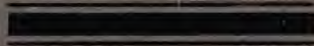


KURDISTAN
AND
THE KURDS



**FONDS
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CHAPTER I.

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS.*Chapter I.—Kurdistan and the Kurds.*

- § 1—Kurdistan and its Boundaries.
- § 2—Northern Kurdistan.
- § 3—Southern Kurdistan.
- § 4—The Kurds.

Chapter II.—The Kurdish Tribes.

- § 1—The Kurds round Urfah.
- § 2—The Milli Kurds.
- § 3—The Kurds on the Tur-el-Abdin and in the plain round Nisibin.
- § 4—The Kurds in Upper Kurdistan.
- § 5—The Kurds in the vicinity of Erzerum and Lake Van.
- § 6—The Kurds in Southern Kurdistan.
- § 7—The Yezidi Kurds.

*Appendix.***Kurdish Tribes outside Kurdistan.**

- § 1—Between Erzingan and Sivas, and in the neighbourhood of Marash.
- § 2—In Anatolia.
- § 3—In Syria.

Chapter III.—The Kurdish Movement.

- § 1—The History of the Movement.
- § 2—The Origin and Causes of the Movement.

This report is an attempt to collect and edit all the information at present available about the Kurds and Kurdistan. It is based on the reports of military and political officers, especially of Captain C. F. Woolley and Major E. Noel, and on a paper written by Sir Mark Sykes in 1908 on "The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire."* The work of the latter requires verification, as it is now nearly 15 years since he carried out his researches. The reports of the former are at present incomplete, as the country has only been accessible to British officers for six months.

No itinerary has been given, as almost the whole of Kurdistan has been described in the "Handbook of Mesopotamia" (vols. i.-iv.) and in the "Military Report on Eastern Turkey in Asia" (vols. i.-iv.) It will be time to give a fresh account of the country when it has been re-explored.

As regards the numerous Kurdish tribes, it is feared that the account here given will be found very inaccurate. In the first place, there is much divergence in spelling, almost every report being based on a different system of transliteration; nor is this unnatural when it is borne in mind that the Kurdish language has never been reduced to writing. Secondly, many tribes are reported in various localities, sometimes in their winter quarters and sometimes in their summer quarters, without any indication being given as to which is meant; at other times it is uncertain whether the parent-tribe or an offshoot which has settled elsewhere is intended. A third difficulty lies in the custom of calling a tribe now by its tribal name, and now by that of its chief or even of one of his ancestors; consequently, what seems to refer to different tribes may in some cases refer to one and the same tribe.

All these questions require long and careful investigation; and it is partly to draw attention to them and to provide a basis on which to work that this report has been compiled.

The map can only be regarded as approximately correct. It is impossible to locate exactly nomad and semi-nomad tribes, or to define boundaries where group overlaps group. Almost all the tribes mentioned in this book will be found in the map; only those have been omitted whose position cannot be fixed, or certain sub-tribes of which the chief tribe has already been shown on the map.

* Published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square, London, W.

CHAPTER I.

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS.§ 1.—*The Country and its Boundaries.*

Kurdistan embraces a wide tract of mountainous country, which bounds the fertile plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris on the north, almost from Aleppo to Lake Urmiyah, and on the east from Lake Urmiyah across the Persian frontier at Mendali to Pusht-i-Kuh. On the inner side of this half-circle the frontiers of the country almost always coincide with the fringe of the low-lying plains and the skirts of the mountain-ranges; for the vast majority of the Kurdish tribes are mountain-dwellers and only descend to the plains at certain seasons of the year. On the outer edge, however, to the north and east, the limits of the country are less easily defined; an almost countless horde of nomad and semi-nomad tribes move ceaselessly to and fro from mountain to valley and back again; small, unknown, tribes are settled more or less permanently wherever a piece of land can be found suitable for cultivation; and all these Kurds are inextricably mixed up with Turkomans, Circassians, and Armenians; while religious differences form no less distinct divisions of these peoples than racial or national characteristics. † Though, therefore, no definite frontier can be traced, it can be said that Kurds predominate in all the country which is bounded on the south by the plains, and extends from Birjick, its westernmost extremity, northwards past Malatia almost to Erzingan; thence the frontier runs along an ill-defined line to the river Araxes near Mount Ararat; from there it follows a southerly course past Lake Van to the north-west corner of Lake Urmiyah, and, skirting all the western shores of the lake, it passes down by Mundab to Khorsabad, and from there to Kermanshah; and, finally, it bends round towards the east and strikes the plain of the Tigris at Mendali, on the Persian frontier, about 90 miles east-north-east of Baghdad. In the northern reaches of Kurdistan, however, we must except several clearly-marked stretches which are inhabited by peoples of a different race; Kharput is surrounded on the north, west, and south, entirely by Turks and Armenians; another large portion of Armenian territory encircles the town of Mush, though the city itself is occupied entirely by Kurds; round Lake Van is a wide belt of country populated exclusively by Armenians, and the western shore of Lake Urmiyah belongs equally to Turks, Armenians, and Kurds; and, lastly, another body of Armenians are settled in Julamerk and in the country west of the town, between these two lakes. Outside this area there are only a few unimportant colonies of Kurds, who have wandered away or been deported to Asia Minor or the Caucasus.

Territory in the Ottoman Empire³³ was divided for the purposes of government into four administrative units, called the *vilâyah*, the *sanjaq*, the *qaza* and the *nahiyah*; these were borrowed from the French system, and they corresponded respectively to the *département*, *arrondissement*, *canton* and *commune*. A *vilâyah* was governed by a *vâli*, assisted by a provincial council, known as *'idarat majlis*, a *sanjaq* by a *mutesarrif*, a *qazâ* by a *qaimmaqam* (or prefect), and a *nahiyah* by a *mudir* (or mayor). The chief official through whom the government acted was, of course, the governor (*vâli*), who was appointed by the Sultan himself; he controlled all branches of the administration except the military and judicial officials. The *gendarmérie*, the civil police, and the collection of the revenue in particular were in his hands. He was assisted by a *defterdar* (accountant-general), and a *mektubji* (secretary-general), who was above all the chief of police. The *vâli* had also an advisory council, an institution which is characteristic of the Turkish system; for the *mutesarrif*, the *qaimmaqam*, the *mudir* and the *mukhtar*, who was the headman of the village (*qariyah*) had all their advisory councils. These councils were composed partly of regular officials in the administration and partly of local representatives; but they possessed only advisory powers. The unsuccess of the administration was due not so much to causes of failure inherent in the system, but to the Turkish method of carrying it out. The authority of the *vâli* was weakened by the fact that many other officials were appointed directly from Constantinople; he had consequently very little influence over subordinates who were often nominated without reference to, or directly against his wishes. Further, a whole army of spies pervaded the country and sent in direct reports to the government. And, lastly, the local bodies were useless; officially they had no powers; practically, they were in many cases deeply interested in local politics, and used their influence with the governor to further the wishes of a particular faction or in the interests of their own business.

The provincial *gendarmérie*, called *zaptiah*, was half infantry, half cavalry in character. The organisation was military and was in the hands of a special branch of the War Office; the officers were partly regular soldiers and partly civilians. The *gendarmes* were dispersed in small groups, on such miscellaneous duties as the collecting of taxes, hunting criminals, escorting visitors across the country, or garrisoning outlying posts. The men were sturdy and often courageous, but they were too scattered to form a strong body and were almost always incapable of dealing with the lawlessness that prevailed in Kurdistan. And the fact that their pay was generally in arrears formed a strong temptation to accept bribes in return for the escape of criminals and other nefarious practices. In the towns also the civil police were normally too weak to exercise any effective control over the population.

* Kurdistan was annexed to the Ottoman Empire by the Sultan Selim I. (A.D. 1512-1520).

Northern Kurdistan embraces the *vilayât* of Mamurat-ul-Aziz¹, Diarbekr², Erzerum³, Van⁴, and Bitlis⁵. Southern Kurdistan covers the *vilayah* of Mosul⁶ entirely and that of Baghdad partly; the rest of Southern Kurdistan lies over the Persian frontier.

§ 2.—Northern Kurdistan.

The whole of Northern Kurdistan is mountainous; range joins range in an unbroken chain of hills, and the country is intersected by ravines and gorges, in many of which the streams dry up in the summer. The western end of this country is watered by the upper reaches of the Euphrates, which descends from the hills far in the north and flows past Erzerum and the lofty range of the Merdjan Dag, the Munzur Dag and the Aghnam Dag, with which it forms a natural defence on the north; then, turning southwards, it sweeps round the Bereta Dag, and passes between Malatia and Kharput, till it rounds the Ziaret Dag and, taking once again a westerly course, it embraces the hills of Urfah in one bold curve and then descends into the lowland by Birijik. Thus is Kurdistan bounded on the west. On the north-east are the hills which link Erzerum to Lake Van, of which the highest peak, the Bingeul Dag, towers 3,200 metres above the sea-level. Then Lake Van itself on the east, and below the lake a narrow and almost impassable gorge from Bitlis, joining the Valley of the Tigris at Balak, enclose the country on its eastern side, and from Balak to Jezirat-ibn-Omar the Tigris itself becomes the frontier. This country is divided roughly into two equal halves by the upper reaches of the Tigris, which rises in the neighbourhood of Kharput and flows in a south-easterly direction through Diarbekr to Balak, where it turns southwards.

The upper part of Northern Kurdistan is little known; into some districts even so distinguished a traveller as Sir Mark Sykes has been forced to confess that he was unable to penetrate; the natives are wild and ignorant and unwilling to give information about themselves to foreigners. Much of his account was gleaned from the tales of Kurds of other tribes who had visited the country for trade. It is exceedingly hilly, the more so the further the traveller journeys northwards. Above the Murad Su, which waters the central valleys, the mountains stand rarely less than 1,500 metres above the sea, and the range which, with the Euphrates, forms a sort of natural frontier on the north, varies from 2,000 to 3,000 metres in height. Kharput, Mush, and Bitlis are the only towns of importance in the whole country. Mush is a town of some 14,000 inhabitants, consisting of Armenians and Kurds. It is situated in an amphitheatre of high hills facing the north, on a spur jutting out from

¹ Sanâjîq: Malatia, Kharput, and Dersim; that of Urfah is independent.
² Sanâjîq: Severe, Mardin, Diarbekr, and Arghana. ³ Sanâjîq: Erzingan, Erzerum, and Bayazid. ⁴ Sanâjîq: Van and Mekkiari. ⁵ Sanâjîq: Guenj, Mush, Bitlis, and Sairt. ⁶ Sanâjîq: Mosul, Chehrisor, and Sulaimaniyah.

the high, rounded mountain of Kurtik Dagħ. Two mountain-streams enter the town, one from the south-east and the other from the south-west; the adjoining slopes are covered with vineyards. The climate is healthy, but cold in winter, when there is sometimes a heavy fall of snow. To the south are some well-wooded districts and fuel is plentiful. Bitlis lies in the valley of the Bitlis Su, about 15 miles from the south-west corner of Lake Van; it is situated in a deep valley running from north to south, being built mostly on the hillside. On the east side of the city is a bare, steep, and rocky hill, about 1,000 feet in height; in the middle of the town, on the right bank of the Bitlis Su, stands a ruined castle; along the west side of the castle flows the River Khosrov; to the north is a flat-topped spur, on which the Government buildings are built. Half-a-dozen bridges of masonry span the Bitlis Su. The climate is rather hot in summer, for the town faces the south; in winter snow accumulates to a great depth; on the whole, it is a healthy placé, though rheumatism is said to be common. There are chalybeate and sulphur-springs in the neighbourhood. Water is abundant, the best being conveyed in pipes of earthenware from a stream in the Avehk Valley; small springs also are numerous. The main exports are grain, fleeces, wools, hides, skins, furs, gall-nuts, and gum-tragacanth. Coarse red cloth is manufactured in the town; in the district of Sassun, to the west, are iron-mines, worked by natives in a primitive fashion. Before the war about one-third of the population were Armenians, and there was a small Jacobite community, but deportations and massacres have reduced the numbers of the Armenians. The rest are Mahommedan Kurds, who have a tendency to become fanatical.

