

The *Menhubat* (Plunder Detection) Commissions Established to Determine the Damages of the Greek Occupation

Yunan İşgalinin Zararlarını Tespit Etmek Amacıyla Kurulan Menhubat (Yağma Tespit) Komisyonları

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ABSTRACT

The Anatolian adventures of the Greeks, which began with their landing in Smyrna, turned into the Asia Minor Catastrophe after the Great Offensive, and every city, village and town they retreated to was left in ruins and devastation. Turkish troops who captured the region were confronted with a horrific scene and crimes against humanity. The TGNA launched intensive efforts to bring relief to the people of Western Anatolia, who were left homeless, destitute and without clothes. The crimes committed by Greek troops during the invasion and withdrawal were documented by both national and international commissions. The main objectives of the national commissions established in this context were to determine the crimes of treason against the homeland and the army, and the damages to movable and immovable property, and to organize the necessary arrangements for the restoration of the former. The Menhubat Commissions, which are the subject of this article, were established at the end of 1922 upon the proposal of the Government of the TGNA to hear cases of ordinary crimes and to determine the penalties to be imposed on them. However, both the debates on the proposed law and the practices of the Bursa Menhubat Commission show that the commissions' sole task was not only to hear cases of ordinary crimes, but also to determine the damages and plunder caused by the occupation and to ensure that decisions were made in accordance with scientific procedures in the creation of new settlements.

Keywords: Turkish War of Independence, Western Anatolia, Greek Occupation, *Menhubat* Commissions, Plunder Detection

ÖZ

Yunanlıların İzmir'e çıkışıyla başlayan Anadolu maceraları, Büyük Taarruz sonrası Küçük Asya Felaketi'ne dönüşürken çekildikleri her şehir, köy ve kasabayı büyük yağmalar ve yıkımlar içinde bıraktılar. Bölgeyi ele geçiren Türk birlikleri korkunç bir manzarayla ve insanlık suçlarıyla karşı karşıya kaldı. TBMM evsiz, yurtsuz, elbisesiz perişan Batı Anadolu halkını yeniden refaha kavuşturmak için yoğun çalışmalar başlattı. Yunan birliklerinin işgal sırasında ve çekilirken işlediği suçlar gerek ulusal gerek uluslararası komisyonlarca belgelendi. Bu bağlamda teşkil edilen ulusal komisyonların temel amaçları vatana ve orduya ihanet suçları ile menkul ve gayrimenkul mallara verilen zararları tespit etmek, ilk keredte yeniden

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Submitted/Başvuru: 25.08.2024

Revision requested/Revizyon talebi:

11.10.2024

Last revision received/Son revizyon:

18.10.2024

Accepted/Kabul: 18.10.2024

Citation/Atf: Yaşayanlar, İsmail. "The Menhubat (Plunder Detection) Commissions Established to Determine the Damages of the Greek Occupation." *Türkiyat Mecmuası-Journal of Turkology* 34, 2 (2024): 637-657. <https://doi.org/10.26650/iuturkiyat.1538527>

ihya için gerekli düzenlemeleri organize etmekte. Bu yazıya konu edilen Menhubat Komisyonları TBMM Hükümeti'nin teklifiyle adi suçlara ait davaların görülmesi ve bunlara verilecek cezaların belirlenmesi için 1922 yılı sonunda kuruldu. Fakat hem kanun önerisi görüşmelerinde mecliste yapılan konuşmalardan hem de Bursa Menhubat Komisyonu'nun uygulamalarından anlaşıldığı üzere, komisyonların tek vazifesi adi suçların davalarını görmek olmamış, aynı zamanda işgalin zararlarını ve yağmayı tespit etmek ile yeni yerleşimlerin oluşturulmasında fenni usullere uygun kararlar verilmesini sağlamak olmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Milli Mücadele, Batı Anadolu, Yunan İşgali, *Menhubat* Komisyonları, Yağma Tespit

Introduction

The Ottoman Empire, which was defeated in the First World War, was occupied from all four sides after the Armistice of Mudros with the Allies. The Western Anatolian campaign, which started with the occupation of Izmir by Greek troops on May 15, 1919, about five and a half months after the signing of the armistice, continued until the process of elimination of the occupation forces after the Büyük Taarruz (Great Offensive). The Western Anatolian adventure of the Greek troops, which lasted for more than two years with the support of the British, was seen by the Greeks as an important step towards the realization of the *Megali Idea* and was defined as the Asia Minor Campaign.

Moreover, while this military operation had just begun in Izmir, it was supported by some Greeks with whom the Turks had lived for centuries.¹ The support and cooperation of some of the local non-Muslim elements with the occupying forces continued systematically until Western Anatolia was once again in the hands of Turkish troops.²

Having started from Izmir, the Greek occupation spread from south to north with the landings of various armies. Urla and Çeşme on May 17, Manisa on May 26, Aydın on May 27, Turgutlu and Ayvalık on May 29 were out of Turkish control.³ The National Unions were not the only ones disturbed by the rapid advance of the Greeks. At the same time, the Allies also thought that the invasions were too fast. As a matter of fact, with the intervention of General Milne, Commander of the Allied Occupation Forces in Northern Anatolia, a demarcation commission was established and Greek troops were prevented from moving north for a while.⁴ Furthermore, the London, San Remo and Paris negotiations, where the terms of the peace with the Ottoman Empire were determined, were also effective in prolonging the process.⁵ During this period, the National Unions were in conflict with the occupation forces and the local elements who took power from them and the anti-national struggle groups supported by Istanbul.⁶ After the British control area in the northern region was threatened by the approach of the National Troops to Izmit, the Western Anatolian operation was resumed on June 22,

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- 1 Selahattin Tansel, *Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2019), I: 180-181.
 - 2 Thousands of examples can be given about the persecution and oppression of the Turkish population by some local Greek and Armenian groups in cooperation with the Greek forces. In this regard, one can refer to the books prepared by various vilayet and ministry administrations after the Greek occupation. These books, which were published as printed works in Turkish with Arabic script, were published by various individuals. However, in order to see these works collectively, it is recommended to refer to the following publication; *Yunan İşgalinde Batı Anadolu*, Vol. I-II, Prep. by İzzet Öztoprak, Oğuz Aytepe and Murat Karataş (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2014).
 - 3 Adnan Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında İşgal Döneminde Bursa", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 19/55 (2003), 61.
 - 4 For detailed information on the Milne Line see Mustafa Turan, "İstiklal Harbi'nde 'Milne Hattı'", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 7/21 (1991), 567-579.
 - 5 Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında İşgal Döneminde Bursa", 62.
 - 6 For detailed information on the operations of both the Kuva-yı Milliye Troops and the Organized Army established afterwards during the Armistice period, see Zekeriya Türkmen, *Mütareke Döneminde Ordunun Durumu ve Yeniden Yapılanması (1918-1920)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2001).

