

Negotiating nature : ecology, politics, and nomadism in the forests of Mediterranean Anatolia, 1870-1920

Akgul Kovankaya, B.

Citation

Akgul Kovankaya, B. (2019, December 19). *Negotiating nature : ecology, politics, and nomadism in the forests of Mediterranean Anatolia, 1870-1920*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85163

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85163

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/85163 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Akgül Kovankay, B.

Title: Negotiating nature: ecology, politics, and nomadism in the forests of

Mediterranean Anatolia, 1870-1920

Issue Date: 2019-12-19

NEGOTIATING NATURE:

ECOLOGY, POLITICS, AND NOMADISM IN THE FORESTS OF MEDITERRANEAN ANATOLIA, 1870-1920

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 19 december 2019
klokke 10:00 uur

door

Başak Akgül Kovankaya geboren te Istanbul 1982 Promotores: Prof. Dr. Leo Lucassen

Prof. Dr. Nadir Özbek (Bogaziçi University, Istanbul)

Promotiecommissie: Prof. Dr. Catia Antunes

Prof. Dr. Erik-Jan Zürcher

Prof. Dr. Ulbe Bosma (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

Dr. Pepijn Brandon (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

Abstract

Negotiating Nature: Ecology, Politics, and Nomadism in the Forests of Mediterranean Anatolia, 1870-1920

Başak Akgül Kovankaya, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University and the Institute for History at Leiden University, 2019

Professors Nadir Özbek and Leo Lucassen, Dissertation Advisors

This dissertation examines the politics of forestry in the context of late Ottoman Mediterranean Anatolia. Exploring the power struggles among forest officials, timber traders, and Tahtacı communities, this study discusses how modern forestry practices were negotiated at the local level. In the nineteenth century, in order to gain more effective control over forests, the Ottoman government introduced a series of reforms in the name of "scientific forestry." In the implementation of these reforms not only did opposing interests clash at the central level but local interest groups involved in regional trade networks also appeared as influential actors. On the one hand, negotiations between officials and traders undermined "scientific forestry" as a high modernist ideal. On the other hand, this complex network constituted an integral part of Ottoman modern forestry practices and prevailing power struggles. Despite fragmented interests within the administration as well as various obstacles officials encountered in monitoring forests, the new forestry practices brought about a dramatic transformation of the countryside. Most importantly, increasing pressure on forests and forest-dependent communities due to intensified commercialization caused an overexploitation of nature and labor. Focusing on the changing subsistence strategies of Tahtacı communities in the Taurus Mountains, this study investigates the impact of these changes on the hill societies of Mediterranean Anatolia.

To my daughter Ayşe

Table of Contents

List of Tables *xvii*List of Figures *vxii*List of Maps *xvii*Acknowledgements *xviii*

1 INTRODUCTION 1

- 1.1 Narratives on the Tahtacı Communities 7
- 1.2 An Alternative Tool: Subsistence Strategies 15
- 1.3 Context: Ecology, Economy, and Politics 22
- 1.4 Central Questions and Main Arguments 33
- 1.5 Sources 36
- 1.6 Structure of the Dissertation 38
- 2 A LONG-TERM HISTORY OF THE SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES IN THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS 41
 - 2.1 From Nomadism to Permanent Settlement 43
 - 2.2 The Ecological Niche and the Population Distribution ofTahtacı Communities 51
 - 2.3 Concluding Remarks 54
- 3 STRUGGLES OVER FOREST LANDS AND PRODUCTS BEFORE THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF FOREST MANAGEMENT 57
 - 3.1 Utilization of Forests 58
 - 3.2 Intensification of Commercial Forestry in theEastern Mediterranean Region 68
 - 3.3 Concluding Remarks 80

