

OPENING SPEECH

Ali KURUMAHMUT

Prime Ministry of Navigation Counsellorship Marine Transportation General Manager

The Aegean Sea lies between the Turkish and the Greek main lands, as well as between the Morea peninsular and the southwestern edges of the Anatolian coasts, with the extension of the islands of Çuha, Küçük Çuha, Girit, Kaşot, Kerpe and Rodos that constitute its outer natural boundaries. In terms of the geographical structure, the Aegean, a semi-closed sea, has geological and geo-morphological characteristics peculiar to itself: it has about 1800 islands, islets and rocks of various sorts, as well as a number of geographical formations, scattered all over the Sea.

There is little wonder that all these characteristics make the Aegean Sea a special one. The Aegean dispute between Greece and Turkey has been complicated for a number of reasons: for instance, there are many islands in the Aegean that Turkey ceded to Greece through international treaties. And these islands lying in the natural extension of the Turkish mainland surround Anatolia from north to the south. But Athens makes claims of sovereignty over many islands, islets, and rocks though Ankara never ceded any of them to Greece officially. The most obvious and famous case would be the Kardak rocks crisis that erupted between Turkey and Greece at the beginning of 1996. These complications make the Aegean a sea that is of special importance among the seas of the world.

It is possible to divide the Aegean Islands into five categories in terms of their geographical locations, geological and geo-morphological characteristics, the historical perspectives of the sovereign powers to which they belonged, the manner in which the sovereignty over them was determined through international treaties, as well as their importance for geo-political and strategic purposes. These five categories would be as follows: Boğazönü Islands, Saruhan Islands, Menteşe Islands, Kuzey Sporad Islands (Northern Sporades) and finally the Kiklad (Cyclades) Islands. Boğazönü, Saruhan and the Mentese Islands, the three groups, geo-politically and strategically the most important ones from the Turkish vantage point, that surround Turkey from north to south are also known as the Eastern Aegean Islands.

They are like tower walls that close Anatolia to the Aegean. Given that The Aegean natural dividing seabed goes through from northwest to southeast in the shape of an 'S', it would be a good idea to divide the Aegean Islands into two groups; the eastern Aegean and western Aegean Islands. According to some scientists, the natural dividing seabed in the Aegean constitutes the undersea boundary between Asia and Europe, while some scientific maps divide the Aegean into two parts, Europe and Asia, by drawing a line through the continental dividing line. Nineteenth century Ottoman books refer to these islands as Aegean Islands and the European ones, placing the Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid group under the Asian category. These books considered the North Sporades and the Cyclades, as well as Eğriboz Island the European ones, in other words, the western Aegean Islands.

It is no surprise that there is a great deal of differences between Turkey and Greece over the Aegean. There are processes under way that aim to find a solution to these. The trouble is that these apparent differences have historic and ideological dimensions, that they accumulated over long years of history, and that all of them are related to each other in various ways. In broader terms, there are obvious and close links between these questions in terms of causes and results.

The main question in the Aegean is the one over sovereignty. This no doubt takes precedence over anything else in determining the basic areas of responsibility for both sides. It is difficult to resolve the question of territorial waters and the length of the seabed, as well as the question of the exclusive

economic zones before reaching an overall settlement on the question territorial sovereignty. What needs to be determined first is of the question as to whom every single island and islet belongs. On the other hand, the question of territorial sovereignty, the length of the seabed and the exclusive economic zones are bound to affect the dispute over the Aegean air space. A global solution on this basis to all the problems in the Aegean would certainly help settle secondary issues, such as FIR (Flight Information Region) and SAR (Search and Rescue).

The question of demilitarization of the Aegean Islands has complicated the issues regarding sovereignty not least because Greece has militarized these islands in flagrant violation of international treaties. Turkey ceded Eastern Aegean Islands to Greece, on condition that Greece's sovereignty over them should be limited by demilitarization, but Greece has built military installations and fully militarized them to the extent of threatening Turkey. One should not lose sight of the fact that this might open to question the validity of relevant clauses of the treaties by which Turkey ceded these islands.

The Aegean Sea that has always had special importance and priority in foreign policies of Turkey and Greece from the last quarter of the twentieth century onwards plays a differing role in relations between these two countries. In ideological and abstract terms, it is possible to maintain that the Aegean questions go back to 24th April 1830 when Greece gained its independence of the Ottoman Empire. In legal and political terms, the Aegean questions date back to 24th July 1923 when the Lausanne Treaty was signed. The questions arising out of the Aegean are of a dynamic nature, and they remain unsolved. Indeed, there has not been even a sensible dialogue between Ankara and Athens with a view to resolving the outstanding differences. From the point of view of Turkey, we are now passing through a process, which needs to be handled with care, and which is, otherwise, fraught with dangers in terms of the Aegean dispute, a central issue in Turco-Greek relations.

The Turco-Greek differences in the Aegean are of the kind that only the two countries, the most knowledgeable on the issue, could resolve at the negotiating table. The mechanism for a just and equitable global solution to all the outstanding problems in the Aegean must be negotiation. But the present attitude of Greece and the international political circumstances do not help reach a solution at the negotiating table.

In addition to all the complicated technical and ideological questions, and the difficulties that stem from the geological and geo-morphological structure of the seabed, the historical depth which come from the secret negotiations and protocols that paved the way for Greece to become independent in 1830 testify to the argument that the present dispute between Turkey and Greece is of an ideological nature.

Since its establishment, Greece enlarged its territories three times at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. But it seems that it is not content, since it has been trying to turn the Aegean into a Greek lake. It is in a sense trying to achieve a modern Sevres in the Aegean by closing the sea to Turkey's use. It is obvious that the driving political and strategic goal behind Greece's policies is the '*megali idea*' (Great Idea).

DISPUTE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AEGEAN: UNCEDED TURKISH ISLANDS

Ali KURUMAHMUT

Prime Ministry of Navigation Counsellorship Marine Transportation General Manager

Sertaç Hami BAŞEREN

Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Ankara

ÖZET

Yunanistan'ın bağımsız bir devlet olarak tarih sahnesine çıktığı 24 Nisan 1830 öncesinde Ege Denizi bir Osmanlı iç denizi haline dönüşmüş olup, Ege Denizi'nde yer alan ve uluslararası hukukun ada olarak tanımladığı tüm kara parçaları Osmanlı egemenliğinde idi.

Egemenliği 24 Nisan 1830 tarihi itibariyle Yunanistan'a devredilen adalar; Eğriboz Adası ile Kuzey Sporad adaları ve Kiklad Adaları'dır. 30 Mayıs 1913 Londra Antlaşması'nın devrettiği Girit Adası'ndan başka Lozan Barış Antlaşması'na kadar, Ege'de herhangi bir ada egemenlik devrine konu olmamıştır.

Lozan Barış Antlaşması'nın egemenlik devrini düzenleyen hükümleri 12 ile 15'inci maddeleridir. Buna göre toplam 9 ada Yunanistan'a, ismen sayıları 13 ada ve tabii adacıklar ile Meis Adası İtalya'ya devredilmiştir. Türkiye'nin taraf olmadığı Paris Barış Antlaşması ile İtalya bu adaları Yunanistan'a devretmiştir. Tarihi gelişim süreci içinde Yunanistan'a devredilmeyen ada, adacık ve kayalıklar bugün Türk egemenliğindedir.

The Aegean Sea, in the north of the eastern Mediterranean, is located between the western shores of the Anatolian peninsula and the eastern shores of the Balkan Peninsula. Roughly, the Aegean lies between the 44th and 35th degrees latitude, and between 23 and 27/28 degrees eastern longitude. In terms of the geographical structure, the Aegean, a semi-closed sea, has geological and geomorphological characteristics peculiar to itself: it has about 1800 islands, islets and rocks of various sorts¹, as well as a number of geographical formations², scattered all over the Sea.

The main question in the Aegean is the one over sovereignty. This no doubt takes precedence over anything else in determining the basic areas of responsibility for both sides. It is difficult to resolve the question of territorial waters and the continental shelf, as well as the question of the exclusive

¹ See, Ali Kurumahmut, 'Ege'de Egemenliği Tartışmalı Adalar Sorununun Ortaya Çıkışı' ('Emergence of the Question of the Aegean Islands with Undetermined Sovereignty') in Ali Kurumahmut (ed.), *Ege'de Temel Sorun (The Main Question in the Aegean)* (Ankara, 1998), pp. 6.

² If all the geographic formations in the shape of reefs around the islands, islets and even rocks were taken together, the real number would be far higher than 1800. For instance, the number of island, islets and rocks together with reefs only around the Island of Midilli is about 120. The number around the Island of Limni is over 80. For details, see, Constantin P. Economides, 'Tartışma: Türkiye ile Yunanistan Arasındaki İhtilafli Adalar, Ege Denizi'ndeki İmia Adaları: Kuvvetle Yarattılan Bir Uyumsuzluk' ('The Debate: The Disputed Islands between Turkey and Greece, The İmia Islands: A Dispute created by Force') (translated by Mahmut Göçer), *Kocaeli Üniversitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, Sayı 2, (Kocaeli, 1998-1999), pp. 611.

economic zones before reaching an overall settlement on the question territorial sovereignty. What needs to be determined first is of the question as to whom every single island and islet belongs.

The Turco-Greek differences in the Aegean, including sovereignty dispute, are of the kind that only the two countries, the most knowledgeable on the issue, could resolve at the negotiating table. The mechanism for a just and equitable global solution to all the outstanding problems in the Aegean must be negotiation.

1. HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE AEGEAN DISPUTES

1.1. The Aegean Sea and the Aegean Islands Before the Independence of Greece

The Ottoman Empire's struggle to capture the Aegean Islands under Venetians, Genoese, and the Knights of Saint John rule came to a close with the conquests of the islands of Crete in 1699 and Istendil in 1718. With the exception of the islands of Çuha and Küçük Çuha³, all the others had by then come under Ottoman rule, and the Aegean Sea had become an internal lake. This meant that all territorial pieces at sea that international law considers islands, namely islands, islets and rocks had come under Ottoman domination. This continued all the way to the independence of Greece on 24th of April 1830⁴. One important characteristic of this domination was that it was in line with the international law and order of the time, and that the Ottoman domination was unquestioned.

In other words, with the island of Istendil coming under Ottoman rule, all the islands, islets and rocks in the Aegean had acquired the status of Ottoman possessions, and they became *res in possessione*⁵, by implication, there remained no island, islet or pieces of rocks in the Aegean that could be considered no-man's land. This historical fact would play an important role in determining the sovereignty over every island, islet and rock in the Aegean and in resolving the questions stemming from the concept of sovereignty. We can, therefore, establish that the islands belonging to Greece at present are the ones that the Ottoman Empire and, afterwards, the Republic of Turkey, ceded to Greece and Italy through international treaties.

The treaties concluded, ratified and implemented to cede territory should display clearly the will of the contracting parties⁶. They should designate, define and describe⁷ the territories ceded by one state to the other without any doubt whatsoever. All this is an absolute necessity for any treaty to be considered a legally valid document because a state's sovereignty over a territory would have to be absolute and the relevant treaty would have to leave no doubt concerning that⁸.

In order to clarify the question of sovereignty over the Aegean Islands, or from a different angle, to establish which islands were ceded to Greece and which ones should remain under Turkey's

³ Some consider the Island of Çuha, located in the northwestern part of Crete, out of the Aegean Sea. See, for instance, Limits of Oceans and Seas, Special Publication, 23rd Draft, Fourth Edition, 1986, International Hydrographic Bureau, pp. 62-63. The Islands of Çuha and Küçük Çuha that came under Turkish rule from time to time finally went to Greece in the year 1864.

⁴ Ottoman political administration over these islands prior to the emergence of modern Greece in 1830 was complete. There was no difference between Ottoman administration over mainland Ottoman possessions and the islands in the Aegean because the Ottoman administration had all the characteristics of a government and sovereignty, one of the very important qualifications of being a state over a piece of territory in the modern sense. When the Ottomans established domination, they set up Ottoman administrative, financial and taxation system over these islands. And this continued until each island went out of the Ottoman realm.

⁵ Sertaç Hami Baseren, 'Ege'de Ada, Adacik ve Kayalikların Uluslararası Andlaşmalarla Tayin Edilen Hukuki Statüsü' ('The Legal Status of the Islands, Islets and Rocks determined in accordance with International Treaties') in Kurumahmut (ed.), Ege'de Temel Sorun, pp. 81.

⁶ Sevin Toluner, Milletlerarası Hukuk Dersleri (Lectures on International Law) (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 6.

⁷ Charles G. Fenwick, International Law (New York, 1948), pp. 758.

⁸ Sertaç Hami Baseren, op.cit., pp. 82.

sovereignty, we need to study all the texts of the treaties that have direct bearing on the Aegean Sea and the Aegean Islands.

1.2. The Aegean Sea and the Aegean Islands at the Time of Greece's Independence, 24 April 1830

Greece came about as an independent country with clearly demarcated political boundaries as a result of the protocol signed between Britain, France and Russia in London on 3rd February 1830⁹. The last paragraph of article two of that protocol explained clearly the political boundaries of Greece. Eğriboz Island, all the Şeytan Islands¹⁰ and the island of Iskiri and others known as the Cyclades group¹¹, as well as the island of Yamurgi on the twenty-sixth eastern longitudes were ceded to Greece.

The treaty confirmed that all the islands, islets and rocks outside the northern latitudes of thirty-six to thirty-nine (36 to 39) and eastern latitude of 26 remained under Ottoman sovereignty. But this treaty created ambiguity in the sense that the transfer of sovereignty over an area where there were and still are hundreds of islands, islets and pieces of rocks was made questionable due to unclear definitions.

Every slice of territory or, in this case, every island, islet and rock whose sovereignty was being transferred should have been designated, defined and described in an appropriate manner. But what was done was that the expressions, such as 'all the Şeytan Islands' and the islands known generally as the 'Cyclades' were used to define territories whose sovereignty was given up by the Ottomans. Needless to say, these were not the expressions that normally appeared in international legal documents before.

For instance, the 26th longitude that divided the Sakiz Islands into two from north to south created ambiguity as to the sovereignty over the islands of Ipsara and Andiipsara, as well as the Venetian rocks, all located in the western part of the eastern latitude. Nevertheless, Ottoman documents explain how this ambiguity was eliminated gradually and how everything was made more in line with international legal norms and customs. They demonstrate clearly which islands, islets and rocks were in the end given to Greece.

The question of which islands the Şeytan and the Kiklad (Cyclades) islands ceded to Greece covered in concrete and practical terms could be followed through Ottoman archive documents, as well as Turkish and Greek political maps. The Ottoman Hane-i Hümayun Defteri (number 10), in particular, the section under the heading of the 'islands belonging to Greece' enumerate the names of all the islands whose sovereignty was transferred to Greece. These records explain why some islands, though part of the Cyclades group, remained under the Ottoman Empire. They also explain why some islands' sovereignty could not be determined because of their geographical location¹².

There are a number of Ottoman and Greek political maps about the subject. For instance, Ottoman political maps dated 1252 /1836¹³, 1286/1870¹⁴, the Greek political map of 1893¹⁵ and the Ottoman

⁹ For the original French text of the protocol, see, Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, Second Edition (Istanbul 1900), pp. 177-181.

¹⁰ The Northern Sporades Islands, except the Island of Iskiri, were then known to be Seytan Islands.

¹¹ Cyclades Islands are mentioned as Siklad in some Ottoman texts presumably because of the Turkish language pronunciation of the French spelling.

¹² *Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi, Name-i Hümayun*, no: 10, pp. 457. For details of the Name-i Hümayun books, see, *Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi Rehberi (General Directorate of the Prime Minister's Archive for Ottoman Documents, the Guide Book for the Archive)*. (Istanbul 2000), pp. 44-45.

¹³ *Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivleri, Harita (Map)*, no: 55.

political map of 1898¹⁶ are very useful documents. They all confirm the explanation given in the above-mentioned book. Accordingly, Eğriboz Island together with the Northern Sporades¹⁷ located in the Western part of the Aegean and the Cyclades were given to Greece at its inception. Ipsara and Andipsara located to the west of the Sakiz Island, the Venetian rocks that occupy a central position in the Aegean, Kendiroz and Zenari Islands to the east and northeast of Yamurgi Island and the Yaban Island to the east of Istanbulya remained under Ottoman sovereignty.

During the course of the Turco-Italian war over Tripolitania between 1911 and 1912, Italy invaded some sixteen islands in the area of the Mentese Islands in order to force the Ottoman Empire to accept its peace terms. Thirteen of these islands were enumerated by name in the article 122 of the treaty of Sevres, article fifteen of the Lausanne treaty and the article fourteenth of the treaty of Paris, and their sovereignty was transferred. These islands are as follows: Istampalya-Ostopalya-Ostropalya¹⁸, Rhodes-Rodos, Kerpe-Karpathos, Kasot-Kasos, Ilyaki-Iliaki (Tilo), Incirli-Niziros-Nisyros, Kalimnos-Kalimnoz-Kalymnos, Leryoz-Leryos-Leros, Batnoz-Patmos, Lipso-Lipsos, Sombeki-Symi, Istankoy-Kos, and Hark-i Sarki (Charki) and Alimniya-Alimnia that are annexes of Rhodos, as well as Sarya (Saria), an annex of Istankoy and Kapari (Kappari), annex of Istankoy¹⁹.

On the signing of the Treaty of Oushi, Italy undertook to end the de facto situation in the occupied islands by giving them back to Turkey. But it made it conditional that this would be done after all the Ottoman military and civilian personnel had duly left Tripoli and Benghazi. However, the Italian occupation in these islands continued despite the fact that all Ottoman forces and civilian personnel had left Tripoli and Benghazi, on the excuse of Balkan wars and the ensuing political and military events, and finally, the outbreak of the First World War. In the end, the Italian occupation in those islands remained until the Lausanne treaty negotiations. Meanwhile, during the course of the Balkan wars that broke out after the Turco-Italian war over Tripolitania, Greece had invaded and occupied the Islands of Tasos, Semadirek, Gökçeada, Limni, Bozcaada, Bozbaba, Midilli, Sakiz, Ipsara, Sisam and Ahikerya under Ottoman sovereignty. The Porte never recognized the Greek occupation of these islands.

After the Balkan wars, the Balkan Allies, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty on 30th May 1913 in London²⁰, which contained important parts concerning the Island of Crete, as well as all the other Ottoman Islands that had come under Greek occupation. This treaty consisted of seven articles, and the Ottoman Empire ratified it on 14th July 1913 (9 Saban 1331). According to article five, the Porte committed itself to recognizing the verdict of the arbitration by the European Great Powers, Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Italy concerning the faith of all the Ottoman Islands in the Aegean, except the Island of Crete²¹. Afterwards, the Ottoman Empire and Greece signed a peace treaty in Athens on 14th November 1913. Article fifteen of that treaty stipulated that the two countries would obey the decisions laid out in the treaty of London, including the article five of the same treaty²².

¹⁴ Deniz Müzesi Komutanlığı Arsivi (The Archive of the Museum of Naval Forces), Harita (Map), no: 452/351.

¹⁵ Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Harita (Map), no: 56.

¹⁶ İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Library of İstanbul University), Harita (Map), no: 92286.

¹⁷ The Seytan Islands and the Island of Iskiri are known as the Northern Sporades.

¹⁸ The Island of Istanbulya was mentioned as Istampalya at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁹ Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Hariciye Nezareti, Hukuk Müsavirliği, İstisare Odası, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Legal Advisory Office, Consultation Bureau) (HR. HMS. ISO.), no: 32/2-3.

²⁰ For certified Ottoman-French text of the treaty, see, Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Muahedename, no: 363.

²¹ For the certified text of the treaty, see, Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Muahedename., no: 362/2.

²² For the original French text of the treaty, see, Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Muahedename., no: 407/4. For the certified Ottoman text, see, Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Muahedename., no: 407/2. Also see, Düstür (Tertib-i Sani), VII. Pp. 45.

The Six European Great Powers represented in the negotiations of the treaty of London advised Greece on 13th February 1914 and the Ottoman Empire on 14th February 1914 of their verdict through a note to each²³. They decided that all the Aegean Islands under Greek occupation on the 13th February 1914, except Gokceada (Imbros), Bozcaada (Tenedos) and Meis (Castellorizo), should go to Greece. The Porte never recognized the Decision of Six Great Powers²⁴.

2. DISPUTES OF SOVERIGNTY IN THE AEGEAN

The islands that became the subject of deliberation during the course of the Lausanne negotiations were the ones, whose sovereignty had not already been transferred to Greece. In other words, there occurred no discussion over the status of Egriboz Island, North Sporades Islands, the Cyclades, Cuha, Kucuk Cuha and the Island of Crete, all of which had already been ceded to Greece from its establishment as an independent state.

2.1. Eastern Aegean Islands in the light of the Lausanne Treaty

Articles six/two (6/2), twelve (12), fifteen (15) and sixteen (16) of the Lausanne treaty contain important decisions (judgments) with regard to the Aegean Sea and the transfer of Ottoman sovereignty over the Aegean Islands. Especially articles twelve (12) and fifteen (15) are about the decisions of the transfer of the sovereignty over the islands.

Article 12 confirms Turkey's sovereignty over the Islands of Gokceada, Bozcaada, and Tavsan Islands, and should there be no decision (judgment) to the contrary, all the islands within three miles of the Turkish coast were left to Turkey. The Islands of Limni, Semadirak, Midilli, Sakiz, Sisam and Ahikerya mentioned by name were given to Greece. Tasos, Bozbaba and Ipsara Islands, though not mentioned by name, were also given to Greece under the verdict of the Six European Great Powers, because these islands were under Greek occupation at the time of the Great Powers' decision on 13th February 1914. The point to be borne here is that article twelve of this treaty and Great Powers' Decisions are inseparable. In this area there is no other island, islet or rock, whose sovereignty was transferred to Greece through the Lausanne treaty²⁵.

The islands, whose names enumerated in article fifteen of the Lausanne treaty and the islets considered their dependencies, as well as the Island of Meis, were ceded to Italy. And the concept of dependency was explained quite clearly in the treaty of Lausanne. In the process of determining the dependency islets, historic, geographic, geological and geo-morphological findings and legal criteria, as well as social, economic and security criteria needed to be taken into consideration.

In determining the sovereignty of the dependencies, the islands that are not dependent on any other and in every way independent in the region of the Mentese Islands, whose names were not mentioned by article fifteen of the treaty needed to be considered separately. For there are a number of independent islands together with their dependency islets and rocks in that region, apart from the ones whose names are enumerated and whose sovereignty was transferred. Esek Island, Mandiraki or

²³ Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivleri, Hariciye Nezareti, Siyasi Kisim Evrakı (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Section) (HR. SYS.), no: 1987/5.

²⁴ For details, see, Kurumahmut, *op.cit.*, 28-32.

²⁵ The main islands, islets and rocks located in that area but whose sovereignty has not been transferred are the following: Zürafa rocksö Vaton and Gavati islands, Koyun island, and the islets and rocks around Koyun island, Andiipsara island as well as the islets and rocks around Andiipsara, Venetian rocks, Hursit island and Foroaz islands and a number of islets and rocks around it.

Nergiscik, Bulamac, Keci or Kapari, Kocbaba, Ardiccik or Zenari, Kendiroz, Kandilli, Kizkardaslar, Sirina, Üç Adalar, Safran Islands and Istakida Islands are the well-known cases in dispute.

Articles twelve and fifteen are the ones that determine the transfer of sovereignty of the Aegean Islands that had been under Turkish sovereignty before. With article sixteen of the said Treaty, Turkey renounces all its rights and titles over the islands whose sovereignty Turkey gave up. Indeed, article sixteen makes a general remark about all the parts of the country and the Aegean Islands over which Turkey renounces all its rights and titles.

What is important in article 16 is the assertion that ‘Turkey... will renounce all its rights and titles over all the islands, except those whose status has been determined in the present treaty, and that the future of these islands has either been determined or will be determined by the parties concerned’.

Turkey went to the Lausanne negotiations, having rejected the treaty of Sevres. In the Sevres treaty was a general assertion of renunciation over its rights and titles over the islands in article 132. In the beginning, article sixteen of Lausanne treaty had been prepared as the equivalent of that article. Indeed, before it was altered, the text included an assertion of a similar kind, as it said: ‘Turkey will renounce all its rights and titles over all the islands, except those whose status has been determined, and it will express in advance that it will not make any legal or other claims whatsoever over them... it does accept and recognize annexation, independence or any kind of administration to be set up upon them’²⁶.

According to this article, Turkey was asked to accept and recognize the annexation to, independence of, these islands or any kind of administration to be set up on them. This would have meant that Turkey would have no say upon the future status of those islands, whose status had not been agreed upon officially. Turkey objected to the formulation of this article on these grounds. It was altered at Turkey’s insistence. But it was not going to be easy. At one stage, the negotiations became bogged down, and at another, they broke up. But in the end, it was changed, and the assertion aimed at pushing Turkey out of the decision-making process with regard to the future of these islands was eliminated, and the article sixteen took the final shape.

Articles twelve and fifteen of the Lausanne treaty are the only ones that determine the transfer of sovereignty of the Aegean Islands. Clause two of article six of the Lausanne treaty does not have any executive authority concerning the transfer of the sovereignty of the islands. It is mostly an abstract decision in that regard. This abstract decision, very much like the last paragraph of the article twelve, can mean something if it is taken together with a concrete decision. Only then can we gather to which coasts this principle is applicable.

Loading this abstract principle with an executive character and taking it as the main principle determining the transfer of sovereignty is against the letter and spirit of the Lausanne treaty. It would even be against the principles of international law, since the international law stipulates that treaties should have clear expressions and assertions with regard to the transfer of a country or part of it and that this should be done through the interpretation of the treaties in part or in whole²⁷.

2.2. Mentese Islands in the Light of Legal Arrangements Agreed upon by the Parties after the Conclusion of the Lausanne Treaty

2.2.1. The Turkish-Italian Experts’ Protocol of December 1932

Had the Turkish-Italian Experts Protocol of 28th December 1932 become an official agreement, it would have resulted in the transfer of about one hundred islands, islets and rocks, including the Kardak

²⁶ Seha L. Meray (translated), *Lozan Baris Konferansi. Tutanaklar, Belgeler* (Lausanne Peace Conference, Records and Documents), Takim _ (Ankara, 1970), pp.53 and thereafter.

²⁷ For similar views and analysis, see, Baseren, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-89.

rocks, in the area of the Mentese Islands to Italy. However, it lacks the necessary signature(s), ratification, implementation and official registration for that protocol to become an international treaty. This protocol has never become a binding document on Turkey and Italy.

2.2.2. *The Italian Peace Treaty of 10 February 1947 Signed in Paris*

When the Second World War broke out, the situation created in accordance with article fifteen of the Lausanne treaty remained. The thirteen islands and their dependent islets in the area were under Italy. But no agreement had been concluded between Ankara and Rome, establishing the sovereignty of which dependent islands had been transferred to Italy. Articles fourteen and forty-three, as well as Annex XIII/D of the Paris Peace Treaty transferred all the islands, which had then been under Italian rule, to Greece. These articles also determined the legal status of these islands²⁸.

3. THE DECISION OF INTERNATIONAL PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION ON THE ERITREA-YEMEN DISPUTE AND ITS EFFECT ON THE TURCO-GREEK DISPUTE IN THE AEGEAN

3.1. The Eritrea-Yemen Dispute

Eritrea and Yemen fell out with each other over the sovereignty of some of the islands, islets and rocks, all of them old Ottoman possessions in the Red Sea. After some clashes between the two countries that claimed the lives of some twelve people, the Eritrea armed forces managed to capture the Island of Great Hanish, while the Yemenis seized the Island of Zuqar. In the end, the parties referred this dispute to the International Permanent Court of Arbitration.

The arguments based on historical rights defended by the parties at the Court are totally related to article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty. Indeed, the Court did make great space for these arguments of historical rights in its verdict. The comments and definitions of the Court as respects article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty played no doubt an important role in its verdict. There is no question that the application of the same principles to the Aegean dispute would produce very interesting results.

The Court interpreted article sixteen, while it rejected the claims of the parties involved on the basis of history. The Court ruled that former territories given up by the Ottoman Empire in accordance with article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty had turned into possessions, whose ownership had not been determined. The 165th paragraph of the Court's decision contains this negative analysis, which does not answer the question as to whom the islands belonged. But it answers the question as to who cannot claim them, and who cannot have the right to transfer the sovereignty to its successors²⁹.

With the interpretation of article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty by the Court, a new legally objective ambiguous status was established that is likely to continue until the parties involved reach a settlement. As so many documents presented by the parties to the Court demonstrate, this new legally objective ambiguous status has been recognized. According to the Court, this new situation created by its ruling in accordance with article sixteen of the treaty of Lausanne, has been confirmed, and it led to the rejection of the claims based on historical arguments of both parties involved.

From Yemen's point of view, this decision involved an impediment on Yemen's acquisition of its rights of an historical nature. The new status has also involved an impediment on the application of the *uti possidetis juris* principle. From the point of view of Eritrea's claims, the new status created by article sixteen is not territory without an owner (*res nullius*). Therefore, ruling has prevented Eritrea to claim the Italian right of possession that would have automatically translated itself in favor of Eritrea.

²⁸ For the English text of the Paris Peace Treaty dated 10 February 1947, see, Treaties and Other International Acts Series, no: 1648; 49 UNTTS,

²⁹ W. Michael Reisman, 'The Government of the State of Eritrea and the Government of the Republic of Yemen', in H. B. Oxman (ed.) International Discussions, 93 *AHL* 1999, pp. 671.

3.2. Articles Six, Twelve, Fifteen and Sixteen of the Treaty of Lausanne and the Aegean Sea

Article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty establishes a very important rule as regards the Aegean dispute. The parties have based their claims and their arguments on the different interpretation of this article. Greece maintains that Turkey renounced all its right and titles over all the islands in the Aegean, except the ones whose names are specifically mentioned in the treaty of Lausanne under Turkish sovereignty. It also maintains that the Lausanne treaty made an exception in giving Turkey and Italy certain islands, that this was only an exception in the treaty, and that all the Aegean Islands were given to Greece en bloc. Turkey, on the other hand, asserts that article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty is not a decision involving total renunciation, and the islands ceded to Greece and Italy are limited to the ones whose names are specifically mentioned in the treaty.

The results which stem from the ruling of the International Permanent Court of Arbitration over the Red Sea appear impossible to apply to the Aegean dispute because the matters pertaining to sovereignty are determined through articles twelve and fifteen in a specific manner. Application of general principles to a matter over which there is specific judgment is not compatible with law. This article can only point to the islands, whose sovereignty was transferred through the articles of twelve and fifteen.

It is inconceivable that the principle of three miles would be applicable in an area like the Aegean where specific arrangements were made, and that Turkey could not make claims of sovereignty three miles off its Anatolian shores. The final results of the International Permanent Court of Arbitration's ruling with regard to the Red Sea Islands would not be applicable to the Aegean where the treaty of Lausanne had made specific arrangements. And such an endeavor would be against the principal of international law. As mentioned above, this article is there to confirm Turkey's sovereignty over all islands, islets and rocks within three miles off the Turkish shores.

It has thus far been established that the entire Ottoman Islands (See, Annex), whose sovereignty had not been transferred to others, came under Turkey, the successor state to the Ottoman Empire. Yet it would be a good idea to see what results the application of the verdict of the International Permanent Court of Arbitration to the Aegean dispute would produce.

3.3. Should Article Sixteen of the Treaty of Lausanne be applied to the Aegean Dispute, all the disputed Islands, Islets and Rocks would become Territories, whose Sovereignty had not been determined

Should we assume that all the disputed islands, islets and rocks are to be treated within the context of article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty, Turkey would have to renounce all its rights over all that remained under Turkey's sovereignty until the signing of Lausanne. But these islands over which Turkey renounced all its rights would not become territories belonging to no one. They would go to any of the signatory states of the Lausanne treaty because it would be impossible to treat these territories as lands with no ownership (*res nullius*) leading to the right of *acquisition prescription* by any body. Sovereign rights over these islands would remain ambiguous for some time (*pro tempore*). And this ambiguity would be resolved at a later stage by the present parties involved in the present dispute or future ones. The Court ruling prevents one of the parties from trying to resolve the dispute by means of *acquisitive prescription*.

3.3.1. Effects of the Status of Undetermined Sovereignty on Turkey's Thesis

In case the International Permanent Court of Arbitration's ruling were applied to the Aegean Sea, Turkey would have to renounce its rights over all the islands, which should otherwise be under the sovereignty of Turkey. Turkey would not be able to maintain that there has been a continuous sovereignty coming from the Ottoman Empire down to Turkey, as those islands, islets and rocks would have to be considered territories, whose ownership had not been determined.

The Court's ruling would certainly result in an important question. Who are the parties to be involved in determining the ownership over these islands? The Court's decision does answer that question: we can infer from the decision of the Court that the parties to be involved are to be either the signatory powers of the Lausanne treaty, or countries that have made claims on these territories on legal or political grounds³⁰.

In such a scenario Turkey would have to be one of the parties involved³¹. And the records of the Lausanne Peace Treaty do seem to point in that direction.

3.3.2. Effects of the International Permanent Court's Ruling on Greece's Thesis

Should the Court ruling be applied to the Aegean Sea, it would mean that all the disputed islands, islets and rocks would not belong to Greece. Should the article sixteen of the Lausanne treaty be applied to the Aegean dispute, the Greek thesis that 'the treaty of Lausanne talks of the islands left under Turkey or given to Italy in a limited way, and that in fact all the Aegean Islands were ceded by Turkey to Greece en bloc' would be difficult to defend. Greece could not be considered to have acquired those lands through conquest because the interpretation of the International Permanent Court of Arbitration's ruling inhibits this.

If we look at the situation in the Aegean in light of this interpretation of article sixteen of the treaty of Lausanne by the Court, it would be as follows: Greece's one-sided actions with a view to seizing control of those islands and establishing de facto sovereignty over them would not work because such a policy would be a non starter.

³⁰ Paragraph 158 and 165

³¹ Pazarci, *op.cit.*, pp. 640.

TWO TINY ROCKS, TWO MODEST SUGGESTIONS

Dr. Erdem Denk

Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University

ÖZET

Çalışmada Ege Denizi'ndeki egemenliği tartışmalı adalar sorununun simgesi olan Kardak/İmia Kayalıkları'nın statüsü konusu kısaca ele alınmıştır. Bu çerçevede, öncelikle bu sorunun hukuksal boyutu kısaca özetlenmiş, daha sonra da dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde sürmekte olan benzer uyumsuzlukların ortak özellikleri sıralanmıştır. Son olarak ise, Kardak/İmia Kayalıkları'nın statüsü konusunda iki mütevazı öneride bulunulmuştur.

INTRODUCTION

Although several of them have now been settled through either diplomatic or judicial means, there are still many island disputes in different parts of the globe, which occasionally heat up and cause serious tensions. The Senkaku/Diaouyu Islands dispute between Japan and China/Taiwan, the Paracel and Spratly Islands disputes between China, Vietnam and other South East Asia States, the Kurile Islands/Northern Territories dispute between Russia and Japan, the Tokdo/Takeshima Islands dispute between Korea and Japan, the Abu Musa and Tunb Islands dispute between Iran and UAE, the Sipadan and Ligitan Islands dispute between Malaysia and Indonesia, the Perejil/Leila Rocks dispute between Spain and Morocco, and finally the Kardak/Imia Rocks dispute between Turkey and Greece are the most widely known ones.¹ The present study will briefly examine the last one, i.e., the Kardak/Imia Rocks dispute, in the context of general characteristics of island disputes and then endeavor to make two modest suggestions regarding the status of these rocks bearing in mind, and in the context of, the general state of bilateral relations of Turkey and Greece.

THE KARDAK/IMIA ROCKS DISPUTE²

The Kardak/Imia Rocks have become a matter of dispute between Turkey and Greece as a result of a sea accident occurred in December 1995 just off these rocks and led to a series of mutual diplomatic correspondences particularly throughout January 1996. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that both of the parties have not only raised their claims in these correspondences but also configured their respective arguments. This is a simple result of the fact that these two tiny rocks, just like other similar disputed islands as will stressed below, hitherto virtually unknown to anyone presumably except local fishermen and sailors, let alone diplomats of any of these two countries. So, both Turkish and Greek diplomats put serious efforts in order to demonstrate the legal basis of their sovereignty claims.

¹ For detailed information about, *inter alia*, these islands and links to relevant articles, visit <www.geocities.com/erdemdenk/islands.htm>.

² See Hüseyin Pazarcı, "Différend Gréco-Turc sur le Statud de Certains Îlots et Rochers dans le Mer Egée: Une Réponse a Mr. C. P. Economidés", *Extrait de la Revue Générale de Droit International Public*, No 2, pp.353-378; Yüksel Inan & Sertaç H. Baseren, *Status of Kardak Rocks-Kardak Kayalıklarının Statüsü*, Ankara, 1997; Constantin P. Economides, "Les Îlots D'Imia dans la Mer Egée: Un Différend Créé par la Force" *Extrait de la Revue Générale de Droit International Public*, No 2, pp. 323-352; Krateros Ioannou, "A Tale of Two Islets" Thesis, Vol. 1, No 1, pp. 33-42; and Erdem Denk, "Disputed Islets and Rocks in the Aegean Sea", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, No XXIX (1999), pp. 131-155.

In this context, Greece argued that the “Imia Rocks” were first ceded to Italy by Turkey in the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and this was confirmed later on by an “agreement” dated 28 December 1932 done consistent with a previous treaty and a letter exchange both done on 4 January 1932. Accordingly, Italy, in turn, ceded them to Greece by the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947. Turkey, on the other hand, argued that the “Kardak Rocks” had never been ceded by Turkey, which means that they were, and are, still part of Turkey as the successor State of the Ottoman Empire which, as Greece also (implicitly) agrees, had an undisputed title on these rocks up until to the Lausanne Treaty. In terms of the legal arguments of the parties, there are a couple of key points that should be underlined. But, before proceeding anymore, it must be noted at the outset that that, although this point is explicitly referred to mainly by Turkey, formulation of the arguments of both parties suggests that the parties (implicitly) agree at least on the fact that the Kardak/Imia Rocks are only *one* of the dozens of islands/rocks (“geographic formations”) that share identical legal status (un) regulated by the very same international instruments.

Regarding the key points of the legal arguments of the parties, first of all, the exact scope of the expressions “dependent” and “adjacent” employed in the Lausanne and Paris Peace Treaties, respectively, with regard to islets to be ceded together with expressly listed main islands in the Dodecanese region is under special scrutiny of both of the parties. The main disagreement is whether these presumably interchangeable expressions cover the Kardak/Imia Rocks in particular and other “geographic formations” which share the same status in general. Interestingly enough, both parties argue that the “relative” distances of these rocks to their respective nearest undisputed islands/coasts are to be looked at in order to interpret these very expressions. This common approach is evidently ill founded, simply because being “dependent” or “adjacent” does not refer to, or recall, “relativity” at all. It simply indicates that some islets, whatever they may be, are seen as “dependent” or “adjacent” to some islands expressly listed. So, other factors such as geographical and/or historical connections, economical ties, security considerations, administrative regulations etc. must be taken into account in working out what the expressions “dependent” or “adjacent” means exactly and which islets are/can be covered by them.

Second, the legal existence/validity of the 28 December 1932 document signed between Turkey and Italy is also a very important and decisive discussion point between the parties. Indeed, since this document apparently shows the Kardak/Imia Rocks on the Italian side, taking into account it as a legally binding agreement would mean that these rocks were ceded to Italy, or then deemed to be on the Italian side, which would in turn mean that Greece has taken them over by the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty. Turkey, however, challenges the legal validity of this document saying that the requisite legal procedures for the ratification of this document were not fulfilled particularly by Turkey, which shows that it did not give (and has not so far) its consent to such a cession.

Finally, it must be boldly underlined that there are many other “geographic formations” in the region, which have identically the same status with the Kardak/Imia Rocks. Indeed, almost the only point regarding this particular dispute on which both Turkey and Greece (implicitly) agree is the fact that international instruments supposed to (un) regulate the status of these two rocks in fact relate to dozens of others. So, any settlement would not only determine the “owner” of the Kardak/Imia Rocks but also clarify the status of many others.

Having briefly analysed the legal arguments of the parties, the importance of the Kardak/Imia Rocks may now be studied in the context of general characteristics of island disputes.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ISLAND DISPUTES

A closer look at island disputes in different parts of the world suggests that such disputes have some basic common characteristics.³ First and foremost, almost all disputed islands/rocks are considerably small in size and, quite unsurprisingly, uninhabited. It is not possible to spot them even on regional maps used for daily purposes and they are (or “were”) virtually unknown to wider public. This it demonstrates once basic fact (which has apparently changed in time as they are disputed now): these islands/rocks were of virtually no value at all at the time of the adoption of international instruments regulating/determining the sovereignty of islands and/or coasts in their regions. Indeed, they must have been deemed to be such insignificant that, or to put it more correctly, they must have not attracted any attention whatsoever that, their status was not referred to at all in potentially relevant international instruments. It follows that, since their status had not been explicitly addressed in such instruments, a dispute about their exact status has been “inevitable” as they have become “important” for the parties in time. Parties to such disputes therefore, unavoidably, put their full efforts in interpreting allegedly relevant general/vague provisions and/or expressions employed in potentially relevant instruments.

It then goes without saying that these islands/rocks have gained importance and have been noticed (if not “discovered”) as a result of other factors to a great extent independent from their own values. Indeed, most of the disputes (except -at least- the Kardak/Imia Rocks) referred to at the outset have come to the agenda as a result of various technical explorations and research reports suggesting that there might be oil reserves beneath these regions. So, determining maritime jurisdiction areas in these regions has suddenly gained immense importance for the coastal States concerned, which in turn brought, *inter alia*, the ownership of these islands into the agenda. As is well known, notwithstanding the discussion regarding whether uninhabited islands may have EEZs and continental shelves,⁴ it is generally accepted at least in principal that they have territorial waters. It follows that, since the “owner” of such islands would expand its maritime jurisdiction areas and thus have a remarkable economic advantage, coastal States have even since been attributing considerable value to them.

It must, however, be noted that the Kardak/Imia Rocks have a distinguishing character in this respect as they have come to the agenda accidentally in the full sense of the word and their (perceived) importance has relatively little to do with economic considerations/concerns. As noted above, there are dozens of “geographic formations” which share the same status with the Kardak/Imia Rocks and therefore a possible Greek sovereignty over (all of) them, coupled with a possible 12-miles Greek territorial sea in the Aegean Sea, would effectively bestow Greece the whole Aegean sea maritime areas and it would become virtually impossible for a Turkish ferry (let alone war ships) to navigate from Istanbul to Izmir without passing through Greek territorial seas. Furthermore, such a possibility would have implications as far as security perceptions of the parties are concerned. In short, the status of these two tiny rocks is of decisive importance actually in terms of maritime jurisdiction areas in the Aegean.

Be that as it may, turning back to the common characteristics of island disputes, it must be particularly stressed that the underlying political considerations of the parties have also considerably, if not decisively, affected the course of such disputes. Indeed, it should not be a coincidence that the general state of bilateral relations of the parties of almost all of the ongoing disputes referred to above is far from being “normal”. In other words, the island dispute in question is not the only dispute between the parties. Rather, they have many other “legal” and “political” disputes which overall lead to bitter relations in between them.

³ For detailed study, see Erdem Denk, *Egemenligi Tartismali Adalar: Karsilastirmali Bir Calisma (Kardak Kayaliklari ve Spratly ve Senkaku/Diaouyu Adalari Ornekleri)* [*Disputed Islands: A Comparative Analysis (Kardak Rocks, Spratly Islands and Senkaku/Diaouyu Islands Cases)*], Ankara, Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1999, s. 196 vd.

⁴ See Article 121/3, the 1982 UNCLOS.

The situation is not different, and in fact particularly true, in the Kardak/Imia dispute. Indeed, notwithstanding the relative improvement achieved in recent years thanks to the so-called earthquake diplomacy, it is obvious that there are deep disagreements and even enmity between the parties. Historical perceptions, the Cyprus issue and the maritime disputes in the Aegean Sea are always shown as the causes, and indicators, of this rivalry. Nevertheless, one may even argue that there is, or at least used to be until recent years, a vicious circle and the general mood of bilateral relations is not only effected, or worsened, by such disputes, but it itself also added fuel to such disputes and worsened, if not characterised/caused, them. Indeed, particularly the Kardak/Imia dispute has been affected considerably from the general state of bilateral relations of Greece and Turkey right from the beginning.

So, needless to say, notwithstanding the fact that these disputes are obviously “legal” in character, they are highly politicised as well. Hence, it becomes almost impossible for the parties to settle such disputes at least in short the term and -arguably- for the present generation. This is not only because the parties, although genuinely to some extent, attribute too much importance to such islands, but particularly because any sort of *détente* becomes almost impossible in such circumstances. Any form of possible inter-governmental compromise (even its rumour) is much likely to attract serious public opposition as a “concession”, if not “betrayal”. Likewise, any possibility of third-party settlement, particularly including judicial settlement, is also approached quite cautiously as it unavoidably embodies the risk of total failure/“defeat”.

As a result, settling such “legal” disputes, therefore, seems quite impossible in the short term. So, the main aim/task of the present generations would arguably be limited with preparing a suitable climate in which the next generations may comfortably deal with such disputes and settle them

TWO MODEST SUGGESTIONS

It is therefore obvious that parties to such disputes should first endeavour to “normalise” their relations before dealing with highly politicised “legal” disputes such as island disputes. This is particularly true for Turkey and Greece, which particularly need some more time in order to proceed with confidence building. In fact, it may easily be said that the two countries have achieved a lot in recent years in terms of establishing the foundations for a climate of good relations. Having said that, certainly there are still many things to be done in order to secure stable relations between the parties, which will enable those (next generations?) to confidently work out an acceptable settlement for their highly politicised legal disputes. Indeed, Turkish-Greek relations are, however less fragile now, still far from being “normal” notwithstanding recent improvements. As has been suggested elsewhere, various (joint) efforts may well be made in areas of education, culture, economics, tourism and even politics. Apart from such general steps which would definitely contribute to rapprochement of the peoples of the parties, it would be argued that some symbolic steps may also be taken (by both or any of the parties) as far as specific maritime disputes in general and the Kardak/Imia dispute in particular are concerned. Such steps would not only show the good will and sincere intentions of the parties (or the relevant party) for viable solutions, but also help creating a good climate of relations between the parties.

As stressed above, although the Kardak/Imia Rocks are only one of the disputed “geographic formations” in the region which share the same status, the destiny of the Kardak/Imia Rocks has much more importance than any other “geographic formation” in question. Indeed, one may even argue that the final decision (to be given either by a court or jointly by the parties) would to a great extent be affected by the possible status of these two tiny rocks. To put it another way, each party would to a great extent determine its respective tactics/policies/positions during the negotiations (either towards a final solution or a *compromis*) according to their possible implications with regard to these two rocks, which would make any progress quite slow, if not unlikely. Be that as it may, if any form of solution is reached at ever, the parties, and, more importantly, the wider public in each country, would simply

look at the (eventual) status of these two rocks more than anything else. Having in mind the tension escalated considerably in early 1996 regarding their status, it would more or less be some sort of “concession”, if not “betrayal”, for the government, which “lost” particularly these two tiny rocks.

Thus, in the context of the above-mentioned necessity for confidence building initiatives, it would be suggested that (both or any of) the parties may take a courageous step and declare that the Kardak/Imia Rocks should not to be seen as a disputed territory between the parties anymore and should simply be delineated as a sort of special joint/common territory (some sort of *condominium*). Since the Kardak/Imia Rocks are only *one* of the disputed “geographic formations” in the region as emphasised above, such a declaration should also stress that the status of other “geographic formations” that (originally) share the same status would not be affected from this action in any manner. So, Greece and Turkey may well keep negotiating the status of other “geographic formations”.

The parties may then erect some sort of peace monument or build some sort of tourist attractions on these rocks to the memory of their common history. Despite its symbolic nature, such a step would arguably not only have quite positive effects to the confidence building efforts between the parties, but also provide a very good and encouraging example for other similar disputes across the globe. Moreover, since the status of other “geographic formations” that share the same status would not be affected, the (would-be) owner of them would not “lose” anything by such a decision except the Kardak/Imia Rocks themselves the “real” value of which is far less than their symbolic meaning. Thus, in real terms, both parties would gain a lot not only because a group of rocks the “loss” of which would potentially cause serious headache for them vis-à-vis their own public would not be a “dispute” at all anymore, but also because such a symbolic step would have enormous contribution towards apparently desired good-relations between the parties. Finally, working out the status of other “geographic formations” would be much easier for the parties, as the wider public is arguably much less interested in their actual status (at least compared to that of the Kardak/Imia Rocks).

Alternatively, or in addition to this, since the main concern particularly for Turkey is the possible enlargement of maritime jurisdiction areas of Greece in case of a potential Greek ownership over such “geographic formations”, the parties, before engaging in any concrete negotiations (towards either settling their disputes in between themselves or preparing a *compromis* for judicial settlement), may declare in advance that such small “geographic formations” would not have any effect at all in determining respective maritime jurisdiction areas (particularly territorial seas) of the parties. Likewise, they may also agree and declare before commencing their negotiations that some sort of navigation corridors would be granted to Turkey and these “geographic formations” would be militarised irrespective of their (to be determined) status.⁵ This would certainly ease the conduct of negotiations, and, more importantly, make settlement much more likely.

In short, the parties would not only get rid of one of their disputes which is of considerable symbolic value particularly for their peoples, but also have the chance to eliminate their relevant political and security-related concerns to a great extent. As a result, the “disputed islands” issue, which is supposed to be strictly “legal” in character, would take return its “ordinary” form. Furthermore, Turkey and Greece would have the chance to improve their relations further which would in turn make it much easier (at least for next generations) to settle their remaining legal and political disputes.

II. National Symposium On The Aegean Islands, 2-3 July 2004, Gökçeada - Çanakkale

⁵ Latest news about the secret negotiations between the parties also suggests that the parties have already considered, and in principal agreed on, such an option.

THE ROLE OF ISLANDS IN MARITIME DELIMITATION: THE REFLECTIONS OF THE STATE PRACTICE

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yücel ACER
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

ÖZET

Deniz alanlarının iki ya da daha fazla ülke arasında sınırlandırılması gereği temel olarak tarafların deniz alanlarına ilişkin iddialarının birbirleri ile çakışmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Adaların sınırlandırma hukuku çerçevesinde gündeme gelmesi ile birlikte karşılaşılan ilk ve en önemli sorun adaların, sınırlandırma esnasında anakara ülkesiyle aynı ağırlığa sahip olup olmayacaklarıdır.

Adaların tümünün karasularına hukuken sahip olduklarına ve üzerinde insan yaşamaya müsait olmayan adalar hariç diğer bütün adaların da kıta sahanlığı ve münhasır ekonomik bölge alanlarına sahip olduklarına dair günümüzde hukuksal bir şüphe olmadığı belirtilmelidir. Ancak, adaların, deniz alanlarının sınırlandırılması esnasında anakara ülkeleri ile aynı değerle tutulmasına yönelik talepler ile sınırlı etki sahibi olmasına yönelik talepler arasında, devletlerarası uygulamanın ifade ettiği seçeneğin ikincisi olduğu belirtilebilir. Belli bir sınırlandırmada esnasında adaların etkisinin kısıtlanıp kısıtlanmayacağı, kısıtlanacaksa ne derecede kısıtlanacağı, sınırlandırma hukukunun “ilgili” saydığı unsurların dikkate alınması sonucu olmaktadır.

Hakkaniyet prensipleri çerçevesinde değerlendirilen bu ilgili unsurların başında adaların konumunun geldiğini görmekteyiz. Öte yandan bu adaların, büyüklükleri, nüfusu, ekonomik yapısı vb. gibi kendilerine has özellikleri de ilgili unsurlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

INTRODUCTION

The law on maritime delimitation provides that the delimitation be effected on the basis of equitable principles by taking into account the relevant circumstances of the area in question. This implies that method of equidistance or any other method does not have priority unless they are in accordance with equitable principles within the circumstances of the area concerned.

According to the equitable principles on the maritime delimitation, geographic factors of the area play the major role in shaping the delimitation line. Among these factors, the configurations and lengths of the coasts, and existence of islands in the area are the most relevant factors.¹

The inevitable question that arises when the islands are in consideration is what role the islands would play in a delimitation process. Do they have the same role as the mainland or, alternatively a limited effect on the delimitation line to be determined? Although there is no doubt that islands have their own maritime areas including the continental shelf and exclusive economic zone (EEZ),² their role could be limited one in a delimitation process, as clearly proved in relevant international judicial

¹ See, Nelson, L.D.M. ‘The Role of Equity in the Delimitation of Maritime Boundaries’, *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 84, (1990),p. 837-858.