Of that corner of Kurdistan which lies to the north and north-east of Lake Van little can be said. The country is exceedingly wild and rocky, a mass of bleak mountains intersected by a few streams like the Murad Su; its inhabitants are scattered fragments of other tribes, very backward and very ignorant.

It is the lower half of Northern Kurdistan which at present constitutes one of the most densely populated regions of the whole country; it is the home also of the most famous and influential of the Kurdish tribes. Its inhabitants are more settled and less inclined to nomadic life than those of Southern Kurdistan, more intelligent and industrious than those who live in the *vilayát* of Erzerum and Van. The country is hilly rather than mountainous; the hills indeed rarely rise to a height of 900 metres, except in the centre, where the highest peak of the Qarajah Dagħ, between Severek and Diarbekr, stands 1,850 metres above the sea level, and between Mardin and Midiat, where they reach in places a height of 1,200 metres. The country is, in fact, a series of mountain-slopes running down on the north side into the valleys between Diarbekr and the hills around Kharput and Mush, and on the south to the low-lying plains of Upper Mesopotamia.

This country roughly covers the area of the *vilayah* of Diarbekr; its

chief towns are Birijik, Urfah, Diarbekr, Veranshehr, Mardin, and Midiat ; Diarbekr and Mardin are the capitals of *sandjîq*, while Urfah is the capital of an independent *sanjaq*.

Birijik, which is the seat of a *qaimmaqâm*, is built on the left bank of the Tigris, and contains some 4,000 houses, mostly occupied by Turks ; about 500 of them belong to Kurds and 300 to Armenians, many of whom have died as a result of the treatment meted out to them during the war. The inhabitants live mainly by farming ; wheat, butter, barley, wool, and sheep are produced and sold in the markets of Aleppo. Beet-roots and vegetables are plentiful, and fish is easily obtained. Water is brought from the Karis, a stream which flows through the town into the Euphrates ; there are also several wells, which give good drinking-water. The town is built on a slope, with the Armenian quarter at the top, which is consequently the healthiest part ; but the whole town is not unhealthy ; mosquitoes are troublesome, but malaria is rare. Though the temperature is rather hot in July and August, the climate is not severe, and is considerably milder than that of Aleppo. The Euphrates is crossed in native ferry-boats. There is an unmetalled road to Nizib and Aintab ; the soil is generally of red clay, which is liable to form thick layers of mud in wet weather ; there are two steep ascents, one towards Tortun Mahmud, and the other over the Charil Dagħ, which can always be traversed by native carts except for about one day after very heavy rain ; it is impassible, on the contrary, to heavy-wheeled traffic under such circumstances. Water can be obtained in all the villages along the road ; at Nizib there is also a *khân*.

Urfah is the capital of an independent *sanjaq* ; its population consists of Arabs and Kurds, who use Turkish as a common language. Of the Kurds there are about 200 families, who were sprung originally from the Barazi tribe, but who now regard themselves as Turks. The town stands at the north-west corner of an extension of the plain of Harran, which is surrounded on the west by the Nimrud Dagħ, on the north by the outlying slopes of the Qarajah Dagħ, and on the east by the Tektek Dagħ. The town is built on two rocky hills, between which runs a ravine containing a small stream. In the old town there are some ruinous fortifications ; the new quarter lies on the north side of the town. Besides the narrow stream mentioned above, there are several good springs in the town, and many in the plain below ; in this plain are grown wheat, barley, millet, lentils, maize, peas, sesame, oats, rice, hemp, cotton ; apples, grapes, olives, melons, apricots, pears, pomegranates and figs also abound. Between Urfah and Seruj the road is metalled for the first 12 miles ; afterwards, though the soil is red clay and readily formed into mud in wet weather, the road remains fair and is passable in winter to native traffic, in spite of one or two rather steep climbs ; from Seruj to Birijik it is fairly level, but often very muddy.

Veranshehr, the capital of the Milli Kurds, is situated on the southern slopes of the Qarajah Dagħ, about half-way between Urfah and Mardin.

Its prosperity was much increased during the last century by the late Ibrahim Pasha, the paramount chief of the Milli, who made it the centre of his power. Cultivation was improved in the plain and the extent of country under tillage was enlarged, and many new villages sprang up ; but after the death of Ibrahim Pasha in 1908, the Turks and Arabs plundered the town and massacred many of the inhabitants.

Mardin also is the capital of a *sanjaq* ; it is built on the high slopes of a mountain, 830 metres above the sea level, overlook the plain of Mesopotamia. The only entrance to the town, owing to its rocky position, is from the south ; the citadel, which is a large building of solid stone, runs all along the northern side. The population is now about 40,000, of whom nearly 12,000* are Christians ; the bishops of the Syrian Catholics, the Chaldeans and the old Syrians have their seats in the town. Arabic is universally spoken and the majority also know Turkish, while about one third of the inhabitants understand Kurdish also. In the town and its immediate outskirts there are three Kurdish tribes : the Mishki, who inhabit the Hârat-el-Mishkiyah or Mishki Quarter, in the western part of the town ; the Dashi who live in the Bab-es-Sur, in the east ; and the Medlikani, who occupy the Taht-el Qal'ah in the north. The larger part of the inhabitants possess rifles or revolvers, for the roads outside the town have been for many years unsafe owing to the presence of Kurdish bandits. Wheat, barley, maize, and lentils are grown ; butter is a leading product, and almond groves are numerous. Large quantities of wool are woven, and red slippers, which are made in the town, are to be seen in almost every street. There is also some wood-felling in the Ordek Dagh, Balyk Dagh, and Tell Karakol, near the city. The main supply of water is obtained from cisterns, in which rain is collected in every house ; there is also a large cistern in the citadel. There is a small perennial spring, known as the 'Ain-el-Madrasah, inside the town, and two others called 'Ain-el-Joseh and the 'Ain-el-Fardos, a short way outside, to the east. There is a branch-line of the Baghdad Railway here, but it does not yet pass the town. The road to Diarbekr is metalled all the way, and unmetalled roads, which can only be used in fine weather, run to Tell Ermen and Ras-el-'Ain, Tell Ermen, Veranshehr, and Urfah, and to Darin and Nisibin. The climate is severe in winter and cool in the summer ; the rainy season begins in October and ends at the end of April ; during this period, heavy rains fall, and snowstorms occur in the mountains. Malaria is uncommon ; typhoid fever has been introduced since the war.

Diarbekr is the capital of a *vilâyah*, and by far the most important city in Northern Kurdistan. It is built on a low plateau, through which the Tigris flows, and is surrounded by an ancient but still solid wall, varying in height from 18 to 27 feet, and strengthened with towers at intervals ; these towers contain large caverns, where the inhabitants can

* Another estimate puts the Christian population at 20,000 or 22,000 ; but so many disappeared during the Armenian deportations, that no accurate figures can be given at present.

take refuge in case of necessity; it is said that more than a year's wheat supply is stored in them. There are also several large reservoirs which are filled with fresh water from the Tigris by means of underground channels. There is a perennial spring outside the barracks, which stand one-and-a-quarter miles outside the north gate. The population before the war was considered to be over 50,000, but at present there are not more than 40,000 inhabitants; these include 11,000 Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Syrians; the remainder are Turco-Kurds. The Christians here, as elsewhere, have a monopoly of the industries, whereas the Mahomedans are farmers, small shopkeepers, and government officials. There is an Armenian silk factory and some soap factories. The soil, as well as many of the neighbouring villages, is owned by the local magnates, who employ on the farms Kurdish and Armenian peasants. The latter receive utensils and animals for ploughing and keep half the produce as wages; consequently the inequality of wealth between the rich and the poor is very marked. Diarbekr is famous for its wheat, rice, and sheep, which are especially numerous on the slopes of the Qarajah Dagh; its butter is also well-known. Lentils, raisins, sesame, rice, cotton, pomegranates, melons, grapes, apples, apricots, figs, almonds, and olives are also grown in the neighbourhood of the town; in the hills gall-nuts abound, which the Kurds gather and sell to dealers at Mosul, Rowanduz, and elsewhere, for export to Bombay and London; they are of three kinds, blue, green, and white, of which the blue variety is most in request. The climate is rather warm, mosquitoes are rampant, and the severity of the malaria in this district has given it a bad reputation. The winter is not as severe as might be expected, although snow falls yearly. The road between Diarbekr and Mardin is metalled and in good repair; the road to Arghana Ma'den has recently been repaired, having been badly damaged by German motor-lorries during the war; the road through Severek to Urfali, though unmetalled, is fairly good, and can be used by heavy traffic; the road to Tell Ermen and Arada is moderately good, though liable to become very muddy in wet weather.

Midiat is a small but prosperous town, standing high up on the southern slope of the Tur-el-'Abdin; it is, however, dependent for its prosperity on a precarious water-supply, which is obtained entirely from rain-water stored in cisterns. Sometimes, it is said, it is bought and sold in summer, and in 1901 the supply failed entirely. The crops are barley, wheat, millet, rice, and grapes in plenty. Usually the supplies are only enough for local consumption, and in bad years food has to be bought from other places. The inhabitants are chiefly Jacobite Christians; there are also some Moslems.

Nisibin stands on the west bank of the River Jaghjagha, which is crossed by an old, but strong, bridge of stone, in the plain below the Tur-el-'Abdin. Whereas, therefore, it belongs geographically to Southern Kurdistan, its political connection with the Kurds of the Tur-el-'Abdin, demands its inclusion in Northern Kurdistan. The town itself is small.

