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**Aquaculture And Trade In The Eyalet Of The Archipelago  
(Eyālet-i Cezāyir-i Baħr-i Sefid in Ottoman Turkish) (1815 -1910)  
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti'nde Su Ürünleri ve Ticareti  
(1815 -1911)**

Arzu BAYKARA TAŞKAYA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract**

One of the most important provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the Eyalet of the Archipelago had sanjaks consisting of the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Rhodes and Chios. The island of Samos, which had a special administration in the geography within the borders of the province, was also included in our subject. The majority of the population in the province was non-Muslim. Although the boundaries changed over time, the aquaculture products we have described have been handled in the area covering this geography. Sponge fishing was the most problematic issue, with fishing and coral hunting taking a back seat. Due to sponge diving activities, machine breaking activities similar to the Cartism movement in England took place on the island of Symi and Kalymnos, and this situation was brought to court. Illegal fishing and fishing with damaging materials such as dynamite and flares are other documents reflected in the archive. The fish revenues of the islands of Chios and Lemnos were managed by way of a tax on fish, and the fish taxes were called "*sayd- mahi*". On the grounds that the state was incurring losses from this business, it resorted to taxing the fish revenues. Fish farms, on the other hand, were mostly concentrated in the sanjak of Lesbos and the state received income from these areas as well. Concessions were usually granted to foreigners for the operation of coral fishing and diving. Although the borders have changed today, the answers to the question of what types of fishery products are fished in the Sea of Islands and which methods are used have also been tried to be given. More than a hundred documents, some ledgers and telegraph records in the Ottoman archive of the Prime Ministry, which constitute the main source of our article, have been examined; the fishing - coral fishing, sponge fishing and diving within the borders of the province have been described in detail.

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**Keywords:** Eyalet of The Archipelago, Fisheries, Fishponds, Concessions, Prohibitions And Taxation

### Öz

Osmanlı Devleti'nin en önemli vilayetlerinden biri olan Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti Limni, Midilli, Rodos ve Sakız adalarından meydana gelen sancaklara sahiptir. Vilayetin sınırları içindeki coğrafyada bulunan özel bir idaresi olan Sisam Adası ayrıca konumuza dahil edilmiştir. Vilayetteki nüfusun çoğunluğunun gayri Müslimlerden oluştuğunu görüyoruz. Sınırları zaman içinde değişiklik göstermekle beraber anlattığımız su ürünleri bu coğrafyayı kapsayan alanda ele alınmıştır. Süngercilik en fazla sıkıntı yaşanan konu olmuş, balıkçılık ve mercan avcılığı bu anlamda arka planda kalmıştır. Süngercilik faaliyetleri nedeniyle Sömbeki adasında ve Kalimnoz adasında İngiltere'deki Cartizm hareketine benzeye makine kırıcılık faaliyetleri yaşanmış, bu durum mahkemeye taşınmıştır. Balık avcılığında kaçak balık avlama ve dinamit- fişek gibi zarar verici malzemelerle balık avlama da arşive yansıyan diğer evraklardır. Sakız, Limni adasının balık gelirleri iltizama verilerek işletilmekte balık vergileri "sayd- mahi" olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Devlet bu işten zarar ettiği gerekçesiyle balık gelirlerini iltizama verme yoluna gitmiştir. Balık çiftlikleri ise en fazla Midilli sancağında yoğunlaşmış ve devlet bu alanlardan da gelir temin etmiştir. Mercan avcılığının ve dalyanların işletilmesi amacıyla genellikle yabancılara imtiyaz verilmiştir. Bugün sınırları değişmesine rağmen Adalarda Denizinde ne tipte su ürünleri avlanmakta ve hangi yöntemler kullanılmakta bu sorunun cevapları da verilmeye çalışılmıştır. Yazımızın temel kaynağının oluşturan Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivindeki yüzden fazla evrakla, bazı defter ve telgraf kayıtları incelenmiş; vilayetin sınırları içinde yer alan balıkçılık -mercan avcılığı, süngercilik ve dalyanlar en ince ayrıntısına kadar anlatılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti, Su Ürünleri, Dalyanlar, İmtiyazlar, Yasaklar, Vergilendirme.

### Introduction

One of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Eyalet of the Archipelago, which was composed entirely of islands and where non-Muslims were the majority in terms

of population, had sanjaks consisting of the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Rhodes, and Chios (Baykara Taşkaya, 2022: 513-541)<sup>2</sup>. In our previous article, we have described the sponge fishing activities on the island of Symi in Rhodes, which is also located in the same province (Arzu Baykara Taşkaya, 2022: 51-78). In our article, the ledgers, documents, and telegraph records in more than a hundred documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives were examined, and the fisheries, sponge fishing and diving within the borders of the province were tried to be explained using archival documents, state annals and foreign statistics.

The lack of agricultural land in many of the islands within the province led the people to fisheries. The information given by Cuinet also confirms us (Cuinet, 1891:361-400-402-442-456-474).

*"Astropolia is almost entirely dependent on fishing, while the industry of Kashot Islanis based on fish, sponge and coral fishing. Named after Karpalhos, the Carpathian Sea was famous for the scarus creiensis & The Grecian Parrot-fish, a fish that was sought after at the table of the rich in the time of Pliny and that Emperor Claudius managed to introduce to the Italian seas. The corals fished around here are also very valuable. The main industries of Astypalaia Island are based on fishing and the marvelously beautiful horse breeding. In antiquity, the snails of Astypalaia had a great reputation as a dominant remedy against certain gynecological diseases, sore throats, stomach aches and hemoptysis. Off the coast of the island of Lesbos, excellent fish and good shellfish of various kinds are caught, as well as sponges. In the Gulf of Kalonia, about 60,000 kilograms of sardines are caught every year, the quality of which is universally recognized (1303 Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti Salnamesi, 179). The inhabitants of the town of Molova, also in Lesbos, are mainly interested in fishing, which is very abundant there.*

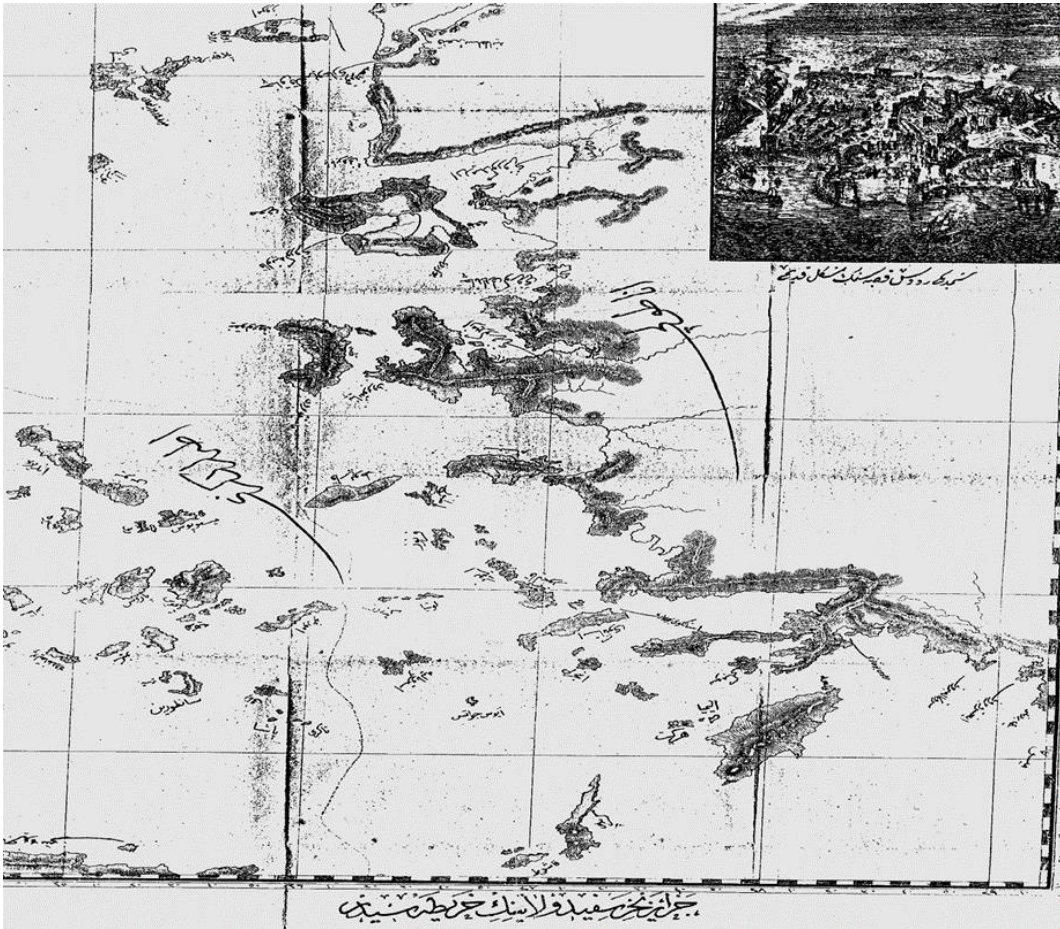
Various regulations issued during the Ottoman period stand out in terms of legislation. The first of these was *Dersâdet and Bilâd-ı Selâse* (Galata, Üsküdar, Eyüp the Regulation on the Export of Mussels and Oysters in) issued in 1871. The oyster areas were divided into nine zones, where only the owners or tithers and those who had been issued a permit by the fish market could fish. After the establishment of

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<sup>2</sup> For other studies on the province: Örenç, 1995; Habibzade Rodoslu Ahmet Kemal, 1996; Sannav, 2004; Ünver, 2012; Ünen, 2013.



the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyun-u Umumiye İdaresi*), provisions were made regarding the Istanbul Fish House and its affiliated institutions in the Regulation on the *Dersaadet ve Tevâbii Balıkhane Administration* in 1882. The second regulation for the fisheries sector is dated January 18, 1926. With this law, an addition was made to the *Zabita-i Saydiye Regulation* on the protection of fish, and it was forbidden to fish in the seas, lakes and streams by throwing dynamite and similar bombs or by using harpoons with instruments that emit strong light at night. Those who committed this act were subject to fines and imprisonment. Another important development concerning the sector in the same year was the adoption of the Cabotage Law. Article 3 of this law, adopted on April 19, 1926, granted only Turkish citizens the right to extract fish, oysters, mussels, sponges, pearls, corals, mother-of-pearl, etc. within Turkish territorial waters (Tuna, 2017: 89 -92)



**Map 1: Eyalet of the Archipelago (1310 Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti Salnamesi: 257)**

## 1- Fishponds and Fishing "Fish catch tax (Sayd- Mahi Rüsümü)"

### a) Fishponds

Fishponds are one of the oldest fishing methods in the world. This fishing method was used throughout the Mediterranean Sea and the Strait of Gibraltar and constituted the first industrial fishery in this region (Biçer - Yıldız- Uzer- Karakulak, 2020: 125-133; Doğan, 2011: 39-57; Uluskan 2015: 535-546). Nowhere in the world has it been an easy task to build a fishpond. Fishponds were only built on the fish passage. On the other hand, 15 to 25 crew members were needed to operate the fishponds. In addition to all maintenance costs, the owner had to provide rations for these workers. If a dive was established in a bad location, the owner may have lost money. Establishing such equipment required not only financial resources but also experience and expertise. "*Voli*" places, which were suitable for establishing Fishponds, belong to their owners, who own the title deeds of these places, similar to land and real estate. Before setting up a fishpond, the fishpond site had to be purchased and rented (Deveciyan, 2020: 316-317)<sup>3</sup>

The first attempt to build a fishpond on the island of Lesbos was dated May 8, 1892 (10 Shawwal 1309) and was related to the question of whether there was any objection to the establishment of the aforementioned diving dock since there was a suitor to establish a fishpond in the places named Yaramkadya and Istefano on Yunda Island. The case was referred from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the internal affairs department of the Council of State, and the legal counselor's office was also asked to examine the case. Since the suitors were not known exactly, in the documents dated August 9, 1892 (15 Muharrem 1310) written to the naval and financial supervision, it was stated that a person named Ali from *Dersaadet* (Gate of Felicity) and two people named Hacı Apostol Dimitri Kafadru from the neighborhood were suitors (BOA, İ. DH.. 1274 – 100178). The legal advisory office of the *Babiali* (Sublime Porte) was asked to examine whether the individuals were Ottoman subjects or not. (BOA, BEO 47 – 3519 and BOA, BEO 2 – 84). As a result of the examination, the Legal Advisory Office found it appropriate to give the fishponds to individuals (BOA, BEO-2-7-2). It would be ensured that a fishpond would be established by

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<sup>3</sup> For Fishponds: Günalan, 2009: 17-27.

means of pole stones in three locations, one side of Ayvalık strait and the other side of Betraki cape, opposite Apoşi Yaramkadya in Ayvalık district. The situation was written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago and *Hüdavendigâr* (also known as Bursa) Provinces and it was stated that the sloop should be auctioned and that it should be operated in this way. It was requested to inform the General Directorate of Debt with a memorandum dated July 3, 1892 (7 Zilhicce 1309). (BOA, BEO-2-7-3). As there are no other documents, we do not know the status of the concession.

In a document dated July 14, 1892 (H 18 Zilhicce 1309), İsmail Hakkı Bey, Deputy General Counsel of *Dersaadet İstinaf Müddei-i Umumi*, asked for a concession to clear two swamps in the gulfs of Yera and Kaloniye on the island of Lesbos, to make them suitable for cultivation and to establish new fishpond subject to fish tax. The concession was to be granted for a period of 50 years and it was thought that 40-50 thousand akçe would be spent for the planned location in order to prevent deaths caused by diseases caused by the swamps in the region, but it was stated that the duration of the concession was not suitable for this work. Since it was thought that it would take a long time to drain the swamp, the concession was requested to be for 70 years; the situation was referred to the officers of the science consultancy (BOA, ŞD. 1195 – 3) In the contract and specifications issued by the Council of *Nafia* upon the documents given to the person and sent to the Council of State, which was presented to the Sublime Porte, it was requested that the clearing of the marshes should not be delayed. It was also stated that postponing this cleanup would be unacceptable and that the community would continue to fish in the area (BOA, ŞD. 1195 – 3-14). In the examination made on the documents dated July 1892 (29 Zilhicce 1309) dated July 1892 (29 Zilhicce 1309), which were written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, the report written to the Tanzimat Department of the Council of State was sent from the *meclis-i mahsusü vükela* (Council of Ministers). For the concession to be granted to the person in the mentioned gulfs, it was stated to examine whether the swamp was thoroughly cleaned and to report the situation. Again, it was requested that the calculation of the distance of 100 meters and the fact that the people continue fishing at this distance should not be made a subject of complaint. Since it was known in the documents written to the Ministry of the Eyalet of the Archipelago that the authority to collect and receive fish taxes in the country belonged to the

General Directorate of Public Debt, the matter was asked to be transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs after the situation was asked here (Velay, 1978:281- BOA, BEO 38 - 2844). The establishment of a fishpond in the bay on the island was given to the person. The contract-specification statement dated 10 November 1892 (19 Rebiülahir 1310) was given to the Ministry of Finance with the documents sent to the Tanzimat Department of Council of State. Although the granting of a concession to the individual was included in the contract, during the ratification of the contract, an examination was made and it was requested by the Commissioner of Ottoman Public Debt Administration to include in the agreement that the marshes be held by the individual for one year (BOA, MV. 72- 23) With this concession, the Midilli Swamp and Fishpond Company was also established.

The matter was asked to the Grand Vizier since there was a problem in purchasing the rubber pipes and electrical tools they brought for the fishing business in Lesbos Island, where Hakkı Bey and the Georgian Company, one of the Assistant General Managers of the Gate of Felicity Court of Appeal, and the Georgian Company were jointly privileged. In the document sent by the Minister of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Finance, it was stated that the telegram report came upon the situation in which the emirate of taxes was asked. Although it can be used in fishing and various jobs, where the mentioned tool consists of a float, it was not possible to predict whether it would be harmful to purchase, so it was requested to examine whether there was a condition in the contract and sent it to the Commissioner of Ottoman Public Debt Administration. In the document dated February 4, 1895 (8 Shaban 1312), no response was received to the memorandum written by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, which was asked to the treasury for examination, and it was requested that a decision be taken as a result of the examination carried out, according to the decision made by Council of Ministers upon the certificate issued by the Tanzimat Office of Council of State. Due to the fact that this was an important situation, it was stated that the letter received from the telegraph and postal supervision would be sent after the matter was notified to the emirate of taxes by sending the documents about the Lesbos *sayd-ı mahi* privilege given in the document sent nine days later (BOA, DH.MKT. 292- 73 ve BOA,ŞD. / 585 – 20-9). In the document dated 11 November 1897 (30th Dec. 1313), it was stated that the rubber pipe and electrical equipment, which were thought to be

brought for fishing in the place where they were jointly privileged on the island, would not be allowed (BOA, BEO 765 - 57335). In the document dated August 1905 (August 13, 1321), it was stated that İsmail Hakkı Bey, who had received the privilege of draining the swamps in Lesbos to the Ministry of Trade and Public Works, did not fulfill the conditions in the contract and this situation prevented the revenue of the *sayd-ı mahi* taxes. It was stated that the memorandum given by the General Directorate of Public Debt regarding the need for annulment of the contract was sent, and the 500 coins were left to the state, and the situation was sent to the Izmir Department of General Directorate of Public Debt Commissioner (BOA, BEO 2651 - 198796)<sup>4</sup>. After thirteen years of operation, this fishpond was dissolved in 1907.

Another idea for the establishment of a fishpond was on the island of Yunda, opposite the island of Lesbos. In the document dated October 24, 1894 (23 Rabuilahir 1312), Andriya and Suleyman, subjects of the Republic of Turkey, asked for permission to build a fishpond in accordance with the conditions agreed upon in order to fish in the area called Soğan Island dolap, adjacent to Yunda Island in the sanctuary of Lesbos. The concession would be used for a period of 20 years, after which it would be transferred to the treasury at an appropriate price together with all kinds of tools. The individuals wrote a petition and reported their situation to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. In the document dated September 7, 1894 (6 Rebiülevvel 1312), as a result of the negotiations with General Directorate of Public Debt, the construction of a fishpond was not approved on the grounds that it would interfere with the fishing of the ships and disrupt the sea trade. Instead, it was requested that if a diving dive was opened in Kulelipapa, which was suitable for this business, an income of 5000, 6000 would be obtained, and that a fee of 5.000 for each year of the first five years, 7.5 for each year of the second year, 10 for each year of the third five years, and 15.000 for each year of the fourth year would be collected as income other than this tax (*icare-yi zemin*). In case of approval from the individuals, it was requested that the costs be collected from the parties for up to ten years in accordance with the provisions of Article 28 of the Regulations of the *Zabriye Saydı*, which regulates lakes and dives, and it was stated that this situation, which acted contrary to the "*icarat regulation*",

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<sup>4</sup> For a detailed review on this topic: Ünver, 2012: 429-440.

would lead to great expenses and that it was not consented to the reduction of the concession period. Although various places in Yunda and Ayvalık were notified, it was deemed appropriate to examine whether the persons who were not interested in this business were Ottoman citizens or not, and to grant a license for the tender of the fishpond even though it was not entrusted to the treasury, and the situation was referred to the Ministry of Finance (BOA, İ. ML.. 12- 57).

Again, İsmail Hakkı Bey, together with one of his partners, applied for another concession. One year before the concession was requested, the Ministry of Finance sent a document to the Council of State requesting the Ministry of Navy to examine whether there would be any obstacles due to the diversions, as this bay was also home to ships taking shelter during stormy times. In the examination, it was stated that the fishponds will not be an obstacle to the ships. In the document dated 4 September 1901 (20 Cemazievvel 1319) written to the Ministry of Finance and the Navy, it was requested to establish fishpond on the land called Çalı Kuyu, which was located between Yunda and the inner sea border of Patrice Bay, within the C(Y)unda Island Dolap and Metro vineyard of Lesbos. İsmail Hakkı Bey and Anderya, a resident of the island of Cunda, were requested to be granted a license for a period of twenty years to build fishpond and do fishing and to transfer all kinds of equipment of the dives to the treasury by paying 3000 kuruş tax (*icare-yi zemin*) to the treasury every year from 20% regular tax and after the completion of the required period of time. The specification on this matter was submitted to the Ministry of Finance and to *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Ottoman Imperial Council), on the condition that the person would not purchase contrary tools and equipment by applying the provisions of the Zabıta-yı Saydiye Regulation. The document on this matter was sent to the ministry again (BOA, BEO 1719 – 128851 and İ.MVL,45-41-6)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> See Also Annex 3



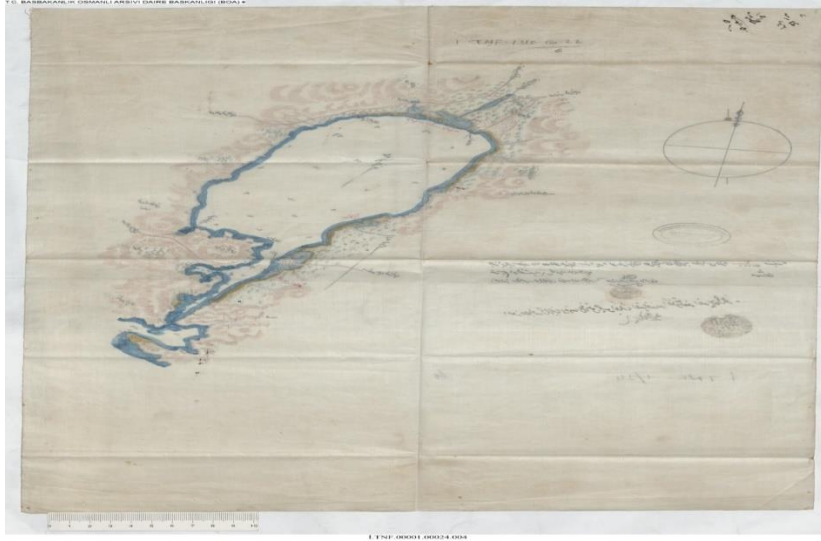
**Map 2:** Çalı Kuyu Fishpond on the Zerahi and Gereni Border in the Gulf of Patrice

Between 1872 and 1878, as stated in the petition of Yorgi, the Mültezim of Lesbos Fishpond, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the three fishponds in the Gulf of Lesbos were requested to be removed despite the fact that they brought nearly 2 loads of income to the treasury. It was stated that more revenue would be generated by cleaning the harbor, and it was found more reasonable to remove the diversions and clean the harbor by spending 100 thousand piasters (BOA, ŞD, 2341-25-ŞD,2892-2-7).

