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Activities of Hemavend Tribe in Eyalet of the  
Archipelago (Eyālet-i Cezāyir-i Baħr-i Sefid in Ottoman*Hemavend Aşireti'nin Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayetindeki  
Faaliyetleri (1889 -1905)***Abstract**

The Hemavend, a Kurdish tribe, were exiled from their original settlements of Kirkuk, Aleppo and Mosul to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, especially Chios, Kos and Rhodes Island. Hemavend tribes, whose total number was close to 200, did not see this province, which was a place of exile, as a place to stay due to insecurity and disorder, especially the weather. The people of Hemavend, who made their situation worse by escaping from this province, lived separately from their families, which made their lives worse. The financial burden given to the state by these people, who stayed in various parts of the province's sanjaks such as Rhodes, Lemnos, Chios, was tried to be met from various sources of the province. The main demands of the tribe from the state were to allow them to go to provinces such as Mosul, Damascus, Aleppo, Adana, which they see more suitable for their living conditions. There are a lot of documents in the archive that the households in the tribe demanded to come together because they were broken up in this way. The state preferred to increase their daily wages rather than sending these households to other provinces. In order for these people to make a living, the state paid a certain number of daily wages, and the members of the tribe, who stated that they could not get along, constantly demanded an increase in their daily wages. The places where the tribal members stayed were generally the households that were crowded and far from sanitary conditions. Although it was accepted that the state expelled the Hemavend tribes from their homeland, these people could not escape from falling into a miserable situation. The forgiveness of some of the exiles was a good example of the state's conscientiousness. Our article, which benefited from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive documents, aims to illuminate the conditions and numbers of the Hemavend tribe in the Eyalet of the Archipelago with the documents reflected in the archive; it is tried to give a cross-section of the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire. In the article, the economic distress and security problems that occurred with the settlement of the Hemavend Tribe in the Eyalet of the Archipelago from the end of the 19th century were also determined.

**Keywords:** Hemavend Tribe, Eyalet of the Archipelago, Exile (Negative), Fugitive, Journal.**ATIF:** TAŞKAYA Arzu Baykara, "Hemavend Aşireti'nin Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayetindeki Faaliyetleri (1889 -1905)", **Tarih ve Gelecek Dergisi**, 8/4 (Aralık 2022), s. (950-982)**CITE:** TAŞKAYA Arzu Baykara, "Activities of Hemavend Tribe in Eyalet of the Archipelago (Eyālet-i Cezāyir-i Baħr-i Sefid in Ottoman Turkish) (1889 -1905)", **Journal of History and Future**, 8/4 (December 2022), pp. (950-982)

## Öz

Bir Kürt aşireti olan Hemavend asıl yerleşim yerleri olan Kerkük, Halep ve Musul'dan Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti 'ne özellikle Sakız, İstanköy ve Rodos Adasına sürgün getirilmişlerdir. Toplam sayıları 200' e yakın olan Hemavend aşireti sürgün yeri olan bu vilayeti havası başta olmak üzere emniyetsizlik ve düzensizlik sebebiyle kalacak bir yer olarak görmemişlerdir. Bu vilayetten firar ederek durumlarını daha da kötü hale getiren Hemavendlilerin ailelerinden ayrı olarak yaşamaları hayatlarını daha da kötü duruma sokmuştur. Vilayetin Rodos ve Limni, Sakız gibi sancaklarının çeşitli yerlerine kalan bu halkın devlete verdiği maddi yük de vilayetin çeşitli kaynaklarından karşılanmaya çalışılmıştır. Aşiretin devletten başlıca talepleri kendilerinin hayat koşullarına daha uygun olarak gördükleri Musul, Şam Halep, Adana gibi vilayetlere gitmek için izin vermesidir. Aşiretteki hanelerin bu şekilde parçalandıkları için bir araya gelmek talebinde buldukları evraklar arşivde oldukça fazladır. Devlet bu haneleri başka vilayetlere göndermektense yevmiyelerini artırmayı tercih etmiştir. Bu insanların geçimini temin etmesi için devlet belli bir miktar yevmiye bağlamış, geçinemediklerini belirten aşiret mensupları sürekli yevmiyelerinin artırılması talebinde bulunmuştur. Aşiret bireylerinin kaldıkları yerler genellikle kalabalık ve sağlık koşullarından uzak olan hanelerdir. Devletin Hemavend aşiretini memleketlerinden sürdürdüğü kabul edilse de bu insanlar perişan bir duruma düşmekten kurtulamamıştır. Sürgünlerin bazılarının affedilmesi devletin vicdani yapısını göstermesine güzel bir örnektir. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv belgelerinden yararlanılan makalemiz Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayetindeki Hemavend aşiretinin yaşadığı koşullar, sayıları, arşive yansıyan evraklarla aydınlatılmaya; Osmanlı Devletinin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihinin bir kesiti çalışılmıştır. Makalede Hemavend Aşireti'nin XIX. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti 'ne yerleşmeleriyle birlikte meydana gelen ekonomik sıkıntı ile asayiş sorunlarını da tespit edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:**Hemavend Aşireti , Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayeti ,Sürgün (Menfi), Firari ,Yevmiye .

## Introduction

Kurds, XIX They were organized within the emirates, which gathered many tribes and non-tribal communities until the 19th century, with “*mirs*” at their head, and where they could act autonomously enough to print money in their own name<sup>1</sup>. These organizations were in the form of a semi-state<sup>2</sup>. Within these semi-central structures that could penetrate the society, the tribal structures were in the process of disintegration, but with the centralization policies of the Ottoman Empire and the end of the existence of these emirates in the 19th

- 1 For The Ancient History Of The Kurds : P Kershasp, *Studies In Ancient Persian History* ,London,Kegan -Paul, Trench, Trubner Co-Limited ,1905 and General Sir Percy Sykes Brigadier-,*A History Of Persia*, Macmillan and co., Limited st. Martin's street, London,1921,vol 1-2.For more information about tribes, these two books can be consulted. Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü (1691-1696)*,İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü*,İstanbul, Eren Yayınları,1987; Jwaideh, Wadie,*The Kurdish National Movement : Its Origins And Development*,Syracuse, N.Y. , Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- 2 Yusuf Halaçoğlu ,“Aşiret” ,*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. 4: 9,İstanbul ,1991, p.9.

century, the tribes began to gain power as social actors again <sup>3</sup>.

We know from the practices that the Ottoman Empire did not hesitate to take all kinds of measures when it deems necessary in order to ensure security and order in its own lands. In the 19th century, there was a lack of public order in the Süleymaniye-Kirkuk sanjaks due to the power struggles of the tribes and sheikhs, and the biggest source of the disorder in the region was the Hemavends, who had an ignorant and savage temperament. The Ottoman Government tried to restrain the bandit Hemavend Tribe for years and took military, administrative and judicial measures against it. The government tried to prevent banditry activities in this way by prosecuting the tribal bandit caught as a result of the measures it took at the Court of War <sup>4</sup>. Different aspects of the Hemavend tribe have been the subject of researchers before <sup>5</sup>. In our article, the approach of the Ottoman Government in the Eyalet of the Archipelago against the Hemavend Tribe, a nomadic and bandit Kurdish tribe that had been a big problem for the state for years, despite its small size in terms of the population living in the Kirkuk-Süleymaniye region is discussed. In addition, the activities of the tribe to protect this population in various sanjaks of the province and to maintain order in the province were examined.

The Hemavends, the most superior tribe in the Bozyaz District, one of the districts connected to this sanjak in the Süleymaniye Sanjak in the Mosul Province, migrated from Iran 150 years ago as a result of the pressure they suffered while they were residing in Iran <sup>6</sup>. In the sanjak they came to, they settled in 150 households, not living in one or two villages, but by establishing one or two households in each village, by seizing fifty or sixty villages. The features they were most famous for was their looting, which highlighted their warrior identity <sup>7</sup>. The Hemavend Tribe had a total of 1200 households. According to Mark Sykes, members of this tribe were good riders and shooters, skillful blacksmiths, brave thieves, and good farmers. The men were famous for their courage and intelligence. The Hemavends

3 A.Vahap Uluç, “Kürtler’de Sosyal ve Siyasal Örgütlenme: Aşiret”, *Mukaddime*, Sayı 2, 2010,p.49.

4 Süleyman Demirci - Fehminaz Çabuk,” Hemavend Kürt Aşireti’nin Musul Vilâyeti ve Osmanlı-İran Sınır Boylarındaki Eşkîyalık Faaliyetlerine Dair Bir Değerlendirme (1863-1916), *History Studies*, Volume 7 Issue 3. September 2015,p. 40-41.

5 Azmi Ayca,Osmanlı’da Devlet-Aşiret ilişkileri: Hemvend örneği (1876-1918) ,Yüksek Lisans Tezi , İstanbul 2017; Fehminaz Çabuk, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Eşkîyalık Faaliyetlerini Önlemeye Yönelik Aldığı Tedbirler: Hemavend Aşireti Örneği (1880-1916)”, *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD) Journal of History School (JOHS)*,Mart 2018 March ,2018 Yıl 11, Sayı XXXIII,p. 519-550 ;Fehminaz Çabuk.II. *Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı – İran İlişkilerinde Kürt Aşiretleri Meselesi*,Ankara: İksad Yayınevi,2019; M. Dağ, “Hemavend Aşireti’nin Tütün Kaçakçılığı İddiaları ve Adana Reji İdaresi”. *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 31/ 3, 2021,p.1333-1344.

6 1330 Eyalet of the Archipelago Yearbook, 327: 180.According to another source who has examined this subject, it is estimated that the tribe came from Iran in 1190 and settled in the Baziyan District of Sulaymaniyah. They were constantly followed by the regional governors after they looted the caravans passing by by constantly raiding the villages in the region by not paying their taxes. The tribe, which adopted the Shafi’i sect of Islam, was performing their prayers without interruption, despite the murders they committed. Even if the corpses of the people they killed were on the ground, they would pray when it was time for prayer. This tribe took refuge in Iran from time to time, but they were returning to the Ottoman Empire when they were stuck with the Iranian State .Sinan Marufoğlu, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kuzey Irak (1831-1914)*, İstanbul ,Eren Yayınevi,1998.

