

***History of Kirkuk from the Beginning of the
Nineteenth Century until Becoming Part of the
Iraqi Monarchy in 1925***

Rasoul Muhammed Rasoul

**Dissertation completed in fulfillment for the Degree of a Doctor of
Philosophy (Dr. Phil.)**

from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Erfurt.

Erfurt

2017

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Birgit Schäbler

(University of Erfurt)

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Alexander Thumfart

(University of Erfurt)

Date of Disputation: 28 July, 2017.

To the people of Kirkuk, who live under suppression, struggling
for survival against sectarian division.

Note on transliteration

IJMES transliteration guidelines have been used to transliterate words from different oriental languages, such as Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Kurdish, into English. However, these transliteration guidelines do not apply on all words because of the following reasons:

- 1- There are certain words, such as pasha, caliphate, Tigris, Euphrates, vizier, Baghdad, in oriental languages that are familiar to English speakers and do not need to be transliterated.
- 2- Some words, such as *mutasalim*, *defterdār*.... are used in this dissertation because they are also usually used by historians.

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	iv
PART ONE URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL SITUATION	1
CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	2
1.1 Geography of Kirkuk and its vicinities	2
1.2 Climate and topography:	8
1.3 The origin of Kirkuk's name in historical sources	9
1.4 Historical overview of the town of Kirkuk.....	10
CHAPTER II: URBANIZATION AND ARCHITECTURE IN KIRKUK	18
2.1 Kirkuk's town in the 19 th century and its challenges.....	18
2.2 Demographic Size	21
2.3 Town layout and Architectural Pattern.....	29
2.4 Health services.....	34
CHAPTER III: ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN KIRKUK	37
3.1 Main languages.....	38
3.2 Ethnic and religious groups	40
CHAPTER IV: THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN KIRKUK	59
4.1 Educational System during the Ottoman Period.....	59
4.2 The literacy rate and educational challenges	68
PART TWO POLITICAL SITUATION.....	73
CHAPTER V: THE OTTOMAN AND BRITISH ADMINISTRATIONS IN KIRKUK	74
5.1 The Ottoman administration:	74
5.2 Kirkuk's administration during the British occupation	84
CHAPTER VI: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KIRKUK AND THE KURDISH EMIRATES (SORĀN AND BĀBĀN).....	90
6.1 Bābān Emirate	91
6.2 Sorān Emirate	96
CHAPTER VII: KIRKUK'S TRIBAL GROUPS AND THE OTTOMAN POLICY.....	103
7.1. Introduction	103
7.2 Kirkuk's tribal composition	106
7.3 The Kurdish Tribal Challenges during the Ottoman Empire.....	112

7.4 Ottoman Policies towards the Kurdish Tribes	120
CHAPTER VIII: KIRKUK DURING THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1918-1925)	131
8.1 The Process of the British Occupation.....	134
8.2 Kirkuk’s position towards the British occupation.....	140
8.3 The British Policy towards Kirkuk’s tribes	147
8.4 Kirkuk’s position towards King Faisal’s appointment.....	151
8.5 The Turkish Attempt to Re-occupy Kirkuk and Mosul	155
8.6 The events of March 1924	157
8.7 Mosul and the committee of the League of Nations.....	158
PART THREE ECONOMIC SITUATION.....	163
CHAPTER IX: THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN KIRKUK AND ITS VICINITY	164
.....	164
9.1 <i>Tapu</i> and <i>Mallāks</i> (land ownership) in Kirkuk	164
9.2 Agriculture in Kirkuk and its vicinity	167
9.3 Problems of the Agriculture in Kirkuk.....	169
9.4 The Ottoman Agricultural and Livestock Taxes	172
9.5 Kirkuk’s Agricultural and Commercial trade	173
CHAPTER X: ROADS AND COMMERCIAL WAYS IN KIRKUK AND ITS	176
VICINITY.....	176
10.1 Land Transportation	177
10.2 Railway Transportation	184
10.3 Water transportation	186
CHAPTER XI: THE DISCOVERY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OIL IN KIRKUK.	188
11.1 The process of oil discovery in Kirkuk.....	190
11.2 Oil during and after the First World War	198
11.3 The Dispute between Great Britain and France over Mosul and its oil	199
CONCLUSION	207
FINDING OF THE RESEARCH.....	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	214
Primary resources	214
Unpublished sources	214
Published Original Records.....	218
GLOSSARY	239
APPENDIXES.....	242

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deepest appreciation goes to my supervisor, Professor Doctor Birgit Schäßler, the Chair of History of West Asia at the University of Erfurt who accepted me as a PhD candidate at the University of Erfurt. Her comments and advice was always vital in purifying my views. Her principle of academic independence gave me a lot of freedom to write this dissertation. Her suggestions and modifications spared me from several errors. She provided and recommended to me a series of published and unpublished academic and archival sources that enriched my dissertation. I would like to thank Professor Doctor Alexander Thumfart, of the University of Erfurt who accepted to be my co-supervisor and for his expert advice throughout this difficult project. Professor Doctor Jabar Qadir has intellectually inspired me and showed me some sources in oriental languages which are related to this dissertation.

Doctor Mara Albrecht has given me valuable comments during our colloquium sessions, which led me to make proper edits where necessary. Fkreyesus Naizghi and Nada Pezic have corrected this dissertation linguistically since the beginning of this project in 2013 until the official submission. I would like to thank officials from the National Archives in London and the Librarians from the University of Erfurt and Gotha, who gave me unfettered access to many valuable sources. I thank you very much Petra Meersteiner (the Assistant to Professor Doctor Birgit Schäßler) for the administrative assistance well rendered during my stay at the University of Erfurt.

Financially, this project would have been impossible without the support of Kurdistan Regional Government's scholarship, Human Capacity Development Program (HCDP) and the German Academic Exchange Services (DAAD) as a coordinator. Particularly, I appreciate and thank Mr. Alexander Haredi, my Consultant-in-Charge at the DAAD, who timely organized my scholarship privileges that allowed me feel comfortable.

Last, but never least, I would like to thank my wife, Samiya Khoshnaw for her unbounded love and for taking good care of our little kids: Sinaa and Rahand, during my busy schedules writing the dissertation.

INTRODUCTION

Kirkuk which is a city disputed between Kurdistan Regional Government and Iraq, it is located in the north east of Iraq. It has enjoyed a position of great importance in the volatile region of the Middle East both during the rise of the Ottoman Empire since the beginning of 16th century and after its collapse in 1924. Kirkuk has been a major source of interest for travellers, consuls, ambassadors, European religious envoys etc. Because of its strategic location as a transit point between Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and its role as an administrative centre for governing southern Kurdistan. Although their residence period in Kirkuk was short, these visitors have written valuable information on the ethnic composition of the town as well as its historical, political, economic, educational, agricultural, and developmental progress and challenges. According to their accounts, what distinguished Kirkuk from other towns of Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia was the fact that it was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious melting pot characterized by harmonious coexistence and tolerance among its diverse communities.¹ Furthermore, the existence of precious natural resources such as oil, gas and tar as well as its geographical location in a major strategic pathway in the Middle East has been a source of attraction for foreigners. The town was also rich in agriculture and livestock including the production of different types of grains, especially wheat and barley, vegetables, fruits, animal products (i.e. meat, milk, dairy, leather, and wool), which served to attract colonial powers.²

The Ottoman Empire and Iran had long contemplated on the strategic significance of Kirkuk and its surrounding towns as a launching pad in order to control other parts of Iraq including the provinces of Baghdad and Basra. As a result, they encouraged their allies to reside in Kirkuk and its surrounding suburbs and proceeded to construct several castles and forts to protect the town from outside attack and internal rebellions.

¹ Porter, Robert, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia*, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. With numerous engravings of portraits, costumes, antiquities, c. in two volumes. Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, ORME, and Brown, pa Ternoster-Row, London, 1822, vol 2, p 439. *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, *A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert*, January, 1917, p 24.

² *Soil and Land-Use Capabilities in Iraq: A Preliminary Report*, W. L. Powers, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Jul., 1954), pp.373-380, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstore.org/stable/212063>, last accessed, 26-07-2011 14:45 UTC, p 377.

Kirkuk eventually became the administrative, military, and economic centre of the Ottomans for the management of Southern Kurdistan. Many of the Ottoman soldiers and officials settled in the town to complete their military service and to work in the administrative apparatus of the Empire. Many of those who settled in Kirkuk and other townships such as Kifri, Tuz Khurmātu, and Altun Keupri identified themselves as Turks in order to differentiate themselves from other local communities and to protect their interests through different means, such as by controlling oil wells, levying taxes and occupying agricultural lands in the outskirts of Kirkuk.³

Research Gap

There are two major research gaps identified and which will be explored in this dissertation. Firstly, one major research gap is that most of the researches and books that have already been published on Kirkuk's history have lacked the scientific standard of neutrality. Previous publications were particularly dependent upon Ottoman official documents, which tended to show the peaceful integration of the Kurds to the Turkish society, but it completely hides the Kurds' frustration and disagreement with the dominance of the Empire. Consequently, many local Turkmen researchers did not discuss any historical events that occurred in Kirkuk if it was not in their favour and they tried to show that Kirkuk was exclusively dominated by their ethnic kinsmen. For example, a group of Turkmen writers including 'Abdul al-Ilaṭif Bander 'Aughlu attempted to show that Kirkuk has exclusively been a Turkmen town since ancient times to present by distorting historical facts and texts. They outlined that the Turkmen community has been an uninterrupted population in the Kirkuk region since the Abbasid period in 774 until the period of the Seljuk (1037-1194), Mongols (1206-1368), white sheep (1378-1501) and black sheep (1375-1368) dynasties, Safavids (1501-1736) and the Ottomans (1299-1923).⁴

These Turkmen researchers exclusively depended on accounts from European travellers who described Kirkuk as a Turkmen town. For example, Shiel – an English

³ For more information, see chapter III ethnic and religious groups in Kirkuk pp 50-51 and same chapter Difficulties in identifying the Kurdish ethnicity 58-60.

⁴ www.aina.org/reports/thaok.pdf Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research foundation, To the participants in seeking a solution to the Kerkuk Problem: the historical anatomy of Kerkuk region, Date: 29, November 2008. Last accessed, 1st October 2014, p 4; 'Aughlu, 'abdul al-Ilaṭif Bander, *al Turkmen fī 'irāq al thaura, tārikhahum, lughatahum, 'ādābahum, turāthahum* (die Turkmenen im Irak der Revolution, ihre Geschichte, ihre Sprache, ihre Literatur, und ihr Erbe), Baghdad, 1973.

traveller who visited Kirkuk in 1836 – stated that inhabitants of Kirkuk were mainly Arabs and Osmanlis (Turks), with some Christians and Jews, but no Kurds.⁵ While, Major Soane described several towns in Kurdistan including Kirkuk as being Turkish by stating “Turkish is also understood [in Kirkuk], or rather Turkmen, for Altun Keupri and Kirkuk, Turkmen towns, are not far off.”⁶ Furthermore, the English officer Edmonds was in Kirkuk during the British occupation and Mandate (1920-1932)⁷ and in the mid 1920s he estimated the population of Kirkuk to be about 25,000 inhabitants. In his estimate the majority were Turkmen, around a quarter Kurds, with minorities of Arabs, Christians and Jews.⁸ His statement is exaggerated and cannot be confirmed because it is in contrast to other figures that confirmed the majority of population was Kurdish.

This biased observation also applies to other researchers from the Kurdish community too, who tried to depict a picture of Kirkuk as a town solely dominated by the Kurdish and did not include Turkmen. They depended on accounts of some European and Ottoman authors who mentioned Kirkuk as a completely Kurdish town during the period under investigation (1800-1925). For instance, a Russian engineer Joseph Chirink – who worked in Iraq in the years 1872-1873 – stressed that all the inhabitants of the town were Kurds with the exception of 40 Christian families.⁹ While, *Şamsadîn Sāmî*, in his book *qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch) mentioned that by the end of the 19th century 75% of the population were Kurdish,¹⁰ his statement can be considered reliable because he was an official in the Ottoman Empire who had access to official records and he used Ottoman data to write his book.

⁵ Shiel, J Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Ván, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbil, to Suleimáníyeh, in July and August, 1836. The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1838, (Volume 8), p 100.

⁶ Soane, Ely Banister, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, with historical notices of the Kurdish tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan, John Murray, London, 1914, p 109.

⁷ Mandate system, in 1920 super powers like the Great Britain and France were authorized by the League of Nations to govern former German and Ottoman colony. The territory of Iraq was given to the Great Britain as mandate from 1920-1932. Britannica Encyclopedia, Mandate, <http://www.britannica.com>, Last accessed, 12-7-2013.

⁸ Edmonds, G. J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs, p 266.

⁹ Quoting from *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu‘āšira Kirkuk – al ‘anfāl al Kurd wa turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei), (Verlag) ‘ārās, first published, Erbil, 2006. p 23.

¹⁰ *Sāmî, şamsadîn, qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch), Istanbul, (Verlag) *Mīhrān Press*, 1896, p 3846.

Furthermore, some local Kurdish researchers were not prepared to discuss the weak points of Kirkuk's history and the negative aspects of the Kurdish tribes. For instance, Pishko Hama Tāhir 'Āghjalary wrote about the British occupation of Kirkuk, focusing on the Kurdish rebellion led by Sheik Mahmud against the British in Sulaymaniyah from 1918-1924. His book discussed some of the Kurdish tribes in the countryside of Kirkuk which were involved in the rebellion either in support of Sheik Mahmud or the British. In addition, he did not mention the activities of other ethnic and religious groups such as the Turkmen, Arabs, Jews, and Christians.¹¹

The reasons for the biased research by both the local Turkmen and Kurdish researchers can be summarized as follows: Firstly, the local researchers did not want to show the negative aspects of the history of their town or community. Secondly, they did not dare to talk about any negative aspects because they were afraid of reprisal and revenge from many tribal and familial inheritors. Third, the majority of those local researchers and historians were unable to diversify their sources base by consulting different sources including European evidence and secret documents. Therefore, their research lacks diversity of sources and information. In a nutshell, previous literary works by local researchers had the following features:

1- Most of these researches are not objectively academic because the inclination towards the nationality of the researcher is apparent in their writings.

2- The studies do not solely concern the history of Kirkuk in the 19th century, but they describe different events during different eras.

The second major research gap identified is that most of these researches briefly covered events related to the political and economic aspects of the town during the 19th century and beyond and they lacked other important information. First, the studies focused only on the Kurdish or Turkmen societies in Kirkuk and did not pay attention to the activities of other communities such as Arabs, Christians and Jews. Second, they did not explain in great detail the different sectoral aspects of the town such as urbanization, architecture, education, health and lifestyles of the different tribes etc. Third, the sources used were not evidently rich in terms of quantity and quality.

¹¹ 'Āghjalary, *pshko, shāry Kirkuk (1917-1926)* (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926)), (Verlag) *dazgāy tshāp u pakshy hamdy*, Sulaymaniyah, 2007.

In this research, I will attempt to address these two major gaps through different means, including:

1- Using multiple and not singular sources of evidence through an extensive examination of both primary and secondary sources including more recently published sources by European writers, primary accounts of various European travellers, archival documents stored in the National Archives in London, as well as various Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and Iranian sources.

2- Focusing the research exclusively to Kirkuk in the 19th century and beyond. I have chosen the period between 1800-1925 because a set of significant events occurred in the history of Kirkuk that triggered a change in the demography, culture, social, and economic life of the people of the area. This include the displacement of various Kurdish tribes as a result of the discriminatory policy of the Ottomans, the discovery of oil, and the exploitation of the Kurdish people by both the Ottoman and the British authorities for their own interests during the period of this dissertation. This led to a significant change in the demography of Kirkuk in favour of the Arabs at the expense of the Kurdish and Turkmen ethnic groups as well as the economic domination of the Arabs.

3- Analysing the different sectorial developments in Kirkuk and expanding the research beyond the political and economic events and incorporating the demographic and religious composition of Kirkuk, architectural and infrastructural development, educational system, agricultural advancement and natural resource endowments.

Research Question:

The research gap has led to the following research questions that should be explored. The research questions raised in the dissertation include the following:

1. What sort of demographic and economic changes took place in Kirkuk during the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century (1800-1925)?
2. What were the main sectorial developments and progresses registered in Kirkuk during the period under investigation?
3. What was the Ottoman policy towards Kurds tribes?

4. What differences and similarities can be observed between the different ethnic, religious and tribal aspects of Kirkuk and its countryside?

Research Limitations

Even though the majority of sources which have been used in this dissertation were written in the English language, I have also used sources written in oriental languages such as Ottoman Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, and Persian. Expressing the ideas within these multilingual sources into English has been a challenging task. This is because some aspects of the language are not directly translatable.

Another limitation of the study is the lack of valuable information recorded by Kurds themselves. If the Kurdish history had been recorded by their historians at that time, it would have been helpful in enriching the research. Furthermore, I have faced major difficulty with the lack of information about Kirkuk in the first half of the 19th century that is available. As Galletti Aptly points, “[t]he Western travel literature on Kurdistan is copious, but information on Kirkuk is quite rare and difficult to find before [the] mid-19th century.”¹²

Moreover, the British travellers and officials were not well versed in the Kurdish language, while most Kurdish people did not know the English language as well. Therefore, both sides were dependent on the Armenians, Turkish, Persian and Arab interpreters to communicate with one another. It could be assumed that the interpreters sometimes misinterpreted the conversations between the Kurds and the British, because of the language limitation. In fact, some Turkish, Persians and Arab interpreters did not want to interpret their Kurdish aspirations for statehood. As a result, it is difficult to get accurate information on the history of Kirkuk.

Research Sources

The research relies on both primary and secondary sources including oriental languages like the Ottoman-Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Kurdish and occidental languages such as English, French, and German. I have extensively used primary sources and reports from travellers, envoys, official reports etc. The secondary sources employed include books and articles written in several different languages.

¹² Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 24.

Ottoman sources:

dauḥat al uzarā:

In his book, *dauḥat al uzarā* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), Ottoman historian, *Sheikh Rasoul Al Kirkukly* has provided significant data about conflicts between Ottoman governors in the central province in Baghdad and Kirkuk's governor with the local princes of the Bābān Emirate (described in detail in Chapter 6). He also wrote about the disputes among the princes of the Bābān Emirate, the presence of 4.000 Turkish troops as well as the plague and disasters that affected Kirkuk and the region. He mainly depended on Ottoman documents to write his book in Ottoman-Turkish language, and to describe the political, economical, and social situations in the late eighteenth century and first three decades of the nineteenth century. As a result, his book lacked a semblance of neutrality and was a little bit biased in favour of the Ottomans. However, it remains one of the most important sources of information regarding the history of Iraq because of his reliance on the Ottoman official records and by virtue of his position in the government of Baghdad.

Salname (the Ottoman year books of Mosul province):

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Ottomans started writing annual data about the number of different religious groups (Muslims, Christians, and Jews), houses, shops, gardens, agricultural lands, Ottoman troops and officials, etc. in order to collect taxes. I have used the *Osmani* sources such as Mosul provincial official yearbooks *salname* such as *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1883* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1883), (Verlag) *maḥba 'at sinda ḥabi' avlinmşdar*, Mosul, 1905 *Mosul vilayeti salname 1890* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1890), *Mosul vilayeti salname 1894* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1894), and *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1912, Mossul).

Published Ottoman documents:

I have used the *Osmani* documentary book titled “*Murād, Khalīl 'ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven).” This book is composed of several Ottoman secret documents and shows rare information about conflicts,

compromises, and displacements between Kurdish tribes particularly the Hamawand tribe and the Ottoman officials in Mosul and Kirkuk.

European sources (mostly British sources)

Traveller books:

The British and European travellers and agents visited Kurdistan in the nineteenth century, among which include, Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1833). He wrote a book titled ‘Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern.’ Niebuhr visited Kirkuk in 1776, and provided important information about the relationship between the various religious communities in Kirkuk. For instance, he described the relationship among the Christian and Jewish minorities and the Muslim people in the town. He also reported the challenges the Jewish people faced when attempting to visit their shrines because they were barred by the Muslim community.¹³

The British traveller, M. G. Gerard wrote a book titled “Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82”. He gave a detailed account of the relationship between Kurdish tribes and Ottoman officials as well as the general description of Kirkuk and its districts such as the population and number of houses, the Ottoman troops and so on.

Major Saone, wrote a book titled “To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise”, and offered a detailed description of Kirkuk when he visited in 1909. He also reflected on the relationship and the existence of tolerance among the various religions and ethnic groups in Kirkuk. For instance, he wrote “[the Chaldean Christians] enjoy great freedom from persecution” by the Muslim community in the town.¹⁴

Other sources used include, Gertrude Bell’s, 1) Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia and 2) The Letters of Gertrude Bell volume 2, 1927. She wrote significant amounts of information about Kirkuk especially during the First World War and the formation of the Iraqi monarchy.

¹³ Niebuhr, Carsten, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, p 338.

¹⁴ Soane, Ely Banister, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, p 122.

Academic literature:

Stephen Longrigg's, 1) *Four centuries of modern Iraq*. This is a historical book that covers events regarding the history of Iraq under the Ottomans from the beginning of the 16th century to the early 20th century. He found that Iraq was partly developed during the period of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, people were not qualified enough to effectively run their country. And, 2) *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*. This book discusses the tribes of Iraq, but particularly those in the countryside of Kirkuk. He used Oriental sources, including that of Iraqi historians to write these books. As Longrigg resided in Iraq for 16 years, mostly in Kirkuk, he was in a position to accurately discuss the country's unstable history.

Another book used is *Kurds, Turks and Arab Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq 1919-1925* by Edmonds G.J. After the First World War, he spent a long time in Kirkuk and wrote this book about the town and its environs. Although his book has been criticized in this research, he wrote significant information regarding ethnic and religious groups, tribes, and so on.

In general, these travellers, envoys, and academics wrote significant information about the urbanization process, the population, the relationship between ethnic and religious groups and so on. However, sometimes they may depict a wrong picture of events and characteristic features of the various ethnic communities. For instance, the stereotype that the Kurdish tribes were robbers and savages came about as a result of the frequent uprising of the Kurds. Although in some instances the data provided was not accurate, it has given us rare information about the history of Kirkuk.

Official Records in the National Archives in London:

I have used primary sources located in the British National Archives, which include: 1) *Records of the Kurds territory, revolt and nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett. 2) *Iraq Administration Reports 1914-1932*, administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1 January 1919 to 31 December 1919. 3) the files of main conferences such as the Cairo conference in 1921 and Lausanne conference 1923.

I have also used other unpublished primary documents, which include reports, memorandums, and the telegrams of the British Ministry of War and Foreign Office. I accessed documents in the National Archives in London which include Foreign Office

371, Foreign Office 251, Foreign Office 377, Foreign Office 195, and Foreign Office 608, and Catalogue Reference: CAB/24. Those documents contain important information and maps about different aspects such as military occupation, British policy toward the indigenous people, and the British attempt of winning the support of the Kurds against the Kemalist. Furthermore, they discussed the administrative system and structure in Kirkuk and its districts and sub-districts and the appointment and dismissal of the administrative officials in the region. The documents also discussed the different taxes levied on agricultural products, livestock, oil, and property. In addition, they contain precise information about the different families of Kirkuk, customs and traditions as well as about roads and railways.

The British archives are rich in information for various reasons, including: 1) in the nineteenth century, a group of envoys were sent to the area for commercial, religious, and political reasons. They became assistants to their motherland for the purpose of giving detailed information to Britain in order to occupy Iraq. 2) During the occupation of Kirkuk, they obtained a range of Ottoman information and documents that helped them obtain precise information in all aspects. Moreover, the British benefited from a group of Ottoman administrative cadres to administrate Kirkuk and obtain information about the area.

The negative aspect of those secret documents is that they were not written neutrally and academically. The British officials and officers wrote for the purpose of their own interests. For instance, some of the documents focus on tarnishing the image of the Ottoman Empire to win over the Kurdish tribes and take advantage of their anger towards the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, I have analysed these British sources with caution and they have been sometimes criticized according to the scientific mode.

Research Structure

This dissertation is organized into three main parts and a conclusion. The first part of this dissertation has four chapters and introduces the issues of geography, historical background, demography, education, and the urbanization process in Kirkuk. The first chapter deals with the geographical borders of Kirkuk and its most important sub-districts as well as some historical accounts of the town. The second chapter provides the demographic composition of Kirkuk in the nineteenth century and the architectural development of the town. The third chapter discusses the ethnic, linguistic and religious

composition of Kirkuk (i.e. Kurdish, Turkmen, and Arab tribes) and their social and administrative practices. The fourth chapter sheds light on the educational development of Kirkuk and its main challenges during the Ottoman period.

The second part of this dissertation deals with the political aspects of the town and comprises four chapters. Chapter five raises the important issues of the Ottoman and the British administrative structure and practices in Iraq and especially in Kirkuk. Chapter six highlights the nature of the relationship between Kirkuk and the Kurdish Emirates of Sorān and Bābān and the impact of this interaction on Kirkuk's administrative outreach. Chapter seven analyses the tribal composition of Kirkuk and focuses on the similarities and differences between the Kurdish and Arab tribes in terms of social, political, economic, cultural, demographic, and genealogical aspects. It also touches upon the Ottoman policy towards these Kurdish tribes particularly the Hamawand tribe. Chapter eight describes the process of the British occupation of Kirkuk, the position of its people towards the Britons and vice versa, and the British decision of linking Kurdistan with Baghdad without paying attention to the demands of the people of Kurdistan and especially its Kurdish community.

Part three of the dissertation has three chapters and mainly focuses on the economic condition of Kirkuk during the period under investigation. Chapter nine dwells on the agricultural development and potential of Kirkuk and its surrounding areas during the Ottoman period and touches upon the main agricultural challenges in the town and the Ottoman land reform practices. Chapter ten highlights the infrastructural development and challenges in Kirkuk and the road and rail networks linking the town with other parts of Iraq. And finally, chapter eleven explains the process of oil discovery in Kirkuk and its role in attracting foreign colonial powers in the scramble to control the valuable natural resources in Iraq. Finally, it has been added conclusion and most important findings of this dissertation.

PART ONE

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL SITUATION

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter discusses Kirkuk's geographical location, climate, and topography with a view to analyse the town's most important geographical features. It also explores the historical evolution of the town in order to understand the position and significance of the town in the past.

1.1 Geography of Kirkuk and its vicinities

Today Kirkuk is a province of Iraq, which is located 236 km north of the capital, Baghdad. Kirkuk lies 83 km to the south of Erbil, the capital of Kurdistan Regional Government, 149 km to the southeast of Mosul, 97 km to the west of Sulaymaniyah, and 116 km to the northeast of Tikrit.¹⁵ The area of the province is 19,873 square kilometres.¹⁶ The region of Kirkuk lies between the Zagros Mountains in the north-west, the Ḥamrin-mountains in the south-west, the lower Zāb and Tigris River in the north-west and west, and the Diyala (Sirwān) river in the south-east.¹⁷ According to Britannica Encyclopaedia, Kirkuk is situated near the foot of the Zagros mountains in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. The oldest part of the town has clustered around a citadel built on an ancient tell or mound.¹⁸ The fertile land is between Kirkuk, Erbil, and Mosul adjacent to the protected post road to Istanbul, and finally both shores of the Shaṭṭ-ul-Arab in the neighbourhood of Basra.¹⁹ At the beginning of the 19th century, Kirkuk was the largest town throughout the plains to the east of the Tigris. Its appearance has always been a fortified post of some importance and a military station of the Ottoman army during the existence of their power there.²⁰

The town consisted of two parts; the first part was a castle which was built by Assyrian King Assurbanipal between 884-858 BCE. For the purpose of defence because it was too inaccessible and difficult for the external enemies to encroach it. The second part was a plain region which was around the castle of the town.²¹ In December

¹⁵ Britannica Encyclopaedia, www.britannica.com, last accessed, 16 June 2013.

¹⁶ *Al ḥasanī, 'abdulrazāq, al 'irāq qadīman wa ḥadīthan* (Der Irak ist alt und neu), (Verlag) *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 1973, p 216.

¹⁷ Talabany, Nouri, Arabization of the Kirkuk Region, Erbil, 2012, p 7.

¹⁸ Britannica Encyclopaedia, www.britannica.com, last accessed, 16 June 2013.

¹⁹ Batatu, Hana, The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq, London, 2004, p 66.

²⁰ Buckingham, J. S., Travels in Mesopotamia, London, 1827, Vol II, p 119.

²¹ *Al ḥasanī, 'abdulrazāq, al 'irāq qadīman wa ḥadīthan* (Der Irak ist alt und neu), p 218.

1818, the English traveller, Porter, visited Kirkuk and considered it to be one of the most significant towns in Southern Kurdistan. He stated, “[t]hey are chiefly composed of Turks, Armenians, Courds, Arabs, and a few Jews; and their number may amount to ten or twelve thousand [...] Kirkook is regarded as one of the most considerable places in Lower Courdistan.”²² In 1856, a French traveller, A. Clément, visited Kirkuk and said, “[t]he chief town of the Pashaliq of Sharizur, Kerkut, is located to the extreme eastern border of the desert on the southern slope of the first hill to be crossed in order to penetrate into Kurdistan. This is the gate into this country from the nearby territory of Iraq-Arabi.”²³

Shamsadin Sāmi in his introduction of the *Qāmvs al ‘āhlam* ((Welt Wörterbuch) rightly described the town from a geographical perspective. He wrote “Kirkuk is a town which is a centre of Shahrazur province, far from Mosul province of Kurdistan by 160 km [²⁴] to the south-east of Mosul, falls under the laminate series of Hills, near the border of a wide plain region, Besides of Adham river ‘it means Khāsa river’.”²⁵ So at that time Kirkuk lay in the geographical boundary of Kurdistan as witnessed by *Sāmi*, a historian from Albania but lived in Istanbul. On the other hand, an orientalist Maunsell in 1894, who visited Kurdistan, argued that Kurdistan was not a precisely defined province in both the Ottoman Empire and Iran. It was merely an expression used to define an area occupied by the Kurds.²⁶

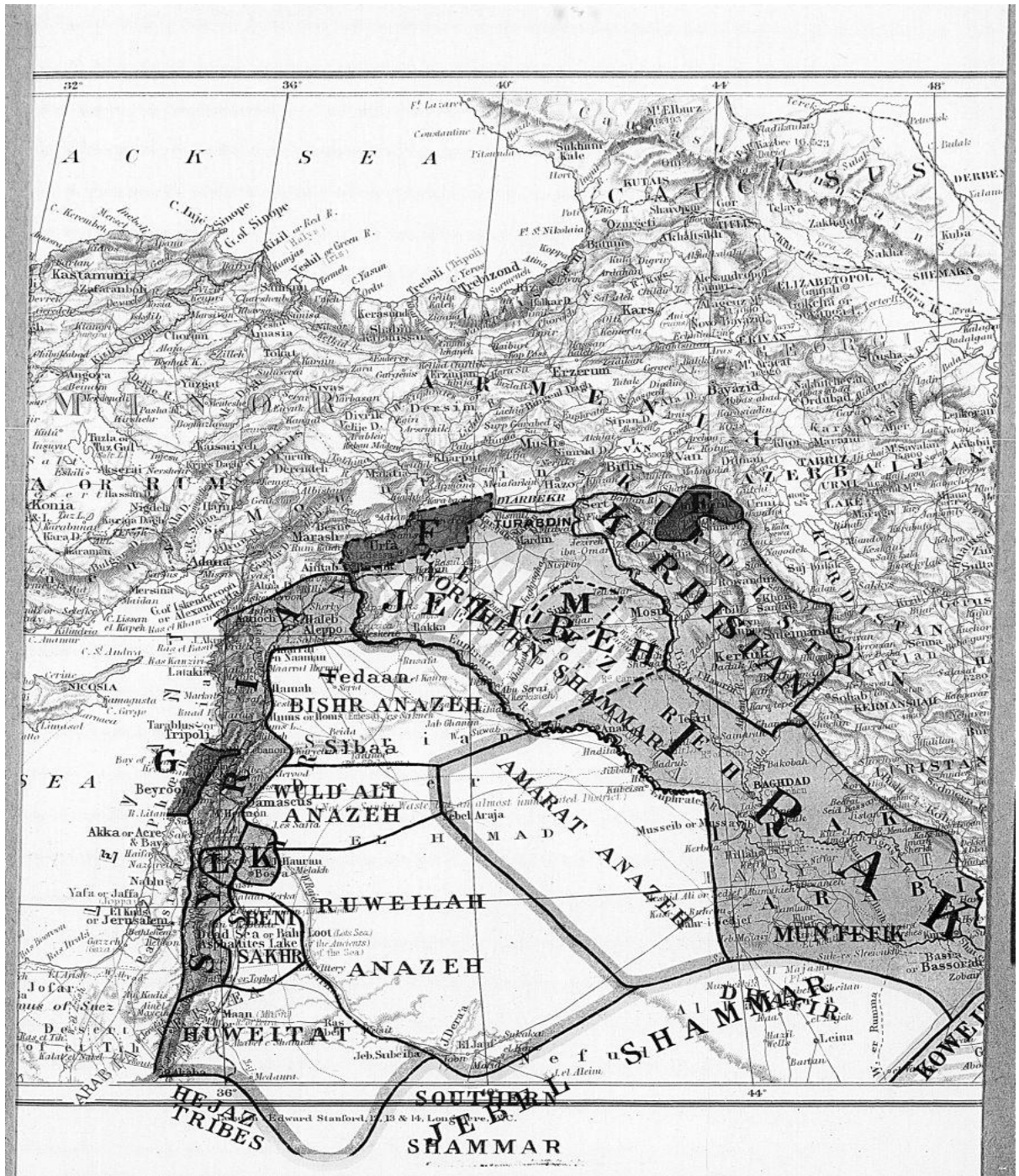
²² Porter, Robert, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia*, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, vol 2, p 439.

²³ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, *Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present*, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 37.

²⁴ There is note: the difference in distance between Kirkuk and Mosul has shrunk since the late 19th century, and it now measures 11 km, because of population growth in both cities.

²⁵ *Sāmī, şamsadīn, qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch), vol 5, p 3846. The sentence was originally written in Ottoman Turkish language. Due to language inaccessibility and unavailability English version, the author has commissioned a scholar to assist with the translation. This English translation of the text has been used.

²⁶ Royal Geographical Society, Kurdistan, F. R. Maunsell, *the Geographical Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Feb. 1894), pp 81-92, the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://jstor.org/stable/1774022>, last accessed, 28/10/2013.



Kirkuk is included in this map of Kurdistan very clearly, which was drawn by the British officials in 1916.²⁷

By the end of the First World War in November 1918, the British officials in Baghdad debated with King Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca, to create an independent Arab state in the former Turkish Vilayets of Basra and Baghdad (together as Iraq)

²⁷ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0007, MAPS, ILLUSTRATING Memorandum respecting the Settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula, in 1916.

excluding Southern Kurdistan or the Mosul province. They defined Southern Kurdistan to include the area south of the Bohtān River, east of the Tigris, and *Jabal Ḥamrin*, which had hitherto, belonged to Turkey and was bounded on the east by the Persian frontier.²⁸ Here it is clear that Kirkuk was included on the map of Southern Kurdistan. According to the British officials, the Kirkuk district was an oil-rich area and of great industrial potential within Kurdistan.²⁹ In 1919, the British Officials in Baghdad defined Kirkuk as a significant town in the Southern Kurdistan and defined it as being built on the main road from Baghdad to Mosul about 187 miles north of the former city. The town lies in the left bank of the *Ḥasa Sui* the citadel stands on a flat-topped mound 130 feet high. Owing for the sheltered position of the place, the climate was compliantly hot, and rather unhealthy in the summer, “[t]he inhabitants are of many races and religions, but the principal element consists of Turkmans, Kurds and Arabs. Both Arabic and Kurdish are universally spoken, and Turkish is generally understood.”³⁰

Kirkuk is surrounded by many important towns which were parts of the Kirkuk province’s geographical and historical boundaries during the 19th century and beyond. The most significant of these regions, which affected the historical events of Kirkuk, are mentioned below:

Dāquq or Tāuq: This sub-district lies in the south of Kirkuk and the distance between them is 37 km.³¹ According to the Ottoman Mosul province’s yearbook (Salname), in 1906, the population of the town was 1000 inhabitants, and they were composed of Kurd, Arab and Turkmen ethnic groups. It was described, that there were two Mosques, forty shops, two bakeries, and two coffee places inside that sub-district.³²

²⁸ The National Archives, Foreign Office, November 21, 1918, Catalogue Reference: CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0006, memorandum respecting settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

²⁹ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0007 Memorandum respecting the Settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

³⁰ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds, pp 12-13.

³¹ *Al naqshabandī, ḥusām al-dīn ‘ali ghālīb, al Kurd fī al dīnauar wa shahrazur* (Die Kurden in dīnur und shahrazur), *risālat majistūr ghāir manshura* (Unveröffentlichte Masterarbeit), *kuliyyat al ‘ādāb* (Fakultät für Kunst), *jāmi‘at* (Universtät) Baghdad, 1975, p 46.

³² *Beg, ‘izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag *maḥba ‘at sinda ṭabi ‘ avlinmshdar, Mosul, 1907*, p 215.

The English spy, Gerard described Tāuq in 1882 as a site of old Mussulmen with 200 houses and 40 *Zāptiyehs* (Turkish policemen).³³

Laylān: This sub-district lies in a fertile plain region east of Kirkuk. In spite of some hills and mounds noticed in the region, the heavy rain has produced many depressions, narrows and tiny hills.³⁴ It remains an agricultural region which is suitable for farming and animal husbandry because of wide and broad plain areas.³⁵

Altun Keupri: This sub-district has a Turkish name which means Golden Bridge. It lies between Erbil and Kirkuk and is 46 km from Kirkuk.³⁶ Altun Keupri, a place without any particularly notable history, is located on an island between two branches of the Lesser Zāb River. From the north, it is crossed by a long bridge with a turn in the middle, like an elbow.³⁷ There is a fertile plain region between Kirkuk and this sub-district which is used by nomadic Kurds for feeding their cattle. In the final quarter of the 18th century, the number of households in this town was between 400 and 500.³⁸ A famous explorer, Abi Ṭālib Khān, who visited Altun Keupri in 1799, described it as a big village,³⁹ with a mixed population of Kurds and Turkmen who were busy with their farms.⁴⁰ It was a trading centre between Kurdistan and Baghdad where its agricultural products like figs, grapes and others were transported by mules from the mountainous regions of Kurdistan to this town and from there, transported by *Kalak* (a small boat)

³³ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, Calcutta, printed by the superintendent of government printing, India, 1883, p 12.

³⁴ Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh: with journal of a voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad and an account of a visit to Shirauz and Persepolis: James Duncac, Paternoster Row, vol II, London, 1836, pp 66-67.

³⁵ *Zakī Beg, muhammed 'amin, khwlāṣāyaki tārikhy Kurd u Kurdistan* (die Zusammenfassung der Geschichte den Kurden und Kurdistan), *bargi yakam* (der Erste Band), *āmādakirdiny* (überarbeitet von) *rafiq ṣaliḥ, tshāpkhānay* (Verlag) *uazārātī parwarda*, hawlér (Erbil), 2006, p 251.

³⁶ *Hasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārikh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), *maṭba'at al salām* (Verlag), Baghdad, 1947, p 104.

³⁷ Soane, Ely Banister, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, p 113.

³⁸ Niebuhr, Carsten, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, Frankfurt am Main: Institut for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang-Goethe-Univ., 1994 = 1837), p 340.

³⁹ *khān, Abi Tālib, riḥlat abi ṭālīb khān 'ilā al 'irāq ua aurupā 1799* (Die Reise von Abu Talib Khan 1799 nach Irak und Europa), *tarjumat* (der Übersetzer) *Jauād Mustafā*, Baghdad, p 362.

⁴⁰ E. B. Soane, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, with historical notices of the Kurdish tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan, London 1912. Elibron, [2002] = 1912, p 114.

to Baghdad.⁴¹ In 1882, the English envoy and spy Gerard visited and described the sub-district as an island of Lesser Zāb, with 400 houses, a few *Zāptiyehs*, and a Turkish telegraph office.⁴² According to the Ottoman Mosul province's yearbook in 1906 the number of its population was 4000 inhabitants, there were twenty-seven villages linked to Altun Keupri. In the centre of the Altun Keupri sub-district there were 789 houses, 100 shops, two Mosques, six coffee places and one public bath.⁴³ This means that sub-district developed both quantitatively and qualitatively during the 19th century.

Kifri: This sub-district 126 km south-east of Kirkuk. This town was known as *Şalāhiya* in the Ottoman era and its population consisted of Kurd and Turkmen.⁴⁴ In some maps, it is also marked as *Zangābād*.⁴⁵ On January 5 1882, the English envoy and spy, Gerard, visited the town and described it as “Kifri [had] 3,000 houses, partially ruinous walls, fair covered bazaar, several bright clear mountain streams through it; one battalion of regulars; is altogether rather a pretty and moderately clean town for this part of the world.”⁴⁶ The bazaar at *Şalāhiya* consisted of about 80 shops with a fair amount of supplies available such as flour, dates, and dried fruits. The place is said to produce good wheat, and near the town are gardens with date and fruit trees. Sheep and goats were plentiful during those times when there was no war, plagues or famine.⁴⁷

On March 2 1898, the famous English envoy, Mark Sykes, visited the town and portrayed it as a very prosperous little town with good bazaars and well-cultivated fields.⁴⁸ In 1917, the inhabitants were mostly Kurds along with some Arabs and Jews.

⁴¹ *Sāmī, şamsadīn, qāmvs al 'ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch), vol 1, p 307.

⁴² M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 16.

⁴³ *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maḥba 'at sinda ṭabi' avlinmshdar, Mosul, 1907*, p 215.

⁴⁴ *Hasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārīkh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 104.

⁴⁵ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 29.

⁴⁶ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 11.

⁴⁷ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 29.

⁴⁸ Sykes, Mark, Through five Turkish provinces, Jesus College Cambridge, London, 1900, p 57.

The town was located in the country of the Jāf Kurds, whose power had been much eroded by the Ottoman Empire, though they were still a considerable tribe. They were residents in both sides of the frontier and lived a semi-nomadic life, moving between the hills and the plains. The town was surrounded by poorly repaired mud walls. The houses were made of stone and mud, with flat roofs; a few on the south were built of lime and gypsum from the hills close by. There was a Khan (Inn or hotel) on the east with upper rooms made of rough stone and cement with a size of 40×55 yds (yard = 3 feet), and also consisted of a stable for 150 horses. There was a second Khan (Inn or hotel), a single-storeyed building, 30 yds. square, with a stable for 50 horses. The Ottoman Empire was represented in the town by a *qāymaqām* (Mayor), and there was a post for infantry mounted on mules there before the First World War.⁴⁹

Tuz Khurmātu: was a small town populated by the Kurds and Turkmens in the 19th century. It lies on the great main road along Baghdad to Kirkuk and Mosul and it is within a day's journey from Kifri by foot.⁵⁰ In 1820, the English traveller Claudius James Rich visited the town and said, "[t]he population of Tooz khoormattee is estimated at about 5000 souls."⁵¹ On January 7 1882 Gerard visited the town and pointed out that the town was located at 44° 40' E, 34° 53' N and had a bazaar, 300 houses, 100 regulars, and 30 *Zāptiyehs*.⁵²

1.2 Climate and topography:

Kirkuk's geographical coordinates are 34.6 latitudes in the south and 35.8 in the equator's north, between 43.5 meridians in the west and 44.8 meridians in the east of the Greenwich line.⁵³ This means that Kirkuk lies in the hot region which is called *Garmyān* or *Garmaser* region in Kurdish. In summer it is hot and dry, annually the mean temperature ranges between 21.7- 42.8 °C. The climate is cold and rainy in winter

⁴⁹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, pp 29-30.

⁵⁰ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Gross kopf, translated from German.

⁵¹ Rich, Claudius James, Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh: London, 1836, p 33.

⁵² M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 12.

⁵³ *Susa, Ahmad, al dalīl al jughrāfī fī al 'irāq* (Geographisches Verzeichnis in Irak), Baghdad, 1960. p 2.

with temperatures ranging between 4.5-13.5 °C. Also, it lies under the effects of the Mediterranean Sea depressions; consequently, the annual mean rain is about 374 mm which mainly falls during the winter and spring seasons. However, this rainfall is not guaranteed, there are some years, where there is a risk of drought,⁵⁴ therefore, in order to compensate this potential shortage of rain in the region, a great deal of attention is paid to rivers and water channels, which may be used as alternatives in periods of drought.⁵⁵ The most prominent rivers which pass through the town are *Khāsa* and *Tisin*; they supply water for a large area of agricultural lands in the town, particularly in the west regions of the town.⁵⁶

The town is situated approximately 350 m above sea level.⁵⁷ However, this level becomes lower towards the southern parts of the town. The highest position in Kirkuk is its castle which is 368 m above sea level;⁵⁸ this means that the castle's height is 18 m. Furthermore, the town is situated in a mound region, which means it exists between a plain and a mountainous region. This was helpful for the town, as it became a centre of exchange of products and goods.⁵⁹

1.3 The origin of Kirkuk's name in historical sources

During different historical periods, Kirkuk has been known by several names. In the oldest history, its name was recorded as *'Arābkhā*. During the period of Assyrian prominence (9th–10th century BCE), its name changed to *'Arrapha*,⁶⁰ today it is one of

⁵⁴ *Neqshabandī, āzad, kesh u hauāy harēmy Kurdistan 'ērāq, jwgrafiyāy harēmy Kurdistan 'ērāq* (Das Klima in der kurdischen Region im Irak, Geographie der kurdischen Region im Irak), *komalék mamostay zankoy šalāḥadyn* (mehrere Autoren an der *shalāḥadyn* Universität), first published, *hawler* (Erbil), 1998, pp 71-75; *Ḥasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārīkh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 3.

⁵⁵ Maidman, Nuzi, Portrait of an Ancient Mesopotamia provincial town, Gane, 2001, p 932.

⁵⁶ *Ḥasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārīkh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 3.

⁵⁷ *Bibānī, Aḥmad rashīd Aḥmad, Kirkuk al jariyha* (Kirkuk ist verwundet), Sulaymaniyah, 2004, p 7; *Jalāl, kāmarān kwekhā, méjhwī kony Kirkuk* (die alte Geschichte von Kirkuk), *tshapkhānay* (Verlag) *khāny, hawler* (Erbil), 2008, p 29.

⁵⁸ *Nukhba al ba 'ithiyn (al 'aṭiya, Jalīl), Kirkuk madiynat al qaumiyyāt al muta 'ākhiyya* (Kirkuk ist die Stadt der brüderlichen Nationalitäten), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at 'ārās*, Erbil, 2009, p 168.

⁵⁹ *Khaṣbāk, shākīr, al 'irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī'iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at shafiq*, Baghdad, 1973, p 91.

⁶⁰ Britannica Encyclopaedia, www.britannica.com last accessed, 16 June 2013.

the quarters of Kirkuk.⁶¹ Later, in the Middle Ages the name of Kirkuk and its surrounding areas was recorded as *Kora Bajirme*,⁶² the meaning of *Kora* is region or town and then the name changed again, this time to *Karkhini*. These name changes were recorded by the famous traveller and historian *Yāqut al ḥamawī*.⁶³

During Tamerlane's (1336-1405) era, one of the Persian historians wrote the name of the town as Kirkuk for the first time in history, during the events of 1393.⁶⁴ The meaning of Kirkuk could have been derived from the word (Kirk) which means 'beauty' in the old Turkish language.⁶⁵ Alternatively, it's possible that the name of Kirkuk came from *Gur Gur*, which means a strong blaze of fire from gas and oil, derived from oil wells around the town.⁶⁶ Since the late of the 14th century, and through the Ottoman era till the present time, this town has officially been known as Kirkuk with the other previous names having been relegated to historical sources only.

1.4 Historical overview of the town of Kirkuk

At the beginning of the 16th century, another powerful authority called Şafavid State arose in the Middle East area led by Isma'il Şafavi, the King (1501-1520). Henceforth, the state's power reached the major parts of the Kurdish area and ruled vigorously, becoming the main opponent of the Ottoman Empire for a period of four centuries. The centre of their challenges was Kurdistan, and the Kirkuk area in particular. On August 23 1514, the battle of *Chālderān* took place between the Ottomans and Şafavids, in which the former was victorious.⁶⁷ In the meantime, Sorān Emirate which was led by *Saidā* Beg, the son of King Ali, managed to take over Erbil and Kirkuk towns. Thus, these two giant Empires practically shared Kurdistan's soil between themselves, but the Ottomans obtained the main part of the Kurdish land. The

⁶¹ *Bābān, jamāl, 'āuṣul 'asmā' al mudun ua al mawāqī' al 'irāqīya* (Die Ursprünge der Namen der irakischen Städte und Stätten), vol 1, (Verlag) *maṭba'at al 'ajāl*, Baghdad, 1989. pp 247-251.

⁶² *Al balādhri, Aḥmad bin yaḥiyā bin jābir, fuḥ al buldān* (Die Eröffnung der Länder), vol 2, (Verlag) *maktabat al nahḍa al miṣriyya*, Cairo, 1957. p 409.

⁶³ *Al ḥamawīy, yāqut, mu'ajam al buldān* (Das Glossar der Länder), (Verlag) *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 2007, p 450.

⁶⁴ *Al yazdī, sharaf al din 'ali, ṣafarnāma* (Das Buch des Sieges), vol 1, Tahran, 1957, p 496.

⁶⁵ Kirkuk... A Castle extends deep in history and an eternal flame illuminates the future, <http://www.iraqdirectory.com/DisplayNews.aspx?id=2417>, last accessed, 13-7-2013.

⁶⁶ This fire existed for many centuries.

⁶⁷ The Cambridge history of Islam, vol, A1, p 315.

Ottomans drafted a treaty with the Kurdish Emirates. This treaty was initiated by Mullah Idris Badlisi⁶⁸ of Sultan Salim I (1512- 1520). The treaty was implemented indirectly and in a decentralized form in favour of the Kurdish Emirates.

The content of the agreement is known as the Kurdish-Ottoman treaty of 1514. Most of Kurdish sources mention such a treaty between Sultan Salem I and the Kurdish Emirates represented by Mullah Idris Batlisi. The following are the most important articles of the Agreement:

1. Protecting the Kurdish Emirates' independence.

2. The Ottomans must respect the Kurdish princes' reign and their hereditary Emirates and that the Sultan is the only official who has the authority to confirm the new prince's post to the throne.

3. The Kurdish Emirates are obliged to support the Ottomans in wars, administering day-to-day requirements, as well as contributing to any urgent cases in terms of assigning and abdicating any of the princes.

4. Kurdish Emirates and their boundaries are protected by the Ottomans in the case of any source of danger or threat coming from external forces.

5. Kurdish Emirates are obliged to pay taxes.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Mullah Idris Badlisi*, his name is *Idris Husāmaddin 'Ali*, known as *Badlisi* which refers to the name of his town. He was brought up in a pious and knowledge-seeking family. He studied religious sciences in *Badlis* and to provide himself adequately, he travelled to Iran where he learned to speak Persian, Turkish and Arabic well. He worked as a writer for Sultan Jacob, the son of *Hassan Tawil of Aq Qoinlo*, 1479-1490, and then he received the title, sealer, for his job. He was progressing well in his occupation till 1501 and stayed in Tabriz. With the debate of King *Ismā'il*, he received the same rank called (*Mihradar*) interpreted as Minister of our current time. He didn't keep working under the second title owing to the severe reign and authority of the king. As a result, he moved to the Ottoman Empire and was received warmly by Sultan *Bāyazid II* (1481-1512). He was assigned to write the history of the Ottomans and then published a book entitled *Eight Paradises (Hasht Bahasht)*. Afterwards, he gained the post of chancellor during Sultan Salim I (1512-1520) and due to leading successive offensives towards Iran, Egypt and Sham (Levant). He was also engaged in war affairs. His roles in administration and consultation in army won him great fame. He was very competent in persuading Kurdish Emirates to stay under Ottomans' reign and approve of them. Soon after, Sultan Salim passed away in 1520 in Istanbul. He was buried in *abu ayub 'ansari* cemetery; his grave can still be seen. *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan ua al-'aimprāṭuriyyat al-'uthmāniyya* (Kurdistan und das Osmanische Reich), Erbil, 2008, pp 48-51.

⁶⁹ *Zakī Beg, muhammed 'amin, khulāṣāiyyaki tārikhy Kurd u Kurdistan* (die Zusammenfassung der Geschichte den Kurden und Kurdistan), *bargi yakam* (der Erste Band), *āmādakirdiny* (überarbeitet von) *rafiq ṣaliḥ, tshāpkhānay* (Verlag) *sardam*, Sulaymaniyah, 2000. pp 121-122.

Kirkuk town was a part of *Sorān*'s possessions at that time but in 1516, according to the treaty, it came under the complete control of the Ottomans.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Stephan Hemsley Longrigg states that in 1530 King Tahmāsbi I (1524-1574) partly ruled the town which proves that Kirkuk was once again under the occupation of the Şafavids.⁷¹ Afterwards, at the end of 1533 Sultan Sulaimān (1520-1566) led a military offensive against the Şafavid State, in early 1534 he moved back to Baghdad through Kirmānshāh at which time Kirkuk belonged to the Ardalān Emirate. Ma'mun Beg, the prince of the Emirate, became an ally with the Ottomans before Baghdad had been totally invaded on January 31, 1534.⁷²

In 1554, the Ottomans re-organized the political administration of their Empire and established a Province called Shahrazur.⁷³ It was ruled by a judge (*qāḍī*) who was representative of the Ottoman authority in Baghdad.⁷⁴ Then, by the end of the 16th century, they transferred the authority centre from Gul Anbar (Halabja) to Kirkuk. The reason behind the transfer of the central authority was for security reasons. As the Şafavids shared a frontier with Halabja, there was a constant risk of an attack. In addition, it also avoided treason or betrayal by the Ardalān princes, who had friendly relations with the Şafavids.

Kirkuk town once again became the centre of wars and troubles during the ongoing conflict between the two giant sovereigns, the Ottomans and Şafavids. In 1623, Shah 'Abas Şafavi 1578-1629 led an extensive offensive on Iraq, at large and the Kurdish area, in particular. After occupying Baghdad in 1623,⁷⁵ one of the Kurdish princes, from Ardalān Emirate, called Khan Ahmed Khan, assisted the Şafavid State in easily

⁷⁰ Ibid, p 119; *Rasim, Aḥmad, rasmlī va hariḡa li 'vsmānlī t'ārīhī* (Kartographie in der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches), vol 4, first published, shams press sy, Istanbul, 1228 rumi, pp 192-194.

⁷¹ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, four centuries of modern Iraq, Lebanon – New edition, 2002, p 21.

⁷² *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), Erbil, 2006. p 72.

⁵ *Shākir, alī, Vilayet al Mosul fī al qarn al sādis 'ashar dirāsa fī auḍā'ihā al siyyāsiya ua al 'idāriyya ua al 'qtişādiyya* (Mossuls Provinz im sechzehnten 16 Jahrhundert - Studien über die politischen, administrativen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen), *'āṭruḡat diktoraḡ kuliyyat al 'ādāb* (Philosophische Fakultät), *jāmi'at Mosul* (Mossul Universtät), 1992, p 84.

⁷⁴ *Ra'wf, 'imad 'abdul salām, āidarāt al 'irāq* (Die Irakische Verwaltung), Baghdad, 1992, p 236; *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 95.

⁷⁵ *Al 'azāuiy, 'abās, tāriḡh al 'irāq baiyna al 'āiḡlālayn* (Die Geschichte vom Irak zwischen den beiden Besetzungen), (Verlag) *maktabat al haḡārāt*, Beirut, pp 182-184.

invading Kirkuk and Shahrazur towns.⁷⁶ As a result, the two towns were taken over without any defence.⁷⁷ The two towns remained under occupation, until Hāfiz Pasha, the Diyarbakir governor, along with an Ottoman commander named Jirckas *Hassan* managed to save the towns in 1625 with little effort.⁷⁸

From the middle of the 17th century onwards, Bābān Emirate, near Shahrazur witnessed enormous expansion, which over-spilled into Shahrazur district and north Kirkuk. Among the famous princes, who were responsible for this expansion, was Sulaimān Pasha, also known as Suleiman Bābā. In 1686, he managed to seize control of Shahrazur from the authority in Kirkuk and appointed a new governor. Soon after, the new prince faced challenges from Dilāuar Pasha, the governor, who resided in Kirkuk. The governor ordered the army to get ready for battle against this invasion. During the fight, the governor was killed and his plans were ruined.⁷⁹ After that, Kirkuk became a part of the Bābān Emirate.⁸⁰

Hassan Pasha, governor of Baghdad, (1690-1691) saw the need to take up the additional task of administering Kirkuk, alongside his responsibilities in Baghdad, as a *mutasalim* (governor). He justified the necessity of his action due to the insecure conditions in Kirkuk.⁸¹ Consequently, Kirkuk appeared more important in the area than it used to be and became the centre of contestation between the different Emirates and states. In addition, it was the main route for marching armies between Baghdad and Mosul. However, the town did not benefit from such contestation and struggles, instead, it was a victim of the struggles.

The Ottoman Empire took advantage of the Şafavids' lack of power in 1732. The Ottomans urged an expansion and a takeover of some of the Şafavids' regions. Therefore, for this purpose, Hassan Pasha, Baghdad's governor, drove a force, accompanied by another well-disciplined army which was led by Abdurrahman Pasha,

⁷⁶ *Effendi, nuzamī zāda murtada, gulshan-i khulafā* (Der Rosengarten der Kalifen.), *tarjumat (Der Übersetzer), musā kẓam nawrs*, (Verlag) *maḥba'at al 'ādāb*, al Najaf, 1971, p 221.

⁷⁷ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p 59.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp 93-94.

⁸⁰ *Mustafā, naushérwan, myrayaty Bābān la néuān bardāshy rom u 'ajamda (das Fürstentum von Bābān zwischen den Türken und den Perser)*, (Verlag) *tshāpy dwam (der Zweite Band)*, Sulaymaniyah, 1998, p 46.

⁸¹ *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 250.

through Kirkuk and Khānaqen into Kermanshah. The army managed to enter and totally overcome the town of Kermanshah to the shock of their opponents.⁸² The cause behind such surrender goes back to the town's governor, Abdul bāqy Khāna's recognition that due to the weakness of the Şafavids' power, he would not be able to stand against the invading army led by Abdurrahman Pasha. The Şafavids were weakened by their struggles in many areas; in the north against the Russians and in the east against the Afghans.⁸³

After the collapse of the Şafavids in 1732, the first Iranian offensive was led by Nadir Shah Iranian (1732-1747). Not only did he besiege Baghdad, but firstly, he sent a great army of about 170,000 soldiers into Kirkuk, led by Nergz Khan, to dominate the main road between Baghdad-Kirkuk and Erbil. As a result, they were successful in invading Kirkuk, Erbil and Shahrazur.⁸⁴ The objectives after invading the territories could be summed up as follows:

1. To split and isolate Baghdad from the regions of the Ottoman Empire particularly south-east Turkey (al-Jazeera), Kurdistan and Istanbul, as they were both considered influential trade areas with Baghdad.
2. Preventing the Ottomans from having ongoing interests in Baghdad or keep directing reinforcement to the town and breaking the siege after all.
3. Consequently, the Ottoman power in Baghdad is forced to surrender.

Although the Ottomans sent an army, led by *Sadir al-a'zam* (Prime Minister) Othman Pasha, to support the people in Baghdad, they failed to accomplish the mission. They were defeated at the Kirkuk front. One more time in 1733, Nadir Shah led another offensive against Kirkuk. This time he managed to kill Tubal Othman, but he did not succeed in overcoming the town altogether.⁸⁵ The people from Kirkuk had great motivation to fight against the enemy and an unceasing struggle towards freedom. In addition to the defeat in Kirkuk, Nader Shah had another challenge with the Blujians in

⁸² *Al gurāny, 'ali saiyydū, min al 'umān 'ila al 'mādiya au jaula fī al Kurdistan al jnubiyya* (Von Amman nach al 'mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), (Verlag) *maṣba'at 'ārās*, (die Zweite Ausgabe), *al ṭab'a al thāniya*, Erbil, 2012, p 72; Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 130.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p 130.

⁸⁴ *Al kirkukly, sheikh rasoul, dauḥat al uzar ā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), (der Übersetzer von Ottoman Türkisch ins Arabisch), *tarjama min al turkia musa kaẓm*, Baghdad, pp 34-35.

⁸⁵ Longrigg, Four centuries of modern Iraq, p 145.

Iran. This resulted in strengthening the Ottomans' position and increased their chances in overtaking Kirkuk and Baghdad again. Consequently, Nader Shah resorted to signing an accord with the Ottomans.⁸⁶

Nadir Shah took another charge against Kirkuk in 1747. This besiege operation took 80 days but all in vain due to the people's high moral power. Finally, through the use of heavy guns, the town eventually gave up and was defeated. The invasion brought with it a strong authoritarian rule to the people and the town. Failure of the citizens to yield to, and obey the rules would result in severe punishment. During the invasions and onward, people were captured, robbed and barbarically scandalized. The women were not spared either, they were raped very often.⁸⁷

In the middle of 18th century and in 1749, the Mamluks ascended the throne and governed Baghdad. The first governor was Suleiman Pasha, commonly known as Abu Layla (1749-1762). They ruled the central province until 1831.⁸⁸ Such big changes greatly impacted the administrative and political matters in Kirkuk. The Mamluk, Suleiman pasha, in particular, had authority to assign, abdicate and/or change Kurdish princes at will.⁸⁹ The Kurds, in return, had to act according to the Mamluks' decrees. As a matter of fact, they got such power by the Ottomans. Likewise, these new policies were enforced in all Kurdish Emirates in Southern Kurdistan like Bābān, Sorān, and Bahdinān.⁹⁰

As the Yazidis⁹¹ started to destroy things and rob the tradesmen as well as tourists between the Kirkuk and Mosul districts in 1752, Baghdad's governor Suleiman Pasha (Abu Layla) 1749-1762 came to the area and stayed in Kirkuk, personally, accompanied by an enormous army. Some of the Yazidis yielded and asked for pardon and amnesty.

⁸⁶ *Al kirkukly, dauhat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 35.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p 35.

⁸⁸ *Al šuft, Aḥmad 'ali, al mamālīk fī al 'irāq, šahā'f khaṭīyra min tārīkh 'irāq al qarib (1749-1831)* (Die Königreiche des Iraks, gefährliche Zeitungen in der modernen Geschichte des Irak (1749-1831)), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at al 'itiḥād al jadida*, Mosul, 1952, pp 16-17.

⁸⁹ *Al kirkukly, dauhat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), pp 126-127; *Al 'azāuiy, 'abās, tārīkh al 'irāq baiyna al 'āiḥtīlāliyn* (Die Geschichte vom Irak zwischen den beiden Besetzungen), pp 19-24.

⁹⁰ For more information, look - *Ḥusāin, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), pp 180-189.

⁹¹ The *Yazidians* are a religious minority who have settled in *Shengal* and Mosul countryside for a long time. They were known for being bandits. *Al kirkukly, dauhat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 124.

Whereas, others resisted and continued fighting but finally were defeated due to an extensive siege around them and the tough offensive by the governor's army. This war left gruesome effects on the people and the area. Massive amounts of people were murdered; some of their women were raped; some prisoners of war were released, others, about 300, were sent to Istanbul.⁹² The Mamluks did all this for the purpose of winning the Ottomans' favour and centralizing the authority.

The now downsized ruling range of Kirkuk's authorities over Kurdish areas had a considerable influence which resulted in separating Erbil from Kirkuk's circle of influence. In 1766, a governor was appointed to Erbil by Baghdad's governor. Erbil's governor, then, sent another person, in a high tribal rank, as town manager to Altun Keupri.⁹³ This operation indicates that all of this was done for the sake of delimiting the town's governing circles.

Despite the changes in the region, the province (eyalet) of Shahrazur managed to remain listed among the Ottoman provinces (eyalets) in a period of Sultan Salem III (1789-1807). This was confirmed by the historian, Creasy.⁹⁴ However, from other historians' perspectives, it was outlined that the province was able to control the region meaning that the size of the eyalet did not diminish and the Vali was strong. For instance, Longrigg states: "The Kurds from Diyalah to Greater Zab dealt less with the Mutasallim of Kirkuk than with his master the Georgian. The same is true and more strangely, of Mosul itself. This never lost its ayalat status, was bestowed always by the Sultan himself on a candidate of rank not lower than Mirmiran, and maintained a court not incomparable to that of the Great Pasha."⁹⁵

The Mamluks in Baghdad dominated all areas in the Southern Kurdistan during the reign of Baghdad's governor Suleiman Pasha, the great (1780-1802).⁹⁶ By the time there was a struggle between the Mamluks and the Bābān Emirate, Kirkuk had to stand

⁹² Ibid, pp 124-125.

⁹³ Niebuhr, Carsten, Carsten Niebuhrs Reise beschreibung nach Arabien und and ernumliegen den Ländern, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Univ., 1994 = 1837, p 341.

⁹⁴ Creasy, Edward, History of Ottoman Turks, London, 1878, new published, Beirut, 1961, p 447.

⁹⁵ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 209.

⁹⁶ *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), pp 112-124; *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa'id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert)*, (Verlag) *tschpkhānāy ḥamdy*, Sulaymaniyah, 2009, p 55.

by Baghdad. For instance, Baghdad's governor was outraged due to that charge initiated by Mahmood Pasha, the prince, against Koya in 1782. The governor had his army gathered there in Kirkuk, therefore; the town was there to help them in attacking the Bābāns.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 176; *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa'id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā* (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), p 55.