About 6,500 Kurdish families live round it; they have been debased and spoilt by contact with the surrounding Arabs, and retain few national characteristics; they affect Arab dress and Arab customs; and their correspondence is conducted in Arabic. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the centre for the Tayy Arabs and the Dakshuri, Tamiki, and other Kurds; their chiefs are noted for the protection which they have always extended in times of persecution to the Christians, who possess seven villages in the surrounding country, mostly to the north of the town. The Tayy Arabs, who number about 3,000 families, occupy 35 villages, chiefly to the south-west; all these Arabs owe allegiance to one sheikh only, and are more than a match for the Kurds.

Other places of moderate importance in Northern Kurdistan are Samsat on the Euphrates, Severek between Urfah and Diarbekr, and Derek between Urfah and Mardin, Ras-el-'Ain down in the plain, Challek at the bend of the Tigris above Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, and Sairt on the Bohtan Su. None of these places, however, deserve special mention, being for the most part only local centres for trade. The great drawback to all commerce in the country is the lack of railways; the sole main line is the Baghdad Railway, which only reaches Nimatli, 10 kilometres east of Nisibin; a branch-line runs up from near Ras-el-'Ain to Mardin, but it goes no further; other sectors of the line, though commenced, remain unfinished. Mardin is connected by a line of narrow gauge with Izzet Pasha and Ba' Dima, a village containing 30 Kurdish huts, and situated on a high, well-wooded mountain to the west-south-west of Mardin; other incomplete *décauilles* exist. These were all built by the German engineers during the war, whose intention it doubtless was to extend the system. Thus Kurdistan is linked up with Asia Minor by one main line only, whereas with Mesopotamia and Southern Kurdistan on the other side it is unconnected; internally, also, the country has hardly been opened up at all. With these limits, therefore, commercial enterprise is necessarily very restricted.

§ 3.—*Southern Kurdistan.*

Southern Kurdistan is that part of the country which runs roughly from Lake Van along the east bank of the Tigris on the one side, and the Persian hills on the other side, from Lake Urmiyah down to Mendali and the Pusht-i-Kuh. Below Lake Urmiyah the main ridge changes to sandstone and broadens out into "a wide highland swell, the rolling home of the Persian Kurds, rich in flocks and grain" (Hogarth), in which the Lesser Zab and the Diyala Shirwan rise. This country, which is the original home of the Kurds* has yielded the first place in importance now to

* The modern Kurds are probably descendants of the Cordueni, who are described by Pliny and Strabo as being a warlike, marauding people, practically independent of any control; these latter are generally identified by commentators with the Carduchi, who hampered the march of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon through the mountains which lay to the south of Armenia and to the east of the Tigris (Xen. Anab. iii. 5, iv. 1, v. 5, and vii. 8).

Northern Kurdistan, whose people are more vigorous and politically more advanced. It is inhabited very largely only by nomad or semi-nomad tribes; this is especially the case in the south. Nomad habits constitute as effective a hindrance to agriculture and the development of the country here as in the regions of Northern Kurdistan which lie to the north of the *vilayah* of Diarbekr, or between Lake Van and Lake Urmiah; while the more mountainous nature of the country renders it more suitable for cattle-rearing, sheep-breeding and similar occupations. The raids also and depredations incidental to nomad life make it necessary for the tribes to invest their wealth as far as possible in stock which can be easily moved; nor does the inefficient Turkish administration tend to check brigandage, or to predispose the tribesmen in favour of a settled life. The lack of communications, which are far more imperfect here than in Northern Kurdistan, also hampers trade; for almost the only channel by which goods can be conveyed to the markets for disposal is the river Tigris; for the railway which is to connect Nisibin and Mosul with Baghdad is still unfinished.

Amongst Kurdish towns in this country the following may be mentioned: Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, Zakho, Altun Köprü, Erbil, Kirkuk, Rowanduz, Suleimaniyah, and Kõi Sanjaq; of these the most important are Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, Rowanduz, and Suleimaniyah. In Mosul, the capital and market-town of the country, there is normally a considerable floating population of Kurds.

Jezirat-ibn-'Omar is built on the Tigris, about 90 miles above Mosul, on a low, gravelly island, from which it takes its name*; it is, however, only completely surrounded by water in the flood season. The surrounding streams are crossed by ferries, except that a small wooden bridge, supported on piers of masonry, spans the western branch of the river. The town is shut in by bare hills on either side; consequently, the climate in the summer is intensely hot and unhealthy. The water from the small wells in the town is much polluted, and that from the river should be filtered before use. The population is mainly Kurdish and the town is surrounded by Kurds, chiefly of the Miran tribe; these tribes pasture their flocks and herds in the country west of the town during the winter and spring; about June they assemble near the town and cross the river here on their way to the summer pastures in the mountains, from which they return in September. These Kurds rear flocks of sheep and are visited yearly by sheep-dealers from Damascus. They are ruled by 'Abdul-Kerim Pasha, whose father, Mustafa Pasha, died before the war. The town is the headquarters of a *qazá* in the Turkish administration.

Zakho lies about 30 miles east-south-east of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, and is built on a rocky island in the Khabur Su, which is a mountain-torrent above the town, but which spreads out below it over a broad bed of shingle, 400 yards wide. The island is connected with the southern bank by a bridge of stone, which is sometimes covered by the river in flood.

* Jezirah means "island" in Arabic.

The climate is reported by one authority to be good, whereas another says that it is far more dangerous than Jezirat-ibn-'Omar as regards malaria, and that the water of the Khabur is very unhealthy, in consequence of having passed through several villages higher up the stream. Wheat, barley, rice, and many kinds of fruit are grown here; there is fair grazing for sheep in the near neighbourhood. It is also reported that there are undeveloped coal-mines in the hills north of Zakho, at Marsis, at Harbol, and near Sheranis. It is the headquarters of a *qazá*. The population includes Kurds, Chaldeans, and Jews, with some Arabs.

About one and a half hours' journey to the east of Zakho are two areas of petroleum-springs, on the right bank of the Khabur. Part of this petroleum is purified by the local Kurds in a cauldron-installation near the springs, but the larger part of the supply is sent for preparation to Zakho, where there are two cauldron-installations. The residue consists of the by-products of tar, which serves for fuel to heat the cauldrons. The business is in the hands of a contractor, but it could certainly be worked more profitably by the state. The springs need cleansing and an estimate of their capacity is required. They should also be roofed over and enclosed to prevent the entrance of impurities. The Gargariyah Kurds, of whom little is known, are reported to live about midway between Zakho and Mosul, on the eastern bank of the Tigris.

Rowanduz is situated close to the Persian frontier, about 80 miles east of Mosul, on a sloping tongue of land which runs down to the ravine of the Rowanduz Chai; this stream is crossed below the town by a wooden bridge without parapets. A little less than a mile to the north an old Kurdish blockhouse commands the town. Water is plentiful; grapes are grown, and a little wine is made. Trade is chiefly carried on in gall-nuts, wool, and goats' hair. Among the inhabitants the Kurds are a preponderating element. It is the seat of a *qaimmaqám*.

Altun Köprü, (or the "Golden Bridge"; in Arabic, El-Qantarah), stands on an island in the Lesser Zab; its western channel, which is dry most of the year round, is crossed by a bridge of three spans; the eastern one is traversed by a bridge of a single span, 60 feet wide. The population consists mostly of Turkomans, with a sprinkling of Arabs and Kurds, who are ill-disposed to the Turks. The prevailing language is Turkish. There is a small trade in wheat and barley, which are floated on rafts down the Tigris and exported; there is also some traffic in wool and timber from the hills. Drinking water is obtained from the hills.

Kirkuk is built on the main road from Baghdad to Mosul, about 187 miles north of the former city. The town lies on the left bank of the Hasa Su: the citadel stands on a large flat-topped mound, 130 feet high. Owing to the sheltered position of the place, the climate is exceedingly hot, and rather unhealthy in the summer. The inhabitants are of many races and religions, but the principal element consists of Turkomans,

Kurds and Arabs. Both Arabic and Kurdish are universally spoken, and Turkish is generally understood; the Kurdish spoken here is a variety of the Mukri dialect. Wheat and barley, a little rice, beans, melons, cucumbers, and some grapes are grown in the country-side, and large flocks of sheep are reared in the neighbouring pastures. The water-supply is scanty and is eked out from local wells; the river-bed is generally dry. The market deals principally in Arab horses. Some cotton is exported; but the chief articles of commerce are oil, which is found in the oil-springs at Baba Gurgur about five miles north-west of the town, wool, gall-nuts, wheat, barley, fruit, gum, and a little wine. Fruit-trees include the vine, lime, olive, fig, apricot, and mulberry.

Suleimaniyah is the largest Kurdish town in Southern Kurdistan, numbering 2,500 houses. It is 60 miles distant from Kirkuk, east by north. The town lies on the lower slope of the hills between two spurs; through the intervening valley an excellent supply of water flows. There are no walls or fortifications of any kind. The inhabitants are a mixture of Kurds, Arabs, and Turks, among whom the Kurds predominate. The prevalent language is Kurdish, though almost everyone understands Persian. Until 1851 the town was ruled by a family of Kurdish race, descended from a Kurdish priest named Mullah Ahmed; but in that year 'Abdullah Pasha and his brother, Ahmed Sayyid, siezed the town; a garrison was put into it, and a Turk, called Ismail Pasha, was appointed *qaimmakâm*. The principal local industry is the manufacture of fire-arms, which find a ready sale amongst the surrounding Kurdish tribes. Shoemaking and saddlery are other important crafts. There is a fair supply of cereals, vegetables and dairy-produce, which the Kurds bring in from the country to sell. The hills to the east are well-wooded; the water supply is very good and comes from some large springs near the place. The town during the last century was very prosperous, but its trade has declined recently owing to the turbulence displayed by the different political factions inside the city, and to the imposition of a 15% customs-duty. It still remains a market, however, for the sale of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and mules, which are reared by the nomad Kurds of the district.

The southernmost limit reached by the Kurds is Samarra, to which the nomad tribes have been known to extend their raids. Jaif, on the Lesser Zab, is said to be the last Kurdish village, as the traveller enters Mesopotamia from the north. In Baghdad there is a colony of about 5,500 Kurds. In Basra there is a market for the sale of gall-nuts exported from Kurdistan. Here, too, *karadi*, or Kurdish wool, is sold; it comes from sheep bred on the Kurdish hills to the north and west of Mosul; it has a long, coarse, and hairy staple, and is used chiefly for carpets and other heavy materials; this wool is also sold in the markets of Kut, Amara, Mosul, and Diarbekr. *Mohair*, a wool which is clipped from Angora sheep in the Kurdish hills, is also exported through Basra, as well as through Baghdad,

Mosul and Diarbekr. The merchants deal with the native tribes through their chieftains, called *aghawât*, who assist them to fix the price, for which they receive a commission, which is called *aghawaghi*, and occasional advances of money. In the mountains of Pusht-i-Kuh, nomad Kurdish tribes breed mules, big-boned draught-animals, which they take down for sale unbroken to Dizful and Shushtar.