7 1325 Eyalet of the Archipelago Yearbook,p. 231.

claimed to be of Arab origin. Although their language was Kurdish, some of them spoke Arabic. Their clothes were partly Arab, partly Persian. They lived in the Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk regions.<sup>8</sup> The Hemawend Tribe tribes, which were mentioned as a tribe in the Süleymaniye Sanjak, were Begzade, Çelebi, Reşawend, Rewamend, Sefrewend and Sitebeser. These tribes, consisting of about 1000 families, were nomadic and constitute the main Hemawend tribe. Their original homeland was Bazyan. This tribe, which was very courageous and assertive, didn't rebel against the government until recently, but also had caused the previous Ottoman and Iranian states to be seriously worried. Mithat Pasha could not cope with this tribe either. But they originally came from Iranian lands around 1700, wholly Sunni; but they were just as bigoted<sup>9</sup>. Gafiroshi, Pirayyi, Sofiwend tribes were the main inhabitants of Hemawend, which consisted of approximately 480 families and had a settled life, and were affiliated to Hemawend. Çengen Clan was also subject to this tribe<sup>10</sup>.

The disappearance of the Kurdish emirates increased the tendency of Kurdish tribes to act independently, leading to a period called "tribal time" in the region. Since the central authority could not be established despite the abolition of the emirates, the tribes clashed with each other and with the central powers for regional dominance<sup>11</sup>. With the abolition of the Emirates, the Hemavend Tribe, which was formerly affiliated to the Baban Emirate, caused unrest both in the Ottoman lands and in the Iranian lands with their banditry activities and made the two states busy for a long time<sup>12</sup>. Due to the fact that nomadic tribes came collectively and most of them armed, and this situation was repeated frequently in terms of the settled people and peasants who could not resist them, especially the farmers and peasants working in miri lands had to leave their homes and migrate to another place. According to a census made on the villages that were vacated in 1859, twelve years after the Tanzimat implementations in the region, it became desert and devastated only because of the attacks of the Hemavend tribe within the Süleymaniye Sanjak and the abandonment of a total of 340 villages and 29 hamlets, most of which belonged to the miri, due to the nomadic life of the Caf Tribe<sup>13</sup>.

Until 1887, the Mosul tribes remained independent, sending regular troops against them on several occasions, despite the government's best efforts to subdue and crush them. They did not want to recognize another office other than the tribal chiefs to whom they gave the title of Agha and Pasha. İsmail Pasha, who was assigned by some merit officers, succeeded in seizing their leader together with their families. He hoped to secure the complete surrender of the Hemevends; but he was called back to Constantinople and after he left, things went back to the way they were. Some Hemevands, who were held

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8 Çabuk, II. Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı – İran ,p.97.

9 Muhammed Emin Zeki Beg. *Kürtler ve Kürdistan Tarihi*, Çev: Vahdettin İnce, Mehmet Dağ, Reşat Adak& Şükrü Aslan, İstanbul: Nubihar Yayınları, 2022,p.350.

10 Muhammed Emin Zeki Beg ,i,b,i,d,p.350-382.

11 İbrahim Özcoşar. "Kürtler ", Türkîye Dîyanet Vakfı, EK-2:118-121. Ankara: (gözden geçirilmiş 3. basım) .TDV Yayınları ,2019,p. 118-121.

12 Demirci,Süleyman- Çabuk, Fehminaz," Hemavend Kürt Aşireti'nin Musul Vilâyeti ve Osmanlı-İran Sınır Boylarındaki Eşkîyalık Faaliyetlerine Dair Bir Değerlendirme (1863-1916), *History Studies, Volume 7 Issue 3*. September 2015,p. 39

13 Marufoğlu, i,b,i,d p.157.

hostage in Constantinople and managed to escape, returned to their country, and under their leadership, theft and plunder resumed with new activity. Finally, more recently, a new expedition sent against these bandits succeeded in subduing them completely. The chiefs of the tribes were sent to Constantinople. The gangs surrendered to the local administration by the Hemevands and the order was so well established that as a result of this expedition, six hundred families returned from Iran, where they were<sup>14</sup>.



Picture :1890 Mosul Province <sup>15</sup>

Kake Abdullah, one of the leading figures of the family, who was working as a manager in the Surtaş Subdistrict of Süleymaniye, and his relatives migrated to the Adana region on different dates. One of the migrations that took place occurred during the reign of Abdülhamit II (1876-1908). The first convoy that migrated from the Süleymaniye region to Anatolia consisted of 223 households. Upon the recommendation of İsmail Hakkı Pasha, it was decided to settle 100 households in Sivas, 23 in Konya, 50 in Adana, and 50 in Ankara <sup>16</sup>. The first record in the archive about the arrival of the Hemavendians to Eyalet

14 Vital Cuinet, 'La Turquie D'asie Geographie Administrative Statistique Descriptive Et Raisonnee De Haute Province De L'asie Mineure ,Tome Deuxieme Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 'Paris,1891,p.768.

15 Cuinet ,i,b,i,d ,p. 762.

16 Dağ, i,b,i,d, p. 1337.

of the Archipelago belongs to 1892. This tribe is referred to as the *menfi* (negative) (exile). The deported person had the right to move freely in the exile area and to lead a normal life there. This is the most important difference of exile from the more severe penalty, *kalebent* (imprisonment in the castle). This tribe, who came as exile, was settled in Chios and Rhodes Island in their houses in the castle. The distribution of Muslims in Mosul Province in Cuinet 1890 was given as follows. We see that Arab nomads are in the majority.

**Tablo 1** Distribution of Muslim population in Mosul Province in 1890 <sup>17</sup>

Muslims	Number
Syrian Arabs	80.000
Arab Nomads	93.000
Kurds	46.180
Turkmens	16.000
Çabaks	12.200
Hemavend	1000
Total	248.380

According to the 1312 (1894) Yearbook, these tribe members gave up banditry and turned to agriculture and farming, and over time they were employed in the state service<sup>18</sup>. In addition to exempting agricultural and agricultural vehicles from customs duties for the Hemavend Tribe, the tribal chiefs were paid a salary, the seeds necessary to operate their lands were given, and they were provided to take part in the zaptieh services to ensure the security of their regions <sup>19</sup>. It is not a coincidence that there is a zabtieh from Hemavend in the archive documents, as if confirming the yearbooks. We see that people who worked as zabtieh, like the exiled Hemavends, wanted their appointments close to their hometown. In the document dated 26 July 1892 (1 Muharrem 1310), while they were sent to the Algeria-i Bahr-i Sefid Police Regiment in Rhodes, Mehmet bin Evliya and Süleyman bin Hdır from Hemavend, who wanted to be appointed as an *emr-i idarede ve maişetçe* because they could not come to terms with the administration and had financial difficulties. It was requested that the result of the petition they gave together to be sent to one of the Aleppo or Mosul Police Regiments. The treatment to be done for this job was the transfer of the officers to one of the gendarmerie regiments or the procedure tööo be applied to the soldiers. A *çavuş* was requested to be sent from Rhodes to Mosul to assist the persons who were given the road fee (nevl) and settlement fee, since the gendarmerie's per diem would have to be taken from the Internal Affairs Department when the documents of these persons were sent. Travel expenses from Rhodes to Mosul amounted to 1444 kuruş 30 coins. Since this fee was taken from the Provincial Police Regiment and belongs to the military, a memorandum is sent from the *Taraf-ı Vala-yı Seraskeri* for the payment of the fee. In this, it was requested to be

17 Cuinet *i,b,i,d,p.* 764.

18 1308 Eyalet of the Archipelago Yearbook, 101; 1312 Eyalet of the Archipelago Yearbook,p. 335.

19 Marufoğlu,*i,bi,d,* p.182.

taken from the provincial organization<sup>20</sup>. In yet another document, we encounter Hemavend people who escaped even though they served in the state. In the document dated 16 May 1895 (21 Zilkada 1312), it was stated that twenty-eight Hemavend people who could not be detained in Adana were arrested on the 30th December of 1310, and they were each given a daily wage of 100 and 70 kuruş. It was requested that the amount required for the daily wages and rents of the Hemavendians, who were captured in Adana by fleeing to Mosul and sent to Rhodes, although they were employed in the Aleppo Province Gendarmerie Regiment, should be added to the balance and collected. As of January 15th, of the year, 142.5 kuruş was spent on these people who lived in a rented house in Rhodes. When this expense was reported to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, it was stated that the expenses were not equivalent in balance, and it was also stated that until the end of 1310, the exiles had a total of 4490.5 kuruş and 220.5 kuruş per diem expenses. It was reported to the Ministry of Finance that these costs were paid by the government forces, and the 27,660 kuruş expense was paid by embezzlement as of 1311<sup>21</sup>. We see that those who escaped from the vicinity of Aleppo Province were sent to Rhodes again. In the document dated 25 June 1895 (2 Muharrem 1313), the payment of the household rent given for the residence of the Hemavends with their daily wages was made<sup>22</sup>.

**Tablo 2 :** Hemavend Tribe in Mosul and Shahrizor in 1905<sup>23</sup>

Properties	Number
Sects	6
Populations	840
Shelters Tent-Building	/ -188
Forces /Cavalry-Infantry	300- /
Guns	300
Regions	Çemçemal

As can be seen in Table 2, this tribe, which was terrifying with its organizational structures, was in a settled state. The tribe, which did not constitute a large population with its mounted troops, created unrest in the region where they settled. It was seen that this people, who was separated from their homeland of Mosul Province and brought to the sanjaks of Eyalet of the Archipelago as exile, was controlled by the state.

### 1-Rhodes Exiles

Rhodes Island is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean. It has been remembered as a place of exile and *kalebent* in the Ottoman Empire (Baykara Taşkaya, 2020: 67). The Hemavends, who were placed on this island in 1885, decreased over time due to death,

20 BOA, DH.MKT. 1977 – 107.

21 BOA, DH.MKT. 376 – 27.

22 BOA,ŞD. / 2352 – 17.

23 Marufoğlu, ,i,b,i,d,p.120.

desertion and amnesty. The remaining population wanted to go to places they deem more suitable for them, claiming that they could not adapt to the climate on the island and that their living conditions were bad. The persons living in the individual households of the persons residing here are given, and the detailed documents kept about the persons are also reflected in the archive.