1920. Greek troops quickly captured Akhisar, Salihli, Soma and Kırkağaç on June 24, while British troops occupied Mudanya on June 25. On June 30, the Greeks annexed Balıkesir and on July 2, they occupied Erdek, Bandırma, Kirmasti (Mustafakemalpaşa) and Mihaliç (Karacabey) in order to completely surround Bursa from the west. Meanwhile, the British bombarded and captured Gemlik after Mudanya and thus Bursa was completely surrounded from the western and northern fronts. As a matter of fact, the Greek army, advancing rapidly towards Bursa, occupied Bursa on July 8 and secured its eastern border by taking İnegöl and Yenişehir on July 10.⁷

The Greeks were establishing an occupation administration on the one hand, while hot clashes with Turkish troops continued on the other. Meanwhile, the Greek King Constantine arrived in Izmir on June 11, 1921 to boost the spirits of the troops in the Asia Minor Campaign and then continued his movement northward. The Greek troops, boosted by the king's arrival in Anatolia, reinforced this happiness by defeating the Turkish Army during the Kütahya-Eskişehir battles.⁸ However, the Turkish attack that followed cut their joy short. The Battle of Sakarya was a great victory for the Turkish Army and a great defeat for the Greeks and the groups supporting them. After this victory, the Turkish advance against the Greeks continued unabated. Greek fronts began to fall one by one.

The Asia Minor Campaign was dealt its biggest blow during the Great Offensive, which took place between August 26 and September 18, 1922, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Mustafa Kemal, with the devoted struggle of the TGNA, the regular Turkish Army and the Turkish nation. As Gazi Mustafa Kemal mentions in his great work *Nutuk*, the series of operations constituting the Great Offensive was planned and implemented in great secrecy. Because there were many groups both inside and outside the country who did not want the Turkish War of Independence to succeed, secrecy was very important.⁹ Firstly, the operation started on August 26-27 from the south and east of Afyon-Karahisar, and in a short time the Greek troops stationed there were defeated. The main forces of the Greek army were then pressed towards Aslıhanlar in Kütahya, and on August 30, in the Battle of the Commander in Chief, this force was defeated and many Greek soldiers, including General N. Trikopis, were captured.¹⁰ During these operations, some of the Greek divisions had to retreat north towards Bursa, while others were trapped south of Kütahya in the direction of İzmir. It was at this time

7 Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında İşgal Döneminde Bursa", 63-64.; Saime Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci (8 Temmuz 1920-11 Eylül 1922)*(Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2001), 65-67.; For detailed information on the military operations during the occupation of Bursa, see Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 69-83.

8 Esin Tüylü Turan, *İspanyol Basınında Türk Milli Mücadelesi 1918-1923* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2022), 305.; Nilüfer Erdem, *Yunan Tarihçiliğinin Gözüyle Anadolu Harekatı (1919-1923)* (İstanbul: Derlem Yayınları, 2010), 412.

9 Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), *Nutuk-Söylev* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2019), II: 894-899.; American documents also emphasize the importance of this secrecy in achieving success. See Hikmet Öksüz and İsmail Köse, "Amerikan Arşiv Vesikalarında Büyük Taarruz", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 27/2 (2017), 232.

10 Tansel, *Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar*. IV: 157-164.

that Mustafa Kemal Pasha gave his famous order that would go down in history, directing Turkish troops to Izmir to defeat the Greek troops. In the meantime, Southern Marmara was not neglected and the military pursuit there was in full swing. In a short time, Uşak and Manisa in the south, Kütahya, Eskişehir, Bursa, Gemlik, Yalova and Bandırma in the north were cleared of the invading and marauding Greek troops.¹¹ During the process of the expulsion of the occupiers, Greek troops carried out massive attacks on villages and neighborhoods in the areas they had held for a long time, persecuted the civilian population, burned down their fields, crops, houses, and took away their livestock. The issue of the damage caused by Greek soldiers and their collaborators to the local population during the occupation and especially during the withdrawal process became one of the main issues of the TGNA after the Mudanya Armistice, and efforts were initiated to be ready for the peace negotiations to be held in Lausanne and to demand war reparations from Greece.¹² At the same time, proposals were being submitted for the establishment of commissions with extraordinary powers to deal with relief, reconstruction and resettlement issues in places rescued from the Greek occupation, as well as the rapid detection and prosecution of ordinary and serious crimes, which were then put into practice after parliamentary debates.

This article focuses on the Menhubat Commissions (MC), one of the commissions established by the TGNA in order to determine the damages caused by the Greek occupation, to resolve the cases within the scope of ordinary crimes quickly and to eliminate the victimization of the people. The main objective of the article is to reveal the establishment and functioning of the MC in the context of the decisions taken by the TGNA after the Greek occupation through parliamentary minutes, laws and instructions, and the minutes of the Bursa Menhubat Commission.

Decisions Taken for the Regions Rescued from Greek Occupation in the TGNA and the Debate on the *Menhubat* Commissions

The regions rescued from the Greeks, who had occupied almost all of Western Anatolia from Izmir to Yalova, were largely devastated and ruined. Izmir, Aydın, Uşak, Afyonkarahisar, Eskişehir, Kütahya and Bilecik were burned along with their city centers and surrounding villages. In Bursa, Greek troops made a sudden raid and although they could not cause much damage to the city center, they devastated the villages on their escape route.¹³ When the Greeks

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- 11 Gazi Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), *Nutuk-Söylev II*: 902-903.; Orhan Yöney, “Millî Mücadelede Batı Cephesi”, *Atatürk Ansiklopedisi*, <https://aturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/milli-mucadelede-bati-cephesi/>, access August of 8, 2024.; For detailed information on the military operation carried out during the liberation of Bursa from occupation, see Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 26 et seq.
 - 12 For detailed information on the war reparations demanded from Greece, see Temuçin Faik Ertan, “Lozan Konferansı'nda Yunan Yakıp-Yıkımları ve Tamirat Bedeli Tartışmaları”, *Selçuk Türkiyatı, Cumhuriyet'in 100. Yılı Özel Sayısı* 29/59 (2023), 559-575.
 - 13 Uğur Üçüncü, “Büyük Taarruz'da Yunanların Bir Mezalim Metodu: Yangın Çıkarmak”, *Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 100. Yılında Büyük Taarruz Özel Sayısı 6 (2022), 85-93.

