered unproductive forests and that cutting forests without stamps and taxes damaged the forests. It was emphasised that taxes are levied on wood and coal brought to İstanbul and sold in the Ottoman Empire; however, it was deemed appropriate to levy a tax on this wood and coal by the Municipal police Department (**Ihtisap Nezareti**). It was stated that these products were subject to customs duties when travelling to foreign

countries and that taxes were determined at customs. However, there were also some exceptions. It was requested to be left to the Ministry of Commerce to determine how much tax should be levied on the large timber purchased from the owners at a price, those that were useful for the work of the The Office of Commander in Chief (**Tophane-yi Amire**), those that were cut by machine in distant places and allowed to be sent to Dersaadet, and those sent to foreign countries. It was requested that the employment of the marshals (**müşiran-ı azam**) and officials in the neighbourhood of a forest should be abandoned, and that the levy of tax on timber and the levy of tax on wood and coal should not be opposed. The ministry was notified that the owners of the forests, which the Supreme court and State Council had decided, would be charged one akçe (**small silver coin**) tax on the timber, wood, and coal they would cut and sell from the forest (BOA C..ML., 534 - 21945).

The state followed the taxation meticulously and tried to solve the problematic situations with the commission it formed. To determine whether the forests, which were the subject of the complaint of the people of the island of Ikaria Island subject to the Sanjak of Chios against the forest officials, belonged to the state or the people, a commission was requested to be formed by the Eyalet of the Archipelago. A document dated 12nd February 1905 (7 Zilhijjah 1322) was sent to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture regarding the treatment to be taken regarding the forests in Ikaria Island. It was stated that Balırman Ali from the island was exempted from various taxes by giving 27.000 kurus in cash. It was stated that the person illegally cut the trees in the forest, and coal was obtained from this timber,

and that the local government collected one kurus from each hundred kilos of coal, which was only stamp money. However, since forestry officials had been demanding a tax of 6 piasters per 100 kilos for some time, it was requested to be given up that year. The petition signed by the chief deputy of the island's inhabitants, medical doctor Yuann Bakılı, was sent to the Ministry of Mines and Agriculture. It was stated that the forest tax levied on the trees cut from the land that did not belong to anyone as per the law had nothing to do with the tax that the inhabitants of the island used and the tax that was levied from the island in return for the öşür. The law was requested to be applied to the timber and materials cut and sold for trade by the inhabitants from the state-owned forests. A commission was established in the province to investigate where the forests belonged and to inform the province. It was requested that the miri forests be examined as soon as possible and reported to the province and the ministry (BOA, BEO / 2505 - 187850). The documents written by the Grand Vizier about the petitions were also sent to the Şura-yı Devlet from the forest, mining, and agriculture ministry. It was requested that the transactions be reported to the ministry with the documents from the finance department (BOA, DH.MKT. 933 - 64).

The cases where the state collected its receivables related to trade in different ways, such as over-taxing individuals who obtained permission for trade, also existed in the archive. In a document dated 26th November 1905 (28 Ramadan 1323), although it was stated that the production and export of unusable timber were prohibited, it was requested to transfer 1600 kurus of revenue (**mortgage, bill of debt**) from the forest revenue of the year 1318 to the revenue of the Ministry for the year 1320 in return for the instalment price of

Monsieur Karnelli, the contractor of Rhodes forests¹⁸. A document dated 1st December 1904 (23 Ramadan 1322) was sent from the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture. It was stated that their receivables should be added to the forest revenue of 1321 (BOA, BEO, 2709 - 203156). The document dated 3rd January 1906 (7 Zilkade 1323) written by the Minister of Finance states that the contractor Karnelli was overcharged for 473 bushels of pine timber due to the forests tendered to him in Rhodes. It was not accepted that the amount, which was recorded as revenue for the person, was taken from that year's revenue. The last instalment of the contractor's last instalment was recorded from the forest revenues of 1318. It was requested that the remaining 600 kurus be recorded in the forest, mining, and agriculture ministry in the revenue of 1320. By the end of 1320, it was notified to the ministry and the general financial accounting that the debt should be taken from the treasury until the end of the year 1320 and that the revenue decision should be rejected and returned (BOA, BEO / 2734 - 205050-2). Another case was about the confiscation of individuals' property through improper taxation. The civil servant who caused this situation was also penalised. When the government confiscated the pine bark that Mihal Dakyadi, a merchant, had improperly exported from the forests of Lesbos Island, he was taxed, and the goods were returned, and the forestry officer who caused this situation was asked to be prosecuted. The document dated 4th July 1889 (6 Zilkade 1306) written to the province stated that the answer sent by the Ministry of Finance was explained in the correspondence dated 13th May 1889

¹⁸ In the law, the form of revenue, on the other hand, means that the compensation is not paid in advance but in parts.

(13 Ramadan 1306). In the reply received from the ministry, it was requested that the bark be returned to its owner with permission from the province. It was requested that the Lesbos Island forestry officers who had improperly granted the transport licence and allowed the transport of the bark beforehand should come to court to testify, and the result should be notified (BOA, DH.MKT. 1634 - 118).

In addition to the forest tax levied on forests, the state also collected stamp tax for tar and pitch production. Although the tax collection on sales at customs was also the subject of complaints, the state stated that it was obliged to apply this taxation by law.

4-Trafficking Economy

Perhaps the first thing that comes to mind when one thinks of the Eyalet of the Archipelago is smuggling activities due to the intertwined structure of the islands and the sea. There was almost no substance that was not smuggled in the region.

The first smuggling news reflected in the archive dates back to 1894. An investigation was initiated upon state officials' authorisation of smuggling. In the document dated 12nd April 1894 (6 Shawwal 1311), the forest inspector of the province sent a telegram dated 12nd April 1894 (6 Shawwal 1311) to the Ministry of Forestry and Mining and Agriculture, with the signature of Ali Rıza Efendi, the Öşür Mültezim, about the smuggling of pine bark exceeding 5000 kg. The matter was sent to the centre of the province, and an investigation was requested. In the telegram sent from Rhodes by Öşür Mültezim Ali Rıza, it was stated that during the time of Forest Inspector Şakir, destruction was made in the miri forests

and a large amount of pine bark was smuggled (BOA, DH.MKT. 223 - 35).

The smuggling of materials obtained from forests was another factor. In the telegram dated 19th September 1887 (1-14 Muharram 1304) written to the Interior Ministry by the governor of the Eyalet Of the Archipelago, it was stated that the boat caught with pine bark was caught about to sink and that damage was caused as stated in the telegram. Since the person had made a complaint to the Greek consul, he requested information from the ministry to be allowed to intervene. It was stated that the Governorate of the Eyalet of the Archipelago was asked to say what to do about this matter (BOA DH.MKT. 1604 - 26). In another document dated 20th March 1889 (18 Recep 1306) written to the Ministry of Finance, it was decided by the court to confiscate the boat loaded with pine bark for some reasons, but the Governorate of the Eyalet of the Archipelago decided to return the boat to its owner. With the telegrams dated 16th May 1887 (22 Şaban 1304) and 16th March 1899 (4 March 1315) sent from the Governorate of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, the matter was sent to the Ministry. It was requested that the province be notified of the situation by telegram and the necessary action should be taken accordingly. It was reported that if the boat was not returned for a while, the owner would suffer losses (BOA DH.MKT.1607 - 87). We see that smuggling activities were also supported by the Greek Government. In the document dated 14th November 1887 (22 Teşrin-i Sani 1303) written by the governor of the province to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is reported from the Governorate of the Eyalet of the Archipelago that none of the ships held with pine bark cargo on Meis Island had a Greek flag, and the boat carrying

the Greek vice consul's cargo weighing 10 kantars did not have a flag either. In other words, administrators also supported smuggling activities (BOA HR.TH. 77 - 17). The last captured smuggling vessel belonged to 1910. It was stated in the document dated 8th May 1910 (27 Rabiulahir 1328) that five Greek-flagged seasonal boats loaded with smuggled pine bark were caught on the Kalymnos and Kos side (BOA DH.MUI.: 92 - 21). Although it was known that smuggling was being carried out by sea, it was stated that forest guards should do their job properly and it was requested to notify the forest and mining and agriculture ministry. In the letter received from the Ministry of Navy, prosecution was requested for this matter.

It was reported that what would be done about the products obtained from the forests and the boats caught illegally was according to the Forestry Regulations. In the document dated 16th March 1889 (14 Recep 1306) written to the Ministry of Finance, the court approved the seizure of the boat caught two years ago in the Eyalet of the Archipelago with a load of pine bark without a permit (**tezkiye**). For some reasons, two telegrams were sent to the province to the owner of the boat requesting permission for the delivery of the boat. It was reported that such cases were subject to the provisions of the Forest Regulations and that the treatment until then should be carried out by the treasury. It was written that the opinions and maxims were notified to the ministry in the document dated 6th March 1889 (22 February 1304). Since no reply had been received yet, the consul filed a complaint, and a telegram was sent to the province in a hurry. The ministry was notified that the boat should be treated according to the Forest Regulation (BOA DH.MKT.: 1605 - 87).