The first document about the tribe in Rhodes was sent to Eyalet of the Archipelago dated May 22, 1901 (3 Safer 1319). Since the spouses and father-in-law of Asiye, Piruze and Ayşe from the Hemavend Tribe in Rhodes passed away, requests to be sent to their uncle Mehmet Bey in Adana were conveyed with petitions stating that they were in misery<sup>24</sup>. This request was repeated again and again. In the document dated 24 January 1904 (6 Zilkade 1321), a telegram was sent on the same subject. Documents were sent to the Deputy Governor of Eyalet of the Archipelago to allow five of these people to leave<sup>25</sup>. Again, since these persons were women, it was deemed appropriate by the grand vizier to allow the five persons accompanying them, who were not punished, to go<sup>26</sup>. It was stated that these ladies wanted “*mazhar-ı aff-ı ali*” like other Hemavendians, especially since they did not have any mahrams in their wishes. We can follow the documents received four years later that the wishes of these individuals did not come true. In the document dated August 17, 1904 (5 Cemazielahir 1322), we see that in the document sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs from Hemavends in Rhodes to allow Asiye and her friends (*refika*) to go to their hometowns, we see that women were asked to be allowed to go with their children of the age of majority<sup>27</sup>. In the document dated April 25, 1905 (19 Safer 1323), individuals requested amnesty for a different reason this time. In the documents sent to the Council of State, petitions stating that Asiye, Ayşe and other ladies from the Hemavend Tribe, who were civil servants, were sent to reside in Rhodes because of their incompatibility with the weather and lack of administration. In the documents they wrote to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, they stated that they had been in an ordeal between their children and the street for twenty years, that they wanted to be transferred to Adana or other provinces where they could easily go, such as Damascus, Aleppo and Bursa, where it was easy and cheap to live, and also demanded an increase in their daily wages<sup>28</sup>. We see that the same request was repeated a year later in the document dated 6 March 1906 (10 Muharram 1324). When their spouses who were exiled to Rhodes died (*zevc*), Asiye and her four friends who were left without a home were given a sealed petition. It was stated that these people wanted to give their petitions upon the request of their fellow countrymen who lost their spouses after their death. It was also reported that they wanted to increase their daily wages like other exiles. In the document written by the Minister of Internal Affairs, it was stated that only six men remained among the Hemavend residents in Rhodes, and the others consisted of women and children, as well as two old people and people who could not work. It was stated that the reason for such a shortage of the male population was their desertion, and

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24 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2487 – 57.

25 BOA, DH.MKT. / 817 – 58-9.

26 BOA, DH.MKT. / 817 – 58-7.

27 BOA, BEO / 2391 – 179325.

28 BOA, ŞD. / 2365 – 1.



the survivors of their women and children were pardoned. A letter was sent to the center to allow these people to return to their hometowns and to allow them to go to their provinces and hometowns. The documents transferred to the Council of Deputies (*Meclis-i Vukela*) were examined, and the province was notified several times <sup>29</sup>. The state forgave people in cases where families were reduced for various reasons, as in this example.

**Tablo 3:** Hemavends at Rhodes <sup>30</sup>

Family	Name	Age	Number
Family 1	Hacı Salih	65	1
	Cermi Havva	30	1
	Son Ahmet	40	1
	Other son Rıza	35	1
	Ahmet's Cumi Gürcü	35	1
	Son Raşit	13	1
	Daughter Hanım <sup>1</sup>	16	1
	Other Daughter Hanım	12	1
Total		8	
Family 2	Nebadır	50	1
	Son Mehmet Saib	18	1
	Other Tayyib	16	1
	Other Nimaldin	7	1
	Other Rahseb Şefan	6	1
	Daughter	14	1
	Daughter Fatma	3	1
	Daughter Hanım	13	1
Total		9	
Family 3	Rezzan Müteveffa Abdülkerim	25	1
	Mather Ayşe	45	1
	Biraderi Seyidin	14	1
	Other Rasim	5	1
	Sister Naile <sup>2</sup>	14	1
	Sister Cemile	14	1
	Süleyman Hürmüşah Uncle's	52	1
Total		7	
Family 4	Mehmet Emin bin Müteveffi Abdülfettah	20	1

29 (BOA, Y..MTV. 284 – 34).In another document, the residents of Hamavend, who stated that they had a total population of 42, were pardoned by from the Ministry of Internal Affairs , *Meclis-i Mahsu-su Vükela* (Council of Ministers). It was stated that in a group consisting of 6 men, 36 women and children, the children were born in Rhodes. The annual wage expense of individuals to the state was 42,000 kurus. BOA, YA.RES-130-92 -BOA, YA.RES-130-92-3.

30 BOA, DH.TMIK.M. / 145 – 27-15.

	Mather 's Piruze	45	1
	Sister Ahu	15	1
	Sister Ayşe	13	1
	Sister Hatice	7	1
	Grand mather Ayşe	67	1
	Mehmet Emin's Uncle Ahmet bin Süleyman	31	1
Total		7	
Family 5	Derviş İsmail	28	1
	Hacmi Rana	25	1
	Doughter Dursun	15	1
	Mather Kelhab	55	1
	Brother Kerimhan	28	1
Total		5	
Family 6	Zara Abdullah	17	1
	Mather Nebir	45	1
	Brother Abdurrahman	13	1
	Nizeli Rendon	60	1
	Hemşirezade Mehmet Emin	25	1
Total		5	
Family 7	Hacı Salih 's wife Divorced (Mutallaka) ³Ayşe	65	1
	Cogran Hıdır	13	1
	Küşaş	12	1
General Total		44	-

**Table 4:** Wages and Records of the Hemavendians in Rhodes in 1902<sup>31</sup>

Name	Money (Yevmiye)	Explanation
Abdülkerim bin Ali's Wife Asiye	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Abdülkerim bin Ali oğlu Abdurrahman	20 kuruş 2 coin	Birkaç ismi olub Abdurrahman ve Buhara Rıza ve Abdurrezzak diyerek de imza konuşmaktadır.
Abdülkerim bin Ali Saad Mihri	20 kuruş 2 coin	Actually, her name is Saad Miri.
Abdülkerim bin Ali 's doughter Naile	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.

Abdülkerim bin Ali's Daughter Cemile	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Abdülkerim bin Ali ,Other Wife Piruze	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Amcasının Haremi Şah	20 kuruş 2 coin	Her name is registered as Şah(Shah) and Tabe
Mehmet bin Abdurrahman's Family	20 kuruş 2 para	Mehmet bin Abdurrahman died on June 2, 1318. On the 3rd day of the month, the registration was reported to the ministry from the province.
Mehmet bin Abdurrahman 's Wife Tenmir	20 kuruş 2 coin	The name of the person was registered in this way in the custody.
Mehmet bin Abdurrahman's Son Mirza	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet bin Abdurrahman's Brother Mehmet Emin	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet bin Abdurrahman's Brother Wife Recan	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza' s Wife Kuli	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza's Son İsmail	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza' son Kerim	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirzanın Bride 's Rana	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza's Wife Havva	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza' Son Ahmet's Wife Gürcü	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza, Kerim's Wife	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza, Other Son Reşit	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Abdulfettah's Groom	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza's Grand Mather Ayşe	20 kuruş 2 coin coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza's Wife Ayşe <sup>4</sup>	20 kuruş 2 coin	She is not one's wife from Pirvenlü. Pirvenlü is the mother of Mehmet bin Abdulfettah.

Hacı Mirza's Sister Ayşe	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Hacı Mirza' S Sister Ahu	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Şeyh Ahmet bin Ali Ekber	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Nadir bin Abdurrahman's Groom	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Nadir bin Abdurrahman 's Son Mehmet	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Nadir bin Abdurrahman's Son Seyyit	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Nadir bin Abdurrahman's Daughter Recan	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Nadir bin Abdurrahman's Wife	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Said and Family	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Said ' s Brother Ali	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Said 's Mother Ayşe	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Said's Son Hıdır	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet Said 's Daughter Gülnar	20 kuruş 2 coin	His daughter's name is Gülnaz.
Abdüladir's child	20 kuruş 2 coin	Nadir bin Abdurrahman's daughter's name is Fato.
Abdülkerim Ağa 's son Rüstem	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Mehmet bin Salih's Daughter Hatun	20 kuruş 2 coin	It is in accordance with the accounting records of the province.
Total		39 persons

In Table 3, family members of Hemavemd tribes living in Rhodes divided into seven households are given. There were two mistresses in some of the households that we see as crowded.

In Table 4 we find more details about the Hemavend tribe residing in Rhodes. The date of the records given is August 12, 1902 (July 30, 1318). We see that the individuals demanded to leave with various requests on this island where they came as exiles. In the document dated February 2, 1906 (7 Zilhicce 1323), it was stated that Derviş İsmail from the Hemavend Tribe, with his wives (zevç) and daughters (kerime), had to stay on the island and that his brother had to stay in Rhodes, and it was not appropriate for them to go

anywhere else as they were obliged to reside in Rhodes. It was also reported that Derviş İsmail was not allowed to go to the Hejaz for pilgrimage in response to his petition<sup>32</sup>. Although the Hemavends brought to Rhodes Island by the state were kept here for security purposes, they initially constituted a number of 44 people, but this number decreased over time with death and desertion. The exiles wanted to go to other places with their petitions and also demanded an increase in their daily wages from the state. As we can see from Tables 2 and 3, it is seen that men were married to more than one woman.

## 2-Chios Island and Lemnos & Lesbos Exiles

Chios is one of the largest islands of the Aegean Sea. It was located far from the western coast of Aydın Province and across the districts of Çeşme and Karaburun. One of the places where exiles from Hemavend were brought for security purposes was this island<sup>33</sup>. The other island to which the tribe members were brought was Lemnos. Lemnos Island is located in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, 61 km from the Dardanelles. It is 476 km<sup>2</sup> wide and has a coastline of 259 kilometers<sup>34</sup>. Lesbos is a mountainous Greek island located in the northeast of the Aegean Sea<sup>35</sup>. The only wish of the tribe members brought to these islands was to leave here.

In the document dated 31 December 1892 (11 Cemazielahir 1310) the Hemavends who deserted from their squads in Syria were asked to settle in Lesbos and Kos and cover their expenses. It was reiterated that due to the behavior of these individuals, it would not be possible to keep them in Benghazi and Tripoli, and that there were 160 exiles in the piers of Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos and Kos, not allowing them to escape<sup>36</sup>. It was reported to the Eyalet of the Archipelago that the Hemavendians there would be transported by ferry, and their expenses would be covered by a daily wage of 60 coins given from the local property fund. Although there was a request for the name registration (*Esami Book*) of these people, sending this book to the province was left after the arrival of the Hemavends. The total cost incurred was 78,195 kuruş. 2320 kuruş was paid for the household price of the individuals. In particular, it was necessary to find a house for the tribe to stay in the interior of the Lesbos Castle, and if it was not possible, it was necessary to build a house in the inner castle at an expense of 4750 kuruş. It was requested to pay a total of 87,951 kuruş and 10 coins, with the addition of the ferry fee of 2680 kuruş and 10 coins for their dispatch to the

32 BOA, DH.MKT. / 1046 – 57.

33 1319 CBV Yearbook, p.235

34 J. H.Kramers – Besim Darkot "Limni", İslam Ansiklopedisi. 7,p.60-61.Ankara :MEB Yayınları, 1955 , p.60-61; Feridun Emecen , "Limni". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*,V. 27, İstanbul:TDV Yayınları ,2003 ,p.190-192.