had not yet reached Kütahya and lost the clashes with the National Troops, they did not hesitate to burn and destroy the towns and villages on their retreat routes. At this time, the parliament decided to establish a commission for the resettlement of the people who had been attacked and lost their homes, under the chairmanship of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, with one member each from the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. With the decree dated April 24, 1921, a five-point implementation plan for this commission was put into effect. According to this regulation, town and village plans were to be drawn up by the government; stone, lime, tile, timber, etc. needed for the reconstruction of houses were to be provided partly by the Amele Taburları (Labor Troops) and partly by the people of the region who were not subjected to destruction as actual aid; construction would be carried out by non-Muslim stonemasons, masons, carpenters, woodworkers etc., who were part of the Labor Troops; the government would not levy taxes on the stone, tile, brick, lime from lime quarries and timber cut from forests used in house construction; the cash required for construction would be obtained by borrowing from the regional Ziraat Bankaları (Agricultural Banks).¹⁴ The most interesting detail in this decree is that the construction was to be carried out by non-Muslim craftsmen. This had the effect of intimidating the local non-Muslim elements who collaborated with the Greek soldiers. The Assembly was waging a psychological war as well as an actual war.

The Assembly's next proposals were made after the Greek occupation was completely over. On September 18, 1922, Abdullah Azmi Bey, the deputy chairman of the Council of Executive Deputies and the Minister of Sharia, made a speech stating that while decisions on financial matters were taken,¹⁵ decisions on punishment and *menhubat* (plunder detection) should be taken, and then the government's draft law on the establishment of the MC was read.¹⁶ The proposal, which consisted of eight articles, was largely aimed at the expeditious settlement of cases involving ordinary crimes. According to the articles in the draft law, a *menhubat* commission would be established in each province or district under the chairmanship of the highest administrative officer or a person to be selected by the highest administrative officer in the province or district center in order to hear the in-kind and compensation cases of those whose movable and immovable properties were seized in an amount not exceeding one thousand liras in places liberated from the enemy, and the commission would have six other members in addition to the chairman. The term of office of the commission members would not exceed four months; the members would be composed of experts to be elected by the members of the Administrative and Municipal Assemblies of each neighborhood; the

14 T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate of State Archives Republic Archive), BCA, Fon no: 30.18.1.1., Yer no: 3.18.3, App. 1, 24 Mayıs 1337.

15 "Düşmandan İstirdat Edilen ve Edilecek Olan Mahaller Ahalisine Muavenet Hakkında Kanun", *Kanunlar Dergisi* 1, (31.10.1337), 187-188. This law was supplemented on September 18, 1922.; BCA., Fon no. 30.18.1.1., Yer no: 5.28.19, 18.9.1338.

16 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 23, 19. İctima, (27.9.1338), 195.

decisions of the commission would be final; the decisions of the commission could not be changed unless an objection was filed within five days; the decisions of the commission would be executed by the police; and the conditions for the election of the members, the formation of the commissions and the conduct of their duties would be determined by a regulation to be drafted by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Home Affairs.¹⁷

The proposed law on the establishment of the MC caused controversy in parliament. There has been a backlash over issues such as the commissions' focus on judicial matters only, their exclusion of major crimes other than ordinary crimes, their independence in their decisions, and the fact that their decisions are final if not appealed within five days. Some members of Parliament argued that the commissions had the same authority as the parliament, while others stated that these cases could be tried in local courts.¹⁸ Upon a proposal by Kütahya MP Ragıp Bey, it was decided that the layiha of the law on the establishment of the menhubat commissions would be examined by the *encümen-i mahsus* (private committee). The private committee, consisting of three members each selected from the Health and Social Welfare, Finance, Home Affairs, Economy and Nafia committees, categorized the issues arising from the occupation and war in the rescued areas as treason against the homeland and the army, plunder, abandoned goods, suspicious goods, provisions, clothing and clothing, construction, settlement, agriculture and economic situation. The committee made a statement stating that the most important of these issues were treason against the homeland and the army, and then expressed its opinion that such trials should be carried out by the "courts of independence".¹⁹ The committee submitted that *fevkalade heyetler* (extraordinary committees) should be urgently sent to the saved places instead of menhubat commissions, and then proposed a law for the extraordinary committees to be established. According to this proposal, Extraordinary Committees for Liberated Places (ECLP) were to be established with extraordinary powers, consisting of three members elected from among the members of the TGNA, in order to immediately examine all kinds of issues arising from the war and the needs of the people in the liberated places, either personally or through the relevant departments, and to make the government work fairly. These committees would be able to employ and inspect the civil servants of all departments within their districts for their needs, and dismiss them when deemed necessary. The committees were to serve for a maximum of three months in the designated districts, and their per diems, per diems, the salary of a clerk and other expenses were to be covered from the budget of the TGNA.²⁰

While discussions were taking place on the law for the organization of the ECLP, the government's proposal for the MC to resolve this issue came to the agenda again, and the draft law was read again. This time, as an alternative to the MC, the government proposed a directive on the formation of a *Heyet-i Murakabe* (supervisory board). According to this regulation, a

17 BCA., Fon no. 30.18.1.1., Yer no: 5.28.16, App. 1, 18.9.1338.

18 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 23, 19. İctima, (27.9.1338), 196.

19 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 24, 125. İctima, (24.10.1338), 118.