CHAPTER II: URBANIZATION AND ARCHITECTURE IN KIRKUK

2.1 Kirkuk's town in the 19th century and its challenges

A town or city is a geographical phenomenon, and they have been responsible for the evolution of civilization. It is also where the most important human architecture has been built for the human beings to live in.¹ Major cities and towns in Iraq including Kirkuk were divided into quarters, along religious, sectarian, ethnic, or tribal lines.²

Many factors influence the development and location of towns or cities and its architecture. These factors include, but are not limited to: geographical aspects, topography, economic prospects, water resources, and security. Similarly, all of these factors influenced the site in which Kirkuk town was built on.

Kurdistan's towns or cities in general and Kirkuk, for instance, were not big cities in comparison to other cities surrounding Kurdistan like Baghdad, Istanbul, and Tehran. This is due to the following factors:

- The lack of security had a negative effect on population growth. Kirkuk's region was a site of conflict between two sectarian rivals the Ottoman Empire (*Sunni* Sect) and Iran (*Shi'i* Sect). These wars constantly reduced the worth of the town and were obstacles to building a modern town. As a result, trade suffered, as merchants did not visit this region and took other paths.³ For example, not only was the region subjected to severe attacks by the Iranian army, but even the Ottoman army participated in piracy which occurred all over Kirkuk. In 1743, when Nader Shah withdrew from Kirkuk, he took spoils and booties and he stored great amounts of wheat and grains in the south of Kirkuk when the Ottomans returned they dominated these stores and exploited it. They

¹ *'Abush, farhād ḥajī, al madīna al kurdiyya min al qarnayn 4-7h\10-13m* (Die kurdischen Städte vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert), (Verlag) *maḥba 'at uazārat al tarbiyya*, Erbil, 2004, p 19.

² Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, London - New York, 2006, p 13.

³ *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 51.

did not return it back to people. Consequently, the people were compelled to leave the town to seek safer regions.⁴

- The topography of Kurdistan's regions is not homogenous. This was a reason that traveling from a region to another was not easy and this affected the size of Kurdish towns, which were small or medium. Kirkuk was considered a medium sized town during this era.⁵

- Health status affected the number of population from time to time because the health sector in the Ottoman era was not advanced and did not offer protection from some fatal diseases. Several times, the plague was responsible for the death of a great number of people in Kirkuk town. For example, in 1772, the plague spread in Kirkuk and its boundaries, and a great number of people died. Consequently, a large part of the population left the town in fear of the disease. This disease⁶ returned many times after, and again in 1826 the plague, transmitted from India, infected people in the Persian Gulf, Baghdad, and Kurdistan. Similarly, many people died,⁷ affecting the demographics of the town.

- Famine and drought: in the 19th century, the agricultural sector in the Ottoman Empire was not as developed as other sectors, and farmers were not in a position to adequately face some natural catastrophes which affected Kirkuk and the region. For instance, they depended upon rain especially for the cultivation of wheat and barley and when a drought persisted, a part of

⁴ *Al khaiyyāt, ja'far, suār min tārīkh al 'irāq al muẓlima* (Bilder der dunklen irakischen Geschichte), voll, first published, (Verlag) *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 1971, p 42; *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 344.

⁵ *Murād, Khalīl 'ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), Sulaymaniyah, 2005, p 18.

⁶ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), pp 142-143.

⁷ *Ra'wf, 'imad 'abdul salām, al Mosul fī al 'ahd al 'uthmāniyya fatrat al ḥukm al maḥalī (1726-1834)* (Mossul in der osmanischen Zeit unter der lokalen Regierung (1726-1834)), *maḥba 'at al 'ādāb* (Verlag), Najaf, 1975, p 283.

population faced death and another part was compelled to leave the town. For example, in 1824 because of drought Kirkuk and its boundaries did not produce wheat, barley and other agriculture produce. This caused severe food shortages and as a result of hunger, a large number of Kirkuk's population died.⁸

In 1879 and 1880, Mosul and Kirkuk suffered a famine. In Mosul, the merchants took advantage of the situation and the food shortages by increasing the price of food and thus profiting. In 1879, the harvest proved to be less fruitful than previous years and prices were continuously rising. By November of that year prices had increased by 50 percent compared to the previous two years. The local government tried to regulate food supply by banning exports of grain, fruit, vegetables and dairy products.⁹

The famine continued to worsen due to a very cold winter and food prices were continually rising. This had ramifications on employment, and as people could not afford goods other than food, many skilled people such as weavers lost their jobs. The urban population continued to increase during this time as people from rural villages, who had lost their livestock, moved to urban areas trying to seek relief there. In Kirkuk, there was widespread desperation as people broke off parts of their house to keep warm, they were starving and there were reports of the abandonment of children. In the town of Altun Keupri, despite many attempts to get wheat, there was none available and people were forced to survive only on fish from the river. As an attempt to relieve pressure on the town, the government sent thousands of the poor to Baghdad while some had also left at their own accord.¹⁰

- The pursuit of a policy of displacement from the Ottoman Empire resulted in keeping the population of the region small. The Ottomans pursued this policy because the population of the town and its boundaries stood against

⁸ 'Aughlo, *najāt shukr kauthar, hauādth Kirkuk* 1700-1958 (Vorfälle von Kirkuk 1700-1958), 01-01-2006, <http://alkarar.annuaire-forums.com/t8-topic> last access 12-09-2013.

⁹ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, New York, 2000, pp 153-154.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp 153-154.

its authority. For example, the Hamawand clan which used to live in Kirkuk town and north of the town, at the end of the 19th century, was displaced to Libya, Damascus and Konya province in Anatolia.¹¹

- As the Kurdish tribes supported the Ottoman Empire in its wars, inside and outside of the Empire, particularly, through the active recruitment of Kirkuk people, the population remained small. As it is explained in greater detail in Chapter 7, the Ottomans had conscripted many Kurdish people in Kirkuk and its surrounding areas to protect Ottoman borders and use them against the Russian and Persian invasions before the First World War.

- Finally, we should not forget that Kurdistan and Kirkuk were occupied by the Ottomans and Persians during the period of 1800-1925. According to the European traveller, Niebuhr, Kirkuk was destroyed by Nader Shah's attack in 1747. Niebuhr visited Kirkuk in 1766 and described the town as "[n]ot only something few remains of the ancient town which is located on a hill and hit by a hard drop from its underneath...this is what called a castle, the worst place I have seen until now, its houses without discrimination are very bad."¹² This means that after the attack and destruction of Nader Shah, the Ottomans too had neglected the town and they did not help the town by developing it, renovating it, or compensating it. Consequently, the whole Kurdistan including Kirkuk remained rural areas with small populations.

2.2 Demographic Size

As mentioned earlier, the development and the architectural situation in Kirkuk were below acceptable standards in comparison to cities like Baghdad. In spite of that, it was still considered as among the significant towns of southern Kurdistan, especially from the beginning of the 19th century. This is a matter that was well

¹¹ *Murād, Khalīl 'ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 75-76.

¹² Niebuhr, Carsten, Carsten Niebuhrs Reise beschreibung nach Arabien und and ernumliegen den Ländern, p 338.

documented by several travellers and it is also included in Ottoman Calendars (*Sālnāma*). However, by the end of the 19th century it was difficult to determine the population size of Kirkuk, as it was with any medium-sized town throughout the Ottoman Empire for the following three reasons:

To begin with, the available information was in the form of statistics, gathered by travellers, who estimated the population size of Kirkuk in a speculative and haphazard manner. Furthermore, the travellers normally stayed in the town for a short period, and this makes the information (data) inaccurate. The numbers presented by the travellers were contradictory, although they had visited the area almost during the same period of time. Such a speculative methodology for determining the population size of any towns are bound to yield incorrect results.

Secondly, at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the Ottomans prepared, for the first time, a set of statistics about the Mosul province in the form of yearbooks (*Salname*). However, before the preparation of these statistics, scholars did not have accurate census data to depend upon for official use. This was not the case in the context of Kirkuk, which was then a constituent part of Mosul. The Ottomans had records for its population and scholars could use the calendars as data in their studies. These calendars, however, never made reference to the ratio proportion of ethnic groups in Kirkuk town. Instead, reference was only to the different religious communities in the town, that is to say, the Muslims - being Kurds, along with Arabs and Turkmen were grouped as a single community. Other religious communities, Jews, and Christians, were independently categorized.

Thirdly, because a segment of the population of Kirkuk was Bedouins, who practice a grazing and nomadic lifestyle and thus have no permanent residence as they were constantly migrating in order to obtain pasture and food for their animals. This made it difficult to capture their demographic trends in terms of population size.

Attempts to determine the population of Iraq were made during the Ottoman and the British periods, but the data were “inaccurate” because effective control from both hardly expanded to the remote places, such as the southern parts of Kurdistan.¹³ From

¹³ Lebon, J. H. G., Population Distribution and the Agricultural Regions of ‘Iraq, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr., 1953), pp. 223-228, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/211936>, last accessed, 26-7-2015 14:36 UTC, p 223.

the studies conducted by experts in history of the area, the population of important Iraqi towns during the 18th and 19th centuries was consolidated as follows:

City or Town Name	Estimated population
Baghdad	Between 50,000-100,000 inhabitants
Mosul	40,000-50,000 inhabitants
Basra	40,000-100,000 inhabitants
Babel (Hila)	50,000 inhabitants

From the population table provided from the consolidated population size of Iraqi towns,¹⁴ it is clear that the population of Kirkuk and its urban area was smaller than the other towns and cities mentioned above.

The estimation above is believed near to be right. For instance, in the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, James Felix Jones who was delegated with a crew of the English navigators by the English Colonial State in Bombay-India, to create a map of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers for the navigation of ships, approximated the mixed population of Baghdad at about 60,000 inhabitants.¹⁵ Furthermore, he noticed more precisely about its diversity, “[n]owhere, perhaps, in the world can be seen to advantage so great an admixture of the various races of men. Northern quarters were occupied by the Turkish population and the governing class. Christians and Jews had separate quarters in the central parts of the town. In Baghdad they enjoyed a rare freedom. He estimated that Baghdad had fifteen thousand families that might be divided as follows: - Turkish families, 4,000; Persian families, 2,500; Christians families, 1,000; Kurdish families, 1,000; Arab families, 2,000; Nomad Arabs and foreigners, temporarily located, 2,000. Many languages were spoken in Baghdad among these

¹⁴ *Nukhba al baḥīthiyyin, ḥaḍārāt al ‘irāq* (Iraks Zivilisationen), (Verlag) *dār al-ḥuriyya liltibā‘ah*, Vol 10, Baghdad, 1985, p 15.

¹⁵ Yapp, M. E., *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia, 1857*, Selection from the records of the Bombay Government, XLIII.-new Series, Jones Cdr. James Felix Jones I.N., Slough: Archive Editions, 1998 Pp. Xvii+504. E595. *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Jul., 1999), pp. 197-199, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284030>, Accessed: 02-03-2016 16:32 UTC, p 198.

ethnic and religious groups, such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Kurdish, Luri, Chaldean, Hebrew, and Armenian.” Furthermore, European and foreign languages were spoken in Baghdad, as he said “[a]t the table of the British Resident, when English, French, Russians, and Indians have met together, a medley of thirteen languages has been accounted in one room.”¹⁶

To show the development rate and the population of any ethnic group or any composition of population within the framework of this study, we can confirm our information by some travellers who visited the town. Through the traveller’s different descriptions of the town and their unique account, we can depict the reality of the town at that time.

One of the English travellers, James Buckingham, who visited Kirkuk in 1816, described it in terms of three distinct parts, with one section standing on a high and extensive mound, artificially shaped on the inclined slope. And that on the inclined slope stood a fortified town with a great number of houses and that the minarets of three mosques seemed to rise above the rest of the buildings from below. It was also estimated that either 5,000 or 6,000 inhabited the area. The second section was considered to be inferior because of the status of those who resided in it. It, however, remained a strategic area as it acted as a buffer zone against external adversaries. It is said that it was spread out on a plain around the foot of the Citadel. The section hosted a number of principal Khans, coffee-houses, bazaars along with other amenities. The inhabitants were not only Muslims but also Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrian Christians. The population of this portion was estimated at 10,000 inhabitants. The third portion stood about half a mile from the other two sections. It was smaller and relatively scattered in comparison to the two sections of the town. Its population was barely 1,000 and thus its percentage to the total population of Kirkuk was negligible. Therefore, overall, there were nearly 15,000 inhabitants.¹⁷ And it is believed that the third and final section was the *Qoria* area which lay between Kirkuk and *Khāsa* River. It thus lay in the east of Kirkuk town.

¹⁶ Jones I. n., Cdr. James Felix, *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia*, 1857, Selection from the records of the Bombay Government, XLIII.-new series, Archive Editions, Oxford, 1997, pp 339-340.

¹⁷ Buckingham, J. S., *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol II, pp 114-115.

Three years later, in December 1819, Porter visited the town of Kirkuk. He described it as being composed of Kurds, Turks, Arabs, Armenians and a few Jews. He estimated that their total number was about 10,000 or 12,000. He explained that the modern part of the town lay at the foot of the hill and beyond the walls stretching along the western banks of its river.¹⁸ He considered Kirkuk as one of the most important towns of Southern Kurdistan and that it extended from the north-western frontiers of Khuzistan to the high mountainous areas of Kurdistan.¹⁹

In the eighth decade of the 19th Century, Lycklama a Nijeholt, estimated that the population of Kirkuk was approximately 12,000 or 13,000 inhabitants. Two to three hundred of the inhabitants were Christians and a hundred were Jewish families.²⁰ Joseph Chirink, a Russian engineer who in the years 1872-1893 worked as an engineer to improve the navigation of Tigris and Euphrates rivers for ships, estimated the population of the town at 12,000-15,000 inhabitants.²¹

In July 1856, Clement, a French traveller, visited Kirkuk and remained there for two days. He estimated the population of the inhabitants to stand at 25,000, excluding the Ottoman soldiers who were residing in the town.²² But in 1882, when Gerard, visited Kirkuk, he described the town as a seat of the Mosul Vilayet with approximately 10,000 houses, 15 Baths, and numerous coffee houses.²³

However, by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the population in the whole Iraq was continuously increasing, “In the urban services there was fitful progress. New buildings of some pretension appeared towards South Gate in Baghdad, in the outskirts of Karbala and Mosul, at the ‘Ashar suburb of Basra. The Tigris-side towns, and some of the Kurdish, developed fast. Kirkuk and

¹⁸ Porter, Robert, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia*, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, vol 1, p 439.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 439.

²⁰ Lycklama a Nijeholt, Paris A Bertrand, Amsterdam, C. L. V Langenhuysen. 1872-1875, vol, p 86.

²¹ *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu'āšira Kirkuk – al 'anfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 23.

²² Clement, A, *Excursions dans le Kourdistan Ottoman, de Kerkouk a Ravandouz*, Globe, paris, 1886, vol 5, p 199.

²³ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 13.

Erbil doubled in size from 1890-1914.”²⁴ Along with the population growth, there was also a growth in prosperity.²⁵ Additionally, in 1903, a renowned English envoy visited the town “Kerkuk is a large, growing town, and numbers 70,000 inhabitants, including many villages which are now almost suburbs.”²⁶ The reasons for the increasing population especially in the cities and towns at that period was due to two factors. Firstly, there was no famine, plagues, or disasters. Secondly, people migrated in large numbers from villages to urban areas, including Kirkuk.

Additionally, at the end of the 19th Century, Shamsaddin Sāmi wrote in his encyclopaedia noting that the population of Kirkuk was standing at 30,000 inhabitants,²⁷ a figure close to the official statistics of Ottomans in the calendar of the Mosul Province. In addition, in 1907, the Mosul Ottoman year book (Salname) put the population of Kirkuk at 27,405 inhabitants. The statistics published were on the basis of religious affiliation.²⁸

Two years later in 1909, Major Soane, the British Officer, and traveller, who stayed for 16 days in an Inn in Kirkuk, reduced the population of Kirkuk to almost half of the previously cited number of 15,000 inhabitants. He stated that Kirkuk was famous for Turkmens, fruits, and crude oil. He noted that the town had approximately 15,000 people and was one of the trilingual towns within Kurdistan’s borders. Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish were predominantly spoken in the town; with Turkish and Kurdish used mostly in the bazaars. He referred to Kirkuk as a “Turkmen Town” with nomad Arabs in its south and west and the Hamawand Kurds in the East.²⁹

At this point, the Ottoman year book is taken to be more reliable than the information, which was reported by Soane because of the following reasons:

Firstly, the Ottoman data produced at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century can be trusted to some extent simply because they had the time and

²⁴ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history, London, 1956, p 53.

²⁵ Sykes, Mark, Dar-Ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, London, 1904, p 200.

²⁶ Ibid, p 199.

²⁷ *Sāmī, ṣamsadīn, qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch), p 3846.

²⁸ *Beg, ‘izatlv ṣafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maṭba ‘at sinda ṭabi ‘ avlinmshdar*, Mosul, 1907, p 210.

²⁹ Soane, Ely Banister, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, p 120.

resources to collect data and they had the legitimate authority to allow them to verify the accuracy of the information. They put the town's population almost twice that reported by Soane.

Secondly, for the period between the publication of the Ottoman's calendar and Soane's visit, there were no natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and plagues. There were no wars between Kirkuk and other towns. There were no mass migrations of people and as such there was no reason for a drastic reduction in the number of the population.

Thirdly, also, on the contrary, the period between the publication of the Ottoman calendar and Soane's visit witnessed relative prosperity and advancement which would have supported a growth in the population rather than a reduction as suggested by Soane.

In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad reported that the population of Kirkuk was "[v]ariously estimated at from 15,000 to 50,000 probably 20,000 bi fairly near the number (4,000 houses)." ³⁰

After the British occupation, the population in 1919 was estimated to be between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants. ³¹ Three years later in 1922, one of the British officers estimated the population of Kirkuk at about 25,000 inhabitants. ³² But that number is short as the population of the town cannot have reduced during the years of the First World War, due to several reasons:

First: during the years of the First World War, Kirkuk was in relative safety and had not been attacked by the warring parties. As such, Kirkuk witnessed the migration of threatened residents from Sulaymaniyah town, seeking protection. ³³ People within the Sulaymaniyah Town were in fear of Russian attacks, a large number of people faced

³⁰ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 23.

³¹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 406.

³² Edmonds, G.J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq 1919-1925, London, 1957, p 265.

³³ 'Aḥmad, kamāl mazhar, Kurdistan la sālānī sharī jihānī yakamdā (Kurdistan während des Ersten Weltkrieges), tschapkhānay (Verlag) kory zāniāry Kurd, Baghdad, 1975, p 25.

looting, and a threat of arrest and murder. Furthermore, some Arminian Christians fled to Kirkuk from eastern Turkey in 1916, in order to escape the Ottoman genocide.

Second: according to a British report, during the year 1919 the population of the district may be estimated to have increased by 15-20 percent. For three reasons:

- The release of labourers from labour corps.
- The return of prisoners of war.
- The return of refugees and emigrants from the direction of Baghdad.

Districts of Kirkuk	Men only	Total population
Kirkuk Town	6,890	18,839
Rest of district	10,560	39,635
Kifri town	1,182	3,145
District	9,046	29,610
Total (Division)	27,678	91,229

The population of the Kirkuk according to an estimate made, in October 1919.³⁴

It is noted that the British census did not refer to the proportion of ethnic groups in Kirkuk, instead, like the Ottomans; they compiled their data according to their interests. For the British, the proportion of men was of more importance than reference to ethnic and religious groups.

After three years, the population size of the entire province (Kirkuk and its boundaries) had seen a marked increase, bringing the total population to 112,000 inhabitants so that the proportion of each component of the population is as follows:

Year	Kurd	Turkmen	Arab	Christians and Jews	The total number
1921	65,000	35,000	10,000	2000	112.000

The

population estimated of the Kirkuk and its bounders, in 1921.³⁵

³⁴ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 390.

³⁵ The National Archives, File No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

Four years later, according to the commission of League of Nations, the population of Kirkuk was the following:

Year	Kurd	Turkmen	Arab	Christians	Jews	The total number
1925	47,500	26,100	35,650	2400	0	111.650

1925, League of Nations Data.³⁶

Here, it appears that the Kurdish people were the majority among the ethnic groups in Kirkuk and there was no mention of the size of the Jewish community. It may be possible that they counted them with the Christian community or they might have fled Kirkuk fearing retaliation in May 1918 when the Ottomans recaptured the town. It seems that they did not return to Kirkuk, remaining in Baghdad.

2.3 Town layout and Architectural Pattern

Going back to the Ottoman statistical year books that were published at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, they too have divided Kirkuk into three main sections, but they have described it in more detail. According to the Mosul province's year book of the year 1894, Kirkuk's town was divided into three main sections. The first castle (*Qalā*), consisted of three-quarters, they were: bath, 'Aaliq, and *Maidān*; the second *Qara Shoyqa* (meaning areas surrounding the castle) was made up of eight quarters, they were *Jay*, *Jqor*, *Musalā*, *Bolāq*, *Aoji*, *Akhi Hassan*, *Emām Qāsim*, and *Piryādi*; and the third area, *Qoriya* consisted of three-quarters, *Bekler*, *Shātrlo*, and *Sari Kahiya*.³⁷ It is noted that the majority of the names of the areas and the quarters of Kirkuk were Turkish, so this means that in the emergence and development of each quarter, the Ottomans have attached Turkish names to them.

Similarly, according to Mosul province's statistics for the year 1907, Kirkuk town was composed of three main areas divided into 14 quarters. However, the names of

³⁶ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq: Report submitted to the council by the commission instituted by the council Resolution of September 30, 1924, Geneva: League of Nations: C. 400. 1925, VII.no. 147, p 77.

³⁷ *Mosul vilayeti salname 1894* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1894), p 299.

each quarter were not mentioned.³⁸ In 1917, the British officials reported about the town, “[t]he town lies on the l [left] bank of the Hasa Su, with the suburb of Qarveit Mahalleh opposite it at the W.[west] end of the bridge. In this suburb are Serai, military barracks, military hospital, post and telegraph office, a school, and the residences of many officials [...] The town contains two arched bazars and several Khans, as well as public baths which are reported to be very bad. Owing to the sheltered position of the town, the climate is excessively hot and not very healthy in summer.”³⁹ While the streets themselves were described by French traveller Clements as “Streets are dirty, narrow, and badly paved... The streets are irregular in shape and spacious, with water drainage and two leaning pavements.”⁴⁰

In 1909, Major Soane visited the town and noted that: “The architecture of the place [Kirkuk] is purely Arab; the Persian influence noticeable in Bagdad, Mosul, Diyarbakir, and other cities of Mesopotamia and Syria is not seen here. Solid stone buildings of no beauty, a few mean mosques and minarets, very solid, but with no ornamentation, and an immense arched bazaar make the architectural features of the place. The Turkmen population, or rather the commercial section of it, compares very favourably with the people of Bagdad and Mosul. A stranger meets with great consideration, nor is he swindled right and left, or annoyed, as among the Arabs of the greater cities. Purchasing food and other things in the bazaars, I found everywhere an astonishing honesty and rough goodwill that wins the heart of a stranger, and this, notwithstanding the fact that I was taken for a Persian, and a Shi'a Muhammadan, with whom the Sunni has very little sympathy.”⁴¹

However, the pattern of architecture in Kirkuk town like any other town in the area was made up of several different architectural styles (not purely Arab as described by Soane) and every building was used for a particular purpose. The diverse ethnic and religious mix of the population probably led to the unique character of its architectural

³⁸ *Beg. 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maḥba 'at sinda ṭabi' avlinmshdar, Mosul, 1907*, p 212.

³⁹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, pp 23-24.

⁴⁰ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 32.

⁴¹ E. B. Soane, to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, pp 120-121.

style in comparison to other towns in Kurdistan and Iraq. For example, Muslims built mosques with minarets, and Christians built churches. On the other hand, there were public places which everyone needed and used, for instance, shops and public bathrooms. The infrastructural development of the town differed from time to time, and here it is necessary to divide the patterns of architecture in Kirkuk into several parts, based on their specific use.

2.3.1 Houses

Each family needs a specific place for lodging which is, its own house. In Kirkuk, houses varied in terms of quantity and quality and also differed based on the historical era during which it was built and its location which was either in the centre of Kirkuk or in the surrounding villages. There was also a noticeable difference between the houses of the poor people (farmers, peasants, and animal breeders) and the rich people (landowners and Sheiks).

French visitor, Clement outlined in 1856 that houses in Kirkuk "... are built with hard stones covered to those of Asian Turkey, they only have a store under the ground floor, and they do not have but a few windows on looking the street. Ornaments are set in the town.... Their basement is in stone and plaster, the height of a person. On the first floor, going upstairs they are made only in plaster, or materials mixed with gravel."⁴²

At the end of the 18th century, one of the European travellers that visited Kirkuk described the houses that were inside the Citadel as mostly being built with stone and bricks, while those in the suburbs were made of mud.⁴³ This was also reiterated by *Al ḥasanī*, who outlines that most of the houses of Kirkuk were old and constructed from stone and gypsum or from stone and clay. Some of them were constructed from brick and lime.⁴⁴ The mud houses, which were usually owned by the peasants, were simple in design. The poorer classes of peasants usually had a one room house for the entire family, their livestock and storage. In spite of this, except for very smoky walls and ceilings, everything generally was described as spotlessly clean. While, the higher-

⁴² Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 32.

⁴³ *Khan, Abi Ṭālib, riḥlat abi ṭālīb khān 'ilā al 'irāq ua aurupā 1799* (Die Reise von Abu Talib Khan 1799 nach Irak und Europa), p 362.

⁴⁴ *Al ḥasanī, 'abdulrazāq, al 'irāq qadīman ua ḥadīthan* (Der Irak ist alt und neu), p 220.

classes of peasants usually had a two or three-room house with a yard attached for their animals. The richer people, for example the chief or headman of a village, had a fine building for his womenfolk, and kept a separate establishment or guest-house for the entertainment of his friends and the passing traveller. The guest-house was the centre around which life in Kurdistan revolves.⁴⁵

For those towns with ancient castles such as Kirkuk and Erbil, the castles were at the forefront. It was due to the castles' strategic positions that motivated people to keep housing and urbanization in such towns.⁴⁶ When Abi Ṭālib Khan visited Kirkuk in 1799, he said "Kirkuk is a big town and having a strong and solid Castle, its houses which surrounded the Castle are exposed to ruin and destruction, its houses constructed from Stone and red Bricks."⁴⁷

In December 1819, Porter visited the town of Kirkuk and he observed that the houses were packed together, with the bazaars narrow and gloomy, but it exhibited the merchandise and provision which was necessary for the comfort of the inhabitants.⁴⁸

2.3.2 Kirkuk's Castle (Qalā)

It is noticeable in the general history of Mesopotamia that in its the ancient towns, castles and walls were constructed for the purpose of defending themselves against any potential external attacks. Kirkuk, which in the middle ages was called Karkhini Castle, has a castle which lies on a high hill, in a long wide area.⁴⁹ One European traveller described Kirkuk and its fort: "Near to it is a fort built on a mound, not very high but steep. It is said to have no manufacturer except a course calico, but there is a considerable trade in gall-nuts, which are brought from the Kurdistan Mountains."⁵⁰ The castle was located between Erbil and Daquq and until the end of the 14th century,

⁴⁵ Hay, W.R, Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920, London, 1921, pp 45-46.

⁴⁶ *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa'id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā* (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), p 33.

⁴⁷ Khan, abi ṭālib, *riḥlat abi ṭālib khān 'ilā al 'irāq ua aurupā 1799* (Die Reise von Abu Talib Khan 1799 nach Irak und Europa), Baghdad, pp 362-363.

⁴⁸ Porter, Robert, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, vol 2, p 439.

⁴⁹ *Al ḥamauiy, yāqut, mu'ajam al buldān* (Das Glossar der Länder), p 450.

⁵⁰ Shiel, J Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Vān, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbil, to Suleimāniyeh, in July and August, 1836, The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, (Volume 8), p 100.

administratively, it was a part of Daquq.⁵¹ Thus the administrative and economic relations between this area, Erbil and Shahrazur were very strong.⁵²

The three portions of the town as it stood then were, however, described to be ‘large enough’ that it could have been a bustling metropolitan area in later times, and had given its name to the earlier districts. It was however still thought to be the *Garm* of Assemani, as it was still the largest town throughout the plains to the east of the Tigris. While, on the other hand, the appearance of its castle, seated on an elevated mound, it was sufficient to induce a belief of its having always been a fortified post of some importance, and with high probability that it was a military station of the Romans during the existence of their power in the region.⁵³ However, the castle by the mid-1800 s was no longer in good condition, French traveller Clément when referring to Kirkuk: “Kerkut is divided into two parts. The upper city, or the fortress, nowadays surrounded by walls, but in such bad condition that is no longer used for defence.”⁵⁴

2.3.3 Churches

A dozen churches dating back to the early times of Christianity have been reconstructed into mosques. In addition to, the church to which the memory of the prophet Daniel is attributed, there is another traditional account that states it contains the grave of the Holy Virgin Mary.⁵⁵ Moreover, the British officials wrote that there was a very ancient Christian church in the world, which was built by the Sasanians in the fifth century, and used by the Ottomans as an ammunition dump. It was later blown up and completely destroyed when the Turks retreated in 1918.⁵⁶ In 1923, this church was restored but its previous innovative plan was lost perhaps due to the destruction of

⁵¹ *Al ḥamauiy, yāqut, mu‘ajam al buldān* (Das Glossar der Länder), p 450.

⁵² *Aḥmad, kamāl maḥḥir, Kirkuk ua tauābi‘uhā – ḥukm al tarikh wa al ḍamīr* (Kirkuk und seine Umgebung das Urteil der Geschichte und des Gewissens), Kurdistan, pp 25-26; *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu‘āṣira Kirkuk – al ‘ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfāl, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 13.

⁵³ Galletti, Mirella, reports on Kirkuk by modern European visitors, (Kirkuk the city of ethnic harmony), London, 2002, p 10.

⁵⁴ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 32.

⁵⁵ Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Peraan, dans la mesopotamie, le Kurdistan, la Syrie, la Palastineet Turqy, execute pendant les annees 1865, 1866, 1867, et 1868*, Paris A Bertrand, Amsterdam, C. L. V Langenhuisen. 1872-1875, pp 86-87; Galletti, reports on Kirkuk by modern European visitors, p 14.

⁵⁶ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, pp 266-267.

1918.⁵⁷ According to the British officials, the Chaldean community had a new cathedral built by the French Roman Catholic mission in the 19th century.⁵⁸

2.3.4 Court “*Qaḍa*”

The court supervised the writing of contracts and the dispersal of assets after a person’s death. At a time when the fees were nominal and the people had trust in the justice dispensed by the law courts, all sectors of the population sought remedy from the *qāḍi* or judge. Women went to the court to get a divorce or to struggle for their share of an inheritance that was denied to them. Peasants went to the court to protest injustices when someone tried to take too much of their crops or when someone charged too much interest and merchants went to the court to dispute the way someone observed a contract.⁵⁹ The *qāḍies* or judges made their decisions dependent on a body of the Islamic law that had developed over the centuries. Longrigg confirmed this by stating “[t]he Qaḍhi, sole civil and criminal judge, looked to no code but the Shara’.”⁶⁰ The *qāḍies* handled not only matters of religious practice, but also family law, commercial law, and penal law.

After the British occupation, there was a *Shari’a* and peace court in Kirkuk led by the former Ottoman Judge, Muhammed Khorshid Effendi. Also, there were *Share’ah* and peace courts in the countryside of Kirkuk such as Kifri, Tuz, and Qara tapa, all of those courts had only a Judge who mainly stayed at Kifri.⁶¹

2.4 Health services

The health services available in Kirkuk and other towns during the Ottoman Empire were very poor. Historical sources and travelers did not mention the presence any hospital in the town during the 19th century and beyond. Longrigg described the

⁵⁷ Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 38.

⁵⁸ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

⁵⁹ Shields, Sarah, Mosul before Iraq, p 34.

⁶⁰ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 47.

⁶¹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 393.

traditional medical practices in Kirkuk and its surrounding areas by stating “[m]edicine was represented by the Sayyid [alleged grandson of Prophet Mohammed] whose sole drug was the Quran, by the barber ready with razor and lancet, by an occasional Persian mendicant with herbs.”⁶² However, on January 11 1882 Gerard visited Kirkuk and met some doctors from European countries who were working in the health sector and said, “[a]n Austrian, Dr. Humpfell, under a five years' contract, is here and called. Speaks French well; invited me to his quarters in the fort, where he lived with the Surgeon-General, Dr. Ban, is also Greek, Yoakim Bey, who also speaks French. The civil doctor of town, is also Greek-German, M. A. Taksim Bey. Dr. Humpfell tells me he gets 40 lira a month, paid punctually in gold.”⁶³ Longrigg confirmed that between 1890 and 1914 military hospitals and a few small clinics started appearing throughout Iraq including Kirkuk.⁶⁴ In 1917, it was reported that there was a military hospital.⁶⁵ After the British occupation of Kirkuk, the first hospital was opened on March 1 1919. Dr. *Nuri Allah Werdy* was the subordinate medical in charge from commencement in Kirkuk and Captain R. Hay was an officiating surgeon who had treated more than 515 people in a year. In addition, the British opened two other hospitals in the Kifri and Altun Keupri districts.⁶⁶

⁶² Longrigg, *four centuries of modern Iraq*, p 46.

⁶³ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 14.

⁶⁴ Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*, p 53.

⁶⁵ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources*, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 23.

⁶⁶ *Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919*, Oxford, 1992, p 407.



67

In 1903, Mark Sykes stayed in this house while in Kirkuk, he said “[t]he Beladieh, who was a pleasant, intelligent man, presently arrived, and asked me if I would choose to put up at his new office, which was just built. This I was glad enough to do, as camping ground is difficult to find near Kerkuk, and the office was a most palatial dwelling, such as I have seldom seen in Turkey, with doors that shut, windows without brown paper, and a pleasant, shady balcony all round.”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 197.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 196.

CHAPTER III: ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN KIRKUK

The concept of the “ethnic” group is often emotionally charged, while the concept of “nationality” shares the vague connotation that whatever is felt to be distinctively common must derive from common descent. In reality, of course, persons who consider themselves members of the same nationality are often much less related by common descent than are persons belonging to different and hostile nationalities. Older definitions of the nation put the emphasis on “historically developed relationships of linguistic, cultural, religious, or political type, “through which the nation” becomes conscious of its internal cohesiveness and particular interests. Newer conceptualizations, however, assume as a point of departure the obvious contingency and historical relativity of these community-building characteristics.⁶⁹

Kirkuk has always consisted of multi-ethnic and multi-religious groups. They were a mixture of Kurds, Turkmen, Arabs, Christians, and there were Jews before they emigrated to Israel after 1948. In 1917, the British officials emphasized this diversity by saying “[t]he inhabitants [in Kirkuk] are of many races and religions. The principal bare Turkman, Kurd, and Arab. There are also Armenians, Chaldeans, Syrians, and numerous Jews.”⁷⁰ These groups lived in Kirkuk as it was a significant town. It was an economic, administrative, military, religious, educational, and security hub. Kirkuk was a safe area in the whole of Iraq, especially during the First World War. In 1937, the Italian traveller Arnaldo Cipolla explained the diversity of Kirkuk precisely by saying “[a]ll the religions are represented in Kirkuk, a meeting place of different races: Chaldean churches, Nestorian patriarchs, synagogues, mosques and even devil-worshippers, Yazidis from the mountains separating the desert of Syria from Iraq.”⁷¹ This is the first time the Yazidi minority was recorded in the history of Kirkuk. Each of these groups migrated to or left the town for one reason or another. The relationship between Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Kirkuk was very good and amicable except

⁶⁹ Schaebler, Birgit, *Revolts in the Druze Mountain: ethnicity and integration of a rural community from the end of the Ottoman Empire to Syrian independence*, pp 4-6.

⁷⁰ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources*, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, *A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert*, January, 1917, p 24.

⁷¹ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, *Kirkuk, The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present*, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 41.

for a few fanatical groups in the north of the town. As it was said in 1917, “[t]here is said to be a fanatical population in the quarter round the Mosque of ‘Ali to the N.[north] of the town; but the Moslems of Kirkuk have been given a good character for honesty and generosity, at any rate in their dealings among themselves. They are said to be more interested in local than imperial politics.”⁷²

3.1 Main languages

Before starting to describe the ethnic and religious groups in the town, it is important to know how many languages were spoken and practiced in the town during the 19th century and beyond because each ethnicity was distinguished from others by its language. In Kurdistan, the official languages were the Ottoman and Persian languages in the Ottoman and Persian controlled areas respectively. While, Arabic was the language of religion, *Shari‘a* law and intellectual creativity. Consequently, the Kurdish dialects were only used for day-to-day communication.

The most common method to identify the ethnicity of the people was by the languages they spoke. One source notes that the people in the southern area of Kirkuk spoke Turkish, Kurdish, and Persian, Arabic was not common.⁷³ On the other hand, another source observed that Kirkuk was one of the trilingual towns of Kurdistan. Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish were spoken by everyone while the first and last were used indifferently in the bazaars.⁷⁴ In a third source, Longrigg said, “the corrupt Turkish and Kurdish of the Shahrizur were the current speech.”⁷⁵ In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad pointed out that “Arabic and Kurdish are spoken indifferently in the bazaars, and Turkish is understood by most.”⁷⁶ In reference to a final source that was written after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it is said that in 1919, both Arabic

⁷² Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, pp 23-24.

⁷³ Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh, vol II, p 259.

⁷⁴ E. B. Soane, to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, p 120.

⁷⁵ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 10.

⁷⁶ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, pp 23-24.

and Kurdish were commonly spoken, and Turkish was generally understood, the Kurdish spoken there was a variety of the *Mukri*⁷⁷ dialect.⁷⁸

The Kurdish language is a patois of Persian though several tribes who live in distant places practice different dialects. The language had often not been put to writing with most written communication carried out in Arabic or Turkish, and sometimes Persian.⁷⁹ One Persian scholar even tried to show that Kurds do not have a language and that all dialects belonged to Persian.⁸⁰ In fact, the Kurdish language is close to the Persian language, they come from the same family, but his interpretation is an exaggeration.

The Turkmen's dialect in Kirkuk, which was the same as that of Azerbaijan in Persia, was called Turkmen. "[I]t is a rough, forcible tongue pronounced in the guttural manner that Turkish originally displayed."⁸¹ However, there is another opinion that suggests that the Turkmen of Kirkuk and Erbil speak a dialect which is related to Anatolian Turkish.⁸²

It is inferred from the above that Kurdish and partly Arabic were the languages of the natives, whereas, Ottoman-Turkish was the official language of the Empire, which the officials and the natives had to learn and use. One source explains that the reason why the Turkish language was corrupted in its use in Kurdistan was because the officials and soldiers who were appointed to different administrative and military posts, came from different ethnicities (including Kurds) and they spoke their respective native languages and dialects, but had to learn and speak the official language of the Empire, i.e. Ottoman, in order to keep their posts and interests.⁸³

⁷⁷ "The southern dialects, often called Sorani, although Sorani properly speaking is only one of the dialects belonging to this group, which also includes *Mukri*, *Sulaymani* and many other dialects" Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, *The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, New Jersey, 1992, p 22.

⁷⁸ The National Archives FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds, p 13.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p 15.

⁸⁰ A. Hassanpour, *Kurdish Studies, Orientalist Positivist and Critical Approaches: (Review Book) Essay Kurdish Ethno nationalism by Nader Entessar*, *Middle East Journal*, Vol 47, No 1, winter 1993, pp 13, 49.

⁸¹ E. B. Soane, *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, pp 116-117.

⁸² Petrosian, Vahram, *the Iraqi Turkmen and Turkey, Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 7, No. ½(2003), Brill, pp. 279-308, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030981>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 12:16 UTC, p 284.

⁸³ *'Usmān, sa'dī, snury khuārwiyy Kurdistanī bāshur la saday nozdahamdā* (Die Grenze vom Süd - Kurdistan in neunzehnten Jahrhundert), *tschāpy yakam* (die Erste Ausgabe), Duhok, 2007, p 32.

There are accounts that Kurdish literature emerged in the seventeenth century, but it did not continue on a large scale. As Michael Eppel outlines, “no political or social force arose which was either interested in or capable of giving any Kurdish dialect an official status or dominant status as the standard language. In the absence of the Kurdish state, there was no standardization of the language as an official language of government; there was no imposition of any one Kurdish dialect as the national language, nor was there any official merger of several dialects.” Thus, the lack of political structures and institutions meant that the emergence of written Kurdish literature could not progress. Had these structures been in place, this could have allowed dominance upon one of the Kurdish dialects. Most academic works by Kurdish scholars during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were written in Ottoman. There were however, some newspapers that were written in Kurdish.⁸⁴ It is also argued that the lack of a national language played a role in inhibiting the development of Kurdish national consciousness in the twentieth century.⁸⁵

3.2 Ethnic and religious groups

It is not easy to know the individual populations and demographics of each ethnicity in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century because there was no census that could be depended upon to get this information. The sources which are useful are - firstly, the books which were written by travellers who visited the town for a short time; secondly, the Ottoman year books (Salname) in the Mosul province which were written at the end of the 19th century until 1918. Finally, the data from British documents and reports during the First World War and after the British occupation in 1918.

According to the German geologists – who were striving to find oil in Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia – the population of the Mosul Vilayet including Kirkuk was exclusively dominated by the Kurds. However, there was an isolated tribe of Turkmen between Kifri and Kirkuk to the north of Baghdad which was Baiyāt tribe. Christian tribes of Chaldeans and Yazidis were concentrated to the west and north of

⁸⁴ M, Eppel, The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: the Impact on the Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Middle Eastern Studies, 05 Mar 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200791874883>, Last Accessed, on 11th March 2013, p 238.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p 238.

Mosul.⁸⁶ In terms of sects, Kurds, Arabs, and Turkmen in Kirkuk were Sunni, but in the countryside the Turkmen were followers of an unorthodox secret Shia sect, the Qizilbash.⁸⁷ In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad emphasized that “[t]he Sunni element [in Kirkuk] is probably considerably stronger than the Shiah.”⁸⁸ Christians were mainly Chaldeans and Nestorians.⁸⁹

In 1925, the League of Nations tried to determine the ethnic composition of the Province of Mosul including Kirkuk; this turned out to be a complex task. In their report of the region, they identified Kurds, Turks and Arabs. However, given that these ethnicities lived together for a long time, ethnicity was barely pure, for example the Baiyāt tribe was identified as being a mix of Turkish and Arab, “they themselves estimate the proportion to be 65 per cent Turkish to 35 per cent Arabic. Generally they speak both languages and live intermingled in their villages. They intermarry without distinction of race so that the difference is tending to disappear. Among them, however, are still to be found persons who speak only one language; we have even met a chief who only understands Turkish.”⁹⁰ Despite these complexities and their underlying tone that the difference in ethnicities hardly matters, the League of Nations provided information on the presumed origins of different ethnic groups in the province and their linguistic and biologic structures, efforts to classify and sort in minute detail.

Further detail on each of the main ethnic groups within the region is discussed below.

3.2.1 Kurds

In 1925, the committee of the League of Nations defined Kurds precisely and distinguished them from other ethnic groups such as Turks, Arabs, and Persians, by stating “the Kurds are neither Arabs, Turks nor Persians though they are most nearly

⁸⁶ The National Archives FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

⁸⁷ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 145.

⁸⁸ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources*, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

⁸⁹ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 145.

⁹⁰ Quoting from Shields, Sarah, *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Volume 3, Number 2, Mosul, the Ottoman legacy and the League of Nations, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, p 7.

related to the Persians. They are different and clearly distinguishable from the Turks, and still more different from the Arabs. Warlike, undisciplined and disunited as they are, they are able to live on reasonably good terms with the other races, who inhabit their country, the Kurds live on the most friendly terms with the Christians.”⁹¹ Furthermore, the British officials reported that Kurds in character were cruel and unkind and easily provoked to fanaticism and were seen as having strict feelings towards honour. Whilst, Kurdish women went out in public without a veil and were given great freedom.⁹²

According to historical sources, the Kurds were indigenous people and they constituted the majority of inhabitants in the town and its environs. For instance, at the beginning of the 15th century, the famous historian, Ibn Khaldun, (d. 1406) called the Ḥamrin mountains range, the “Kurdish mountains”. That is because these mountains are situated in the south of Kirkuk and a lot of Kurdish people lived there, so, Ibn Khaldun said, “the range Ḥamrin mountains is a place whose people are Kurdish.”⁹³

Also the English traveller “Claudius James Rich”⁹⁴ who passed the same location in 1820, said, “we descended from the Hamren hills by a gentle slope into a plain called Deshteh [plain], over which were scattered some huts belonging to the Suremeni Koords, who come here at this season to cultivate tobacco.”⁹⁵

In contrast, on August 19 1836, Shiel passed Kirkuk and said that the inhabitants were Arabs and Osmanlis, with some Christians and Jews, but no Kurds.⁹⁶ His information is not reliable because he stayed in Kirkuk only for a few hours. Whilst, the other sources mentioned that the Kurds were the majority of the population in the

⁹¹ Ibid, pp 46-47.

⁹² The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁹³ Ibn khaldun, *al muqadima* (Die Einleitung), Beirut, p 74.

⁹⁴ The purpose of his journey to Kurdistan, as he described on his return, was for two reasons: 1- to relax in order: “To escape the intense heat of a Bagdad summer, I have this year determined upon a visit to the Koordistan.” 2- To get information about Kurdistan for: “...Koordistan (was) a country little known in(sic) Europe, and I have many acquaintances there among the natives, from whom I have often received pressing invitation to visit them.” Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, and on the site of ancient Nineveh; Edited by his widow, vol 1, London, 1836, p 1.

⁹⁵ Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh, vol II, London, 1836, p 258.

⁹⁶ Shiel, J, Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Vân, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbil, to Suleimániyeh, in July and August, 1836. The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1838, (Volume 8), p 100.

town. A Russian, Joseph Chirink, who worked as an engineer in the years 1872-1873 to create the Tigris and Euphrates rivers for the navigation of ships, estimated the population of the town to be 12,000–15,000 inhabitants. He considered all the inhabitants of the town as Kurds with the exception of 40 Christian families.⁹⁷ His observation is not reliable either, as the presence of other ethnicities and Jews have been attested in almost all other reports.

In 1856, French traveller A. Clément visited Kirkuk and estimated the number of its inhabitants by saying “[t]he Kerkut population (upper and down city, suburb) but not including the garrison military men, reaches about twenty-five thousand people of whom three-quarters are Kurds.”⁹⁸ At the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman author Shamsaddin Sāmi stated in his celebrated *qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch) “that three-quarters of the inhabitants in Kirkuk are Kurds and the remainder is composed of Turkmens, Arabs and of other ethnic and religious groups. Seven hundred and sixty Jews and four hundred and sixty Chaldeans resided at that time in the town.”⁹⁹

In 1912, the Ottoman year book (salname) of the province of Mosul estimated the population of Kirkuk and its environs to be 94,588 inhabitants. An estimate of 41,113 of the inhabitants lived in the centre of Kirkuk, almost all of them were male gender. The salname reported that the majority of the population in the Kirkuk’s *Sanjaq* was Kurdish.¹⁰⁰ This is the first time when the Ottoman year book mentioned the breakdown of the ethnic groups since previously they always divided the population along religious categories showing only their percentages.

At the end of First World War, the majority of the population in Kirkuk was Kurdish. In 1921, the population of Kirkuk and its vicinity was 112,000 inhabitants of which 65,000 were Kurdish. This means that more than 58% of the population of Kirkuk was Kurdish.¹⁰¹ In 1925, the committee of the League of Nations estimated that

⁹⁷ Quoted from *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu‘āšira Kirkuk – al ‘ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 23.

⁹⁸ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 37.

⁹⁹ *Sāmi, šamsadīn, qāmvs al ‘ālam* (Welt Wörterbuch), p 3846.

¹⁰⁰ *Jabār, Qādir, al sālnāmāt al ‘uthmāniya ua hikāiyāt ‘an Kirkuk* (Das osmanische Jahrbuch und Geschichten über Kirkuk), Kurdistan Regional Government, <http://www.krg.org/a/print.aspx?l=14&smap=010000&a=30>, last accessed, 17-11-2013.

¹⁰¹ The National Archives, File No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

the Kurdish population in the liwa of Kirkuk stood at 47,500 inhabitants out of 111,650 inhabitants; thus Kurdish people made up more than 42,5% of the population.¹⁰² This later estimation by the League of Nations claims a 15,5% reduction of the Kurdish population compared with the earlier estimate. “The encyclopaedia of Islam”, also reported that the majority of the population was Kurdish.¹⁰³

However, in the mid 1920 s, the British officer Edmonds estimated the population of Kirkuk to be only about 25,000 inhabitants. In his estimate, the great majority were Turkmen and only around 25% of the population were Kurds, with a minority of Arabs, Christians and Jews.¹⁰⁴ His estimation is inaccurate for the following reasons. First, he probably accounted some Kurdish noble families in the town like Naftchiadas and Zangana as Turkmen. Second, his knowledge is unbalanced and more inclined to view of the British occupation and Iraqi Sunni and artificial state which meant his point of view was not neutral. Finally, according to previous records, it has been proven that Kirkuk has been mostly a Kurdish town because the majority of the population was of Kurdish ethnicity.

3.2.2 Turkmen

The Turkmen are an important ethnic group who have been living in Kirkuk for many centuries; it is not easy to know the history of their emigration and the percentage of their population as it changed from over time. Their emigration pattern is also not clear because they came from several different places such as middle Asia, Turkistan, Bokhara, Samarqand, Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Dagestan, Iran, and Asia Minor (i.e. Turkey). The Turkmen are genealogically linked to the Turks, they recognize their origin as being from the Turkic tribes of central Asia.¹⁰⁵ They had migrated to Iraq in several different waves for one reason or another, including economic, political, geographic, and military reasons.¹⁰⁶ Thus, over time, they became a significant ethnic group in Iraq. During the different waves of the Turkmen’s

¹⁰² League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 77.

¹⁰³ CH. Pellat, The encyclopedia of Islam, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 145.

¹⁰⁴ Edmonds, G. J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, p 266.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p 267; Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, Crisis in Kirkuk, the ethno politics of conflict and compromise, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, p 15.

¹⁰⁶ *Aughlu, ‘abdul al-llatif Bander, al Turkmen fī ‘irāq al thaura, tārikhahum, lughatahum, ‘ādābahum, turāthahum* (die Turkmenen im Irak der Revolution, ihre Geschichte, ihre Sprache, ihre Literatur, und ihr Erbe), p 15.

migration to Iraq and Southern Kurdistan, their population was continuously concentrated within Kirkuk and its environs.¹⁰⁷ The Turkmen were distinguished from the Kurdish and Arab ethnic groups as they were village-dwelling cultivators without tribal organization.¹⁰⁸ However, the Turkmen were said to have a kindlier nature than the Kurds. Like the Kurds, their women also had freedoms.¹⁰⁹ The Turkmen were Turkish speaking and perhaps descendants of frontier-guards placed in Kurdistan by 'Abbasid Caliphs. They made a good contribution to the community by offering a number of effendis to the bureaucracy and enriching villages by their industrious and sound sense.¹¹⁰ However, the Turkmen are different from Turks and they come from other places as it has been mentioned above. In addition, they speak different dialect of Turkish language.

The Turkmen's view of their power and number in Iraq reached its peak under the 'Abbasid Empire.¹¹¹ The earliest mention of Turkmen in Iraq, worthy of note, is in the seventh century. Their soldiers were recruited into the 'Ummayed armies, and as *Al-Ṭabari* noted that one thousand Turkmen soldiers were brought into Iraq by 'Ubeidallāh Ziād, an 'Ummayed Vali (governor) of Iraq.¹¹² However, Gertrude Bell reported that those descendants of Turkish settlers to Kirkuk and its environs dated back from the time of the *Seljuks* (11th century).¹¹³

Furthermore, this is reiterated by other obtainable credible sources. These sources outline that there have been uninterrupted settlements of Turkmen in Kirkuk region dating from the Abbasids period (744) and continuing through the ages during various successive reigns, including the *Seljuks* (1055) and their *Atābegs* (local governments), the Mongols (1258), the White, and Black Sheep Turkmen reigns, *Şafavids* and Ottomans. This view was reiterated by the Mosul commission of the League of Nations in 1924, “[a]s regards the origin of the Turks or Turkmens, we think that the British

¹⁰⁷ *Khaṣṣbāk, shākir, al 'irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī'iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), p 152.

¹⁰⁸ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history, p 8.

¹⁰⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

¹¹⁰ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history, p 8.

¹¹¹ Edmonds, G.J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, p 267; Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, Crisis in Kirkuk, p 15.

¹¹² Quoted from Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, Crisis in Kirkuk, p 15.

¹¹³ Gertrude L. Bell, Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia, C.B.E. India Office, 3rd December, 1920, p 47.

Government is right in saying that most of them are descendants of the warriors of Toghlul and his successors, mercenaries of the Abbasid Khalifs, and soldiers of the Atabegs. But this process of military immigration and settlement did not stop at that point, for some of them are also descended from the soldiers, officers and of the Osmanli Sultans.”¹¹⁴

Iranians and the Ottomans often targeted the same tribal groups in their attempt to create a loyal clientele for their own particular imperial cause. They also both sought to subvert the loyalty of groups who had earlier professed their allegiance to the opponents’ cause. So far as the Iranian case is concerned, it is not entirely clear that the centralizing policies of Abbas I 1571-1629 were based on the recruitment of Georgian gholāms to offset the dominance of the Turkmen qizilbāsh tribes. It is also not clear that he created a stable system for the successful assertion of central control, or simply added further competitors for influence. The cumulative result at the local level, especially in the sensitive areas nearest to the active militant frontier in western Iran, was the equalization of the status of Kurdish and Turkmen tribal groups, both of whom were equally as important to the defence of the Empire.¹¹⁵

The Turkmen population lived in different towns - starting from Mosul, Erbil, Altun Keupri, Kirkuk, Kifri, and Qizil Robat to Mandāhli. The Ottoman language was spoken by most of these towns’ inhabitants. These towns represent practically the same dividing line between the Kurdish and the Arab territories. Kirkuk was the main centre for this Turkish population, and before the First World War, it possessed 30,000 inhabitants. Several villages in its vicinity were also Ottoman-Turkish speaking, whereas the other towns were isolated communities surrounded by Kurds and Arabs.¹¹⁶

The Turkmen in Kirkuk and its boundaries are Muslims, but they are divided into two sects, the Sunni and the Shiite. In Kirkuk specifically, their waves of migration to the town mostly go back to the sixteenth century, as a result of the conflict which

¹¹⁴ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 48.

¹¹⁵ Murphey, Rhoads, *The Resumption of Ottoman-Safavid Border Conflict, 1603-1638: Effects of Border Destabilization on the Evolution of State-Tribe Relations: Shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations*/ed. by Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden, 2005, pp 313-314.

¹¹⁶ Hay. W. R, *Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920*, p 81; Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research foundation, *To the participants in seeking a solution to the Kerkuk Problem: the historical anatomy of Kerkuk region*, Date: 29, November 2008, www.aina.org/reports/thaok.pdf, Last accessed, 1st October 2014.

happened between the Ottoman Empire and the Şafavid dynasty (Iran). Each of them encouraged the Turkmens to settle in the area that separated Southern Kurdistan from Iraq – i.e., the line which starts from near Syria’s border at Tal Afar, Mosul, Nineveh’s plain, Erbil, Kirkuk, Kifri, Qara Tapa, and Khānaqin at the border of Iran. The purpose of this encouragement of the Turkmens’ settlement in this region, by both Empires, was to protect their interests in Iraq and to build some military forts and castles. The Turkmens who came from the Ottoman Empire were Sunnis (the Hanafi-school)¹¹⁷ but the remaining Turkmens were Shiites (35 percent) who lived in the suburbs of Kirkuk, especially in Tuz Khurmātu,¹¹⁸ and were called Qizilbāsh.

One of the British historians and officers, who had been in Kirkuk and its environs for a long time, said “now in some of these places (notably Kirkuk itself and Kifri, which were important centres of Ottoman administration, and Altün Küprü which is the nearest to Erbil) the religion of the majority is orthodox Sunni, but in the others, most of the people are heterodox and extremely secretive about their beliefs. Locally they are described as Qizilbash and their principal groups are found at Taza Khurmatu, Tauq, Tuz Khurmatu and Qara Taba, all on the high road, and also in the considerable villages of Tis’in near Kirkuk, Beshar near Taza, and Lailan in Qara Hasan.”¹¹⁹

In all conditions, Turkmens had migrated to Kirkuk and its boundaries for four centuries, but especially after the Ottoman Empire and Iran had remapped their borders, according to the Zahāw treaty in 1639. After this treaty, the Ottoman Empire encouraged Turkmens to settle in Kirkuk and its boundaries, and they became a powerful ethnic group and were a part of the aristocratic class. Their rise was facilitated by the position of the Ottoman language as the lingua franca of the Empire. In addition, they owned some land, and they had control over the commercial trade routes.

¹¹⁷ 'Aughlu, 'abdul al-Ilaṭif Bander, *al Turkmen fī 'irāq al thaura, tārikhahum, lughatahum, 'ādābahum, turāthahum* (die Turkmener im Irak der Revolution, ihre Geschichte, ihre Sprache, ihre Literatur, und ihr Erbe), pp 15-17; *Al ḥasanī, 'abdulrazāq, al 'irāq qadīman ua ḥadīthan* (Der Irak ist alt und neu), p 41; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030981>, the Iraqi Turkmens and Turkey, Vahram Petrosian, *Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol.7, No. ½ (2003), Brill, pp. 279-308, accessed 26-07-2015 12:16 UTC, p 283.

¹¹⁸ 'Aughlu, 'abdul al-Ilaṭif Bander, *al Turkmen fī 'irāq al thaura, tārikhahum, lughatahum, 'ādābahum, turāthahum* (die Turkmener im Irak der Revolution, ihre Geschichte, ihre Sprache, ihre Literatur, und ihr Erbe), p 17; Petrosian, Vahram, *the Iraqi Turkmens and Turkey, Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol.7, No. ½ (2003), Brill, pp. 279-308, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030981>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 12:16 UTC, p 283.

¹¹⁹ Edmonds, G. J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 267.

Conscription was another way for the process of Turkification at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The system of compulsory conscription that was practiced in the whole of the Ottoman Empire stipulated that each male member of the Empire had to serve in the military for a minimum of 12 years and the age of conscription was between 15-30 years old.¹²⁰ The headquarter of the Ottoman army's division 6 was in Kirkuk and that included four thousand soldiers during the nineteenth century until the end of the First World War.¹²¹ This is confirmed by Mark Sykes in 1903 when he visited the town "It is a military centre of the very first importance, and it is here that the Fifth Army Corps must mobilise from Mosul and Baghdad; it is excellently situated for this purpose, both by position and condition."¹²² The purpose of the presence of this division was to protect the Ottoman borders from any Iranian offensive on one hand; while on the other hand, they built some forts on the roads to protect traders and the Ottoman army and officials, when they passed Kirkuk's area from looting and violence. Since the majority of the Ottoman army was composed of Turks and many of them chose to stay in Kirkuk, instead of returning back to their homeland. This had an impact on the demography of Kirkuk in favour of the size of the Turkmen population. As they settled down, over time, they developed deeper social and economic relations through marriages and the establishment of businesses.

In the 19th century, some travellers and historians called the Turkmens of Kirkuk, Janissaries (i.e. Ottoman army), who served for a period of time before returning to Asia Minor (i.e. current Turkey). Some of these Janissaries also remained in Kirkuk and its environs. For instance, a Persian traveller in 1822, who visited the town, said that "the whole population in Kirkuk is Turkish Janissaries and Kurdish."¹²³

The Ottoman Empire had started the project of modernization in the whole of its Empire and consequently, opened several different new governmental departments in Iraq. Kirkuk had been a significant administrative centre during that period. Therefore,

¹²⁰ For more information about conscription in the Ottoman Empire see: Erik-Jan Zürcher, "The Ottoman Conscription System" in: *Theory and Practice, 1844-1918*, Department of Turkish Studies, Leiden University, *International Review of Social History* 43 (3) (1998), pp. 437-449.

¹²¹ *Al Kirkukly, sheikh rasoul, dauhat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 237.

¹²² Sykes, Mark, *Dar-ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 199.

¹²³ *Al munshī' al Baghdādī, muhammed bin Aḥmad al ḥusaiynī, riḥla al munshī' al Baghdādī 'ilā al 'irāq* (Die Reise von Al munshī' Baghdadi nach Irak), *tarjumat* (der Übersetzer) 'abās Al 'azāuiy, (Verlag) *dār al jāhiz*, Baghdad, 1970, p 64.

it is reasonable to claim that the Turkish origin was the key to social and political advancement. As a result, Turkmen families occupied the highest socioeconomic strata and held the most important bureaucratic jobs.¹²⁴

According to encyclopaedia of Islam, the presence of a Turkmen minority in Kirkuk, within its Kurdish majority, have always provided strong support for the Ottoman Empire and its culture, and provided an abundant source for Ottoman officials.¹²⁵ In the mid nineteenth century, particularly after the collapse of the Kurdish Emirates, Bābān and Sorān, they had to manage and fill their power vacuum in Sulaymaniyah, Erbil and mountainous area in the north of Iraq (Southern Kurdistan). Henceforth, Turkish administration in this area needed employees who were Turkish or could speak the Turkish language. The British author, Cecil John Edmonds, argues that after forming the Mosul Vilayet in 1879, Kirkuk remained an important garrison town, for reasons of language and the racial composition of the population. It was an important recruiting centre for civil servants and gendarmes (Ottoman troops) on whom the Ottoman administration could rely. The leading aristocratic families were either Turkmen or came from Kurdish tribes who regarded themselves as Turkmen, such as Naftchizadas and Zangana.¹²⁶

It is noted that the Turkmen ethnic group held a superior status during the Ottoman presence in Kirkuk. Therefore, some people of the other ethnic groups wanted to convert their identity to Turkmen. There were some reasons behind this conversion; politically, those people gained authority and posts in the Ottoman military and administration; economically, they gained ownership of land and access to material resources; and socially, to join the superior aristocratic class. A common way to convert one's ethnicity was through marriage. When someone got married to a person (male or female) of Turkmen ethnicity, in most situations they converted their ethnicity to Turkmen.

In 1919, the British officials reported that the Turkmen villages in the countryside of Kirkuk cared for little other than safe roads and generous loans. Furthermore, they were frustrated because they were the class who perhaps suffered most with the collapse

¹²⁴ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, p 17.

¹²⁵ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 10.

¹²⁶ Edmonds, G. J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 266.

of the Ottoman Empire and the arrival of British rule.¹²⁷ During the heyday of the Ottoman Empire, their demands were met, but this changed with the incoming British rule.

After the First World War, the second ethnic group in Kirkuk was Turkmen. Also in 1921 the population of Kirkuk's Liwa¹²⁸ was 112,000 inhabitants, of which 35,000 were Turkmen people. This implies that the Turkmen were more than 31% of the whole population of the Liwa.¹²⁹ Four years later when the committee of the League of Nations counted the population of the Turkmen in Kirkuk, it stood at 26,100 inhabitants out of the 111,600 inhabitants. The majority of the Turkmen lived in either the centre of province or places near the road from Altun Keupri to Kifri. The majority of the Turkmen found Turkey more favourable, but a few preferred Iraq because of personal economic reasons.¹³⁰ However, at that time (from 1921-1925) the rate of their population had been reduced to 23,3%.¹³¹

The English officer Edmonds mentioned that there were several soldiers and civil servants in Kirkuk - though not members of the old and wealthy families – who had achieved high ranking in the Ottoman service and had returned to their native provinces in Turkey or Syria after the collapse of the Empire.¹³² Here, it is clear that the rich Turkmen who were traders and had ownership of land did not leave Kirkuk after the fall of the Ottoman Empire because they did not want to forgo their economic and personal interests in the town. But the remainder of Turkmen – those who had lost their employment with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire - were not prepared to stay in Kirkuk anymore. According to the British Administration Report of Kirkuk division, “[a] certain type of exodus from the area [possibly only from Kirkuk itself] is numerically unimportant, but politically not negligible – that the Turkish officials and officers who, tired of drawing a reduced pension in the worst of bad times, have gone to Turkish territory to seek better luck. The number of these does not exceed 20; their

¹²⁷ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 393.

¹²⁸ A large administrative district in any of several Muslim countries.

¹²⁹ The National Archives, file No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret Kurdish Policy. New Delhi. India.

¹³⁰ Some of the Turkmen were traders who had been trading with Baghdad and other parts of Mesopotamia.

¹³¹ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 77.

¹³² Edmonds, G.J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, p 266.

usual goal is the Erzerum area, or Syria.”¹³³ According to Captain Hay, following the Ottoman defeat by the British, “[t]he town [Erbil] was full of Turkish officials, many of whom had fled here [Erbil] from Kirkuk and other places, gendarmes, and discharged soldiers.”¹³⁴ This exodus of the Turkmen people allowed more space for the expansion of other ethnic and religious groups in the town.

3.2.3 Arab

The Arabs are another ethnic group in Kirkuk, who had migrated to the town and its area after the Islamic conquests, as the borders were left open for the Arabs to migrate as soldiers, officials, or nomads; over time, they settled in this area where the majority of the inhabitants were Kurds.¹³⁵ Indeed, the immigration of the Arab nomads was due to the favourable geographic conditions of Kirkuk. Firstly, Kirkuk’s location bordering the Arab region, known as Iqlim al sauād (die Schwarze region), made it favourable for the people to move. Secondly, Kirkuk has a fertile plain for feeding livestock, particularly for cattle, sheep, goats, buffalo, and camel.¹³⁶ As such, the Arabs settled in the south and south-west of Kirkuk.¹³⁷ The Arab community is composed of several different tribes such as Shamar, ‘Aubaed, Jibbur, Jaḥish, Albu Ḥamdān, Al Na‘im, Al Karaweah, Ḥarb, Banw Zaid, Al Ḥza, Al Sa‘idāt, and Al Sayḥ. Each of these tribes or clans have many branches, so it is difficult to individually identify all of them.¹³⁸ “[Kirkuk] is the racial and lingual limit of Arabic. The Jibburs and a few scattered tribes occasionally camp on the west side of the town.”¹³⁹ The “native” Arabs of Kirkuk can be mainly traced from three nomadic families of the ‘Aubaed, the Jibbur

¹³³ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 390.