- 4 SCIENTIFICATION OF FORESTRY: LAWS, INSTITUTIONS, & DISCOURSE 83
 - 4.1 Initial Attempts Toward a "Rational" Forestry: Bureaucratization of Forest Management 85
 - 4.2 Codification of Forest Laws: New Forms of Taxation, Crime and Punishment 93
 - 4.3 Forestry Reforms in the Context of a Nationalizing Economy 101
 - 4.4 Deforestation as a Founding Narrative of the Struggle Against "Zones of Anomaly" 104
 - 4.5 Concluding Remarks 112
- 5 THE AMBIVALENCE OF "PUBLIC ORDER": THE OTTOMAN FORESTRY REGIME IN PRACTICE, 1870-1918 115
 - 5.1 Limited Technical Capacity of the Government 119
 - 5.2 Relations Between the Timber Merchants and the Forest Officials 132
 - 5.3 The Teke Forests Case: An Example of Struggle for Natural Resources at the Local Level 142
 - 5.4 Concluding Remarks 155
- 6 BEING A FOREST LABORER IN LATE OTTOMAN MEDITERRANEAN ANATOLIA 157
 - 6.1 Lumbering as a Labor-Intensive Work 159
 - 6.2 Impact of the New Forestry on Forest-Dependent Communities 162
 - 6.3 Beyond Resistance and Compliance: New Adaptation Strategies of the Tahtacıs 174
 - 6.4 Concluding Remarks 195
- 7 CONCLUSION 197

BIBLIOGRAPHY 203

CURRICULUM VITAE 225

SAMMENSVATTING 226

List of Tables

Table 5.1 Forest area, amount of timber obtained from the forests, forest revenues, and expenditures on provincial basis in 1897 134

Table 6.1 List of felling licenses obtained by a group of Tahtacıs in Mut on 30 May 1909 173

Table 6.2 *Temettuat* registers of the Tahtacı community settled in Yarangüme village in Tavas, Menteşe in the province of Aydın, 1845 188

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Illustration of a "typical" Tahtacı skull made by Felix von Luschan, 1891 7

Figure 1.2 A Tahtacı man in Luschan's study published in 1884 9

Figure 3.1 Illustration of Antalya Pier, 1808 74

List of Maps

Map 1.1 Major Mountains in the Mediterranean Anatolia 6 Map 5.1 Major Administrative Units in the Taurus Region 121

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many people and institutions. First, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisors Nadir Özbek and Leo Lucassen for their guidance and encouragement throughout my efforts in writing this dissertation. I greatly benefited from their critical input and theoretical insights. I am equally thankful to Egemen Yılgür for his illuminating feedback on an early draft of this study. I also appreciate Fatmagül Demirel, my master's thesis advisor, for her constant support, both academically and morally.

I would like to thank TÜBİTAK (the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) and AKMED (the Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations at Koç University) for their generous financial support that made this study possible. I also thank the staffs of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Leiden University Library, Boğaziçi University Library, Atatürk Library, and the Center for Islamic Studies Library for their help during my research. I am also indebted to Kadriye Tamtekin, Dilek Tecirli, Leyla Kılıç, and the late Necla Turunç, the administrative staff of the Atatürk Institute, for always being kind and helpful to me.

I am also grateful to countless people who welcomed me during my field research in Mersin, Antalya, and Aydın. I especially thank the Akgün, Çelen, Özcan, Çatal, Ergül, Göz, Kaçar, and Kırmızıgül families. Without their contributions, this study could not have been completed. I would also like to thank Ali Özkan for hosting me in Aydın and Ali Aksüt for his help during my fieldwork in Antalya and his generosity in sharing his vast knowledge.

A number of friends deserve special thanks. I owe Seda Fidanboy, Saadet Ersungur, Burcu Kasapoğlu, Emrah Çınar, Filiz Demircan, Ayşe Alnıaçık, Saim Eroğlu, Alpkan Birelma, Vesile Çetin, Özlem Yılmaz, Zeynep Bursa, Özkan Akpınar, Fatma Damak, Esra Derya Dilek, Gülseren Duman, Ali Sipahi, Özlem Dilber, Yener Koç, Ceren Deniz, Zehra Ayman, Seda Özdemir, Önder Uçar, Ozan Gürlek, Çiğdem Oğuz, Uğur Bayraktar, Selda Şen, and Tuğçe Tezer a debt of gratitude for their moral support in different phases of this research.

Lastly, I especially thank my parents Münevver and Samaddin Akgül and my grandmother Sultan Göktaş for their support not only throughout the challenging stages of this study but whenever I need it. I express my deepest gratitude to my partner, Emre, who always gave me unconditional support. I am thankful for his love, encouragement, understanding, and humor. And I owe special thanks to my daughter Ayşe for the meaning, hope, and joy she has brought to my life. I am dedicating this dissertation to her.