20 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 24, 125. İctima, (24.10.1338), 119.

supervisory board was established in Bursa, İzmir, Balıkesir and Kütahya in order to supervise the activities of the mobile judges and *menhubat* and *muavenet-i içtimaiye* (social welfare) commissions that would hear the cases regarding the crimes committed during the period from the Greek occupation until the liberation of the countries, and this commission was chaired by a deputy elected from the TGNA, it was stated that the board would be composed of one member each from the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Home Affairs, that it could act independently, that the members of the board should seek permission from the center to terminate or relocate officials working in the departments by submitting a valid reason, and that they could make the decision themselves if they did not receive a response within three days.²¹

Rauf Bey, the chairman of the Concil of Executive Deputies, stated in his speech in the parliament that the supervisory board would carry out the duties of both the MC and the ECLP. However, this led to a protracted debate between the parliament and the government and assembly of experts. The common point of the voices of objection raised in the parliament was the rejection of the establishment of commissions or committees with parliamentary authority.²² During these debates, the speech of Dr. Rıza Nur, the Deputy Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the time, emphasized that the issues should be resolved quickly instead of prolonging them through discussions. Rıza Nur's speech stated that there were three groups of urgent issues, the first of which was the prosecution of treason crimes, the second of which was the transfer of *emval-i metruke* (abandoned and vacant buildings), to the people on the streets, and the third of which was the determination of victimization of the *menhubat*, i.e. the victims, and the necessity of providing their sustenance and resettlement. Indeed, if the population could not be resettled, they would not be able to produce and this situation could lead to bigger problems in the coming months.²³

The proposals for laws on these important issues, which required swift action, could not be voted on the same day due to the busy parliamentary agenda. Afterwards, there was silence on these issues for a while. This silence was broken with the question of Menteşe MP Dr. Tevfik Rüşdü. Tevfik Rüşdü's parliamentary question dated October 8, 1922 asked what was being done for the repair or reconstruction of the living spaces of the people in the rescued areas, why the property was not made available for the use of the victimized inhabitants, and what decisions were taken in the cabinet for the rapid determination of the damages and losses of the inhabitants.²⁴ Tevfik Rüşdü's questions were answered on October 16, 1922 by the Presidency of the Executive Committee of the TGNA. In this reply, it was mentioned that the draft laws that had been discussed in the parliament but could not be voted on had been prepared.²⁵ On October 21-22, an order was issued by the presidency of the TGNA asking three

21 BCA., Fon no: 30.18.1.1., Yer no: 5.28.18, App. 1, 18.9.1338.

22 For the long debates in parliament on this issue, see *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İçtima Senesi 3, Cilt 24, 125. İçtima, (24.10.1338), 124-136.

23 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İçtima Senesi 3, Cilt 24, 125. İçtima, (24.10.1338), 129.

24 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 5.28.43, App. 4, 8.10.1338.

25 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 5.28.43, App. 2, 16.10.1338.

members of the Health, Home Affairs, Nafia, National Defense, and Economy committees to form a special committee.²⁶ This committee reorganized the two previously submitted laws and prepared them for voting. On October 30, 1922, both the law on the MC and the law on the KMFH were re-read in the parliamentary meeting. The parliament once again engaged in lengthy debates on both proposals. Kastamonu MP Mehmed Şükrü rejected the proposals, stating that the work of these commissions could also be done by local courthouses and that he did not understand the scope of the MC. In the meeting where MPs supporting Mehmed Şükrü made similar statements, Bolu MP Tunalı Hilmi's outraged speech led to a vote: "*My friends, imagine a big place of fire as a city. It has just been extinguished; the orphans, the destitute, the hungry, the naked, the unfurnished and the unfed are piled up around it, moaning and groaning, and they are in such a state that they cannot move and save themselves. Just imagine this. Unfortunately, this draft law has been submitted since September 18th and has not been finalized. For God's sake, friends, out of respect for the dead, let's enact this law as soon as possible.*". Tunalı Hilmi's touching speech must not have resonated well in the parliament, as the vote for the proposal to become law failed to achieve a absolute majority.²⁷ In the second vote, only the draft law on the establishment of the MC came to the agenda. On November 20, 1922, an absolute majority was achieved in this vote and the law entered into force.²⁸ Thus, there was no obstacle to the establishment of the commissions with the "Law on the Organization and Duties of the Menhubat Commissions in the Areas Evacuated from the Greeks".²⁹

Bursa, Rescued from the Greek Occupation: An Example of a *Menhubat* Commission

Lasting approximately 26 months, from July 8, 1920 to September 11, 1922, the Greek occupation did not cause much destruction in the city center of Bursa, but the case was the opposite in surrounding villages. After the Greek troops captured Bursa, they tried to prevent the people from taking action against them by collecting all the weapons and even agricultural tools such as axes, sickles, etc. in the hands of the Muslims in the region.³⁰ Bursa was the center of the twenty representative offices established by the Greek army in the occupied area of Western Anatolia as part of the Asia Minor Campaign. Their main task was to supervise Ottoman administrative and legal practices and to mediate between the Turkish authorities and the Greek military administration.³¹

26 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 140.4.10, App. 2, 21.10.1338.; BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 140.4.10, App. 1, 22.10.1338.

27 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 24, 129. İctima, (30.10.1338), 260-263.

28 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre I, İctima Senesi 3, Cilt 25, 141. İctima, (20.11.1338), 11.

29 For the full text of the law see "Yunanlılardan Tahlis Olunan Mahallerde Menhubat Komisyonlarının Sureti Teşkilıyla Vezaifine Dair Kanun", *Kanunlar Dergisi* 1 (20.11.1338), 330.

30 Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında İşgal Döneminde Bursa", 67.

31 Erdem, *Yunan Tarihçiliğinin Gözyle Anadolu Harekatı*, 186.

The Ottoman administration in Bursa did not go beyond the wishes and orders of the Greek commissariat. The Turkish courts were functioning, but they could not hear every case, and the cases determined by the Greek commissariat were heard by the martial law courts. The Greek administration published notices, sometimes intimidating the population and sometimes issuing orders to resolve certain issues.³² The civilian population was put under pressure by the Greek troops and various drudgery was imposed on the population. Civil and military officials working in Bursa and civilians suspected of supporting the National Struggle were exiled.³³ While the Greek troops entered Bursa from the west, some Rums, who welcomed them with Greek flags, flowers and the Venizelos Anthem they sang by heart, and Armenians, who collaborated with the invaders, became more and more enraged by the attitude and behavior of the Muslim population.³⁴

The Greeks, who were fighting the Turkish Army at the front, were also trying to deal with the gangs that organized civil resistance in the cities. The Turkish armed bands organized in the mountain region of Bursa were putting the Greek military administration in Bursa in a difficult situation. The Greek administration made threatening statements targeting the Turkish gangs representing the national resistance, saying on the one hand that the gang members would be shot when they were caught, their families would be exiled and their assets would be confiscated, and on the other hand that they would be forgiven if they surrendered with their weapons.³⁵ This attitude of the occupiers was important because it showed how they had failed to fight the gangs. Having failed in the Battle of Sakarya, the Greeks further toughened their attitude towards the local Muslim population. As a new practice, people living in all neighborhoods and villages of Bursa were obliged to light a lantern in front of their houses from 19:00 in the evening until daylight in the morning. Those who did not comply with this order were prosecuted by the court martial for up to five years in prison.³⁶ This practice of the occupation administration was carried out in order to ensure public order in the city center and the countryside more easily at a time when there was street lighting only in the main arteries of the city.