¹³⁴ Hay, W. R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 120.

¹³⁵ *Ibn ḥauqal, abu al qasim al nṣībiy (tawafī - gestorben 977), surat al ‘ārḍ* (Das Bild der Erde), (Verlag) *dār maktabat al ḥayāt*, Beirut, 1977, p 220; *‘Ashkanaiy, qādir Muhammed, mantiqat Kirkuk fī al ‘aṣir al ‘abāsī (750-1258)* (Die Region von Kirkuk in der Abbasiden-Ära (750-1258)), (Verlag) *maṭba‘at ‘ārās*, Erbil, 2001, p 107.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p 107.

¹³⁷ *Khaṣḥāk, shākīr, al ‘irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī‘iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), p 152; Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p 120.

¹³⁸ *Al ḥasanī, ‘abdulrazāq, al ‘irāq qadīman ua ḥadīthan* (Der Irak ist alt und neu), p 216.

¹³⁹ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, pp 199-200.

and the Ḥadidi.¹⁴⁰ The most established Arab families have resided in the area since the seventeenth century and were from the Tikritis. The other Arab tribes migrated to Kirkuk later during the Ottoman period. ‘*Aubaed* members largely ended up residing in what is present-day Ḥaweja, this is after they were required to move there by the Iraqi government during the 1930 s.¹⁴¹ According to the British administration report in 1919, Arab tribes were found in thirty villages and four towns in the south of Kirkuk, “[t]he Arab tribes [were] between Kirkuk, Tauq and the Jabal Ḥamrin [as well as in] the suburban villages, 30 in number around Kirkuk and Kirkuk town. The Assistant Political Officer has thus 4 Mudirs, 4 recognized tribal Mudirs or Shaikhs, and the town, suburban villages, and Arab tribes.”¹⁴²

In 1921, the British occupation reported that the population of the whole of Kirkuk’s province was 112,000 inhabitants of which, 10,000 were Arabs, less than 9% of the total population. Some of whom belonged to the nomadic tribes in the south-west of the town. It is estimated that half of the Arabs i.e. about 5,000 belonged to the two biggest tribes, known as Jibbur and ‘Aubaed. The former was settled on the banks of the lower Zāb River, in the *Malḥa* town, and the latter settled in the Jabal Ḥamrin’s area which is well-known Shubāshea area. The rest of the other Arab tribes lived in the far south of the Qara Tapa.¹⁴³ Since most of the Arabs were in the countryside, there appeared to be no politically active Arab families or tribes.

The committee of the League of Nations which visited the town at the end of 1925 found that the Arab population had increased to 35,650 inhabitants out of a total of 111,650 inhabitants in the town, making up about 32% of the total population of Kirkuk.¹⁴⁴ The difference between the British and League of Nation’s figures seems to be exaggerated because it is not reasonable that the rate of the Arab people had been increased by such a large amount. This increase was at the expense of two other ethnicities Kurds and Turkmen. The League of Nations and British Officers wanted to link the province of Mosul to Iraq instead of establishing a Kurdish state or linking the area to Turkey because they believed that it was largely dominated by the Arabs. While,

¹⁴⁰ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, pp 80-81.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 81.

¹⁴² Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 391.

¹⁴³ The National Archives, file No.13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

¹⁴⁴ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 77.

the Turks wanted to retake Mosul after losing it at the end of the First World War, the British and the League mentioned that most of the Arabs preferred to join Iraq.¹⁴⁵

Rojbayāni, a historian from Kirkuk for more than nine decades, who himself had witnessed the events in Kirkuk from the beginning of the First World War until the beginning of the 21st century, described the Arabs in Kirkuk during the formation of the Iraqi first government in the 1920 s. He said that the Arabs in Kirkuk were made up of 30 families, who settled in a quarter, located between the Muṣalā and Peryādī quarters. They were butchers and sold and purchased animals. Moreover, some Arabs from the Ḥadidi tribe who comprised 50 families settled in the west of Kirkuk in the Tis‘yn village. When the first king of Iraq, Faisal bin Sharif Hussain (1923-1933), visited Kirkuk in 1924, he ordered that they move to the centre of the town to improve their living conditions. He wished to uplift them from their primitive life to civility.¹⁴⁶

3.2.4 Christians

Christians were an ancient religious group in Kirkuk that settled in the centre of the town. Although they were a minority, they represented two influential groups. The first group was the Syrians, who were divided into two ethnicities - Chaldean and Assyrian.¹⁴⁷ The second group was the Armenians, who were displaced by the Ottoman Empire during the First World War or they migrated earlier to the town in search of protection from the Ottoman genocide. They were considered to be a significant group in Kirkuk. Thus, an entry in the encyclopaedia of Islam wrote: “[u]rban planning in Kirkuk has made the center a large circle of broad streets. Christians have been established there since earliest times, and seem always important.”¹⁴⁸

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Carsten Niebuhr visited the town and mentioned that there were 40 Christian families who belonged to the Catholic denomination.¹⁴⁹ Russian engineer, Joseph Chirink, visited the town in the 1870 s, and

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p 77.

¹⁴⁶ *Mu‘arikh al Kurdī (al rojbaiyyānī, mullah jamīl bandī), Kirkuk, ‘ismuhā, t‘arīkhuhā al-qadīm, sukānuhā ua suluṭatuhā* (Kirkuk, die Namen, ihre alte Geschichte, ihre Bewohner und die Behörden), *mujalat* (Magazin) (*hāuārī Kirkuk*), *al ‘adad* (nummer) 2, Erbil, 1998, pp 29-30.

¹⁴⁷ *Khaṣṣbāk, shākir, al ‘irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī‘iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), p 153.

¹⁴⁸ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 145.

¹⁴⁹ Niebuhr, Carsten, *Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, p 338.

estimated the Christians to also be about 40 Armenian families.¹⁵⁰ He mistook the Christian community in the town to be Armenians, although, they were actually Chaldeans and Assyrians. However, as was the case in the nineteenth century and earlier, many Russians recognized Christians only as Armenians.

According to available information, there was only one church in Kirkuk that was managed by local Chaldean priests from Mosul. Previously, there was a much older Chaldean church which was destroyed by the Roman Catholics, after they split from the Eastern Church. As such, the Chaldeans belonged, as did most of the Christians in the Turkish territory, to Roman Catholicism.¹⁵¹

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Christians were a mixture of Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrians who settled within the town centre, just outside the castle of Kirkuk.¹⁵² The Christian quarter, on the eastern side, was still inhabited and in good condition. It had several large houses rising like walls of a fortified town from the verge of the steep slope.¹⁵³

With regard to the Armenian group, many of them arrived in Kirkuk during the First World War due to the Ottoman's policy of resettling them to Kirkuk, Diyarbakir, and Aleppo and at their own accord to escape the genocide committed against them by the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁴ According to Ottoman sources, there were two waves of resettlement. The first wave was in 1915 followed by the second in 1916. The policy entailed the allocation of settlement space for them in these chosen cities or towns and that their number should not exceed 10% of the Muslim population.¹⁵⁵ By the first decade of 20th century, there were few Armenians employed in Government and

¹⁵⁰ Quoting from *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu'āşira Kirkuk – al 'ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfāl, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 23.

¹⁵¹ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p 122.

¹⁵² Buckingham, J. S., *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol II, p 116.

¹⁵³ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 264.

¹⁵⁴ “Ciphred telegram sent from the Ministry of the Interior to various provinces and sanjaks, regarding that the areas allocated for the settlement of Armenians be expanded, that the resettlement plan for the region of Kirkuk, Diyarbakir and Aleppo be circulated and that settlement be effected so as not to exceed 10% of the Muslim population.” In 1916, <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/Armens-in-ottoman-documents.htm>. last accessed, 8-12-2013.

¹⁵⁵ “That the Armenians, to be deported to Zor, shall be deported to Aleppo, Syria and Kirkuk the quota of deportation to Zor being filled up and exceeding the regulatory rate of 15%.”, in, *ibid*.

commercial affairs. Those who were, were natives of Diyarbakir or Armenia.¹⁵⁶ The resettlement policy and the choice of Kirkuk as a viable venue for this relocation may be explained in the following ways. Firstly, perhaps, the Ottomans wanted to keep the Christians safe from the events of the First World War and Kirkuk was a safe area during that period. Secondly, strategically, the Ottomans wanted to keep the Armenians divided into several different places in order to prevent them from associating, uniting and establishing any Armenian power in the east of Turkey. Finally, as a multi-ethnic town, Kirkuk was considered an appropriate venue, where the Christians could smoothly integrate, particularly because the people in Kirkuk were familiar with hosting people of different backgrounds, and would thus be able to absorb the Armenians.

After the First World War, the ancient community of Chaldeans was represented by about 150 families, most of whom, had lived together in one of the older quarters on the mound.¹⁵⁷ This concentration in one-quarter of the centre of the town can be explained by the convenience of practicing their common religious and social duties as well as their lifestyle which was different from the Muslim and Jewish people. In 1917, according to the British estimation there were 200 houses which were inhabited by the Christians of various sects - Armenians, Chaldeans, and Syrians.¹⁵⁸

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a British traveller and officer who visited the town described the coexistence and the relationship between the people of Kirkuk and said, “[the Chaldean Christians] enjoy great freedom from persecution, despite the periodical efforts of Muslim priests [Mullahs] to incite ill-feeling against them. Their presence was too necessary to the well-being of the town [and] to make a massacre [would have been] anything but a catastrophe for the Muhammadan traders, who have been led by their integrity and capability to place great faith and confidence, and often to deposit large sums of money with them. In these qualities of honesty, and an ability for getting on with Muslims amicably without conceding a particle of their behavior as strict [Chaldean] Christians, they contrast...with the Armenians, and Arab

¹⁵⁶ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p 122.

¹⁵⁷ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 266.

¹⁵⁸ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources*, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, *A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert*, January, 1917, p 24.

Christians.”¹⁵⁹ In the census of 1921, which was conducted by the British officials, the Christians and Jewish people together totalled 2,000 inhabitants out of 112,000 inhabitants of the *Liwa*.¹⁶⁰

3.2.5 Jews

According to the British envoy, Soane, there was a visible presence of a Jewish community in Mesopotamia, and it is possible that they were direct descendants of the Jews of the third captivity, whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylonia in the 6th century B.C, just after the fall of the Assyrian Empire.¹⁶¹ According to an entry in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, the Jewish people settled in Kirkuk from the 17th century. Furthermore, the article outlines that the local Jews traded mainly with Baghdad during the 18th century. Various travellers – Jewish and non-Jewish – of the 19th and early 20th centuries reported the existence of a Jewish community, numbering about 200 families who lived in a separate quarter in the town.¹⁶² In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad reported the same number of Jews in the town, they “... are said to own 200 houses out of 4,000” in Kirkuk.¹⁶³ The British traveller, Fraser visited the small village of Qaradagh and stated “out of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred houses of which [the village] consists, no less than two-thirds are Jews. I find the Koords and Jews coalesce together wonderfully well.”¹⁶⁴

As evidence of the Jewish presence in Kirkuk, there are some shrines of the Jewish prophets such as Daniel and Michael still present there today. When Niebuhr visited the town in 1766, he reported that the Jewish people would have liked to visit these shrines and stay in the centre of Kirkuk. However, they were barred from visiting the shrines by the Muslims.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, pp 122-123.

¹⁶⁰ The National Archives, file No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

¹⁶¹ E. B. Soane, *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, p 123.

¹⁶² Skolnik, Fred, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol 10, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, p 1048.

¹⁶³ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

¹⁶⁴ Fraser J. Baillie, *travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia*, London, 1840, Vol 1, p 163.

¹⁶⁵ Niebuhr, Carsten, *Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, p 338.

Linguistically, the Jews spoke and wrote their own tongue, Hebrew, and in the towns, they preferred to talk in Arabic rather than Kurdish or Turkish.¹⁶⁶ That is because the Arabic language is within the same family of Semitic languages. Therefore, it was easier for them to communicate in Arabic with others. After Israel was founded in 1948, all the Jews of the town migrated to Israel between 1950-51.¹⁶⁷

3.2.6 Difficulties in identifying the Kurdish ethnicity

The ethnic composition of Kirkuk changed several times during the period of the research. However, it was difficult to determine the proportion of each ethnic group in Kirkuk because of the rise and fall of the proportion of each group during the different historical eras. For instance, in 1921, Winston Churchill asked Sir Percy Cox “whether you contemplated that Kirkuk should be treated as part of Kurdistan or part of Mesopotamia pointing out to you the potential advantages of excluding it from Iraq.”¹⁶⁸ Sir Percy Cox replied by stating “[i]n actual practice distinction in Iraq between Turcoman, Arab, and Kurds is found to be very blurred. Kurds in Arab districts enlist and pose as Arabs and vice versa. It is impossible to draw a clear line.”¹⁶⁹ Accordingly, the committee of the League of Nations in 1925 reported that in the *liwa* of Kirkuk opinions were less unanimous and much more difficult to analyze.¹⁷⁰ In particular, it was very hard to know the proportion of the Kurdish families and tribes in Kirkuk and its environs because, due to different factors, they converted their belongings to Turkish or Arab identities.

These factors include the following, first, those Kurdish tribes and dynasties such as Sorān and Bahdinān, which falsely attributed their origin to the Prophet’s family or Omari (second Caliph after Prophet Muhammed), Umayyad and Abbasid, felt inferior because they hid their real Kurdish identities.¹⁷¹ Secondly, the Kurds wanted to imitate the courage and heroism of other famous Turkish and Arab personalities, and hence,

¹⁶⁶ Hay. W. R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 87.

¹⁶⁷ Skolnik, Fred, Encyclopedia Judaica, vol 10, 2007, p 1049.

¹⁶⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the Secretary of State for colonies to the high commissioner of Mesopotamia. 24th June 1921.

¹⁶⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the high commissioner of Mesopotamia to the Secretary of State for colonies. 7th July 1921, your (Churchill’s) telegram of June 24th June 1921.

¹⁷⁰ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 77.

¹⁷¹ *Al badlysy, sharafkhān, al sharafnāma* (Ehrenbrief), Beirut, 2007, p 233.

attributed their offspring to Khālīd ibn al Waleed, Ṣalāḥaddīn Ayyubī, Tamerlane, and the Ottoman Sultans because they had been amazed by the success of those characters. Third, the love of fame made them pretend that their parents and grandparents were wealthy, held authority and were blessed. So they attributed their origin to Sāsānids, Umayyad, Abbasid, Ṣafavid, Timorese, and/or Ottoman without any historical base and proof. Kurdish tribes such as Sādāti (holy) or Barznjī created an artificial family tree counting to as far as forty generations back and attributing themselves to the Prophet Muhammed from the side of his daughter Fatima. Rojbayānī criticized their artificial family tree and used mathematical evidence to prove its invalidity. He counted the life period of each generation as 25-30 years, thus the equation showed that several generations were missing in the family tree to attribute a relation to the Prophet Muhammed.¹⁷² Fourth, the tendency of the Kurds to associate themselves with Arabs or Turks was for the purpose of being closer to the central power and to take advantage of their positions to trade with the poor.¹⁷³

Changing one's identity in Kirkuk was not a difficult practise because of the following reasons: First, the people of Kirkuk were able to speak three languages including Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic because they had lived together and intermarried with each other and they belonged to a common religion, Islam. Second, the ease of naming their children with Turkish and Arabic surnames and first names helped them to artificially announce their Turkish or Arabic identities. Third, in terms of physical features, converting ethnic identity among the components of Kirkuk was an easy feat because they were similar in appearance and the and physical differences were hard to distinguish. Perhaps that was because of regional likeness in the people and due to inter-marriage among the different groups. For instance, according to Edmonds, the main aristocratic families in Kirkuk were identified as Turkish even though they were Kurdish in origin. The renowned families of the Naftchīzādas, the Ya'qubīzādas, and the Qīrdārs are cases in point.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Ta'liqāt Rojbayānī 'alā kitāb ('aṣl al'usrat alsunaiyyat almaujudīyn fī al 'irāq, lilmu'lif 'āiyatu allāh murdukh)* (die Bemerkungen von rojbayānī über das Buch "Der Ursprung der sunnitischen Familie im Irak, von 'āiyatu allāh murdukh ", Erbil, 2000, pp 4-5.

¹⁷³ *Lashkrī, ḥaīdar, al kurd fī alma 'rifat altaārīkhiyyat al 'āislāmiyyāt* (Die Kurden im historischen und islamischen Wissen), Erbil, 2004, p 97.

¹⁷⁴ Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk, The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 42.

CHAPTER IV: THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN KIRKUK

Education is the mainstay and the driving force of any society, which means that the progress of a society depends largely on the educational level of its populace. The educational foundation of the Ottoman Empire was weak compared to European countries at the same time. This is simply because its foundation was built on a military system rather than scientific knowledge. It is noticeable that in the Ottoman Empire, advances in education were not a priority of its leadership. Instead, they were more interested in waging external and internal wars to defend their political base against external aggressions and internal uprisings. Lack of a centralized or unified educational system resulted in each province running its own separate educational curriculum thereby harmonization of education in the empire was difficult. Educational institutions, as opposed to military institutions, did not receive the attention they required from the Empire until the era of Tanzimat when the Empire's attention began to focus on the development of the educational sector.¹

It was only at the end of the 18th century, precisely at the time of Sultan Salem III (1789-1807), when the Ottoman Empire opened several new schools in Istanbul, the capital city of the Empire, to promote an educational model that was based on the European one. The Empire's educational system included the following areas of concentration: military, medicine, marine, engineering and law, which lasted until around the 1920 s.²

4.1 Educational System during the Ottoman Period

Opening schools based on the European educational system in the regressive Ottoman Empire required trained and specialized teachers so that the schools could produce qualified students. For this purpose, the Ottomans took several steps to

¹ *Nauār, 'abduḥ 'azīz sulaīmān, 'auāml al fa'āla fī al 'āitijāhāt al fkrīya ua al siyāsiya fī al 'irāq al ḥadīth, drāsa fī alta'līm ua 'āatharuḥ fī takuīn alza'āma baiyyna 1872-1908* (Wirksame Faktoren in den intellektuellen und politischen Trends im modernen Irak, Studien über die Bildung und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Führungsbildung zwischen 1872-1908), Cairo, 1974, pp 33-36.

² Ekmeleddin, Ihsan oglu, Ottoman educational institutions during the reform period, www.muslimheritage.com/.../ReformOttomans.pdf, Last accessed, 10-6-2013.

improve the standard of education in the Empire. Firstly, they contracted several scientists and experts from Europe, especially from France in various fields of science like medicine, engineering, and law. In addition, they also sent many students abroad to various European countries to study in various fields of specialization, they were then expected to return and teach in the education centres.³

4.1.1 Islamic Schools in Kirkuk

Initially, before the introduction of these changes, the classical educational goals of the Ottoman Empire in Kirkuk, as in other provinces in Iraq were focused on religious education and it was based on the classical Islamic method of teaching. Longrigg confirmed this point by outlining that education during the Ottoman period was found at the feet of the Mullahs in the Mosque-schools.⁴ As a result, the majority of Kurdish people were illiterate and as one Kurdish citizen told Fraser in the 1830s “[t]he Koords are asses, sir! — They have no learning — they have never read any books to teach them...The Moollahs and Ahons, indeed, may know something.”⁵ Similarly, in 1880, the British Consul for Kurdistan reported to his ambassador in Constantinople that the majority of Kurdish people were illiterate, “[i]t is true that they [Kurdish people] are mostly uneducated, and there are very few amongst them who can read or write. The very few educated men I have met amongst them have struck me as remarkably intelligent. The desire for education, however, appears to be penetrating even to them, and I was much astonished a few months ago at seeing in the hands of the Imperial Commissary for reform at Van a “mazbata” signed by seventeen Kurdish Chiefs, the feudal lords of more than 40,000 of these wild Kurds, begging the Government to introduce schools and education amongst them.”⁶ However, the Ottomans prioritized the training and the graduation of educated elites, i.e. mullahs, who could deliver sermons in the mosques. These in turn, were expected to teach the layman reading, writing and understanding of the Quran and the Hadith (prophetic

³ Ekmeleddin, Ihsan Oglu, Ottoman educational institutions during the reform period, www.muslimheritage.com/.../Reform Ottomans.pdf, Last accessed, 10-6-2013.

⁴ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, Four centuries of modern Iraq, pp 46-47.

⁵ Fraser J. Baillie, Travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia, Vol 1, pp 163-164.

⁶ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 3, 1879-1899, Henry Trotter, Major, Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan, Constantinople, October 30, 1880, p 285.

tradition). Thus, at that time, education could only be obtained from the mullahs in the villages, and consisted chiefly of reading the Quran, reviewing some Persian educational materials such as the Gulistan of “Sa‘dī”, and some basic arithmetic. During this period, most of the leading Begs in the Ottoman Empire were able to read and write Persian.⁷ In addition, some schools were based in Ottoman Turkish, as the language of instruction. The most highly regarded of these schools were: Sarā (1637), Shāh Ghāzī (1656), Aḥmed Pasha Aiyubi (1715), Ghausia (1759), Maidān (1779), Hāji Ahmed (1807),⁸ and Muslim (1840) which was constructed by the governor of Kirkuk-Ahmed Beg Naftchi.⁹ Other schools in this category include Daniel prophet and Qoriya schools which were opened in 1858, and Tālabāni Takiya’s school.¹⁰

This system of instruction was not unique to the Islamic world alone as it was also the method used to impart religious knowledge in both Christianity and Judaism in earlier days. Synagogues and churches were used as schools where religious and scientific knowledge was transmitted to their respective followers.

The religious educational system in Kirkuk, as described above, faced some challenges. Firstly, there was no standard curriculum to guide instructors. For instance, there was no national education plan, weekly lesson plans, examinations, follow-up on the progress of the students and any specific programs.¹¹ Secondly, the instructional halls were in a very poor hygienic condition with very poor lighting and ventilation systems. Additionally, they were never furnished appropriately, with tables and chairs for the comfort of the learners.¹² Finally, the curriculum that was taught in religious schools neglected scientific topics and was only interested in linguistic, historical and

⁷ Hay, W. R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 62.

⁸ *Syāmansury, gula, Kirkuk shāry ‘āgry hamishaiy* (Kirkuk Stadt des ewigen Feuers), (Magazin) *hāwāry* Kirkuk, zhmāra 2 (Nummer 2), December, 1988, pp 39-40.

⁹ *Al muẓafarī, nabīl ‘agīd Maḥmūd, al ta‘līm fī Kirkuk fī al ‘ahd al ‘āintidāb al Brītānī numudhajā,* (1921-1932) (Ausbildung in Kirkuk während der britischen Mandatsperiode (1921-1932)), magazine University of Kirkuk, number 25, April, 2011, p 214.

¹⁰ *Al ‘abāsī, mahdī ṣālīh, Kirkuk fī al ‘āuākḥīr fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmaniyy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī ‘āudā‘ihā al ‘āidāriyya ua al ‘āiqtiṣādiyya ua al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), theses of master unpublished, University of Mosul, College of Arts, 2005, pp 135-136.

¹¹ *Mukriyāny, hazhār, tschyshtī mjuryr* (Das Mahl des Diener der Moschee), Paris, 1997, p 34.

¹² *Aḥmad, ‘ibrāhīm Khalīl, taṭaur al ta‘līm al-uaṭanī fī al ‘irāq 1969-1932* (Die Evolution der nationalen Bildung im Irak, 1869-1932), Barsra, 1982, p 26.

religious topics such as religious sciences, history, rhetoric, and Persian, Turkish, and Arabic languages. However, over time, many of these religious schools were closed down either because of the death of the mullah or due to the lack of money for the expenses of the school, for example in circumstances where the financier of the school has died. Furthermore, in some cases, people were not willing to send their children to study, especially girls, due to social reasons.¹³

4.1.2 Modern Schools

In the early 1870 s, the modernized secular educational system of Kirkuk had three distinct goals which could be summarized as below:

1- To prepare children of rich parents and people in authority for administrative and management positions.

2- To train young people to acquire skills in the military sector in order to continuously supply the Ottoman army with the necessary manpower to match the capabilities of European armies and at the same time being capable of facing internal uprisings and external risks.

3- Officials of Mosul province requested in 1892, for the approval of authorities in Istanbul to open many primary and secondary (Rushdiyya) schools in areas of Mosul, Sharazur (Kirkuk) and Sulaymaniyah. The reason was to transform the existing tribal, primitive, nomadic and ignorant society to a civilized, conscious and literate society so that they could stand against the Iranian's campaign to convert them into *Shi'i* Muslims. This was necessary because this province is bordered with Iran and they could easily influence the tribal and uneducated Sunni society to *Shi'i* doctrine.¹⁴ According to Simon Reeva and Tejjirian Eleanor "[b]y that time [last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century] many tribes in the south that had once been Sunni converted to *Shi'i* Islam. They may have been attracted by *Shi'i* missionaries from the shrine cities or enlisted in defense of Najaf and Karbala against the Wahhabis." As a result, "the [Ottoman] government sent Sunni missionaries to

¹³ *Al muzaḥḥarī, nabīl 'agīd Maḥmūd, al ta'līm fī Kirkuk fī al 'ahd al 'āintidāb al Brīṭānī numudhajā*, (1921-1932) (Ausbildung in Kirkuk während der britischen Mandatsperiode (1921-1932)), p 215.

¹⁴ *Murād, Khaḥlīl 'alī, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 64-65.

re-convert the tribes, impose state education [opening schools in the whole Iraq including Kirkuk], stationed the Ottoman VIth Army Corps in Baghdad, and suppressed Shi‘i rebellions.”¹⁵

The educational administrative reform (Tanzimat) initiated by Sultan Salem III (1789-1807) was introduced much later in Iraq compared to all other provinces under the Ottoman Empire, and even later in Kirkuk. Thus, although geographically Kirkuk is closer to the seat of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, than Baghdad, the introduction of educational reforms in Kirkuk happened much later than in Baghdad. The late incorporation of Kirkuk into the revised educational system (Tanzimat) compared to Baghdad was due to the fact that Baghdad was the administrative seat of the Ottoman Empire in Iraq and thus a higher priority.¹⁶

In order to make comprehensive adjustments to the educational system in the whole of Iraq, Midḥat Pasha, the governor of Baghdad (1869-1872), synchronized the systems of education in the three provinces of Iraq - Baghdad, Mosul and Basra under a single curriculum. In this process, Midḥat Pasha cooperated with the people of Kirkuk and opened the first Rushdiyya military school of Kirkuk in 1870 with an initial enrolment of about 80 students.¹⁷ However, many of his critics pointed out that his objective for opening this school was to rebuild the capability of the Ottoman army so as to match those of European countries¹⁸ instead of raising the cultural and educational level in Kirkuk.

Major Soane, commenting on a military school says: “Turkish power is very evident here [Kirkuk]. Being near to Bagdad—seven days—and possessing a Turkish-speaking population, it is in a position to supply a large number of youths to the military schools, which, half-educating the lads, turn them out idle and vicious, and incapable of existing without a uniform. The result is that they all obtain some post, telegraph,

¹⁵ Simon, Reeva Spector and Tejirian, Eleanor H, *The creation of Iraq, 1914-1921*, New York, 2004, pp 7-8.

¹⁶ Geylan, Ebubekir, *the ottoman origins of modern Iraq*, London, 2011, p 103.

¹⁷ *Al rubaiy‘ī, ‘isma‘īl nurī, t’ārīkh al ta‘līm fī al ‘irāq fī al ‘ahdaiyn al ‘uthmanī ua al malaki*, (Geschichte der Erziehung im Irak in der osmanischen und königlichen Epoche) www.mesopot.com/old/adad1/tarbiawataleem.htm, Last accessed, 24 June 2013.

¹⁸ *Al najār, jamīl musā, al ta‘līm fī al ‘irāq fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmaniyya al ‘ākhīr, (1869-1918)* (Bildung im Irak während der Osmanischen und späten Osmanischen Zeit (1869-1918)), (Verlag) *dār al sh‘wun al thaqāfa*, Baghdad, 2001, p 42.

police, or customs, or join the ranks of the superfluous and unattached army “officers,” and return to their native town to lounge in the innumerable tea-houses, and earn a living by tyrannizing over whatever unfortunate their position enables them to blackmail and persecute.”¹⁹

The curriculum of Royal Rushdiyya School was divided over three levels/years with each level focusing on a variety of distinct subjects. The courses taught in the first year of enrolment included: religious sciences, Turkish studies, the Arabic language, basic mathematics and spelling. In the second year students focused on areas like: religious sciences, Arabic language, Turkish grammar, Persian language, spelling and geography while in the third year of study, which is also the final year of studies, students received lessons in: religious sciences, languages including Arabic, Turkish and French, mathematics, basic engineering and history.²⁰ This shows that the new system progressed in both quality and quantity as the introduction of several important new subjects such as mathematics, geometry, geography, and French, meant having an increased potential of new discoveries and innovations within the local context. Nafidh Pasha (1873-1875), the governor of Kirkuk, paid great attention to the progress and development of this school²¹ to the extent that it was mentioned in the 1883 - year book of Mosul Ottoman province.²²

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Ḥamid II (1876-1909), he focused his attention on developing the provinces located in the eastern region of the Ottoman Empire as well as the development of the political and economic situation of the Empire. The reasons were to compensate for the losses and damages suffered by the Ottoman Empire in North Africa in particular Egypt and in Eastern Europe and the Balkan provinces.

¹⁹ E. B. Soane, to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, p 120.

²⁰ BOA, HHTHR, 349/4 'ārshīf ri'āsāt al uzarā', Istanbul, 'āurāq tahrīr al khazena, (Archiv des Ministerpräsidentenbüros, Istanbul, Schatzampapiere) Quoting from www.alwahamag.com al ta'līm al 'uthmānī al ḥadīth ua bidāiyātahu, fī mutaṣarfiya al 'āhsā' 1871-1913 fī ḍuw' uathā'iq al 'uthmānī, (Moderne osmanische Erziehung und ihre Anfänge, in Al-Ahsa, 1871-1913, im Licht der osmanischen Dokumente) Last accessed, 20 June 2013.

²¹ Baiyyāt, fāḍil mahdī, drāsāt fī t'ārīkh al 'arab fī al 'ahd al 'uthmānī ru'iyya fī ḍuw' al uathā'iq ua al maṣādir al 'uthmānī (Studien in der Geschichte der Araber während der Osmanischen Ära, eine neue Vision im Lichte der osmanischen Archive und Quellen), (Verlag) dār al madā al 'aislāmī, Tripoli, 2003, p 278.

²² Beg, 'izatlv ṣafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1883 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1883), (Verlag) maṭba 'at sinda ṭabi 'avlinmṣdar, Mosul, 1905, p 303.

Education for the Sultan was a very important institution that called for greater attention in the overall Ottoman provincial development policy. Particularly, after 1889 when the Empire increased the number of schools with a wide range of subject matter which included civil and military engineering, medical science, law, and administration.²³ These new levels of education in the Ottoman Empire were divided into several sections: primary, intermediate, and secondary (Rushdiyya), including higher education institutions like colleges which were specialized in areas like marine and law.²⁴

Also, Christians and Jews had their own schools; these schools were financed and managed by themselves. Christian and Jewish schools were found in the largest towns. In 1814 the first Jewish school in the province of Mosul opened in the town of Kirkuk.²⁵ Later, in 1903 another Jewish educational establishment called Kirkuk School was inaugurated with an initial enrolment of about 60 students.²⁶ In 1913 an all-boys elementary school was opened by the Alliance Israelite in Kirkuk with a registered number of about 250 students but it was closed with the outbreak of the First World War.²⁷ It has been realized that though was the Jewish school, it enrolled students from all of the ethnic groups in the town, as well as Jewish students from the surrounding towns and villages around Kirkuk. This is justified by the fact that the Jewish population in the town of Kirkuk at the time was so small that it could not have provided that number of Jewish students to the school. In the year 1907 the Jewish population in

²³ *Al rubaiy'ī, 'isma'īl nurī, t'ārīkh al ta'līm fī al 'irāq fī al 'ahdaiyn al 'uthmanī ua al malaki*, (Geschichte der Erziehung im Irak in der osmanischen und königlichen Epoche) www.mesopot.com/old/adad1/tarbiawataleem.htm, Last accessed, 24 June 2013.

²⁴ *Nauār, 'abdul 'azīz sulaīmān, 'auāml al fa'āla fī al 'aitijāhāt al fkriya ua al siyāsiya fī al 'irāq al ḥadīth, drāsa fī alta'līm ua 'ātharuhu fī takuīn alza'āma baiyya 1872-1908* (Wirksame Faktoren in den intellektuellen und politischen Trends im modernen Irak, Studien über die Bildung und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Führungsbildung zwischen 1872-1908), pp 39-59.

²⁵ *Al 'abāsī, mahdī ṣāliḥ, Kirkuk fī al 'auākḥīr fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī 'auḍā'ihā al'aidāriyya ua al 'āiqtiṣādiyya ua al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), p 138.

²⁶ *Al najār, jamīl musā, al ta'līm fī al 'irāq fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniyya al 'ākḥīr, (1869-1918)* (Bildung im Irak während der Osmanischen und späten Osmanischen Zeit (1869-1918)), p 301.

²⁷ *Al 'abāsī, mahdī ṣāliḥ, Kirkuk fī al 'auākḥīr fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī 'auḍā'ihā al'aidāriyya ua al 'āiqtiṣādiyya ua al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), p 138; Encyclopaedia Judaica, Fred Skolnik, vol 10, p 1049.

Kirkuk, according to Ottoman year book, was only 463 inhabitants;²⁸ thus, this small number Jews could not have enrolled such a large number of students. Among the schools in Kirkuk at the time, the Alliance Israelite gave the best education. Its level of education surpassed the Mullah's schools found in every mosque and by far the highest proportion of literacy was among the non-Muslims.²⁹

At the end of the 19th century, there were only two Christian schools in Kirkuk, a Chaldean Catholic school was first opened in 1863,³⁰ another Christian school built by a Dominican's envoy followed in 1867.³¹ Noticeably, compared to Muslims, the Christian and Jewish populations encouraged their children to study various subjects. That being the case, the majority of Kirkuk Christians and Jews were literate in scientific fields and enjoyed better economic conditions compared to their Muslim counterparts. In addition, they had better connections outside of Kurdistan as they had an excellent relationship with foreigners through missionaries and traders, since they practiced the same religion as that of Europe.³² As such, they knew how important education was for the progress of society and the economy.

In 1908, the coup by the Committee of Union and Progress authorities of Ottoman Empire paid more attention to educational reform. They supported the opening of several primary schools in all provinces and areas under their control, including Kirkuk. According to the Ottoman annual year book of Mosul province in 1912, the center of Kirkuk alone had 7 intermediate schools and 15 primary schools.³³ But, according to some accounts, the opening of schools during the Committee of Union and Progress (1908-1918) did not apply everywhere in Kurdistan. The Ottomans followed a policy that neglected the Kurds, which forced some tribesmen to build schools out of their own

²⁸ *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maḥba 'at sinda ṭabi' avlinmshdar, Mosul, 1907*, p 212.

²⁹ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 316.

³⁰ *Al 'abāsī, mahdī ṣāliḥ, Kirkuk fī al 'āuākḥīr fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniyy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī 'āudā'ihā al 'āidāriyya ua al 'āiqtiṣādiyya ua al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), p 139.

³¹ *Al najār, jamīl musā, al ta 'līm fī al 'irāq fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniyya al 'ākḥīr, (1869-1918)* (Bildung im Irak während der Osmanischen und späten Osmanischen Zeit (1869-1918)), p 280.

³² *Al muzaḥḥarī, nabīl 'agīd Maḥmūd, al ta 'līm fī Kirkuk fī al 'ahd al 'āintidāb al Brīṭānī numudḥajā, (1921-1932)* (Ausbildung in Kirkuk während der britischen Mandatsperiode (1921-1932)), p 213.

³³ *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti, Mosul, 1912* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1912, Mossul), p 175.

pocket. For instance, according to Mahmud Beg Ibn Ibrahim Pasha from Viranshehir,³⁴ “Abdul Hamid had started tribal schools with excellent results, but C.U.P [the Committee of Union and Progress] Government closed them down so as to keep the Kurdish in the background”³⁵

However, in Kirkuk the ratio of schools decreased during the First World War. For instance, in 1917, Kirkuk and its boundaries had only 8 primary schools including the famous Faiḍ school in the town of Kirkuk and Altun Keupri, Kifri, Tuz Khurmātu and Qara Tapa schools all of which were located in the suburbs of Kirkuk.³⁶ In 1908, Rushdiyya military school was transformed into Kirkuk’s secondary school with approximately 135 students.³⁷

Sultāniya is another type of school in the Ottoman Empire that is financed by the province and this type of school is present in the entire province and it is said to have a very high standard of education. Students spend six years studying in this school. According to Article (42) of the education system, this type of school was built only in the provincial centres of the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ However, with the efforts of two Kirkuk members of parliament in Istanbul, Haji Muhammed Ali Bayraqdār and Şāliḥ Bagi Naftchi, Kirkuk, instead of Mosul (which was the provincial centre of power) had one of these schools.

In an effort to convince the Ottoman envoys in the parliament regarding the construction of the Sultāniya school in Kirkuk instead of Mosul, in March 1909 in Istanbul, Haji Muhammed Ali Bayraqdār and Şāliḥ Bagi Naftchi presented the head of parliament with a memorandum. In the memorandum, they highlighted the backwardness of the educational system in Kirkuk and the limited capacity of the

³⁴ Viranshehir (Wêranşar in Kurdish), is a Kurdish border town with Syria in the southern East of Turkey.

³⁵ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, report on Mission to Viranshehir, May-1919, pp 81-82.

³⁶ *Al ‘abāsī, mahdī şāliḥ, Kirkuk fī al ‘āuākḥīr fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmaniy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī ‘āudā ‘ihā al ‘āidāriyya wa al ‘āiqtişādiyya wa al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), p 155.

³⁷ *Al hilālī, ‘abdulrazāq, t’ārīkh al ta ‘līm fī al ‘irāq fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmānī 1638-1917* (Geschichte der Erziehung im Irak in der osmanischen Zeit, 1638-1917), (Verlag) *sharikat al ṭab ‘ wa al nashr al ‘āhliyya*, Baghdad, 1959, p 89.

³⁸ Ibid, p 251; *Al muḏafarī, nabīl ‘agīd Maḥmūd, al ta ‘līm fī Kirkuk fī al ‘ahd al ‘āintidāb al Brītānī numudhajā*, (1921-1932) (Ausbildung in Kirkuk während der britischen Mandatsperiode (1921-1932)), p 218.

existing Kirkuk schools in terms of enrolment to justify their request to open more schools in the town.³⁹ Consequently, the Kirkuk parliamentary representatives convinced the Vali (governor) of Mosul, Slemān Nāzef, to open Sultāniya School in Kirkuk, even though it was not allowed legally, because they promised that the people of the town would bear all the financial implications of the school.⁴⁰ Finally, the school was opened in 1910 which continued until the British occupation in 1918.⁴¹ This shows how interested the people of Kirkuk were in having quality educational facilities for their children.

4.2 The literacy rate and educational challenges

During the First World War, the British officials reported that although the Kurdish people were a nation, they were a nation without leaders, widely scattered, and at that time incapable of being self-governed. There was practically no education in the country and their tribal chiefs were, for the most part, mere peasants with no outlook and little influence beyond the confines of their own tribes.⁴²

However, the average rate of literacy in Kirkuk was better than the rest of the area of Iraq because the political conditions and possibilities in the area between Kut and Kirkuk were entirely different to the conditions between Kut and Basra. For instance, the southern area of Iraq had relapsed into anarchy, and was inhabited mostly by illiterate people with little potential for intellectual activities. In contrast, the northern area, where Kirkuk is located had always been the centre of organized government and had continuously sent an annual quota to the military and civil service schools and consequently in peace time had a large intellectual class.⁴³

³⁹ *Aḥmad, 'ibrāhīm Khalīl, taṭaur al ta'īm al-uaṭanī fī al 'irāq 1969-1932* (Die Evolution der nationalen Bildung im Irak, 1869-1932), p 218.

⁴⁰ *Al 'abāsī, mahdī ṣālīḥ, Kirkuk fī al 'āuākḥīr fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī 'āuḍā 'ihā al 'āidāriyya wa al 'āiqtiṣādiyya wa al thaqāfiyya* (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), pp 171-172.

⁴¹ *Aḥmad, 'ibrāhīm Khalīl, taṭaur al ta'īm al-uaṭanī fī al 'irāq 1969-1932* (Die Evolution der nationalen Bildung im Irak, 1869-1932), p 64.

⁴² The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precip of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁴³ The National Archives, CAB/24/7 Image reference, 0042 Memorandum on Mr. Austin Chamberlain's Amendment of the proposed proclamation to the people of Baghdad. 10th March, 1917.

At the end of the First World War, the literacy rate in the three provinces of Iraq-Baghdad, Mosul and Basra was about 1%.⁴⁴ However, the literacy rate in Kirkuk after the British occupation in 1919, compared to the rest of Iraq was a little bit higher at about 1.92%, which means for every one hundred people less than two were literate.⁴⁵

The *Effendiyya* that is a social group, which translates to ‘sir’ and is a term used to show respect were the majority of the literates throughout Iraqi and Kurdish society. The term was applied to all religious dignitaries in towns, to the professional classes, and to the clerks and officials in Government Service. Generally, they had studied in the secular schools established during the Tanzimat period in Iraq and were a distinct class within Kurdish society.⁴⁶ They emerged as a result of the Tanzimat and further strengthened their position during Midhat Pasha’s reforms in Iraq. Despite this, their power and influence was strongest in southern Iraq compared with Kurdistan.

Due to the influence of the *Effendiyya*, a large number of middle-class Turkmen from Kirkuk and Erbil who possessed some land, changed their behaviour to become ‘*Effendiyya*’. In order to do so, they learnt to read, write, altered their dress and wore European clothes and took up appointments in Government services.⁴⁷ However, the *Effendiyya*, who were literate, only constituted a fraction of the population in Kirkuk while the majority of the inhabitants of the town were illiterate.

The reason for this extremely low literacy rate among the population could be traced to the following historical background of the Ottoman era:

1- According to the *maşāryf’umumiye nizāmāsy* “[a] Ministry for Public Schools followed a year later, and finally a full Ministry of Public Education took charge of the system of education in 1866 in the whole of the Ottoman Empire.... The French Minister of Education Jean Victor Duruy came to Istanbul to advise the Ottomans on further educational development. His report, which proposed the establishment of interdenominational secondary schools, a secular university, new professional technical schools, and a public library system, formed the basis for the Regulation for Public

⁴⁴ Ibid, p 64.

⁴⁵ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 402.

⁴⁶ Ali, Othman, Southern Kurdistan during the last phase of Ottoman control: 1839-1914, Journal of Muslim minority affairs, London, 1997, p 288.

⁴⁷ Hay, W.R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 85.

Education issued in 1869,⁴⁸ However, the law of the 1869 construction of educational facilities was the responsibility of the beneficiary communities rather than the government.⁴⁹ This law levied a very heavy burden on the population whose economic conditions were not suitable to be able to meet the necessary financial requirements of building and maintaining a school and thus, it was neglected.

2- Poor economic conditions of the Ottoman Empire at the time could not provide the necessary financial requirements for education and remuneration for teachers. The salary paid to teachers was so low that it was not enough to cover their daily expenditure. According to the Al Naḍāra salary system of the Ottoman Empire, first class teachers were paid 800 Qrush = 53 grams pure gold, second class 300 Qrush = 20 grams pure gold and teachers who taught writing skills were received 180 Qrush = 12 grams pure gold.⁵⁰

3- As such, there was a massive shortage of qualified teachers in schools and consequently, many children went to school without having proper lessons. For instance, in 1913, there was a school in Kirkuk which had only one formally appointed a teacher, therefore, the following year 1914 almost all parents withdrew their children from that school and it was left with about fifteen students.⁵¹ Furthermore, at the beginning of the British occupation, the teacher shortage was so severe that clergymen were asked to teach in schools.⁵²

4- During the era of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the Ottoman Empire imposed an education tax of about 1.2%,⁵³ and this led to mass protests against the imposition of this tax through boycotting the schools where they were required to pay taxes.

⁴⁸ Stanford J. Shaw, Los Angeles, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975, First Published 1977, reprinted 2002- New York, pp 106-108.

⁴⁹ *Al najār, jamīl musā, al ta'lim fī al 'irāq fī al 'ahd al 'uthmaniyya al 'ākhīr, (1869-1918)* (Bildung im Irak während der Osmanischen und späten Osmanischen Zeit (1869-1918)), p 46; *'Āghjalary, pshko, shāry Kirkuk (1917-1926)* (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926)), p 109.

⁵⁰ *Al shīkhly, Muhammed ra 'wf, marāhl al haiyāt fī al fatrāt al muẓlima wa mā ba 'duhā* (Die Stufen des Lebens in der Dunkelzeit und darüber hinaus), Basra, 1972, p 281.

⁵¹ *Sriyat, ṣālḥ 'abdulāh, taṭur al ta'lim al ṣinā'ī fī al-'irāq* (Entfaltung der Berufsausbildung im Irak), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at dār al jāḥiẓ*, Baghdad, 1969, p 56.

⁵² Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 402.

⁵³ *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des fruchtbaren Halbmondes, 1800-1914*, (der Übersetzer) *Ra 'wf 'abās ḥāmid*, Beirut, 1990, pp 610-611.

5- Some portion of the Muslim population did not allow their children to acquire a Western type of education. This was because due to poverty and destitution the parents were forced to send their children to work as patrons, agricultural laborers, and shop keepers. Therefore, they could not send their children to study.⁵⁴ As a result, only a small number of the Muslim population was literate after the British occupation in 1919.⁵⁵

6- The language of instruction in the schools of the Ottoman Empire was Ottoman Turkish⁵⁶ with an objective of providing education to Turkish children who would later serve as military and civilian administration officials. The priority of education at the time was for officials' children, not the children of the poor. This resulted in a lack of desire for the people of Kirkuk to send their children to school, as most of the population in Kirkuk were not Turks. In particular, the Kurdish and Arab and other students were unable to follow the lessons since the medium of instruction was in Ottoman Turkish, not their native tongue. This had brought two results: the lessons were largely not comprehended and young Iraqis were unable to write comprehensible Arabic.⁵⁷

7- In the Ottoman era, females, who constituted half of the population were deprived of an education because at that time in Iraq and Kirkuk schools were dedicated to educating males only.

8- Noticeably the construction of schools was also highly discriminatory as schools were built in a town like Kirkuk and some other districts such as Kifri, Tuz Khurmātu, and Altun Keupri. Villages and sub-districts around Kirkuk did not have a school thereby depriving a large portion of the population of education.

9- With the outbreak of the First World War most of the schools in Iraq and Kirkuk town were closed down and converted into military headquarters and hospitals. Also in the remaining schools the standard of education was weak, so parents often chose not to send their children to study.

However, although only a small proportion of the population were literate at the end of Ottoman era and the beginning of the British occupation, one cannot forget some

⁵⁴ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 402.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p 402.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p 402.

⁵⁷ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, Four centuries of modern Iraq, p 316.

of the positive aspects of the Ottomans on Kirkuk's educational system. During their time, they managed to open many schools with different levels of education ranging from primary, intermediate to secondary schools. During the Ottoman rule, primary education was free of charge and any individual in the towns had the opportunity to study. In Iraq, free primary schools were built at every *qadā* headquarter by the end of the nineteenth century. People were free to choose their own educational system without the Empire's intervention. Schools were managed by the residents of each particular town. But, unfortunately, the number of schools and students were very few considering the size of the town's population at that time – impacting on the literacy rate.

Despite the low literacy rate, it is evident that the people of the town were interested in studying and valued education, as they used to build schools on their own and provided financial support to some schools. Furthermore, both sexes had the opportunity to study in the secular education system (i.e. “modern schools”) in the nineteenth century, only the non-Muslims (Christians, Jews and other religions) had exploited this opening to send females to schools, particularly in Istanbul.⁵⁸ Muslims did not send their girls to modern schools because it was traditionally unusual to do so. But, it was not officially forbidden. A girl's primary school was founded in Baghdad in 1898.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Stanford, History of the Ottoman Empire, p 106.

⁵⁹ Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 316.

PART TWO
POLITICAL SITUATION

CHAPTER V: THE OTTOMAN AND BRITISH ADMINISTRATIONS IN KIRKUK

5.1 The Ottoman administration:

For about six hundred years, a Sultan was the single most powerful person over parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa and was considered as the shadow of God on earth in the eyes of the Ottoman followers. The Ottomans occupied Iraq and Kurdistan in the first quarter of the 16th century, and they formed four provinces for the purpose of managing those areas which consisted of Mosul, Baghdad, Basra and Shārazur (Kirkuk). The Ottomans formed the Shārazur province in the mid-sixteenth century and transported its centre from Gul ‘Anbar “Halabja” to Kirkuk by the end of 16th century because of Kirkuk’s political, economic and military significance. The purpose of the formation of that province was to administer the areas surrounding Kirkuk and to form a strong obstacle against a potential Iranian expansion.¹ Consequently, the Kurdish Emirates and tribes spread over the provinces of Mosul, some districts of Baghdad such as Khānaqīn, and Shārazur province, of these Kirkuk was at the centre.² However, the Baghdad province after gaining power from the Ottoman Empire became the central province in Iraq and supervised the other three provinces including the Kurdish Emirates. Sultan Sulaymān Qānūni put a new management system in Mesopotamia in 1534 on the basis of the eyalet system (administrative organization).³ Thus, the Ottomans followed a decentralised policy in administrating the areas that were under its control and gave power to their residents for the purpose of managing local provinces and Emirates.

The vali (or governor) was the head in charge of a province, valies administered their responsibilities and duties via an administration. There were a series of administrative departments that operated with the assistance of clerks, scribes and assistances including policing, judiciary, population, tax collection, post and telegraph,

¹ For more information, go back to historical background pp 10-16.

² *Nauār*, ‘abdul ‘azīz, *tārīkh al ‘arab al mu‘āṣir miṣir wa al ‘irāq* (Die zeitgenössische Geschichte der Araber in Ägypten und im Irak), *dār al nahḍa al ‘arabiyya* (Verlag), Beirut., p 338.

³ *Husaīn*, sa‘dī ‘uthmān, *Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), pp 75-76.

public works, education, accounting, trade, agriculture, and religious affairs; these departments all had their own head who worked under the vali.⁴

The other two major officials found in each province under the vali were the mushir (field marshal) and the defterdār (head of finances). As the vali was not responsible for military matters the mushir's official role was commander of military troops. The vali called upon the mushir in the case of any military needs. While, the defterdār would act in the vali's position in times of his absence and held the most powerful position behind the vali.⁵ The defterdār was mainly accountable to the Ministry of Finance in Istanbul in addition to being partially responsible to the vali. His task was complicated, as he had to accommodate the various conflicting competitions for financial funds from three sides, vali, the mushir, and the Ottoman government.⁶

5.1.1 Shārazur (Kirkuk) Province

Defining the boundaries of Shārazur eyalet and Kirkuk authority is not easy because they were exposed to numerous changes from one era to another. These areas often expanded and contracted according to the prevailing political circumstances of the time. For instance, Carsten Niebuhr who visited Kirkuk in 1766 identified that the administrative authority of the shārazur province was very narrow, encompassing only Kirkuk and some of its surrounding villages.⁷ Furthermore, he placed the governor's residence and the exact boundary of his province by saying "Kirkuk is the residence of a Pasha of two tails of horses, he does not live in the city but in front, in the opposite side of the river. His territory is very limited. The rest of the great government schahhlessul [shārazur] that stretches on the route from Taoq to Erbil presently belongs to Baghdad."⁸ At the end of 18th century, a French envoy Guillaume-Oliver visited the town and said "[f]or a long time Kirkuk has been part of the Pashaliq of Shahrizur hence there was a Pasha with two tails. But nowadays Kirkuk has only a mutasallim appointed by the Pasha [the governor of Baghdad], as Sharizur and all the territories lying east of

⁴ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, p 34.

⁵ *Ibid*, p 34.

⁶ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, *Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908*, p 16.

⁷ Niebuhr, Carsten Niebuhrs *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, pp 313, 339.

⁸ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, *Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present*, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, pp 27-28.

the Tigris, the Great Zab, and the Kurdistan are part of the Pashaliq of Baghdad.”⁹ However, according to Shuāny, the administrative border of Kirkuk expanded in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the improvement of the security and political situation in the region.¹⁰ Sahillioglu, a Turkish researcher who used many Ottoman original documents in his research, found out that the administrative boundaries of the areas belonging to Kirkuk between the years 1850-1868 were composed of Qara Ḥasan, Gob Tapa, Shuān, Tāza Khurmātu, Dāquq, Basher, Jabāry, Gill, Kākānlo, and Iftikhār.¹¹ Among the most important factors behind the expansion and contraction of the Sharazur province and Kirkuk include the following:

1 - The administrative border of the Iraqi provinces was changed on many occasions by the Ottomans in order to control the areas under their territory. In particular, they expanded the boundary of the Baghdad province at the expense of shārazur and other provinces such as the Qara Ḥasan area, which lies to the east of Kirkuk, the long distance between Qara Ḥasan and Baghdad was directly administered by the governor of Baghdad. As the English traveller, James Rich stated, “the district of Kara Hassan is dependent solely on the Pasha of Baghdad and the governor of Kerkook having no authority in it. It is worth about 85,000 Piasters [Ottoman currency] annually.”¹² His widow also mentioned, “Kara Hassan, a district which sometimes belongs to Bagdad and sometimes to Kurdistan; it is bounded by Kirkuk, Leilan, Tchemtchemal, and Shuan.”¹³ Furthermore, In 1818, the English traveller, Buckingham, described the relationship between the governor of Kirkuk with the Pasha of Baghdad as he said, “[t]he town [Kirkuk] is subject to the Pasha of Baghdad, and its environs are sufficiently productive to yield him a respectable tribute. The governor is one of his own immediate dependents, and attached to him are just a sufficient number of soldiers only to form a bodyguard for his personal defense.”¹⁴ Here it is clear that

⁹ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 28.

¹⁰ Shuāny, *bakhtiyār sa‘id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā* (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), p 66.

¹¹ Sahillioglu, halil, *Osmanli döneminde ‘irāq in Taksimāt* (Aufteilung des Irak unter dem Osmanischen Reich), Ankara, 1990, p 1252.

¹² Rich, Claudius James, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, and on the site of ancient Nineveh*; Edited by his widow, London, 1836, p 47.

¹³ Rich, Claudius James, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh*, p 272.

¹⁴ Buckingham, J. S., *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol II, p 339.

the governor of Kirkuk was subordinate to the Pasha of Baghdad and did not have power over the Ottoman troops in Kirkuk except his personal guards. The reason was that the Pasha of Baghdad was fully authorized by the Porte in Istanbul. Finally, Kirkuk became a part of Mosul province in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

2 - Wars and conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Iran had been mostly over the land of Kirkuk and its surrounding areas because of Sharazur provinces contiguous borders with the Iranian Empire; therefore, it was always an arena for conflicts between these two Empires. The attacks and destruction by the Iran Qājāri in the years 1818 and 1821 resulted in Kirkuk becoming a battleground between the Ottomans and Iranians. As a result, a large number of soldiers from the Baghdad province arrived in the town for the purpose of fighting against the Iranian forces. This put Kirkuk under the helm of the Baghdad province, and its governors were appointed or dismissed according to the will of the province.¹⁵

3 - The emergence of the Emirate of Bābān was at the expense of areas of Sharazur (Kirkuk) province – this expansion was supported by the Ottoman Empire and was for the purpose of guarding an important part of the borders of the Empire from the risk of an Iranian invasion.¹⁶ However, during the period between the mid-seventeenth century and mid-nineteenth century, many of the princes from the Bābān-Emirate changed their position and became supporters of the Iranian Empire. Moreover, the administrative affairs of Kirkuk were further narrowed in the first half of the nineteenth century and became sloppier when the Emirate Sorān (further information on this Emirate is provided in Chapter VI) expanded control to Kirkuk. The Emirate of Sorān occupied Altun Keupri an important part of Kirkuk, for 12 years (1824-1836).¹⁷

5.1.2 Kirkuk's Administration during the Tanzimat Reforms

After Europe witnessed several significant changes and developments, these did not spread to the Ottoman Empire and it still remained much less developed. To help progress and maintain their power, the Ottomans introduced many reforms in various fields. One of these reforms was the decision to manage the areas under their control

¹⁵ *Al Kirkukly, dauhat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 237.

¹⁶ *Nauār, 'abdul 'azīz, tārikh al 'arab al mu'āšir mišir wa al 'irāq* (Die zeitgenössische Geschichte der Araber in Ägypten und im Irak), p 338.

¹⁷ For more information, go back to the relation of Sorān and Kirkuk Emirates in the third chapter of this dissertation.

through a centralized system though the Ottomans had used a decentralized system for three centuries. This had both a profound positive and negative impact on Kurdistan. On the one hand, the decentralized system had allowed the Kurds to continue to have local authorities (Emirates), allowing them to defend their homeland, and practice their language and culture. On the other hand, the decentralized practice had created a division within the Kurdish community by allowing the local authorities to follow a narrow policy based on a feudal system and favouritism. The Kurdish people had suffered from this social, political, and local favouritism, which eventually had become an obstacle toward the emergence of a civil and urban society.¹⁸

In the nineteenth century and beyond, reformers in the Ottoman Empire faced a major problem in the issuance of laws derived from the West. People who made problems for reformers were conservative, they thought that those new laws contradicted with the fundamental codes of Islam. Additionally, the emergence of Arab and Kurdish nationalism appeared in the nineteenth century particularly from those who faced Turkification in Iraq. Consequently, the Porte (the central government of the Ottoman Empire) had a problem with sending and appointing officials whether civil or military to Baghdad and Basra because these places were far from the centre (Istanbul) and inhabited by only a few kin groups. Some Ottoman officials refused to depart or live there for an extended period of time. Despite this challenge, the Empire continued to try to select capable and competent officials to send to the Baghdad and Basra provinces. On the other hand, the Turkish officials seemed satisfied with those officials who were sent to Mosul or Kirkuk. The officials were usually of the same kin group, Turkmen. The Ottomans also appointed Turkmen officials to run the provinces.¹⁹

The Ottoman Empire started a process of centralization in the 1830 s in what was known as the Tanzimat reforms. An effort was initiated to put all Kurdish tribal principalities under the control of Ottoman governors appointed by the central government. This process was completed in the 1850 s, resulting in the fall of the Kurdish Bābān Emirate in 1851. As a result of the application of the Porte's new centralization policy the Kurdish Emirates were no longer compelled to send gifts and annual tax payments to the Turks; to remember the name of the Turkish Sultans in their

¹⁸ *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu'āšira Kirkuk – al 'ānfāl al Kurd wa turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfāl, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 16.

¹⁹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, pp 50-51.

Friday sermons; and to send troops to the Ottoman Empire when needed. Rather, the new policy imposed the direct authority of the Turks to all regions that they controlled, which negatively impacted the power that the Kurdish Emirates had.²⁰ However, the Ottoman empire faced many difficulties in administrating the Vilayets of Mosul and Kirkuk despite its centralized administration. The main source of the problem was the existence of a large Kurdish tribal population, which were well equipped, led by powerful tribal chiefs, susceptible to internal fighting and, often ready to disregard local administrations. Simultaneously, the Vilayet administration was plagued by allegations of rampant corruption and abuse at its lowest ranks. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire assigned the highest number of Valis to Mosul and Kirkuk in order to govern both and their surroundings.²¹ “Around Kirkuk (Sehrizor) and Sulaymaniyah, to the north, Kurdish families were appointed as local governors or tax collectors, in return for protecting the Iranian frontier, under the supervision of an Ottoman governor-general (Beylerbeyi) at Mosul.”²²

The Ottoman Empire in 1864 and in the era of the Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-1876) declared the new law for the provinces, which was a part of the reform process of the Ottomans to organize the administrative structure in all parts of the Empire along the lines of the French administrative organization. There was a set of goals behind the adoption of such a resolution, including organization and strengthening of the authority of the provincial centre on the regions with the purpose of trying to remove the old feudal system, and strengthening the authority of the new officials in the Empire, such as provincial governors, rulers, district commissioner and managers etc.²³

The Law included the formation of an “administration board” which consisted of senior officials appointed to run the province, and by that law, the governor was the head of the administrative unit and political representative of the local Ottoman government. He was responsible for providing security and administering the province, monitoring financial affairs, and working to raise developments in science, agriculture,

²⁰ *Qādir, jabār wa majmū‘a min al-kutāb wa al-bāḥithyn, Kirkuk madiyyat al qaumiyyāt al muta’ākhiyya* (Kirkuk ist die Stadt der brüderlichen Nationalitäten), p 66.

²¹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 63.

²² Ibid, p 4.

²³ *Jamīl, saīyyār kaukab ‘ali, takuīn al-‘arab al-ḥadīth 1516-1916* (Die Entstehung des modernen arabischen Selbstbewusstseins, 1516-1916), first published. (Verlag) *dār al-kutub liṭtibā‘a wa al nashir, Mosul, 1991*, p 348.

trade, health, and construction. In addition, his task included the suppression of any uprising and movement by taking the necessary measures. He supervised the completion of all these works with the assistance of a group of managers and staff.²⁴

The Chairman of an Administrative Unit was the head of the Vilayet, and his tasks were composed of administrative supervision and the provision of safety. Each vilayet was composed of several districts, and the person who oversaw the district was called the qāimaqām (district commissioner), who was responsible for supervising several different tasks. Nāḥias were administered by mudirs and their most important work was the provision of safety and the receiving of tax. To do this, they were required to cooperate with the district commissioner. The village was the smallest administrative unit, and the administrative representative of each village was the chief (mokhtar), who was required to liaise with the sub-district commissioner. In addition, quarters in each town also had their own chief (mokhtar).²⁵

The appointment of the provincial governor (vali) was under the authority of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul and this was done by issuing a decree.²⁶ But the appointment of the rest of the bureaucrats, such as the district commissioner (qāimaqām) and sub-district commissioner (mudir) was made by the provincial governors and rulers. However, there is another point of view that the vali was actually appointed by the Sultan, whilst the qāimaqām and mudir were appointed by the Minister of Interior, and the mokhtar was elected by an election in the village.²⁷ Analysing these differing points of view, it can be said, that the latter is close to being true for the vilayets which were close to the capital of the Ottoman Empire but those vilayets that were further away, such as Mosul and Baghdad it might be the vali had the power and authority to appoint the qāimaqām and other officials.

According to this law, midḥat Pasha (1868-1872) re-organized the administrative border of Iraq into three provinces (Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul) and Sharazur eyalat was appended to the Mosul province in 1870. Sharazur province was sometimes known as Liwa. Through this reorganization, the areas of Sulaymaniyah and its boundaries had been organized into a new province (mutasarifiyya) with the name of Sulaymaniyah,

²⁴ Ibid, p 348.

²⁵ Ibid, pp 348-349.

²⁶ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, pp 48-49.

²⁷ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 8.

which corresponded to the centre in that town. But the rest of the other regions, which were composed of six districts and some sub-districts, had remained in the original framework, as follows:

Province	Liwa (mutasarifiyya)	District (sanjaq)	Sub-district
Mosul	Kirkuk (Sharazur)	Kirkuk	Daquq, Altun Kopri, Gil, and Shuān
		Kifri (Şalāḥiya)	Qar Tapa and Tuz Khurmātu
		Rāniya	Betwata
		Rauānduz	Hareer, Bālak, and Sherwān
		Erbil	Malha, Sultāniya, and Dizai
		Koy Sanjaq	Bālisan and Shaqlāwa

Administrative Divisions of Kirkuk Liwa (*mutasarifiyya*) in 1870 onwards.²⁸

Furthermore, at the beginning of the 1870 s, the Ottoman Empire introduced a system of advisory councils (*majlis*). The introduction of these councils meant that Mosul's governor was assisted by a number of the city's elite in his decision-making. The council included a chief judge, chief accountant, chief scribe, the highest religious notable, and seven other members chosen by the community. Kirkuk's *Sanjaq* had a similar council to assist its governor (*mutaşarrif*). Additionally, each *qaza* had its own council and district officer (*qāimmaqām*).²⁹

²⁸ Sahillioglu, halil, *Osmanli döneminde 'irāq in Taksimat (Aufteilung vom Irak unter Osmanischen Reich)*, p 1253.

²⁹ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, p 35.

However, there is a different opinion that points out that Kirkuk was attached to Mosul province in 1879,³⁰ and before that period, it was part of the central province (Baghdad) as an independent *mutasarifiyya*. The English official, Edmonds, supported this claim by stating “the Vilayet of Mosul was formed in 1879 and Kirkuk remained an important garrison town.”³¹ There was a third opinion asserted that Kirkuk was attached to Mosul in early 1883 and was successfully governed by the vali, Taḥsin Pasha.³²

The first opinion is the most accurate, which means that Kirkuk was attached to Mosul in 1870, especially from an administrative point of view, but the process of transferring the whole authority to the centralized system took some time. For example, from the military side, Kirkuk’s annexation to Mosul was probably delayed until 1879. As mentioned earlier, Kirkuk hosted about 4,000 Ottoman troops in the 19th century and Edmonds mentioned the survival of Kirkuk as a military fort. There was also a *serai* (government office) and the palace of the Governor, which was simple but large and comfortable.³³ Furthermore, in 1917, the British officials reported about the qarveit maḥalleh which was an administrative quarter hosting *serai*, military barracks, military hospital, post and telegraph office, a school, and the residences of many officials.³⁴

In 1892, the name sharazur was entirely removed from Kirkuk’s liwa and since then, the Ottoman official writings only mention the name of Kirkuk. The justification of the Ottoman Empire’s officials to remove the name sharazur was because they confused the name sharazur liwa with deir al-zour Liwa in the Levant (sham) region.³⁵ Later the administrative circumstances of Kirkuk’s liwa remained the same way and no

³⁰ *Aḥmad, ‘ibrāhīm Khalīl, al tashkilāt al ‘idāriyya ua al ‘askariyya fī uilāiyat al Mosul fī ‘auākḥīr al ‘ahid al ‘uthmānī* (Die Verwaltungs- und Militärformationen in der Provinz Mossul in der spät-osmanischen Zeit), (Magazin) *mjalat baiyna al nahriyyin al ‘adadān* 37-38, pp 147-148, Mosul, 1982.