In the document dated August 3, 1848 (3 Ramadan 1264), it was stated that a license was granted for a period of five years from the beginning of May 64 until the end of 69 for two fishpond to be built in front of the villages of Kondivil and Manderoz and the town of Beşir oğlu in Lemnos Island by spending 35.000 kuruş. After the

completion of the work, the land was given to the treasury and it was stated that there were examples of this type of construction before. After the necessary examinations were carried out by the treasury, the situation was sent to the ministry of finance after the treasury realized that more than 15,000 kuruş would come to the treasury as income after five years. It was stated that the land in the town of Beşir Ağa was not included in the *hassa-yı humayun* and that it would be beneficial to collect this tax on behalf of the state, as another tax was levied on fishing in Gate of Felicity and various other places. It was also reported whether this place was suitable for the construction of a fishpond and the situation was referred to the Ministry of Trade. The report sent to the Council of Agriculture was sent to the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) (BOA, A.} AMD. 5- 34). In the document dated February 8, 1850 (25 Rebiülevvel 1266), it was requested that the fishing concession in the ports of Kondivil and Manderoz on the island of Lemnos be granted for a period of five years starting from the 10th day of August in the year 1264, to the *zimmis* (non-muslim subject in the ottoman empire) named Konbenaki and Yuvan, and to be tendered to the treasury after five years. As of 1850/1266, the tax would be subject to auction by the *Meclis-i Maarif* (an office under the Ministry of Education). It was stated that the names and reputations of the suitors for the auction would be taken, and if there were no more suitors, the ministry would be administered in trust and the authority would be given to the treasury. A letter was sent to the parliamentary finance office by the island district governor, and it was requested that the mandate be issued (BOA, C..NF.. 56,2752) The document written to the Ministry of Finance for granting concessions to the same persons, dated 25 December 1850 (20 Safar 1267), was presented with a parliamentary mandate. It was decided that the fishponds in front of Beşir Oğlu town would be costly due to the fact that they were built on the slope, and that all the fishponds should be handed over to the state with all their equipment, and that the annual price of 500 kuruş and 800 kuruş collected from the revenue of the year 65 should be taken against the price( BOA, İ..DH.. / 226 – 13544). The granting of the concession was the result of a nearly two-year review.





**Map 3:** Island of Lesbos, Cologne Bay Swamp Area (BOA, İ.TNF. / 1 – 24).

**b- Fisheries and Tax Farming "Sayd-i Mahi Tax"**

The state decided to give tax farming income from the fish incomes of Chios, Lesbos, and Lemnos on the grounds that it caused damage (Genç, 2000: 154-158) <sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Although the Aegean Sea is rich in coves and gulfs, it is a sea where fishing activities are limited due to the narrow and rough bottom of the continental shelf. This place is very rich in terms of species, just like the Mediterranean. The share of the Aegean Sea in marine fish production is around 9%. Sekizinci

.We can define the state as an element consisting of legal and/or shar'î tax elements generally limited to a certain place. The practice of mukātaa is to pay taxation in return for a certain annual price that is open to competition, usually determined by auction, and a portion of which is requested to be paid in advance. This transaction is the transfer of a reliable surety to tax collectors who will accept the profit and loss as their own for a limited period of time. It was stated in the document dated July 22, 1800 (29 Safer 1215) that the fish crops caught in the lakes of Lesbos Island caused damage to the lakes and that they were asked to file a tax farm in order to be given to the treasury (BOA, C.. ML.. 742 – 30237). Another document is about the notification made to the minister of finance for the tender of the animal tax (*adet-i ağnam*), fish tax and income tax of Cyprus, Rhodes, Bozcaada, some sanjaks and districts of 1858/1859 - 1274.( BOA,A. }AMD. / 88 – 65).

Chios was another sanjak whose fish income was given to tax farming. In certain periods, fish revenues were given to the tax farming. A document dated December 2, 1815 (29 Zilhicce 1230) stated that the one-third (*sülüs*) share of the fishpond tax in Chios and its subordinate (*tevabi*) mukata belonging to Mehmed Şakir Efendi, the head of the Enderun Treasury, was given to him in return for all his receivables, but the fee for the part of the share received in advance (*muaccele*) was a large amount. It was stated that there would be a discount, since no one had a suitor so far. An annual fee of 1339.5 kurus was requested for the fishpond. The one-third (*sülüs*) share of the Chios mukataa became vacant after the departure of Aziz pasha, and with the new increase, 24.000 kurus was asked to be given to the parties. The collection share of Arif Agha Muğla sanjak and its related mukataa was provided to be included here with the prepayment (*muaccele*) price of 9000 kurus and the share (*matlub*) of Süleyman Bey, the collection (*tenzil*) officer. In case of an application, it was requested to be calculated from the old or *sülüs* muaccele of the cebel, like its counterparts (BOA, C..ML.. 502 – 20376).

In the document dated March 4, 1860 (29 Zilhijce 1255), 1143 kurus was obtained from the fish catch fee of the dives of Chios Island for the soldiers' pensions (*mevacib*) registered to Niyaz Kadınefendi, the Third Wife of Sultan Abdülhamid I,

with the signature of Cebehane sergeant Mehmed Çavuş. It was requested that the money be transferred by the order of the Sultan, and the money paid by borrowing from the *sarraf*.( BOA, TS.MA.e, 20 – 14) .In the other document dated 8 July 1908 (8 cemazielahir 1236), the transaction of the second wife of Sultan Abdulhamid I, Binnaz Kadinefendi, regarding the fishpond mukataa tax farm in Chios, 1326, on the 12th day of rebiulahir, after the receipt of this tax, which was 7250 kurus, by Çıkacımebleyar and Arablızade İbrahim Ağa on the island. payment was requested (BOA, TS.MA.e 349 - 1).

There were also cases where the business was taken to court because the fish revenues were not what they wanted. He had asked for a reduction in the price or its termination, as he had suffered considerable losses due to the earthquake, which had been granted as a charter under the auspices of Nikoli Melitadi. The document dated 22 June 1882 (5 Shaban 1299), which was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Council of State, was sent to the Internal Affairs Office for the *said-ı mahi* charge of Chios. Although the person used the earthquake as an excuse, he applied to the local council for an investigation in accordance with procedure and order. After being tried in the Nizamiye court, it was requested that the necessary action be taken upon the verdict and the majlis mazats to be sent, and that an application be made in accordance with the verdict or the decision be finalized locally. The price was reduced by making compensation, and if the material demand was not high, the reduction of the money would be accepted. Due to the stubbornness that occurred, the decision was made on the necessity seen from the locality, and in this way, it was better to reject the situation and take the matter to the court (BOA, ŞD. 292 – 29). In the document dated July 25, 1882 (9 Ramadan 1299), a report dated July 25, 1882 (9 Ramadan 1299) on the loss of Nikoli Miltiyadi from the Chios Island *sayd-ı mahi* tax was sent from the Ministry of Finance to the Council of State and the report was sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Between March 1297 and the end of 1298, losses amounted to 17-18000 kurus. It was written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago in order to reduce the price of 16,302.5 installments of the tax, 15,750 kurus for each installment of the tax. Although an application was made to the court, this reduction clause was not accepted by the local court and the case went to court. The work was concluded by the neighborhood and the situation was deemed more favorable by the treasury and the situation was sent to

the ministry (BOA, İ. ŞD.. 60 – 3452).

We see that Monsieur Zarifi, who requested that the *Sayd-ı Mahi* Tax of Lesbos Island be given to him in 97, asked the state for a year's fish income from the island in return for his receivables. In the document dated January 12, 1880 (29 Muharram 1297), 7375 Ottoman liras in cash and 4448 liras 78 kurus given from the treasury as a set-off against the price of Numan Ağa farms on the island for the years 1295 and 1296 were paid. It was understood that 2926 TL 22 kurus interest fee remained from this payment. The telegram was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago on February 14, 1881 (February 2, 1296), informing about the application of the person to the Nizamiye Court in Gate of Felicity for the intervention of some parties for the land of a lake monastery in Numan Ağa Farms and the lawsuit filed because it would have to be given to the treasury. Monsieur Zarifi, who requested that 2926 liras and 22 kurus, of which the court did not started his duty yet and the place was not sold, to be given to him from the *Sayd-ı Mahi* Tax of the year of 97 for the Lesbos Island, was shown as a compensation for the fee written to the Council of State's finance office. If an area outside the city was sold, it was requested that the payment be given to the treasury, as the situation was in the interest of the state (BOA, ML.EEM. 60 – 67).

We see that the documents about fishing in the islands are scarce. Generally, documents related to poaching and prohibited hunting methods are reflected in the archive. In a document dated January 11, 1890 (19 Cemazielevvel 1307), an order was sent to the Council of State to prevent the fishing in the Kaloniye Gulf of Lesbos with eight to ten fishing boats called Trada, which had been coming from the Italian side for several years and fishing with a kind of iron dredge, as this was disrupting the order of the sea. This situation angered the merchants and fishermen who make a living here, and it was requested to report the situation to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where the waists were prohibited and the protection of the bay was ensured (BOA, ŞD. / 2341 – 43). In the document sent to the province from the Ottoman Public Debt Administration on September 19, 1900 (September 6, 1316), it was stated that in Lesbos four types of plants cut into pieces, and that they killed the fish by mixing poison into the water as a result of these substances being dragged in the water with an iron called "*kayargam*". The document stating that this method harms fish of all sizes, especially small fish eggs, asked the Ministry of Finance to ban this practice

(BOA, DH.MKT. / 2429 – 94). In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated 9 January 1907 (24 Zilkade 1324), it was written that the fish dynamite paste caught in the island of Meis was delivered to the Rhodes Castle Prison, and during the investigations made so far, alterations were sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. It was stated that the investigation continues to catch the people since those who did this work fled (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1221 – 17). The document dated February 24, 1909 (February 11, 1324) written by the governor of Hüdavendigâr Province was written in response to the census on May 31, 1908 (May 18, 1324). It was stated that after the notification about the prohibition of fishing with dynamite in Ayvalık was given, the necessary measures were taken to prevent the fishermen from using dynamite in and out of the Bosphorus, and that the Bosphorus lighthouses, guards and police should investigate. In the document received from the *Mutasarrıflık* of Karesi Sanjak, it was written that the necessary information was given on this road and that the fishermen who came for the sale of fish were examined by the municipality doctor and inspector when they returned. It was stated that the answers to be received from the *Mutasarrıflık* of Biga and the Eyalet of the Archipelago would also be notified (BOA, DH.MKT. 2763- 95). In the document dated 16 June 1908 (16 Cemazievvel 1326), a report was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, stating that the seven torpedoes for fishing, as well as 12 fuses and capsules, which were captured by the crew of the Tax Directorate of Lesbos arm boat, were delivered to the local castle (BOA, DH.MKT. 1261- 56). In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, dated 26 December 1908 (2 Zilhijce 1326), necessary measures were requested to be taken to ban the fishermen of Lesbos and Ayvalık from publicly fishing with dynamite. Although the civil servants of these places were given permission by the administrative council, the situation was reported to the Commissioner of Ottoman Public Debt Administration; Although no response could be received from the ministry, the finance minister was asked to do what is necessary for this job (BOA, DH.MKT. 2711- 9 -12).

The state also wanted to give itself the authority overfishing. In the document dated 20 July 1902 (13 Rebiulahir 1320), Emirate of Samos, a privileged island affiliated to the Ottoman Empire, wanted to take some decisions for granting privileges on fishing. Since this situation was found to be inappropriate, it was asked to the legal

counselor by the Ministry of Internal Affairs whether the authority of the emirate was authorized to evaluate the situation. Upon the opinion given here, a letter was sent to the Tanzimat Office of Council of State. This situation was found to be inappropriate and it was requested not to organize the work (BOA, İ.. MTZ. SM.. 7- 195).

The operation of the fishponds was seen as a profitable business for the state and the established fishponds were required to be delivered to the state under certain conditions. With the *Sayd-i Mahi* taxes, we see that the revenues of some islands were given to individuals by way of taxation, while others were paid by the state. The Ottoman state did not allow fishing in a way that harmed the fish and tried to take precautions (*Megep 2008:50*)<sup>7</sup>.

## 2-Sponge Diving

Sponges (Porifera), (Latin, porus (hole) and ferre (to carry), are invertebrate animals. It is the sister group of Eumetazoa (Deveciyan, 2020:303). There is a fine line between life and death in sponge diving.<sup>8</sup> It is not surprising that those who do research on sponges are also foreigners. In the document dated February 1887 (14 Cemazielevvel 1304), it was requested that Hakel, one of the lecturers of the University of Yena of the German State of Germany, would conduct scientific research on marine fishes on the coasts of Rhodes and Beirut and some other coasts, and that he be facilitated and that the tools and equipment belonging to him be exempt from customs. The German embassy presented a letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate this situation. Since the facilities provided to foreigners traveling for the purpose of research and sightseeing in this way were a recommendation and example for others to follow, the instruments were exempted from customs duty (BOA, DH.MKT 1398 – 34). Four years later, another researcher wanted to conduct research on sponges on the island of Kalymnos in a document written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on August 17, 1901. The Grand Vizier accepted the sending of documents to

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<sup>7</sup> Today, it is forbidden to hunt with bombs, torpedoes, dynamite, capsules, mines, carbide and similar substances, and by using lethal, narcotic, poisonous substances and quicklime that harm fisheries in fisheries hunting grounds. Fishing with electric current, electroshock or air pressure is subject to the permission of the Ministry. The principles of hunting with light are determined by the Ministry.

<sup>8</sup> For equipment and diving types and all kinds of information about sponge diving: Baykara Taşkaya,2022, p.53-55.

the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the tax office in accordance with the memorandum dated June 28, 1901 (11 Rabiullevvel 1319) to show the necessary respect and convenience to Dr. Plat, one of the lecturers of the University of Berlin, and to exempt the scientific equipment and 300 liters of spirits he would bring with him from customs duty (BOA, HR. TH.. 258- 64)<sup>9</sup> .In the document received two months later, it was reported to the foreign and tax departments that no customs duty should be charged on the tools and equipment to be brought by the person, and that his movements should be monitored and reported if he did anything wrong (BOA, DH.MKT. 2525- 166).

As can be seen in Table, those who were engaged in sponge diving the most are the people from Kalymnos, who had an important place in the archive with continuously requesting samples of supply (Collas, 1864:231-Örenç, 2006:517; Çoruh,2009:80).

Collas, who gives information about the commercial structure of the islands towards the end of the XIX century, gives detailed information about the sponge fishing of the islands in the province:

*“Kalymnos Island has a population of 5,500. This is where sponge fishing is carried out on the largest scale, with exports amounting to 625,000 francs. An estimated 260 sponge fishing boats belong to Kalymnos. Some of the island's big ships go fishing off the coasts of Crete (Candia), Syria and Algeria. Fish products are cut into pieces: Divers get a full share, rowers two-thirds. The diver jumps into the water, head first, with a triangular stone, one of the corners of which receives a very strong cord; this stone accelerates his descent; when he reaches the bottom, he tears the sponges from the rocks to which they cling, then he pulls the rope and the oarsmen pull him out of the water with the sponges he can catch. A good diver explores the bottom eight to ten times a day. The sponge, a living being, is covered by a light, pliable, black envelope containing a liquid with a consistency very similar to milk. In this state, the sponge has a very different appearance than when it is separated from these impurities.*

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<sup>9</sup> The request was repeated in the document written on August 18, 1901 (3 Cemazielevvel 1319). BOA, BEO / 1705 – 127873.

*Nisiro Nisari (İncirli Island), 3500 inhabitants, all Greek; mostly farmers; some of them make a living by sponge fishing.*

*The island of Stampalia is only engaged in sponge fishing, which they sell for export<sup>10</sup>.*

*The island of Herke (Halki) has 2,000 inhabitants; they are only interested in sponge fishing, which has doubled in ten years. Exports of the products of this fishery are currently 200,000 francs; imports are about 260,000 piastres; the goods are sold through Rhodes.*

*Symiotes entrepreneurs on Symi Island are good sailors; they have a very commercial mindset. From May to September, the strong male population, occupying 160 boats, sponge dives. During the winter months, these men were conscripted as sailors on merchant ships. The merchants of Symi traveled to Marseille and Trieste to trade on their ships and sell their sponges” (Collas, 1864: 296-297-298-299).*

Table 1: Number of Sponges By Years and Income By Sponge Quality (Collas, 1861:233).

Years	Piece- Francs (Good Quality)	Piece- Francs (Medium Quality)	Piece- Francs (Basic Quality)
-	-	-	-
<b>1854</b>	200/750.000	40/500.000	28/100.000
<b>1855</b>	220/825.000	40/550.000	40/125.000
<b>1856</b>	300/875.000	60/637.500	35/112.500
<b>1857</b>	300/1275.000	65/625.000	35/125.000
<b>1858</b>	325/875.000	100/1250.000	30/125.000

As can be seen, the income of the five islands was entirely dedicated to this work. The table shows that good quality sponge is the most common, followed by medium and basic quality. The highest income in sponge production is generated from good quality sponges. Collas' information about Rhodes is also valuable. In the case of Rhodes Island, France, imports halved while exports doubled. Sponges weigh a little over 50

<sup>10</sup> Stampalia Island is part of the 12-island community.



pounds. Sponge fishing is done with boats belonging to neighboring small islands. The exaggerated tasks that the state places on this sector tend to keep it away from its own shores. In the 1858 season, the Governor of Rhodes wanted to establish a 20 percent customs duty. In the case of fishing products they refused to accept it, threatened to stop fishing, and after very long discussions they decided on a fixed duty of 75 francs (Collas, 1864: 301-303) A selection of different types of products goes to Trieste; the rest of the products are sold in Constantinople and other major Ottoman ports. In 1862, France received 32,352 kilograms for 327,860 francs. England bought 117,645 kgs of sponge worth 1,386,275 francs. A few years ago there were only 380 fishing boats. Of the 600 boats employed in 1858, 70 fished off the coast of Rhodes, 150 off the coast of Heraklion, 180 off the coast of Syria and 200 off the coast of Algiers (Collas, 1861: 233).

We see that sponges were sold to the Ottoman palace as well as to foreign countries. In the document dated 26 July 1691 (29 Şevval 1102), it was requested to record in the registry book of the city *emini*, which tax was subject to the 20 thousand sponges that the Christians of Symi Island, which was subject to Rhodes, gave to the palace every year (BOA, İE.DH / 22 – 2016). We can also learn from the documents how the sponge boats obtained financial resources. For the equipment of the boats that the inhabitants of Halki Island, subject to Rhodes, put out for sponge fishing, one thousand five hundred lira was requested to be allocated for the inhabitants from the one-seventh and one-fourth of the money placed in the banks (BOA, ŞD. 1181- 2 -4). In the document dated June 8, 1886 (May 27, 1302), it was reported to the *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes whether it was appropriate to take 1500 liras from the money allocated for fish upon the demands of the people that if they borrowed the money required for the equipping of these boats, they would pay interest at a rate of 50% and that they would not only be miserable because of this, but their property would be pledged and the fishing time was about to pass. If fifteen days passed, the money was asked to be taken as soon as possible, as time was running out and the loan would be of no use (BOA, ŞD. 1181- 2 -5). In the document dated June 11, 1886 (9 Ramadan 1303) written to the Ministry of Finance, it was stated that if they were to buy the money to be purchased from abroad, it would be harmful to both themselves and the treasury as they would pay 50% interest. In the following document, the Ministry of Finance

stated that it was necessary to find money from the unclaimed areas (*mevat*) belonging to the Ministry of Commerce in order to receive this money from the local *menafi* chest (BOA, DH.MKT. 1350 – 14). In the document dated July 6, 1886 (4 Shawwal 1303) written to the Ministry of Commerce, it was telegraphed to the Vilayet of Algiers-i Bahri Sefid that 1500 liras were required for the people from the amount given to the banks from the proceeds of buying and arranging (*ba ve reb*). In the document written to the Ministry of Finance, a request for lending money was conveyed, upon the compelling situation that would occur for the removal of some memorandum attachments (*zeyil*) from the city's benefit fund, upon the alteration coming from the province, as necessary to ensure that the situation was from the funds belonging to the Ministry (BOA, DH.MKT. 1353 – 7). In the document dated October 2, 1886 (September 20, 1302), the telegram dated October 2, 1886 (September 20, 1302) regarding the granting of 1500 liras to the people from the money given to the bank on behalf of the *menafi* fund was referred to the Ministry of Finance and Trade and the Council of State. In the reply given by the Ministry of Commerce, it was reported that it would be inappropriate for the island to take from the islands that pay cash taxes and to take from the revenues of access and regulation (*ba ve reb*); and that it would be inappropriate for the inhabitants to owe the money for their shares (BOA, DH.MKT. 1353 – 7). The help of the people of Halki Island to the aforementioned funds, where the capital partnership for the use of the benefit funds was not necessary, revealed that the taxes were not cash but maybe a tithe crop tax. It was stated that the amount requested to be borrowed in order to eliminate their needs would not be appropriate, since providing convenience to sponge farmers as tax would also benefit the state. As time passed, it was reported that this debt could not be utilized and was referred to the Council of State one and a half months after the document was received. It was stated that this year it was necessary to determine whether the time for the debt book (*ikras defteri*) had passed or not, and that the boats would not be able to hunt since the time for borrowing in this season had also passed, and that the sponge tax had accumulated and they would not be able to benefit from this work. It was deemed appropriate that the money to be given to the people for equipping the boats during the hunting season should be borrowed from the revenues of the chest as collateral, and the document was sent to the Tanzimat Department. (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1371 – 78).

