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Contents

Ralf Becks – Betül Fındık <i>New Middle Paleolithic Finds from the Lake District</i>	1
İrfan Deniz Yaman <i>Prehistoric Paintings in the Keçe Cave (Kahramanmaraş-Elbistan)</i>	11
Taner Korkut – Turan Takaoğlu – Kudret Sezgin <i>Pre-Classical Habitation at Tlos, Lycia</i>	25
Güzel Öztürk <i>Post-Akkadian and Ur III Features on Cylinder Seals from Kültepe-Kanesh: An Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis</i>	45
Tevfik Emre Şerifoğlu <i>Kilise Tepe in Rough Cilicia before the Late Bronze Age: An Overview of the Architecture, Pottery Traditions, and Cultural Contacts</i>	69
Aslıhan Yurtsever Beyazıt <i>New Assessments of the Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery Recovered in the First Excavation Period at Tilmen Höyük</i>	101
Claudia Devoto <i>Some Remarks on the Chronology of the First Coins of Knossos, Crete</i>	145
İnci Türkoğlu <i>Civic Coinage of Keramos in Caria</i>	167
Tetiana Shevchenko <i>Attributes of the Mother of the Gods on Terracottas from Olbia Pontike and Asia Minor</i>	201
Julian Bennett <i>The Annexation of Galatia Reviewed</i>	223
Fatih Onur <i>An Investigation around Kragos in Lycia: The Question of Sidyma and Kalabatia</i>	259
Havva İşkan – Şevket Aktaş <i>Überlegungen zu einem Artemis-Relief aus Patara</i>	297
Fatma Avcu – Hüseyin Uzunoglu <i>The Ancient Roads and Routes around Sidyma and New Inscriptions from its Vicinity</i>	319
Emel Erten – Emine Akkuş Koçak <i>Glass Finds from the Monastery at Olba</i>	345

Ahmet Dönmez	
<i>The Role of James Brant in the Process of Structural Changes in British Consulates</i>	363
Fatma Şimşek	
<i>The Role of the Islands and Islanders in the Illegal Felling and Smuggling of Timber from the Ottoman Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines in the 19th C.</i>	381
Mine Esmer	
<i>Evaluating Repairs and Interventions of the Fethiye Camii through the Perspective of Contemporary Conservation Ethics and Principles</i>	401

The Role of the Islands and Islanders in the Illegal Felling and Smuggling of Timber from the Ottoman Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines in the 19th C.

Fatma ŞİMŞEK*

Abstract

In Anatolia's geography its coastal regions with forest cover extending from the coast to the mountains, has provided its richness to civilizations. From the mountains to the coast the numerous rivers and streams and the proximity of forest cover to the rivers and coast were among the significant factors facilitating the supply and transportation of timber. However, as these factors facilitated timber supply and transportation, they also facilitated all kinds of smuggling activities. When the central control of the Ottoman State declined, control over the long coastline from the land became more difficult. Settlements on the coast were few, and smugglers could easily reach, fell and transport of any kind of timber with their local collaborators. It was not only the physical conditions on the coast that increased the smuggling of timber. It is also necessary to consider the nearby islands of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas as for the inhabitants of the islands where the natural resources were scarce or inadequate, all kinds of smuggling-looting activity were quite risk-free, profitable branches of business. After the Greek Independence, with the increase in the construction of vessels on these islands, Greek shipping centers demand for timber increased and with it timber smuggling from Anatolia. The Ottoman government wanted to take tighter measures, but did not succeed in preventing the smuggling of timber to the islands.

Keywords: Greek Islands, Smuggling, Forests, Timber, Shipping, Ship-Building

Öz

Anadolu coğrafyasının özellikle sahillere dağlara doğru yükselen orman örtülü kıyı bölgeleri, kurulan uygarlıklara zenginliğini cömert şekilde sunmuştur. Dağlardan sahile kadar inen akarsu-ırmak sayısının fazlalığı ve kıyı boyunca orman örtüsünün denize yakın olması; kereste teminini ve nakliyesini kolaylaştıran önemli etkenlerdi. Ancak kereste temini ve nakliyesini kolaylaştırıcı bu coğrafi etkenler, her türlü kaçakçılık faaliyeti için de kolaylık sağlamaktaydı. Osmanlı merkezi kontrolünün giderek zayıfladığı dönemlerde uzun kıyı şeritlerinin karadan-denizden kontrolü de zorlaşmaktaydı. Yerleşimin çok sık olmadığı bu kıyılardan kaçakçılar yerel işbirlikçileri ile her türlü keresteye kolaylıkla ulaşabilmekte veya nakledebilmekteydi. Kereste kaçakçılığını artıran sadece kıyıların fiziki şartları değil bu kıyıların az ötesinde Akdeniz'de ve Ege Denizi'nde var olan adalar ve adalar dünyasını da göz önünde bulundurmak gereklidir. Çünkü doğal kaynakların kıt ya da yetersiz olduğu adalarda yaşayanlar için her türlü kaçakçılık-yağmacılık faaliyeti oldukça risksiz ve kârlı iş kollarıydı. Yunan bağımsızlığından sonra Akdeniz ve Ege'deki adalarda artan inşaa faaliyetleri ile gelişmeye başlayan Yunan gemicilik merkezleri Anadolu'dan kereste kaçakçılığını artırmıştı. Bu nedenle hükümet daha sıkı tedbirler aldı ise de adalara yönelik kereste kaçakçılığını önlemekte pek başarılı olamadı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yunan Adaları, Kaçakçılık, Ormanlar, Kereste, Gemicilik, Gemi İnşası

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Throughout history forests have played a crucial role for humanity, meeting some of the fundamental requirements (providing materials for heat, shelter, building construction, furniture, etc.) and a basic material for defense-warfare, (timber employed in fortifications and foundations, for ship, and cart, metal smelting, weapon construction, etc.). In particular, the favorable climate and geographical conditions in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions of Anatolia are the main reasons for the existence of large forests and the diversity of trees in these regions. However, the fact that similar conditions exhibit great differences in these regions resulted in forests of varied quality and type within this topography. This, on the other hand, meant the development of human-nature relations, namely different production-consumption (market) relations. On the other hand, the Black Sea was in communication-interaction networks with different environments compared to those found in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, and therefore the Black Sea should be treated within a separate context. In consequence, it has been necessary to limit the scope of this research to just the Aegean and Mediterranean regions, which have relatively similar characteristics and a related network of influences and communications.