³¹ Edmonds, G.J, Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, pp 265-266.

³² Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 63.

³³ Lycklama a Nijeholt, Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Peraan, dans la Mésopotamie, le Kurdistan, la Syrie, la Palastine et Turqy, execute pendant les annees 1865, 1866, 1867, et 1868, Paris A Bertrand, Amsterdam, C. L. V Langenhuysen, 1872-1875, p 87.

³⁴ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, pp 23-24.

³⁵ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 68-69.

remarkable administrative changes happened until the end of the Ottoman authority in 1918.

At the beginning of the 20th century Kirkuk was an important Ottoman administrative centre. The town was governed under the vali of Mosul. In peace time, it was the headquarters of the 12th Division of the 6th (Baghdad) Corps. The ordinary garrison was a battalion of the infantry and a large detachment of infantry were mounted on mules. Furthermore, in 1909 there was a Persian Consul who was a Kermanshah Kurd.³⁶ In 1917, the British officials reported that “[t]he town itself has been strongly held by the Turkish Government, which has maintained fair order within the walls.”³⁷ Here is clear that Kirkuk was very important for the Ottomans and therefore, they strongly protected it from any attacks from outsiders or local tribal attacks. The Ottoman central government was confronted with three key challenges in the provincial administration of Iraq: a) continuous conflicts among high-level officials, and the lack of ability on the government’s part to permanently solve them, (b) widespread corruption and misbehaviour among the middle- and lower- level civil officials and, (c) the lack of skilled manpower for high-level posts in the vilayets.³⁸

It is noted that during the period of the Ottoman authority in the second half of the 19th century and beyond, the majority of provincial governors, rulers, district commissioners and officials were from Turkmen families in Kirkuk or Turks. For instance, two members of parliament who were elected in 1908 had become the representatives of Kirkuk’s people and they were from two Turkmen families in the town, whose names were Muhammed Ali qirdār and sāliḥ Pasha nawtschi. The Ottoman Empire’s interest in the Turkmen ethnic group was due to several reasons:

1 - They followed the policy of Turkification in the town and imposed Turkmen ethnicity over other ethnicities for government appointment jobs.

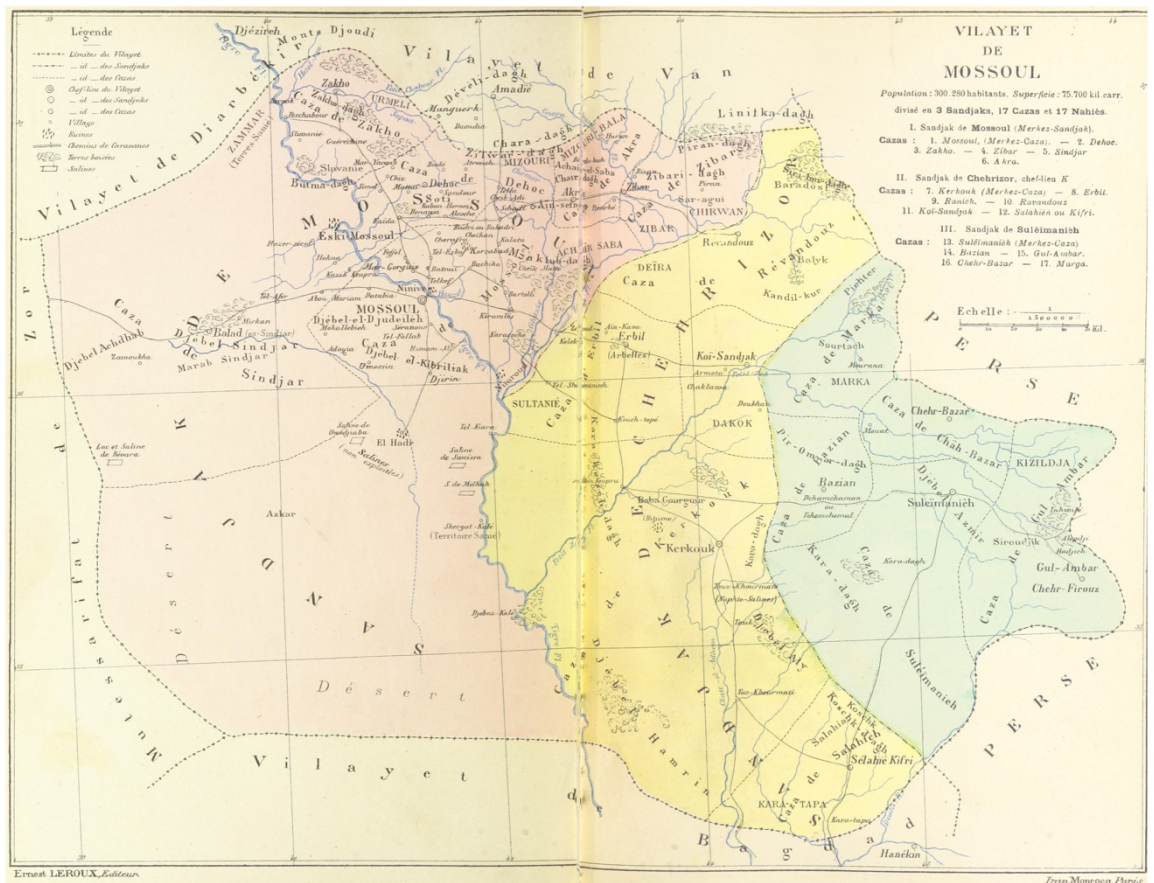
2 - Since the official language of the Ottoman Empire was the Ottoman-Turkish language, the Turkmen knew this language well and were able to adequately deal with any official correspondence of the Empire.

³⁶ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 25.

³⁷ Ibid, p 25.

³⁸ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 49.

3 - The Ottomans trusted the Turkmen because they did not rise up against the Ottoman authority and were from the same background.



The map of vilayet Mosul 1878-1918.³⁹

5.2 Kirkuk's administration during the British occupation

The British occupation changed the administrative structure for all parts of Iraq and charted the country again in new maps and as a result, they formed the Kirkuk governorate of two sanjaqs, Kirkuk and Kifri at the end of 1918.⁴⁰ The rest of the other sanjaqs formed new governorates in the name of Sulaymaniah and Erbil in 1919. On November 1, 1918 Major Noel was appointed as a Political Officer in the Division of

³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosul_Vilayet last accessed, 16-01-2017.

⁴⁰ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 389.

Kirkuk. Accordingly, Major Noel, who had much experience in Persia and among the Bakhtiāri tribes, was entrusted with a mission to Southern Kurdistan.⁴¹

At the close of 1920, British authorities reorganized the administrative system of the province of Kirkuk as follows:

Province	District	Nāḥiya
Kirkuk	Kirkuk	Altun Keupri, Malḥa, Qara Ḥasan, Tāuq (Dāquq), and Shuān
	Kifri	Tuz Khurmātu, Qara Tapa, Kifri, and Zangana

The boundary of the province of Kirkuk by the end of 1920.⁴²

In the middle of December 1920, the British officials in Mesopotamia held a congress about several local issues among which had included the reorganization of the administrative system in Iraq. More than 100 members of those who attended the conference were from the Arab section of the community. Most of them were sheikhs and tribesmen, some of the representatives were Jewish and Christians. However, it is noted that Kurdish representatives were not invited to the congress. At the meeting held on December 12 the Minister of Interior submitted a detailed scheme for the administrative organization of Iraq according to how the country should be divided into 10 liwas (provinces) each under a mutasarrif, 35 qaḍās each under a qāimaqām and 85 nāḥiyas under mudirs. They accounted Kirkuk as a Kurdish Liwa amongst four Kurdish liwas (Mosul, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and Kirkuk).⁴³ The Turkish officials and notables retained their former positions at each liwa and qaḍā in Kirkuk and Erbil during the British period. Furthermore, Iraqi administrative officials, Mutasarrifs and qāimaqāms, were needed by the British to work amicably in most areas.⁴⁴

In 1923, the British officials made a decision to detach Chemchemāl and the Zāb nāḥiyas from Sulaymaniyah liwa to unite them to the liwa of Kirkuk. The aim of joining these two towns to Kirkuk especially Chemchemāl was to provide control almost entirely to the Hamawand chief, Amin Rashed Agha, who was a friend of the British. He welcomed the transfer of the Chemchemāl to the Kirkuk Liwa as it afforded him

⁴¹ Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p 59.

⁴² Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 391.

⁴³ The National Archives, FO 371/6348 proceeding of the council of ministers, intelligence report, office of high Baghdad, 31st December, 1920.

⁴⁴ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*, p 136.

additional protection from Sheikh Mahmud and Karim Fattah Beg with whom he was in a bitter enmity.⁴⁵

The British officials in Iraq mentioned that higher officials should be appointed with their mandatory consent. However, in the areas where ethnic groups were mixed, officials were appointed proportionately to various different ethnicities.⁴⁶

The British officials, following the same way of the Ottoman management of Kirkuk town after the First World War, relied on Turkmen officials. But, they also appointed feudalists, the Aghas and sheikhs of the Kurds and Arabs in the boundaries of Kirkuk, especially in assigning the sub-district commissioner (*mudir nāhiya*). The appointment of Turkmen in Kirkuk and Aghas and sheikhs of Kurds and Arabs in the countryside of the town by the British was due to the several following reasons:

1 - Since most of the Turkmen were living in the centre of Kirkuk, they had experience in administrative work in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the British were able to take advantage of their potential and administrative experience in the management of the governorate.

2 - Most of the Turkmen wanted the return power of the Ottoman Empire in the region, and the British had appointed them in government departments to satisfy them so that they did not revolt against them.

3 - The majority of management positions in the boundaries of Kirkuk were awarded to the sheikhs and feudal Kurds and some of Kirkuk's Arabs, who lived in approximately 30 villages in the south of Kirkuk. Since the Kurdish and Arabic society at that time were a religious and tribal society, the British understood that by satisfying the elders (sheikhs) they could control the whole area without a rebellion or tribal uprising of the Kurds and Arabs.⁴⁷

The British officials mentioned that by the end of World War I, Kurdish officials were appointed to work under the guidance of the British political officers. At the same time wherever possible Turkish and Arab officials were at once removed and replaced by natives of Kurdistan, while the Turkish officers and troops in the region were evacuated to Baghdad. The system adopted by the British was practically a feudal one,

⁴⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/9009 "Kurdistan in Iraq" Intelligence report 15th November-1923.

⁴⁶ The National Archives, FO 608/95, civil commissioner, Baghdad, 22nd October-1919.

⁴⁷ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 391.

making each chief responsible for the government of his own tribe and recognising the tribal chief as a duly appointed government official, however, they were controlled and advised by British officers.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the Turkmen and Arabs were not indigenous people in the town and they were not prepared to stay in the town when there was any risk of trouble.

In Kirkuk in 1919, the British occupation founded the divisional council in conformity with the wishes of the civil commissioner, and with his sanction, arrangements for a divisional council were made in September, with a “political officer” as President and an “army political officer” as Vice-President, and Ex-Officio members. Ten further member positions were created to represent various tribes and various interests, these positions included representation from: Christians, Jews, farmers, merchants, men of religion, officials, etc. Only one refusal was received.⁴⁹ This council was composed of 2 English and 12 other people from Kirkuk and its environs, ethnically they were 6 Kurds, 4 Turkmen, 1 Christian, and 1 Jew.

The British officials at the Cairo conference in 1921, reported that Kirkuk and Mosul were administered by mutasarrifs, advised by British Political Officers, and with a staff of Kurdish officials, of whom there was a plentiful of supply. Fatah Pasha, a Turk whom the Kurds regarded with favour, had been appointed mutassarrif of Kirkuk.⁵⁰ His appointment by the British was aimed at winning the support of both the Kurds and Turkmen. Furthermore, they preferred that the Kurdish officials had experience during the Ottoman Empire or had local support from the Kurdish people in the area. In June 1921, Winston Churchill wrote to Sir Percy Cox “[a]t Suleimanieh and Kirkuk there should be mutasarrifs each having a British adviser communicating direct with you.”⁵¹ “We have decided eventually to have under British officers no Arab units and this frontier force must therefore consist of Turkmens, Kurds and Assyrians and in my opinion it would be undesirable to station these permanently in posts administered by the Arab government of Mesopotamia.”⁵²

⁴⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁴⁹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 392

⁵⁰ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

⁵¹ The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the Secretary of State for colonies to the high commissioner of Mesopotamia. 24th June 1921.

⁵² Ibid.

Churchill also instructed Sir Percy Cox that he should have an officer in his staff specifically with a mandate of keeping in touch with the non-Arab divisions and when communications improved later or he could appoint one British officer to be stationed at Kirkuk or elsewhere in a non Arab area, with the assistance of three advisers.⁵³

Furthermore, Winston Churchill wrote to Sir Percy Cox “[t]he towns of Erbil, Kifri, and Kirkuk are in no sense Arab though not purely Kurdish, and I am advised that the political situation is likely to be easier on the withdrawal of the British garrisons if they are replaced by units under British officers than by the Arab army.”⁵⁴ Additionally, Churchill recommended to Sir Percy Cox that a “[h]igh commissioner should administer directly through Kurdish officials with British advisers those districts which do not wish to be brought directly under Iraq national government.”⁵⁵

The British high commissioner of Iraq, Sir Percy Cox, reported to Winston Churchill in 1922 that it was in his opinion essential that even if all the Kurdish areas were to participate in the elections and thus be included under the government of Iraq, a separate agreement should be concluded ensuring that no Arab official should be employed in Kurdistan (including Kirkuk). He also reported that the use of Arabic language should not be compulsory and that a wide measure of local autonomy should be granted to the Kurdish, Turkmen, and Assyrian elements based on the composition of their population.⁵⁶ This implied that even though the British officials would not establish the Kurdish state, they tried to strike a balance between the ethnic and religious groups in the whole of Iraq and Kurdistan particularly in Kirkuk and its boundaries because this area was composed of the multi-ethnic and religious groups.

According to the reports of the British officers in Iraq, they situated Kirkuk within the boundary of Southern Kurdistan. For instance, Sir Percy Cox reported that the term “Southern Kurdistan” had been included by him to comprise the liwas of Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk, the sub-liwa of Erbil and qaḍās, “districts” of ‘Aqra, Zākho, Duhok, and Amei. A system of local autonomy under British supervision was aimed at discouraging

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the high commissioner of Mesopotamia to the Secretary of State for colonies. 7th July 1921, your (Churchill's) telegram of June 24th June 1921.

⁵⁶ The National Archives, FO 377/7771, high commissioner Baghdad, Kurdistan, 27, July -1922.

Turkish propaganda and supporting the eventual Federation of Kurdistan with the Arab districts into united Iraq.⁵⁷ The committee of the League of Nations in 1925, recommended to the Iraqi government and the British mandate that they should appoint Kurdish officials in the province of Mosul (including Kirkuk) and that the official language should be Kurdish. They stated “[r]egard must be paid to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and [that] Kurdish should be the official language of all these services.”⁵⁸ However, the British officials and Iraq’s government in Baghdad rejected this recommendation instead they started hiring Arab people from Kirkuk and importing Arabs from the rest of Iraq at the expense of indigenous people in the government departments particularly the North Oil and Gas Company in Kirkuk. The British practiced this political discrimination against the Kurds and Turkmen because they wanted to prevent both ethnic groups from establishing their own state and since their economic and strategic interests were aligned with Iraq’s government.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 89.

⁵⁹ *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu ‘āšira Kirkuk – al ‘ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei), pp 44-45.

CHAPTER VI: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KIRKUK AND THE KURDISH EMIRATES (SORĀN AND BĀBĀN)

During the Ottoman era, Kirkuk town (Sharazur Province) was, in theory, the administrative centre of Southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq) and the Bābān (Sulaymaniyah) and Sorān (Erbil) Emirates between 1516 and 1850.¹ There was also another Emirate in Southern Kurdistan called Bāhđinān (Duhok), which, although part of the mountainous area of Iraqī Kurdistan, was not under the administrative control of Kirkuk town. Further, during the Ottoman era and particularly after the battle of Chālderān in 1514, the right of self-administration was granted to the Kurds in the three Emirates mentioned above, with some overriding conditions administered by the Ottomans. This self-administrative structure was based on an agreement between the Kurdish Emirates and the Ottoman Empire and lasted until the mid-19th century.

During this period, the Kurdish Emirates became a powerful force within the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans faced several internal and external challenges, such as the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832), the Egyptian-Ottoman War (1831-1833), and Russia's transgression of the limits of the Ottoman Empire to gain access to the warm waters of the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Just as the Greeks and Egyptians, the now strengthened and somewhat empowered Kurdish Emirates took this opportunity to demand independence from the Ottoman Empire. However, as a result of the Ottoman's loss of extensive territory in Europe and Africa, Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), took serious measures to restore his authority over the remaining nominal Turkish dominions in Asia and especially the Kurdish Emirates.² However, despite Sultan Mahmud's attempt to revitalize his authority, many Kurdish Emirates had already shaken themselves free from the control and demands of the Ottoman Empire.³

¹ Ceylan, Ebubekir, *The Ottoman origins of modern Iraq*, p 48.

² Aboona, Hirmis, *Assyrians, Kurds, and Ottomans, intercommunal relations on the Periphery of the Ottoman Empire*, New York, 2008, p 159.

³ *Records of the Kurds territory, revolt and nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 - Cambridge, vol 3, 1879-1899, Henry Trotter, Major, Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan, Constantinople, October 30, 1880, p 282.

The significance of the Kurdish Emirates was primarily their strategic location with the borders of the Iranian state, which was the main enemy of the Ottoman Empire at that time. Without a doubt, the Kurdish Emirates were used as protectors of the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire against the dangers from Iran. The Kurdish Emirates' support for and alliance with the Ottoman Empire may be explained by their common affiliation to the Sunni doctrine. The question that then raises itself is what was the relationship between Kirkuk town, as the administrative centre, and the Kurdish Emirates of Bābān and Sorān, which reached their peak strength in the first half of the 19th century?

6.1 Bābān Emirate

The exact beginning of the Bābān Emirate is not accurately known, however according to historical sources, the Emirate was first founded in (*marge*)⁴ in the mid-17th century and it grew rapidly at the expense of the 'Ardalān Emirate. Furthermore, according to the Italian missionary, Dominican Giuseppe Campanile; Kirkuk had been part of the Bābān domination before 1818.⁵

Over two centuries until about the 1850 s, the Kurdish Bābān dynasty grew as the foremost Kurdish tribe in the region and they ruled a wide territory ranging from Sulaymaniyah and Shahrizur to Koysanjaq and Khānaqin. Sulaymaniyah had been the central hub of the Bābān Emirate since 1784. Traditionally, the Bābāns alternated between being Pro-Baghdad and being Pro-Iran for the purpose of increasing their influence over the Emirate. Consequently, both the Ottoman and Persian Empires were intrigued by the Bābāns and interfered in their family quarrels. However, nominally, the Bābān always belonged to the Ottoman Empire. 'Abdul Raḥmān Pasha was the greatest and most powerful Bābān; his reign was between 1789 and 1812.⁶

The Ottomans managed to take advantage of the Bābān prince especially for the purpose of suppressing the potential *Wahābism*⁷ of Arab tribes in the south of Kirkuk

⁴ Marga, is an area which surrounds by mountains in the north west of Sulaymaniyah.

⁵ Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk, The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 29.

⁶ Ceylan, Ebubekir, the Ottoman origins of modern Iraq, p 51.

⁷ *Wahābism* is a militant Islamic movement in which the root and the origin of this movement go back to the Arabian Peninsula in the first half of the 18th century. The founder of this movement is Muhammed 'abdu *Wahāb* (1703-1793), they are conservative and intolerant form of Islam.

as well as other parts of Iraq at the beginning of the 19th century;⁸ and to suppress the protests of the Bani Ḥamdān tribe and ‘Ubed clans against the governor of Baghdad, Ali Raza Pasha (1802-1807) in 1805.⁹ In order to suppress that uprising,¹⁰ the Baghdadi governor asked ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha and Mohammed Pasha, the ruler of Koysanjaq and Ḥareer, to meet in Kirkuk and from there to attack the rebels. However, when the two met in Kirkuk, the Bābān Prince killed Mohammed Pasha due to an old enmity between them. Thereafter, upon the withdrawal of the forces of ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha from Kirkuk towards Qara Ḥasan, they attacked the villages around Kirkuk causing much damage and losses to some forests and farms. This led Kirkuk’s governor to complain to the Baghdadi governor against ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha¹¹ in protest.

The Bābān prince, ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha Bābān, established a military headquarters in Qara Ḥasan, which remains until the present and is situated only a few kilometres from Kirkuk town. He spent most of his time there¹² as Kirkuk and its environs, during his reign, were under the influence of the Bābān Emirate. In addition, Kirkuk’s governor was also obeying ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha’s orders which indicates the extent of his power and prestige.

The governor of Baghdad was not satisfied with ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha of Bābān. He accepted the governor of Kirkuk’s complaints against ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha and took the following actions to end his power and dominance in Kirkuk:

1. Ali Pasha, along with his troops, came to Kirkuk to end the authority of ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha of Bābān. After arriving, he took the decision of removing ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha from power and appointing Suleiman Beg, the grandson of ‘Aḥmed Pasha as the new prince of Bābān.¹³

⁸ *Beg, ḥusaīn nāẓm, t’ārīkh al’ māra al-bābāniyya* (Die Geschichte des Bābāniyya Emirats), translated from Turkish into Arabic by shukur mustafā rasoul and Muhammed al mullah ‘bdulkarīm al mudaris, Erbil, 2001, p 208.

⁹ *Al’umarī, yāsīn’āfandī, ghāiyat al-marām fī t’ārīkh maḥāsīn* Baghdad *dār al-salām* (Die anspruchsvollste Nachfrage in der Geschichte der Schönheiten von Baghdad - das Friedens Haus), (Verlag) *dār al basrī*, Baghdad, 1998, p 207.

¹⁰ *Bani ḥamdān* tribe and ‘*ubed* clans were later defeated to the area of zākho and khābur river.

¹¹ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā’* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), pp 228-229.

¹² *Beg, ḥusaīn nāẓm, t’ārīkh al’ māra al-bābāniyya* (Die Geschichte des Bābāniyya Emirats), p 208.

¹³ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā’* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 229.

2. He sentenced both Khalid Kahiya Katkhudā and Basra governor Ḥāji ‘Abdullah Agha to serve in prison because they were allies and aides to the Prince of Bābān.¹⁴

3. The third and most practical step which was taken by the governor of Baghdad is that he attempted to cause internal strife within the Bābān ruling family. As Michael Eppel put it, “[t]he Ottoman Walys exploited the dissent and struggles between the Emirates and the protected conflicts over succession among the families of the ruling emirs in order to drag them into controversy, thus weakening them, exploiting them for the purpose of the Ottoman manoeuvres between the various forces and eroding their autonomy.”¹⁵ For instance, the Prince of Bābān, ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha, had a relative, Khalid Bag, who had always thought that he should have been the next in line to the throne after Ibrāhim_Pasha of Bābān (1782-1789). Instead, it was ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha who came into power. Ali Reza Pasha then encouraged Khālīd Beg’s old ambition to power. He ordered Khālīd Bag, the brother of Ibrāhim Pasha Bābān, who was staying at that time in Amede, to consolidate the forces of *Amede*, Erbil and Mosul areas in order to attack ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha in Qara Ḥasan area in Kirkuk. However, ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha’s spies informed him that he would be attacked, so when troops of Khalid Beg arrived to Pirde (Altun Keupri), ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha attacked them and killed most of them although Khalid Beg managed to escape and survive. In this way, ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha of Bābān managed to control the Pirde (Altun Keupri) area and construct his centre and military headquarters there.¹⁶

4. In the aftermath, the governor of Baghdad understood that he had to face ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha directly, thus he arranged a large force from Kirkuk to launch an attack on him. However, before Ali Reza Pasha could execute his plan, ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha Bābān began the attack on the governor of Baghdad in Kirkuk, but he failed and had no choice but to withdraw to Darbandi Bāziān,

¹⁴ Ibid, p 229.

¹⁵ Eppel, M, The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: the Impact on the Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Middle Eastern Studies, 05 Mar 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200791874883>, Last Accessed, on 11th of March, 2013.

¹⁶ *Beg, ḥusaīn nāẓm, t’ārīkh al’ māra al-bābāniyya* (Die Geschichte des *Bābāniyya* Emirats), p 208.

which is located in the north of Kirkuk. In response, the Baghdadi Governor attacked the allies of ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha, the governor of Erbil and controlled the town and looted it.¹⁷ Thereafter, he proceeded to attack ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha Bābān in Darbandi Bāziān. Although the Prince of Bābān resisted and defended himself, but he was unable to withstand and had to flee to Iran in 1805.¹⁸

Here it becomes clear that the governor of Baghdad did not want at the outset to face Prince ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha, but he tried indirectly to remove his authority not only in the regions of Kirkuk and its environs but he also wanted to remove his influence in the whole Bābān Emirate including the areas of Sulaymaniyah and its environs. However, when he reached the conviction that the potential enemies of the Prince of Bābān would not succeed in ending his power, instead the contrary, as these attempts only widened his authority and increased his power and prestige. Consequently, the Baghdad governor decided to face that prince directly. This indicates the extent of the power of Prince ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha.

When considering the total of these events, it is clear that both the prince of Bābān and the governor of Baghdad made the area of Kirkuk their headquarters and it was a centre for them and their army for the purpose of resolving their political challenges. This made Kirkuk important for both parties particularly, in regard to the military aspect, therefore, each side tried to take over and control the town and its suburbs. In addition, it was administratively significant too, because it was after all, the centre of Sharazūr province. However, the negative effect of these conflicts was the destruction and looting that occurred in the countryside of Kirkuk.

With the signing of the first Arḍarum agreement in 1823 between Iran and the Ottoman Empire under the supervision of Britain and Russia, under which the borders were agreed and identified between them.¹⁹ This agreement coincided with

¹⁷ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā’* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), pp 230-231; *Beg, ḥusaīn nāzm, t’ārīkh al’ māra al-bābāniyya* (Die Geschichte des Bābāniyya Emirats), p 208.

¹⁸ *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa’id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā* (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), p 85.

¹⁹ *Al dābiṭ, shākir ṣābir, al’ilāqāt al-dawliya bayna ‘irāq ua Iran* (die internationalen Beziehungen zwischen Irak und Iran), Baghdad, 1966, pp 56-57.

the end of the influence of the Bābān Emirate over Kirkuk and its suburbs. This clearly indicates the fact that the Bābān Emirate had been used as a strategic card by both the Ottoman Empire and Iran. Each of the two parties aimed at pulling the princes of that Emirate to their side in order to use them for their political ambitions against the other. Kirkuk town gained such significance as it was geographically located in the borderline between the two parties. Thus, at any time the Ottomans attacked the Emirate, the princes of Bābān turned to Iran to seek protection and power and vice versa.

The final expulsion of the Bābān rulers, which was inevitable under the centralizing policy of the Sublime Porte after 1830, was made easier by the appearance of Ottoman-Persian frontier agreements in 1823 and 1847 and the destructive rivalries of the sons of ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pasha. As the English traveller, Mr. Frazer pointed out: “in the days of ‘Abdul Raḥmān Pashah, the father of Suleiman and Mahmood Pashahs, there was nothing of all this; you might have walked with jewels on your head and gold in your hand from one end of the Pashalic to the other. From Seradusht to Kufri [Kifri] from Koe to Bauna, and no one would have asked you where you were going; — it was Selaam-ul-Aleekoom and Aleekoom-is-salaam.”²⁰ However, the quarrels between the brothers brought about misfortunes and wracked the Bābān Emirate. Consequently, there was constant blame of one another, for example, whenever robbery occurred in the Emirate, each party accused the other, particularly its rival. For example, the servants of Suleiman accused Mahmood of robbery while those of Mahmood accused Suleiman’s people.²¹ According to Frazer, the Persians then came in to settle the disputes, and take the country to themselves and eat it up with their army, living at free quarters.

In 1850, the centralizing efforts of the mid-century governors of Iraq finally prevailed, when the last of the Bābān princes left Sulaymaniyah. It is also argued that the demise of the Bābāns was officially sealed in 1847 with the Ottoman-Iran border agreement, in which Iran promised to give up her claim on the Sulaymaniyah Emirate. The Emirate was totally dissolved when Ismail Pasha replaced the last Bābān Prince. Ismail Pasha, who was a high-ranking officer in the Sixth Army, and

²⁰ Fraser J. Baillie, *travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia*, Vol 1, p 180.

²¹ *Ibid*, Vol 1, p 180.

was the first Ottoman official to rule in Sulaymaniyah as Qaymaqam.²² As the British report in 1917 put it, “In 1851 Kurdish rule in Sulaimaniyah (the more modern name of the town) came to an end with the seizure of ‘Abdallah Pasha and his brother Ahmed. Ismail Pasha, a Turk, was appointed Kaimmakam, and a garrison sent to the town.”²³

6.2 Sorān Emirate

The exact emergence date of this Emirate is unknown but estimated to be after the fall of Abbasid Empire in 1258 at the hands of the Mongols. This caused a power gap and thus many Emirates were founded in the region on the basis of feudalism and inheritance. One of those Emirates was the Sorān Emirate.

This Emirate was located to the northeast of Erbil town, and the centre of the Emirate was Rawānduz.²⁴ It is considered as one of the Kurdish Emirates which became an ally of the Ottomans against the Şafavid Empire, after the defeat of Safavids in Chalderān war in 1514. The Prince of Sorān, Said Beg, the son of Shah Ali, played a major role in the expulsion of the Şafavids from the surrounding areas of his authority.²⁵

The famous founder of Rawānduz was the ruthless and ambitious ruler, Mir Muhammed *Gawre* - the greater (also known as Mir *Kore* - blind). He was able to displace his father, Mustafa Beg in 1814 at the age of 31.²⁶ Then, he began to establish his power from 1826 onwards therefore he had developed cordial relations with Baghdad. He began to consolidate his power by eliminating his rivals. He soon became one of the most famous princes of the Sorān Emirate.²⁷ The weakness of the neighbouring Emirates and the Ottoman Valis made it easier for him, during the 1820s, to take over towns and areas from the neighbouring Emirates of Hakkāri, Bābān and

²² Ceylan, Ebubekir, the Ottoman origins of modern Iraq, p 52.

²³ Records of the Kurds territory, revolt and nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 33.

²⁴ *Rawanduz*, is a district which located in east north of Erbil that duration between them is 100 km.

²⁵ *Al badlysy, sharaḥkhān, al sharaḥnāma* (Ehrenbrief), p 255.

²⁶ McDowall, David, A modern history of the Kurds, London, 2007, p 42.

²⁷ Ceylan, Ebubekir, the Ottoman origins of modern Iraq, p 49.

Bāhdinān and to impose his sovereignty upon them.²⁸ Gradually Prince Muhammed *Gawre* became more powerful until the point he commanded nearly 30,000 loyal fighters.²⁹ Ainsworth described Mir Muhammed in 1861 as “[t]he powerful Bey of Rawandiz, who had united most of the Kurdish tribes of the surrounding mountains under his banner, and had defied for many years the Turks and the Persians, resolved, however, to crush the hateful sect of the Izedis.”³⁰

Mir Muhammed expanded his territorial authority to Zākho and Duhok. These were important towns not only for the trade which passed through them but because they lay strategically between Mosul and *Jazira* bin Umar. Mir *Sa'id*, the Prince of *Amādiya* (*Bāhdinān*) Emirate was known to be weak and he failed to follow-up on the complaint by Mullah *Yahiyā al-Mazuri* against the *Dāsini* (or *Shaykhān*) Yazidis for the murder of his brother, Ali Agha al-*Balita*y, a *Mazuri* Chief in 1831. Consequently, Mir Muhammed used this inaction as an excuse to take it upon himself to destroy the villages of *Shaykhān*, east of Mosul. This destruction resulted in the killing of thousands of men, women and children; wiping out whole communities. Those who escaped did so by travelling north to Tur 'Ābdin, east of Mardin, or to Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul.³¹

In particular, the attacks by the Prince of Sorān on the Yazidis and the Bāhdinān area were based on the following two justifications:

1. The sense of religious fervour and justice compelled the Prince of Sorān to take revenge on the Yazidis for the killing of an Islamic religious person.
2. The ambitious greed of expansionism for occupying the Dohuk area and the north and east area of Mosul was already in his strategic plan and the killing of Ali Agha provided him with a direct excuse to execute his expansionist plans and extending the boundaries of his authority.

²⁸ Eppel, M, The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: the Impact on the Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Middle Eastern Studies, 05 Mar 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200791874883>, Last Accessed, on 11th of March, 2013.

²⁹ Ibid, p 252.

³⁰ Ainsworth, W. Francis, The Assyrian Origin of the Izedis or Yezidis-the So-Called “Devil Worshippers”, Source: Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 1 (1861), pp. 11-44, Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3014180>, last accessed, 26/01/2013 03:14.

³¹ McDowall, A modern history of the Kurds, p 42.

Fraser, the English traveller, on his visit to the Sorān Emirate and Kirkuk confirmed that the Mir extended his arms westward and northward with such success that he had obtained control over a great part of Upper Mesopotamia, extending from Erbil to Kirkuk. According to Fraser, “[...] the commencement of his true rise dates from the war between Persia and Russia, when the Prince Royal who had made some dispositions to crush the Meer, was forced to withdraw his troops in order to concentrate them against more formidable foes. The Meer, taking advantage of this opportunity, not only retook all the territory of which he had been deprived by the Prince, but extended his arms westward and northward with such success that he has now obtained control over a great part of Upper Mesopotamia, besides the districts extending from Erbile (Arbela) to Kerkook, inclusive, on the east of the Tigris.”³²

Furthermore, every night the Prince of Sorān Emirate had dinner with around 100 to 200 soldiers, who had been chosen from among all the various tribes.³³ Thus, in doing this, it could be said that the Sorān Prince was trying to solve the enmities that existed among the Kurdish tribes and tried to unify those tribes, or perhaps he had a bigger dream to establish an independent Kurdish state. Therefore, he tried to annex all Emirates and tribes surrounding his Emirate. The prince of Sorān and Kurdish tribes were able to cut off Baghdad with Constantinople from all directions and consequently with the rest of the Europe and he impeded to seriously affect the intercourse between contiguous towns and districts.³⁴ In 1834, the Porte appeared to have formed the idea of defeating the Sorān Emirate and its Kurdish supporters to open the line of communication between Istanbul and Baghdad.³⁵

Sorān Prince, Mir Muhammed, exploited the weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire and the Bābān Emirate and at first, he agreed with Kirkuk’s governor to occupy the land of Bābān Emirate. Thus, he proceeded with his expansionist plans with the occupation of Erbil, which was a part of the Bābān Emirate and followed by Pirde (Altun Keupri), which was a part of Kirkuk town. He brought them under the control

³² Fraser J. Baillie, travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia, Vol 1, p 64.

³³ Ibid, Vol 1, p 78.

³⁴ Records of the Kurds territory, revolt and nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 1, 1831-1855, Memorandum Regarding the Koords, pp 136-137.

³⁵ Records of the Kurds territory, revolt and nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 - Cambridge, vol 3 1879-1899, Henry Trotter, Major, Her Majesty’s Consul for Kurdistan, Constantinople, October 30, 1880, p 282.

of the Sorān Emirate in 1824. Mir Muhammed appointed a ruler for Pirde or (Altun Keupri) called (‘Audi Kākārash). He ruled the area for 12 years until the collapse of the Emirate in 1835.³⁶

In fact, the purpose of the agreement of the Sorān prince with the Kirkuk governor was to oppose and block the hostility from the Bābān Emirate. However, it is worthy to mention, that actually the Kirkuk governor did not have the autonomous authority to sign such agreements without the consent of the Baghdadi governor (Dawud Pasha 1817-1831). Thus, how was this agreement signed? It is noticed, that at that time, the Baghdadi governor also stood against the Ottomans, thus, it is most likely that agreement would have been signed with his knowledge and consent.

There is another analysis for the agreement between Kirkuk’s governor and the Sorān prince, Shuāny believed that the objective of the Kirkuk governor was to protect Kirkuk from the threat of an occupation by the Sorān Prince. Thus in effect that could change the direction of the expansion of the Sorān prince to another front/target.³⁷ On the other hand, a British traveller, who visited the region five decades later, believed that the rulers of Kirkuk were completely under the control of the Mir Muhammed, the Sorān prince, as he said “Mehemet Pasha succeeded in extending his sway over the neighboring provinces of Kerkuk and Mussul, and in gathering under his flag a large number of Koordish troops.”³⁸

The weakness of the Ottoman Empire could be seen from several points as it could not face the rapid territorial expansions of the Sorān Prince and several factors helped the Emirate demand independence:

1. The Ottoman Empire faced larger political problems with Baghdad which was the main administrative centre of its Empire in Iraq and focused its attention on Baghdad rather than the Sorān Emirate. On the one hand, it had to deal with the political resistance from its governor, Dawud Pasha (1816-1831); in 1828 he led a movement that stood against the Ottoman Empire and declared

³⁶ *Huznī, ḥusīn, sarjamy barhamy (mējhuīy mirānīy Sorān)* (das Gesamtwerk (die Geschichte der Prinzen von Sorān)), *tschāpkhānay*, (Verlag) ‘ārās, Erbil, 2007, p 43.

³⁷ *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa ‘id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert)*, p 151.

³⁸ Millingen, Fredrick, *Wild Life among the Kurds*, London, 1870, p 185.

Baghdad's independence from the Empire. In response, in 1831 the Empire appointed Ali Reza Sha as the new official governor of Baghdad and he was tasked to end the ex-governor's (Dawud) rebellious activities. Indeed, Ali Reza Sha did succeed in halting the rebellion and succeeded in killing Dawud Pasha,³⁹ thus ending Pasha's his authority and threat. Having settled this internal political turmoil, the Ottoman Empire found itself facing another major internal threat. A fatal plague appeared during 1831 in Baghdad and the region, and that changed the strategic focus of Ali Reza Sha *Vali*. Instead of facing the political threat from the Sorān prince, he had to focus on the health crisis that befell his city.⁴⁰

2. Ottoman officials in Baghdad, after 1831, were busy with confronting the supporters of Mohamed Ali *Misri's* movement and they put all of their power and ability towards carrying out that purpose.

3. The prince of Sorān allowed merchants, muleteers, or the inhabitants of circumjacent countries to enter his Emirate without a passport. However, people coming from a distance, particularly from states which had evinced hostility towards him, such as Baghdad, would run the risk of being stopped and imprisoned as spies, particularly if they arrived without permission.⁴¹ Consequently, the external support, which had arrived particularly from Egypt and Iran strengthened the Emirate of Sorān particularly with artillery and weapons.⁴²

4. Forts and mountains in the region of Kurdistan helped the princes (Mirakan) to strengthen their position and embolden them to demand independence.

5. A growing sense of nationalism by the Kurds and all the clans within the Ottoman Empire led to the strengthening of a Kurdish authority, in particular the Emirate of Sorān.

³⁹ *Al sufi, Ahmad 'ali, al mamālīk fī al 'irāq, shaḥā'if khaṭīyira min tārikh 'irāq al qarib (1749-1831)* (Die Königreiche des Iraks, gefährliche Zeitungen in der modernen Geschichte des Irak (1749-1831)), p 52.

⁴⁰ *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 133.

⁴¹ Fraser J. Baillie, travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia, Vol 1, p 80.

⁴² *Ra'wf, 'imad 'abdul salām, al Mosul fī al 'ahd al 'uthmāniyya fatrat al ḥukm al maḥalī (1726-1834)* (Mossul in der osmanischen Zeit unter der lokalen Regierung (1726-1834)), p 198.

The demise of the Sorān Emirate

The strength of the Rawānduz Begs and the extent of their rule caused considerable alarm in both Mosul and Baghdad and the Vali of Baghdad. Aware of this power, Ali Raza Pasha informed Istanbul and the Sultan Mahmud of the dangerous threat to Turkish rule in Iraq.⁴³ The appointment of Muhammed Rashid Pasha, former Grand Vizier and Vali (governor) of Siwās, at Diyarbakir with an army in 1835 foreshadowed the fall of many Kurdish thrones. He suppressed trouble at mutinous Mardin and switched the authority of that area permanently from Mosul to Diyarbakir. In doing this, the Bairaqdār from Mosul and Ali Raza supported him militarily.⁴⁴ The Kurds demonstrated epic resistance against the Ottomans in the bloody battles that it took thirty to forty days for the Ottomans to occupy Rawānduz.⁴⁵ Finally, Negotiations commenced between Rashid Pasha and Muhammed Pasha *Kor*⁴⁶ in order not to shed even more blood. The Sorāni Muhammed Pasha had been offered a peaceful surrender in return for his life. Ultimately, Muhammed Pasha *Kor* gave himself up without fighting allegedly on the advice of his Mullah, Khatti Effendi. Upon giving himself up, he proceeded to Istanbul with Rashid Pasha.⁴⁷ Mir Muhammed departed for Istanbul in late 1836; he was welcomed by Sultan Mahmud II.⁴⁸ While Ali Raza Pasha returned to Baghdad, he was afraid that the Sultan would allow Muhammed Pasha *Kor* to return to his place and take his power again at Rawānduz. Due to his apprehensions, Ali Raza Pasha requested that Muhammed Pasha *Kor* should not be sent back to Rawānduz.⁴⁹

⁴³ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992, p 648.

⁴⁴ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 285.

⁴⁵ Moltka, Von, The revolt of Mir Muhammad, 'Mir Kor' <https://lepzerin.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/the-revolt-of-mir-muhammad/> last access 22-11-2016.

⁴⁶ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992, p 648.

⁴⁷ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992, p 648.

⁴⁸ Ceylan, Ebubekir, the Ottoman origins of modern Iraq, p 48; Moltka, Von, The revolt of Mir Muhammad, 'Mir Kor' <https://lepzerin.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/the-revolt-of-mir-muhammad/> last access 22-11-2016.

⁴⁹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992, p 648.

However, in early 1837, he died mysteriously on his voyage via the Black Sea between Istanbul and Trabzon while trying to return to Kurdistan.⁵⁰ Muhammed Pasha *Kor* was then dispatched to Trabzon by boat. Here he was put up in a house near the sea and ultimately executed by the order of the Vali of Trabzon.⁵¹ And his Emirate collapsed. According to Eppel, “[t]he elimination of the Kurdish Emirates [Bābān and Sorān among them] put an end to the harbingers of Kurdish statehood, destroyed the basis for the development of the Kurdish language or for any of its dialects. The demise of the Kurdish Emirates created conditions favourable for the reinforcement of tribal frameworks and strengthened the status of the Sufi sheikhs.”⁵² After this, the Ottomans appointed Mir Muhammed’s brother Rasoul Pasha as the mayor of Rawānduz, where he held this position from 1836-1847. The governor of Baghdad *Najib* Pasha stripped him of his power in 1847 because he attempted to re-establish Sorān’s Emirate.⁵³ After the demise of the Kurdish Emirates, the Ottomans returned to their system of direct rule especially in towns like Kirkuk and Erbil. Whereby, Kirkuk became a key administrative and military town. The Ottoman civil servants and military officers, began to practice the Turkification policy in order to change the demography of Kirkuk in the favour of Turkmen ethnic group.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Ottoman troops tried to pacify Kurdish tribes in the area in order not to rebel against the Ottoman Empire again.

⁵⁰ Ceylan, Ebubekir, the Ottoman origins of modern Iraq, p 48; Moltka, Von, The revolt of Mir Muhammad, ‘Mir Kor’ <https://lepzerin.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/the-revolt-of-mir-muhammad/> last access 22-11-2016.

⁵¹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992, p 648.

⁵² Eppel, M, The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: the Impact on the Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Middle Eastern Studies, 05 Mar 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200791874883>, Last Accessed, on 11th of March, 2013, p 256.

⁵³ Moltka, Von, The revolt of Mir Muhammad, ‘Mir Kor’ <https://lepzerin.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/the-revolt-of-mir-muhammad/> last access 22-11-2016.

⁵⁴ *Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu ‘āšira Kirkuk – al ‘ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya* (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfāl, und die Kurden in der Türkei), p 16.

CHAPTER VII: KIRKUK'S TRIBAL GROUPS AND THE OTTOMAN POLICY

7.1. Introduction

In this dissertation, it has been very difficult to produce an “all-encompassing” definition of tribe. For the purposes of this dissertation, the term tribe has been used to refer to the different types of social groupings in Kirkuk that are intrinsically linked. This definition is further confirmed by Khoury and Kostner, who outline that a “tribe may be used loosely of a localized group in which kinship is the dominant idiom of organization, and whose members think of themselves culturally distinct (in terms of customs, dialect or language, and origins); tribes are usually politically unified, though not essentially under a central authority, both traits being commonly attributable to interaction with states.”⁵⁵ Such tribes do not usually correlate directly with the state and could also be parts of larger, often regional, political structures of tribes of similar kinds. The categorization of human societies and groups are discussed in the Qur'an (49:13) “O mankind: We created you from a male and a female and made you into peoples and tribes [qaba'il] that you may know each other. Truly, the noblest of you in God's sight is the most pious among you: God knows all and is aware of all.”⁵⁶ The classification of both tribe and government power are essential towards the thinking of the subtlest and most important pre-modern Islamic social ideas.⁵⁷

As mentioned in the sixth chapter, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire dealt with the Kurdish tribes in Kurdistan indirectly through the Bābān and Sorān Kurdish Emirates. However, since the second half of the nineteenth century and after the dissolution of the Kurdish Emirates, the Ottoman officials in Baghdad and Mosul had to directly deal with the Kurdish tribes and face their wrath, rebellion and aggression. For instance, the Turkish governor possessed sufficient military strength to control almost every element of the territory of Kirkuk town, but, this control did not

⁵⁵ Edited by Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, University of California Press, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0d5n99hf/>, Last accessed, 28-4-2014, p 7.

⁵⁶ The Qur'an (49:13).

⁵⁷ Edited by Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostner, *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, University of California Press, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0d5n99hf/>, Last accessed, 28-4-2014, p 1.

extend for more than a mile or two outside of the centre of the town, where the Arabs and Kurds continued to roam at will, defying all.⁵⁸ That means the Ottoman authority did not have much power over the tribes of Kirkuk, particularly over the Hamawand. The Hamawand in Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah, was a small tribe, but warlike in their nature, with an organized brigade in the areas of Baghdad, Kermanshah and Mosul, and was considered to be one of the most resistant tribes against the Ottoman officials and Iranian governments. With a ruling family of four branches, their authority was present in about 50 villages but mainly in Chemchemāl, quite a poor village located in the north east of Kirkuk;⁵⁹ with control over the tribal followers and villagers.⁶⁰ In the winter of 1881-1882, Gerard defined the Hamawand tribe precisely by saying: “[t]he Hamawand Kurds inhabiting district about Tschemschemal, in the triangle between Kerkuk, Kifri, and Sulimania, though only numbering about 1,000 horsemen, are noted and daring marauders, and now armed with Martinis, well mounted and recruited by all the deserters, of country, hold the whole district in terror [...] They are subdivided into following sections, dwelling at Bazian, Kara Hassan, Dirband, and Tschemschemel: 1) Hamawands; Sheikhs-Taki-bin-Kadr, Joamir, and Hamad-bin-Mama Suliman; 2) Setawasar; Sheikhs-Bairam-bin-obin and brother; 3) Rashmad; Sheikhs-Kaka Saka and Salim; 4) Suframad; Sheikhs-Amid-bin-kala Paya.”⁶¹ In terms of appearance, “The Hamawand Kurds present a type almost distinct from any other of that race, for whereas the Kurds of other tribes tend to brawn and muscle, heavy jowls, thick bristly whiskers, and overhanging brows, the Hamawand are slimly built, almost to weakness, with small unhand some features and thin beards; in fact, the latter sometimes being absent until quite late in life. These curious distinctions rather surprise the traveller after all he has heard of their prowess and valour, which, however, are undoubted, though it cannot be denied that when a Hamawand is relating any anecdote of war he will not depreciate the quality of his valour or that of his comrades.”⁶²

⁵⁸ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p 124.

⁵⁹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, *Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908*, p 75.

⁶⁰ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-UI-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 201.

⁶¹ M. G. Gerard, C.B., *Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82*, p 10.

⁶² Sykes, Mark, *Dar-UI-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 203.

The Kurdish society from the nineteenth century until now has been a tribal and feudal society, and that is the primary cause of its continued backwardness. The continued existence of the tribal structure has been an obstacle towards the progress of Kurdish society and the formation of a unified nation. That is because individuals within a tribe develop a sense of belonging to the tribe instead of belonging to the nation and/or the homeland. This was attested by the British Officials, who were in Kirkuk by the end of the First World War and during their Mandate between 1920 and 1932. The British Officials mentioned that it was difficult for the Kurds to perceive of the concept of a unified nation of 'Kurdistan' as a political entity. In addition to the deeply entrenched tribal mentality another obstacle towards nationhood was that the Kurds were geographically scattered and isolated by mountain ranges.⁶³ Furthermore, as the British high official Sir Percy Cox explained about Kurdish demands: "no Kurd is competent to speak for the whole of Kurdistan, nor do I know of any one man competent to speak for any area larger than a single (? Valley) or tribe. Kurdish as [a] whole have racial, but no national feeling. Geographical and political conditions in Kurdistan have always prevented the existence of larger political units."⁶⁴

Elements of Kurdish nationalism and associated tribal and religious loyalties stand together however with conflicting relations. On the one hand, the first Kurdish nationalists belonged to the ranks of the traditional authorities, Sheikhs and Aghas. It was, in fact, exactly because of the primordial loyalties to these leaders and to the values they carry that the nationalist movement obtained a mass following. On the other hand, the continuous conflicts and rivalries between these traditional leaders prevented and to this day still prevent the Kurds from being united nation.⁶⁵ The Kurdish tribesmen were often ready to defend any legal or illegal actions of their leaders or members of their tribes.

In many instances, the conflicts present between the Kurdish tribes caused much disrepute within the Kurdish society. To settle their disputes, the tribes rarely resorted to the established law, instead, a spirit of revenge and violence which is deeply rooted

⁶³ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Civil Commissioner Baghdad, 27th November 1919.

⁶⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/5068 F.W. Duke, from civil commissioner, Baghdad 25th March 1920 (reported to Government of India and Tehran).

⁶⁵ Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan, p 7.

in their psyche influenced their conflict resolution techniques. For example, an Englishman, Mark Sykes, visited the northern part of Kirkuk particularly the places around the Mosque of 'Ali at the end of the 19th century and described the people as “lawless” by saying “[t]he people who live round this mosque are very lawless and fanatical, and they are a thorn in the side of the government. When, therefore, the pasha [the mayor of Kirkuk] heard that I had ridden to that side of the town, only accompanied by my dragoman, he sent four mounted horsemen to look after me and they followed as hard as they could gallop.”⁶⁶

Although, the tribal system, in both Kurdish and Arabic societies, was the cause of their backwardness, it must be emphasized that the root cause was the weak authority and poor social conditions under the Ottoman occupation. The Kurds and Arabs were required to live under the dilapidated conditions of the Ottoman Empire, consequently, they could not build their own nation, on the basis of science and knowledge, like other advanced nations.⁶⁷

7.2 Kirkuk's tribal composition

Kirkuk was inhabited in the past by different tribes including the Kurds, Arabs, and some Turkmen. It was hard for the British to draw the border between Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia (Iraq) as they said “no hard and fast cut can be drawn between Kurdistan and Mesopotamia [Iraq] there are a series of imperceptible gradations between the nomadic tribal Kurd, settled tribal Kurd, settled non-tribal Kurd, settled Turco tribes, settled tribal half Turco- Arab, nomadic Arab, and settled Arab. All these elements are gradually settling down into their places.”⁶⁸

The relationship between the Kurdish tribes and other religious minorities was friendly. The Jewish families lived scattered among the Kurdish tribes and they were left undisturbed. However, they were not allowed to carry arms, nor were they allowed to interfere in Kurdish tribal wars. In any case, this situation was in their favor as they

⁶⁶ Sykes, Mark, *Through five Turkish provinces*, Jesus College Cambridge, pp 60-61.

⁶⁷ *Al damlujī, šadīq, 'imārat bahdīnān al kurdiyya 'imārat au al 'amdādiyya* (Das Kurdische bahdīnān Emirat oder al-'amdādiyya Emirat), (überarbeitet von) *taqdīm ua murāja 'a 'abdulfatāḥ al botānī*, second published, Erbil, 1999, p 3.

⁶⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/5068 F.W. Duke from civil commissioner, Baghdad 25th March 1920 (reported to Government of India and Tehran).

were able to travel freely among hostile tribal areas, in the pursuit of trade. Christians were treated similarly, sometimes they were in a state of vassalage to the Kurds, but more often they owned their own lands and were on an equal footing with the Kurdish population.⁶⁹ Furthermore, most of the specialized crafts were practiced by the Christian and Jewish minorities in Kurdistan.⁷⁰

7.2.1 The differences and similarities between the Kurdish and Arabic tribes

What distinguishes Kirkuk's tribes from all of the other tribes of Iraq is that they included a mixture of Arab and Kurdish identities. Since Kirkuk was an area which separated Arabic Iraq from Southern Kurdistan, it became a contact point for those two ethnic groups, resulting in many common features between them. However, their differences still outnumbered their commonalities. The most prominent features of their differences and commonalities can be described as follows:

Socially, the nature of the lives of both the Kurdish and Arabic tribes was either nomadic or semi-nomadic. The nomadic group was in continuous movement and travel as they always looked for water and pasture sources for their animals. The semi-nomads worked in agriculture, practiced animal breeding and settled in villages and rural areas. Arab tribes (*'Al 'Ubed*, *'Al Şaiḥ*, and *Na 'em*) which resided in the southwest of Kirkuk had a nomadic lifestyle. As such, they were in continuous movement, lived in tents, and practiced animal breeding. On the other hand, the Arabic tribe of *Jboor* presents an example of a semi-nomadic lifestyle. They settled permanently in a particular area and worked in agriculture.⁷¹ The majority of the Kurdish tribes were semi-nomadic and they spent the whole winter at one place and moved in spring to the first summer pastures. They had two, or at most three, mountain pastures, which they utilized in a row. Few Kurdish tribes were nomads, rather the semi-nomadic tribes possessed two different

⁶⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁷⁰ Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, *The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, p 18.

⁷¹ *Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maḡba 'at sinda ḡabi' avlinmshdar, Mosul, 1907*, p 213; *Mosul vilayeti salname 1890* (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1890), p 101.

tents: “a heavy, warm and luxurious one on the winter” pastures (which stayed standing there all the year) and a lighter tent for travelling.⁷²

In addition, the social values of both the Kurdish and Arabic tribes of the Kirkuk area were developed along similar lines. They both prized values such as courage, adherence to customs and traditions that were inherited from their parents or grandparents and the defence of their people against enemies. In 1920, the British officials made the difference between the Kurds and Arabs by stating “in battle they [Kurds] are courageous and much cooler than the Arabs; they are callous in shedding human blood and generally very brutal. In war, they are often treacherous, but simple in ordinary life. The semi-nomads especially are expert horsemen.”⁷³

In terms of women and their role, women in Kurdistan were generally allowed great freedom; many of them could ride and shoot, but undertake no manual labour beyond making butter and performing ordinary household duties.⁷⁴ In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the English traveller, Bishop, visited Kurdistan and described the Kurdish women as “unveiled and walking with a firm masculine stride even when carrying children on their backs.”⁷⁵ Additionally, according to Sykes, most of the noble families of the Kurdish tribes in Kirkuk intermarried with the Arabs in Mesopotamia.⁷⁶

Politically, the highest authority within the tribes of the Kirkuk area was concentrated in the chief of the tribe. These authoritative chiefs are differentiated from the rest of the tribe members by having a designated title. The Kurdish tribes designate their chiefs as either, Agha, meer or beg. On the other hand, the Arab tribes confer the title of Sheikh to the person who leads them.⁷⁷ The chiefs of the Kurdish and Arabic tribes take advantage of their power to control the members of their tribe and mobilize them in the face of external aggression, or threats to their authority, or for the purpose

⁷² Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, *The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, p 17.

⁷³ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁷⁴ Sykes, Mark, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, Vol. 38 Jul.- Dec., 1908, 451-486.

⁷⁵ Bishop (Isabella. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, Vol 2, New York - London, 1891, p 206.

⁷⁶ Sykes, Mark, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, Vol. 38 Jul.- Dec., 1908, 451-486.

⁷⁷ Batatu, Hanna, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq a study of Iraq's old landed and commercial classes and of its communists, Ba'thists and free officers*, London, 2004, p 63.

of expanding the boundaries of their authority.⁷⁸ However, it should be noted, that the title “Sheikh”, in Kirkuk, is not only a designation for the tribal chief, as it is amongst the Arabs, it also refers to a man who is holy and venerated either on account of his descent from a sacred origin or because of his pious life. As such, nearly all descendants of the Prophet (*Sayyids*) are given the title of Sheikh in Kurdistan.⁷⁹ However, people under their chieftdom in Kirkuk and its environs were oppressed. As the British officers in Altun Keupri, stated at the end of 1918, the Kurds suffered more from their chiefs and *Sayyids* than from the Turkish officials.⁸⁰

There are two mechanisms to become a religious Sheikh, also called *juwwayyid* (noble, high-minded). One is through the path of piety and holiness, without requiring a woman, and the other is through expert knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The highest rank is assumed by those who are capable of combining both holiness and knowledge. They live an ascetic life, nourishing themselves exclusively from the pure things of nature, which they cultivate themselves. Their duty is to channel divine blessings on the community, through their rituals and meditation, undertaken in the *Khalwa*, a sacred place and congregation outside the village and thus removed from the political factionalism of the secular sphere. The spiritual Sheikhs were traditionally not allowed to be involved in politics,⁸¹ for the reason that they exercise huge religious and political power and influence throughout Kurdistan;⁸² something that seems to have been neglected nowadays.⁸³

Demographically, what distinguished Arabic tribes from Kurdish tribes were their population sizes and their territorial areas. The Arabic tribes were usually larger than the Kurdish tribes. Due to their bigger population sizes the Arabic tribes also lived on larger land areas; while the Kurdish tribes were smaller in size, both in terms of

⁷⁸ *Tufīq, zirār ṣadīq, al qabā'īl ua al zahāmāt al qabaliyya al kurdiyya fī al 'aṣīr al uasīl* (die Stämme und kurdische Stammesführer im Mittelalter), (Verlag) 'ārās, Erbil, 2007, p 2.

⁷⁹ Hay W. R, Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 38.

⁸⁰ The National Archives, FO 608/95, memorandum from P. O Sulaimaniyah to A.P.Os., Kifri, Kirkuk, and Altun Keupri, 8th December-1918.

⁸¹ Schaebler, Birgit, University of Erfurt Constructing an Identity between Arabism and Islam, The Druzes in Syria, The Muslim World, Volume 103, January - 2013, p 64.

⁸² Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, Shaikh Khalid of Suleimania, 14 June 1918, Maunsell, p 103.

⁸³ Schaebler, Birgit, University of Erfurt Constructing an Identity between Arabism and Islam, The Druzes in Syria, The Muslim World, Volume 103, January - 2013, p 64.

population and the limits of the area that they inhabited.⁸⁴ It is possible to postulate, that this difference is also due to the geographical nature of the areas inhabited by both the Arabic and the Kurdish tribes. The former, lived in plain areas, with the possibility for easy expansion and growth. On the other hand, the Kurdish tribes lived in mountainous regions with little chance to spread, broaden and expand the limits of their territory.

Genealogically, another difference between the Kurdish and Arabic tribes is the degree of interest in their histories. While the Arabic tribes were deeply interested in their origin, the Kurdish tribes were not. For instance, every Arab tribe had available detail of its origins in the form of a family tree which registered the names of hundreds of parents and grandparents, usually traced back to the Prophet's lineage. However, it was rare and seldom for the Kurdish tribes to document the history of its origins or record the names of ancestors.⁸⁵ As such, the Arabic clan's composition is based on their family origin (kinship), whereas the Kurdish tribal composition is built on the basis of the land and the sense of belonging to that land.

Culturally, Arabic and Kurdish tribes may be easily distinguished through their unique ethnic wear and costume. According to captain Hay, Kurdish traditional dress normally consisted of a white cotton shirt with long sleeves, baggy cotton trousers, and a black quilted coat which crosses in the front over the stomach and is tucked into the trousers. In addition, men wind a long piece of printed calico, around their waist, interlacing it backwards and forwards.⁸⁶ In contrast, Arabs wore a mantle, called 'abah on state occasions. An old man is sometimes seen in a long quilted silk jacket of bright yellow or pink reaching to below the knees. The Sheikhs of some Arabic tribes in the remotest hill areas dress and appear similar to his tribesmen, thus there is little distinction between the two in terms of dress.⁸⁷

Hay discussed his interest in Kurdish wear by saying "[a] word must be said about the long white sleeve which every Kurd wears. The Arab often wears them, too, but not

⁸⁴ *Al 'azāuī, 'abās, 'ashā'ir al 'irāq al kurdiyya* (die kurdischen Volkstämme im Irak), vol 2, Baghdad, 1947, p 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp 13-14; *Khaṣṣbāk, shākīr, al 'irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī'iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), p 173.

⁸⁶ Hay. W. R, *Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920*, p 40.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 42.

in such an exaggerated form. I have several times asked the reason for their length, and am usually told that the objective is to enable the wearer to tie the ends behind his neck, thereby pulling up his coat's sleeve as far as his elbow, and keeping his arms free for working, eating, washing, or fighting as may be necessary. When not tied together behind the neck, these sleeves are normally wound round the arm above the wrist. They are loosened while praying.⁸⁸

7.2.2 Nomadic lifestyle

A Nomadic lifestyle has a unique economic and social structure. The majority of the Kurdish and Arabic tribes were semi-nomadic and nomadic respectively, with three important features. Socially, they were dependent on the tribal system; economically, their livelihood depended on animal breeding; the animals included a wide variety of livestock; sheep, goats, cows, camels, horses, donkeys, mules; and geographically, they continuously moved from one area to another, for the purpose of obtaining pasture for their animals. The nomadic lifestyle is highly dependent on the presence of pasture. The rainy season (October – May) saw the abundant growth of pastures in the many plains of Kirkuk. Nomadic tribes flocked to these plains. However, after May, the dry season, forced them to search for new grass and thus, they would move to another area.⁸⁹ In 1920, the British officials classified Kurdish tribes into two parts: semi-nomad and sedentary Kurds; they were described as practical and far more superior compared to the Arabs in energy, industry, and enterprise.⁹⁰

As the landscape in Kirkuk is made up of broad plains, hills and the Tigris plain, the nomadic tribes of Kirkuk would move to these various sites during the dry season. Kurdish and Arabic tribes have been consistent in their routes and their choice of quarters. While the Kurds would move the mountainous regions, the Arabs would move to the Tigris Plain. This may explain why the Kurds do not have experience in breeding camels, although, some tribal chiefs may own a few; camels do not survive well in mountainous regions.⁹¹ In any case, the few nomadic Kurdish tribes that existed had

⁸⁸ Ibid, 42.

⁸⁹ *Khasbāk, shākir, 'arabī badu ua shuānkārāi Kurd* (die Arabischen Beduinen und die Kurdischen Nomaden) *uargerānī* (der Übersetzer) *jazā taufiq tālib, govārī kurdolojī* (Kurdologie Magazin), *zhmāra* 2 (nummer 2), Sulaymaniyah, 2009, p 402.

⁹⁰ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁹¹ Hay. W. R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 58.

well-defined quarters and pasturages for the wet season and for the dry season. Likewise, the nomadic Arabic tribes of the desert, also had rights over pasturage areas and wells, mainly in the plains of the Tigris River, but these were larger districts and were not regularly visited.

A distinguishing feature between Kurdish and Arabic nomadism is the degree of settlement. It may be argued that Kurdish nomadism had gradually evolved into semi-nomadism, whereas the Arabs remained totally nomadic. This is evident, as the nomadic Kurds built two homes in their two different seasonal quarters, whereas the Arabic nomads continued to move around with their tents only. Furthermore, the semi-nomadic Kurds began cultivating agricultural produce and crops, such as wheat and barley, whereas the nomadic Arabs showed no interest in agriculture. Although it is not possible to give a clear definition of Kurdish nomadism as the phenomenon varied over time, but undoubtedly there is an evident gradual evolution towards a more settled livelihood. This tendency to become settled was partly a natural occurrence and partly artificial in that it was brought about or encouraged by governments.⁹² In 1920, the British officials emphasized that “the sedentary Kurds are usually good agriculturalists; many semi-nomads are weavers and smiths by trade.”⁹³

7.3 The Kurdish Tribal Challenges during the Ottoman Empire

Ottoman administrators viewed nomadic tribes as wild, uncivilized, and unlawful. According to them, the settled Bedouin was a good Bedouin.⁹⁴ This line of thinking was widespread in the whole of Iraq. Even during the British occupation, this point of view towards nomadic tribes continued, Sir Percy Cox mentioned that Iraqi officials – who were mainly educated inhabitants of major towns – “look upon tribesmen as savage, and desire the break up the tribal organization and to deprive the tribal leaders of power.”⁹⁵

⁹² League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, p 41.