² See, 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, Article 121 (3); Karl, D.E. ‘Islands and the Delimitation of the Continental Shelf: a Framework for Analysis’, *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 71, (1977), p. 642-673.

decisions. Generally speaking, their role is dependent on the location of islands and economic-social characteristics of them.³

This study is to review the role of islands in a delimitation process as suggested by the relevant State practice in the form of international maritime delimitation agreements between two or more States. The review is going to be done according to a classification among the islands on the basis of their location which is the most relevant factor for the role of islands also in relevant State practice.

1. THE COASTAL ISLANDS

The islands which are located close to their homelands coasts get a limited role if they are considered to be small islands in the context of wider geography of the relevant area and are considered insignificant compared to other geographical factors in the same area.⁴

Where a parallel or latitude is chosen as a delimitation line, the coastal islands are disregarded completely if these Islands are not significant in their size. In the Kenya-Tanzania Agreement (1976), the Island of Pemba is completely disregarded.⁵ In the Peru-Ecuador Agreement (1952), the equidistant line is not affected by the coastal Islands of Ecuador in the Gulf of Guayaquil. In the Argentina-Chile Agreement the coastal islands of both sides are completely disregarded.

Secondly, if these islands would distort a delimitation line that is considered as equitable on the basis of mainland features, they are mostly disregarded. Among many examples, France-Spain (1974), Canada-Denmark (1973) and Argentina-Chile (1984) agreements can be mentioned.⁶

The islands located as such are given role if they are located so close to the mainland that they could be regarded as part of the mainland coast. They are taken into account when the parties establish the straight baselines as taking these islands into account as base-points. The United Kingdom-Norway (1965) and Dominican Republic-Venezuela (1979) agreements reflect this practice.⁷

Where these islands are given full effect in a delimitation process, the delimitation area is so wide that their effect would not be considered inequitable on the basis of considerations relevant to mainland coasts. The Netherlands-United Kingdom (1965), Indonesia-Thailand (1971), India-Maldives-Sri Lanka (1976), France-Togo (1980), Iran-Iraq (1974) and Finland-Soviet Union (1980) agreements are the illustrative examples. When both sides of delimitation have coastal islands located symmetrically, these islands are given full effect mutually. India-Maldives (1976), Costa Rica-Ecuador (1985), France-Italy (1986), France-Australia (1982), Australia-Indonesia (1972), Dominican Republic-Venezuela,?? Bahrain-Iraq (1979) and Bahrain-Saudi Arabia (1958) agreements are relevant examples. In all these examples, giving full effect to these islands would not be inequitable or disproportionate as both sides have islands similarly located.

When the coastal islands are located further from the mainland, their possible effect on the delimitation line gets limited effect. In the Indonesia-Malaysia Agreement (1969), as the Indonesian Islands are more distant from the mainland, their effect are more limited just like in Iran-Saudi Arabia (1968) and Qatar-United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi) (1969) agreements.

³ In the UK-France Arbitration Award, Tunisia-Libya Judgment, France-Canada Arbitration awards, and many other delimitation awards and judgments, islands were given limited role in maritime delimitation of continental shelf and/or EEZ.

⁴ Bowett, D. "Islands, Rocks, Reefs, and Low-Tide Elevations in Maritime Boundary Delimitations." in, *International Maritime Boundaries*, vol. I, edited by Jonathan I. Charney and Lewis M. Alexander, (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1993), p. 134.

⁵ *International Maritime Boundaries*, I, s. 878.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 725.

⁷ Bowett, "Islands...", s. 113.

In such cases, another way of giving effect to these islands is to restrict their maritime areas to a circle of 3 to 12 mile maritime area without effecting the location of the delimitation line between the mainlands like in Trinidad Tobago-Venezuela Agreement (1942).

2. ISLANDS LOCATED EQUIDISTANT FROM THE MAINLAND

Islands which are equidistant from both sides are significantly different from those located close to mainland coast in the sense that their full effect would have a dramatic effect on the equidistant line between the mainland of both sides. When these islands belong to only one side, the result would be more dramatic for the other side.

However, these islands are given full effect in some delimitation agreements. One reason could be that the delimitation area concerned is not so narrow. Thus, the areas left to both sides are still considerably wide. On the other hand, some political considerations are involved in such settlements like in Denmark-Sweden (1984), Venezuela-USA (1978), the Netherlands-Venezuela (1978) and France-Netherlands agreements.

It is understandable from the point of equity that if both sides have islands located opposite to each other in a similar location, they are given equal effect like in Iran-Saudi Arabia (1968),⁸ and USA-Soviet Union (1990)⁹ agreements.

There are many examples that the islands of one side located as such are given very limited effect or disregarded altogether since their full effect would a dramatic effect by shifting the delimitation line towards the other side. To avoid this, these islands are given a 12-mile area like Qatar-United Arab Emirates (Abu Dabi) (1969), Italy-Yugoslavia (1968) and Italy-Tunisia (1971) agreements. In Canada-Denmark (Greenland) Agreement (1973), in a narrow delimitation area, Denmark's Island of Carey seems to be disregarded altogether.¹⁰ In Canada-France (St. Pierre and Miquelon) Agreement (1972) islands located as such are disregarded.¹¹

Therefore, if the delimitation line is to be an equidistant line between the mainlands of the parties, islands of one side alone located around this equidistant line are given limited role or disregarded.

3. ISLANDS LOCATED IN THE WRONG SIDE

Islands of one party to delimitation, which are, located closer or very close to the mainland of the other side creates a difficulty in every delimitation process. Attributing full effect to these islands would create enormous restrictions to the maritime areas of the other side.

Only in very limited examples did these islands get full effect in delimitation process. Canada-Denmark (1973), India-Indonesia (1974), India-Thailand (1978), Colombia-Costa Rica (1977), France (Reunion)-Mauritius (1980) and Australia-France (New Caledonia) (1982)¹² agreements are the relevant examples. However, in all these examples, although islands of one side are closer to the other

⁸ *International Maritime Boundaries*, II, s. 1525.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 452. See moreover, Indonesia-Singapore Agreement (1973), *ibid.*, p. 1054; Finland-USSR Agreement (1965 and 1967), *International Maritime Boundaries*, II, p. 1965.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 379.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 910.

side, these islands are not so close to the opposite coast. Giving equal effect to these islands would not be considered inequitable, as they do not considerably restrict the maritime area of the other side.

When the distance between these islands and opposite coasts differs so does the role of these islands in a considerable manner. In the Netherlands (Antilles)-Venezuela Agreement (1978) where Aruba, Curacao and Bonaire Islands of the Netherlands are only 30 miles off the coast of Venezuela, they are given limited effect although the Island of Aruba had a politically autonomous status. In Denmark-Sweden Agreement (1984), while Bornholm Island of Denmark is given limited effect in a narrow sea area, Sweden's Island of Ven is disregarded altogether. Similar solutions are adopted in Island-Norway (Jan Mayen) (1980), Australia-Papua New Guinea (1978) and Indonesia-Malaysia (1969)¹³ agreements.

Therefore, islands located closer to the coast of the other side are more prone to be given limited effect or disregarded especially in narrow sea areas. In relatively wider areas where they would not distort considerably the maritime areas of the other side these islands may get equal effect.

CONCLUSION

The opinion that the islands should be treated on the equal basis, as the mainland under all circumstances is not favored in the relevant international delimitation agreements. It is rather that islands are given limited or no effect in many situations where they would considerably restrict the maritime areas of a mainland.

Whether an island is given full or restricted effect is dependent on the circumstances of the area, which are labeled as "relevant" by the delimitation law. When reviewed on the basis of equitable principles, the locations of islands are the most significant factor in determining the role of islands in a delimitation process. It also seems that the size of islands also play a role as well as the geographical characteristics of the delimitation area like its narrowness. In this sense, the islands located close to the coasts of other States are in a position to be restricted more than islands located closer to their own mainland coastlines.

¹³ Ibid., p. 1024.

OBSERVATION ON THE ISLANDS OF TURKEY IN THE AEGEAN SEA*

Metin TUNCEL
Emeritus Professor

ÖZET

Bu bildiriye, Türkiye'nin Ege Bölgesinde bulunan çok sayıdaki adaları arasında çevre uzunluğu 1 km.den fazla olan adalar üzerinde bazı gözlemler yapılmıştır. Söz konusu adaların sayısı 109 'dur. Bu da aynı ölçü esas alındığı takdirde sayıları 159 olan Türkiye adalarının %69'unu oluşturur. Ege Denizindeki adalarımız beş ilimizin (Muğla, İzmir, Aydın, Çanakkale, Balıkesir) sınırları içinde bulunur. Bu iller arasında Muğla ada sayısının çokluğu açısından birinci sırayı alır. Adaların büyüklüğü açısından ise Çanakkale İli başta gelir. Adaların isimlendirilmelerinde de çeşitli etkenlerin rol oynadığı dikkati çeker.

Although Turkey is surrounded by seas on three sides with a coastline of about 8.000 km., it is not richly endowed with islands. The number of islands is enormous but those that can be considered large islands are rather few: the number of islands with coastline of 1 km or higher are 159 and of these islands those with an area of 1 km² or higher are only 31.

An initial observation on a map of Turkey will show that these islands congregate on certain segments of coastline, while long segments are devoid of any island. With one or two small exceptions (e.g. Kefken Island and Giresun Island), the Black Sea coastline has no islands for hundreds of kilometers. In contrast, the Aegean Coastline, which is the subject of this presentation, has for centuries been deservedly called "Adalar Denizi" (the Sea of Archipelagos) due to the large numbers of islands and archipelagos it encompasses.

To continue with the example given above for the entire Turkish coastline, of the 159 islands with a coastline greater than 1 km, 109 islands (or, about 70%) are on our Aegean Coastline. Similarly, of the 31 islands with an area greater than 1 km², 15 are on the Aegean Coastline, as can be seen on Table 1. Another comparison can be made with the total area of the islands: the total land of the area Turkish Islands is 628 km² and of this 2/3 or 420 km² are due to the Aegean Islands. Our largest island, Gökçeada (İmroz), with an area of 279 km², is also here. The westernmost edge of this island, the Avlaka Cape, is also the westernmost tip of the Turkish border (25' 40" Eastern Meridian). İmroz, with the 672m high İlyas Peak, has the highest elevation among the Turkish Aegean Islands.

Along the Aegean coastline, adorned with innumerable islands, some of the islands, although very close Turkey, are not within the Turkish borders. All of the Aegean Islands were part of Turkey until the end of first decade of 20th Century but were ceded by Turkey after various wars, the southern islands or the Dodecanese Islands in 1911 and the Northern islands in 1913. With the exception of Rhodes and a few islands nearby, all of the islands off the Turkish coastline are on the Turkish continental shelf, although they are not part of Turkey now. Some of these islands are: İstanköy (Kos), Kalimnos, Leros, Lipsos, Patmos, Sisam, Nikarya, Sakiz (Chios) and Midilli (Lesbos). These islands are notorious for being not only very close to Anatolia (e.g. Sisam Island is only 2 km from the Dilek peninsula known for its national park) but also being almost engulfed by the Anatolian land mass. For example, İstanköy (Kos), now part of Greece, is squeezed between the Bodrum Peninsula and the

* This presentation is based on the personal observations of its author.

Datça Peninsula; Sömbeki (Simi), also a part of Greece now, is like a wedge between the Datça Peninsula and Daraçya (Bozburun) Peninsula.

Another observation concerning the 109 islands of Turkey along the Aegean coastline is that they are situated off the coast of 5 provinces of Turkey. The distribution of the islands among the provinces is not uniform but rather random, as seen on Table 2. The Province of Muğla, at the "Southwest Corner" of Turkey, has the highest number of islands, including some islands that are on the Mediterranean: 48 islands (44% of the total) are only 7.4% of the total land area of the Aegean Islands, as seen on Table 3. However, most of these are rather small and the largest of these is Karaada which is less than 10 km², yet fifth in size among the Turkish Aegean Islands. This island, off the coast of Bodrum Peninsula, has been confused with the nearby Orak Island (0.83 km²) by the famous German cartographer R. Kiepert and his well-known "Map of Turkey" displays this mistake, which has not been reported before in geography literature.

The 36 islands in the Province of Izmir constitute 1/3 of the total number but their land area is 38.2 km² or 9% of the total, as seen on Table 4. The largest of the islands of this province is Uzunada: with an area of 25 km². It is the third in size among the Aegean Islands and fourth in size among the 109 islands. The province of Balıkesir, with some of its islands in the Sea of Marmara, has 15 islands in the Aegean: numerically 3.8% of the total and area wise 7.8% of the total, as seen on Table 5. The largest of them is Alibey Island, with an area of 23.36 km², is the fourth of those in Aegean Region and the fifth in nationwide standing. The Provinces of Aydın and Çanakkale both have five islands (as seen on Tables 6 and 7, respectively). All of the islands in Aydın are very small, with a total area of about 1 km² for all five of them. The Province Çanakkale has only 5 islands but their total area of 316.62 km² is 75.5% of the total area of 109 Aegean Islands, with Gökçeada and Bozcaada contributing 279 km² and 36 km², respectively. Bozcaada is the third largest island in Turkey, after Gökçeada and Marmara. The latter is in the Sea of Marmara and is 117 km² in area.

An interesting observation concerns the diversity in the naming of the islands in the Aegean. Table 8 lists the islands named according to shape, color and appearance. Some islands named after a profession or a function undertaken by the island, as can be seen on Table 9: Hekimadası (Physician Island), Tahaffuşane Adası (Quarantine Island), Fener (Lighthouse), Eski Fener (Old Lighthouse), Madenada (Mine Island), Küçük Maden (Little Mine), Panayırada (Fairgrounds). Table 10 lists the islands that are named after persons, such as Alibey, Salih and Mustafa Çelebi. Table 11 lists those named after plants. Table 12 lists those named after animals and animal products. A few islands are named according to location: Ortaada (Middle Island), İçada (Inner Island), Bozburun (Gray Cape).

One last observation concerns an important environmental issue: although they are still called islands, two of the islands are no longer islands due to human interference. One of them is Kuş Island off the coast of Kuşadası town and the other is Alibey Island off the coast of Ayvalık. Both of them have been connected by bridges to the land. The correction of these interferences and restoration of these "islands" to their original state would be a tremendous gain from an environmentalist point of view.

TABLES

Table 1. Turkey's Aegean Islands with areas greater than 1 km²

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Length of Coastline (km)	Province of Jurisdiction
Gökçeada	279.24	92,0	Çanakkale
Bozcaada	36.03	34.5	Çanakkale
Uzunada	25.39	31.0	İzmir
Alibey	23.36	28.5	Balikesir
Karada	9.08	19.8	Muğla
Salih	5.67	16.5	Muğla
Madenada	2.99	12.0	Balikesir
Hekim	2.31	6.5	İzmir
Çiplakada	2.31	10.0	Balikesir
Kizilada	1.72	7.0	Muğla
Kocada	1.67	7.0	Muğla
Mardalic	1.46	7.0	İzmir
Kameriye	1.17	6.5	Muğla
Kilavuz	1.06	4.5	Balikesir
Apostol	1.01	5.0	Muğla

Table 2. Distribution of Islands among the Provinces

Provinces	Number of Islands	Percentages by the Number of Islands	Percentages by Area
Muğla	48	%44	7.5
İzmir	36	%33	9.0
Balikesir	15	%13.8	7.8
Aydin	5	%4.6	0.2
Çanakkale	5	%4.6	75.5
TOPLAM	109	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Islands under the Jurisdiction of Muğla Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Adatepe (Babaadasi)	0.13	Kizilada	1.72
Yilancikada	0.49	Kiseliada	0.06
Çiftlik	0.09	Tavşanbükü	0.09
Dilekada	0.38	Kameriye	1.17
Bedirada	0.14	Kocaada	1.67
Keçiada	0.76	Uzunada	0.16
Kizilada	0.24	Yassicaada	0.44
Çataladalar	0.13	Yollucaada	0.07
Fenaket	0.09	Murdala	0.14
Söğüt	0.76	Kizilağaç	0.08
Zeytin	0.16	Yediadalar	0.35

Table 3 (continued). Islands under the Jurisdiction of Muğla Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Ortaada	0.07	Eskifener	0.16
Şehirada (Sideyri)	0.22	Konelya	0.14
Karacaada	0.44	Apostol	1.01
Zeytinliada	0.08	Badem	0.21
Gelibolu	0.19	Salih	5.67
Orak	0.83	Tokatbaşı (Büyükada)	0.34
Karaada	9.09	Toprakada	0.13
İçada	0.44	Topan	0.04
Çelebi	0.13	Kargi	0.03
İkizadalar	0.37	Palamutbükü	0.16
Tüllüce	0.06	Dişlice	0.02
Çatalada	0.74	Kale	0.04
Küçükkiremit	0.18		
Büyükkiremit	0.51	TOTAL	30.61

Table 4. Islands under the Jurisdiction of Izmir Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Doğan	0.08	Yassicaada	0.31
Bahadır	0.06	Pirnalliada	0.28
Kanlıada	0.11	Tahaffushane (Karantina)	0.35
Böğürtlen	0.24	Yılan	0.13
Çarufa	0.17	Orak	0.93
Çirakan	0.13	Fener (Oğlak)	0.14
Boğaz	0.14	İncir	0.18
Çifteadalar	0.11	Hayirsizada	0.50
Karabağ	0.49	Tavşan	0.74
Yassiada	0.17	Pirasa	0.06
Mustafa Çelebi	0.60	Akkuş	0.06
Uzunada	0.16	Bozburun Adası	0.04
Karaada	0.56	İkizadalar	0.05
Uzunadalar	0.18	Karaada	0.21
Küçükada	0.33	Mardoliç	1.46
Uzunada	25.39	Kalem	0.48
Hekim	2.31	Garip	0.40
Akçaada (Nergis)	0.08		
İncirliada (Eşek)	0.58	TOTAL	38.21

Table 5. Islands under the Jurisdiction of Balıkesir Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Çiplakada	2.31	Kuz	0.14
Pınarada (Kılavuz)	1.06	Balık	0.49
Madenada	2.99	Karaada	0.14
Alibey	23.36	Hasırada	0.11
Güneş	0.65	Çiçek	0.27
Karaada	0.27	Yumurta	0.06
Yellice (Poyrazada)	0.64	Dolap	0.48
Küçükmaden	0.21	TOTAL	33.18

Table 6. Islands under the Jurisdiction of Aydın Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Toprak	0.24	Neo (Su)	0.11
Panayırada	0.44	Tavşan (Çil)	0.13
Saplıada	0.08	TOTAL	1.0

Table 7. Islands under the Jurisdiction of Çanakkale Province

Name of Island	Area (km ²)	Name of Island	Area (km ²)
Bozcaada	36.03	İmroz	279.24
Yılan	0.08	Büyükada	0.34
Tavşan	0.93	TOTAL	316.62

Table 8. Islands Named after Shape and Color

Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island
Çifteadalar	Yassicaada	Karaada	Yedi adalar
Yassiada	Yollucaada	Gökçeada	Dişlice
Uzunada	Orak	Bozcaada	Kale
Karaada	İkizadalar	Saplı Ada	
Uzunadalar	Kalem	Adatepe	
Küçük Ada	Çiplakada	Çatal adalar	

Table 9. Islands Named after Professions and Functions

Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island
Hekim	Dilekada	Küçükmaden
Tahaffushane	Eski Fener	Panayır Ada
Fener	Madenada	

Table 10. Islands Named after Persons

Name of Island
Alibey
Salih
Mustafa Çelebi

Table 11. Islands Named after Plants

Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island
Böğürtlen	İncir	Zeytinliada
Karabağ	Pirasa	Bedem
Nergis	Söğüt	Çiçek
Pinarada	Zeytin	
İncieli Ada	Kizilağaç	

Table 12. Islands Named after Animals and Animal Products

Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island	Name of Island
Doğan	Tavşan	Yumurta	Tavşanbükü
Yılan	Akkuş	Tavşan	Tavşan
Oğlak	Balık	Yılan	Yılanliada

GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON BOZCAADA

Erdoğan AKKAN
Emeritus Professor

ÖZET

Küçük, fakat Çanakkale Boğazının güvenliği açısından stratejik öneme sahip olan Bozcaada'nın yer şekilleri, yakınındaki Biga Yarımadası ile uyum içerisinde. Ege Denizi'nin oluşumunu hazırlayan Kuvaterner başlarındaki tektonik ve bunları izleyen glasyo-östatik hareketlerle Anadolu karasından ayrılan Bozcaada denizden 60-70 m yükseklikteki bir plato görünümündedir. Genellikle Sarmasiyene ait seriler üzerinde gelişmiş olan bu aşının yüzeyi üzerinde, andezitler ve Eosen kalkerleri gibi daha dirençli formasyonların yer aldığı kesimlerde yükseklikleri 100 m yi aşan tepelik alan yer alır.

Ada genellikle dik kıyılarla kuşatılmıştır. Yükseklikleri 10-15 m yi bulan falezler arasında, zayıf zonlara yerleşmiş akarsu ağızlarında dar kumsallar dikkati çeker. Adanın kuzeybatısındaki geniş kumsallar deniz turizmi açısından değer taşır. Sadece yağışlı dönemlerin ardından akışa geçen akarsular, güçleri oranında vadilerini derinleştirerek plato yüzeyini parçalamaktadırlar.

Bozcaada Akdeniz makro-klima alanı içerisinde. Ancak bulunduğu enlem gereği yazlar genellikle daha serin ve daha az kurak geçerken, kış aylarında donlu günler ve kar yağışları olağandır. Bozcaada rüzgarlıdır. Özellikle kuzey sektörlü rüzgarların egemen olduğu adanın yıl boyunca esintili olmasından yararlanılarak kurulan rüzgar enerjisi ünitelerinden elde edilen elektrik ülke üretimine katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Tarihin hayli eski dönemlerinden beri iskan edilmiş olan Bozcaada'nın nüfusu, 1927 yılından beri yapılan sayımlarda 1600-2141 arasında dalgalanmalar göstermiş, 2000 yılı sayımında adada 2015 kişinin yaşamakta olduğu saptanmıştır.

Bozcaada'nın ekonomisi tarım, balıkçılık, turizm ve şarap endüstrisine dayalıdır. Temel uğraşı bağcılıktır. Rum azınlığın adadan ayrılması ile büyük sarsıntı geçiren bağcılık, son yıllarda yeniden canlanma sürecine girmişse de şarap fabrikaları gereksinim duydukları üzümün bir kısmını ada dışından sağlamak zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Yaz sıcaklarının bunaltıcı olmadığı, denizin son derece temiz olduğu Bozcaada, deniz ve dalma sporlarına meraklı turistler için bir çekim merkezi durumundadır ve buna paralel olarak pansiyonculuk giderek yaygınlaşmaktadır.

The characteristic features of the Aegean Sea give it a special place among the world's seas. These features are related to its process of formation and geomorphology. The first thing that catches the eye is the large number of islands with many different coast lines. It is because of these islands, ranging in size from small rock formations to those of hundreds of kilometer squares of surface area scattered all over its waters that the Aegean Sea was once called "The Sea of Islands".

The morphology of the Aegean, too, has characteristic features. Its platform-like shelf occupies a large area on the sea bottom. (Erinç, 1978) This shelf, which has been cleaved by streams, ends at 90-100 meters with a noticeable increase in the continental slope. The abyssal S-shaped sea floor, which almost divides the Aegean into two halves, stretches in the middle section and reaches a depth of more than 800-1000 meters (the maximum depth is 2529 meters). Some researchers are

inclined to regard this distinct morphological unit as the natural border between Europe and Asia. (Phillipson, 1959).

In its formation and morphological features the wide shelf of the Aegean is different from classical shelf forms. This shelf is not a surface that has been worn smooth by wave movements; it has been formed by sections of land that broke apart and sank into the waters during the process of the Aegean Sea's formation.

The Aegean Sea was formed at a very late period of the Earth's geological past, during the tension that occurred at the beginning of Quaternary when the land of Aegeid broke up and a section of it sank down. We know that before the formation of the Aegean Sea, large extents of Post Pliocene plains of erosion (peneplain) existed especially in the morphology of the Anatolian lands. When some parts of this land went down as a result of tectonic movements, they were flooded by the Mediterranean causing the Aegean to form. The Aegean Sea took its present shape with ocean levels rising in the glacio-eustatic raises in Quaternary period. Thus, a large number of the Aegean Islands are the higher parts of those peneplain that remained above the waters after the sinking Pliocene.

Only two of the Aegean Islands that are large enough for human settlements belong to Turkey: These are: Gökçeada and Bozcaada.

That the great strategic importance of Bozcaada for the security of the Dardanelles was recognized at a very early period of history is proved by a magnificent fortress supposedly built by the Phoenicians and repaired by Mehmet the Conqueror. Because of its strategic importance Bozcaada changed hands many times during the course of history. For some periods the island was closed to habitation. During Mehmet the Conqueror's reign it was opened up for settlement again. During the Balkan Wars Bozcaada passed into Greek rule, but was given back to Turkey with the Treaty of Lausanne (Erinç-Yücel, 1978).

GEOMORPHOLOGY OF THE ISLAND

Bozcaada has an area of 36.03-kilometer squares. Tectonic movements shaped its geological structure during its process of formation. The sea separating Bozcaada from the Biga peninsula is very shallow. It is understood that this part of the sea, which is not more than 10-15 meters deep, was above the water level during the period when the Aegeid land went down. In other words Bozcaada was not an island at that time. During and after the Flandrian transgression that followed the Wurm glaciation period when this region came under water, Bozcaada was separated from the mainland, and took an appearance that is similar to what it is now. Thus Bozcaada became an island 6000-7000 years ago coinciding with climactic optimum period (Kraft-Kayan-Erol, 1980).

There are Paleozoic formations at the foundation of the island. On top of this formation consisting of crystallized schiste and marble, there is a thick layer of Eosen flysch (Erguvanli, 1955). On the Southwest of the island, the formations belonging to the Sarmatian period cover a large area. On the Northeast of the island andesites belonging to Tertiary volcanism emerge to the surface. Generally, in the valley floors and mouths of small streams in the weak zones of these formations there are alluvial deposits.

The surface formations of the island are fairly simple. Large flat lands usually formed on the Sarmatian formations that are not much resistant to erosion form as flat topography. This plateau, which is about 60-70 meters above the sea, resembles the post Pliocene erosion plains on the Biga Peninsula with respect to its elevation from the sea and its formation. (Bilgin, 1969) The formations of hills prominently situated to the east of the island are more resistant to erosion. For example Göztepe, which can be observed when approaching Bozcaada (191 m., highest point of the island), raises its head on erosion resistant andesite. Similarly resistant calcareous formations from the Eocene Age are effective in making the relief prominent.

The coastline of the island is steep in general. 10-15 m. high cliffs encircle it. Between these cliffs there are narrow beaches where streams reach the sea. However in the northwest, between Killik Burnu and Bati Burnu, where formations are not resistant, the cliff has been pushed back and large, sandy beaches have formed. The hills behind this area are covered by sand dunes carried by the wind. (Hocaoğlu, 1985).

As the island is small, its streams have not formed a noticeable web. Streams like Kocamiş, Balcılar, and Hacimahmut, begin to flow only after periods of precipitation. In spite of this, depending on the amount of water they carry, they still fulfill their function of breaking the plateau into valleys.

CLIMATE

Among the subjects of physical geography what it is probably climate that interests the islanders most. Climate is of utmost importance for Bozcaada because a large part of its population depends for its living on agriculture and fishing; tourism opportunities are expanding and the only means of transportation are by the sea.

The climate of Bozcaada can be viewed within the general framework of the Mediterranean macroclimate. It also has, however, aspects peculiar to itself, due to its latitude, its being a small island and being affected both southerly and northerly winds. Summers are cooler and less dry; and winters can have freezing temperatures and snow.

According to the results of observations made in the last 25 years, the annual average temperature in Bozcaada is 15.3 C⁰. The average temperature for July and August is 22.5 and for January is 7.8 C⁰. Within this observation period the highest recorded temperature is 37.2 C and the lowest, -6.8 C⁰. Temperatures drop below 0 on an annual average of 6 days, 8 days above 30 C⁰ and 75 days above 25 C⁰.

Annual average of precipitation is 538 mm. 49% of this precipitation is received in winter and 6% in summer. Spring and fall averages are very close (around %22-23). It snows, but very rarely (annual average is one day). Snow does not stay on the ground for a long time, but melts quickly. During the observation period the highest level of snow measured is 24 cm. Bozcaada receives less rainfall for example than Çanakkale (607 mm), Balıkesir (608 mm), and Gökçeada (732 mm). The reason for this is that the formation of the island is too flat to cause convective precipitation.

Bozcaada is windy. Observations show that northerly winds are effective on the island. Northerly and northeasterly winds sweep along the Dardanelles Strait constitute 50% of all the winds the island annually receives. Southerly winds come second, constituting another 20 % of the total amount. On an average of 75 days a year storms exceeding 17.2 meters a second take place. The number of days with strong winds is 135 a year. Both storms and strong winds alike are generally

northerly. There are 17 wind-generated energy units on the island. Electricity obtained by these units is linked to the country's interconnected system.

The seawater around Bozcaada, where summer tourism is becoming more and more important, is cool because of cold currents from the Dardanelles Strait (the averages in June, July, and August are 20.6, 22.3, and 21.1 C⁰, respectively).

DEMOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT

Although Bozcaada has been settled beginning from early periods of history, changing hands between Byzantians, Venetians and Genoese, it also remained empty for a long time. The Ottomans who opened it up for settlement once more in mid-sixteenth century realized its strategic importance. Historical census records do not agree. Census records since the establishment of the Turkish Republic are as follows: 1631 in 1927; 1781 in 1950; 1685 in 1960, and reaching its highest in 1965: 2141, The census of 2000 showed that 2015 people lived on Bozcaada.

The ethnic composition of the population changed drastically as a result of the events in 1955. When people of Greek origin left the island as they did in the rest of Turkey at the time, immigrants from the mainland were brought to settle on Bozcaada. This change in the ethnic composition affected the island's economy adversely. If we disregard the summer houses built near the beaches, Bozcaada is the only township in Turkey that consists of just one unit of settlement with no villages. Narrow streets lined with two-story houses built around the castle characterize the township. The architecture of these houses is unique to Bozcaada. According to official records the settled lands of the island cover an area of 835 hectares.

ECONOMY

Economy in Bozcaada is based on agriculture, fishing, tourism and wine industry. According to official records 3000 hectares of the land, consisting of rock and sand, is not favorable to farming. Only half of the remaining 3000 hectares is currently being used.

The main form of farming is viniculture. Vineyards occupy 80% of tillable land. However, viniculture has suffered a relapse since the Greek minority left the island. Wineries in Bozcaada import some of the grapes they need from outside the island. Opportunities provided for vine growers in order to support them have not yet been able to show positive results. The climate and soil of Bozcaada are very suitable for growing "Çavuş", a kind of grape peculiar to the island. This grape with its fine peel and small seed is a source of good income to its producers when exported. Other kinds of grape are also used in Wineries to make different wines.

Bozcaada's red wine is especially famous. At present there are four Wineries on the island. However this industry is negatively affected by the relapse in vine growing. Factories have to bring some of their grapes from the Biga Peninsula.

Field plants, vegetables, fruit orchards and olives are grown only for family consumption. A recent interest in olives and olive oil has doubled the number of olive trees in a few years.

700 hectares of the land is used as pasture. The number of livestock is small. Milk that is produced is used mostly in the family. Surplus milk is sold to commercial dairies. Some of the population of the island's inhabitants earns their living by fishing. Most of the fish that is caught is bought by the restaurants whose numbers are quickly increasing due to the expansion of tourism.

Bozcaada, where summer temperatures are not too hot and where the air and the sea water are exceptionally clean, has become an attractive spot for tourists interested in sea sports and diving. Letting rooms to tourists “pansiyonculuk” has become increasingly popular among the permanent residents of the island. And this has had a favorable effect on the island’s economy. The island is also very suitable for different touristic activities such as golf and horse riding. There is no doubt that the island can increase its income from tourism by developing its touristic capability.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BİLGİN, T., 1969, Biga Yarımadası Güneybatı Kisminin Jeomorfolojisi, İstanbul Üniversitesi yayın no: 1433, Coğrafya Enstitüsü yayın no: 55.

ERGUVANLI, K., 1955, L’Etude Geologique de L’île Bozcaada, Bulletin de la Societe Geologique de France, 6 eme Serie. T. V., pp. 399-401.

ERİNÇ, S., YÜCEL, T., 1978, Ege Denizi Türkiye ile Komşu Ege Adalari, Türk Kültürünü Araşt. Enst., yayın no: 50.

HOCAOĞLU, Ş., 1985, Bozcaada’nin Fiziki Coğrafyası, Ege Coğrafya Dergisi, S: 3, s: 175-199.

KRAFT, J. C., KAYAN, İ., EROL, O., 1980, Truva Doğal Çevresinin Son 15000 Yılda Değişimleri, Bilim ve Teknik, C: 13, S: 155.

PHILIPPSON, A., 1959, Das Aegaeische Meer und seine Inseln, Bd. IV.

INTERPRETATIONS ON THE SEA-LEVEL CHANGES ALONG THE COASTS OF KUŞADASI BAY AND SAMOS ISLAND

İlhan KAYAN

Ege Üniversitesi Coğrafya Bölümü, İzmir

ÖZET

Batı Anadolu jeolojik yapısının ana çizgilerini oluşturan doğu-batı uzanışlı horst-graben morfolojisi Ege Denizi kıyı kesiminde, deniz altında da devam eder. Buna göre Kuşadası Körfezi yapısal olarak Büyük Menderes ve Küçük Menderes grabenlerinin Ege Denizi tabanındaki devamı üzerinde gelişmiştir. Bunun kuzeyinde İzmir-Çeşme-Karaburun Yarımadası ve Sakız (Chios) Adası, batı Anadolu'daki Bozdağların uzantısı durumunda olan bir denizaltı platformu üzerinde yükselir. Güneyde ise güneybatı Anadolu'daki Menteşe Dağlarının uzantısında diğer bir deniz altı platformu bulunur ve bunun üzerinde de Onikiada (Dodecanese) yükselir. Bir graben niteliğinde olan Kuşadası Körfezinin kuzey-güney profili asimetrik olup, güneye doğru derinleşir. Burada Sisam (Samos) Adasının kuzeybatısında 1000 m den derin bir deniz altı çukurluğu bulunur. Körfez kıyılarının Kuaterner'deki gelişimi ile ilişkili olarak kuzeyde (İzmir batısında Alaçatı) ve güneyde (Sisam Adasının kuzeybatı kıyıları) fosilli depoları ile birlikte yükselmiş iki Pleistosen kıyı sekisi bilinmektedir. Körfez kıyıları son olarak Holosen transgresyonu ile şekillenmiştir. Bu nedenle kıyılarda genel olarak boğulma şekilleri hakimdir. Bununla birlikte Sisam Adasının kuzeybatı kıyılarında 2.3 m, 1.1 m ve 0.6 m yüksekliklerde kıyı izleri bulunmaktadır. Bunlar C14 tarihlendirmeleri ile birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, bu kıyıda 3600, 1500 ve 500 yıl kadar önce üç ani tektonik yükselme olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Buna karşılık adanın güneyinde Pitagorion yakınındaki kıyılarda arkeolojik yapı temelleri deniz suyu altında birkaç metre derinde bulunmaktadır. Bu verilere göre: Kuşadası Körfezi genişlemeye devam eden bir grabendir. Sisam Adası kuzeybatıda yükselen, güneybatıda çöken bir tektonik çarpılma göstermektedir. Bölgesel olarak Kuşadası Körfezinin güneyi genç tektonik hareketler bakımından daha aktif görünmektedir.

ABSTRACT

The east-west horst-graben features of western Anatolia extend towards the Aegean Sea. Thus, Kuşadası Bay is structurally formed on the extension of the Büyük Menderes and Küçük Menderes grabens. To the north, the İzmir-Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula and Chios Island rise on a submarine platform, which is extension of the Bozdağ Mountain belt of western Anatolia. To the south, the Dodecanese Islands rise on another submarine platform extending from the Menteşe Mountains of southwestern Anatolia. The north-south profile of Kuşadası Bay (graben) is slightly asymmetrical and the deeper part is in the south. A submarine depression deeper than 1000 m is located to the northwest of Samos Island. Concerning the Quaternary development of the bay-coasts, only two raised Pleistocene coastal terraces with fossiliferous deposits have been found, on the north (Alaçatı, west of İzmir) and south (northwest of Samos Island). In general, the bay-coasts are finally formed by the Holocene transgression. Therefore submergence prevails on the coasts of the region. However, on the northwestern coast of Samos Island, 2.3 m, 1.1 m, and 0.6 m raised shoreline marks can be observed. According to their C14 dates, three sudden uplifts occurred 3600, 1500 and 500 years ago on this part of the coast. On the contrary, archaeological remains are a few meters under the shallow seawater near Pythagorion on the southern coast of island. This evidence indicates that Kuşadası Bay (graben) is still

continuing to widen, Samos Island is tilting (the northwestern side rising, the southeastern side falling), and regionally the southern section of Kuşadası Bay is more active with regard to recent tectonic movements.

INTRODUCTION

The coasts are the boundary between the hydrosphere and lithosphere. Therefore they are easily influenced by any changes in them. In addition, the atmosphere has direct or indirect effects on both sea and land, and living organisms of the biosphere are important elements of the sensitive natural equilibrium of coastal zones. Effects of changes on any one of these four mediums are immediately reflected upon coastal geomorphology. Therefore, examination of coastal features has a special importance in geomorphology. Actually, the influences of climate changes and earthquakes are serious subjects for discussion of the natural environment. Coastal zones or shorelines are the best places to observe their influences and to interpret them directly. For example, in the discussion of global warming and its influences, the greatest interest is focused on sea level rise.

There are two basic reasons for long-term sea-level changes. One of them is related to climate changes, which affect the oceanic hydrosphere as a whole. When glaciers melt away at high latitudes, sea levels rise not only in that area but also in tropical regions. However, tectonic rise and fall of the land is regional or local. Therefore, coastal development and formation of coastal zones differ on the coasts of different blocks of land, and in active tectonic zones over even rather small areas.

Although tectonic movements have some periods of intensity, they are generally very slow events. However, climate changes may be much faster on a geological time scale. For example, the tectonic formation of Anatolia has extended over the last 20 million years. Although many important climatic changes also occurred in the same period, the most recent changes in climate in the last 15 000 years (the Holocene Era) had much more influence on the formation of the present geographical environment. For example, about 20 000 years ago, towards the end of the last glacial period, sea level was about 100 m lower than the present day (Kayan, 1988, 1997). The Holocene Era is a period of climate change from the last cold (glacial) stage to the present characteristics. This is also a period of sea-level rise. Although there is no glaciation in Anatolia except valleys in high mountains, the melting of glaciers at high latitudes caused global sea-level rise and as a result the seas of the world reached their present level about 6000 years ago. This means that the present coasts have formed in the last 6000 years. This latest sea level rise causes difficulties in the study of coastal geomorphology. Because the present coasts formed following the general sea level rise, it is not possible to observe geomorphologic traces of the former shorelines directly and use them as a tool to interpret the latest climate changes. On the other hand, the last 6000 years is also not short of tectonic movements. In this period, block movements have continued in the structurally instable regions of the world. From this point of view, the coasts of Anatolia in general, but especially the Aegean coasts of Anatolia, have special importance.

No uplifted shoreline marks have been reported along the Aegean and western Mediterranean coasts of Anatolia. On the contrary, archaeological remains like the bases of coastal constructions are observed to be submerged, a few meters below the present sea level. The Bronze Age harbor constructions at Limantepe (Urla, İzmir, Erkanal et al., 2004), the Archaic base of the temple at Klaros (north of Kuşadası Bay, Kayan, 1996), the bases of various constructions on the southern coast of Teke Peninsula (southwest Anatolia, Öner, 1997) are typical examples of this submergence. On the other hand, on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, generally to the east of Antalya Bay and especially on the eastern coast of İskenderun Bay, some raised coastal terraces are seen up to 40-50 m above present sea level. Although their formation periods are uncertain, regional geomorphology and their positions

indicate the Pleistocene (pre-Holocene Quaternary) (Erol, 1963). Along the rocky parts of the same coasts, there are also some raised marks of former shorelines up to a few meters above the present sea level. Detailed chronological data was obtained by C14 analysis of their fossil littoral fauna (Kelletat and Kayan, 1983, Pirazzoli et al., 1991). They revealed that the land on the eastern Mediterranean coast uplifted abruptly several times but especially about 3500 and 1500 years ago. These events are in concordance with historical records, which mention severe, destructive earthquakes in the region.

Similar features of former shorelines are not reported on the Aegean coasts of Anatolia. This is because tectonic block movements in the same period occurred in a different pattern. According to general interpretations, after the sea reached its present level about 6000 years ago, sea level on the western coast of Anatolia fell a few meters in the period between 4000-3500 years ago. Although the reason for this is uncertain, tectonic explanations are seen as more reasonable, because the region was tectonically active in the same period. In the following period, while sudden tectonic uplifts were repeated from time to time in the eastern Mediterranean, the earth's crust fell slightly in western Anatolia and archaeological remains were submerged (Kayan, 1988, 1997).

Since coastal features are indicators of the sensitive balance between interrelated components of the geographical environment, tectonic or climatic sea level and related shoreline changes have been subjects of important international research projects. IGCP (International Correlation Programme) is connected with INQUA (International Quaternary Research) of UNESCO, and supports research on related subjects. IGCP-367 (Rapid Coastal Changes in the Late Quaternary: Processes, causes, modeling, impact on coastal zones) was one of these, and a symposium was organized with field excursions in Corinth Bay and Samos Island, Greece, in 1998. These localities were chosen for this study because they are the only places known in the Aegean where uplifted shoreline marks are found.

Samos Island is on the southern edge of the western extension (towards the Aegean basin) of the main tectonic depressions (Küçük Menderes and Büyük Menderes grabens) of western Anatolia, and uplifted shoreline marks have not been reported on the western Anatolian coast until now. Therefore the shoreline marks at Samos are significant in understanding recent tectonic activity of the southern part of the Aegean coast of Anatolia. It is important to correlate these findings with the Anatolian coasts, especially the coast of Kuşadası Bay. This may also be significant for earthquake activity in the metropolitan city of İzmir. Therefore, in the following part of this paper, the structural geomorphology of Kuşadası Bay and Samos Island, including uplifted shoreline marks will be dealt with first, and then a conclusive interpretation will be made.

The Aegean coast of Anatolia is characterized by an extremely indented coastline and numerous offshore islands (Fig. 1). This general picture is due to the geological structure and related geomorphologic development of the region. On a general view, there are wide shelf platforms (submarine platforms less than 200 m deep on which islands have risen, surrounded by steep slopes descending towards deeper marine basins) on the extensions of the raised mountain belts of western Anatolia. The Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula and Chios Island are located on one of these, which is the westward extension of Bozdağ Mountain belt in the middle of western Anatolia. Further south, the platform that carries the islands of the Dodecanese is an extension of the Menteşe Mountains of the mainland. Samos and Icaria Islands, which are larger than the other islands, are located on the northern edge of the Dodecanese platform. They form a border on the northern edge of the Dodecanese platform on the extension of the Aydın Mountains and Dilek Peninsula (Samsun Mountain).



Figure 1. Southern Aegean coastal region of Anatolia (From 1/1.000.000 scale physical map of Turkey).

The bathymetric configuration of Kuşadası Bay between Çeşme-Karaburun-Chios and Dodecanese submarine platforms (lighter grey, less than 200 m deep) implies tectonic widening of a submarine depression (graben) on the westward extension of Büyük Menderes and Küçük Menderes grabens of Western Anatolia.

Kuşadası Bay is located between the submarine platforms of İzmir-Chios to the north and the Dodecanese to the south. It is formed by the invasion of Aegean water into a tectonic depression extending from the Küçük Menderes and Büyük Menderes graben systems of the western Anatolia. Structural lineaments run in a north-south direction to the north of the bay but northwest-southeast in the Dodecanese platform to the south. This difference is due to a dome-shaped rise of the Menderes massif to the east during the Neotectonic development of the region. Thus Kuşadası Bay represents a graben structure widening towards the west. On the bathymetric map of the bay, the north-south profile is seen to be asymmetric: the northern side is generally less inclined while the southern side is steeper, so that the deeper part of the bay is in the south. In addition, a submarine depression deeper than 1000 m is noticeable to the northwest of Samos Island, towards the middle part of the bay (Fig. 1).

All these features of Kuşadası Bay are in concordance with the Neotectonic development of the region. The coasts of Kuşadası Bay were finally drowned by the rising sea in the Holocene when the present morphology of the coasts was formed. However, tectonic movements of the earth blocks continued during this last period. In a regional view, the latest movements are generally seen as a fall of the land because marks of a raised shoreline have not been seen on the western Anatolian coasts. On the contrary, submergence is clearly seen on the coast of İzmir Bay. For example, the base of harbor constructions of the Bronze Age in Limantepe archaeological site on the Urla coast is a few meters below the level (Fig. 1). This indicates that the sea level has risen a few meters in the last 4000-3500 years. This is a relative rise because the reason is tectonic fall of the land. Only on the coast of Alaçati, south of Çeşme Peninsula, do we find uplifted fossiliferous coastal deposits. These are older than the Holocene, most probably from the Pleistocene. This is also important because it indicates that block movements do not progress on a uniform manner in the region.

Small sea level changes or submergence in this region are more difficult to reveal. To do this, sedimentological units and their stratigraphical characteristics in the subsurface alluvial sediments must be defined by core drillings on the coastal areas. Using this method, it was also revealed that the sea level was a few meters below the present about 3500 years ago (For example, archaeological and C14 evidence from the Selçuk-Ephesos plain, and the ancient Klaros sacred site in Ahmetbeyli gorge, to the northern coast of Kuşadası Bay) (Kayan 1996, Kraft et al. 2001).

In opposition to the submerged shoreline features on the western Anatolian coasts, which indicate the latest (the Late Holocene) relative rise in sea-level, local uplifted shoreline marks were revealed on Samos Island to the south of Kuşadası Bay. Some detailed examinations were made of these marks, which are very important with regard to recent regional tectonic movements (Stiros et al. 2000). Based on this publication, and especially its C14 dating, and field examinations during the IGCP-367 Symposium, a brief summary will now be made of current knowledge, and in comparing with Anatolian coasts, some regional interpretations will be made for the wider area.

SAMOS ISLAND AND RAISED SHORELINES

Samos Island has its geographical configuration on the northern edge of the Dodecanese platform, as an extension of the Dilek Peninsula (Samsun Mountain) in Anatolia (Fig.1). The length of the island is about 45 km in the west-east direction and the average north-south width is about 10 km. The area of the island is about 480 km². The island is separated from Anatolia (Dilek Peninsula) by a channel about 1.5 km wide and 30 m deep. Accordingly, Samos Island was connected with Anatolia in the last glacial period and earlier phases of the Holocene. This is important from a biogeographical and archaeological point of view (Fig. 2).

The western part of Samos Island has a higher relief. In terms of geological structure, there are three high blocks (1433 m in the west, 1150 m in the middle and 433 m in the east) consisting of

metamorphic formations (schist and marble) of older geological times (Paleozoic and early Mesozoic), and two low-hilly areas between them consisting of Neogene sediments. Alluvial areas have developed on the coastal parts of the Neogene formations. On the higher and mountainous northwestern part of the island, the configuration of the coastline is generally delineated by faults. Therefore the coasts are steep, high and rocky. In contrast, low coastal features such as sandy beaches, lagoons and coastal lowlands cover extensive areas on the southeast (Fig. 2).

During the examination of the coastal geomorphology, some archaeological remains were found in the seawater on the Pythagoreion coast, on the southeastern coast of the island. They indicate that submergence has dominated on this part of the island in the last a few thousand years. In contrast, there are some uplifted shoreline marks on the steep and rocky northwestern coasts of the island. These are in accordance with fault lines, which delineate the coastal configuration.

Three ecological zones can be distinguished in relation to biological activity on the steep limestone coasts of the Mediterranean and southern Aegean seas, where the tidal range is very small (about 10 cm in many places) and the temperature is rather high (Laborel ve Laborel-Deguen 1994). These are supralittoral, midlittoral and infralittoral zones.

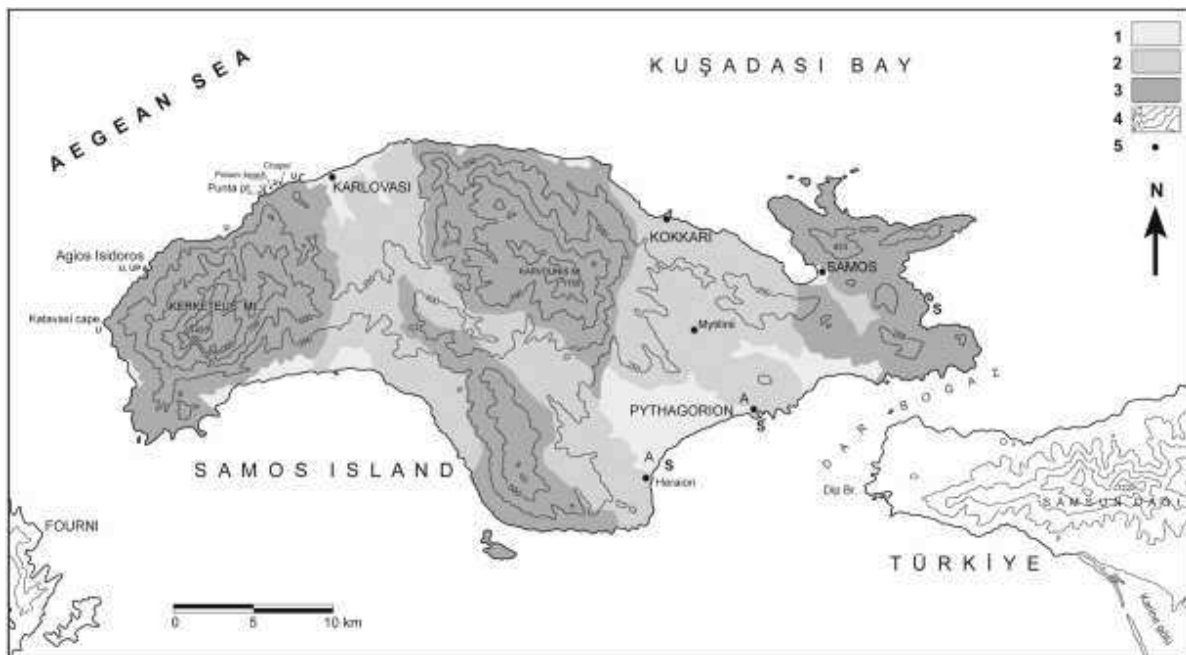


Figure 2. Topography and geology of Samos Island (Topography from 1/200,000 Turkish map, geology and coastal notes based on Stiros et al. 2000).

- 1: Alluvium, 2: Neogene sediments, 3: Metamorphic base (Schist and marble),
- 4: Contour lines (250 m intervals), 5: Settlements. A: Archaeological sites, U: Late Holocene uplifted shoreline marks, UP: Pleistocene uplifted coastal terrace. S: Submerged archaeological remains.

The supralittoral zone is above sea level. However, it is continuously moist with splashing water from waves, and is covered in black algae. The midlittoral zone is continuously wet, and also temporarily but frequently below seawater according to small daily sea level fluctuations. Algae and limpets inhabit this zone. Although the vertical width of this zone depends on the coastal geomorphology and marine characteristics, it is not more than a few tens of centimeters on coasts like Samos where the tidal range is very small. On limestone coasts where there is very little detritic

material in the water, littoral fauna like *Littorina neritoides* and vermetids generally form bio-erosional features. These constitute a small zone of notches and narrow platforms (benches) in front of the notch. Finally the infralittoral zone of a steep coastline is a wall-shaped rocky slope below the midlittoral zone. A few meters of the upper part of this zone has plentiful sunlight and oxygen, and so various littoral fauna can live together. The accumulation of their limy shells and skeletons (vermetids and algae) makes a strong bio-constructive rim in front of the bio-erosional surface of the midlittoral bench.