Sponge boaters who wanted to make a living expanded their routes starting from the Dodecanese Islands, Crete and Cyprus with the coastline extending along Syria, Egypt and Lebanon, and continued as far as the Mediterranean and North African coasts with the state's mandate method. We see that the license (permit certificate), missive (paper stating permission for a job) and taxation given to boats for sponge fishing continued in almost every region after the transition to the Republican period. Taxes related to hunting (Saydiye) constituted a very important source of income in the 1902 budget (Velay,1978: 438)<sup>11</sup>. For the sale of sponges, 1% customs duty was applied to those sold abroad and 8% for domestic products. For this purpose, due to the high domestic tax, the islanders preferred to sell their products mostly to foreign countries.

For sponges, taxation and the issue of licenses posed a major problem. On 20 July 1858 (8 Zilhicce 1274) The Governorship of the Eyalet of the Archipelago announced that an "official cedit" of 20% would be taken for the new customs clearance for the sponge to come from Rhodes. The situation was notified to the consuls by the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago. In the documents written to the Ministry of Finance, it was stated that foreign trade would suffer because of this. In order to eradicate this situation, the necessary action was requested to be taken by the embassies (BOA, HR.MKT. 247 – 61).

Going sponge fishing without a license was quite troublesome and this situation led to different practices. In the document written to the Ministry of Finance dated September 20, 1887 (2 Muharrem 1305), the request of the people of Symi Island, which was subject to Rhodes, to postpone the sponge allowance tax, was conveyed by the representatives of the people of Meis island who went to Gate of Felicity, with the documents of the *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes. The answer which was given to the deputies in Symi on the way was sent to the custody with the documents sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago (BOA, DH. MKT. 1449 – 30). In the document dated March 1888 (21 Cemaziyelahir 1305), it was stated that the request of the inhabitants of Island of Symi subject to Rhodes for the amendment of the sponge tax was not deemed appropriate

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<sup>11</sup> For taxation in the Republican Period: 1924 (April 6, 1340) Law No. 445, " *Zabitayı Saydiye Nizamnamesi* for Land and Sea Hunting", Article XI, Article XII – Article XIII (Deveciyan,2020 :437-439).

and that the Symi deputies who were about to go to Gate of Felicity would also deal with the issues in the tax administration (BOA, DH. MKT. / 1491 – 98).

In the document dated April 27, 1888 (15 Şaban 1305), sponge fishermen from Symi and Halki, who were found in Cyprus and Egypt waters, were forced to obtain a license on the island of Symi, claiming that they had equipped their boats, and the Rhodes government was asked not to make this attempt. Correspondence was made with the Ministry of Finance for the release of boats and sponges confiscated on the grounds that some of the locals fished without a license. The documents given by the Council of Deputies (*Meclis-i Vukela*) to the Ministry were forwarded to the province. The petition signed by the representatives of Symi and Halki island Petro Zagure and Siyandu was sent. It was stated that the decision of the parliament's power of attorney did not prohibit the unnecessary action taken against the people by the Rhodes government, and that it was unnecessary to oppose the hunting season in order to get rid of the pride of the hunts that were harmful, and the provision was not understood and the provision was requested to be implemented. It was requested that only the *zabita saydiye* regulations not be treated against the people of Symi and Halki, and that the boats, which were sold to the son of the Rhodes port master, with a reasonable price in proportion to the price, were returned to their owners. Even the sponges, for which the price of these goods were sold to the suitors, for which it would not be possible to return them, was demanded to be paid exactly how much they were sold (BOA, DH.MKT. 1504-60).

In the document dated September 15, 1891 (10 Safer 1309), it was stated that the 130-gold loss, which was caused by the Kastellorizo (Meis) District Administrative Council's giving the sponge fishermen an unlawful license document, was paid out of the amount of his share, due to the receipt of sponge fishing in the years 1302-304. Due to the fact that even the district governor's share was taken from his salary, the attorneys of *isporat* were asked to sign the status of the shares. It was stated that the situation would be reported to the court and the district governor Yevsifi Efendi would get his money back with the court. The excerpt given here from the internal affairs office of Council of State was examined locally and sent to Sublime Porte, and the provincial assembly mentioned that there was no law in the work being done. The situation was deemed unacceptable by the Tanzimat Office since it had already

exceeded four years, and due to personal law, the collection of the money was found appropriate by the Tanzimat Office's decision (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1867 – 100).

In the document written on February 2, 1908 (21 Muharrem 1326) by the taxpayer to the Ministry of Finance, it was requested that the fishermen who had gone sponge fishing in Symi without obtaining a permit, should notify the Ministry of Finance that sufficient number of boats would be seized when they returned. Even if the process was repeated, it was emphasized that the boats should be taxed one or two or three times due to the unrest that this business would cause. With the memorandum sent to the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago from the *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, it was requested to notify the *Mutasarrıf* to take necessary action (BOA, DH.MKT. 1450 – 38).

#### **A-Sponge Hunting with a Machine (Who benefits who harms?)**

Machine sponge fishing extended the duration of the submersion, allowing divers to collect more sponges. Thanks to the machine, sponge hunting became possible in all seasons.

In the document dated December 30, 1882, it was requested to prohibit the export of sponges with the device called *Iskander* by the Symi Community from Rhodes in the waters of Crete, Benghazi and Egypt. Both the state and the island's surroundings were informed about this situation, as the locality was fined for this work (BOA, HR. TO.. 526 – 30).

In the document dated May 27, 1885 (12 Şaban 1302), information was given about the decision to lift the ban on the use of machine tools used in sponge fishing by the inhabitants of the islands of Kalymnos, Halki and Meis, since the tools did not cause any harm. About the prohibition of the "Unye" machine "tefenni" used in sponge fishing, it was stated that the mandate issued by the neighborhood of the island of Rhodes, which did not harm the islands that made a living from this business, was sent to the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes in the census written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago for this matter. It was also stated that sponge boats with machines destroy the sponge by uprooting and destroying it, which was harmful to products such as fish and oysters, and this also harmed the treasury. In the document from the province, it was stated in the memorandum issued to the internal affairs department of the Council

of State that the dredges used were harmful to fish and oysters and that the machines used to collect sponges did not harm neither the sponge nor the fish and oysters. It was also stated that machine boats could also be banned. It was stated that this business brought a profit of 200 gold coins to the treasury, and a letter was written to the Minister of Navy and Public Works, the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Finance (BOA, MV. 3 – 87).

We also know that there were some households that could not make a living from sponge diving. In the document dated July 16, 1888 (7 Zilkade 1305), 30 households of sponge divers from Kalymnoz submitted a petition signed by the Coroner Yorgi Zuyno, stating that they could not make a living due to sponge fishing with machinery. The situation was reported to the Eyalet of the Archipelago in a letter from the *Mutasarrıflık* of Chios. Although they were given 50 acres of land on the Anatolian side, this work was seen as a temporary reason for leaving, and in the request for their resettlement in Güldür district near Hayrabolu, it was requested to do what was necessary (BOA, DH.MKT. 1521- 104).

There were also those who considered machine sponging harmful. In a document dated September 9, 1897 (20 Zilhicce 1304), the people of the Island of Meis complained that they were earning their livelihood by sponge diving and that they had suffered losses by destroying the seeds due to the extraction of sponges with machinery and asked the Ministry of Finance to take the necessary action (BOA, DH.MKT. 1445- 77). In a telegram dated April 21, 1897 (19 Zilkade 1314) from the Eyalet of the Archipelago to the Ministry of Interior, it was requested that sponge fishing be allowed to be carried out as before without waiting for the end of May. In the census taken from the Kalymnos district governorship, it was stated that since sponge diving was banned by the government in these months this year, the people of this profession, which was the source of income for the people, were dragged into misery. In Kalymnos alone, they demanded that the ban on sponge fishing in Kalymnos be lifted, as 2000 people made a living from this business (BOA, DH.MKT. 2081- 66).

There were also those who appreciated machine sponge fishing. In the document dated June 4, 1902, it is reported that the church and archbishop of the island of Kalymnos and twelve members of the community sent their thanks to Sultan

Abdümecit for the prohibition of the *scafander* used in sponge fishing (BOA, HR. İD 2121 – 35).

We see illegal hunting was being reported. In a document dated July 8, 1905 (5 Cemazielevvel 1323), there was a report that two *scafander* boats had departed and that Kalymnos and the surrounding islands had ignored reports of sponge fishing and turned a blind eye to it. For the complaints that the Kalymnos district governor turned a blind eye to the denunciations. On behalf of the people of Kalimoz, the translation of the telegram was sent from Samos with the signature of Simekar and Tekudaris. Although they had informed the district governor of Kalymnos, the elders' committee submitted a document to the government asking for an investigation of the residents' complaint (BOA, DH.MKT. 984 – 28).

With the prohibition of machine sponge fishing, we see that ferries were employed to follow up on this. In the document dated March 13, 1908 (9 Safer 1326), it was requested that the steamer Sana, which was in Rhodes, be sent there in order to prohibit sponge fishing with the *scafander* machine in Kasos and Karpatos waters. Upon notification from the local area, a notification was made to the Naval Command. It was stated that it would be dangerous to send this ferry to the islands during this season because it was small. It was stated that such ships were expected to turn back the machine boats, and that a Gunboat of Humayun to be brought from Europe was expected for the continuity of this process. The situation was written to the Ministry of Navy, and in the census sent from the Izmir Revenue Department, which was waiting for news from the Commodore's Office, it was emphasized that the smugglers should be eliminated since sponge fishing with the aforementioned machine was prohibited within the borders. Again, it was requested to notify the Ministry of Navy of the orders and purchases of ships and the penalties for the refusal of machine boats, and to write to the Gate of Felicity about the situation (BOA, BEO 3276 - 245627 -3).

The ban on machine hunting had put an end to the people who made a living from it, and they demanded that the ban be lifted. In a telegram dated June 21, 1910, from Rhodes on behalf of the Committee of Elders of Kalymnos Island regarding sponge fishing, it was stated that the inhabitants of the island were being ruined collectively based on the license granted by the General Administration of Debt. They stated that they would be left without a job because there was no sponge fishing in this

area where the capitalists had invested their money. They stated that they were ruined due to the lack of hunting and that the hunting ban should be lifted this year (BOA, HR.TO.. 540- 34). In the document dated April 18, 1911 (18 Rebiülahir 1329), it was requested that sponge divers going to the Egyptian coast should not be given a declaration like the boats going to Crete and Cyprus, but should be given a declaration not to fish anywhere other than the place they went to and a certificate that they fished in the place they went to when they returned. Although the decision of the Council of State was exemplary, a notification was sent to the Izmir General Administration of Debt that sponge boats from Crete, Cyprus and the Egyptian coast should submit a declaration in accordance with the decision during their departure from the port of Symi this year. The local district governor's office also notified the quarantine officer. In the documents given by 74 captains from the neighborhood, it was stated that they were asked for documents while they were fishing on the Manduroha coast, and that the number of catches was shown in letters and it was not possible to find each one. Although it was normal for the military police to manage in this way, it was stated that the situation was caused by the fact that the headmen's offices were not given "*Patnet*" by the license and quarantine officer for the hunts that the hunters did not declare before the departure of the ports they belonged to (BOA, DH. İD.. 36 – 4). For this year, the documents of the General Administration of Debt deputies were sent to the Ministry of Finance for the execution of the provisions of the decision on their hunting. In the documents written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Finance sent the documents (BOA, DH. İD.. 36- 4 -2).

Following the abolition of sponge fishing with the *scafander* machine under certain conditions, some foreigners were seen using this device on the coasts of some provinces. According to the documents written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, Ottoman and foreign capital had suffered losses in this business. However, the Council of State requested that sponge fishing continue until a new decision is approved, and that the licenses issued by the General Administration of Debt this year should continue until the end of the year. It was conveyed to the Ministry of Finance that the ones given so far should be considered valid and that no new ones should be given until a regulation is drafted (BOA, DH.İD.. 36- 4 -19 and BOA, DH.İD.. 36- 4 -28). According to a document dated December 27, 1911 (14 Kanuni evvel 1329) submitted



to the Ministry of Finance, Andon Haplunçur, a British citizen who fished for sponges with a *scafander* on the Kataviye and Lindoz coasts of Rhodes, was prevented from hunting. A steamer came here and asked the government to notify the province that it had been granted a privilege. In accordance with the principle of Council of State, it was deemed necessary to increase security on the coasts where security was not complete, although there were exceptions under certain conditions. It was stated that destruction of sponge fields had occurred and that the Council of State should take some decisions again to prevent hunting. A notification was sent by the Naval Minister to the Eyalet of the Archipelago and it was stated that favoritism was shown to this captured person. In a telegram sent from Rhodes by Menol on behalf of the elders of the Kalymnos committee, it was stated that the prohibition of sponge fishing by the General Administration of Debt for merchants who had invested all their capital in sponge fishing would lead to the end of the merchants, and therefore the ban on hunting this year should be canceled (BOA, DH. İD.. 36-4 -256). The governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago stated that the inhabitants of Isporat Island, in particular, had only sponge diving as their only source of livelihood due to its stony terrain. It was stated that these hunters, who go to the neighboring islands to earn a living, damage the sponges in the sea by attaching large ropes on both sides consisting of *Kanka*, *Ebkir* tools and *Mirtaraks*. It was stated that this technique was abandoned by the Treasury despite the loss of 570 thousand kurus per year, and it was requested that the chiefs be held responsible for the damages that the fishermen would suffer from the proper use of the *scafander* device; but that this method should continue (BOA, DH. İD.. 36-4 -43).

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Machine sponge fishing had entered the lives of hunters with its positive and negative sides. From time to time, bans on machine hunting caused a reaction from some quarters. While the prohibition of this hunting caused denunciations, Kalymnos and Herkid names asked for the ban to be lifted, stating that they make a living from this business.

### **B-Hunting Extending to North Africa**

Sponge fishing was not limited to the Aegean islands but continued along the line extending south to Egypt. In a document dated February 26, 1855 (16 Ramadan

1271), the people of the island of Kalymnos asked the governor of Crete to allow them to extract sponges on their coast (BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. 70 – 83).

In the document dated September 11, 1876 (August 30, 1292) written to the Ministry of Finance, it was stated that a payment was made to the Egyptian government for the tax required for ten quarantined ships that came to *Şıra* (port of Samos) to fish for sponges without obtaining a sanitary patent despite having a state flag. When they arrived on the island of Kalymnos they would be paid by the local government. *Şıra* City Consulate informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the necessary action would be taken (BOA, HR.MKT. / 893 – 56).

According to the document dated August 31, 1886 (1 Zilhicce 1303) written to the Interior Ministry, the tax demanded by the Egyptian government in Alexandria on the sponges caught by the inhabitants of Kalymnos, Symi and Halki Islands on the coasts fifteen miles away from Egypt with their machines and diving boats by obtaining sponge licenses was found to be illegal. These sponge divers were 10-15 miles away from these places, and it was requested that the right to tax hunting on the high seas in this way was not appropriate in accordance with the law of the inland seas. In Kalymnos Island, the sponge hunters were informed that they could also hunt without taking the bail license certificates from the place where they went to sponge hunting and that the hunters should not be touched. The Kalymnos district governor's office reported that they would oppose the tax when the bail bonds received from the island expired (BOA, ŞD. 2508 – 25).

The issue that the state was dealing with was also related to the Greek hunters. In the document dated 21 September 1888 (15 Muharram 1306), the Greek embassy was informed from Gate of Felicity to ban a Greek ship in Chios from sponge fishing. The incident was also reported in Greek newspapers and a result was obtained. In response to the Greek Embassy's intervention and request, the situation was written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago regarding the arrest of two members of the crew of two Greek boats fishing for sponges on Kalymnos Island and the confiscation of the goods on the boats as a result of a fight. The goods on the boat were not to be confiscated and a letter was written to the foreign ministry stating that it was obligatory to obtain a license for sponges to be fished in the province's waters. It was also stated that some boats were detained due to the action of Namık Kemal Bey, the *Mutasarrıf* of Chios,

against this decree. The province was informed that these boats should be returned to the individuals and that if the *Mutasarrıf* of Chios failed to do so, he would be dismissed (BOA.Y..A... HUS. 217 – 47). In the document written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 29 September 1888, a Greek ship in Chios was banned from sponge fishing. Attempts by the Greek embassies were also fruitless, and the Athens embassy's telegram asked what information had been provided to the province. It was ensured that the ships banned from hunting did not have licenses and the two detained persons were handed over to the Greek consulate in Chios by the *Mutasarrıflık*. According to the documents reported by the *Mutasarrıflık* of Chios, the Greek embassy stated that these boats received permission to hunt by paying 32 liras and that they had previously obtained a license certificate and that the teams had not yet been delivered. It was stated that the boats and two crew members engaged in unlicensed sponge fishing on Kalymnos Island were captured, and as a result of the correspondence between the *Mutasarrıflık* of Chios and the Eyalet of the Archipelago, the crew were received from the consulate and it was determined that the boats were unlicensed (BOA, HR. TH.. / 83 – 74-5). It was stated to the the Eyalet of the Archipelago that action was taken in accordance with Article 7 of the *Zabita-i Saydiye Regulation* and that hunting without a license was a matter for the court (BOA, HR. TH.. / 83 – 74). In the document dated October 27, 1888, in the translation of the memorandum sent from the Greek embassy, the information sent to the Sublime Porte in the Eyalet of the Archipelago on the 18th day of the month of Shawwal among the sponge fishermen on the shores of the island of Kalymnos was not found appropriate. Since the sponges found in the boat did not belong to Kalymnos but were obtained from the hunt near Manduroh in Egypt, the sponges were seized and confiscated. The Greek consuls of the island of Chios were asked by the Kalymnos officers to make an investigation mixed with the information received from the parties and to convey the matter to the Gate of Felicity. The damage on the Greek side was reported to be greater (BOA, HR. TO.. 312 – 63). In the document dated 3 December 1888 (29 rabiülevvel 1306), the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago went to Kalymnos for a month to inspect the sponge boats for the Grand Vizier. The Greek consul of Chios, in negotiations with the Greek consul of Rhodes, whom he met in the province, demanded the return of the sponges and the boats belonging to the sponge fishery, and

that the confiscation of the sponges and the boats belonging to the sponge fishery be abandoned, since it was necessary to issue licenses to those who fished sponges in Manduroh for both local and foreign hunts. The consul insisted that this action would lead to irreversible consequences that would require punishment, and the decision of the Council of Ministers was discussed in the governor's telegram. A license must be obtained for the Manduroh sponge. It was stated that Greek and Ottoman boats wishing to fish in Manduroh could not call at Chios and could be collected in Tripolitania and Benghazi. Captured boats should have been returned to their owners (BOA, DH.MKT. 1570 – 54).

The taxation of the materials eaten by the crew WAS another problem. In the document dated February 20, 1889 (19 Cemazielahir 1306), an order was given that no tax should be levied on the food crops purchased from the islands of Rhodes and Halki for the food of the crew of the sponge boats when they went to Manduroh to hunt. The petition submitted by the Halki Mukhtar's Office was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. An attempt made by Egypt in this way was sent to Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha, the *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, upon his application (BOA, DH.MKT. 1597 – 2).

### **C-Poaching and Security**

The fact that sponge fishing was fueled by smuggling and that it was difficult to follow the practices due to the prohibitions made it necessary to ensure the safety of seafarers.

According to a document dated December 10, 1808 (6 Rabiül ahir 1306) written to the province of Tripolitania and Benghazi, Kalymnos, the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, had to come for a sponge inspection. In negotiations with the Greek consul of Rhodes, Greek and local boatmen were asked to obtain licenses. The locals and Greeks who were caught sponge fishing at 20-30 off the coast of Kalymnos without a license and whose boats were confiscated were asked to be released and informed that they would be punished in case of repetition. It was argued that many sponges fished in Manduroh were also licensed. Both the province and Greece informed the Foreign Ministry that those going to Manduroh from Greece should not visit the island of Chios and that they could obtain a license from

Tripolitania and Benghazi, and the province asked for the return of the boats (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1572 – 84).

In the document dated March 13, 1866 (27 Shawwal 1282), a letter was sent to the province of Egypt and to the captains to send a quarantine officer to the neighborhood for the inspection of the stamps to be sent there and to obtain visas, since most of the patents in the hands of the captains were without stamps. A quarantine officer was requested to be appointed to check the patents and visas of the boat captains coming and going to Manduroh Bay, west of Alexandria, to extract sponges from some islands under the Rhodes Quarantine (BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. 351- 11). On May 4, 1866 (18 Zilhijce 1282) The documents sent about the appointment of an officer for the inspection of the ships going to the *Tophane-i Amire* (the Imperial Foundry) reached the Province of Egypt. Necessary action was requested (BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. 354 – 88).

In Rhodes, there were disputes between the locals and foreign merchants over sponge fishing. In the document dated April 3, 1867 (8 Zilhicja 1283), the Banat Corvette-i Humayun, which was sent to the Ottoman Naval Arsenal (*Tersane-i Amire*), and whose repair was completed, although its main center was Beirut, it was necessary for a ship to appear there for a few days due to the difficulties of sponge fishing in some islands connected to Rhodes due to the disputes between foreign merchants and the locals. The District Governor of Rhodes remained in Rhodes until the dispute that arose when he landed in Rhodes was resolved, and then he went to the island of Cyprus. He was then asked to come back to the island to go to Beirut The Governor of Rhodes Island went to Rhodes with the *cebel-i nebel* ferry and gave the necessary information to the Ministry of Navy about the sponge fishing dispute. With the arrival of the ferry to Rhodes, their acts of patronage were ensured. The Lebanese Corvette, which was in charge of guarding the coast of Beirut and was being repaired at the Ottoman Naval Arsenal, was asked to patrol the coasts of Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut in rotation. It was requested to settle the dispute between the locals and foreign merchants due to sponge fishing in Rhodes (BOA, A.} MKT. MHM. / 379 – 29).

It was stated that the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes wanted to issue license certificates to those who would go to the islands of Crete and Cyprus to hunt sponges and that this situation was opposed. In the document dated November 3, 1887 (16 Safer

1305) written to the Ministry of Finance, the situation, as claimed in the explanations, was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago and it was requested to return the property of those who fished from the comb and harpoon type of sponge boats, taking into account their poor conditions. It was stated that only the registered tax should be collected and that the boats that were towed from Symi had improper conditions, which was also requested in a petition signed by Agha Pyotusyozı and Agha Pyotuzavara, two of their proxies who went to Gate of Felicity. In the document sent from the *Mutasarrıflık*, it was stated that the practices were out of order and that complaints had arisen as a result of the sanctions. Since it was declared by the representatives of the inhabitants of the islands of Symi and Halki, it was requested that the necessary action be taken (BOA, DH. MKT. 1460-25).