⁹³ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁹⁴ Shaebler, Birgit, *The “Noble Arab” Shifting Discourses in Early Nationalism in the Arab East (1910-1916)*, Shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations / ed. by Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden, 2005, p 444.

⁹⁵ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 – Cambridge, vol 6, 1921-1927, My Lord Duke (Secretary of

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman officials were directly facing problems related to the tribes of Kirkuk. The conflict between the Ottomans and these tribes differed in terms of objective, nature and intensity, dependent on the tribe. For instance, initially the Ottomans engaged in militant campaigns for the struggle of power with the Kurdish rulers of the Bābān and Sorān Emirates, however later when facing tribal resistance, they dealt with many small-sized uprisings that were, in most cases limited to specific areas and only within several villages. By and large, the tribal resistance and conflicts that the Ottomans faced may be described as random actions with tribal-centric goals that lacked systemization, but have nonetheless this caused disruption and the breakdown of security. Furthermore, there were instances of real challenges, such as the conflict between the Ottomans and the Hamawand tribe.

The Hamawand tribe was a Kurdish semi-nomadic tribe in Kirkuk that lived in the Bāziān hill in north-eastern Kirkuk since the mid-eighteenth century.⁹⁶ Some scholars mention that this tribe had migrated from the regions of Sinne (located in the west of Iran and east of Iraq) to the Kirkuk area at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁹⁷ However, regardless of their origin, the tribe was known for being brave, adventurous and revolutionary.⁹⁸ In 1919, British officials estimated that the tribe numbered about 1,200 families; and described them as the most valiant and intelligent of all Bābā or Bābān Kurds.⁹⁹ They were excellent horsemen, good shots with their rifle, capable smiths and agriculturalists, and bold robbers. Similarly, their women were strong, not veiled and well-treated.¹⁰⁰ For instance, it was reported by Sykes that once the Hamawand men were away on a raid, the Jāfs came down to take their sheep. However, twelve Hamawand girls got on their fathers' horses and pursued the robbers; they

State for Colonies), The situation in Iraq, Confidential, The Residency, Baghdad January 10, 1924. High Commissioner for Iraq, p 343.

⁹⁶ *Al 'azāuī, 'abās, 'ashā'ir al 'irāq al kurdiyya* (die kurdischen Volkstämme im Irak), vol 2, p 77.

⁹⁷ *Khurshīd, fu'ād ḥamah, al-'ashā'ir al-kurdiyya* (die kurdischen Volkstämme), Baghdad, 1979, pp 67-68.

⁹⁸ *Al gurāny, 'ali saiyydū, min al 'umān 'ila al 'mādiya au jaula fī al Kurdistan al jnubiyya* (Von Amman nach al 'mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), p 39.

⁹⁹ Kurdish tribes were divided in to three classes first class who were the semi-nomads of the plains and southern hills. These tribes were very similar to one another in habits and appearance. They were expert smiths, weavers, and tent makers. They were known as the Bābā or Bābān Kurds. Sykes, Mark: The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, Vol. 38 Jul.- Dec., 1908, 451-486.

¹⁰⁰ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

caught ten, killed nine, sparing one, whose beard, eyebrows and head they shaved, taking his clothes and giving him a woman's dress to wear. He was then instructed to go to the chiefs of the Jāfs to tell them what the Hamawand girls could do, let alone the men.¹⁰¹ The Hamawand aggression continued throughout the British occupation, during this time they were described as “definitely hostile.”¹⁰²

In addition to animal breeding, many Hamawands chose to enter the services of the Government and they proved to be useful officials. Most of them spoke Arabic, though their native language was Kurdish.¹⁰³ As they were influenced by the Arab and Persian cultures because they lived between the borders of the two nations their dress was a mixture of Arab and Persian styles. Over time, the Hamawand became the most powerful and famous Kurdish tribe, having some influence on political events in Kirkuk and its boundaries. The Ottomans were permanently and continuously challenged by the Hamawand tribe and they had instil tactics to manage them.

Aside from the challenge of the Hamawand tribe, it is noted that during most of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottomans had the most fraught relationship with the Kurdish tribes, in spite of the presence of a large number of Arabic tribes and Turkmen tribes that lived inside Kirkuk and its boundaries. For instance, historical sources rarely indicate problems and conflict between the Ottomans and Arabic tribes in Kirkuk.

The main problems that were caused by the Kurdish tribes are:

- **Inter-tribal enmity, conflicts and resultant break down of security:**

The main features of Kurdish tribal society were distinguished by a spirit of kinship protection and revenge. As such, when a problem between two or more people from different tribes arose, it would then extend to all members of the tribes involved. In addition to this strong sense of kinship, there was also a deep-seated distrust of the law and the court system in resolving personal, social, marriage, land and other issues. Thus,

¹⁰¹ Leslie, Shane, Mark Sykes his life and letters, with an introduction by the Right Hon, Winston Churchill, London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1923, pp 194-195.

¹⁰² Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Tribal situation in Southern Kurdistan, 28/8/1922 p 164.

¹⁰³ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

Kurdish tribes would rarely resort to law and instead, would take matters into their own hands.

For instance, there are some Ottoman records that documented the aggression committed by the Hamawand tribe against the Shuān tribe. For example, in 1898, the Hamawand tribe attacked the Shuān tribe, burning ten villages and looting their homes and animals, and leaving people homeless.¹⁰⁴ The records were silent regarding the possible root cause of the conflict. However, in the case of the Hamawand and Shuān, it may be possible to postulate that the initial cause was related to their borders. However, it should be noted that not knowing the exact cause of conflict is not striking, as in the context of tribal societies, violence and enmity may at times continue for many generations, continuing long after the initial cause of the conflict has been forgotten.

- **Non-payment of tax (revenue) to the Ottoman Empire:**

The Ottoman Empire had imposed a tax equivalent to one tenth of ones annual income. One of the challenges that the Ottoman Empire faced in the Kirkuk area was the enforcement of the collection of this tax (revenue). As Shields observed, the nomadic lifestyle of the tribes in Kirkuk was the main challenge resulting in the lack of collection: “the movement of the nomads made it difficult for the government to control or to collect taxes from them.”¹⁰⁵ The Ottoman records show that in some cases the government was required to forcefully intervene to collect taxes. In 1913, according to a document by the Ottoman *Jandorma* forces in the Mosul province, the Agha of Jāf tribe, who lived in the east of Kirkuk, not only failed to pay his taxes, but the Agha also failed to pass on the farm taxes he collected on behalf of the Ottomans, keeping it for himself. When the Ottomans discovered this embezzlement, they sent 500 to 600 *Jandorma* (soldiers) to deal with the Agha’s disobedience.¹⁰⁶ In spite of such a deterrent policy, tax collection remained a challenge. Even during the British occupation in 1919, the British had the same problem with Arab tribes at Kirkuk and tax collection.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), p 84.

¹⁰⁵ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, p 164.

¹⁰⁶ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 149,156.

¹⁰⁷ *Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919*, Oxford, 1992, p 399.

- **Taking advantages of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire**

The disastrous Russo-Ottoman war of 1877–1878 led to a power vacuum in the Vilayet of Mosul, as in many other parts of the Empire. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the Hamawand exploited the declining Ottoman authority in the Vilayet to increase its brigandage in the Kirkuk - Sulaymaniyah region. Consequently, from late 1885 onwards, the Mosul Vilayet authorities were challenged by an outbreak of serious tribal disorders, involving the Hamawand.¹⁰⁸

Kurdish tribes were disappointed and annoyed with the Ottoman rule and consequently, attempted to take advantage of the Ottoman's weaknesses. Thus the tribes would often rebel however, their rebellion was not organized. Furthermore, during the Russo-Ottoman war in 1877-78, the Ottomans stationed only 80 soldiers in the countryside of Kirkuk, because most of them were sent to face the Russians. Additionally, the Ottoman soldiers were not in a position to wield any meaningful control in Kirkuk and had no inducements to risk their life in duty because they were not paid their salary for four years. As a result, the Hamawand as took advantage of these circumstances and became the masters of the countryside of Kirkuk and managed to control the road between Kifri to Sulaymaniyah.¹⁰⁹

- **Kurdish Support of Sheikh 'Ubeidullāh's Revolution (1879-1882).**

In 1879, Sheikh 'Ubeidullāh's revolution against Iran and the Ottoman Empire started in Kurdistan. But, in 1882 both countries suppressed his revolution and exiled him to Mecca. He died the following year while in exile. The Hamawands supported Sheikh 'Ubeidullāh's revolution and started to take advantage of the situation. They plundered many things in the Persian towns of Kasr, Kermanshah and Zohāb. In Iraq, they twice robbed Baghdad and Kermanshah caravans and others at Şalāḥiya (Kifri), Altun Keupri, and Kafār. Finally, they signed an agreement with the Turks in which they agreed on the following terms “(1), [s]urrender breech-loading arms; (2) restoration of property of Postal Department plundered; (3) peaceful settlement on lands assigned.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 75.

¹⁰⁹ M. G. Gerard, C. B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 10.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p 10.

- **Reduction of Livestock**

Hamawand conflicts resulted in the reduction of livestock, particularly flocks of sheep and goats in the countryside of Kirkuk. Due to the fact that Kirkuk has a wide fertile plain, many tribes used to grow cattle in the countryside of Kirkuk. However, the Hamawand's war against the Ottomans or other tribes in the countryside of Kirkuk caused nomadic tribes to leave the various conflict areas or sell their cattle, especially in the first decade of the twentieth century. As the British officials in Baghdad in 1917 said "[t]he inhabitants were reported in 1903 to own 30,000 sheep in the pastures near the town [Kirkuk]; but the live stock of the strict may have been diminished owing to the constant raids of the Hamawand between the years 1906 and 1909."¹¹¹

- **Banditry and looting:**

The tribes of Kirkuk carried out banditry and looting activities during the nineteenth century and later (but still during the period of this research). It is argued that these activities were not part of a vindictive tribal mentality, instead, that they were part of a strategy, to show that they could disrupt security during the Ottoman occupation. This is evident due to the lack of attacks against foreign travellers. Records show that these attacks primarily targeted the Ottomans, the Persians and rival tribes. For example, according to Gerard, at the beginning of 1882, the roads in the countryside of Kirkuk were only unsafe because of the attacks by the Hamawand and Jāf marauders against the Ottomans but not foreign travellers.¹¹² Furthermore, in 1848, the English envoy James Felix Jones visited the south of Kirkuk and informed that "the roads between this [Khaniqin] and Kassri-Shirin are infested with plundering parties of the Jaf and Hamawand tribes, rendering it unsafe to proceed without an escort."¹¹³ However, despite these issues on the road he met numerous Jāf and Hamawad Kurds who were friendly with him and his crew.¹¹⁴ More evidence of banditry and looting points to the Hamawand and Dāwda tribes in the Kifri, Tuz Khurmātu and Dāquq areas who carried out acts of sabotage, banditry and looting against traders. These occurred

¹¹¹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

¹¹² M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 9.

¹¹³ Jones I.n., Cdr. James Felix, Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia, 1857, p 146.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p 150.

on the main trade routes running through the towns and cities of Kirkuk, Baghdad, Mosul and Sulaymaniyah.¹¹⁵

In addition, the records of Sykes, who visited Kirkuk at the end of the nineteenth century, mentioned acts of banditry and looting that were carried out by the Kurdish tribes against the Persians. He described an incident by saying “[a]t Khurmati we heard that the Kurds were becoming very troublesome and that they had cut up a large Persian caravan, killed sixteen men, and stolen two hundred horses.”¹¹⁶ Yet, Sykes still felt compelled to hire an escort to help protect him from potential attacks “[i]f a traveller is going through country where an attack is a possibility, I think that soldiers as well as zaptiehs are necessary [...] if it is a really unsettled locality, such as that adjoining Kerkúk, an escort of soldiers is better.”¹¹⁷

In addition to the frequent Kurdish acts of banditry, Arab tribes in southern Kirkuk were accused of plagues and robberies by Bishop, who visited the region in the last decade of the nineteenth century. According to her accounts, the area of the Ḥamrin hills in Southern Kirkuk was prone to Arab plunders as she was stopped herself while travelling in the area in 1892. She expressed her frustration by saying “[w]e were unmolested, but it is a discredit to the administration of the province that an organised system of pillage should be allowed to exist year after year on one of the most frequented caravan routes in Turkey. There were several companies of armed horsemen among the ranges, and some camels browsing, but we met no caravans.”¹¹⁸

Another incident of a tribal attack against the Ottomans and the Persians occurred in the year 1900. The Hamawands, encouraged by the Sheikhs of Sulaymaniyah and *Qaradāgh*, challenged the Ottoman’s security, whereby they attacked the Iranian pilgrims near Kirkuk, and killed a number of them. In subsequent years and as a precautionary measure, pilgrims went directly from the west of Iran to Baghdad and from there to Mecca city to perform their *Ḥajj* duty.¹¹⁹ This is because the pilgrims from the rest of the Ottoman Empire’s territories were attacked by tribal people, as

¹¹⁵ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 76-77.

¹¹⁶ Sykes, Mark, *Through five Turkish provinces*, p 58.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp 11-12.

¹¹⁸ Bishop (Isabella. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, Vol 1, New York - London, 1891, p 60.

¹¹⁹ *Al gurāny, ‘ali saiyydū, min al ‘umān ‘ila al ‘mādiya au jaula fī al Kurdistan al jnubiyya* (Von Amman nach al ‘mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), p 40.

professor Birgit Shaebler argued, “[t]owns people feared the Bedouins because of their highway robbers, which did not even respect the Hajj caravan.”¹²⁰

Yet again, between the years 1908-1910 the Hamawands stood up against Ottoman officials. Their rebellion led to many acts of banditry and looting against commercial and military convoys in the Chamchamāl area, which lies between Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah. In doing so, they cut and took the telegraph and telephone poles and burnt them, disconnecting administrative institutions, and military centres in the area.¹²¹ In 1917, the British officials emphasized that the Hamawands made problems in the countryside of Kirkuk by saying “[t]he Hamawand Kurds at least as late as 1910 were a serious danger on the roads in the neighbourhood [of Kirkuk], and in spite of measures taken against them in recent years may possibly still cause trouble.”¹²² Although, the Hamawands were considered to have committed crimes and violated the law, their action was also interpreted as a reaction and retaliation against the injustices and oppression committed by Ottoman officials against the people of the area.

In 1909, Major Soane wanted to travel from Mosul to Sulaymaniyah through Kirkuk and described the unsafety of the road “[...] a Kurdish tribe called the Hamavand had cut all communications on the Sulaimania road, killing and robbing all who attempted the passage. That was why I could get neither mule nor muleteer, and had to face the prospect of remaining in Mosul indefinitely. To this I could not resign myself, and cast about for some means of approaching Sulaimania by another road.”¹²³

In sum, Kurdish tribes, committed acts of banditry and looting only against the occupiers of Kirkuk and its boundaries as a strategy of retaliation and revenge against the injustice and oppression of the Turks and Persians against the Kurdish people, who were under their control. There is ample evidence that other foreign travellers, who passed through Kurdish areas, faced no aggressive acts, such as killing or looting, by Kurdish tribes. Instead, they were respected and treated with the generosity of Kurdish

¹²⁰ Shaebler, Birgit, *The “Noble Arab” Shifting Discourses in Early Nationalism in the Arab East (1910-1916)*, Shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations, p 444.

¹²¹ *Al gurāny, ‘ali saiyydū, min al ‘umān ‘ila al ‘mādiya au jaula fi al Kurdistan al jnubiyya* (Von Amman nach al ‘mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), pp 40-41.

¹²² *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 30.

¹²³ E. B. Soane, to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, p 95.

hospitality. Furthermore, the British officials in 1920, emphasized that the Kurdish were robbers by stating “they are mostly hard workers, but robbers by tradition and by inclination.”¹²⁴ This statement is an exaggeration because the majority of Kurdish tribes were courageous, hard-working, and hospitable. But after the First World War they rebelled against the British occupation with a view of establishing their own state.

7.4 Ottoman Policies towards the Kurdish Tribes

The tribes of Kirkuk area and its boundaries consistently gave the Ottomans many problems. Powerful rebellious tribes, such as the Hamawands and Ṭālabānis were responsible for most of the disorder and problems in the area. They carried out acts of banditry and looting against traders and weaker tribes, which threatened the overall security of the area. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Bishop visited Kurdistan and described the relationship between Kurdish tribes and Turkish authority as follows: “[t]he Kurds hate and despise the Turks, their nominal rulers; but the Islamic bond of brotherhood is stronger than the repulsion either of hatred or contempt, and the latent or undisguised sympathy of their co-religionists in official positions ensures them, for the most part, immunity for their crimes, for the new Code.”¹²⁵ However, the position of the Ottomans was the opposite as Mark Sykes says “[t]he Turkish government has of late years done much to suppress this tribe’s [Hamawand] power.”¹²⁶

When the Ottoman military and civilian officials in Kirkuk and Baghdad could not keep the security situation under control, and were unable to manage the problems caused by the tribes in Kirkuk area, particularly the banditry of traders, they made several suggestions to the Porte in Istanbul to control their issues. Their suggestions to help them better control Kirkuk’s tribes included the following: to increase the number of defence troops in the area, to assign a strong district commissioner for Kifri district, and to transfer the centre of the province from Mosul to Kirkuk.¹²⁷ After, during the British occupation, the English officials investigated how the Turks had managed to maintain order. They found that the Ottoman bureaucracy supported by troops was the

¹²⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

¹²⁵ Bishop (Isabella. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, Vol 2, New York - London, 1891, p 378

¹²⁶ Sykes, Mark, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, Vol. 38, Jul.- Dec., 1908, pp 451-486.

¹²⁷ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 76-77.

main reason for the order. The Ottoman officials took the following steps to manage the problems caused by the tribes in Kirkuk:

• **Started reconciliation efforts between rival tribes and imposed a tax as penalty for the mistakes made by the tribes:**

Adopting a reconciliation mechanism is considered to be one of the policies pursued by the Ottoman Empire in an attempt to establish peace and goodwill amongst the tribes in Kirkuk. In 1886, the Ottoman government assigned an official, Ismail *Haqi*, to initiate and oversee the reconciliatory efforts among the warring tribes. Thereafter, the tribes agreed that in the event that a problem would arise between members of different tribes, they were required to immediately raise the issue to the elderly men and Aghas of their tribes before resorting to violence. The heads of the tribes would be responsible for finding a non-violent resolution to the matter. This would be done under the supervision of Ottoman officials in Kirkuk area. The following shows some examples:

Citing once again the ongoing conflict between the Hamawands and the Shuāns, the Ottoman officials attempted to begin reconciliation efforts on September 27 1898. The Hamawand and the Shuān tribes appointed a committee, which comprised of several Aghas and *Mokhtars* (the head of the village) of the Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk areas to resolve the conflict between the two rival tribes. This committee resolved the conflict by agreeing that the Hamawands should return back, within 21 days, 100 weapon pieces and four mules to the Shuān tribe. In addition, they also imposed several other requirements on the rival parties to ensure that goodwill was maintained, including things such as (1) All past conflicts and issues would be buried and not brought up again; both parties cannot quarrel, complaint or talk about past grievances. (2) Members of the two tribes are prohibited from committing any aggression against each other. There should be no acts of public or secret banditry or looting. (3) Members of both tribes are required to protect and defend any convoys, caravans or persons travelling within their borders. In addition, members of tribes found within the other tribe's territory shall not be attacked, particularly, if they are there to fulfil some personal matters (4) Any party found to violate any of these terms would have to accept a range of stringent penalties and punishments issued by the government. In addition, the offending party would have to bear the expenses of the army, police, and agencies

that would be sent for the purpose of defending the law.¹²⁸ This is confirmed by Sykes who visited Kirkuk in 1903, “but their power was considerably broken by Ismail Pasha, who hammered them into suing for peace some fourteen years ago; after this they were unruly or submissive according to the probity or intelligence of the succeeding commanders.”¹²⁹

After a decade of this reconciliation structure, Soane, who visited Kirkuk, observed a trusting relationship between the two tribes. Concerning this, he said “[w]e were now well within the Shuan country, and so long as our road lay in it we were safe, for the Hamavand would not come out of their own country into that of the Shuan, with whom they are friendly, besides having a goodly respect for the strength of this pastoral tribe,”¹³⁰ and in 1922, “Shuan. Between Tak Tak and Shuan Dagh, 700 rifles. Friendly with Hamawand Begzadeh.”¹³¹

A second example of the reconciliatory effort took place between the Ṭālabāni and the Barzinji tribes. It is said that hostilities and enmity that existed between them started because of killing of Ṭālabāni Agha, Abdul Ṣamad by the Barzinji tribe.¹³² Thereafter, as far as the Ottoman document, issued in the year 1886, testifies, there were continuous quarrels and hostility between them. However, under Ismail Ḥaḡi’s call for reconciliation, the Aghas of the two tribes agreed to form a reconciliatory committee, in an attempt to improve the relationship between them, establish security and ensure just and fair dealings.¹³³

• Involving the tribes in Ottoman wars with Iran and Russia:

¹²⁸ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 88-89.

¹²⁹ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-UI-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, pp 201-202.

¹³⁰ E. B. Soane, *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, p 166.

¹³¹ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 - Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Tribal situation in Southern Kurdistan, 28/8/1922, p 163.

¹³² *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 38-39; *Al-‘alyāwāyi, ‘abdullah Muhammed ‘ali, syāsāt dawla al-‘uthmāniya tijāh al-‘ashā‘ir al-kurd fī Kirkuk ua ‘aṭrāfuhā min ‘ām 1889 ḡatā 1909, mujala sardam al-‘arabi, al-‘adad 9*, Sulaymaniyah, 2005, p 173.

¹³³ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 28-34.

Ottomans succeeded in convincing the tribes of Kirkuk and its boundaries to participate in their wars against both the empires of Iran and Russia. The Ottoman Empire exploited the religious fervent of the tribes, convincing them that these wars were blessed and holy efforts. They exploited the name of religion to hide their actual political agenda of territorial expansion and power struggle. The tribes of Kirkuk believed these were blessed wars of Jihād and Ghazw (Invasion) and thus, they participated.¹³⁴ In 1878, 600 horsemen of the Hamawand, armed only with lances penetrated far into the Caucasus and returned with immense spoils.¹³⁵ In this way, the Ottoman Empire succeeded in giving the tribes an alternative cause to fight for, instead of their ongoing inter-tribal rivalries and disobedience to the Empire. The Ottomans adhered to this policy to protect the Empire from potential threats from foreign countries. Had this not been the case, they would have ignored the Kurdish people and dealt with them badly. Furthermore, when the Kurdish refused to pay taxes or rebelled against the Ottoman Empire, they followed multiple strategies (for example, first they tried to reconcile tribes, secondly they fined and finally displaced them) to institute law and order in their territory.

• **The expulsion and deportation policy:**

In 1843, the Ottomans settled about 3,000 Kurdish families from the Lek tribe in Zohāb into villages around Kirkuk. The Ottomans moved them to Kirkuk in order to create a borderline with the Persian Empire as one of the first preparations required to sign the Erzerom treaty in 1847 under the supervision of the Britons and Russians.¹³⁶ Another instance of displacement involved the Arab tribes. In April 1847, the English envoy James Felix Jones visited the north of Baghdad (Tikrit) and described the area as inhabited by various Arab tribes and some of them were forced to flee to the countryside of Kirkuk in 1831. According to him, “Arab tribes were located on the banks of the river [Tigris], and the beautiful islands, rich in their spring garments, formed the abode of the Government, spread devastation wherever they pitched their

¹³⁴ *Al-‘alyāwāyi, ‘abdullah Muhammed ‘ali, syāsāt dawla al-‘uthmāniya tijāh al-‘ashā‘ir al-kurd fi Kirkuk ua ‘aṭrāfuhā min ‘ām 1889 ḥatā 1909, mujala sardam al-‘arabi, al-‘adad 9, Sulaymaniyah, 2005, p 189.*

¹³⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

¹³⁶ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 1, 1831-1855, British Commissioner to Lieutenant-Colonel Sheil, Erzerom, October 25, 1843, p 466.

tents, and, thinned by the plague which assailed the Pachalic in 1831, the former population have been obliged to flee to the more secure districts in the neighbourhood of Kerkut.”¹³⁷ The Ottomans also displaced some Kurdish tribes such as the Hamawands in Kirkuk to distant areas in the Empire. According to an Ottoman document of the Mosul province, which was published in 1887 the Ottoman officials decided to expel a group of the Hamawand tribe which was living in Kirkuk, to the remote areas of the Ottoman Empire, such as Tripoli in Libya.¹³⁸ The policy of deportation and expulsion of Kurdish tribes was one of the harshest Ottoman policies. It was practiced as a reaction against those Kurdish tribes who continuously rebelled against the Ottoman authority.

In 1887, the Ottomans in Istanbul decided to make a transfer the Hamawands to new destinations. Later that same year, they were moved and housed in different cities and towns of Turkey; 100 families were relocated to the Sewās province, 23 families to Konyā province, 50 families to Adana province and 50 families to Ankara province. The objectives of this policy of dividing, separating and relocating the Hamawands into several cities and towns throughout Turkey, were to try to assimilate them, particularly the children, to a life dominated by Turkish values and identities.¹³⁹ In this way, they would not easily return back to the Kirkuk area and cause any further problems to the Ottoman authority.

A decade later, in 1897, the second instance of mass displacement and transfer occurred. This time, the targets were officials of the Ottoman Empire who were responsible for inciting violence, aggression and rebellions among the tribes. This was their punishment because they were not able to solve the tribal problems and instead caused more trouble. They were sent to different areas, such as Baghdad, Konyā (Turkey), Syria, and western Tripoli (Libya).¹⁴⁰

The effectiveness of this policy is questioned by some travellers. A Kurdish traveller, Al gorāny, said in 1931 that the Hamawands were proud that after years of banishment, their leaders were able to return from western Tripoli (Libya) to their

¹³⁷ Jones I. n., Cdr. James Felix, *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia*, 1857, p 28.

¹³⁸ *Murād, Khalīl ‘ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā’eq al ‘uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 44-45.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, pp 44-48.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp 75-76.

homes. In order to return they spent six months on the road, resisting all difficulties and obstacles from the Ottoman army and hostilities from the Arabic tribes.¹⁴¹ This indicates their resilience in the face of danger and difficulties and their ability, despite this, to return home.

- **Migration of people from Kirkuk to other areas because of the Ottoman oppression:**

In his journey in 1903, Mark Sykes the English envoy visited the Osmaniye area, “[t]hree hours more took us to Khengirah, a wonderful hollow in the mountains just on the edge of Syria. Here, at last, I met people who would talk. An old man shuffled up to my tent: "Welcome and welcome again. Peace and delight. You are wise and wonderful aha! I am a Kerkukli. We came here seven generations ago, 150 years No, we marry late, say 200. There was a wicked Pasha in Kerkuk, so Hassan agha left with 100 families and my forbear, Mustafa, the father of Ahmed, the father of Hussim, the father of Ramo, the father of Ahmed, the father of Mustafa, the father of Hasso, and that is me.”¹⁴² This shows that the Ottoman Vali discriminated and oppressed the Kurdish in Kirkuk, and as a result they moved to escape this oppression. The old man was interested in reporting his circumstance to Mark Sykes and showed him a Kurdish people's desire remove the Ottomans from Kurdistan by saying “Alack, I am old and my sons are taken from me for the foolish war. Pray God they soon come back. Say, will the English soon come to take this rich land?”¹⁴³ Furthermore, he was unsatisfied with the Ottoman conscription because his sons were serving Ottoman military.

- **Supporting a tribe in order to weaken another tribe:**

The Empire's main role and primary priority should have been the fair enforcement of the law upon all its subjects, however, various instances indicate that the Empire resorted to the deliberate policy of biased and preferential treatment of the tribes of the Kirkuk area. This was done in order to weaken the strong and rebellious tribes by supporting and strengthening the more obedient ones.

¹⁴¹ *Al gurāny, 'ali saiyydū, min al 'umān 'ila al 'mādiya au jaula fī al Kurdistan al jnubiyya* (Von Amman nach al 'mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), pp 39-40.

¹⁴² Sykes, Mark, *The Caliphs' Last Heritage a Short History of the Turkish Empire*, editor his wife Edith Sykes, London, 1915, p 547.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p 548.

For instance, in 1878, when the Agha of the Hamawand tribe was killed by the Zangana tribe, the Hamawands started to violently retaliate against Zangana tribe. They followed them and forced the Zangana tribe to flee to Sheikh Langer.¹⁴⁴ At that point, the Zangana tribe asked for help from the Ottomans in order to support them against the Hamawand tribe. The Ottomans helped them because the Hamawand, were considered to be troublemakers.¹⁴⁵ During the British occupation the same political practice was exercised. The British hired the Dāwda and Baiyyāt tribes to secure the Kirkuk-Kifri road where a certain amount of brigandage was expected by the Hamawand.¹⁴⁶ This policy exposed the weakness and failure of the Ottoman officials in Southern Kurdistan in managing the affairs of their subjects as well as in enforcing the law and extending justice and fair dealings to their constituents. Instead of convincing people, under their authority, to adopt a more peaceful mentality, that would move away from seeking revenge through violence to abiding by the laws, they perpetuated the conflicts and exploited the idea of revenge in their favour and interest.

• **The construction of several military castles, forts, and installing telegraph line:**

In order to protect and control the roads from banditry, as well as to control the cities and towns of Iraq and Southern Kurdistan, the Ottoman Empire built several castles, forts, and installed a telegraph line. Especially after the return of forces from the Russian war of 1878, new cantonments appeared at *Khamisiyyah* in the *Muntafaq* tribal area, at *Ramādi* in the *Dulaim* tribe, at *‘Amārah* in the *Bani Lam* country, and military garrisons improved somewhat in size and discipline. The telegraph gave a new communication advantage to government militaries to control tribal mutinies in different areas. While, the steamboats helped to check on the tribes of the lower Tigris. Numerous police-posts along the routes and particularly by Ramadi to *Dairulzor*, by *Khālis* to Kirkuk made travel tolerably safe though the carrying of arms remained universal.¹⁴⁷ The distance between the Ottoman military forts was 30-40 km and the

¹⁴⁴ *Zakī Beg, muhammed amin, tārikhī Sulaymaniyah u ulāty* (die Geschichte von Sulaymaniyah und Umgebung), *uargerānī* (der Übersetzer) *malā Jamīl*, Sulaymaniyah, 1999, p 140.

¹⁴⁵ *Karīm beg, dārā Aḥmad, Karīm begī Fatāḥ begī Hamawand, chāpy yakam* (die Erste Ausgabe), (Verlag) *wazāraty paruarda*, hawler (Erbil), 2001, p 52.

¹⁴⁶ The National Archives, FO 377/7771 Intelligence Report Secretariat of H. E. the high commissioner for Iraq Baghdad, the 1st August 1922.

¹⁴⁷ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, p 311.

roads in which the soldiers were appointed were strategic and important, called *Sultāniya* roads.¹⁴⁸

• Attempt to sign the agreement with Iran

Abdul Hamid II approved the proposal to work on an agreement between Iran and the Ottoman Empire to deal with the Hamawand though he added that any agreement had to be in favor of the Ottomans.¹⁴⁹ Both countries drafted and signed an agreement to dominate Kurdish areas, despite both countries having been in a sectarian war for a long time. According to *Öyoglu*, “[t]o govern the fragmented Kurdish groups, the Ottoman state introduced a “unite and rule” policy, moulding them into larger and more manageable units above the tribal level. In so doing, the state needed the Kurdish nobility who claimed legitimacy by tracing their origin back to the Arabs.”¹⁵⁰

• Extending Conscription

Conscription was another way that the Ottomans tried to control the Kurdish tribes, particularly the Hamawand tribe, in Kirkuk and its surrounding areas some years before the First World War. To counter the increasing power of the Hamawands, the Ottomans introduced military conscription in the 1880 s, which was supposed to last for three years only. But Ottoman authorities often refused to hand over their “*teskire*” or certificate at the proposed end of the conscription time and kept the soldiers much longer.¹⁵¹ Consequently, many soldiers who had already served a significant amount of time would disappear suddenly. Generally, those recruited were sent largely to distant parts of the Empire-Yemen, Hedjaz, Constantinople, and so on.¹⁵² Therefore, in 1880, the Kurdish tribes offered in a document to pay a military exemption tax much higher than that paid by Christians, on condition that they should be made perpetually free

¹⁴⁸ *Tuḫṭāq, ‘umar ‘ibrāhīm, al turkmān fī al ‘irāq* (Die Turkmenen im Irak), Sulaymaniyah, 2005, pp 38-39.

¹⁴⁹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 77.

¹⁵⁰ Öyoglu, Hakan, Kurdish notables and the Ottoman State Evolving identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries, New York, 2004, p 53.

¹⁵¹ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 15.

¹⁵² Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 3, 1879-1899, Consul Chermiside to Sir W. White, Erzerom, December 22, 1888, p 616.

from military service.¹⁵³ The reason reported in 1888, by the British consul in *Erzerom* was said to be that Kurdish tribes were not prepared to accept conscription due to their innate dislike to the restraints of military service.¹⁵⁴

However, this policy remained unchanged after the ousting of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In 1908, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was deposed from power by a group of young Turks who were known as '*Al Etihad Wa Al Taraqi*' (i.e. Committee of Union and Progress) in Istanbul. Some historians describe this event as a coup. Sheikh *Sa'id Barzanji* from Sulaymaniyah – a friend of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II and unsatisfied with the coup – wanted to visit the Sultan in Istanbul to calm him down at the beginning of 1909. While Sheikh *Sa'id* was on his way to Istanbul, he had stayed in Mosul for some days. Subsequently, a violent conflict spread to the town on the fifth and sixth of January 1909 when a soldier from Kirkuk insulted a woman in Mosul. Mosul's soldiers responded by launching an attack on the soldiers who came from Kirkuk with the assistance of the local population. This whole event was orchestrated by the followers of *Al Etihad Wa Al Taraqi* to prevent Sheikh *Sa'id Barzanji*'s trip to Istanbul. The event was also guided and encouraged by the religious dignitaries of Mosul, the Mullah to counter Sheikh *Sa'id Barzanji*. The fight left 60 people dead including Sheikh *Sa'id Barzanji* and his followers.¹⁵⁵ However, the government did not take swift action to bring the perpetrators to justice and the delay in catching the murderers and the organizers of the violence caused resentment in Kurdistan. The remaining family of Sheikh *Sa'id Barzanji* returned to their homes in Sulaymaniyah, bringing many challenges to the Ottoman government and the local population. While the Hamawand tribe, which supported the Sheikh, blocked the important roads between Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah, Mosul, and Baghdad, the Jāf tribe cut telegraph communications.¹⁵⁶

The Ottomans provoked different tribes in Kurdistan including the Hamawand and the Jāf by their unwise action against Shaikh *Sa'id Barzanji*. The Barzanji family was a

¹⁵³ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 - Cambridge, vol 3 1879-1899, Henry Trotter, Major, Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan, Constantinople, October 30, 1880, p 285.

¹⁵⁴ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 3, 1879-1899, Consul Chermshire to Sir W. White, Erzerom, December 22, 1888, p 616.

¹⁵⁵ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, pp 61-62

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p 62.

famous family in Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah with the prestigious title as holy men, by right of origin, not of behaviour, and had an immense influence over other tribes in the area. Weak attempts to stop the Hamawand insurgency by the Ottomans did nothing other than pushing them across the Persian border, where they resumed raiding villages and Turkish convoys. In July 1910, Nazim Pasha “Governor of Mosul” agreed with the Hamawands and accepted their nominal submission, but his policy of conciliation, which was dependent on a realization of the extreme weakness of the forces at his disposal, was discarded at his recall in April 1911, but his magistrate policy, which was certified on an investigation of the intense weakness of the forces at his behaviour, was ignored at his call up in April 1911. In the autumn of 1910 the Hamawands were as riotous as ever. A plan was set by the Ottomans in 1912 to calm down the country by recruiting the Kurds as border patrols, based on the model of the Hamidiyah taxes of 'Abdul Hamid's time. But, though a small number of Hamawand, Jāf, and Dizai were recruited, there was no considerable development, and the Hamawand were still in insurgency at the outbreak of war.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precip of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War; Miss Gertrude L. Bell: Review of the civil administration of Mesopotamia, p 43.



ESCORT OF HAMAWAND KURDS.

¹⁵⁸ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 200.

CHAPTER VIII: KIRKUK DURING THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1918-1925)

The British pursuit to occupy Mesopotamia and Southern Kurdistan started in the 19th century as they began to send several envoys, travellers, and representatives to scope out the Ottoman Empire and Iran. Kirkuk became an important station for their journeys. The goal of these trips was to collect accurate information regarding the geography, economy, politics, society and natural resources of Kurdistan and its surrounding areas. The British who would visit the region would try to learn one of the main languages of the area (Turkish, Persian or Arabic) before they set out to visit the Middle East. However, they also had the option of having an interpreter available, a “dragoman”¹ to collect accurate and detailed information about the places they visited. Among the most important British envoys, who had a profound impact on the political decisions and shape of the British occupation in Kurdistan and the Middle East, were Mark Sykes, Major Soane and Gertrude Bell.

In March 1899, the renowned English official and envoy Mark Sykes visited Kirkuk and its outskirts such as Şalāhiyya (Kifri), Khurmātu, and Altun Keupri. During his journey, he was accompanied by escorts, dragoman, and servants to protect, translate, serve, and explain to him everything about Kirkuk and its surrounding areas.² Four years later, in 1903, he visited Kirkuk and its environments again in order to gain more information about the area as it is recorded in his book (Dar-UI-Islam).³ He was the main planner of the journey to Kurdistan and played a major role in redrawing the map of the Middle East as he was the chief representative from Great Britain to write and sign the Sykes–Picot Agreement in 1916.⁴ According to this agreement, Kirkuk fell under British authority.

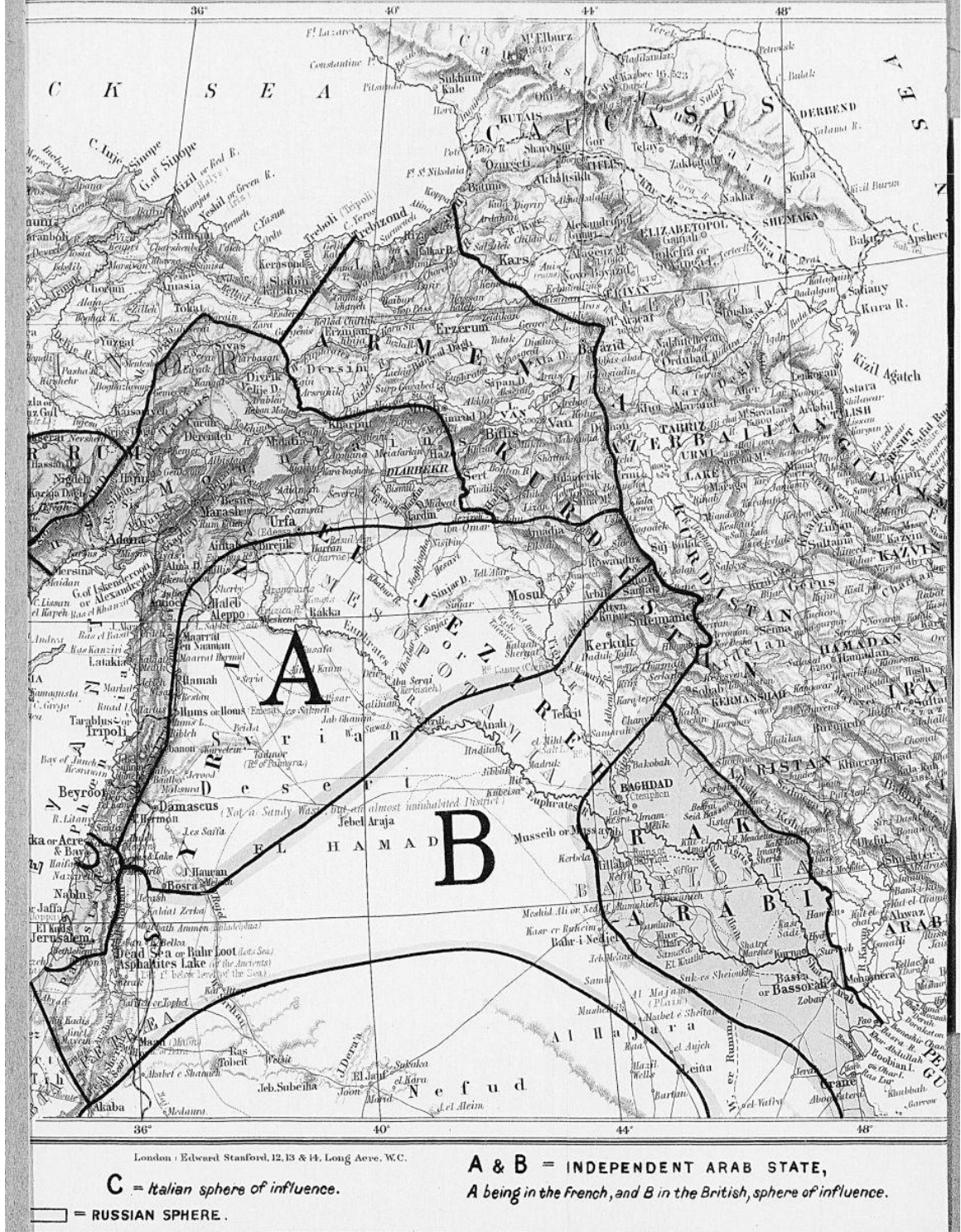
¹ An interpreter or guide, especially in countries speaking Arabic, Turkish, or Persian.

² Sykes, Mark, *Through five Turkish provinces*, pp 57-64.

³ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-UI-Islam*, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey.

⁴ Sykes-Picot Agreement, (May 9, 1916), secret convention made during World War I between Great Britain and France, with the assent of imperial Russia, for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The agreement led to the division of Turkish-held Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine into various French- and British-administered areas. The agreement took its name from its negotiators, Sir Mark. François Georges-Picot of France. Sykes-Picot-Agreement, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/577523/>. last accessed 22-11-2013.

STATE THE AGREEMENTS OF 1916 IN REGARD TO ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA, &c.



The map of the Sykes-Picot treaty in 1916, which is regarded to the Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.⁵

⁵ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0007, Maps, Illustrating Memorandum respecting the Settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

In 1909, the second famous and influential English officer and envoy, Major Soane visited Kirkuk and Altun Keupri and stayed in one inn of Kirkuk for 16 days.⁶ In 1911, the third influential English envoy Gertrude Bell visited Baghdad, Kirkuk, Khānaqin (located in the southeast of Kirkuk), and other parts of the Ottoman Empire as well as Iran. She wrote a book titled “The Letters of Gertrude Bell Selected”, which is composed of her letters written about her travels.⁷ In general, the British officials and officers who were in the Middle East during the period of occupation were excited to go to Kurdistan to broaden their knowledge about Kurdish culture. In this regard, a British officer by the name Mr. James Saumarez Mann (1893-1920) once stated, “I want to stay here [in Iraq]. More particularly I want to get to Kurdistan among the hills of the northern district; I want to dig, and to learn these languages and some history.”⁸ During their trips to Kirkuk and other provinces of the Ottoman Empire and Iran, the British officials obtained plenty of information about the tribes, ethnic and religious groups, Ottoman authorities etc. The information gathered by the envoys was instrumental for the strategic planning of the British government before taking any offensive action against the Ottoman Empire in Mesopotamia and Southern Kurdistan. Great Britain almost totally relied on those officials - who had visited Kurdistan and Mesopotamia before the start of the First World War - to administrate these areas during the War and after.

The British domination of Persian Gulf and their occupation of Iraq was vital to them for several reasons: 1) Strategically, to keep open their route to India. Regarding this, the British official, Mr. Curzon had once said that the loss of Iraq might have endangered India’s safety and even the British Empire’s existence. 2) Economically, to get access to the abundant oil resources in the region. 3) Commercially, the British were interested in finding an area to where they could export their goods and invest their money. For example, Major Soane was an oil merchant as well as being a spy.⁹ Further, Bishop, upon her visit to Baghdad and Kurdistan said, “Baghdad is busy and noisy with

⁶ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise with historical notices of the Kurdish tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan*, John Murray, London, 1914.

⁷ Gertrude, Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell Selected*, D.B.E. Volume 1 1927 Boni and Liveright Publishers New York Printed in England for Boni and Liveright, Inc.

⁸ Mann, James Saumarez 1893-1920, *An administrative in the making*, edited by his father, New York, 1921, p 143.

⁹ E. B. Soane, *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, p 279.

traffic and great quantities of British goods pass through it to Persia.^{10,11} 4) Politically, the British competed with the Russians and wanted to stop their advance to Kurdistan and beyond.^{12 13} The British officials were interested in Kurdistan as a buffer zone against Russia's expansion and reported that "[...] Kurdistan will be an important factor in any future settlement of this region. A belt of mountainous country, with a population of some 3,000,000, whose characteristics are well known, it lies between Armenia, which will presumably fall to Russia, and the plain of El Jezireh, from which no barrier separates it, and the only pass through which Russia can emerge to the Mediterranean—the pass of Bitlis—lies in its heart. To the Power that controls the plain, the Kurds will be, as are the tribes of the North-West frontier to the Punjab—a constant source of inconvenience if left to themselves, a standing menace if under the influence of an intriguing Power behind them."¹⁴ Furthermore, the British were also in competition with the Germans after they won the right to excavate natural resources 40 kilometres from the left and right sides of the Berlin-Baghdad railway (via Kirkuk) in an agreement signed between Germany and the Ottoman Empire.

8.1 The Process of the British Occupation

The process of the occupation of Mesopotamia (Iraq)¹⁵ started at the beginning of the First World War. In the fall of 1914, the British army managed to occupy Basra, a key gateway to Mesopotamia. The aim of this occupation was to protect their interests in the Persian Gulf, particularly their oil interests in Iran, where they ran the Anglo-Persian oil company.¹⁶

¹⁰ Those English goods exported from Baghdad to Persia via Kirkuk or southern area of Kirkuk.

¹¹ Bishop (Isabella. L. Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, Vol 1, New York - London, 1891, p 43.

¹² M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 14.

¹³ For more information, see Mejcher, Helmut, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, Studies in Imperial Design and National Politics, Edited by Camilla Dawletschin- Linder and Marianne Schmidt-Dumont, Berlin, 2007, pp 33-47.

¹⁴ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/1 Image Reference, 0016, Committee of Imperial Defence. March, 1915.

¹⁵ For more information about the occupation of Iraq by the Great Britain see (Wilcox, Ron: *Battles on the Tigris, the Mesopotamian Campaign of the First World War*), Great Britain, 2008.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp 9-12

The British army faced some challenges in Mesopotamia and Persia such as infrastructural problems that rendered the smooth transportation and proper provisions for the requirements of their forces almost impossible.¹⁷ Another problem was the climatic conditions in Mesopotamia with the temperatures reaching up to 57 degrees C (134 degrees F) between May and October, while between December and March it could be decidedly cold.¹⁸

By the end of 1914, after the outbreak of the First World War, conflict and war started in the north-eastern front of the Ottoman Empire between the Russian troops in Iran and the Sunni Kurdish tribes loyal to the Ottomans. Therefore, the Kurdish area in Iran became a battleground between those rivals, Iran remained neutral in the war: “Soujbounlak has been occupied by some 450 Turks under [the] Mutessarif of Kirkuk and 400 Kurds under Sheikh Jeobtleddin of Rayet, who appear to be behaving well. Persian Government have telegraphed to Persian Cossacks at Soujboulak not to interfere with them.”¹⁹

The British army, which was commanded by General Frederick Stanley Maude, captured Baghdad on March 11, 1917.²⁰ The capture of Baghdad was very significant because the city was historically the capital of the Abbasid Empire as well as geographically and administratively the central Vilayet for the whole of Iraq during the Ottoman period. The military defeat of the Ottomans was a fatal blow to their morale and the event was compensation for the British and her allies, who has earlier lost Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution. By this stage, the Ottoman troops had lost some battles and military equipment such as various guns and rifles, and more than 4,300 men had been taken prisoners.²¹

The British began making direct contact with Kurdish tribes from March 1917 after the occupation of Baghdad, from that point on until the signing of the Armistice, their

¹⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

¹⁸ Wilcox, Ron, Battles on the Tigris, the Mesopotamian Campaign, p 14.

¹⁹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 5, 1914-1920, The war confidential No. 1. Sir W. Townley to Sir Edward Grey. Tehran, December 4, 1914, p 14.

²⁰ Wilcox, Ron, Battles on the Tigris, the Mesopotamian Campaign, p 160.

²¹ Ibid, p 160.

contact was solely for the purpose of their military pursuits.²² Their contact was based on some unorganized correspondence with Kurdish tribesmen Aghas and sheikhs because the Kurdish community in Southern Kurdistan was tribal and there was no organized group or political party to liaise with. Sir Percy Cox of Baghdad sent several letters to the heads of the Ṭālabāni, Dāwdi and Hamawand tribes. These letters outlined several economic and political promises, in return that the Kurds help the British during any potential attacks.²³ However, Longrigg stated that “[w]ith the Kurds the Political Officers of the advancing army had had no contact before the fall of Baghdad, and the first relations after March 1917 were unfortunate. Letters exchanged with Kurds of Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah could not be followed up; Khaniqin, the only Kurdish area open to British penetration, was suffering the horrors of Russian occupation.”²⁴ Despite this, it seems that the response of the Kurds towards the British was positive because during the occupation of Kurdistan, the British army did not face a noticeable resistance from the Kurdish tribes and easily captured the Ottomans’ garrisons. On the other hand, when the Ottomans tried to convince Kurdish tribes in Kirkuk to fight either the Russian or British invasion, their communication outlined that during these invasions their assistance was required in the name of jihad (holy war) against the infidels (British or Russians) in Kurdistan. Kurdish tribes responded positively to the Ottomans. In May 1915, for instance, these tribes fought alongside the Ottomans in Shu‘ayiba against the British troops where the Ottomans were defeated.²⁵ The Kurdish tribes that participated in the battle, under the leadership of sheikh Mahmud were Hamawand, Zangana, Ṭālabāni, Dāwda, jāf, Baiyyāty, and Shekhān, in total providing about 1,000 fighters.²⁶

Additionally, to satisfy the non-Arab communities in Iraq, the British issued several newspapers in the different languages of Iraq, including Kurdish, *Tegayshni Rāsty* – which translates to ‘understanding the truth’. Major Soane supervised the content of the newspaper and the first issue was published in January 1918 in

²² The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Mesopotamia: British relations with Kurdistan, political department: India Office, 27th August, 1919.

²³ *Al baiyyātī, ‘abduhraḥmān ‘idrīs ṣāliḥ, siyāsāt barytāniyā tijah Kurd al‘irāq 1914-1917* (Die britische Politik gegenüber den irakischen Kurden 1914-1917), Sulaymaniya, 2010, p 92.

²⁴ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history, p 96.

²⁵ *‘Āghjalary, pshko, shāry* Kirkuk (1917-1926) (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926)), p 127.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p 127.

Baghdad.²⁷ The purpose of these newspapers was to attract the attention of Kurdish intellectuals, publishing news of wars and the victory of the Allies and later it evolved, in a way that the news was directly discussing Britain's policies.²⁸ In addition to that, the newspaper was largely aimed at spreading British ideas and tarnishing the image of the Ottomans by highlighting Ottoman misdeeds. This newspaper could be viewed as a form of media propaganda employed by the British at the start of the war to help them occupy the Kurdish areas under the control of the Ottomans. For that purpose, the *Tegayshetni Rāsty* delivered several calls to the heads of Kurdish tribes in the Kirkuk area, such as the Ṭālabāni, Jāf, and Zangana tribes etc. demanding them to rise up and help the British army to get rid of the Ottomans' oppression against them.²⁹

The British army occupied Khānaqin in the winter of 1917.³⁰ British military strategists pointed out that Kirkuk was a significant supply hub, and that its occupation would cut off a large proportion of Turkish supplies.³¹ Then, in 1918 the British twice occupied Kirkuk. In the first instance, the British troops advanced and occupied Kifri, Tuz, and Kirkuk in early May 1918 and dispatched political officers to each of those places. Most inhabitants of the three towns met their advent with delight, and promises of assistance to the British were at once provided by the majority of the tribal chiefs. Letters were sent from the Hamawand to the British army expressing delight at the arrival of the British troops in their neighbourhood and they offered every form of assistance. A stark contrast from their vengeful behaviour towards the Ottomans which was described in the previous chapter. The British victory had a good effect not only on the areas actually occupied, but their advance in Kirkuk also compelled the Turks to evacuate the Sulaymaniyah area. This allowed inhabitants of this area to indulge in hopes for their immediate freedom from Turkish rule.³²

However, the capture of Kirkuk by the British in May 1918 was short lived because they withdrew from the town in the same month. Although the Muslim, Christian, and

²⁷ *Al baiyyātī, 'abduhraḥmān 'idrīs ṣāliḥ, siyāsāt barytāniyā tijah Kurd al'irāq 1914-1917* (Die britische Politik gegenüber den irakischen Kurden 1914-1917), p 102.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p 101.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p 104.

³⁰ Miss Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p 59.

³¹ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/23/6 Image Reference, 0024, War Cabinet, 402. Minutes of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held at 10, Downing Street, S.W., on Wednesday, May 1, 1918.

³² The National Archives, FO 371/4192 *Precis of affairs in Southern Kurdistan during the Great War*.

Jewish inhabitants of the town had warmly welcomed the British, they were faced with animosity from the Turks who returned to the town shortly after. In return for their assistance, the British provided asylum to some of those who helped them in the occupation. For example, the Christians were provided with the option of seeking safety in Baghdad. However, the negative side to this meant that their land and houses were left to be taken over by the Turks, who occupied the town after it was evacuated by British forces.³³

The British decided to withdraw from Kirkuk to Baghdad for several reasons. First, its hot weather was inhospitable.³⁴ Second, the pandemic of influenza appeared in Europe in the spring of 1918, spread northwards and eastward to India, and began to appear in Basra in September that same year. Eventually, the diversion of all available transport to the Persian road not only forbade advances but also forced the British army to relinquish Kirkuk.³⁵ Therefore, British officials reluctantly decided to abandon Kirkuk “in spite of the many and grave political disadvantages of retirement particularly with regard to [the British] relations with those Kurds who had shown themselves friendly to [the British] and who would in consequence be in danger of retaliation on the return of the Turks.”³⁶

On October 15, 1918, the British officials in Baghdad reported that the Kurdish tribes east of Zāb (Kirkuk) were ready to shed their allegiance to the Ottoman Empire and accept the British. These large migratory tribes, who spent part of their time on the Persian hills and the other part on the border of Mesopotamia, presented a friendly disposition towards the British and a readiness to obey their orders.³⁷ On October 24, 1918, the final operations against the Turkish forces commenced. When the armistice was signed between the two parties the 18th British Division had progressed to a point just outside Mosul; Lewin’s military column had advanced to Altun Keupri and a few miles beyond.³⁸ The British advance was made possible due to the cooperation from the Kurdish people. This attests that the majority of Kirkuk’s people were disenchanted

³³ Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, pp 47-48.

³⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 *Precis of affairs in Southern Kurdistan during the Great War*.

³⁵ Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p 48.

³⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 *Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War*.

³⁷ The National Archives, FO 608/95, *Kurdistan*, 15th October-1918.

³⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 *Mesopotamia: British relations with Kurdistan*, political department: India Office, 27th August, 1919.

by the Ottoman authority and they wanted to escape from the injustices and oppression they had been suffering for hundreds of years at the hands of the Turks.

Kirkuk was re-occupied by the British forces on October 25, 1918 for a second time.³⁹ According to the British, the purpose of the second occupation was to free the Kurdish people from the brutal Ottoman oppression and protect them from potential Turkish revenge. However, the real motive behind the second British occupation was to take advantage of Kirkuk's oil wealth. In an attempt to stop the advancement of the British army, the Ottoman army destroyed the Golden Bridge in Altun Keupri; the British army reconstructed it the next year.⁴⁰

On the November 1, 1918, the *Moudros*⁴¹ Armistice was signed between the Ottoman Minister of Marine Affairs, Rauf Beg, and the British Admiral, Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe. As outlined in Article 7 of the truce, the Ottoman troops were required to leave any areas that the British classified as very important. The British troops then continued their operations in Southern Kurdistan and by November 10, 1918, all Turkish troops had retreated from Mosul Vilayet.⁴² Again, the arrival of the British army in Southern Kurdistan was seen by most Kurdish tribes as a liberation from the Turkish rule and as an opportunity to have a say in the running of their own affairs.

In October 1918, Great Britain outlined its interest in wanting to establish a state for a confederacy of the Kurdish tribes in Southern Kurdistan.⁴³ According to the British report written in 1919 by Mr. Montagu (a British-Indian government official), Kirkuk was placed on the boundary (area) of Southern Kurdistan. The British had expressed their willingness to establish a state for the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan except for Mosul because the majority of the people there were Arabs. According to the report, the frontier between Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia was a line which started from Khānaqin, to Kifri, then went onto Kirkuk, Altun Keupri,

³⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁴⁰ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 390.

⁴¹ The Armistice of Moudros (Turkish: Mondros Ateşkes Antlaşması), concluded on 30 October 1918, ended the hostilities, at noon the next day, in the Middle Eastern theatre between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies of the First World War.

⁴² The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁴³ The National Archives, FO 371/3412 suggested re-arrangement of Turkish Empire 26- October - 1918.

Erbil, Duhok, Zākho and to Feishkhābur.⁴⁴ However, between 1918 and 1920 the position began to change in regard to Britain's desire to build a Southern Kurdish state. Reports by the British Civil Commissioner in Baghdad, Sir Arnold Talbot Wilson and his supporters altered information regarding the geographic size of Southern Kurdistan, the demographic distribution of the Kurds in the region and their political aspirations and economic links. Firstly, they reported that traditionally multilingual Kurdish-majority towns including Erbil, Kirkuk, Kifri and Altun Keupri were actually majority Turkish.⁴⁵ Secondly, they outlined that Kurds only lived in the mountainous areas and were commercially dependent on Mesopotamia. However, this is a distortion of actual circumstances because the Kurds also resided in urban areas and were not highly dependent on Mesopotamia. Finally, Wilson and his subordinates had also made a mistake in not considering the Christian, Jews, and Yazidi to be associated with the Kurdish.⁴⁶

8.2 Kirkuk's position towards the British occupation

Sources indicate that the British military authorities during the First World War were pursuing a flexible policy in Iraq so as to attract the attention of the citizens on one hand, and on the other hand, to reduce the authority of the Turks. An example of their good deeds in the first months of their occupation was the handing out of vital foods such as flour, rice etc. to the people and paying their rent.⁴⁷ Also as a result of the outbreak of a famine, the British decided not to claim taxes in 1918.⁴⁸ However, these generous gestures, did not last very long. Shortly after in 1919, the British engaged in some cruel actions as a way to compensate for the damage that they had suffered during the years of the First World War. This included perpetrating violence against the

⁴⁴ The National Archives, FO 371.4193 on 20th December 1919.

⁴⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, 8 November 1919.

⁴⁶ Eskander, Saad (2000), "Britain's Policy in Southern Kurdistan: The Formation and the Termination of the First Kurdish Government, 1918-1919", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2:139-163, pp 161-162.

⁴⁷ *Tamim*, muhammed ali, *Kirkuk fī sanauāt al 'intādāb al barītānī 1921-1932* (Kirkuk in den britischen Mandaten in den Jahren 1921-1932). *Jāmi'at Mosul*, <http://www.mesopot.com/oldladad13/16.htm>, Last accessed, 4-12-2013.

⁴⁸ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 397.

Kurdish people and the levying of taxes on all materials, including mineral and agricultural goods in Kirkuk.⁴⁹

The British officials in the town of Kirkuk knew that some important elements established in the town were ready to serve them such as nearly all merchants, employed officials, and the majority of the religious leaders. The shop-keepers and artisan men were neutral. However, “the men of leisure, the out of work clerk, the ill provided pensioner, and the career officers would most naturally like to be back in charge. They were not able to express their grievances, but in another 12 months the degree of dissatisfaction will be apparent.” Nevertheless, despite some distension, some people belonging to these classes were also ready to reap benefits from the British.⁵⁰

As Kirkuk was composed of multi ethnic and religious groups, there were varying positions held towards the British occupation and the survival of the Ottoman authority. Some Kurdish did not support either the British or the Ottomans, rather wanting to take control of their own affairs without having to negotiate with any other parties. However, the external influences and intervention inflicted upon Kirkuk had an effect on people’s attitudes, dependent on their experience with these external factors. The following section reviews the position of Kirkuk’s people towards the British occupation:

Kurdish tribes: Kurdistan’s tribes were split into two groups: 1) the pro-Kurdish group - which under a good deal was amenable to be pro-British in its orientation. This attitude had facilitated the immediate British aim of re-establishing stability without the need for expensive military action or civilian administration and 2) the pro-Turkish group, which was conservative and fanatically inclined towards being anti-Christian and anti-foreigners. Both camps were in a position to obtain effective control of Kurdistan with some external support.⁵¹ The Turkish supported any anti-British elements and eventually re-established their authority over Kurdistan in 1919 and consequently any idea of an independent Kurdish state disintegrated. On the other hand, according to the view of the British high officers in the War Office, the Kurds were so scattered and geographically so split up by mountains that it was inconceivable to them

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp 397-401.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p 393.

⁵¹ The National Archives, FO 608/95, situation in Kurdistan, Inter-Department Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs, 15th September-1919.

that they could be united.⁵² However, this is not a rational reason because the Arabs were actually more scattered, tribal, and sectarian than the Kurds, and yet the Arabs were given many states after the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The British high officials recognized this oversight in their later correspondence. For instance, in 1922, Major Goldsmith, Political Officer from Sulaymaniyah, reported to the British high commissioner in Baghdad Sir Percy Cox “[t]he policy of the present administration is not consistent or uniform. You have recognized the social and political standing and tribal influence of persons such as Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Sangao, Abdul Karim Wadi agha of Zangana, the sons of Sheikh Hamid of Gil and Sheikh Muhammed Habib Telebani of Qara Hasan by putting them into office yet deny this position to Seyid Muhamed Jebbari. You have given the Arabs and Jews governments of their own and freed them from being subject races, yet deny this to the Kurds. You yourselves sowed the seeds of independence, self determination and ideas of the government of the people for the people and by the people in the hearts of the Kurds, that seed has germinated.”⁵³

In Istanbul in May 1919, the British Admiral Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, reported that the Turkish Government and the Committee of Union and Progress desired to work with the Kurdish tribes in an effort to sway them to be against the British because the Turkish did not wish to lose sovereignty in Kurdistan.⁵⁴ Hence, the Secretary of State, Lord George Curzon, informed his Civil Commissioner in Baghdad that the restoration of Turkish sovereignty over Kurdistan could not happen.⁵⁵ Both the Ottomans and the British had tried to control Kurdistan and its resources without taking into account the Kurdish people and their rights. The Kurds argued with the British officials that while other small nations had been given the chance of self-determination, why should they be compelled to remain subordinate to the Persians, Turks, or Arabs with whom they had a fraught relationship and that they were no more capable than the

⁵² The National Archives, FO 371/4192 War office, London, S.W 11th August, 1919.

⁵³ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 6, 1921-1927, from the Political Officer Sulaimani (H.A. Goldsmith, Major to secretary to H.E. The High Commissioner Baghdad, Dated. 1st. June. 1922, p 117.

⁵⁴ The National Archives, FO 608/95 Turkey. Political. Decypher. Admiral Calthorpe (Constantinople) May 2nd 1919. NO 928.

⁵⁵ The National Archives, FO 608/95 from Secretary of State to Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, 22nd November.

Kurds themselves to justly rule a nation?⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the Kurdish people continued demanding independence, however the Turks were using a policy of divide and rule to continue undermining their quest for independence. In fact, the Turkish were manipulating the Kurdish tribes by pitting one Kurdish tribe against the other.

Moreover, the British authorities in Mesopotamia (Iraq) stood against the establishment of a Kurdish State in Southern Kurdistan. The British outlined that the idea of an independent Kurdish State was impractical owing to the backward and undeveloped state of the country, “the lack of communications and the dissensions of the tribes.” As a result, they suggested amalgamating Southern Kurdistan with the British-Administrated Mesopotamia.⁵⁷

In 1919, the British officials in Baghdad believed that the Ottomans were trying to win back Kurdish sentiment by appealing to them as Muslims.⁵⁸ The British officials in Kirkuk presumed that they had to remain in the area because the Kurdish people desired their presence as there had been no difficulty in exercising control over the area. Furthermore, they understood that the Kurds despised the Turks and that they themselves would try and keep them out.⁵⁹ For instance, the Hamawands supported the British, and the occupying party considered them as an ally, because, as mentioned in the previous chapter, in the last quarter of the 19th century and beyond, the Hamawands strongly stood against the Ottomans and the tribes which supported them; therefore, they supported the advent of the British. Moreover, other tribes - which were former opponents of the Ottoman Empire - helped the British occupation against Sheikh Mahmud’s rebellion⁶⁰ in May and June 1919. For example, the Ṭālabāni and Jāf tribes promptly offered the British government armed assistance against rebels.⁶¹ Sheikh

⁵⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The National Archives, FO 608/95, situation in Kurdistan, Inter-Department Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs, 15th September-1919.

⁵⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Minute of the meeting held at the India Office to consider Col, Wilson’s telegram NO 14269 dated November 27th 1919 as to the boundaries between Mesopotamia and Kurdistan.