The defeat in Sakarya not only made the Greeks more impulsive, but also reminded them of the need to establish closer relations with the population. Because the oppressive administration increased the participation of the people in the gangs in the mountain region and strengthened the supportive organizations of the gangs. Realizing this situation, the Greek High Commissioner established a deputy office in Bursa and appointed a commissioner named

32 Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 93.

33 Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 91-93.

34 Erdem, *Yunan Tarihçiliğinin Gözüyle Anadolu Harekatı*, 242.; Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 92.; İsmail Ediz, *Diplomasi ve Savaş, İngiliz Belgelerinde Batı Anadolu'da Yunan İşgali 1919-1922* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2015), 342-325.

35 Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 94.

36 Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 95.

Alexander Izvolo.³⁷ Deputy Commissioner Izvolo intended to maintain Greek rule in Bursa at a more reasonable level. To this end, he made several statements to the local newspapers.³⁸ However, the arrival of the acting commissar alone was not enough to satisfy the people; first of all, the maltreatment of the Muslim population by the Greek soldiers and the Greek and Armenian residents who supported them had to be prevented. However, no steps were taken in this regard during the occupation period.³⁹

The Greeks' retreat from Bursa came unexpectedly.⁴⁰ This withdrawal also caused the Greeks and Armenians who had collaborated with the invaders to become uneasy. Some of these groups, who frequently held meetings in their churches, started to migrate. The Greek military administration also wanted the Greeks and Armenians living in the region to come with them, fearing that their cooperation with the civilian population would be revealed through confessions. They threatened the non-Muslims who did not want to come with them, saying, "We would burn the city from top to bottom when we withdraw from here, and if you do not come with us, we would kill you too".⁴¹ As the Greeks retreated from Bursa, taking most of their collaborators with them,⁴² they blew up the Irgandı Bridge, set fire to the houses at the exit of the bridge, burning 40 houses, and burned down the large Orthodox Church in Balıkpazarı.⁴³ Since they had to flee quickly, the destruction in the center was not too great, but the atrocities they committed in the villages along their retreat route were indescribable. Especially in the villages of Masharahasan (Çağlayan), Zirafta (Konaklı), Dereçavuş, Hasanköy, Ahmetköy and Alaşar, the atrocities amounted to war crimes. Murders, beatings, rape, child abuse, extortion and many other tortures devastated the inhabitants of the villages along the withdrawal route of the Greek troops. It is possible to find detailed information about these persecutions in hundreds of documents and records in the works titled *Türkiye'de Yunan Fecayii* (The Greek Persecution in Turkey) and *Bursa Vilayeti'nde Yunan Fecayii* (The Greek Persecution in the Province of Bursa).⁴⁴

Precisely at this point, the devastated condition of the villages of Bursa was such that they could be included in the working area of the MC. Despite the adoption of the law establishing the commissions on November 20, 1922, it took until February 1923 for implementation to

37 Mümtaz Şükrü Eğilmez, *Milli Mücadele'de Bursa*, prep. by İhsan Ilgar (İstanbul: Tercüman Tarih Yayınları, 1981), 142.

38 Eğilmez, *Milli Mücadele'de Bursa*, 143-145.

39 For some examples of persecution in this regard, see *Yunan İşgalinde Batı Anadolu*, II: 872-873.

40 Sofuoğlu, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında İşgal Döneminde Bursa", 80-81.

41 Eğilmez, *Milli Mücadele'de Bursa*, 146-147. The information that Greek troops would burn the city as they retreated from Bursa was echoed in the international press see. Tüylü, *İspanyol Basınında Türk Milli Mücadelesi*, 334.

42 Tansel, *Mondros'tan Mudanya'ya Kadar*, IV: 167.

43 Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*, 131.

44 *Türkiye'de Yunan Fecayii*, Birinci Kitap (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1337); *Türkiye'de Yunan Fecayii*, İkinci Kitap (İstanbul: Matbaa-yı Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 1337); *Anadolu'da Yunan Zulm ve Vahşeti*, Üçüncü Kısım (Ankara: Matbuat ve İstihbarat Matbaası, 1338); *Bursa Vilayeti'nde Yunan Fecayii*, prep. by. Chief Clerk of Special Provincial Council Canib (Bursa: Matbaa-yı Vilayet 1341).

begin. Although the text of the law states that detailed instructions on the establishment of the commissions and how their duties would be carried out were to be prepared by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Home Affairs (Article 6), neither the minutes of the TGNA nor the records of the Republican Archive could reveal any information on these instructions. However, the announcement text titled *İ'ân-ı Resmî* (official announcement) dated February 5, 1923, which is included in the personal documents of Hacı Adil Bey, who served as the Governor of Bursa in 1922-1923, sold to the Ottoman Archive, is a very important document in terms of explaining the working principle of the commission.⁴⁵

This eight-article announcement stated that a MC had been established in a building in the municipality garden on Saray Street in Bursa, and that the commission would begin its duties on an as-yet-unspecified day in February when the announcement was printed. The first three articles of the announcement are almost identical to the law on the establishment of MC. The fourth article contains a different phrase. It was announced that this commission would also handle the claim cases regarding the properties that were left behind during the rescue of Bursa from the enemy and that there was no limit of 1000 liras in such cases. The announcement clearly states that the duration of the commission's work would be four months. In addition, it is understood that the use of a lawyer is prohibited, that there is no need for a petition, and that relatives or friends can be appointed as attorneys for cases.