We can observe from the archives that the state levied taxes on forests and obtained economic income from them, and that there were problems in the collection of these taxes at customs. In the document dated 30th May 1899 (19 Muharrem 1317), it was stated that the timber taken from Aynoroz to Lemnos with a customs certificate was charged double the forestry tax by way of deposit since there was no forestry certificate. This was in violation of the document regarding not collecting forestry tax from Aynoroz. The document dated 28th July 1896 (9 Rabiülevvel 1316) was sent to the Imperial Council (**Divan-ı Hümayun**) Secretariat and reported to the Ministry of Finance. Both the secretariat and the treasury were asked by the Ministry of Finance how to act in the situation, but since there was no such decree record, the original or a copy was requested to be sent (BOA, BEO, 1316 - 98687).

The course of action to be taken in the forest-related problems between Greece and the Ottoman Empire was also reflected in the archive material. In the document dated 26th February 1899 (15 Shawwal 1316) written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was requested to inform whether the opinion of the Greek consul in Rhodes that only the matters of the Greek subjects to be handled by the judicial courts were subject to the war treaty and that the transactions related to the forestry tax did not belong to the civil authorities was correct or not. It was reported that the Greek consul in Rhodes did not have the right to intervene in the forestry tax matter and that the documents to be given about the matter should be sent to the official office. According to the statement of the general internal affairs directorate of the province, it was claimed that even the consul would be subject to the contract to be applied only in the

judiciary with the Greek subjects by the Greek civil administration. The province was notified by telegram dated 18th December 1898 (6 Kanuni Evvel 1314) that the necessary action would be sent to the civil administration in this way. It was requested that the necessary action be taken according to the treaty's provisions due to the consul's application to the province (BOA DH.MKT.: 2170 - 89). In the document written to the province, it was deemed appropriate to carry out the transactions related to the forestry official of the Greek consul of Rhodes, which was not related to the judicial court and the departments of the property for the events that would arise between the Ottoman state and the Greek people after the declaration of war in 1890, according to the situation before the treaty, as stated in the document dated 6th May 1900 (23 April 1316) sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (BOA DH.MKT. / 2349 - 55).

It was thought that it would be beneficial for the protection of forests to move the control centre of forests to other regions. It was stated that this would divide the administration mechanism and wear out the administration, which was abandoned. In the document dated 27th August 1903 (3 Cemazielahir 1321), it was requested that the forests of Büyükada, which was connected to Meis Island, be sent from the central province and other transactions be sent from other provinces, and it was emphasized that this would facilitate the transactions. In the document written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, it was requested that the administration of this situation by the Konya Province Forest Inspectorate was notified to the Eyalet of the Archipelago in order to provide this situation more easily for the ministry and safety of the officers. It was stated that the administration of the island would remain under the

province, and since there was a pier on the coast of Kaş, it would cause problems in the administration and protection of the island as it would be turned into a warehouse by smugglers for both timber and coal and smuggled goods under the surveillance of Anatolian civil servants and zabtiye (**zabtieh**). Since the connection of the island to Anatolia was not in accordance with the division of property, it was sent to the province with the document dated 2nd August 1903 (20 July 1319) that the forest operations should be under the administration of the Eyalet of the Archipelago forest inspectorate as before (BOA DH.MKT. 756 - 4).

While the trees cut down by the state from the foundation lands were the subject of complaint, it was clarified according to which the procedures carried out by the Greek Government would be carried out. We see that the products obtained from forests were smuggled from the islands. While the state confiscated smuggled forest products, it penalised the officials who thought that they turned a blind eye to this situation.

5-Disputes

Disagreements about forests were mostly related to taxation. The supply of timber and coal needed by the shipyard was another problem. However, the state had to constantly check where and what kind of forest lands were registered.

State officials' treatment of forests on privately owned lands also caused problems. In the document dated 5th May 1873 (7 Rebielevvel 1290), the state cut down 41 olive groves belonging to the foundation in the olive grove belonging to the land of Balizade Dervish Foundation (**müsakkafat**) in Lesbos, which had borders

with the lands of Abdi and Metelel Ibrahim. The 30 pine trees in the foundation olive grove, totalling 71 trees, were sold by the forest officer Mustafa Efendi to carpenters who were suitors. It was seen in the document from Lesbos that the fee was requested for the accident. It was stated that some pine trees in the foundation, which was known to be owned by the miri, were cut down on the same date because of the state's need. The matter was sent to the Şura-yı Devlet (BOA ŞD. / 2875 -40). In the document dated 9th August 1873 (14 Cemazielahir 1290), the area of the foundation was examined for the petition (**istidaname**) given by Postnişin Hüseyin Haki Efendi regarding the cutting of the pine trees in the olive garden in the land of Balizade Dervish Foundation (**müsakkafat**)¹⁹ in Lesbos Island, and the situation was stated in the document dated 6th April 1872 (27 Muharram 1289) (BOA, ŞD. 2341 - 41). In the document dated 24th June 1874 (12 Cemazielevvel 1290), it was stated that the area in the olive groves of Çamlık was 200 acres and an investigation was requested to be made about the trees cut down by the forestry officer. Upon the petition of Hüseyin Haki Efendi, the leader (**postnishin**) of the dervish lodge, the document sent to the Ministry of Finance was forwarded to the Şura-yı Devlet. It was stated that the person applied for a foundation on behalf of the dervish lodge. The olive grove is located on the island, three hours long and two hours wide, south of the large Kolonya forests. In the foundation document, it was stated that "the olive tree in the area with certain boundaries in the neighbourhood is given". Although it was stated that there were only olive trees in the area where the sheikh received permission to

¹⁹ It is used for covered assets such as houses and shops that provide income (galle) to the foundation.

plant, the presence of pine trees was also detected in the examinations. Although the boundaries of the area connected to the dervish lodge were shown in the petition, it was seen that the previous claim was repeated. The internal affairs department of the Şura was sent to send the foundation document and to examine and notify the amount and neighbourhood of the foundation (BOA, ŞD. 256 - 17). In the document dated 4th September 1873 (11 Recep 1290) written to the Presidency of Ministry of Trusts (**Evkaf-ı Hümayun**), it was stated that the request of the dervish lodge was referred to the Şura-yı Devlet with the documents written to the Presidency of Finance and other records coming to the province. It was reported to the Defter-i Hakani that there was no information about the status of the dervish lodge on the island, and the matter was sent to the Defter-i Hakani where the record of the foundation was kept. The documents required for the foundation were sent to the internal affairs department. The records were examined by the director (**tevlîyet**) Mustafa Efendi and the religious leader (**meşihat**) Sheikh Hacı Hüseyin Efendi to examine the records and do the necessary things. It was stated that the pine forests were included in the foundation and that there were olive trees that were not recorded in the book. It was reported that the olive trees were not recorded in the foundation because the pine trees were far away. It was reported that the treasury of Evkaf-ı Hümayun would not interfere in the matter and that the necessary action should be taken by the Imperial Council and the Defter-i Hakani (BOA ŞD. 2876 - 41).

The unauthorised cutting down of forest trees within the foundation lands and objections that these were personal lands also exist in the archive documents. In the document dated 3rd January

1895 (6 Recep 1312), it was seen that the application was made due to the contradictory ruling and decree in the dispute about the property of the foundation olive grove and the forest within it, where the deceased Konpaoğlu was the director (trustee) of the foundation of the Sadlice karye mosque in Lesbos²⁰. The application was sent with Hasan Efendizade Bilal Hayri's seal and signature. Hasan Efendizade Bilal Hayri Efendi's petition, which included a request for a legislative objection to the review of the judgement by the Court of Appeal (**Meclis-i Tedkikat-ı Şer'iyye**) (BOA BEO, 545 - 40853), had not yet yielded any result. Since there are no other documents in the archive, we do not know how the matter was finalised.

One of the most important products produced from forests was undoubtedly coal. The illegal production of coal and irregularities of the officials were also reflected in the archives. In the document dated 11th August 1895 (19 Safer 1313), a document was sent to the provincial council of administration for the collection of 1215 kurus of the cost of coal from Lambirino Ligonu Efendi, the forest tithing officer of Kardamile district in Chios, due to the loss of coal that was illegally produced from the forest and should have been confiscated. The judgement²¹ was rejected by the provincial forest inspector and appealed. A document dated 24th July 1895 (1 Safer 1313) was written for the judgement sent to the Muhakemat (**Proceedings**) department of the Şura-yı Devlet. It was reported that the advertisement was delivered and the government informed the

²⁰ **İcâre-i Vâhîde** is a term meaning the short-term and one-off lease of waqf properties (**Akgündüz, 2000,,388-389**).