The boundary between the bio-erosional midlittoral zone and the bio-constructive infralittoral zone is generally very clear and taken as indicating “biological mean sea level”. When any change of sea level occurs, for example in relation to tectonic rise, all of the ecological zones and their boundaries change and the notch-bench morphology of the previous biological mean sea level is used as sign of sea-level change. Also the manner of the change, whether gradual or sudden, can be interpreted from the different shapes of the biological zones. In addition, C14 dating is possible from organic accumulations. Thus, biogenetic formations present very important information on coastal geomorphology. As stated above, use of this method revealed two sudden uplifts of about 1-2 m each 3600 and 1500 years ago on the eastern Mediterranean coasts of Turkey (Kelleat and Kayan 1983, Pirazzoli 1986, Pirazzoli et al. 1991).

Similar biogenetic features were revealed along about 10 km part of the northwest coast of Samos (Fig 2-4). The coast is formed here by faults, and therefore generally runs straight, steep and high. Some of these features on the west of Karlovasi, as far as Punta point, were examined during the IGCP-367 Symposium. On the coast of Punta point, a narrow zone of notches about 2.3 m above present sea level, and two small platforms (benches) about 1.1 m and 0.6 m high are very distinct (Fig. 2 and 3). They are also in concordance with other uplifted coastal features in the area. Similar features were found and examined on Aghios Isodoros and Katavasi points to the west (Stiros et al. 2000). C14 dates of samples taken from these areas revealed that the +2.3 m notch at Aghios Isidoros is about 3600 years old, while the +1.1 and +0.7 m benches of Punta point on Potami are respectively 1500 and 500 years old (round figures). These results indicate that sudden jerky tectonic uplifts happened about 3600, 1500 and 500 years ago and caused severe regional earthquakes. In the region, particularly on Samos, the occurrence of many destructive earthquakes since ancient historical times is well known. There is some knowledge of destructive earthquakes on Samos in 200 and 47 BC, and 1467 and 1751 AD. In addition, some research and publications have studied severe tectonic activity over a wider region including the entire eastern Mediterranean in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, with related earthquakes and raised shoreline marks, (Kelleat and Kayan 1983, Pirazzoli 1986, Pirazzoli et al. 1991).



Figure 3. Punta promontory, west of Karlovasi, on the northwestern coast of Samos. Arrow shows 2.3 m uplifted shoreline mark, which was formed by bio-erosional, processes, about 3600 years ago according to C14 dating (Stiros et al. 2000, Photo Í. Kayan).



Figure 4. Details of uplifted biogenetic shoreline marks at Punta promontory, west of Karlovasi, on the northwestern coast of Samos. C. Monhange's head is on the line of the 2.3 m uplifted bio-erosional notch, which is dated to about 3600 years ago. The line near his knees and the bench on which he is standing were formed by bio-constructive processes approximately 1500 and 500 years ago (Stiros et al. 2000, Photo Í. Kayan).

Together with these recently raised shoreline marks, there are some other, wider, raised coastal platforms and terraces along the coast between Punta and Aghios Isidoros. Although preservation of geomorphological and sedimentological formations is not possible everywhere on this rough and active tectonic region, coastal platforms can be recognized up to 20 m above present sea level in some places. For example, a 20 m high coastal terrace is well preserved near Aghios Isidoros. It is generally covered by terrestrial deposits. However, its straight shape and a conglomerate formation seen on a road-cut profile indicate that it is a marine terrace. Although there is no evidence of the age of the terrace, geomorphological characteristics imply the Pleistocene. Such higher coastal terraces on this coastal section indicate long-term effects of regional tectonism.

In relating tectonic movements to evidence obtained from archaeological areas, Stiros (1996) interpreted that the destruction of the Heraion temple near Pythagorion on the southeast of the island, which was constructed in 530 BC, can be correlated with the tectonic rise of the 1.1 m shoreline mark in the northwest.

CONCLUSIONS

Following conclusions can be drawn when the raised shoreline marks of Samos are interpreted together with the known geomorphological features of the coasts of Kuşadası Bay:

1. The structural outlines of Kuşadası Bay clearly indicate that it has developed on the westward extension of the Küçük Menderes and Büyük Menderes grabens, which are formed by the breakup of the Menderes massif in the base of western Anatolia. Detailed geomorphological examination of the bay coasts may give additional information on the pattern of recent regional tectonic movements. When the distribution of the uplifted coastal features of the Pleistocene and the late Holocene are examined on the Kuşadası Bay coasts, it is seen that the bay has developed on a tectonic tensional zone between rising blocks to the north and south. This pattern is in concordance with the rise of the Menderes massif and shows that the effects of rise extend westward. However, tilting of the moving blocks in detail follows a general deformation pattern. Accordingly, uplift along the northern coast but submergence on the southern coast indicates that Samos has tilted block morphology as a whole. In contrast, a general submergence is prevalent along the coasts of the İzmir-Karaburun peninsula. This region is very rich in archaeological remains and the discovery of bases of ancient coastal constructions under shallow seawater is the best evidence of the late Holocene submergence.

2. The general pattern of Neotectonic movements in the region is rise of the earth's crust, the tensional results of this on the surface, the breakup of the crust by normal faults, and the separate rise and fall of tectonic blocks. The elevated morphology of the Neogene formations in the region indicates that the rise has been continuing since the Neogene. The Quaternary rise of the region is cannot be examined directly in the rough erosional areas. On the other hand, depressions are areas of continuous sedimentation, and also not proper places to investigate stages of geomorphological development.

3. Coastal zones are the best to find good evidence on this matter. Raised coastal features of the pre-Holocene Quaternary (Pleistocene) have only been found on the Alaçati coast in the north and the Samos coast in the south. These are obviously raised coastal terraces and deposits, but local, and could not been directly dated.

4. Shoreline marks a few metres above sea level on the northwestern coast of Samos and the northeastern coast of Nikaria are coastal features, which are not in concordance with the Holocene sea-level rise. They were formed by tectonic rise of earth blocks. Also, they are located on the southern edge of the over 1000 m deep submarine depression in the south of Kuşadası Bay. Similar features

have not been observed along the coast of the İzmir-Karaburun platform. This may be interpreted as showing that the southern edge is more active in tectonic movements, and that the middle-late Holocene tectonic activity is on the southern section.

5. However, more evidence is necessary for a better interpretation of the recent tectonic activity in the region, and for this purpose, the northern coast of Kuşadası Bay and the coast of the Dilek peninsula to the south must be carefully examined.

REFERENCES

- ERİNÇ, S., YÜCEL, T. 1978, Ege Denizi Türkiye ile Komşu Ege Adaları, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yay., 50. Seri VII, Sayı A3, Ankara.
- HIGGINS, M. D., HIGGINS, R., 1996, A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean. Cornell University Press.
- ERKANAL, H., ARTZY, M., KOUKA, O. 2004, 2002 yılı Liman Tepe kazıları. 25. Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı (26-31 Mayıs 2003), T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yay. No. 2997/2, Bildiriler Kitabı, Cilt 2, s. 165-178, Ankara.
- EROL, O., 1963., Asi Nehri deltasinin jeomorfolojisi ve Dördüncü Zaman deniz-akarsu, şekilleri, Ankara Üniv. D.T.C.Fak., Yay. 148, Ankara.
- KAYAN, İ., KELLETAT, D., VENZKE, J. V., 1985, Küstenmorphologie der Region zwischen Karaburun und Fiğlaburun, westlich Alanya, Türkei. Beitrage zur Geomorphologie des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe A (Naturwissenschaften) Nr 9, s. 17-70, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- KAYAN, İ., 1988, Late Holocene sea-level changes on the Western Anatolian coast. Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology, Vol. 68, No 2-4, p. 205-218, Special Issue: Quaternary Coastal Changes, Ed. by P. A. Pirazzoli - D. B. Scott, (A selection of papers presented at the IGCP-200 meetings) Elsevier Science Publishers B. V. Amsterdam, The Netherlands, ISSN 0031-0182.
- KAYAN, İ., 1996, Klaros kazı alanında jeomorfolojik-jeoarkeolojik araştırmalar, Ege Coğrafya Dergisi, Sayı 8, Sayfa 1-24, Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü, İzmir, Geomorphological-geoarchaeological investigations on the Klaros Excavation Area.
- KAYAN, İ., 1997, Bronze Age regression and change of sedimentation on the Aegean coastal plains of Anatolia (Turkey), Third Millennium B.C. Climate Change and Old World Collapse (Ed. by H. N. Dalfes, G. Kukla, and H. Weiss), NATO Advanced Research Workshop, September 19-23, 1994, NATO ASI Series 1. Global Environmental Change, Vol. I 49, 431-450, Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 1997, ISBN 3-540-61892-9.
- KAYAN, İ., 1999, Alluvial geomorphology of the Küçük Menderes plains and geo-archaeological interpretations on the site of Ephesos, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos, Akten des Symposions Wien 1995, Archäologische Forschungen, Band 1., p. 373-379, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ISBN 3-7001-2732-4.
- KELLETAT, D., KAYAN, İ., 1983, Alanya batisındaki kiyılarda ilk C14 tarihlendirmelerinin ışığında Geç Holosen tektonik hareketleri (First C14 datings and Late Holocene tectonic events on the

Mediterranean coastline, West of Alanya, Southern Turkey) Türkiye Jeoloji Kurumu Bülteni, Cilt 26, Sayı 1, Sayfa 83-87, Ankara.

KRAFT, J. C., KAYAN, İ, BRÜCKNER, H., 2001, A geological analysis of ancient landscapes and the harbors of Ephesus and the Artemisions in Anatolia. Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien. Band 69, 2000, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2000.

LABOREL, J., LABOREL-DEGUE, F., 1994, Biological indicators of relative sea-level variations and co-seismic displacements in the Mediterranean region, Journal of Coastal Research 10, 395-415.

ÖNER, E., 1997, Teke Yarımadası Kiyılarında Deniz Seviyesi ve Kıyı Çizgisi Değişimleri, Türkiye Kiyıları 97 Türkiye'nin Kıyı ve Deniz Alanları I. Ulusal Konferansı (24-27 Haziran 1997), Bildiriler Kitabı, KAY Milli Komitesi. ODTÜ, Ankara.

PIRAZZOLI, P. A., 1986, The Early Byzantine tectonic paroxysm, Zeitschrift Geomorphologie Suppl. 62, 31-49.

PIRAZZOLI, P. A., LABOREL, J., SALIEGE, J. F., EROL, O., KAYAN, İ., PERSON, A., 1991, Holocene raised shorelines on the Hatay coasts (Turkey): Palaeoecological and tectonic implications, Marine Geology, 96, p. 295-311, Elsevier Science Publishers B. V., Amsterdam.

STIROS, S. C. (Ed.), 1998, Late Quaternary coastal changes in Samos Island, Greece. UNESCO-IUGS IGCP-367, Guidebook for the Samos Island Field Trip 16-19 September 1998. Municipality of Pythagorion, Samos and Geodesy Laboratory, Dept. Of Civil Engineering, Patras University, Greece.

STIROS, S. C., LABOREL, J., LABOREL-DEGUEN, F., PAPAGEORGIOU, S., EVIN, J., PIRAZZOLI, P. A., 2000, Seismic coastal uplift in a region of subsidence: Holocene raised shorelines of Samos Island, Aegean Sea, Greece, Marine Geology 170 (2000), 41-58, Elsevier.

THE MAPS OF AEGEAN ISLANDS IN THE NAVAL MUSEUM LIBRARY

Rasim ÜNLÜ
Dr., Naval Museum Archive

ÖZET

Deniz Müzesi 1897’de İstanbul’daki Tersane-i Amire (Deniz Tersanesi)’nin müstemilatı olan bir binada kuruldu. Aynı zamanda Deniz Müzesi, Ahmet Fethi Paşa’nın 1847 yılında kurduğu Müze-i Osmani’nin peşinden sivil müzecilikte ikinci, askeri müzecilikte birincidir.

Kasımpaşa’da Tersane’deki bir binada kurulmuş olan müzenin müdürlüğüne, Bahriye Nazırı Bozcaadalı Hasan Hüsnü Paşa’nın damadı olan Tuğamiral Hikmet Paşa atandı, Süleyman Nutki Bey’de onun yardımcısı oldu.

Türk Deniz Müzesi, 1961’den beri Beşiktaş’tadır. Deniz Tarihi Arşivi, Deniz Müzesi’nin sadece bir kısmıdır. Haritaların çoğu bu arşivdedir. Ayrıca onlardan birkaçı Deniz Müzesindeki Harita Odasındadır.

The Naval Museum was established in 1897 in a building within the premises of the Naval dockyard in Istanbul. At the same time, Naval Museum is the first Military and the second civil museum following the Archaeology museum (Müze-i Osmani) established in 1847 by Ahmet Fethi Pasha.

Rear Admiral Hikmet Pasha, brother-in-law of the Navy Minister Hasan Hüsnü Pasha (born in Bozcaada) was appointed the director of the museum established in a building within the dockyard at Kasımpaşa, with Süleyman Nutki Bey as his assistant.

Turkish Naval Museum is in Beşiktaş since 1961. Naval History Archives only is a part of Naval Museum. In these Archives, there are a lot of Nautical Charts and Land Maps. In addition, a few of them are the room of maps in the Naval Museum. I will give a little information about archives firstly from the maps in this study.

The Naval History Archives that belongs to Naval Museum Command was relocated several times for some reasons. I divided that period into six chapters¹

1. Naval History Archives in Kasımpaşa (Until 1939): There the archive was partly burned in a fire in 1821. Some documents that seemed unnecessary were sold to a Jewish man, Kohen, on 25 June 1912² and for the second time on 27th August 1912³

2. Naval History Archives in Anatolia (1939-1947): It was in Anatolia during the II. World War⁴ By the end the objects of the museum were planned to move to Istanbul. A suitable place was looked for at Bosphorus⁵. The plan of bringing the collection to Beşiktaş was already in mind since 1920s⁶.

¹ Rasim Ünlü, The Position of Naval War History Archives, Navy Commandership The first Naval War History Seminar 18-20th February 2003 Gölcük Kocaeli, p.,60-65

² Naval History Archives, Record Document Department, Inventory Nr. 27, page, 58.

³ Naval History Archives, Bookkeeping Department, Inventory Nr. 2266-A page, 2

⁴ Istanbul Naval Museum Directorate, The History of Istanbul Naval Museum, Naval Forces. Review, July 1976, Number:494, p.46

⁵ Cemal Pasa, Zeytindağı, İstanbul, 1938, p.94

⁶ Naval History Archive, Department:Offices I, Inventory Nr.57, p.88 Document date:29th May 1927.

3. Naval History Archives in Dolmabahçe and in İzmit-Konca (1947-1956) after long researchments, the mosque and the outbuildings were determined to be the museum. Finally “Naval Museum and Archives Directorate” was opened on 27th September 1948⁷ which is the 410th anniversary of Preveze Sea War. Some parts of the documents not brought to Dolmabahçe were transferred to Konca, İzmit.

4. Naval History Archives in Beşiktaş and in Konca İzmit (1956-1970): In 1956, during the enlargement activities of Dolmabahçe road, a place was needed for relocating the 15.000 documents. So the section that had “the cars and phaetons” was allotted to Naval Museum and the documents were carried to this place to stay there between 1956-1970.

5. Naval History Archives in Lalahan (1970-1984): Naval Ministry and Naval Archives, which were in Dolmabahçe Palace-Car Section and konca until June 1970, were transferred to the buildings in Ankara-Lalahan by the order of commander of Naval Forces on 3rd August 1970. The transportation lasted until November 1970. In 1971, the archives department was completely set apart from Naval Museum and activated as “Naval Forces Command Archive Directorate” in Ankara-Lalahan⁸. Historical Naval Archives was brought partly to Beşiktaş between 11th September 1984 and August 1985.

6. Naval history Archive in Beşiktaş (1984-....)

Historical. Naval Archives Directorate which belongs to Naval Museum Command now has the following kinds of objects:

1. Naval History Archives Department
2. Naval Specialized Library Department
3. Photographs Department
4. Atlases and Chart/Map Department

The Atlases and maps in the Naval History Archives are displayed in the charts and Maps Catalogue which was published by Naval Forces Command in 2001 and is still on sale⁹.

The main purpose of this study is to bring existing maps, portolans and atlases of the Historical Naval Archives into the light and make them available for public use¹⁰.

This Catalogue has three parts:

The First Part: Naval Charts

The Second part: Land maps,

The Third part: Atlases have been displayed.

In this research of mine also one of the sources of this study. The atlases in the book were thought as the topic of another study and not mentioned.

In this study, registered movable property numbers, names of maps, sheet numbers, the countries and companies, which they belong to, as well as scale, have been defined.

⁷ Istanbul Naval Museum Directorate, The History of Istanbul Naval Museum, Naval Forces.Review, July 1976, Number:494, p.48

⁸ Istanbul Naval Museum Directorate, The History of Istanbul Naval Museum, Naval Forces.Review, July 1976, Number:494, p.48-49

⁹ Chart and Map Catalogue of Turkish Naval Museum, Ankara, 2001, p.437

¹⁰ Chart and Map Catalogue of Turkish Naval Museum, Ankara, 2001, p. vii

In this study, the maps/charts are presented under three main sections. In the first section, “Turkish Portolans, Nautical Charts and Land Maps” are presented under two parts: Charts and Portolans Produced by Turkish Navigation and Hydrography Department; The Others Turkish Nautical Charts and Land Maps. In the second section, there are “Foreign Nautical Charts and Portolans” under three groups as French Nautical Charts and Portolans, German Nautical Charts and Portolans and Admiralty Nautical Charts and Portolans. In the third sections, handwritten copies of Piri Reis’s (Maritime Pilot Book) Books of Navy are presented.

CHARTS AND PORTOLANS PRODUCED BY TURKISH NAVIGATION AND HYDROGRAPY DEPARTMENT

Stock No: 7549/20, AEGEAN PORTS-GREECE Mtyleni-Sigrion-Plomarion Eressu-Gulf Of Iero Portolan (2142) From English and Greek charts.1973 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 7549/32,14384/6 AEGEAN PORTS Mersin Gulf-Sighajik Port- Kuşadası- Strait Of Sisam-Pitagorion-Karlovasi Chart (2231) From surveys, English and Greek charts. 1972 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul, Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 7549/56 AEGEAN-GREECE AKRA SIPIA (CAPE AKRA)-SARONIKOS KOLPOS (GULF OF SARONIC) Chart (24) From USA, German and Greek Charts. 1972 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 7549/60 MEDITERRANEAN-TÜRKIYE KOS STRAIT-MARMARIS Chart (311) From surveys up to 1968 and USA charts (4237, 4303, 4329) 1970 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/100.000.

Stock No: 7549/100 AEGEAN- SAKIZ STRAIT Chart (222) From surveys up to 1957 and English charts.1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/100.000.

Stock No: 7549/150 DARDANELLES (PORTOLANS OF KUMKALE-SEDDÜLBAHIR, NARA NARROW) Chart (212) 1944-1962 survey.1964 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed / Corrections 1973 Scale, 1/75.000.

Stock No: 7549/106 AEGEAN-XEROS GULF (PORTOLANS OF ECE AND BAKLA PORTS) Chart (2111) From surveys up to 1957.1971 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/50.000. (Portolans, different.)

Stock No: 7549/107 AEGEAN SAROS AND IZMIR GULFS Chart (21) From German and English charts, 1969 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 7549/109 MEDITERRANEAN TÜRKIYE-GREECE MEDITERRANEAN PORTS (PORTOLANS OF BODRUM PORT, YEDI ADALAR, SIMI ISLAND, DEĞİRMENBÜKÜ, GALLIPOLI PORT Chart (3111) (Bodrum) 1939 survey from English (1533), German (614) charts. 1971 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 14379/10 TÜRKIYE WEST COASTS SISAM STRAIT-ISTANKÖY STRAIT Chart (224) 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed / Corrections 1968 Scale, 1/100.000.

Stock No: 14383/5 TÜRKIYE WEST COASTS STRAITS OF SAKIZ AND SISAM Chart (223) From German and English charts. 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/100.000.

Stock No: 14389/13 PORTS OF AEGEAN GULF OF CESME-EĞRİLİMAN-GULF OF ALAÇATI-LİMIN HIYU Portolan (2221) 1958 survey and from English and Greek charts 1972 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 14390/14 AEGEAN KARABURUN-ESKİFOCA Portolan (2153) 1957 survey and from English charts (1645-1617) 1964 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 14391/15 AEGEAN İMROS ISLAND-BABABURNU Chart (213) Surveys up to 1962.1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/100.000.

Stock No: 14393/17 SEA OF MARMARA HOŞKÖY-GALLİPOLİ Chart (295) Surveys up to 1949 and from English charts. (1004-2242) 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/75.000.

Stock No: 14394/18 AEGEAN PORTS SİVRİCE, AKÇAY,KALLONIS GULF, DİKİLİ, BADEMLİ Portolan (2141) From surveys up to 1956 and English and Greek charts 1973 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 14397/23 AEGEAN BABABURNU-ÇANDARLI GULF Chart (214) Surveys up to 1963 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/150.000.

Stock No: 14398/24 AEGEAN-İZMİR PORT Portolan (2212) Surveys up to 1963. 1966 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 14399/25 AEGEAN-GULF OF İZMİR Chart (221) Surveys up to 1966. 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/75.000.

Stock No: 14400/26 PORTS OF AEGEAN-TÜRKIYE AYVALIK PORT-ÇANDARLI GULF-BADEMLİ PORT Portolan (2143) 1967 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 14407/39 AEGEAN-GREECE VİSTONİKOS BAY-CAPE SİPİA Chart (23) From USA (3966-3968) and Greek (59) charts, 1971 Department of Navigation and Hydrography-Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

THE OTHER TURKISH NAUTICAL CHARTS AND LAND MAPS

Stock No: 452/344, 359 SALONIKA GULF Chart Map Drawing Office of the Navy. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/345 AEGEAN AND SOME PORTS Chart-Portolan 1901-1902 Map Drawing Office of the Navy. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 452/354, 463/357, 479/374 AEGEAN Chart 1863 (1867) Naval Academy. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 452/356 CRETE-CANDIA PORT Portolan Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/364 AEGEAN Chart Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/372 AEGEAN KOS, NISAROS, PESKOPI ISLANDS Chart 1884-1885 Printing Office of the Navy. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/418 MEDITERRANEAN KARAAĞAÇ PORT Chart 1884-1885 Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 460/111 IZMIR HARBOUR Portolan 1890-1891 Lieutenant Commander Muhittin Efendi. Lithography Scale, No.

Stock No: 885/113 AEGEAN (Mediterranean Islands) Chart (Navigation of Nüvid-i Fütuh) Hand made / 1898. Scale, No.

Stock No: 4105/121 MEDITERRANEAN Chart-Portolan 1852 Naval Academy. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 452/321 TÜRKIYE GALLIPOLI-KÜÇÜK ANAFARTALAR XEROS GULF Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/50.000.

Stock No: 452/323 TÜRKIYE KIRTE-SEDDÜLBAHIR DARDANELLES KEPEZ-YENİKÖY Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/50.000.

Stock No: 452/324 TÜRKIYE ÇANAKKALE-KILIDBAHIR DARDARALLES-XEROS GULF Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/50.000.

Stock No: 452/333,337; 9806/468 GREECE-BULGARIA KAVALA-GÜMÜLCİNE-KARAAĞAÇ PAŞMAKLI Map Printed Scale, 1/210.000.

Stock No: 452/342 OTTOMAN EMPIRE Map From Austria documents, 1863 Istanbul Arsenal. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/378 TÜRKIYE IZMIR-AYVALIK Map-Military Operation. 1920-1921 Map Department of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul Printed Scale, 1/200.000

Stock No: 452/379 TÜRKIYE BANDIRMA-MILAS Map-Military Operation. 1919 Map Department of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 452/381a OTTOMAN EMPIRE CAUSEWAYS Map (Turkish)1885 Printing Office of the Ministry of General Works. Printed Scale, 1/1.500.000.

Stock No: 452/399 OTTOMAN ASIA Map Hulusi Efendi Printing Office. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/402 ANATOLIA Map 1873-1874 Department of General Staff-Istanbul.Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452 /478 TURKISH THRACE Map 1914-1915 Ottoman Printing Office-Istanbul.Printed Scale, 1/1.000.000.

Stock No: 4086/17 TÜRKİYE MARITIME TRADE ZONES Map (Turkish) (1923-1928) Naval Academy-Istanbul.Printed Scale. 1/2.250.000.

Stock No: 7773/149 SALONICA PROVINCE Map 1882-1883 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 7774/142 GULF OF SALONIKA-KHALKIDHIKI PENINSULA 1881-1882 (1887-1888) Printing Office of General Staff.
Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 9806/346 GULF OF SALONIKA-KHALKIDHIKI PENINSULA 1887-1888 Printing Office of Umumiye Dairesi General Staff Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 9806/347 GREECE-BULGARIA KAVALA-KARAAĞAÇ-MESTANLI-PAŞMAKLI Harita 1889-1890 Printing Office of General Map. Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 9806/467 GREECE-TÜRKİYE TEKİRDAĞ-MALKARA-DİMETOKA-DEDEAĞAÇ Printed Scale, 1/210.000.

Stock No: 9806/471 GREECE KHALKIDHIKI PEN-SALONIKA Map Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 9806/474 GREECE GULF OF VOLOS-EUBOEA ISLAND Map Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 13591/8 TÜRKİYE AYVALIK Map Printing-Office of General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13609/26 TÜRKİYE IZMIR Map (1-Z) 1930 General Directorate of Mapping. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13613/30, 13614/31 TÜRKİYE AYDIN Map (H-2) 1927 Printing Office of General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence.Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13637/54 TÜRKİYE MUĞLA-FETHİYE Map 1928 Printing Office of General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13684/102b TÜRKİYE MUĞLA-MEKRI (FETHİYE) Map (F-4) 1910-1911 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No. 13685/103 TÜRKiYE MUĞLA-KELEMiŞ-MEKRI (FETHiYE) Map (4-K) 1922 Printing Office of Map Department. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13691/109a TÜRKiYE MUĞLA-KALEMiŞ-MEKRI (FETHiYE) Map 1910-1911 Printing Office of Map Department. Printed Scale, 1/200.000.

Stock No: 13716/134, 9806/356 TÜRKiYE-GREECE DIMETOKA-XEROS GULF Map (P-13) 1887-1888 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/300.000.

Stock No: 13733/151 TÜRKiYE GALLiPOLi (ERTUĞRUL BAY-CAPE TEKE) Map-Military Operation Printed Scale, 1/5000.

Stock No: 13738/156 TÜRKiYE iZMiR Map 1925 Printing Office of General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13751/169, 13837/257 TÜRKiYE BOLAYIR-GALLiPOLi Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No:13752/170 TÜRKiYE XEROS GULF-BOLAYIR Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13753/171 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-ÇATALKAYA Map, Map Department of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13772/190 TÜRKiYE ÇANAKKALE-KÜLAHLI Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000

Stock No: 13773/191 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-TUZÇILLI-TUZLA Map 1925 Map Department of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13774/192 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-UZUNADA-HEKIMADASI Map 1925 Map Department of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13776/194 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-UZUNADA Map 1925 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13777/195 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-TUZLA Map 1925 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13779/197 TÜRKiYE ÇANAKKALE-KÖSEDERE Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff Printed Scale, 1/25.000

Stock No: 13783/201 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-ESKİFOÇA Map 1925 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13784/202 TÜRKiYE iZMiR-YENİFOÇA Map 1926 Printing Office of General Directorate of Mapping Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13785/203 TÜRKİYE İZMİR-ÇIRA Map 1926 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13786/204 TÜRKİYE İZMİR-KILIZMAN Map 1925 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000

Stock No: 13787/205 TÜRKİYE İZMİR-URLA Map 1925 General Directorate of Mapping of the Ministry of National Defence-Printing Office Istanbul. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13789/207 TÜRKİYE EDİRNE-MEMLAHALAR-XEROS GULF Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13790/208 TÜRKİYE EDİRNE-YAYLAKÖYÜ-XEROS GULF Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13800/218 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-KURUCADERE Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13801/219 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-KÜÇÜKANAFARTALAR XEROS GULF Map-Military Operation 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13801/220, 13852/272 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-KIRTE Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13807/226 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-KARAINEBEYLI Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13836/256 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-TAYFUR Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No:13838/258 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-ÇINARLIDERE Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13839/259 TÜRKİYE ÇANAKKALE-GALLIPOLI INCEBURUN Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13842/262 TÜRKİYE ÇANAKKALE-TAVAKLI Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13844/264 TÜRKİYE ÇANAKKALE-GEYIKLI Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13845/265 TÜRKİYE ÇANAKKALE-KÜÇÜK BEŞİKE Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13847/267 TÜRKİYE ÇANAKKALE-YENİKÖY (KUMKALE) Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No:13851/271 TÜRKİYE GALLIPOLI-SEDDÜLBAHIR Map 1916-1917 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No:13853/273 TÜRKİYE ÇANAĞKALE-KALABAKLI Map1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 13855/275 TÜRKİYE GALLİPOLİ-DAMLAR Map 1915-1916 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, 1/25.000.

Stock No: 393 İZMİR GULF Chart 1898-1899 Map Drawing Office of the Navy. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/12,351,367 ISLANDS AMONG THE MEDITERRANEAN AEGEAN Chart 1870 Naval Academy. Printed Scale, No.

Stock No: 452/123 MEDITERRANEAN-AEGEAN-İONIAN SEA Chart 1911-1912 Printing Office of General Staff. Printed Scale, different.

Stock No: 452/388 EUROPE Map (Turkish) 1887-1888 Hulusi Efendi Printing Office Printed Scale, No.

FOREIGN NAUTICAL CHARTS AND PORTOLANS

FRENCH NAUTICAL CHARTS AND PORTOLANS

Stock No: 14432/112 AEGEAN Chart (282) / (French) 1818-1819 / Survey. 1827 General Supply Depot of the Navy.Lithography

Stock No: 414/235 AEGEAN Chart (1457) (French) 1854 General Supply Depot of the Navy. Lithography

Stock No: 447/125 AEGEAN-COAST OF GREECE- SIKLAD ISLANDS Chart (107) (French) 1797 Nautical Charts and Plans General Department. Lithography

Stock No: 14431/111 AEGEAN Chart (282) (French) 1818-1819 Survey. 1827 General Supply Depot of the Naval. Lithography.

Stock No: 1112/12 TURKISH EMPIRE IN EUROPE Map (French) 1684 French Originated. Lithography.

GERMAN NAUTICAL CHARTS AND PORTOLANS

Stock No: 447/1 GREECE KHALKIDHIKI PENINSULA Map (German) 1879. Printed Scale,1/300.000.

ADMIRALTY NAUTICAL CHARTS AND PORTOLANS

Stock No: 449/192 (BLACK SEA, AEGEAN, EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN) Chart – Admiralty 1860 Hydrographic Office-London under Superintendence of Capt. Washington. Lithography/Corrections 1868.

Stock No: 451/140 MEDITERRANEAN GREECE-SARONIKOS KOLPOS Chart – Admiralty From 1954-1957 Greek Maps Adm. Collins. Hydrographic Office-London. Printed Scale, 1/100.000

Stock No: 451/142 MEDITERRANEAN SEA-CRETE- SOUDHA BAY ANCHORAGE Chart – Admiralty 1946 Lieut J.T.K Paisley and DPD Scott. 1948 Adm. A.G.N Wyatt Hydrographic Office-London. Printed Scale, 1/10.000.

Stock No: 452/25 MEDITERRANEAN CORFU ROAD Chart – Admiralty 1863 HMS Firefly. 1864 Hydrographic Office-London under Superintendence of Capt. G.H. Richards Lithography Scale, 1/21.330

Stock No: 452/50 AEGEAN THE GULF OF MANDELYAH Chart – Admiralty 1837 HMS Beacon. 1864 Hydrographic Office London. Lithography.

Stock No: 452/51 GREECE-THE PEIRAEUS Chart – Admiralty 1840 HMS Beacon 1869 Hydrographic Office-London. Lithography.

Stock No: 452/53, 54 AEGEAN MITYLENI ISLAND-PORT IERO OR OLIVIERI Chart - Admiralty 1877 Hydrographic Office-London under Superintendence of Capt. F.J. Evans Lithography Scale, 1/18.440.

Stock No: 452/57 ARCHIPELAGO-SYRA ISLAND Chart – Admiralty 1835 Comm. Owen Stanley. 1844 Hydrographic Office-London. Lithography.

Stock No: 452/59 AEGEAN SIGHAJIK BAY TO THE GULF OF SCALA NUOVA Chart – Admiralty 1836 HMS Beacon. 1848 Hydrographic Office-London. Lithography.

Stock No: 452/61 WESTERN PART OF SEA OF MARMARA WITH A PORTION OF THE GULF OF XEROS Chart – Admiralty 1870 HMS Sheerwater-1880 HMS Fawn. 1887 Hydrographic Office-London. Printed Scale, 1/73.060.

Stock No: 452/91 PLANS OF ANCHORAGES IN THE GRECIAN ARCHIPELAGO (LEMNOS PURNEA BAY-LEMNOS KASTRO-STRATI-PSARA) Portolan-Admiralty 1897 Adm. W.J.L. Wharton. Hydrographic Office-London. Lithography.

Stock No: 452/100 MEDITERRANEAN MITYLENI ISLAND Chart – Admiralty 1834 Capt. Richard Copeland. HMS Beacon. 1863 Tchandarlı Gulf Capt. Spratt. 1860 Hydrographic Office-London under Superintendence of Capt. Washington. Lithography / Corrections 1877.

Stock No: 452/104 AEGEAN LEVITHA ISLANDS Chart – Admiralty 1838 Comm. Thomas Graves. HMS Beacon 1848 Hydrographic Office-London. Printed

Stock No: 452/109 AEGEAN LEMNOS ISLAND-PORT OF MOUDROS-PORT KONDIA
Chart –Admiralty 1835 Comm. R. Copeland. HMS Beacon. 1848 Hydrographic Office-London.
Lithography

Stock No: 452/111 ARCHIPELAGO LEMNOS POURNEA BAY Chart –Admiralty
1835 Comm. Copeland. 1848 Hydrographic Office-London. Lithography

Stock No: 452/111 MEDITERRANEAN-ADRIATIC- BLACK SEA-AEGEAN Map-
Portolan 1854 Wilson, Norie & Wilson. Printed / Corrections 1877.

Stock No: 451/125 TÜRKIYE MAP OF GALLIPOLI (SHEET I) Map From a map by War
Office Printed Scale, 1/40.000.

Stock No: 451/113 TÜRKIYE MAP OF GALLIPOLI (SHEET II) Map From a map by War
Office Printed Scale, 1/40.000.

Stock No: 458/176 TÜRKIYE GALLIPOLI Map War Office 1920. Printed Scale, 1/50.000.

PIRİ REİS'S BOOKS OF NAVY

Stock No: 987 THE GARDEN OF SEA 1582 Handwritten 23 x 27 cm. 368 folios

Stock No: 988 BOOK OF NAVY Handwritten 23 x 34.5 cm. 361 folios.

Stock No: 989 BOOK OF NAVY Handwritten 21 x 31.5 cm.434 folios.

Stock No: 990 BOOK OF NAVY Handwritten 21.5 x 31 cm. 269 folios.

THE ISLAND OF LESBOS-MIDILLI UNDER THE OTTOMANS, 1462 - 1912 REMARKS ON ITS POPULATION, ECONOMY AND ISLAMIC MONUMENTS

M. KIEL

Prof. Dr., Netherlands Historical and Archaeological Institute

ÖZET

Midilli adasının Osmanlı hakimiyeti altında geçen yılları, Osmanlı arşivleri ada tarihi hakkında bolca bilgi barındırmasına rağmen neredeyse hiç incelenmemiştir. 17. ve 18. asır boyunca adanın en büyük iki kentinin nüfusunun yarıdan fazlasını ve toplam ada nüfusunun 1/5'ini müslümanların oluşturmasına karşın şu ana değin adanın tarihi üzerine yayımlanan ikinci el kaynakların hiçbirinde Osmanlı döneminden bahsedilmemiştir. Elinizdeki çalışma bu eksikliğı giderme amacını taşımaktadır.

Midilli adası, 1462 senesinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed tarafından Mahmud Paşa'nın riyasetindeki donanmanın yardımıyla kısa fakat şiddetli bir kuşatma hareketinin ardından fethedildi. Fethi takip eden yıllarda Midilli şehri merkez olmak üzere ada bir sancak haline getirildi ve Molova kenti yeni ihdas edilen kadılığın merkezi kabul edildi. Midilli adasının bir kısmı 1474 senesinde, adaya çıkarma yapan İtalyanlar tarafından yağmalandı. 1501 yılına gelindiğinde adadaki Osmanlı egemenliğı bir tehlike daha geçirdi. Kont Ravenstein komutasındaki hıristiyan birlikleri aşağı hisarı ele geçirdikten sonra, son anda yetişen Osmanlı destek kuvvetleri tarafından adadan uzaklaştırıldılar.

Osmanlı hakimiyeti boyunca Midilli önemli gelişmelere sahne oldu. Öncelikle ada nüfusunda gözle görülür bir artış yaşandı ve 16. yüzyıldan itibaren İslamlaşma süreci ada üzerinde varlığını hissettirmeye başladı. Anadolu'dan gelen göçmenler, Midilli, Molova ve Sigrî'de inşa edilen camiler, hamamlar, mektepler, medreseler, hangahlar ve özellikle ada halkından ihtida edenler bu sürecin açık belirtileridir. 1602-1644 yılları arasında adada din değıştirenlerin sayısında büyük artış gözlenmektedir. 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde ise adadaki müslümanların sayısı oldukça azalmıştı.

Midilli'nin Osmanlı topraklarına bağlanması adadaki hububat yetiştirilmesine dayanan geleneksel üretim tarzını köklü biçimde değıştirerek, adayı pazar için üretmeye sevk etti. Tahıl ve hububat ekimi bırakılarak İstanbul ve Marsilya'ya yönelik zeytinyağı üretilmeye başlandı. 19. asra ulaşıldığında Midilli öncelikle zeytinyağı, sabun, palamut ve incirden oluşan muazzam bir ihracat potansiyeline sahipti ve 1887 yılına ait Bahr-i Sefid salnamesine göre adada müslümanlar için 61 cami, 38 hamam, 7 tekke ve 4 medrese, hıristiyanlar için 193 kilise ve manastır ve her iki gruba da hizmet veren 147 okul bulunmaktaydı.

Lozan Anlaşması'nın imzalanmasından sonra iktisadi açıdan geleneksel ticaret bağlantılarını yitiren Midilli bir ticari merkez olarak yüzyıllardır oynamakta olduğı önemli rolü kaybetti. Midilli adasında günümüze ulaşan İslam eserleri sayıca azdır. Bugün adada varlığını devam ettirmekte olan Osmanlı dönemi kalıntıları arasında en önemlileri Midilli şehri, Molova ve Sigrî kaleleridir.

PREFACE

The history of the great Greek Island of Mitylini/Lesbos, the Midilli of the Turks, belongs to the least know of the islands of the Aegean. Although it lasted more than four and a half centuries this history was largely left in the dark. Symptomatic for this situation are the entrees "Midilli" in the Encyclopedia of Islam and İslâm Ansiklopedisi. Between the year 1501 (attack of the French fleet under Count Ravenstein) and the early-19th century both authoritative works have not even a simple line of text, not a word, neither a single letter! This is not because there is no documentation available.

The Ottoman archives in Istanbul and Ankara abounds with information about the great island, the third largest Greek Island (1.630 km²), after Crete and Euboia/Egriboz. In Greek there exists a substantial literature on the history of the island, focusing on the Classical Antiquity, on the Byzantine and the Genoese (Gatteluzzi) periods and on ecclesiastical history. In the 19th century extensive work was done by German scholars and travelers, like Koldewey or Conze. The ecclesiastical history was well covered in the great work of Iakovos Kleovrotos, "Mitylini Sacra." The economic history of the island in later part of the 19th century is well covered by Sifnaïou, and the work of Paraskevaïdis, "Travelers on Lesbos" contains a mass of historical information. However, the history and economy of the island under the Ottomans, Islamic life, and the works of architecture left behind, is hopelessly neglected in these studies.

In this short contribution we will try to sketch some broad outlines of the history of Ottoman Midilli, focusing particularly on these neglected aspects. It should be added in this context that in the 17th and 18th century half the population of two cities of Midilli was Muslim and that of the whole island for one fifth, having dozens of mosques in towns and villages, as well as a developed dervish life. In the 19th century the island prospered as never before since Antiquity and the towns and villages till today still abound with beautiful houses and mansions and richly adorned churches, testifying from that past prosperity.

GEOGRAPHY

The Island of Midilli is situated in the north-east of the Aegean Sea. It is separated from Anatolia by the 8 km wide Müselim Strait on the north, while in the east it is only 12 km away from the Anatolian shore. Midilli is also the name of the largest town on the island, with currently 25.000 inhabitants. The whole island had in 1981 88.600 inhabitants.

Midilli has the form of an irregular triangle, with two narrow-mouthed, spacious bays penetrating the southern coast: the Gulf of Kalloni and the Gulf of Gera, both with fertile coastal plains. The island is divided into three very different zones. The eastern part of it is largely covered with olive trees and has extensive pine forests and occasionally plots of arable land with fruit trees, wine, and cereal cultivation. The middle part is largely covered with stone oaks, the source of the much searched for *velanidi*, or *palamud*, used for tanning leather. The west part of the island consists largely of barren volcanic stone, interspaced with some plains: the plain of Eressos and the coastal plains of Antissa in the North and Sigri in the West of the island. Midilli is very mountainous, with the Lepethimnos and the Olympos as highest (968 and 964m). The name Lesbos in pre-Hellenic.

In 1354 the Byzantine emperor Ioannis Paleologos gave the island to his brother-in-law Francesco Gatteluzzi from Genova. The Gatteluzzi family remained in power until 1462. The oldest parts of the mighty castles of Midilli, Molova and Andissa/Ayo Theodoro, keep the memory of these Italian lords alive.

OTTOMAN MIDİLLİ: HISTORY, POPULATION, CULTURE AND ECONOMY

In 1462 the Ottoman army under command of sultan Mehmed Fatih and the fleet under Mahmud Pasha took the town of Midilli after a short but violent siege. The cause of war had been that its lord, Duke Dorino Gatteluzzi, allowed Italian and Spanish pirates to use the island's harbors as bases for piracy. After the siege hundreds of captured pirates were executed, a group of young people was taken in the army or for Palace service, and a part of the population was deported as settlers to Istanbul, where they either received houses to live in or plot of land on which to build them. The greater part of the population was left where it was. The conquest of Midilli is related in varying detail by Byzantine, Ottoman and Western chroniclers.

After the conquest the other castles on the island (mentioned are: Molova, Eressos and Ayo Teodoro) surrendered without fight. Strong garrisons were placed in the castles of Midilli and Molova (Molyvos) and Muslims from Anatolia and Rumeli came to settle. Among them was the Yakup, father of the famous Admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa, a sipahi from Yenice-i Vardar in Macedonia.

The island was organized as a sancak, with Midilli-town and Molova as centre of a Kadilik. The organization of the Greek Orthodox Church, with bishops in the same towns, was left as it was. Some of the monasteries, damaged or deserted during the conquest, were soon rebuilt under the energetic bishop Ignatius. In time Leimonas, near Kalloni, and İpsilou near Eressos (Herse) in the west, became very wealthy and still possess rich archives with many Ottoman documents. In the walled town of Midilli the metropolitan cathedral, a great Middle-Byzantine basilica, was trans-formed into mosque and a great minaret added to it.

In 1474, during the Ottoman-Venetian war, the Venetian fleet under Pietro Mocenigo landed a force that plundered and ravaged a part of the island. In 1501 a Christian fleet of "200 ships" under the Dutch Count Ravenstein besieged the town of Midilli. Ravenstein's forces succeeded in breaking into the Lower Castle, before being dislodged by an Ottoman force, sent by Şehzade Korkut, Vali of Saruhan, just as the fleet under Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha and Sinan Pasha was nearing. After this siege, which is described in detail as *Kissa-i Midilli* by the poet Uzun Firdevsi in his "Kutb-nâme," Sultan Bayezid II had the walls of the lower castle rebuilt and reinforced with artillery bulwarks [tabya]. Two inscriptions in Arabic, from 914 (1508/09) still commemorate the completion of this work.

THE TOWN OF MIDİLLİ

The town of Midilli, ever the most important settlement of the island, developed in the following manner, based on the Ottoman tahrir- and cizye registers:

Year	Muslim hane	Christian hane	Total hane	Percentage of Muslims
1521	308	455	763	40 %
1548	368	287	655	56 %
1581	ca. 400	ca. 480	880	46 %
1601	ca. 420	599	1019	41 %
1625		611		
1644	ca.480	714	1194	40 %
1709	520	781	1281	39 %
1874	380	2.560	2940	13 %

Besides the Kilise-Camii the tahrir of 1548 mentions the mescids of Mahmud Bey, Musliheddin of Malkara and Mahmud Ağa. Between 1533 and 1546 Kapudan Pasha Hayreddin Barbarossa, the only son of the island ever to write a page in world history, founded within the walled town of Midilli a medrese with 10 student cells, a *hankah* for dervishes of the Halvetiyye order, and a very munificent imaret. Because the money for the kulliyeh came from the property of Hayreddin in Istanbul it is not mentioned in the tahrir. The monumental building still stands today, albeit in ruined condition. An account of its expenditure on salaries and foodstuffs from 1550/51 is preserved in the Archives of the Topkapi Sarayı and will soon be published by us in the *Festschrift* for Prof. Halil İnalçık. In 1030 (1620/21, Bali-zade Hasan Bey constructed in the open town near the North Harbour a mosque, a *hankah* with five dervish cells for members of the Sivâsiyye *kol* of the Halvetiyye order, a hamam, and a mektep (BOA, Vakfiyeler Tasnifi.). The şeyh of the *Hankah* had to instruct the dervishes and also to educate the poor inhabitants of the mahalle in interpretation of the Kur'an, the Hadith, and the Mesnevi

of Celaluddin Rumi. This foundation possessed as vakf a number of rich konaks in the gardens outside the town, a number of water and windmills, and no less than 18,118 olive trees. These trees alone yielded annual revenue of over 100,000 Akçe. This külliye was to function for centuries. Besides the *vakfiye* the original building inscription of it also survives, placed in the walls of the still standing Valide Camii.

According to Sakip Dede (d. 1735), in his *Sefine-i nefise-i Mevleviyan*, the Mevlevi *Tarikat* was propagated in Midilli by Dervish Hamidi as early as 1544. Their Mevlevi-hane is mentioned in the records (Cevdet-Evkaf) beginning in the 18th century. Its building was still standing till shortly after World War II. The presence of at least one a Bektashi tekke on the island, that of Ibrahim Dede near Agiassos, is attested as early as 1669 (İbnülemin, Evkaf, 888).

In 1054 (1643/44) the towns walls of Midilli were greatly enlarged and strengthened by a double wall, artillery platforms, a new moat, and a glacis. Three Ottoman inscriptions relate the completion of the work and the responsible persons, the Kapudan Bekir Paşa and the *Mübaşir* Ahmed Ağa. These works of fortification are the largest monument of Ottoman architecture on the island. We would be glad to any reference to the life of Bekir Pasha, and the motives behind the costly restoration and modernizations of the fortress works.

The 18th century saw the erection of a number of new mosques, among which that of the Vezir Hasan Pasha in 1151 (1738). Important works were carried out in 1179 (1765/66) on the repair of castle, heavy damaged by an earthquake (MAD 3160, p. 537/41). In 1772 Cezairli Gazi Hasan Pasha (Kapudan 1770-1789) had the entire town of Midilli surrounded by a city wall. He had also a large new water supply system made with aqueducts made, the inscription of which survives. In the same year a vast "bomb-proof" *kışla* and *cebehane* was made inside the İç Kale, which still exists.

The last great Islamic foundation in the town of Midilli we would like to mention is that of the so-called Valide Djami in the Quarter of the North Harbor. Here one of the main buildings, the mosque, still stands, and recently even saw some works of restoration.

The Vakfiye of this important foundation is preserved in the "Vakfiyeler Tasnifi, Dosya 1, Gömlek 29" of the BOA, dating from 20 Şaban 1206 (medio May 1791) This foundation was made by the lady Ümmü Gülsüm, daughter of the Mütessellim of the island, Halil Ağa, and married to Hafiz es-Seyyid Mustafa Efendi. As property for her foundation this very wealthy end pious lady allotted two very large houses in the town itself, with more than a dozen rooms each, and with a kiosk, baths stable, a pond, running water, gardens and each one a stone-built tower, both in Mytilene itself, and one other in the village of Loutra, the rent of which would go to the Vakf. Besides these semi-palaces she allotted the revenue of three large olive gardens and four large plots of land, which needed together 700 mudd of seed. Finally 20.000 gold coins (guruş) were given over to the Vakf, which conform the Hanefi interpretation of the Islamic Law, could be lend against interest. In this case 10 %.

The revenue accruing from this property was to be spend on the salaries of the staff of the mosque which the mother (Valide) of Ümmü Gülsüm, Huri Hanim, had newly built in the Varoş of Midillü, and a whole list of social and religious activities: supplying various sorts of education, poetry recital, distributing food and sweets during religious holydays as well as new cloths for poor school children, etc.

The Mosque of the Valide itself is but a humble building, a square prayer hall of 10 x 10 meters, built of rubble and broken stone, which was plastered over, and an elegant minaret of stone. The dome of the mosque is not visible from the outside but is covered by a tiled roof, adding to the

humble architectural appearance of the building. As is clear from the vakfiye Huri Hanım had built this mosque in the 1780's and could not provide for it by her, death preventing here, as we have to assume. It was not the function as place of prayer that made the "Mosque of the Valide" important, but the socio/religious activities that were centered on it.

In 1865, during a devastating earthquake almost completely destroyed the town of Midilli, including the townwalls of Gazi Hasan Pasha. Only the fortress works and the medrese of Hayeddin Pasha survived. The town, with its churches and mosques, was rebuilt rapidly in mixture of neo-classic, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Neo-Gothic style. This eclectic style still dominates the appearance of the town today.

THE TOWN OF MOLOVA (MOLYVOS)

The second historical town of the island, Molova/Molyvos had a different history. It is the successor of the great ancient town of Methymna. The Byzantine successor, Molyvos, was much smaller and occupied only the Acropolis Hill, highest part of the ancient city. Ottoman Molova was about twice as big as the Byzantine town, covering a space of 19 hectare. In 1521 it had only 6 Muslim households but 437 households of Christians; including its garrison of 40 soldiers it had a total of about 2.300 - 2.400 inhabitants. Over time Islam gained very slowly ground by conversion and by new settlers from Anatolia. In 1548 22 Muslim civil households and a 41 man garrison, in 1709 136 Muslim households and a 50 man garrison. In 1874 (Taxis) there were 550 Muslim households and 530 households of Christians. Thus, in 1548 only 5 % of the town's civil population was Muslim, but by 1874 had grown to more than half of the total.

Between 1521 and 1874 Molova had only doubled in size, whereas the population of Midilli-town had grown five-fold. Around 1700 a great mosque was built over the old Byzantine town gate in the middle of Molova's Çarşı, to accommodate the increasing number of Muslims. Hasan Reis built a second mosque. In the 18th century the Halvetiyye order opened a tekke in Molova and shortly before 1754 Fatma Hatun founded a mescid and a zaviye for the Kadiriye order.

Under the Ottomans the castle of Molova, built in 1373 by Françoisko Gatteluzzi, saw important changes and repairs. In 1572 (inscription), immediately after the defeat of the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto, the high Frankish towers were demolished and replaced by artillery platforms. In front of the main gate a *hisar peçe* was built for better protection against direct attack. During the Cretan War (1645-1669) a deep ditch was cut in front of the vulnerable eastern front of the castle, and a counter-escarp wall and a glacis was built to protect the walls against direct fire. Heavy earthquake damage was repaired in 1154 (1741/42), of which the building accounts have been preserved.

In the 19th century, Molova lost its place as the second town of the island. It was overtaken by a number of new agro-towns and by 1874 sunk to fifth place in terms of size (and to fourteenth place by 1981). Ironically, poverty and stagnation left Molova one of the most harmonious and beautiful old towns of the entire Aegean and present-day laws of protection ensure that it will be kept that way.