§ 4.—*The Kurds.*

The Kurds were introduced in the 17th century of the Christian era to colonise the plains between the Tigris and the Euphrates; but they soon left the low-lying ground and migrated to the mountain-slopes to the north and east, in the direction of Armenia and of Persia. When Kurds and Armenians meet, the Kurds are invariably found occupying the high ground, while the Armenians cling to the valleys; and in this they are animated by the spirit which led them to quit the plain of the Euphrates, for they are essentially a virile race of mountain-dwellers. But the hill-tribes descend to the lower slopes and the plains in the winter, when the heights become uninhabitable on account of the cold both by man and beast. Both Kurds and Armenians still remain unabsorbed by the surrounding Turkish element; for there still flows in their veins a remnant of their old Iranian blood. But they are beginning to show a tendency to succumb to the influence of Sunnism, as a result of service in the Turkish army and the extension of Turkish administration in the country. The Kurds, indeed, who dwell to the south of Lake Urmiah are more Sunnite than Iranian in character; from the Zagros onwards the Kurds exhibit an inclination to become Shi'ites, though they are at heart little more than animists, as are their kinsfolk the Lurs. Be that as it may, religion sits but lightly on the Kurd, though he is generally regarded as a follower of Islam, of which he has but little knowledge, even though he himself claims to profess its creed.

There is a Kurdish element in the composition of the modern Osmanli Turk; this characteristic is most strongly marked in the Turks of old Armenia, where the type is predominantly Aryan on a Kurdish basis. The intermixture of Turk with Kurd is supposed to have occurred chiefly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. In Cilicia especially, Kurds and Turkomans have similar customs and manners, and, as they often live together and have a common tribal organisation, they are liable to be confused. They come, however, from different regions, the Turkomans from Turkestan and the Kurds from the western confines of Persia. The principal mixed tribes, according to Cuinet, are the Berbes-Ashireti, the Turkmen-Sirkintli, the Jerid-Kurd, the Karsant-Ashireti, and the Menemenji-Ashireti. Both races were nomads, addicted to brigandage, till the measures taken against them by the Ottoman Government in 1866 forced them to build villages and to adopt a more orderly manner of life; but the instinct of nomadism is still strong within them

and often drives them forth to wander; and their occupation is still principally the tending of flocks and herds on the slopes of the mountains. Very few have settled in the towns and villages in the plain; those who have done so generally live as peddlars or by smuggling tobacco. They seldom work as hired labourers, and their sole industry is the weaving of rough carpets. Their favourite haunts are the pasture-grounds in the plain and the hills east and north-east of Adana and in the *sanâjig* of Kosan and Osmanie. In character these Kurds are harsh and cruel and easily roused to fanaticism, though they are described as having strict feelings of honour; the Turkomans are said to have a kindlier disposition. The women of both races go unveiled and are allowed great freedom; but most of the hard manual labour falls on them. Many of the Kurds in Cilicia, it may be noticed, migrate to the plains in the harvest-time, many going so far as Diarbekr; they assemble in the markets of Tarsus and Adana and hire themselves out to the local farmers on weekly contracts.

The Kurds are a heterogeneous race, consisting of many groups and tribes of different character, mode of life and physical appearance. The Kurdish language, which is called Kermanji, is a *patois* of Persian, though several tribes who live in secluded districts preserve peculiar dialects; the language has never been reduced to writing; all written communications take place in Arabic, or sometimes in Turkish.

The lowest tribes are cruel, cowardly, treacherous, and stupid; but observers usually speak well of most semi-nomad and sedentary Kurds; they are described as practical, though not intellectual, and far superior to the Arabs in energy, industry, and enterprise; they are mostly hard workers, but robbers by tradition and by inclination; even so enlightened an *aghâ* as Basrawi is said to have had his sons carefully trained in the art of brigandage. The sedentary Kurds are usually good agriculturalists; many semi-nomads are weavers and smiths by trade. They treat their women (who are not veiled) kindly; they are generous and very hospitable. In battle they are courageous and much more cool 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. These qualities therefore made them useful tools to the Turkish Government; under the Sultan Abdul Hamid (1876-1909) a body of irregular cavalry, called *hamidiyeh*,* was formed largely of Kurds; and they were also enrolled in

* This irregular cavalry cannot have been of much military value. In the war of 1877-78 the Kurdish contingent never went into action, but was entirely occupied in collecting loot and plunder. In 1900 a general mobilisation was ordered for purposes of training, but the scheme had to be abandoned owing to the passive refusal of the Kurds to come out for service. The organisation aimed at winning the affections of the Kurds by allowing them extraordinary license under a semi-military guise; its officers could only be tried by court-martial, and in any conflict with the civil authorities they were supported by the Palace. They held military rank equal to that of Turkish officers, of which the only result was to raise their prestige in their own tribes.

the *cheté*, which was little more than an organised band of brigands, for use in the Balkans and elsewhere. But the darkest stain on the pages of Kurdish history is the facility with which they permitted themselves to be employed as the instruments of Turkish tyranny against the Armenians. In 1908 the Young Turks attempted to carry through a policy of levelling and centralisation, employing for this purpose the most unscrupulous methods. Ibrahim Pasha, the chief of the Milli confederacy, was murdered; and at the same time the Hamawand Kurds of Kirkuk were sternly suppressed. Yet lawlessness increased throughout Kurdistan, while many Kurdish chieftains entered into relations with Russia.

The nomad habits of the Kurds are bad for the development of the land. Not only do they not allow them to practise agriculture themselves, but they also inculcate in them a contempt for settled order; their continual depredations on their more civilised neighbours make farming so hazardous and unprofitable an undertaking that many a fertile tract of country now lies barren. And the inefficiency of the Turkish administration offers no hope of security to those who would settle permanently on the land. Though in some parts Kurds have become sedentary and work on the land, they are thoughtless for the morrow, while ignorant distrust of modern appliances is crowned by oriental indifference to progress. One of the main causes of this inveterate nomadism in the Kurds is the breeding of horses on a large scale in the highlands of Armenia; for, hardy though the horses are, they are unable to endure the rigours of winter in the mountains. So deeply ingrained is this habit that the Miran Kurds, though they have been compelled to forego their annual migration for three years during the war and to remain in the plains of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, yet intend to resume this year the migration to their summer-quarters near Lake Van.

Besides the rearing of horses, the Kurds keep sheep and goats in great numbers, but, unlike the Arabs, no camels; the reason for this is clearly that the camel is more suited to the plains than to the mountains of Kurdistan. The sedentary Kurds grow every kind of farm-produce, while those who dwell in the cities are weavers and smiths; but these Kurds also, especially those who inhabit the villages in the hills, are lawless and given to robbery; they pay taxes very irregularly or elude them entirely. Many of them are ready to revert to nomadism if opportunity offers. Since the year 1860, however, the Turkish grasp has grown firmer, when the Government undertook the subjugation of 'Iraq after the Crimean War; here the Kurds now constitute the finest class in the country, where they are found both as cultivators and as city-dwellers. They are sturdy, capable men, and many of them enlist in the army or in the police. In the plains they are generally peaceable and law-abiding. Those, on the contrary, who live in the mountains between 'Iraq and the Persian frontier, are still a menace to the inhabitants of the lowland. They spend the winter, from October to February, in villages or camps in the plains on

the east bank of the Tigris. In March the semi-nomad tribes go into tents till the harvest is over; then, in June, they migrate with their flocks and herds to the lofty pastures on the mountain-plateaux from the Argot Dagh to the Avroman Dagh, on the confines of Persia and Mesopotamia. The pure nomads leave the plains somewhat earlier, before the harvest. Similar movements take place from the plains and valleys of Mosul to the high tablelands on the mountains round Lake Van, between which and Hamadan they live in plenty. These nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes exact blackmail and plunder from the sedentary population, and in times of need they seek asylum across the Turco-Persian frontier among the Persian Kurds.

The Persian Kurds and the Lurs, who are a branch of the Kurdish race, are not true nomads; they devote considerable attention to agriculture. Grain especially is grown in abundance for export in the Kurdish valleys north of Kermanshah. The sedentary mountain Kurds of the frontier, also, are industrious agriculturalists and hardy fighters. They spend the summer in tents beside their villages or on the roofs of their houses, and in the winter they live in their houses; their villages are often fortified with a strong blockhouse for defence against their predatory neighbours.

The Kurdish tribe was formed probably by the agglomeration of several families which had long lived in the same locality or which had grouped themselves round some powerful clan for protection. The idea of a common descent, which is so powerful a factor among the Arabs, has certainly been effaced by the lapse of time and perhaps never existed. The tribal ties are very weak among the urban Kurds; they are less weak among the tribes, but they only exert their full force among those who lead a completely nomad life. Consequently, small numbers frequently break away from the larger whole in order to join other groups; for hesitation is shown by a tribe in receiving fresh additions to its numbers. The small tribes are of no importance and only act through the orders of the main body. Each tribe is controlled by an *aghâ* or chief, whose power depends ultimately on his qualifications to hold office; he also relies much on his near relations, who form a kind of advisory council, and by the loss of whose support he is rendered powerless. The authority of a chief is also often paralysed by an obstinate minority, who can only be coerced at the expense of a blood-feud, which is to be avoided at all costs, for the inevitable result is the weakening or virtual extinction of the whole tribe. A religious significance is attached to some chiefs, who, in consequence, usually hold a wider sway beyond the limits of their own tribe. The Moslem Kurdish chiefs of Neri and Suleimaniyah, for instance, are invested with a religious authority which confers on its holders a wide secular power. As a rule, the *aghâ* must belong to one family, though office is not strictly hereditary. On the death of a chief, the head men of all the sub-sections of the tribe meet in session and elect his successor,

paying great attention to the proposed candidate's capacity to rule. If they disagree, the result often is that the tribe breaks up. It should further be noticed that the Kurds often speak of sub-tribes by the name of the *aghā* or by that of his ancestor; thus the Alai-ud-Din, a sub-tribe of the Barazi Kurds, can be called either by their tribal name of Alai-ud-Din or by the name of their chief, Mustafa Bey, or by that of his father, Shahin.

Public opinion in a tribe only sets towards preserving tradition. The only sanctions of tribal society are ancient custom and the blood-feud, and it is regarded as an honourable duty incumbent on every Kurd to carry on a feud till full vengeance is exacted. Nevertheless, before the aggrieved party has recourse to such a feud, a private dispute is referred for settlement to the chief, or to holy men, on whom both the litigants agree, or to the tribal council; but the dissatisfied litigant often brings about a feud by murdering his opponent. A quarrel may, however, be settled by the payment of blood-mouey, though this course is avoided as tantamount to a confession of weakness. It can also be suspended for an indefinite period in the face of a common danger threatening the whole tribe. There are, further, the "sure and unwritten laws of God," which make for the security of life; and the two most stringent points in the tribesman's code of honour ordain that a man who throws himself on another's protection must be defended, and that a guest who formally claims assistance must receive support. These ordinances, indeed, would tend to prove an intolerable burden, were it not for the fact that a tribesman only appeals to them in the last extremity.