²¹ Appeal is a legal remedy that can be applied for the material and legal examination of the judgements rendered by the courts of first instance.

Ministry of Forestry and Agriculture and that the necessary action was taken and that the collection of the fee of 100 kuruş, which was the fee, was delivered to the Şura-yı Devlet. It was ensured that this person was suspended from state service for one year, and the fee for the writ was also collected from him (BOA, DH.MKT. / 410 - 10-12).

The state wanted to agree with the villagers to find a solution to the congestion in the courts due to the disputes over forest lands. As stated in the reply received from the provincial forest inspectorate upon the proposal from the Defteri Hakani, the amount of land opened has approached 50.000 acres, as stated in some explanations in the provisions of the declaration issued on the cash penalties and compensation cases against the villagers due to the destruction of these forests. In the document dated 20th October 1902 (24 Recep 1320), the Minister of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture informed the Defteri Hakani officer that this land could be auctioned because the newly growing pine trees would grow with the wind blowing in every season and the area would become a forest again in 8-10 years. It was stated that not 15.000 liras but only 5 per cent of this amount could be obtained in the auction. In the face of the magnitude of the damage caused to the island forests, it was reported that the penalty imposed by the court was 700 kurus and that this situation should not be accepted. If they accepted the compensation close to the value of the neighbourhood, forest destruction would increase even more. It was stated in the document dated 3rd July 1904 (20 June 1310) that the Ministry could not give consent to give time. It was stated that the forests should not be given to anyone for use, that the forest inspectorate officer of the local government should be sent to the

places opened from the forest, and that these areas should be seized by separating them. It should be explained to the villagers that legal action would be taken against those who intervene in the forest areas and burn the forests again and open fields. The villagers should be informed that they would be severely penalised if the destruction continued. Even if three to five protectors were appointed for the island forests, those who dared to do this and the villagers would not want to return the places to their former state unless they were punished. Otherwise, it would not be possible to prevent destruction and damage. Prevention of forest destruction would provide profit to the treasury (BOA DH.MKT.: 613 - 13).

We see that local administrations asked about the amount of the fee to be collected from forest products. In the document dated 9th July 1906 (17 Cemazeyilevvel 1324) to the Ministry of Interior, it was requested that the fee to be collected from forest products be calculated from the value of the forest, and that the fee to be collected be sent to some farm owners in the Menteşe Sanjak, as requested by the province of Aydın and the documents received from the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture. In the document dated 8th March 1906 (12 Muharrem 1324), which was discussed in the Council of Ministers held by the Şura-yı Devlet Mülkiye Department , it was stated that the document was sent on 17th May 1906 (4 May 1322) in response to the opinion asked from the province having such forests (BOA, DH.MKT. 1098 - 36).

We see that the state reserved some forest lands for itself and that the state and its institutions had a priority right to use the forests. It was not allowed to cut the timber of the forests belonging to the Main Navy Yard on the island of Lesbos, and the taxes to be

collected from them were requested to be collected with permission. In the document dated 20th June 1851 (20 Şaban 1267), it was requested to comply with the taxes to be collected from pitch and tar and the decision to protect the forests used in the production of pitch and tar (BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 42 - 81). At the time, pine trees cut from non-agricultural areas were being used to produce timber, but these trees would gradually increase, and timber useful for the Main Navy Yard would be cut, and thus shipbuilding on the island would continue as it had been in the past. Due to the severe winter that occurred a year before, the product deteriorated, and the timber supply decreased. It was stated that the tax had been waived for at the time to remedy the distress of the islanders caused by the severe winter. The trees cut from the forests of the neighbourhood in the Ottoman State to produce coal and tar were taxed with an official licence as per the law. It was stated that although the official appointed to collect the tar and pitch tax for the trees to be cut from the forests to produce pitch and tar wanted to give a licence to cut the timber, the forests were badly deteriorated. It was requested that Admiral in chief be allowed to cut timber for the use of the Main Navy Yard and that the trees required to produce the aforementioned pitch and tar should be cut from brushwood and brambles, as had been the case until then. To protect the forests, it was reported to wait for the order sent by the Grand Vizier, or to ask for permission again, even if the levy of tax on pitch and tar was in accordance with the law. It was requested that it would not be appropriate to cut the timber needed by the Main Navy Yard, and that the pitch and tar would also be needed by the Main Navy Yard, and that this matter should be discussed. Again, the situation was written to the district

governor of the island, and it was requested that the matter be notified to the Main Navy Yard and the Treasury, and that it be examined in the council of governors and that the necessary action be taken accordingly.

We also see that the state controlled the registered lands. In the document written to the Defter-i Hakaniye, it was asked whether the forests on Chios Island, which were managed by Monastery and karyes, were included in the arazi-yi hariciye²². In the record of the document written to the forest, mining and agriculture ministry dated 7 June 1900 (8 Safer 1318) and sent to the Imperial Council, it was stated that it belonged to the Defter-i Hakaniye. It was requested that the necessary record be specified to the ministry about what kind of land the land record was found (BOA, BEO) ,1526 - 114414). In the document dated 19th September 1900 (24 Cemazeyielevvel 1318) written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, it was reported that although there was a record of the land from arazi-yi hariciye according to the Defter-i Hakani on the island of Chios, there was no record of the forests that had been managed by monasteries and karyes. It was claimed that these forests were part of the land, and upon request for information, a document dated 7th June 1900 (8 Safer 1318), numbered 32, was sent. In the reply given by the Imperial Council, it was stated that the record of the island land dated back to the conquest of the island of Chios as belonging to the Defter-i Hakani (BOA, BEO, 1551 - 116306).

²² *The ownership status of the land belonging to people who are not Muslims but who want to make peace with the Islamic state and accept to be the subjects of the Islamic state is subject to the provisions of the peace agreement they made with Muslims.*

Opinions were sought on how much taxation should be applied in disputes about forest lands. It was stated that fines imposed on villagers in court cases would not prevent the damage to forest areas. Efforts were made to ensure the production of pitch and tar obtained from forests under certain conditions.

6-Can Forest Destruction be Prevented?

The state tried to implement various measures against forest destruction(Dursun, 2007,333)²³. Since it was known that the destruction of forests was also caused by economic reasons, new fruit nurseries were established for Rhodes, and efforts were made to benefit the people. In Lesbos, efforts were made to increase the yield of olive groves. Another element was aimed at protecting the existing forests. The state endeavoured to increase the number of forest officers to prevent destruction.

In cases where it was unclear where the forest areas were registered, administrators were notified to examine the records. In the document dated 31st March 1861 (19 Ramadan 1277) sent to the Ministry of Commerce and addressed to Ali Kemal Efendi, the district governor of Lesbos, a document was sent to investigate whether the forest known to belong to the state called Çamlık in Lesbos belonged to the people or not. The land was requested to be examined and whether this forest belonged to the people or the state (BOA, A.)MKT.MHM. / 213 - 65). In the document written to the Ministry of Commerce, it was requested that the opinion of the District Governor be taken into consideration for the status of the pine forests and the answer be reported accordingly.

²³ For problems that continue today :Bilgin 2008.

The State sent officials to investigate the extent of forest violations. In several provinces, the state sent forest inspectors to investigate the situation in the forests. In the document dated 24th December 1895 (7 Recep 1313) written by the Minister of Forestry and Mining Agriculture, Ali Rıza Efendi, one of the inspectors of the Ministry of Forestry, who came to Izmir, Aydın, Denizli, Soke and Koycegiz Mekri (Fethiye), Muğla, Milas and Rhodes for 217 days and 434 hours to investigate the forests in Izmir, Aydın and Rhodes, was to be paid 9000 kuruş in total for 150 days, which was the salary and per diem. A telegram dated 6th July 1893 (24 June 1309) was sent, and it was found appropriate to pay the fee from the budget of that year (from the inspector's budget). As a result, it was decided to give 4020 kuruş from the officer's per diem allocated for inspections (BOA, ŞD. 521 - 48).