POPULATION CHANGES

In the mostly peaceful and prosperous 16th century the population of the island doubled. In the villages of the island Islam began to spread slowly, partly by Turkish settlers from Anatolia, (especially during and after the disastrous Celali rebellions) largely through conversion of the local population. The process of Islamisation is not only visible in the Ottoman tahrirs of 1521, 1548, 1581, 1671, and 1709 but also in the description of the island (Perigraphi tis Lesvou) by Gavril, bishop of Molova, from 1618/21. The Islamisation took foremost place between 1602 and 1644. After 1644 it remained constant till the early 19th century. In the 17th century the total population of the island declined one third, because of bad weather conditions, crop failures and increased pirate actions. In the 18th century the population doubled again and in the 19th century grew even faster. The percentage of Muslims declined slightly. They kept their families smaller than the Greeks and immigrated to Anatolia in larger proportions than the Greeks did. The overall process is shown in the following table.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POPULATION OF MIDILLI 1488 - 1874

Year	Christ. Hâne	Muslim Hâne	Approximate Total Population	percentage of Muslims	Name/Number of Source
1488	4.952	(400)	26.200	7,4 %	Todorov/Velkov
1492	5.287	(440)	26.900	7,3 %	Barkan/Cizye
1521	7.327	659	36.730	8,25 %	TD 367
1548	7.690	807	39.000	9,5 %	TD 264
1581	8.850	1.331	46.808	13 %	TD 598
1602	9.785	(1.455)	47.200	13 %	MAD 14773 a.1553
1644	7.510	(1.650)	38.400	18 %	MAD 15294
1671	7.500	1.660	38.500	18 %	TD 803
1709	7.700	1.690	39.400	18 %	Kepeci 2606
1831	49.270 Inh.	11.894	Inh. 61.164	19,45 %	Karal/Nüfus
1874	16.400 Hâne	3.560	81.830	17,8 %	Taxis/Sinoptiki
1887	80.751 inh.	13.697	inh 94.448	14,5 %	Salname 1304

In the first half of the 18th century the western part of the island suffered particularly from raids of Western pirates. The pirates used the large natural harbor of Sigri on the coast of the uninhabited western part of the island, to repair their ships and take fresh water, and threatened the shipping between Istanbul and the Levant. To stop them Sultan Osman III ordered the construction of new artillery fortress at the entrance of Sigri Harbour. A great inscription of 1170 (1757), bearing Osman's tuğra, marks the year of completion. In the same year Kapudan Karabağlı Süleyman Pasha had a great mosque built, with a hamam and a school. Sultan Mustafa III had a water supply system made, bringing fresh drinking and bath water from over a long distance to the new town. A beautiful Ottoman inscription, now preserved in the cellar of the church of Sigri (a former mosque) relates the construction. Sigri became a small, exclusively Muslim town. The accounts of its construction are preserved in the B.O.A. as MAD 19587, on which we are currently working.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

In the course of the late 16th and the 17th century the economy of the island slowly changed from a largely autarchic economy based on wheat- and grape growing to a market-oriented economy of olive oil, which came to dominate the entire economy until today. The oil was exported to Istanbul and to Marseilles. It was so important that the French opened a consulate on the island. A consequence of the vast spread of the olive plantations was the disappearance of almost half of villages of the island

and the concentration of the population in large "agro-towns." The 1671 tahrir contains whole lists of these disappeared villages and their borders. Another consequence was that the island became totally dependent on the import of cereals from Anatolia; the profit made by olive oil apparently being enough to buy cereals for daily consumption. The larger vakfs, the local ayans, and very much also the great Orthodox monasteries were the main promoters of this change. The change in the economy is very visible in the number of mills on the island as recorded in the Ottoman tahrirs. According to the tahrir of 1548 the settlements of the Kaza of Midilli had 99 corn mills and 10 mills for pressing oil. The tahrir of 1671, however, mentions only 40 corn mills but 116 for olive oil!

The second most important branch of the economy was the collection and export of *palamut* (*velanidi*) from the stone oak trees that cover large sections of the middle part of the island. Until the 1930s *palamud* remained the main raw material for tanning leather. Of lesser importance was rice cultivation, first mentioned in 1521, and salt production in the extensive salt pans on the Gulf of Kalloni, where half the population of the villages of Aya Paraskevi, Kerami and Papiani worked as *tuzci*. Another important economic factor was the Palace Kitchen of the Sultans. Every year ship loads full of figs, dried grapes, citrons, onions, garlic and oranges were sent to Istanbul, as the preserved registers in the Cevdet-Saray section of the Ottoman Archives testify.

19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The relative prosperity of the island in the 18th century is among the main reasons why the Greeks of Midilli did not, or hardly, take part in the Greek Revolt of 1821/28. In 1840 the island was hit by a terrible epidemic of plague, which is said to have carried off 40.000 people and especially decimated the Muslim population. After this date the island witnessed a spectacular recovery. By 1892, according to official Ottoman numbers, reproduced by Cuinet, the population had grown to 107.183, of which 14% was Muslim. Steam-driven machines came to replace the old olive oil mills and speeded up production. In the same year the island exported 10.000.000 kg of olive oil, 3.800.000 kg of soap (made of olive oil), 3.500.000 kg of *palamud* and 200.000 kg of figs. The government initiated a large-scale program for road building, which by 1890 reached the most remote villages. In town and villages the Christian population 'translated' their increased wealth in building ever larger and more magnificent churches and mansions. The Muslims reconstructed their mosques in neo-classic or neo-gothic style, then in fashion. According to the statistics of Taxis, from 1874, Muslims were living in the three old towns of the island and in 38 villages. For the year 1887 the Salname-i Bahr-i Sefid (H.1304) gives a total population of 94.448 inhabitants of the island itself. Of them 13.697 were Muslims, or 14.5%. In the three kazas of the island were 61 mosques, 38 hamams, 7 tekkes and 4 medreses, 193 churches and monasteries for the Christian population, and 147 schools serving both groups. Twelve different nations had consulates on the island, showing the importance of its commercial contacts with the outside world.

As a result of the Lausanne Treaty the Muslims of Midilli were exchanged for Greeks from Anatolia. Most of Muslim religious buildings disappeared. The economy of the island collapsed, being cut off from its traditional markets, and suffering from heavy unemployment among the refugees from Anatolia. In 1928 the population of Midilli stood as high as 137.140. Especially since the 1960s the population sank through emigration to Athens and overseas. In 1981 it stood at 88.601 persons. Only since the early 1990s the island, and especially its capital, is showing signs of new prosperity.

Today, 2004, only a small part of the Islamic buildings survive: 4 mosques in Midilli-town) seven mosques in the villages. There are also 10 hamams or Ilicas (two in Midilli-town, 8 in the villages. The Çarsi Camii and Çarsi Hamami Midilli-town, both recently well restored, and elegant baroque-style village mosque of Mesagros (still a sad ruin) are architecturally the most important. The most lasting and imposing is the fortress works, of Midilli-town, Molova and Sigri. Everywhere in the

towns and in the villages large, elegant and well-built houses and churches still testify of the great prosperity of Ottoman Midilli in the 19th century.

LITERATURE OF MDILLI

The Ottoman sources used here are mostly unpublished. Exceptions are: 1488/89 Cizye İcmal, published by Nikolaj Todorov and Asparuh Velkov, Sofia 1980, and: Atatürk Kitaplığı, Cevdet Yazmaları O.91 published by Ö.L. Barkan as: "894 (1488/1489 yılı Cizyesinin Tahsilâtına âit Muhasebe Bilânçoları," in: Belgelerle Türk Tarih Dergisi, I, Istanbul 1964, sayı 1).

Unpublished are: BOA, T.D. 367, p. 194-199; BOA, T.D. 264 (Mufassal Tahrir, Midilli) 1548; T.D. 598 Muf. Tahrir fragment, 1581; MAD 1338, Muf. Cizye of Kaza Molova and Herse, 1590; MAD 1553, Muf. Cizye, Kaza Molova, 1599/1600; MAD 14773, Muf. Cizye, Kaza Midilli a. Kalloni, 1601/02; MAD 15220, Muf. Cizye Molova a. Herse; 1617; Sofia Nat. Libr. OAK 173/13, İcmal Cizye, Kaza Midilli a. Kalloni, 1624/25. BOA, MAD 15249, Muf. Cizye, Midilli a. Kalloni 1644/45; MAD 14249, Muf. Cizye, Molova a. Herse, 1644/45; Sofia, Nat. Libr. OAK 131/28, İcmal Cizye Midilli a. Kalloni, 1666/67; BOA, T.D 803, Muf. Tahrir, 1671/72; MAD 12786, Muf. Cizye, 1690/91; Ankara, T.K.G.M. 246, Muf. Tahrir, 1709/10.

The is only one monography dealing with Ottoman Midilli: D.N. **Karidis** - Machiel **Kiel**, Mytilinis Astygrafia kai Lesvou Chorografia (15os - 19os ai.), Athens 2000. (230 p.)

Cornelis de **Bruin**, Reize in de Levant, Amsterdam, 1706.

Vital **Cuinet**, La Turquie d'Asie, Géographie Administrative, Paris 1892.

Enkyklopaideia Papyros-Larous, XXXVIII, Athens 1989, p. 176-182 (Lesvos).

St. **Karidonis**, Ta en Kalloní tis Lésvos Ierá Stavropiyiaká Monastíria, Constan-tinopoli 1900.

Iakovos **Kleovrotos**, Mitylena Sacra, Thessaloniki, 1970/76.

R. **Koldewey**, Die antike Baureste der Insel Lesbos, Berlin 1890.

M. **Kolodny**, La Population des îles de la Gr'ee; essay de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée Orientale, Aix-en-Provence, 1974.

K. **Kontos**, Lesviaká chroniká, Mytilini 1959.

Siegfried **Lauffer**, Griechenland, Lexikon der historischen Stätten,, München 1989, p.133/34, 430/32, 450/54,

P. **Pareskevaïdis**, Oi peripintaí gia ti Lesvo, Athens 1973

E. **Sifnaïou**, Lésvos, Oikonomikí kai Koinotikí Istoría, 1840-1912, Athens 1996.

Nigel **Spencer**, A Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites in Lesbos, BAR international Series, Oxford 1995.

Martin **Strohmeier**, "Namik Kemal und die Schwammtaucher," in: K. Kreiser, Ch. Neumann (eds.) Das osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien, Nejat Göyünç zu Ehren, Stuttgart 1997, p. 241- 259.

Fevziye Abdullah **Tansel**, "Namik Kemal'in Husûsî Mektuplari," II, Ankara 1969; III, 1973: IV 1986.

Pitton de **Tounefort**, Relation d'un voyage du Levant, Paris 1717

Nicolas **Vatin**, "Le siege de Mytil'ene (1501)" in: Turcica XXI-XXIII, 1991, p. 437-460.

Pavlos **Vlachos** in: Lesviaká: Deltíon tis etereías Lesviakón Meletón," 12, Mytinini 1989, p. 92-127 (Namik Kemal's correspondence in French with the physician Konstantin Kantartsis).

THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF THE TURKISH SETTLEMENT IN THE ISLAND OF LIMNOS

Feridun M. EMECEN

Prof. Dr., Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University

ÖZET

Limni adasında Türk yerleşmesinin tarihi sürecini incelemek üzere kaleme alınan bu çalışma Limni örneğinde Ege Adaları tarihinin Osmanlı döneminde geçirdiği sosyal değişimi göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ege’de Boğazönü Adaları grubunda yer alan Limni, Çanakkale Boğazı’nın 61 km. uzağında stratejik önemi büyük olan bir adadır. Yerleşim tarihi antik çağlara inen Limni’nin gemi barınmasına müsait limanlarının mevcudiyeti yanında adayı eski çağlardan beri meşhur yapan en önemli hususiyeti tedavi edici olduğuna inanılan ve ilaç maddesi olarak kullanılan bir çeşit toprağa sahip bulunmasıdır (terra limnia terra sigillita). Limni’nin Türklerle ilk tanışması ise Osmanlı fethi öncesine dayanır. Batı Anadolu’daki Türkmen Beylikleri nâmına hareket eden denizcilerin buraya akınları yanında özellikle 1327’de İmparator Kantakuzenos’un yazdığı Tarih’inde belirttiği gibi 2.000 kadar Kuman Türkünden birkaç yüz aile Limni’ye yerleştirilmiştir. Osmanlı fethi sırasında ada halkı Osmanlı hakimiyetini kendiliklerinden kabul etti. Ada’nın ilk Osmanlı tahriri 1490’da gerçekleştirildi. Bu ilk sayımda Ada’daki Türk varlığı kale muhafızlarından ibaret idi ve bunlar adanın merkez kasabası Palaiokastron’da bulunuyorlardı. XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına doğru Türk sivil nüfusu belirdi. Bunların önemli bir kısmı Anadolu’dan ve Trakya’dan gelmişlerdi. Ayrıca bir kısmı da ihtida edenlerden oluşuyordu. 1567-1568’de Türk sivil nüfus 21 köye dağılmış durumdaydı ve toplam sayıları 53 haneye (250 kişi) ulaşıyordu. Bu Türk varlığı genel nüfusa göre azınlıkta kalmakla beraber sürekliliğini korudu. XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren Ada, sürgün yeri olarak önem kazandı. XIX. yüzyılın ortalarına doğru 5491 erkek nüfustan 511’ini Türkler teşkil ediyordu. 1890’larda ise 27.079 kişiden 2450’si Türktü. Ada’nın 1912’de Osmanlıların idaresinden çıkmasından sonra Türkler burayı tamamen terk ettiler.

This paper aims to form an examination on the history of the Turkish settlement in the island of Limnos situated in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, in the proximity of the Anatolian coast, precisely speaking only 61 km. distant to the Strait of Çanakkale (Dardanelles) and to provide a description of the administrative status of the island under Ottoman rule. In contrary to the most of the studies dedicated to the history of Ottoman Limnos, this research includes a broad utilization of Ottoman archival documents¹, such as the land surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) that designate the properties subject to assessment and the *ahkam* registers reflecting the problems pertaining to financial regulations. In the main, the conclusions derived from these sources will contribute to the formation of

¹ Among the researches on the state of the island of Limnos under Ottoman administration, the studies of H. Lowry deserve a special attention. He first published the *kanunnames* of Limnos (“A Corpus of extant Kanunnames for the Island of Limnos as contained in the Tapu-Tahrir collection of the Basbakanlik Archives”, *Osmanli Arastirmalari*, Istanbul 1980, I, p.41-60), then made an examination on the first survey register of the island, dated 1490, in comparison with the succeeding register (“The Island of Limnos: A case study on the continuity of Byzantine forms under Ottoman rule”, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed.A.Bryer-H.Lowry, Birmingham-Washington 1986, p.235-259), and printed this first register in facsimile form with transcription, an English translation and a broad introduction (*Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities. Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, Istanbul 2002). For another work depending on the same register see also: N. Beldicianu, “Structures socio-economiques a Lemnos a la fin du XV e siecle”, *Turcica*, XV (Paris 1983), p.247-266. There is also a dissertation utilizing the survey registers of the 16th century relating to Limnos: Y.Demircan, *Tahrir Defterlerine Göre Bogazönü Adalari (XV.-XVI. Yüzyillar)*, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ankara 1992, p.107-135). However, a comprehensive study making use of the survey registers of the 16th century and various series of documents for later periods has not yet been published. To form an opinion about available information contained in Ottoman documents see: F. Emecen, “Limni”, *Diyanet İslam Anskilopedisi* (=DIA), XXVII, 190-192.

a framework in dealing with the developments that occurred in Limnos during the Ottoman domination and the characteristics of the Turkish immigration to the island; and in general terms, the physical state, the administrative status, governmental structure, socioeconomic situation of the island in the Ottoman period will be taken into consideration as well.

Limnos has a surface area of 476 km² and zigzag shaped shores with a total length of 259 km. It distinguishes itself from the rest of the islands in the Aegean Sea with its particularly fertile soil. The flat landscape of the island draws attention; the highest peak of the island is the Hill of Skopia with an average height of 430 m. The two bays penetrating into the land, Paradisos in the north and Moudros (Mondros), mark the physical feature of Limnos and afford shelter for ships.² It should be noted that Limnos has witnessed a continuous human presence since the Bronze Age. Italian sources record the island as Stalimene³, whereas the names İlimli⁴, Limoz and Limnoz⁵ occur in Turkish sources and today, the names Lemnos or Limnos are used for the island. The fame enjoyed by Limnos from the ancient ages comes from a kind of soil found on the island, for it was believed to have medical properties. This sealed earth occurs in the western sources in the forms of “terra Limnia” or “terra sigillita” and in the Ottoman sources as “*tin-i mahtum*”. It should be stated that within time, it has become a major commercial commodity of immense value⁶. All the travel accounts and other sources referring to the island speak of this sealed earth as having a commercial significance in an admiring fashion.

Although Limnos shares the same geographical position with the islands lying before the Strait of Çanakkale, it cannot be considered as being in the first row of strategic significance in comparison with Bozcaada (Tenedos) and Gökçeada (Imbros). Furthermore, it falls a little far from the main sea route, so that the itineraries of most of the travelers that have wandered between the Aegean islands did not include Limnos⁷. Therefore, at a glance, these disadvantages seem to create some certain difficulties in the developmental stages of the island, but these were compensated with the special feature and the fertility of the soil, preventing any possible important interruption in the settlement history. In the contrary, the island appears to be similarly supported by Turkish immigration as in the cases of Rodos (Rhodes), İstanköy (Kos), Sakız (Chios), Sisam (Samos), Midilli (Lesbos), Bozcaada and Gökçeada lying near to the shores under Ottoman sovereignty. In order to comprehend the Turkish settlement in Limnos, a brief history of the political changes experienced by the island is given below.

According to the archeological excavations, the findings relating to the first settlement of the island can be dated as early as 5000 B.C. Ancient sources point out the Thracian origin of the first settlers. The island fell under the domination of the Persians, and then, joined with the Delian League

² For the geographical description of the island compare: S.Erinç- T.Yücel, *Ege Denizinin Türkiye ile Komsu Adalari*, Ankara 1988, p.96-97.; S.Kramers-B.Darkot, “Limni”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (=IA), VII, 60-61. Piri Reis gives a detailed description of the island and relates that, Moudros, one of the two bays of the island closing to each other “as if the island was squeezed at the middle” was a significant harbor that can easily provide shelter for 100 ships. He also speaks of another place, calls himself the harbor of *Yüzbası*, available for approach by large ships. (*Kitab-i Bahriye*, ed.F.Kurtoglu-H. Alpagot, İstanbul 1935, p.100-104.)

³ This name exists in the Venetian census of the island of 1470. (G. Rizzardo, *La Presa di Negroponte fatta dai Turchi ai Veneziani nel MCCCLXX*, ed.E.A.Cicogna, Venice 1844, p.24; P.Topping, “Latins on Limnos before and after 1453”, *Continuity and Change*, p.291, 233-234.)

⁴ Piri Reis, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, p.100-104.

⁵ The spelling of the name of the island as “Limoz” appears in *Asikpasazade Tarihi*, a 15th century Ottoman chronicle. (in ed., Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihleri* I, İstanbul 1949, p. 195.) The forms of Limnos and Limni are more common in archival documents.

⁶ For detailed information about this sealed earth see: H.Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Otoman Realities*, p.153-171.; Y.Demircan, “Limni Adasında Çıkarılan Tiyn-i Mahtum Madeni Hakkında”, *Osmanlı*, III (Ankara 1999), p.322-326.

⁷ The famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi does not mention Limnos and the information given by Örfi Efendi, a 19th century Ottoman geographer, does not presumably depend on his personal observations. (*Cografya*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi Ktb. nr.2045, fol. 50b). Hasim Efendi, apparently journeyed through the Aegean islands in the early 19th century, provides information rather folkloric in nature (*Mecmua*, TSMK, Hazine, nr. 1564, fol. 78a). Among the foreign travelers who have voyaged in the Aegean Sea, E.D.Chishull (*Türkiye Gezisi ve İngiltereye Dönüş*, transl.B.Orhon, İstanbul 1993), General Miranda (*Venezüellalı General Miranda'nın Hatıratı*, transl.F.Carim, İstanbul 1965), Oliveir (*Türkiye Seyahatnamesi, 1790 Yıllarında Türkiye*, transl. O. Gökmen, I-II, Ankara 1977-İstanbul 1991), E. Raczynski (*1814'te İstanbul ve Çanakkale'ye Seyahat*, trcansl K. Turan, İstanbul 1980), G.William-F.Howard (*Türk Sularında Seyahat*, transl.S.S.Türet, İstanbul 1978) did not see the island. Thevenot and Tournefort can be added to these names. However, among those who have visited the island, the names of P.Belon, R. Randolph, J.Paleme, J. Covel, G.Gallet, R.Pococke and Comte M.Choiseul-Goffier should particularly be mentioned (For an entire list see: H.Lowry, “Otoman Limnos”, p.236).

in the year 477 B.C. After a temporary Spartan sovereignty, it enjoyed a period of independence under the protection of the Roman Empire. It has witnessed the spread of Christianity and was promoted to a separate bishopric dependant on the Byzantine Empire. In the course of 10th and 11th centuries, Limnos suffered from the raids launched by the Arabian sailors of Crete and the Turkish seamen settled in the western shores of Anatolia, thus it manifests the first encounter of the island with Turks; in the meantime, from 1082 onwards Italian merchants began to dwell in the island. Following the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204, Filocalo Navigaiosa of Venice was appointed the governor of the island. In the subsequent years of his death in 1207, his descendants succeeded him till 1279 and took possession of the island with the title *megaduca*. After the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople, Emperor Michael VIII. laid siege to the town of Palaiokastron, the center of Limnos, which resulted in the death of the last magaduke, Paolo. The Venetians initiated two major campaigns to regain the island in 1306-1309 and 1377-1381, respectively; nevertheless it proved to be no sufficient to break down the long-term Byzantine rule over the island that lasted until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In addition to the Venetian attacks, the well-established Byzantine suzerainty was also challenged by Roger di Lauria in 1292, fighting under the flag of Aragonese kings of Sicily; by Malabranca of Venice during the Genoese-Venetian war in 1296; and by Catalan mercenaries who plundered the island⁸.

In the meantime, the Turkish emirates established alongside the seacoast of Western Anatolia have increased their naval activities towards the Aegean Islands, and hence it set Limnos after a short period of time under the pressure of Turkish mariners. However, Emperor Kantakuzenos relates an important occurrence in his chronicle relevant to the settlement history of the island that in 1327, Andronikos II. ordered a mass of 2000 Cuman mercenaries in Thrace to be resided with their families in three islands, by name Limnos, Taşoz (Thasos) and Midilli; thereupon a few hundreds of Cuman families made their ways to Limnos⁹. The traces pertaining to Cumans has already been detected in the toponym of the island¹⁰. However, the existence of the place-names of Slavic origin is worthy to consider with regard to the place of origin of the inhabitants of the island. A certain number of these Cumans has apparently involved in the local population, thus they constituted the first group of Turkish residents on the island -though in an assimilated form- even prior to the Ottoman conquest.

The Turkish interest towards Limnos began to increase by the first decades of the 15th century, Mustafa Çelebi (Düzme Mustafa), who rebelled against his brother Çelebi Mehmed and set claim to the throne was kept in Limnos until 1421, after he had fled to take refuge in Byzantine lands¹¹. In 1441-42 an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels besieged the castle of Kotzinos, one of the most important on the island¹². The Ottoman sieges of Constantinople have altered Limnos into a crucially significant center, for it was considered as having strategic importance and became the subject of a bargain between the Latins and Byzantines¹³. As early as Constantinople was set under blockade by Yıldırım Bayezid (1394-1402), the Venetians and Byzantines thought of an agreement including a term on the transfer of the possession of the island to Venetians with the stipulation that the Venetians would be obligated to hand over the island as a base to Manuel II., if he had to abandon Constantinople. And then, in 1453, the Emperor promised to grant Limnos to Giustiniani, the Genoese captain of 700 men participating successfully in the defend of the city, in case of the salvation of the city¹⁴.

In the succeeding years of the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottomans gradually expanded their influence over the island. At first, through the mediation of Kritovoulos of Imbros, it was left with

⁸ P.Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.217-220.

⁹ P. Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.221.

¹⁰ J. Heldon, "Limnos Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: ca 1261-1453", *Continuity and Change*, p. 178.

¹¹ Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, transl.Vl.Mirmiroglu, Istanbul 1956, p.73, 101; D.M.Nicol, *Bizans'in Son Yüzyılları, 1261-1453*, transl. B.Umar, Istanbul 1999, p.356.

¹² Quoted by P.Topping from Frances. See: P.Topping "Latins on Lemnos", p.222.

¹³ D.M.Nicol, *Bizans ve Venedik*, transl.G.Ç.Güven, Istanbul 2000, p.318.

¹⁴ Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, p.162.

Taşoz to the Gattilusio family of Genoese in return for a certain amount of tribute. In 1455, the Ottomans received a payment of 2325 gold pieces for Limnos¹⁵, which should be regarded as the acknowledgment of the Ottoman sovereignty over the island. According to the Ottoman sources, in 860/1456, the same fleet that took Enez, after the amphibious activities in Taşoz, launched a landing operation and captured Limnos¹⁶. However, Ducas provides relatively different information on the issue under discussion. According to his statements, the residents of the island was not pleased with Nicolas Gattilusio, the current governor of the island; and therefore, the sultan sent Hamza Bey there in compliance with the appeal of the local population to be administered by an appointee bound to the Ottoman central government. Furthermore, he narrates a combat between the forces of the ruler of Midilli that came to release Nicolas from Palaiokastron and a cavalry range of 500 men of Limnos on the shore of the island that resulted in the awkward escape of Nicolas to Midilli. Three days after his escape, the Grand Admiral İsmail Bey arrived in the island and employed Hamza Bey governor (May 1456)¹⁷. In spite of the fact that this event suggests the incorporation of the island into the Ottoman administrative system, one should not expect the exact establishment of Ottoman rule in Limnos before 1479.

The tenure of office of Hamza Bey did not last long due to the invasion of Limnos by the Papal navy in 1457¹⁸, a year after his date of appointment, during which the guard of the island Murad was taken captive with a garrison of 100 janissary corps. The Papal forces stayed in the island for approximately three years. Kritovoulos of Imbros relates that it was his own efforts that made the Italian units depart from the island, except the guardian of Myrinoupolis (Palaiokastron), the center town of the island, and the inhabitants of the island to recognize the supreme authority of the sultan once again. He records that he has finally managed to convince the aforementioned guardian to leave the city to the despot Demetrius (the winter of 1459)¹⁹. Thus, the island was given to Demetrius Palaeologos (former ruler of the region of Mistra, an Ottoman vassal), driven out by Mehmed II. from Morea, on the condition of an annual payment of 3000 pieces of gold (1460). Demetrius remained to be an Ottoman vassal till the day he secluded himself in a monastery in Adrianople in 1467²⁰. Meanwhile, by the time the Ottoman-Venetian tension shifted into a battle, Comino, a Greek pirate, actually Albanian of origin, established control over the island converting the most central city of the island, Palaiokastron into his base (1463)²¹. The Venetians occupied Limnos in that same year. They agreed to observe some of the rights of his family and sent Comino to the village of Kondea after assigning him a pension of 150 gold ducats per year. Limnos remained under the Venetian rule until 1479; nevertheless it proved to be weak to cover all parts of the island. As a matter of fact, the Ottomans achieved in establishing temporary dominance in certain regions of the island following the effective attacks of 1468, 1470 and 1477. For instance, in 1470-71, Turkish troops captured a series of villages and Kotzinos. During his visit of Limnos in 1472, the Venetian captain, general Pietro Mocenigo (later a Venetian doge) noticed that the fortress of Kotzinos has been ruined to the ground and the walls and the towers of Palaiokastron has been devastated by a severe earthquake; for that reason he thoroughly set out to restore Palaiokastron²². The Turkish assaults of 1477 seem to have swept the way for some new occupations in the island. In this respect, one can easily find clues of the

¹⁵ Kritobulos, *Istanbul'un Fethi*, (ed.M.Gökman), Istanbul 1967, p.167-170.

¹⁶ This information only appears in Asikpasazade, a 15th century chronicle, the other contemporary Ottoman accounts such as Tursun Bey, Karamani Mehmed Pasa and Enveri do not contain any reference about the occupation of the island.

¹⁷ *Bizans Tarihi*, p.207-208.

¹⁸ Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, p.208.

¹⁹ *Istanbul'un Fethi*, p.167-170.

²⁰ Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.227. Demetrius was the brother of the last Byzantine Emperor.

²¹ Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.227-228.

²² Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.229-230.

de facto Turkish rule over Limnos before the Ottoman-Venetian treaty (January 1479), which ratified the possession of the island to the Ottoman state. The date of the *kanunname* (law code) of the first Ottoman survey for Limnos, 23 October 1477 (15 Receb 882), probably underlines the same situation²³. However, the survey register, including the land and population censuses of which demonstrate the direct administration of the Ottoman state in the island, bears the compilation date of February 1490 (Rebiülevvel 895). The interval between the date of the *kanunname* of the island and the completion date of the survey reveals a significant problem to discuss over. Besides, this same register includes several references considering earlier regulations²⁴. It displays the fact that the financial regulations, which apparently remained in effect for 13 years until a new survey was drawn up in 1490, were arranged immediately after the conquest of the island.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the Ottomans kept the Christian inhabitants of the island in their own places of residence and made no attempt to transfer Turkish population to Limnos for a considerably long period of time. This must be due to the respect shown to the privileges of the local population of those submitted themselves to the Ottoman authority of their own will. The validity of the aforementioned *kanunname* as early as 1477-78, appears to be an indication in this regard. When finally the island was left to the Ottomans in 1479, Ottoman influence and rule have already been dominant over the land. The survey register of 1490 in which the records of the previous year is preserved, is important in respect to the fact that it reflects the primary state of the island under Ottoman rule. In those years Limnos had no Turkish inhabitants other than a small unit of guardian troops. In fact, in addition to this relatively small squadron, a certain number of the local Christians (261 persons) were taken under service for patrolling and scouting missions, who were held exempt from some taxes in return. Some of these recruits were the former members of military units that had been settled by the Venetians on the island. A closer look at the personal names in the relevant register leads us to the conclusion that the local Christian population of the island consisted of various different ethnicity, for it is likely to come across Italian, Albanian and Slavic names, as well as under miscellaneous relative adjectives (*nisbe*) such as Rus (Rutenia), Selanik (Salonica), Boğdan (Moldavia), Midilli, Eğriboz, (Negroponte/Euboea) Imroz, Sakız, Mora (Morea), Bosna (Bosnia), Kefe (Caffa), Bulgar (Bulgarian), Kalimnos, İskiros (Skiros) and Anadolu (Anatolia) within the survey. The register also contains a reference to the presence of gypsies on the island. The introduction of Turkish civilians into this highly complicated composition has realized in the course of the 16th century.

According to the first survey of Limnos, the Turkish military units were stationed in Palaiokastron, the center town of the island and the first administrator of the island was Hüseyin Bey, actually a descendant of the Palaeologos family²⁵. But he was not officially appointed *sancakbeyi* to the island, but only assumed the position of *zaim* or *subaşı*, a governor commanding the troops. In fact, Limnos shared the same status with the islands of Bozbaba (Aya Evstratios) and Semadirek (Samotraki) as being subordinated to the district (*sancak*) of Gelibolu²⁶. The register enumerates the staff of the castle of Palaiokastron as follows: İlyas Bey, the warden; Mustafa, the majordomo; Yusuf, the artilleryman; Ahmed, the prayer leader and additional 15 citadel guards holding *timars*. It gives no clue of a *kadı* dealing with the matters of jurisprudence, however, when it soon gained the status of *sancak*, a *kadı* was immediately dispatched to the island. The island's sole civil Muslim appears to be a

²³ The text of the *kanunname* (Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arsivi (=BA), *Tahrir Defteri* (=TD), nr.25, p.1) is translated and published by H. Lowry (*Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities*, p.183)

²⁴ The entry noted down with the same calligraphy below the main text demonstrates an earlier rise in the poll-taxes from 3 *akças* to 10 *akças*. However, in the main text, there is a three-scaled classification of taxes, as 25 *akças* for rich, 20 *akças* for moderate, and 15 *akças* for poor. This situation proves that until the year 1490, the island of Limnos experienced three different stages of taxation and fixes the progressive phases of Ottoman administration.

²⁵ H.Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities*, p.16.

²⁶ In the entries of 919-920/1513-1514, the island of Limnos is recorded as a *nahiye* of the *sancak* (district) of Gelibolu (BA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* (=MAD), nr. 7, fol. 311a, 312b, 313a). Bozbaba and Semadirek were listed in the *has* revenues of the *zaim* of Limnos (BA, *TD*, nr.25, p.62).

convert residing in the Mavrochori quarter of Palaiokastron, Mahmud of Imbros²⁷. In the year the survey was composed, Limnos possessed two castles, the fortress of the central town Palaiokastron (*Palukasrı* in Ottoman orthography) consisting of four quarters and the fortress of *Kasrı* (Kastron, Kotzinos) in which merely the Christian guards were in charge. The estimated numbers derived from the first Ottoman survey of the island displays a decrease in population from approximately 6000 to 3000-3500 individuals in comparison to the number provided by the Venetian census of 1470s²⁸. In this loss, the depart of the Venetians with a segment of the island population in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1479, probably played an important role.

The survey registers of the 16th century, according to which the evolution of the existing towns and the establishment of new villages can be observed, demonstrate an essential demographic change taking place on Limnos. According to the register of 925/1519²⁹, the total population of the island increased to 850 households (nearly 4500-5000 individuals) and the number of the Turkish soldiers, still garrisoned in the center town, reached 53. The names of three converts were written down in addition, Mustafa b. Abdullah, Hızır b. Abdullah and Mehmed b. Abdullah residing in the villages of Livadokhori, Varos and Ziroadis, respectively³⁰. A functioning *kadı* also appears in the register³¹. It should be expressed that Islamic life emerging from the Turkish military presence has altered the physical appearance of the center town, adding it a variety of new structures such as mosques, baths, and etc³². This accumulation of Muslim population in the center has probably stimulated further Turkish immigration. As a matter of fact, by the midst of the 16th century, there occurred a general rise in population on the one hand, and Limnos experienced an increase in the number of the Turkish civil inhabitants on the other. For the same period of time, there is evidence of the existence of the gypsies on the island as well. According to the survey registers providing the above-mentioned data, dated 964/1557 and 975/1567-68³³, the overall population of the island reached 2000 households (10.000 individuals). In the register of 1557, the Muslim society of the island is recorded as being consisted of 13 Turkish households and 10 households of Muslim gypsies, whereas according to the register of 1567-68, the total number of the Muslim households of the island was 66 including those of 13 gypsy households. The Turkish population generally concentrated in the villages of Moudros, Lihne, Seline and Kondoya. While in 1557, the Turkish inhabitants existed in the villages of Lefkos, Lihne, Kondopol and Poryo, they had already been divided into 21 villages in 1567-68. In the end of the 16th century, the Turkish population of the island was living in 15 villages³⁴.

The accumulation of Turkish population in the center town towards the end of the 16th century, led to the establishment of a new settlement. At that time, the *mescid* of Mustafa Reis, located at the outskirts of the fortress of Palaiokastron, was converted into a mosque in accordance with the rising needs of both Turkish inhabitants and troops. This latter is linked with the permission taken by Hacı Receb, a resident of Palaiokastron, to establish a market at the outskirts of the city in 1006/1598. He reported to the central government that there were over 50 villages in Limnos and this created an inevitable necessity of setting a weekly market (*haftalık pazar*) on a suitable ground, preferably adjacent to the castle. In his proposal to the government, he also brought forward several motives;

²⁷ BA, TD, nr.25, p.5; H.Lowry, p.190.

²⁸ G. Rizzardo, *La Presa di Negroponte*, p.24; Topping, "Latins on Lemnos", p.234.

²⁹ This census of the island can be found in BA, TD, nr.75, in which Limnos is recorded in the *sancak* of Gelibolu, but the preceding register of 1490 was compiled separately

³⁰ BA, TD, nr. 75, p.144, 147, 191; also see: H.Lowry, "The Island of Limnos", p.257. It is interesting that the bishop of Limnos mentions three leading Muslim figures, Suleymaneis Agalianos, Musas and Anasofu, in his letter of 1500 (H.Lowry, p.247-248).

³¹ His name was Ruhullah (TD, nr.75, p.195-196).

³² It is apparent that there was a mosque in the castle in 1519 and a timar-holder, called Ahmed, performed as *imam* (prayer leader) and preacher. This mosque served the needs of the troops and it is clear that it also enabled the performance of the Friday prayers (BA, TD, nr. 75, p.164: "*Ahmed Fakih, Palukasrı' de vaki olan cami' de hatib ve imamdir*").

³³ BA, TD, nr.307, p.3-88 and BA, TD, nr.490, p.92-160.

³⁴ TK (Ankara Tapu Kadstro Arsivi), TD, nr. 141, fol.28a-64b.

expressing that since the *mescid* of Mustafa Reis was developed into a mosque available to Friday sermons, a market on the mentioned site would both serve as a gathering place for the Turkish inhabitants from different parts of the island and as a trade center. Taxes collected from this market were estimated to be an income of 12.000 *akças* (aspers) for the imperial treasury and in return for the privilege of collecting the taxes. Hacı Receb guaranteed the payment of this fixed sum to the state³⁵. The offer of establishing a market in the island was probably accepted and thus, a weekly market addressed to the entire island emerged.

In the 17th century, the strategic importance of the Island of Limnos increased in terms of dominance over the Straits and the island was provided with additional soldiers³⁶. In Rebiülahır 1022/June 1613, Limnos was raised to a separate *sancak*³⁷ and the city of Palaiokastron became the residential center of the *sancakbeyi*. For about the same time, the Turkish population of the island was of high possibility supported by newcomers from Anatolian coast, for it is a very well known fact that masses including some Turcoman *yörüks* as well, fleeing before the Celali bandits took shelter in the nearby Aegean Islands³⁸. On the other hand, from the beginning of the 17th century, Limnos became a place of exile for the officials and *ulema*. Many persons of high rank were kept in the castle of Palaiokastron in order to serve their sentences. This latter should have played a considerable role in the population structure of the Turkish community. Haşim Efendi, apparently visited the island in early 19th century, relates that the island attracted many people because of the famous mystic Niyazi-i Mısrî who had died there in 1694, after being banished to Limnos; and adds that leaving this occasion out, it would have been completely meaningless to make a visit to this island³⁹.

When the Venetians captured the island in July 1656, during the Ottoman-Venetian war, they removed the Turkish residents gathered in Palaiokastron and drove them away to the coastal line⁴⁰. It is clear that, at that time, a certain part of them has deserted the island. One year later, when the Ottomans retook Limnos in November 1657, this time, they allowed the Venetians who surrendered after reaching an agreement with the Ottomans to leave the island freely. However, a certain amount of over 400 people residing in the castle, seemingly natives of the island, remained untouched⁴¹. Following the reoccupation of the island, the Ottomans rapidly restored the city walls and renovated the mosque of Mustafa Reis (or Kethüda Camii) which was set on fire during the Venetian invasion, thus, probably initiated a resettling movement towards the island and supported the existing Turkish population. According to Randolph, who visited Limnos at around that time, the island was badly affected by the war and the number of the villages on the island decreased from approximately 50 to 20s. He also implied the resettlement activity in the island, particularly in the center town, by stating that there was an active Turkish garrison in the island and many Turks and Greeks lived together in the center town⁴².

³⁵ BA, MAD, nr. 5582.

³⁶ In the beginning of the 17th century, there existed 68 guardians only in Palaiokastron (BA, MAD, nr.7186).

³⁷ BA, Kepeci (=KK), nr. 71, p.476.

³⁸ On the case of İstanköy compare: F.Emecen, "İstanköy", *DIA*, XXIII, 310; for an order dealing with the newcomers in the islands such as Sakiz and Midilli from the provinces of Maras, Sivas and Erzurum see: İbrahim Gökçen, *Saruhandı Yörük ve Türkmenler*, İstanbul 1946, p.81.

³⁹ *Mecmua*, TSMK, Hazine, nr. 1564, fol.78a. On this occasion, Hasim Efendi relates that the cream of the island had considerable fame and the gardens were in good condition.

⁴⁰ Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi, *Ravzatü'l-ibrâr*, ed. N.Kaya, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, İstanbul 1990, p.362-363. While giving this information, the author also states that the island had a circumference of 120 miles in addition to a very well cultivated land and used to be famous of its sealed earth (*tin-i mahtum*); and also expresses his regret about the loss of this specific ore used in relieving some certain diseases.

⁴¹ According to Vecihi, the siege lasted 60 days; in order to take the castle, the artillery had to climb to the hill where the castle was erected; the castle surrendered on 6 Safer 1068/15 November 1657; the Venetian garrison emptied the castle after reaching an agreement with the Ottoman forces; over 400 persons were kept in their place of residence with the stipulation that they would accept the status of *reaya*; and the Ottomans immediately set out to rebuild the castle (Vecihi, *Tarih*, ed. Z. Akkaya, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ankara 1957, p.156-160).

⁴² *Ege Takimadaları. Arşipelago*, transl. Ü. Koçer, İstanbul 1998, p.40.

In the 18th century, the Island of Limnos yielded a sum of 501.440 *akças* revenue per year which was almost entirely assigned to the salaries of the guards of the fortress of Limnos. The imperial treasury received only a small portion of the total revenue, 70.000 *akças*. In 1702, one Ali undertook the collection of these revenues in exchange for an amount of 1500 *kuruş* (150.000 *akças*) cash. Before his tenure of office, the tax-farm was first under the administration of Halil, one of the residents of the island, and then, Kara Hasan⁴³. Apparently, the Turkish population of the island flourished within time and increased their influence not only in administrative and military areas but also in economic fields. And then, in the 19th century, taxes collected from Limnos were registered as a direct source of income for the central government, regarding the collected sum as a fiscal unit under the management of *Darphane* (imperial mint)⁴⁴. Hence, it strengthened the linkage between the island and the central government.

In 1770, the Ottoman military force in Limnos was reinforced with additional 550 soldiers due to the rising activities of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, and particularly in the Aegean Sea⁴⁵. In 1870, the Russian army invaded the island, but it proved to be short because of the counter-operation of Cezayirli Hasan Paşa that resulted in the abandonment of the island by the Russians. According to Örfi Efendi, in the first quarter of the 19th century, Limnos possessed 56 villages and a total population of 25.000 individuals⁴⁶, including those of the Turks who formed a tenth part of the society. In the course of the Greek rebellion of 1821, the island populace sided with the Ottoman authorities and objected to join with the rebels that came to island. Chronicler Esad Efendi, contemporary to the events of the Greek rebellion, counted nearly 300 Turks and 13.000 Greeks available to take under arms while talking about the local populace giving aid to Ottoman military forces⁴⁷. Supposing that the given numbers indicated men one can deduce that the number of the Turks living in the island for that time has barely exceeded 1000. According to the censuses of 1831, there were 5491 men in the island, including 511 Turks⁴⁸. If the number of the women and children is added to the number provided by the censuses, this leads us, this time, to the conclusion that the total population of Turkish residents of the island hardly reached 2000. It is evident from the official statistics that in the course of the 19th century, the Turkish population of the island remained constant despite slight fluctuations. For instance, in 1885, Turks had a share of 1900 individuals in 22.000 persons registered as the total population of the island⁴⁹ and towards the end of 1890s, 2450 of 27.079 individuals was Turks⁵⁰.

The island of Limnos was invaded by Greeks in October 1912 and in 1915, during the War of Gallipoli it served as a military base for the Allies, and the armistice between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied Powers was concluded in Moudros (30 October 1918), a port of the island. Through this period of high tension, Turks continued to live on the island. In spite of the fact that some of them

⁴³ In return for their *avariz* taxes the populace of Limnos was obliged to send 1880 *kiles* of barley to *Istabl-i Amire* (imperial stables) (an entry dated 1101/1690: BA, *MAD*, nr.18482, p.164). The rest of the revenues of the island were collected by means of tax-farmers (BA, *MAD*, nr. 3595, p.83/84; *MAD*, nr. 2945, p.558-559; *MAD*, nr.2983, p.77; *MAD*, nr.9880, p.330; *MAD*, nr.9855, p.68; *MAD*, nr.9894, p.37, 321; *MAD*, nr.9893, p.46-47; *MAD*, nr.3878, p.406; *MAD*, nr.2960, p.88-89).

⁴⁴ BA, *MAD*, nr.10054, p.412 (23 Cemaziyelahir 1229). Tobacco was also cultivated on the island and the customs of tobacco of Limnos was attached to the customs of Istanbul (BA, *MAD*, nr.10054, p.113, 185, 239: 29 Sevvat 1211).

⁴⁵ F.M.Emecen, "XV.-XVI. Yüzyillarda Ege Adalarında Osmanlı İdari Teskilatı", *Ege Adalarının İdari Mali ve Sosyal Yapısı*, Ankara 2003, p.25.

⁴⁶ *Cografya*, fol.50b. Örfi Efendi describes the island of Limnos as having a very strong fortress, various safe harbors, and a favorable soil to cultivation and relates that on the island, crops such as wheat, barley, kidney-bean, millet and broad bean were abundantly harvested; there was cultivation of sesame, fig, grapes and tobacco; and wine and olive oil were also produced. But he considers the belief in the medical properties of tin-i mahtum with suspicion.

⁴⁷ *Vakamivis Esad Efendi Tarihi. Bahir Efendi'nin Zeyl ve İlaveleriyle 1237-1241/ 1821-1826*, ed. Z.Yilmazer, Istanbul 2000, p.764-767.

⁴⁸ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, Ankara 1943, p.211.

⁴⁹ *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi*, the year of 1302, Rodos 1302, p.232-243; the year of 1311, p.475.

⁵⁰ V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, I, p.475

(1636 persons) deserted the island⁵¹, in the years of Turkish War of Independence by the time the treaty of Lausanne was concluded, there still existed 2540 Turkish inhabitants, including of 165 residents who were living in the village of Lera⁵². After the treaty of Lausanne, the remaining Turkish inhabitants departed the island for Anatolia and in accordance with the population exchange, 300 Greeks were settled in the island in place of leaving ones. 556 of the Greek immigrants were settled in the former Turkish village Lera (later Aghios Dimitrios), some other in 20 vacant villages in the locality of Moudros, and the rest were provided with the newly constructed 100 houses in the coastal village of Nea Koutali. Consequently, Palaiokastron and Varos have lost 11 and 15 per cent of their inhabitants, respectively⁵³. In these last years, there existed six mosques, one *tekke*, and various public buildings pertaining to Turks at the center of the island.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the relatively small Turkish settlement in the island of Limnos emerged, at the very beginning, as a military presence, then gained a civil character by the midst of the 16th century, started playing a decisive role in the social and economic life of the island, and in the end completely vanished in 1920s, without leaving any single trace behind, after enjoying a life of almost 400 years.

⁵¹ E.Kolodny, *La population des îles de la Grece*, Aix en Provence 1974, I, p.217-218.

⁵² In 1490, the village of Lera had only four households, two from the island of Kalimnos (*TD*, nr. 25, p.31). It is clear that within time, there existed profound changes in the population structure.

⁵³ S.Eriņ-T.Yücel, *Ege Denizinin Türkiye ile Komsu Adalari*, p.96-97.

BOZCAADA (TENEDOS) BEFORE AND AFTER ITS CAPTURE BY VENICE IN 1656

Ersin GÜLSOY

Assistant Prof., Kazim Karabekir Faculty of Education, Atatürk University

ÖZET

Bugün Çanakkale'ye bağlı bir ilçe merkezi olan Bozcaada, Fatih Sultan Mehmed döneminde Osmanlı hakimiyetine alınmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti topraklarına dahil olduktan sonra bir süre metruk kalmış olan adanın iskani kararlaştırılarak, 1479'da bir kale inşa edilmiştir. Osmanlı hakimiyetinin ilk yıllarında Bozcaada'nın idaresi, Limni ve Gökçeada ile birlikte Cenevizli Gattilusio ailesine bırakılmıştır. Daha sonra Bozcaada'nın da dahil olduğu Boğazönü Adaları, Gelibolu Sancığı'na bağlanmıştır. Bu idarî yapıya göre Limni, Gelibolu Sancığı'nın bir kazâsi olarak teşkil edilmiş ve Bozcaada ile Gökçeada bu kadiliga bağlanmıştır. Bozcaada, Osmanlı hakimiyetine girmesinden XVI. yüzyılın sonuna kadar büyükçe bir köy durumundaydı. Bu tarihlerden itibaren gelerek XVII. yüzyılın başında beş mahalleli bir kasaba hüviyetini kazanmıştır. Adada 1601 yılına ait tahrîr defterine göre, 37 nefer kale görevlisi; 20 hâne, 5 mücerred Türk nüfus ile 242 nefer gayr-i müslim nüfus yaşamaktaydı. Bu nüfusun meskun olduğu mahalleler; Komino Papa, Dimitri, Köse Yorgi, Mihal Kalaton ve Milika isimlerini tasimaktaydı. Bozcaada, Girit seferleri dolayısıyla yapılan donanma savaşları sırasında 1656'da Venediklilerin eline geçmiştir. Yaklaşık bir yıl aradan sonra Köprülü Mehmed Paşa tarafında düzenlenen donanma seferi ile geri alınmıştır. Bundan sonra kazâ statüsüne getirilen Bozcaada'nın tahrîri yapılmıştır. Bu tahrîr, klasik Osmanlı tahrîr geleneğinden farklı bir yazım tarzında karsımıza çıkmaktadır. Buradaki asıl hedef, adadaki ziraata elverişli araziyi tespit etmektir. Bu tespit yapıldıktan sonra arazilerin eski sahipleri ortaya çıkıp, bunu ispatlayanlara yerleri tekrar verilmiştir. Sahipsiz araziler ise mîrî adına zapt olunmuştur. Yapılan bu tahrîre göre Bozcaada, yirmi üç nâhiyeye taksim olunarak 967 bağ ve arazinin sayımı gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu bağ ve arazilerden 440 tanesinin sahibi ortaya çıkmış ve bunu ispatlamış dolayısı ile de kendilerine tekrar iade edilmiştir. Sahipsiz olan 527 parça bağ ve arazi ise mîrîye intikal etmiştir. Bu bağ ve arazilerden başka 66 çiftlik, beş ağıl ve iki çamlık da devlet adına zapt olunmuştur. Bu tahrîr yazım tarzı ile bölgedeki ziraata elverişli arazi eksiksiz olarak tespit edilebilmektedir. Bu yazım tarzı tüm imparatorluk genelindeki tahrîrlerde timâr sistemindeki köklü değişimlere paralel olarak görülen yapılanmayla alakalı olduğu kadar, devletin Ege adalarındaki malî uygulamalarıyla da yakından ilgiliydi. Nitekim ilk örneklerinden birisi Bozcaada'da görülen bu tip tahrîrler, daha da mükemmelleştirilerek Ege adalarında yaygınlaştırılmıştır.

Bozcaada, a town of Çanakkale today in the northeast of Aegean Sea was called Tenedos before Turkish sovereignty. When and why a Turkish name was given to the island has not been exposed yet. The statement, in the work of Pîri Reis that the highest place of the island was a sharp and gray hill proves the fact that the island was called Boz Ada or Bozcaada¹. Pîri Reis also indicates that from this place, today called Göztepe, the ships in the distance of even 40 miles away could be seen, the island had a harbour called Yardim Limani, where small ships could shelter in the conditions of harsh wind, and the surroundings of the island consists of shallow water².

Ottoman State, as a land state in terms of the lands possessed, saw the need of forming a navy rapidly after reaching sea. The first Ottoman navy had been mostly constructed through the basis of the

¹ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Bozcaada", *Türk Kültürü*, number: 83, (Ankara 1969), p. 18.

² Pîri Reis, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, I, editor: Ertugrul Zekai Ökte, Ankara 1988, 212-215.

naval power of Karesi Principality³. After going through Rumeli, they made a naval base there establishing an important shipyard in Gelibolu⁴. In Ottoman period, the progress years and the formation of serious naval policies occurred in the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmed (1451-1481). When Fatih decided to conquer Istanbul, he ordered the building of a powerful navy in Gelibolu and in a short time a naval force consisting of 350-400 pieces was formed. After the conquest of Istanbul much more importance was given to naval affairs: a new shipyard was constructed in Aynalikavak within The Golden Horn. His reign is the period that East Mediterranean and Black Sea policies were constituted and mostly became successful⁵. Through the years following the conquest of Istanbul Fatih Sultan Mehmed, who began to realize his East Mediterranean policy, provided the Ottoman dominance in Aegean region beginning from the closest island to the Turkish coasts and The Dardanelles. Thus, Enez, Gökçeada (Imroz), Bozcaada (Tenedos), Semadirek (Samotraki), Limni (Limnos) and Midilli (Lesvos) Island were conquered by Ottomans⁶.