Very few Kurds are at all educated, for they have not the intelligence to grasp abstract ideas; their genius is practical rather than speculative. They have never, as has been said before, reduced their language to writing. Those Kurds who have attained distinction outside Kurdistan have all been educated in schools at Constantinople, where they were trained for the Army or the Civil Service; and the number of them is very small, perhaps not amounting to a dozen in all. Among them may be mentioned five men who attained high office in the government, Sayyid 'Abd-ul-Qadir, General Sherif Pasha, Izzet and Sayyid Pasha, and Zeki Pasha; the last two held at different periods the portfolio of the Minister of the Interior in Turkey. Sayyid Abd-ul-Qadir Effendi was in exile during the reign of the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid; upon the announcement of the Constitution he was promoted to the rank of Senator, and is now President of the Council of State; General Sherif Pasha was formerly Turkish Minister in Stockholm and is now Minister for Foreign Affairs. Zeki Pasha, surnamed El-Halebi, the Aleppine, who was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, was a man of moderate views; he commanded the Uskub Army against the Serbians in the Balkan War and was driven into Albania; later, he preceded Jemal as Commander-in-chief in Syria, a post which he relinquished to become one of the Kaiser's *aides-de-camp* in Berlin.

CHAPTER II.

THE KURDISH TRIBES.

§ 1.—*The Kurds round Urfah.* *most couch westerly*

The Ketkan Kurds and the Barazi Kurds are the ~~easternmost~~ *most couch westerly* of the Kurdish tribes, and occupy the hilly region in the loop formed by the Euphrates between Birijik, Urfah, and Jerablus. It is a district of fertile slopes on the hills and narrow valleys, with an abundant supply of water. The Ketkan in this region count 1,300 houses; but there are also about 400 houses down in the plain round El-Bab, which is situated about 20 miles to the north-east of Aleppo. They can muster a force of 1,300 infantry and 200 cavalry, and possess 500 modern rifles, with a sufficient quantity of ammunition; their transport comprises 500 camels, and they have enough supplies to keep their troops for two months in the field. Their paramount chief is at present Mohammed Basrawi. The tribe is now on good terms with both the Milli and Karakechili Kurds, while their disputes with the Barazi tribe were settled in 1908, through the mediation of Ibrahim Pasha, who was at that time the paramount chief of the Milli Kurds; and in 1916 two leading chiefs of the Karakechili married daughters of his uncle, Shakir Bey. They are a race of troublesome brigands, continually at enmity with both the Turks and the Arabs; consequently, they are inclined to be friendly with the British.

The Barazi Kurds number about 7,000 families, scattered among nearly 800 villages, which lie in the district between the Euphrates, Urfah, Charmelik and Kanli Avshelir on the north, and Serrin, Khan Mahmud and Geul Tepe on the south side. The paramount chief of this tribe is at present Husein Pasha ibn Nebi Bey. The most prominent of the sub-tribes are the Aleddin², who are of Turkish origin, and who were brought to Seruj to act as guardians of the frontier by the Sultan Murad the Fourth, (1623-1640) who conquered Baghdad; they now muster 800 families, and their chief is Mustafa ibn Shahin Bey, who resides sometimes at Seruj and sometimes at Maktala; the Pijani,† who consist of 1000 families and who are virtually independent of the Barazi; their principal village is 'Osman Maghribi; the Dinazi,‡ the number of whose houses reaches 1800, and who are mostly Yezidi; the Sheikhtani, a tribe of about the same size as the Pijani; they claim to be descendants of Husein, the grandson of the prophet Mohammed, and in virtue of this claim they are regarded as a religious sect and much respected by all the Barazi; and, lastly, the

* Or Alai-ud-Din.

† Their chief is Muslim Bey ibn Hamid Musto, who resides at Nazli Mizar, to the west of Seruj; his rival, Hammo-'l-'Abdo, who unsuccessfully disputed the succession with him, now lives at Asanor, on the road from Birijik to Urfah. Another account gives the chief's name as Mustafa ibn Ghalib Bey.

‡ Or Denadi. Their chief is Hamid Ibn Suleiman, who resides at Karakuyu on the road from Seruj to Urfah. Another report names Saif-ud-Din Zada Salih Bey, resident at Aligeur, as chief. *they are reputed to number about 600 houses.*

- 1) voir errata in fine
2) voir page 107. ligne 2.

Okhian,† the Didan (under Ziz oghlu Mohammed Agha), the Sheddad† (under Khalil Agha), Asian,† Khaldan Aun, Omerat,† Kortkan and Zirwala (under Melik Zada Mustafa Agha), whose combined total does not exceed 2,500 houses, scattered over the district round Seruj; they are especially rich in sheep, camels, and wheat, and own, according to common report, 1000 horses.*

It is said that the Barazi can muster a force of 5,000 to 8,000 fighting men, with 3,000 rifles, besides a troop of 2,000 to 3,000 cavalry, with a transport train of 200 camels; they could probably maintain this force in the field for six months at least. They are credited with being favourably disposed to the British; and one of their sheikhs, Mohammed Basrawi, was charged with spreading propaganda in favour of a British protectorate and was imprisoned at Constantinople; but he was released on the intervention of the British Consul at Aleppo. They are in favour of the independence of Kurdistan, but regard the idea as unpractical; they prefer the Turks to the Arabs, in which they are followed by the Sbeikhan, but not by the El-Aun.

Two other small tribes are the Dinei, whose chief is Mohammed Agha ibn Suleiman, who lives at Boz Tepe, and the Zerwerat under Mustafa'l-Meilij who lives at Tell Khajib.§ Both live a semi-nomad existence in the neighbourhood of Seruj. Besides these Kurds, who are *fellahin*, there are in the district of Seruj about 1200 tents of nomad Kurds; in the winter they leave the neighbourhood of Seruj, which becomes swampy, and pitch their tents on drier ground further to the north; they practise robbery and brigandage on the road from Seruj to Urfah, while other Kurds infest the road from Urfah to Diarbekr. A small number of purely Turkish tribes also frequent this part of the country, to the number of about 1,000 families.

† It seems that two chiefs, Mustafa ibn Meilij and Goghoghlu Khalil, at present divide the paramount chieftaincy over these four tribes, the Okhian, Shadadan (or Sheddad), Asian, and Zerwah (or Zirwala), who are otherwise unknown.

‡ This tribe is possibly identical with the El-Aun, the word "Omerat" being perhaps a corruption of "Amirat" in Amirat-el-Aun. The chief of the El-Aun is Hajji 'Ali Masto.

* The Qaimmaqam of Seruj gave to the British Political Officer a somewhat different account of the Barazi and Ketkan tribes; he stated that the tribe of Barazi is under the rule of Mustafa ibn Shahin Bey and is divided into six sub-tribes: (i.) The Ketkan, under the Sheikh Basrawi, resident at Mazara, eight miles S. of Arab Punar; (ii.) The Pijan, under Ghalib Bey and his three sons, Mustafa, Muslim, and Dimo, who live round Seruj and, in the summer, at Tepe (Serrin); (iii.) The Alai-ud-din, under Mustafa Ibn Shahin Bey, who spends the winter at Seruj and the summer at Tepe; the most influential member of the tribe, after the chief, is Ahmed Bey; (iv.) The Sheikhkan, under the Sheikh Bozan ibn Nabu (or Nurhu ibn Bozan), who lives at Ziarat; the tribe is settled on the south of the railway at Seruj; (v.) The El-Aun, a sub-division of the Ketkan, under Hajji'l-Masto, a resident of Serrin, and a protégé of Basrawi; the tribe inhabits the low ground close to the Euphrates; (vi.) The Omerat, a sub-division of the El-Aun; their chief is Hassan Rabi, who resides at El-Masudieh.

§ Probably branches of the Dinazi and the Zirwala respectively; the names are perhaps corrupt.

Aun

The plain of Seruj is very fertile; its chief products are wheat, barley, sesame, and lentils; in 1916 potatoes also were introduced, with very good results. Several perennial streams water the plain and every village has a well. Shrubs and manure are largely used for fuel.

In the neighbourhood of Samsat live the Beski (or Baziki) Kurds; on the right bank their territory stretches on both sides of the Euphrates between Gerger and Rum Kale, with its centre at Samsat. On the northern bank of the river the line runs through Chepal, Jimik, Kunic, Gevosi, Kerrik, Karageul, Kenrknn, Kirbis, Salannul, Eskisamsur, Boyerle, Kayali, Harmantil and Zerteriz, where it touches the river again. On the other side the boundary follows the Zenjibar Chai till it reaches the road to Severek, down which it runs to Melisert; thence it passes Elhan, Shawashi, Hajji Fazli, Hamnr Kesin, Cheulmen, Khoruzum, Kurd Euyuk, Berik, Kochveran, Karaski, Kizilburj, Beyazkeui, Denizbashi, Boztepe, Bujakli, Osman, Hobob, Karamezra, Seldik and Sipsandik, where it reaches the Euphrates. There is also a small *enclave* of Beski Kurds to the west of Rum Kale; their southern limit is formed by the waters of the Merziman Chai between Tohmilk and Keroglu; on the north they extend up to Millalis. Beski

Their numbers are difficult to ascertain, but they can be put down at about 40,000 persons, with a fighting strength of 6,500 men, armed and mounted. The language spoken is almost entirely Turkish; a few people know Arabic, while Kurdish is very little used. The tribesmen are mostly agriculturalists, living a settled life, seldom moving into tents in summer, as their southern neighbours are accustomed to do. The tribal organisation is weak; for, though they are split up into tribes, their chiefs have little influence. There are, on the other hand, more *aghawat* or nobles than is usual in Kurdish tribes, petty chiefs whose powers run counter to the tribal system and tend to weaken it. The most influential family is that of the Khartawi, in which is vested the hereditary chieftainship of the whole tribe and which possesses sufficient authority to unite all the sub-tribes for common action. Unfortunately this family is torn by domestic feuds, often leading to murder; at present it is split into two factions by a quarrel between 'Abd-ur-Rahman-il-Khartawi, the acknowledged paramount chief, and his nephew, Yusuf ibn 'Abd-ul-Qadir.

'Abd-ur-Rahman-il-Khartawi is about 50 years old, strong and active; he was a rich man, but has been ruined by the Turks; in the winter of 1916 he was ordered to go into exile at Angora, but fled to Kharput; he returned when the British occupied Aleppo, to find that all his goods had been confiscated by the Ottoman government and that his house had been destroyed. He is in consequence bitterly opposed to the Turks; perhaps as a result of this he has taken the side of the Armenians, a number of whom he protected during the massacres. Another cause of complaint against the Turks is the closing down of all the schools, for, though

himself quite illiterate, he has a great belief in education and is very eager that his sons should have the benefit of it.