35 Besim Darkot , "Midilli", İslam Ansiklopedisi . 1993,VIII,p.282-284.

36 This tribe was exiled to Tripoli in 1879 after a long journey of six months. Soane, who personally went to the Süleymaniye sanjak of the Mosul Province and came to the tent of Hama Bey, the chief of the Hemavendlis, experienced quite fearful moments here. The author also confirmed that the roots of this tribe are Arab and come from Iran. When the author left the tribe, they also showed the items left from the places she plundered. E.B Soane.,*To Mesopotamia And Kurdistan In Disguise* , London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, W, 1912,p.179-180 -183.

necessary places. It was emphasized that the amount did not correspond to the provincial balance, and it was stated that it could not be paid from the Internal Affairs Arrangement in the balance of the central administration in 1380. The document sent to the Ministry of Finance was sent to the accounting department after the balance deficit and the payment of the arrangement in addition to the excess of the arrangement, which was also problematic in the arrangement of the internal affairs emergency payment, were notified to the Ministry of Finance<sup>37</sup>. We see that the moving and household expenses of Hemavend residents were covered from various sources.

In the document dated December 9, 1894 (10 Cemazielahir 1312) written in Eyalet of the Archipelago, it was requested from the accounting that 160 people from the Hemavend tribe residing in exile in Adana received 100 coins daily wages, that although they had records in the state, how many of them were scattered in the central province and how many of them were scattered in the province, that the wages should not be given on name, and that the curriculum book of these persons should be sent to carry out the necessary procedures since it was not known to whom they were being written. Upon receiving information that his mother, Fatma, whose whereabouts he had not known for seven years, and his brothers Tah, Abdülfattah and Rıza were in Chios, Abdülkadir in Adana sent a petition stating that he wanted to go to his brothers and relatives in Chios or that he wanted them to come to Adana. In the investigation made upon this, it was stated that it would be more appropriate to transfer his relatives in Chios to Adana. In the documents sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, it was stated that Abdülkadir, who was a woman named Fatma, had siblings named Rıza bin Hüseyin (9 years old) and Abdülfettah bin Mahmud from his other mother, so that he could go to his siblings and relatives in Chios. It was reported that Tah (mature) from the same family, Fatma's widow and Abdulkadir and Rıza's unmarried, received a daily wage of 100 from the property fund. In the investigation carried out upon the request of these people, it became obvious that there wasn't any problem about those people to come to Adana or that Abdulkadir's transfer to Chios and it was stated that it would be more appropriate to transfer the relatives of the persons to Adana and the situation was notified to the Adana Governorate<sup>38</sup>. It was stated that Abdulkadir went to his relatives and his wife could not leave Chios. It was stated that permission was provided for the person to take his mother, for whom he spent a lot of money, and his three *sağır* (immature child) brothers<sup>39</sup>.

It is certain that the household rent and daily wages of those staying in Chios were a financial burden in the budget. In the document dated May 27, 1895 (May 15, 1311) written by the Minister of Internal Affairs, it was stated that the Hemavendians who escaped from their squads and were captured in Syria and received 60 coins brought to the islands of Rhodes, Chios and Kos had a total of 87,951 kuruş and 10 coins from 1308 to the end. It was requested to find this amount to be covered in addition to the balance deficit and the surplus of the balance of the year 1308. It was stated that the Hemavendians, who were about 160 people in Chios, had an annual household rent of 66.5 kuruş and their wages were increased to 100 coins with the increase made as of October 21, 1309. Documents were submitted

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37 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2037 – 28.

38 BOA, DH. MKT. 316 – 15-3.

39 BOA, DH.MKT. 316 – 15-9.

for the payment of the house kept in Chios since the beginning of September 1310 and the rent of the house amounting to 95 kuruş and 21 coins as of the 13th day of October of the same year, from the Eyalet of the Archipelago. It was requested that the rent of the previous household, which amounted to 1197 kuruş from the beginning of March 1309 until the date of the eviction, be given until the end of the year 1310, the lease date. It was stated that Hemavend residents, who were paid 429 kuruş and 160 people, had a daily wage apart from the increase from the beginning of March to the end of February 1309, and the annual wage amounted to 87,600 kuruş. The total money due was 89,226 kuruş. It was stated that 87,999 defect pennies belonged to the year 1309 and 1225 kuruş to the year 1310. Due to the fact that it was not included in the balances of the aforementioned years, the situation was reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Finance, with the addition of the said household rent to the balance of 1311 with a rent of 95 kuruş and in the same way it was added to the internal allocation. It was ensured that the necessary transactions from the accounting were carried out<sup>40</sup>.

The point made by the Adana Governor in the document dated 12 May 1895 (30 April 1311) about the tribe members in Chios is also important. It was stated that due to the tribe's presence on the island, desertions would also be prevented<sup>41</sup>.

The exiles in Chios stated in their declaration addressed to the Adana Vilayet dated May 30, 1895 (5 Zilhicce 1312) that after living in Tripolitania for six or seven years, they were sent to Kos in the Eyalet of the Archipelago and received a daily wage of 100 coins, and they also emphasized that they had been living in misery and misery by living in a household with six people for ten years. In this case, individuals were asked to appear in court or be sent to their hometown of Adana or a similar place<sup>42</sup>. With the document dated May 12, 1896 (April 30, 1312), the Governor of Adana stated that since the Hemavend people, who barely made a living, were sent to the central province while he was the governor of the Mosul Province, and those who made a wish also had this hope. In the request written under the name of Chios exiles (*nefi*), it was requested to inform whether there was any objection in sending Aziz and his wife, who were from the same tribe in Chios, to Adana. The people of Hemavend, who remained in Chios, also wrote desires describing the situation they were in. They stated that *"we cannot provide our life with our group of twenty-five people from the Hemavend tribe residing in the Sanjak of Sulaymaniyah of Mosul Province and who were exiled to Tripolitania seven years ago, and then to Algeria-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet for three years to Chios Island with 100 coins daily wages and these money we receive from the local goods chest."*<sup>43</sup> *We also know that our family has been in a lot of trouble due to the severe winter. That's why our children have been sick. We are too miserable to have a hot soup. Reşit, Ömer Kakçı, Abdullah, Tah and his mother Fatma, Brother Labuk and his*

40 BOA, ŞD. 2658 - 27.

41 BOA, DH.MKT, 380 – 15-2.

42 BOA, DH.MKT, 380-15.

43 In the document dated August 20, 1895 (28 Safar 1313), we see that the exiles in Chios were informed by Aziz and three others from the Hemavend tribe that upon the request of the deportees to go to Adana, the exiles should not be allowed to escape when they go to Adana BOA, DH. MKT. / 415 – 50. The request of these people regarding their request to go to Adana, whose food price was three hundred, was written in the main inscription and accepted by the grand vizier BOA, DH.MKT. / 415 – 50-2.

son, Abdulkadir bin Hüseyin Han and Abdürrezzek bin Mehmed and his brother Mürşit and many other friends who have been in exile on the island for seven years, want to leave the island.” Children were also included in this group. It was stated that Tah and Rezak and Reşit and Fettah and Ahmet, who were only 12 years old, were *sabi* (little child). It was emphasized that ten people from the group of twenty-five were women and that the travel expenses and all kinds of damages and losses would be covered by them. In fact, although they stated that their desire was to go to the Süleymaniye Sanjak, they stated that this place was now a dream, but because Adana Province was cheap, they wanted to go here. They emphasized that they would like to continue their daily wages of 100 coins on their way to Adana from here. It was stated that their exile status with their tribes would continue, and that some Hemavendians were also sent to their hometowns, and that they expected the state to be merciful towards them<sup>44</sup>. While it was stated that there was no problem in the transfer of Süleyman Bey, Ali and his wife from Hemavend Tribe to Adana, we do not know whether permission was granted for the others because there is no other document<sup>45</sup>.

Another sanjak of the province, the island of Limni, was not very crowded, but there were Hemavendians. Since the daily wages paid were insufficient, the children were also requested to be paid. In the document dated 8 August 1895 (16 Safar 1313), it was requested that the necessary action be taken according to the request, which included the demand to give daily wages to the children of Abdulfettah from Hemavend, who was in exile in the Lemnos Sanjak. A sealed petition containing the request to give a daily wage to the 5-year-old child, for whom the 100 monetary daily wages were insufficient, was sent<sup>46</sup>.

Some of the petitions only remained as given. It was stated in the document dated 29 September 1896 (21 Rebiülahir 1314) that some people from the Hemavend Tribe, who were exiled in Rhodes and Lemnos to reside together in Eyalet of the Archipelago, requested to be transferred to Adana to stay together. Two documents were sent to the province by Şerif bin Mehmet and Münevver Hatun, who were from Hemavend living in Adana, to protect these people<sup>47</sup>.

The tribe was not only exiled from their homeland, but also some of the families were divided in various sanjaks in the province. In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated September 21, 1898 (5 Cemazielahir 1316), it was stated that there was no harm in Hacı Mehmet, who was in Rhodes as an exile from the Hemavend tribe, and his father and brothers and uncle in Lemnos to come to Rhodes. A memorandum dated September 18, 1898 (2 Cemaziel evvel 1316) was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago<sup>48</sup>. In the document dated September 23, 1892 (1 Rebiülevvel 1310) written to the Mosul Province, it was stated that although the Hemavendians confirmed that Sheikh Mehmet bin Ahmet, an Iranian citizen who was among the Hemavends exiled to Lemnos, was from this tribe, the truth was unclear. The situation was reported to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. A

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44 BOA, DH.MKT, 380 – 15-3.

45 BOA, DH.MKT, 380 – 15-7.

46 BOA, DH.MKT. / 408 – 59.

47 BOA, DH.MKT. 2077 – 22.

48 BOA, BEO / 1198 – 89844.



telegram dated 29 June 1892 (June 17, 1308), that the investigation would be carried out, was notified to the province that the necessary action was not taken yet, and the necessary investigation was requested for the request to be sent to Iran, claiming that he was not from Hemavend<sup>49</sup>. We don't know what the result is as there are no other documents.