During Byzantium reign, due to the struggles in order to take Bozcaada by Venice and Genoese forces, the walls of the castle were demolished and the island was deported in 1381. As to the conquest of the island by Ottomans, many contemporary historians such as Asik Pasazâde, Tursun Bey, Nesrî, Oruç Bey did not give any information⁷. Dukas, mentioning the events in 1455, wrote that Limni, Imroz, Midilli, and the other islands accepted the Ottoman sovereignty. Through this information, it is understood that Bozcaada was in that period under the rule of Ottoman sovereignty⁸. The island, however, remained abandoned. Because Bozcaada and the other islands around during the Ottoman-Venice wars (1463-1479) were used by Venice. As a result of the information that Venice navy established a base in Limni to attack Midilli, the Ottoman navy, commanded by Kaptan-i Derya Mahmud Pasha, conquered the island attacking Bozcaada. Then for the safety of the island, a castle was built in 1479 and opened to settlement⁹.

Ottomans subjected the lands to *tahrîr* in order to determine the ways of use of the lands in newly conquered countries. The results of this census were recorded in the inventories called *mufassal* and *icmâl*. When the detailed results of the census were recorded in the *mufassal* inventories, in *icmâl* the distribution of the incomes within the *mîrî* land regime was displayed¹⁰. *Tahrîrs* contain very important information in terms of manifesting the economic and social history especially 16th and 17th centuries in any area under the Ottoman sovereignty. After Bozcaada had become a part of Ottoman rule, the *tahrîrs* of it were kept for some time. Today, in our archives, there are six *tahrîrs* mentioning Bozcaada including 16th and 17th centuries. The first one is registered in *Basbakanlik Osmanli Archive* (BOA), *Tapu Tahrîr Defterleri Tasnifi* (TD) number 434. The date of formation of this inventory belonging to the period of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman is not known. As recorded in this inventory, it seems to be prepared in about 1530¹¹. The inventory belonging to the rule of Selim II and registered in BOA, with the number TD 490 belongs to 1569. Three other inventories are different copies of the same *tahrîr*. The real inventory of this *tahrîr* is registered in *Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü*

³ Idris Bostan, "XV ve XVII. Yüzyillarda Osmanli Devleti'nin Deniz Politikasi", *XV ve XVI. Asirlari Türk Asri Yapan Degerler*, (Istanbul 1997), p. 186.

⁴ For further information about Gelibolu shipyard see Halil Inalcik, "Türk Donanmasinin Besigi: Gelibolu", *Türk Kültürü*, number: 22, (Ankara 1964), pp. 58-62; I. Bostan, *Osmanli Bahriye Teskilati: XVII. Yüzyilda Tersane-i Âmiri*, Ankara 1992, pp. 14-17; Ibrahim Sezgin, *XV ve XVI. Asirlarda Gelibolu Kazâsi'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*, (Marmara University Unpublished PhD Asseritation), Istanbul 1998, pp. 83-89; Feridun M. Emecen, "Gelibolu", *Diyanet Islâm Ansiklopedisi* (DIA), XIV, 1-6.

⁵ I. Bostan, "Deniz Politikasi", pp. 187-188.

⁶ Selahattin Tansel, *Osmanli Kaynaklarina Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve Askerî Faaliyetleri*, Ankara 1953, p. 232.

⁷ C. Orhonlu, "Bozcaada", p.19.

⁸ Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans. by: V. Mirmiroglu, Istanbul 1956, pp. 197-198.

⁹ C. Orhonlu, "Bozcaada", *DIA*, VI, 318.

¹⁰ For further information about *tahrîrs* see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devrinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri 1", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, II/1, (Istanbul 1941), 20-59; Ö. L. Barkan-Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livasi Tahrir Defterleri*, I, Ankara 1988, 1-144; H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1987, pp. XI-XXXI; Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanli Devlet Teskilâtında Defterhâne-i Âmiri (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyillar)*, (Marmara University Unpublished PhD Asseritation), Istanbul 1997, pp. 15-40.

¹¹ F. M. Emecen, "XVI. Asir Baslarinda Bir Göçün Tarihiçesi: Gelibolu'da Sirem Sürgünleri", *Osmanli Arastirmalari*, X, (Istanbul 1990), 165, n. 15.

Kuyûd-i Kadîme Archive with number 141 and dated *Hicrî* (H.) evasit-i Sevval 1009 (A. D. 5-15 April 1601). The other two tahrîrs registered BOA, with numbers *TD* 702 and 724 are the copies of this tahrîr¹².

I. BOZCAADA IN THE 16th CENTURY

After Bozcaada had become a part of Ottoman rule, data about its administrative structure cannot be reached due to the lack of dependable information. At the beginning, Ottomans had left Bozcaada, Limni, and Gökçeada, on condition that they would get tax from Gattilusio family, who were Genoese. Later, Bogazönü Islands including Bozcaada made dependent upon Gelibolu Sanjak. Thus, according to Limni Island tahrîr dated 1489, Limni was formed, as a *kazâ* dependent on Gelibolu Sanjak, Gökçeada and Bozcaada became a part of this *kazâ*¹³.

The only settlement on the island was the castle opposite Ezine in the east and its surroundings. In terms of population, Bozcaada, in the 16th century, seemed to be a big village. That is, the total tax population of the island was 91 in 1530. 18 of these people were Muslims, 63 of them were non-muslims. This population, toward 1569, reached 190. 25 of this population in this year were *mustahfizs*, 39 of whom were Turks, and 126 of them were non-muslims¹⁴. Bozcaada, developing at the very outset of 17th century, had the features of a town. In the castle, in 1601, there were 37 *mustahfizs*. In the tahrîr, those people charged were registered according to the lands they possessed under the name of *çiftlik* and *zemîn*. Apart from this, in five quarters of the castle there were 20 *hâne* and 5 *mücerred* Turkish population and 242 Christian *nefers*. The quarters according to the order in the inventory were as follows: Komino Papa, Dimitri, Köse Yorgi, Mihal Kalaton, and Milika. Those quarters were governed by a priest and they took their names via those priests. As for recording of the taxpayer population, except Milika Quarter, in the four quarters for the first person, the name of those priests were written. Cereal production, viniculture, and stock farming were the chief means of living. The income got from taxes was assigned to *hâs of padisah*¹⁵.

II. BOZCAADA AT THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17th CENTURY

Bozcaada was captured by Venice in the period of naval wars for Crete. During the naval campaign of Kaptan-i Derya Sari Kenan Pasha, on 26 June 1656, Ottomans were severely defeated by Venice¹⁶. After this, Venice force seeing there were not any other threats for them, besieged Bozcaada on 14 July 1656. Due to imprudence of the guard of the island by Abaza Mehmed Pasha on the ninth day of the siege, Bozcaada surrendered (22 July 1656)¹⁷. Following the capture of Bozcaada and Limni after a short period by Venice, Vezir-i azam Boynuegri Mehmed Pasha was dismissed, and Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was appointed (14 September 1656)¹⁸. On becoming vezir-i azam, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha began the preparations for recapturing Bozcaada and Limni. Completing all preparations, the Ottoman navy, casting off in two sides towards Mediterranean, on the front sides of The Dardanelles, became successful against Venice, and removed them from The Dardanelles. Subsequently, completing

¹² I. Sezgin, *Gelibolu Kazâsi*, pp. 16-18.

¹³ F. M. Emecen, "XV ve XVI. Yüzyillarda Ege Adalari'nda Osmanli Idarî Teskilâtı", *Ege Adalari'nin Idarî, Malî ve Sosyal Yapisi*, editor: I. Bostan, (Ankara 2003), pp. 8, 19.

¹⁴ İlhan Sahin, "Osmanli Klasik Döneminde Ege Adalari'nda Nüfus ve Nüfus Hareketleri", *Ege Adalari'nin Idarî, Malî ve Sosyal Yapisi*, editor: I. Bostan, (Ankara 2003), pp. 146-147; Yasemin Demircan, *Tahrîr Defterlerine Göre Bogazönü Adalari (XV ve XVII. Yüzyillar)*, (Ankara University Unpublished PhD Assertion), Ankara 1992, pp. 152-154.

¹⁵ BOA, *TD* 702, pp. 98-101; BOA, *TD* 724, pp. 90-93.

¹⁶ Kâtip Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*, Istanbul 1329, pp. 133-134.

¹⁷ F. Çetin Derin, *Abdurrahman Abdi Pasa Vekayi'nâmesi Tahlil ve Metin Tenkidî*, (Istanbul University Unpublished PhD Assertion), Istanbul 1993, p. 80; Silahdar Findiklili Mehmed Aga, *Silahdar Tarihi*, I, published by: Ahmed Refik, Istanbul 1928, 48.

¹⁸ BOA, *A*, *RSK* 1529, p. 317.

the necessary preparations for Bozcaada siege, on 25 August 1657 (H. 15 Zilkade 1067), the island was attacked and besieged. Seeing that they could not stand the attacks of the Ottoman force any longer, Venice force abandoned the castle exploding its walls on 31 August 1657 (H. 21 Zilkade 1067) at night. After obtaining the island Köprülü Mehmed Pasha went there and ordered the castle to be restored¹⁹.

Evliya Çelebi, who saw Bozcaada after its being recaptured, gives this information: Its castle in the east of the island is made of stone and in the shape of heptagon. Around it there are some deep ditches. Its door is made of iron and has two-wings. Within the castle there are several houses whose roofs are made from bricks. The most beautiful ones are of the *dizdar*, *kethüda*, *imam*, and *müezzin*. In the castle which is very rich in terms of arms and ammunition there are mosque, ammunition depots, stores and water gates. Bozcaada harbour is a close one, and has a capacity of keeping 60 *patrona* ships. Near the harbour there are caravansaries and rooms for rent for single persons. Each year *sipahi* of Bursa and Biga Sanjaks stand guard. Also, from Istanbul a room of *yeniçeri*, *topçu* and *cebeci* were sent with their commander to stand guard. Bozcaada is a *kadilik* with 150 *akçe* and its officials are *dizdar*, *kethüda*, *çavus*, *mehterbasi*, *liman reisi*, *yeniçeri agasi*, *başçavus*, *katip*, *sipah kethüda yeri*, *muhtesip*, and *bacdar*²⁰. A British traveller Bernard Randolph, who came to the island in 1680, writes that there are high walls and crenels on the side seeing sea, and some fountains which were made of the marbles of Trojan ruins are magnificent²¹.

After Bozcaada had taken back its tahrîr was rearranged. The tahrîr, according to the cover, was prepared by Mustafa Efendi who was the kadi of army during the campaign to regain Bozcaada and Limni in H. 1067 (A. D. 1656-1657)²². In terms of the style tahrîr consists of two parts. The first part includes the owners before Venice conquest and those who could prove that they had vineyards²³. In this section the vineyards were registered with the name of the former names before Venice conquest and everything such as land and road within its surroundings was manifested. Below this the acre of the vineyard was written. Here, the places below half acre were called *evlek*. The vineyards in this part were noted as hüccet in a thick, bigger and vertical form on top of the tahrîr since the owners were definite and they could prove this²⁴. Another note on top of the tahrîr was the indication the case that the owner had died until the period of Venice conquest and if the vineyard was written as hüccet onto the inheritors²⁵.

Table 1. The Vineyards Given as Hüccet on the Name of the Owners in 1657

Order	Name of Nâhiye	Number of Vineyard	Acre
19	<i>Silahdar Tarihi</i> , I, 91-97; F. Ç. Derin, <i>Vekayi'nâme</i> , pp. 94-95; Nevzat Kaya, <i>Kara Çelebi-zâde Abdülaziz Efendi'nin Zeyl-i Ravzatü'l-Ebrâri Tahlîl ve Metin</i> , (Istanbul University Unpublished PhD Asseritation), Istanbul 1990, pp. 408-412.		
20	Evliya Çelebi, <i>Seyahatnâme</i> , V, Istanbul 1315, 309-310.		
21	Bernard Randolph, <i>Ege Takimadaları Arşipelago</i> , trans. by: Ümit Koçer, Istanbul 1998, p. 41.		
22	"Bozca Ata cezâresinde ordu-yi hümayûn kadisi Mustafa Efendi ma'rifetile tahrîr olunan bağât ve çiftliklerin defteridir. El-vâki der sene 1067" (BOA, MAD 4777-M). The date of the tahrîr was regorded as 1657 A. D.		
23	"Defter oldur ki be-avn Allâhu te'âlâ Bozca Ata feth olunduktan sonra bâ-fermân-i âli tahrîr olunan bagların eshâbi zuhûr idüb isbât eyledüklerinden sonra hüccetleri virilen baglardır ki zikr olunur. Der sene 1067" (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 4). Prof. Dr. Cengiz Orhonlu firstly called attention to this tahrîr and wrote an evaluation article. C. Orhonlu, "1657 Tarihli Bozcaada Tahrîri ve Adadaki Türk Eserlerine Ait Bazı Notlar", <i>Tarih Dergisi</i> , XXVI, (Istanbul 1972), 67-74.		
24	"HÜCCET Bag-i Mehmed Çelebi Ali Begzâde der kurb-i Dolab Pinari bir tarâfi Ibrahim Hoca bagi bir tarâfi Mehmed bin Merdar bagina bir tarâfi arz-i hâliye bir tarâfi tarik-i âmm. Dönüm 4 Evlek Rub" (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 4).		
25	"HÜCCET Emine bint-i Ahmed Bese nâmina hüccet olmusdur Bag-i Ibrahim Hoca der kurb-i mezbûr bir tarâfi Mehmed Ali Begzâde bagina bir tarâfi Ali Murtaza bagina bir tarâfi Serdar-i sâbik bagina bir tarâfi arz-i hâliye. Dönüm 2,5 Evlek 2" (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 4).		

1	Dolap Pinari	22	92
2	Yardim Limani	39	280
3	Tekfur Pinari	39	201,5
4	Kara Ağaç	6	13,5
5	Halil Ordubasi Çesmesi	7	40,5
6	Idris Bahçesi	9	68,5
7	Asi Tepesi	11	64,5
8	Sadik Oglu Kovanligi	17	146
9	Koçba Tepesi	20	84
10	Panaya Kilisesi	42	175
11	Halil Odabasi Deresi (Akyarlar)	6	21,5
12	Çelebi Agili Kurbü	8	30
13	Kanlı Pinar	4	9,5
14	Yazici Oglu Bahçesi	14	66,5
15	Enfuride Çiftligi	13	40
16	Bino Oglu Tarlasi	23	127
17	Misirli Kuyusu	28	209
18	Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu (Haci Mustafa Birgosu ve Haci Murat Tepesi)	29	127,5
19	Yazici Oglu Birgosu	5	23,5
20	Haci Mustafa Çesmesi	25	159
21	Kara Ağaç Muslu Çelebi	8	61,5
22	Mavna Yolu	65	356,5
23	Degirmenalti	1	31,5
TOTAL		440	2428,5

By this way the owners of 440 vineyards were recorded in tahrîrs and took hüccet upon their names²⁶. The total amount of these vineyards was 2428,5 acres²⁷. In terms of both number and occupation, about the vineyards, *Mavna Yolu Nâhiyesi* was the first. The others were as follows: Yardim Limani, Tekfur Pinari, Misirli Kuyusu, Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu. The fewest vineyards were in Degirmenalti Nâhiyesi. The other small nâhiyes were Kanli Pinar, Yazici Oglu Birgosu, Halil Odabasi Deresi, and Karaagaç. 225 of these 440 vineyards were registered upon Muslim people and 215 upon the non-muslim. All the vineyards registered in Dolap Pinari, Halil Ordubasi Çesmesi, Idris Bahçesi, Halil Odabasi Deresi, Degirmenalti belonged to Muslim people. The other nâhiyes where there were mostly the vineyards belonging to Muslim people were as follows: Yardim Limani, Tekfur Pinari, Koçba Tepesi, Panaya Kilisesi, Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu, Yazici Oglu Birgosu, and Kara Ağaç Muslu Çelebi. All of the thirteen vineyards registered in Enfuride Çiftligi Nâhiyesi belonged to non-muslim people. Most vineyards in the nâhiyes Mavna Yolu, Misirli Kuyusu, Bino Oglu Tarlasi, Asi Tepesi, Haci Mustafa Çesmesi, Yazici Oglu Bahçesi were given hüccet upon the non-muslim people. The largest vineyard was 103 acres and belonged to Mehmed, son of Hizir²⁸. This person had four pieces of vineyard in different areas of the island totaling 118,5 acres, the biggest part of vineyard became hüccet on his name. The next one was Haci Süleyman. Haci Süleyman got hüccet for seven pieces of

²⁶ All the lands registered in this part were used in the activities of vineculture. There were two pieces of zemîn just in the Nâhiye of Haci Mustafa Çesmesi. Those lands occupied an area, which was 21,5 acres. Since they did not occupy much within total amount it was not subjected to another evaluation.

²⁷ Evleks, which were registered as a surplus of acre, are not included in this number.

²⁸ BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 7.

vineyard, which was totally 75,5 acres. The third person was Ali Beyzâde Mehmed Çelebi²⁹. Among the vineyards registered upon muslim people, it is seen that 31 vineyards were registered upon 22 names of woman. For instance, Saliha Hatun, daughter of Hizir, had six vineyards. The total of the vineyards of her in the nâhiyes Tekfur Pinari, Sadik Oglu Kovanligi, Koçba Tepesi, Panaya Kilisesi, Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu, and Mavna Yolu reached 70,5 acres. The vineyards of Ayni Hatun the wife of Lal-Nakde Mehmed, who got hüccet on her name for three vineyards, were in Halil Odabasi Deresi and Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu and totally were 11 acres. The vineyards of Cemile, daughter of Yahya, having two vineyards on her name, were in Mavna Yolu Nâhiyesi, and it was 18,5 acres. The vineyards of Nazli Hatun in Koçba Tepesi Nâhiyesi were 7 acres³⁰.

The second part of the inventory consists of tahrîrs of vineyards, field, farm and sheep and goat-pens, which were not given hüccet since their owners could not be found³¹. In this part again the vineyards and the fields were written with the name of the owners before Venice conquest. Then the information of how many acres and evleks they were was written below. There were not any records of hüccet upon them. Some of them reveal how they were escheated³².

Not all of these 527 pieces of land were vineyards. Among the lands given hüccet while there were only two farms some of these lands were recorded as *zemîn*, *zemîn-i tarla*, *zemîn-i çayir* and *zemîn-i bag*. They were all 82 pieces, and 549,5 acres. According to tahrîr, all the owners of these 527 pieces of land had died or been lost. Hüccet was not given and the land was passed to mîrî in case the lands of which owners did not emerge and the people who could not prove the land was their property. In that there were vineyards, which were both given hüccet and the vineyards passed to mîrî, belonged to the same person. This shows that with this tahrîr the lands, which had been cultivated without any deeds before, were confiscated. For example, a farm, 16,5 acres in Yardim Limani Nâhiyesi of Saliha Hatun daughter of Hizir, on whom -totally 70,5 acres- six vineyard made hüccet, and her two pieces of lands totally 12 acres in Sadik Oglu Kovanligi Nâhiyesi were not given hüccet and these areas passed to mîrî³³. Besides, Ali Beyzâde Mehmed Çelebi whose ten pieces of lands totally 56 acres were given hüccet, but his five pieces of vineyard, farm and meadow in the nâhiyes Hacı Mustafa Çesmesi and Mavna Yolu, totally 84,5 acres were not given hüccet and held of mîrî because he could not prove that he owned these³⁴. It is seen that among the owners of those 527 vineyards and lands, which were not given hüccet, 241 of whom were Muslims and 286 of whom were non-muslims. Dolap Pinari, Yardim Limani, Idris Bahçesi, Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu, and Degirmenalti were the nâhiyes where mostly vineyards of Muslim existed.

Table 2. The Vineyards, which Passed to Mîrî in 1657

²⁹ The total amount of Mehmed Çelebi's ten pieces of vineyard registered in diverse places of the island was 56 acres (BOA, MAD 4777-M, various pages). The total amount of the vineyards of Mehmed and Esir Süleyman whom seven pieces of vineyards were given hüccet on their names in the island was 62 acres. Since those people used these vineyards jointly, Mehmed Çelebi was determined as the third person who had properties at most in the island.

³⁰ The amount of the vineyards and the female owners were as follows: Ayse wife of Halil Abdal (10 acres), Ismihan Hatun (15 acres), Rabia daughter of Mehmed (2 acres), Rabia daughter of Yusuf (5 acres), Fatma wife of Hizir (7 acres), Emine Hatun Zeynep and Mümine (8 acres), Cemile Hatun wife of Ibrahim (5 acres), wife of Hirsiz Ahmed (1 acre), Emine daughter of Çerçi (7,5 acres), Fatma daughter of Veli Reis (3,5 acres), Emine Hatun daughter of Muslu and wife of Mehmed Bese (6 acres), Saime daughter of Halil (5,5 acres), Mümine daughter of Yusuf (5 acres), Asiye daughter of Osman (6 acres), Ümmühan daughter of Sinan (12,5 acres), Güher daughter of Cihan Çelebi (4 acres), Ümmühan daughter of Hacı Bekir (7,5 acres), Fatma Hatun (31,5 acres). BOA, MAD 4777-M, various pages.

³¹ "Defter oldur ki be-avn Allâhu te'âlâ Bozca Ata feth olunduktan sonra bâ-fermân-i âli tahrîr olunan baglarin çiftliklerin ve agillarin eshâbi zuhûr itmeyüb hüccet virilmeyen baglardir ki zikr olunur" (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 44).

³² "Babasi Ibrahim'indir bade'l-istilâyi'l-kefere vefât eylemisdir

Bag-i

Mehmed bin Serdar-i Sabik der kurb-i m(ezbûr) bir tarâfi Ibrahim Hoca bagina bir tarâfi Mehmed Ali Begzâde bagina bir tarâfi Murtaza oğlu bagina bir tarâfi tarik-i ämm.

Dönüm 2 Evlek 2" (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 44).

³³ BOA, MAD 4777-M, pp. 47, 56.

³⁴ BOA, MAD 4777-M, pp. 73, 78, 81.

Order	Name of Nâhiye	Number of Vineyards and Zemîn	Acre
1	Dolap Pinari	22	74
2	Yardim Limani	50	236,5
3	Tekfur Pinari	31	169,5
4	Kara Ağaç	6	14
5	Halil Ordubasi Çesmesi (Çesme Yolu)	2	49
6	Idris Bahçesi	1	4,5
7	Asi Tepesi	17	73,5
8	Sadik Oglu Kovanligi	23	83,5
9	Koçba Tepesi	14	82
10	Panaya Kilisesi	45	124,5
11	Halil Odabasi Deresi (Akyarlar)	6	12,5
12	Çelebi Agili Kurbü	20	74
13	Kanlı Pinar	8	49
14	Yazici Oglu Bahçesi	30	124,5
15	Enfuride Çiftligi	30	85
16	Bino Oglu Tarlasi	34	131
17	Misirli Kuyusu	15	75
18	Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu (Haci Mustafa Birgosu ve Haci Murat Tepesi)	36	242,5
19	Yazici Oglu Birgosu	3	13,5
20	Haci Mustafa Çesmesi	23	78
21	Kara Ağaç Muslu Çelebi	13	50,5
22	Mavna Yolu	94	547
23	Degirmenalti	4	23,5
TOTAL		527	2417

Among the lands that hüccet was not given, as a separate part, the farms and sheep and goat-pens were also subjected to tahrîr. Here, totally 66 farms and 5 pens are registered. The farms like vineyards and other lands were registered with the name of the owner before Venice capture and the amount was registered being indicated their location³⁵. It is seen that 55 of these farms belonged to Muslims and the rest of them belonged to the non-muslims. Within these 66 farms, six were two çift (pair), three one and a half, five were nîmçift, and the rest 52 of them were one çift. The farms covered an area of totally seventy-one çift. Among the owners of the farms, it is remarkable that there was a woman³⁶. In this part, tahrîr of five big sheep and goat-pens were recorded. Four of them were for the sheep and one was for the goat. The sheep-pens were in Göz Tepesi, Çamlık, Kasım Tarlasi and Göz Burnu, and the goat-pen was in Tekfur Pinari district. Before Venice capture, two of sheep-pens belonged to Ali Beyzâde Mehmed Çelebi, one of them was Dizdar Ahmed's and a sheep-pen and goat-pen one belonged to Mehmed, son of Hizir³⁷. In this date there were two pine groves in Bozcaada. The bigger one called Büyük Çamlık was in Limni Cape, the other one, Küçük Çamlık, was in Büyük Ayazma district. While both woodland belonged to Ali Beyzâde Mehmed Çelebi in this date it passed

³⁵ “Çiftlik-i

Osman Yazıcı bin Ebu Bekir der kurb-i Göz Burnu. Çift tâm I” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 83).

³⁶ “Çiftlik-i

Ümmühan binti-i Dizdar-i sâbik der kurb-i râh-i Maguna. Çift tâm I” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 84).

³⁷ BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 85.

to mîrî. The pasture of the people of Bozcaada was in Göz Tepesi. In the castle side of Degirmen Tepesi there were houses and a cemetery³⁸.

One of the aims of these tahrîrs was to realize the sale of the vineyards and lands that passed to mîrî. According to this tahrîr it is seen that two people bought properties in Bozcaada. The first one was Fazil Ahmed Pasha, the son of Vezir-i azam Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. The other one was the kadi of Edirne, Mustafa Efendi, who was *emin* of this tahrîr and the kadi of army during the period Limni and Bozcaada were taken back. Fazil Ahmet Pasha bought five pieces of vineyard and eight farms in Bozcaada. One of these vineyards, which were totally 57,5 acres, was in Yazicioglu Bahçesi³⁹, the other one in Dizdar-i Sabik Birgosu⁴⁰; three of them were in Mavna Yolu Nâhiyesi⁴¹. All the farms that Fazil Ahmed Pasha bought were in amount of one çift. Seven of those eight farms were registered upon the name of Dizdar Ahmed, one upon his daughter Ümmühan Hatun⁴². Those lands, which were bought by Fazil Ahmed Pasha, while he was beylerbeyi of Erzurum, were sold someone by the official, *mübasir*, called Salih, who was charged with selling the mîrî lands. Then, this situation was reported to the central administration and the necessary investigation was carried out, ultimately an order was sent to the kadi of Bozcaada that the sale would be invalid, and the lands concerned would belong to Fazil Ahmed Pasha⁴³.

Kadi Mustafa Efendi bought two vineyards and two farms in Bozcaada. Those vineyards were in the nâhiyes of Koçba Tepesi and Mavna Yolu and were totally 23 acres⁴⁴. The farms that this person had bought were registered upon Seyyid Mustafa, who was in the district of Büyük Ayazma. Both were in the amount of a çift⁴⁵. After this new tahrîr according to the icmâl of accountancy, prepared by Salih Aga, in H. 1067 through the farms and the vineyards in Bozcaada an income namely 223025 *akçe* was gained⁴⁶. 63400 of this income were spent by Salih Aga, the accountant. The rest of this income, 93544 *akçe*, was used for the salary of cebecis in Bozcaada, 45000 *akçe* also was payed a man called Ali Çavus for their *zahire*. 15250 *akçe* was given to *hassa mimarbasi* Asker Mustafa Aga for the expenditures of repairs in the castle. 4285 *akçe* was paid to the kadi of Bozcaada for *dellaliye* and some other expenditure⁴⁷.

Consequently, Bozcaada, which was conquered during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, was a very big village in the first half of 16th century. Developing from the second half of that century it became a town at the very outset of 17th century. During the naval wars that Ottoman force was involved in because of Crete the island was obtained by Venice force in 1656. Nearly one year later it was taken back and a new tahrîr was made there. This tahrîr, seems to have a different form of registration compared with the classical Ottoman tradition of tahrîr. The main goal here was to determine completely and keep the lands which were appropriate for agriculture under registration then

³⁸ BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 86.

³⁹ “*Bag-i*

Seyyid Mustafa bir tarâfi Pavluga Kolyoz bagina bir tarâfi kendi tarlasina bir tarâfi Yazici Oglu Bagçesine bir tarâfi Süle ogullari zemînine. Dönüm 14.

Vezir-i âzam hazretlerinin veled-i necîbi Ahmed Beg hazretlerine berât-i serifle mahlûl olmagin tevcih olunmusdur” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 62).

⁴⁰ This vineyard called Hacı Yusuf was 5 acres. “*Bag-i mezkûr mîrîsin edâdan sonra Ahmed Beg’e berât-i serifle tevcih olunmusdur*” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 70).

⁴¹ The total amount of these three vineyards in the Nâhiye of Mavna Yolu 38,5 acres and two of them were registered upon Hacı Yusuf and one of them was upon Ümmühan Hatun daughter of former Dizdar (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 80).

⁴² BOA, MAD 4777-M, pp. 83-85.

⁴³ BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 2.

⁴⁴ “*Bag-i*

Dizdar Ahmed bir tarâfi Seyyid Mustafa bagina bir tarâfi Ibrahim Bese zemînine bir tarâfi mezbûr bagina bir tarâfi tarik-i âmm. Dönüm 10 Evlek 1 ve rub.

Sâbikan ordu-yi hümâyûn kadisi ve hâlâ Edirne monlasi olan Zahki Mustafa Efendi hazretlerine mîrîsin edâ itmekle berât-i serifle tevcih olunmusdur. Fi 10 Rebiülahir sene 1068” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 55); The vineyard in the Nâhiye of Mavna Yolu was registered upon Abide Hatun and was 13 acres. Mustafa Efendi bought this vineyard in the same year too (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 81).

⁴⁵ BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 84.

⁴⁶ “*İcmâl-i muhasebe-i bagât ve çiftlikhâ ve agnâm der cezîre-i Bozca Ata be-mübâseret-i Salih Aga*” (BOA, MAD 4777-M, p. 91).

⁴⁷ C. Orhonlu, “Bozcaada Tahrîri”, p. 70.

making the former owners of these lands known and to re-give hüccet who could prove this, and on the other hand, holding unclaimed lands for mîrî and to sell them. Nonetheless, because of the reason that *kanunnâme* belonging to Bozcaada was not prepared, it is impossible to determine the legal situation of both Muslim and non-muslim people. Yet, this new form of writing tahrîr beginning in Bozcaada was improved and continued to be used especially in Aegean Islands. This form of writing in the tahrîrs within whole country was both closely related to the new formation in the parallel of the radical changes in terms of system of *timâr*, and the fiscal application of the government in Aegean Islands. The tahrîr of Crete Island in 1670 entirely includes the census of lands. In this date all the *örfî* taxes taken from the people of the island were completely cancelled, the amount of land possessed was taken into account for taxation. Also *cizye*, which was a kind of *ser'î* tax, undergone an important change. People were divided into three groups, the rich, middle class, and the poor; and *cizye* was taken according to this division. Thus, in getting *cizye*, instead of a total taxation a way of individual taxation was begun to be used. The aim here was to provide the ser'î appropriateness of taxation of *cizye* according to Islamic jurisprudence. All of these applications stem from the influence of Vanî Mehmed Efendi, who was one of the important representatives of Kadizâdeliler movement on Sadrazam Fazil Ahmed Pasha and Padisah Mehmed IV. This style of taking *cizye* in Crete was began to be applied in the whole Ottoman State in 1691 under the name of the reform of *cizye* so as to establish one system for the same ser'î purpose. This tradition of tahrîr, one of the first examples of which was seen in Bozcaada, was closely related to fiscal applications that Ottoman State attempted to establish in Aegean Islands, and that became very common in the islands concerned.

COĞRAFYA-YI ÖRFİ (1827) ÖRFİ PASHA'S UNKNOWN WORK OF THE AEGEAN ISLANDS IN GREEK REBELLION

Fikret SARICAOĞLU
Assoc. Prof., Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University

ÖZET

Bu bildiride, Örfî Paşa'nın Fransızca coğrafya kitaplarından ve görevli bulunduğu Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn'a ulaşan bilgilerden yararlanarak 1827'de kaleme aldığı ve yeni farkedilen *Coğrafya-yı Örfî* adlı çalışması tanıtılmaktadır. Ağırlık merkezini Ege adalarının oluşturduğu Pîrî Reîs'in *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*'si ile Kâtib Çelebi'nin *Müntehab-ı Bahriyye*'sinin bir devamı ve örneği olması, 1821'den itibaren gelişen Rum isyanının öncesi ve sonrasındaki adaların durumuyla ilgili bilgileri, Örfî Paşa'nın şimdilik tek nüshası bilinen çalışmasını dikkate değer kılmaktadır. Müellifin Tercüme Odası'nın kuruluşundaki ilk memurlardan biri olduğu, daha sonra Divân-ı hümâyûn Farsça tercüman kâtiplik görevinde bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. En son Dâr-ı Şûrâ-yı Askerî'ye bağlı İmalat Müdürlüğü'nden emekliye sevk edilen Örfî Paşa (ö.1272/1855) Türk Matbaacılığı'nın kurucusu İbrahim Müteferrika'nın torunlarından.

Coğrafya-yı Örfî, bölgedeki isyan dolayısıyla daha idarecilerin bilgilendirilmesi amacıyla hazırlanmış ve padişaha takdim olunmuş bir eserdir. Konu başlığı yapılarak ilgili bilgilerin aktarıldığı Ege Denizi'ndeki adaların sayısı, Eğriboz [Evvoia] ve Meyis [Megisti] de dahil edilmek gerekirse, 61'e ulaşmaktadır. Eserde, isyan öncesinde adalar halkının, 17 bin gemici/denizciyle ("mellâh") ve küçük büyük 600 parça tekneleriyle, Osmanlı Devleti sayesinde ve rahat bir şekilde dünyanın dört bir tarafında ticaret yaptıkları belirtmektedir. Ada bahislerinde aktarılan temel bilgiler, adanın enlem ve boylamının da dahil olduğu coğrafi konumu, nüfusu, yerleşim yerlerinin (sancak-köy) sayısı ve bazen adı, limanının olup olmadığı ve ekonomik potansiyeliyle ilgilidir. Belirtilen nüfus oranları, köy ve hane sayılarıyla bu rakamın belirtilmediği bir kaç ada hesaba dahil edildiğinde, Ege adalarındaki nüfus için toplam 750 000'in üzerinde bir sayı söz konusu olmaktadır.

Örfî Paşa'nın *Coğrafya*'sı, öncelikle Ege adalarının bu dönemine âit tarih ve tarihî coğrafya araştırmalarının bir kaynak eseri olarak kabul edilebilir. Örfî Paşa, görevi gereği payitaht İstanbul'daki resmî bilgi akışının içinde yer almaktaydı. Eserin değerini arttıran da bu konum dolayısıyla elde edilen bilgilerin bir biçimde aktarılmasıdır. *Coğrafya-yı Örfî*, ağırlıklı olarak Rum isyanı sırasındaki tüm Ege adalarını konu edinen ve bilinen yegane Osmanlı tarihî coğrafya eseri kimliğiyle literatürde kalıcı yer bulacak bir öneme sahiptir.

INTRODUCTION

Among the classic era of Ottoman historic geography prose as a work, there hadn't been an existence of a theme that the Aegean Islands had been entirely and independently mentioned from other geographic regions. As it is known, the world's most well known name Piri Reis, his book *Kitab-i Bahriyye* (first print, 1520-1521; second print, 1525-1526) and again well-known Katip Çelebi's book *Müntehab-i Bahriyye* (compiled in 1645-1646) are the works that had been highly regarded and devoted to the Aegean Sea and its islands from the content of text and cartography. It has been recently recognized which Örfî had a work that wrote in 1827 by the references of French geography books and the informations he received from Divan-i Hümayun as an official. In the page that indicates the owner

of the work signifies the book's name as "*Coğrafya-yi Örfi*" and till present there has been only one copy of it found. The center of the significance based on the Aegean Islands as a constancy and sample of mentioned studies¹ informations about the situation of the islands, before and after the rebellion makes Örfi's work note-worthy.

I. THE INFORMATIONS ABOUT ÖRFİ PASHA'S BIOGRAPHY

In the reference books of Ottoman authors and their works, there isn't any other work of *Geography* or else title that has a related content in the name of Örfi. In the *Geography* he represents himself in charge of Persian translator of Divan-i Hümayun as a clerk; the informations about Örfi's identity has been recently discovered like his work. According to *Sicill-i Osmani* book under the headline of "Örfi Efendi" two lines of record refers that he had education in Europe, had been teacher in Asakir-i Nizamiye and promoted as brigader². Here again represented as an author of well-informed in natural sciences of his era, there hadn't been a record observed about his education in Europe.

In the first pages of *Coğrafya Örfi* states declares that he learned French under the command of Sultan Mahmud II. (1808-1839). When these words and the history of the work is taken into consideration, it could be explained that he was one of the clerks in Divan-i Hümayun Translation/Translator Room Institution. As it is known, within the beginning of Greek rebellion in 1821, all the official Greek translators in Divan were removed and the teacher of *Mühendishane**, Yahya Efendi had been assigned to provide language education for limited number of enthusiastic and qualified young clerks. Thus in 1237/1821 Babiali Translation Room had been established³. It had been a possibility that Örfi was one of the young clerks, on the other hand it is understood that he couldn't/he was not the permanent personnel of the buro. The position that he continued as a Divan-i Hümayun's Persian translator could be followed from the archives. In 1250/1834, Örfi Efendi was ready as a Persian translator when the ambassadors came to inform the new Persian Shah had been ascended the throne and in the acceptance of Mahmud II⁴. The resignation of Örfi Pasha as a brigader for the member of Dar-i Şura is on 3rd of Safer 1259/5th of March 1843⁵. In the same date he was assigned as a Production Manager that had been connected to Asakir-i Nizamiye. The decision about the removal of Product Management, transferring the duties under the control of Dar-i Şura Council, the command of Örfi Pasha's demotion had been issued in 19th of Sevval 1263/30th of September 1847 and on 29th of Rebiülevvel 1264/6th of March 1848 dispatched into retirement⁶. Örfi Pasha died in 1272/1855-1856⁷.

¹ For the basic Ottoman Historic Geograhly Literature for the Aegean Islands, look at F.SARICAOGLU, "Osmanli Harita ve Cografya Eserlerinde Ege Adalari", Haritalar ve Cografya Eserlerine Göre Ege Denizi ve Ege Adalari, (ed. Idris BOSTAN – Ali kurumahmut), Ankara 2003, p.4 – 17.

² Mehmed SÜREYYA, Sicil – i Osmani yahud Tezkire – i Mesahir – i Osmaniye, III., Istanbul 1315, 454.

* Mühendishane: Engineering Center.

³ Sahhaflar Seyhi – zade Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a – nuvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi (Bahir Efendi'nin Zeyl ve Ilaveleriyle), 1237 – 1241 / 1821 – 1826*, nesre haz. Ziya YILMAZER, Istanbul 2000, p. 76 – 77; Ali AKYILDIZ, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanli Merkez Teskilatinda Reform (1836 – 1856)*, Istanbul 1993, p.72 – 78.

⁴ Ahmed Lütfi, *Tarih – I Lütfi*, V, Istanbul 1302, 10.

⁵ Prime Ministry of Ottoman Archives [=BA], Irade – Dahiliye, file nr. 73 / 3604.

⁶ BA, Irade – Mesail – i Mühime, nr. 229; Irade – Dahiliye, file nr. 167 / 8837.

⁷ A handbarrow dated 16 Ramazan 1272 / 21st of May 1856 that includes the information about the assignment of the payment to Örfi's family after his death (BA, Irade – Dahiliye, file nr. 346 / 22797); Mehmet Mermi HASKAN, *Yüzyillar Boyunca Üsküdar*, I, Istanbul 2001, 440.

Örfi Pasha's and his other family members grave are in Üsküdar Uzbeks Tekke Cemetery. At the same place the graves of his father, mother, wife, his sons and his daughter and some names of Örfi Pasha's graves are present. Örfi Pasha was a grandchild of famous İbrahim Müteferrika, the founder of Turkish printing. İbrahim Müteferrika also known as in the nickname of geographer, his son Rifat Efendi had a grandchild Yusuf Efendi was the father of Örfi. As there are historical records about the author's father and his grandfather's graves are found in Uzbeks Tekke Cemetery, today there hasn't been presence of tombstones stated. Grandchild of Örfi Pasha from two generations again had been sheik of Üsküdar Nalçacı Halil Tekke⁸. One of his sons, Ali Pasha had been governor of some places; he became the ambassador of Paris and afterwards died as the governor of Beirut. His other son Emin Bey had some different services in Foreign Affairs Burocracy⁹.

II. THE CONTENT AND VALUE OF COĞRAFYA-YI ÖRFİ

The only transcript of Örfi Pasha's known work is found in Süleymaniye Manuscript Work Library, Esad Efendi Collection, and nr.2045 and had been copied by another writer. The only manuscript of *Coğrafya-yi Örfi*, within the calligraphy it is 56 pages and 21 lines. It has 17.5x 23.1 cm. exterior and 8x15 cm. interior dimensions. The page of the manuscript that clarifies the ownership, the title *Coğrafya-yi Örfi* written with red ink could be possible to regard as the name of the work. As there isn't specific condition, the name doesn't take place in foreword of the book, there isn't an introduction of a work with the same title. On the other hand, the title doesn't reflect the content of the work. The manuscript had been made a fair copy by a handwriting copier representing himself as Ahmet Arif in the date of Ramazan 1243/17th of March – 15th of April 1828. The text doesn't have a frame but had been copied on to the white page and it is a transcript prepared for the gilding. There are few numbers of *hareke*** in the names of the places and few mistakes of *müstensih**** could be recognized.

In the introduction part of *Coğrafya*, it had been explained how it was written. Örfi Efendi declares that he had learned French by the command of Sultan Mahmud II., after learning the book translation and being capable of translating it into Turkish language, he had examined the printed books of geographers, ignored all informations that is unimportant and unnecessary and prepared a translation book that concerns European governments and their administrators. Again according to the informations here Örfi Efendi had presented his work to the Padishah and had been admired. The history of *Coğrafya* had been clarified in both Moslem Calendar (1242) and Gregorian Calendar (1827). According to his words this work is like a summary and has additions¹⁰.

As it is understood from the informations here, *Coğrafya* had been organized by the summary and additions of some French geography books. This compilation and manuscript style had been common from the works of geography and cartography from the previous century of translations. In these kinds of works, there wasn't entire fidelity of text that had been translated, usually abbreviations were used and extra texts were added. Abbreviations were generally based on the era's developments and the places, which belong to Ottoman geography in a signified frame that reflects the information of

⁸ Haskan, *Üsküdar*, I, 286 – 287, 439 – 442. Also for the family records of İbrahim MÜTEFERRIKA look at Hafı Kadri ALPMAN, "İbrahim Müteferrika'nın Torunları ve Seceresi", *Yeni Tarih Dünyası*, II / 12 (February 1954), p.503 – 504, 521.

⁹ BA, BEO, Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi, Nezaret ve Devair, file nr. 387 / 61 ; Dahiliye Nezaret, Mektubi Kalemi, file nr. 1460 / 89; Sicil – i Osmani, III, 580; Mehmed Raif, *Mir'at – i İstanbul*, I, edited by Günay KUT - Hatice AYNUR, İstanbul 1996, 55.

** Hareke: A sign that shows how a single letter should be read in Otoman and Arabic language.

*** Müstensih: Copier.

¹⁰ Vr. 2a – 3b.

Ottoman possessions. Among these entire characteristics, Örfi's *Coğrafya* is in the position of a work for administrators that provide their necessity of getting information about rebellion areas of regions.

The book *Coğrafya* that Örfi mentions as a translation book of 56 pages, the important part and the main text of it had been formed by Mora peninsula (vr.16a-25b)¹¹ with Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid/Aegean Islands (vr.25b-54a). The first title is the distribution of the earth and the Europe's general discription. Later the governments/countries had been mentioned and same topic of introduction title had been used (like "İcmal-i ahval-i İsvec", "İcmal-i ahval-i Rusya) historical geography informations had been recorded. Respectively Sweden, Russia, Denmark, England, France, after Switzerland Bavaria, Saxon and Virtenberg Kingdoms had been mentioned, after writing about the allied powers of Germany, Austria, Prussia, Portugal, Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Rome had been described. The subject title where the United States of America had been mentioned is "İcmal-i ahval-i cumhur-i Amerika".

The informations that form the big part of the work are about the Mora and the Aegean Islands. The expressions here could be defined as under the title of the Aegean Islands' general discription. The number of Aegean Islands under a subject title of related informations that had been transfered reaches to 61 islands including Eğriboz (Evvoia) and Meyis (Megisti). Before Rhodes Island, Cyprus had been narrated, the last subject of the titles of the work had been formed by Marmara and Istanbul Islands. In expressions of islands, due to their existence around there are some islands that had been stated by their names or discribed in some few words. Here are the names of Aegean/Mediterranean Islands that had been narrated as a subject title in *Coğrafya-yi Örfi*.

"Çamlica [Hydra], Sulica [Spetsae], Poros [Poros], Egene [Aegina], Kolori [Koulouri-Salamis], Mürted [Keos-Kea], Andire [Andros], İstendil [Tenos], Termiye [Thermia-Kytnos], Şire [Syros], Miknoz [Mykonos], Serkoz [Seriphos], Büyük Değirmenlik [Antimelos], Şifnoz [Siphnoz], Andibare [Antiparos], Bare [Paros], Nakşa [Naxos], Polikandiros [Polykandros - Folegandros], Siknos [Sikinos], Niyo or another name as Apanos [Ios - Nio], Amorgos [Amorgos], Santorin [Thera], Anafi [Anafi], İstinpalya - İstanbuliyye [Astypalaia], Çoban or another name as Kaşot [Kasos], Girid (Crete - Kriti), Küçük Çuka [Cerigotto - Antikythira], Rodos [Rhodes], Kerpe [Karpachos], Meyis [Castellorizo - Megisti], Sönbeki [Simi] Herke or another name as Karki [Khalkia], İlki or another name as İlliki [Tilos], İncirli [Nisiros], Kalyamoz [Kalimnos], Liryo [Leros], İstanköy [Kos], Patnoz [Patmos], Ahikerpe or another name as Karyot [Ikaria], Sisam [Samos], Sakiz [Chios - Hiyos], İpsara [Ipsara], Midillü [Mytilini - Iesvos], Cunda/Yund, Bozcaada [Tenedos], Limni [Limnos], İmros [Imbros - Gökçeada], Semadirek [Samothrace - Samotraki], Taşöz [Thasos], Bozbaba [Evstratios], Cezire-i Biper [Makronisi], Hasir, Kirepanabaya, İskancura [Skantsura], Küçük Çamlica [Dokas], İşkepelos/İşkepeloz [Skopelos], İşkatoz [Skiathos], İşkebroz [Skiros], Eğriboz [Euboea - Evvoia]"¹².

In the work of Örfi, generally the presentation of names of the places which were empty and inhabiting areas ("cezire-i haliye/gayr-i meskun") were informed and sometimes other Aegean Islands had been mentioned in one or two words¹³. These islands are, Sancorci [Poros], Engeteri [Aegina], Biper [Kytnos], Delos, Dene [Mykonos], Polino [Antimelos], Kardivinis/Kardiyonisi [Sikinos], Polo [Amorgos], Tıraçya [Thera], Gados, Sitanuya, Todori [Kriti], İlimya [Khalkia], Leril Islands, Lipos,

¹¹ The districts of Mora and the villages that are connected to them, their products, the numbers of cizye documents, distance between the districts and some other geographic informations had been filed within a single page in a manuscript (Süleymaniye Manuscript Work Library, Hüsrev Pasha Collection, nr. 847) probably belongs to Örfi. Except the first few pages, the work is devoted to the subject about the re-establishment of Ottoman authority in Mora, could be identified as a report.

¹² Vr. 26a - 54a. For the identification of island names in modern literature, two Works had been used briefly: W.C. Brice, *The Aegean Sea - Chart of Mehmed Reis İBN Menemenli* (trc. C. Imber, nesr. R. Lorch), Manchester 1972; Haritalar ve Coğrafya Eserlerine Göre Ege Denizi ve Ege Adaları, Add. 1.

¹³ The parenthesis after the name of island, signifies the approximate position and the subject identification of the island. Like all the names in Otoman language, the differences about the spelling and reading of islands' name are known and here there is a fidelity of original text's orthography.

Nekri, Harnedehamer [Leros], Fornos [Patmoz], English Urla Islands [Hiyos], Manerya [Bozcaada], Sarakimu [Dokas]. Besides the author had mentioned these kinds of islands stating their numbers. Kerpe [Karpathos], Meyis [Megisti], Sönbeki [Simi], Herke [Khalkia], İlki [Tilos], İncirli [Nisiros], Kalyamoz [Kalimnos] and Liryoz [Leroz] Islands were classified and identified as connected to the Rhodes.

The characteristic, which makes the book *Coğrafya* more valuable without any doubt, is the era that had been written. As it is known, the rebellion of Rum/Greek had started in 6th of April 1821 and continued for 10 years¹⁴. The informations, which had been gathered by the studies in 1827, are extremely important from this point of view and there isn't a similar one of it among Ottoman historical geography works. The *Coğrafya* that had been prepared in the second era of rebellion and in the year 1827, the revelation of the translated manuscript and after the detailed studies would make possible to answer other questions. The work's hand written time, year 1827 had been the era that two developments happened. In 6th of July 1827, the treaty had been made in London between England – Russia – France, had been considered that Greece should be an independent state. In 20th of October 1827, the raid of Navarin had been realized. In *Coğrafya* the evidence and reflections of these important developments could be studied.

The informations that had been recorded under the title of general description of Mediterranean/Aegean Islands in *Coğrafya-yi Örfi*, first of all includes the explanation of these islands' geography¹⁵. According to these islands are restricted Rumeli from the north, Girit from the south, Anatolia from the east and Mora and Livadiye from the west. Some parts of the islands are stony and without crop, some of the islands are rather productive. Örfi also had stated that in the islands there are lots of historical monuments and ruins, which belongs to the antique era. Generally the products of the Aegean Islands are silk, olive oil, cotton, wine (hamr), raki (arak), lamb, spring wool, cheese, honey, wax, wheat, barley, corn, popcorn, linen, siam, bean, horsebean, maize, tobacco, lemon, orange, tree muskmelon, seville orange, kebat, fig, grape, almond and the others. Within the plants that are suitable for natural treatment and the trees either with or without product are present, bird hunting and fishing is done, besides gold, silver, iron, lead, magnet stone, sulphur and alum mines, colourful marble hearths and salt pans exist.

Örfi Pasha states that the people of islands within 17 thousand mariner/sailor (“*mellah*”) and 600 pieces of small and big vessels, by the favour of Ottoman Empire they were used to trade comfortably all around the world before the rebellion. Within the beginning of rebellion their richness had turned into poverty and according to him its reason is “*absence of appreciation*”.

The basic informations that had been received in island topics, are about including the parallel and longitude of geographic position, population, the places of settlements (sanjak – village) and the number of them or sometimes the name, existence of a harbour and economic potential. The notes that reflect Örfi's informations are scattered between the lines. Except Örfi's transferred informations from the translations, which padishah or pasha had conquest the island for the first time, besides the priority of trade concessions other privileges that cause island people to encourage for the rebellion (to obtain patent and passport, to be able to open flag), what kind of vessels were used – within the numbers, vessel construction and personnel, some marine battles like Çeşme, how did they participate to the rebellion and their circumstances afterwards were mentioned.

¹⁴ About the observation of islands in the rebellion look at Mübahat S. KÜTÜKOĞLU, “Yunan İsyani Sirasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları”, *Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri, Bildiriler, Tarih Boyunca Türk – Yunan İlişkileri (Till 20th of July, 1974)*, Ankara 1986. p.133 – 161. That book could be referred for the whole event: W.A. Phillips, *The War of Greek Independence 1811 – 1833*, London – New York 1897.

¹⁵ “Der – ta’rif – i umumi – i Cezayir – i Bahr – i Sefid” (vr. 25b – 26a).

Again according to his informations, the Island Şire [Syros], is the headquarter of other countries' consuls. In Çoban [Kasos] Island, now "the sword remmands" are about to assemble in one or two pieces. Küçük Çuka [Antikythira] Island is in the disposition of England. In Liryoç [Leros] Island, from 300 households, 6 of them are Muslims but can't speak Turkish. In Semadirek [Samotraki], 500 household of a village within 2000 population, only 100 of them had been gathered after the rebellion. The general mood of the work reflects the anger within the reason of Greek rebellion starting from Padishah to all administrators and probably Muslim public. The expressions, which were used and repeated, are in the frame of an idea that the people of islands had made a mistake with the attempt of rebellion and now they are punished.

When all the manuscript is scanned, the total population of the Aegean Islands in the mentioned era could be obtained. Örfi Pasha, had sometimes informed the numbers directly (like 3000 population) sometimes informed expressed as in terms of household numbers (like 200 households, 100 of them are married) about the information of islands population. Besides the islands, which the populations were not signified, there are some places that he both stated the number of households and population.