In a document dated March 4, 1888 (20 Cemazielahir 1305) written to the Ministry of Finance, the Council of Ministers requested the merger of the private steamers and the sponge administration in order to ban sponge fishing in Crete. The inhabitants of the Eyalet of the Archipelago were asked to treat those who fished for sponges in Ottoman waters with the exception of the maritime border of the islands of Crete and Cyprus. According to the statement made by the Minister of Internal Affairs, it was necessary to stop the sponges, which were seized and entrusted with a permit, for a certain period of time in Ottoman waters. The province was notified to return the confiscated sponges of those who fished without authorization to the applicants in a short time by issuing a certificate from the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes to those who wanted to engage in sponge fishing (BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. 496 – 27-2). In the documents written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Eyalet of the Archipelago upon the petition written by the inhabitants of Symi and Haski, as it would be a re-process to collect taxes from Rhodes, as well as to receive a letter from the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes, the letter sent to the Ministry of Finance in the *layiha* given by the deputies of the inhabitants was read. It was stated that the sponge tax for Crete and Cyprus would be repeated for the last three years in order to prevent the abuse of sponge fishing. Since it would be appropriate to collect the tax collected by the sponge tax administration to be transferred to the treasury administration with the treasury account, it would not be appropriate to combine the sponge administrations, and the treasury property was requested to provide the necessary order for those who hunted

with a permit in Ottoman waters, excluding the maritime borders of Crete and Cyprus. In the statements given by the Minister of Interior, a notification was made to the Minister of Finance for the return of the seized sponges, since the detention of the seized sponges for a certain period of time would mean their destruction. In the document dated October 4, 1888 (28 Muharram 1306), it was ensured that the sponge tax to be collected from the sponge fishermen on the islands of Symi, Haski and Manduroh and the confiscation of the boats of those who fished without a license were implemented (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1550 – 64).

At the same time, Greek ships were also plying in Ottoman territorial waters. On March 21, 1897 (R 9 March 1313), a document dated March 21, 1897 (R 9 March 1313) was written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs stating that sponge divers from the Kos community were eighty miles off the coast of Antalya when two Greek battleships came upon them and interrogated them (BOA, DH. ŞFR. / 209 – 39). In the document dated September 24, 1898 (8 Cemazielevvel 1316), it was stated in the document dated February 5, 1896 (August 20, 1313) to the Ministry of the Navy that the Cretan ferry, headquartered in Rhodes, would be sent to the Manduroh coast when the transportation was completed, and that the ferry was used because the ferry was needed for the military inspections carried out at this time. It was stated that some sponge boats were sponge fishing all over the coast and did not visit the center (BOA, DH.MKT. 2110 – 7).

Livelihoods on the islands forced people to move elsewhere. In a document dated August 19, 1897 (R 7 August 1322) to the Ministry of Interior, it was written that the fishing of sponge sponges on the coasts between Iskenderun and Antalya by machine boats that came from Kalymnos to Rhodes and fished sponges in Tripoli waters caused misery to the people of Kalymnos who made a living from sponge fishing. It was stated that there would be very few people left on the island due to this situation, which had been going on for two years despite the prohibition of machinery, and that the ferry Sana and the ferry in Iskenderun were in need of repair and could not prevent this business. It was requested that the ferries, which were moving as fast as the machine boats fishing on the Karaman coast and preventing fishing, should work continuously 7 November 1322 and machine fishing should be prevented (BOA, DH. ŞFR. 372 – 5). The document dated March 16, 1900 was a translation of a telegram

sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.to Kalymnos. It was stated that the island of Kalymnos was dependent on sponges for its livelihood due to the lack of fertile soil, and it was also emphasized that many sponge divers were in competition with Greek sponge divers. It was stated that people engaged in sponge fishing were illegally fleeing to Greece by Greek captains due to bad conditions, while the ships engaged in the island's sponge trade went to Greece. Since this situation would lead to the transfer of this occupation to Greece during the hunting season and interrupt trade, it was requested to take precautions against these desertions and to take severe measures. In the document dated March 25, 1900 (23 Zilkade 1317), a telegram was sent from Samos under the signatures of Tudaridis and Aristidi Kardi, members of the island's council of elders, to investigate the cause of the escape of sponge fishermen belonging to Ottoman subjects who had fled from Kalymnos and other islands of the Eyalet of the Archipelago and to take necessary measures to prevent the escape. (BOA, DH.MKT 2323 – 18). Due to these fugitive events, trade was also interrupted. It was also asked how many people had left the island and the local government was asked to prevent this situation and the district governor was asked to investigate the extent of the damages (BOA, HR. İD.. 2121 – 21).

Greek ships were also poaching in Ottoman territorial waters. In the document dated March 30, 1905, a telegram dated March 30, 1905 was sent from the inhabitants of Kalymnos Island to the Ministry of Internal Affairs to prevent the Greeks from sponge fishing, and a French telegram was sent to Teodoridis and some other individuals to request them to prevent the Greeks from sponge fishing. It was reported that more than a hundred Greek and Ottoman boats were engaged in sponge fishing in Crete and its vicinity, as well as on the Ottoman coast in Benghazi and Tripolitania, despite the bans. The island of Kalymnos stated that they were closely following this situation and that Greece had assigned boats to control the situation despite this forbidden hunting. In order to prevent this situation and to protect the interests of the government, it was demanded that machine sponges be banned on the coast of Benghazi and Tripolitania, that this matter be notified to the debt collectors and that a ship be sent here (BOA, HR. İD.. 2121 – 46).

In the document dated September 15, 1907 (September 2, 1323) written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a request was sent to the service of the Islands



Administration for a fast ferry with the purpose of stopping smugglers' boats importing explosives to the islands for smugglers fishing for sponges and fish with the banned *scafander* machines (BOA, HR.MKT. / 893 – 56). Due to the importance of the incident, it was requested that a fast steamer be sent to the province to sweep the coastline in order to remove the thieving boats of smugglers from Greece and Crete, which were engaged in sponge fishing (BOA, DH. ŞFR. 379 – 14).

In the document dated February 29, 1908 (26 Muharram 1326), it was stated that sending the Sana Ferry in Rhodes to prevent the sponge fishing in Kaşot and Kerpe waters would not prevent it. The situation was reported to the Izmir Tax Administration, where the Chios Commodore was put in custody, and the necessary information about the machine and the schooner was requested from the Tax *Emin* (BOA, BEO 3258 – 244331).

### **3-Coral Hunting**

Corals belong to the class of polyps. Polyps lack most of the parts and organs present in animals and are a class between animals and plants. Corals come in three colors: red, black and white. It has a very nice and robust appearance. It is easily amenable to processing. Ornaments such as rosaries, earrings and necklaces are made from them. Corals are hunted with Alcarna. Coral fishing with Alcarna is carried out in shallow waters along the coasts of Africa and Arabia, in the territorial waters of the islands of Crete and Cyprus (Deveciyan, 2020:307-309).

Coral fishing was also practiced on the island of Rhodes dating back to the time of the knights. (Vatin, 2000, :53). Cuinet also mentions coral hunting on the Island of Symi (Cuinet, 1891 :400). According to Collas, fishing for coral was very lucrative and had been highly pursued in the past. It was reportedly abandoned today due to the demands of the authorities in charge of tax collection (Collas,1864, :303).<sup>12</sup> It was known that some families from Liscia had once come to settle in Lindos and devoted themselves to fishing for this precious material. Exhausted from hard work, they were forced to leave a farm that no longer paid for their fatigue. After discovering important shallows not only in the waters of Rhodes, but also at various points in the Archipelago

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<sup>12</sup> Collas, 1864, 303. *Liscia* is a commune in the province of Chieti in the Abruzzo region of Italy.

and on the Anatolian coast, they were known to have requested and received concessions. Boats and people were also brought in to do the job properly. The government took away the privileges of the concessionaires and terminated the concession. During this time, some delicate pink corals were withdrawn and some discoveries were made. As a result, the state lost an important income and an industry that could have changed the population of the islands through sponge fishing. Three years later the concessionaires were offered to go to Constantinople to renew their privileges there, but they refused (E Biliotti - A Cottret,1881 :353).



**Map 4:** Areas Concessioned for Coral Export (BOA, ŞD. / 500 – 32-22).

At June 4, 1874 Bilyotiye granted permission for coral exploration.<sup>13</sup> In the document

<sup>13</sup> BCA, 230-0-0-0 / 147 – 42. On November 15, 1869 (10 Shaban 1286), the date of arrival of the document, Italian citizen Henry Bilyoti removed some shipwrecks under the sea. In 1868, this person helped produce a cannon for the Ottoman state. Henry Bilyoti, who was in Babiali, and Monsieur Filore, a French citizen, agreed to remove the rice balls under the sea on the African coast, on the

written in the Eyalet of the Archipelago dated 7 December 1875 (9 Zilkade 1292), the French merchant Antuan Auble, who wanted privileges for hunting and export, was sent to Eyalet of the Archipelago by the *Mutasarrıflık* of the proposal he had given to the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes. Since no answer had been given yet, it was requested to do the what was necessary (BOA, HR.MKT. 900-22). It was requested that the Council of State allow coral fishing and that this business was important and would become more abundant.. As it is understood from this article, it was stated that the income to be received decreased with the restriction of some areas of the islands where the concession was granted from Council of State. It was stated that this would be financially detrimental to the concessionaire who would receive the work. It was requested that the Council of State allow coral fishing and that this business was important and would become more abundant. As it was spring time, it was announced that these boats would depart from Italy on March 15th in order to negotiate with the owners of the coral fishing boats. It was stated that the concession was accepted by the Public Works Council by excluding Crete, Piraeus and the island of Cyprus from the areas granted to him as hunting grounds.

### **Coral fishing grounds**

- 1- Senedati and Sekboros Islands The sea between Lesbos and Chios
- 2- The sea between the islands of Karaburun and Samos
- 3- The sea between the islands of Samos and Karyot and the islands of Astropolya and Kos
- 4- The sea between the Gulf of Guva and the islands of Kos and Astropolya and Serpino and Small Tilayaki
- 5- Rocks in the vicinity of Aronoz and Kamli
- 6- The sea between Sufrani Niya and the islands of Kashot and Crete
- 7- The Pire and Puro rocks in Crete
- 8- The sea between the islands of Crete and Rhodes Castle
- 9- The sea between Güva Bay and Yediburç

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condition that 10% of this work was given to the state. The inability to implement this job devastated the family of 30 divers who would do the job. For this reason, a document was written to the governor of Rhodes. BOA, HR.TO. / 245 – 51.

10- The sea between the seven capes and the island of Gökova

11-The sea between the island of Gökova and the Gulf of Antalya (BOA, HR. TO.. / 459 – 3 and BOA, ŞD. / 500 – 32-9).

In the incoming document dated May 13, 1875 (7 Rebiülahir 1292), the specifications of the Biliotti Brothers of Rhodes, who had been granted a concession to export coral from Kale-i Sultaniye to Yaffa, were given (BOA, ŞD. / 500 – 32)<sup>14</sup> All kinds of rules to be followed were explained here, the state determined the coral hunting areas with this agreement and explained in detail what kind of prohibitions there would be in this hunting. In the document dated September 30, 1875 (29 Şaban 1292), the telegram of the *Mutasarrıflık* of Rhodes was sent with the decision of the Ministry of Public Works, regarding the concession of coral export. This very short document did not contain any information (BOA, ŞD. 2341- 60). Ten days later, a document was sent with the transactions regarding the request of the Bilyoti brothers for the concession to export coral along the coastline from Kale-i Sultaniye to Yaffa and the full text of the contract (BOA, ŞD 2410 – 42)<sup>15</sup>

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The concession was not accepted in the coral export concession sent to the Ministry of Public Works by Monsieur Bilyoti and his brothers in Rhodes. If we go from the text:

*Tercüme Odası Nev-i Tercüme*

*Mercan imtiyazı ihracına dair*

*Nafia Nezaretine 18 teşrin-i sani 1875 tarihli Rodos'ta bulunan Mösyö Bilyoti ve biraderi tarafından irsal olunan tahriratın tercümesidir. Mercan ihracı imtiyazı çakerlerine ita olunmuş olduğu bundan üç mah akdem Şura-yı Devlet Nafia Dairesi tarafından çakerlerine bila'ıştira diğer şartname tanzim olunmuştur. İşbu şartname belki yeniden isdar olunacak ferman ile beraber nezaret-i celile vasıtasıyla biran evvel tarafınıza teslim ve itası icab-ı halden iken şimdiye kadar sürüncemede kalmış olduğundan mukaddema dahi tehirat ile bizce mensub bir şayan olacak münhal olacak bir takım salatın vuku nezdi saltanat-ı seniyyede şahane cevaz olamayacağı memuldür oradan mezkur nezd-i ali nezaret penahilerinin tesvirin vekillerimiz Odfon Mösyö Mütebadi Karadeniz ve Giresun teslim veyahut Surha Eyus buraca şartname-*

<sup>14</sup> (Annex 1). The same agreement is also found in the following document. BOA, ŞD. / 500 – 32-11.

<sup>15</sup> (Annex 2).

*yi imza ve iki nüsha olarak teati etmek üzere Rodos Mutasarrıfına irsal bulunası rica ve istirham eder ve şayet mudi olunmak ise bir müddet daha vuku bulacak tehir netayıç tasfiyesi men için nezd-ü Babıalide icrası ve saltanat-ı inayet-i aliyye nezaretpenahileri buyurulmak babında her evrak ferman-ı hazretü veliniğmetümdür (BOA, HR.TO.. / 515 – 78)*

1 Ocak 1876 (20 Kanuni Evvel 1291)

Coral fishing did not last very long and we see that this business was continued for a short period of two years. Considering that this work was carried out in certain months, as stated in the contract, this period had been reduced to less than two years.



**Image:** Alcarna (Deveciyan, 2020 :342)

#### **4- Machine Breaking and Litigation**

The increase in commercial capacity led to increased recourse to the courts as foreign merchants and locals had to deal with problems that had to be resolved. Over-taxation or re-taxation at customs had also led to troublesome situations. Foreign merchants tried to settle their transactions through their consulates. The most intense disruption was on the island of Sömbeki, while on the island of Kalymnos events were only sporadically felt. (Namık Kemal'in Hususi Mektupları, VII-VIII Rodos ve Sakız Mektupları, 2013: 592).

In a document dated May 20, 1850 (8 Rajab 1266), Izmir customs received 80 sacks of sponges sent from Kalymnos by Alifri and Sava, a Russian merchant residing in Izmir, at the customs depository in Kos Island. The situation was explained through the consulate due to the re-imposition of customs duties and it was stated that the taxes collected in Kos were sufficient. The embassies demanded that the aforementioned certificates at the customs be taken into account and that the rest of the excess tax be refunded. It was also stated that the situation should be notified to the Ministry of Finance and that if the period was prolonged, losses would be incurred. It was requested that all customs on the Anatolian and Rumelia coasts should not charge customs on goods, merchandise and provisions coming to Istanbul from foreign countries, that the tax collected from one of the customs on the coast of the Gate of Felicity should be valid for the others, and that the Izmir tax should be returned to the person (BOA, HR.MKT. 34 – 12).

The tax collected from the fish caught and sponges mined in Rhodes Island was reported in a document dated March 24, 1858 (8 Sha'ban 1274), which was sent to the Ministry of Finance with a document dated May 8, 1857 (14 Ramadan 1273), and with the memorandum sent to the Supreme Council for Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Valayı Ahkam-ı Adliye*). It was stated that although the “*sahika tax*” for the collection of the tax on the fish caught on the coast of the island and the sponges exported had been applied until now, the *sahika* and fee bonds were given to Ahmet Efendi with a price of 20 thousand piastres through the auction procedure. It was given to Hacı İbrahim Agha for fishing and exporting fish and sponges. In order to ensure that the taxation was in accordance with its provisions, it was requested that the tax be held in escrow for one year and that certain revenues be tendered in cash as of March 1275.(Genç, vol 22, 2000 :154-158).<sup>16</sup> In the case of escrow administration, it was requested that the taxes be paid to the island this time, since losses were incurred due to the inability to cover the costs. Documents were sent to the Finance Community to give the tax collection work to new bidders with a raise if it was put up for auction,

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<sup>16</sup> In March 1840, İltizam was completely removed from the main structure, which was included in the Tanzimat. It was started to collect according to escrow administration through salaried officials within the newly created muhassillik organization.

otherwise to continue with Hacı İbrahim Aga. Since the officers of *Mutasarrif* and various rates would belong to the treasury, the necessary action was requested and the situation was reported to the Ministry of Finance (BOA, İ. MVL. 392 – 17066).

Assaults and theft were also among the violations. In the document dated August 8, 1866 (26 rebiülevvel 1283), it was requested to arrest five boat captains who did not pay the tax in kind or in compensation for the sponges they fished on the Cretan coast and did not pay the salaries and belongings of the guards and beat them and fled. For this situation, which required a collection of 66 thousand liras by the local administration, it was deemed appropriate to detain the property of the captains or to charge them double tax, due to the beating of the guards. It was stated that the necessary information was also given to the district governor of Rhodes, as the island of Halki was connected to Rhodes, since the necessary ones should be referred to the courts (BOA, MVL 798 – 1).

In the document dated December 5, 1866 (27 Rajab 1283) written from the District Governor of Rhodes to the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, it was stated that the Kolomil and Roviyn company in Paris, a subject of the State of France, purchased 90 thousand cubic meters of sponges from the island of Halki through a merchant named Monsieur Kolomil in Rhodes. It was stated that Bazergan Monsieur Bilyoti, who received great support from the people while loading this sponge to the ship, had the sponge withheld. While the embassy was informed not to prevent the transportation of the goods, it was requested that the goods of a merchant should not be withheld in this way. With the signature of Monsieur Durpot, it was stated that the first duty of the Government was the enforcement of the laws, and it was reported that the withholding of the company's property was not included in the laws and that the laws were not acted upon (BOA,HR.MKT. 565 – 35).

In the document dated September 21, 1867 (22 Cemazielevvel 1284), a person named Yerontos sent a document to the Eyalet of the Archipelago for an investigation due to the forced breakdown of the sponge machine of the Manoso Company, a subject of the Italian state, on the island of Kalymnos in Rhodes. The original committee of the Rhodes Commercial Court and the deputies of the consuls from various states were elected and the court was formed with a 3-person commission consisting of locals **The islanders were asked to compensate the 32,332 kurus that the locals broke the**

**machine.** The report of the commission was written by the *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes and the people's representatives were not involved. A petition was presented to the Rhodes government with the phrase written in the Latin letter (rumi). All the documents were given to the Italian merchant Monosa and it was reminded that the cost of a French machine, which had been broken earlier, was taken from the locals. It was stated that the money could not be easily afforded as it was known that there was bad blood between Toma, the original owner, and Yani Mayilis, one of the locals. If no agreement was reached, the people's representatives were asked to be sent to Gate of Felicity (BOA, HR. MKT. / 596 – 53).

In another incident, there was animosity between the locals. According to the statement given by the Embassy of the State of France, the French merchant Silvin Mills Company, one of the inhabitants of the island of Kalymnos, Ermi Zerninin, was extracting sponges with a machine for extracting sponges with a daily wage of 50 ounces each, but they saw that this machine was extracting too much sponge and raided his house and destroyed the machine. Some people were forced to go to Rhodes in this turmoil. Although the local government was also active for this task, it was ineffective. In the document dated May 16, 1866 (1 Muharram 1283), it was requested that Ermi Zerni, one of the inhabitants of the island of Kalymnos, was threatened by the Lucien Mills French Company for the sponge machine that was broken by the locals and that the person had to go to Rhodes, and that the safety of the person be ensured again (BOA, HR.MKT. 551- 7 -6). In the document dated July 11, 1866 (June 29, 1282), after the arrest of one of the perpetrators, Olçe, it was requested that the case be examined by a commission for the operation of the "*tevkif-i mücazat ve tazmin clause*" and that the property be compensated. It was reported to the embassy that this matter should be examined and investigated by an impartial commission, and that the damage and loss caused by the breakage of the machine should be compensated, and that two members of the parliament were elected and the re-elected members were asked to be impartial when no results were obtained from this work. It was requested that this matter be concluded as soon as possible (BOA, HR.MKT. ,565 – 43-2). In the document dated October 25, 1866 (13 Teşrin evvel 1282), it was requested to collect this loss considering that the machine cost 6000 francs and extracted 50 okka sponges for each day (BOA, HR.MKT 539 – 47). In the document dated December



23, 1866 (15 Şaban 1283), in the investigation written to the district governor of Rhodes, it was understood that the sponge machine worth 90.000 kurus was broken by accusing Monsieur Colombil and Monsieur Pot Bazergan's Ermi Zernin, who was the representative of the Colombil and Dubin Company in Rhodes, and the damage and loss article claimed from the embassy for the broken machine (BOA,HR.MKT. 567-1). A complaint was made by the French embassy in a document dated December 5, 1866 (27 Recep 1283). An official came to the island and stated that this machine was bought with state permits by paying the customs tax. He drew attention to the fact that although this machine was broken, other machines were not damaged (BOA, HR.MKT. 565 – 43). In the document dated October 22, 1867 (23 Cemazielahir 1284), the merchant Silon Mabel, a subject of the French state, wanted to investigate the allegations about the sponge machine that was broken by some of the locals when Ermi Zerninin, a resident of the island of Kalymnos, was about to extract sponges from the sea. Rifat Bey from the Translation Chamber, appointed by the Sublime Porte, was asked to come here. An investigation initiated for the company. Both the cost of the machine and the cost of the work that could not be removed in this period were demanded (BOA, HR.MKT. 592 – 56-3). A week later, *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes Hasan Pasha stated that 54,000 kurus was due (BOA, HR.MKT. / 592 – 80).