⁶⁰ Sheikh Mahmud ibn Said Barzanji (1878–October 9, 1956) was the leader of a series of Kurdish uprisings against the British Mandate of Iraq. He was sheikh of a Qadiriya Sufi family of the Barzanji clan from the town of Sulaymaniyah, which is now in Iraqi Kurdistan. He was styled King of Kurdistan during several of these uprisings. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sulaymaniyah> last accessed, 14-01-2017.

⁶¹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, pp 392-393.

Sayid Mahomed was the chief of the Tālabāni tribe in those days and despite being threatened in writing of being attacked by Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Sayid failed to join him.⁶² Further, the British reported that Sheikh Sayid was strongly pro-British and ultimately, he supported them against Sheikh Mahmud. This version of events was supported by Gertrude Bell who reported that the chiefs of Kirkuk and Kifri emphatically denied any intention of acknowledging Sheikh Mahmud as an overlord and asked for direct British administration.⁶³ Nevertheless, some tribes in Kirkuk and Kifri such as the Shuān tribe and a section of Zangana supported Sheikh Mahmud's rebellion against the British occupation.⁶⁴ The Shuān tribe was led by Sharif Jalil Agha, who was described as the most important of the Aghas by the British. He had a bad reputation and had always been looked upon as a brigand because he joined Sheikh Mahmud in his rebellion.⁶⁵ Furthermore, his clan was an ex-enemy of the Hamawands and had a good relationship with the Ottoman Empire. In 1922, the British emphasized that Shuān tribe "would probably join pro Turkish movement".⁶⁶

Notwithstanding the limited Kurdish opposition to the British occupation, the majority of the Kurdish people supported the British rule. In 1919, the Kurdish representative in the peace conference requested for a good relationship with Great Britain because they realized that it was impossible for them to attain full independence without British support; British officers at that time stated, "the Kurds now ask Great Britain to be a mother to them."⁶⁷ In Kirkuk, the British described some chiefs of the Kurdish tribes as excellent and respectful, who supported them and did not stand against them. For instance, Jamil Beg Bābān, - principal notable of Kifri - was well informed and the most highly respected man in the Kifri area; he helped the British army against the Turks. Another example was Kerim Beg Ibn Fātteh Agha, who became responsible

⁶² The National Archives, FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad, 1919.

⁶³ Gertrude L. Bell, Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia, p 60.

⁶⁴ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 392.

⁶⁵ The National Archives, FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad, 1919.

⁶⁶ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015 - Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Tribal situation in Southern Kurdistan, 28/8/1922 p 163.

⁶⁷ The National Archives, FO 608/95 Kurdish aspiration 22 Jan 1919.

for the Jāf tribe in Kifri in January 1919. He was extraordinarily popular and the majority of the Jāf seemed willing to accept his arbitration in disputes. He assisted the British army with some success when they faced Sheikh Mahmud's rebellion.⁶⁸

Arab tribes: According to the British, the Sharif of Mecca, Hussain bin Ali, continuously sent letters and propaganda to all Arab Sheiks with a message to revolt against British colonialism. This letter came to the attention of the Sheikh of the Tai Arab tribe, resulting in the chief to resist the British and not to obey them under any circumstance. Furthermore, the Shammar, and other tribes situated near Turkey were receiving arms and ammunition from unknown sources to fight against the British. It was a widely held belief that these arms came from the Sharif of Mecca.⁶⁹ The British officials described the Arab tribes in countryside of Kirkuk as outwardly cordial, but were actually quite restless and apprehensive with their presence. In particular, the Arabs feared two things from the British; one was the fear of the government demands including taxes that might be enforced on them and secondly, they were afraid of possible conscription.⁷⁰ This demonstrates that the Arab people were somehow tribal and they were not ready to obey the law and serve in the military sector. They lived as nomads in the plains of Kirkuk seeking complete freedom from outside influence.

There were some Sheikhs among the Arab tribes who supported the British occupation. For instance, the British Officials considered the chief of the Tai, Sheikh Mahomed as their staunch ally. According to their report, the Sheikh controlled his tribe well which was estimated to consist of 2,000 families with 1,500 rifles, more than a match for any Kurdish tribe in the vicinity of Kirkuk. He was markedly pro-Christian and had done much to protect Christians⁷¹ as they were often targeted because of their support towards the British army.

⁶⁸ The National Archives, FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad, 1919.

⁶⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 NO, I (a) / 2612 General Head Quarters Mes. Ex. Force 19th May, 1919.

⁷⁰ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 393.

⁷¹ The National Archives, FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad, 1919.

Dervishes: The dervishes⁷² arrived in Kirkuk in large numbers in 1922 and their influx brought about worry. The movement was led by Sheikh Salam Seid from Qara Dāgh, who wanted to restore the authority of the Turks in Kirkuk and end the British occupation. The Turks – losing hope of re-establishing their influence in Arab countries – focused their main attention to Southern Kurdistan and Turkish propaganda was still active in Kirkuk.⁷³ They sought to employ the *Sanusi* (mystical) concept among the Kurds and Arabs in order to suppress the non-Turkish Muslim elements which were against the Turkish domination. Their main aim was to expel King Faisal from Iraq and establish a puppet government under Turkish influence. However, a subsection of Dervishes were themselves against Turkish rule and followed Sheikh Mahmud.

The divisional adviser in Kirkuk directed the police to prevent any further influx of dervishes into the town and took some steps to prevent public disturbance which include the expulsion of two Dervish leaders, sheikh Qādir and Khalifah.⁷⁴

Christians and Jews: As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Kirkuk was occupied in May 1918 by the British with support from its Christian and Jewish inhabitants. However, the town fell into the hands of the Turkish again after only two weeks of British occupation. The Jews who had not succeeded in leaving the town subsequently faced persecution.⁷⁵ The ancient Christian church which was built by the Sasanians in the fifth century was blown up and completely destroyed by the Turkish when they retreated in October 1918.⁷⁶ These acts are a clear demonstration that the Ottoman army did not protect the minorities and in fact, they tried to destroy their cultures.

⁷² Dervishes are a member of a Muslim (specifically Sufi) religious order who has taken vows of poverty and austerity. Dervishes first appeared in the 12th century. They were noted for their wild or ecstatic rituals and were known as dancing, whirling, or howling dervishes according to the practice of their order. The famous researcher, Hanna Batatu divided religious sectarian community in the whole Iraq into three main areas: Shiites in southern Iraq, Sunni in the middle and western part of the country and Sufism-Sunni (Naqshbandi and Qadri) in Kurdistan. Batatu, Hanna, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, pp 37-43.

⁷³ The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Intelligence report (summary of report) 8-November- 1922.

⁷⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Secret Intelligence Report, Secretariat of H. E. the High Commissioner for Iraq, Baghdad, 1st May 1922.

⁷⁵ Encyclopaedia Judaica, Fred *Skolnik*, vol 10, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, pp 1048-1049.

⁷⁶ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, pp 266-267.

8.3 The British Policy towards Kirkuk's tribes

The previous section explained the position of various groups of people of Kirkuk and its environs towards the British occupation. This section now focuses on the British position towards the tribes in Kirkuk. In general, the British officials characterized Kurdish society as ruled by tribal chiefs who were constantly at war with one another.⁷⁷ They also pointed out that order in Kirkuk and its environs had only been secured because of the presence of Turkish troops. They outlined that the community was not organized and was divided into various tribes in different villages and it was their task to 'liberate the people'.⁷⁸ In their view, dealing with Kurdish tribes in Kirkuk was easier than in the north of Mosul - Duhok and its environs.⁷⁹ This is because tribes in Kirkuk were more open-minded since the town had been an administrative centre for a long time and people were open to interaction with outsiders.

The British official in Baghdad, Major Edward Noel, recommended that the Kurdish tribal leaders had to be encouraged to form a confederation for the settlement of their public affairs under the guidance of the British political officials. They would also be required to continue to pay taxes as per Turkish law, modified as necessary for the purpose of maintenance of order and development.⁸⁰

Major Noel discussed with the High Commissioner in Baghdad that the Kurds were bitterly opposed to the Turks, and inclined to be friendly to the Christian population; that if Kurds were to be recognized as forming the majority in Kurdistan they would guarantee to uphold Christian rights.⁸¹ However, British officials in Baghdad did not agree with the Noel's view that Kurds if left to themselves would be strongly pro-British.⁸²

The description of tribes in Kirkuk and its vicinity in the British documents and correspondence shows that their position was divided. While the majority of the

⁷⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 War office, London, S.W 11th August, 1919.

⁷⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Minute of a meeting held at the India office to consider Col. Wilson's telegram NO. 14269 dated 27th November 1919 as to the boundaries between Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.

⁷⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ The National Archives, FO 608/95, situation in Kurdistan, Inter-Department Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs, 15th September-1919.

⁸² The National Archives, FO 608/95, civil commissioner Baghdad, 27th November-1919.

Kurdish people supported British rule, some Kurdish and Arab tribes opposed the British occupation. For instance, in 1919, the British wrote about Ali ‘Abdul Razāk, who was sheikh of the Shammar Arab with anti-British and pro-Sharif sentiment. According to their description, he was harsh, rude, and objectionable and launched an opposition against the British.⁸³ Other Kirkuk Arabs also stood against the British at the behest of Sharif Hussein of Mecca from the beginning of the occupation of Kirkuk until the establishment of the Iraqi government in 1920. In 1921, the British appointed King Faisal, the son of Sharif Hussein Sharif as the first king of Iraq to mute the Arab discontent and demonstration.

The British officer, Major Noel organized a meeting with the Kurdish chiefs in Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah at the beginning of 1919. Most of them claimed that Kurdistan had to be separated from Iraq and be run directly from London which in their eyes had replaced Istanbul.⁸⁴ During the peace conference in Paris in 1919, the British and French envoys, Mark Sykes and Georges-Picot respectively, who drafted and signed the Sykes-Picot treaty in 1916, discussed modifying their scope of influence in the province of Mosul, including Kirkuk. Mr. Sykes suggested the establishment of an independent Kurdish Emirate including Mosul, which was supposed to be placed under British protection. However, Mr. Picot refused to agree to this plan and considered it could be contrary to French interests as it would sacrifice the protection of the Christians who had been traditionally protected by the French, such as the Chaldeans, Nestorians etc..⁸⁵ However, the real motive was not the protection of Christians; both the French and British wanted to secure their interests over the oil resources in Kirkuk and the British did not want to leave Mosul to the French, which was required to be part of the French sphere according to the Sykes-Picot treaty.

The British followed certain policies in dealing with some of the tribal Kurds which supported them such as the Hamawand, Ṭālabāni, and Jāf. These tribes were not typically Kurdish in sentiment. The British gave them some sort independence, presented their revenue demands in a firm but tactful way and supported the natural

⁸³ The National Archives, FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad, 1919.

⁸⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

⁸⁵ The National Archives, FO 608/95 peace Conference-Paris, 1919, The Acting under Secretary of States, Foreign Office.

leaders of these tribes to the fullest limit allowed by justice and policy, without encouraging them to look for an administration very different from that of Iraq.⁸⁶ In this way, the British were trying to win over the Kurdish tribes and promote their interests at the expense of the Kurdish interests. For instance, while the British tried to occupy Kurdistan in 1917, Sir Percy Cox suggested that “[t]he creation of a Kurd[ish] bureau to be run by Mr. Soane until such as we are able to occupy any point of vantage. The Bureau would endeavour to get Kurdish chiefs in here [Baghdad] and influence them by money and propaganda, to work in with us.”⁸⁷ On the other hand, the Kurdish tribes did not have a unified voice and nationalist agenda and quickly ended their disagreement with the British once they received material privileges such as guns, money, and positions. These events and circumstances did not help forge a common understanding and unity among the Kurdish community.

In 1919 the assistant political officer in Kirkuk, Captain Stephen Longrigg asked Wilson to remove Kirkuk from the control of the Kurdish authority in Southern Kurdistan.⁸⁸ In February of that year, they accepted his suggestion and decided to separate Kirkuk from Sulaymaniyah and consequently, it was no longer included within the Kurdish autonomous entity.⁸⁹ This was a clear attempt to dismember Kurdistan and destroy the Kurdish aspiration for an independent state in the whole of Southern Kurdistan. Consequently, the Kurdish people reacted violently to this decision to the extent that an English official remarked that in 1919 Kurdistan was an unsafe area in Iraq where two officers had been ambushed and killed.⁹⁰

In the 1920 revolution, people in Kirkuk stood against the British occupation together with the Arab Iraqi people. During the revolution, various bridges, which linked Kirkuk with Baghdad and Iran, were burnt and destroyed. Consequently, the British detachments at Kirkuk and Kifri cut off their communications with their army

⁸⁶ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 393.

⁸⁷ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, TRIBES ON RIGHT FLANK AID RBAR FROM PUSHT-I-KUH TO MOSUL, 19/6/17 P. Z Cox CPU, p 42.

⁸⁸ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Sulaymaniyah division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 3.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p 3.

⁹⁰ Mann, James Saumarez 1893-1920, An administrative in the making, p 171.

in Mesopotamia and Iran.⁹¹ It is noted that the rebels in Kirkuk and its vicinity did not destroy any bridge which linked them to the rest parts of Southern Kurdistan because they knew that the general headquarters of the British army were in Baghdad and Iran. In addition, they wanted to maintain their relationship and link with Kurdistan because the majority of the people were Kurdish. As a result of the general unrest, the British officials in Kirkuk and its vicinity were compelled to send their women and children to Baghdad. The aim of this withdrawal was to protect their families from any potential retaliation from rebels in the area. They also wanted to withdraw their troops from Kirkuk, but they did not do so because they were afraid of anarchy in the whole of southern Kurdistan as they mentioned, “if we (? Withdraw from) Kirkuk the whole of Kurdistan will of course relapse into anarchy. Revolutionary movement has for some time past ceased to have any political aspect and has become entirely (? anarchic).”⁹² This illustrates the fact that Kirkuk was the headquarters for the British troops in Southern Kurdistan during the British occupation.

In August 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed by Great Britain, France, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. According to section III (62-64) of the treaty, the Ottoman Empire was required to recognize the autonomous state of Kurdistan in the eastern part of Turkey and Southern Kurdistan (including Kirkuk) and to protect Assyrian-Chaldeans and other racial and religious communities.⁹³ However, the treaty itself had been rendered inoperative by the Kemalists in Turkey.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/110 Image Reference, 0096 from civil commissioner, Baghdad, 17th August 1920.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ The National Archives, FO 371/7780 The residency Baghdad the 9th December 1921. According to Article 64 of the Treaty of Sèvres Kurdistan provides that, if within a period of one year from the coming into force of the Treaty the majority of the Kurdish peoples inhabiting the areas between the Armenian and Mesopotamian frontiers shall demand to be independent, and if the Council of the League considers them capable of such independence, Turkey will renounce all rights and title over these areas. In this case no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan (generally known as Southern Kurdistan) which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet.

⁹⁴ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history, p 131.

8.4 Kirkuk's position towards King Faisal's appointment

The history of the creation of Iraq has been studied by different scholars among which include Faleh 'Abd Al-Jabbar, who convincingly argued that Iraq was an artificial creation by the British for their own oil interests. According to Faleh, nation building encompasses three important elements: 1) A “material communication system” emanating from the growth of commercial production. 2) A “cultural communication system” such as common language, education system etc. 3) A “unifying administrative system.”⁹⁵ Without the existence of some of these key features, Faleh argues that it is difficult to have a nation state. From this perspective, Iraq is a prime example of an artificial nation state coalesced randomly by the British based merely on uniting three different provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. According to this view, Iraq's ethnic, communal, and religious communities have never been properly unified.⁹⁶ The process of establishing Iraq as an artificial state started at the Cairo Conference by appointing King Faisal as the new nation's leader.

As a result of the 1920 uprising in Iraq, the British officials had made some decisions and introduced certain changes. For instance, they decided to remove some British officials from Iraq, form the first Iraqi government, and hold the Cairo conference.

In March 1920, Faisal bin Hussain was appointed as the Arab King of Syria by the British authority and the Syrian National Congress Government of Hāshim al-Ataasi. However, after modifying the Sykes-Picot agreement with the San Remo agreement in April 1920, Syria was given to France as a mandate. At the Battle *Maysalun* on July 24 1920, the Arab army was defeated and Faisal was expelled from Syria to London.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, the Conference of Cairo in March 1921 decided that political conditions in Mesopotamia required for a Sherifiyān ruler to be selected and that the most appropriate ruler was Emir Faisal. It was fully realized that the British government could not nominate Faisal and that the responsibility for his nomination should be given

⁹⁵ 'Abd Al-Jabbar, Faleh, *Artificial and Natural Nation-Building: Iraq Nation-ness and the Centrality of the State*, *Etats Et Societes De L'Orient Arabe* (1945-2005), pp 117-130.

⁹⁶ 'Abd Al-Jabbar, Faleh, *Artificial and Natural Nation-Building: Iraq Nation-ness and the Centrality of the State*, *Etats Et Societes De L'Orient Arabe* (1945-2005), pp 117-130

⁹⁷ Faisal I of Iraq, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faisal_I_of_Iraq, last access, 30-01-2017.

to the people. At the same time, it was felt that without his actual presence in the country it was possible that the activities of local candidates (Said Ṭālib Naqib and Sheikh al Mu‘ammera) might oppose his claims. It was also necessary to consider French suspicion of King Faisal, and a detailed program was worked out for the successive steps necessary to ensure the best possible chance of Faisal being selected by the people of Mesopotamia as their ruler without the British Government taking too active a part in pushing for his acceptance.⁹⁸

While, on March 15 1921, at a meeting with the political committee at the Cairo conference, Sir Percy Cox outlined that the Kurds were the main ethnic group in Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah, and the districts north of Mosul - Erbil and Duhok. These regions combined formed an important part of Iraq. Gertrude Bell supported this notion, and outlined that people from Kirkuk should be politically active via voting at upcoming elections and through representation in the Iraqi parliament.⁹⁹ The former Ottoman province of Mosul (Southern Kurdistan) was neither included in the territories promised to Sharif Husain, nor in the territories promised to Faisal.¹⁰⁰

The members of the Cairo conference in 1921, eventually realized that any attempt to force purely Kurdish districts under the rule of an Arab Government would inevitably be resisted.¹⁰¹ Conference participants were of the strong opinion that official Kurdish areas should not be a part of the new Arab state being created.¹⁰² Even though, participants predicted that the Kurdish people would not accept to be a part of Iraq, Sir Percy Cox, was of the strong opinion that Kurdish districts formed an integral part of Iraq economically, and therefore they should undoubtedly belong to Iraq.¹⁰³ On the other hand, Major Noel supported an independent Kurdish state as per promises made in the Treaty of Sevres. Major Noel outlined that a Kurdish state between Iraq and

⁹⁸ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

⁹⁹ Ibid; Olson, Robert, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion 1880-1925*, The University of Texas Press, 1991, p 58.

¹⁰⁰ The National Archives, Foreign Office, November 21, 1918, Catalogue Reference: CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0006, memorandum respecting settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

¹⁰¹ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Turkey would act as a buffer for any anti-British sentiments.¹⁰⁴ After these debates regarding an independent Kurdish state, at the conference, Churchill instructed Sir Percy Cox to establish an administration for the Kurds, stating “you will have gathered from private telegram I am contemplating establishment of local administration in Kurdistan.”¹⁰⁵ However, eight months later Churchill changed his mind and stood against the establishment of a Kurdish state, “I deprecate any attempt at the present moment to encourage the Kurds [to gain their independence].”¹⁰⁶ Sir Percy Cox ensured Churchill that a Kurdish state would not be established, replying “[i]t will be recognized by you that nothing is being done here [in Baghdad] to assist Kurds in way whatever.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, the British retreated from establishing a Kurdish state or a quasi-state in Kurdistan because it was not in their favour due to the growing strength of the Turkish nationalist forces after 1921.

The Political Committee in the Cairo Conference had discussed the Kurdish question, and although no definite decisions were made, it was suggested by the High Commissioner in Iraq to deal directly with the head of a separate Kurdish State rather than to place the Kurds under an Arab Government.¹⁰⁸ The Secretary of Colonies thought that a future ruler of Iraq with the power of an Arab army behind him “would ignore Kurdish sentiment and oppress the Kurdish minority.”¹⁰⁹ Even though, the British realized that the Kurdish people deserved to have their own state and were not ready to be part of an Arab state, they did not take into account the Kurdish sentiments because their interests with the Arabs were bigger than the Kurds. The main British officials of the Political Committee on Kurdistan in the Cairo Conference were seven members; four of them favored a Kurdish separate state from Iraq: Churchill, Young,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

¹⁰⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/6347 PERHAPS TELEGRAM from Churchill the secretary of the state for the colonies to the High The National Archives commissioner for Iraq, (11th November, 1921).

¹⁰⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/6347 PERHAPS TELEGRAM from Sir Percy Cox the High commissioner for Iraq to the secretary of the state for the colonies, (17th December, 1921).

¹⁰⁸ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East Conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

¹⁰⁹ Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism*, pp 58-59.

Noel, and Lawrence; but Sir Percy Cox and Gertrude Bell opposed the idea. The last one, Mr. Babock, the secretary, was a neutral and did not enter the discussion.¹¹⁰

Despite the divided opinion, the process of appointing King Faisal as a king of Iraq started in 1921 by the British officials in Iraq. The job of the British Advisor in Kirkuk was to convince the Kurdish people to vote for King Faisal in the election.¹¹¹ When it came time for voting, the people of southern Kurdistan in the district of Sulaymaniyah decided to abstain from voting as they had the option available, with the exception of this region, the referendum was applied to the rest of Iraq. The results indicated 96% of voters favoured King Faisal. The four per cent against him were generally Kurds and Turkmen. On August 23 1921 – in the presence of representatives from all of Iraq except Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk, Gertrude Bell proclaimed that His Highness the Amir Faisal was duly elected as the King of Iraq.¹¹²

The people of Kirkuk were not happy with the appointment of an Arab King and did not attend the swearing-in ceremony. The main reason why the people of Kirkuk were not convinced to accept the appointment of an Arab King was that they wanted to establish their own state in Southern Kurdistan. The Turks might have had an influence on the Turkmen for not supporting King Faisal. As Edmonds mentioned “the Turks asked a ruler to be chosen from House of Usman and the Kurds asked for a Kurdish administration.”¹¹³

Whereas the people of Kirkuk did not vote for Faisal and refused him as their King and/or being part of Iraq, the people of Sulaymaniyah did not participate in the election. The Erbil and Duhok districts voted in favour of Faisal, but on the condition that they were promised to get some administration and other political privileges after the coronation of Faisal. The election process was meant to show the people that the King had ascended to political power through a democratic process. The attitude of the majority of the Kurdish people was generally one of refusal, nonparticipation, and conditional. However, the British officials ignored the concerns of the majority of the

¹¹⁰ Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism*, p 59.

¹¹¹ The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Intelligence Report November 8th 1922.

¹¹² Gertrude. *Miss Bell: The Letters of Gertrude Bell volume 2, 1927*, “A project Gutenberg of Australia eBook”, dated first posted: September 2004. <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400461h.html#ch21>, Last accessed, 15-5-2014.

¹¹³ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 119.

Kurdish people and other ethnic minorities who had lived alongside the Kurdish. In July 1921, Sir Percy Cox explained to Winston Churchill about the dangerous obstacle the Turkish posed against King Faisal's administration in Kirkuk. He stated "[f]irst danger to Arab state will in all probability be Pro-Turk party who must be expected to increase in vigour when first enthusiasm for infant kingdom dies down and poverty of land becomes apparent. Centre of Turco-Philo is Turcoman (area?) (at?) and around Kirkuk (local?) stale will be in substantially? stronger position to deal with intrigue of this sort than an outsider like ourselves."¹¹⁴ For instance, in August 1922 the British Officials in Kirkuk found out that Sadiq Bey, a Pro-Turkish elite, whose house in the town was a common meeting place for all malcontents, a reading room for Turkish literature and guest house for all new arrivals from Turkey, was found to be in touch with Hamawand rebels to whom he was supplying small quantities of ammunition. Therefore, the British authority deported him from Kirkuk to Baghdad.¹¹⁵

8.5 The Turkish Attempt to Re-occupy Kirkuk and Mosul

Before the Lausanne peace conference started in the fall of 1922, the British and the Turkish were engaged in an informal war over Mosul to take over as much land as possible and reinforce their positions. On May 24 1921, Churchill suggested to Percy Cox that Faisal should be encouraged to establish contacts with the Kemalist in order to avoid the Turkish menace to Mosul.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the Turkish leader, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in November 1921 sent a message to Kurdistan and Iraq that Faisal should not be acknowledged as a king because he was appointed by the enemy army in Iraq, which was to fight the Turks in the following years and prove an obstacle to them. He had informed the people in Anatolia that Faisal was their enemy.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the Turkish decided to send some troops to Southern Kurdistan and attempted to re-occupy the whole Mosul province in 1922. Kemal Ataturk also commanded his officer Euz Demir to go to Southern Kurdistan and he arrived in Rawānduz on June 23 1922,

¹¹⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the high commissioner of Mesopotamia to the Secretary of State for colonies. 7th July 1921, your (Churchill's) telegram of June 24th June 1921.

¹¹⁵ The National Archives, FO 377/7771 Intelligence Report Secretariat of H.E. the high commissioner for Iraq Baghdad, the 1st August 1922.

¹¹⁶ Mejcher, Helmut, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, p 72.

¹¹⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/6347 Political Eastern Mesopotamia, Damascus 10th November 1921 kemalists, C.E.S Kalmar Cornel.

accompanied by a small group of Turkish officers and 270 soldiers who were uniformed in deserted French Gendarmerie and armed with a long French rifles. He also visited King Faisal in Damascus.¹¹⁸

Euz Demir appealed to the Kurdish people by saying “when we [Ottomans] first emigrated to Asia Minor we were only 400 tents strong, but we founded a large Empire. By the will of Allah we shall now retrieve our previous prestige and privileges from the hands of the kafirs [infidels]. Now all Muslims must help each other materially and morally. Germany and the Bolsheviks have promised us both material and moral support. France, America, and Italy have also agreed with us. England alone remains. The other countries are now discussing the question of the recovery of the Mosul Willayet, which is illegally occupied by British troops during the armistice. On the arrival of our troops, we are going to Mosul and shall continue on to other parts of Iraq. If the British do not peacefully evacuate, we shall expel them by force. All Muslims should help us to these ends.”¹¹⁹

A careful analysis of the chapter brings us to the following conclusions:

1- The Kemalies did not have any relation with the Islamic religion. While they were aware that the Kurdish society was a religious society, they had been exploiting them for their own interests, especially in taking back Mosul province from the British mandate.

2 - The level of awareness of the majority of the people of Kurdistan did not reach to the extent to make them fully understand the intention of the Kemalies.

3 - The French gave financial and military aid to the Kemalies because Mosul province, with the exception of Kirkuk, was part of the French benefits, according to the Sykes-Picot agreement in 1916. Furthermore, they knew that Kemalism in Turkey was a de-facto and it would be difficult to be defeated.

The British officers in Iraq were afraid of Euz Damir, and therefore, they closely observed the contact between him and Kurdish tribes. For instance, they mentioned that Karim Fatah Bag Hamawandi had sent his son to Rawānduz to meet Euz Damir. This was the first intimation of his direct connection with the Turks.¹²⁰ However, Mustafa

¹¹⁸ The National Archives, FO 377/7771, high commissioner Baghdad, Kurdistan, 27, July -1922.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Kemal gave priority to chasing the Greeks out of Anatolia, and that his reluctance to open a new front with the British saved them from a military defeat in Mosul during 1921 and 1922. The British officials also took some steps to remove Euz Damir from the region. For instance, they called Sheikh Mahmud back to Iraq from his exile in India to *Sulaymaniyah* in 1922. They used Sheikh Mahmud for two purposes: 1) in order to expel *Euz Damir* from southern Kurdistan and 2) to threaten and make the Turks accept their demand in the peace negotiation.¹²¹

After three years of reign, King Faisal visited Kirkuk for the first time, arriving by train in January 1924 at request the people of the town to attach Mosul province with Iraq. In the same month, the Iraqi flag rose on the directorates of Kirkuk.¹²²

8.6 The events of March 1924

Historical sources indicate that in the morning of March 4 1924 two soldiers from the Levy-Assyrian army¹²³ went to the market of *Qoria* quarter in Kirkuk to make some purchases. While shopping, they had a dispute with the Turkmen shopkeeper over prices, and a member of the Levy army was injured. The injured member returned to the army headquarters, and then the dispute extended to a bloody clash as the Levy army sought revenge for the injured soldier. The Levy entered the town and beat civilians with different weapons and they had the support of the British.¹²⁴ The British wanted to use the Levy army to serve their interests, but if that was not possible, then, what was the necessity of constructing such armed forces from a religious minority and later make them dominate the other ethnic groups, especially the Kurds and Turkmen who were the most deprived during the formation of Iraq.

British occupation forces stopped Kirkuk's police from intervening to stop the collisions that had claimed the life of 50 people with more than 200 wounded. This

¹²¹ *Āghjalary, pshko, shāry Kirkuk (1917-1926) (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926))*, pp 205-209.

¹²² *Kotchirā, Kris, kurd la saday nozda u bistdā (Die Kurden im Neunzehnten und Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert), uargerānī (der Übersetzer) ḥama karim 'ārf*, p 91.

¹²³ "After that Britain occupied Iraq it established inner mercenary armed force in the name of Levy and its soldiers were from the Assyrian Christians of Iraqi. In 1923, two branches of that force was installed in Mosul and Kirkuk. The purpose of bringing such a force was to replace the British troops, to strike and suppress every movement and uprising of different races in Mousl and Kirkuk."

¹²⁴ *Qādir, Jabār, qaḏāiyā Kurdiya mu 'āšira Kirkuk – al 'ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei)*, p 41.

event angered the Kurdish tribes at the outskirts of Kirkuk and they attacked the commanding centre of the Levy forces seeking revenge of the death of their fellow tribe members. It was the arrival of the British High commissioner to Kirkuk on March 5 1924 that stopped their pursuit for revenge. To calm the situation in Kirkuk, the British commissioner in Baghdad issued several resolutions: 1) Dismissing the Levy forces from Kirkuk to Chamchamāl town which lies north of Kirkuk. 2) Eliminating the governor of Kirkuk Fattah Pasha, and appointing municipality chief, Majeed Jacob in his place as the new governor of Kirkuk. 3) Allocation of 200,000 rupiahs in order to compensate people who were directly affected by the event.¹²⁵

Although the Levy forces had committed brutal crimes, the British occupation forces did not allow the Court to conduct their work, and impose punishment on the *Leviyān* killers. On June 29 1924, after pressure from the British government to the Iraqi government to pardon criminals and displace and relocate them to the village of Amedi – Duhok, the Iraqi government provided amnesty to criminals. The justification of the Iraqi government for giving amnesty of criminals was that the offense was not planned and that the families of criminals were worried.¹²⁶

It is this event that marked the beginning of discrimination against the Kurds and Turkmen in Kirkuk town, and after the withdrawal of the British from Kirkuk and Iraq, many other similar events occurred in the town and other parts of Iraq. As a result, hatred and revenge became rooted in Iraqi society and the dislocated groups from Kirkuk became outcasts and vilified by the people of the town.

8.7 Mosul and the committee of the League of Nations

During the period 1922-1924, Britain withdrew its support for an independent Kurdistan which it had originally espoused in the Treaty of Sevres. Britain's new official stance on Kurdish independence was dictated primarily by its desire to appease Turkey, whose co-operation was needed in Britain's grand strategy to isolate Bolshevik

¹²⁵ *Al ḥasanī, 'abdulrazāq, tārikh al uazārāt al 'irāqiya* (Die Geschichte der irakischen Ministerien), vol 1, pp 206-207.

¹²⁶ *Nukhba al ba'ithiyn, Kirkuk madiynat al qaumiyyāt al muta'akhiyya* (Kirkuk ist die Stadt der brüderlichen Nationalitäten), pp 109-110.

Russia. Furthermore, during this period, the Kurds were used as pawns by both sides in the frontier dispute over the Vilayat of Mosul.¹²⁷

The fate of Mosul was one of the thorny issues brought in at the League of Nations. The province was not assigned because it was claimed both by Britain and Turkey. The two countries could not agree and were locked in a conflict even after the armistice. An insurrectionary group within the Ottoman Empire had refused to accept the 1920 Sèvres treaty that would have torn apart the Ottoman Empire and assigned its territories among the European powers. The alternative government the Ottomans set up formed as a National Pact gave up areas of the Ottoman Empire considered not to be Turkish, but areas including Mosul were thought to be part of the Turkish Republic that they hoped to create. As a result, Mosul's future remained unclear even after the Republic of Turkey was recognized with the Armistice of Mudaniya in October 1922. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne¹²⁸ indicated that Turkey and Iraq would meet to try to decide on the future of the disputed province of Mosul. Each of the parties claimed the possession of the province on the basis of history, geography, ethnography, and law.

On 14 December 1922, Lord Curzon contested each one of the grounds on which Turkey based its claim for the province of Mosul. Firstly, racially the majority of the population were Kurds who were of Indo-European origin, essentially different from the Ural-Altai Turks. Secondly, most of the trade of the Vilayet of Mosul was with Iraq, not Anatolia as Turkey suggested. Thirdly, legally, the British government had been given responsibility with the mandate over Iraq by the League of Nations. Fourthly, the frequent Kurdish rebellions during the nineteenth century, the First World War and the immediate Post-War period showed that the Kurds were not willing to be a part of Turkey and that they were more aligned with the Persians.¹²⁹ He added that

¹²⁷ Quoted in Ali, Othman, *The Kurds and the Lausanne Peace Negotiations, 1922-23*, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), pp. 521-534, 04/03/2014, Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

¹²⁸ The countries attending, in addition to both duels (Britain and Turkey), were France, Italy, Greece, Japan, the USA, Romania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The representatives of Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine and Georgia also joined the conference while the matters about the Straits were being negotiated. The president of the conference was Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary. On his suggestion three committees, Territorial, Judicial, and Financial were set up. The Territorial Committee would start functioning before the others and Lord Curzon was to be the president of it. Foster, Henry A., *the making of Iraq*, Oklahoma, 1935, pp 142-143.

¹²⁹ Ali, Othman, *The Kurds and the Lausanne Peace Negotiations, 1922-23*, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), pp. 521-534, 04/03/2014, Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

when the Moudros armistice was signed between the British and the Ottomans on November 1 1918, the important towns of the province of Mosul such as Kirkuk and Altun Keupri had already been occupied by the British.¹³⁰ However, by the time negotiations over Mosul culminated in disagreement in May 1924, the parties' positions were farther apart than they had been at the outset. Turkey and Great Britain agreed to take the dispute to the League of Nations, and to be abided by its verdict.¹³¹ Thus, Britain (one of the founders of the League of Nations) and Turkey (one of its newest members) agreed that the League would give its decision on the final outcome of the dispute over Mosul.

A Committee was appointed by the League of Nations and it arrived in Baghdad on January 16 1925. It consisted of 1) Mr. Af Wirsén¹³² from Sweden which was a neutral country during the First World War 2) Count Paul Teleki from Hungary, which was an ally of the Ottoman Empire during the War 3) Colonel A. Paulis from Belgium which was ally of the British during the War and 4) Signor Roddolo from Italy, and Count Horace de Pourtales from Switzerland as Secretaries.¹³³ In Baghdad they met King Faisal who informed the Commission: "I consider that Mosul is to Iraq as the head is to the rest of the body."¹³⁴ He felt that the province of Mosul (southern Kurdistan—including Kirkuk) had to be part of Iraq without thinking about the fate of its population, this resulted in the uprising of the indigenous people. Therefore, this area became a war-zone in the following decades.

The Committee of the League of Nations arrived in Altun Keupri and Kirkuk on the February 12 1925. In Kirkuk they passed through the bazaar to the *Serai* where arrangements had been made for hearing and collecting evidence. Seven people were chosen to be interrogated as witnesses on a number of issues: race, religion, occupation,

¹³⁰ Foster, Henry A., *the making of Iraq*, p 144.

¹³¹ Quoting from Sarah Shields *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Volume 3, Number 2, Mosul, the Ottoman legacy and the League of Nations, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, p 219.

¹³² Wirsén was a senior Minister in the Swedish Diplomatic Service and had been elected president by his colleagues, presumably because he represented a country which had been neutral during the First World War. He was not such a vigorous as the other two, and like many internationally minded persons, could be expected to be interested less in the merits of a case than in openings for compromise. Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 395.

¹³³ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 395.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p 398.

means of transport, markets for buying and selling etc.; the last issue discussed was whether they would prefer to be under Turkish or Iraqi rule. The result was that five out of seven voted for Iraq and the remainder for Turkey.¹³⁵ There was also ongoing negotiation between the Turkish and the British delegations. The Turks were in support of a plebiscite in southern Kurdistan to decide on whether to return to Turkey or remain under the Iraqi government. The British rejected this idea because they thought that the large majority of people in southern Kurdistan (including Kirkuk) were illiterate, ate and slept with rifles at hand and had little respect for human life.¹³⁶

In 1925, the Committee of the League of Nations said about the province of Mosul (including Kirkuk) “[I]f the ethnic argument alone had to be taken into account, the necessary conclusion would be that an independent Kurdish state should be created, since the Kurds form five-eighths of the population. Moreover, if such a solution were to be considered, the Yezidi, who racially are very like the Kurds, and the Turks, who could easily be assimilated by the Kurds, should be included in estimating the number of the latter. They would then form seven-tenths of the population.”¹³⁷

The strategic importance of Kirkuk and the Mosul province emanates from their geographical location, which is at an intersection point between Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, and the south of the former Soviet Union. In addition, oil played a significant role in increasing the importance of Kirkuk.¹³⁸ However, the discovery of oil in the region did not contribute positively to the socioeconomic well-being of the people living there. The question of whether Mosul needed Baghdad as a market for its wheat, rice, and tobacco was dismissed by the fact that Aleppo was Mosul’s natural market.¹³⁹

The report was completed on the July 16 1925, and on the same day it was submitted to the League of Nations. It was insufficient, subjective and contradictory. What the Committee did, in its conclusions, was to satisfy the British by fully agreeing with their demands. The Committee also accented to the British mandate in Iraq and province of Mosul (Southern Kurdistan), and in the provisions of its report, the two

¹³⁵ Ibid, pp 411-412.

¹³⁶ Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 402.

¹³⁷ League of Nations, *Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq*, p 57.

¹³⁸ *Surchy, najim ‘umir, maşîr uilāiyat al mosul (Kurdistan al-jnubiyya) mā ba‘da ‘ām 2000* (Das Schicksal von Mossul (Südkurdistan) über 2000 hinaus), second published, p 24.

¹³⁹ Lukitz, Liora, *A Quest in the Middle East, Gertrude Bell and the making of modern Iraq*, London, 2006, p 200.

areas were to remain under the mandate of Britain for 25 more years. In addition, the report stated that the autonomy and the rights of Kurdish people in such matters as administration, personnel, education and language were to be guaranteed.¹⁴⁰ They also indicated that Arabs would oppress and ignore the Kurdish, “if certain guarantees of local administration were not to be given to the Kurds, and indeed, the majority of people would have preferred Turkish to Arab sovereignty.”¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ League of Nations, Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, pp 88-89.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p 89.

PART THREE
ECONOMIC SITUATION

CHAPTER IX: THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN KIRKUK AND ITS VICINITY

9.1 *Tapu* and *Mallāks* (land ownership) in Kirkuk

The *tapu* was a type of land tenure system that was widely used during the Ottoman Empire. It was formed from the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and resulted in a conditional transfer of state land to individuals. The two main objectives of *tapu* was to ensure the state maintained legal ownership of land, but also to ensure that individuals had access to land, in order to allow for agriculture and cultivation. This ensured the government, that the land users would also be required to pay regular taxes. However, it also meant that the state had the right to reclaim the land if it was not used for cultivation for at least three years.¹ Many scholars outline that the *tapu* land tenure system was introduced in an effort for the Ottoman Empire to integrate into a global economic system boosting the Empire's trading capacity, particularly around the exportation of large quantities of agricultural goods.² "Most conflicts seem to arise over access to land or rather to abuse of perceived rights to the land. Land issues in the Middle East are complicated because of the vast variety of forms of landholding."³ The process of allocation cultivated lands in Iraq is unclear. However, in the beginning of 19th century, Ottomans redistributed land intervals in the whole Iraq including Kirkuk to the members of the village or tribe or group on basis of capability to cultivate.⁴

The 1858 land code meant that the old Islamic classifications of landownership were replaced by five new ones: (1) private property (*mülk*), (2) state property (*miri*), (3) religious endowment lands (*waqf*), (4) communal or public land (*metruk*), and (5) idle or barren land (*mevât*).⁵ Additionally, under the new land code, a new Cadastral Regulation (*tapu nizāmnāmesi*) was introduced for the purposes of implementing the land law. All land, despite its size, in every province was required to be surveyed and

¹ Batatu, Hanna, The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq, pp 54-55.

² Shields, Sarah, Mosul before Iraq, p 141.

³ Schaebler, Birgit, Practicing *Musha*': Common Lands and The Common Good in Southern Syria under the Ottomans and the French, New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East, Edited by Roger Owen, Harvard, 2000, p 242.

⁴ For more information, see Owen, Roger Lands and The Common Good in Southern Syria under the Ottomans and the French, New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East, Edited by Roger Owen, Harvard, 2000.

⁵ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 8.

landowners had to prove their ownership, before being provided with a new ownership deed (*tapu senedi*).⁶ However, once ownership was proved, owners had the freedom to rent out their land and to transfer ownership to inheritors, but only if they were cultivating the land and were up-to-date with their tax payments. Yet, there was no competent state institution that ensured landowners respected their obligations. Therefore, as time passed, the emergence of new rural notables, meant that they were able to manipulate the law to enhance their own power and interests. They used falsified documents to prove their claims, expanding the usage rights of their properties to include making transactions to others, such as distant relatives, as well as auctioning land off to the highest bidders, and at the same time not cultivating their land as was required by the law. These violations were tolerated by the corrupt and poorly established authorities. Had the law been strictly enforced, many of the new middle class would have had their land holdings removed from them. Thus, in practice the core principles of the new Cadastral Regulation were never followed, and in most instances, there remained no practical difference between lands owned by the state and private holdings. The holders of both were able to use and dispose of land as they wished, and hence, larger private estates under the control of wealthy individuals and their families, who are now generally referred as Aghas, started to emerge. The Aghas economic and political prowess was highly influential during these times.⁷

In Kurdish areas, following the introduction of the Land Law and the fall of the Kurdish Emirates after 1831, most of the ownership of *tapu* lands were transferred to the Begg, Aghas, and the *Sheikhs* of the *Tariqas* as in Arab lands. Consequently, agrarian relations were not negatively impacted as those groups who had previously owned wealth and authority as tax farmers and moneylenders were now acquiring it as landowners. Since the Ottoman government struggled to collect taxes directly from the cultivators, farming continued to provide an important source of power for the notables. However, there was a constant political and economic power struggle among *sheikhly* families, Begg, and Aghas, as the growth of commercial agriculture and regional trade enhanced the significance of farming and land ownership.⁸ Most landowners in Kirkuk were Turkmen and the Kurds who regarded themselves as Turkmen. They owned much

⁶ Stanford, History of the Ottoman Empire, p 114.

⁷ Stanford, History of the Ottoman Empire, pp 114-115.

⁸ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, p 74.

of the agricultural land in the countryside of the *Malḥa* region, along the lesser *Zāb*, and in the western outskirts of Kirkuk. Their land (ploughs and sheep) was tended by Arabs.⁹ The Arab tribes were viewed as serfs and subordinates of the Turkmen and Kurds because they did not own land in Kirkuk.

The Ottoman Empire had followed a special policy, the Turanin policy, of distributing land and providing government positions to Kurdish officials who were ready to suppress their own people in exchange for the benefit they received. For example, in the nineteenth century the family of 'āwchi (Aquarius) in Kirkuk and its suburbs were granted many pieces of land by the Ottomans.¹⁰ The main purpose practicing the Turanin policy was to create a strong social and economic class who would serve as guarantors for the survival of their power, and the oppression of their enemies. The Turanin policy led some Kurdish families to change their identity to become Turkmen in order to continue allowing them to manage the people under their control and to keep their economic interests alive. Furthermore, the Ottoman year book mentions the existence of an agricultural bank (*Zira'at Bānkisi*) in order to improve agricultural productions in the Empire.¹¹ However, the year book did not explain in detail about the usefulness of such an enterprise for the farmers themselves. This could be due to the capture of the bank by special interests such as feudal and *Sheikhs* of Kirkuk.

Towards the end of the Ottoman period in Iraq, most of the *Mallāks* (ownerships) were only very small plots, as the statistics show 72.9 percent of all land owners held less than 50 acres and only 6.2 percent of the total area. While, about 80 percent of families living in Iraq at the time did not own any land. At the same time, less than 1 percent of all landowners and *Mallāks* had 55.1 percent of all privately owned land.¹² The small *Mallāks* were generally concentrated in areas of intensive land cultivation, including the fertile water wheel region between Kirkuk, Erbil, and Mosul, adjacent to

⁹ Edmonds, G. J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics*, p 266; Batatu, Hanna, *The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq*, pp 46-47.

¹⁰ *Muhammed, smko bahroz, daruāzaiyakī mezhuiyyāna bo rudāuakāī sāli 1959 yi shāri Karkuk* (Eine historische Einleitung über den Vorfall 1959 in der Stadt Krikuk), (*Magazin govāri Kirkuk, zhmāra 2* (nummer 2), *pāiyzī* (Herbst), 2003, p 54.

¹¹ *Yahīyya, 'abdulalfatāh 'ali, Kirkuk fī sālnāmāt al 'uthmāniyya* (Kirkuk im osmanischen Jahrbuch), (*Magazin govārā zankoiyyā Duhok mrovāiyyatī*, January, 2002, number 2, p 7.

¹² Batatu, Hanna, *The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq*, p 55.

the guarded old post road to Istanbul (*Sultāniya* road).¹³ The large number of extremely small landowners was the direct result of the Islamic law of inheritance, which incidentally, by its recurring diffusion of the large property had steadily made for the political weakness of the “aristocratic” group in Iraq.¹⁴

9.2 Agriculture in Kirkuk and its vicinity

Iraq has greater potential for agricultural development than any other counterpart in the Middle East region. The bulk of the arable and irrigable land is found in the Twin Rivers of the Tigris and the Euphrates.¹⁵ Within Iraq, the province of Kirkuk has a warm climate and it is an ideal place for growing various agricultural products as well as for stock breeding. Salinity ratio in Kirkuk’s land is low compared to the lands of the middle and south of Iraq because the topography of Kirkuk’s plain is tilted and the water does not stop and lay on it so as to produce salt. This has made the land fertile for agriculture.¹⁶ About three quarters of Kirkuk’s land which equates to 12,500 square kilometres is annually utilized for agriculture or is able to be used for agriculture. Therefore, Kirkuk and its suburbs were full of gardens, forests, inhabited villages, fertile valleys, cattle, poultry and tourist areas.¹⁷ Some rivers such as lesser *Zāb* and *Khāseh* Chai are found in the region, providing for economic opportunities.

At the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, the British traveller Buckingham visited the town and pointed out that “this was the first place at which we had seen any trees since leaving Mosul and here [Kirkuk] the date tree was more numerous than any other.”¹⁸ The British officials in Kirkuk had reported about the agricultural products and other economic aspects of the area in 1919. According to the report, “wheat and barley, a little rice, beans, melons, cucumbers, and some grapes were grown in the country-side. In addition, large flocks of sheep are reared in the neighbouring pastures. The water-supply is scanty and eked out from local wells; the

¹³ Ibid, p 66.

¹⁴ Ibid, p 55.

¹⁵ Soil and Land-Use Capabilities in Iraq: A Preliminary Report, W. L. Powers, Geographical Review, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Jul., 1954), pp. 373-380, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstore.org/stable/212063>, last accessed, 26-07-2011 14:45 UTC, p 373.

¹⁶ *Hasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārikh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 11.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp 10-11.

¹⁸ Buckingham, J. S., Travels in Mesopotamia, Vol II, p 171.

river-bed is generally dry. The market deals principally involve exporting some cotton, wool, gall nuts, wheat, barley, fruit, gum, and a little wine. Fruit-trees include the vine, lime, olive, fig, apricot, and mulberry. The villagers sold their produce and bought their goods in Kirkuk.¹⁹ Therefore, Kirkuk was an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood.²⁰

Moreover, this period was marked by different developments including an increased penetration of Western conceptions and modern transport into Kurdistan; intensified traffic between Mosul and Baghdad on reopened roads; the active encouragement of crop-growing (tobacco, vines, grain, rice and fruit) and the restocking of bazaars.²¹ In this regard, Kirkuk was famous for growing tobacco. According to General Fraser, the Aghas in the countryside of Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah forced the villagers to grow tobacco instead of other agricultural products.²² Major Noel observed that three-fifths of the crop was taken by the Aghas and they kept the bulk of the profit for themselves.²³ During the British period, Aghas in Southern Kurdistan were engaged in forcing farmers to grow tobacco because the British government needed to import tobacco from Iraq. This entails that the Aghas did not care about the farmers' well-being and were only interested in making money through tobacco.

Kirkuk and its surrounding area possess a fertile soil and receive enough rain most years that allow peasants to grow grain crops without spending many hours and a good part of their income on constructing and maintaining irrigation works. There are four seasons in Kirkuk, with hot summers and cold winters. In Iraq including Kirkuk agricultural productions are classified into two types. First, winter crops grown are barley, wheat, and limited amounts of seed flax, broad beans, and some vegetable. Second, crops that need summer irrigation are cotton, corn, rice, sesame, dates, deciduous orchards, and perennial gardens, including ornamentals and wind breaks.²⁴

¹⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

²⁰ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 145.

²¹ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*, p 102.

²² The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Minute of a meeting held at the India office to consider Col. Wilson's telegram NO. 14269 dated 27th November 1919 as to the boundaries between Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Soil and Land-Use Capabilities in Iraq: A Preliminary Report*, W. L. Powers, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 44, No. 3(Jul., 1954), pp. 373-380, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstore.org/stable/212063>, last accessed, 26-07-2011 14:45 UTC, p 377.

Agricultural work was one of the main activities of the people in Kirkuk and other Ottoman provinces during the period of this dissertation. If weather conditions were favorable, farmers earned a good income at the end of the harvest season. However, bad harvest seasons were difficult and farmers may not have even obtained any seed back from which they had used in the autumn. Farmers normally use their crops for in four different ways: 1) saving some grains to be used as seed for the next season; 2) giving part of their harvest to the tax collector; 3) saving some for subsistence by the family during the year and; 4) the rest of crops would be sold.²⁵

They exported some of the produced crops, especially grains that were surplus to their needs to different places like Baghdad. For instance, according to the 1877 Ottoman calendar, they were exporting 6,000,000 ounces of wheat, 2,000,000 ounces of barley, 13,333 ounces of lentil, 4450 ounces of chickpea and 40,000 ounces of gall oak.²⁶ While, in Kirkuk district, rice, maize, and millet were collected in the towns of *Tāuq*, and later *Shuān*. The grains collected in kind were partly given to the Army, partly sold and partly used as fodder for the gendarmerie horses. The remainder of summer dues was taken in cash.²⁷

9.3 Problems of the Agriculture in Kirkuk

Compared to European countries the agriculture sector of the Ottoman Empire was backward and faced some serious challenges, which can be summarized as follows:

1. The lack of agricultural technology in Kirkuk and its vicinity during the period of the research (e.g. lack of tractors and harvesters).
2. The presence of locusts and agricultural disasters was a major bottleneck in the agricultural development. Consequently, cultivators in the plains of Kirkuk could not harvest for some years and the government was weak in responding to these challenges.²⁸

²⁵ Shields, Sarah, *Mosul before Iraq*, pp 127-128.

²⁶ *Yaḥiyya, 'abdulalfatāḥ 'ali, Kirkuk fī sālnāmāt al 'uthmāniyya* (Kirkuk im osmanischen Jahrbuch), pp 6-7.

²⁷ *Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919*, Oxford, 1992, p 397.

²⁸ *Hasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tārīkh mashā'ir al 'alauyyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 11.

3. The lack of good communication facilities made transportation costs relatively high. As a result, farmers could not transport their crops in a timely manner and could not compete in other markets. The inhabitants in Kirkuk and its vicinity used animals such as donkeys, mules, horses, and camels for transporting agricultural production from villages to the town.²⁹

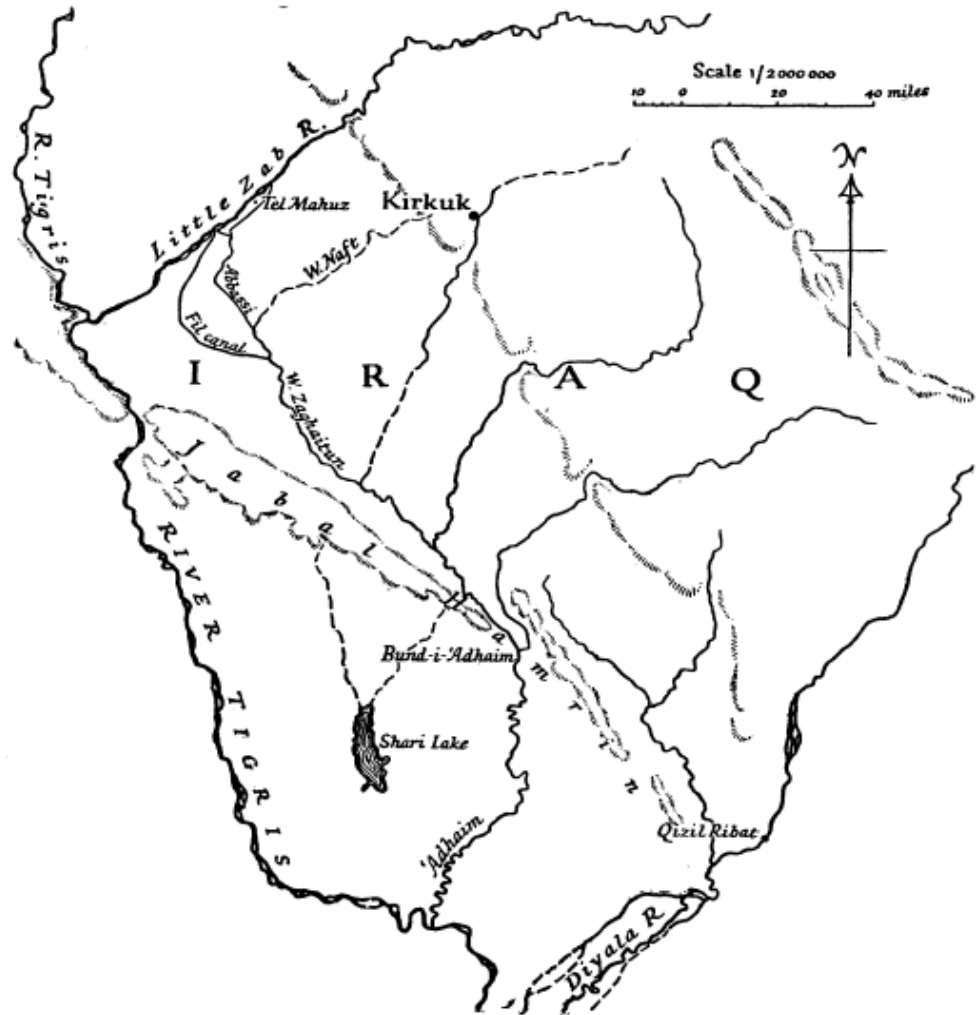
4. The area of Kirkuk's plain is sloped. Therefore, the farmers were unable to water their lands according to their necessity in lesser *Zāb* or Tigris. As *Batatu* noted "the farmers the regions of the southern Iraq, which in contrast to the regions of the southern Tigris such as Kirkuk, were very thickly settled due to the fact that the waters of the Euphrates could always be more easily distributed than those of Tigris on account of the slope of the ground levels."³⁰ Before the start of the First World War the Ottomans attempted to dig some canals on the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq for watering lands; one of them was in the west plain of Kirkuk but they were not successful. As Longrigg put it, "[a] scheme for watering the Hawija, north-west of Kirkuk, from the Lesser Zab was begun without study and ended in fiasco and scandal."³¹ The digging of the canal was also interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War.³²

²⁹ Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, *The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, p 16.

³⁰ *Batatu*, Hanna, *The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq*, p 55.

³¹ Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*, p 64.

³² Petrosian, Vahram, *the Iraqi Turkmans and Turkey, Iran and the Caucasus*, Vol. 7, No. ½(2003), Brill, pp. 279-308, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030981>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 12:16 UTC, p 354.



33

5. All cultivation in Kurdistan was solely rain-fed and there was no artificial irrigation.³⁴ Therefore, the agricultural production was not dependable and totally relied on the amount of rainfall each year.³⁵ For instance, cultivation in the northeast mountains and valleys of Kurdistan was highly dependent upon irregular and inadequate rain and not on irrigation. Therefore, where insecurity was widespread, the farmers follow certain semi-settled or nomadic practices.³⁶

³³ Ionides, M. G., Two Ancient Irrigation Canals in Northern Iraq, *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 92, No. 4 (Oct., 1938), pp 351-354, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://www.jstore.org/stable/1787220>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 13:54 UTC., p 352.

³⁴ Rich, Claudius James, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh*, vol II, p 56.

³⁵ Hasan, 'abdul al majid fahmī, *dalil tārīkh mashā'ir al 'alauiyat al 'irāqiya* (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), p 3.

³⁶ Batatu, Hanna, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, p 64.

6. The river of Kirkuk called *Khāseh Chai* dried during the summer and the climate was not ideal to grow plants in the summer.³⁷ In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad reported about the presence of water in Kirkuk by saying “water can be obtained after rain or the melting of the snow from the Hasa Su, but there is generally little or no water in the river bed.”³⁸

9.4 The Ottoman Agricultural and Livestock Taxes

As mentioned in the first Chapter, according to the Kurdish-Ottoman Treaty signed between the Kurdish Emirates and the Ottoman Empire in 1515, the Ottomans had levied taxes in the Emirates annually from the beginning of the sixteenth century until mid-nineteenth century in exchange for Ottoman protection of the Emirates. However, the Ottoman officials did not have enough enforcement capacity to levy taxes via their *Qontrāchys* (financial officials) over the Kurdish Emirates. Therefore, Kurdish princes were free to collect all kinds of taxes for their own benefit, although they had to send some annual taxes to the central province in Baghdad.³⁹ There is no available information that reveals the amount of tax paid by Kurdish princes during the first half of the nineteenth century. A person who was responsible for levying of taxes and the financial director of any province in the Ottoman Empire was the *Defterdār*; he was in direct contact with the Porte. The Ottoman officials looked at the provinces of their territory as centres of levying and sometimes took tough measures towards those people who did not pay taxes on time.⁴⁰ Kirkuk as a fertile area of the Ottoman Empire paid several different taxes such as agricultural, livestock, craft, oil, and transportation taxes.

According to the Ottoman law of tax collection, which was practiced by the end of the 19th century in the whole Empire, “[t]he persons desirous of acquiring such properties shall be informed, the properties shall be put up to auction in the presence of

³⁷ Shiel, J Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Ván, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbil, to Suleimáníyeh, in July and August, 1836, The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, (Volume 8), p 100.

³⁸ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

³⁹ *Husaín, sa'dí 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 333.

⁴⁰ *Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa'id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā* (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), p 205.

the administrative council of the Qaza by lots and acres and shall be granted to the highest bidder. On every acre of the said woods and lands an annual Tax of 10 or 20 paras will be collected in lieu of revenue, the basis of such taxation always being the situation desirability of the said properties. The amount to be collected in this way will be entered on the little-deed delivered to the purchaser.”⁴¹ The aim of those taxes is to levy 10 percent from cultivators who cultivated and watered their fields. However, when they did not water by themselves and depended on the rain, they had to levy 20 percent as annual taxes.

Those people who levied taxes in the Ottoman Empire were called *Qontrātchy* or *Qochāni*. They sometimes were accused of being corrupt both during the Ottoman Empire and at the beginning of the British period. In 1919, the British officials levied taxes of annual crops in the same way the Ottomans did in Kirkuk and reported: “[i]t has been the policy to presume in each place the method to which the people are accustomed, only altering to a convenient round figure the broken and awkward amounts in which the Turkish Effendi rejoiced.” According to the British report, “[t]he bulk of the work was done by the permanent revenue staff and qolchis. In Kirkuk District one estimator from outside was engaged; in Kifri two. Few complaints were received against estimations figures, but in places where it became known that Mamurs had been throwing revenue away it became necessary to send second committees. This applies especially to Altun Kupri Shu'bah, whose Mamur has now been pensioned, and Qara Tappah where some mal-practice was located, and cost the responsible official his appointment.”⁴²

9.5 Kirkuk's Agricultural and Commercial trade

In the nineteenth century Kirkuk was the centre of all the productions of Kurdistan.⁴³ After the British occupation in 1918 and the eventual construction of the Kirkuk-Baghdad railway, Kirkuk became one of the most important commercial towns between Southern Kurdistan and the rest of Iraq. Kirkuk and Mosul were commercially

⁴¹ The National Archives, FO 371/3047, Basra, 28-October-1916, translation of the Turkish *Tapu* laws.

⁴² Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, pp 397-398.

⁴³ Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh, vol II, pp 305-306.

connected with Aleppo and Syria in the west, Anatolia in the north, province Kurdistan (*Sanadaj*) and Iran in the east, and with Baghdad in the south. Most of the exports from Kirkuk were grains, wool, hides, and tobacco, and they went either to Baghdad or Syria via Mosul. Baghdad was heavily reliant on wheat from Kirkuk and Mosul.⁴⁴ Dina Rizk Khoury describes Kirkuk during this time as one of many medium-sized trading centres linked to the regional economy, and only tangentially involved in the international trade of luxury goods. Towns like Mosul, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyah catered to the regional and local trade in pastoral goods such as leather, wool, and meat, and agricultural products such as grain and fruit.⁴⁵ The articles exported from Kirkuk to Sulaymaniyah were boots and shoes, and some coarse cotton clotli.⁴⁶ cotton was also grown in some parts of the town.⁴⁷ Salt was another available natural resource, produced in Tuz Khurmātu.⁴⁸

Kirkuk did not have everything available locally to meet its people's necessities. Therefore, traders imported different products from outside towns, particularly Baghdad, Mosul, and Sulaymaniyah. The English traveller Rich visited Southern Kurdistan in the 1820 s and mentioned that there was continual intercourse between Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah. In addition, major Soane noted that a shop was selling shoes imported from Baghdad in the bazaar of Kirkuk.⁴⁹ According to the British officials in Baghdad in 1917, the chief imports were cotton goods with Kirkuk being a major distributing centre for Kurdistan. They also estimated that there were 500 shops in Kirkuk whereas the local authorities claimed that there were more than 1,800 shops.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Foster, Henry A., *the making of Iraq*, p 145.

⁴⁵ Khoury, Dina Rizk, *state and provincial society in the Ottoman Empire Mosul, 1540-1834*, Cambridge, 1997, p 34.

⁴⁶ Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh*, vol II, pp 305-306.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, *A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert*, January, 1917, p 24.

⁴⁸ Niebuhr, Carsten Niebuhrs *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden*, p 336.

⁴⁹ E. B. Soane: *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, pp 121,135, 136.

⁵⁰ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, *A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert*, January, 1917, p 24.

They also mentioned that Kirkuk was a major centre for the purchase of Arab horses.⁵¹ The important goods imported from Sulaymaniyah were pulses, honey, gall-nuts, sumac, fruits, rice, gliee, cotton, sheep, and cattle.⁵² The imported honey from Sulaymaniyah and other parts of Kurdistan was of the finest quality and it was sometimes sent from Kirkuk to Mosul.⁵³

⁵¹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

⁵² Rich, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh, vol II, pp 305-306.

⁵³ Ibid, vol II, p 142.

CHAPTER X: ROADS AND COMMERCIAL WAYS IN KIRKUK AND ITS VICINITY

During the period of this research, Kirkuk has faced several foreign interventions. These external forces wanted to control the town and its surrounding areas because it was a strategic and significant area in the Middle East connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf together with the regions of Levant and Iran. To guard the area, those occupying forces built castles and forts in Kirkuk and the surrounding areas to: 1) protect commercial convoys, providing a safe route for trade caravans going through the region; 2) defend those areas from any occupation; 3) move their forces in the face of potential revolutions and uprisings of the Kurdish people in the mountainous areas in Southern Kurdistan and; 4) secure pilgrims visiting Mecca and Medina and to shield Shiites wanting to reach Kerbela, and other shrines in central and southern Iraq via Kirkuk and the *Sultāniya* road from Iran. Therefore, the Ottoman and *Şafavid* empires tried to place their own people and their allies in these towns to protect their own power and interests. This was the main reason why Kirkuk and its environs became an area of mixed ethnic and religious groups. Lady Anne Blunt who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in the late 1870s explains that Muslim pilgrims from Minor Asia (current Turkey), Europe and Caucasus used two routes to reach Mecca and Medina. Those routes were the Levant and Mesopotamia as she said “Upper Mesopotamia is a more even plain than the Syrian Desert, and southwards is but little intersected with ravines. This route is strategically of immense importance to Turkey, and is perhaps the best. I would, however, suggest, that commercially, a better line would be from Mosul by Kerkuk to Bagdad. This would continue through cultivated lands, and is the route recommended by the very intelligent Polish engineer, who surveyed it some years ago.”¹

Transportation during the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries was very much based on the methods and innovations that were used before. In the whole Ottoman

¹ Blunt, Lady Anne, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd, The Cradle of the Arab Race. A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir, and "Our Persian Campaign."*, Vol 2, London, 1881, p 282.