The ratios of identified population, village and household numbers (a household had been assumed as 5 person as in common) including some of the islands that were not stated their population, it is possible to reach over the number of 750 000 people for total. As it hadn't been stated obviously, the numbers that were indicated are the general profile of the population of islands before the rebellion. For a few number of islands the population of the year that the work had been written indicated. As in the line up of population greatness, Girid (300 000), afterwards Sakiz (60 000), Midilli (40 000), Limni and İstendil (25 000), Rhodes (22 000), Çamlıca (20 000), Sisam, Andire and Santorin (12 000), Nakşa and Kerpe (10 000) islands follow. It is also possible to indicate Eğriboz Island with a 60 000 population. The island that a harbour don't exist are Egene, Serkoz, Küçük Değirmenlik, Şifnoz, Polikandiros, Siknoz, Amorgos, Küçük Çuka, İncirli, Patnoz, Ahikerpe, İmroz, Taşöz, Bozbaba and Küçük Çamlıca.

Örfi Pasha's *Coğrafya*, before all else could be accepted as a source work of historical geography and different science history fields in terms of Aegean Islands' era that had been mentioned. There isn't any knowledge of the fact that the author had been stayed or visited these islands. However, Örfi Pasha took place in the currency of formal information in the capital Istanbul as an official. The reason which makes the work valuable is the fact that the informations transferred in advantage of this official position. In *Coğrafya-yi Örfi* the study of identification about which French geography books had been used during the writing process could also help how the work had been formed. In order to reach significant conclusions, the work should be compared and evaluated within Otoman documents and history. If it is necessary to underline the word again, recently recognized Örfi Pasha's work named as *Coğrafya-yi Örfi*, significantly based on Aegean Islands during the Greek rebellion and it is the only geography work of Ottoman history ever known.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OTTOMAN'S CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION ON TASHOZ

Ali ARSLAN

Associated Prof. Dr., Department of History, Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University

ÖZET

Çanakkale Boğazı ve Balkanlar için çok önemli bir mevkide olan Taşöz adası 1813 yılından itibaren Mehmet Ali Paşa Vakfı tarafından yönetilmeye başlanmıştı. İngiltere'nin Taşöz'deki vakıf vasıtası ile Boğazlar ve Balkanlar istikametinde politik manevraları üzerine, Osmanlı Hükümeti Taşöz'de mülki idare kurmak için harekete geçmişti. Osmanlı Hükümeti ilk defa 1889 yılında Taşöz'de birinci sınıf bir nahiye müdürlüğü kurulması için teşebbüsü gerçekleştirmemişti. Ancak on yıl II. Abdülhamid Taşöz adasında Osmanlı mülki idaresinin kurulmasını istemişti. 1898-1902 yılları arasında yapılan çalışmalar neticesinde Taşöz kaymakamlığına atama yapılması için müracaat edildiğinde, bu defa II. Abdülhamid Taşöz'de Osmanlı yönetiminin etkili olması için Mutasarrıflık kurulmasına karar vermişti. O dönemdeki önemine binaen Mutasarrıflık olarak teşkilatlandırılan Taşöz'ün statüsü, normalleşmeye paralel olarak 1910 yılında birinci sınıf daha sonra da üçüncü sınıf bir kazaya dönüştürülmüştür. Bu ada 1913 yılında Yunanistan'ın eline geçmiştir.

Tashoz Island, which had an strategic location in the geography of the Dardanelles and the Balkans, had been conquered by the Ottoman's Commander Yunus Bey in 1457. In the beging it had been related to the *Sancağ* of Gelibolu but with the establishment of Cezair -i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet it was related to it in terms of administration¹.

In 1228 H. /1813 the island was given by Mahmut II. to Muhammed Ali Pash as a charitable (waqif) on which had been administered by the kapikahyasi for a long time and after that by the Directorate of Waqifs, by the end of the 19th century had entered a new challenge. When the British dominated Suez Canal in 1870 the island started to be on the seen. Particularly, after the British colony on Egypt, the suspicious of the Ottoman's had increased that the British will drew their attention to the location of this island near the Dardanelles and to put it under their colonisation. Therefore the Ottomans started their efforts to put Tashoz Island again under their civilian administration².

¹ Idris Bostan (Editor), *Ege Adalarinin Idari, Mali ve Sosyal Yapisi*, Ankara 2003, p. 8-9, 86.

² Suleyman Kiziltoprak, "The Administration of Tashoz Island Assigned to Mehmed Ali Pasha's Waqf in Kavala and Related Issues", the Second International Symposium On Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans (Tirana-Albania, 4-6 December 2003) (unpublished).

THE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH A FIRST CLASS SUB-DISTRICT (NAHIYE) ADMINISTRATIVE IN TASHOZ

The first Ottoman's attempt to re-start a civilian administration on Tashoz Island and their first initiative had been seen in 1889. It was like this; the priests of Aya Dimitri monastery of Aynaroz had started a construction of a building in the field that located in Butamiye Port in Tashoz Island. In accordance to that the chief of Kavala Port ordered the regional chiefs who informed the Directorate of Waqifs of Tashoz Island. But the Directorate of Waqifs pointed that this order is not valid for Tashoz Island. On the contrary the Ministry of Navy, which didn't recognised any knowledge about the expiation case of the island asked for explanation from the Council of the State. In accordance to that, the Department of Reforms of the Council of the State (Şura-yi Devlet Tanzimat Dairesi) studied the legal status of Tashoz Island and prepared an official report that submitted to the Council of Ministers (Meclis-i Mahsus-i Vükelâ). The council of the state proved by document that according to the order of the Sultan and imperial property Tashoz Island as a waqf property legally had been left for the Wakif of Mohamed Ali Pasha³. But, this rights was not effective in terms of legal administrative property of the Tashoz Island, thus they decided that the administration of the island should be direct from the Central Ottoman Government⁴. Besides, the Council of the State tied the decision with that; loading or shutting the general ports did not need permission from the Directorate of Waqifs, but it should be through the shelter of navy. The Special Council of Ministers, who had studied the official report of the Council of the State, informed the Ministry of Navy to take into consideration by needed actions, to bring force the appropriate instruction of the Director of Regional Ports for Tashoz port issue.

Therefore, the point of view of the Council of the State was that; the civilian administration of Tashoz Island is related to Ottoman's Government, in accordance to that the Council of Ministers notify the Ministry of Interior Affairs to started their action to set up a first class directorship for the civil administration in Tashoz Island and to appoint a qualified person with suitable salary⁵.

According to the decision of the Cabinet, the Ministry of Interior Affairs confirm that the monthly salary for a first class district's director (Nahiye Müdürü) was seven hundred and fifty piaster, for the clerk tow hundred per month and ten piasters for the stationary budget. But because of Tashoz Island's importance and its special location, the Ministry of Interior came to belief that it was necessary to make it one thousand and five hundred for the director, five hundred for clerk and fifty piasters for the stationary. The annual budget to set up a first district in Tashoz would be in need of eighteen thousand for the director, six thousand and six hundred piasters for the clerk's salary and the stationary together. This amount should be included in the annual budget. The condition to include such amount into the annual budget, need the approval of the Grand Minister, to be suitable by the point of view of the Special Council of Ministers and to be certified by the Sultan⁶. Therefore the Grand Minister Kamil Pasha who had accepted this proposal to establish a district organization (Nahiye) in Tashoz, requested the decree of the Sultan to include the mentioned money in the budget⁷. But the approval decree of Sultan Abdulhamid II. to establish the district had not issued.

³ The note of the Grand Minister Kamil Pasha to the Ministry of Interior dated the 2ed of Paban 1306/22 Mart 1305 (3.April 1889); BOA, Y.A.Res, 48/12, folder 2.

⁴The note of the Grand Minister Kamil Pasha to the Sultan dated 18 Sevval1306/4 Haziran 1305(16.June 1889); BOA, Y.A.Res, 48/12, folder 1.

⁵ The note of the Grand Minister Kamil Pasha to the Ministry of Interior dated 2 Paban 1306/22 Mart 1305(3.April 1889); BOA, Y.A.Res, 48/12, folder 2.

⁶The note from the advisor to the Ministry of Interior Affairs to the Grand Ministry dated 18 Ramazan 306 ve fi 6 Mayıs1305(18.May 1889); BOA, Y.A.Res, 48/12, folder 2.

⁷ The note of the Grand Minister Kamil Pasha to the Sultan dated 18 Sevval1306/4 Haziran 1305(16.June 1889); BOA, Y.A.Res, 48/12, folder 1.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE OTTOMAN'S DISTRUSTFULNESS ON EGYPT

The English occupation to Ottoman- Egypt had in fact increased the problems between the Ottoman's central government and the local administrators, in addition to that British who was not willing to see Sudan again under the Hidev administration for a while, changed their decision in 19 January 1899 and established the Anglo-Egyptian Government on Sudan. This step had brought the problem to it's peek. Because this treaty between England and Egypt had not put into consideration the right of The Ottomans in Sudan, furthermore in this treaty they did not even consult the Ottomans, which could be consider as a stroke to the Ottomans Government. That meant the status would be like this: Over Suakin the Egyptian, the English and Egyptians flags would be waving together over the rest of the Sudan; The military and civil administrator in Sudan would be appointed with the recommendation of the king of England and the approval of the Hidev, his title would be the General Governor of the Sudan. According to that the lands that legally belonged to the Ottomans including Sudan, unwillingly, it appeared that with the forum of Angelo- Egyptian became under the British rule⁸. In this manner Egypt started not to behave like an Ottoman province any more but like small partner to the British. Therefore if the Egyptian administrators in Tashoz Island became under the British control it would lead to a great danger for the Ottomans in the Dardanelles and the Balkans. Thus in such a period the idea of the civil Ottoman administration in Tashoz be come a current issue.

THE DECISION OF ESTABLISHING AN OTTOMAN CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN TASHOZ AND THEIR EFFORT TO APPOINT A KAIMAKAM

In 1898 the Hidev of Egypt sent employees to Tashoz Island, but their behaviours and operations made the inhabitants complained to the Sultan who assigned one of his assistant Mr. Mazhar to investigate the case in the region⁹. According to the reports and the telegraphs that had been sent by Mr. Mazhar, Abdulhamid II. decided that, the Egyptian employees had not the right to be found a quarter that had not been mentioned in the imperial command (Ferman) of the Hidev's Family and it is necessary to relate Tashoz Island with a civil administration directly committed to the Sublime Porte. Somewhat apart, as it was in Tashoz, Abdulhamid II. wanted to remove the Egyptian employees in the nearby district of Tashoz such as Kavala. In addition to that the decree of this important issue of the civil administration in Tashoz and to send it's official employees had been written in 30 August (11 September 1898). This decree had been studied by the Council of Ministers, the Sultan himself wanted to know the conclusion of their decision in an official report¹⁰.

On behalf of the Sultan desire, this matter took it is place in the agenda of the Council of Ministers, who decided to relate Tashoz Island to Sublime Porte though a civil administration in their official report dated 25 Cemaziyelevvel 316 (11 October 1898). Because the island had been given to Mohammed Ali Pasha as "malikiyet" only to benefit from it is products, otherwise "the right of administration and all kind of civil management were belonged to the Government" it should be related to the Government.

⁸ Ali Arslan, "Sudan'in Hukuken Türkiye'den Ayrılma Süreci", In Honour of Prof. Dr. Mehmet Saray Studies on Turkie World, Istanbul 2003, p. 103-116.

⁹ Official report of the Cabinet dated 25 Cemaziyelevvel 316(6.October 1898); BOA, Y.A.Res, 106/55, folder 2.

¹⁰ The decree of Abdulhamid II. dated 24 Rebiülahir 316 and in 30 August 314(11.September 1898); BOA, Irade-i Hususiye 1316 R 24, no: 116.

The Council of Ministers, had not use the clam of the right of the Government in this case, but the Directorate of Waqifs appointed that this kind of arrangement in taking back a legal right of a waqf might let to open a way of miss understanding. The official employees of the waqifs of Tashoz and Kavala who had resigned, the decision that made about them was that; their residence there was just related to their position and obligation. The Council of Ministers clarifies that; later on the hatred between the inhabitants and the Directorate of Waqifs had increased and that might let to a danger of a foreign intervention. Thus as quickly as passable the Ottoman Government should appoint and send a district's director and a committee of official staff to Tashoz Island. The Council of Ministers who reached this conclusion presented to Abdulhamid II¹¹.

In this way, the Ottoman Government started to establish an administrative district in Tashoz related to the civil Ottoman administration. The first person to be thought about for the directorate of Tashoz which was related to Selanik province was Mr. Fehmi the director (Kaimakam) of Nurkob. However with the excuse of Mr. Fehmi they should look for an other candidate for the district. The Governor of Selanik Hasan Fahmi appointed the director of Arvathisar Mr. Feyz as some one with a good qualification such as graduated from school, experienced, could read and write Greek language, and reliable person for the position. Exactly like that, Mr. Feyzi had been appointed as a director "Kaimakam" for Tashoz in 13 March 1318 (26 May 1902). A day after in 14 March 1318 (27 May 1902) the governor of Selanik Hasan Fehmi informed the Grand Minister that Mr. Feyzi was ready to proceed for his new job¹². The grand Minister present Mr. Feyzi to the Sultan as the one that had been chosen as a kaimakam for Tashoz¹³. Only, Abdulhamid II. did not approve the appointment of Mr Feyzi as a kaimakam for Tashoz Island.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MUTASARIFLIK IN TASHOZ ISLAND

When the Grand Minister applied to the Sultan Abdulhamid II. on the matter of appointing Mr. Feyzi for the post of a Kaimakam in Tashoz Island, the Sultan did not approved this appointment and in state of that he decided an establishment of Mutasarriflik in Tashoz Island. Abdulhamit II. who knew the importance and peculiarity of Tashoz Island, may be he wanted to organized it as a central Sanjak, so that he wanted to appoint a Mutasarrif over there. Furthermore, Abdulhamid II. a point that he would help to give the Mutasarrif high rank, a great power and with a high level of security. Somewhat a part from that, he ordered that for stabilising the Mutasarriflik of Tashoz, they should start the needed treatments immediately¹⁴.

To restart the civil administration in Tashoz Island, had in fact made the proposal of establishing a directorate of subdistrict in Tashoz in 1889 uninterested, and although Abdulhamit II. had not taken the establishment of Kaimakamlık so sensitively in 1889, but in 1902 he had given the issue of Tashoz Island much importance and decided to administered it by a sanjak. The purpose of Sultan Abdulhamid II. from that to decrease the activities of the British on the island through Egypt, and to strengthen the Ottoman authorities and to be powerful in their achievements.

According to the decision of establishing Mutasarriflik in Tashoz Island, the Ottoman Government started the needed preparation. For establishing a third class Mutasarriflik, they started to

¹¹The official report of the Cabinet dated 25 Cemaziyevvel 1316(6.October 1898); BOA, Y.A.Res, 106/55, folder 2.

¹² The telegraph of the Vali of Selanik Hasan Fehm to the Grand Ministry dated 12 Mayis 1318(25.May 1902): BOA, Special Decree 1320 S 19, no:63, folder 4.

¹³ The notes from the Grand Minister to the Sultan Abdulhamid II. dated 13 Mayis 1318 (26.May 1902)); BOA, Special Decree 1320 S 19, no:63, folder 3.

¹⁴ The decree of II. Abdulhamid dated 19 Safer 1320 ve 14 Mayis 1318 (27.May 1902) tarihli; BOA, Special Decree 1320 S 19, no:4, folder 1.

plan for the needed police constitutions. Beside that from what class and how many police officers were needed. Further more how much police were needed was also determined. In 22 June 1902 there were an agent police officer and three policemen were doing their job in Tashoz Island¹⁵.

Finally, Tashoz Island which was related to the Ottoman's civil administration, before it reached its first year its Mutasarrif Mr. Kazim had been dismissed. The Grand Minister had appointed Mr. Arifi who departed from Mutasarriflik of Marash in 20. April 1903 (22 Muharrem 1321). But Sultan Abdulhamit II. did not consider that appointment as a suitable choice for an important place like Tashoz Island and he ordered that for this post they should appoint a suitable one in a short time and to inform him about that quickly¹⁶. After that Mr. Emin had been appointed as a Mutasarrif for Tashoz Island.

According to the resignation of Mr. Emin the Mutasarrif of Tashoz Island in 1906, the Minister of Interior Affairs wanted to transfer the post to the Mutasarrif of Saard Ozdemir Husameddin Pasha with his announcement to the Grand Minister dated 17 December 1906 (4 Kanun-i evvel 1322)¹⁷. Therefore the Grand Minister had presented a note to the Sultan concerning this proposal in 25. December 1906 (9 Zilkade 1324)¹⁸. Only this appointment had not been accepted, so the Ministry of Interior Affairs had to do more studies on the subject so they apply for the Memurîn-i Mülkiye Komisyonu (Commission of Civil Bureaucrats) in 31 December 1906 (15 Zilkade 1324). The Memurîn-i Mülkiye Komisyonu had approved the transfer of Husameddin Pasha to be the Mutasarrif of Tashoz Island¹⁹. In spite of that the Sultan did not approve that appointment. Although there was neither negative nor positive answer to that appointment the Grand ministry again asked the Minister of Interior to study the case in 6 April 1907 (24 Mart 1323)²⁰. The Grand Minister sent his notes to the Sultan applying to appoint Husameddin Pasha for the Mutasarriflik of Tashoz Island in 7 May 1907 (24 Nisan 1323). Some what apart, the Grand Minister clarify that the vacant place that would occurred by the appointment of Husameddin Pasha in Anatolia would be filled by Mr. Feyzi who had been dismissed from the Mutasarriflik of Gorice²¹. Nevertheless, in this work we have not approved that whether Husameddin Pasha had been appointed for the Mutasarriflik of Tashoz Island or not.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TASHOZ MUTASARRIFLIK TO KAIMAKAMLIK AND REDUCTION TO A THIRD CLASS KAIMAKAMLIK

In 1910 (1326) Tashoz was not a Mutasarriflik but it had been found as a first class Kaimakamlik inside Selanik District. Whoever, the Ministry of Interior Affairs which was not in fact content with the importance of Tashoz Island, wanted to lower the degrees of Kaimakam to a third class level. The Ministry of Interior, applied to the Council of the State to transform the administration there it into a third class subdivision. When the Council of the State studied the case they realized that importance of the place, if they reduced Tashoz to a third class subdistrict it would be so low for it and they concluded that it would be suitable to consider it as second class. Somewhat apart, the Council of the State noted that if it would happen to reduce Tashoz to a third class subdistrict, the reasons of this

¹⁵ The telegraph of the Vali of Selanik Hasan Fehmi to the Ministry of Police Force dated 18 Haziran 1318(1. July 1902), BOA, ZB, 156/85.

¹⁶ The decree of Abdulhamid II. dated 19 Safer 1321/4 Mayıs 1319 (17. May 1903); BOA, Special Decree 1321 p. 19, no: 62.

¹⁷ The notes of Minister of Interior to the Grand Ministry Dated 24 Mart 1323(6. April 1907); BOA, Y.A.Res, 165/35, folder 2.

¹⁸ The notes of the Grand Minister to the Sultan Abdulhamid II. dated 24 Nisan 1323 (7. May 1907); BOA, Y.A.Res, 146/35, fold 1.

¹⁹ The notes of Memurîn-i Mülkiye Komisyonu dated 22 Zilhicce 1324 (6. February 1907); BOA, Y.A.Res, 146/35, fold 3.

²⁰ The notes of Minister of Interior to the Grand Ministry Dated 24 Mart 1323(6. April 1907); BOA, Y.A.Res, 165/35, fold 2.

²¹ The notes from Grand Minister to the Sultan Abdulhamid II. Dated 7 May (1907) 24 Nisan 1323); BOA, Y.A.Res, 146/35, fold 1.

reduction should be shown to them²². The basic reason for reducing Tashoz to a third class sub district was that the money that was needed to the second class subdistrict of Gevgilli²³ that should be increased to a first class level. Because without expectation the budget of Gevgilli had to be increased to a first class level in 1911, and that could not be done without reducing Tashoz to a third class level to gain the needed money. On the other hand reducing Tashoz to a third class level had no any political or administrative objection²⁴. They put into account that, when Tashoz became a third class sub district that meant 1000 piasters would be saved, from that they could add 500 piasters to the salary of the Kaimakam of Gevgilli, and with disposal to the left 500 piasters.

The Ministry of Interior Affairs, which had completed its preparations to make it as a matter of fact and to make it legal in the opening of the Parliament it prepared a Governmental decision and submitted to the Grand Ministry²⁵. The reduction of Tashoz Island from a first class to a third class subdivision, shows the stability of the security and the Ottoman administration in the island.

CONCLUSION

Tashoz Island, which had an strategic location in the Dardanelles and the Balkans, had been administered by the Waqif of Mohamed Ali Pasha since 1813. England which had taken Egypt under its administration started to use it expand into Africa, when they also wanted to use Tashoz in their extension towards Dardanelles and the Balkans, the Ottoman Government started to move to put Tashoz under its civil administration.

For the first time the Ottoman Government attempt to establish a first class subdistrict directorate in Tashoz Island in 1889, but Sultan Abdulhamid II. did not approve it. Merely, after 10 years Egypt started to behave as a small partner to England, so that Abdulhamid II. gave his orders to start an Ottoman civil administration in Tashoz Island. As a result to the work that had been carried out during 1898- 1902 application had been made to establish a kaimakam in Tashoz, but this time Abdulhamid II. decided to establish a Mutasarriflik in the island. Abdulhamid II. thought that under the shade of the powerful civil administration that should be established could stand against the foreign powers and brought security. The status of Tashoz that organized as a Mutasarriflik for the need of the time, in a parallel to being normal reached a first class in the year 1910 and after that returned to a third class subdistrict. From the strategic point of view this important island fell in the hand of the Greece since 1913.

²² The notes of the Head of Council of the State to the Ministry of Interior dated 18 Saban 1328/10 Augustos 1326 (23.August 1910); BOA, DH.MUI, 121/47, fold 3.

²³ In fact the Greek-Bulgarian- Vlach conflict in Gevgilli district became bigger and bigger and there should be an action towards that. For more information see: Ali Arslan, "Greek-Vlach Conflict in Macedonia", Etudes Balkaniques, No 2, Sofia 2003, p. 87-92.

²⁴ The notes of the Intelligence Office that written by the command of the advisor to the Ministry of Interior to the Council of the State dated 14 Augustos 1326(27.August 1910); BOA, DH.MUI, 121/47, fold 2.

²⁵ The notes from the Ministry of Interior to the Grand Ministry dated 2 Eylül 1327 (15.September 1911); BOA, DH.MUI, 121/47, fold 1.

TRANSFER OF THE ISLAND TASHOS FROM THE EGYPTIAN WAQF ADMINISTRATION TO THE THESSALONIKI VILAYET (1902)

Süleyman KIZILTOPRAK

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Art & Science, Mimar Sinan University

ÖZET

Taşoz Adası Kaptan Paşa hassından olarak öteden beri, Selanik vilayeti Kavala kazasına bağlı idi. Mehmed Ali Paşa Vahhabi hareketini bastırdıktan sonra, Kavala'da kurduğu cami ve medreselere vakıf etmek üzere Taşoz hakkında bir talepte bulundu. Böylece ada, H.1228/ M.1813 tarihinde Sultan II. Mahmud'un iradesiyle Paşa'ya ihsan edildi.

Ada bundan sonra, adigeçen vakıf mütevellileri tarafından daha çok gelirleri kontrol etmekle görevlendirilen kişilerin otoritesine bırakıldı. 1870'li yıllarda adanın idari bakımdan yeniden yapılanması sırasında, Taşoz halkının büyük bir kısmı tepki gösterdi. Bu tepkiler, 1890'lara gelindiğinde iyice arttı. Geniş halk kesimi adanın vakıf yönetiminin kaldırılmasını ve Babıali'nin burayı doğrudan yönetmesini dile getiriyorlardı. Yeni düzenlemelere karşı halkın tepkisi daha çok ormanlar ve madenler üzerineydi. Vakıf müdürü ve ona bağlı memurlar, davranış ve uygulamalarını gözden geçirecekleri yerde ada halkına karşı daha sert davranmaya başladılar.

1902 yılının başında, yapılan bir gösteride vakıf görevlileri halkı dağıtmak için silah kullandı. Bu olay neticesinde 3 ölü ve 5 yaralı vardı. Bunun üzerine Taşoz temsilcileri, Sultanın müdahalesini istemek üzere Kavala'ya gittiler. 7 Mayıs 1902 tarihinde Kavala Kaymakamı Sakızlı Emin Paşa Sadrazam Said Paşa tarafından verilen emre uygun olarak adanın yönetimini Mısırlılardan alarak doğrudan Selanik vilayetine bağladı.

Hidiv bu yeni durumu kabul etmek istemedi. Ancak Babıali kararlılığını korudu ve ada halkının da istekleri doğrultusunda, yönetimi elinde tutmaya devam etti. Bundan sonra, Yunan işgaline uğramasına kadar (31 Ekim 1912) Taşoz, doğrudan doğruya bazen Sancakbazen de kaza halinde Selanik'e bağlı olarak idare edildi.

The northern Aegean island Tashos, being included in the *Kaptan Paşa hass* (the Grand Admiral fief) had long been belonged to the Kavala *kaza* (district within *vilayet*) of the Thessaloniki vilayet (province). Mehmed Ali Paşa, after suppressing the Wahhabid rebellion,¹ requested from the Sultan, then Mahmud II, to grand the island to him as an estate, whose revenue was to be allocated to the mosques and *madrasahs* that he founded in Kavala. Thus, Sultan Mahmud II decreed in H.1228 (1813) the island to be given to the charity institutions in Kavala as a *waqf*.

Firstly, *kapıkahyas* who worked for the governor of Egypt in İstanbul, and then a director from the Egyptian Ministry of Waqfs sent there a müdür to govern the island. The Egyptian official was only

¹ For more information about this subject see, Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, İstanbul; Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309, vol.X, pp. 112-113; Muhammed H. Kutluoglu, *The Egyptian Question, 1831-1841*, İstanbul; Eren Yayıncılık, 1998, p. 38; Sinasi Altundag, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa İsyanı: Misir Meselesi, 1831-1841*, Ankara; TTK, 1945, p. 27; Zekeriyâ Kursun, *Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanlı Hakimiyeti: Vehhabi Hareketi ve Suud Devleti'nin Ortaya Çıkışı*, Ankara; Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998, p. 52.

to deal with the waqf affairs, and had nothing to do with the administration, with some little exceptions. However, these exceptions could only be removed after half a century.

New rights given to the Christian subjects and centralisation practices of the state brought by the *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* decrees (respectively 1839 and 1856) were crucial also in the Tashos island. The Sublime Porte sent the Khedive (Egyptian governor) a letter seeking for realisation of new regulations in accordance with the “1864 Regulations on Vilayets”, and for making clear some questions regarding the waqf status of the island by the Egyptian waqf director.

During the administrative reorganisation in 1870's, part of the island population reacted to the changes carried out by Egypt. Indeed, the regulations carried out by İsmail Paşa, then khedive of Egypt, were convenient to the 1869 and 1874 rules on vilayets. People split into two as those supporting the Egyptian waqf administration and those wanting to remain under Kavala. Confrontations between the two culminated in the 1890's.² Supporters of the Egyptian administration were mainly magnates, while public majority was wishing the waqf administration to be abolished, and the Sublime Porte to govern the island directly.

A great part of the disagreements between the islanders and the Egyptians was concerning use of forests. Indeed, Halim Paşa, who had become director of the Tashos waqfs just before his death, gave a company administered by N. I. Psiakis, a Greek living in Egypt, pertinent privileges about use of forests and management of old mines. But Halim Paşa soon dead, and İsmail Paşa, the new director, annulled the agreement.

The Tashos General Board decided to protest this on August 3, 1894, but they could not conveyed this message to Egypt via their own representatives. İsmail Paşa dead after 6 months, at the beginning of 1895, and his nephew Abbas Hilmi II, the oldest member of the family, took the affairs on his hand despite that he had no authority according to the waqf statutes. According to the statutes, Zübeyde Hanım had the right to direct the waqf, and she turned to the Sublime Porte to demand the administration³.

Another issue of debate between Sublime Porte and Hidiv was management of the mines in the island. The critical question in the Sublime Porte was on to whom the incomes of mines belonged as the island had been granted to the waqf of M. Ali Pasha. The state directly had the property of the mines, and the issue of transferring them to Halim Pasha or other seekers was assigned to the State Council. The department of Tanzimat negotiated the question and it was decided in April 20, 1889, by referring to the Mines Law that one fifth of the incomes belonged to the Directorship of the Mines, and the rest to the waqf. As for the newly founded copper mine, the income would belong to the waqf after receiving permission from the mines and agriculture ministries⁴.

On the other hand, the company of Psiakis succeeded in signing a new agreement with the Khedive, according to which he got the right to buy 300.000 m³ pines and firs for 2.5 Frank/m³. He could produce of them all kinds of products. The Tashos people rose up against this agreement. They regarded forests of the island as common property of the people of the island. They complained also that the company destroyed all forests with its machines. They were also in trouble with paying about 5

² A. E. Bakalopoulos, *Thaso Son Historie, Son Administarion De 1453 A 1912*, Paris, 1953, p. 72.

³ Premiership Ottoman Archive/ Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi (after this BOA), YEE, 87/30 interior no. 2.

⁴ BOA, YEE, 87/21 and BOA, A. MTZ (05), 3B/52-1, interior no. 36 and 40.

Franks per m³ of woods and an additional tax for pine bark, from the beginning of the Halim Paşa direction on.

These reasons led the anti-Egyptians to act to preclude the company from operating. Once representatives of the company were not permitted to land to Tashos. In the second stage, they drove men of the company away. Thus, they succeeded in preventing the project of the company by daunting its workers, and Abbas Hilmi II had to pay a bulk of compensation to the company⁵.

However, this made the khedive only angrier. He wanted to lessen authority of the island administration and to tie it more to Egypt, by using the forest problem as a pretext. He imposed more taxes and put some other measures into practice. He even prohibited cutting woods in the forests for a certain time. When he again permitted it, formalities and expenditures were so much risen that people could hardly deal with it. However, this process was stopped by its consequences: Unemployment for the island people, and loss of revenue for the waqf. Formalities for cutting trees were lessened and taxes were risen (from 20 % per m³ to 30 %) with a new regulation. Other forests products were taxed with 25 % as well⁶.

Political life in Tashos was also complicated in those days. Adding to the ongoing troubles, Hurşit Efendi, chief of the gendarme, prevented the General Board to meet by the decree of the Egyptian government or the waqf director. Waqf officials were mistreating to the people. Especially Hurşit Efendi was extraordinarily careful in carrying out the orders of the Egyptian government. He announced the decree of the khedive dated April 7-19, 1899 on the replacement of name and functions of the *çorbacılık* rank with the Turkish *muhtarlık*. On the other hand, he cancelled the seals with any symbols of Christianity and gave *muhtars* Turkish seals. He proclaimed in January 11/23, 1900, that all judicial cases would be referred to the lower court in Limenas. Meclis-i Vükela (The Assembly of Deputies) decided on November 17, 1885, that resolutions of the court in Tashoz would be taken to Selanik for appeal, as the court in island was in the same status with other lower courts. The khidiv was informed about it⁷.

These decrees made the local people deprived of the right for solving their problems by *subaşı*s or through the traditional judgement. These changes, appropriate also to the centralist policies of the Sublime Porte, were commented by the local people as a wish of Egypt to cancel the existing privileges and to make the island a province of Egypt. Reactions were very intensive. To prevent protests of the people, number of security forces were risen threefold. Egyptian plan was made even clearer at the beginning of the year 1901. Mahmud Rifat Bey, director of the waqf, transferred his office from Kavala to Tashos, put new decrees of the Egyptian government into practice and imposed new taxes that sickened the people. In this connection, taxes for dried grape and tobacco were risen, and taxes for lime and tar production were added to the existing 10 % tax⁸.

This situation made the people longed the once Turkish administration. Thus, even those previously supporting the Egyptian waqf rule started to change their sides. Public opinion was on the direction that everything would be improved if the island passed to Turkish administration. These ideas contributed to the rise of political tension and upheaval of the villagers. *Muhtars*, or *çorbacıs* with their ex denomination, were elected by votes of villagers. The new regulations also accepted the elections,

⁵ Bakalopoulos, *ibid*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Bakalopoulos, *ibid*, p.74.

⁷ BOA, A. MTZ (05), 3B/52-1, interior no. 29-30.

⁸ Bakalopoulos, *ibid*, p.74.

but final authority to appoint those elected was in the hands of the waqf director. He could decide that those muhtars who could not be anew elected would continue their tasks. Of course, he made use of this right to care only his supporters.

The islanders were upset of the abolishing of all their privileges. Moreover, all seals given to muhtars and all documents sealed with them were cancelled as their legal duration was over. People applied to the director on the Saint Apotres Day (June 30, 1901) to seek for the previous privileges. The director replied that he could do only what was ordered from the centre. Therefore, they had to refer to the khedive. Tashos people selected four representatives to the khedive. They requested relieving of the new decisions and restitution of the old privileges. Konstantinos, metropolit of Tashos and Marone, had sent a report to Joachim III, archbishop of İstanbul, and requested him to deal with the problem in Tashos by referring it to the khedive. Then, Hayri Paşa, director of the Egyptian waqfs and representative of the khedive, came to the island on August 22, 1901, and examined the situation for three days⁹.

However, no will of the island people was carried out within the following months. People gathered in Tolos at the beginning of 1902. Despite that all of the participants were calm during the meeting, Colonel Mahmut Rifat Bey, director of the waqf, used force against people. He and his men opened fire to the demonstrators, who were to number around 1500, and three were dead, five injured as its result. Thus, representatives of the island went to Kavala to seek for interference of the Sultan. Emin Paşa, *kaymakam* (governor of district) of Kavala, landed on the island with 180 regular and 45 gendarme troops upon the order of the *vali* (governor of province) of Thessaloniki, to provide security in the island, and to make use of administrative rights of the Ottoman state, as had previously warned many times to the Egyptian khedive and his man in Tashos. People were in great pleasure as they were complaining about behaviours of the waqf director¹⁰. Upon the decree of Said Paşa, *the sadrazam* (prime minister), Emin Paşa took the island from Egyptian administration and gave to the Thessaloniki vilayet¹¹. Khedive did not want to accept this de facto situation. He sent Hayri Paşa to find a new solution appropriate for himself, but the Sublime Porte was determinant, also on the direction of will of the island people, in keeping administrative rights. The issue of mines that had long been debated was also solved with this operation, and management rights were given by the Sultan Abdülhamid to the German company Speidel¹².

The khedive never gave up his demands on the island, and England never forgot its loss. Privileges given to the German company Speidel contributed to their anxiety. As England had de facto occupied Egypt, and as Tashos was just off Macedonia (where, in those days, English officers helped Turkish forces to provide security), the London government demanded for the khedive's rights. However, they resulted in nothing.

To sum up, after many efforts and a long time, administration of the waqf affairs were given to the foundation of M. Ali Paşa, and administrative, judicial and security issues were handed over to the Thessaloniki vilayet / the Sublime Porte. Tashos, from then on, became sometimes a *sanjak* itself, or

⁹ Bakalopoulos, *ibid*, p. 74-5.

¹⁰ There are many detailed reports about this operation in the Bashbakanlik Archive. See; BOA, A. MTZ (05), 3B/52-1, interior no. 55-65; BOA, A. MTZ (05), 3B/52-2.

¹¹ BOA, A. MTZ (05), 3B/52-1, interior no. 33; Said Pasa, *Said Pasa'nin Hatirati*, İstanbul, 1328., vol. II, pp. 291.

¹² J. SPEIDEL, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Geologie und Lagerstätten der Insel Thasos, Freiberg, 1929*, see Foreword pages.

was governed from Thessaloniki, as a *kaza*¹³. This situation lasted up to the First Balkan War, during which the island was invaded by Greeks (October 18, 1912).

CONSEQUENCE

The Ottoman state was well aware of the strategic and economic importance of Tashos in the Aegean Sea, and looking forward circumstances to tie it directly to Thessaloniki¹⁴. The great demonstration of the island people in 1902 provided the Sublime Porte with this opportunity.

The Ottoman state always abstained from practices that might have depressed the people under its administration, and especially did not impose heavy and unjustified taxes. There are many examples to back this thesis. Kemal Karpat indicated how the Syrian people were bored under heavy taxes and oppressive political practices of M. Ali Paşa, that lasted for eight years, and how they longed for the Ottoman days. Our case that people in Tashos was depressed by the policies of the Egyptian waqf administration and applied to the Sublime Porte to seek for direct Turkish administration is another example for this preference.

¹³ Thasoz was a Sancak of Selanik in 1902, see; *Salname*, 1321, p. 775. And in 1907, Thasoz was a kaza of Drama, see; *Salname*, 1326, p. 649. This information cited from Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden, 1976, p.108.

¹⁴ BOA, YEE, 87/25.

ECONOMIC LIFE IN CRETE: PRIVATE AND TRUST ESTATE SALES (1650-1657)

Mustafa OĞUZ

Dr., Faculty of Letter, Marmara University

ÖZET

Resmo (Rethimno) Osmanlılar tarafından fetih edildiğinde şehrin mahalleleri ile köylerinin bir sayımı yapılmıştır. Bu sayım sırasında savaştan dolayı birçok ev dükkan ve arazilerin sahipleri tarafından terk edildiği tesbit edildiğinden bunlar tek tek belirlenmiştir. Resmo (Rethimno)'nun mahallerinde bulunan bu tür mallardan bazıları Evkaf-ı Hümayun (Padişah Vakfı) haline getirilmiş ve açık arttırmaya çıkarılarak isteyenlere satılmıştır. Diğer kısmı da mülk olarak satılmıştır. Bu açık arttırmalara sivil ve asker kişilerle Müslim-gayrimüslim herkes katılmıştır. Bu tür vakıf ve mülk alım-satımları Resmo(Rethimno)'da Türklerin yerleşme sürecimin de başlangıcı olmuştur.

Crete, the largest island in the Mediterranean, passed to Ottoman rule with the conquest of Khania after a battle with the Venetians (19 August 1645). Retminnon, the second most important city, located in the centre of the island was captured later (16 November 1646). Soon after, the Ottomans moved the army headquarters to Retminnon¹ and started establishing a local administration. As a result Mehmed Pasha was appointed as the treasurer of Crete and commander of Khania. He carried out a detailed census in Khania and Retminnon, including the villages, districts and quarters². The census documentation shows that the administrative boundaries were kept as they had been during the Venetian period. In addition, in order to assure the safety and well being of the public, officials like the imam-preacher, mayor, and kethuda were appointed. It took 25 years of wars for Ottomans to take control of the whole island. Iraklion was the last city captured. Ottoman rule ended after 267 years. The island was left to Greece in 10 August 1913.

The main sources of this study, the Crete-Retminnon Court Records, were brought to Turkey as result of the Lousanne agreement, signed after long debates between Greece and Turkey. According to article 142 of this agreement, the two countries were to exchange populations³. The 139th article of this agreement in conjunction with article 142 regulates the exchange of the archival documents belonging to the people who were to be relocated⁴. In compliance with these regulations, a commission was set up by Greece to identify the documents and court records belonging to Muslim schools, trusts and charitable institutions⁵. There were also sub-committees set up as necessary.

¹ Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit'in Fethi ve Ada'da Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesisi*, p. 47, unpublished Ph.D thesis, M.U., 1997, Istanbul

² BOA, Tapu Tahrir Defteri, No:785

³ M. Cemil Bilsel, Lozan, Istanbul 1943, II, p. 635

⁴ M. Cemil Bilsel, op. cit. p. 634

⁵ This commission was set up as a result of the 11th article of a protocol signed on 30 January 1923 between Greece and Turkey and worked both in Athens and Istanbul. (M. Birsel, op.cit. II, 669-670.)

As a result of the work carried out by the committees, documents from different parts of Greece, along with the documents of the Education and Trust departments and the Court Records of Crete were brought to Thessalonica and then shipped to Istanbul. These documents are now housed in the Istanbul Headquarters of Trusts under the title of “Exchange Documents”. This article will examine volumes 56 and 57 of the court records, which contain the endorsements of judges regarding the sale of private and trust estates in Retminnon in the period from 1647 to 1657.

THE QUARTERS OF RETMINNON

There are about 30 different neighborhoods or quarters named in the examined volumes. The quarters of Haghia Katherina, Haghio Kostantin, Haghio Nikola, Haghia Sophia, Haghio Apostol, Haghio Yorgi, Haghio Lefteri, Ivzale Kasdel, Livadi and Lonca apparently existed before the conquest. Apart from Ivzale Kasdel, Livadi and Lonca, all are names of Greek-Orthodox priests. This shows the Greek-Orthodox presence in Retminnon during the Venetian period. The rest of the quarter names in the court records are in Turkish. Therefore, they were most likely set up after the conquest. Some of the quarters established in the early Ottoman period, like Cebecibaşı, Defterdar Paşa, Hüseyin Ağa, Hüseyin Paşa, Veli Ağa Musli (Musalla), Server Arap and Şeyh were named after civil and military administrators who had settled on the island. However, these quarters probably did not have clear boundaries, but simply were called by these names because of the residents. As a matter of fact, the name of the quarter in which a church was converted to a mosque became known as the Hünkar (Sultan) quarter. Similarly, the quarter where another church was converted to a mosque and was called the Valide Sultan Mosque became the Valide quarter. Another example was the Gazi quarter, where yet another church had been converted to a mosque and called the Hüseyin Paşa Mosque⁶. The area where Gazi Hüseyin Paşa built a public bath was also called the Paşa Hamami Quarter. Again the area where a house was turned into a tekke (muslim monastery) by Şeyh Mustafa Efendi, the leader of the sufi sect Kadiris, was called the Şeyh Quarter.

In addition to these quarters, names like Çukurbostan, Liman, Orduyolu, Ortakapi, Uzunyol, Uzunsokak (probably the same place as Uzunyol), Yali, and Topyolu are also mentioned in the records. These Turkish-named quarters were established after the conquest because many Muslim civilians and officials came to Retminnon and bought houses.

ESTATE SALES IN RETMINNON

The dictionary definition of the term **bey'** means the exchange of goods with goods and is used for the transactions of exchanging good with goods or money⁷. All Muslim and Ottoman jurist defined **bey'** as a contract that results in the exchange of custody with the consent of both parties⁸. There are 185 estate sale transactions recorded in two volumes of the court records of Retminnon. 76 of these transactions are the endorsements of private and trust estate sales in the quarters of Retminnon.

After establishing control in Retminnon, the Ottomans carried out a detailed census (tahrir) of the city and the villages in terms of population, land and estate ownership. As is known, tahrir in Ottoman diplomatie was the recording of conquered areas by Ottoman officials. After the first census in Retminnon, houses, shops, building plots, lands, farms, olive gardens, vegetable gardens, oil plants and mills were recorded. Some of the estates were deserted during the war; these also were recorded.

⁶ Hüseyin Hanyavi, Girit tarihi, Istanbul, 1288, p.302

⁷ Nezih Hammad, İktisadi ve Fikhi terimler sözlüğü, p.43

⁸ Ali Bardakoglu, DIA, VI, p.14

The estates that were deserted can be examined in two groups. The first group consists of estates that were rented by auction according to the double-rent method⁹. The income was transferred to the treasury of the trusts. The second group of estates was sold at auction. The income of these sales was transferred to the state treasury.

THE TRUST ESTATES IN RETMINNON QUARTERS

According to a ferman (order from the sultan) after the census some of the estates that were deserted, especially in the center and in the suburbs of Retminnon, were turned into a Trust of the Sultanate (Evkaf-I Hümayun)¹⁰. The majority of these estates belonged to the Venetians who refused to pay taxes (cizye) and left the city. These people, who had been brought from Venice, were Catholics. Although they were a minority, they were quite influential in the administration. The estates left from the Venetians (cited in Ottoman sources as French houses) were about 150 houses; these were usually of two stories with gardens and vines¹¹. Evliya Çelebi recorded these houses as having a total of 3,700 rooms, being made of stone and with sea-views. He also said 77 of these houses were particularly large and splendid, like palaces¹². After the war, high Ottoman officials like Serdar Hüseyin Paşa and Kethuda Veli Ağa moved into these houses. Some of the houses had shops attached to them.

The houses in the center and suburbs of Retminnon were leased out according to the double-rent method by the Treasurer of Crete, Mehmed Paşa, based on the sultanate decree (ferman). The buyers and tenants were given a document showing their ownership or tenancy. Some of the buildings of the trusts estates were sold and the lands were rented out. Any of the previous owners, if they returned to Retminnon, had their houses returned to them and the tenants were reimbursed.

According to documents we have today, the number of estates (house, shop, land or vegetable plot) is 71; most of these were sold or rented in order to prevent deterioration. 63 of these estates were houses. The dispersion of houses that were sold, according to the quarters, is as follows: Haghia Katherina, Haghio Andriye, Haghio Argiri, Çebecibaşı, Çiço, Defterdar Paşa, İvlaze, Liman, Livadi, Lonca and Valide quarters 1 each; Haghia Sophia, Haghio Apostol, Haghio Lefteri, Hüseyin Ağa, Hüseyin Paşa, Musli (Musalla), Orduyolu quarters 2 each; Kasdel, Server, Arap, Şeyh quarters 3 each; Çukurbostan, Ortakapi, Uzunyol ve Veli Ağa quarters 4 each; Yali quarter 6; Paşa Mosque quarter 7 houses sold. In addition, in the suburbs of Retminnon, 8 plots, building plots or vegetable gardens were sold. There are also 5 large houses sold with estates. (See Table 1)

⁹ This method is usually used for estates with little income or need of restoration. In this method, a sum of money that nearly equals the value of the estate is prepaid by the tenant as rent and then smaller amounts are paid in monthly installments. This is done to keep the ownership of the estate in trust. The tenant's rights on the estate were transferable and inheritable by the same conditions. (Ahmet Akgündüz, *DIA, İcareteyn mad.*, vol. 21 p. 390)

¹⁰ Evkaf-i Hümayün (Trusts of Sultanate) means the trusts established by the royal family members of the Ottoman dynasty. The sultans usually appointed high officials, like viziers, to the administration of these trusts. (Nazif Öztürk, *DIA Evkaf-i Hümayun Nezareti mad.* Vol. 11 p. 522; M. Ziya Pakalin, *Osmanli tarih deyimleri sözlüğü*, vol. 1, p. 570)

¹¹ Naima, *Ravzatu'l-huseyn fi ahbari'l hafikin*, IV, p.207

¹² Seyyid Ali Kahraman-Yüzel Dagli-Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi*, vol.8, YKY, Istanbul, 2004

THE VALUES OF THE ESTATES SOLD

In the sales of the estates, kuruş, riyali kuruş, akça were used as currency. In some cases, the exchange of the estate with goods, like olive oil, was also practiced. In the sale of trust estates, the prepayment and monthly or yearly installments (rent) were set.

One of the houses sold in the Haghia Sophia quarter¹³ and another in the Haghio Lefteri quarter¹⁴ were returned to their owners upon their return. The previous owners were exempt from prepayment, but asked to pay yearly rent installments¹⁵. As mentioned earlier, some houses had shops attached to them. The sale prices of some of the houses with attachments were as follows: A house in the Haghio Lefteri quarter with a shop and bakery was sold for 110 kuruş prepayment and 60 akça for yearly rent;¹⁶ a house in the Liman Quarter with two shops was sold for a prepayment of 40 kuruş and a monthly rent of 115 akça;¹⁷ a house in the Lonca Quarter with a shop and a bakery was sold for 12 kuruş prepayment and a monthly rent of 90 akça;¹⁸ a house in the Paşa Mosque Quarter with a shop and a bakery was sold for 85 kuruş prepayment and a yearly rent of 400 akça;¹⁹ another house in the Paşa Mosque Quarter with a bakery was sold for 28 kuruş prepayment and a yearly rent of 45 akça;²⁰ in the suburbs of Retminnon, a shop plot was rented for 15 akça a month²¹ without any repayment. The house recorded in the sale transactions book as “the house built by the Venetian King and the guild of tradesman” was sold for 20 kuruş prepayment and 300 akça per year²². In general, the shops prepayments seem to have been kept low, and the monthly or yearly installments were also low.

Both the prepayments and installments of some houses were very high. Among these a house in Yali Quarter was rented for 700 kuruş of prepayment and 380 akça for yearly payments²³. In the same quarter another house were rented for 350 kuruş prepayment and for 380 akça yearly payments²⁴. Yet another house in this quarter was let for 140 kuruş prepayment and 150 akça for yearly installments²⁵. A house with all attachments in the Valide quarter was rented for 370 kuruş prepayment and 150 akça for yearly payments²⁶. A house in the Hüseyin Ağa Quarter was sold for 110 kuruş prepayment and 100 akça yearly installments;²⁷ a house in Haghio Apostol Quarter was sold for 120 kuruş prepayment and 60 akça yearly installments²⁸. The price of the rest of the houses was under 100 kuruş.

There were three pieces of trust land among the estates that were sold. The land was sold on condition that 1/8 and 1/30 of the salary be paid per year. These were sold as follows; 7 muzur land for 30,5 kuruş,²⁹ 29 muzur land for 16 kuruş³⁰ and 3,5 muzur land for 240 kuruş³¹. The trust estates were generally sold to Muslims, but there were some cases of non-Muslim buyers as well.

¹³ SD, 57, p.32

¹⁴ SD, 57, p.32

¹⁵ The yearly payment for the house in Haghia Sophia was 80 akça and for the house in Haghio Lefteri was 140 akça.

¹⁶ SD, 57, p.61

¹⁷ SD, 57, p.44

¹⁸ SD, 57, p.23

¹⁹ SD, 57, p.62

²⁰ SD, 56, p.25

²¹ SD, 56, p.44

²² SD, 57, p.60

²³ SD, 56, p.13

²⁴ SD, 56, p.27

²⁵ SD, 56, p.48

²⁶ SD, 56, p.34

²⁷ SD, 56, p.18b

²⁸ SD, 56, p.25

²⁹ SD, 57, p.52

³⁰ SD, 56, p.16

The number of houses that were sold as estates was 5. There were a property in the Haghia Nicola Quarter, sold for 2000 akça,³² a property in the Kasdel Quarter sold for 9 kuruş,³³ a property in the Paşa Mosque Quarter sold for 15 kuruş,³⁴ and a property in the Yali Quarter sold for 140 kuruş³⁵. This house was sold to the mayor, Neofito Peteralo who was appointed to Retminnon in 25 March 1651 during the Ottoman period³⁶. The price of a house that was sold in the Veli Ağa Quarter was not given³⁷.

The total number of sales was 76. The dispersion of sales according to years were; 1 plot in 1650; 1 vegetable plot in 1651; 3 houses in 1653; 23 houses, 2 houses and shops, 2 vegetable plots and 1 garden in 1654; 29 houses, 2 houses and shops, 2 vegetable plots and 1 garden in 1655; 3 houses and 1 plot in 1656; 7 house and 1 house and shop in 1657. Sales were concentrated in the years of 1654 and 1655. (See Table 2).

As a result, it can be concluded that an inventory of the houses, plots, gardens and vegetable plots were compiled after establishing control in Retminnon. Some of the estates that were not claimed were turned into trust estate and sold in auction. Some empty houses were also sold the same way. The sales started after the census was completed and a kadi (judge) had been appointed. In the sale records, the previous owners' names were also recorded. Details of the lands like the size were recorded. Details of houses like the number of rooms, number of floors and number and type of trees in the garden were also recorded. The court records that document the estate sales also show how much emphasis and importance was put on the ownership rights of the individual.