For the Ottoman State, the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, in respect to its forest resources, provided broad opportunities to meet its timber requirements, naval construction being the first of these requirements. Ottoman maritime activity developed in particular due to the maritime experience and knowledge of the Greeks living on the shores and on the islands of the Mediterranean and because of the presence of extensive forests providing high quality timber.¹ The Ottoman State, compared to European states that had lost much of their forests due to agricultural expansion in the Medieval period² and in consequence of charcoal production for iron ore smelting, did not really lack in timber reserves, even during periods of intense use. However, it can be stated that the extensive shipbuilding activities, which began after the losses at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, placed pressure on the state. McNeil's suggestion that timber from Ottoman forests grew short after this period of intense shipbuilding in 16th century³ is to be questioned and seems somewhat exaggerated. This study shows rather that these activities made the accessing and the shipping of suitable timber easier. Indeed, after the peak periods of timber use, even in the second half of the 19th century in Ottoman lands 8 million hectares of forests were found, usually extending along the coastal mountain ranges and extending about 80 km inland.⁴

It is deficient and a meaningless effort to explain the increasing control and pressure upon forests in Ottoman lands based solely upon the issue of meeting the needs of the people and the Ottoman navy. In order to approach the subject from a broader perspective and make sounder inferences, this study is limited to the 19th century. This because, the regional and global political, social and financial changes provide us with significant data regarding this

This study was presented at 10th International Symposium on History of Turkish Sea Trading, between April 12–13, 2018, in Girne but it has not been published. This study has developed from this paper as a result of ongoing researches, studies and evolutions in the light of more detailed data on the subject.

¹ Gencer 2001, 59; Bostan 2003, 71; Berktaş and Terzioğlu 2007, 105–6.

² The most important lands meeting Europe's need for wood were the South Baltic regions. Wazny 2005, 122; *idem*, [Source: https://www.academia.edu/6966383/Historical_timber_trade_and_its_implications_on_dendrochronological_dating]. 331.

³ The author states that the forests from which timber for navy supplies were 50 km inland from the coasts of the Black Sea, North-east Aegean and Marmara in 17th century. McNeil 2003, 395–96.

⁴ For the information presented by Osman Ragıp who was one of the first foresters of the Ottoman State and wrote in *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1862, see Evcimen 1977, 83–9.

issue. The major regional factor was the financial and social changes experienced on the Anatolian coastline and on the Mediterranean islands after the secession and independence of the Greek state.

The Mediterranean Islands and the Forests in Anatolia

The presence of various large and small islands along the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts impacted upon the natural resources of Anatolia more than has been thought and accordingly, upon commercial and social relations.⁵ In order to see this, we should mention being “islander” or coming from an island. Except for the large islands, such as Cyprus and Crete, Greek islands, comprising small islands, with the need to meet their deficit from external sources, which arose from insufficient agricultural production.⁶ Due to the imbalance between population pressure and natural resources, privileged occupational and production methods such as fishing, maritime trade and shipping developed on these islands.⁷ On the other hand, these specialized groups caused a continuous external migration. For example, the overpopulation of the islands were sent, due to their maritime related skills and experience, to the navies of states such as the Ottoman and Russia.⁸

As mentioned above, ship building activities along the Anatolian coasts and on the islands continued. For this reason, timber, which enabled ship building activities that was one of the most significant and broad branches of industry, was provided from other hinterlands. Crete obtained its timber needs from the Black Sea, Thessaloniki, Syria, Trieste⁹ and Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid.¹⁰ Pine cones required for the leather factory on Chios were provided from Bergama.¹¹ A significant part of the timber needed for the shipbuilding in the Rhodes shipyard was delivered against payment from the forests of Anatolia.¹²

In fact, while the existence of forests was something known on some Mediterranean islands, it is even observed that on Rhodes, the timber from the black pine forests were yearly farmed out (1876).¹³ On the other hand, on Chios, aside from gumwoods, there were turpentine trees from which oil was obtained.¹⁴ However, it can be understood that the forests on the islands had been ravaged to a large extent or they were insufficient to meet the requirements regarding the timber quality and quantity due to violations, overexploitation, internal disturbances or

⁵ For the number, names and their distances to each other of the islands at Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid province see *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi* 1293 (1876) 129–40, Although they seemed to be sprinkled onto the sea, there was a certain order in the distribution and grouping of the Aegean islands. For detailed info. see Yılmazçelik and Ertürk 2005, 5–6; Ak 2014, 287.

⁶ In this regard, the illegal grain trade of the islands in the Mediterranean may give us an idea. For instance, cattle and grain delivered to Chios from Anatolia see Yalçinkaya 2000, 785.

⁷ Asdrachas 2017, 5.

⁸ *BOA*, HAT. 267–15525, 29 Z 1204 (9 September 1790); *BOA*, AE. SABH.I, 70–4863; Panzac 2016, 118; Asdrachas 2017, 32.

⁹ *Girit Vilayet Salnamesi*, 1292 (1875) 159, Since the ancient times, timber was exported from the Black Sea to Mediterranean see. Menoledakis 2016; Ginalis 2014, 11.

¹⁰ For the delivery of timber required for the shipyard pool on the island see. *BOA*, A:MKT.MHM, 394–20, 23 B 1284 (20 November 1867).

¹¹ Ayoğuz 1991, 242.

¹² Önen 2013, 238.

¹³ From where these timbers would be cut and the names of those who won the tenders are given as well. *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi*, 171–73.