In the document dated December 26, 1866, a complaint was filed against Jan Michel Dabolyos, the agent of the Manoso Company exporting sponges, for the cruelty and assault committed by some people from the inhabitants of the island of Kalymnos, who had seized the sponge machine of the commission known from the Italian trade. It was stated that due to the complaint made, the company's representative Mislin drew a protest letter to the Italian state company in Izmir. In this protest, the machine was seized by the inhabitants of the island and this situation was determined by the district governor of Rhodes (BOA, HR.TO.. 276 – 78). It was deemed necessary for the district governor to make the necessary investigation and notify the embassy of the result, and for the district governor to renew the guarantee (BOA, HR.TO.. 276 – 78-2)<sup>17</sup>. According to the document dated February 28, 1867 (23 Shawwal 1283) submitted by the Italian embassy to ministry, the sponge machine of Jan Michel Dabolyos, the agent

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<sup>17</sup> Guarantee (Teminat); The promise or money given to convince and to give security or to pay for possible damage is the guarantor shown.

of the Manoso Company, was seized by the inhabitants of the island. It was stated that there was a demand and favor for the necessary investigation to be carried out, although the situation was not like this, and it was not restrained by the people, and some people said that it was broken (BOA, HR.MKT. 571 – 12). This situation was reported to the District Governor of Rhodes, Asım Bey, and as stated by the British consul Monsieur Alfred at the Greek consulate, the application to the local government was abandoned and the situation was left to the District Governor of Rhodes. It was confirmed by the district governor that some of the parts of the machine were seized with the provocation of the people (BOA, HR.MKT. 571- 12 -39). In the document dated June 5, 1867 (2 Safer 1284), the money of the machine that was seized and broken was requested to be compensated from the inhabitants of Island of Kalymnos. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was asked whether it was appropriate to implement this work. The District Governor also demanded the collection of the fee of 54,000 kuruş for the broken machine, which was compensated in his document (BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. / 383 – 89-4).<sup>18</sup>

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Problems related to the sale of sponge were also a source of disagreement. With a document dated October 2, 1874 (September 20, 1290), Thomas Olimpidi, an Ottoman citizen and a resident of the island of Kalymnos, states that Joseph Blanc, a French subject residing in Paris, did not purchase the sponges he had brought to Paris at the price determined, and that the expenses of 9609 francs should be refunded to Joseph Blanc. The document was certified by the local commercial court by the French embassy. It was also to be approved by the State, and in case of objection, a letter could be written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago (BOA, HR.MKT. 852 – 63-3). In the document dated fourteen days after the recapture of 9609 francs from the deceased French subject, Jozeph Blanc residing in Paris, documents were given to the embassy for the execution of the decision in absentia from the Paris Commercial Court. The law was approved and the things to be done according to the documents were stated in the Foreign Ministry Statute Book (BOA, HR.MKT. 852 – 63). In the document dated October 28, 1875 (28 Ramadan 1292), upon the request and privilege of the French embassy, the work was approved by the local commercial court in accordance with the

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<sup>18</sup> According to the figure given in the Ottoman yearbook, the price of a sponge machine is approximately 180 liras.1310 Cezayir-İ Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti salnamesi, 234.

procedures and regulations. The document dated June 17, 1876 (5 Ramadan 1292), which was required to be executed, was approved by the Eyalet of the Archipelago. Since there was a French consul on the island of Kalymnos and there was also a consul on the island of Rhodes, the embassy requested that the situation be reported to the commercial court of the island, and the situation was notified to the province for the necessary action to be taken (BOA, HR.MKT. 897- 34 -3).

In cases where the law was not enforced, sponge boats were seized. In the document dated January 5, 1888 (20 Rabiulahir 1305), it was requested to inform the Ministry of Finance about the complaints of the inhabitants of the aforementioned islands regarding the seizure and attempted sale of the boats of the inhabitants of Symi and Halki, who were engaged in sponge fishing around Crete, Cyprus and Egypt, by the sanjak of Rhodes. In the documents written to the Ministry of Finance, the provinces were notified to take the sponges from the boats in Rhodes and the surrounding waters in case of violations of the prohibitions, in order to apply the Penal Code against them. The petition submitted by the representatives of the inhabitants of Symi and Halki was sent. In addition to the requests sent, it was stated that no response had yet been received from the memorandum. In the response to the request, it was stated that the boats were about to be sold, that a feud had occurred and that the treasury was asked to do the necessary (BOA, DH.MKT. / 1475 – 3).

The necessary paperwork for sponge licenses was done by the state. In the document dated September 20, 1891 (15 Safer 1309), we see that the sponge hunters in Halki who were given a license with a power of attorney, were allowed to hunt with machinery in Manduroh. It was determined that when the sponge divers came back from Crete to Halki after the end of the fishing period, the guarantees they would give again were canceled and the three kuruş stamp that should have been affixed to these certificates along with the *saydiye* tax they had to pay was not affixed. Instead, they only affixed a 25-coin stamp. It was written in the Ministry of Finance to give the necessary cash penalty to the officers who affixed missing stamps, and to punish those who affixed wrong and missing stamps (BOA, DH.MKT. 1869 – 74).

In the document dated February 7, 1901 (17 Shawwal 1318) for the lawsuit to

be filed against the owner and those who caused this to happen for the 80 ballots<sup>19</sup> of American sponges that were taken and fraudulently transferred to Halki after staying in the Kalymnos warehouse for more than a year, the proceedings were held in Greek because the Kalymnos regular court was Christian. Legal proceedings were requested to be taken between the owner and those responsible. It was stated to the Ministry that the daily *mecidiye* was given to the deputies to be sent here for the investigation of the work, out of the allowance of the various expenses "from the distributive arrangement", which were allocated for various expenses during their stay there, and that the per diem expenses of this work were not enough (BOA, ŞD. 592-34). Five days later, the Izmir Tax Administration requested that their attorney in Kalymnos, Reavi, Imamzade Demirzahni Efendi from Crete, be assigned to this court, since the attorney was fluent in Greek. For this, a fee of 5000 kurus was demanded and 10% of the amount was to be given to these people due to the winning of the case. It was also decided in Article 62 that the rate of 7% of the fee given in accordance with the law could not exceed 7%, and that individuals would receive 20-30 kurus per person each time they went to the court (BOA, BEO 1617 – 121263-2) The decision of the Council of State on the appointment and remuneration of these individuals was sent to the Tax Administration with the written documents (BOA,BEO 1617 – 121263).

Although there were not many incidents related to the breakage of sponge machines, the documents mentioned animosity due to over-collected sponges. Again, problems arose with the sponge companies due to excessive taxes and sponges sold at low prices.

### **Conclusion**

In the Sea of Islands (Aegean Sea), which is located in this province intertwined with the sea, we see that the level of fishing was low. It should be noted that we have not been able to obtain complete information about the number of fish in the archive, and our study is incomplete in this respect. The operation of the fishponds was seen as a profitable business for the state and the established divers were requested to be delivered to the state under certain conditions with the contracts made. We also see

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<sup>19</sup> We couldn't find out what the size of the ballot is.

that some of them were run by state officials. With the *Sayd-ı Mahi* taxes, we are able to determine that the fish income of some islands was given to individuals by way of taxation. Some fish taxes could not be given to individuals due to the high prices. Some of the fish revenues were also allocated to the Ottoman palace.

Sponge diving was one of the main sources of livelihood especially in the Sanjak of Rhodes. Prohibitions imposed in some periods caused complaints from the local population. Another troublesome situation is the difficulties experienced by sponge divers with the introduction of machine fishing. Machine breaking, especially with foreign companies, led to the matter being taken to court. The archival documents also contain a large number of documents related to the problems arising from the sale of sponges. In disputes over this issue, compensation for broken sponge machines was usually made to be paid to those who broke them. Since these examples set a precedent for others, the lawsuits emphasized compensation for those who broke the sponge machines. This kind of opposition to machine hunting was similar to the Cartism movement in England. Within the province, there was no incident as widespread as the anti-sponge situation that occurred on the island of Symi. Sponge fishing, which extended to the coast of North Africa, was tried to be managed in this way with the requirement of obtaining a license and the prohibition of machine hunting. Coral fishing did not last long and in 1876, the Bilyoti brothers from Italy were granted a concession with a contract. We see that hunting continued for about two years. The state allowed coral fishing within the conditions and in the areas specified in the contract. We see that the best types of sponges were sold abroad to England and France. We were able to observe from the archive documents that the financial resources of the sponge boats were tried to be supported by the benefit funds of the province, even if it was small.

In order to make a comparison, we tried to give a little bit of information about the state of fishing today. In our article, we have tried to enlighten what the aquaculture products available on the islands within the Eyalet of the Archipelago consisted of and under what conditions they were made by examining the archival documents we could access in the Prime Ministry Ottoman archive, the state records of the period and the statistics of foreigners.

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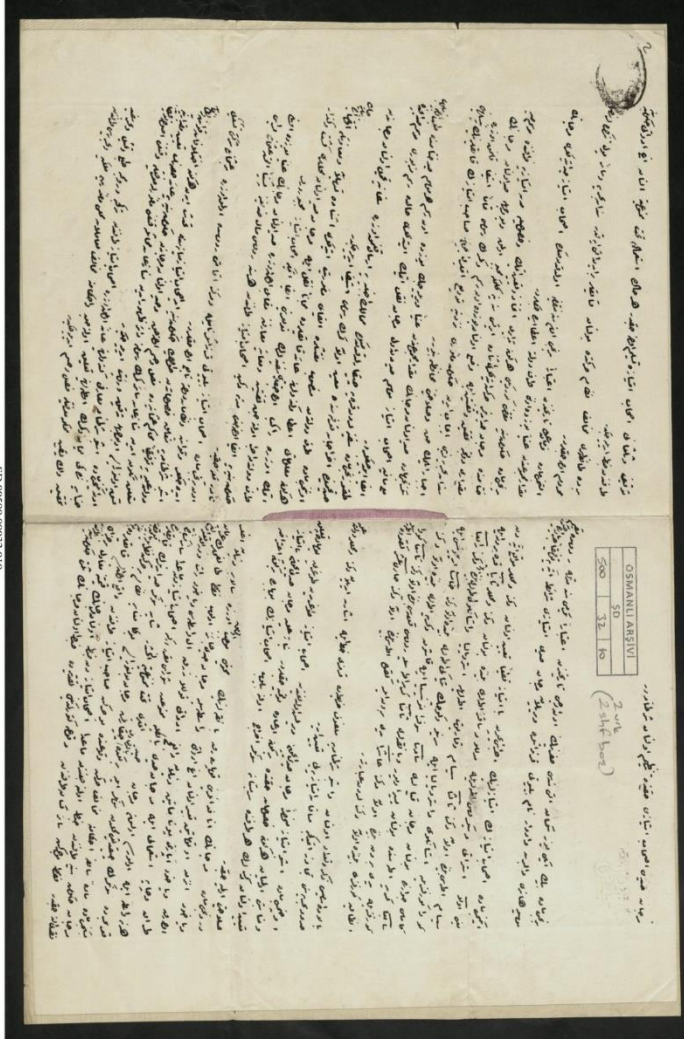
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- Annex 1** BOA, ŞD. / 500 – 32-10



BOA ŞD. / 500 – 32-10

### Şartname

Mercan saydı  
ashabı-ı imtiyazı hakkında  
tanzim olunan şartnamedir.

1. Madde 1206  
senesi seferinin 13.  
tarihinden itibaren yirmi  
sene müddetle Rodosta  
mükim Mösyö Henri ve  
Albert ve Ardar nam Bilyoti  
karındaşlara verilen  
mercan saydı imtiyazı  
şerait-i atiyeye tevfiikan  
cereyan eder.

2. Madde Ashab-ı  
imtiyazın imtiyazlarının  
icra için b'il imtiyaz  
katiyyen tayin olunan deniz

ve mahaller mevki atiyyen bazı olan istirdadı ve diğer Kos adalarıyla Midilli ve Sakız adaları beyninde bulunan deniz ve Midilli Saye Karaburun ve Sisam Adası beyninde olan deniz salisen Sisam ve Karyot adalarıyla Astropolya ve İstanköy Adaları beynindeki deniz rabien Kura Körfeziyle İstanköy ve Astropalya ile Serinyo ve Küçük Şayaki adaları beyninde olan deniz Zampa Arpanis ile Kamlı civarında bulunan mercan kayaları salisen Sarf Sırfira Nuniya ile Kaşot ve Kerpe adaları beyninde olan deniz Saliben Girit adasında bulunan Ara ve Yur ve bankaları samiyen Girit Adasıyla Rodos Kalesi beyninde olan deniz samien Kura Körfeziyle Yediburun beyninde olan deniz aşiren Yedi burun ile Yukuve Adası beyninde olan deniz Sariaşr Yekuve Adasıyla Antalya Körfezi beyninde olan denizden ibarettir.

Balada esami- zikr ve tadad olunan ve işbu şartnameye melfuf haritası kırmızı hat ile işaret edilen deniz ve mahaller devlet-i aliyye hudud-u bahriyesini tecavüz etmedikçe mesarifat –i imtiyaziyye tayin edilir.



**3.Madde** İşbu imtiyaz münhasıran meran saydı için verilmiş olduğundan ashab-ı imtiyaz doğrudan doğruya bu maddeye talik ve münabiş olmayan her guna hususat hakkında bir guna iddia bulunmayacaktır. Binaen aleyh mercan saydı için bi'l imtiyaz tayin olunan denizlerin her tarafında serbestane sünger ihraç olunabilecek ashab-ı imtiyaz bu babda bir guna itiraz selahiyeti olmayacaktır.

**4.Madde** Mercanın ana fidanlarını kopararak bankalarının mahvını mucip olmak üzere Salabir denilen ağlar veyahut Anzemir Otumotik tabir olunan ağ edevati vasıtasıyla mercan saydı caiz olup fakat taifelerin aryan olarak veyahut Aparni Pona matik denilen dalgıç Edevati kullanarak el vasıtası veyahut Rat ve Vara Maddeyi tadad nağ tarak duçaya istimali ile mercan saydı etmeleri memnuyeti edilmiştir. Şayet sünger saydlarının kayıkların kucerde süngerlerin çıkarıldığı mahalden sünger ile birlikte balıklardan çıkarılmış mercan bulunursa buna mugayir nizam hareket nazarıyla bakılır.

**5.Madde** Maddeyi salif ahkamına muhalif hareket vukuunda bu hareket sahipleri imtiyaz tarafından vaki olur ise kayıklarda bunun mercan hükümet-i seniyye tarafından zapt olunacağından maada ashab-ı imtiyaz zapt olunan mercanın talat hükümet-i seniyye tarafından tevkif sülüsani ashab-ı imtiyaza teslim olunacaktır. Her halde istimalin taht-ı memnuyete alınan ağ edevati hükümet-i seniyye tarafından zapt edilecektir. Bir de tanzimleri muhalif nizam harekette bulunan kayıklar bir aydan altı aya kadar senedat-ı bahriye vesair yol tezkerelerinden mahrum olacaktır.

**6.Madde** Ferman-ı Ali tarihinden itibaren birinci on sene münkaziyye olduktan sonra ashab-ı imtiyaz sayd ettikleri mercanın miktar-ı mücemmiden aynen % 10 unun tarafı-ı devlete ita edecektir.

**7.Madde** Hükümet-i seniyye mükkan gördüğü hergün tedabir-i ittihaz ve tayin etmek ve hususiyetiyle müddet-i imtiyaziye tarafında mevsim sayd hitamında mercan sayd edenler hareket ettikleri esnada ertesi seneye gelmeğe mecbur olmak ve bu veçhile sayd edilen mercanın miktarı devlete tahkik ve teftiş ile vaz olunan %10 resim ve gümrüğün rüsumu tamamen ittifa kılınmak üzere senedat-ı bahriyelerini icap eden hükümet memuru nezdine tevdi etmeleri icabına sahib-ül imtiyazın kayıklarının reislerini icbar etmek hak ve selahiyetine muhafaza buyurur.

**8.Madde** Sayd olunan mercan miktarı için ondan itibaren verilecek %10 resim her malum ayd hitamında talep olunmayıp mamafih ashab-ı imtiyazdan mevsim

saydan evvel mercan nakletmek istedikleri halde resm-i mezburu mevsim saydına ika edecektir.

**9. Madde** Sefinelerden karaya çıkarıldıktan sonra memalik-i ecnebiyye irsal kılınmak üzere sefainlere tahmil olunan mercanların hin-i tahmilinde ihracat tufesinde muayyen olan gümrük resmi istifa edilecektir.

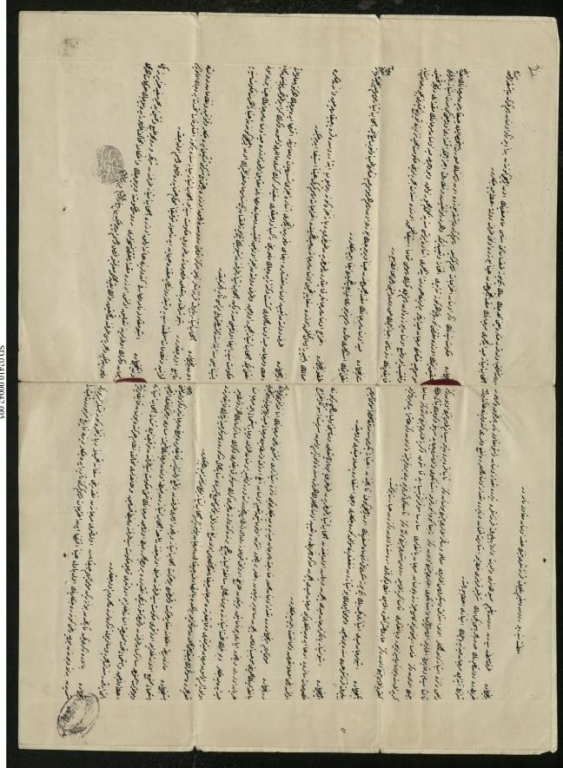
**10. Madde** taraf-ı devletten mensup müfettilere ika-yı memuriyet eyledikleri esnada tashilat ve muayene iktiza edebilecek her gün malumat ita ve kendilerine ait kayıklara meccanen nakil ile mercan saydı olunan mahalleri keş-ü güzar etmek üzere rakeb olacakları sefinelerin nevillerini ifa etmek ashab-ı imtiyaz mecburdurlar. Taraf-ı devletten icar olunan teftiş ve muayeneye mukabil olmak üzere sayd olunan sayd olunan mercanın aynen % 10'u hükümeti seniyye ifa olunacağı müddete değin ashab-ı imtiyaz tarafından her sene Rodos mal sandığına peşinen almış kuruş mercan tediye kılınacaktır.

**11. Madde** Ashab-ı İmtiyaz Bilyoti karındaş namıyla ve merkez ikameti Rodos'ta olmak üzere bir Osmanlı Şirketi teşkil edecektir. ve kavanin ve nizamat-ı devlete tabi olacaktır

İşbu şartnameye müteallik hususiyetten dolayı hükümet-i seniyye ile ashab-ı imtiyaz ziyanına tahaddüs eden her gün ihtilafat-ı kavanin nizamat-ı devlet-i aliyyeye tevfi ken muhakim-i osmaniyede Mufel ve ham olunacak sayd olunan mercandan hükümet-i seniyyeye aid hissenin tayin tayin-i mukayyid edenleriyle müteallik şekavet eden münazaat-ı saire gümrük resmine dair zühur eden münazaat-ı mahalliye hangi memureyn marifetiyle ve hangi usül tevfi ken tesviye olunur ise olvehile tedkik ve rüyet edecektir.

**12. Madde** İşbu şartname mesarifi kendilerine ait olmak üzere ashab-ı imtiyaz tarafından Türkçe ve Rumca tab ve teşmil etmek ve bahri Sefid ceziriyesinin meyan ve gümrük tarifeyne talik olacak ve ahkamına muhalif muamelat mahalli memureyn mülkiye ve bahriyesi tarafına tahkik ve ilk yakın mahkeme marifetiyle fasl ve ham edilecektir.

Annex 2 BOA, ŞD 2410-42 -5 -Mukavelename



BOA, ŞD 2410- 42 -5

*Sultan-ı Seniyye ile Rodosta mukim Bilyoti karındaşları beyinde akd olunan mukavelename müsveddesidir.*

**1. Madde** *Taraf-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeden Rodos'ta mükim Mösyö Henri ve Albert ve Ardar Bilyoti karındaşlara zirde tadad olunan ve işbu mukavelenameye merbut ve mühür haritada devlet-i aliyyenin hudud-u bahriyesini geçmemek şartıyla kırmızı haritada eşraf kılınan ve zirde tadad olunan mahallere nakil ve zararı kendilerine aid olarak şeraitiyle mercan sayd edebilmek imtiyazı ita buyurulmuştur.*

**2. Madde** *İşbu maden imtiyazı geçen 1286 senesi mahı seferinin 13. günü tarihinden itibaren yirmi enen müddetle münhasiren mümaileyh Bilyoti karındaşlar uhdesinde bulunacak ve mümailehin bu imtiyazdan menfaatlerine muvafık görecekleri veçhile istifadeye selahiyetleri olacaktır.*

**3. Madde** *İşbu imtiyaz münhasıran mercan saydı için verilmiş olduğundan ahab-ı imtiyaz doğrudan doğruya bu maddeye talik ve münasebeti olmayan hiçbir guna hususat saire idaa idemeyecekleri gibi meran saydı için mezkur haritada tayin olunan mahallerin her zerresinde olur ise olsun serbestane sünger ihraç olunmasına asla taris ve mümanaat eyleyemeyeektir.*

**4.Madde** Mümaileyh birinci maddede tadad olunan mahaller haricinde mercan sayd edemeyecekleri gibi daire-yi imtiyaz dahilinde dahi mercanın ana fidanlarını kopararak bankalarının mahvını mucip olmak üzere Salabir denilen ağlar veyahut Anzemir Otumotik tabir olunan ağ edevatı vasıtasıyla mercan saydı caiz olup fakat taifelerin aryan olarak veyahut Aparni Pona matik denilen dalgıç Edevatı kullanarak el vasıtası veyahut Rat ve Vara Maddeyi tadad nağ tarak duçara istimali ile mercan saydı edemeyecektir. Bunların tahtı imtiyazında bulunan mahal salif-ül imtiyazdan hiçbirinde kendilerinden gayrı gerek sünger kayıkları ve gerek sair kesanın her ne vasıtayla olursa olsun mercan sayd etmek ve kayıklarında mercan çıkarmaya mahsus ağ edevatı bulunması memnu ise de şayet mahalli mezkurede sünger sayd edenler kayıklarında kasrıbahırında süngerlerin çıkarıldığı mahalden sünger ile birlikte bi2l tesadüf çıkarılmış sünger bulunursa ashab-i imtiyaz buna müdahale edemeyecektir.