The text of the announcement also addresses the issue of appealing the commission's decision. Objections to the decision would be made to the Head of Government within five days, the objection would be discussed in the Executive Council and the decision taken there would be final. It does not seem possible to say that the appeal section is applicable. The fact that an objector has to appeal directly to the head of government and has the right to do so only within five days can be considered as a factor that makes it difficult or hinders objections. The last article of the announcement states that the commission's scope of work includes only the cases in the villages and neighborhoods within the provincial center. The cases of the villages and neighborhoods within the borders of the kaza would be handled by the commissions established in the kazas. As can be understood from the second part of the last article, the MC was established not only in the provincial centers but also in the districts. Therefore, considering the number of provincial centers and districts freed from Greek occupation, it is estimated that the number of commissions established was close to 100.

Bursa Central Menhubat Commission's assignment period, which started in mid-February, lasted four months as per the relevant article of the law. Unfortunately, there are almost no official records to shed light on what happened during this period. However, a handwritten record book in the Bursa City Museum Archive, which appears to have been kept exactly in the interval corresponding to the working dates of the Bursa Menhubat Commission, shows

45 T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate of State Archives Ottoman Archive, BOA), Satın Alınan Evrak-Hacı Adil Bey Evrakı (HSDHADB.), 6/43, 5.2.1339.

that the commission did not only judge the cases, but also undertook the task of making a report on the bill of the occupation.⁴⁶

The book does not have a title or a record of the purpose for which it was kept on its cover, so for years it was thought to be one of the preliminary materials of the book titled *The Greek Persecution in the Province of Bursa* (GPPB) prepared by the governorship of Bursa and was not studied by any researcher.⁴⁷ However, a comparison between this book and the notebook reveals that the way the records were kept and the members of the main commission were completely different.

The members of the commission in the data collection activities for the GPPB are the Municipal Physician, the Inspector General, the Bursa Merkez Müdde-i Umumiye (Prosecutor of the Bidayet Court) and a civilian photographer. In the notebook where the MC minutes are recorded, the fixed members of the commission are the Tahkik Memuru (Investigator) and Fen Memuru (Engineer), while the variable members for each settlement consist of the imam, mukhtar and village elders. Another important difference between the two studies is the way in which the crimes committed during the occupation are emphasized. The GPPB records mainly focused on human damages such as killings, rapes, kidnappings, etc., while the MC records focused more on the damages caused by plunder and fire incidents in accordance with the law determining the functioning of the commission. As a matter of fact, it was stated in the parliament during the discussions on the law that these commissions would also work to determine the damages caused by the Greek occupation and to help the inhabitants to settle down again.

The registry containing the records of the Bursa MC is the only one known and examined so far. No previous records or reports of this commission have been identified. It is likely that more MCs were established for the towns of Bursa. This is because the book we have examined does not include all the settlements in and around Bursa that were subjected to Greek occupation and suffered damages. What happened to the records of other commissions

46 *Bursa'da Yunan İşgalinin Bilançosu, Menhubat Komisyonu'nun Bursa Tutanakları*, prep. by: İsmail Yaşayanlar (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022).

47 The book titled *The Greek Persecution in the Province of Bursa*, which was printed in Turkish with Arabic letters in 1924, has been published many times for an incomprehensible reason. The first study on this work was prepared by Hikmet Akıncı in 1993 as a master's thesis using partial transcription method see. Hikmet Akıncı, *Bursa Vilayeti'nde Yunan Fecayi'i* (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1993). The second edition of the book was published in 2001 by Mustafa Tayla under the title "Greek Atrocities in Western Anatolia-A Documentary Study of the Sufferings Experienced in the Province of Bursa", almost like a copyrighted work. Mustafa Tayla, *Batı Anadolu'da Yunan Mezalimi-Bursa Vilayetinde Yaşanan Aclıların Dokümanter İncelemesi* (Ankara: Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Etüdler Milli Komitesi (SAEMK), 2001). The book was reissued for the third time in 2004 by Turgay Gündüz, Ali İhsan Karataş and Adem Apak under the title "Occupation Diary in Bursa (The Greek Persecution in the Province of Bursa) 1920-1922" [*Bursa'da İşgal Günlüğü (Bursa Vilayetinde Yunan Fecayii) 1920-1922*, comp. by Canip Bey, prep. by Turgay Gündüz, Ali İhsan Karataş and Adem Apak (İstanbul: Düşünce Kitabevi, 2004)]. Finally, the book was republished for the fourth time in 2014 in the two-volume book titled "Greek Occupation in Western Anatolia" prepared by İzzet Öztoprak, Oğuz AYTEPE and Murat Karataş see. *Yunan İşgalinde Batı Anadolu*, prep. by İzzet Öztoprak, Oğuz AYTEPE and Murat Karataş (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2014), I: 1-285.

is a mystery. If these records had been collected in Ankara, they would certainly be available today in one of the funds of the Republican Archive. However, neither the records of the other commissions of Bursa nor the books of the commissions of other Western Anatolian provinces that were subjected to Greek occupation are available. Therefore, this notebook, which is the subject of this study, is the only source so far.

The Bursa MC Book, which was recorded between February 26 and April 23, 1923, was created after the commission visited 23 villages in total and recorded the damages and plunder they saw there, household by household. The main members of the commission, the investigating officer and the engineer, were accompanied by *imams*, *mukhtars* and civilian members of the community in every settlement they visited. Unfortunately, neither the names of the permanent members of the commission nor the names of any of the alternate members were clearly written down, making it impossible to identify them. However, it is possible to infer that the investigating officer was a military officer, as he sometimes wrote the title “Third Corps” on his signature. After recording the records of each village on hand-drawn tables, the members of the commission, together with the civilian members, certified the statements and attached a report of their observations of the village immediately after the records. Even though it was stated that a map of the village was attached to some of the reports, no map was found in the notebook. Examination of the notebook also reveals that the records on villages were not kept in a standardized format. The tables changed shape throughout the book according to need, and their scope was expanded or narrowed from time to time.

The villages mentioned in the register of the Bursa MV records are as follows: Beşevler, Odunluk, Kite (Ürünlü), Tahtalı, Ertuğrul, Eğnesi (Özlüce) Göbelye (Yolçatı), Görükle, Dansarı [today a settlement near İrfaniye], İrfaniye, Ermiri [today a settlement between Konaklı and İrfaniye], Balıklı-yı Kebîr (Büyükbalklı), Zirafta (Konaklı), Anahor (Çaylı), Badırğa, Yörük Yenicesi, Runguş (Çayönü), Emirler Yenicesi, Evciler, Çamlık, Mesudiye, Eğerce, Mübarek [a settlement between Emirler Yenicesi and Eğerce]. The fact that these villages were not randomly selected by the commission can be clearly seen when the villages are marked on a map. Greek troops used three routes in their escape from Bursa. Although all three of these routes started from Bursa, the first one ended at Mudanya, the second one at the exit of the Karacabey Strait and the third one at Bandırma-Erdek. The records taken on the basis of the second of these escape routes were included in the investigation area of the MC, which prepared the registry we are examining.