In the face of the increasing extent of forest destruction, protectors were tried to be put into action. The fact that the payment to be made to the civil servants was constantly discussed in the documents reveals how important the financial dimension of the work was. In the document dated 14th July 1887 (22 Shawwal 1314) written by the Minister of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture for the forests of the island of Rhodes, it was stated that the provisions of the proclamation applied for the compensation lawsuits filed against the villages for the capture of those who burned the forests that were destroyed by burning or peeling the bark had expired; however, forest destruction continued. It was reported that villagers had cleared nearly 50.000 acres of land from the forest so far. Since it would be possible to grow forests again in 8-10 years, it was requested that these areas be returned to the people to save the places

used without title deeds and that two people be appointed as guardians to protect the forests. It was stated that the correspondence should be forwarded to the forest inspector of the province and that the matter had been sent to the province and the forest inspectorate. The fresh saplings to be grown on this land would be preserved together with the existing forests. For this purpose, it was stated that the salary of the two protectors, which was 200 kurus, was 4800 kurus per year. It was stated that 128 kurus per year was required for the forest cavalry inspectorate established in the Silta District and their stationery expenses. It was reported to the accounting department that the ministry should pay this fee from the provincial reform provision (BOA, ŞD. 527 - 56).

It was considered important for the state to send guards to forest areas or to increase the number of guards. However, the main issue was the work's economic budget, as reflected in the archive documents. The document dated 22nd March 1900 (20 Zilkade 1317), which was referred to the Şura-yı Devlet by the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture, was read in the finance department, and the necessary action was referred to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture (BOA, İ.OM. 6 - 47). Another action to prevent forest destruction was to increase the number of forest guards. In the document dated 15th April 1900 (14 Zilhicce 1317) written by the Grand Vizier to the Ministry of Forestry and Mining, the situation of the guards was repeated (BOA, BEO, 1474 - 110492). In the document dated 11th September 1900 (29 August 1316) written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture, it was requested that the officers assigned to examine the forest land to be converted into fields in the Eyalet of the Archipelago be given

two mecredi salaries in addition to their per diems. (BOA DH.MKT. / 2421 - 88). In the document dated 21st April 1901 (2 Muharram 1319) of the Minister of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture, it was repeated that the officers of the Defter-i Hakani who would go with the officer sent to survey the forest areas in Rhodes that were turned into farms should be given a per diem. It was notified to the province that the persons who would be sent to the villages with a fee of 2 mecrediye per person in addition to the per diem should be given 2 mecrediye per person as a necessary expense apart from the per diem of the Defter-i Hakani officer together with the members of the provincial council of administration. However, in the documents received, it was written that nothing else would be given to the individuals other than the per diem. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was notified of the situation and a copy of the document sent to the province was also notified to the Ministry. It was requested that the document be reorganised, and if it was necessary to pay more per diem in accordance with the per diem decree, the remainder should be paid from the local authority. The decision of the Compensation Department of the Şura-yı Devlet was notified to the province as it was deemed necessary. It was requested that the document be examined by the decision of the council of administration of the province and that 2 mecredi per day be given to the officer for the examination of the forest lands in accordance with the per diem expenses. (BOA ŞD. 530 - 10). 2.5 per diem was written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture and the situation was requested to be investigated. The document dated 22nd April 1901 (3 Muharrem 1319), which was referred to the Şura-yı Devlet by the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, was read in the

Finance Department. It was notified to the province that the officials to be sent to investigate the forest areas in Rhodes that had been turned into fields should be given 2 mecdi per day in addition to the per diem; and that the officials of the Defter-i Hakani who would come to the villages together with the members of the council of administration of the province should be given 2 mecdi per person for necessary expenses in addition to the per diem (BOA, BEO, 1673 - 125423).

Since the state thought that the destruction was due to economic reasons, it tried to dissuade the villagers from destruction by increasing the number of fruit trees. In the document dated 25th October 1901 (12 Recep 1319), the head of the Rhodes Agricultural Development Commission requested that olive and fruit saplings be brought from the Anatolian coast for Rhodes Island and distributed to the inhabitants free of charge and that their costs be covered (BOA ŞD. 531 – 8 ,Tansel, 2013, 31- 39). Since the agriculture of the island was to be increased and the inhabitants were poor, it was requested that the saplings be covered from the Agricultural Bank's sülusan temliks (Aydın, 2022, 41)²⁴ . Taking 8000 kurus per year for olive trees from the Lesbos Agricultural Bank's sülusan temliks was found appropriate. The Ministry of Commerce and Public Works (**Ticaret ve Nafia Nezareti**) was asked to order permission and notify the Ministry by telegram. The state wanted to prevent the villagers from destroying the forests and to increase the number of trees. Again, for the promotion of agriculture in Rhodes Island, the Minister of

²⁴ According to the 1888 Regulation, "Ziraat Bank kept 1/3 of its annual profit as capital and 2/3 was transferred to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture for the development of agriculture and animal husbandry. This amount was defined as sulusan temlik.

Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture, in a document dated 16th January 1902 (6 Shawwal 1319), requested permission to spend 8000 kurus from the budget allocated to agriculture in general by the Agricultural Bank (**muhres sülûsan allocation**) in order to obtain olive and fruit saplings from the Anatolian coast and distribute them free of charge to the people. In the telegram dated 9th January 1902 (27 Kanunievvel 1317), it was stated that the olive trees would be brought towards the end of the autumn season and that the fee should be transferred by telegram so as not to be postponed this year. The Ministry of Trade and Public Works was notified to ensure that the fee was sent (BOA ŞD. 530 - 63). Another application is on the same island. It was stated that agriculture would be improved by bringing a certain amount of common olive trees every year to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Forestry and Agriculture, and that 15-20 thousand kurus of income would be provided every year, since the poor people of the towns of the island of Rhodes were having difficulties in their livelihood. It was stated that the financial cost of this work was 8000 liras per year and that the Rhodes tax was 50.000 kurus. It would be ensured that 1000 piastres would be added to this fee (2% increase) and the money would be provided by allocating the cost from the equipment of the military. The work was sent to the ministry with the document numbered 17th March 1904 (29 Zilhicce 1321) and 82 in the internal affairs department of the Şuray-ı Devlet (BOA, BEO 2520 - 188933). When the finance department stated that it would not be appropriate to take money from the people, it was reported to the Ministry that a provision could be found for the agricultural allocation and the saplings would be distributed.

The idea of protecting the forests and increasing the number of fruit trees was also on the agenda in Lesbos. In the document written to the provincial governor of the province, Atif Bey, it was stated that the Christian inhabitants requested a dredger ferry to clean the harbour as the old harbour on the island was filled with stones from the floods and the harbour could not be used much for trade in this way. It was stated that the work would be notified to captain pasha for the second time for the cleaning and arrangement of the harbour, which was the livelihood of the upper-crust (**umeras**) for the revival of trade. The document dated 21st September 1861 (16-Rabiulevvel 1278) stated that troops would be sent to several regions for the protection of olive groves and what would be required for the payment of their expenses. For the development of Lesbos, a dredger and a forest and road engineer were requested to clean the old harbour. For communication, the construction of a telegraph line, the opening of an agricultural school, and guards for olive groves were requested (BOA, A.}MKT.MVL. 132 - 46). In the lahiya sent to the Council of Governors written to the Office of Commander in Chief (**Seraskeriye**), it was reported that the people could be employed if necessary for the construction of roads. It was requested that a road engineer should be sent, the demanded amount of gunpowder and new materials should be sent, and that this should be notified to the governor, and the lieutenant governor should act accordingly.

Forest destruction was also reported by citizens for various reasons, which shows that the public did not remain insensitive to forest destruction. In a document dated 28th June 1905 (24 Rabiulahir 1323) written to the Ministry of Forestry, Mining and Agriculture, a telegram dated 23rd June 1904 (10 June 1321) was sent to the

province for the destruction of pine forests in Lesbos in a short period of time, for the punishment of those who were found to be negligent and for the protection of the forests. In a petition signed by Sakazade İbrahim, one of the property owners in Lesbos, the Ministry was requested to take the necessary actions (BOA, BEO, 2609 - 195647). In the document dated 23rd August 1905 (10 June 1321) written to the provincial governor's office, it was reported that the pine forests in Lesbos were being destroyed, and it was requested to eliminate the negligence, to ensure forest protection, and to eliminate the irregularities to take the necessary measures (BOA BEO, 2610 - 195703).

Since it was known that the destruction of forests went on to increase, the state of the forests was first analysed to prevent this. Inspectors were sent for this purpose. Afterward, guards were assigned to protect the forests. The next step was to provide the people with tree saplings that would enable them to earn a livelihood, since the destruction caused by the locals was to be prevented.

Conclusion

The presence of large forests in the province both provided economic income to the state and was a source of livelihood for the people who utilised the forests. This article, which we wrote by utilising the archive of the Presidency of the Republic, shows how the massacre of forests, which continues today, started in the Ottoman state. The misuse of forests for different purposes continues today. Unfortunately, forests have been destroyed in various ways. Especially in Lesbos and Rhodes, shipbuilding, pine bark transport, were the most important causes of destruction. In these two provinces where forests were concentrated, forests were also

destroyed to open agricultural land. The state resorted to various measures to prevent this situation. We cannot say that the measures taken by the state were effective. The destruction continued, and forests continued to decrease rapidly.