**5.Madde** Maddeyi sabıka ahkamına muhalif hareket vukuunda bu hareket sahip-i imtiyaz tarafından vaki olur ise kayıklarda bunun mercan hükümet-i seniyye tarafından zapt olunacağından maada ashab-ı imtiyaz zapt olunan mercanın talat hükümet-i seniyye tarafından tevkif sülüsani ashab-ı imtiyaza teslim olunacaktır. Her halde istimalin taht-ı memnuiyete alınan ağ edevatı tamamıyla hükümet-i seniyye tarafından zapt edilecektir. taifeleri muhalif nizam harekette bulunan kayıklar bir aydan altı aya kadar senedat-ı bahriye vesair yol tezkerelerinden mahrum olacaklardır.

**6. Madde** Balada zikri geçen tarihten bu ana değin mümaileyhin çıkarmış oldukları mercandan ne mikatrını sefaine tahmilen diyar-ı ahire göndermişlerse de bunun şimdiden bedelen ve bundan böyle dahi göndereceklerinin evvel bad'el aynen iktiza eden ihracat resmi gümrüğünü tediye edecekler ve yine tarih-ı mezburdan itibaren on sene munkazziye olduktan sonra yani gidecek 1296 senesi mahı sferin 13. gününden berren ile zikr olunan resmi gümrükten başkaca olmak üzere ashab-ı imtiyaz sayd edecekleri mercanın miktarı için ondan aynen %10 taraf-ı devlete ita edecekler.

**7.Madde** Hükümet-i seniyye zikr olunan ihracat resmi gümrüğünden başkaca % 10 resmi resmi suret-i istihsaliyle çıkarılan mercanın miktarını tahkik etmek üzere müfettiş muktezi göndereceği her gün tedabir-i ittihaz tayin etmeğe her türlü teftiş ve nezareti icra etmeğe iktidarı olacağı gibi müddeti imtiyaz tarafına mevsim

sayd hitamında mercan sayd edenler yerlerine avdet ettikleri esnada ertesi seneye gelmeğe mecbur olmak ve bu veçhile sayd edilen mercanın miktarı devlete tahkik ve teftiş ile vaz olunan %10 resm ve gümrüğün rüsumu tamamen ittifa kılınmak üzere senedat-ı bahriyelerini icap eden hükümet memuru tezdine tevdi etmeleri icabına sahib-ül imtiyazın kayıklarının reislerini icbar etmek hak ve selahiyetine muhafaza buyurur.

**8.Madde** Sayd olunan mercan miktarı için ondan itibaren verilecek %10 resim her malum sayd hitamında talep olunmayıp mamafih ashab-ı imtiyazdan mevsim saydan evvel mercan nakletmek istedikleri halde resm-i mezburu mevsim saydına ika eyleyecektir.

9. Madde İhraç olunan mercanlara kayıklardan doğrudan doğruya diyar-ı ahire gönderilemeyip ibtida rodosta karaya çıkarılacak ve ondan sonra memalik-i ecnebiyeye irsal kılınmak üzere sefaine tahmil olunan mercanlar hin-i tahmilinde ihracat resmi gümrüğü aynen istifa edlecektir.

**10. Madde** taraf-ı devletten mensup müfettilere ika-yı memuriyet eyledikleri esnada tashilat ve muayene iktiza edebilecek her gün malumat ita ve kendilerine ait kayıklara meccanen nakil ile mercan saydı olunan mahalleri keş-ü güzar etmek üzere rakeb olacakları sefinelerin nevillerini ifa etmek ashab-ı imtiyaz mecburdurlar. Taraf-ı devletten icar olunan teftiş ve muayeneye mukabil olmak üzere sayd olunan sayd olunan mercanın aynen %10'u hükümeti seniyye ifa olunacağı müddete değin ashab-ı imtiyaz tarafından her sene Rodos mal sandığına peşinen almış kuruluş mercan tediye kılınacaktır.

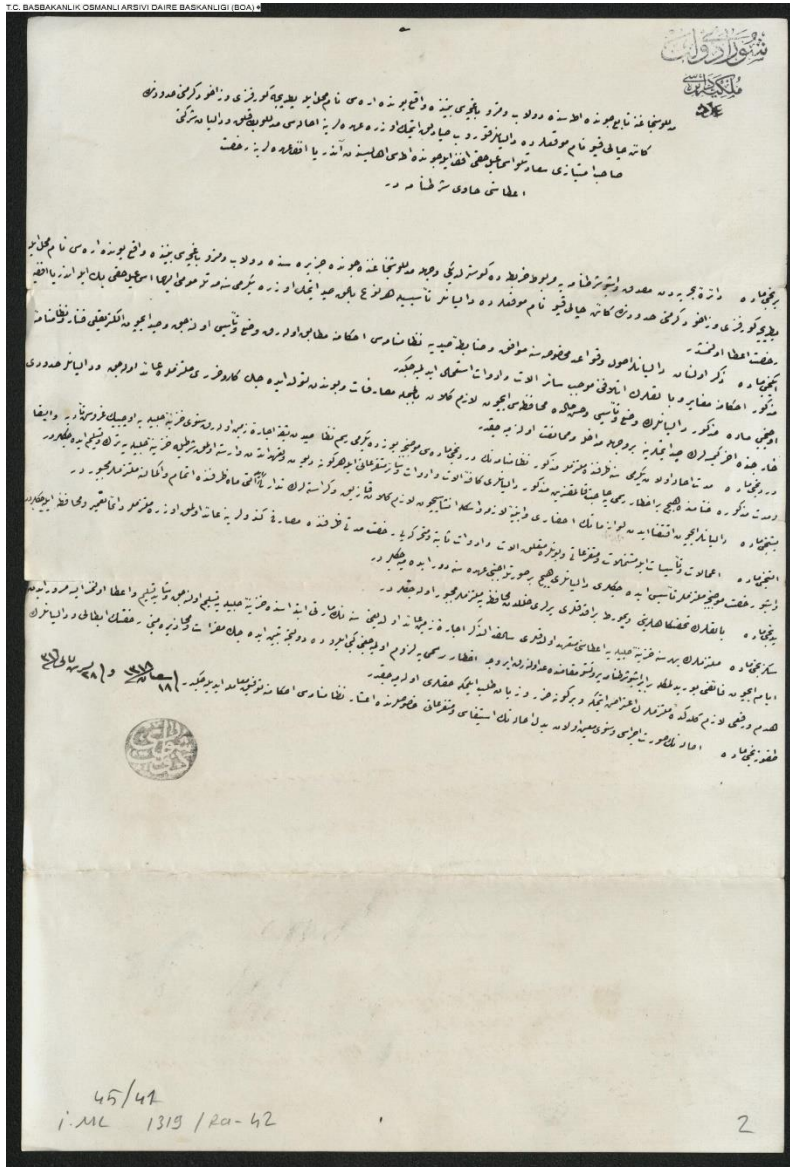
**11. Madde** Ashab-ı İmtiyaz Bilyoti karındaşlar namıyla ve merkez ikameti Rodos'ta olmak üzere bir Osmanlı Şirketi teşkil edecektir. Ve kavanin ve nizamat-ı devlete tabi olunaacaktır. İşbu şartnameye müteallik hususiyetten dolayı hükümet-i seniyye ile ashab-ı imtiyaz meyanesinde bir güne ihtilafat tahaddüs edecek olursa kavanin-i nizamat-ı saltanat -ı seniyye ve tebaa-yı devlet-i aliyye hakkında cereyan eden usüle tevfikan muhakim-i osmaniyede fasıl ve hasım olunacaktır.

**12. Madde** İşbu mukavelenameyi mesarifi kendilerine ait olmak üzere ashab-ı imtiyaz tarafından Türkçe ve Rumca tab ve teşmil etmek ve bahri Sefid ceziriyesinin meyan ve gümrük tarifeyne talik olacak ve ahkamına muhalif muamelat mahalli

memureyn mülkiye ve bahriyesi tarafına tahkik ve ilk yakın mahkeme marifetiyle fasl ve hısm edilecektir.

7 Rebiülahir 1292 ve 1 Mayıs 1291

Annex 3 Annex 3 BOA, İML 45,41-2.



I.ML.0045.00041.002

BOA, İ.ML,45-41-2.

Hu

Midilli Sancağına tabi Cunda Adasında Dolap ve Metro bağçesi beyinde vaki Yunda Arası nam mahal ile Patrice Körfezi ve Ezher Germi hududunda kain Çalı Kuyu nam mevkiye dalyanlar kurup saydılık etmek üzere uhdelerine ihalesi Midüllü Bataklık ve Dalyan şirketi sahib'ül imtiyazı Saadetlü İsmail Hakkı Efendi ve Cunda Adası

ahalisinden Androya Efendi uhdelerine ruhsat itasına havi şartnamedir.

**1.Madde** Daire-yi Bahriyeden musaddık ve işbu şartnameye merbut haritada gösterildiği vechile Midilli Sancağında Cunda Ceziresinde Dolap ve Metro Bağçesi beyninde vaki Yunda Arası mahal ile Patrice Körfezi Ezher Germi Hududunda kain Çalı Kuyu nam mevkide dalyanlar tesisiyle her nev balık sayd etmek üzere 20 sene müddetle mümaileyha İsmail Hakkı Bey ile Androya Efendiye ruhsat ita olunmuştur.

**2.Madde** Zikr olunan dalyanlar usul ve kaideyi mahsusasında muvafik ve zabıtaı saydiye nizamnamesi ahkamına mutabık olarak arz ve tesis olacak ve sayd için elektirikli fener nizamnamesi mezkur ahkamına mugayir ve balıkların itlafı mucib sair alat ve edevat istimal edilmeyecektir.

**3.Madde** Mezkur dalyanların vaz ve tesis ve hüsnü halde muhafazası için lazım gelen bi'l cümle mesarifat ve bundan tevellüd edecek kamu zararı mültezimlere aid olacak dalyanların hududu hariçte aher kimselerin sayd etmelerine bervech müdahil ve mümanaat olamayacaktır.

**4.Madde** Müddeti isal olan 20 sene zarfında Mültezim Mezkur nizamamenin 4. Maddesi mucibince % 20 resmi nizamdan icare-yi Zemin olarak senevi hazineye 3000 kuruş tediye ve ita bir müddet mezkure hitamında hiçbir ihtar – ı resmiye sahip kalmaksızın mezkur dalyanları kaffe-yi alat ve sair müteferriatı ile her güne düyun ve taahhütten vareste olmak şartıyla hazine-yi celileye terk ve teslim edecektir.

**5.Madde** Dalyanlar için iktiza eden levazimatın ihzarı ve ebniyeyi lazım ve iskele inşası için lazım gelen kazık ve kerestenin tedarikat bahası altı mah zarfında itmam ve ikmaline mültezim mecburdur.

**6.Madde** İmalat ve tesisat ile müstemilat ve müteferriatı ve bunlara müteallik alet ve edevat temine müteharrike ruhsat müddeti zarfında mesarifi kendilerine ait olmak üzere mültezimler daima tamir ve muhafaza edecekleri ve işbu ruhsat mucibince mültezimler tesis edecekleri dalyanlar hiçbir surette ecnebi uhdesine teslim edilmeyecektir.

**7.Madde** Balıkların tahfiska halleri yumurta bıraktıkları halleri muhafazaya mültezim mecbur olacaktır.

**8.Madde** Mültezimlerin beher sene hazine-yi celileye itasını tahhüd oldukları salıf'ül zikr icare-yi zemine ait olduğu senenin martı ibtidasında hazine-yi celileye teslim olunacak ve şayed teslim ve ita olunmaz ise mürur eden eyyam için hangisi

*yürütölmekte beraber işbu şartnameye neşr makamına add olunarak ayrıca ihtar-ı resmiye lüzum olmadığı gibi ileride devletçe tayin edecek mazarrat ve mehaziye mebni ruhsatın iptali dalyanların hedmi ve ref'i lazım geldikte mültezimlerin itirazına etmekte ve bir guna zarar ziyan talep etmeğe hakları olmayacaktır*

**9.Madde** *İhalelerin suret-i icrası ve senevi muayyen alat bedel ihalesinin istifası ve müteferriatı hususlarında asar nizmanamesi ahkamına tevfiik muamele edilecektir.*

*Fi 17 Şaban 1318 ve fi 28 Teşri-i Sani 1316*

*Şura-yı Devlet Mührü*



## **Narziss ve Goldmund: Tarihsel Bir Romanı Okuma Denemesi**

Narziss And Goldmund: Attempt To Read A Historical Novel

Yunus Arifoğlu<sup>1</sup>

### **Öz**

Tarihi bir devri anlatan roman, dönemi muhayyilenizde canlandırma imkânı verir. Döneme dair belli bir bilgi altyapısıyla birlikte roman, o dönemi daha iyi tahayyül etme fırsatı sunar. Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının Almanya'sını anlatan bir roman olarak Hermann Hesse'nin Narziss ve Goldmund eseri öne çıkmaktadır. Hesse'nin bu eseri, Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının zihin yapısını anlamada yol göstericidir. Bu çalışmada, tarihi bir dönemin zihniyet yapısını anlatmaya odaklı Narziss ve Goldmund eseri irdelenecektir. Bu mahiyete sahip eserin bu yönüyle okuma biçimi üzerinde durulacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ortaçağ, Roman, Goldmund, Narziss, Hermann Hesse

### **Abstract**

Novels that describe a historical period give you the opportunity to visualize that period in your imagination. The novel, together with a certain information infrastructure about the period, offers the person the opportunity to better envision the period. Hermann Hesse's Narziss and Goldmund stands out as an important novel about Medieval Europe. This work by Hesse is a guide to understanding the mentality of medieval Europe. In this study, studies of Narziss and Goldmund focusing on explaining the mentality of a historical period will be examined. The work of this nature will be tried to be read from this aspect.

**Keywords:** Medieval, Novel, Goldmund, Narziss, Hermann Hesse

### **Giriş**

Roman okumak tarihçilerin mutlaka yapmaları gereken işler arasındadır. Tarihi salt kuru bilgi ve belge üzerinden betimleme, eksik bir okuma biçimi olur. Bu önemden dolayı tarihçiler sadece roman okumakla yetinmemiş, aynı zamanda yazma girişiminde de bulunmuşlardır. Bunların içerisinde Umberto Eco'nun "Gül'ün Adı"

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eseri meşhurdur. Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının zihni yapısını bu denli betimleyebilecek bir başka eser, herhalde yoktur.

Tarihi bir dönemi anlatan roman, dönemi muhayyilenizde canlandırma imkânı verir. Film belli öğelerle kendisi, döneme hayat verme iddiasında iken, roman bunu okuyucusuna bırakır. Döneme dair belli bir bilgi altyapısıyla birlikte roman, o dönemi daha iyi tahayyül etme fırsatı sunar.

Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının Almanya'sını anlatan bir roman olarak Hermann Hesse'nin *Narziss ve Goldmund* eseri öne çıkmaktadır. Bu dönemi anlatan bilgi ve belge eksikliği düşünüldüğünde bu romanın sahip olduğu değer daha anlaşılır hale gelmektedir. Hesse'nin bu eseri, Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının zihin yapısını anlamada yol göstericidir.

Herman Hesse'nin kaleminden, Kamuran Şipal tercümesiyle YKY yayınlarından yeniden yayınlanan *Narziss ve Golmund*<sup>2</sup> eseri roman eşliğinde başka bir dünyanın tarihi, kültürü ve sosyal yapısı hakkında insana dair izdüşümler bırakmaktadır.

Hermann Hesse 1877'de Almanya'nın Calw kasabasında doğdu. Eğitim sistemindeki kısıtlamalara ve misyoner babasının dinsel baskılarına direnerek Maulbornn ilahiyat okulundan ayrıldı. Jung felsefesiyle ilgilendi ve bundan fazlaca etkilendi. 1904'te serbest yazarlığa başladı. 1911'de Hindistan'a yaptığı yolculuk doğu kültüründen etkilenmesine yol açtı ve bunu yakinen bilmesini sağladı.<sup>3</sup>

Hesse'nin *Narziss ve Goldmund* adlı eseri üzerine, ilk inceleme Vene Rudebusch<sup>4</sup>, tarafından yapılmıştır. Bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar içerisinde, Lewis W. Tusken'in *The Tree Symbol Interpretive Key*<sup>5</sup> çalışması vardır. Yine Jung felsefesi bağlamında ise yapılan çalışmalar da mevcuttur.<sup>6</sup> Türkiye'de Ayşe Demirel, Hermann

<sup>2</sup> Herman Hesse, *Narziss ve Golmund*, çev. Kamuran Şipal, YKY Yayınları, İstanbul 2012.

<sup>3</sup> *Narziss ve Golmund* adlı eserindeki biyografisinden, Hesse, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Vene Rudebusch, a thematic analysis of Herman Hesse's *Narziss and Goldmund*, *Cinnicati*, 1973, DA, XXXIV, 4283, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3831106>; (Erişim 10 Nisan 2023).

<sup>5</sup> Lewis W. Tusken'in *Thematic Unity in Hermann Hesse's Narziss And Goldmund: The Tree Symbol Interpretive Key*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 245-251, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26281169>; (Erişim 10 Nisan 2023).

<sup>6</sup> Faizullah Jan-Syed Irfan Ashraf-Azmat Khan, "Deconstructing Hermann Hesse's *Narcissus and Goldmund* with a crosscultural lens", *Liberal Arts & Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/362368611\\_Deconstructing\\_Hermann\\_Hesse's\\_Narcissus\\_and\\_Goldmund\\_with\\_a\\_cross-cultural\\_lens](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/362368611_Deconstructing_Hermann_Hesse's_Narcissus_and_Goldmund_with_a_cross-cultural_lens); (Erişim 10 Nisan 2023).

Hesse'nin Romanlarındaki Kadın Protrelere<sup>7</sup> adlı bir doktora yapmıştır. Gene bu alanda Veysel Lidar'ın karşılaştırmalı çalışması söz konusudur.<sup>8</sup>

Kitabın dili dönemi yansıtmaktan uzak denilebilir veya bu, tercümede bu yok edilmiştir. Bu sebeple basit bir bir tercüme dili dikkat çekiyor ve kullanılan jargon dönemi yansıtmıyor. Hasılı bu bağlamda romanın dili veya tercümesi güncel zamanı anlatır gibi yansıtmakta ve Ortaçağ'ı anlatmada oldukça da vasat kalmaktadır.

### **Tarihsel Bir Romanı Okuma Denemesi**

Herman Hesse'nin Narziss ve Golmund adlı eserinden tarihi dönemi saf bir biçimde anlatmasını beklememek gerekir. Bu açıdan eserin yazıldığı dönem olan 20. yüzyılın bakışının tesiri altında kaldığını söylemek mümkündür. Eserde döneme yönelik tasvirlerde modern zamanın izleri görünmektedir. Geçmişe dair tasarımlarımızın saf bir tarihi kapsamaktan uzak olduğunun bilincinde olmamız, bir açıdan zorunlu bir yaklaşımdır.<sup>9</sup> Diğer yandan Hesse'nin zıtlıkların felsefesi olan Jung felsefesinin etkisi altında olduğu aşıkardır. Eser bu felsefeden ziyadesiyle payını almış, dahası Hesse eserini bu felsefe ile inşa etmeye çalışmıştır. Hasılı muhayyilemizde canlanan dönem bir ölçüde gerçekliğin tasviri iken diğer anlamıyla 20. yüzyıl düşüncesinin bir yansımasıdır. Dolayısıyla Ortaçağ Avrupa'sı bu çerçevede kurgulanmış, yorumlanmıştır.

Ortaçağ Avrupa'sını konu edinen Herman Hesse'nin romanı zıtlıkların uyumunu iki karakter üzerinden anlatmaktadır. Kitabın ana karakterlerinden birisi olan Goldmund, başına buyruk ve hayatı tecrübeyle anlamaya çalışan birisi iken Narziss ise ilgeliği tercih etmiş ve kilisede kitapla kendisini bulmanın peşindedir.

Bu minvalde karakterlerden birisinin akli diğerinin ise duyguları temsil ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bundan dolayı akıl ile duyguların yoğun çatıştırıldığı, arzulara gem vurulduğu görülmektedir. İki mknatısın çekim alanında kalan insanın buna dair yaşadığı sancıları ve yorulan ruhu tasvir edilmektedir.

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<sup>7</sup> Ayşe Demirel, Hermann Hesse'nin Romanlarındaki Kadın Protrelere, Sakarya Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Sakarya 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Veysel Lidar, Herman Hesse'nin Narziss ve Goldmund ile Ivan Gançarov'un Oblomov Adlı Eserlerinde Anne Figürü, XII. Uluslar arası Dil, Yazın, Değişibilim Sempozyumu, 1, 2012, s. 308-313.

<sup>9</sup> Bu hususta bkz. Edward Hallett Carr, Tarih Nedir, çev. Misket Gizem Gürtürk, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2016.

Golmund'un şahsında müşahhas hale gelen bu durum iyi bir şekilde betimlenmeye çalışılmaktadır. O, bir yandan geçmişin köhnemişliği karşısında yaşadığı çaresizlikle baş başa, bir yanıyla topluma karşı duyduğu sorumlulukla yüzleşmekte, diğer yanıyla hazlarını gerçekleştirme arzusundadır. Bütün bu düşüncelerle o, vird halindedir.