The expenses of those staying on the island of Lemnos were also covered from various sources. In the document dated 14 August 1906 (23 Cemazielahir 1324), it was ensured that the money for the payment of the household rents amounting to 1748 kuruş by the localities and municipalities of the Hemavend residents, who were residing in the island of Lemnos as exile, was obtained from *masat-ı eyyam-ı haliye*'s the year of 1320. The situation was stated with the order dated 14 May 1906 (1 May 1322) to the governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago<sup>50</sup>.

The situation for the exiles in Lesbos, Chios and Lemnos was not different from that in Rhodes. The people of Hemavend, who could not keep up with the island and wanted to go to the Adana Province, which they found closer to them, also wrote desires stating that they were devastated with their miserable lives. It is seen that the state accepted some of these requests and some left them unanswered.

### 3-Shattered Lives and Transfer Requests

The exiled Hemavendians, who stated that they could not adapt to Rhodes Island and Kos in the same way due to the weather conditions, also stated their financial difficulties as the reason and demanded to go to Adana Province. We see that families had requests to leave the province in order to unite. In the document written to the Mosul Province on November 18, 1894 (19 Cemazielevvel 1312), the petitions of *hatuns* named Hatice, Reyhan and Menekse from the Hemavends in Kos who asked to be sent to near their husbands named Abdullah, Sahsivar, Zirman and Rasul Kekiyal in Kirkuk were sent to the province. In the affidavit to be sent to the Kos District Governorship given by the ladies, it was conveyed to the Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago that they wanted the shari'a to be sent in order to implement the law (sher-i sharif) if they were not sent<sup>51</sup>. Since they could not adapt to the atmosphere of the Kos township, petitioners were sent from the Hemavend Tribe asking for the transfer of Süleyman and his friends to their relatives in Adana in the document dated September 22, 1895 (2 Rebiülahir 1313)<sup>52</sup>. This request was repeated in the document dated 15 December 1895 (27 Cemazielahir 1313)<sup>53</sup>. Since there are no documents on the subject in the archive, we guess that these petitions were inconclusive.

In the document dated August 12, 1896 (3 Rebiülevvel 1314), Hatice was requested to be transferred to Adana from the Hemavend tribe residing in Kos Province. Petition, which mentioned that she was in a miserable state, was sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs with

49 BOA, DH.MKT. 2004 – 107.

50 BOA, DH.MKT., 1109 – 27.

51 BOA, DH.MKT. 308 – 45.

52 BOA, DH.MKT. 431 – 48.

53 BOA, ŞD. / 2353 – 16.

the seal of Mehmet Şakir<sup>54</sup>. In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated September 4, 1896 (26 Rebiülevvel 1314), in the example of the certificate of registration in the Internal Affairs Department, the Ministry of Internal Affairs' memorandum that was transferred to the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) was read in the Internal Affairs Department. Mehmet Şakir, a member of the Hemavend tribe living in Adana, requested permission to take his mother, Hatice, who was over 70 years old and residing in the district of Kos, beside him because she had no relatives left there, and a request was made for the person to be granted a relevant license. While the situation was deemed appropriate in the memorandum sent to Adana Province, the Eyalet of the Archipelago was informed. The necessary permit was also referred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>55</sup>.

In the document dated 2 December 1899 (20 Teşrinî Sani 1315), it was stated that the patients of the people named Abdülkerim, Nadir, Abdurrahman, İsmail, Salih and Mehmet from the Hemavend Tribe died and that the survivors were in distress as they could not match the weather of Rhodes and asked to be transferred to Adana. According to the document dated 20 November 1900 (7th Dec. 1316), which came from Adana province, it was stated that this situation did not pose a problem, so necessary actions could be taken against them<sup>56</sup>. In the document of the Minister of Internal Affairs, which came four days later, petitions were sent asking permission for their transfer to Adana, since the relatives of persons named Abdülkerim, Nadir, Abdurrahman, İsmail, Salih and Mehmet from the Hemavend Tribe, who stated that they could not adapt to the water and air of Rhodes, were also in Adana. The Minister of Internal Affairs requested that it be investigated whether these persons were relatives in Adana. For this purpose, a telegram was sent from Eyalet of the Archipelago to Adana Province<sup>57</sup>. The Ministry of Internal Affairs stated that there was no problem in this situation but the Governor of Adana stated that he did not view this situation positively<sup>58</sup>. In the document written in Adana Province dated January 2, 1900 (29 Şaban 1317), it was requested that some people from the Hemavend Tribe, who were not accustomed to the climate of Rhodes, to conduct an on-site investigation about their relatives in Adana, whom they wanted to be transferred to<sup>59</sup>. Generally, in archive documents, we see that the petitions submitted by the individuals were left unanswered by the state, but the written petition was rejected. In the document written to the Adana Province, it was stated that the request of Abdülkerim and Nadir from the Hemavend tribe in Rhodes, with a population of 20-30, to be transferred to Adana because they were relatives of Abbas and Mehmet Bey, who resided in Adana, was not accepted despite the information that they had relatives in Adana. The reason for this refusal was that this tribe, which could not adapt to the local people, had "*impaired and morbid conditions*". In the census dated March 25, 1900 (March 12, 1316), it was stated that they could not get used to the weather of the island, the transportation facilities were limited and there were problems related to

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54 BOA,ŞD. / 2126 – 23.

55 BOA, BEO, 835 – 62554.

56 BOA, DH.MKT. 2284 – 3.

57 BOA, BEO / 1418 – 106321-2.

58 BOA, BEO / 1418 – 106321-2-3.

59 BOA, DH.MKT. 2292 – 65.

the household wages. The foresighted attitude of the Ottoman rulers also prevented the settlement here. It was stated by the Governor of Adana that it would not be “*consistent with necessities and interests*”. Due to their “*modified temperament*”, some measures were required for the education and training of their children, and some measures were requested to be taken <sup>60</sup>. Considering that the tribe members stayed in the province for a long time and they married among themselves, it was seen that the male population on the island wanted to go to marry the people they were engaged to. In the document dated 21 November 1899 (17 Recep 1317), some of the 20-30 people from the Hemavend Tribe residing in Rhodes were married and engaged to the Hemavend girls in Adana, so the transfer of these people to their fiancée was determined by the seal of the Reis Mehmet Şeker residing in Adana<sup>61</sup>. There is no document in the archive about how this petition was answered.

In the document dated April 5, 1900 (4 Zilhicce 1317) written to the Mosul Province, Ayşe Hanım from the Hemavend tribe, who wanted to be allowed to go to her hometown to take her grandson to her father in Rhodes, was given the desire to go to her hometown for five months, where her mother had also died, that she was orphaned, and that her brother who was in Rhodes wanted to go to her hometown for five months. In relation to this request, a census was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago and the Mosul Province was asked for its opinion on the situation and the necessary examinations were requested <sup>62</sup>. There is no document in the archive regarding the acceptance of the petition. In the document written by Mehmet Abdurrahman from the Hemavend Tribe in Rhodes to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, dated April 24, 1901 (5 Muharrem 1319), he and his family, who complained about the air and water of the island, stated that they wanted to be transferred beside to Chief Mehmet Abdurrahman Bey, who was in Adana <sup>63</sup>. There is no document in the archive regarding the acceptance of the petition.

In the document dated April 25, 1905 (19 Safer 1323) in the P Eyalet of the Archipelago, we see that the collective incoming documents of the Hemavendians were examined. Action was taken against those who stated that they did not want to stay on the island due to bad weather, disorder and mismanagement, as they repeatedly stated in their application, and that they wanted to be transferred to another province. As it can be understood from the records they gave to the commission on February 1905 (20 Kanuni Evvel 1320), the documents were delivered to the chief inscription. In the commission created for this situation, it was also requested to discuss the request to increase the daily wages together with the transfer requests <sup>64</sup>.

We see that with the petitions written to the state, the requests of the individuals to go to the Adana Province were conveyed to the state. We see that some petitions were left in the Adana Province with the intention of making the necessary investigation, but the petitions were not concluded. There were also cases where the documents that were found

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60 BOA, DH.MKT. 2329 – 38.

61 BOA, DH.MKT. 2273 – 100.

62 BOA, DH. MKT. 2328 – 92.

63 BOA, DH.MKT. 2476 – 107.

64 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. 196 – 25.

and answered were rejected due to the consideration of security and public order conditions.

#### 4- Requests for Amnesty (*Af-ı Mazhar-ı Şahane*)

There were various measures taken against banditry in the Ottoman Empire. Among these measures, amnesty, the institution of suretyship, and assignment of duty were frequently applied practices. The chief of the tribe was held responsible for all kinds of movements of the tribe and was made their guarantor. As a result of these measures, some of the brigands gave up banditry and came under the command of the state<sup>65</sup>. A long period of time passed after the Ottoman State expelled the Hemavends, and the state forgave some of these individuals. In fact, some individuals citing this situation as an example and demanded that this process be applied to them.

The Deputy Governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, in the document he sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated 12 August 1902 (7 Cemazievvel 1320), asked the Mosul Province for an opinion on this matter upon the request for the amnesty of the Hemavendians in Rhodes, by showing the amnesty of the Hemavendians in Adana as an example<sup>66</sup>. However, in the document written to the Mosul Province, it was stated that the Hamaven residents in Rhodes consisted of five populations<sup>67</sup>. On October 9, 1902 (September 26, 1318), on request, 80-year-old Fatma, together with our wives, was devastated, as well as the tribal chiefs who were sick (*marazi- alil*), and since we have been in agony here for seventeen years, she wanted this situation to end<sup>68</sup>. Since no response had been received from this work yet, it was emphasized that the process should be accelerated<sup>69</sup>.

In the document written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, some of the members of the Hemavend tribe who were exiled to places such as Rhodes and Adana for harming the surrounding population and encroaching on the Iranian border were examined for the demands of some of the members in Rhodes who had been sentenced for sixteen years, such as their chieftains, either to be forgiven or to increase their wages by five cents like their peers due to their misery.<sup>70</sup> In the document dated February 2, 1903 (4 Zilkade 1320), the demand to increase their daily wages was not found appropriate, along with the request given by Beyruze and four of his friends from Hemavend to go to their hometown.

65 Mehmet Karagöz, "17. Asrın Sonunda Filibe ve Çevresinde Eşkîyalık Hareketleri (1680-1700)", *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. Elazığ-2006, Cilt: 16, Sayı: 2, 2006, p.398.