¹⁴ Yalçinkaya 2000, 785.

wars. Thus, a French forest officer who visited Cyprus in 1873 relates that only a small portion of the forest remained in the north line due to timber felling. On the other hand, it is claimed that in the 19th century, the Egyptian government, which lasted for a short period of time, destroyed the forests in the coastal plains.¹⁵ Although it is known that timber was provided from the Samaria forests for Crete,¹⁶ the forests of Crete almost run short of timber according to data from 1875.¹⁷

Despite the fact that the Ottoman government wanted to maintain external dependence in a form to court both parties, the physical and real conditions did not let this happen. For example, for the repair and reconstruction of the houses which suffered damage due to the earthquake on Rhodes in 1857, the Antalya and Menteşe sanjaks were ordered to send timber at an affordable price.¹⁸ It is understood that, due to the large quantity of timber required, and in order not to allow traders who want to turn this into a major profit generating opportunity, managers were asked to determine a local market rate according to the type of timber and to encourage traders in this direction.¹⁹

With their inadequate resources, variable and fragile structures, the islands are among the lands which are affected most by even the smallest political-military change that affects their course within the geography where they are located. For this reason, a rapid social and financial change-transformation is observed regarding the Mediterranean islands following the Greek revolt-war of independence and afterwards. After Ottoman troops took over the regions where rebellion broke out, thousands of people came to Syros island from Ayvalık, Chios, Kasos or other near islands, and these migrations are included in the works of this period's itinerants in detail.²⁰ As a matter of fact, the traces of such change were observed not only in the islands but also in Anatolia. The Ottoman government no longer trusted the Greeks and terminated the duties of the Greeks in the shipyard and preferred the employment of experienced Arabian seamen and captains.²¹ As a result, those groups who were specialized in maritime affairs and navigation and who had migrated from the islands and Anatolia, not only made the Syros coasts an active trading port but also one of the most significant wooden ship building centers in the Mediterranean.²² This population successfully maintained other specialized activities, such as timber and carpentry, related to maritime affairs that they have been carrying out within their own structure, with continuous ship orders placed by traders and sailors from Greece, the Black Sea and from other parts of the Mediterranean.²³ The people of Lemnos who lived in Euboea were particularly preferred and were hired for the timber trade.²⁴

Syros being in the first place, these islands were the major shipbuilding centers located in the Mediterranean and Aegean and they acquired an important portion of the most essential material, timber, from the forests of Anatolia. Although the main focus of this study is

¹⁵ There was a forest to the South of the island where pine trees were dominant, see (Harris 2007, 13).

¹⁶ Yıldız 2017, 250.

¹⁷ *Girit Vilayet Salnamesi*, 159.

¹⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 280–13, 26 § 1273 (21 April 1857), Lef. 1–2.

¹⁹ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 283–85, 14 L 1273 (7 June 1857).

²⁰ Hartley 1833, 58; Randolph 1998, 46–9.

²¹ Batmaz 2009, 223.

²² Delis 2015, 45.

²³ Delis 2014, 226.

²⁴ Delis 2015, 109.

on smuggling activities in the 19th century, it should be noted that the Anatolian forests, from coasts to mountains, beginning from antiquity have undergone felling by different civilizations (Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Venetians, Genoese, Byzantine) including the Ottoman State.²⁵ The Greeks' interest in and use of forests dates back to very ancient times. For example, during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC.) between Athens and Sparta, Greeks made use of the western coasts of Anatolia.²⁶ Undoubtedly, this was due to the fact that timber transport was easier by the coast, as well as the destruction of Greece's forest resources in a very early period. In addition, Thirgood mentions the negative impact of wars on forests and says that the forests that could not be reached in Greece during the war of independence were severely damaged.²⁷

In fact, the phenomenon of deforestation which became apparent around Europe and Mediterranean from the early modern period. As mentioned, the forests in Europe started to be depleted in the Medieval period particularly with the aim of clearing forests for agricultural lands.²⁸ In the late 18th century, there was serious decline in the forests around Barcelona, Genova, Naples and Messina, all significant ports of Mediterranean. For this reason, forest products were highly valued. Due to this decline, from the 17th century onwards, the price of fire woods around the Mediterranean increased, almost doubling.²⁹ Moreover, the increase in timber prices as a result of the decline in forests has been suggests as one of the reasons for regression experienced in the Mediterranean in 16th–17th centuries.³⁰ In particular, maritime European states obtained a solution to the timber problem related to shipbuilding, through the untapped forests on the continents they had just discovered, with discovery of new continents and the discovery of new forest resources. For this reason, they either imported timber from those lands or moved their shipyards overseas.³¹

Under these conditions, Anatolian became the scene for the smuggling of all kinds of timber, particularly for shipbuilding, because of its advantage in terms of forest cover. Instead of a single kind and type of timber, timbers of different quality and measures, as also water and rot resistant types of timber, were required for shipbuilding. Due to this reason, different diffusion areas and the height of the main trees existing in the Mediterranean and Aegean forests³² determined the methods and frequency of the intended felling and smuggling. Over the course of time, this led to the depletion of the timber resources of forests in different regions to different degrees.

The interest of islanders was not solely in timber smuggling for the shipbuilding centers such as Chios or Syros. The islands attached to Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid province illegally provided timbers from the forests of the Anatolian coasts and they built unauthorized ships. We learn

²⁵ Bingöl 1990, 15.

²⁶ On the other hand, Macedonian forests were the timber source for Athenians during their naval warfare against Persians and they provided abundant and continuous timber from there (Psoma 2015, 1–7), see. Source: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518967.2015.1048120>

²⁷ Thirgood 1981, 20–40.

²⁸ McNeil 2003, 398.

²⁹ Hughes 2005, 98–9.

³⁰ Braudel 2008, 51.

³¹ At the same time, labor force being cheaper compared to main lands is one of the other reasons of this change. Özveren 2000, 24; McNeil 2003, 398; Hughes 2005, 98–9.

³² The most common pine species and the basis of Mediterranean flora are calabrian pine, oak, black pine and lastly cedar zones. Yeşilkaya 1994, 56; Terzioğlu, Bilgili and Karaköse 2007, 20. To see the other tree species' natural spread range see. *Orman Atlası* 2017, 40.

from the writings of the Governor of Bahr-i Sefid in 1856 that most of the 100 ships, which were built annually on the Bahr-i Sefid islands, were unauthorized. Particularly Megisti and Kasos islands that the governor describes as “almost like a big shipbuilding factory” deserved that reputation due to their illegal building activities.³³ The number of ships built in a year was 30 on Megisti and 34 on Kasos.³⁴

What was the meaning of these islands’ unauthorized shipbuilding? As understood from the complaints, this question was closely related to Syros, a significant ship market. The governor of Bahr-i Sefid reported that unauthorized ships were brought to Syros and other ports and were sold there.³⁵ At the same time, other islands in the vicinity could also serve as a market for these illegal ships. Ship sales to foreigners, which was forbidden at first, became free upon the edicts released on May 13, 1839 and May 14, 1847, due to the fact that it would enhance trading activity.³⁶ This meant an increase in illegal shipbuilding activities and as a matter of course, more illegal tree felling in forests. These illegally constructed ships sailed to Syros or other ports with cargoes of illegal timber, generally cut from the forests on the coasts, in order to be sold there.³⁷ The islanders must have made great profits as a result of the sales that did not cost any money for materials nor pay any tax. For this reason, the islands (islanders), which suffered all kinds of natural shortage in resources, did not hesitate to participate in all kinds of pillage and smuggling activities, timber being in the first place.³⁸