In regard to the question of Kurdish independence, the principle is regarded with favour by the leading men of the tribe, but no particular scheme seems to have been thought out. The family of Bedr Khan* is accepted without hesitation as the rightful ruling family of Kurdistan. In a conversation with Captain C. L. Woolley, 'Abd-ur-Rahman asserted that Mahmud, chief of the Milli Kurds, would not receive sufficient general support; he said that apart from the family of Bedr Khan, the Kurdish chiefs are "too like the teeth of a horse, all on a dead level; one or the other may have the advantage in point of wealth or fighting power, but not in name nor in historical antecedents." He regarded the supervision of a foreign power, either England or America for preference, as necessary to the development of the country, politically and economically, and he recognised that the Armenians must receive a just share in the government.

Dukurlu

The Dukurlu are a tribe living on both banks of the river Jullab, about 20 miles to the north-east of Urfah. They are tillers of the soil and dwell in villages, of which there are about forty; their families number roughly 800, and they are said to possess 400 rifles and to be able to put into the field 150 mounted men. Their paramount chief is Bekir Bey, who resides in Urfah; in the past he was an active member of the Committee of Union and Progress. The only secondary chiefs whose names need be mentioned are Mohammed Bozo Agha, 'Osman Hajji Alo Agha, and Sino 'Abdul Sinazil.

Badelli

The tribe of the Badelli† occupy about 30 small villages on the north-east of Urfah; of these the most important are Haramburji and Karajeuren; settlements of this tribe are also found in Ras-el-'Ain. The families are 400 in number, and they own about 250 rifles and a small force of 250 horsemen. Their chief, Sayyid Bey, lives in the town of Urfah; he has been in the past, like Bekir Bey, an active worker in the interests of the Committee of Union and Progress.

These two tribes are hereditary enemies, the Badelli counting on the support of the Karakechili, and the Dukurlu on that of the Milli tribes. All the tribes are willing, however, to sink their differences and take advantage of the weakness of the Turkish authorities to raid caravans and plunder the villagers. Their attitude towards the British is still uncertain; but the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress are instilling them with the idea that the British Government is the enemy of their religion and will deal with them severely.

The recent history of the struggle between the Badelli and Dukurlu is obscure. On the 22nd of April a small encounter took place between

* 'Abd-ur-Rizzaq is considered by them the most suitable candidate to the throne.

† Or Badeni, or Baderii.

the forces of these tribes; on the next day a body of gendarmes was despatched to quell the disturbance and to investigate its causes as fully as possible. The officer in charge of them endeavoured to arrange a meeting between the chiefs of both tribes with a view to bringing about an understanding between them, but he did not dare to take any measures to punish the guilty party. On the 26th of the month the Badelli received reinforcements from the Karakechili, and on the following day they attacked the Dukurlu, who were forced to beat a retreat and leave several villages in the hands of the enemy. Two days later the officer in charge of the gendarmes sent an urgent message to Urfah to ask for more police; on the 30th ten mounted gendarmes were despatched to him. On the same day the Mutesarrif of Urfah sent a telegram to Severek requesting the cavalry-commander there to send out some troops to the scene of the disturbances. In the evening the officer commanding the gendarmes arrived at Urfah in person and reported that he was ill and unable to suppress the turbulent tribesmen. By this time the Badelli had obtained further help from the Sheikhan tribe and had captured the small town of Dibhassar. On the 1st of May the Badelli occupied the hills on the west of the river Julláb, while the Dukurlu lay encamped on the opposite bank. Thereupon the Mutesarrif elected nine of the notables of Urfah as delegates and sent them next day to arrange peace between the tribes. The Dukurlu then had about 500 troops in the field and the Badelli about 800 men; the casualties, it was said, amounted to 70 killed on both sides. Three days later the mounted gendarmes and the delegation arrived back in Urfah and reported that the dispute had been settled, and a truce of one month's duration signed, when a definite treaty of peace would be concluded. The most effective argument employed by the emissaries was the fear of British intervention. Both the parties, however, continued to threaten vengeance and an early renewal of hostilities was thought probable, especially as Sayyid Bey, the chief of the Badelli, had not surrendered all the plunder that he had taken.

The Karakechili* tribes, unlike the Milli, are all of Kurdish origin; they are fewer in number, but braver than the Milli, with whom they have been on terms of enmity for at least thirty years, the fighting between these two tribes being more or less continuous. One of the

Karagetch

* Or Karagetch.

† Another view is that these Kurds were originally a nomad Turkoman clan of Western Anatolia, who were settled by Sultan Selim on the slopes of the Qarajah Dagh. The object of this transfer was to compensate Kurdistan for the loss of Ziriki, Tirikan, and other tribes, which the Ottoman Government had forcibly settled in Western Anatolia. The Karakechili, however, quickly inter-married with the local, non-tribal Kurds of low origin, and, being illiterate, they soon lost their language and became, to all intents and purposes, a Kurdish tribe. Further, owing to the fact that for some years after their re-settlement they were protected and favoured by the Ottoman Government, many families of nomadic Kurds joined their encampments, and not only swelled their numbers, but also completed their transformation from a Turkoman into a Kurdish tribe.—(Sykes).

main causes of this enmity is the endeavour of Mahmud, paramount chief of the Milli, to exercise authority over the Karakechili, who resent bitterly his attitude. They are both herdsmen and cultivators of the land and live on the south-west slopes of the Qarajah Dagh, between the mountain-range and the village of Dibhassar; to the north they do not extend beyond Severek; on one side of them are the Milli Kurds, while to the south-west, towards the town of Urfah, are the two tribes of the Badelli and Dukurlu Kurds; and to the south the Jaish Arabs occupy the Jebel Tekték. They are, in the opinion of Sir Mark Sykes, a low tribe of semi-nomads, brutal, savage, and indescribably filthy. They have a bad name in every respect and, living along the high road, they earn an evil reputation for Kurds from many travellers. Curiously enough, many of the Karakechili speak Zaza, but between Diarbekr and the Tur-el-Abdin there is also a large number of nameless, non-tribal Kurds, who apparently are outcasts from their own clans; most of these Kurds seem to attach themselves to the Karakechili.

The five principal tribes are shown in the following table, together with a few further details.

Tribe.	Sheikh.	Families.	Mounted men.	Rifles.
1. Balikan ...	Eyo Hajji Velo Agha	... 300	150	200
2. Jerabanle ...	Husein Dervish Agha	... 500	250	400
3. Rezan ...	'Ali Hadid Agha	... 150	50	100
4. Sheikhan ...	Seyde Meo	... 500	250	400
5. Sheikhan ...	Al-Sheikho ibn Sheikh Bub	200	150	200

The paramount chief of the Karakechili is 'Abd-ul-Qadir ibn Derae; at the end of 1918 he was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities for attacking a neighbouring tribe and for coming to blows with the gendarmes, but was released in the following March. His two cousins, Mustafa Bey and 'Obeidullah, though men of considerable influence, are not invested with authority over any special tribes. 'Abd-ul-Qadir is surrounded by a bodyguard of troops, called the Annan, representing all the tribes. During the Balkan War this tribe contributed 250 mounted men to the Turkish Army.

The Karakechili show a tendency to take the side of the Badelli, in their quarrel with the Dukurlu, with whom the Jaish Arabs are allied. 'Abd-ul-Qadir on the contrary is credited with a desire to join the Milli confederacy; but the leading men are opposed to this course, some of whom are reputed to be conspiring to replace him by his cousin Mustafa Bey.

Derae, the father of 'Abd-ul-Qadir, was an unyielding opponent of Ibrahim Pasha, the late paramount chief of the Milli; when the former died in 1910, there arose a dispute about the succession, the chieftaincy being claimed both by his son 'Abd-ul-Qadir, and by Mustafa Bey, the son of his brother Kbalil Bey. Though 'Abd-ul-Qadir obtained for himself the supreme authority, his friendship with the Milli undermined his position;

the bitterness of feeling against him was further increased by the universal resentment felt at the claim made by the Milli to exercise authority over the Karakechili. He did not shrink from using his influence as spiritual chief of the tribe for political purposes; he made annual tours for many years among the Kurds in the *vilâyah* of Mosul, ostensibly for religious purposes, in reality to disseminate his political doctrines. He was strongly opposed to the British, in which he gave offence to Mustafa Bey and his brother Obeidullah. Endeavours even were made to arrange a meeting between Mustafa Bey and the British authorities, but in vain. Reports, however, which came in about this tribe in the middle of May, announced that 'Abd-ul-Qadir was gaining ground, whereas Mustafa Bey was supposed to have retired to Severin; simultaneously, disturbances among the Kurds began to occur in that town, and in the surrounding country.

There are also some small tribes in the vicinity of Urfah; they are of little importance. The following list gives details about some of them, including the name of the *aghâ* and their locality:—

Tribe.	Chief.	Locality.
Bujak (a sub-tribe of the Zaza) ...	'Amr Jeudi Pasha	{ N. of Urfah, from Keupri Dagh to the Jullab.
Nimrudi ...	Ibrahim Khalil ...	{ S. of Urfah, on the Nimrud Dagh.
Dugalieh ...	Bekir Bey ibn 'Ali	{ Between Choban Boghaz and the Jaish Arabs.
Sinamilt† ...	—	{ N.E. of Dugalieh.
Kuran ...	Musa Agha ...	{ Scattered tribe round village of Nebi Ayyub, about 20 miles N. of Veranshehr.

On the north of Severek are two tribes; the Karawar, whose chief, Mahmud Effendi, lives in Severek and who are much intermixed with the Dumbeli, and the Dumbeli, whose chief, 'Amr Jeudi Pasha, lives at Severek; he is well educated and intelligent and one of the most influential men in the town; the tribe, which numbers more than 5,000 families, is scattered over a considerable area along the north side of the road from Severek to Diarbekr. Both the Karawar and the Dumbeli are sub-divisions of the Zaza. On the north of Ras-el-'Ain are three more insignificant tribes, the Jubur, Kikan and Khalejan, all of whom are sub-tribes of the Zilieh; the Jubur, whose chief is Muslat, are nomads who speak Arabic; the Kikan (Chichan) live round Ras-el-'Ain and stretch up towards Mardin; their chief is called Suleiman-ush-Sheikh.* Some of the Khalejan† are their neighbours. Of these tribes the Chichan, Khalejan and Jubur are hostile to the British and are reported to have undertaken to harass their lines of communication if they invade the country; they are well disposed

† Perhaps connected with the Milli Kurds.

* According to another account Sa'adum Pasha.

‡ Perhaps identical with the Khalejari.

to the Turks; the Karawar and the Zaza, on the contrary, are friendly with the British. Lastly, mention must be made of the Alush, a group of 200 families, who have settled on the river Balikh, between 'Ain-el-Arus and Rakha; they are outcasts and refugees who live under the rule of a Kurdish chief, but whose language is Arabic.

Note.