Hesse, Golmund'un şahsında akli ve duyguları onun ebeveyniyle özdeşleştirmeye çalışmaktadır. “Sizin us dediğiniz şeyi elde edeceğim diye kendimi yormaya hiç hevesli değilim. Usla aramdaki ilişki, bir zaman babamla aramda var olan ilişkiye benziyor. Bir zaman babamı çok sevdiğimi sanır, kendisine benzediğime inanırdım. Ağzından çıkan her sözün doğruluğuna yemin edebilirdim ancak annem yeniden çıkıp geldiğinde, sevginin ne olduğunu öğrendim. Annemin görüntüsünün yanında babamunki ansızın küçüldü, yitirdi değerini, sevimsiz, asık suratlı, neredeyse iğrenç bir nitelik kazandı. Şimdi içimde öyle bir eğilim var ki ussal olan her şey babamsı, anneden uzak, anne düşmanı gözüyle bakıyor, biraz küçümsüyorum.”<sup>10</sup> Baba, otoritesiyle ve katı tutumuyla akli, anne merhameti ve şefkatiyle duyguları temsil edilmektedir.

Duyguların üzerimizdeki etkisini, özellikle de belli bir yaş aralığında yok sayıyoruz. Oysa duygularımız aklımıza yol veren şeylerden en önemlisidir.

Eserde Hıristiyanlığın akidevi bir parçası haline gelen sevgiye yoğun bir vurgu vardır. Roma'nın akabinde çöken toplumsal yapı, sevgi duygusu etrafında toplanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bundan dolayı romanda insanın sevgiye ihtiyacı yoğun olarak işlenmekte ve bu aynı zamanda hazla ilişkilendirilmektedir.<sup>11</sup>

Sevgi duygusuyla yaşama isteği aşılanmaktadır. Bu sayede insanın hayat karşısında güçlü durabilmesi için çaba sarfedildiği görülmektedir. Yaşama dirençli ise, insan ölüme karşı koyabilir. Nitekim henüz duygusal çöküntü içerisine girmeyen Golmund, yaşama isteğinin gücüyle ölüme meydan okuyabilmişti, Kont kendisini zindana atmış, Birçok tehlikeden geçip, birçok kışı dışarda geçirmişti. Soğuğa karşı yaşama bağlı kalabilmişti, hatta büyük veba salgını köyleri, kasabaları, şehirleri yakıp yok ederken, Golmund göçebeliğinde yaşamayı başarabilmiş, çekildiği yayla evindeki

<sup>10</sup> Hesse, 68.

<sup>11</sup> Hıristiyanlık'ta sevgi hususunda bkz. Mustafa Ekici, Hıristiyanlık'ta ve İslam'da Sevgi, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara 2006.

kulübede Lenne'yi ölüme teslim ederken bile Golmund yaşamına devam edebilmişti. Hasılı eserde, insanın yaşama tutunmak adına hiçbir şeyden kaçınmadığı resmedilmektedir.

Ortaçağ Avrupa'sında yazgı da akidenin bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Bu çerçevede insanın yazgısının doğasına uygun şekilde çizildiği de verilmektedir. Bu aynı zamanda kilise açısından bir öneme sahiptir. İtaat ve sadakat bu bağlamda ortaya çıkmaktadır. İnsanın yazgısına uygun davranması beklenmekte, yazgının çizdiği yol üzere hiyerarşideki yerini bilmesi umulmaktadır.

Yazgı çerçevesinde irade de Hristiyanlığın esas mevzularından birisini oluşturmaktadır. Bu akideye uygun bir biçimde betimlenen irade, anlaşılması en zor mevzulardan birisini kapsamaktadır. Bu minvalde insanın iradesinin sahibi olmadığı görülmekte çünkü, iradesine yön veren akli devre dışı bırakan duygulara sahip olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Gene burada insanın karmaşık, muğlak bir varlık olduğu betimlenmektedir.<sup>12</sup>

Bu çerçevede günah mevzusu dikkat çekmektedir. Hristiyanlıkta en temel şeylerden birisi olan günah meselesi de eserde genişçe yer tutmakta ve bu aynı zamanda toplumun yapısını şekillendiren bir belirleyici haline gelmektedir. Goldmund'un adeta annesinin günahının bir kefareti olarak manastıra verilmiş olması bu hususu betimlemektedir.<sup>13</sup>

Romanda betimlenen mevzulardan birisi de insanın doğasıdır. Kilisenin tutumunun buna aykırı bir şekilde olduğu yönündedir. Kilisenin, (kilisenin müntesipleri bağlamında) erkekleri kadınlardan uzak tutan kurallarının örtük bir biçimde insan doğasına aykırı olduğu betimlenmektedir. Bu durumda insan doğasına aykırı olduğu düşünülen sevilerin vurud ettiği yansıtılmaktadır.

Kadın erkek ilişkisinin sıhhatli bir biçimde yürümediği, her iki cinsin birbirlerini davetkar şekilde arzuladıkları tasvir edilmekte, engelleyici olan şeyin Tanrı'nın kurallarının olmadığı görülmektedir. Bir günahıtan kaçınılmasının esas

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<sup>12</sup> Yazgı bağlamında bkz. Namık Kemal Okumuş, "Ehl-i Kitap İlahiyatında İlahi Takdir Algısının Merkez Parametleri Üzerine Bazı Tespitler", *Kelam Araştırmaları*, 11/1, 2013, 187.

<sup>13</sup> Hristiyanlık'ta günah için bkz. Bilal Doğan, *Hristiyanlık'ta Asli Günah Doktrini*, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Bursa 2008.

gerekçesini yapılacak işin ortaya çıkacağı korkusuyla toplum baskından çekinilmesidir. Bu baskı karşısında bireyin o toplumda yaşama imkânı kalmamaktadır.

Bu olgusal gerçeklik karşısında insanın hükmü de pek zayıf düşmektedir. Bir diğer yandan hayatın gerçekliği karşısında söylenen sözlerin havai bir yansıma olduğu görülmektedir. Yurtsuz Goldmund'a karşı bir rutini olan Lydia, onun sevgisine ve kendisine duyulan yoğun aşka karşın onunla gitmeye cesaret edememektedir. Lydia'da insanın rahat yaşamını bırakıp gidemeyeceği, konforundan vazgeçemeyeceği betimlenmektedir. Aslında Lydia ne kalabilme ne gidilme cesaretini gösterebilmektedir. İnsan şaşkın bir varlık, düştüğü toprakta ne yaptığını bilebilir mi?<sup>14</sup>

Bu durum yaşananın kişiye deneyim kazandırdığını, hayatı acı yönleriyle öğrettiğini yansıtırken aynı zamanda da her deneyimin altında geleceğe atılmış bir çizik olduğunu ve kişinin hayatını bu minval üzere kurgulayacağını göstermektedir.

Ortaçağ Avrupa'sında teoloji ve o ekseninde yapılan tartışmalar genişçe yer tutmaktadır. Narziss ve Goldmun'un teolojik tartışmaları eserde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bunlar dönem Avrupa'sının düşüncesini betimleyen tartışmalardır. Bu çerçevede Goldmund, adeta Tanrısı ile savaş halindedir. O, Tanrıya karşı bir yandan büyük bir öfkeyle mücadele ederken, diğer yandan sevgisini yansıtmaktan da geri durmamaktadır.

Romanda insanın sanat ile kurduğu ilişki iyi betimlendiği görülmektedir. Sanat yaşamın bunaltıcı yükünden adeta bir kaçış yeri gibi yansımaktadır. Bir diğer deyişle, "Sanatın ve usun kökeni ölümden duyulan korkudur."<sup>15</sup> Nitekim eserde Nikola Usta ile insanın sanatla yaşamın yükünü hafiflettiği görülmektedir. Hıristiyanlığın köşede durduğu bu sanat hem antik dönem izlerini taşımakta hem de kişinin hayatla kurduğu ilişkinin veçhelerini betimlenmektedir. Goldmund'un Nikola Usta'nın refakatinde yapmış olduğu Meryem Ana heykeline hasretini tuttuğu annesinin yüzünü yansıtmaması dikkate değerdir. "*Goldmund'un ruhunda yaşayan; asla tümüyle kendisine ait bir yüz*

<sup>14</sup> İnsanın doğası bağlamında bkz. Stanley M. Honer&Thomas C. Hunt, "Felsefe ve İnsan Doğası", çev. Hasan Ünder, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/786527>; (Erişim 12 Nisan 2023); Şaban Ali Düzgün, "İnsan Doğası (Fıtratı) ve Özgürlüğü Üzerine", Kelam Araştırmaları Dergisi, 14/2, 2016, 322-342.

<sup>15</sup> Hesse, 161.

*değildi, bir ara yakalayıp bir sanat yapıtında dile getirmek istediği ama boyuna kendini kaçıırıp ondan saklayan bir yüzdü bu, annesinin yüzüydü.”<sup>16</sup>*

Herman Hesse'nin eserinde Roma sanat geleneğinin Hıristiyan Avrupa'da dini bir hüviyet kazandığı görülmektedir. Goldmund ve Nikola Usta ekseninde geçen bu sanat hadisesi, bu dönemin acılarını ve zihniyet yapısını anlatmaktadır. Bu sanat hadisesiyle karakterin hayatında boşluk yaratan kişi, bir sanat eseri ve dini karakterle bütünleştirilmiştir.

Burada sanatın hayatı bütün yönleriyle kapsayıp kuşattığı anlaşılabilir. Yaşanılan trajedi, dram bin bir tasa, keder ve bazen sevinç sanat eserlerinde kendisine yer bulurken, insanı da hem hayata bağlamakta hem de acısını bir ölçüde de olsa dindirebilmektedir. Hayatımızın izleri sanata yansır ve sanatla insan kendini anlatır ve yaşam bir nebze kolaylaşır.

Şehirleşme bağlamında bir eleştiri de gözden kaçmamaktadır. Bu minvalde, *“Kentte oturan bu besili insanlar ne kadar miskin, nazlı, şımarık, ne kadar güç beğenir şeylerdi. Goldmund'un kendisi de yozlaşıp bozulmuş, kentin bu semiz insanlarına ne kadar iğrenç derecede benzemişti.”<sup>17</sup> Bu, Haldun'un adeta yerleşik olan insanın tarifidir.<sup>18</sup>*

Hasılı eserde, yokluk dönemlerinde kilisenin inşa ettiği münzevi yaşam ve buna yüklenen bir anlam dikkat çekmektedir. İlahilerle bireyin kültür dünyasına sinen bir dini yaşam söz konusudur. Bağ bozumu, kestane ve meyve bahçeleriyle süslü olarak betimlenen bir dünya aynı zamanda hatıralar manzumesini taşımaktadır. Eser, can güvenliğini korumanın zor, barınak bulmanın kısıtlı ve yiyecek pek çok zaman hayal olduğu bir dönemi anlatmaktadır. Vebadan kırılan kasabalar, köyler vardır.<sup>19</sup> Bu dönemi veciz bir şekilde ifade etmek gerekirse, bu Tanrıdan kaçıp yine Tanrıya sığınılan bir dönemdir.

## Sonuç

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<sup>16</sup> Hesse, 168.

<sup>17</sup> Hesse, 192.

<sup>18</sup> İbn Haldun, Mukaddime, çev. Süleyman Uludağ, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul 2016, 326-330 vd.

<sup>19</sup> Ortaçağ Avrupa'sı ile ilgili şu eserlere bakılabilir. Henry Pirenne, Ortaçağ Avrupa'sının Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı, çev. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2014; Henry Pirenne, Ortaçağ Kentleri, çev. Şadan, Karadeniz, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2000; Jacques le Goff, Ortaçağ Batı Uygurluğu, çev. Hanife Güven-Uğur Güven, Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara 2015.

Herman Hesse'nin Narziss ve Golmund adlı eserinden tarihi dönemi saf bir biçimde anlatmasını beklememek gerekir. Hesse'nin zıtlıkların felsefesi olan Jung felsefesinin etkisi altında olduğu aşıkardır. Eser bu felsefeden ziyadesiyle payını almış, dahası Hesse eserini bu felsefe ile inşa etmeye çalışmıştır.

Eserde Golmund'un şahsında müşahhas hale gelen akıl ve duygu çatışması iyi bir şekilde betimlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Akıl ve duygular onun ebeveyniyle özdeşleştirmeye çalışılmaktadır. Baba, otoritesiyle ve katı tutumuyla akli, anne merhameti ve şefkatiyle duyguları temsil edilmektedir.

Eserde Hıristiyanlığın akidevi bir parçası haline gelen sevgiye yoğun bir vurgu yapıldığı görülmektedir. Sevgi duygusuyla yaşama isteği aşılacaktır. Bu sayede insanın hayat karşısında güçlü durabilmesi için çaba sarfedildiği görülmektedir.

Yazgı çerçevesinde irade de Hıristiyanlığın esas mevzularından birisini oluşturmaktadır. Bu akideye uygun bir biçimde betimlenen irade, anlaşılması en zor mevzulardan birisini kapsamaktadır. Bu minvalde insanın iradesinin sahibi olmadığı görülmekte çünkü, iradesine yön veren akli devre dışı bırakan duygulara sahip olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Yine bu çerçevede günah mevzusu dikkat çekmektedir. Hıristiyanlıkta en temel şeylerden birisi olan günah meselesi de genişçe yer tutar ve bu aynı zamanda toplumun yapısını şekillendiren bir belirleyici haline geldiği görülmektedir.

Eserde Ortaçağ Avrupa'sında teoloji ve o ekseninde yapılan tartışmalar genişçe yer tutmaktadır. Romanda insanın sanat ile kurduğu ilişki iyi betimlendiği görülmektedir. Sanat yaşamın bunaltıcı yükünden adeta bir kaçış yeri gibi yansımaktadır. Herman Hesse'nin eserinde Roma sanat geleneğinin Hıristiyan Avrupa'da dini bir hüviyet kazandığı görülmektedir. Goldmund ve Nikola Usta ekseninde geçen sanat hadisesi, bu dönemin acılarını ve zihniyet yapısını anlatmaktadır. Bu sanat hadisesiyle karakterin hayatında boşluk yaratan kişi, bir sanat eseri ve dini karakterle bütünleştirilmiştir.

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**Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, Alfa Yayınları,  
Beşinci Basım, İstanbul 2022.**

Ahmet ÇAYKARA<sup>20</sup>

**Giriş**

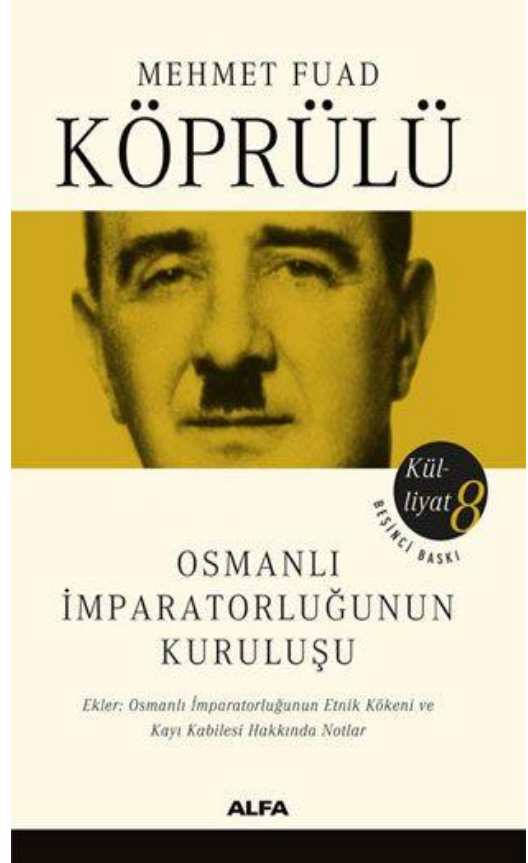
Eser ilk defa Fransızca *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman* adıyla 1935'te Paris'te basılmış, bilahare 1959 yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşu adıyla basılmıştır. Nihayet tarafımızdan incelemesi yapılan nüsha beşinci baskıdır.

Kitap Üç Bölüm ve eklerinden oluşmaktadır. Fuad Köprülü'nün oğlu Dr. Orhan KÖPRÜLÜ tarafından yayına hazırlanan kitabın ekler kısmı ile birlikte 309 sayfadan ibarettir.

600 yıllık dönem boyunca dünya gücü olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşuna dair tartışmalar halen devam etmektedir. Bu çerçevede kaleme alınan bu eser döneminin olduğu kadar halen de etkisini sürdüren önemli eserler kategorisindedir.

Eser ile ilgili başta söylenmesi gereken en önemli husus Osmanlı Devleti'nin yıkılışından sonra kaleme alınan eser H.A. Gibbons'un *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (1916) adlı eserine cevabi olarak Paris Sorbonne Üniversitesinde verilen üç konferans kaynaklıdır.

Eserin *Kuruluş Meselesi Nasıl Tetkik Edilmelidir* başlıklı ilk bölümünde öncelikle Gibbons'un nazariyesi hulasa edilmektedir. Kısaca Gibbons "*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 400 çadırlık bir aşiret olarak öncelikle Balkanlar'da fütuhattan sonra Anadolu'da genişlediği, Osman'ın Babası Ertuğrul'un Harezm'den kaçan*



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*Söğüt'te iskân edilen aşiret reisi olduğu, İslamı kabul ettiği, çevresindeki komşuları Rumları'da İslam'ı kabule icbar ettiği, bu sayede yeni bir ırk oluştuğu, çoğaldıkları, nihayet devşirme siyaseti ile Rum ve Slavların ihtida ettirildiği,” şeklinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşuna dair tezleri eserde özetlenmiştir. (s. 52)*

İlk bölümde Köprülü, Osmanlılar'ın ırkı, Osmanlı Devlet Yapısı ile ilgili kaynakların önemine değinerek Gibbons'un kaynaklardan sadece Garp lisanlarına tercüme edilenlerden istifade etmesinden dolayı araştırmasının yetersiz olduğunu belirtir. Nitekim *Cami'al-tavarih, Tarih-i Ulcaytu, Subh'ul-aşa, et-Tarif gibi eserler yanında Tarih-i Ayni, Dürerü'l-kamine* vs eserlerin bulunduğu bahisle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşu çalışmalarında bu eserlerin de ele alınması gerektiğini belirtir. (s. 64)

Ayrıca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun anlaşılması için metodolojik olarak Umumi Türk Tarihi çerçevesinde Anadolu Selçuklu ve diğer beyliklerin de değerlendirilmesi gerektiği, eldeki zengin veriler değerlendirilerek kuruluşun tetkiki yapılırsa *realiteye en yakın izahın verilebileceği* belirtilir. (s. 72)

Kitabın *XIII. Asırda ve XIV. Asrın İlk Yarısında Anadolu'nun Siyasi ve İçtimai Tarihine Bakış* adlı İkinci Bölümünde; Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluş dönemi siyasi hadiseleri öncelikle ele alınmaktadır. XIII. Asrın ilk yarısında Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'nin Danişmentleri ortadan kaldırdığı, daha zayıf olan Mengücekliler, Saltuklular ve Artuklular'ın ise ya prenslik halinde bırakıldığı ya da büsbütün kaldırıldıkları belirtilmektedir. (s. 76) Bu nedenle bu dönemin Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'nin *en parlak dönemi* (s. 79) olduğuna değinildikten sonra rakibi ve komşusu Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun ise tersine durum vardır. IV. Haçlı Seferi sonrasında İstanbul'un Latinlerce ele geçirilmesi ile İznik Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun merkezi olmuş, dolayısıyla da Anadolu'daki topraklarını koruma vaziyetinde olması dolayısıyla da zayıf durumda olduğu belirtilir. (s. 77) Öte yandan XIII. asırda en önemli olay Anadolu'nun Moğol isyanına maruz kalmasıdır. (s. 80) 1242 yılında Erzurum'u zapt eden Moğollara karşı durmak için Selçuklu Sultanının topladığı orduyu Köseadağ'da yenen Moğollar Anadolu'yu zapt etmiş ve hâkimiyetlerine almışlardır. Baybars Moğolları mağlup etse de İlhan Abaka gelip Anadolu'da katliam yaptı. Dolayısıyla da Anadolu'da Moğol zulmü ile Selçuklu'nun çözülüşü söz konusu olmuştur.