³¹ SD, 57, p.42

³² SD, 56, p.3

³³ SD, 56, p.37

³⁴ SD, 57, p.36

³⁵ SD, 57, p.7

³⁶ SD, 56, p.73

³⁷ SD, 56, p.3

Table 1. Estate Sales In Quarters (1650-1657)

No	Quarter	Seller	Buyer	Type	Pre payment	Yearly Payment	Monthly Payment	Source Vol. No
1	Aya Katherina	Mehmet Pasa	Bayram Çavus	House	17	40		57, s.11
2	Aya Sofiya	Mehmet Pasa	Cani	House (Own House)	-	80		57, s.32
3	Aya Sofiya	Mihali Murizo	Yorgi	House	23	55		57, s.48
4	Ayo Andriya	Mehmet Pasa	Mustafa Sipahi	House	25	40		57, s.30
5	Ayo Apostol	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Sipahi	House	3	25		57, s.29
6	Ayo Apostol	Murtaza Bese	Ramazan Bese	House	120	60		57, s.25
7	Ayo Argiri	Mehmet Pasa	Musli Bese	House	55	120		57, s.47
8	Ayo Lefteri	Mehmet Pasa	Andonaki Patelaro	House (Own House)	-	140		57, s.32
9	Ayo Lefteri	Mehmet Aga	Abdurrahman	House	110	60		57, s.61
10	Cebecibasi	Recep Bese	Ali Bese	House	9	5		57, s.30
11	Çiço	Azeb Mehmet	Mustafa Bey	House	24	24		57, s.29
12	Çukurbostan	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Bey	House	20	60		57, s.18
13	Çukurbostan	Osman Bey	Marusa Kaliça	House	15	20		57, s.25
14	Çukurbostan	Çömlekçi Mehmed Bese	Mustafa Bese	House	35	55		57, s.26
15	Çukurbostan	Halil Aga	Ibrahim Aga	House	80	40		57, s.54
16	Defterdar [Mehmet]Pasa	Abdullah Bey	Ahmed ve Mustafa	House	40	30		57, s.44
17	Hüseyin Aga	Mehmet Pasa	Yusuf Bey	House	30	100		57, s.18

Table 1 (continued). Estate Sales In Quarters (1650-1657)

No	Quarter	Seller	Buyer	Type	Pre payment	Yearly Payment	Monthly Payment	Source Vol. No
18	Hüseyin Aga	el-Hâc Yusuf (Terzi)	Osman Bese	House	110	100		57, s.18
19	Hüseyin Pasa			House	20	30		
20	Hüseyin Hamami Pasa	Odabasi Nebi ve arkadaşlari	Kisrakçi Mehmed ve arkadaşlari	House	91	80		57, s.61
21	Ivlaze	Kurt (Suyolcu)	Yusuf	House	9,75	-	-	56, s.32
22	Kasdel	Hüseyin Bese	Ahmet Bese	House	21	30		57, s.34
23	Kasdel	Satir Hüseyin	Mehmet Bese	House	28	30		57, s.37
24	Kasdel	Mehmet Pasa	Mahm`t Bey	House	20	40		57, s.59
25	Liman	Mehmet Pasa	Ekmekçi Todori	House, shope, store	40	-	115	57, s.44
26	Livadi	Kara Ali	Ahmet Bese	House	11	25		57, s.27
27	Lonca	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Bese	House, store	12	-	90	57, s.23
28	Musli (Musallâ)	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Aga (yeniçeri)	House	40	120		57, s.15
29	Musli (Musallâ)	Marusa	Sefer Bese	House	10	40		57, s.40
30	Orduyolu	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Bey	House	15	150		57, s.23
31	Orduyolu	Mehmet Aga (Yeniçeri)	Sa`ban Bey	Vegetable Pot	31	120		57, s.61
32	Ortakapi	Mehmet Pasa	Mustaafa	House	12	20		57, s.23
33	Ortakapi	Mehmet Pasa	Ekmekçi Todori	House	40	51		57, s.43

Table 1 (continued). Estate Sales In Quarters (1650-1657)

No	Quarter	Seller	Buyer	Type	Pre payment	Yearly Payment	Monthly Payment	Source Vol. No
34	Ortakapi	Ekmekçi Todori	Ali Bey	House	40	51		57, s.43
35	Ortakapi	Yusuf Çelebi (Yeniçeri)	Mustafa Aga (Çorbacı)	House	220	80		56, s.11
36	Pasa Câmi'i	Mehmet Pasa	Zülfikar Bese	House	20	50		57, s.13
37	Pasa Câmi'i	Mehmet Pasa	Arap el-Hâc Mehmet	House	85	100		57, s.16
38	Pasa Câmi'i	Mehmet Pasa	Ramazan Çavus	House	15	240		57, s.27
39	Pasa Câmi'i	Zülfikar Bese	Musli Bese	House	28	50		57, s.46
40	Pasa Câmi'i	Mehmet Bese	Sefer Bese	House, Shope	85	440		57, s.62
41	Pasa Câmi'i	Hasan Bey	Istasi Dimitri	House	34	70		56, s.21
42	Pasa Câmi'i	Ekmekçi Sefer	Yorgi Dimitri	House, Store	28	45		56, s.25
43	Resmo Bostanligi	Hüseyin Aga	Yusuf Bese	Vegetable Pot	10	40		57, s.31
44	Resmo Varosu	Mehmed Pasa	Ömer Bey (Cündî)	House	25	40		57, s.14
45	Resmo Varosu	Hasan Aga	Ali Bese	Building Pot	-	-	15	56, s.44
46	Server Arap	Mehmet Pasa	Osman Bese	House	10	36		57, s.19
47	Server Anap	Osman Bese (Yeniçeri)	Mustafa Bey	House	26	36		57, s.19
48	Server Arap	Mehmet Bese	Mustafa Reis	House	9	17		57, s.37
49	Seyh	Haci Ahmet	Recep Kethuda	House	32,5	35		57, s.28
50	Seyh	Mehmet Pasa	Recep Kethuda	House	15	100		57,s.51

Table 1 (continued). Estate Sales In Quarters (1650-1657)

No	Quarter	Seller	Buyer	Type	Pre payment	Yearly Payment	Monthly Payment	Source Vol. No
51	Seyh	Recep Kethuda	Hüseyin Bese	House	45	50		57, s.53
52	Uzunyol	Mehmet Pasa	Habip Bese	House	30	50		57, s.16
53	Uzunyol	Habip Bese (Yeniceri)	Yusuf Bey (Cündî)	House	55	50		57, s.16
54	Uzunyol	Mehmet Bese (Müezzîn)	Osman Bey	House	25	20		57, s.30
55	Uzunsokak [Uzunyol]	Mehmet Pasa	Kara Hasan (Sipahi)	House	8	20		57, s.50
56	Valide	Tahmuras Hanzade Mehmed Pasa	Mustafa Bese	House	370	150		56, s.34
57	Veli Aga	Mehmet Pasa	Mustafa Bese	House	35	50		57, s.26
58	Veli Aga	Mustafa Agai	Apro	House	27	40		57, s.30
59	Veli Aga	Mehlmet Pasa	Ali Bey	House	40	40		57, s.42
60	Veli Aga	Ali Bey	Ekmekçi Todori	House	65	40		57, s.43
61	Yali	Mehmet Pasa	Ömer Bey	House	2	20		57, s.27
62	Yali	Musli Aga	Ibrahim Aga	House	40	300		57, s.29
63	Yali	Mehmet Pasa	Kara Musa Bey	House	140	150		57, s.48
64	Yali	Mehmet Pasa	Musli Aga	House	20	300		57, s.60
65	Yali	Dânisî Mehmet	Tahmuras Hanzade Mehmet Pasa	House	700	380		56, s.13
66	Yali	Tahmuras Hanzade Mehmet Pasa		House	350	380		56, s.27
67	Topyolu	Mehmet Pasa	Imam Yahya Efendi	Vegetable Pot	20	60		56, s.49
68	Aya Nikola	Veli Bey	Ali Bese	House			2000	56, s.3.
69	Veli Aga	Ali Bese	Veli Bey	House	-	-		56, s.3.

Table 1 (continued). Estate Sales In Quarters (1650-1657)

No	Quarter	Seller	Buyer	Type	Pre payment	Yearly Payment	Monthly Payment	Source Vol. No
70	Kasdel	Ali Bese	Ali Bese (Yeniçeri)	House	9			56, s.37
71	Pasa Camii	Sefer Ermeni	Murat Ermeni	House	15			56, s.37.
72	Yali	Yusuf Çelebi	Nofito Patelaro	House	140			
73	Near Resmo	Mehmet Pasa	Sakizli Ursa	7 Land	30,5			57, s.52.
74	Near Resmo	Mehmet Pasa	Ramazan Çavus	3,5 Land	240			57, s.42.
75	Near Resmo	Mehmet Pasa	Mehmet Bese	29 Land	16			57, s.16.
76	Resmo Garden	Kurt Bese	Corci	Aya Yorgi Trust Garden	4,5			57, s.42.

Table 2.

Type of Estate	Years								Total
	1650	1651	1652	1653	1564	1655	1656	1657	
House				1	23	29	3	7	63
House and Shop					2	2		1	5
Building Plot	1								1
Field					2		1		3
Vegetable Plot		1				2			3
Garden					1				1
Total	1	1		1	28	33	4	8	76

FOUNDATION (*VAKIF*) ESTABLISHMENT PROCESS IN MYTILENE ISLAND UNDER THE RULE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Ömer İŞBİLİR

Assistant Prof., Faculty of Art & Science, Mimar Sinan University

ÖZET

Diğer Ege Adalarında olduğu gibi, Midilli adasında da fetihten itibaren vakıflar kurulmuştur. Tahrir defterlerine ve diğer arşiv belgelerine göre, Midilli'de kurulan ilk vakıflar genelde devlet adamları ve devlet görevlileri tarafından tesis edilmiştir. Daha sonra adada Müslüman nüfusun artmasıyla, hem vakıf sayısında artış olmuş ve hem de bu vakıfların hizmet sahalarında çeşitlilik meydana gelmiştir. Diğer bütün Osmanlı topraklarında olan vakıf çeşitleri Midilli'de de görülmektedir. Ayrıca, vakıflar adada Osmanlı hayat tarzının yerleşmesine ve Müslüman nüfusun buraya celbine ve çoğalmasına da hizmet etmişlerdir. Nüfusun çoğalması yeni vakıfların kurulmasına, her yeni vakıf ise Müslüman nüfusun artmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Adadaki vakıfların buldukları yerler incelendiğinde, XIX. yüzyılda, artık sadece kaza merkezlerinde değil köylerde de Müslüman nüfusun yerleştiği, buralarda özellikle cami ve mescit gibi dini maksatlı müesseselerin bulunmasından anlaşılmaktadır.

The events taken place in the years before the conquest of Istanbul had made the necessity of ensuring the safety of Dardanelles straits. With this regard, after the conquest, Ottoman victories in the Aegean Sea started in 1456 with Lemnos, Thasos, Samothace and Imbros which were referred to as islands of Bosphorus Front¹ and continued with Mytilene in 1462 and they were mostly completed at the end the 16th century with the conquests of Rhodes, Cos, Naksos and Chios Islands².

In accordance with the Ottoman conquest and housing policy, we see that foundations were established also in Aegean Islands in a short period of time just like the other Ottoman lands. In Mytilene Island after its conquest in September 19th 1462 by Mahmud Pasha, the grand vizier of Mehmed II³, foundations were established in a rapid manner. First foundations were established by the state officials. After the conquest, a church located on the lower fort of the Mytilene Castle was converted to a mosque by the name of Mehmed II⁴. In a register dated 1581, a list of Mytilene foundations is given⁵. Four foundations are mentioned as the foundations of the first era. These are the garden of Mahmud Pasha, 1000 aspers yearly income of which to be delivered to the trustees of a mosque in Istanbul; the Teacher House Foundation⁶ established by Mehmed Bey, the former

¹For a complete list of these islands see. Idris BOSTAN (ed.), *Ege Adalari'nin Idari, Mali Ve Sosyal Yapisi*, Ankara 2003, p. 181.

²Feridun M. EMECEN, *Ege Adalari'nin Egemenlik Devri Tarihçesi*, (ed. Cevdet KÜÇÜK), Ankara 2001, p. 16-21.

³Sehabeddin TEKINDAG, "Mahmud Pasa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXVII, Ankara 2003, p. 376.

⁴In an decree sent to the Ayazmend judge in the year 1552, telling that permission for the repairs of this mosque which was said to be belong to Mehmed II is requested, an investigation as to whether the mosque in fact belonged to Mehmed II or not and an estimate cost of the repairs were asked (Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi [BOA], *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler [MAD]*, no. 233, p. 54). In a register dated 1709 on the other hand, it is recorded that there is a mosque and a masjid that belong to Mehmed II (Tapu Kadastro Arsivi [TK], *Tahrir Defteri [TD]*, no. 2, p. 297b).

⁵BOA, *TD*, no. 598, p. 130-132.

⁶It is recorded in the register that properties of the foundation namely a vineyard, a watermill, a garden and a ground had been bought and given as charity by Dizdar Mehmed Bey and that they were belong to Mehmed Bey's deed of assignment. (*ibid.*, p.130).

Mytilene Warden; Mahmud Aga Mosque Foundation⁷ and Müslihiddin Mosque Foundation in Mytilene Castle. The fact that all four foundations have deed of assignments given by Mehmed II himself proves that these were actually established in the reign of Mehmed II⁸. Three of these foundations were established for the benefit of island inhabitants, the one that belongs to Mahmud Pasha on the other hand was established for the expenses of the foundation in Istanbul. In a notebook dated Shawwal 1105/June 1694 showing the foundations in Mediterranean islands, the number of foundations in the island Mytilene was given as eight⁹. It is seen in another register dated 1709 that the number of foundations were increased to nine¹⁰.

The records in this register also contained some details. More information on the identities of the founders of the mentioned four foundations can be found. For instance, it is understood that Dizdar Mehmed Bey later became the district treasurer¹¹, Mahmud Aga Masjid was made to be a mosque¹², Mehmed II had a mosque and a masjid in Mytilene Castle, that the annual income of 3000 aspers share collected from Katrinoz, Sadu, Monasadu and Vasilika villages, Ayayani Monastery and Ilica field bound to Kilimli all in Mytilene Island formed a foundation for the repairs and other expenses of this mosque and masjid¹³.

To respect and serve to the two holy places called the “haramayn” namely Mecca and Medina, which are the most sacred places of earth according to the Muslims, have been considered as a duty by all the Muslim Sultans and their people. Ottoman Sultans and people not only kept the existing Haramayn foundations in the Ottoman land but also added new foundations to those¹⁴. According to this register dated 1709; there are two foundations that belong to the Haramayn in the Mytilene Island¹⁵. It is recorded in the register that the incomes of both the land of the person named Sinancik with 4006 aspers of annual income¹⁶ in the Katrinoz village and the garden of Hizir Çavuş with 420 aspers of annual income in Soğuksu location were dedicated to be delivered to Medina.

Another information in the same register is that Kirkoylu Monastery in Çetre Village of Molova was a foundation of the Hüdai Mosque in Istanbul¹⁷. Aziz Mahmud Hüdai, one of the famous sheiks of the Murad IV era, devoted the income of this Monastery which had been given to him with a deed of assignment¹⁸ and writing of the Sultan himself to the poor in the mosque and imaret and dervish lodge in Istanbul¹⁹. In 1082 A.H./1671 A.D. the official who took the registers of the Island made the clergy of Kirkon Monastery who were strong monks to pay their *cizye* tax in the form of 366,5 olive oil as charity to the imperial stables and this caused complaints in the

⁷ In the register, after the name of the foundation is mentioned, the date Zul-Hijja 870 under the record showing the conditions of the foundation as to where the revenues of the foundation is to be spent. According to this, it is understood that the establishment of the foundation was in 1466, four years after the conquest of Mytilene. (*ibid.*, p. 130-131).

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 130-132.

⁹ BOA, MAD, no. 1821, p.2-4.

¹⁰ TK, TD, no. 2, p. 294b-307a.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 295b-296a.

¹² Keza, p. 296b-297b.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 297b.

¹⁴ For the Haramayn foundations see. Mustafa GÜLER, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları (XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, Istanbul 2002; GÜLER, “Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları” *Türkler*, X, Ankara 2002, p.470-482.

¹⁵ TK, TD, no. 2, p. 295b, 298a.

¹⁶ The fact that the name of this foundation is mentioned in a pilgrimage account register which records the accounts of various cities in which there were Haramayn foundations in 1666, proves its existence from this date at the latest. According to this register, 72 piasters were sent to Medina from Küçük Sinan Foundation in Mytilene. (see. GÜLER, *op.cit.*, p. 185-189).

¹⁷ TK, TD, no. 2, p. 306a-307a.

¹⁸ It is said in the deed of assignment that taxes like *yava*, *kaçgun*, *mal-i mefkud*, *harac-i arazi*, *ösr-i gallat*, *resm-i ganem* and *bad-i heva* of the lands, graveyards, gardens, mountains, hills, trees and rivers that belong to the Kirkon Monastery were granted and given as “*bi'l-cümle amme-i hukuk-i ser'iyye ve kaffe-i rüsum-i örfiyyesi ile ve tevabii ve levahiki ile min külli'l-vücut serbest ve mefruzu'l-kalem ve maktuu'l-kadem*” and Hüdai Efendi had the right to sell, transfer, or give as charity this property given to him any way he liked and no one from outside should interfere with it. (*op.cit.*, p. 307a and *infra*).

¹⁹ BOA, MAD, no. 7833, p. 95b.

administrators of the foundation. Board of trustees said that all the income of the Monastery had been allocated to the foundation by Murad IV and no one had made any change in the incomes until the date of the registering process and they requested that this situation should have been corrected. After the master account book and the imperial stable book were analyzed in accordance with this request, it was decided that this right was in fact belong to the Hüdai Foundation²⁰.

Although its name is not mentioned among the Mytilene foundations given in this register, it is determined that Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha had also a foundation in the island which consisted of a fountain, an imaret and a dormitory where hadiths were taught²¹.

These first foundations established in Mytilene in the classical period were established by the state officials as it was so in other places. As far as the quality is concerned they can be included in the genuine foundations category. All of them had properties like vineyard, garden, olive grove, field and open land.

There is a close connection between the Muslim population living in Mytilene and the number of foundations established. In 1530's, there were 300 taxed people in the island, 148 house and 41 isolated of whom resided in Mytilene Castle. 250 castle guardians who were located in the Mytilene and Molova Castles in 1544 should also be added to this sum. Furthermore, there were 87 cavalrymen to whom *zeamet* and *timar* taxes had been granted in Mytilene in 1580²². Therefore, it can be estimated that the Muslim population in Mytilene Island at the end of the 16th century as 2000-2500 people. It is claimed that at the end of the 17th century, Turkish population increased exaggaratingly to 10.000²³.

The number of foundations and the establishment of new ones in the island is directly proportional with the increase in the Muslim population in and their prosperity in the island. It is understood that, just as the Muslim population became authoritative in the Island economy both in number and in level; an increase in the quantity and diversity of the foundations occurred. Moreover, unlike the foundations of the first era established by the state officials, when it came to the 19th century, philanthropists most of whom made up of common people, established foundations. For instance, in an account book of the foundations in the Mytilene Island the number of foundations between March 1840 and February 1843 (Julian, March 1256 – February 1258) – except the ones established by the state officials – are said to be 95, 55 of which were in kind and 40 pecuniary²⁴.

Foundations established vary according to the religious and social needs of the Muslim inhabitants. Firstly established ones are the mosques and masjids enabling Muslim people perform their religious duties. Masjids and mosques also constituted a major portion of the foundations established in later periods. For instance, among the types of foundations in the Mytilene foundations account book of the years 1864 and 1865; 65 mosques, 11 masjids and 2 temples were determined²⁵. After the conquest, in comparison to mosques, smaller masjids which were serving the needs of the era were constructed in the first place. Nevertheless, when we come to the latest eras, probably because the needs of the increasing population could not be met, we see older masjids being transformed into mosques and the new ones already have been built as mosques. In the classical period, 2/3 of people were living in the Mytilene Castle²⁶. In the above mentioned account book, it is seen that apart from the mosques and masjids in Mytilene, Molova and Kalonya

²⁰ BOA, *MAD*, no. 2935, p. 329-330; *MAD*, no. 9873, p. 404-405.

²¹ BOA, *MAD*, no. 9984, p. 144; *MAD*, no. 9965, p. 188; *MAD*, no. 9967, p. 32a-32b; *MAD*, 9968, p. 22; BOA, *Kamil Kepeci [KK]*, no. 67, p. 517.

²² İlhan SAHİN, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Ege Adaları'nda Nüfus ve Nüfus Hareketleri" *Ege Adaları'nın İdari, Mali ve Sosyal Yapısı*, (ed. İdris BOSTAN), Ankara 2003, p. 142-143.

²³ SAHİN, op.cit., p. 143.

²⁴ Ömer İSBİLİR, "Ege Adaları'nda Osmanlı Vakıfları", *Ege Adaları'nın İdari, Mali ve Sosyal Yapısı* (ed. İdris BOSTAN), p. 116-117.

²⁵ BOA, *Evkaf Nezareti [EV]*, no. 18924.

²⁶ SAHİN, op.cit., p. 142-143.

provinces, there were mosques and masjids in 44 villages. The fact that the number of mosques is more in quantity with respect to the masjids even in the villages shows that the Muslim population had highly increased in the island and that these locations were considered to be their motherland by the Muslim people.

Lantern and oil lamp foundations for the illumination of the mosques and masjids, minaret foundations, *mukabele*, *hatim*, *mevlid* and *zevrak* foundations for the special days and nights all are foundations for the religious needs²⁷. Still, it is seen that dervish lodges had been established in order to meet the spiritual and mystic needs of the Island inhabitants and lands had been devoted so as to cover their expenses²⁸.

Institutions which keep the social and cultural life alive constitute the other foundation types. We can give the foundations making waterways, wells, fountains, baths, bridges, roads, rooms or graveyards as examples of socially oriented foundations; and those making schools and teacher training centers as that of culturally and educationally oriented foundations. In addition, it is possible to come across different foundations like rice, *aşure*, pita and *sahur* foundations. These last foundations had also been established for social solidarity. The foundation established to give out “imperial pita” is a good example of this²⁹.

Fountains come first among the socially oriented foundations. It is very difficult to obtain potable water even within normal lands for the technology of the era. It is known that this difficulty is more apparent in a geographical setting like an island. For instance, the waterways of the fountains of Deli Bey, one of the commodores, had been damaged due to cold winter and hot summer environment and deputy judge of Molova had requested for repairs. It was mentioned in the presentation sent to the headquarters that Molova had not had any potable water all along and the people had been in great distress and that the waterways should have been repaired as soon as possible³⁰. In order to keep the fountains in operable condition, houses, shops, lands, oil groves or cash money were given by the ones who had built the fountains or by others as a foundation to cover the expenses for the repairs and maintenance of these fountains³¹. Likewise, various revenues were given as charity for buildings that needs maintenance to serve people such as mosques, masjids, waterways, schools and madrasas. Sources of revenues for the foundations are firstly the properties which bring rent such as gardens of olive, valonia, cherry etc, vineyards and fields, cafés, rooms, houses, shops, bakeries and watermills; secondly transfer and sale charges, certificate fees, rents due to the use of goods that belong to the foundation and lastly usury revenues obtained from the cash money given as loan.

As far as the revenues are concerned, oil groves come first in Mytilene Island. For example, 4661 jugs of olive oil are produced from the olive grove foundations of solely two villages of Mytilene namely Lotra and Uskovili³². Olive oil was being used not only in food to give taste but also in illumination. From the olive oil produced, some was reserved for the oil lamps in mosques and tombs³³, some sent to Istanbul³⁴ and the rest was sold in auction³⁵. Whether olive groves or lands like vineyards, gardens or fields where crop was produced, if they were not cultivated by the foundation servants they were being rented. It is understood that certain rules that

²⁷ For the diversity of foundations see. BOA, *EV*, no. 21736; *EV*, no. 18924; *EV*, no. 11235.

²⁸ For the existence of Iskender Baba small dervish lodge and dervish lodge and Kadiri dervish lodge in Molova province see. BOA, *MAD*, no. 7855, p. 7b; For the existence of Bektasi Ibrahim Baba small dervish lodge and Mevlevi house in Ayasu village of Kilimye region see. BOA, *MAD*, no. 8525, p. 111-112.

²⁹ BOA, *EV*, no. 18924, p. 4b.

³⁰ BOA, *Mühimme*, no. 116, p. 224, hk. 945, p. 289, hk. 1195.

³¹ e.g. The amount of cash money donated for the expenses of fountains in Filibe village of Molova region was 42.666 piasters (BOA, *EV*, no. 10374, p. 1).

³² It is calculated that Lotra produced 404 jugs of olive oil and Uskovili 4257 jugs. (BOA, *EV*, no. 21736, p. 1b-2a).

³³ For the existence of the tombs of two sahabas in Mytilene see. BOA, *EV*, no. 18924, p. 12b.

³⁴ e.g. for the transfer of 150 jugs of olive oil of the Haci Numan Aga olive grove recorded in the Imperial Foundations Treasury to Istanbul see. BOA, *EV*, no. 11045, p. 171, 185.

³⁵ BOA, *EV*, no. 13374, p. 17b.

the tenants should follow also mentioned during the auctioning. For example, tenants of the olive groves should have paid special attention to the olive groves in every two years and expenses of the special attention is cut off from those who did not do it themselves³⁶.

One of the methods utilized to maintain the foundation works is the cash money foundations. Money foundations had been a subject of debate among the jurists of Islam. This application had been discussed among the Ottoman 'ulama of the 16th century. In spite of the oppositions of the Ottoman 'ulama like Çivizade and Birgivi, it was allowed with the fatwa of Sheikh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi and became law after the Sultan had declared his opinion in the same direction³⁷. In the 19th century, it is seen that cash money foundations were highly widespread also in Mytilene Island like the other Aegean Islands. There can be various reasons for this. Probably, giving cash money as charity and make this money to be used as loan was seen easier to the philanthropists compared to other enterprises that bring revenue. The fact that 40 out of 95 foundations were money foundations according to a notebook of Mytilene foundations dated 1843 is an example of how prevalent this application had been³⁸.

Foundation money had been given as loan to the ones in need of money. The interest amount was determined as 15% with the fatwa of Ebussuud Efendi³⁹. Money given as usury was collected when its year is up, foundation expenses were tried to be covered with the usury revenue after the capital was subtracted. If the income was more than expenditure, this amount was also added to the capital and the capital was again given as usury. If it is less, the capital was not affected to be covered from the incomes of the coming years and the amount missing was recorded as debt to the foundation⁴⁰.

There was no discrimination in Muslim or non-Muslim in giving the foundation money as usury. For instance, the money given as charity to constitute a foundation for the fountains of the Filibe village of Molova district had risen to 44.785 piasters with the addition of the previous year's profit. This amount was given as usury to 106 people between March 1, 1252 and February 28, 1253. 64 (60%) of this 106 people was non-Muslim and 38 (36%) was Muslim both commonly mentioned as inhabitants of Kastaro and Filibe villages. Two of them could not be determined as to which people they belonged⁴¹. It is clear that there were more non-Muslim people than the Muslim ones who used the foundation money as credit. The population of non-Muslim people was more than the Muslims. This could have affected the situation nevertheless the important thing for the foundation administration was not the nationality but whether or not the ones taking the money were in a condition to pay it back with its interest. When someone who had got foundation money as usury died, they firstly collected the foundation money from his estates. In this way, the money collected could be given to someone else as usury⁴².

As a result, both the money foundations and the other foundations aforementioned are the institutions that made the Mytilene Island as a motherland like the other Ottoman provinces and sanjaks. With the establishment of these institutions, the Muslim population increased and in accordance with the increase in the Muslim population the number of foundations was also increased. These two matters, i.e. foundation and population, have always been matters which trigger one another, hence Ottoman sovereignty and Ottoman lifestyle was settled in the Mytilene Island.

³⁶ BOA, *EV*, no. 21409, p. 32a.

³⁷ Ahmet AKGÜNDÜZ, *İslam Hukukunda Ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, Ankara 1988, p. 151 vd.

³⁸ BOA, *EV*, no. 11235.

³⁹ AKGÜNDÜZ, *a.g.e.*, p. 162-163.

⁴⁰ For an example see. BOA, *EV*, no. 10514; *EV*, no. 10376; *EV*, 10374.

⁴¹ BOA, *EV*, no. 10374, p. 1.

⁴² BOA, *EV*, no. 11045, p. 173.

CRETE AND POEMS

İskender PALA

Prof. Dr., Faculty of Art & Science, Istanbul Kültür University

ÖZET

Akdeniz Adaları eskiden beri Anadolu ile ilişkiler içinde olmuş, buralarda yaşayan insanlar Müslüman veya Hıristiyan olsun, Osmanlı kültürüyle beslenmekten geri durmamışlardır. Nüfusunun belli bir kısmı Müslüman ve Türk olan adaların kültür ve sanat yelpazesi, ister istemez buralarda edebiyat ve şiire yönelen sanatçıları da beraberinde taşıdı. Daha XVI. yüzyıl tezkirelerinde Rodos, Midilli, Sakız, Sema direk (Samothraki) gibi adalardan nes'et eden sairlerin sayısı yirmiden ziyadedir Bunların içerisinde Kandî, Muîdî, Hitâbî, Cenânî, Ziynefî gibi önemli şairler de yer almaktadır.

Adalı sairlerin dizelerinde zaman zaman kendi memleketlerinden ilhamlar bulunmakta, bazen uzak hatıralar arasında bir özlemle, bazen da oralara mensup bir güzel/güzellik dolayısıyla adalardan bahsedilmektedir. Ancak adaların edebiyata asil yansımalarının Akdeniz'deki Türk halk sairleri dolayısıyla olduğu açık bir gerçektir. Bu sairler, asil meslekleri denizcilik olmak dolayısıyla Akdeniz'i mesken edinmiş, oradaki med ve cezirlerde ömürler yaşamış insanlardır. Onlar, İstanbul ile Cezayir Garp Ocakları arasında devlete, bilgiye, teşkilata, iradeye, cesaret ve feragate, ahlak ve inanca bağlı olarak zaman zaman gurur ve hamaset, zaman zaman da ıstırap ve hüznün kaynağı olarak bütün Akdeniz'in, dolayısıyla adaların tarihî kaderini dizelerine dizmiş insanlardır ve Divan sairlerinden farklı olarak mısralarını hece vezniyle söyleyip bağlama esliğinde okumaktadırlar.

Bir ülkenin vatan olması için yalnızca fethedilmesi yeterli değildir. Belki birtakım düşüncelerle yoğrulması, milli kültür değerleriyle damgalanması gerekir. Bu damganın izi, o yurt için akıtılan kanların çokluğuyla doğru orantılı, o ülke için yakılan türkülerin sayısı ile eşit olacaktır. Bir yurt ki daha fethedilmeden türkülere girmişse, elbette vatan olarak değeri daha fazla olacaktır. Girit, bu bakımdan belki de Adalar Denizi içinde en ziyade bize yakışan ve bizim olan bir desen taşır.

The island 'Crete' is at the south frontier of the Aegean Sea. With the expression of the poet named Rasid Efendi from Kandiye 'It has leaned on the sea' and the island is placed as a guard of Aegean Islands controlling the sea. During the sovereignty of Turks in Anatolia, the owner of the island was Venetians. Because of good fortifying, the island is controlling the traffic of ships anther Mediterranean Sea and it is taking place as a pirate home threatening the shores of Anatolia. Both the projects about opening out to Mediterranean and sovereignty and improving the political indicators, the Ottoman Government had always been thinking about the island as an obstacle, so the Ottoman had sieged the island in different times (these are some voyages: in 1469 Fatih, in 1538 Kanuni, in 1567 II. Selim) and at last a voyage started in 1645 had ended by the conquest in 1669. Relatively to Venetians, the Christian people in Crete had been given much more rights and in this period although the island had been improved presently for 150 years. In the first quarter of XIX. Century the Greek rebellion started in Mora had also jumped to Crete and finally the island had been left to Greece.

Since the old times the Mediterranean Islands had good relations with Anatolia and the Christian and Moslem people living there had been fed with Ottoman culture. The islands that a part of people containing Turks and Moslems grew up artists interested in literature and poetry. In the XVI. Century books more than twenty poets had born in Rodos, Sakiz, and Semadirek. In these poets there are important ones like Kandi, Mudi, Hitabi, Cenani, and Ziyneti. On the lines of the poets from the islands there are inspirations from their countries. Sometimes it is spoken of

longings among far souvenirs and sometimes it is spoken of the islands because of their beauty belonging there. However it is true that the reflections of islands to literature are because of the Turkish poets in Mediterranean. These poets had dwelled on Mediterranean because of their profession in navigation and they had lived there for long times. They are the people who had written the historical destiny of the islands depending on government, information, organization, command, boldness and renunciation among Istanbul and Algeria West Quarries. And they are different from Divan poets telling the lines with syllable of meter and singing with instrument named 'bağlama'. The common side of imam, sheikh, clerk and person that we see is to affect many people and to tell about their life with meter and rhyme. Although the literary of the poems are not valuable and sometimes there are some defeats in rhyme and metre, there is no weakness in these Turkish children's national feelings with Mediterranean mind. With today's definition we call them as 'instrumental poets' (saz şairleri).

History and literature are branches of science supporting and completing each other. How it is necessary to have information about when the work had been put forward for analyzing a literary art, to explain a historical period it can be necessary to apply the literary works in that time. Sometimes a literary work can be a more important document than archives about history. There is a necessity between a chronicler who is interested in events and chronology of history and a poet who respects priority to the senses to complete each other. The poems we will tell soon after are like the historical documents because of supporting, getting rich and being aware of senses and ideas of the people who are forming that history. The heroism and devotion of sultans, sailors and soldiers such as Oruç Reis, Barbaros Hayreddin Pasa, Turgut Reis, Murad Reis, Deli Hüseyin, Yusuf, Cezzar Ahmed, etc. would effect on nation poets. As a matter of fact, the history in Mediterranean had influenced Turkish poets sharing the happiness and sadness had sung the song Mediterranean mixing the melodies to the voices of instrument near the waves forging the shore. It is not enough for a country to become a motherland by conquest. Maybe it is necessary to be kneading with some ideas and marked with the values of national culture. The trace of this mark will be equal to the abundance of the blood flown and the quantity of the folk songs for the country. If a country had taken place in folk songs before the conquest, of course it will have much more value as a motherland. From the point of this view, Crete is suitable for us among the Sea of Islands. Without Aziz Efendi or Muhayyelet from Crete we can say that Turkish history is deficient, without Tamburi Ali Efendi our music is deficient and without Osman Nevres Turkish poem is half. The line 'Gül yagini eller sürünür çatlasa bülbül' probably doesn't tell about a woman, it tells about the islands themselves. Crete is a work of satire named 'Zafername' that had been written by Ziya Pasha concerning Ali Pasha's going to the island because of Greek rebellion in 1866 or it is the tears of Tahir Pasha. Unfortunately we are producing the Crete Knife in Bursa now, we are remembering Hanya and Konya together only in idioms but we don't know where it is. However the poets growing up in Crete is only fifteen in the XIX. century.

The process of Crete's belonging to Ottoman land starts in 1055/1645 and with the various sieges, wars, defenses and attacks it continues up to the year 1080/1669. These wars had continued approximately quarter century. It had started in the period of Sultan Ibrahim because of the ship carrying off Kizlaragasi Sümbül Aga to Egypt and near Crete it had been captured by Malta pirates and then had carried off to Hanya Port and it had ended in two years with the siege of Fazil Mustafa Pasha. The most important place in Crete Wars belonging to is certainly the name Deli Hüseyin Pasha who has become legendary here. First of all, getting Resmo and Kisamo forts he had added the big part of the island to Turkish land, in this way blockading Kandiye he had compelled all Venetians to call help from Christian people.

During the event of Sümbül Aga Crete people were orthodox. They had been oppressed under cruelty of Venetians for about 440 years. It was very important to be the owner of Crete for the safety of sea transport of Ottoman Government who owns North Africa, Dalmatia, Greece, Anatolia, Syrian and Palestine. Crete was the island which was certainly needed to be taken by Ottoman Government that owned almost all shores of East Mediterranean. This island would always show its importance in navigation and military and it would be used as a basis. In this way, the soldiers departed with the command of Yusuf Pasha who was appointed as the general in 30

April 1645 .The army that is prepared for this siege had 80 thousand soldiers; 14 thousand of them were janissary, 7 thousand of them were cavalry. This number is approximately the quantity of soldiers fighting all along Crete voyages. Sometimes this number had increased or decreased and they had taken place in fortified or clear places of the island. This is important for us that we will see the authors of poems below. They are the soldiers supporting each other sometimes in a castle, sometimes on ships, sometimes in clear lands, on mountains or in hot weather.

It started terrible days for the soldiers left in Crete after Yusuf Pasha got Hnya in August 22, he had gone back to Istanbul and had spent time there. After winter had finished, Venetians settled soldiers to Bozcaada. In return for this, the Ottoman Government had sent Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha appointed as general to the island. After Pasha's arrival to the island, he died. There upon the legend name of these wars Deli Hüseyin Pasha had been the general of Crete. On the contrary of his nickname Pasha was behaving cleverly and making good plans. This nickname had been given him because of his boldness of madness. He had gotten one of the biggest countries of the island Resmo, such as Hanya. Venetians were in the last big city Kandiye. Pasha had broken their endurance and blockaded the city. The ditch of Kandiye Castle had been defending perfectly with the fortifications full of water and the city walls which five cavalry soldiers can pass together. Pasha had caused to be made bastions out of ditch and had placed his soldiers. It hadn't been coming support of soldier and money from Istanbul. When Pasha had been seeing his soldiers eating the roots of the trees and plants, he had been depressing and telling them that support would arrive them in the near future. The deficient of ammunition was too much. The cannons were not good enough. As for Venice had been taking help from all Christian worlds. At last when the Papacy, Malta and Florence ships had come for help, the Ottoman soldiers lost their hopes. Defeat and siege had been abolished in July 1648. The real heroism of this siege, the soldiers had digged sewers with extraordinary zeal, had blowed up cannons and had fought with strong feelings. This heroism had narrated in most of the poems written about Crete and had been an example to the following sieges.

When VI. Mehmed had ascended the throne instead of Deli Ibrahim in Istanbul, the Crete policy of the government didn't change too much. In 1649 Voynuk Ahmed Pasha had taken away assistance to Crete but because of the bad relation between Deli Hüseyin Pasha and him, he had besieged the Fort Suda himself, so he had given opportunity to form two different armies on the island. Of course this situation suited Venetians' interests. However when Ahmed Pasha had died a martyr in front of Suda, the soldiers had been at command of Hüseyin Pasha. At the second siege of Kandiye lasted two months hadn't come to a conclusion, so some of the soldiers had been called back to Istanbul. This failure had brought about some uneasiness, the soldiers which didn't return back to Istanbul had been unhappy. Venice navy had blockaded the Çanakkale Gullet, so they had prevented the assistance coming from Istanbul.

In 1656 Köprülü Mehmed Pasha had become grand vizier. Pasha had called Deli Hüseyin Pasha because of bewareing of him and had been choked in Yedikule. Then the chief captain Kenan Pasha had moved forward in order to move away the blockade of Çanakkale, unfortunately he had destroyed the ships defeated. Instead of him Seydi Ahmed Pasha had been appointed as a chief captain. There began a duration that will end with getting Bozcaada and Limni. However Kandiye hadn't been taken. By the help of Vasvar Peace the occurrence had been postponed.

The conquest of Crete was related to Kandiye's. At the end of 1666, Fazil Mustafa Pasha, one of the Köprülü, who was appointed to Crete's commander arrived to Kandiye and preparing equipments, food, soldiers, munitions and ships, he completely conquest the island in May1667. During this time Kandiye and Venice had taken too much help, every country had renewed castle walls, made every kind of concentration to the castle. This time Grand Vizier settled cannons to Incirli Island with surrounding the fort from the sea. Although 800 cannons had been exploded at the siege lasted seven months couldn't be possessed. The soldiers passed all winter in shelters. The Ottoman engineer officers had even set up a bazaar underground. At the end of June 1668 the siege was started again. It wasn't accepted although Venetians conceded the fort and offered peace. Assistance arrived four times from Istanbul. During this war the Ottoman army was in the situation that could product thousand humbara a day. The following year in the middle of

June 1669 Kandiye had fallen and Crete had been completely Turkish land that changed to an honor and strength claim between Christian world and the Ottoman Government. In this siege Turkish army had done about 100 attacks; exploded 3500 sewers, expended 730 thousand scales of gunpowder and 30 thousand soldiers had died martyr. The quantity of the soldiers died a martyr in all Crete sieges had amounted 100 thousand. In the entire world it hadn't been spent labor and money for a castle like the one in Crete. If the Ottoman hadn't looked Kandiye as the key of Crete and Crete as the key of Mediterranean and Mediterranean as the key of the future, they wouldn't have given permission such kind of harm.

Along Crete Wars it had arrived folk songs to the villages and towns with the news of Turkish martries. This folk song sometimes had been an epic. Sometimes mothers and babies cried and sometimes fiancées cried listening to these songs. A conquest hadn't been taking place as a calendar indicator on the pages of history; unfortunately it had been taking place as pains, injuries, illnesses, separations and longings. We can usually see this appearance of history on its poetic surface. It is necessary to have lived a big anxiety for a long time to take place in conscience of society for exposing works about a historical event. Both of them would come into being in Crete and it would be started to write folk songs, to become chatty hymnies along the war. The poems below rose in chronological order and the injuries opened in Turkish conscience will develop parallel and will grow up and be widely known at the same time.

The Crete War had started with the confiscating goods of Sümbül Aga and Turkish soldiers had gotten Hanya firstly. The poems about the conquest of Hanya can generally be followed with the verses written in the way of hymn by Benli. It is treated in verses the necessity of showing interest to Crete theme. Furthermore it has started to live many Ramazans and holidays in headquarters.

I.

Felek bir sapana koyup tünden tüne atam deyü
Neyleyim kahpe felek etdi bana zulüm deyü
Anamız yok atamız yok ...vatan deyü
Hanya'da garib olanlar aglar eyyam-i serif

This poem full of victory pleasures belongs to Garip Asik. Unfortunately this poem had been read about conquest of Hanya at the beginning. The poem can be accepted as a victory document (Zafername) of the war that had started and finished in fifty-five days. We can say that it was read with pleasure among the ghazis which stayed and fought in Crete after Hanya for years.

II.

Gaziler kilicin alir destine
Cümlesinin muradi kafir üstüne
Tam elli bes günde Girid üstüne
Ser verip ser aldi kul padisahim

III.

Garip asik bunu böyle der idi
Kalmayip düsmanin bagri eridi
Bin elli besinde aldik Girid'i
Gayet mübarektir hal padisahim

With regard to Venetians'send out soldiers to Bozcaada and return of Yusuf Pasha to Istanbul after getting Hanya in August 22, the Ottoman Government appointed Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha to Crete as general. The lines that Benli Ali told about the arrival of grand vizier to Crete with galleons are below;

I.
Padisahim üç fenerli altun alemdir gelen
Yelken açtı hep gemiler gör ne eyyamdir gelen
Çagrisip gül bank getirir gaziler Allah deyü
Aç gözün gafletten uyan asker-i Islamdir gelen

II.
Yer yerin kurar...kal'ana toplar atar
Gaziler kursun ile derdine derdler katar
Yagma ider koç yigitler mal ü emlakın satar
Aç gözün gafletten uyan asker-i Islamdir gelen

III.
Çikdi Hanya'nin içinde kâfiri aman ile
Bihamdilleh doldu içi din ile iman ile
Donandı Girit adası asker-i Islam ile
Aç gözün gafletten uyan asker-i Islamdir gelen

With regard to the same events, a poet named Katip Ali was remembered as a clerk in Ottoman navy. Here are two stanzas of his heroic poems.

I.
Be gaziler vezir geçti Girid'e
Neler gördü gözün ne görür Girid
Yarar yigitleri vardır kendi de
Tas tuğ olsa su olur erir Girid

(...)

III.
Ne sarp imis o kafirin binası
Yamanimis kal'asi yikilasi
Âsumânda toplarin sadasi
Uhud gazasından dem urur Girid

Çanakkale Gullet had been blockaded by Venetians in the years 1649-1654 and the coming of assistance from Istanbul had been prevented. The years that would pass tragic for Ottoman had started in this period with Crete wars. It is necessary to read that poem (kosma) to understand the feelings of soldiers who were helpless in Crete. The poet of this poem had used the pen-name "Sahin". Probably he is a person in the army.

I.
Bir niyaz ederiz bâd-i simalden
Esmez oldu müjde yeli nic'oldu
Cânib-i seferden ceng ü cidâlden
Kapandı kaldı yolu nic'oldu

II.
Girit ceziresi Firenk kilidi
Hanya anahtarı açtı Girid'i
Gazi Yusuf Pasa yarar kul idi
Padisahin yarar kulu nic'oldu

III.

Vurup Girid ceziresinin kusadan
Kapudan olan Musa Pasa'dan
Frenklere dürlü dürlü is eden
Nami Hüseyin Pasa Deli nic'oldu

IV.

Bunca yildir top u tüfek yasilir
Sesin isitdikçe derdim eksilir
Bunca cenkler olur baslar kesilir
Ya bunca baslarin dili nic'olur

V.

Sahin eydür gurbet ilde dardayiz
Cenk yüzünden biz dönmeyiz ardayiz
Bülbül gibi güle intizardayiz
Açılmadi murad gülü nic'oldu

It is possible to understand the mood of the soldiers with the line “Cenk yüzünden biz dönmeyiz ardayiz” Sahin wrote in the last stanza. The same poet has written a conquest folk song with title “Türkî, Beray-i Fethi Retime” that was registered. The area Ritme (Rethymnon) which passes in Turkish origins as Retmo is a part in north coast of Crete. It had been conquered by the general Deli Hüseyin Pasha in 15 November 1646. Here is the first stanza of the folk song.

Sükür Allah'ima güler canimiz
Demi geldi müjde ile Ritme'nin
Sen olsun Sultan Ibrahim Han'imiz
Fethi haberleri geldi Ritme'nin

After the conquest of Resmo IV. Murat had ascended the throne in the age 7 and had been sultan instead of Sultan Ibrahim. The works of government had been directing by Kösem Mahpeyker Sultan and some pashas. The theme of Crete had lost its priority and the struggle in Istanbul had come to the fore for a while. A poet who had a sign named Memisoglu had written a folk song that had the marks of that time. Here are some lines below from that folk song showing the conquest of Crete that how the soldiers fought with strong feelings.

I.

Retime kal'asin küffâr elinden
Merd Hüseyin Pasa aldi zûr ile
Simdi yine mahrum oldugönlünden
Venedik krali kaldı zâr ile

II.

Ise güce varmaz oldu elleri
Kafire terk oldu Girit illeri
Sultan Mehmed'in gazi kullari
Cenk liderler gurbet ilde ar ile

The struggle in Istanbul had been continuing between the viziers. At the moment the success of Deli Hüseyin Pasa in Crete had started the attract attention. The rivals, that were jealous of Deli Hüseyin Pasa, complained him to sultan who was only a child. Pasa was called to Istanbul and put in prison in order to be choked. Because of this brave man's putting in prison unjustly, a poet named Hüdayi had written a praising poem (medhiye) addressing to sultan. We think about

this poem had been composed as a folk song and the name Hüdayi is known. If such kind of a poem was read as a folk song, it could be attained one's object, but it didn't because Deli Hüseyin Pasa had been put to death. The reason of hiding the name and using the pen-name Hüdayi which means "for God, belongs to God" is because of being criticise.

I.
Gurbet diyarında namin kaldiran
Hünkarım Deli Hüseyin Pasa lalandir
Merdligin cümle aleme bildiren
Hünkarım Deli Hüseyin Pasa lalandir

II.
Yokdur Âl-i Osman'in böyle delisi
Her yerde içilir onun dolusi
Simdi zamanenin Hazret Ali'si
Hünkarım Deli Hüseyin Pasa lalandir

During the years passed Crete wars had become to a state that would meet father and son. These measures without results had bad effects on soldiers. It was important to have written sincere poems to support the soldiers. This folk song below had written with the pen-name Üsküdarî. It is important to boast morale with these kinds of folk songs to the soldiers in the headquarters and shelters.

I.
Girid için emir geldi çünkü oldu yazilar
Merd oğlu merd olan yigit böyle günü özüler
Çünkü kurban için dogar anadan koç kuzular
Hazir olun din yoluna cenk idelüm gaziler

II.
Ol küffar-i bed-fiâlin bu yıl yayi yasilir
Hak emriyle Kandiye'den kismetleri kesilir
Gazi olan yigitlerin tigi arsa asilir
Hazir olun din yoluna cenk idelüm gaziler

That poem (kosma) written by Seyyahî below is important to show the difficulties, hopes and hopelessnesses, and psychology of the soldiers.

I.
Girid'e olan kulun hâlin aman
Lutfundan sual eder bil padisahim
Huda'ya kalmistir isimiz heman
Gayet mükedderdir hal padisahim

II.
Ceyhun olup akar çesmimiz seli
Esdi basimiza belanın yeli
Bunca yıl bekleriz girdâb-i gami
Hayal oldu vatan,il padisahim

III.

Cüda düsdük esle dostla
Doludur gözlerim kanli yasimdan
Ugruna geçdik can ile basdan
Emrine mutidür kul padisahim

IV.

Yüzler sürmedik ol hâk-i pâye
Gitdi elimizde olan sermaye
Boynumuz egik bakariz deryaya
Ahir vermez gibi yol padisahim

V.

Der Seyyahî hasbihalini söyle
Hasret kiyamete kalir mi böyle
Girdâbda esir olduk terahhum eyle
Esirine merhamet kil padisahim

There are many poems written about Crete that started with the pleasure of Hanya conquest and continued for months and years. But there aren't too many poems belonging to the time of the conquest of all islands. However that lands that were gotten with difficulties could havemuch stronger funeral songs and folk songs. In the mind of Turkish nation who is used to write epic more than funeral song; Crete is unfortunately had taken places with these lines;

Yikilasi Kandiye'nin önünde
Shid mezarindan geçilmez oldu

It is true that the sorrow that Turkish people had gathered in their conscience for many years because of Crete, didn't wear out pleasure because of getting the island. Because we don't have the poems written about Crete in 1669. We own an epic written by Kesfi telling about the assistance of the French crown prince Duce Beaufor to Venetians with 6000 soldiers and the desertion of him with his soldiers. Here is a stanza below;

Fransiz krali oglun gönderdi
Venedik'e imdad ederim sandi
Cenge dayanamayip yüzün dönderdi
Bir anda Fransiz askeri sindi

If we don't have this epic we could think that Crete was only in the pictures and history pages. However it is seen, that beautiful island became the centre of literature and poetry after Turks had gotten there. Of course, as much as the strategical and political importance of the island, geographical and natural beauty attracts attention. But it is important that after Crete the Ottoman had adopted Mediterranean mind in its culture. It is enough to prove our statements and everything that was acquired to Ottoman with the important people grown up in culture, art and science on the island in later times.

OBSERVATIONS ON LATE OTTOMAN SCHOLARS FROM THE AEGEAN ISLANDS

Mehmet İPŞİRLİ

Prof. Dr., Faculty of Art & Science, Fatih University.

ÖZET

Anadolu, Rumeli ve Arabistan coğrafyalarından oluşan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ülkenin her bölgesinden yetişen bilim adamı, yönetici ve ticaret erbabı önemli mevki ve güce sahip olmuşlardır. Ege denizinde yer alan irili ufaklı adaların bu anlamdaki katkısı ve durumu çoğu kere dikkatlerden kaçmıştır. Osmanlı coğrafyasına insan gücü olarak adaların katkıları incelenecek olursa hemen her dönemde buralardan da kendi imkanları nispetinde ilim, idare, ticaret alanlarında bir çok kimse yetişmiş olduğu görülür.

Bu bildiri 19. yüzyıl sonu ile 20. yüzyıl başlarında Osmanlı ilmiye sınıfı içerisinde belli görevler ifa etmiş olan adalar kökenli 30 kadar kişinin durumları çok yönlü olarak değerlendirilecek, ayrıca adalar bünyesinde yer alan ilmî ve hukukî kurumların niteliği hakkında tahliller yapılacaktır.

The Ottoman Empire consisted of three main areas namely Anatolia, Rumelia and Arabia including the North Africa. There are many common features of these three areas beside many differences.

The first common aspect of Ottoman administration in general was that educated people from different regions of the Empire were employed in various positions without any discrimination. For this reason, in administrative (Seyfiye), bureaucratic (Kalemiye) and Learned (İlmiye) professions one can see educated people from different regions. Especially in seyfiye Muslim and non-muslim families and individuals were employed from different regions of the Empire. The second aspect was that social, educational, judicial and military institutions and buildings were spread not only to certain cities and regions but almost all over the Empire. Especially waqf buildings and settlements can be seen not only in the major cites but also in rural areas.

On the other hand, intellectuals, scholars and merchants of these regions indiscriminately had equal opportunities. Among these regions Aegean Islands were rarely mentioned. In contrast to the general conviction that these Islands were isolated from the main land and Istanbul, they actively participated in administration, business and trade. It is interesting that many young people from these islands were educated and had various positions in Ottoman administration until the twentieth century.

Among these functions and position, learned profession (*ilmiye*) had very interesting development. From early centuries onwards ilmiye profession had always great attraction. The practice in this profession was that young candidates first attended local medreses and mosque in their region, later they moved great cities and finally if they have opportunity they come to the Capital. In Istanbul after attending courses of famous scholars in various mosques and medreses they received *ijazet* (diploma) and later on they began their career in the various capacities.