In 16th century, an average of 1500–2000 oak trees were required for the construction of a ship.³⁹ Based on this number, we can roughly calculate how many hectares of forest were cut for an average ship. Since the distance between the trees is not known precisely and the forests of the period were all natural, the distance between the trees can be considered as 5–10 meters. In this case, the area of 1 tree ranged from 25 to 100 square meters and this meant the use of forests in areas ranging from a minimum of 5 hectares to a maximum of 20 hectares for an average ship.⁴⁰ However, beginning from 17th century, with the introduction of galleons of larger sizes, more timber became necessary for construction. Whether authorized or not, this is an important point in terms of understanding how much timber felling for shipbuilding consumed forests. The most frequently used and demanded timber was oak. The reason for the lack of oaks and their poor quality in the lower lands of the Mediterranean basin was continuous-unplanned felling made for shipbuilding. Besides, the fact that oak was in demand abroad and sold for a high price increased the quantity of illegal felling of oak trees.⁴¹

³³ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1.

³⁴ Ainsworth 1860, 315; *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1.

³⁵ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 1273 (26 May 1856); see (Şimşek 2019, 203–8)

³⁶ *BOA, İ.MVL*. 198–6148, 11 M 67 (16 November 1850), *BOA, MVL*. 53–38, Undated; *BOA, İ.HR.* 68–3339, 6 Za 1266 (13 September 1850).

³⁷ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1; *BOA, A.MKT.* UM, 314–90 (29 May 1858).

³⁸ The goods carried by ships grounded near the islands were like a golden opportunity for islanders. These merchant ships were generally insured, and their plunder created big issues between insurance companies and the Ottoman Government (Şimşek 2017, 107–20).

³⁹ Hughes 2005, 98, 99; Until the 17th century, a typical Ottoman ship was of 13–15 meters of length and could carry 100 tons of load (Çizakça 1999, 109). On the other hand, for an Ottoman galleon 15.904 oak and pine timber was required in the 18th century (Yiğit 2009, 22).

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Assistant Professor A. Kavgacı from Batı Akdeniz Ormançılık Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Western Mediterranean Forestry Institute) for sharing such precious information with me.

⁴¹ Oak timbers of small size were used for making barrels and the timbers which were brought to coast with horses and donkeys were sold from there (Sachsischer 1935, 56–76).

Greeks dealing in the legal or illegal timber trade could easily access the timber they wanted of different quality and quantity due to the network they established with both local shopkeepers and local administrators. The lawsuit (worths 14.700 piastre) related to receivables and payables between Dimitri, who was a certificated European Merchant, and İsbatoğlu Hacı Ahmet, who was from Alanya and in the timber business,⁴² and another case (worth 50.000) between Frenkoğlu, Mustafa Paşa and İmam Bey from Adana⁴³ were most probably the results of such relations. When there was a need, these local people were also employed by the Ottoman government for the delivery of timbers to various locations.⁴⁴ Based on the contracts, only the specified amount of timber could be obtained from the forests. However, the amount written in the contracts was on paper and in practice, merchants could fell as much as they wished. For instance, Hacı Ali Efendi, a timber merchant from Antalya, cut 223 cubic meters of trees, that is more than the amount specified by the license agreement.⁴⁵ Tree felling, which was unauthorized or above the license, were worrisome for those forests belonging to the state shipyards as well, and the Governor of Bahr-i Sefid writes of such a worry in a letter dated December 15, 1850.⁴⁶ The Kaptan Paşa stated that the negligence of the local officers and administrators regarding the transfer of the illegal timber from the coasts played a role, and this was in fact the confession of there being collusion between the responsible officials, authorized groups and the smugglers.⁴⁷

Smuggling was carried out from the islands, which were close to each other and to the coasts, and was both more organized and more profitable due to their commercial experiences and connections. They made large profits due to these activities which they operated almost without any risk by themselves, or through the agency of people from the mainland. Thus, the result of the investigation conducted by Nazif Efendi, who was a fiscal official from Rhodes assigned upon command to investigate and uncover those who felled the timber useful for the shipyard in Köyceğiz in 1857, revealed these kinds of activities. According to this, Andona and Nikola from Kasos had 445 big timbers, 118 timbers at the pier except from those which were cut from the forests. According to inquiry, captains from Kasos had carried out this illegal trade with their ships for 7 to 8 months. On the other hand, Captain Dimitri from Symi had 600 trees used for outriggers (a curved tree which forms the frame of the ship) and beams (joists used for the shipboard).⁴⁸ In 1862, it was reported from Kos island that Yorgi, who had a Timur farm near Gökburun in the Menteşe sanjak, cut pine timbers in the forests near his farm and sold them to non-Muslims and these timbers would be transferred to the islands.⁴⁹

Based on the fact that, in August 21, 1858, the Kaptan Paşa's opinion was asked about the illegal timber felling of some villagers, these timbers must have been shipbuilding timbers.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it was complained that in Mytilene, people carried out illegal felling in the

⁴² BOA, A.MKT, 207–21, 27 B 1265 (18 June 1849).

⁴³ A.MKT.UM, 510–17, 9 Za 1277 (19 May 1861).

⁴⁴ This person -Hacı Ahmet- was appointed to somewhere near Egypt for the timber supply in 1849. BOA, A.MKT, 207–21.

⁴⁵ BOA, BEO, 662–49583. Gurre-i Safer 1313 (July 1895).

⁴⁶ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 42–33, 9 Safer 1267 (14 December 1850).

⁴⁷ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14, 29 Şevval 1273 (22 June 1857).

⁴⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 277–02, 7 Ş 1273 (7 April 1857).

⁴⁹ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 528–54, 27 Z 1278 (25 June 1862).