The account of these tribes and especially of the Ketkan and Barazi Kurds written by Sir Mark Sykes differs from that given in this section. He states that they are a branch of the Berizanli, who migrated at an unknown period to the neighbourhood of Seruj. His list, in which the Keytkan (Ketkan) are reckoned as a sub-division of the Berazieh (Barazi), is as follows:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Name and number of families in above list.	Name in list of Kaimmakâm of Seruj.
1. Keytkan ...	700	Ketkan ...	Ketkan.
2. Shaykhan ...	600	Sheikhtan ...	Sheikhan.
3. Okian ...	700	Okhian ...	_____
4. Shadadan ...	700	Sheddad ...	_____
5. Alididli ...	700	Aleddin... 800	Alai-ud-Din.
6. Ma'afan ...	700	_____	_____
7. Zerwan ...	500	Zirwala ...	_____
8. Pijan ...	800	Pijan ... 1,000	Pijan.
9. Karagetchan ...	500	_____	_____
10. Dinan ...	1,000	Dinazi ... 1,800	_____
11. Mir ...	1,000	_____	_____
12. Didan ...	300	Didan ...	_____
13. _____	_____	Khaldan Aun	El-Aun.
14. _____	_____	Omerat ...	Omerat.
15. _____	_____	Kortkan ...	_____
16. _____	_____	Asian ...	_____

§ 2.—*The Milli Kurds.*

The most important of the Kurdish tribes are those who inhabit the mountainous country in the middle of Northern Kurdistan, between the towns of Birijik, Severek, Diarbekr, Mardin, Veranshehr, and Urfah. These are the Milli† Kurds, who live on the slopes of the Qarajah Dagħ; the most powerful tribes among their neighbours are the Karakechili and Sheikhan Kurds, on the south-west side of the Milli Kurds, and, between

† Called by the chief, Mahmud, in his own list, "Melane Kebir."

milli

these two tribes and Urfah, the Badelli and Dukurlu Kurds; and, lastly, the Barazi and Ketkan Kurds, near Seruj, between Birijik and Urfah. The Milli, who are the strongest and the most numerous of all the Kurdish people, play a predominant part among these tribes, although their claim to exercise a hegemony over them is vigorously disputed and is rarely successful.

The Milli, † who are both herdsmen and cultivators, spend January till April on the lower slopes of the Qarajah Dagħ; in the month of April they descend to the plains that lie round Ras-el-Ain, at the foot of the southern slopes of that range, where they feed their herds on the rich spring pasture, as far as the Jebel 'Abd-el-'Aziz; from the middle of June till September they are found trekking northwards in the direction of Diarbekr, while from October to December they move slowly back to their quarters on the Qarajah Dagħ; their easternmost limit would seem to be the village of Derek.

There are at least 28 sub-tribes, both Arabs and Kurds, in the confederation of the Milli Kurds, of whom twelve can be considered important; these are the sub-tribes of 'Adwan, Baqqarah, Bubalmah, Burguhan, Chuvan, Kezhan, Khalejan, Kumnakshan, Kuran, Seidan, Sharkian, § and Terkan. The majority of the tribes are Kurds and speak Kurdish, though a few are of Yezidi or Arab origin. In the following table, which has been taken from statistics compiled in April, 1919, the name of the *aghā*, the approximate number of families, the number of mounted men, and of rifles in their possession, as far as is known, are given.

Sub-tribe.	Sheikh.	Families.	Mount- ed men.	Rifles.	Origin.
1. 'Adwan* ...	Mahmud ibn Halu ...	400-500	400	400-500	Arabs.
2. Aresha ...	Govri Mehmed Agha ..	150	75	150	Kurds.
3. Baqqarah... Gharajuah	Husein Khalil Agha†..	300	150	300	Arabs.
orCharajuah (a sub-division of the Baq- qarah)	Khalil Agha ...	150	—	200	Arabs.

† According to local tradition, the Milli Kurds came originally from Arabia and settled in the district of Dersim; when the Sultan Selim conquered western Kurdistan, those who wished to live sedentary lives were ordered to build houses and settle down in the Dersim; the rest were bidden to go southwards, amongst whom was the family of which Mahmud is the present head.—(Sykes).

§ Or Shargien.

* The bodyguard of the paramount chief, Mahmud, and his brothers are called the 'Abrah; they are mainly recruited from the tribes of 'Adwan and Sharjian.

† Assad-ul-Bashir, according to another account.

Sub-tribe.	Sheikh.	Families.	Mount- ed men.	Rifles.	Origin.
4. Bani Khatib	Juma'a ibn Hasan Agha	150	50	100	Arabs.
5. Buhaimah ..	Khaluf Agha ...	100	50	100	Arabs.
6. Burguhan ..	'Osman Eckout Agha..	200	100	150	Kurds.
7. Chemikan ..	Boubou ibn Seydo Kulluk	200	70	150	Kurds.
8. Chiareshk ..	'Omar ibn Zelfo Agha.	500	200	300	Kurds.
9. Chuvan ...	Mohammed Sinan Agha	300	200	300	Kurds.
10. Devan ...	Mohammed-es-Sino ...	80	—	80	Kurds.
11. Dodkan ...	Mustafa Agha ...	50-70	—	50	Kurds.
12. Hadidiyin ..	Mohammed Bekir Agha	150	70	150	Arabs.
13. Isoli ...	Hamza ibn Ayyuh Agha	800	200	400	Kurds.
14. Jemaldan...	Mohammed ibn 'Abdo Agha	200	70	150	Kurds.
15. Kalejan ...	Ibrahim Agha* ...	200-300	200	250-300	Kurds.
16. Kezhan ...	Mesto ibn Gohsor Agha	150	50	100	Kurds.
17. Khidirki ...	Sinan Agha ibn Ibra- him Khalil	200	100	150	Kurds.
18. Kumnakshan	Hasan ibn-ul-Yussub ..	150	70	150	Kurds.
19. Kuran† ...	'Omar Agha ibn Hajji Hamo	400	200	300	Kurds.
20. Mahalian ...	Mulla Fendi ibn Findov	200	70	150	Kurds.
21. Mendan ...	Khalil ibn Bekir Agha	200	100	150	Kurds.
22. Naim-Khar- ban	Habib Aqub‡ Agha ...	200	100	200	Arabs.
23. Seidan ...	Hasan Agha ibn Mah- mud Agha	200	100	200	Kurds.
24. Shamattah	Hamad Yusuf Agha ...	100	50	100	Arabs.
25. Sinjare, or Sheikhan†	Senekerish Agha ...	150	50	100	Kurds.
26. Sukran or Surkan	Mahmud Agha ...	100	All moun- ted.	100	Kurds.
27. Shargien§ ..	Pishar Agha ...	300-400	400	300-400	Yezidi.
Dannadiyah (a sub-division of the Shar- gien)	Husaqin Qanjo ...	100	—	150	Yezidi.
28. Terkan ...	Hajji Sinan Agha ...	300	100	200	Kurds.

* Or 'Othman Agha, his brother, according to other authorities.

† The relation of the various tribes called Sheikhan and Kuran in this and the preceding section is obscure and needs investigation; they may each be sub-divisions respectively of the same tribe.

‡ Or Sharjian, or Sharkian.

§ Probably Ayyub or Yaqub.

It is hardly possible to give the precise locality of each trihe, as they are continually moving up and down the country; but, as far as they have any fixed abode, the following account will be found approximately correct. The Chiareskh live to the north and the Isoli to the north-east of Severek; the Bani Khatib and Buhaimah between that town and Veranshehr; the Chemikan dwell on the north-west of Veranshehr, the Dodkan, Khidirki, Kunnakshan and Sheikhan on its north side, and the Chuvan and Sukran on the north-east; on the east of the town are the Sharjian, and south-east are the Nain-Kharban; on its south side dwell the Hadidiyin, on the south-west the Shamattah, and further round towards the west the Jemaldan are found, while the 'Adwan, Baqqarah, and Devan are also settled in its vicinity. The Kalejan hold a strip of country on the south of Derek. Between the Qarajah Dag and Veranshehr the Burguhan and the Kuran have their quarters, while the Kezhan and Mendan occupy the same mountain; on the northern slopes also are the Terkan, and the Mahalian and the Seidan are encamped on the opposite side of the range. The exact locality of the Aresha and Dannadiyah is uncertain.

In the time of the late paramount chief, Ibrahim Pasha, the Turkish Government made a determined endeavour to reduce the Milli to subjection by force of arms; having failed in this, they sought to win them by gentler means, and the Sultan, 'Abd-ul-Hamid, sent handsome presents to Ibrahim Pasha, with this object in view. So successful were these efforts, that not only was Ibrahim Pasha won over, but the Milli and other members of their confederacy have continued to be animated by pro-Turkish sentiments throughout the war.

Ibrahim Pasha, in the words of Sir Mark Sykes, though his tents did not amount to more than 30, had complete jurisdiction over more than 2,000 tents; he was spoken of with great respect and reverence by the Kizilbash of Malatia, not because he was wealthy, but because he was head of the Milli; he was the only stranger who could travel through Dersim without an escort; the Shemiski also looked on him as their nominal head, and isolated villages in Anatolia and Erziugan spoke of him as their patriarchal chief. Now this was all the more peculiar since among the Kurds enumerated here there are Shi'ites, Pagans, pantheists, Zazas, and orthodox Moslems, of which religion Ibrahim himself was a follower. His influence, therefore, was neither political nor religious, and yet influence he had, for Kurds would come from miles around to ask his opinion on family-quarrels and generally took his verdict as final; nevertheless, there remained other tribes which paid no regard to his position.

At present the paramount chief of the Milli Kurds is Mahmud ibn Ibrahim Pasha, the second son of Ibrahim Pasha; his eldest son, 'Abdul Hamid Bey, died in prison at Diarbekr about seven years ago. His three brothers, Khalil, Ismail, and 'Abd-ur-Rahman, live with him but hold no authority over any particular tribe. In the time of the second Balkan War, the Milli tribe furnished the Turkish Army with a force of over

1,000 horsemen, under the command of Khalil ibn Ibrahim Pasha; this force suffered severely from the gunfire of the Bulgarians and was broken up.* When the late paramount chief died, prior to the outbreak of the European War, the political influence of the tribe passed into the hands of his sons, of whom Mahmud became paramount chief. These sons, who now reside at Veranshehr, were bribed by the Committee of Union and Progress during the war to contribute a body of 2,000 cavalry to the Turkish Caucasus Army, and another of 1,000 cavalry to supervise the deportations of Armenians from Mardin, Tell Ermin, Nisibin, and Urfah.

Mahmud Bey ibn Ibrahim Pasha, the most influential *aghâ* in Kurdistan at the present time, is a rather slight and delicate man, aged about 30 years, with a fine face and dignified manners. He has a keen sense of humour; he can neither read nor write, to his own great regret, but is intelligent and progressive; he is building in his capital, Veranshehr, a house for himself, public baths, a *café*-club, a large *khân*, and a mosque; he has planted extensive gardens and is now working out a scheme of irrigation for the country. He is eager to build schools and to introduce teachers. He has built a number of villages round the capital and settled them with farmers in order to develop the land. He is of a religious disposition, but not narrow or fanatical; his father brought in Roman Catholics to Veranshehr and built for them a church, which the Turks afterwards destroyed. He seems to be genuinely a lover of peace, but withal ambitious and desirous to be looked upon as a public benefactor. He is, however, to be described as *laudator temporis acti*, for he prefers patriarchal customs in private life and is a martinet for tribal traditions. He is now bitterly opposed to the Turks and is disposed to be friendly to the British, so far as such an attitude is consistent with the nationalist aspirations of his people.