66 BOA, DH.MKT. 558 – 42.

67 BOA, DH.MKT. 558 - 42-2.

68 BOA, DH.MKT. 558 - 42 -3.

69 BOA, DH.MKT. 558 – 42-7.

70 In the document dated February 2, 1903 (May 23, 1318), "Those in Rhodes wrote desire under two headings. The first one was "Hemavend Tribe prisoners consist of" Mehmet Emin, Rıza, Kerim, Rıza, İsmail, Ahmet, Süleyman, Mehmet, Abdurrahman; The second group was called "Esami-yi Aile" that consist of Ayşe, Rezzan, Abdurrahman, Mizra, Minice, Gülnas, Şems, Hatun, Hanım, Reşit, Georgian, Havva, Naile, Cemile, Rasim, Marun, Asiye, Gülhane, Dursun, It consisted of Rana, Hadice, Ayşe, Ahu, Piraze, Şaban, Fatma, Recep, Necib, Rüçhan, Hanım, Şerib, Mehmet Sait, Şaye. (BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 – 27-5). In the same way, another document conveying the demands was as follows: (BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-2).

Documents notified to the Registry of Transactions Commission (*Tesri-i Muamelat Komisyonu*) were sent Eyalet of the Archipelago <sup>71</sup>. Since the amnesty of her two sons from the Hemavend tribe was accepted, Ayşe Hanım asked for the others to be forgiven in the same way in her request, and information was sent about the situation. With the document dated March 15, 1903 (March 2, 1319), the situation was conveyed to the Deputy Acting Commission of Transactions in the Eyalet of the Archipelago <sup>72</sup>. In the petition written by Ayşe Hanım to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, addressed to the governor of the province, we see that the work took on a more emotional structure. Ayşe Hanım stated that her younger son was “deprived of the compassion (*iltifat-ı seniyye*)” and requested that the necessary examinations be made and the necessary implementation of the documents sent to the province <sup>73</sup>. In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who wanted to move to another province, stating that they were troubled by the weather, a group of 44 men and women sent the petition addressed to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. Stating that they became oppositional due to their low numbers in Rhodes, the group states that their women remained in the Mosul Province. It was stated that Abdülkerim, Abdülfettah and Abdülhamid and his wife Ayşe (mutallaka), from whom Hacı Salih divorced, were found. It was reported that Abdülkerim had 25 Abdülfettah 20 Abdülhamit’s 17-year-old sons, Ayşe’s sons Hacı Mehde and Ali, were pardoned while in exile in Adana and went to Mosul to their hometown. While Ayşe Hanım reiterated her situation by an apostil on June 6, 1903 (May 24, 1319), which she sent to the Provincial Police Commissioner, it was stated that her 13-year-old eldest child (*sagir-i cedir*) Hıdır was left without a home, and that she wanted her son to be forgiven, the compass about the situation of all of them was sent to Eyalet of the Archipelago <sup>74</sup>. Parents were especially willing to take the children to Adana Province accompanied by the gendarmerie. It was stated that the daily wage of 5 kuruş, which was requested to be increased, amounted to 39,237,5 kuruş in total, in the report written by the Accounting Department. It was sent to the Commission of Reconciliation and Reform, for which there was no equivalent for this fee. It was requested to determine the names of the people in Rhodes, and it was stated that 10-12 of them were women and children out of the total population of 170 people. It was stated that the male population was over 70 years old, and the rest consisted of children who came to Rhodes with their father (*peder*) and mother. While it was stated that the population would be reformed in this way, it was reported that those who were in Adana and the surrounding areas were forgiven by the state as they were seen to be helpless. It was stated that this situation could not be accepted for those in Rhodes, only that their daily wages should be increased to 5 kuruş, and that no daily wage would be given to those who were exempt <sup>75</sup>. As seen in this document, those who stayed in Rhodes were asked to continue their residence where they were. There was no place to live outside of their homeland for this tribe, which was in exile far from their homeland. We see that some of the women and children were pardoned by the state in the documents, in which the psychology reflected in the archive documents deepened.

71 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-27.

72 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-3.

73 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-21.

74 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-16 - BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-20.

75 BOA, DH.TMIK.M.. / 145 - 27-28.

## 5-The Main Matter *Maişet* (Daily Wages)

The main issue that the exiles and, of course, the state had to meet was the economy. These people, who made their living by means of the daily wages paid by the state, found the wages low and wrote petitions stating that they could not make a living all the time. Another issue that was especially raised in petitions was the demand that the daily wages of deceased persons be paid to other family members. Due to their good behavior in exile, some tribe members were forgiven and their daily wages were stopped to be paid and they were allowed to return to their homeland. The stragglers, on the other hand, wanted to be forgiven or given enough money to make a living, like other tribal members who were forgiven because of their financial difficulties and climatic conditions. When the state could not cope with the issue of daily wages, it examined whether it was legal to pay daily wages to the children born, and it also paid daily wages to the children born later.

We see that the state tried to supply the expenses made to the tribe from different sources. In the document written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, dated 29 September 1889 (3 Safer 1307), it was requested to pay the remaining 74,897,5 kuruş fee from the transportation fee of the Hemavendians, who were previously transported to Benghazi by the Special Administration (*İdare-i Mahsusa*) ferries. The necessary documents were sent to the Ministry of Finance for this fee to be taken from the general budget (*emval-i umumiye*) of the Midilli Sanjak in 1305, and the record of the transaction was sent with the document (*derkenar*) written by the accounting supervision<sup>76</sup>. In the document written in the Eyalet of the Archipelago dated 31 December 1892 (11 Cemazielahir 1310), the documents of the transfer requested for the daily wages and various expenses of the Hemavendians who were exiled in Eyalet of the Archipelago were sent to the Grand Vizier<sup>77</sup>.

We see that those in exile were checked and allowed to go to Adana. The document regarding the pardon request of Salih from the Hemavend Tribe, who had been in *Kalebent* for eighteen years, was sent on January 8, 1890 (16 Cemazielevvel 1307)<sup>78</sup>. In the document written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated November 5, 1900 (12 Recep 1318), Hemavend Hacı Salih, who came to Adana on leave while he was in Rhodes in exile, had been convicted for fifteen years and his wife Münevver wrote to request forgiveness taking into account the situation of his family<sup>79</sup>. The person's request to reside in Adana was renewed in the document dated February 23, 1901 (4 Zilkadae 1318). This request was not found appropriate by stating that the number of the tribe here increased and that the local area was not suitable for this situation<sup>80</sup>. In the document that came five days later, it was requested that 530 kuruş, which had to be paid from the 1st day of August 1316, of Paruza from Hemavend, who was from the family of Hacı Salih residing in Rhodes and went to Adana to get married, to be paid there until the end of February. The fee was given by Eyalet of the Archipelago from the annual general budget account (*Sene-yi Maliye Umum*

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76 BOA, DH.MKT. / 1661 – 92.

77 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2037 – 39.

78 BOA,ŞD. / 2365 – 5.

79 BOA, DH. MKT,2425 – 20.

80 BOA, DH. MKT. 2453 – 135.

*Havalenamesi*) and requested to be taken from the property of the previous year <sup>81</sup>. In the document dated 7 April 1901 (17 Zilhijce 1318), it was reported to Adana Province that after the three-month leave of exile Hacı Salih from Hemavend, he went to Adana, stayed with his fellow countryman, and was returned to Rhodes, where he was exiled, and accounting was informed about the situation <sup>82</sup>. It was stated in the document written to Adana Province dated 7 June 1901 (19 Safer 1319) that it was the answer to the census dated 10 March 1899 (27 Şevval 1316), and when Hemavend Hacı Salih, who came to Adana on leave from Rhodes, where he was exiled, after staying with his fellow countryman for three months, it was stated that his return to the place of exile took place with the document dated April 27, 1900 (14 April 1316)<sup>83</sup>. We see that all movements of individuals by the state were kept under control in this way.

In the document dated January 22, 1893 (4 Recep 1310) written to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was requested that Abdülkerim and his friends, who were members of the Hemavend Tribe residing in Eyalet of the Archipelago, be given sufficient wages for their living. It was requested that the daily wages were insufficient and this situation should be examined <sup>84</sup>. In the document dated two weeks later, it was requested to increase the wages of those who belong to the Hemavend tribe residing on the islands in the Eyalet of the Archipelago. With the petition given by Abdülkerim and three of his friends, it was reiterated that the examination should be carried out due to the inadequacy of the wages given to them. It was stated that some of the people's friends were forgiven and sent to their hometowns with "forgiveness (*mazhar-ı affiyetle*)" upon request, and it was stated that they also demanded their release, considering that they were in the same situation<sup>85</sup>. Since there are no other documents in the archive, we do not know how the state implemented the requests of these individuals.

The daily wages of the tribe members who complained about their condition were increased. It was stated that there were 160 people from Hemavend tribe in the province, while in Rhodes, 60 coins was given to 30 people. In the document dated September 4, 1893 (August 23, 1309), it was emphasized that 40 coins of increase made in this money, while in the document that came a month later, the individuals belonging to the Hemavend Tribe in the islands within the Eyalet of the Archipelago demanded another increase in their wages and stated that they could not provide their livelihood in this way. Upon the request, which was previously submitted with the signature of Abdülkerim, a member of the Hemavend tribe, and Mihr, his companion, it was requested to examine whether the daily wages given to these individuals were sufficient. In the document written by the Minister of Internal Affairs, it was stated that although the daily wage to be paid in 1309 was 160 kuruş, 30 kuruş would be included in this fee and 130 kuruş would be paid until the end of 1309. This year's money was added to the balance deficit and more than the necessity of the Internal Affairs. For the balance of the year 1310, the daily wages were increased and the new wage

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81 BOA DH.MKT. 2455 – 123.

82 BOA, DH. MKT. / 2469 – 23.

83 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2494 – 72.

84 BOA, BEO / 143 – 10682.

85 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2048 – 118.

was arranged as 100 coins, and the situation was reported to the accounting <sup>86</sup>.

The rents of the tribes residing in the castles in the sanjak were also obtained from various sources. In the document given to the Eyalet of the Archipelago on 27 November 1894 (28 Cemazielvvel 1312), it was stated that it was not possible to pay the 1500 kuruş, which was the construction cost of the house to be built in Lesbos Castle. It was asked from where the refurbishment cost of the Pülimar District government house, which was 2550 kuruş, and the construction costs of the household to be built for the Hemavends in Lesbos would be met. While it was stated that the expenses of the Hemavend residents were to be transferred from the Financial Budget (*Tahsisat-ı Emval-i Maliyesi*) in 1308, it was allowed to use 81.951 kuruş and 4500 kuruş of the 10 coins. Since it was not appropriate to cover the expenses of this year for the next year, it was requested that 1500 kuruş be taken from the repairs included in the balance of 1311 and even 2550 kuruş from the expense arrangement <sup>87</sup>.