After the conquest of Aegean islands many educated people from these lands were employed in official positions. For the scholars under the names of “Rodosî, Sakizî” etc., from the Aegean Islands in the pre-nineteenth centuries see the indexes of *Şakâiku'n-Nu'mâniyye* and its supplements¹. In this paper medrese educated people from the Aegean islands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are studied.

The present paper mainly aims to analyze two problems: The first one is to study about thirty individuals from the various islands, namely Girit, Rodos, Midilli, Sakiz, Limni and reaching some common conclusions. The second one is to analyze the judicial, educational and religious offices in the Aegean islands and indicate institutional structure there.

The main source for the present study is *Sicill-i Ahval* Documents for Ottoman Learned Class which were kept in Istanbul Şer'îye Sicilleri Arşivi in Süleymaniye. This is one the richest archive in Turkey, containing not only 10400 Court registers of Istanbul but also 6386 personal files for the late Ottoman Scholars and *ilmiye* officers². These files were organized by the Commission of *Sicill-i Ahval* starting from 1879 until the end of the Empire. In the late nineteenth century one of the important developments in Ottoman bureaucracy was Abdülhamid's introduction of a new practice to prepare a personal file for every official. Government officers were classified into three main groups: Administrative (Mülkiyeli), Military (Askerî), Learned (İlmiye) officers.

The *ilmiye* documents in this archive were studied in various levels. The most comprehensive study, though not complete, was done by Sadık Albayrak. (Albayrak, Zerdecî, İpşirli, Almanya tebliği)

Some remarks on the judicial and religious officials and organization in the Aegean Islands: The biographical informations provide that young people after having their primary and sometimes early secondary education in their native island, they prefer to come to Istanbul to further their education.

For example, Midillili Hafız Ahmed Mestan Efendi, after finishing the *İbtidâi* and *Rüşdiyye* schools, he started to learn the Holy Kur'an by heart and Arabic Language from Hafız Abdullah Efendi, and then he moved to Istanbul and attended the Arabic courses of Midillili İbrahim Efendi, The *dersiam* of Bayezid Mosque.

Similarly, Midillili Hafız Bekir Hazim Efendi, son of Mehmed Efendi, Şeyh of Kadiri Order, born in 1270 AH, in Agre, one of the village's of Sigri district in Midilli. After memorizing the Holy Kur'an and studying some of the introductory sciences he moved to Istanbul, where he studied from Ismail Hakki Efendi, undersecretary (*müsteşar*) of Meşihat and Mehmed Reşid efendi, first imam of the Sultan. He studied in *Darü'l-muallimin-i İbtidaiye* and in Şaban 1st, 1304 he received the diploma for teaching.

Rodoslu Hacı Şerif Efendi was Emin Reis Efendi's son, born on March 15th, 1279 in Rodos. His father Emin Reis Efendi was captain of a vessel. After finishing his primary education in Rodos in the traditional manner, he moved to Elmali and had followed the courses of Ali Ragib Efendi in Haydar Baba Medrese.

Midillili Mehmed Emin Efendi was the son of Hacı Mustafa b. Halil Efendi. He was born in Çömlek in 1262/1846, one of the village's of sub-district of Mulva in Midilli. Until the age of nineteen he studied at the medrese of Çömlek. In 1281/1865 he came to Istanbul and he started studying in Sultanahmed Medrese from Safranbolulu Halil Efendi, the *dersiam* of Ayasofya. Later he received his *icazet* from Serezli Deli Hafız Ali Efendi in 1297/1881.

¹ *Sakaik-i Nu'maniye ve zeyilleri*, Ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Istanbul 1989, I-V vols, see index at the beginning of each volume).

² Among these file 1286 files for Naibs, 1165 for Müftüs, 829 for müderris and teachers, 460 files for the scribes of Mahkeme-I ser'îye, 360 files for Dersiams, 133 for the officials of Fetvahane, and the files for Judges, Vaizs, Seyhülislams, Kadiaskers, Kürsü Seyhleri, officers of Ders Vekaleti, Members of Meclis-i Tetkikat-i Ser'îye and many other officers. Zerdecî, ibit, pp. 17-18.

It was a general practice that capable students after having their early education in their home-islands, mostly came to Istanbul to complete their educations and to receive their *icazets*. However, occasionally there were some students who completed their education in their islands and were appointed to convenient positions there. For example, Sakizli İsmail Hakki was the son of a tradesman, Ali Haydar Ağa. İsmail Hakki received his education in the medrese of Salih Paşa from Hüseyin Ratib Efendi, the müftü of Sakiz and he was given an *ijazet* in May 1330. Later he became *müsevvid* and the *müfti* of Sakiz³.

Students from the various Aegean islands after completing their education, most of them were employed in their islands in various judicial and religious positions like *müftü*, *naip*, *müderris*, *müsevvid*, *katip*, *muhzir*, *eytam müdürü* etc. It is also interesting that the biographies that were covered in this study had not high positions in their careers.

Family background and status of these twenty nine persons give also interesting results: Fathers of 18 students out of 30 were “Efendi”: Of these 18, 12 were just “Efendi”, 2 were “Şeyh Efendi”, 3 were “Haci Efendi”, and 1 was “Hafiz Efendi”. Furthermore, the fathers of 9 were “Aga”; father of 1 student was “Bey” and father of 1 student was “Çavuş”.

The distribution of these twenty nine biographical files was as follows: 8 from Rodos, 6 from Midilli, 6 Girit (3 Kandiye, 1 Hanya, 2 Girit), 5 from Sakiz, 2 from Limni, 2 from Bozcaada.

As far as their employment is concerned, 19 people out of 29 were employed in their native islands.

The well known judicial and educational positions in the Aegean Islands and their file numbers in İŞSA⁴ are listed below:

Midilli Naipliği, (file nr. 1453, 1457, 1467, 3954)
Midilli Müftülüğü, 1465
Midilli Müftü müsevvidliği, 1478, 3943,
Midilli mahkeme-i şer’iye hademeliği, 1479, 3947
Midilli Eytam müdürlüğü, 1475
Limni naipliği, 1454
Limni müftülüğü, 1467,
Limni Müftü müsevvidliği, 3938,
Limni Eytam müdürlüğü, 1480,
Limni mahkeme-i Şer’iyye mukayyidi, 1481
Girit Merkez Naipliği, 1456,
Kandiye naipliği, 1492,
Kandiye Müftülüğü, 3970,
Resmo müftülüğü, 1493, 1494,
Hanya müftülüğü, 3968,
Sakiz naipliği, 1464
Sakiz müftülüğü, 1468,
Sakiz Müftü müsevvidliği, 3931,
Sakiz Mahkeme-i Şer’iye başkatipliği, 3932,
Sakiz Mahkeme-i Şer’iye katibi, 3934,
Sakiz Mahkeme-i Şer’iye mukayyidi, 3935,
Sakiz Mahkeme-i Şer’iye muhzirliği, 3937,
Sakiz Eytam müdürlüğü, 3993,

³ İŞSA, file nr. 3931; Register v. 7, p. 163; Albayrak, V. P. 278.

⁴ İstanbul Ser’iye Sicilleri Arsivi

Rodos müftülüğü, 1466,
Rodos müftü müsevvidliği, 1474,
Rodos Mahkeme-i Şer'îye muhzirliği, 1486, 1488
Rodos Mahkeme-i Şer'îye odacılığı, 1487,
Rodos Mahkeme-i Şer'îye katipliği, 1489
İstanköy müftülüğü, 1469,
İstanköy müftü ve vaizi, 1482,
İstanköy naipliği, 1472,
Bozcaada Eytam Müdürü, 1483,
Bozcaada Mahkeme-i Şer'îye Muhzirliği, 1484,
Bozcaada müderrisliği, 3941

THREE SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL DATAS FROM MITYLENE (MİDİLLİ):

MİDİLLİLİ MEHMED EMİN EFENDİ

He was the son of Hacı Mustafa b. Halil Efendi. He was born in Çömlek in 1262/1846, one of the village's of sub-district of Mulva in Midilli. Until the age of 19 he studied at the Medrese of Çömlek.

1281/1865 he came to Istanbul and he started studying in Sultanahmed Medrese from Safranbolulu Halil Efendi, the *dersiam* of Ayasofya. Later he received his *icazet* from Serezli Deli Hafız Ali Efendi in 1297/1881. He succeeded in Ruus Examination and became *dersiam* of Bayezid.

In 1308/1892 he himself granted *ijazet* to his students. He returned to Midilli and spent the following two years there. Later on he was appointed as *vaiz* of Bozcaada and honorary *müfti* of the town. After two years he again returned to Midilli. In the following years after a short position as sermon in Kerk, he resigned and was appointed to sermonship in Rodos and in 1908 he retired.

In M.1318 he was awarded the *Mecidiye* Order of fourth grade, and his scholarly rank was promoted to *Musila-i Sahn*.

In Ramazan 1324, he was appointed as listener of the lecturer of in the sultan's presence (Huzur dersleri muhatabi) and in 1328 he became lecturer in Sultan's presence (Huzur dersleri mukarriri). He spent the final part of his life in Edremid and died 13 Kanunuevvel 1331 (1915) there.

He wrote two books: The first one is *Mebadi-i Islamiye*, a book explaining the principles of Islam, published in 1304/1888 in Turkish; the second one was in Arabic, *Minhacü'l-vâizîn*. It was about exhortation (*mev'iza*) and it was published in 1898⁵.

⁵ ISSA, File nr. 3410, Albayrak, *Son devir Osmanlı Uleması*, III, pp.108-109; Humeyra Zerdecı, *Osmanlı Ulema Biyografilerinin Arşiv Kaynakları* (Ser'îye Sicilleri), Unpublished MA Thesis, Istanbul 1998, p. 168 .

MIDILLILI HAFIZ AHMED MESTAN EFENDI

He was Hacı Şakir Efendi's son and born in Midilli. After finishing the *Ibtidâi* and *Rüşdiye* schools, he started to learn the Kur'an by heart and Arabic Language from Hafız Abdullah Efendi.

He moved to Istanbul and attended the Arabic courses of Midillili İbrahim Efendi, the *dersiam* of Bayezid Mosque.

In June 1st, 1312 he was appointed to the Vekayi' Kalemî of Anadolu Kadiaskerate. Moreover, in May 1st, 1316 he also received salary from *Tahsisat-i İlmiye*. Later on when two kadiaskerates were united, he was transferred to the Court of Kadiaskerate. Documents in file indicate that his position there lasted until December 1st 1336. He was also awarded the decrees of *İbtida-i Haric*, *İbtida-i dahil*, *Hareket-i Dahil*, *Sahn*, *İbtida-i Altmişli*, *Hareket-i Altmişli*, *Musila-i Sahn*. In Rebiulahir 3rd 1337, he was promoted to the rank of İzmir *Pâye-i Mücerredî*.

In April 21st 1324 he was awarded the Mecidî Order of fourth degree⁶.

MIDILLILI HAFIZ BEKİR HAZİM EFENDİ

Son of Mehmed Efendi, Şeyh of Kadiri Order. Born in 1270 AH, in Agre, one of the villages's of Sigri district in Midilli. After memorizing the Kur'an and some of the introductory sciences he moved to Istanbul, where he studied from Ismail Hakki Efendi, undersecretary of Meşihat and Mehmed Reşid efendi, the first imam of the Sultan. He studied in *Darü'l-muallimin-i İbtidaiye* and in Şaban 1st 1304 he received his diploma for teaching.

He served as *hatib* of Hacı Küçük Mosque in 1290 with a 100 kuruş salary. In 1292 he was the second imam of Mahmud Paşa Mosque. In 1300, the Buhari-hanlık in Osmaniye Mosque and in 1317 the *Şeyhülkurralik* in the mosque of Hacı Küçük were entrusted with imperial decrees (*Berat*).

In 1304 AH, he was given the duty of reciting the Kur'an in Hirka-i Saadet Room in Topkapı Palace, and this function lasted six years. He was awarded Mecidî Order in fifth degree.

In the mean time, he was given the honorary ranks of *İbtida-i Haric* Edirne *ruusu*, *İbtida-i Altmişli*.

In December 1st 1310, he became the member of *Tetkik-i mesahif*. Here he was awarded with Ottoman order in the fourth rank. In Safer 4th 1323 he obtained the honorary rank of İzmir *pâye-i mücerred*. In July 13th 1339 he retired with 415 kuruş pension⁷.

As a closing remark I would like to say that in terms of educated people and scholarly activities Aegean Islands were not isolated and neglected parts of the Empire. From their conquest until the end of the Empire the manpower contribution of the Islands to Ottoman intellectual and administrative system must be studied properly.

⁶ ISSA, File, 217; Albayrak, V. I, pp.237-38.

⁷ ISSA File nr. 202; Albayrak, I, pp. 389-90; Zerdecî, p. 35 .

RHODES AND DODECANESE IN TURKISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Gülcan YILMAZ

Assistant Prof., Faculty of Education, Kocaeli University

ÖZET

Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Rodos ve Oniki Ada'nın konumuna baktığımızda, Anadolu'ya çok yakın olan bu adaların köprü rolünü üstlendiğini görüyoruz. Anadolu'nun birçok yeri işgal edilmiş olduğundan Ankara'ya ulaşabilmek için adalar yolu kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca Avrupa'ya gönderilen heyetler yine adalar yolunu kullanarak öncelikle Rodos Adası'na uğramışlardır.

Bu adaların Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndaki diğer önemli bir katkısı da İtalya'nın adalar yolu aracılığıyla silah, cephane ve insan kaçırılmasıyla ilgili destek vermesidir. Bütün bunların yanı sıra İtalya, Yunanlılar hakkında istihbarat bilgileri de veriyordu.

Adalar yolu, Anadolu'nun Avrupa ile iletişim sağlanmasında en azından işgal altındaki bölgelere göre daha güvenli olmasından dolayı tercih edilmiştir. Önemli bir olayda Bekir Sami Bey'in resmi görevli olarak Rodos Adası'nda İtalyan vali ve Fransız konsolosunun erkek kardeşi ile yaptığı görüşmeler sayesinde, Fransızların Ankara Hükümeti'ni daha iyi algılamasına neden olmuştur. Bu durum Fransa ile Ankara Hükümeti'nin yapmış olduğu Ankara Antlaşması'na olumlu bir katkı sağlamıştır.

Bu olumlu katkıların yanı sıra olumsuz olan bir durumda vardır. Kurtuluş Savaşı sırasında Rodos Adası'nda Ankara Hükümeti'ni temsil eden iki mümessilimizin bulunması da farklı bir durumdur. Bu ikibaşlı durumun aslında Mustafa Kemal Paşa açısından bakıldığında, Ankara Hükümeti'nin İtalya ile olan ilişkilerine verdiği önemden kaynaklandığını görmekteyiz.

Italy which occupied to have Trablusgarp in 1911, thought would easy to conquer these Ottoman lands, but it actually faced a very strong resistance. Not wanting to lengthen the war more, a campaign forcing Ottomans to leave Trablusgarp to Italians with the helps of big and powerful nations was started. Before the occupation, they started to cut off the Dodecanese's communication with Anatolia by destroying the telegram lines. Italy started the occupation of Rhodes and the Dodecanesse on 24 April 1912. With the Treaty of Ouchy signed on 18 October 1912, Italians accepted to give Rhodes and the Islands back to Turks, but lay to with draw of the Turkish Soldiers as a condition. In addition, due to the possibility of the Dodecanesse of occupation by Greeks, it was thought to be better to leave them to Italians as a trust until the end of the war.

Until World War I, Italy had followed o policy trying to keep Rhodes and the Dodecanesse as long as possible and using them as step stones in order to gain some privileges in Anatolia. In World War I, when Italy waged war against the Ottoman Empire, Italy made its friendly states accept its sovereignty on Rhodes and the Islands. Italy announced to have cancelled its responsibilities from the Treaty of Ouchy and stated that it would not retrieve from the Dodecanesse. Following World War I, with the start of War of Independence in Anatolia, Italy announced that the Islands were under their protection.

RHODES AND DODECANESSE IN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

During War of Independence, the Islamic Association of Defence Rights of Rhodes and Kos Islands, among whose founders were Nail Pasha, Hüseyin Ragip, Yusuf Kenan, Kazim Şinasi and Süleyman Hikmet Bey, was established on 16 June 1919. This association was founded in Istanbul, but not much known about its activities. However, the transfer of the Action of Defence to the region of the Dodecanesse even in the form of an attempt was of great importance. Analysing the regulation, the aim of this association is started in the second article (in article 2) as taking any necessary action to prevent the annexation of the Islands to Greece¹.

During War of Independence, Rhodes and the Dodecanesse functioned more as a bridge enabling passage to Anatolia. Since almost every corner of Anatolia had been invaded, it was easier to reach occupied areas like Izmir through these islands, which are very close to Anatolia. Similarly, it is seen that this path via the islands was used to go to Ankara, the centre of War of Independence².

When Istanbul was occupied, Mazhar Müfit Kansu, an MP of the last Ottoman Parliament, was virtually trapped in the city because all the roads to Anatolia were blocked. Upon the search of alternatives, it was understood that the only possible route was first to the Island of Megiste-Kastellorizo in the French territory, then to Beirut and finally to Anatolia³.

The delegation representing Ankara Government, which attended to London Conference (21 February-11 March 1921) during War of Independence consisted of Bekir Sami Bey – the chairman and the Minister for External Affairs, Hüsrev Gerede, Zekai Yunus Nadi, Cami Bey - representative in Rome, Sirri Bey – MP of Izmir, Mahmut Esat, Niyazi as the delegate from Adana and the staff-captain Yümni Bey. On their way to the Conference, they went to Rhodes via Antalya. Having heard of the travel of this delegation, Turkish minority on Rhodes gathered at the part to cheer. Nevertheless, to avoid the possible gather by the population of Turkish in island, the delegation was sent off on a destroyer⁴.

All the treaties signed by the Minister for External Affairs, Bekir Sami Bey, beyond his authority were disapproved by Ankara Government and Mustafa Kemal Pasha with the claim that they were against the National Pact. In addition, Bekir Sami Bey would be asked to leave his post as the Minister, and therefore he would resign on 8 May 1921. Upon his resignation, at a very confidential meeting of the Parliament, Mustafa Kemal Pasha said that the stay of Bekir Sami Bey in Europe as the head of the board of delegations would be very beneficial for the Ankara Government. Consequently, on 20 May Bekir Sami Bey left Ankara to go to Rome, Paris and London. Upon his arrival in Rhodes, Bekir Sami Bey had meetings with the Italian Governor and introduced himself as “the official statesman” to sign treaties. The talks he had with the brother of the French Consul of Rhodes were also of big importance because the French would start to understand the ideas and the purpose of the Ankara Government⁵.

In London Conference, with a treaty signed with France, Italy took the Island of Megiste-Kastellorizo (1 March 1921). This take-over was realised within the terms of Mondros Cease-fire Treaty. Believing the Treaty of Serve would not be applied, Italy named his control of the islands

¹ Tarik Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952, s. 505.

² See, Gülcan Yılmaz, *Oniki Ada Sorunu*, Istanbul Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi), Istanbul 2003.

³ Mazhar Müfit Kansu, *Erzurum’dan Ölümüne Kadar Atatürk’le Beraber*, c. II, TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1997, s. 559 vd.

⁴ Haz. Sami Önal, *Hüsrev Gerede’nin Anıları, Kurtuluş Savaşı, Atatürk ve Devrimler*, Literatür Yayıncılık, Istanbul 2002, s. 211-212.

⁵ Bige Yavuz, “Bekir Sami Bey’in Haziran 1921 Avrupa Seyahatine İlişkin Fransız ve İngiliz Belgeleri”, *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, c. IV, TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1999, s. 1331-1332.

as “administration of Rhodes, Megiste-Kastellorizo and the other occupied the Dodecanesse” (20 November 1921)⁶.

We learn from his memories that Fahri Akçakoca, a spy during War of Independence, went from Marmaris to Rhodes, then to Izmir for an official mission⁷. This mission was to obtain a report on the strategic state of the Greek Army⁸. He mentioned about Moralizade Halit Bey, a very nationalist man, who was aware of his mission and helped him a lot upon his arrival in Rhodes. In addition, he learned⁹ that Moralizade Halit Bey¹⁰ had smuggled a great many weapons into Anatolia via Antalya. He also named a doctor from Izmir, Mustafa Şevket Bey who was appointed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to represent the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Rhodes, but added that there was something odd and conflicting in that. Because, not agreeing this appointment, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had wanted Mustafa Şevket Bey to come back Anatolia and appointed Cami Bey (Baykut) in his place. In other words, at that time there were two representatives in Rhodes functioning separately and a little bit competitively¹¹. Following the opening of the Turkish Grand National assembly, Mustafa Kemal Pasha sent Mustafa Bey, MP of Izmir, with whom he had served together in Damascus (Şam) and Trablusgarp, to Rhodes on a secret mission to buy weapons from Italians. Though not much known about his activities there, Dr Mustafa Bey a lot many travels between Rhodes and Anatolia. According to an official paper of the Administration of Rhodes and the Dodecanesse sent to Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 22 September 1921, Dr Mustafa Bey had been in Rhodes almost for a year with the help of the letter of Cami Bey. As understood from this, Dr Mustafa Bey had been sent to Rhodes to establish links with Italians before Cami Bey was sent to Rhodes¹².

Deeming great importance to friendship of Italians, the Ankara Government appointed Cami Bey in September 1920 as the representative for Rome even though Italy was one of the Allies¹³. And for this service, Cami Bey asked to be excused from his post as the first Minister for Internal Affairs. It was an important to establish representations in the capitals of both friend and/or impartial countries in order help the voice of the Ankara Government be heard in Europe. In this respect, opening of the firstly representation in Rome was very important¹⁴. A former soldier and official of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cami Bey was a classmate of Fevzi Çakmak, the Field-Marshal¹⁵. This was a conflicting issue making Turks of Rhodes feel sorry¹⁶.

⁶ Sabahattin Özel, “Meis Adası ve Baslangıcından Günümüze Meis Sorunu”, *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, Sayı 345, Temmuz 1995, s. 5.

⁷ This mission was to buy military plans sold by a Greek colonel in Izmir. The mediator for this would be an Italian tradesman named Martino Depornu. Later, the information obtained by this mission was accepted as nearly accurate by military authorities. *Harp Tarihi Vesikalari Dergisi*, Yıl 23, sayı 71, Eylül 1974, Belge no. 1546.

⁸ Nail Morali, *Mütarekede İzmir Olayları*, TTK Basimevi, Ankara 1973, s. 73.

⁹ Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in a letter addressed to Refet Bey in Nazilli, mentioned about Moralioglu Halit Bey as a man who could establish a steady and orderly communication organization in Antalya based on his sound skills on his craft with the help of his friends in Antalya and Rhodes. Mustafa Onar, *Atatürk'ün Kurtulus Savası Yazışmaları II*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara 1995, Belge no. 796, s. 102.

¹⁰ Fahri Akçakoca, “İstiklal Harbinin 1 no:lu Türk Casusu Kösesi”, Yazar: Murat Sertoglu, *Son Telgraf*, 23 Subat 1951, Tefrika no. 111. (will be referred as F. Akçakoca here after)

¹¹ F. Akçakoca, 24 Subat 1951, Tefrika no. 112.

¹² M. Çelebi, *a.g.e.*, s. 284

¹³ Kemal Girgin, *Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemleri Hariciye Tarihimiz (Teskilat ve Protokol)*, TTK Basimevi, Ankara 1994, s. 120; M. Onar, *a.g.e.*, II, Belge no. 928, s. 185.

¹⁴ Cami Bey had established very good relations with Italians, especially with Count Sforza, see M. Çelebi, *a.g.e.*, s. 210 vd.

¹⁵ F. Akçakoca, 16 Subat 1951, Tefrika no. 104.

¹⁶ F. Akçakoca, 25 Subat 1951, Tefrika no. 113.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha impaired the relations by sending a more familiar figure to Italians, Celaleddin Arif Bey¹⁷ as the representative for Rome. We are informed from the letters of Celaleddin Arif Bey addressed to Mustafa Kemal Pasha that, for this mission, he first went to Antalya and then to Rhodes to be able to go to Rome¹⁸. Although Celaleddin Arif Bey had some negative work as MP of Erzurum, after leaving his MP service, he was of great help in the representation of the Turkish Parliament abroad¹⁹.

Meanwhile, the miracles of the National Army in Anatolia led the Rhodes Turks to a great excitement. As the Greek attack became more and more obvious, Greeks on Rhodes, having already finished their contacts with Turks, were filled with joy and started to beat up Turks they caught in deserted streets.²⁰ With the start of Greek attack during the Battle of Sakarya, wildly activities of Greeks on the Island reached to the peak point and turned to madness²¹. However, when Turks gained the victory, Greeks lost their joy, and the turn to experience festival passed to the Turkish minority. It was even observed that Greeks who had cut off all the social contacts with Turks long ago started hurriedly to re-establish their old-friendships and relations²².

During War of Independence, Hacı Süleyman Efendi, MP of Izmir, asked the Turkish Parliament for the permission to visit his son-in-law in Rhodes and this issue was discussed in the Parliament in details²³.

Italy not only supported the actions in favour for War of Independence within the occupied lands, but also helped in the smuggle of weapons, ammunition and even people into Anatolia. Talking about the benefits of co-operation against Greeks,

Italian officers were selling weapons and ammunition at a little cost in secret. However, they never neglected to ask for a document from the representatives, giving guaranty that all these would only be used against Greeks. The officers also supplied intelligence about Greek army. A part of the weapons and ammunition given by Italians was provided from Rhodes²⁴.

Again on those days, maritime lines were established between the parts of Anatolia and the occupied islands. There were mainly two lines; Rhodes-Marmaris-Fethiye-Antalya and Rhodes-Gökova-Bodrum-Güllük-Kuşadası²⁵. In addition, during the talks in the Parliament about the establishment of a stronger radio and telegram station in Anatolia in the end of 1921, it was stated that there were only two possible solutions to connect Anatolia to Europe and the whole world. The first one was via Istanbul. Naturally, this wasn't a reliable solution because Istanbul was under British occupation. The second one was via Rhodes. It was connected to Europe with a cable line on the Island of Şıra.

¹⁷ His being a 10% share holder to the Italian company who had the right to run Zonguldak and Ereğli mines, Celaleddin Arif Bey, the vice chairman of the Turkish Parliament, remained in a very difficult position because his relations with the company were regarded as partisanship by the Parliament. By claiming that these mines, national values, had been gifted to foreigners, Ferit Bey would blame Celaleddin Arif Bey, the chairman of Ottoman parliament and the vice chairman of the Turkish Parliament. These resulted his being pasified with the claim that he involved in an attempt against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, together with other MP's of eastern Anatolia, see Ridvan Akin, "TBMM'nin İlk Bütçe Yasası: 1336 Muvazene-i Umumiye Kanunu", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 2, Yıl 1, İstanbul 2002, s. 26.

¹⁸ Bilal N. Simsir, *Atatürk ile Yazışmalar I, (1920-1923)*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara 1981, s. 116.

¹⁹ M. Onar, *a.g.e.*, II, Belge no. 1254, s. 398

²⁰ F. Akçakoca, 12 Nisan 1951, Tefrika no. 159.

²¹ F. Akçakoca, 27 Nisan 1951, Tefrika no. 174.

²² F. Akçakoca, 29 Nisan 1951, Tefrika no. 176.

²³ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre I, c. 6, Ankara 1943, s. 459.

²⁴ M. Çelebi, *a.g.e.*, s. 161.

²⁵ M. Çelebi, *a.g.e.*, s. 141.

However, because the part of the line passing by Şira was in British territory, it meant that it would be controlled and checked by British again. Therefore, the second solution was also unreliable. As a result, the necessary actions were taken to build a big and fixed radio-telegram station in Anatolia²⁶. In addition, it was determined that a contract could not be signed with Italy to run the two cable lines; Rhodes-Megiste-Kastellorizo and Megiste-Kastellorizo-Ezefli, but a contract to be signed as a personal agreement by Ali Rıza, a postal inspector, would enable to run these lines²⁷.

During War of Independence, the negotiation work of an Italian official Mösyö Farelli to take a Greek family from Isparta to Rhodes wasn't welcomed because there wasn't a peace treaty signed with Italy yet. While approving the family's transfer, it was stated that this kind of negotiations would not be tolerated since the attempt of Mösyö Farelli was regarded as interference to the domestic affairs²⁸.

CONCLUSION

As the legal ambiguity of the Dodecanesse continued, the invasion of Anatolia by the imperialist countries started because Ottomans were among the losers of World War I. During War of Independence which emerged in Anatolia, Rhodes and the Dodecanesse functioned like a bridge providing access to Anatolia. Similarly, the delegations heading for Europe passed via Rhodes first. While Italy was supporting War of Independence, a part of the weapons and ammunition sent to Anatolia was provided from Rhodes. In addition, the Ankara Government had some attempts to establish Anatolia's communication with Europe via Rhodes. It was also important that the Ankara Government had two representatives in Rhodes during War of Independence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akçakoca, Fahri, "İstiklal Harbinin 1 no: lu Türk Casusu Köşesi", Yazan: Murat Sertoğlu, *Son Telgraf*, 12 Şubat 1951-2 Nisan 1951.

Akin, Ridvan, "TBMM'nin İlk Bütçe Yasası: 1336 Muvazene-i Umumiye Kanunu", *Yakin Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 2, Yıl 1, İstanbul 2002.

BCA, (030.18.01.04.41.14) 114.3.

BCA, (030.18.01.1.3.27.4) 406.1.

Girgin, Kemal, *Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemleri Hariciye Tarihimiz (Teşkilat ve Protokol)*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1994.

Harp Tarihi Vesikalari Dergisi, Yıl 23, sayı 71, Eylül 1974, Belge no. 1546.

²⁶ In addition, the third route of Ottomans communication with Europe was Batum-Moscow, see TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre I, c. 15, Ankara 1958, s. 222 vd.

²⁷ BCA, (030.18.01.04.41.14) 114.3.

²⁸ BCA, (030.18.01.1.3.27.4) 406.1.

Morali, Nail, *Mütarekede İzmir Olayları*, TTK Basimevi, Ankara 1973.

Onar, Mustafa, *Atatürk'ün Kurtuluş Savaşı Yazışmaları II*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara 1995, Belge no. 796.

Önal, Sami, *Hüsrev Gerede'nin Anıları, Kurtuluş Savaşı, Atatürk ve Devrimler*, Literatür Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2002.

Özel, Sabahattin, "Meis Adası ve Başlangıcından Günümüze Meis Sorunu", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, Sayı 345, Temmuz 1995.

Şimşir, Bilal N., *Atatürk ile Yazışmalar I, (1920-1923)*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara 1981.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler 1859-1952*, İstanbul 1952.

TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre I, c. 6, Ankara 1943.

TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre I, c. 15, Ankara 1958.

Yavuz, Bige, "Bekir Sami Bey'in Haziran 1921 Avrupa Seyahatine İlişkin Fransız ve İngiliz Belgeleri", *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, c. IV, TTK Basimevi, Ankara 1999.

Yılmaz, Gülcan, *Oniki Ada Sorunu*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul 2003.

THE GROUNDSTONE INDUSTRY OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE SETTLERS OF THE YENIBADEMLI MOUND

Halime HÜRYILMAZ

Assistant Prof., Faculty of Letters, Hacettepe University.

ÖZET

Ege denizinde bir köprü durumunda olan Gökçeada, sıradağ dizileri ve vadilerle bölünmüş olması nedeniyle tarih boyunca hiçbir zaman homojen bir kültür alanı oluşturmamıştır. Adanın stratejik konumu ve elverişli çevre ortamı, tarihöncesi dönemlerden beri yerleşmecilere iskan olanakları sağlamıştır. Erken Bronz Çağı yerleşmelerinden olan Yenibademli höyük, Büyükdere vadisinin aşağı kesiminde kayalık bir zemin üzerine kurulmuştur. Höyükte yürütülen kazılar Erken Bronz Çağı'nda tahkim edilmiş bir yerleşmenin mimari kalıntılarını, kap repertuarını, taş ve kemik endüstrisini belgeleyen buluntular ortaya koymuştur.

Yerleşmecilerin gelişmiş taş endüstrisini yansıtan buluntuların hammaddeleri, adanın doğal kaynaklarından sağlanmıştır. Bu kaynakların başında andezit, çakmaktaşı ve kumtaşı gelmektedir. Sürtme ve aşındırma yoluyla şekillendirilen aletler arasında öğütme ve ezgi taşları besin ekonomisinde önemli rol oynayan alet ikilisini oluşturmuştur. Kaba ve ince dövme işlerde kullanılan havan ellerinden başka, çakmaktaşı çekirdeklerden yapılmış vurgu taşları, yüzeylerinde oluşan kesici kenar özelliklerinden dolayı tercih edilmiştir. Kapların yüzeylerinin perdahlanmasında benimsenen perdah taşlarından başka, bileği taşları, yassı ve sap delikli baltalar günlük hayatta sık kullanılan aletler arasında yer almıştır. Dokumacılığa işaret eden ağırşaklar Yenibademli'de sınırlı kalmıştır. İki ucu yuvarlatılmış, dairesel kesitli taşlar, baharat veya boya hammaddelerinin ezilmesinde etkili olmuştur. Konutların kapılarının açılıp kapanmasını sağlayan söve taşları, kapı yerlerinde veya yapıların taş temellerinde ikinci kez kullanılmıştır.

INTRODUCTION

Gökçeada, which is a bridge between Anatolia and Northern Greece, has attracted various tribes ever since the prehistorical times with its steep rising hills, deep valleys and pure water sources. The Island's past, which comers settlements as far back as the Paleolithic age, maintained its archeological secrets until the mid-1990s; it we do not consider the first researchers in the 19th century by the visitors.

The surface studies that started towards the end of the 20th century (SAYAR, 1995, OUSTERHOUT and HELD, 1997, 1999, 2000, HARMANKAYA, 2001) and Yenibademli mound excavations (HÜRYILMAZ, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003) have begun to (display) unearth the cultural strata of the Island as a ladder of time. The sites of findings on the Island have been pointing to the frequency of the settlements. Especially Yenibademli mound located on the lower end of the Büyükdere valley, other than the settlements, located on the eastern and southern shores of the Island, has proved the socio-economical aspects of a fortified settlement that was founded some 5000 years earlier than our time.

YENI BADEMLI MOUND

Yenibademli mound that is located 1.5 km southwest of Kale Köy has the dimensions of 120.00 m X 130.00 m, and is spread over an area of 15.600m² (Drawing 1). The cultural filling of the mound, rising over a peninsula formed by sandstones, marls, and Oligocene facies (ÖNER, 2000, 2001), is 6.00 m in depth. An irregular oval shaped mound rises 9.00m above the alluvial agricultural land, and is 18 m above the sea level. The archeological excavations that have been carried out since 1996 at the mound undoubtedly proved this the first settlements have stated in the Early Bronze Age and have gone under changes during the Late Bronze Age.

The profuseness of the natural environment and the availability of the game animals in the Early Bronze Age have eased the formation of the settlements in the mound, not to mention the continuation of the settlement. Yenibademli population relied mainly on agriculture and breeding of stocks; and thus the manufacturing of the utensils were mainly bound to profusion of the resources. The settlers, who made use of the abundant resources that the nature has provided, made use of eruptive, sedimental, and metamorphic stones in their stone industry.

STONE INDUSTRY

The choice of resources has played an important role in the stone industry of the Yenibademli Mound during the Early Bronze Age. In this context, the main criterion in the choice of stone, were the easiness of shaping and its expected response to its function. In order to minimize the time spent for the shaping of the stones, stones closer in shape to the intended utensils were chosen. The stones gathered and the ones suitable for making of tools have paved the way for the development of stone industry in two distinct directions in Yenibademli. The tools belonging to the chipped stone industry and to the ground stone industry were prevalent in the settlement as they were met at almost every architectural layer. Most of those tools were made of andesite, flint stone, and of sandstone.

GROUND STONE INDUSTRY

The tools shaped by grinding and eroding, and used for different purposes are classified and “ground stone tools.” These tools having roughly shaped by pounders have been shaped to their original shapes by means of grinders. Some of the tools that were made ready for use were sometimes polished with clay, leather, and or with wooden materials. The tools were pierced either by bones, wood, and / or by metal instruments Along with these methods of piercing; another method was the using of direct application of the piercing instrument over the material.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE GROUND STONE TOOLS

The number of the ground stone tools discovered at the Yenibademli. Mound pertaining to the Early Bronze Age architectural layers has reached to 394. These tools discovered either in good shape or broken have been gathered in thirteen groups:

1. Grinding slabs: 116
2. Grinding stones: 63
3. Flat axes / adzes: 51
4. Pounders: 42
5. Door sockets: 23
6. Polishing stones: 22
7. Pestles: 21
8. Discs: 19
9. Whetstones: 17
10. Shaft hole axes: 14
11. Spindle whorls: 2
12. Grooved stone: 1
13. Mortar: 3

1) Grinding Slabs: (Pl. I: 1,2)

The grinding slabs that have found a place in the human life since the Mesolithic Age have been used in grinding the wild grown grain (Esin, 1978). The oldest grinding stones found in Tushka settlement, in the southern Egypt, have been dated to B.C. 15.000-14.000 (KARYBILL, 1978). These stones have undergone very minor changes in the due time; their lower surfaces are convex, whereas their upper surfaces are eroded and hollowed out. The Yenibademli findings that fit to this description are oval shaped and made of andesite. The length of the grinding slabs, which form the largest group of the ground stone industry, vary between 21.0 – 34.0 cm; their width between 10.9 – 21.0 cm, and their thickness between 5.7 – 10.7 cm. The grinding slabs, of the Early Bronze Age, discovered in Troia (BLEGEN et al., 1950, 1951), Karaağaçtepe (DEMANGEL, 1926), Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996), Poiochni on the Lemnos island in the Aegean Sea (BERNABÒ – BREA, 1964), and in Emporio on Chios island (HOOD, 1982) display similarities with the findings of Yenibademli.

2) Grinding Stones: (Pl. I: 3-5)

The grinding stones of Yenibademli have been grouped under two main types: loaf and pestle. Traces of erosion have been observed on the lower surfaces of the loaf type examples. The preserved length of these findings varied between 8.6 – 12.1 cm, widths 5.5 – 8.2 cm, and thickness between 5.1 – 9.0 cm. The examples in the shape of a pestle have been gathered in various subgroups. Their lengths varied between 8.3 – 14.7 cm, width 4.4 – 9.0 cm, and thickness 4.0 – 7.3 cm. The similar examples of these grinding stone findings, made of andesite, that are classified in the two major groups were discovered at the Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996).

3) Flat Axes / Adzes: (Pl. I: 6-8)

These examples have been classified as flat axe, and adze depending on the type of the handles and their practicality. The flat axes and the adzes found at Yenibademli, which are exemplified with three types, have been used in woodwork. The length of these findings, which were made of andesite and sandstones, varied between 5.9 – 11.7 cm, width 4.1 – 7.7 cm, and thickness 1.4 – 4.2 cm. The first type of this group constituted triangular flat axes. The cutting edges of these examples are either straight, or symmetrical or asymmetrical on the longer edges. In some examples either the whole surfaces or sharp edges were polished. The examples of the second type – small, slender and long axes – have larger cutting edges, or their larger sections are under the cutting edges. Their sides are parallel to each other, the cutting edges are relatively straight curves, and longer cross sections are either symmetric or asymmetric. The larger axes taking place in the third type are rectangular in shape. The traces of erosion are distinctive in this group, as the cutting edges are not protected thoroughly, and the butt ends are either pointed or flattened. These types of examples are not foreign to the Early Bronze Age settlers of Anatolia and Aegean (SCHMIT, 1902; HEURTLEY, 1939; LAMB, 1936; MILOJCIC, 1961; HOOD, 1982).

4) Pounders: (Pl. I: 9-11)

In general pounders' raw material is flint stone that are made of stone seed leftovers without giving any shape. On the surface of these stones, there are negatives of pounder, which are small and half-moon shaped, and indicate their usage. The shape and the size of the pounders that are used in utensils made of flint stone, differ. It is estimated that these specimens of pounders are used to form the surfaces of grinding slabs and grinding stones with a length 6.5 – 8.5 cm, width 5.1 – 8.4 cm and thickness 5.0 – 7.5 cm. Since the blue period of Poliochni (BERNABO – BREA, 1964), similar findings had been used continuously, and are also found satellite centers in Troia and its nearby places.

5) Door Sockets: (Pl. 12, 13)

Door sockets, which are made of limestone, function same as the hinge. The dimension of a door socket is 37.0x26.5 cm or smaller with a height of 15.0 cm and the diameter of the hollow on the stone is 8.6 cm. Door sockets are found in genuine spots of various architecture layers that put forward a single-wing leafed door were used in Yenibademli. In some cases, these stones were used secondarily in the main frames of structures.

6) Polishing Stones: (Pl. I: 14 – 17)

In Yenibademli polishing stones, which are used to polish pots produced from are cooked soil, are dealt within a single group. These stones are made of stiff flint stones. On the surfaces of these stones, which have been used continuously, polish and line marks are avoided. A characteristic of these stones is using the tight arc, which is between the wider areas of these stones. In some specimens, line marks are not formed on the surfaces of these stones. These have a length 4.7 – 9.2 cm, width 1.8 – 4.0 cm and thickness 0.4 – 2.2 cm.

7) Pestles: (Pl. I: 18 – 21)

Pestles are used to crumble materials, which are utilized by hitting or rotating in the production of food and colorful threads. Pestles are classified into two groups; rough and elegant. Rough ones have marks of usage on their wide ends. Similar marks are found on the subsidiary surfaces of some specimens. Some pestles, which are used for preparing paints, have polished surfaces. Mostly pestles are made of andesite and sand stone with a length 8.3 – 14.7 cm, width 4.4 – 9.0 cm and thickness 4.0 – 7.3 cm. This type of foundlings have been recognized in Gözlü Kule, Tarsus (GOLDMAN, 1956), “B” and “C” periods of Kusura (LAMB, 1938), Troia (BLEGEN et al., 1951), Beycesultan (LLOYD and MELLAART, 1962), Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996), and west of the Aegean (Renfrew, 1972).

8) Discs: (Pl. II: 1 - 3)

Flat discs are made of sand stone and marn, which are found in the bases of houses or near mines in Yenibademli. The diameter of these discs is 3.3 – 6.6 cm; a hole with a diameter 0.5 cm has opened out. The width of these tools is 0.5 – 0.7 cm that some are polished. These discs with two sided holes are founded in the Early Bronze Age floors of Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996), Alişar (OSTEN and SCHMIDT, 1932), Aslantepe / Malatya (PUGLISI and MERIGGI, 1964), and Troia (BLEGEN et al., 1951).

9) Whet Stones: (Pl. II: 4, 5)

Whet stones are made of gray and pink sand stones and have a shape like a tablet. These have sharpened and thinned wide and narrow surfaces, which are used to put in a form of stone and bone tools with a length 6.0 – 12.9 cm, width 3.0 – 5.1 and thickness 1.0 – 1.5 cm. These specimens have similarity both for their kind and form with whetstones and are found in Troia I, III, and IV settlements (BLEGEN et al., 1950, 1951).

10) Shaft Hole Axes: (Pl. II: 6 – 8)

Shaft hole axes, which unfinished specimens are met, are mostly founded like pieces in Yenibademli. These have remarkable line marks of the drilling process. In some specimens, the marks of hitting has found on the nape part. On the alignment of shaft hole, there is an axe decorated with gutters found in Yenibademli, and it is a unique specimen, which reminds the axes found in Ezero, Bulgaria (GEORGIEV et al., 1979). In books, shaft hole axes are described as “battle-axes” and have symbolic characters, where the soil-cooked miniatures of these axes are found in Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996) and Beşiktepe (KORFMANN, 1985). The shaft hole axes in Yenibademli, are narrow napped and sharpened through top. A shaft hole is faded-in on the center of its backbone. Following the backbone, the body is sharpened through each side and completed with a sharp mouth to the top. Secondary type of specimen that forms the shaft hole axes is rotated like oval shaped without having any backbones. Shaft hole axes have a maximum length 6.3 – 23.0 cm, width 3.9 cm, and thickness 3.0 – 4.5 cm. Similar specimens of these axes are found in Troia (SCHMIDT, 1902), Höyücek (ŞENYÜREK et al., 1950), Kusura (LAMB, 1937, 1938), Demircihüyük (BAYKAL – SEEHER and KAUDER, 1996), Alaca Höyük (KOŞAY and AKOK, 1973), Karataş – Semayük (MELLINK, 1967), Gözlü Kule (GOLDMAN, 1956), Değirmentepe (DURU, 1979) and Poliochni (BERNABO – BREA, 1964).

11) Spindle Whorls: (Pl. II: 9, 10)

Most of the spindle whorls used in textile industry is made of clay, with only two exceptions in Yenibademli. There is one vertical hole in the center of each spindle whorl made of chipped stone. These examples, which have surfaces with no ornaments, have been slightly polished.

12) Grooved Stone: (Pl. II: 11)

There are irregular grooves and circular holes on the wide surfaces of tools whose raw material is limestone. This finding which is considered to be used by mine workers to smooth the wires; may also have been used to smooth the edges of the beads made of hard rock. The whole and semi-circle holes give the impression that this tool has been used for lifting purposes. Similar examples of trapeze-shape with grooves on their surfaces, which have been found in H. SCHLIEMANN's excavations (SCHMIDT, 1902) in Troia, have been considered to be loom-weight.

13) Mortars: (Pl. II: 12, 13)

The limited number of mortars existing in Yenibademli today is approximately 12.0 cm. X 20.5 cm. and has little holes up to 4.5 cm. in depth. Examples of smaller size and irregular form stones have most probably found usage in crushing of paints.

RESULTS

The ground stone industry in Yenibademli settlement, which demonstrates diversity itself, has developed depending mostly on igneous and sedimentary rocks. Hard, strong and heavy rocks have been widely used in crushing and knocking. For sharpening and grinding, rocks with coarse surfaces have been preferred. For cutting the ground and hit in the edge tools, and for polishing the smooth-surfaced tools have been found useful. The stone industry in Yenibademli, which is more common than the mining industry, is considered as a result of the raw material sources nearby. Studies on the findings have proved the existence of raw material sources in the island. One of these materials, andesite, is located in the northeast of Yenibademli, in Gözetme, Muhabere, Komena, and Işıklı hills; and in the southwest in Karadoğan hill. The sandstone-marn-claystone sources surrounding Büyükdere Valley, starts from the slopes of İkiz hill in the west, and from the modern settlement Yenibademli in the northeast; and extends to the center of the island. These sources nearby Yenibademli Mound must undoubtedly have been noticed in pre-historic ages. In the first half of the 3rd Millennium BC., the convenient natural environment has been useful for the inhabitants' agricultural activities; thus has resulted in the invention of the tools needed in the processing of the harvest. The above-mentioned tools resemble the tools of the cultures that have lived in the east and west of the Aegean in both the rock type and shape. This indicates that Gökçeada was not isolated in this broad geographical region.

WORKS CITED

- BAYKAL-SEEHER, A., KAUDER, J. O., 1996, Demircihüyük IV. Die Kleinfunde. Mainz am Rhein.
- BERNABO-BREA, L., 1964, Poliochni. Citta Preistorica Nell'isola di Lemnos, Roma.
- BLEGEN, C. W., CASKEY, J. L., RAWSON, M., SPERLING, J., 1950, Troy I. General Introduction the First and Second Settlements, Princeton.
- BLEGEN, C. W., CASKEY, J. L., RAWSON, M., 1951, Troy II. The Third, Forth and Fifth Settlements, Princeton.
- DEMANGEL, R., 1926, Le Tumulus dit de Protesilas, Paris.
- DURU, R., 1979, Keban Projesi Değirmentepe Kazısı, 1973 ODTÜ Keban Projesi yay.seri III, no.2, Ankara.
- ESİN, U., 1978, "Tarihöncesi Çağlarda Anadolu'da İlk Üretim Aşaması", Toplum ve Bilim 6-7: 3-28.
- GEORGİEV, G. İ., MERPERT, H. Y., KATİNÇAROV, R. V., 1979, Ezero. Rannobronzovoto Selişte, Sofya.
- GOLDMAN, H., 1956, Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, Princeton.
- HARMANKAYA, S., 2001, "Gökçeada Survey", Istanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey, 1932-2000, (Ed. O. Belli), Istanbul, 274-278.
- HEURTLEY, W. A., 1939, Prehistoric Macedonia, Cambridge.
- HOOD, S., 1982, Excavations in Chios 1938-1955, Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala, Oxford.
- HÜRYILMAZ, H., 1998, "Gökçeada-Yenibademli Höyük 1996 Yılı Kurtarma Kazısı", XIX. Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı I: 357-377.
- HÜRYILMAZ, H., 2001, "Gökçeada-Yenibademli Höyük 1999 Yılı Kazıları", 22. Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı I: 247-258.
- HÜRYILMAZ, H., 2002, "Yenibademli Höyük: Kuzeydoğu Ege Denizi'nde Bir Erken Tunç Çağı Yerleşmesi", H.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, cilt 19, sayı 1: 27-44.
- HÜRYILMAZ, H., 2003, "Gökçeada-Yenibademli Höyük Kazıları", Çanakkale-Troas Arkeoloji Buluşması, (Ed. V. Tolun), Çanakkale, 83-90.
- KORFMANN, M., 1985, "Beşik-Tepe, Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der Grabung von 1983", Archaeologischer Anzeiger, 2: 157-172.
- KOŞAY, H. Z., AKOK, M., 1973, Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından yapılan Alacahöyük Kazısı 1963-1967'deki çalışmalara ve keşiflere ait ilk rapor, Seri V, Sayı 28, Ankara.

- KRAYBILL, N., 1978, "Pre-Agricultural Tools for the Preparation of Foods in the Old World", *Origins of Agriculture*, 485-519.
- LAMB, W., 1936, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, Cambridge.
- LAMB, W., 1937, "Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar", *Archaeologia* 86: 1-64.
- LAMB, W., 1938, "Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar II", *Archaeologia* 87: 217-273.
- LLOYD, S., MELLAART, J., 1962, *Beycesultan I. The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Levels.*, London.
- MELLINK, M., 1967, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1966", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 71: 251-267.
- MİLOJCİC, VI., 1961, *Samos I. Die Prähistorische Siedlung unter dem Heraion- Grabung 1953 und 1955*, Bonn.
- OUSTERHOUT, R., HELD, W., 1997, "Survey of the Ancient and Byzantine Monuments on Imbros/Gökçeada 1995", *XIV. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı II*: 55-69.
- OUSTERHOUT, R., HELD, W., 1999, "Forschungen auf Imbros/Gökçeada 1997", *XVI. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı I*: 61-65.
- OUSTERHOUT, R., HELD, W., 2000, "Imbros/Gökçeada 1998", *17. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı I*: 127-136.
- ÖNER, E., 2000, "Geoarchaeologische und palaeogeographische Forschungen auf der Insel Gökçeada (Imbros) (Siedlungshügel von Yenibademli, Nordwestanatolien-Nordostaegeaisches Meer-Türkei)", *Bremer Beiträge zur Geographie und Raumplanung*, (Ed., J. F. Venzke), 36: 23-33.
- ÖNER, E., 2001, "Gökçeada Kiyılarında Holosen Deniz Seviyesi ve Kiyi Çizgisi Değişmeleri", *Türkiye'nin Kiyi ve Deniz Alanları III. Ulusal Konferansı, Türkiye Kiyıları 01 Konferansı Bildiriler Kitabı*, (Ed. E. Özhan, Y. Yüksel), Ankara, 779-790.
- PUGLİSİ, S. M., MERİGGİ, P., 1964, *Malatya I Rapporto Preliminare Delle Campagne 1961-1962, Centro Der Le Antichita E La Storia Dell'arte Del Vicino Oriente*, Roma.
- RENFREW, C., 1972, *The Emergence of Civilisation, The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millenium B.C*, London.
- SAYAR, M. H., 1995, "Doğu Trakya'da Epigrafi ve Tarihi Coğrafya Araştırmaları 1993", *XII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 61-66.
- SCHMIDT, H., 1902, *Heinrich Schliemanns Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin.
- ŞENYÜREK, M., GÜLTEKİN, H., DÖNMEZ, A., ŞENYÜREK, E., 1950, "Larissa Civarında Höyücek'te Yapılan Sondaj", *Bulleten XIV* : 487-494.
- VONDER OSTEN, H. H., SCHMIDT, E. F., 1932, *The Alishar Hüyük. Seasons of 1927, Part II. Orient. Inst. Publ. 7. Chicago*.