Among the tables in the ledger are the heads of households in the surveyed village, their sons and daughters (if any), the structure of their houses (number of rooms, whether they had barns and haystacks), the parts of their houses burned by the Greeks, their land and plots (fields, vineyards, gardens), the number of animals and transportation vehicles before the occupation (horses, donkeys, oxen, sheep, goats, cows, calves, oxen and horse carts), the number of animals and transportation vehicles seized by the Greeks, whether he was married

or not, where he was from, where he currently lived if his house was burnt down, whether there were any martyrs or prisoners in his family. In addition, in the individual reports prepared for each village, the total damage and loss caused by the Greeks to the village, the land structure of the village, whether it was suitable for settlement, who, if any, were the families in need of assistance, the status of agricultural production and suggestions on what needed to be done for its improvement were recorded. Thus, it was possible to follow technical procedures for the reconstruction of burned and destroyed villages.

Abolition of *Menhubat* Commissions

No special law was enacted to abolish the commissions, as their terms could not exceed four months, as required by the law establishing the MC. When their terms of office expired, their duties were automatically terminated. In short, these commissions, which started their duties at the beginning of 1923, should have completed their mission by the middle of the year and become abolished. By the end of 1923, the issue of the attendance fees to be paid to the members of the commissions came to the agenda in the parliament.⁴⁸ The question of when the attendance fees would be paid, which was directed to the Ministry of Finance by Ertuğrul MP Halil Bey, remained unanswered for a while.⁴⁹ The issue was then brought to the parliament⁵⁰ and explanations were made regarding the attendance fee.⁵¹ Hasan Fehmi Bey, the Deputy Minister of Finance, stated that the Ministries of Justice and Home Affairs had drafted a directive for the payment of the attendance fees to be paid to the chairman and members of the MC and the expenses they incurred, and that they had written that the expenses would be covered by the Ministry of Finance; however, he said that neither the opinion of the Ministry of Finance was sought nor the Ministry was informed about the issue when this directive was written. Hasan Fehmi Bey stated that he became aware of this situation after the Eskisehir commission's request for attendance fees and that there was no allocation in the 1923 budget to pay for the expenses of the MC.⁵² On December 15, 1923, a presidential decree was issued stating that it was not possible to cover the attendance fees of the commission members from the finance budget, and therefore each commission would be paid from the *emval-i metruke* in the region to which it was affiliated.⁵³

The implementations and verdicts of the abolished commissions were again brought to the agenda by the Prime Ministry in 1929, and the Ministry of Home Affairs was asked to provide information about the execution of the verdicts by the police and the lack of sufficient information about the real estates advertised at the time the commission was working. The

48 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 6.32.13, App. 2, 6/11/1339.; BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 6.32.13, App. 1, 6/11/1339.

49 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 6.34.1, App. 2, 8/12/1339.

50 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 6.34.1.16, App. 1, 9/12/1339.

51 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre II, İctima Senesi 1, Cilt 4, 71. İctima, (20 Kanunievvel 1339), 330-336.

52 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, Devre II, İctima Senesi 1, Cilt 4, 71. İctima, (20 Kanunievvel 1339), 336.

53 BCA., Fon no: 30.18.1.1., Yer no: 8.42.13, 15.12.1339.

Ministry referred the matter to the Tanzimat Department of the State Council, which reiterated the provisions of the law dated November 20, 1922 on the establishment of the MC.⁵⁴ The State Council also suggested that the law and the regulations were not sufficiently clear and therefore this question should be discussed in the parliament.⁵⁵ There is no record of why the issue was brought back to the agenda and how it was finalized.

Conclusions

The TGNA established various commissions and issued laws and instructions in order to identify the crimes of plunder, destruction, extortion and treason in the cities rescued from Greek occupation and to help the victimized people in the recovered areas. In this context, one of the commission groups, the MC, was originally established to quickly resolve cases of ordinary crimes. It is noteworthy that most of the deputies who opposed the proposed law on the establishment of the MC were from the unoccupied regions, and it is understood that the deputies who reacted to the opposition also emphasized this point. The MC law proposal also became an area of conflict between the government, the parliament and the special committee formed for the commissions to be established on the liberated areas.

Notwithstanding all these, the sole mission of the MC, which was formed with the votes of a simple majority, was to resolve cases of extortion, looting, destruction, confiscate and theft cases with a value not exceeding 1000 liras, while the other mission assigned to them was to determine the damages of the Greek occupation on movable and immovable properties and to prepare reports for the restoration of destroyed settlements according to technic methods. In this respect, it is possible to say that the commissions undertook an important task in resurrecting the cities of Western Anatolia. As a matter of fact, the parliament supported development with financial, sanitary, social and economic decisions, and enabled the people in the regions rescued from the enemy to establish a self-sufficient order.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

Çıkar Çatışması: Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Finansal Destek: Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

54 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 68.450.16, App. 3-4, 9 Mayıs 1929.