⁵⁰ BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 138–4, 11 M 1275 (21 August 1858).

forests which belonged to the shipyard.⁵¹ The government focused on this issue, with concerns that the amount of forests the shipyard would benefit from, would decline, and that this would impede the shipyard jobs and the öşür tax on timber would be reduced. For this reason, the officers were asked to protect the forests and not to allow felling and the loss and wasting of the timber of the shipyard, and not to send out unlicensed lumber. It was also demanded that the forests should not have been given to tax farmer (*mültezim*) and that guards in the proper number should have been employed.⁵²

Another indecency happened regarding the forests was the illegal felling made in order to open fields for farming. It is possible to present numerous examples concerning this issue such as orders sent to administrators about the forest fires deliberately started to open fields for farming, from Rhodes in 1859,⁵³ and from various other places in 1853,⁵⁴ and the letter sent to the Menteşe district governorship in June 25, 1862 about the burning of large trees, from which the shipyard would benefit, in order to open up to farming upon a license obtained from the agricultural officials at Cezayir-i bahr-i sefid.⁵⁵ In order to prevent such damage, those who would like to make agricultural production in empty and rough places were required to follow the instructions given by the agricultural directors and the instructions to avoid damage to the trees for naval shipyard use, was constantly repeated.⁵⁶

Factors which Made Smuggling Easier

In fact, even in the forests of the Tersane-i amire, such illegal felling was recorded from the very early periods, and one of the main reasons for this was the large price differential between the prices determined by the state and the prices that were paid by the merchants.⁵⁷ In an atmosphere where market relations were more decisive, compared to the prices the state determined, it was very difficult for the local administrators to fulfill the orders of the central administration regarding the timber demand. As the trade in timber was very profitable, it was easy to find buyers, and the central administration could not properly control this trade, it was impossible to block the smuggling and intervene in this sector. Rich people who were in the business of timber trading bought the forest products such as timber, wood, tar and bitumen from their sellers for a low price and then sold them on with large profits. Under these circumstances, those people became poor and incurred debts.⁵⁸ Thus, the government strictly ordered that both these people and the *tabtacilar*, who provided timber for the armory and the shipyard, should be protected against such interventions.⁵⁹

Forests being close to the coasts was very important for the timber supply. Especially, tree felling and transporting the long tree trunks in quantity without damage, which were needed

⁵¹ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 132–26, 10 Ra 1278 (15 September 1861).

⁵² BOA, A.MKT.UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁵³ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37 Gurre-i B 1269 (1 April 1853); BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 17 B 1269 (26 April 1853).

⁵⁴ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46 (26 April 1853); BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37 Gurre-i B 1269 (1 April 1853).

⁵⁵ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 528–54, 27 Z 1278 (25 June 1862).

⁵⁶ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 25 Ra 1269 (6 January 1853).

⁵⁷ Dursun 2014, 53–4.

⁵⁸ The order sent to the *Mubassil, Cadi* and *Viceroy*s of *Alanya* about the villagers of the Dim community of *Alanya*, who were in a difficulty due to such interventions, ordering to delay their debts and to prevent anyone from interfering with their work; BOA, DVN. MHM, 3–14, 20 N 1262 (11 September 1846).

⁵⁹ BOA, A.AMD. 88–71 (1274); BOA, A.MKT.DV, 219–49, Lef 1, 26 § 1278 (26 February 1862).

for the construction of the ships, was very hard when the conditions of the period are considered. Due to this reason, transportation was carried out by sea, which was easier-faster and cheaper compared to transportation overland. For the transportation of the timber, cut from the mountains, to the sea, the rivers and streams, which existed in the places where the felling was made, had been used since antiquity, so that timber could be brought kilometers from the coast without effort.⁶⁰ However, contrary to the Black Sea,⁶¹ most of the running water that reaches the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea dries up in the summer and this caused transportation problems.⁶² When the conditions were not suitable, horses, donkeys and mules were used in transportation.⁶³

Anatolian coastlines are long, indented and close to the islands and this made the control of the coastal regions harder, but at the same time, made smuggling easier. Besides, there were various suitable points for ships to approach on this long coastline and this made all kinds of illegal portage possible.⁶⁴ At these desolate and deserted zones where there was no settlement, smugglers could cut and transport timber easily.⁶⁵ The Governor of Adana warned the government about the smuggling which took place along the province's 90 hours long coastline due to the absence of a patrol ship.⁶⁶ Likewise, the Lieutenant Governor of Teke complained that the piers and ports which were located along the Teke coasts that extended from Mekri township to İcel sanjak could not be checked. Consequently, both administrators asked for a patrol ship.⁶⁷ The district governor of Menteşe and the township assembly wrote up a text, dated May 29, 1858, about the implementation of a strict control over the coastal forest from where timber sourced.⁶⁸

Lawlessness and the corruption of the foresters and the poverty of the local people were most important factors which made such cooperation with the smugglers easier. People who had a draught animal or a wheel could agree with the smugglers and played an important role in the transportation of the felled timbers to the coast. For this reason, the government prepared a punishment instruction about boaters and barges who mediated in goods smuggling in July 28, 1860 and sent it to the local administrators in the provinces.⁶⁹ Consequently, the waggoneers who transported the smuggled timbers of the merchant Şidri from Chios to

⁶⁰ Meiggs 1983, 186; Although there was a carriage way, the timbers cut from the forest, which were 5–15 hours away from the sea, were brought to the coast via the Menderes stream. Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi, 101–2.

⁶¹ In Black Sea, almost every month of the year there is precipitation. This situation enabled the flow of rivers to be suitable for timber transportation. For this reason, it is not a coincidence to observe shipyards in the Eastern Black Sea that were rather established in the cities close to the mouths of streams (Alaçam 1982a, 179–80; 1982b, 224–43).

⁶² In the Mediterranean, the lowest level of running waters is observed in September–October. On the other hand, in the Aegean region, despite similar summer droughts, the lowest level is generally observed in August (Sachsischer 1935, 75; Akyol 1948–1949, 1–34; Erinç 1957, 99–100).

⁶³ Bozkurt 2001, 98–9.

⁶⁴ Beaufort 2002, 24.

⁶⁵ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁶⁶ BOA, DH.MKT, 1668–127, 27 S 1307 (23 October 1889); Gümüş 2012, 37.

⁶⁷ BOA, DH.MKT, 36–98; BOA, BEO, 435–32593, 11 M 1312 (15 July 1894), BOA, BEO, 450–33698, 3 S 1312 (6 August 1894).