We also explained that forests were an important source of tax for the state and that some forest areas were being operated by giving them to individuals through tenders. Fires also increased forest destruction. We see that those involved somehow got away with it. In fact, although forest fires are punishable by law, the fact that villagers were the actual culprits prevented criminals from being caught. The fact that the perpetrators were also members of the public made this situation unpreventable. The state had to re-examine some forest lands in Rhodes and Lesbos, which were deemed suspicious, and had to reorganise the records. In this way, forests were sought to be recorded, and the state wanted to tax the use of forests. The forest tax and the stamp tax were established for this purpose. The state, calculating how to save the forests, thought of increasing the number of officers to increase security and changing the forest control centres to manage ministry better. The state wanted to preserve the forests that had been burnt to clear land and endeavoured to establish new forest areas. Nevertheless, the reduction of forests could not be prevented because fires and opening fields were more profitable for the villagers. The planting of fruit trees in Rhodes and Lesbos to provide income to the people were also important efforts of the state to protect the forests.

Smuggling of pine bark from forests also caused problems for the state. A part of the smuggling that existed all over the province was also provided from forest products. There were problems with

the forest taxes levied by the state on timber and pine bark sales. The supportive attitude of the Greek government against the struggle of the Ottoman Empire against smuggling increased the destruction of forests in the Ottoman Empire. The state could not put a stop to smuggling because it was also part of the economy of the people. The state tried to collect compensation for the destruction of forests; however, it could not collect the compensation that should have been given. Compensation penalty for the people who burned the forests and turned them into fields was also not a remedy for the increasing forest massacre. Land registry officials requested that the issuance of deeds be abolished to separate neighbourhoods opened from forest areas. Officials who followed a different path and acted contrary to the law were prevented. It is clear that the state took these measures because of the failure to restore the burnt forest lands to their original state condition, which would cause losses to the state treasury.

The presence of forests in the province, which continued to decrease with the destruction of forests, is significant in revealing the state's unsuccessful policy in this field. The inability of the state to make its presence felt politically and economically in the XIXth century increased the lack of authority in the province. The presence of the state in agriculture, industry (mining), and seafood in the province in the XIXth century is also questionable. In this study, which we wrote by making use of archival sources, we tried to explain what kind of a process the forests, an important domain of the economy as well as industry, followed in the Eyalet of the Archipelago, as an important part of social and economic history.

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BÖLÜM III

Yeni Osmanlılardan İttihat Ve Terakkiye Osmanlı Muhalefetine Gelişimi

Emrah ÇETİN

1. Giriş

Batıda Rönesans döneminden beri süregelen fikirselle değişimler bir Batı medeniyeti olgusu yaratmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti'nde 18. yüzyıldan itibaren Batı karşısındaki gerilemenin nasıl durdurulacağı üzerine tartışmalar başlamıştır. Zamanla devletin kötü gidişatının nasıl durdurulacağına dair çeşitli fikirler ileri sürülmüştür. Osmanlı Devleti yöneticilerinin Batı medeniyetini yakından tanımaları ve Batıdaki teknik yenilikleri kendi ülkelerinde tatbik etmeleri 18. yüzyıldan itibaren başlamış ve 19. yüzyılda ivme kazanmıştır. Bu süreçte devlet idari, mali, askerî ve toplumsal hayat alanlarında Batıdaki düzene benzer çeşitli ıslahatlar gerçekleştirmiştir. 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nin Batılılaşma hareketleri Batıyı savunan bir aydın grubunu meydana getirmiştir.

Bu aydın grubu 1789 yılında Fransız İhtilali ile ortaya çıkan eşitlik, adalet, özgürlük ve bağımsızlık fikirlerinden etkilenmiş ve bu fikirler üzerine kafa yormaya başlamışlardır. Bu aydın grubuna göre; Osmanlı Devleti'nin kurtuluşunun tek yolu "hürriyet" ve "anayasa"dır. Aydınlar bu konu hakkındaki fikirlerini gazete ve mecmua gibi basın-yayın organlarında halka yaymaya çalışmışlardır. Bu çalışmada; Yeni Osmanlılar/Jön Türkler/İttihat ve Terakki oluşumunun tarihsel arka planı, aydınların politik ve felsefi görüşleri, aydınlar arasındaki fikirsal ayrılıklar, iktidara karşı yürütülen muhalefet hareketleri konuları ele alınacaktır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda aydın kavramına temel olarak iki farklı açıdan bakılabilir. Birincisi, İslam şemsiyesi altında ulema adı verilen dindar aydınlardır. İkincisi entelektüel faaliyetlerle meşgul olan entelektüellerdir. Bu Osmanlı aydınları modernleşme hareketinin bir ürünüdür. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bu dönemde Batı'nın benzer kurumlarını kurmasıyla birlikte, teknik bilgiye erişimi olan ve yabancı dil bilen, daha sonra "Yeni Osmanlılar" ve "Jön Türkler" gibi isimlerle anılacak bir grup genç aydın ortaya çıktı. Bu aydın grubu kendilerini devletin mensubu olarak görüyor ve yönetimde gördükleri yanlışlıklara karşı çıkma haklarının olduğunu savunuyorlardı (Kılıçbay, 1985; Özel, 1985).

Osmanlı modernleşme hareketi içerisinde Batının bilimsel, askeri ve teknik bilgilerinin yanı sıra kültürel, ekonomik, felsefi ve politik unsurların da dahil edilip edilmeyeceği konusunda tartışmalar yaşandı (Aslan, 2009). 19. yüzyılda devletin modernleşmesi konusu Osmanlı aydınlarının sürekli gündemindeydi. Modernleşmeyi savunan Osmanlı aydınları, Batı medeniyetinin temel kaynağının anayasa ve hürriyet olduğunu ileri sürüyorlardı (Beydilli, 2013). Bu

iki unsurun hayata geçirilmesi halinde ülkenin modernleşeceğini düşünüyorlardı. Avrupa'ya giden Osmanlı aydınları, orada insan hakları kavramını inceleyerek fikirlerini oluşturdular (Ülken, 1960). Batı toplumunun kurum ve yaşam tarzlarından etkilenen Osmanlı aydınları, demokratik ve liberal, yeniliklere açık bir yönetim istiyordu. Bu arzularını İslami yönetim altında gerçekleştirmeye çalıştılar (Ortaylı, 1985a). Mustafa Fazıl Paşa'nın maddi desteğiyle Ali Suâvi, Namık Kemal, Çapanzâde Âgâh Efendi ve Ziya Bey başta olmak üzere bu fikirlere sahip olan Osmanlı aydınlarının bir araya geldiği Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti 30 Ağustos 1867 tarihinde kurulmuştur (Beydilli, 2013). Cemiyetin gizli siyasi faaliyet becerisi yoktur. Cemiyetin üyeleri yabancı dilleri sayesinde Avrupa dünyasını tanıyan ve aralarında modernist İslamcılıktan liberalizme kadar uzanan çeşitli görüş yelpazesine sahip bir genç bürokrasi neslidir (Ortaylı, 1985b). Yeni Osmanlılar devlet dairelerinde yetişmiş gençlerdi. Cemiyet eleştirel fikirlerini Muhbir, Tasvir-i Efkâr ve Hürriyet gazetelerinde yaymaya çalışmıştır. Hükümeti eleştirmelerinin temel nedeni Tanzimat devlet adamlarının politikalarını beğenmemeleridir (Mardin, 1985). Zamanla cemiyet mensupları Sadrazam Mithat Paşa'yı kendilerine lider olarak kabul ederek onun etrafında toplanmaya başladılar (Beydilli, 2013). Mithat Paşa aynı zamanda meşrutiyet fikirlerinin de lideri oldu (Tunaya, 1985). Bu aydın grubu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yöneticilerine baskı yaparak meşrutiyet fikrini kabul ettirdi (Kılıçbay, 1985). Anayasa metni, Belçika ve Fransa gibi ülkelerde o dönemde yürürlükte olan anayasalar incelenerek tasarlandı (Ortaylı, 1985c). 23 Aralık 1876'da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk anayasası yayımlanarak yürürlüğe girdi. Anayasa, Osmanlı Devleti

topraklarında yaşayan tüm vatandaşların eşit olduğunu vurguluyordu. Bu hüküm Anayasa'nın 8. maddesinde "Osmanlılar, din ve mezheplerine bakılmaksızın yalnızca Osmanlı Devleti'nin tüm vatandaşları sayılmalıdır" cümlesiyle ifade edilmiştir (Düstur, 1299) Burada şunu da eklemek gerekir ki, anayasa hazırlanırken gazeteler "meşrutiyet" terimini kullanmamış, bunun yerine "konstitüsyon", "şartname-i esasi", "şeriat-ı esasiye" gibi terimleri kullanmıştır (Tunaya, 1985). Meşrutiyet'in ilanıyla birlikte 19 Mart 1877'de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk parlamentosu Müslüman ve gayrimüslim temsilcilerin katılımıyla açıldı. Parlamantonun açılışıyla kısmen de olsa yürütmenin gücü arttı ve ülkede düzeni sağlama olanağı doğdu (Tanör, 1985). Ancak II. Abdülhamid, o dönemde Ruslarla devam eden savaşı gerekçe göstererek 14 Şubat 1878'de anayasayı rafa kaldırıp meclisi tatil ettiğini ilan etti.