55 BCA., Fon no: 30.10.0.0., Yer no: 68.450.16, App. 5, 9 Haziran 1929.

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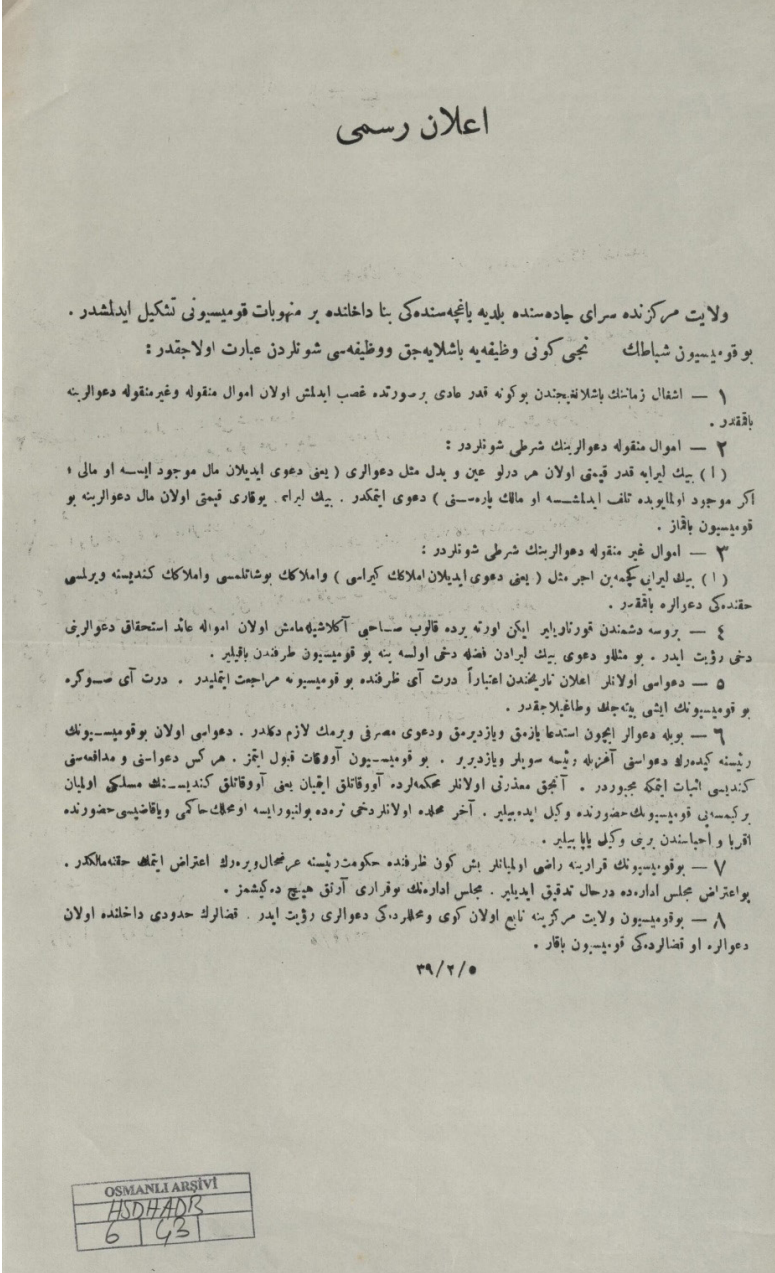
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Appendices



Appendix I. Official announcement describing the work principles of the Bursa Menhubat Commission [BOA., *Satın Alınan Evrak-Hacı Adil Bey Evraki*, 6/43, 5.2.39].

ایگزین قره سیم

اسامی عائذ شریف و یارین افراد حاضر	اسوان فی نقره لیس									
	اراضیس					خانه کس				
	تاریخ	دو تنه باغیس	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ	تاریخ
کوره احمد و یارین										
آرم احمد و یارین										
سعید احمد و یارین										
احمد احمد و یارین										
صالح احمد و یارین										
کوره احمد و یارین										
عبد شریف احمد و یارین										
احمد احمد و یارین										
سید احمد و یارین										
فتح احمد و یارین										
عبد احمد و یارین										
کبر احمد و یارین										
ولهم										
اسحاق احمد و یارین										
صنعا احمد و یارین										
عبد احمد و یارین										
عبد احمد و یارین										
احمد احمد و یارین										
سید احمد و یارین										
محمد احمد و یارین										
نصاح احمد و یارین										
عبد احمد و یارین										
احمد احمد و یارین										
محمد احمد و یارین										
باب احمد و یارین										
محمد احمد و یارین										
عبد احمد و یارین										
کلوت										

Appendix II. The first part of the records of Eğnesi Village in the notebook of the Bursa Menhubat Commission [*Bursa'da Yunan İşgalinin Bilançosu, Menhubat Komisyonu'nun Bursa Tutanakları*, Prep. by İsmail Yaşayanlar (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022), 153.]

۱۰۰۰ تا ۱۰۰۵ تاریخ و ۶ نود اولی ایروم صوبه
 منطقه دافنه برنامہ ایگنس قرین اسلام و رسم قرسیانندہ محفظہ ۱۰۰۵ خانہ عمارت اولیہ رومره خانہ ۷ خانہ ۸ زمین ۹ دلمہ بختہ
 برخانہ بابا زمرہ طاملا اولیہ ایگنس قرینہ ۱۰۰۰ سندہ حکومتہ طرفہ انشا ایشیریمین مریا بریل اسلام بری نا اخصاییمہ
 ۱۰ خانہ دوش بعد اولیہ خانہ قرینہ ۱۱ رومری طرفہ طاملا اقصم و تحریبا ایگنس مساقی ۱۰۰۰ خانہ قالیقین رونایا ندر طرفہ ایگنس زمین شہا ایگنس
 ایلیج برن ویا نچم ۱۰۰۷ نغمی و صیانات بقریہ و زریہ و تونندہ ۱۰۰۹ دفعیائیمہ آیہ ابر عصباییمہ الحار لکھ و یا چمدرک حیرانایا برار
 ۱۰۰۷ دفعیائیمہ ۱۰۰۷ عدوی موجود اولیہ و ایگنس تقریباً در تہلک و بجز قومیہ کور دوندہ عمارت اولیہ خانہ و یا چمدرک و ایگنس
 سنجیکہ برنجم و جودہ اولیہ مشروباتی قومیہ صوبہ اولیہ رومره و قالیقین آیہ واحدہ ساریک ایلیسیک ۱۰۰۷ قریہ و دندرا ایشیرہ برلر لکھ
 تندی کون بولدر بلعیم تنظیم دوش ایگنس بطاقتیہ رحالہ ایگنس ۱۰۰۷ حادہ لری بالمدہ حرق اولیہ رومره قالیقین و دوش تکی لکھ
 بطاقتیہ ایگنس کلمہ اولیہ ایگنس سقیقات و تحقیقات و آکوشیمہ و عدویہ برنظم اولیہ ایگنس عدول معقودا تقسیم قلمتہ اولیہ
 ایگنس برن بال تنظیم تقسیم قلمتہ

Appendix II. The last part of the records of Eğnesi Village in the notebook of the Bursa Menhubat Commission [*Bursa'da Yunan İşgalinin Bilançosu, Menhubat Komisyonu'nun Bursa Tutanakları*, Prep. by İsmail Yaşayanlar (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022), 154.]