⁶⁸ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁶⁹ This enactment was sent to places such as Trabzon, Canik, Sinop, Ordu, İzmir and Varna. BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 189–64, 9 M 1277 (28 July 1860).

the coast were arrested in 1862.⁷⁰ On the other hand, foresters could tolerate such corruption for their personal interests. For instance, although there was illegal felling in the forests which belonged to the shipyard of Düzce, the officials did not follow this decision and colluded.⁷¹ In some cases, tax farmers, responsible for the *öşür* tax on timber, could come to terms with the islanders and tolerated the illegal felling of timber.⁷² According to the Kaptan Paşa, who was in charge of the shipyard forests, it was important to investigate and prevent the destruction of forests, caused by the community engaged in the timber business, by administrative officials such as township directors.⁷³

One of the other inveterate problems related to the fight against smuggling was the lack of sufficient officials due to the state's fiscal problems. The İçel sanjak was always one of the centers of smuggling and the inadequate number of foresters is stated among those factors which increased the quantity of smuggling.⁷⁴ Besides, due to the length of the coastline, the places where smuggling activities happened, and the piers, the control of these was almost impossible.⁷⁵

Denunciations and Penalties

Denunciations

As in all forms of smuggling, denunciations played an important role in the capture and punishment of criminals in timber smuggling. For this reason, the government was generally informed about such activities through denunciations and the information given by local administrators. For example, forest officer Ömer Resmi and his two forest keeper friends informed that 40.000 timbers were about to be smuggled in Anamur by ships.⁷⁶ Another example shows that Hasan Bey, the District Governor of Köyceğiz, informed that the merchant⁷⁷ Kiga Bey, the District Governor of Samos island, reported the existence of vast amount of ship timber at the coast at Gavurköy which was attached to İzmir.⁷⁸ Likewise, upon a denunciation about the depredation of the forests at Anamur and Gülnar townships of İçel sanjak, various kinds of illegal timbers, more than 7.000 in number were found.⁷⁹ Regional administrators were employed to understand whether these denunciations were real or not, and to take the necessary actions. Thus, although merchant Hacı Mehmet Ağa declared that he cut the timbers for the restoration of the mosque, it was understood as a result of enquires that those timbers were for beams.⁸⁰ However, not every denunciation was real. For instance, the denunciation about another Hacı

⁷⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 19 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

⁷¹ A similar order was sent to the Kocaeli tax collector and the cadis of İznik as well. BOA, A.DVN, 21–43, 16 M 1263 (4 January 1847).

⁷² BOA, A.MKT.UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁷³ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14, 29 L 1273 (22 June 1857).

⁷⁴ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034–82, 04 C 1310 (24 December 1892).

⁷⁵ BOA, DH.MKT, 1489–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888).

⁷⁶ BOA, BEO, 190–14247, 19 Nisan 1309 (22 April 1893) lef. 1–2.

⁷⁷ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8, 20 C 1275 (25 January 1859).

⁷⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14.

⁷⁹ This smuggling activity was reported to central through a telegram dated to 4 July 1309 (18 July 1893) from Adana Province and in order to take necessary actions an order was sent to Ministry of Forestry and Mining dated to 4 M 311 (18 July 1893). BOA, BEO, 241–18023, 4 M 1311 (18 July 1893)

⁸⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8, 20 C 1275 (25 January 1859).

Mehmet Ağa, likewise from Köyceğiz township, which claimed that he had cut the timbers of the shipyard was groundless.⁸¹

In some cases, after the cutting, timbers were hidden at the coast to be transported at a suitable time and under proper conditions. A Greek merchant from Chios secretly brought 120 timbers which was suitable for the construction of ships from the state forests to the place called Değirmenaltı near the castle of Sultaniye. When it was reported that he would smuggle these timbers out of the country after the ships were loaded at night, all the timber that had been loaded on the ships was confiscated.⁸² Thus, due to the denunciation it became possible to put the timbers under protection that were worth 20.000 liras and were about to be smuggled via the sea route from İçel sanjak in 1889.⁸³

An investigation was carried out in Gavurdağı, attached to İzmir, due to the numerous ship timbers piled on the beach, and it was understood that they were to be sent to Syros island by the merchants of Chios for shipbuilding.⁸⁴ So indeed, it is observed that some islanders became specialized about subjects such as the provision and selling of some commercial goods. As a matter of fact, without such a specialization, the construction and sale of these ships which required large-scale cooperation and networking on the Greek islands could not be carried out so effectively. At the same time, the reasons why the islands were specialized in the production of certain types of ships was the ease they had in accessing the basic construction materials that shaped their experience and the networks of cooperation which provided this facility.

Penalties

As the status of the forests were different, based upon their ownership status in the Ottoman State, the legal and protective actions taken by the government changed as well.⁸⁵ The focus here is on the “shipyard” forests which are important for this subject. The Ottoman State considered naval needs a priority and was therefore very strict and protective in the preservation of the forests reserved for the shipyards and armory.⁸⁶ Those who harmed these forests were generally punished with penal servitude.⁸⁷ Firewood and construction timbers were allowed to be taken outside of the country based upon certain conditions. However, not only the foreign sale, but also the felling of timbers from which the shipyards benefited was strictly forbidden.⁸⁸

After the Tanzimat, modernization efforts were observed in all areas of the state. As a result of the regulations made in the area of forestry, the understanding and practices in this field also changed. However, with the regulations prepared in subsequent periods, the attempt was made to unite under a single administration the forests which were of different ownership

⁸¹ It was understood that Mehmet Ağa had 3 load timber and they were not suitable for the shipbuilding. *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 277–02, 7 § 1273 (2 April 1857).

⁸² *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 18 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

⁸³ *BOA*, DH.MKT. 1660–52, 27 M 1307 (23 September 1889).

⁸⁴ *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 286–14.

⁸⁵ Forests were separated into 3 main groups in accordance with the terrain they were on; state, waqf and property. For detailed information see Koç 2005, 233; the forest from which people met their needs free of charge were called “*Cibal-i Mübaba*.” (Birben 2010).

⁸⁶ Continuous orders were sent to local administrators regarding the protection of these forests. *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 42–33, 9 S 1267 (14 December 1850).

⁸⁷ Forests belonging to the shipyard were not allowed to be used for the needs of people, nor for commercial purposes until they lost these qualities. Koç 1999, 147.