2. Yeni Osmanlılıktan Jön Türklüğe Geçiş

Meşrutiyetin ilanıyla birlikte batılılaşma hareketlerinde bu sefer önceki Batılı hareketlerden farklı olarak devrimci fikirler doğdu. 1889 yılında askeri tıp öğrencileri İshak Sukuti, Mehmet Reşid, Abdullah Cevdet, İbrahim Temo ve Hüseyinzade Ali (Turan) "İttihad-ı Osmani" adında gizli bir örgüt kurdular. Genel karışıklığı önlemek için eklemek gerekir ki, Avrupa'da hem Yeni Osmanlı Cemiyeti üyeleri hem de İttihad-ı Osmani teşkilatı üyelerine Jön Türkler denilirken, Türkiye'de bu tanımın genellikle İttihad-ı Osmani mensupları için kullanıldığı görülmektedir (Akşin, 1985). Bu öğrencilerin böyle bir adım atmasının nedenlerini birkaç noktada sıralayabiliriz. Öncelikle okullarda Fransızca öğretilince yabancı basını ve tabii ki Batı'daki gelişmeleri takip etme fırsatı buldular. İkincisi, tıp öğrencilerinin mevcut meslektaşlarından daha deneyimli

ve daha donanımlı oldukları inancıyla özgüvenleri arttı. Üçüncüsü, Osmanlı'daki usta-çırak, padişah-köle gibi sadakat geleneğini "anakronik" olarak değerlendiriyorlardı. Bütün bunlara ek olarak bu öğrencileri harekete geçiren motivasyon, Ermenilerin gizli örgütler kurarak devlete karşı mücadeleye girişmeleri idi (Mardin, 1985).

Jön Türkler, kendilerinden önceki aydınlar gibi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı karşısındaki kötü gidişatı durdurmaya ve ülkenin parçalanmasını engellemeye çalıştılar. Bunun ancak meşrutiyetin yeniden ilan edilmesi ve anayasanın yeniden tesis edilmesiyle mümkün olabileceğini savundular. Örgüt ilk yıllarında gizli hücrelerde örgütlenmek ve yeni üyeler kazandırmakla yetiniyordu. Örgütün savunucularından Ahmed Rıza Bey, 1889 yılında Paris'e gitti ve Auguste Comte'un pozitivist fikirlerinden etkilendi. Burada Pierre Lafitte'nin çıkardığı, pozitivist fikirlere sahip ve fikirlerini sistematik bir şekilde aktaran Revue Occidentale dergisi için yazılar yazmaya başladı. Ahmed Rıza Bey, Osmanlı'nın modernleşmesinde kullanılması gereken siyasi ve kültürel yöntemleri vurgulayan Meşveret gazetesini 1895 yılında Paris'te çıkarmaya başladı. Ayrıca İttihad-ı Osmani teşkilatının adı "Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Komisyonu" olarak değiştirilerek teşkilatın Paris şubesinin başına getirildi (Akşin, 1985; Işın, 1985). Cemiyetin savunucularından bir kısmı Avrupa'ya giderek Meşveret gazetesinde yazılar yayınladı (Ülken, 1992). Aynı yıl İttihat ve Terakki Komisyonu, Meşveret gazetesinde bir yönetmelik yayınlarak kuruluş nedenlerini açıkladı. Bunun önemli maddelerinden bazıları şöyle: Adalet ve eşitlik gibi temel insan haklarını ihlal eden mevcut hükümetin idaresini yeniden düzenlemek amacıyla tamamı Osmanlılardan oluşan Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin

kurulduđu duyuruldu. Kararnamenin 6. maddesine g re derneđin bir bařkanı ve merkezi İstanbul'da bulunan d rt  yeli bir y netim kurulu bulunacaktı. 27. Maddeye g re derneđe girerken yemin edilmesi gerekiyordu. 29. maddesine g re her  yenin, cemiyetin amacına uygun olması halinde  neride bulunma hakkı vardır. Cemiyet, 1 Aralık 1895'te Paris'te Meřveret gazetesini resmi yayın olarak yayınlamaya bařladı (Hanioglu, 2001). Abd lhamid ve savunucularına karřı m cadele devam ederken Ahmed Rıza ile Mizancı Murad arasındaki husumet sonucunda toplulukta iki ayrı grup ortaya çıktı ( lken, 1992). 1895 yılında cemiyet bařkanlığına Ahmed Rıza'nın yerine Mizancı Murad Bey se ildi. 1896'da İttihat ve Terakki Komitesi  yeleri Abd lhamid'e darbe planlasalar da, planın  đrenilmesi  zerine  rg t mensuplarının  ođu ihra  edildi, bir kısmı da Avrupa'ya ka tı. Cemiyetin merkezi 1897'de Paris'ten Cenevre'ye tařındı ve Mizan dergisi burada  ıkmaya bařladı. Bu arada II. Abd lhamid,  lke dıřındaki J n T rk hareketine karřı bir hamle bařlatarak bař hafiyesi Ahmet Celalettin Pařa'yı Paris'e g nderdi. Burada yayınlanan resmi bildiri ile zararlı yayınlarda bulunanların padiřah tarafından affedileceđi duyuruldu. Bunun  zerine Mizancı Murad Bey ve cemiyetin bazı mensupları İstanbul'a d nd  (Akřın, 1985). Bu geliřme İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin etkinliđinin azalmasına neden oldu (Mardin, 1985).

3. J n T rk Hareketinin Yeniden Canlanması

II. Abd lhamid'in kayınbiraderi Damat Mahmud Pařa, Osmanlı y netimine karřı kiřisel  fkesi nedeniyle  ocukları Sabahaddin ve L tfullah ile birlikte Paris'e gitti. Prens Sabahaddin, Paris'teki muhalefet faaliyetlerine katılarak İttihat ve Terakki Komisyonu'nun savunucusu oldu (Akřın, 1985). Prens Sabahaddin,

Jön Türklerin Paris'te bir kongresini toplamaya çalıştı. Fransız hükümeti Jön Türklerin böyle bir kongre düzenlemesini zorlaştırdı. Bu nedenle kongre 4-9 Şubat 1902'de Türkleri seven ve bağımsızlığı savunan Leter Postalıs Bey'in Paris'teki evinde toplanabildi. Kongrede Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na bağlı tebaaların neredeyse tamamı temsil edildi (Kuran, 2012). Kongre ağırlıklı olarak Prens Sabahaddin'in taraftarı olan katılımcılardan oluşuyordu ve "Birinci Jön Türk Kongresi" olarak adlandırılıyordu. Bu kongrede iki önemli düşünce ortaya konuldu: Birincisi; devrim sadece propaganda ve yayın yoluyla yapılamazdı, askeri güçlerin de devrimci hareketlere katılımının sağlanması gerekiyordu. İkincisi ise devrime yabancı müdahalesini talep etmekte. Kongrede ağırlıklı olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bütünlüğü ve bölünmezliği üzerinde duruldu; İç güvenliğin ve huzurun sağlanması gerektiği belirtildi. Ayrıca Berlin Antlaşması başta olmak üzere uluslararası anlaşmalara uyulacaktı. Bu anlaşmaların hükümlerinin uygulanması için oluşturulacak komisyon dış ilişkilerle ilgili olacaktır. Ancak bu karar ülkeyi dış müdahalelere karşı savunmasız hale getirdi. Kongre'de adem-i merkeziyetçilik, özerkliğin aşılması ve yabancı ülkelerden destek alınması yönündeki tartışmalar Prens Sabahaddin'e yönelik sert eleştirilere yol açtı ve farklı görüşlerde iki grup ortaya çıktı (Akşin, 1985).