Empire including the provinces of Mosul and Kirkuk, the means of transport were mainly via animal loads such as mules, donkeys, horses, and camels. For instance, in 1856, Clément visited Kirkuk and Southern Kurdistan and mentioned, “[w]e stayed whole days in Kirkut, that we left on 15th in order to enter Kurdistan through no beaten tracks but only outlined by the natives. Once left the valley and engaged in the mountains of Kurdistan and Taurus, the travel can be made only by horse or on foot. The use of coaches or carts is unknown and would be impossible in such bad routes, where the horsemen often have difficulties when they inter cross.”² Another example from Major Noel - while travelling to Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah from Mosul in 1909 - notes “three or four Turkoman natives of Kirkuk appeared and tried to make me hire mules to that place, which is half-way to Sulaimania.”³ Furthermore, according to the English officer, Captain Hay, carts regularly passed along the roads, which are mentioned below, during the Ottoman period.⁴

10.1 Land Transportation

- Sultāniya road (Mosul to Baghdad):

This road started in Baghdad and ran through the plains of the *Khālīṣ* villages, crossing the canal at *Dali ‘Abbās*, *Jabal Hamrin*, and continued through the undulating plains of Qara Tapa, *Zangābād*, Kifri, by Tuz Khurmāto and Daquq and finally to Kirkuk.⁵ North from there the road crossed a low range past a cluster of crude oil-wells, and across a plain to the lesser *Zāb* at Altun Keupri. To the greater *Zāb* past Qush Tapa and Erbil, the road also passed through sloping wheat lands. Christian villages lay on the road to Mosul.⁶ In 1766, Carsten Niebuhr used this road and described the travel to Mosul through Kirkuk-Erbil as very safe and he did not require big caravans to accompany him and his entourage for protection.⁷ According to Maunsell, there were several petroleum springs in the low sandstone and conglomerate ridges close to Kirkuk, which were one of the most significant commercial resources there. The main

² Quoted from Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 37.

³ E. B. Soane, to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, p 95.

⁴ Hay W. R, Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 29.

⁵ Longrigg, four centuries of modern Iraq, pp 3-4.

⁶ Ibid, pp 3-4.

⁷ See the next map.

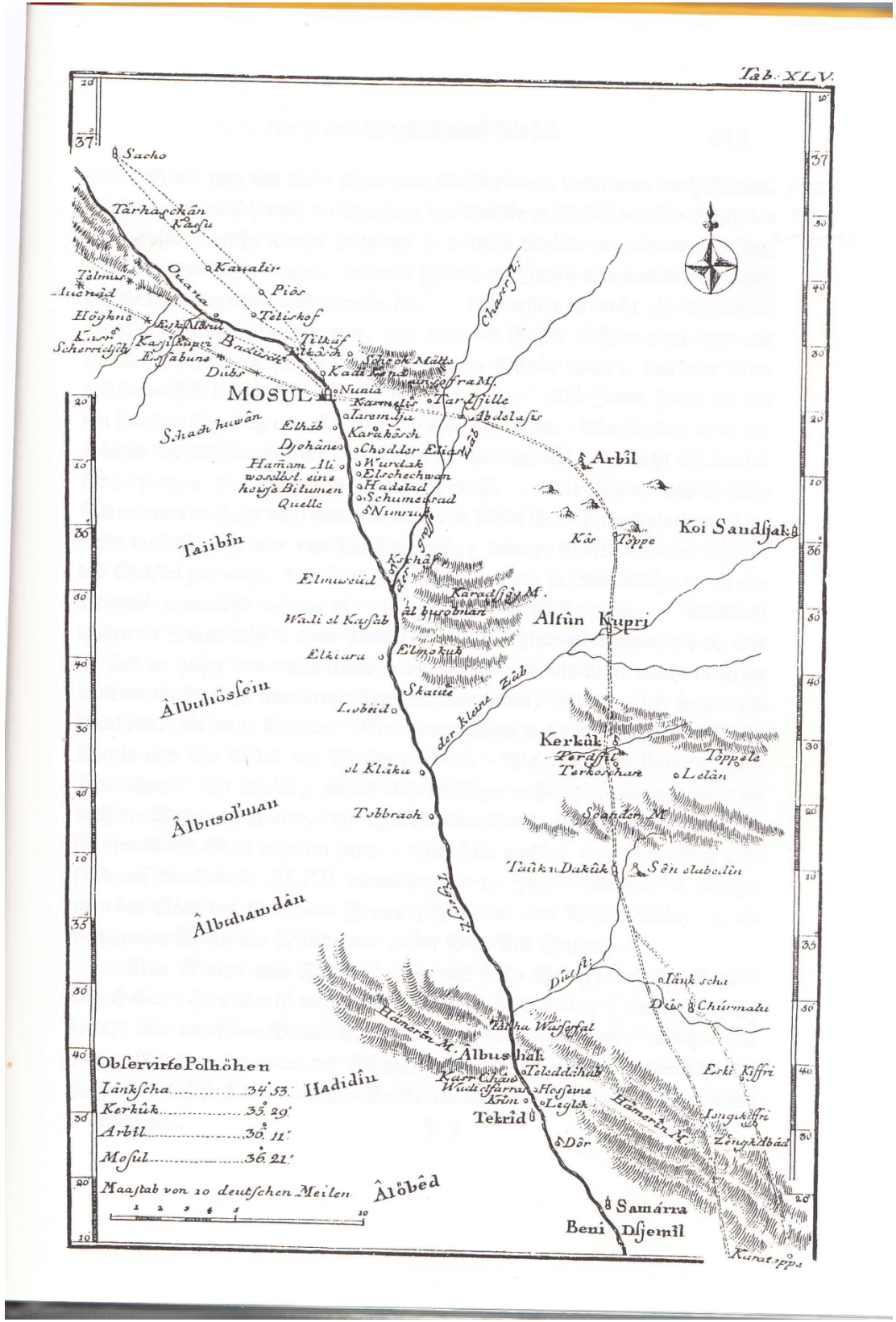
caravan route from Baghdad to Mosul went through Kifri, Kirkuk, and Erbil.⁸ Moreover, this road was the shortest way to reach Iran from Mosul, going via Kirkuk. This road was known as *Sultāniya* because the Ottoman Sultans and their armies used it to get to Baghdad and to face the war against the Iranians. For instance, Sultan Murad IV used that way in 1638 on his return to Baghdad from Iran.⁹ Ottoman officials in Baghdad also used this way to suppress Kurdish uprisings in the mountainous areas in Southern Kurdistan.¹⁰ Moreover, most travellers and envoys from foreign countries used this road to reach Baghdad and other areas - thus Kirkuk was a major stopping station for their comfort. They would stay for some hours or even days.¹¹

⁸ Maunsell, F. R., The Mesopotamian Petroleum Field, pp. 528-532, The Geographical Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May, 1897), Published by: The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1774893>, last accessed, 30-09-2013, pp 528-532, p 530.

⁹ *Husān, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), pp 350-351.

¹⁰ *Al 'azāuiy, 'abās, tārikh al 'irāq baiyna al 'āihīlālaiyn* (Die Geschichte vom Irak zwischen den beiden Besetzungen), vol 6, pp 25-27.

¹¹ For more information, see this research (Kirkuk under the British occupation), pp 131-134.



The road of *Sultāniya* was used by Carsten Niebuhr in 1766 from Baghdad to Mosul through Kirkuk and Erbil.¹²

¹² Niebuhr, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden, p 353.

In addition to the military importance of the road, it was used as an important trading and religious route. Most goods were sent through this important road and via Kirkuk from the areas in Southern Kurdistan to Baghdad and Mosul and vice versa, because Kirkuk was the centre point for connecting the mountainous areas in Southern Kurdistan with the plains of central and Southern Iraq.¹³ Therefore, most of the trade caravans and pilgrims passed through Kirkuk - used the town as a station to rest and stay in its Khans (hotels). Furthermore, communication and contact between the princes of the Bāhdīnān Emirate in *Amedee* and Duhok and officials of the central province in Baghdad regarding the administrative, economic, and military issues occurred through this road.¹⁴ This largely confirms the importance of Kirkuk, which had become a meeting place for traders, pilgrims, and soldiers coming from various areas of the Ottoman Empire and Iran - who spoke different languages. It is likely that because of this, some of them decided to reside in Kirkuk and not return to their homeland.

By the end of the First World War, the British started constructing this road with asphalt alongside the railway route to use it for driving cars, trucks, and tanks on as well as to reduce their brigades from Kirkuk's area. The road started from Baghdad—*Baqubah*—*Sāmarrāh* line and its extension to Mosul via Kirkuk was strategically desirable.¹⁵ The route was suitable for military purposes and would permit extension westwards and serve commercial demands. Therefore, the town served as a meeting point for such guests to deal and exchange goods and products whether during the Ottoman Empire or the British occupation.

Furthermore, during the Ottoman Empire and the British occupation the road also allowed for the levying of taxes when trade caravans crossed the Altun Keupri bridge. Thus, when the caravans reached this checkpoint, passengers and their goods were checked and they were accordingly charged fees, they were also issued a ticket enabling the traveller to pass the bridge on the south side free of any further charges.¹⁶ The

¹³ *Khaṣṣbāk, shākīr, al 'irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥīhi al ṭabī'iyya ua al bashariyya* (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), p 91.

¹⁴ *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 353.

¹⁵ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/110 Image Reference, 0087, British railways in Mesopotamia, from general headquarters, Mesopotamia, to war office. Dispatched 11th August, 1920.

¹⁶ Soane, Ely Banister, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, pp 113-114; Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division, p 407.

people who were receiving most of the taxes were Yazidis because they were experts in sailing and driving boats.¹⁷ Furthermore, Altun Keupri was a postal and telegraphic centre for delivering messages between Baghdad and Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ However, by 1919, the British opened and expanded more Telegraph Offices such as Altun Keupri, Kirkuk, Tāuq, Tuz, and Kifri.¹⁹

-The road between Kirkuk and Mosul:

A direct road exists from Altun Keupri to Quwair and passes through Dibaga. It was the main line of communication for the Turkish military between Mosul and Kirkuk during the First World War.²⁰ They used this road because it was shorter and allowed them to reach Kirkuk faster, as they were not required to go through Erbil.

-The road between Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah:

The road between Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah passes from Kirkuk through Bāziān Bay to Sulaymaniyah. While the people of Sulaymaniyah used this road to get to Baghdad through Kirkuk,²¹ Baghdad officials used this way to attack the areas of the Bābān Emirate.²² In May 1918, this road was used for wheeled traffic to send troops to Sulaymaniyah and to send a lightly equipped mobile force accompanied by Kurds levies. The road was also utilized to access the rich agricultural district of Halabja and to blockade that route into Iran, and to occupy Sulaymaniyah when the opportunity arose.²³ Main roads - which were as vital to economic advance as they were to the administration - were being constructed on a permanent basis from Sulaymaniyah to Kirkuk and to Halabja over the mountains of Gwezha.²⁴

¹⁷ Buckingham, J. S., *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol II, pp 101-108.

¹⁸ Mosul *Vilayati Salname* 1894, p 161; M. G. Gerard, C. B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 16.

¹⁹ Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 390.

²⁰ Hay. W. R, *Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918-1920*, p 28.

²¹ *Al munshī' al Baghdādī, Muhammed bin Aḥmad al ḥusaynī, riḥla al munshī' al Baghdādī 'ilā al 'irāq* (Die Reise von Al munshī' Baghdadi nach Irak), pp 49-50.

²² *Al kirkukly, dauḥat al uzarā'* (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), p 175.

²³ The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/23/6 Image Reference, 0026, Minutes of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held at 10, Downing Street, S.W., on Friday, May 3, 1918, at 12 noon.

²⁴ Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p 66.

Here it is clear that Kirkuk connected a network of commercial and military roads, some of which have become a hub for connecting a series of cities and towns in Southern Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Iran and particularly Erbil, Mosul, Sulaymaniyah, Diyala, and Baghdad. Consequently, this rendered Kirkuk to be one of the most economically and militarily important towns during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Many people undoubtedly went to the town in order to get a job, settling there and not returning to their original homelands.

10.1.1 The problems with Kirkuk's roads and water provision for travelers and pilgrims.

As mentioned above, these roads had many important commercial and military functions. However, they were not free from troubles, which compelled merchants and travellers to sometimes use alternative routes for their commercial trips. Those problems can be analysed in the following manner:

- **The security:**

Travelers passing through Kirkuk had security guarantee from Ottoman soldiers and their paid escorts during the period under investigation. However, the situation was sometimes volatile and traders had faced attackers and robberies from the tribesmen in the area. For instance, Gerard described the *Sultāniya* road as unsafe while going to Kirkuk from Baghdad in the year between 1881 and 1882 because of the looting practices of the Hamawand in the area. According to him, in October 1879 a caravan was looted by the Hamawands near Kirkuk that made the roads between the town and its vicinities unsafe.²⁵ Moreover, Sykes mentioned that an Iranian Caravan faced killing and looting by Kurdish tribes during his visit to Kirkuk in 1899 and stated “[a]t Khurmati we heard that the Kurds were becoming very troublesome and that they had cut up a large Persian caravan, killed sixteen men, and stolen two hundred horses. There must have been something in this, as later on we passed some horses being taken back to Baghdad to be given over to the Persian consulate there.”²⁶ In his later travels, this was further reiterated by Sykes, who

²⁵ M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, p 10.

²⁶ Sykes, Mark, Through five Turkish provinces, p 58.

said “in 1898 Kerkuk itself was not secure, and caravans with large escorts were liable to attack within sight of the town.” But, later things changed, and “In 1903 the country was as quiet as any other, caravans were safe, and the roads open. This result has been achieved by various prompt arrests, by demonstrations in force, and by honest cooperation between the civil and military, the lack of which is the cause of more disasters in Turkey than corruption and wilful misgovernment. The Hamawand continue their intertribal feuds with the kindred Jafs and other Ashirets, but in such affairs the troops do no more than hold a watching brief for the Government, whose policy is only to safeguard caravans and interfere to prevent one side annihilating the other.”²⁷

Things changed again and in 1909, Major Soane was unable to rent neither mule nor muleteer from the Arabs while going to Sulaymaniyah through Kirkuk because the Arab people from Mosul were afraid of revenge for murdering sheikh Sa‘id. Therefore, he had to stay two days in idleness and thought of finding an alternative road because “a Kurdish tribe called the Hamavand had cut all communications on the Sulaymania road, killing and robbing all who attempted the passage.”²⁸ As a result, caravans or merchants tried to hire escorts to protect and accompany them from any offensive which may have happened whilst on the roads.²⁹

- **Taking money from merchants:**

Officials and rulers of the Ottoman Empire on many occasions forcibly borrowed money from traders and later did not pay it back to them in the nineteenth century and beyond. They were imposing a penalty on traders at a time when they were in need of money and sometimes killed them in order to steal all their wealth and possessions.³⁰ This obviously had caused mistrust on the part of the traders towards Ottoman officials. Traders started to hide their

²⁷ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-Ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 202.

²⁸ E. B. Soane, *to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, p 95.

²⁹ Sykes, Mark, *Through five Turkish provinces*, p 57; E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, p 136.

³⁰ *Al ḥamdānī, ṭāriq nāfi’, malāmiḥ siyasiyya ua ḥaḍāriyya fī tāriḫ al ‘irāq al ḥadīth ua al mu‘āṣir* (Merkmale der Politik und Zivilisation in der Geschichte des modernen und zeitgenössischen Iraks), Beirut, 1989, pp 139-140.

money and refused to invest their capital on development projects, which negatively affected the economy of Mesopotamia and Southern Kurdistan, resulting in a surge in unemployment.

- **Poor weather and bad roads and bridges:**

Weather in Kirkuk and the whole of Iraq is hot and dry in the summer and wet, cold, and windy in the winter. For instance, the British army had faced problems in Iraq during the winter season when the country experienced a wave of glutinous mud this made the movement of troops and animals almost impossible, and for aircraft to take off.³¹ Therefore, the caravans and Ottoman soldiers which wanted to use this way had sometimes encountered difficulty based on the weather.

- **Diging wells on the main roads:**

The purpose of digging wells was the provision of water to people, such as pilgrims, travellers, envoys, soldiers, and traders, who used the main land roads. According to Mrs Blunt, Ottomans dug wells on the main wells: “[a] few wells would seem to exist on the line of certain ancient routes”.³²

10.2 Railway Transportation

The idea of constructing a railway between Baghdad and Kirkuk was first discussed in 1903 by the British envoy and spy Mark Sykes “if the great railway is ever to exist this town will be the market garden of Baghdad.”³³ But, it wasn’t until 1919 that the British officials officially considered the establishment of a railway between Kirkuk and Baghdad through the towns of the southern Kirkuk such as Kifri and Qzel Rābāt. They did not construct a railway between Kirkuk and other towns in Kurdistan (Erbil and Sulaymaniyah) perhaps because they wanted to isolate Kirkuk from Southern Kurdistan for the reason that Sheikh Mahmud wanted to establish a Kurdish state at that time, “Indeed, Southern Kurdistan, unlike British-administration Mesopotamia, had not been a heavy financial burden on Britain. Most British expenditure focused on the

³¹ Wilcox, Ron, *Battles on the Tigris, the Mesopotamian Campaign*, p 14.

³² Blunt, Lady Anne, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd, The Cradle of the Arab Race. A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir, and "Our Persian Campaign."*, Vol 2, London, 1881, p 235.

³³ Sykes, Mark, *Dar-Ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 200.

construction of railways, roads, ports dams, bridges and other facilities in Mesopotamia, rather than in Southern Kurdistan.”³⁴

The overall objective of the construction of the railway was to run their wealth, trade, and facilitate the movement of their soldiers. In general, the residents of the area were so happy with the implementation of the project, which provided them with traffic and transportation facilities. In the following, we are talking precisely about the construction of the project:

On the August 22 1919, the following telegram from the British Indian Government Office was addressed to the Civil Commissioner in Baghdad, “His Majesty’s Government have had under careful consideration question of proposed railway from Kizil Robot towards Kifri and Kirkuk. Whatever may be [the] ultimate utility of this line its immediate construction is recommended on purely strategic grounds as essential to retention and pacification of Southern Kurdistan.”³⁵ After four months, the British officials in Baghdad replied with their suggestion by stating “[i]f this policy be adopted, the railway from Kirkuk to Kifri will cease to be a military necessity. On the other hand, its existence would undoubtedly make it easier to reduce the garrison of its commercial importance Mr. Montagu would advise that should be continued.”³⁶

According to General Cobbe, a small rather than a large British force was needed at Kirkuk to protect the area if the railway construction happened. Otherwise, a large garrison would be required if there was no railway.³⁷ There was a strong suspicion amongst the British policymakers that Wilson wanted to use the railway to consolidate direct British control and to suppress Kurdish revolts. Supporting the construction of the railway, Longrigg mentioned, “I repeat these remarks-obvious enough in themselves merely to show the actual attitudes of the population of the decision. It exists

³⁴ Eskander, Saad (2001), Southern Kurdistan under Britain’s Mesopotamian Mandate: from Separation to incorporation, 1920-23, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Apr.,2001), pp. 153-180, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284159>, Last accessed, 26-07-2015 14:24 UTC, p 154.

³⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Mesopotamia, British relations with Kurdistan, political department: India Office, 27th August, 1919.

³⁶ The National Archives, FO 371.4193, from civil commissioner, Baghdad, on 20th December 1919.

³⁷ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Minute of a meeting held at the India office to consider Col. Wilson’s telegram NO. 14269 dated 27th November 1919 as to the boundaries between Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.

nowhere more strongly than in the Kurdish tribesmen-Jaf, Zanganaha, Daudi, Talabani.”³⁸ Finally, the British authority decided to build and finance this project in order to get to Mosul and control Kurdish area easily: “[a]t the twenty-ninth meeting of the I.D.C.E [the Inter-Department Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs] it was decided that, subject to treasury sanction, work should be proceeded with on the Kifri-Kirkuk railway line. The reason for the decision was the necessity for providing a line of access to Mosul rather than the desirability of retaining control over the Kurdish areas through which the railway will pass. But the fact that the railway would pass through Kurdish areas would appear to carry with it the necessity for their inclusion in the British sphere.”³⁹ This railway project was finished in 1924 and was officially opened by King Faisal when he visited Kirkuk during the same time.⁴⁰

The rise in transportation particularly the construction of the railway at the beginning of 20th century allowed for an increase in trade and travel throughout Iraq and Kirkuk. Merchants of some types of goods were able to gain access to foreign markets and take more products with them, which highly benefited the economy. Transportation was essential not only for the economic benefit and development of Kirkuk but also for its social improvement. Many people might have immigrated to the town in search of a job and worked as mechanics in the railway stations in the area and gradually integrated into the society bolstering the social diversity of the area.

10.3 Water transportation

Although Kirkuk is not located directly on any branch of the Tigris River that allowed for water transportation, the Lower *Zāb* and Tigris River located west of the town were still used to transport commercial goods between the Kirkuk and Baghdad areas. Altun Keupri in the nineteenth century became the center for transporting goods via water including agricultural and animal products from Kurdistan to Baghdad and other southern areas of Iraq.

³⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/5068 Memo NO. K 2164/3/1 dated 2nd February 1920, from S.H Longrigg. Major political officer Kirkuk, to civil commissioner, in Mesopotamia.

³⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Inter-Departmental Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs. Additional Note Situation in Kurdistan.

⁴⁰ *Kotchirā, Kris, kurd la saday nozda u bistdā* (Die Kurden im Neunzehnten und Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert), p 91.

From Koi Sanjaq convoys moved to Taq Taq on the Lower *Zāb*, where travellers and their belongings were placed on rafts and floated down to Altun Keupri and Baghdad, or else the river is crossed in a ferryboat.⁴¹ The transfer of goods through the river route in Altun Keupri to Baghdad was only one-way. They were only able to convey their goods by boat from Altun Keupri to Baghdad through Lower *Zāb* River and not vice versa. Since the river is sloppy the boats could not return in the opposite direction. Upon arrival to Baghdad, the boats were often unwounded and their cargos unloaded to be transported by horses and mules to Kirkuk, but often traders faced tribal bandits and thieves, on the way between Baghdad and Kirkuk.⁴² Another problem was the slow movement of the boats due to the lack of water in the river which prolongs the journey to Baghdad by 14 days making the overland route more desirable. The voyage normally takes only 3 to 4 days to get to Baghdad on the Tigris River.⁴³

⁴¹ Hay. W.R, Two years in Kurdistan of a Political Officer 1918-1920, p 29.

⁴² Niebuhr, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden, p 354; *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 352.

⁴³ Niebuhr, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden, p 354.

CHAPTER XI: THE DISCOVERY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OIL IN KIRKUK

The presence of oil, gas and asphalt in Kirkuk dates back thousands of years. Reference to the existence of naphtha and other bituminous elements in Kirkuk can be found in the most ancient historical records.¹ The most prominent areas where those natural resources were found are Tuz Khurmātu and Bābā Gurgur. Most travellers, who passed through those areas pointed to the presence of oil and to the ‘sunshine of fire’ emitted from those oil and gas fields. According to Galletti, “[i]n the Baba Gurgur area near Kirkuk, the presence of oil was known from ancient times. Using primitive methods, the Ottoman army had extracted oil in this area for local consumption since 1639.”²

In Kirkuk, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, naphtha was used for lights and fire.³ Furthermore, oil and bitumen were exported from Kirkuk and Tuz Khurmātu to Baghdad for the purpose of heating and making lights.⁴ The English envoy, Porter visited Kirkuk in the third decade of the nineteenth century and explained the production of Kirkuk’s oil and its sale in the local market as follows: “[t]he natives lave it out with ladles into bags made of skins, which are carried on the backs of asses to Kirkook, or to any other mart for its sale. The profits are estimated at thirty or forty thousand Piasters annually. The Kirkook naphtha is principally consumed by the markets in the south-west of Courdistan, while the pits not far from Kufri [Kifri] supply Bagdad and its environs.”⁵ Moreover, oil was sent as far as India where it was widely

¹ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

² Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 22.

³ Shiel, J Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Vān, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbil, to Suleimāniyeh, in July and August, 1836. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*-1838, (Volume 8), p 100.

⁴ *Husaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 380.

⁵ Porter, Robert, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*. London, 1822, vol 2, p 441.

used as the color for painting.⁶ Also, a recent excavation in Mesopotamia demonstrates that asphalt had been utilized for road making, and covering floors and roofs, but apparently its use as a fuel was very restricted. Thus, in those days it was naphtha that was widely used for lamps and it was also used for medicinal purposes.⁷

In 1888, the oil fields were functioning well and crude petroleum was taken to Baghdad in skins carried on camels.⁸ At the beginning of the 20th century, there were refineries at Tuz Khurmātu, but their establishment was rudimentary because the quantity of production was small with the capacity to refine only two hundred litters at a time and the quality of the production was poor.⁹ Moreover, the Mesopotamian naphtha industry in Tuz Khurmātu had also suffered from the reprisals of the nomadic Kurdish tribes, who considered themselves entitled to levy taxes. To deal with this problem, Ottoman officials and foreign companies in Tuz Khurmātu built tower shaped houses as a protection against robberies by the Kurds. The only entrance to those towers was by means of high ladders, preventing strangers from entering.¹⁰ The Kurdish indigenous people were accused of robbery and levying taxes of oil through force, although nobody seemed to refer to the occupation of their land without compensation.

The value and importance of oil in commercial quantities appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. This proved to the world that this resource has the potential to spur economic development. Oil replaced coal before the First World War because it was economical in terms of raising steam and four times larger if utilized in internal combustion engines.¹¹ Therefore, due to its importance, oil became a major cause of political and military conflict between various countries. The events of modern and contemporary history show that seizure of the oil fields and other natural resources

⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul *Grosskopf*, translated from German.

⁷ *Husain, sa'di 'uthman, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fi al qarnayn 17-18* (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), p 380.

⁸ Maunsell, F. R., The Mesopotamian Petroleum Field, pp. 528-532, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May, 1897), Published by: The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1774893>, last accessed, 30-09-2013, p 531.

⁹ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul *Grosskopf*, translated from German.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Mejcher, Helmut, The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, p 8.

was amongst the prime motives of the global colonial competition, as well as a major reason for the outbreak of many wars and in deciding the fate of many people and governments. It had resulted in disagreement and conflict between the Turks, Germans, French, Britons, Dutch, and Americans. While, the presence of oil in Kirkuk was also a major reason for the modification of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement and the signing of the 1920 San Remo Agreement, the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, and the 1923 Lausanne Conference. Furthermore, oil was the decisive reason compelling the great powers in annexing Southern Kurdistan to Iraq rather than advocating for the establishment of an independent Kurdish state or simply accepting Turkish claim of the area after the First World War. Thus, the conflict among great powers to control the oil in Kirkuk was deeply rooted amongst various countries, such as Britain, Iraq, France and Turkey and it took more than three decades until 1927 that an agreement to share the oil fields of Kirkuk was reached.

11.1 The process of oil discovery in Kirkuk

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire faced economic and financial problems. The Empire tried to resolve the problem by forging a relationship with Germany because they no longer had any confidence in countries like Britain, France, and Russia.

In 1878, the Ottoman Empire lost a war with Russia and was forced to sign the Berlin Treaty and gave away some parts of its Empire in Eastern Europe particularly Bulgaria and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Abdul Hamid – the sole arbiter of the Ottoman Empire – faced two major problems. First, his bankrupt nation needed a stable financial base. Second, the Ottoman military found itself in desperate need of Western help. Abdul Hamid believed that a partnership with Germany would remedy both afflictions. He gambled that Germany could become a sympathetic and uncompromised ally in order to get the Ottoman Empire back on track.¹² In November 1890, Wilhelm II was welcomed by Abdul Hamid in Istanbul. When he returned home, Wilhelm II was

¹² The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German; Jonathan, S. McMurray, Distant Ties Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the construction of the Baghdad railway, Praeger, 2001, p 17.

convinced that he had found an important friend and political ally in Turkey.¹³ However, the rest of the European countries were worried about Wilhelm's trip to Turkey.

The first evidence of Ottoman authorities showing interest in the oil of Mosul Vilayet (the province that included Kirkuk) was in 1890 when Sultan Abdul Hamid gave concessions of the Vilayets of Mosul and Baghdad into the state's Civil List,¹⁴ contracting the start of exploration in those areas.¹⁵ The Ottoman Empire did not have the ability to extract oil directly from any area in its homeland and was forced to depend on European countries for the production of oil anywhere in its Empire. In 1901, the Germans sent an expert delegation to Kirkuk, in order to seek oil in the area. They eventually confirmed the presence of oil in the area, but according to their report they pointed out that there was not enough oil to use for trading.¹⁶ However, by the following year, the German viewpoint changed and their main focus was on the oil fields, as expressed by Dr. Paul Rohrbach, who in 1902 wrote a pamphlet on the importance of including the petroleum springs in the Kirkuk area: "[w]e ought to attach the greatest importance to the circumstance that the Baghdad Railway will pass close to the petroleum districts. The only thing to be feared is that foreign gold and foreign speculators should succeed in securing a preferential right in the exploitation of Mesopotamian naphtha before any effective German initiative has been taken."¹⁷

Later, in 1904, the Ottoman Civil List signed a contract with the Anatolian Railway Company – funded by the Deutsche Bank – to undertake land surveys for the purposes of oil in Mosul and Baghdad. Furthermore, before this, a contract was signed between the Ottoman Railway Company of Anatolia and Ottoman authorities to build a Berlin-to-Baghdad railway. Clearly, for the purposes of ensuring Germany direct access to

¹³ Ibid p 28.

¹⁴ Sultan Abdul Hamid issued *firmāns* (official orders) in 1888 and 1889 (renewed in 1902) that placed the revenue of the oil properties of the Mosul and Baghdad Vilayets (provinces) under the control of the Sultan's Civil List. Kent, Marian, *Oil and Empire British Policy and Mesopotamian Oil 1900-1920*, London, 1976, p 15.

¹⁵ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, p 19; Jonathan, S. McMurray, *Distant Ties Germany, the ottoman Empire, and the construction of the Baghdad railway*, p 50.

¹⁶ *Al samāk, Muhammed 'āzhar sa'īd ua zakariyyā 'abdul al ḥamīd pāshā, 'iqtisādiyyāt al naft' ua al siyyāsāt al naftiya* (Ölökonomie und Ölpolitik), (Verlag) *maṭba'at al jāmi'a al mosul*, Mosul, 1980, p 81.

¹⁷ Kent, Marian, *Oil and Empire British Policy and Mesopotamian Oil 1900-1920*, p 16.

resources extracted in Iraq.¹⁸ The Baghdad-Berlin railway passed through Kirkuk, and hence, Kirkuk's oil was included in the oil exported to Germany. The other European countries, particularly the British, became concerned and later involved in conflict and competition for the extraction of oil in Kirkuk.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Great Britain - compared to Germany - did not have enough information concerning both the Mesopotamian and Baghdad Railways. Therefore, British officials warned their government of the lack of information concerning Mesopotamia and the Gulf. They also reported about their lack of recent maps of the area. The British attempted to find this information by trying to bribe spies to steal a copy of a German report on Mesopotamia's petroleum resources.¹⁹ However, the Germans had already secured indisputable claims under the Baghdad Railway Convention of 1903. The British had no option other than directly approaching the Germans in order to gain a share in the oil resources in Iraq.²⁰ The D'Arcy group,²¹ by contrast, only received oral assurance.

Although oil was known to exist in Southern Kurdistan especially in Kirkuk for several millennia, it did not gain prominence until the development of industries in Western Europe. In the middle of the 19th century, when archaeological excavations were carried out on a large scale in Mesopotamia, the first reports - some of them by competent exporters- on the naphtha deposits reached Europe.²² Considering the great interest shown by the international community towards the unexploited resource of naphtha, it was more than remarkable that the Mesopotamian deposits had so far remained untouched. The modern processes of discovering of oil in the region only started from 1906. The main reason for the late start was related to the internal situations of the Ottoman Empire, which made it difficult for running large scale businesses.²³

¹⁸ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, p 19.

¹⁹ Cohen, Stuart A., *British policy in Mesopotamia, 1903–1914*, Biddles, UK, 1976, 2008, p 53.

²⁰ Mejcher, Helmut, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, pp 1-2.

²¹ The D'Arcy Concession was a petroleum oil concession that was signed in 1901 between William Knox D'Arcy and Mozzafar al-Din Shah of Persia. The oil concession gave D'Arcy the exclusive rights to prospect for oil in Persia.

²² The National Archives, FO 371/3402 *The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia*, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

²³ *Ibid*, p 2.

In 1910, the German geologist, Mr. Paul Grosskopf, reported that a great number of oil wells yielding extraordinarily large quantities of oil were found in the vicinity of the Tigris and especially to the east of the Tigris (Jebel Hamrin). Mr. Grosskopf estimated this oil line to be more or less 1,000 square miles from Mosul to Mendali²⁴ with a length of 220 miles and a width of about 60 miles, of which the main oilfields were situated in Kirkuk. It was perhaps one of the longest oil lines in the world.²⁵ He also referred specifically to the following oil wells:

1. Kifri: numerous oil outcrops were found in the Kifri Dāgh which gradually passes into the plain of Eski-Kifri. There was about 150 tons of asphalt annually sent on rafts down the Tigris to Baghdad to be used as fuel in factories.²⁶

2. Tuz Khurmātu: the main wells of naphtha lay in the south-east direction, 10 kilometers away from Tuz Khurmātu on the right bank of Aksu River, which is also known as Nahr ‘Abyad.

3. Gill: The petroleum well of Gill is situated about 50 kilometres to the North West of Tuz Khurmātu, a sandstone range from south-east to North West and is also known as Qara Dāgh. There were several Kurdish settlements here and numerous and abundant oil springs were also spread over an area of 12-15 hectares (2538 acres), which was divided into two parts by a steeply rising limestone bank.

4. Bābā Gurgur: 10 kilometres to the north of Kirkuk, where the western spurs of the Shuān Mountain Range flatten out in the plain of the Ghaza River lay naphtha deposits in a place called Bābā Gurgur (Bitumen producer). This place has been known to the most ancient writers and the quality of oil was seen in the dark colour and thick consistency.²⁷

5. El-Fatḥa: the place where Ḥamrin meets the Tigris is called El-Fatḥa. On both sides of the River, there were numerous and very abundant oil and bitumen wells. The

²⁴ Mendali was border town between the Ottoman Empire and Iran.

²⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German; Maunsell, F. R., The Mesopotamian Petroleum Field, pp. 528-532, The Geographical Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May, 1897), Published by: The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1774893>, last accessed, 30-09-2013, p 532.

²⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

²⁷ Ibid.

oil is mixed with gas and dark brown petroleum rises in great masses to the surface. Often one could see large pieces of black asphalt that has broken off the banks and been carried down the stream.²⁸

When Germany constructed the Berlin-Baghdad railway before the First World War, they were aware that the Tigris River valley between Baghdad and Mosul (Kirkuk-El-Fatḥa) contained rich deposits of naphtha and crude oil. However, there was an issue with the delivery of materials which hampered their excavation efforts.²⁹ The minimum journey time from Istanbul to the oilfields of Kirkuk took 36 days, using animal loads. Therefore, the construction of the Baghdad-Istanbul railway was very important to allow for the efficient exploitation of oil resources.³⁰

There are four important points to mention here: It appears that the Germans were the most proactive of all the countries involved in the region at the time in terms of Kirkuk's oil prospects. First, the Germans preceded other European powers in finding and identifying oil resources in Mesopotamia and Southern Kurdistan, particularly in Kirkuk. Second, the translation of the document titled "The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia" from German into English in 1918 shows that the British relied on the Germans in finding and identifying Kirkuk's oil. Third, it was the Germans who identified the geographic location and populations of the oil areas which comprise the Kurds, Turkmen, and Christians. Finally, the Germans were so successful and accurate in the identification of the oil fields of the Kirkuk area that the British continued to extract oil from those fields twenty years later. The British officials were unhappy with the German success and the English envoy in Vienna, Austria, warned of German experts trying to discover oil in Mesopotamia stating "[a] big German group is trying to get [oil purchases] from the owner of [the Wan] oil-fields."³¹ The British envoy in Berlin, Mr. Hammer in his report to London stated that Britain should avoid public discussion about oil fields in Mesopotamia and should first focus on acquiring more territories in the area. He argued that after securing those areas, "[w]e can safely

²⁸ Ibid.

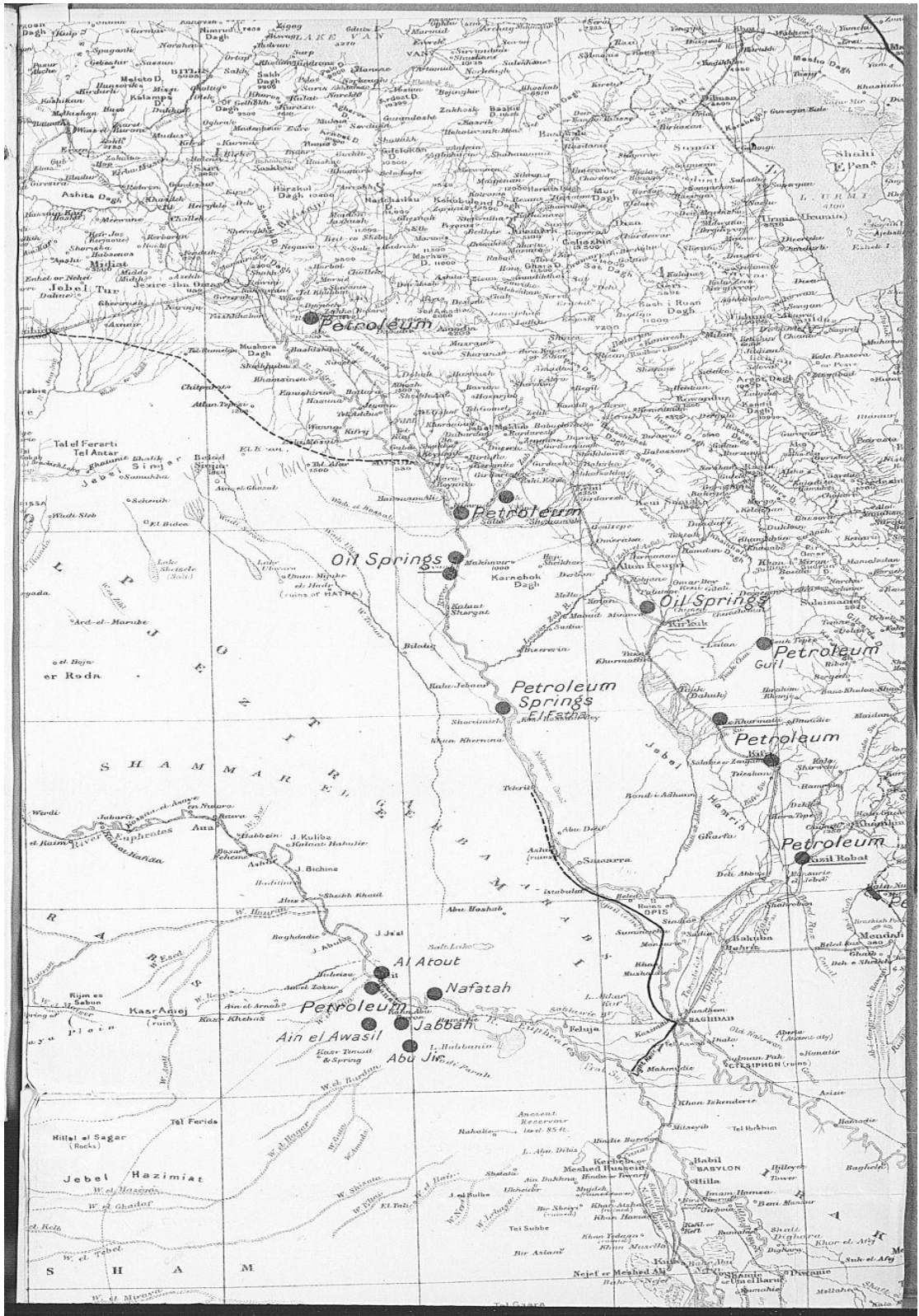
²⁹ Jonathan, S. Mc Murray, *Distant Ties Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the construction of the Baghdad railway*, p 96.

³⁰ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 *The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia*, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

³¹ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 P. Hagyi @ Co. am 5th February 1910, Wien Geo. Macdonald, Esqre., 551@ 556. Salisbury House London, E. C.

then rest assured that the remaining oil belonging to the Government will be given to us as the predominating Company which has already set its foot first in that land and consequently is the most likely Company to obtain from the Government the monopoly of the whole oil industry. This must be our program in order to get the entire oilfields of the Mesopotamian District.”³²

³² The National Archives, FO 371/3402 Dr. Fritz Von Liebermann. Berlin. N. W. Den 23rd November, 1910. Geo, MacDonald, Esq., 560, Salisbury House London, E. G., A. Hammer.



³³ The national Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/60 Image Reference, 0013, Memorandum on the reported oil fields of Mesopotamia and part of Persia, 2nd August, 1918.

The German report on Mesopotamian petroleum resources mentioned that these sources had already been exploited for a considerable time. Like elsewhere in Mesopotamia, the oil was collected manually into pits and then submitted for a very simple distillation. The total yield could not be estimated to be more than 1500 tons per annum, but it could be substantially increased by extending to new oil fields and excavating through more efficient practices.³⁴

Export of oil from Kirkuk to Europe was challenging as the Turks did not have a railway built in that district for transportation of large tonnage. Therefore, the building of pipelines was discussed among the Europeans.³⁵ The German oil experts showed that it was economically viable to build pipelines to carry crude oil from the oilfields in Kirkuk to the Persian Gulf, which is approximately 900 kilometres. Finally, they thought about exporting oil by boats through Tigris to the port of Basra but it was not practical or advantageous³⁶ because the water of the Tigris is not available for navigation, as was discussed in the Chapter 10.

By 1912, three different European companies, the Deutsche Bank, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Dutch-Anglo-Saxon Oil Company were actively seeking concessions in the Iraqi provinces of Mosul and Baghdad. Interestingly, Germany and Britain often had stakes in the same companies. Furthermore, the Europeans fought to ensure that no US companies made a stake in the region, particularly the American Chester Group who showed interest. Together, with the goal of keeping the Americans out, the British, Germans, and Dutch agreed to put pressure on the Ottoman government into dealing directly with only the British and German governments (while the Dutch were effectively aligned with the British).³⁷

An agreement in terms of Kirkuk's oil was reached just before the onset of the First World War on January 16, 1914. On this day, the British Foreign Office informed the managing director of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Mr. Greenway that an initial

³⁴ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

³⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 correspondence from A. Hammer, Berlin, N, W-Den. 21. October, 1919 to Dr. Fritz Von Liebermann Geo. Macdonald, Esq, 560-563 Salisbury House; London E.C.

³⁶ The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

³⁷ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, 2009, p 20.

understanding had been reached on the question of Kirkuk's oil with Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Soon after, on March 19, an agreement was signed which combined the interests of the Turkish Petroleum Company and the D'Arcy group. The amalgamated group requested the Ottoman government for the oil concession in the Baghdad and Mosul Vilayets. The grand Vizier informed the British and German ambassadors on June 30, 1914 that he agreed in principle. But he insisted that certain conditions had to be met before a concession could be given. The outbreak of the war prevented a final settlement.³⁸

11.2 Oil during and after the First World War

During the First World War (1914-1918), the role and importance of oil had appeared more than any other time for both civilian purposes and military and strategic importance.³⁹

Throughout the First World War, the British tried to occupy Mesopotamia because there were strong indications of oil in Kirkuk, Gill (with an extraction capacity of 3 barrels a day) and Tuz Khurmātu (extraction capacity of 4 barrels a day). In Kifri there was, in addition to important oil seepage, a large outcrop of natural gas. Coal was also found in this neighbourhood and the oil was refined in rough native stills.⁴⁰ During the Ottoman Empire, those local oil-wells which were situated northwest of Kirkuk belonged to the Naftchi family of Kirkuk, this was given to them by the Ottoman official order (*Fermān*)⁴¹ and the government was content with a tithe collected directly from the output. During 1919, the British collected revenue from those wells amounting to Rs (rupee) 3,7336 annually.⁴² Which was equal to \$ 107,191656 USD in 1919.⁴³

³⁸ Mejcher, Helmut, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, p 2.

³⁹ *Dhahāb, ṣabāh, al patrul al 'arabī al khām fī al suq al 'ālamīyya* (Arabisches Rohöl auf dem Weltmarkt), Cairo, 1969, p 18.

⁴⁰ The National Archives, CAB 24/60, Memorandum of the reported oil fields of Mesopotamia and part of Persia, 2nd August, 1918; The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/60 Image Reference, 0013, Memorandum on the reported oil fields of Mesopotamia and part of Persia, 2nd August, 1918.

⁴¹ CH. Pellat, *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p 146.

⁴² Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Oxford, 1992, p 399.

⁴³ <http://inr.mconvert.net/usd/1919> 1919, 1919 Indian Rupees or 1919 INR to USD, last accessed, 14-2-2016.

One of the results of the First World War was the re-division of the world according to the desires of the great powers and as a result, the Ottoman Empire collapsed and its huge oil resources became a source of attraction for others.⁴⁴ According to *Saad Eskander*, when the First World War came to an end “... fallen Ottoman lands were divided among the Allied powers. The terms of peace appeared to support the possibility of statehood for Kurds and Armenians living in these territories. At any rate, the Allies were merely advancing their own imperial ambitions at the expense of these minorities. Britain, for example, sought a division of Kurdish-populated areas that would reduce Turkish influence in Mesopotamia, where it sought to protect its own economic interests, including the newly discovered oilfields near Kirkuk.”⁴⁵ Iraq was one of the greatest spoils of the war because it consists of very vast, untapped reserves of oil - indeed, reserves so vast that in the words of Arthur James Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, the area might well comprise “almost the most important oilfield in the world.”⁴⁶ As a result, in August 1918 he brought to attention the prospect of mass oil extraction in Iraq to the attention of the Imperial War Cabinet. Prime Minister Lloyd George then expressed his support by saying, “I am in favor of going up as far as Mosul before the war is over.”⁴⁷

11.3 The Dispute between Great Britain and France over Mosul and its oil ⁴⁸

Oil was as a major factor and motive for the great powers to control the Mosul province.⁴⁹ Compared to Germany and Great Britain, France did not have enough information about the oil resources in Kirkuk before the start of the First World War.

⁴⁴ *Āghjalary, pshko, shāry Kirkuk (1917-1926) (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926))*, pp 88-89.

⁴⁵ Eskander, Saad (2000), “Britain's Policy in Southern Kurdistan: The Formation and the Termination of the First Kurdish Government, 1918-1919”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2:139-163. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/826089>, last accessed, 13-7-2014, pp 142-150.

⁴⁶ William, Stivers, *International Politics and Iraqi Oil, 1918-1928: A Study in Anglo-America Diplomacy*, Harvard College, *The business history review*, vol. 55, No. 4 (winter-1981), p 517.

⁴⁷ Stivers, William, *Supremacy and oil Iraq, Turkey, and the Anglo-American World Order, 1918-1930*, London, 1982, pp 24-25.

⁴⁸ For more information about that read Fitzgerald, “Edward Peter France’s Middle Eastern Ambitions, the Sykes-Picot Negotiation and the Oil Fields of Mosul, 1915-1918. *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 66, No. 4 (Dec., 1994), pp. 697-725. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2125155>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 13:44 UTC.)

⁴⁹ William Eangdahl, *A century of war - Anglo-American oil politics and the new world order*, Pluto press, London, 1922, p 19.

The most important sources which the French Foreign Ministry possessed were three reports. The most significant of the three was the work of Professor L. –C. Tassart of the famous Ecole des Mines. At the invitation of the Ottoman governor of Mosul, Tassart visited the Tigris valley between August and September 1908 and dubbed the province of Mosul as “Turkish Kurdistan”. His main report described in great detail several oil areas particularly in the regions near Qayyārah, Zākho, and Kirkuk. He also explored another vast oil-bearing region, the largest part of which was located in Persian territory.⁵⁰ When France and Great Britain met to allocate Ottoman territories in the midst of the First World War, Mosul was included within the French sphere of influence except Kirkuk, reflecting the province’s long-term connection with Syria and southern Anatolia. It was during the negotiations between the two great powers at the end of the First World War that the French relinquished Mosul to Britain in exchange for a share of Mosul’s oil.⁵¹

At the end of 1918, the details of this controversy had been discussed among Mark Sykes, M. Gout, M. Pichon, Nubār Pasha, and M. Brian.⁵² Mr. Sykes stated “I avoided the question of Mosul, but I give it is as my opinion that if his Majesty’s Government support the idea of France having provisional charge of Armenia as a whole that she will not insist on Mosul as far as administration is concerned but will probably make a stand for retaining an interest in some of the oil in the north of the lesser Zab [Kirkuk], and interest in the Nisibin Tekrit section of the Baghdad railway, as these I believe were matters which the French financiers had their eyes on when they subscribed 30 percent to the Baghdad railway.”⁵³ Mark Sykes did not hide that Mosul province (Southern Kurdistan) was a disputed area between Britain and France. Therefore, he avoided talking about Mosul because, according to the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916, Mosul and the majority of Southern Kurdistan became a French sphere of influence yet the British occupied Mosul in November 1918. France demanded Mosul during the Paris

⁵⁰ Fitzgerald, Edward Peter France’s Middle Eastern Ambitions, the Sykes-Picot Negotiation and the Oil Fields of Mosul, 1915-1918. *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 66, No. 4 (Dec., 1994), pp. 697-725. The University of Chicago press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2125155>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 13:44 UTC, pp 700-703.

⁵¹ *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Volume 3, Number 2, Mosul, the Ottoman legacy and the League of Nations, Sarah Shields University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, p 219.

⁵² M. Brian was prime minister when the Anglo-French agreement of 1916 was made.

⁵³ The National Archives, FO 371/ 3414 Sykes, Mark: In Train-Turin, Italy, November 1st 1918, to the assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, London S. W.

Peace Conference. But Britons wanted to convince them to give up Mosul in exchange for Armenia and sharing Kirkuk's oil. The French were not convinced and wanted to protect Christians⁵⁴ in the plain of Mosul and to safeguard a much larger interest of oil exploitation opportunities by expanding on the territory they controlled.

In a private conversation in London in December 1918, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George informed the French Prime Minister Clemenceau that Britain wanted France to attach Mosul to Iraq, and Palestine from Dan to Beersheba under British control. In exchange, France was said to have been secured the remaining claims to Greater Syria and a half share in the exploitation of Mosul oil, and an assurance of British support in the post war period in Europe, should France ever have to reply to German action on the Rhine.⁵⁵ In April 1919, France and Great Britain signed the Berenger-Long agreement. According to this agreement France got the Deutsche Bank's 25 percent share of Kirkuk's oil. In exchange, Mosul officially was given to Great Britain by France. Furthermore, the British got right to export Kirkuk's oil by pipeline through Levant's French mandate to Mediterranean.⁵⁶

Despite the agreement, controversy continued between the two powers. As mentioned in British records, "[t]he French, jealous of our colonizing and commercial successes in the East generally, and fearing a powerful Arab confederation under Cherifian rulers with a British mandate, and opposed to a railway from Baghdad to Palestine to rival the projected line between Damascus and Dair al zoor. Have lost no opportunity for weakening our influence in Iraq."⁵⁷ According to the subsequent San Remo oil agreement in 1920, Great Britain guaranteed France twenty-five percent of the Mesopotamian petroleum.⁵⁸ As Lord Curzon said, the share went to France "in

⁵⁴ According to Sykes, the French Envoy, Mr. Gout referred to the Chaldeans and the Nestorians dwelling north of the line Jasziret-Ibn-Omar-Rawanduz as proper objects of French interest. The National Archives, FO 371/ 3414 Sykes, Mark: In Train-Turin, Italy, November 1st 1918, to the assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, London S.W.

⁵⁵ William Eangdahl, *A century of war Anglo-American oil politics and the new world order*, Pluto press, London, 1922, p 44.

⁵⁶ <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0002508.pdf>, Aydin, Alev DiLek, *Mosul Question (1918-1926)* The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences of Bilkent University, Anker, 2004, last accessed, 13.10.2015, p 22.

⁵⁷ *Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979*, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Situation in Iraq on 30th September 1922, p 159.

⁵⁸ The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Paris- June 6th 1922.

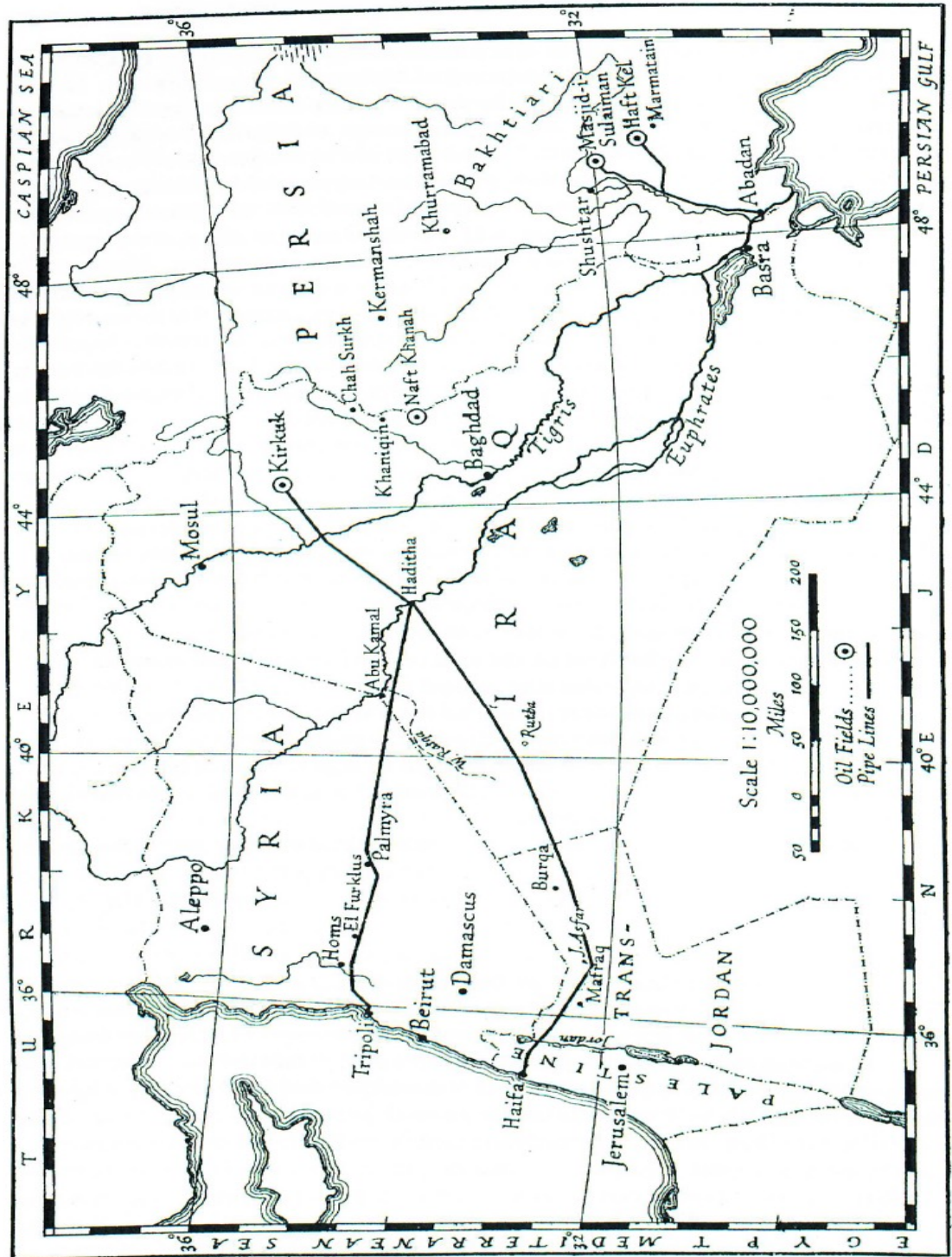
return for facilities by which Mesopotamian oil will be able to reach the Mediterranean.”⁵⁹ A pipeline was subsequently constructed between Kirkuk and the Mediterranean Sea in order to export oil from oil fields from the east of Tigris (Kirkuk) to international markets. The first point of the pipeline started from Kirkuk to Haditha for 156 miles on the Euphrates, then the pipeline divided into two lines.⁶⁰ According to John Cadman, “[t]he southern section continues through Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine to Haifa. The northern section leaves Iraq near Abu Kamal, thence traversing Syria to its point of termination at Tripoli.”⁶¹ The total distance from Kirkuk to Haifa is 620 miles and from Kirkuk to Tripoli is 530 miles.⁶²

⁵⁹ Foster, Henry A., *The Making of Iraq*, pp 135-136.

⁶⁰ Cadman, John, *Middle East Geography in Relation to Petroleum*, *the Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sep., 1934), pp. 201-212, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://www.jstore.org/stable/1785753>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 15:48 UTC, p 207.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 207.

⁶² *Ibid*, p 207.



63

This deal clearly demonstrates the fact that the great powers were merely pre-occupied with exploiting natural resources in colonized territories. As Foreign

⁶³ Cadman, John, Middle East Geography in Relation to Petroleum, the Geographical Journal, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sep., 1934), pp. 201-212, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://www.jstore.org/stable/1785753>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 15:48 UTC, p 202.

secretary, Arthur Balfour said, “oil in the next war will occupy the place of coal in the present war, or at least a parallel place to coal. The only big potential supply that we can get under British control is the Persian and Mesopotamian supply [...] control over these oil supplies becomes a first-class British war aim.”⁶⁴ The most important commercial oil fields were at Bābā Gurgur about five miles northwest of Kirkuk.⁶⁵

In October 1927, after months of extensive digging, oil was found at Bābā Gurgur, north of Kirkuk. This discovery would affect Iraq in a way that the British could not foresee.⁶⁶ The discovery of Kirkuk’s oil was a major reason for not establishing an independent Kurdish state in Southern Kurdistan after the First World War because the geography of Southern Kurdistan is not connected to any nautical port. This compelled the British to oppose the independence of Kurdistan as they would not get access to the sea to exploit and ship oil to the United Kingdom.

After the oil extraction became commercialized in Kirkuk, the demography of the town had started changing in the favour of the Arabs. The presence of the North Iraqi Oil Company in Kirkuk opened employment opportunities and as a result, a lot of people came in search of work. Arab and Christian workers had a greater chance of being hired than Kurds and Turkmen.⁶⁷ Therefore, some Arab labourers from Mosul, Baghdad, Tikrit and other cities and towns in central and southern Iraq migrated to Kirkuk with their families. Consequently, the proportion of the Arab population increased in the town at the expense of the Kurds and Turkmen. Additionally, the central government in Baghdad was forcing the Turkmen and Kurdish people to convert their identity to Arab in order to be able to access privileges. As Anderson argues, “... [a]rabization was a process that reached back to the formative moments of the Iraqi state. Inherently tied to the need to ensure that the oil fields of Kirkuk were firmly under the control of the central government – a government seeking to impose its own notion of a dominant nationhood of Arabism with a Sunni hue on the state – the first wave of Arabization saw families moved from the center and south of Iraq into Kirkuk to work in the rapidly expanding oil industry and to take up public-sector positions in general.”⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Quote in Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, p 22.

⁶⁵ The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

⁶⁶ Lukitz, Liora, *A Quest in the Middle East, Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq*, p 201.

⁶⁷ Galletti, Mirella, *Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present*, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 22.

⁶⁸ Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, *Crisis in Kirkuk*, p 65.

According to Galletti, “[t]he discovery of vast quantities of oil in Kirkuk was the reason for its annexation (December 16 1925), as part of the Mosul Vilayet, to the Iraqi Kingdom, which was established in 1921, under the British mandate.”⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005, p 22.

CONCLUSION

Kirkuk was viewed as one of the most important areas in the Ottoman Empire because it was situated in an adjacent province to Iran, which was considered one of the worst enemies of the Ottoman Empire. Kirkuk and its surrounding areas are rich in natural resources and farmlands. Geographically, it connects the strategic trade roads between Asia-minor, Iran, and Mesopotamia. Kirkuk also became an important centre of trade linking the mountainous regions of the Southern Kurdistan and the steppe regions of Mesopotamia and Baghdad. This granted the town commercial and military importance and contact with the adjacent areas. This has been the main reason for attempts by Ottomans and Iranians to house Sunni and Shi'a Turkmen in the area. It was also strategically located on the main road – a road known as the Sultāniya in the Ottoman history – which allowed the Ottomans to capture Baghdad and expand their authority to Southern Iraq. The Ottomans housed their Sunni Turkmen in Kirkuk and its suburbs, which led to the emergence of an authoritarian and aristocratic class. They have also built several castles and forts such as the Enki Shari fort, which housed more than 4,000 Ottoman troops ready to defend the town. Kirkuk also had the same strategic importance for Iran and as a result, the Persians encouraged their Shiite Turkmen to inhabit the area in order to maintain their interests and block the Ottomans from expanding in Iraq. As a result, Kurdistan became a battleground between the Sunni Ottoman Empire and the Shiite Empire (Iran). Therefore, Kirkuk's demography and geography has changed many times during these regional and sectarian wars mainly because of its strategic location.

Kirkuk was an important administrative centre of the Ottomans for the purpose of governing Southern Kurdistan. They administered the area by the name of the province of Sharazur with Kirkuk as its centre. The Ottomans had followed a Turkification policy to create a distinct social class dominated by the Turkmen in order to govern the area. The administrative border of the province, however, shrank as a result of the expansion of the Sorān and the Bābān Emirates and due to the heavy intervention of the Baghdadi officials. The Ottomans granted many privileges to the Turkmen in Kirkuk and its suburbs including the exclusive rights of levying taxes, possessing agricultural and residential lands, extracting and selling Kirkuk's oil etc. This made some Kurdish tribes of the town (e.g. the *Zangana*, *Nawtchi*, *Awtchi*, and *Yaáqubi* families) to assume

Turkish identities. The main objective of these converts was to benefit from the exclusionary policy of the Ottoman Empire, which favours the Turkmen while denying the non-Turkish groups of administrative, economic, and military state jobs. For example, in 1858, the Ottomans issued a new Land Registry Law, which ultimately led to the allocation of agricultural land to some big landowning families at the expense of the peasants in Kirkuk and its environs.

Education in Kirkuk was of low quality and there were few schools, especially in the first half of the 19th century. During the Tanzimat (reform era), the opening of schools had been delayed and the first Rushdiya Military School was opened in the era of Medhat Pasha 1869-1872. However, by the end of the Ottoman era, many other schools were opened in Kirkuk, which led to the rise of the literacy rate in the town, compared to the other parts of Iraq. Consequently, an aristocratic class emerged known as the *Effendiya*, of which most were Turkmen and Kurds who converted their identities.

After the collapse of the Kurdish Emirates of Bābān and Sorān especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the policy of the Ottoman officials towards Kurdish tribes in the countryside of Kirkuk particularly the Hamawand was to expel them to remote areas like Libya, Ankara, and Lebanon. They did that due to the fact that the Hamawand tribe stood against them and they disobeyed their orders. This policy affected the demography of the area in decreasing the percentage of the Kurdish inhabitants in Kirkuk.

The relationship between the Kurdish tribes and other religious minorities was friendly. The Jewish families lived scattered among the Kurdish tribes without facing problems. However, they were not allowed to carry arms nor to interfere in Kurdish tribal wars. In any case, this situation was in their favour as they were able to travel freely among hostile tribes in the pursuit of trade. Moreover, Christians were treated similarly and sometimes they were in a state of vassalage to the Kurds, but more often they owned their own lands and were on equal footing with the Kurdish population.

To show all the lapses and cons of the Ottoman rule and to advance their interests in Southern Kurdistan, the British started their colonization project in the country as early as 1917 by sending messages through their spies to the heads of various clans in Kirkuk to encourage them to be anti-Turkish and amenable to the British. They also

issued a Kurdish-language newspaper – *Tegayshni Rasty* – to expose the misdeeds of the Ottoman rule and to identify themselves as lifeguards and not occupiers. During the first British occupation of Kirkuk in May 1918, some religious and ethnic communities in Kirkuk welcomed the occupation forces warmly. It is worth mentioning that the population of Kirkuk did not have a united attitude towards the British occupation forces because the town was made up of diverse ethnic and religious communities. While some of the Kurdish tribes particularly the Hamawand supported the British occupation unconditionally due to their severe enmity with the Ottomans, other Kurdish people like the Shuān were allies to the Ottomans.

Like their Ottoman predecessors, the British were only focused on advancing their own geopolitical interests at the expense of the locals. They had taken various violent measures against the Kurds including levying taxes and sowing the seeds of discord between the different ethnic and religious groups in Kirkuk. Moreover, the British broke their promise to the Kurds to establish an independent state in accordance with the Séver Agreement of 1920. They did this with the full knowledge and cooperation of the Kemalists in Turkey, which buried the dream of the Kurdish people in establishing an independent state. The Kemalists were afraid that the British would establish an autonomous Kurdish State, which would encourage the Kurds in Turkey to demand their full independence. Therefore, in the Lausanne conference (1922-1923) the Turks tried to completely destroy the Kurdish rights.

In accordance with the British policy and decision, the province Mosul (Southern Kurdistan) was annexed to Arab Iraq by force, against the principles of democracy because the majority of people in Kurdistan refused to be a part of Iraq. In any case, this annexation of Kurdistan to Iraq had become an opportunity for the Arabization of Southern Kurdistan, making Kirkuk's town to be the most complex and disputed area between Kurdistan and Iraq. In 1925, Kirkuk and all of the Southern Kurdistan was annexed to Iraq by disregarding the specificity of any other right for the Kurds, with the exception of some cultural and linguistic rights. Since then, the Kurdish and Turkmen people of Kirkuk had faced the worst policy of extermination and displacement at the hands of Iraqi authorities. This ushered the beginning of a policy of Arabization at the expense of the Kurds and Turkmen, distorting the town's ethnic balance in favor of the Arabs. Furthermore, the annexation resulted in the uprising of the indigenous people. Therefore, this area became a war-zone in the following decades.