In order to supply of the increase in demands, we see that the state started to pay daily wages to the deceased and children. In the document dated 28 August 1899 (20 Rebiülahir 1317), it was emphasized that a curriculum book with a total of 100 money should be sent to accounting for the children born of 40 unpaid daily wages after the death of person's partner. It was stated that nothing could be done about the demand of Ali Abdi from the exiled Hemavend Tribe in Rhodes, about the daily wage increase, unless the requested book about the Hemavend people in Eyalet of the Archipelago was sent <sup>88</sup>. In the document dated 18 October 1900 (23 cemazielahir 1318), two documents were given to the Eyalet of the Archipelago for the payment of the daily wage from the deceased daughter Zübeyde of Abdülkerim Ağa, who was in exile in Rhodes, to his son Rüstem, It was requested to pay the money from the provincial budget<sup>89</sup>. In the document dated November 24, 1900 (1 Saban 1318), the transactions continued, the documents were forwarded to the Minister of Internal Affairs for the process of payinh 100 coins of wages to his son Rustam, while two days later it was stated that the transaction in the Ministry of Finance continued in the document sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>90</sup>.

It was understood from the records that this money was a daily wage of 100 money, and it was stated in the accounting that it was appropriate to be given as a pledge. In the document dated 26 December 1900 (4 Ramadan 1318), the documents of the governor of the Eyalet of the Archipelago sent to the Council of State Finance Department, daily wage of the deceased Zübeyde, the daughter of Abdülkerim Ağa from the Hemavend Tribe, who had been in exile in Rhodes since 13 October 1316 to be given to his son Rüstem and the situation was informed to accounting<sup>91</sup>. As can be seen, the state had found it appropriate to give daily wages after its investigations.

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86 BOA, BEO 287 – 21515.

87 BOA, DH.MKT. 312 – 10.

88 BOA, DH.MKT. 2239 – 120.

89 BOA, DH.MKT. 2416 – 12.

90 BOA, ŞD. 2707 – 739 and BOA, BEO / 1587 – 119013.

91 BOA, DH.MKT. 2442 – 120.



The state continued to pay daily wages for various reasons. In the document dated 2 December 1900 (9 Şaban 1318), it was demanded that 40 coins of the 100 coins (vacant) daily wages remaining from Hatice, Ali's deceased wife from the Hemavend Tribe, who was in exile in Rhodes, to be paid to the young child. It was stated that the transaction was made on March 22 of 1315, the date when the 100 cash wages inherited from Abdünnadir's deceased wife, Rezane, were given. It was requested that the records of re-giving the daily wages left to Edhem from Ali's wife and Abdünnadir's daily wage of 100 coins to his eldest son (*veled-i sagir*) be given to the accounting department <sup>92</sup>. In the document dated 28 March 1901 (7 Zilhijja 1318) of Mehmet from the Hemavend Tribe, who was in exile in Rhodes and died there, it was requested that the necessary procedures be given to the six-year-old girl, and the situation should be reported to the accounting <sup>93</sup>.

In the document dated April 6, 1901 (16 Zilhijja 1318), upon the death of Abdülkerim, who was sentenced to the *kalabent* in Rhodes, it was demanded that his idle wage be paid to his family as it was understood from the records kept by his wife Ahyab that he was in the level of debt <sup>94</sup>. This is another document in the archive whose result we do not know.

In the document dated April 22, 1901 (3 Muharrem 1319), a petition submitted by Mehmet Emin and his companion was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago about 17.5 kurus daily which was left vacant after the death of his brother and great-grandmother to be given to their three daughters. It was stated that the opinion on this matter would be written to the Council of State, and it was stated that 100 coins were assigned to Abdülfettah and his mother Hanzade, who resided in Rhodes, and that the daily wages were sent to the neighborhood with written documents. It was requested that these daily wages, which were attached to the family members, should be given to three daughters and that they should be rearranged due to the existence of the orphans due to reasons such as divorce and death. Since there was an application for the allocation of wives and born children, some negotiations were required for this decision, what should be done in such a case had been referred to the Council of State for discussion. It was requested that the daily wages left by Mehmet Emin's deceased brother and great mother, from Hemavend Tribe residing in Eyalet of the Archipelago, be linked to his *sabi* daughters<sup>95</sup>.

There was no problem in paying daily wages to the Hemavendians who were exiled to Rhodes. Since there was no order to give daily wages to their born children, since no daily wage was paid to Hatice, the wife of Abdülfettah, who was deceased from the Hemavend tribe in Rhodes, in the document dated 8 July 1902 (1 Rebiülahir 1320) Hatice Hanım made a request again for the 100 money given and the situation was conveyed to accounting <sup>96</sup>. Salary payment was made.

The province was insufficient to meet the economic obligations of the Hemavendians. In the document dated 23 July 1901 (6 Rebiülahir 1319), in the encrypted telegram sent to

92 BOA, DH.MKT. 2433 – 111.

93 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2467 – 37.

94 BOA, DH. MKT. / 2469 – 18.

95 Sabi means a child who is still breastfeeding. BOA, DH.MKT. 2475 – 104.

96 BOA, DH.MKT. / 536 – 51.

the governor of Eyalet of the Archipelago, Abidin Bey, it was requested that the daily wages of the Yemeni and Hemavend exiles be settled on site and that there should be no difficulty in paying them from the treasury. It was stated that whenever the provincial treasurer went to settle the affairs, he was surrounded by attacks and encroachments. Although care was taken to give the wages of these individuals by the state, it was stated that sometimes money was demanded, and it was also reminded that some daily wages accumulated. It was stated that the wails and pains of these exiles in the Rhodes castle were accepted as normal. Although it was stated that the only ones of these individuals were sent to the provinces with more income, it was requested that their daily wages be given regularly and no more money demanded from the province <sup>97</sup>.

With the census written by Abidin, the governor of Eyalet of the Archipelago, dated 30 May 1901 (May 17, 1317) to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the daily wages of the Yemeni and Hemavend exiles in Rhodes, which consisted of many populations should be paid by the Eyalet of the Archipelago <sup>98</sup>. Also, in the document written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago, dated September 20, 1901 (6 Cemazielahir 1319), it was stated that the permission of the Grand Vizier was waited for the payment of daily wages to the children of the Hemavend residents who reside in Rhodes <sup>99</sup>. With the entry of the new year, it was found appropriate not to give the wages that were not paid. In the telegram dated 10 December 1901 (28 Şaban 1319), which was sent to the Grand Viziership with the signature of Hafız Salih, who was in exile in Rhodes, an census was written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago for the payment of the unpaid daily wages of Yemenis and Hemavendians, where many daily wages remained from last year. From the reply received, it was stated that it was not appropriate to give the daily wages <sup>100</sup>.

Investigations regarding daily wage demands and whether this fee could be paid continued. In the document dated May 30, 1902 (21 Safar 1320), Mehmed Emin from the Hemavend tribe residing in Eyalet of the Archipelago, his group consisting of his friends Ahmet and his relatives of five and the remaining 100 coins of wages from Abdülnadir's *zevce* were requested to be paid to three people who had not yet been paid the wage. It was stated in the memorandum dated 8 May 1902 (25 April 1318) that the children of Hemavend people who would be born in exile could be paid daily wages in the property department, which was written to the central and sent to the Council of State. It was stated that the allocation requested by the person could be given to the daily wage if there were provisions in the balance; but since it was added to the reserve for the purpose of examining whether there was a provision for the connection of this financial resource, this situation was sent to the accounting. Council of State memorandum was sent to accounting <sup>101</sup>. At the end of the correspondence, the daily wages were given to the individuals.

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97 BOA, BEO 1694 – 126989.

98 BOA, DH.ŞFR. 260 – 73.

99 BOA, DH.MKT. 2534. – 46.

100 BOA, DH.MKT. 2567 – 57.

101 BOA, DH.MKT. 514 – 95.

The state kept requests for daily wages due to examination of documents and finding funds from the place to be given. At the request of Nadir from the Hemavend tribe in Rhodes, it was requested in the document dated October 16, 1902 (13 Rajab 1320) that the 100 money wages vacated by the deceased in the petition sent to the Council of State be given to one of his three sons. Although it was appropriate to give these daily wages; since it was not possible to assign these wages here, it was requested that a book be kept about which people and the amount of daily wages would be given, and this book should be transferred to the accounting<sup>102</sup>. It was stated that the situation was reported to the Eyalet of the Archipelago and that the amount of salary to be paid to Birecikli Deve Ahmet and İbrahim and his family in Akka was requested from the Beirut Province<sup>103</sup>. In the document dated January 31, 1903 (2 Zilkade 1320) written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago it was requested, a local response to be found for the payment of 100 money from the provincial budget (*emval-i mahalliye*) to the daughters of Kerim Han and Mehmet Emin from the Hemavend Tribe in Rhodes. It was stated that the necessary transactions should be notified to the accounting if the allocation was found locally<sup>104</sup>.

In the document written to the Eyalet of the Archipelago dated April 18, 1903 (20 Muharram 1321), an answer was given to the census dated March 19, 1903 (6 March 1319). In the aforementioned reply, it was reported to the accounting that it was considered appropriate to connect the 100 monetary annuities left over from the deceased daughter of Ahmed bin Saleh from Hemavend, an exile residing in Rhodes, to his other daughter Fatma<sup>105</sup>.

The problem that occupied the state the most was that the members of the tribe could not take care of themselves and the children born to earn their livelihood. The rent of the places where the members of the tribe stayed was also an economic problem that the state had to provide. The state tried to cover these expenses from various sources like general budget (*emval-i umumiye*) and sanjak revenues, and rejected the petitions because there was no equivalent in the treasury for some individuals to receive daily wages.

## 6-The Issue of Fugitives and False Deportations

One of the measures taken by the Ottoman Empire against banditry tribes was settlement. Some tribes, who caused unrest in the region where they lived and were not wanted by the people, were exiled to distant places by the government as a precaution in order to ensure the security and to continue the trade and agriculture<sup>106</sup>. The issue of settlement was not always a desired situation. When the bandit tribes were forced to settle, there were also times when they rebelled against this order. It was very difficult for some

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102 BOA, DH.MKT. 596 – 16.

103 BOA, DH.MKT. 596 – 16-2.

104 BOA, DH.MKT. / 644 – 59-3.

105 BOA, DH.MKT. / 688 – 13.

106 Yusuf Halaçoğlu. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*. Ankara:TTK ,2020,p.58.

Kurdish tribes, who led a nomadic life, to settle in a region, so they often fled from their place of residence. The capture of the fugitives and their return to their former places was also a problem that occupied the state. Some tribes, who continued their banditry in the areas where they were settled, were not wanted by the local people and complained to the government because they caused unrest and disorder. The government sent the bandit tribe to their old places or to different regions upon the complaints <sup>107</sup>.