Birinci Jön Türk Kongresi'nden sonra Jön Türk grupları arasındaki anlaşmazlıklar ve dağınıklık daha da arttı. Böylece Prens Sabahaddin ve grubu Kongre'ye hâkim olmasına rağmen etkili bir şekilde hareket edemedi. Sabahattin'in fikirleri Le Play¹ ekolüne

¹ On dokuzuncu yüzyılda Fransız sosyal düşüncesinde pozitivistten sonra en önde gelen fikir akımı Le Play'in başını çektiği ekoldür. Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882), monografik

(Özavcı, 2011) ve Edmond Demolins²'in (Günör, 2019; Koçak, 2019) görüşlerine dayanmaktadır³. Bu bakış açısına göre; sosyal

türden saha çalışması yürüten; hipotezlerini test etmek için gerekli bilgileri bizzat kendisi toplayan; sistematik, karşılaştırmalı ve ülkelerarası araştırma yapan ilk sosyal bilimcidir. Bu özellikleri, Le Play'e sosyolojinin öncüleri arasında yer kazandırmaktadır. Le Play'e göre çok sayıda ve çeşitte toplumsal olgunun bilimsel bir gözle gözlemlenebilmesi için, araştırmacının toplumun basit ve belirli bir birimini incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Le Play böylece en küçük, basit ve temel topluluk olan aileyi çalışmalarına araştırma konusu olarak seçti. Ancak ona göre elde sayısal veriler olmadan yapılacak araştırmalar açık ve somut sonuçlar sağlayamayacaklardı. Böylelikle Le Play metodunda aile bütçesi, aile yaşamının sayısal göstergesi ve toplumsal hayatın sayısal analizinin temeli olarak kullanıldı.

² Le Play'in takipçisi Edmond Demolins de fert ve aile üzerine çalışmalar yapmış ve Le Play'den esinlenerek toplumsal problemleri çözerken bireyi ele almanın gerektiğini savunmuştur. Demolins fikirlerini "Anglo-Saksonların Üstünlüğünün Sebebi Nedir?" isimli eserinde toplamıştır. Kitabın ana noktası iki toplum tipini belirtmesidir: "cemaatçi toplumlar" ve "bireyci toplumlar". Cemaatçi toplum tipinde kişi değil aile, kabile veya devlet gibi zümreler önemlidir. Bu tipin en önemli örneği doğu toplumlarıdır. Bireyci toplum tipinde ise önemli olan kişidir. Bu tipin en önemli örneği ise Anglo - Sakson toplumudur. Demolins, İngiltere'de yapılan monografik araştırmaları temel alarak, Anglo Saksonların üstünlüğünün girişim yeteneğini geliştiren eğitim sistemine dayandığını savunur. Bireyi özgürleştiren ve özgüven duygusunu geliştiren İngiliz aile yapısı, Fransız ve Alman aile yapısı ile kıyaslanmakta ve okulun insanların moral ve sosyal yükselişindeki etkisi izah edilir. Eserde İngiliz toplumu örnek gösterilerek, kendine güven olgusunun gelişmesinin aile içi terbiye ve eğitim sistemine bağlı olduğu iddia edilir. Demolins'in görüşüne göre Fransızlar, şahsi girişimler için adam yetiştirmeyen "kendilerinden ziyade cemiyete güveniyorken" Anglo Saksonların eğitimi ise "ferdiyetçilik formasyonunu esas aldığı için fertler topluma karşı benliklerini koruyor, kendi başarılarıyla yükselebiliyorlardı". Demolins, "Devlet vatanseverliği"ne dayanan idare şekline de karşı çıkıyor ve bunun zıttı olarak Anglo-Sakson ülkelerinin yönetim biçimini örnek gösteriyordu. Bu sistem kişinin özel hayatının bağımsızlığı üzerine kurulur ve fertler vatanını savunurken aslında kendi hürriyetlerini de koruma altına almış olurlar.

³ Demolins'in görüşlerini benimseyen Prens Sabahaddin, toplumların iki yapı altında düşünülebileceğini söyleyerek; bunlardan birincisinin bireyin köreltildiği kamucu yapı olduğunu, ikincisinin ise şahsi teşebbüsün geliştiği ferdiyetçi yapı olduğunu iddia eder. Ona göre ferdiyetçi yapıya mensup olan toplumlar diğerlerinden daha iyi durumdadır çünkü bu tipteki toplumlar kendilerine güvenen, girişken ve dolayısıyla da başarılı bireyler yetiştirebilmektedir. Özellikle İngiliz toplum yapısını örnek olarak alan Science Sociale ekolüne ve Prens Sabahaddin'e göre tabii ki bu savunulan ferdiyetçi yapıyı benimseyen devletler Anglo-Sakson kökenli devletler iken bunun karşısında kamucu yapıya mensup olan devletler ise özellikle Asya devletleridir. Demolins gibi Sabahaddin de "herhangi bir ulusun kaderini tayin eden coğrafya, çevre, geçmişin tarihi ve diğer önemli etkenleri görmezden gelmek suretiyle hocasının eserinin temel doktrinlerini kendisine ilke edinerek zihinlerde yankılanan bir organizasyonun kuruluşunu sağlamıştır; Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i

kalkınma, adem-i merkeziyetçiliğe ve girişimci özgürlüğe dayanıyordu. Prens Sabahaddin'e göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin kurtuluşu için sadece II. Abdülhamid istibdadının ortadan kaldırılarak, Meşrutiyetin ilan edilmesi yetmeyecekti. İstibdadın toplumda bu kadar kolay sona ereceğini düşünmenin bir hata olduğunu düşünmekteydi. İstibdatın tamamen ortadan kaldırılması için devlet yönetiminde, adem-i merkeziyetçilikte köklü bir reform yapılması ve kişisel girişimciliğin geliştirilmesi gerekiyordu. Bu gruba karşı çıkan grup ise, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun parçalanmasını önlemek için merkeziyetçiliği savundu. Osmanlı Devleti'nin bir bölgesinde özerklik veya benzeri bir rejim tesis edilmesiyle bölgenin bir süre sonra imparatorluktan kopacağını düşünüyorlardı (Akşin, 1985)

Kongre sonrasında etkin bir şekilde çalışamayan Prens Sabahaddin ve grubu, 1902 yılında Teşebbüs-i Şahsî ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti'ni kurarak Terakki dergisini yayınlamaya başladı. Bu olaylara bakıldığında, Birinci Jön Türk Kongresi sonrasında muhalefetin görüş ayrılıklarının açık bir bölünmeye yol açtığı söylenebilir. Bu cemiyetin programı 27 Temmuz 1906'da Şûrâ-yı Ümmet'te yayımlandı. Programda temel olarak şu hususlar belirtiliyordu (Ülken, 1992):

1) Türkiye'deki siyasi ıslahat hareketi Kanun-ı Esasî'nin 108'inci maddesinde de kabul edildiği üzere bütün tebaaya yayılacak ve merkeziyetsizlik anlayışına göre uygulanacaktır.

Merkeziyet Cemiyeti". Bu cemiyetin ismi bize Prens Sabahaddin'in klasik liberalizmden etkilenerek kendi toplum felsefesini şekillendiren iki temel ilkeyi göstermektedir. Başka bir deyişle düşünür, toplum felsefesini bireycilik düşüncesi ile doğrudan bağlantılı olan Teşebbüssü Şahsî ve Adem-i Merkeziyet prensipleri ile şekillendirmiştir.

2) Belediyeler ve belediye meclisleri, nahiye ve vilayet işlerine karışabilecektir. Seçilmiş üyelerden oluşan umumi meclis vilayetin, mali işleri ve tüzükleriyle ilgilenecektir.

3) 1876'da ilân edilen meşruti idareye uygun olarak vilayetler arasında iletişimi sağlamak ve vilayetle merkezi hükümet arasında bağlantı kurmak üzere vilâyet temsilcilerinden oluşan bir Mebuslar Meclisi açılacaktır.

4) İmparatorluk tebaasında yer alan milletler arasındaki çatışmayı çözmek üzere her milletin nüfusu oranında üyesi ve temsilcisi bulunacaktır.

5) Yüksek okullar memleketin bütün tebaasına açık bulunacaktır.

6) Memleketin disiplin ve düzeni jandarma teşkilâtı ile sağlanacak, jandarmalar öğretmen ve subaylar tarafından yetiştirilecektir.

7) Valiler, defterdarlar, mahkeme reisleri ve savcılar merkezi hükümet tarafından tayin edileceklerdir.

Programda temel olarak değinilen esaslara bakıldığında, adem-i merkezîyetçilik anlayışının baskın olduğu ve Osmanlı Devleti'ni oluşturan milletler arasında eşitlik ilkesinin gözetildiği söylenebilir.