⁸⁸ *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 427–17, Gurre-i S 1277 (25 August 1860) lef. 1.

status, including the shipyard forests. Therefore, the penalties and their methods changed. According to the Forest Regulation of 1870, if those who harmed the forests were Ottoman subjects, they were judged by the Nizamiye Court.⁸⁹ If they were of Greek origin, they applied to the Greek consulates. Because, according to the treaties signed with Greece, the state from which goods were smuggled had the right to impose the penalty determined according to the laws of that country and the relevant consuls or representatives in that place would be informed.⁹⁰ An investigation would be carried out with an official from the consulate and, if necessary, the goods would be confiscated.⁹¹ If the consulate did not charge an official, Ottoman officials would have sole responsible.⁹² Consuls and their deputies were not really keen on cooperation on these subjects and sometimes such reluctance was also recorded in the Ottoman documents.⁹³

Sometimes, the process of lawsuits was prolonged, and therefore fines were imposed because of the possibility that the illegal timber could be damaged. On the other hand, the timbers confiscated were sold and put into a subdivision of the treasury. For instance, Ali Rıza Efendi and Açıkbâş Yordan Ağa, timber merchants from Antalya, had illegally cut 187 meters and 687 cubic decimeter of pine timbers and they were fined 85 liras in cash, each meter calculated as 45 piastre, by the İzmir Trial Court.⁹⁴ Moreover, according to the cadaster technicians, these timbers, which were exposed for 3 years, were about to be decayed. It was decided that, this fine should be paid to the Teke Subdivision of the Treasury. The amount to be put into the treasury as a result of sales and the criminal action was about 19.000 piastre.⁹⁵ 838 illegal trees, which were recovered in Rhodes, were sold and the money was transferred to a subdivision of the treasury.⁹⁶ Likewise, on July 24, 1895, Hacı Ali Efendi, timber merchant from Antalya, had felled more than was specified in his felling license and the reason for the compensation settled as 65 lira was to the benefit of the treasury.⁹⁷

Fines covered not only the timbers, but also other forest products such as woods, pine bark, and charcoal. Thus, when the ships loaded with smuggled pine bark were captured at İçel in 1891, their captains were fined 5.100 gurus.⁹⁸ In fact, such applications show that the government acted itself almost like a seller of timber products, rather than punishing such crimes. Besides, when the types and the application methods of the penalties are examined, there is the impression that the government benefited fiscally from these crimes, rather than seeing them as penal sanctioning. Nevertheless, the method followed was a pragmatic solution to the existing problems. In this way, both the timbers recovered were prevented from decaying and the fiscal penalties contributed to the treasury. The idea of conferring the administration of

⁸⁹ Cin 1978, 320.

⁹⁰ BOA, HR.İD.810–26.3, 7 M 1275 (17 August 1858)

⁹¹ BOA, HR.İD.810–26.2.

⁹² BOA, HR.İD.810–28.3, 3 June 1284 (15 June 1868)

⁹³ This situation was also reported to the Greek Embassy, since the consul of the Chania consul had been insensitive about the punishment of the person who smuggled goods to Crete. BOA, A.MKT.UM, 148–32, 27 S 1270 (29 November 1853).

⁹⁴ BOA, BEO, 582–43595, lef. 1.

⁹⁵ BOA, BEO, 582–43595, lef. 3; For the writing of *Meclis-i Mabsusa* about this direction dated to 29 Ş 1312 (25 February 1895) see. BOA, BEO, 582–43595, lef. 2.

⁹⁶ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37.

⁹⁷ The order sent to the Ministry of Forestry and Mining, BOA, BEO, 662–49583, Gurre-i Safer 1313 (July 1895)

⁹⁸ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034–82.

forests and mines, which were considered to be the major sources of income, to the treasury in 1867 was perhaps one of the most concrete indications of the state's approach to generating income for the treasury from the forests.⁹⁹

Another important point regarded those timbers captured was the issue of whether these timbers could be used by the tersane-i Amire or not. If the timbers captured were suitable for the shipyard, such as the smuggled timbers of the Greek Hristaki¹⁰⁰ and the merchant Şidri from Chios,¹⁰¹ they were purchased and transferred to İstanbul. If not, they were auctioned in their province, as stated above.¹⁰²

What made the penalties given by New Forest regulations more systematic, detailed and persuasive was the detailed classification and description of the crimes. Hence, 13 villagers were sentenced to imprisonment for 7-15 days as they had harmed trees and plants which were natural or grafted. The local authorities who tolerated the crime were warned.¹⁰³ It was decided that those who harmed the state, people or the shipyard would be punished in accordance with the criminal code.¹⁰⁴ Crimes' being committed before or after the new regulations determined the penalty to be given. As a matter of fact, timbers of the merchant Hacı Mehmet Ağa were confiscated because he had cut wood from the forest belonging to the shipyard in the Menteşe sanjak. However, Mehmet Ağa was given permission to return to his hometown because the mentioned tree felling took place before the new law and there was no clarity in the old laws. It was stated that such crimes would be punished in accordance with the new law.¹⁰⁵

The Problem of Coastal Regulation or Nonregulation

Assigning a steamer in order to protect the coasts and fight against all kinds of smuggling activities made things easier for the local administrators. Thus, the government gave order in this direction to crew members, who were responsible for the protection of the coasts, in order to prevent illegal timber transportation. During their coastal patrols, the steamers sometimes caught smugglers in the very act, and in some cases, they were sent to the area as a result of denunciations. The steamer Hayrettin, which was responsible for the protection of the Adana coasts, ran into ships loaded with pine bark in Anamur and Kızılkilise in 1891 and it was understood as a result of the investigation that the load was illegal, because, the Melez Pier, Yumurtalık and its vicinity attached to Anamur, were among those areas from which forest products were being smuggled.¹⁰⁶

Likewise, another smuggling case took place two years later and this incident reveals the problems caused by the lack of steamers from which Ottoman suffered regarding coastal security. The Hayrettin steamer which had been assigned to the Adana province was employed

⁹⁹ BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 382–60, 17 M 1284 (21 May 1867).

¹⁰⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 154–48, 20 C 1270 (20 March 1854).

¹⁰¹ Out of the 120 timbers captured, 83 were sent to İstanbul upon the order of Kaptan Paşa. BOA, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 19 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

¹⁰² Concerning the money given to Greek Hristiko as a return for the timbers he had cut paying the fee; BOA, A.MKT.UM, 154–48, 20 C 1270 (20 March 1854).

¹⁰³ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37, 13 B 1275 (16 February 1859).

¹⁰⁴ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 25 Ra 1269 (6 January 1853).

¹⁰⁵ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8.