The availability of oil in Kirkuk and its outskirts was one of the main reasons that drew the attention of foreigners to the area. The exploration of oil in Kirkuk in the 1900s in a more advanced manner by the Germans resulted in a competition and conflict between the great powers because oil gained more importance as an alternative to coal in the industrial and maritime sectors. In 1918, the victors of the First World War especially Britain, France and America were scrambling to divide Kirkuk's oil and they eventually reached an agreement regarding the distribution of oil by pipelines to the Mediterranean through Syria, which was part of the French colonial sphere at that time. Later oil became the beginning of Arabization policy of Kirkuk and the town's demographic distortion in favour of Arabs at the expense of Kurds and Turkmen ethnicities. This was the result of the oil boom in Kirkuk, which attracted a number of Arab communities to permanently settle in the town in order to work in oil facilities.

FINDING OF THE RESEARCH

The following findings can be drawn from this dissertation. To begin with, the research has proved that Kirkuk was a part and parcel of Kurdistan. It was a middle-town among other towns in Southern Kurdistan, with the majority of its population being Kurds. The results also reveal that during the period of this research Kirkuk used to be an administrative center of the Ottoman Empire, to manage Kurdish Emirates (i.e. Bābān and Sorān) and Kurdish and Arab tribes. Furthermore, in terms of military the Ottoman officials in Baghdad and Mosul, used Kirkuk as the key point to attack Kurdish Emirates and tribes. This study found out that during the 19th century and earlier Kirkuk had been a battleground between the two Empires (Ottoman and Persian) which resulted in many people being victims of war.

The results of this investigation demonstrate that despite the neglect of the educational system by the Ottoman officials in Kirkuk; some people in Kirkuk insisted on educating their children by opening faith and public schools and supporting teachers financially. As a result, the rate of literacy was almost twice as high in Kirkuk (1.92%) than it was in the rest of Iraq (1%).

This research also shows that the exact demographic breakdown by ethnicity at this is unknown. The European travelers, Ottoman officials, and the British officials had reported different data about the demographics of the town. The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that the Muslim population (Kurdish, Turkmen, and Arabs) of Kirkuk increased at a higher rate than the other religious minorities, Christians and Jews. In terms of sects Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen in Kirkuk were Sunni, however in the countryside the Turkmen were followers of an unorthodox secret Shia sect, the *qizilbāsh*. In 1917, the British officials in Baghdad emphasized that the Sunni sect was stronger than the Shia by saying “[t]he Sunni element is probably considerably stronger than the Shiah.”¹ Christians were mainly Chaldeans and Nestorians but there were Armenians as well. Another major finding was that the Ottomans and the British had provoked conflict among the different ethnic and

¹ Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917, p 24.

religious groups in Kirkuk. But differences were not a reason to stop coexistence and tolerance among the ethnicities.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that although Kirkuk was a part of the Ottoman rule, they had displaced the Kurdish tribes that had stood against them. For example, the Hamawand tribe was driven from the region to remote areas such as Libya and Ankara. Birgit Schäßler's finding highlights that tribal people were seen as wild and uncivilised by the Ottomans. The Ottoman officials in the province of Mosul and Baghdad used to consider the rural inhabitants of Kirkuk as a wild, brutal (savage), nomads (*bedouin*), dark, and ignorant society.² This study indicates that in many instances, the conflicts between the Kurdish tribes have caused much disrepute in Kurdish society. To settle their disputes, they rarely resorted to establishing laws and instead the spirit of revenge and violence, deeply rooted in their psyche, had influenced their conflict resolution methodology. In addition, the author showed that Kurdish women were generally allowed great freedom; many of them could ride and shoot, go unveiled and perform ordinary household duties.

Furthermore, the Ottoman policy towards Kirkuk's people was one of levying different types of taxes on agricultural products (wheat and barley), animal products (leather, dairy, and meat), and natural resources (oil and tar). The Ottomans took some violent actions like displacing, and imposing fine against any tribesmen who was not ready to give taxes or stood against them. Although they were collecting taxes, the Ottomans did not build enough schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, etc. in Kirkuk. Therefore, Kirkuk, like other parts of Kurdistan, remained a dilapidated town under the dominance of the Ottoman Empire.

Another finding of the research is that during the Ottoman period methods of the transportation in Kirkuk were only at the initial stages. For instance, they used to have animals such as mules, donkeys, camels and horses but they seldomly utilized carts. However, the British constructed railways such as the Baghdad-Kifri-Kirkuk railway, as well as a major roadway between Kirkuk and other surrounding provinces such as Kirkuk-Erbil and Kirkuk-Baghdad. The research shows that

² *Murād, Khalīl 'alī, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul wa Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya* (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), pp 64-65.

during the period of this investigation, oil used to be exploited in a primary way by some authorized families including the Turkmen in Kirkuk. Some Kurdish tribes assumed the Turkmen identity as a way to assume wealth. For instance, even Naftsche, Awtschy, and Zangana families were originally Kurdish but they converted their ethnicity to Turkmen in order to reap the benefits of the lucrative oil industry, rich agricultural lands and trade. In their correspondence, the British rarely mentioned the presence of oil in Kirkuk during the First World War and later. It is suspected that the British wanted the presence of oil to remain secret.

The results of this study indicated during their occupation (1918-1925), the British officials in Kirkuk described the Kurdish tribes that did not stand against them as being pro-British, excellent, and respectful. On the other hand, some chiefs who did not support their occupation were described as pro-Turkish, anti-Christian, harsh, rude, and objectionable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary resources

Unpublished sources

Unpublished Original documents

1- The British library

The British Library, M. G. Gerard, C.B., Captain and brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st general India horse: Confidential Notes of a journey through Kurdistan in the winter 1881-82, Calcutta, printed by the superintendent of government printing, India, 1883.

2- The national archives

The National Archives FO 371.4193 on 20th December 1919.

The National Archives FO 371.4193, from civil commissioner, Baghdad, on 27th November 1919.

The National Archives File No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

The National Archives FO 371/4193 Minute of the meeting held at the India Office to consider Col, Wilson's telegram NO 14269 dated November 27th 1919 as to the boundaries between Mesopotamia and Kurdistan.

The National Archives FO 371/5068 Memo NO. K 2164/3/1 dated 2nd February 1920, from S.H Longrigg. Major political officer Kirkuk, to civil commissioner, in Mesopotamia.

The National Archives FO 371/3412 suggested re-arrangement of Turkish Empire 26-October- 1918.

The National Archives FO 371/3412 outlines of the Basis upon which a settlement of Turkish affairs might be made. A re-arrangement of the Ottoman Empire. (States to be created) 22- October- 1918.

The National Archives FO 371/4192 NO, I (a) / 2612 General Head Quarters Mes. Ex. Force 19th May, 1919.

The National Archives FO 371/ War office, London, S.W 11th August, 1919.

The National Archives FO 371/7771 Intelligence report (summary of report), 8-November- 1922.

The National Archives CAB/24/7 Image reference, 0042 Memorandum on Mr. Austin Chamberlain's Amendment of the proposed proclamation to the people of Baghdad. 10th March, 1917.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/23/6 Image Reference, 0024, WAR CABINET, 402. Minutes of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held at 10, Downing Street, S.W., on Wednesday, May 1, 1918.

The National Archives, CAB/24/1 Comments of imperial defense, March 14, 1915.

The National Archives, CAB 24/60, Memorandum of the reported oil fields of Mesopotamia and part of –Persia, 2nd August, 1918.

The National Archives, FO 371/6347 Political Eastern Mesopotamia, Damascus 10th November 1921 Kemalists, C.E.S Kalmar Cornel.

The National Archives, FO 371/ 4192 Kurdistan and the Kurds.

The National Archives, FO 371/4193 civil commissioner Baghdad, 27th, November 1919.

The National Archives, FO 371/ 3047, Basra, 28-October-1916, translation of the Turkish Tapu laws.

The National Archives FO 251/93 personalities in Kurdistan June-1919 published by civil commissioner office Baghdad-1919.

The National Archives FO 371/4193 eastern Turkey, confidential, a copy of a memorandum. NO. NIL. Dated 3-5-1919 from the A.P.O Erbil to political officer Mosul.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0007, MAPS, ILLUSTRATING Memorandum respecting the Settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula, in 1916.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/60 Image Reference, 0013, Memorandum on the reported oil fields of Mesopotamia and part of Persia, 2nd August, 1918.

The National Archives, FO 371/5068 F.W. Duke, from civil commissioner, Baghdad 25th March 1920 (reported to Government of India and Tehran).

The National Archives, FO 371/4193 F.W. 20th December 1919 London S.W.I Government in Kurdistan.

The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Minute of a meeting held at the India office to consider Col. Wilson's telegram NO. 14269 dated 27th November 1919 as to the boundaries between Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 Kurdish aspiration 22 Jan 1919.

The National Archives, FO 608/95, situation in Kurdistan, Inter-Department Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs, 15th September-1919.

The National Archives, FO 608/95, civil commissioner Baghdad, 27th November-1919.

The National Archives, FO 608/95, civil commissioner Baghdad, 22nd October-1919.

The National Archives, FO 608/95, memorandum from P. O Sulaimaniyah to A.P.Os., Kifri, Kirkuk, and Altun Keupri, 8th December-1918.

The National Archives, FO 608/95, Kurdistan, 15th October-1918.

The National Archives, FO 377/7771, high commissioner Baghdad, Kurdistan, 27, July -1922.

The National Archives, File No. 13/14 Vol. VI. Secret. Kurdish policy. New Delhi. India.

The National Archives, FO. 195/2308 A.J. Luther, ambassador of the Great Britain-Istanbul, 14th January 1909 Mosul.

The National Archives, Foreign Office, November 21, 1918, Catalogue Reference: CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0006, memorandum respecting settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

The National Archives, FO 371/3402 The Naphtha and Asphalt Deposits in Mesopotamia, Constantinople, May 1910 (signed) Paul Grosskopf, translated from German.

The National Archives, FO 371/3402 correspondence from A. Hammer, Berlin, N, W-Den. 21. October, 1919 to Dr. Fritz Von Liebermann Geo. Macdonald, Esq, 560-563 Salisbury House; London E.C.

The National Archives, FO 195/2308 young to Lowther the Ambassador of the Great British in Istanbul, 14th January 1909, Mosul.

The National Archives, FO 371/6347 PERHAPS TELEGRAM from Churchill the secretary of the state for the colonies to the High commissioner for Iraq, (11th November, 1921).

The National Archives, FO 371/6347 PERHAPS TELEGRAM from Sir Percy Cox the High commissioner for Iraq to the secretary of the state for the colonies, (17th December, 1921).

The National Archives, FO 371/9009 “Kurdistan in Iraq” Intelligence report 15th November-1923.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/126 Image Reference, 0023 report on Middle East conference held in Cairo and Jerusalem March 12th to 30th 1921.

The National Archives, FO 371/6348 proceeding of the council of ministers, intelligence report, office of high Baghdad, 31st December, 1920.

The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Intelligence Report November 8th 1922.

The National Archives, FO 371/7780 Kurdish Areas colonial office, 9th Jun 1922.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/72 Image Reference, 0007 Memorandum respecting the Settlement of Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula.

The National Archives, FO 371/4192 Precis of affairs in southern Kurdistan during the Great War.

The National Archives, FO 371/7780 The residency Baghdad the 9th December 1921.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/110 Image Reference, 0096 from civil commissioner, Baghdad, 17th August 1920.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/110 Image Reference, 0096 from civil commissioner, Baghdad, 19th August 1920.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 peace conference British Delegation 1919. From Kurdistan committees, Constantinople, 2nd January 1919. To His Excellency, Admiral Sir Henry Calthorpe. H. M’s High Commissioner.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 Turkey. Political. Decypher. Admiral Calthorpe (Constantinople) May 2nd 1919. NO 928.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 from Secretary of State to Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, 22nd November.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 peace Conference-Paris-1919, The Acting under Secretary of States, Foreign Office.

The National Archives, FO 608/95 peace Conference-Paris-1919, Kurdistan.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/23/6 Image Reference, 0026, Minutes of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held at 10, Downing Street, S.W., on Friday, May 3, 1918, at 12 noon.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/110 Image Reference, 0087, British railways in Mesopotamia, from general headquarters, Mesopotamia, to war office. Dispatched 11th August, 1920.

The National Archives, 371/ 3414 Sykes, Mark, In Train-Turin, Italy, November 1st 1918, to the assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, London S. W.

The National Archives, FO 371/3402 P. Hagyi @ Co. am 5th February 1910, Wien Geo. Macdonald, Esqre., 551@ 556. Salisbury House London, E. C.

The National Archives, FO 371/3402 Dr. Fritz Von Liebermann. Berlin. N. W. Den 23rd November, 1910. Geo, MacDonald, Esq., 560, Salisbury House London, E. G., A. Hammer.

The National Archives, WO 302/25 the map of Eastern Turkey in Asia/Kirkuk.

The National Archives, FO 371/6346 Memorandum by Mr. Ryan British High Commission Constantinople 23rd December 1920.

The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the Secretary of State for colonies to the high commissioner of Mesopotamia. 24th June 1921.

The National Archives, FO 371/6346 paraphrase telegram from the high commissioner of Mesopotamia to the Secretary of State for colonies. 7th July 1921, your (Churchill's) telegram of June 24th June 1921.

The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Secret Intelligence Report, Secretariat of H. E. the High Commissioner for Iraq, Baghdad, 1st May 1922.

The National Archives, FO 371/7771 intelligence Report Secretariat of H.E. the high commissioner for Iraq Baghdad, the 1st August 1922.

The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Secret Intelligence Report, Secretariat of H. E. the High Commissioner for Iraq, Baghdad, 15th May 1922.

The National Archives, FO 371/4193 Inter-Departmental conference on Middle Eastern affairs. Additional Note situation in Kurdistan.

The National Archives, FO 371/7771 Paris- June 6th 1922.

The National Archives, Catalogue Reference, CAB/24/1 Image Reference, 0016, COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE. March-1915.

Published Original Records

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 3

1879-1899, Henry Trotter, Major, Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan, Constantinople, October 30, 1880.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 1, 1831-1855, British Commissioner to Lieutenant-Colonel Sheil, Erzerom, October 25, 1843, p 466.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, 1831-1855, first published 2015 - Cambridge, vol 1, Memorandum regarding the Koords.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, Shaikh Khalid of Suleimania, 14 June 1918, Maunsell.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 3, 1879-1899, Consul Chermiside to Sir W. White, Erzerom, December 22, 1888.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, TRIBES ON RIGHT FLAHLK AID RBAR FROM PUSHT-I-KUH TO MOSUL, 19/6/17 P. Z Cox CPU.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, report on Mission to Viranshehir, May-1919.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, My Lord Duke (Secretary of State for Colonies), The situation in Iraq, Confidential, The Residency, Baghdad January 10, 1924. High Commissioner for Iraq.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Situation in Iraq on 30th September 1922.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge vol 6, 1921-1927, Tribal situation in Southern Kurdistan, 28/8/1922.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 5, 1914-1920, A handbook of

Mesopotamia Vol III General Mesopotamia with Southern Kurdistan and the Syrian desert, January, 1917.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 5, 1914-1920, The war confidential No. 1. Sir W. Townley to Sir Edward Grey. Tehran, December 4, 1914.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 1, 1831-1855, Memorandum regarding the Koords.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, vol 6, 1921-1927, from the Political Officer Sulaimani (H.A. Goldsmith, Major to secretary to H.E. The High Commissioner Baghdad, Dated. 1st. June. 1922.

Records of the Kurds Territory, Revolt and Nationalism 1831-1979, British Documentary Sources, Editor A.L.P. Burdett, first published 2015, Cambridge, vol 6, 1921-1927, from Kirkuk to General Baghdad Political Sulaimaniyah, dated 24th June 1924.

Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Kirkuk division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992.

Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of Sulaymaniyah division for the period 1st January 1919 to 31st December 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992.

Iraq administration reports 1914-1932, Administration report of the Rawanduz district for the year 1919, Established by Robert L. Jarman, Vol 4, Oxford, 1992.

ENGLISH PRIMARY SOURCES:

Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield, Crisis in Kirkuk, the ethno politics of conflict and compromise, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Batatu, Hanna, The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq a study of Iraq's old landed and commercial classes and of its communists, Ba'thists and free officers, London, 2004.

Bishop (Isabella. L. Bird), Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan, New York - London, 1891.

Blunt, Lady Anne, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd, The Cradle of the Arab Race. A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir, and "Our Persian Campaign."*, Vol 2, London, 1881.

Buckingham, J. S., *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London, 1827, Vol II.

Edmonds, G.J, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq 1919-1925*, London, 1957.

Creasy, Edward, *History of Ottoman Turks*, London, 1878, new published Khayats, Beirut, 1961.

Foster, Henry A., *the making of Iraq*, Oklahoma, 1935.

Fraser J. Baillie, *Travels Koordistan, Mesopotamia*, London, 1840, Vol I.

Galletti, Mirella, *reports on Kirkuk by modern European visitors, Kirkuk the city of ethnic harmony*, London, 2002.

Gertrude L. Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, C.B.E. India Office, 3rd December-1920.

Hay, W. R, *Two years in Kurdistan Experiences of a Political Officer 1918, 1920*, London, 1921.

Jones I. n., Cdr. James Felix, *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia*, 1857, Selection from the records of the Bombay Government, XLIII.-new series, Archive Editions, Oxford, 1997.

League of Nations, *Question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq: Report submitted to the council by the commission instituted by the council Resolution of September 30, 1924*, Geneva: League of Nations: C.400. 1925, VII.no. 147.

Leslie, Shane, *Mark Sykes his life and letters, with an introduction by the Right Hon, Winston Churchill*, London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1923.

Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950, A political, social, and economic history*, London, 1956.

Mann, James Saumarez 1893-1920, *An administrative in the making*, edited by his father, New York, 1921.

Millingen, Fredrick, *Wild Life Among the Kurds*, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1870.

Rich, Claudius James, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, and on the site of ancient Nineveh*; Edited by his widow, vol I, London, 1836.

Porter, Robert, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, vol 2, London, 1822.

Rich, Claudius James, Narrative of a residence in Koordistan and on the site of ancient Niniveh: with journal of a voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad and an account of a visit to Shirauz and Persepolis: James Duncac, Paternoster Row, vol II, London, 1836.

Longrigg, Stephan Hemsley, four centuries of modern Iraq, Lebanon - New edition, 2002.

Soane, Ely Banister, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise with historical notices of the Kurdish tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan, John Murray, London, 1914.

Stanford J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II, Reform, Revolution, and Republic, The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975, First Published 1977, reprinted 2002, New York.

Sykes, Mark, Through five Turkish provinces, Jesus College Cambridge, London, 1900.

Sykes, Mark, Dar-UI-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, London, 1904.

Sykes, Mark, The Caliphs' Last Heritage a Short History of the Turkish Empire, editor his wife Edith Sykes, London, 1915.

William, Eangdahl, A century of war Anglo-American oil politics and the new world order, Pluto press, London, 1922.

The Cambridge History of Islam, vol, A1.

ENGLISH SECONDARY SOURCES:

Aboona, Hirmis, Assyrians, Kurds, and Ottomans, intercommunal relations on the Periphery of the Ottoman Empire, New York, 2008.

Batatu, Hana, The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq, London, 2004.

Bruinessen, Martin Van, Agha, Shaikh and State, The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan, New Jersey, 1992.

Cohen, Stuart A., British policy in Mesopotamia, 1903–1914, Biddles, UK, 1976, (2008).

Çetinsaya, Gökhan, Ottoman administration of Iraq 1890-1908, London-New York, 2006.

- Galletti, Mirella, Kirkuk: The Pivot of Balance in Iraq Past and Present, *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2005.
- Geylan, Ebubekir, *the ottoman origins of modern Iraq*, London, 2011.
- Jonathan, S. McMurray, *Distant Ties Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the construction of the Baghdad railway*, Praeger, 2001.
- Khoury, Dina Rizk, *state and provincial society in the Ottoman Empire Mosul, 1540-1834*, Cambridge, 1997.
- Kent, Marian, *Oil and Empire British Policy and Mesopotamian Oil 1900-1920*, London, 1976.
- Lukitz, Liora, *A Quest in the Middle East, Gertrude Bell and the making of modern Iraq*, London, 2006.
- Maidman, Nuzi, *Portrait of an Ancient Mesopotamia provincial town*, Gane, 2001.
- Mejcher, Helmut, *The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century*, *Studies in Imperial Design and National Politics*, Edited by Camilla Dawletschin - Linder and Marianne Schmidt-Dumont, Berlin, 2007.
- McDowall, David, *A modern history of the Kurds*, London, 2007.
- Murphey, Rhoads, *The Resumption of Ottoman-Safavid Border Conflict, 1603-1638: Effects of Border Destabilization on the Evolution of State-Tribe Relations: Shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations* / ed. by Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden, 2005.
- Olson, Robert, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion 1880-1925*, The University of Texas Press, 1991.
- Öyoglu, Hakan, *Kurdish notables and the Ottoman State Evolving identities, Competing Loyalties, and Shifting Boundaries*, New York, 2004.
- Simon, Reeva Spector and Tejirian, Eleanor H., *The creation of Iraq, 1914-1921*, New York, 2004.
- Shaebler, Birgit, *The "Noble Arab" Shifting Discourses in Early Nationalism in the Arab East (1910-1916)*, *Shifts and drifts in nomad-sedentary relations* ed. by Stefan Leder and Bernhard Streck, Wiesbaden, 2005.

Schaebler, Birgit, Revolts in the Druze Mountain: ethnicity and integration of a rural community from the end of the Ottoman Empire to Syrian independence.

Schaebler, Birgit, Practicing Musha‘: Common Lands and The Common Good in Southern Syria under the Ottomans and the French, New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East, Edited by Roger Owen, Harvard, 2000.

Shields, Sarah, Mosul before Iraq, New York, 2000.

Stivers, William, Supremacy and oil Iraq, Turkey, and the Anglo-American World Order, 1918-1930, London, 1982.

Talabany, Nouri, Arabization of the Kirkuk region, Erbil, 2012.

Wilcox, Ron, battles on the Tigris, the Mesopotamian campaign of the first world war, Great Britain, 2008.

INTERNET WEBSITES

Ainsworth, W. Francis, The Assyrian Origin of the Izedis or Yezidis-the So-Called “Devil Worshippers”, Source: Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 1 (1861), pp. 11-44, Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3014180>, last accessed, 26/01/2013 03:14.

Al rubaiy ‘ī, ‘isma ‘īl nurī, t ‘ārīkh al ta ‘līm fī al ‘irāq fī al ‘ahdaiyn al ‘uthmanī ua al malaki, (Geschichte der Erziehung im Irak in der osmanischen und königlichen Epoche) www.mesopot.com/old/adad1/tarbiawataleem.htm, Last accessed, 24 June 2013.

Anderson, Gary with Nancy Arsenault, http://samples.sainsburysebooks.co.uk/9781135708214_sample_825239.pdf *Fundamentals of Educational Research*, (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005) last accessed, 19-11-2015.

Armens-in-ottoman-documents, <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/htm>. last accessed, 8-12-2013.

‘Aughlo, najāt shukr kauthar, hauādth Kirkuk 1700-1958 (Vorfälle von Kirkuk 1700-1958), 01-01-2006, <http://alkarar.annuaire-forums.com/t8-topic> last access 12-09-2013.

Aydin, Alev DiLek, Mosul Question (1918-1926) The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences of Bilkent University, Ankara-2004, <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0002508.pdf>, last accessed, 13.10.2015.

BOA, HHTHR, 349/4 'ārshīf ri'āsat al uzarā', Istanbul, 'āurāq tahrīr al khazena, (Archiv des Ministerpräsidentenbüros, Istanbul, Schatzampapiere) Quoting from www.alwahamag.com *al ta'līm al 'uthmānī al ḥadīth wa bidāiyātahu, fī mutaṣarfiya al 'āḥsā' 1871-1913 fī ḍuw' uathā'iq al 'uthmānī*, (Moderne osmanische Erziehung und ihre Anfänge, in Al-Ahsa, 1871-1913, im Licht der osmanischen Dokumente) Last accessed, 20 June 2013.

Britannica Encyclopedia, Kirkuk, <http://www.britannica.com>, Last accessed 12-7-2013.

Cadman, John, Middle East Geography in Relation to Petroleum, the Geographical Journal, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sep., 1934), pp. 201-212, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://www.jstore.org/stable/1785753>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 15:48 UTC.

Ekmeleddin, Ihsan oglu, Ottoman educational institutions during the reform period, www.muslimheritage.com/.../ReformOttomans.pdf, Last accessed 10-6-2013.

Eppel, M, The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: the Impact on the Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Middle Eastern Studies, 05 Mar 2008, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200791874883>, Last Accessed, on 11th of March, 2013.

Eskander, Saad (2001), Southern Kurdistan under Britain's Mesopotamian Mandate: from Separation to incorporation, 1920-23, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 37, No. 2(Apr.,2001), pp. 153-180, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284159>, Last accessed, 26-07-2015 14:24 UTC.

Eskander, Saad (2000), "Britain's Policy in Southern Kurdistan: The Formation and the Termination of the First Kurdish Government, 1918-1919", British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 27, no. 2:139-163. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/826089>, last accessed, 13-7-2014.

Faisal I of Iraq, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faisal_I_of_Iraq, last access, 30-01-2017.

Fitzgerald, Edward Peter France's Middle Eastern Ambitions, the Sykes-Picot Negotiation and the Oil Fields of Mosul, 1915-1918. The Journal of Modern History,

Vol. 66, No. 4 (Dec., 1994), pp. 697-725. The University of Chicago press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2125155>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 13:44 UTC.

Gertrude Bell Archive, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos.php>, last accessed, 03.07.2017.

Gertrude. Miss Bell, The Letters of Gertrude Bell volume 2, 1927, “A project Gutenberg of Australia eBook”, dated first posted: September 2004.
<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400461h.html#ch21>, Last accessed 15-5-2014.

Ionides, M. G., Two Ancient Irrigation Canals in Northern ‘Iraq, The Geographical Journal. Vol. 92, No. 4 (Oct., 1938), pp 351-354, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://www.jstore.org/stable/1787220>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 13:54 UTC.

Henry, Astarjian. The struggle for Kirkuk: the rise of Hussein, oil, and the death of tolerance in Iraq, <http://www.kurdipedia.org/books/69397.PDF>, last accessed, January 7, 2014.

<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirkuk> (Government).

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sulaymaniyah> last accessed, 14-01-2017.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosul_Vilayet last accessed, 16-01-2017.

<http://inr.mconvert.net/usd/1919> 1919, 1919 Indian Rupees or 1919 INR to USD, last accessed, 14-2-2016.

Iraqi Turkmen Human Rights Research foundation, To the participants in seeking a solution to the Kerkuk Problem: the historical anatomy of Kerkuk region, Date: 29, November 2008, www.aina.org/reports/thaok.pdf, Last accessed, 1st October 2014.

Jabār, Qādir, al sālnāmāt al ‘uthmāniya ua hikāiyāt ‘an Kirkuk (Das osmanische Jahrbuch und Geschichten über Kirkuk), Kurdistan Regional Government, <http://www.krg.org/a/print.aspx?l=14&smap=010000&a=30>, last accessed, 17-11-2013.

Kirkuk... A Castle extends deep in history and an eternal flame illuminates the future, <http://www.iraqdirectory.com/DisplayNews.aspx?id=2417>, last accessed, 13-7-2013.

Khoury and Joseph Kostiner, Edited by Philip S. Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East, University of California Press, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0d5n99hf/>, Last accessed 28-4-2014.

Lebon, J. H. G., Population Distribution and the Agricultural Regions of 'Iraq, Geographical Review, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Apr., 1953), pp. 223-228, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/211936>, last accessed, 26-7-2015 14:36 UTC.

Maunsell, F. R., The Mesopotamian Petroleum Field, pp. 528-532, The Geographical Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May, 1897), Published by, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1774893>, last accessed, 30-09-2013.

Maunsell, F. R., Royal Geographical Society, Kurdistan, the Geographical Journal, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Feb., 1894), pp 81-92, the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers), <http://jstor.org/stable/1774022>, last accessed, 28-10/2013.

Moltka, Von, The revolt of Mir Muhammad, 'Mir Kor' <https://lepzerin.wordpress.com/2012/03/19/the-revolt-of-mir-muhammad/> last access 22-11-2016.

Petrosian, Vahram, the Iraqi Turkmans and Turkey, Iran and the Caucasus, Vol.7, No. ½ (2003), Brill, pp. 279-308, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030981>, last accessed, 26-07-2015 12:16 UTC.

Soil and Land-Use Capabilities in Iraq: A Preliminary Report, W. L. Powers, Geographical Review, Vol. 44, No. 3(Jul., 1954), pp.373-380, American Geographical Society, <http://www.jstore.org/stable/212063>, last accessed, 26-07-20115 14:45 UTC.

Susan Wyche, Phoebe Sengers and Rebecca E. Grinter, *Historical Analysis: Using the past to design the future*, <http://www.cc.gatech.edu/~beki/c29.pdf>, last accessed, November 5, 2015.

Sykes-Picot-Agreement, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/577523/> last accessed 22-11-2013.

Tamim, Muhammed Ali, *Kirkuk fī sanauāt al 'intidāb al barītānī 1921-1932* (Kirkuk in den britischen Mandaten in den Jahren 1921-1932). *Jāmi'at* Mosul, <http://www.mesopot.com/oldladad13/16.htm>, Last accessed, 4-12-2013.

The Map of the Ottoman Empire in 1893, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/Osmanli_Ortadogu.jpg, last accessed, 27.04.2017.

The Map of Kurdistan, <http://www.susanmeiselas.com/archive-projects/kurdistan/> last accessed, 27.04.2017.

The Map of Iraq. <https://9lowbranches.wordpress.com/category/iraq/>, last accessed, 27.04.2017.

Yapp, M. E., *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia, 1857*, Selection from the records of the Bombay Government, XLIII.-new Series, Jones Cdr. James Felix Jones I.N., Slough: Archive Editions, 1998 Pp. Xvii+504. E595. *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Jul., 1999), pp. 197-199, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284030>, Accessed: 02-03-2016 16:32 UTC.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS:

A. Hassanpour, *Kurdish Studies, Orientalist Positivist and Critical Approaches: (Review Book) Essay Kurdish Ethno nationalism by Nader Entessar*, winter,1993, *Middle East Journal*, Vol 47, No 1.

Ali, Othman, *Southern Kurdistan during the last phase of Ottoman control: 1839-1914*, *Journal of Muslim minority affairs*, London, 1997.

Ali, Othman, *The Kurds and the Lausanne Peace Negotiations, 1922-23*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), pp. 521-534, 04/03/2014, Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

'Abd Al-Jabbar, Faleh, *Artificial and Natural Nation-Building: Iraq Nation-ness and the Centrality of the State*, *Etats Et Societes De L'Orient Arabe (1945-2005)*, pp 117-130.

Erik-Jan Zürcher, *The Ottoman Conscription System in Theory and Practice, 1844-1918*, Department of Turkish Studies, Leiden University, *International Review of Social History* 43 (3) (1998), pp. 437-449.

Schaebler, Birgit, University of Erfurt *Constructing an Identity between Arabism and Islam, The Druzes in Syria*, *The Muslim World*, Volume 103, January - 2013.

Shields, Sarah, *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Volume 3, Number 2, Mosul, the Ottoman legacy and the League of Nations, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Shiel, J Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Kurdistán, via Vân, Bitlis, Se'ert and Erbíl, to Suleimáníyeh, in July and August, 1836, The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, (Volume 8).

Stivers, William, International Politics and Iraqi Oil, 1918-1928: A Study in Anglo-America Diplomacy, Harvard College, The business history review, vol. 55, No. 4, winter-1981, pp 517-540.

Sykes, Mark, The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, Vol. 38 (Jul. - Dec., 1908), pp 451-486.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS:

CH. Pellat, The encyclopedia of Islam, vol V, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986.

Encyclopedia Judaica, Fred *Skolnik*, vol 10, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.

Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive, Department of Turkish Studies, Leiden University, International Review of Social History 43 (3) (1998), pp. 437-449.

GERMAN SOURCES:

Niebuhr, Carsten, Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, Frankfurt am Main: Institut for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Univ., 1994 = 1837.

FRENCH SOURCES:

Clement, A, Excursions dans le Kourdistan ottoman, de Kerkouk a Ravandouz, Globe, Paris, 1886, vol 5.

Lycklama a Nijeholt, Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Peraan, dans la mesopotamie, le Kurdistan, la Syrie, la Palastineet Turqy, execute pendant les annees 1865, 1866, 1867, et 1868, Paris A Bertrand, Amsterdam, C. L. V Langenhuysen. 1872-1875.

KURDISH PRIMARY SOURCES: KURDISCHE PRIMÄRQUELLEN

Huznî, husîn, sarjamy barhamy (méjhuiy mirāniy Sorān) (das Gesamtwerk (die Geschichte der Prinzen von Sorān)), *tschāpkhānay*, (Verlag) 'ārās, Erbil, 2007.

Zakî Beg, muhammed 'amin, khulāšāiyiyaki tārikhy Kurd u Kurdistan (die Zusammenfassung der Geschichte den Kurden und Kurdistan), *bargi yakam* (der Erste Band), *āmādakirdiny* (überarbeitet von) *rafiq šaliḥ, tschāpkhānay* (Verlag) *sardam, Sulaymaniyah*, 2000.

Zakî Beg, muhammed amin, tārīkhī Sulaymaniyah u ulāty (die Geschichte von Sulaymaniyah und Umgebung), *uargerānī* (der Übersetzer) *malā Jamīl, Sulaymaniyah*, 1999.

Zakî Beg, muhammed 'amin, khwlāšāiyaki tārikhy Kurd u Kurdistan (die Zusammenfassung der Geschichte den Kurden und Kurdistan), *bargi yakam* (der Erste Band), *āmādakirdiny* (überarbeitet von) *rafiq šaliḥ, tschāpkhānay* (Verlag) *uazārātī parwarda, hawlér* (Erbil), 2006.

KURDISH SECONDARY SOURCES: KURDISCHE SEKUNDÄRQUELLEN

'Āghjalary, pshko, shāry Kirkuk (1917-1926) (Die Stadt Kirkuk (1917-1926)), (Verlag) *dazgāy tschāp pakshy ḥamdy, Sulaymaniyah*, 2007.

'Aḥmad, kamāl mazhar, Kurdistan la sālānī sharī jihānī yakamdā (Kurdistan während des Ersten Weltkrieges), *tschapkhānay* (Verlag) *kory zāniāry Kurd*, Baghdad, 1975.

Jalāl, kāmarān kwekhā, méjhwy kony Kirkuk (die alte Geschichte von Kirkuk), *tschapkhānay* (Verlag) *khāny, hawlér* (Erbil), 2008.

Karīm Beg, dārā Aḥmad, Karīm Begī Fatāḥ Begī Hamawand, chāpy yakam (die Erste Ausgabe), (Verlag) *wazāraty parwarda, hawler* (Erbil), 2001.

Khasbāk, shākīr, 'arabī badu ua shuānkāraī Kurd (die Arabischen Beduinen und die Kurdischen Nomaden) *uargerānī* (der Übersetzer) *jazā taufīq tālib, govārī kurdolojī* (Kurdologie Magazin), *zhmāra 2* (nummer 2), Sulaymaniyah, 2009.

Kotschirā, Kris, kurd la saday nozda u bīstdā (Die Kurden im Neunzehnten und Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert), *uargerānī* (der Übersetzer) *ḥama karīm 'ārf*.

Muhammed, smko bahroz, daruāzaiyakī mezhuīyyāna bo rudāuakāī sālī 1959 yi shāri Karkuk (Eine historische Einleitung über den Vorfall 1959 in der Stadt Krikuk), (Magazin) *govārī Kirkuk, zhmāra 2* (nummer 2), *pāiyzī* (Herbst), 2003.

Mukriyāny, hazhār, tschyshṭī mjuryr (Das Mahl des Diener der Moschee), Paris, 1997.

Mustafā, naushéruan, myrayaty Bābān la néuān bardāshy rom u ‘ajamda (das Fürstentum von Bābān zwischen den Türken und den Perser), (Verlag) *tschāpy dwam* (der Zweite Band), Sulaymaniyah, 1998.

Neqshabandi, āzad, kesh u hauāy harémy Kurdistan ‘érāq, jwgrafiyāy harémy Kurdistan ‘érāq (Das Klima in der kurdischen Region im Irak, Geographie der kurdischen Region im Irak), *komalék mamostay zankoy šalāḥadyn* (mehrer Autoren an der *shalāḥadyn* Universtät), first published, *hawlér* (Erbil), 1998.

Shuāny, bakhtiyār sa‘id maḥmud, Kirkuk la saday nozdahamdā (Kirkuk im neunzehnten Jahrhundert), (Verlag) *tschpkhānāy ḥamdy*, Sulaymaniyah, 2009.

Syāmansury, gula, Kirkuk shāry ‘āgry hamishaiy (Kirkuk Stadt des ewigen Feuers), (Magazin) *hāwāry* Kirkuk, zh māra 2 (Nummer 2), December, 1988.

‘Usmān, sa‘dī, snury khuārwiyy Kurdistanī bāshur la saday nozdahamdā (Die Grenze vom Süd - Kurdistan in neunzehnten Jahrhundert), *tschāpy yakam* (die Erste Ausgabe), Duhok, 2007.

OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH SOURCES (OSMANISCHE UND MODERNE TÜRKISCHE QUELLEN):

Sāmī, şamsadīn, qāmvs al ‘ālam (Welt Wörterbuch), Istanbul, (Verlag) *Mīhrān Press*, 1896.

Rasim, Aḥmad, rasmlī va hariḫa li ‘vsmānlī t‘ārīhī (Kartographie in der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches), vol 4, first published, *shams press sy*, Istanbul, 1228 *rumi*.

Beg, ‘izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1906 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1906), (Verlag) *maḫba‘at sinda ḫabi‘ avlinmshdar, Mosul*, 1907.

Beg, ‘izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti, Mosul, 1912 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1912, Mossul).

Mosul vilayeti salname 1894 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1894).

Mosul vilayeti salname 1890 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1890).

Beg, 'izatlv şafvat, salname rasismidar Mosul vilayeti 1883 (Das offizielle Jahrbuch der Provinz Mossul im Jahr 1883), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at sinda ṭabi ' avlinmşdar*, Mosul, 1905.

Sahillioglu, halil, Osmanli döneminde 'irāq in Taksimāt (Aufteilung des Irak unter dem Osmanischen Reich), Ankara, 1990.

PERSIAN SOURCES (PERSISCHE QUELLEN):

Effendi, nuṣamī zāda murtada, gulshan-i khulafā (Der Rosengarten der Kalifen), *tarjumat, musā kḗam nawrs*, (Verlag) *maṭba 'at al 'ādāb*, al Najaf, 1971.

Al yazdī, sharaf al dīn 'ali, ḡafarnāma (Das Buch des Sieges), vol 1, Tahran, 1957.

ARABIC PRIMARY SOURCES: ARABISCHE PRIMÄR QUELLEN

Qur'an.

Al badlīsī, sharafkhān, al sharafnāma (Ehrenbrief), Beirut, 2007.

Al balādhri, Aḥmad bin yaḥiyā bin jābir, ftuḥ al buldān (Die Eröffnung der Länder), vol 2, (Verlag) *maktabat al nahḡa al mişriyya*, Cairo, 1957.

Al gurāny, 'ali saiyydū, min al 'umān 'ila al 'mādiya au jaula fī al Kurdistān al jnubiyya (Von Amman nach al 'mādiya oder eine Reise durch das südliche Kurdistan), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at 'ārās*, (die Zweite Ausgabe), *al ṭab 'a al thāniya*, Erbil, 2012.

Al ḡasanī, 'abdulrazāq, al 'irāq qadīman ua ḡadīthan (Der Irak ist alt und neu), *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 1973.

Al ḡasanī, 'abdulrazāq, tāriḡh al uazārāt al 'irāqiya (Die Geschichte der irakischen Ministerien), vol 1.

Al ḡamauiy, yāqut, mu 'ajam al buldān (Das Glossar der Länder), (Verlag) *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 2007.

Al kirkukly, sheikh rasoul, dauḡat al uzarā' (Der Familienbaum des Ministers), (der Übersetzer von Ottoman Türkisch ins Arabisch) *tarjamat min al turkiyya musā kāzm*, Baghdad.

Al munshī' al Baghdādī, muḡammed bin Aḡmad al ḡusaiynī, riḡla al munshī' al Baghdādī 'ilā al 'irāq (Die Reise von Al munshī' Baghdadi nach Irak), *tarjumat* (der Übersetzer) *'abās Al 'azāuiy*, (Verlag) *dār al jāḡiz*, Baghdad, 1970.

Ḥasan, 'abdul al majīd fahmī, dalīl tāriḫ mashā'ir al 'alauyyat al 'irāqīya (Geschichte der berühmten irakischen Brigaden), *maṭba'at al salām* (Verlag), Baghdad, 1947.

Ibn ḥauqal, abu al qasim al nṣībīy (tawafī - gestorben 977), ṣurat al 'ārḍ (Das Bild der Erde), (Verlag) *dār maktabat al ḥayāt*, Beirut, 1977.

Ibn khaldun, al muqadima (Die Einleitung), Beirut.

Khān, Abi Ṭālib, riḥlat abi ṭālib khān 'ilā al 'irāq ua aurupā 1799 (Die Reise von Abu Talib Khan 1799 nach Irak und Europa), *tarjumat* (der Übersetzer) *Jauād Mustafā*, Baghdad.

Khaṣbāk, shākīr, al 'irāq al shimālī, dirāsa linawāḥi al ṭabī'iyya ua al bashariyya (Nord-Irak, eine Studie über seine Naturräume und Anthropologie), (Verlag) *maṭba'at shafīq*, Baghdad, 1973.

Murād, Khalīl 'ali, mukhtārāt min al kitāb Mosul ua Kirkuk fī al uathā'eq al 'uthmāniyya (Eine Auswahl aus dem Buch von Mossul und Kirkuk in den Osmanischen Archiven), Sulaymaniyah, 2005.

Susa, Aḥmad, al dalīl al jughrāfī fī al 'irāq (Geographisches Verzeichnis in Irak), *maṭba'at tamadun*, Baghdad, 1960.

ARABIC SECONDERY SOURCES: ARABISCHE SEKUNDÄR QUELLEN

Al ḥamdānī, ṭāriq nāfī', malāmiḥ siyasiyya ua ḥadāriyya fī tāriḫ al 'irāq al ḥadīth ua al mu'āṣir (Merkmale der Politik und Zivilisation in der Geschichte des modernen und zeitgenössischen Iraks), Beirut, 1989.

Al hilālī, 'abdulrazāq, t'ārīkh al ta'līm fī al 'irāq fī al 'ahd al 'uthmānī 1638-1917 (Geschichte der Erziehung im Irak in der osmanischen Zeit, 1638-1917), (Verlag) *sharikat al ṭab' ua al nashr al 'āhliyya*, Baghdad, 1959.

Al 'azāuiy, 'abās, tāriḫ al 'irāq baiyna al 'āiḥṭilālaiyn (Die Geschichte vom Irak zwischen den beiden Besetzungen), (Verlag) *maktabat al ḥadārāt, Beirut*.

Aḥmad, 'ibrāhīm Khalīl, al tashkilāt al 'idāriyya ua al 'askariyya fī uilāiyat al Mosul fī 'auākhīr al 'ahid al 'uthmānī (Die Verwaltungs- und Militärformationen in der Provinz Mossul in der spät-osmanischen Zeit), (Magazin) *mjalat baiyna al nahriyyin al 'adadān* 37-38, pp 147-148, Mosul, 1982.

'Aughlu, 'abdul al-llaṭif Bander, *al Turkmen fī 'irāq al thaura, tārikhahum, lughatahum, 'ādābahum, turāthahum* (die Turkmenen im Irak der Revolution, ihre Geschichte, ihre Sprache, ihre Literatur, und ihr Erbe), Baghdad, 1973.

Al ṣufī, Aḥmad 'ali, al mamālīk fī al 'irāq, ṣaḥā'if khaṭīyira min tārikh 'irāq al qarib (1749-1831) (Die Königreiche des Iraks, gefährliche Zeitungen in der modernen Geschichte des Irak (1749-1831)), *maṭba'at al 'itiḥād al jadida*, Mosul, 1952.

Al khaiyyāṭ, ja'far, ṣuār min tārikh al 'irāq al muḥlima (Bilder der dunklen irakischen Geschichte), *voll*, first published, (Verlag) *dār al kutub*, Beirut, 1971.

Al shīkhly, Muhammed ra'wf, marāḥl al ḥaiyāt fī al fatrāt al muḥlima ua mā ba'duhā (Die Stufen des Lebens in der Dunkelzeit und darüber hinaus), Basra, 1972.

Aḥmad, 'ibrāhīm Khalīl, taṭaur al ta'līm al-uaṭanī fī al 'irāq 1969-1932 (Die Evolution der nationalen Bildung im Irak, 1869-1932), Barsra, 1982.

Jamīl, saiyyār kaukab 'ali, takuīn al 'arab al ḥadīth 1516-1916 (Die Entstehung des modernen arabischen Selbstbewusstseins, 1516-1916), first published, (Verlag) *dār al kutub lilṭibā'a ua al nashir*, Mosul, 1991.

Al 'umarī, yāsīn 'āfandī, ghāiyat al-marām fī t'ārīkh maḥāsin Baghdad dār al-salām (Die anspruchsvollste Nachfrage in der Geschichte der Schönheiten von Baghdad - das Friedens Haus), (Verlag) *dār al basrī*, Baghdad, 1998.

Al dābiṭ, shākir ṣābir, al'ilāqāt al-dauliyya baiyna 'irāq ua Iran (die internationalen Beziehungen zwischen Irak und Iran), Baghdad, 1966.

'Abush, farḥād ḥajī, al madīna al kurdiyya min al qarnayn 4-7h\10-13m (Die kurdischen Städte vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert), (Verlag) *maṭba'at uazārat al tarbiyya*, Erbil, 2004.

Al 'aliyyauaiy, 'abdullah, Kurdistan fī 'ahid al daula al 'uthmāniyya (Kurdistan in der Ära des Osmanischen Reichs), Sulaymaniyah, 2005.

Aḥmad, kamāl mazhir, Kirkuk ua tauābi'uhā – ḥukm al tarikh ua al ḍamīr (Kirkuk und seine Umgebung das Urteil der Geschichte und des Gewissens), Kurdistan.

Al damlujī, ṣadīq, 'imārat bahdīnān al kurdiyya 'imārat au al 'amdādiyya (Das Kurdische bahdīnān Emirat oder al-'amdādiyya Emirat), (überarbeitet von) *taqdīm ua murāja'a 'abdul fatāḥ al botānī*, second published, Erbil, 1999.

Al 'azāuī, 'abās, 'ashā'ir al 'irāq al kurdiyya (die kurdischen Volkstämme im Irak), vol 2, Baghdad, 1947.

Al baiyyātī, ‘abduḥmān ‘idrīs ṣālīḥ, siyāsāt barytāniyā tijāh Kurd al ‘irāq 1914-1917 (Die britische Politik gegenüber den irakischen Kurden 1914-1917), Sulaymaniya, 2010.

‘Ashkanaiy, qādir Muhammed, maṭīqat Kirkuk fī al ‘aṣir al ‘abāsī (750-1258) (Die Region von Kirkuk in der Abbasiden-Ära (750-1258)), (Verlag) maṭba‘at ‘ārās, Erbil, 2001.

Al naqshabandī, ḥusām al-dīn ‘ali ghālīb, al Kurd fī al dīnauar ua shahrazur (Die Kurden in Dīnur und Shahrzur), *risālat majistīr ghaīr manshura* (Unveröffentlichte Masterarbeit), *kuliyyat al ‘ādāb* (Fakultät für Kunst), *jāmi‘at* (Universtät) Baghdad, 1975.

Al muḥafarī, nabīl ‘agīd Maḥmūd, al ta‘līm fī Kirkuk fī al ‘ahd al ‘āintidāb al Brītānī numudhajā, (1921-1932) (Ausbildung in Kirkuk während der britischen Mandatsperiode (1921-1932)), magazine University of Kirkuk, number 25, April, 2011.

Al najār, jamīl musā, al ta‘līm fī al ‘irāq fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmaniyya al ‘ākhīr, (1869-1918) (Bildung im Irak während der Osmanischen und späten Osmanischen Zeit (1869-1918)), (Verlag) *dār al sh‘wun al thaqāfa,* Baghdad, 2001.

Al ‘abāsī, maḥdī ṣālīḥ, Kirkuk fī al ‘āuākḥīr fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmaniyy, (1876-1914) drāsa fī ‘āuḍā‘ihā al ‘āidāriyya ua al ‘āiqtiṣādiyya ua al thaqāfiyya (Kirkuk in der späten Osmanischen Ära (1876-1914) Studien über seine administrativen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen), theses of master unpublished, University of Mosul, College of Arts, 2005.

Al-‘aliyāuāī, ‘abdullah Muhammed ‘ali, siyyāsāt daula al-‘uthmāniyya tijāh al-‘ashā‘ir al-kurd fī Kirkuk ua ‘aṭrāfuhā min ‘ām 1889 ḥatā 1909 (Die Politik des Osmanischen Reiches gegenüber den kurdischen Stämmen in Kirkuk und ihren Parteien von 1889 bis 1909), *mujalat sardam al-‘arabī, al-‘adad 9,* Sulaymaniyah, 2005.

Al samāk, Muhammed ‘āzhar sa‘īd ua zakariyyā ‘abdul al ḥamīd pāshā, ‘iqtiṣādiyyāt al naft ua al siyyāsāt al naftiyya (Ölökonomie und Ölpolitik), (Verlag) maṭba‘at al jāmi‘a al mosul, Mosul, 1980.

Bābān, jamāl, ‘āuṣul ‘asmā’ al mudun ua al mawāqi‘ al ‘irāqiyya (Die Ursprünge der Namen der irakischen Städte und Stätten), vol 1, (Verlag) maṭba‘at al ‘ajīāl, Baghdad, 1989.

Baiyyāt, fāḍil maḥdī, drāsāt fī t‘ārīkh al ‘arab fī al ‘ahd al ‘uthmānī ru‘iyya fī ḍwu’ al uathā‘iq ua al maṣādir al ‘uthmānī (Studien in der Geschichte der Araber während der

Osmanischen Ära, eine neue Vision im Lichte der osmanischen Archive und Quellen), (Verlag) *dār al madā al 'aislāmī*, Tripoli, 2003.

Beg, ḥusaīn nāẓm, t'ārīkh al'māra al-bābāniyya (Die Geschichte des *Bābāniyya* Emirats), translated from Turkish into Arabic by shukur mustafā rasoul and Muhammed al mullah 'bdulkarīm al mudaris, Erbil, 2001.

Bibānī, Aḥmad rashīd Aḥmad, Kirkuk al jariyḥa (Kirkuk ist verwundet), Sulaymaniyah, 2004.

Dhahāb, ṣabāḥ, al patrul al 'arabī al khām fī al suq al 'ālamīyya (Arabisches Rohöl auf dem Weltmarkt), Cairo, 1969.

Ḥusaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan al jnubiyya fī al qarnaiyn 17-18 (Südkurdistan im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert), Erbil, 2006.

Ḥusaīn, sa'dī 'uthmān, Kurdistan ua al-'aimprāṭuriyyat al-'uthmāniyya (Kurdistan und das Osmanische Reich), Erbil, 2008.

Khurshīd, fu'ād ḥamah, al-'ashā'ir al-kurdiyya (die kurdischen Volkstämme), Baghdad, 1979.

Nauār, 'abdul 'azīz, tārīkh al 'arab al mu'āṣir miṣir ua al 'irāq (Die zeitgenössische Geschichte der Araber in Ägypten und im Irak), *dār al nahḍa al 'arabiyya* (Verlag), Beirut.

Nauār, 'abdul 'azīz sulaīmān, 'auāml al fa'āla fī al 'āitijāhāt al fkriya wa al siyāsiya fī al 'irāq al ḥadīth, drāsa fī alta'līm ua 'āatharuhu fī takuīn alza'āma baiyyina 1872-1908 (Wirksame Faktoren in den intellektuellen und politischen Trends im modernen Irak, Studien über die Bildung und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Führungsbildung zwischen 1872-1908), Cairo, 1974.

Nukhba al ba'ithiyn (al 'aṭiya, Jalīl), Kirkuk madiynat al qaumiyyāt al muta'ākhiyya (Kirkuk ist die Stadt der brüderlichen Nationalitäten), *maṭba'at 'ārās*, Erbil, 2009.

Nukhba al bahīthiyn, ḥadārāt al 'irāq (Iraks Zivilisationen), (Verlag) *dār al-ḥuriyya liltibā'ah*, Vole 10, Baghdad, 1985.

Lashkrī, ḥāidar, al kurd fī alma'rifat al taārīkhiyyat al 'aislāmiyyāt (Die Kurden im historischen und islamischen Wissen), Erbil, 2004.

Qādir, Jabār, qaḍāiyā Kurdiya mu'āṣira Kirkuk – al 'ānfāl al Kurd ua turkiya (Die Ausgaben über die Gegenwart der Kurden:- Kirkuk, Anfal, und die Kurden in der Türkei), (Verlag) 'ārās, first published, Erbil, 2006.

Ra'wf, 'imad 'abdul salām, al Mosul fī al 'ahd al 'uthmāniyya fatrat al ḥukm al maḥālī (1726-1834) (Mossul in der osmanischen Zeit unter der lokalen Regierung (1726-1834)), *maṭba 'at al 'ādāb* (Verlag), Najaf, 1975.

Ra'wf, 'imād 'abdul salām, 'āidarāt al 'irāq (Die Irakische Verwaltung), Baghdad, 1992.

Shārl, 'īsāuiy, al t'ārīkh al 'aiqtṣādī lilḥilāl al khaṣīb 1800-1914 (Die Wirtschaftsgeschichte des fruchtbaren Halbmondes, 1800-1914), (der Übersetzer) *Ra'wf 'abās ḥāmid*, Beirut, 1990.

Mu'arīkh al Kurdī (al rojba'iyyānī, mullah jamīl bandī), Kirkuk, 'ismuhā, t'arīkhuhā al-qadīm, sukānuhā wa sulūṭatuhā (Kirkuk, die Namen, ihre alte Geschichte, ihre Bewohner und die Behörden), *mujalat* (Magazin) (*ḥāuārī Kirkuk*), *al 'adad* (nummer) 2, Erbil, 1998.

Qādir, jabār ua majmu'a min al kutāb ua al bāḥīthiyn, Kirkuk madīnat qaumiyyāt al mut'ākhiyya (Kirkuk ist die Stadt der Nationalitäten der Bruderschaft), (Verlag) *dār 'ārās*, Erbil, 2009.

Shākir, ali, Vilayet al Mosul fī al qarn al sādis 'ashar dirāsa fī audā'ihā al siyyāsiya wa al 'idāriyya wa al 'qtīṣādiyya (Mossuls Provinz im sechzehnten 16 Jahrhundert - Studien über die politischen, administrativen und wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen), *'ātruḥat diktorah kuliyyat al 'ādāb* (Philosophische Fakultät), *jāmi'at-Mosul* (Mossul Universtät), 1992.

Sriyat, ṣālḥ 'abdulāh, taṭur al ta'līm al ṣinā'ī fī al-'irāq (Entfaltung der Berufsausbildung im Irak), (Verlag) *maṭba 'at dār al jāḥiḥ*, Baghdad, 1969.

Surchy, najim 'umir, maṣīr uilāiyat al mosul (Kurdistan al-jnubiyya) mā ba'da 'ām 2000 (Das Schicksal von Mossul (Südkurdistan) über 2000 hinaus), second published.

Ta'līqāt rojba'iyyānī 'alā kitāb ('aṣl al'usrat alsunaiyyat almaujudīyn fī al 'irāq, lilmu'lif 'āiyatu allāh murdukh) (die Bemerkungen von *rojba'iyyānī* über das Buch "Der Ursprung der sunnitischen Familie im Irak, von *'āiyatu allāh murdukh*", Erbil, 2000.

Tuḥfīq, 'umar 'ibrāhīm, al turkmān fī al 'irāq (Die Turkmenen im Irak), Sulaymaniyah, 2005.

Tuḥfīq, zirār ṣadīq, al qabā'il wa al zahāmāt al qabaliyya al kurdiyya fī al 'aṣir al uasīṭ (die Stämme und kurdische Stammesführer im Mittelalter), (Verlag) *'ārās*, Erbil, 2007.

Yaḥiyya, ‘abdulfatāḥ ‘ali, Kirkuk fī sāl-nāmāt al ‘uthmāniyya (Kirkuk im osmanischen Jahrbuch), (Magazin) *govārā zankoīyyā Duhok mrovāīyyatī*, January, 2002, number 2, pp 1-14.

GLOSSARY

Agha, the original meaning of the word in the Ottoman Turkish language is brother and then the meaning expanded to include Master, President and Lord. In the military sphere it was used to refer to an officer or commander during the Ottoman period.

Eyalet is an Arabic word meaning the largest unit in the Ottoman Empire.

Beg means the great, rich and respectable in the Ottoman Turkish language and it is also used to refer to individuals of noble birth.

Dragoman is a person who interpreted Ottoman Turkish, Persian, or Arabic languages and acted as a guide for European travelers, envoys and spies during their expeditions to the Middle East.

Defterdār was a Turkish-Ottoman finance official or treasurer. Originally *Defterdār* meant *defter* (register) + *dār* (holder) in the Persian language.

Effendiyya is a Turkish word from Greek origin (*Aulhentes*) meaning Master and Lord. The Arabs used *Effendiyya* to mean “the writer” or “virtuous person”, and the Ottomans used it as a synonym of Agha or Beg.

Fermān (*Faramanh*) means order in Persian. The Ottomans used it to refer to commands issued by the Sultan and when these commands were directed to the state provinces it would be decorated with *Tughra* (the Sultan’s signature). And when the order was issued by the directorate of the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister).

Alkahia, it is also written with (ya) in the end ‘*Kahya*’ and it means the chief of the village and a hero in the Ottoman language. *Alkahia* or *Ktkhda* (in Persian) means village chief.

Ghulām in Persian means courier or messenger. In the Ottoman Turkish language this was a genderless word used to describe young boys and/or girls, whom were taken from the Caucasus region either as spoils of war or as items to be sold by their families. They were essentially slaves.

Fetwā is an authoritative legal opinion given by qualified religious scholars regarding the Islamic faith.

Janissāries were infantry units of the Ottoman troops and were tasked with being the bodyguards of the Ottoman Sultan.

Keleks were rafts made from animal skins.

Khān is a Persian word meaning home or house. The word is also used to refer to a shop or hotel. The origin of the word is *Laramie* meaning a store and/or chamber.

Majlis is a council.

Mazbata in Ottoman Turkish is a commission reporter or court reporter.

Mutasalim is a deputy, that is officially appointed by central Pasha in Baghdad. It also means an agent, ruler or governor of a province.

Miri means state property

Mirimirān is a title given to the governor of Kirkuk or to a Prince of *Bābān* or Sorān Emirates in the nineteenth century or earlier.

Matruk means communal or public land.

Meer means prince.

Mushir means field marshal

Mukhtar means the head of a village or a quarter of a town or a city.

Mufti is a Muslim scholar who interprets Islamic texts from Quran and Hadith. He is authorized to give decisions on religious matters.

Mullah is a learned Muslim in Islamic Theology who could deliver sermons in the mosques especially on Fridays.

Mülk means private property

Liwa is a large administrative district in the Muslim world.

Qadhi means judge

Ottoman-Turkish was the language that was officially practiced in the Ottoman Empire. It originated from the Turkish language with many Arabic and Persian root and barrowed words.

Qontratchys (Qochani) means tax collector.

Qala means castle.

Qaymaqam is a district commissioner.

Sayyid (Sadat) are the descendants of the Prophet Muhammed's family.

Serai was a government House, Palas, and luxury Home of Vali during the Ottoman Empire in Kirkuk and another Ottoman Vilayets.

Sheikh is a respectable old man in the Arab society. This title can also be given to a prince, king, head of a tribe, family, or village. Additionally, Sheikh can also be a Muslim religious leader especially in Kurdish society.

Shari'ha means Islamic law which is derived from Quran and Hadith.

Sufi means mystic

Tanzimat is an Arabic word meaning a group of reforms and new institutions, introduced by the 2nd Sultan Abdul Hameed in Iraq.

Teskire is a certificate showing a proposed end to a conscription, during the Ottoman period.

Pashalik was a region ruled by the Pasha of the Ottoman Empire.

Salnama is a Persian term describing an annual book of records from the mid nineteenth century. Ottomans started taking records in every province, of agriculture lands, estates, livestock, shops, etc. annually in order to levy taxes.

Waqf means mortmain properties, or endowments, or/and agricultural lands which were given to the Ottoman Empire willingly by owners or unwillingly by holders without heirs.

Zāptiyeh was an Ottoman police officer.

APPENDIXES

Figor 1: Ottoman and Persian after 1450

Sykes, Mark, *Dar-ul-Islam, a record of a journey through ten of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey*, p 288.



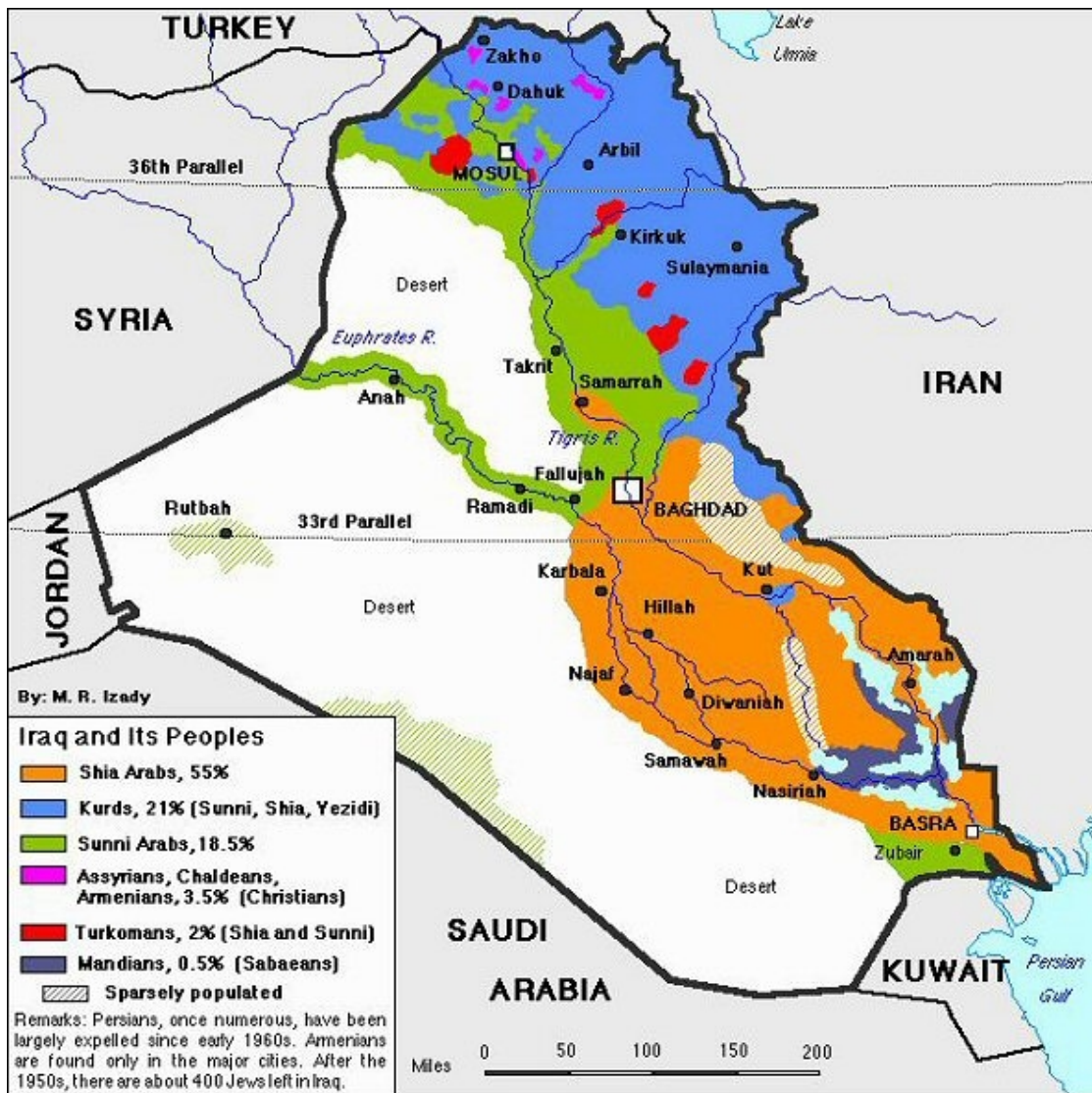
Figor 3: The Map of the Ottoman Empire in 1893, which Kirkuk is included Kurdistan.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/Osmanli_Ortadogu.jpg, last accessed, 27.04.2017.



Figor 4: the map of Kurdistan.

<http://www.susanmeiselas.com/archive-projects/kurdistan/> last accessed, 27.04.2017.



Figur 5: the map of Iraq.

<https://9lowbranches.wordpress.com/category/iraq/>, last accessed, 27.04.2017.



Figor 6: Kerkuk, bridge and castle gate [Townspeople on bridge, town in background] Date: 3/1911.

Gertrude Bell Archive, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos.php>, last accessed, 03.07.2017.



Figor 7: Kerkuk [View of castle, town and bridge from across river bed] Date: 3/1911

Gertrude Bell Archive, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos.php>, last accessed, 03.07.2017.



Figor 8: Kerkuk [View of castle, town and bridge from across river bed. Men seated in foreground]
Date: 3/1911

Gertrude Bell Archive, <http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos.php>, last accessed, 03.07.2017.