Ahmed Rıza Bey ve yandaşları, 10 Nisan 1902'de Mısır'da Şûrâ-yı Ümmet dergisini çıkarmaya başladılar. Derginin ilk sayısında bu grubun amaçları şöyle açıklanıyordu: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun siyasi bağımsızlığını ve toprak bütünlüğünü savunmak, Anayasanın uygulanması, Osmanlı halkları arasındaki

bağları ve yakınlığı geliştirmek, Osmanlı Devleti'ni yönetenleri modern gelişmeler konusunda eğitmek ve Osmanlı'nın en ileri milletlerin seviyesine çıkma arzusunu ortaya koymak. Bu program, 1895 yılında Meşveret'te yayınlanan programa göre daha gerçekçi görünmektedir. Kongre sonrasında Ahmed Rıza'nın grubu, yeni bir hamlede bulunarak "Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti" adında bir dernek kurdu. Dernek, yayıncılığın yanı sıra büyük bir başarı elde ederek ciddi bir organizasyona başladı. Cemiyetin amacı, gelenek ve ihtiyaçlara göre modernliği yaymak, Osmanlı halkının birliği için çalışmak, ülkenin siyasi bağımsızlığını ve toprak bütünlüğünü korumak ve eski gücüne kavuşturmak, Osmanlı Devleti'nde meşrutiyetin iadesinin yeniden tesis edilmesini sağlamaktır (Akşin, 1985). 1895 Kararnamesi ile karşılaştırıldığında 1906 Kararnamesi'nin uygulamada milletlerin birliğini sağlamak gibi oldukça zor hedefler taşıdığı söylenebilir.

4. Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Oluşumu

1907 yılında "Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti" ile "Teşebbüs-i Şahsî ve Merkeziyetçilik Cemiyeti" arasında yeni bir birlik kuruldu. Daha sonra 27 Aralık 1907'de "İkinci Jön Türk Kongresi" toplandı. Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti'nin Kongre'ye sunduğu şartlar hazırlandı. Bu koşullar kısaca, saltanat rejiminin hiçbir şekilde değiştirilmemesi, kongrede Osmanlı Devleti içinde örgütlenmeyen komisyonların yer almaması, ülkeyi kargaşa içine sokarak yabancı müdahaleyi davet edecek olan terör faaliyetlerinin kesinlikle reddedilmesi, ihtilâl hareketine cemiyetin onayı olmadan Ermenilerin katılmaması, yabancı müdahalesinin kesinlikle reddedildiğinin ortak bir bildiri ile belirtilmesi ve bunun basına da açıklanması şeklinde özetlenebilir. Avrupa ülkelerinin

müdahalesi korkusu ve ülke dışında bulunan kuruluşlara güvensizlik olduğu açıkça görülüyor. Kongre sonrasında ortak bir bildiri yayımlandı ve bildiriye Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihat Cemiyeti, Teşebbüs-i Şahsî ve Adem-i Merkeziyet-i Meşrutiyet Cemiyeti, Ahd-ı Osmanî Cemiyeti (Mısır), Londra'daki Hilafet'in yazı kurulu, Taşnaksütyun Ermeni örgütü, Mısır Cemiyet-i İsrailiyesi gibi kuruluşların imzaları atıldı. Kongrede Bulgar, Arnavut ve Rum örgütlerinin yer almaması dikkat çekici bir durumdur. Kongre bildirisi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu halklarının birleşmeyi başardıkları ve hedeflerine ulaşana kadar dayanacakları mesajını veriyordu. Amaç Abdülhamid'i görevden alıp yeni bir meclis düzeni kurmaktır. II. Abdülhamid rejimi, Almanya ile yakın ilişkiler kurarak ülkenin imajını zedelemek, Fransa ve İngiltere gibi liberal ülkelerle ilişkilerin bozulmasına neden olmakla suçlanıyordu. Bildiri genel olarak çalışmaları engellenen ulemaya, vergilerle ezilen çiftçi ve köylülere, güvenlik ve özgürlük eksikliği nedeniyle işlerini yapamayan tüccarlara, yoksulluk içinde tutulan askerlere ve tüm mazlum halklara hitap ediyordu. Çalışmada aynı zamanda hedefe ulaşmak için kullanılan yöntemler de açıklandı. Bu yöntemler arasında silahlı direniş, grevler, vergilerin ödenmemesi, ordu içi propaganda ve isyan yer alıyordu (Akşin, 1985).

20. yüzyılın başında Makedonya'da yaşanan karışıklıklar sonucunda Osmanlı Devleti, İttihat Komitesi'nin tedirginliğini ve muhalefetini bastırmak için bölgeye çok sayıda mektepli subay göndermek zorunda kalmıştı. İttihat ve Terakki muhalefeti buradaki subaylar ve doğal olarak yükseköğrenim öğrencileri arasında hızlı bir şekilde yayıldı. Ayrıca Makedon çalkantılarının Avrupalı güçlerin Osmanlı Devleti'nin işlerine müdahalesine yol açtığına

görülmesi üzerine subayların Osmanlı yönetimine olan güveni sarsıldı. Makedonya meselesi gün geçtikçe karmaşılaşp Avrupalı devletler müdahale etmeye başlayınca, İttihat ve Terakki'nin Osmanlı rejimiyle mücadelesi ortaya çıktı ve isyana dönüştü. Bu isyan, ordudaki subaylar arasında hızla yayıldı. II. Abdülhamid hükümeti isyanı bastırmayınca İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti 23 Temmuz 1908'de Manastır'da meşrutiyet ilan etti. Rumeli meşrutiyetinin taleplerine karşı koyamayan II. Abdülhamid, 23 Temmuz 1908'de meşruti monarşiyi ilan etmek zorunda kaldı. Buradan anlaşılan II. Abdülhamid'in saltanatına son verip meşruti monarşiyi ve özgürlüğü ilan edenler eğitimli subaylardı. Meşrutiyetin yeniden ilanı dış dünyada farklı tepkilere neden oldu. İngiliz kamuoyu meşruti monarşiyi memnuniyetle karşılasa da Rusya'da tepkiyle karşılandı. Bunun sebebini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batı fikirlerine yaklaşmasıyla kısaca açıklayabiliriz.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki muhalefet hareketleri, modern Türkiye'de demokrasinin gelişiminde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu hareketler, anayasal düzenin kurulmasına, parlamenter sistemin güçlenmesine ve vatandaşlık haklarının genişletilmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı muhalefeti, Türkiye'de demokratik ilkelerin yerleşmesinde ve modernleşme sürecinin hızlanmasında önemli bir etkidir.

5. Sonuç

18. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde başlayan ve 19. yüzyılın en önemli gündem maddelerinden biri olan Batılılaşma hareketleri, askeriyeden başlayarak hemen her alana yayıldı. Bu durum özellikle

19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Batı medeniyeti kültüründen etkilenen fikir gruplarının ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Yeni Osmanlı olarak adlandırılan aydın grup öncelikle Batı'nın adalet, özgürlük, bağımsızlık gibi kavramlarını araştırmış ve bunun sonucunda Osmanlı'yı kurtarmanın reçetesinin özgürlük ve anayasa olduğunu ileri sürmüşlerdir. Bu grubun üyeleri devlet kurumlarında çalışan genç aydınlar olduğundan genellikle dergi, gazete gibi medya araçları aracılığıyla seslerini toplumda duyurmaya çalışmakla yetiniyorlardı. Birinci Meşrutiyet'i takip eden yıllarda askeri tıp öğrencileri tarafından kurulan İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti ise II. Abdülhamid'e muhalif olarak gizli bir örgütlenme şeklinde teşkilatlanmıştır. Bu örgütün fikirleri, kendilerinden önceki aydınların fikirlerinden daha ikna ediciydi. Örgütün üyelerinden bazı aydınlar, İslam'ı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun geri kalmışlığının ana nedenlerinden biri olarak görmüş ve toplumdaki İslami gelenek ve göreneklerin ortadan kaldırılmasına ve bunların yerine Batı kültürünün getirilmesine çalışmıştır. Ancak batılılaşmanın nasıl olacağı konusunda her zaman anlaşmazlıklar olmuştur. Bazıları sadece Batı teknolojisinin benimsenmesinin yeterli olduğunu, bazıları "gülleri ve dikenleriyle" bir bütün olarak ele alınması gerektiğini, bazıları ise Batılılaşma için Avrupa ülkelerinin desteğine ihtiyaç olduğunu savundu. Cemiyetin faaliyeti zamanla değişti ve Makedonya'daki karışıklıkların da etkisiyle 1908'de devrimci bir hareket haline geldi. İttihat ve Terakki örgütünün organize ettiği isyan hareketi ile birlikte II. Abdülhamit, Meşrutiyeti yeniden ilan ederek anayasayı yürürlüğe almak zorunda kaldı. Aralarındaki tüm fikir ayrılıkları ve çatışmalara rağmen Yeni Osmanlı/Jön Türk/İttihat ve Terakki çizgisinde süregelen Osmanlı aydın hareketi Osmanlı

Devleti’nde anayasa, hak ve özgürlükler, hürriyet, meşruti yönetim gibi kavramların tartışılıp yerleşmesine hizmet etti. Bu yönüyle Türk demokratik hareketlerinin gelişimine de katkı sağlamış oldu.

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