¹⁰⁶ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034–82; BOA, DH.MKT, 50–27, Lef. 9, 10, 14 Ra 1311 (25 September 1893).

for another problem, and therefore nothing much done to interdict the sailboats loading the timber stored on the shores. Consequently, another steamer was asked to be sent to the province, even for just a temporary period.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the government, in a response to the Teke Lieutenant's demand for an exclusive steamer in February 18, 1890, emphasized the inadequacy of the number of steamers and tried to solve the problem by expanding the mission area of the other steamers in such a way as to cover the Teke Sanjak.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the advisory committee in Meclis-i Vala, stated that the crew members of the ships assigned in the region would direct their attention to their original mission and so that they could not pay the required attention to the orders regarding the protection of the forests.¹⁰⁹

Smuggling also meant a decline in some tax revenue. As there was no tax guard at the Kazıklı, Germe, Gümüşlük, Gökabad and Taraça piers, which were attached to the İzmir tax office, there was a quantity of illegal timber trade transacted at these piers.¹¹⁰ For this reason, the steamers, which were in the employ of governors and lieutenant governors near İzmir, were asked to control Lesbos, Ayvalık, Çeşme, Chios, Kuşadası, Bodrum, Rhodes, Köyceğiz, Mekri and the Antalya coasts respectively.¹¹¹ In fact, the absence of guards caused smuggling problems not only due to the long and indented coastline and islands, but also in areas proximate to the capital İstanbul, such as from Üsküdar, Beyoğlu and Galata.¹¹²

The government charged 23 available steamers with the protection of the various coastal areas¹¹³ and, as they were always on the move, it was costly. For this reason, expanding the duty area of the steamers, which had been assigned to protect any coast, did not mean the reduction of costs, even if it reduced the problem of an inadequate number of the steamers. Because, in that century, due to the coal shortage and high costs of the Ottoman State, existing steamers could not even reach their original places of duty.¹¹⁴

It would be unfair to describe the islands as places that did not follow the orders and demands of the government and violated the law when it comes to timber. They could turn into brave actors, from which the government would ask help, due to their maritime abilities and variety of ships. Thus, for the transportation of the timbers from the Köyceğiz vicinity, which were required for the construction of 3 ships at Suez, ships were hired from Symi and Megisti. These ships were also important for the Ottoman State regarding the transportation of soldiers and the provisions.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ *BOA*, DH.MKT. 50–27, Lef. 9, 10, 14 Ra 1311 (25 September 1893).

¹⁰⁸ The Chania steamer at Rhodes and the Hayrettin steamer at Adana were to be sent to Teke in case of need. *BOA*, DH.MKT, 36–98; *BOA*, BEO, 435–32593, *BOA*, BEO, 450–33698.

¹⁰⁹ *BOA*, İ.MVL, 391–17058, 10 R 1274 (28 November 1857) lef. 4

¹¹⁰ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 148–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888); see examples of other lawlessness in these regions, see Duggan 2019.

¹¹¹ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 1489–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888).

¹¹² *BOA*, İ.MVL, 579–25992, lef. 1; It was assigned to Rüşumat Emaneti (Institution which was responsible for the regulation of customs and officials there) for the regulation of the salaries. 12 C 1284 (11 October 1867)

¹¹³ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 36–98; *BOA*, BEO, 435–32593, *BOA*, BEO, 450–33698.

¹¹⁴ Gencer 1986, 19–32; Quatert 2009, 347–50; Quatert 2011. 60.

¹¹⁵ *BOA*, C.BH, 81–3897, 24 Ra 1159 (16 April 1746).

Conclusion

While studying the timber smuggling carried out to the Mediterranean islands or other lands, from the Anatolian coasts, the main focus has generally been on being islands or islanders.¹¹⁶ We think that it would be better to interpret being an island or an islander with regard to the essential relation formed between mainland-islands and islands-islands rather than unilateral conventional themes such as “isolation” or “dependence”. Thus, these islands on the world of water and under the rule of different states have continued to be both part of a state and to maintained their individuality due to their different connections and activities with various places.¹¹⁷ With the expression of Braudel; no island can be sure about its life the day after by its very nature of being an island,¹¹⁸ this relation-connection network among these islands both with each other and the mainland was the most important element for their continual existence.¹¹⁹

Particularly within the conjuncture of the 19th century, we can consider the shipping and timber activities of the islanders, as detailed above, on the basis of a relationship, beyond definitions such as “dependence” and “isolation,” and which changes according to time and conditions. Along with their dependence on Anatolia in terms of timber, the fact that the centralized control, which was already weak, was not able to control these areas sufficiently, was another factor that increased their isolation. On the other hand, this situation made it easier for the islanders to be involved in illegal actions such as unauthorized shipbuilding and timber smuggling, of which the government did not approve. As they are related to each other, illegal shipbuilding and timber smuggling have always been combined together in official correspondence concerning the subject. Despite the governments’ various measures and approaches concerning this issue, the conditions current in the 19th c. negatively influenced their effective application.

We can state that pressure of consumption on those areas of the Anatolian forests¹²⁰ in which illegal felling and transportation of illegally felled timber was possible and were exposed to such smuggling activities, continued beyond the 19th c. In the subsequent period, despite the production of iron ships from the 19th century onwards as a result of industrialization, the relationship between shipbuilding and timber has never vanished. This relationship has continued until pit coal replaced charcoal in 18th century for the melting of metal (iron) required for some parts of ships and their cannons.¹²¹ Moreover, as industrialization did not develop at an equal rate in all parts of the world, wooden ships continued to be built into the 20th century along the Anatolian coasts and on the islands. At present, the use of wood as a part of modern habits of consumption continues its considerable pressure upon the forests.

¹¹⁶ About the idea that a more dynamic conception, based on changing conditions, is needed to define the islands, rather than dependence and isolation explanations which are not explicit see. Hadjikyriacou 2017, xi.

¹¹⁷ Asdrachas 2017, 6–18.

¹¹⁸ Braudel 1989, 90.

¹¹⁹ Kopaka 2009, 183.

¹²⁰ According to the 2017 forest inventory the total forest land in Turkey is about 22,342 million hectares with about 482,391 hectares of cedar. Orman Atlası 2017, 11.

¹²¹ McNeil 2003, 399.

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BOA, A.MKT.UM, 277–02, 7 April 1857 (1273 Ş 7)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 280–13, 21 April 1857 (1273 Ş 26)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 283–85, 7 June 1857 (1273 L 14)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14, 22 June 1857 (1273 L 29)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 427–17, 19 August 1860 (1277 S Gurre)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 314–90, 29 May 1858 (1274 L 15)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8, 25 January 1859 (1275 C 20)

BOA, A.MKT.UM, 528–54, 25 June 1862 (1278 Z 27)

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