Bu bölümde ikinci olarak *etnik amiller* ele alınmıştır. Moğolların işgali öncesi

Anadolu'ya birçok Türk aşireti gelerek kendi isimleri ile yerleştiği, hatta nehir, dağ, köy gibi yerlere kendi isimlerini verdikleri belirtilmiştir. Alparslan'ın Malazgirt Zaferinden sonra Türkler sistemli şekilde Anadolu'ya geldikleri, (s. 89) Anadolu'nun birbirinden uzak yerlerinde Oğuz Türklerinin Kınık, Afşar, Bayındır, Salur, Çepni vs. boylarından isimlere rastlanılması Selçuklu siyasetinin sonucudur. **Ebu'l Fida** nakline göre Moğol istilasından önce Menderes havaisi civarında 20.000 çadır Türk Halkının yaşadığını belirten Köprülü, Hülagu'dan evvel Anadolu'ya Türk ve Moğol yaklaşık 200.000 çadır halkının geldiğini belirtir. (s. 90) Bunlar örnekleri ile beraber Aksaray, Kütahya, Kayseri, Konya vs. yerlere yerleştirilen yerleşimleri ele alınmaktadır. (s. 92-94)

Bu bölümün takip eden başlığı *III. İçtimai ve İktisadi Tarih Taslağı* 'dır. Bu başlıkta önce kendi ihtiyaçları için ziraatla ve hayvan sürüleri ile meşgul olan **göçebeler** ele alınmıştır. Anadolu Türkmenleri olan göçebelerin disiplin mekanizması gevşeyince şehirlere, tüccarlara, istila ve hücumlarının olduğunun belirtildiği (s. 96), bunların genelde müslüman ancak eski adetleri ile karışık müfrit alevi, heterodoxe Türkmen Babalarının manevi nüfuzu altında oldukları belirtilir. Nitekim **Baba Resul** adlı kişinin emrindeki *Babailer Kıyamı* adlı meşhur hareket bu türden bir kıyam olarak adlandırılır. (s. 97)

Anadolu nüfusunun mühim kısmını oluşturan ahaliyi *Köylüler* başlığıyla ele alan Köprülü; Anadolu'nun fütuhatında nüfusun kalabalık olmadığını, özellikle İran ve Bizans savaşları ile eski nüfusun azaldığını, buna çare olmak üzere yeni köyler teşkili üzerine çalışıldığı belirtilir. Hatta Türklerden başka diğer İslam unsurları, hatta Hristiyan unsurlarının bile Anadolu'ya gelip köyler kurduğu belirtilir. Ancak bunlar yavaş yavaş Türk ekseriyeti ve hâkimiyeti arasında Türkleştikleri iddiası dile getirilir. Göçebe olan Türk Aşiretlerinin XII. Asırdan itibaren parça parça iskânı ile köy hayatına geçirildikleri belirtilir. (s.100)

Selçuklu Devletinde ticaret önemli idi. Antalya ve Alaiye limanları ele geçirilmişti. Keza Soğdak Seferi ile I. Keykubad Rusya memleketleriyle yapılan ticaret emniyet altına alınmıştı. (s. 102) Venediklilerin 1228'de Sultan Alaaddin'e sefir gönderdikleri, resme tabi olunmaksızın kıymetli taşlar, incileri, altun, buğday ithalatına izin verildiği bilinmektedir. Hatta Moğol istilasının ticaretin inkişafı bakımından iyi neticeler verdiği iddia edilir. (s. 104) Ermeni Hayton'un XIV. Asır ilk

yarısında Türkiye'yi çok zengin, şarap, buğday meyvesi bol, zengin hayvan sürüleri, güzel atlara malik gösterdiğinden hareketle memleketin iktisadi bakımdan yüksek olduğu belirtilir (s. 105)

Bizanslılardan ele geçirilen şehirlerde iskân olması normal ancak ticari bakımından Konya, Kayseri, Sivas gibi şehirlerde ekseri Türkler, yine Ermeni, Rum biraz da Yahudi'nin bulunduğu belirtilir. Moğolların zuhurundan sonra Türk Müslüman unsurlardan şehir hayatı sürmüş olanlar şehirlere yerleştirildi, İslamlarla gayrimüslim unsurlar yaklaşıyorlardı. Hatta Mevlana öldüğünde Hristiyanlar bile cenazesine iştirak etmişlerdi. Anadolu'daki Rum Ermeni ahalisinin Türkçeyi öğrendiği Hatta Türklerin de Rumcayı iyi bildikleri belirtilir. (s. 107)

Selçuk şehirlerinde halkın maddi kültür bakımından ayrılık göstermedikleri, dini sebeplerle mücadeleler de mevcut olmadığı, Selçuk İdare Sisteminin **teokratik** olmadığı görüşü serdedilir. (s. 108)

Anadolu şehir hayatının gelişiminde ticaret ve sanayi en önemli amildir. Örnek olarak, Sivas verilmiştir. XIII-XIV asırlarda hububat, meyva, pamuk, mensucat, mensucat üretimi yanında kamu yararı için vakıflar Sivas'ta önemlidir. Khalkokondyle şehrin nüfusunun 120.000 olduğunu, Kazvini ise şehrin Türkmenlerden oluştuğunu belirtir. (s. 109) Anadolu'da Sivas, Konya, Kayseri, Erzurum, Erzincan, Harput, Amasya, Tokat, Niksar, Kırşehir, Aksaray, Ankara vs şehirlerin de önemli şehirler olduğu belirtilir. (s. 109)

Şehirlerde beledi teşkilat, sosyal sınıflarda bulunmaktaydı. Memurlar, askerlerden başka, din âlimleri, müderrisler, şairler, tabipler, nakkaşlar, çalgıcılar vs. devlet hazinesinden para alırlardı. Vakıflar ile hastane, medrese, imarethane, sıbyan mektepleri finanse edilmekteydi.

Bunlardan başka elinin emeği ile geçinen sanayi erbabı şehir ahalisinin yoğun kısmıdır. Bunların toplanmasını ticaret erbabı sağlar. Pazarlar, panayırlar ile alışveriş temin edilir. Bunlar devletin kontrolündedir. Muamelelerden muayyen vergi alınır. Şehre giren çıkandan alınan resme **tamga** denilir. (s. 112) Bundan başka *hirfet erbabının* (Corporation- ahi teşkilatı) çarşıları vardır. Ücretlerin tayini, mal cins ve fiyatlarının tespitini yaparlar, bunlarda şeyh mürid vaziyetine benzer tesanüdü vardır. Şehirler kadar köylerde de olan bu teşkilatın XIII. yüzyılda bütün İslam dünyasında sufi tarikatları takliden toplantı mahalleri zaviyeleri vardı. Bunlar devlet otoritesinin

sarsıldığı zamanlarda dahi şehir hayatında faal rol oynamış, siyasi amil olarak hesaba katıldığı ifade edilir. (s. 114)

Nihayet bu bölümde son olarak *Fikri Seviye* başlığıyla XIII. Asırda Anadolu Türklüğü sosyal işbölümü ve iktisadi gelişim itibarıyla en ilerlemiş seviyede olduğu belirtilir. Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti manevi kültür bakımından yüksek dereceli, çocuklara okuma yazma öğreten ilk mekteplerden dışında her tarafta medreselerin bulunduğu, Moğol istilasını ile birçok şair âlim, mutasavvıf Anadolu'ya yerleştiği anlatılır. Henüz bu konunun tetkiklerinin devam ettiği belirtilerek çok örneklerden Mevlana belirtilir. (s. 115)

*Sınır Boylarında Hayat ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu* başlıklı III. Ve son bölümünde ise etnik mesele adıyla Türk unsurunun menşei, ikinci olarak Anadolu'ya ne zaman geldiği meseleleri ele alınmıştır. Ancak bu iki meselenin Osmanlı'nın Kuruluşunda birinci derecede mühim olmadığı iddia edilir. (s. 117)

Osman'ın kabilesinin Oğuzlardan olduğunun Tevarih-i Âl-i Osman Behcetü'tevarih'te Aşıkpaşazade ve Oruç Bey tarihlerinde geçtiği, Yazıcıoğlu Selçuknamesi'nde Kayı'lardan olduğunun belirtildiği, keza Dede Korkut Düstur-name-i Enveri Ruhi ve Lütfi Paşa tarihleri ile Heşt Bihişt'te Kayıların diğer Oğuz Boyları arasında şeref ve asaletine dair rivayetlerin bulunduğu belirtilir. Osmanoğullarının Kayılardan olduğuna dair rivayet şark ve garp eserlerinde kabul edildiği, hatta kayı rivayetinin daha eski kaynaklarda dahi bulunduğu belirtilir. (s. 119)

*Oğuz Ananesine göre hükümdarlar daha ziyade Salur veya Kınık boylarından yetişir* cümlesinden sonra. Şayet Osmanlı padişahları kendilerine yalandan şecere uydurmak isteselerdi Kayı değil de yukardaki boylara mensup sayarlardı hükmü verilir. Kaldı ki Kayı boyu rivayetinin tesbiti Murad II zamanında olduğu, eski aşiretlerin büsbütün unutulmuş olmadığı da vurgulanır. Nihayet Ertuğrul'un küçük olsa da Kayılara mensup ehemmiyetsiz bir aşiretin başında olduğunun yazar tarafından kabul edilir. (s. 119)

Alman J. Marquardt Osmanlılar'ın Kayılardan olduklarını kabul ettikleri, ancak Kayıların Moğol olduklarını, buna istinaden Brockelmann ve Nemeth gibi Türkologların da bunu hakikat gibi kabul ettiklerini zikredilir. (s. 120)

*Eskiden beri Oğuzların şubesi olan Kayıların Selçuklular devrinde umumi Türk hareketlerine iştirak ile Şarktan Garbe gelmişlerdir. Bunlardan bir kısmı Maverai-i*

*Hazar Türkmenleri arasında, bir kısmı Mazenderan'da Azerbaycan ve Arran'da kalarak yerleşmişler veya başka Türk kabileleriyle karışmışlardır. Anadolu'ya gelen kısmın muhtelif parçalara ayrılarak çok dağınık sahalarda yerleştirildiği anlaşılıyor. İddiasında bulunur. Erzincan ve Suşehri, Amasya, Çorum, Kastamonu, Ilgaz, Çankırı, Gerede, sonra Eskişehir Mihaliç, Orhaneli bölgesinde Kayı ismini taşıyan köylerin olduğu, nihayet Kilikya havalisinde Isparta, Burdur Denizli, Muğla, Aydın Ödemiş taraflarında da bunların bulunduğu belirtilerek yukardaki iddiası delillendirilir. (s.122)*

Ertuğrul ve sonra Osman fiili değil, nazari olarak Selçuklu Sultanlarına, sonra da İlhanlılara tabi uç aşiretlerinden birisi olarak Kayı Aşireti Reisleri olduğu belirtilir. (s. 123)

Takibeden başlıkta ise, *Uçlarda Hayat* adıyla Askeri ve İdari Teşkilatın ele alındığı görülmektedir.

Quatremere, Barbier, Maynerd vs. gibi araştırmacıların UC kelimesini Türk Aşireti ismi sandıkları, bunu düzeltmek üzere Köprülü'nün ayrıca yazı kaleme aldığını belirtir. (s. 124)

Sultanlar lüzum gördüklerinde uçlarda çağırdıkları kuvvetlerle orduları takviye ettiklerini, ancak zaman zaman kendi başlarına da hareket ettiklerini, vergilerini tehdit altında verdiklerini, Anadolu'da İlhanlılara tabi uc memleketleri Karaman, Germiyan, Hamidoğulları, İnanç Oğulları, Orhan, Umur Bey vs. gösterilmiştir. (s. 125)

Takiben *Halk ve Dini Unsurlar* başlıklı kısımda tımar sisteminde arazinin Gazi veya Alp unvanlı uc askerlerine ırsi mahiyette verildiği, uçlar ilerledikçe ardından şehir ve köy hayatının geliştiği, nüfus ve iktisadi faaliyetin güçlendiği belirtilir. (s. 129)

Uç sahaları Dar'ül-İslam'ın içinde olduğu için derviş-mürid toplulukları zahiren gaza, hakikatte ise maişet için geldikleri iddia edilir. Ayrıca İslam unsurları ile Hristiyan unsurları arasında hakikatte dini sebeplerle çıkmış mücadeleye rastlanılmadığı vurgulanır. Yine Bizans müverrihlerinin XII. asır ortasından evvel Beyşehir Gölü civarındaki adacıklarındaki Rumların Türklerle münasebetlerinden dolayı Türk adetlerini kabul ettikleri, Bizans İmparatorluğu emirlerine ehemmiyet vermedikleri tespiti aktarılır. (s. 130) Prof. Gregoire'nin "*bunların birbirinden derin dini uçurumlarla ayrılmış iki muhasım cemiyetin ifadesi değil, bilakis hayat şartları birbirine çok benzeyen ve birbiriyle sıkı ve hatta dostça daimi temas halinde bulunan*

*içtimai zümrelerin bir makesi olduğunu pek haklı göstermiştir.”* (s. 130) aktarımı, Türklerle komşularının münasebetleri bakımından önemlidir.

*İslamlaşma* konusunun ele alındığı aynı adlı başlıkta **ihtida** meselesi ile ilgili Selçuk Devlet Adamlarında ihtida etmiş **Kommenler** gibi Bizans aristokratları yanında, âlimler, sanatkârlar, hatta mutasavvıfların bulunduğu belirtilir. Ancak Selçuk ve İlhanlı devrinde ihtidanın iddia edildiği kadar ehemmiyetli oranda olmadığı belirtilir. (s. 131) Burada Gibbons’un iddia ettiği gibi geniş çaplı ihtidanın olup olmadığı konusunda Gibbons’un Bizans idaresinde kalabalık olan İznik örneğine İbn Batuta’nın buranın fethinden sonra nüfusunun az olduğunu belirtmesini dayanak göstererek Bizans payitahtının tekrar İstanbul’a nakli ile nüfusun taşınması ile o havalinin ehemmiyetsiz hale gelmesi ile cevap verir. (s. 132) Nihayet *Osmanlı Devleti’nin “cebri bir İslamlaştırma siyaseti” takip etmediğini, büyük şehirlerde toptan ihtida ameliyesinin adeta imkânsız olduğu* görüşü belirtilir. Devamında Gibbons’un hemen İslamlaştığını iddia ettiği sahalarda Rumların olduğu bölgelerin I. Mehmed, hatta II. Murad zamanında mevcut olmaları resmi vesikalarla sabit olduğu, dolayısıyla da ihtidanın mahdut nispette ve yavaş olduğunu, daha ziyade Balkanlar’da olduğunu, XVI. ve XVII. asırlarda devam ettiği vurgulanır. (s. 133) Kaldı ki devletin kuruluşunda mühtedi Rumlara muhtaç iddiasının esassız olduğu, *XIV. Asırdaki bütün büyük Devlet adamlarının Türk olduğu, Rum mühtedi Evranos’un (Evren + uz) eski Türk aristokrasinden olduğu, mühtedi devlet ricalinin birkaç kişiden ibaret olduğu* şeklinde cevabi görüşü belirtilir. (s. 134)

*Askeri, Dini, Mesleki (Corporatif) Teşekküller* başlığı altında ise Aşıkpaşazade’nin belirttiği dört teşkilat ele alınır. Nitekim ilk grup olarak **Gaziler** ve Alplar ile Aşıkpaşazade’nin. **Gaziyan-ı Rum** olarak belirttiği, sınıf ele alınır. Gazi olarak din mücahidlerine verilen unvan ile Müslüman Türk Devletlerinde bu zümrenin bulunduğu, Bağdat Abbasi döneminde Ayyarlar teşkilatına benzer Maveraünnehir’de X. asırda Gaziler adında teşkilatın olduğu, Beyhaki’nin bunların reisini **Sipahsalar-ı Gaziyan** unvanı ile belirttiği vurgulanır. (s. 136)

Aşıkpaşazade’nin Gaziyan-ı Rum tabirinden çok daha ziyade Alp tabirinin kullanıldığı, Alp yahut Alp-eren olmak için Aşıkpaşazade’nin bu tabire sofiyane bir boyut kazandırmak için *“kuvvetli yürek, yani şecaat, bazı kuvveti, gayret, iyi bir at, hususi bir libas, yay, iyi bir kılıç, süngü, uygun arkadaş”* olarak dokuz şart ortaya



koyduğu aktarılır. (s. 139)

İkinci zümre olan **Ahiler** *Ahiyan-ı Rum* olarak Aşıkpaşazade'de geçen grubu ele alan Köprülü burada yine İbn Batuta'ya müracaatla, Anadolu'nun Antalya, Burdur, Gölhisar, Sivas, Erzincan, Niğde, Aksaray, Manisa vs Anadolu'nun her Türkmen kasabasında, köyünde *Ahiyetü'l-fityan (kardeş yiğitler)* olduğunu belirtmektedir. (s. 140) Hatta Anadolu ile irtibatlı Azerbaycan, Kırım sahil şeritlerine kadar yayıldıklarını, özellikle XIII. Asırda bu kadar yaygın olduklarını belirtir. Selçuk devrine ait eserlerden büyük şehirlerdeki hadiselerden bahisle **Runud ve Ahiyan** olarak ahi ve fütüvvet mensuplarından bahsedildiği belirtilir. (s. 141)

XIV. asırda Ankara Ahilerinin büyük arazi sahibi olduklarından *bir nevi cumhuriyet* teşkil ettikleri iddia edilir. (s. 143) Hatta Anadolu Ahilerinde *farmasonlarda* olduğu gibi sıkı bir *hiyerarşinin* (s. 144) olduğu ifadesi daha dikkat çekicidir. Nihayet Ahilerin Osmanlı Kuruluşunda ve Yeniçeri teşkilatının ihdasında büyük rolleri olduğu belirtilir.

Üçüncü sosyal grup olarak; **Bacıyan-ı Rum** adlı kadın teşkilatına değinilir. Hacıyan-ı Rum yahut Bahşiyen-ı Rum olarak yazmaların okunmasına değinilerek Bacıyan kelimesinin Uygur ve Moğol yazılarını bilen kâtip manasında **Bahşi** kelimesi ile karıştırıldığı, ancak kelimenin Bacıyan olduğu, Hacı Bektaş Velinin bunlarla münasebetinin anlatıldığı, tarikattan olanlara bacı lakabının bundan verilmiş olabileceği belirtilir. Nihayet *Acaba Aşıkpaşazade'nin Bacıyan-ı Rum asmi altında uc beyliklerindeki Türkmen kabilelerinin müsellağ ve cengâver kadınlarını mı kast ediyor?* sorusuyla bu bahsi bitirir.

Son zümre olarak **Abdalan-ı Rum** olarak Aşıkpaşazade'de geçen *Anadolu'nun heterodoxe dervişleri* olarak adlandırılır. Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti dini siyasette Selçuklu gibi Sünni – Hanefi olarak kaldı. Yazar, Babinger'in Anadolu Selçukluları Şiiliği resmi mezhep kabul ettikleri iddiasına karşı çıkar. Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşunda Anadolu'da en mühim tarikatlar Mevleviye, Rifaiye, Halvatiye olduğunu, bunlarla ilgili kısa bilgi verdikten sonra, bunların Sünni olduklarını belirtir. (s. 148) Bu bahiste Ebu İshak Kazeruni'ye nispet edilen Kazeruniya, İshakiye veya Mürşidiye adlı tarikatı belirterek XV. asırda Osmanlı'da önemli olduğunu belirtir. (s. 148)

Türk Şamanlığını hatırlatan Babai lakaplı Türkmen dervişlerinin köylülerin ve göçebelerin hayatında etkili oldukları, hatta hâkimi olduklarını belirtir. XIII. Asırda

Anadolu'da etkili oldukları, şeyhlerinin emrini yerine getirmek için kadın ve çocuklarla savaşan, şeyhlerinin ölümüne bile inanmayan kitle tasavvuftan ziyade *secte* olarak adlandırılarak Alevi taifelerine benzediği belirtir. (s. 150) Babailerin menşeinin kısmen Yesevilik ve kısmen Kalenderiye tarikatlarında aramak gerekir görüşü ile bunların heterodoxe olduğu vurgulanır. (s. 150) Moğollar döneminde himaye görerek Selçuk saraylarında ve uç beylerinde itibar görmeleri, hatta Eflaki'ye göre ise Selçuk Sultanı Rûkn-ed din'in itibar göstermesi Mevlana'yı müteessir ettiği belirtilir. (s. 152)

Abdal lakaplı Abdal Musa, Abdal Murad, Kural Abdal gibi birçok derviş Aşıkpaşazade'nin Rum Abdalları dediğini, XIV. Asırdaki ihtidalarda propagandacı, mücahid Türkmen Babaları olarak tavsif edilir. (s. 153)

Bu bölümde son olarak *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Başlangıcı* başlığı ile kuruluşta *tarihi vakıalar* adıyla 1301 yılında Osman'ın Bizanslılar ile Koyunhisarı'nda (Bapbaeon), 1329'da Palekanon'da Orhan'ın ordusu ile yaptığı savaşlar, 1337 veya 1338 yılında İzmit'in ele geçirilmesi olayları anlatılır.

Sonuç olarak; *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İnkişafındaki Amiller* başlığıyla on bir maddede Osmanlı Devleti'nin gelişim etkenleri sıralanmakta, başka ifade ile Köprülü'nün tezleri maddeleştirilmektedir. Özetle; Osmanlı'nın Bizans hudutlarında bulunan bir takım Türk kitleleri üzerinde kurulduğu, ancak bunlara hasmane tutumda bulunmadıkları, huduttaki bir kısım toprakları ele geçiren Osmanlı'nın Avrupa'ya geçmeleri ve Balkanlarda sağlam şekilde yerleşmelerinde XIII. Asrın ikinci yarısından itibaren göçebe, köylü, şehir nüfusunun etkili olduğu belirtilir. Devlet iktidarının tek hükümdarın elinde olduğu, “*hâkimiyetin taksim edilmemesi*” usulünce hareket edildiği, bu çerçevede I. Murad ve oğlu Bayezid'in (rakipleri) kardeşlerini ortadan kaldırttığı belirtilir.

Osmanlılar'ın Balkanlardaki fütuhâtı ile harplerde alınan ganimet ve esirlerin bol olduğu, gençlerden beşte birinin Türk ailelerde terbiye edildiği, Türkçe ve İslam öğrenildikten sonra askerlikte kullanıldıkları vurgulanır. (devşirme sistemi) Sulhen alınan yerlerdeki halktan muayyen vergi alınmakla yerlerinde bırakılmaktadır. Ancak bu esnada serseri dervişler zümreleri, Hristiyan halk arasında İslam propagandası yaptığından dolayı, Bogomiller gibi Ortodoks Kilisesine düşman kitlelerin arasında *İslam'ın kolaylıkla yayıldığı tasavvur edilebilir* denilmektedir. (s. 161)

Devşirme sistemine göre kurulan Yeniçeri kuvveti Hükümdarın emrinde

merkez kuvveti olmakla beraber, devletin büyük kuvvetinin tımara dayanan tımarlı sipahilerin oluşturduğu, XIV. Asırda yeniçerilerin göze çarpacak ehemmiyetinin olmadığı, devşirme sisteminin XV. asırda II. Murad zamanında sistemli şekilde başladığı ifade edilmektedir.

Öte yandan tımar ve malikâne sisteminin Osmanlı Devleti'nin iktisadi gelişmesinde önemli rol oynadığı, ancak bu sistemin Bizans'tan değil Selçukludan beri devam etmekte olduğu belirtilmektedir.

Osmanlı askeri, mülki, adli, teşkilatı Anadolu Selçuklularının devamı olmakla beraber, *kısmen İlhanlı ve biraz da Mısır Memluk teşkilatının etkisinde* kaldığı, XIV. Asırda Osmanlı Devletini yöneten devlet ricali, kumandanları Mihaloğulları gibi istisna hariç kâmilen yüksek Türk aristokrasisine mensup oldukları, son olarak devletin kuruluşunu sağlayan ilk sultanların Osman, Orhan, Murad *büyük kuruculuk meziyetlerine* işaret edilmekte son olarak Köprülü'ye göre Osmanlı'yı kuran ***yeni bir tarihi terkiptir.*** (s. 163)

Eserin üç başlık altında özetlediğimiz konferanslardan oluşan üç kısmını takiben son baskısında ekler konularak zenginleştirilmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşu konusunda mutlaka ele alınması, değerlendirilmesi gereken bir çalışma olduğu belirtilmelidir.