The Ottoman State would send the criminals, for which it was sentenced to exile, to regions far away from their places of residence. The aim was to prevent the exiles from fleeing to their former places. Generally, the islands, which were connected to the land only by sea, were preferred as places of exile. Such were the islands of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, where the Hemavend Tribe was exiled. Some households from the Hemavend Tribe were exiled to Rhodes years ago. Due to their good behavior in exile, some tribal members were forgiven and allowed to return to their homeland. The stragglers, on the other hand, wanted to be forgiven or given sufficient amount of money to earn their livelihood, like other tribe members who were forgiven due to their financial difficulties and climatic conditions <sup>108</sup>.

We see that those who escaped were caught, and those who contributed to this work were also rewarded. The tradition of insignia, which is a symbol of the understanding of encouraging service to the state and ensuring loyalty, as well as emphasizing independence, started in the Ottoman Empire after the medals. Insignia, which were produced and distributed with great expenditures from the state budget, to be given to citizens and foreigners who were more magnificent than medals and even decorated with precious stones in state service, who showed loyalty to the state, self-sacrifice and usefulness, started to become widespread especially during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). Different medals were given during the reign of Abdüllaziz and Abdülmecit <sup>109</sup>. In the document dated 13 November 1892 (22 Rebiülahir 1310), about forty men and twenty women from the Hemavend tribe, who escaped from Kos to Bayındır Pier, took up arms and escaped, and the document describing the situation was sent to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. The rank of *Kapucubaşı*, held by Süleyman Ağa, a member of the Elmalı District Administrative Council, who did not allow these people to escape, was requested to be increased to the level of *Istabl-ı Amire* <sup>110</sup>. with the compass given by the personal registries directorate (*sicill-i ahval*) <sup>111</sup>. In the document sent a month later, it was requested that those who fled from Kos should not be given any chance to do something. It was stated that Süleyman Ağa, Member of the Board of Directors of Elmalı District, also seized the property of the fugitives and provided the food and drink (supply) of these people. This person was awarded with rank of *Istabl-ı*

107 Yusuf Hallaçoğlu , *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân* ,p.37.

108 Fehminaz Çabuk , “Osmanlı Devleti'nin Eşkışyalık Faaliyetlerini Önlemeye Yönelik Aldığı Tedbirler: Hemavend Aşireti Örneği (1880-1916)”. *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD) Journal of History School (JOHS)* .Mart 2018 March 2018 Yıl 11, Sayı XXXIII,p.540.

109 İbrahim Artuk, “Madalya”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*,Vol . 27, Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2003,p.301-302.

110 Istabl-ı Âmire, the official name of Has Ahur, where horses belonging to the sultan and members of the palace were sheltered in the Ottoman Empire, is Istabl-ı Âmire. Özcan ,1999 :C. 19 , p.203-206.

111 BOA, DH.MKT. 2019 – 111.

*Amire* for the rank of *Kocabası* he had. In the documents sent to the Revenue Department (*Sicill-i Emval*) in Konya Province, the 5th rank Mecidiye medal was also requested for the honor of Hacı Süleyman, Member of the Board of Directors of Kaş, who served in the field of subsistence and settlement of the persons caught <sup>112</sup>.

In the document dated September 22, 1894 ( 21 Rebiülevvel 1312 ) written to Aydın Province and Eyalet of the Archipelago, it was stated that twenty-three members of the Hemavend tribe residing in the Castle in Chios had escaped and they had not been caught yet, they were asked to be investigated and caught <sup>113</sup>. Three days later, in the document written by the Governor of Algeria-i Bahr-i Sefid Province to Hüdavendigâr, Aleppo, Diyarbakir and Mosul Provinces, according to the information obtained from the governorship of Chios and the Liva, it was understood that the Hemavendians, who escaped by hiding on the ferry, consisted of three men and children in total. Since they were likely to go to Sulaymaniyah, necessary information was asked about all the routes they would take. It was requested that care should be taken to catch the fugitives as soon as possible, that the teams that would follow up should continue their search from five branches and hurry. (BOA, BEO / 481 – 36074). Another escape event was occurred in Kos. In the document written to Konya Province dated 20 May 1894 (25 Zilkade 1312), the food and drinks of sixty Hemavend tribesmen who escaped from Kos and were captured at Temre(?) Pier were spent by the porter Kazım Efendi and Muhtar Meteor Yorgi for their food and drink. It was requested that the final account of the 800 kuruş paid off was given from the savings that would arise from the Crews, which is in the internal affairs of the province. Then it was stated that the fee should be paid from the Konya Province allocation <sup>114</sup>. In addition, in other documents given by the *Mutasarrıf* of Teke, it was stated that the captured people stayed in Temre for sixteen days and were brought to Temre after they were caught <sup>115</sup>.

In the document dated August 25, 1895 (4 Rebiülevvel 1313), a petition given by the women was sent upon the request of the Hemavend people who escaped to Tripoli, but wanted to go to their wives, who were taken to Kos Island. After the male population escaped, the women were left alone. This situation created uncertainty and disorder on the island, and it was stated that the names and nicknames (fame) of the tribe were requested from the Eyalet of the Archipelago in order to regulate the records <sup>116</sup>.

While the state continued to resolve the unrest of the Hemavend tribe, some people from other tribes were exiled by mistake. In the document dated April 17, 1895 (21 Shawwal 1312), Mustafa bin Mehmed from the Kafrushi Tribe, who wanted them to be returned to their homeland because they were deported to Tripoli and Chios with the thought that they were from the Hemavend Tribe, was sent petition by his wife Hatile and his wife's uncle Resul. After this petition was sent, it was requested to correct the mistake made <sup>117</sup>. In

112 BOA, DH.MKT. / 2028 – 79.

113 BOA, BEO / 480 – 35957.

114 BOA, DH.KKT,377-20.

115 BOA, DH.KKT,377-20-2.

116 BOA, DH.MKT.418 – 27.

117 BOA, BEO, 601 – 45062.

the document dated August 19, 1895 (27Safer 1313), the opinion of the Mosul province was requested for the matters in the petition. Although the census written to the Mosul Province showed that the people were Ottoman citizens and Kafrushi with the notification made by the *Mutasarrıflık* of the Süleymaniye Sanjak, it was requested to ask the central administration about the situation in order to carry out the transactions <sup>118</sup>. We see that the state corrects the wrong practices after making the necessary investigations.

In the document dated July 4, 1895 (11 Muharrem 1313) written to the Province of Aleppo, some individuals from the Ayyubin Tribe, who were falsely exiled, stated that they were exiled by being mistaken for the Hemavend Tribe. It was stated that a telegraph letter written to Rhodes was sent to give an opinion on the treatment to be made about Abdünnebi and his friends from the Eyyubin Tribe, who demanded a daily wage because they were exiled from Aleppo to Rhodes and their needs <sup>119</sup>. Another exile from the same tribe was mentioned in the document dated 18 August 1895 (26 Safer 1313). Members of the Eyyubin Tribe reported that they were exiled to Rhodes under the suspicion of the Hemavend Tribe, although they did not have disloyalty to the state, which migrated to the Ottoman Empire from Iran and made a living by agriculture under the supervision of the gendarmerie in Aleppo and Mosul. It was requested to examine the complaint about the petition submitted to the grand vizierate by Hacı Süleyman Ağa, one of the representatives of the Eyyubin Tribe, who were not allowed to be sent to Mosul unless there was a state of necessity and need, and demanded that they be paid daily wages or extradited to Mosul <sup>120</sup>.

We see that the exiled Hemavendians escape from time to time. We can follow from archive documents that there were women and children among those who escaped and even they were armed. The state made a great effort to prevent escapes, and unfortunately the people of Hamavend could not avoid being fugitives. Bringing back the escaped persons and providing accommodation, food and beverage and travel expenses in the places where they were caught also created an economic burden on the state. The capture of the fugitives was another problem that occupied the state, which caused problems to be brought back to their former places.

## Conclusion

The Hemavends, a Kurdish tribe, were exiled from their original hometowns of Aleppo and Mosul because of their opposition to the state, and were brought to the Eyalet of the Archipelago. This tribe, whose total number is close to 200, was not very peaceful in the places they went. That's why they always wanted to go either to Adana Province or to places they felt closer to, such as Mosul and Aleppo. The state pardoned some of these exiles. This amnesty set an example for others, and other exiles also demanded amnesty from the state. The people of Hemavend, who made their living on daily wages tied to the state, fled from their places from time to time. In order to prevent this situation, the state settled the tribe in inner castles such as Chios and Lesbos. One of the most important

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118 BOA, DH, MKT, 414-52.

119 BOA, DH, MKT. 392 – 79.

120 BOA, DH, MKT. 413 – 62.

problems reflected in the archive was that some of the families were fragmented due to their relatives in other provinces. In some cases, Hemavendlis were allowed to go to other provinces upon written petitions. Since the state wanted to keep this Kurdish tribe under control, it did not take kindly to the tribe members' request to go to other provinces other than the Eyalet of the Archipelago.

Within the population structure of the Eyalet of the Archipelago, the Hemavend Kurdish tribe was seen as a tough-tempered people that needed to be educated and as a problem in the demographic structure. One of the most important problems faced by the state while trying to keep the tribes under control was the economic burden of this work. The state tried to obtain the rents of the settled households, especially the daily wages paid to each of these individuals, from the economic resources in different sanjaks. While the state was not in favor of reuniting the separated families and relatives; it was preferred the way of increasing their daily wages only in order to compensate for the miserable state they were in. The devastation experienced by the people of Hemavend due to the policies implemented by the state caused the families to separate; The state tried to hinder the passage of tribe members from the Eyalet of the Archipelago to the Adana Province in order to prevent security and ensure peace.

In our article, it was written to seek the answer to the question of how the Hemavend tribe was active in the Eyalet of the Archipelago. The most important problem that stands out in our article, which we created by making use of the Ottoman archive of the Prime Ministry, is the gap created by the disconnection in families. While the exile policy of the state for justified reasons brought with it many troubles, the financial aspect of this business created an economic burden within the state and unfortunately caused the tribal members to become devastated.

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### (Footnotes in Tables)

1 Kerime means daughter.

2 **Hemşire** means sister who feeds the same milk.

3 **Mutallaka** means divorced.

4 The word used here is refika.