The picture of Mahmud drawn by Major Noel does not entirely harmonise with that given above. He writes:--

"The impression that I have gained here is a disappointing one. When Sir Mark Sykes visited Ibrahim Pasha in 1906, he speaks of his wonderfully accurate knowledge of the affairs of Europe, of the consistent and liberal policy he had adopted, of how, during his five days' sojourn, affairs were continually being carried on in the great tent. Horsemen

* That their attitude towards the Ottoman Government was at the least uncertain, is illustrated by the story that the Milli Kurds allied themselves with the Karakechili, Ketkan, and Barazi in 1913, with the intention of declaring their independence, if Constantinople should fall into the hands of the Bulgarians. The plan was frustrated by the failure of the Bulgarians to seize the capital; but a false report of its fall brought out 'Abd-ul-Qadir ibn Derae, chief of the Karakechili, with his followers; having plundered Birijik, he crossed the Euphrates but was forced to retire, as he received no support from his allies. Having to explain these events to the authorities at Aleppo, he declared that he was leading volunteers to the assistance of Turkey. The Government took him at his word and sent him, together with his force, to assist in holding the Bulair lines. They were found to be useless in the lines and were sent back home, where they arrived laden with booty from Thrace.

with messages, letters and despatches were continually coming and going on all kinds of business which the Pasha transacted with extraordinary celerity, never seeming to have to pause to think and always appearing certain of his mind.

“The picture which now presents itself, even making due allowance for the effects of the war, is lifeless and listless. The Pasha's son has surrounded himself with a swarm of Arab retainers, and one might easily think oneself to be in any ordinary Bedouin encampment. One scarcely hears a word of Kurdish, and instead of the open, frank and blunt atmosphere of the Kurd, one sees nothing but dirty, swarthy Arabs with greasy black curls coiling over their necks, dressed in a motley collection of yellow silk and soiled white nightgowns. They seem to have nothing to do all day but sit round a fire of camel-dung.

“Mahmud Bey himself struck me as being of an unformed character without any strong or distinctive traits. For all this he is a factor of considerable importance, as he has inherited a good deal of his father's influence, if not his masterful qualities. Living in the surroundings described, he is becoming more and more Arabicised; nevertheless he has no pro-Sherifian leanings, and, in fact, he professes considerable apprehension of Arab encroachment on his domain.

“Recent movements of the ‘Anazah Arabs which, in the opinion of Mahmud Bey, were directed more against the Milli than the Shammar Arabs, have resulted in a *rapprochement* between the Milli Kurds and the Shammar and Tayy Arabs. Mahmud Bey thinks that the British were the instigators of the ‘Anazah, saying they could not have crossed the river at Deir-ez-Zor without our compliance.

“The Turks have been making great efforts to influence Mahmud Bey in their favour, but without much tangible result, except that the propaganda of the Kurdish nationalists at Diarbekr has not had the success which they expected. He has been approached by the agents of the Sherif, and quite lately he was visited by Captain Woolley from Aleppo. He also let drop the fact that he is in communication with Sheikh ‘Abd-ul-Qadir at Constantinople. It will thus be seen that Mahmud Bey is in a position of being courted from all sides by Turk, Arab, Kurd and British. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise if he obtains a somewhat distorted view of his own importance. The impression left on me was that of a man who did not know his own mind, but who had certain proclivities towards a British form of administration, although seasoned with a deal of misgiving. On the other hand I think it very probable that Kurdish, Arab and Turkish emissaries have all formed a similar estimate of Mahmud Bey's attitude towards their respective interests.

“One thing that must be put to Mahmud Bey's credit is that he gave an asylum to Armenians during the massacres in 1915. In this he was following the tradition of his family, which has always been noted for its

tolerance. In fact, the word "Milli" denotes a collection of creeds,* and the Kurds in the Milli confederation include Shi'ites, Pagans, Pantheists, Zazas and Orthodox Moslems."

His brother Khalil is like his elder brother in face, but more gay, alert, and impetuous in manner. He is very shrewd and intelligent, and is able both to read and to write; he has spent much time in Constantinople, and is anxious to travel further. He commanded a Kurdish contingent and saw some fighting at Bulair in 1913 and near Erzerum in 1914. Ismail is very like Khalil; he both reads and writes, but has not travelled. Another brother is Timur, who is considerably younger than the others; he cannot read or write but has visited Constantinople.

For many years the Milli tribes have been at enmity with the 'Anazah, a neighbouring Arab tribe, who are under the rule of Hachim and Mojeim Bey. This quarrel was assiduously fomented by the Turks, whose policy seems to have been based on the well-known principle of *divide et impera*. The Milli seized the opportunity offered them by the confusion consequent on the retreat of the Turkish armies to obtain more arms and ammunition, chiefly from demobilised Turkish soldiers and deserters, and to prepare for a war of extermination against their hereditary enemy before the arrival of British troops to enforce law and order. Early in February the two tribes declared war on each other; the fighting strength of the Milli is probably about 1,500 horsemen and that of the Arabs about 2,300, but neither side mobilised its full forces.

It was reported in the middle of March that Hachim had attacked the Jubur,† a friendly tribe encamped on the river Khabur, near the Jebel-el-'Aziz. Meanwhile, Mojeim Bey was in that part of the desert called Shamieh, which lies between Aleppo and Deir-*ez-Zor*, and was watching the course of events. The struggle throughout was little more than a series of small skirmishes, resulting in the death of about 100 Arabs, and 200 men from the Milli and Jubur tribes. The Milli were further said to have lost a considerable number of sheep and cattle, as well as many tents. The latest information was that hostilities were likely to be soon renewed, for the sons of Ibrahim Pasha were calling on the Kurds of Mardin and Diarbekr, and even on demobilised soldiers of the 6th Turkish Army, to join them.

In April, 1919, the influence of Mahmud prevented the leading chiefs of the tribes from interfering in the struggle between the Dukurlu and Badelli tribes, from fear of the punishment which was likely to ensue, when a British contingent arrived in the neighbourhood to quell the prevalent disturbances.

On the 15th of May the British authorities received information from

* This is etymologically impossible, if Mahmud is correct in calling his people the "Melane Kebire" (see page 26), which confirms the alternative form of the name, Milan, given by some authorities. The Arabic word, "Millah", creed, comes from the root "MLL," which is philologically unconnected with the root "MLN."

† Their chief was Muslat Pasha.

Veranshehr that Mahmud was gathering his forces together at that town, ostensibly as a precaution against an attack on his tribe by the followers of Ibn Hedzal, who constitute a sub-tribe of the 'Anazah Arabs and live near Deir-ez-Zor on the Euphrates; as nothing, however, was learnt of any unusual movements on the part of these Arabs, it was suspected that Mahmud masked another purpose under this excuse.

Note I.

Sir Mark Sykes gives the following list of Milan (or Milli) tribes, which differs somewhat from that given in the preceding pages:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Remarks.	Corresponding number in above list.
1. Danan ...	250	Nomads ...	(?) 10
2. Seidan ...	450	" ...	23
3. Kiran ...	550	" ...	19
4. Dudikanli ...	(?)	" ...	11
5. Khalajan ...	700	" ...	15
6. Kelish ...	(?)	" ...	—
7. Mendan ...	(?)	" ...	21
8. Kumnaresh...	350	" ...	(?) 18
9. Sherkian ...	80	" ...	28
10. El Kawat ...	(?)	" ...	—
11. Dashi ...	(?)	" ...	—
12. Meshkenli ...	(?)	" ...	—
13. Kalendelan ...	(?)	" ...	—
14. Haji Bairam ...	(?)	" ...	—
15. Hassanekan ...	260	" ...	—
16. Khalajari ...	700	" ...	—
17. Elia ...	(?)	" ...	—
18. Isiadat ...	85	" ...	—
19. Terkan ...	700	" ...	27
20. Nasrian ...	75	" ...	—
21. Tchuwan ...	210	" ...	9
22. Sartan ...	80	" ...	(?) 26
23. Usbakhan ...	70	" ...	—
24. Matnieh ...	800	" ...	—
25. Chemikan ...	250	" ...	7
26. Barguhan ...	130	" ...	6
27. Hisulieh ...	550	" ...	(?) 13
28. Chiaresh ...	(?)	" ...	8
29. Zirofkan ...	2000	Semi-nomads on Qarajah Dagh	—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Remarks.	Corresponding number in our list.
30. Daghbashi ...	(?) (Large tribe)	Semi-nomads on east of Severekek	—
31. Bujak ...	(?)	Nomads ...	—
32. Hoshan ...	(?)	" ...	—
33. Beski* ...	(?)	" ...	—
34. Haji Manli ...	500	Nomads, using only donkeys	—
35. Kassiani ...	500	Sedentary ...	—
36. Chakali ...	1000	Nomads ...	—
37. Merdis ...	1000	Sedentary (?) ...	—
38. Eutergetch ...	(?)	Nomads ...	—
39. Janbeg ...	(?)	Sedentary; part of tribe only	—
40. Beyleyan Porga ...	500	Sedentary ...	—
41. Derejan ...	800	Nomads ...	—
42. Kao ...	5000	Nomadic and sedentary	—
43. Mulikan ...	500	(?)	—
44. Derejan ...	(?)	—	—

On adding up the total of the families in this list, we find that the *minimum* is 8,370, whereas our list brings them only up to a number not less than 5,780 and not exceeding 6,100, and that after a lapse of ten years or thereabouts. Further, only 15, at the most, of the tribes in the first list appear in the second; in the latter, there are apparently 31 tribes which do not appear in our list, and in the former, 13 are found which do not figure in Sir Mark Sykes' list. Under the circumstances, it has been thought best to give both lists in full as a basis for further investigation.

Note II.

Living in and around the Milli confederacy are a number of small tribes or parts of tribes, of most of which nothing is known beyond the name. The following list is taken from Sir Mark Sykes' account:—

On the south-west side of the Karakechili are some non-tribal Zaza; these Kurds live in a state of anarchy and they seem, though not naturally cruel or vicious, to have hardly any regard for human life nor any religion. Those, however, who have served in the Turkish Army have often become devout Moslems and express shame at their previous condition. They speak the Zaza language and are very poor farmers; they apparently have no idea of tribal organisation. North-west of the Karakechili are the Chaikessen, and about twice as far away from that tribe, to the north-

* See page 21.

east, are the Givran, who are members of the Milli confederation. A short way to the north of the Chaikessen are the Barhan; above them, the Hasseran, and still further to the north the tribe of Abu Tahir. South-west of the last tribe, the Chichichieh, also called the Kiki, live on the west bank of the Tigris; their families are reckoned to be about 1,200 in number. They are semi-nomadic in their habits, in winter inhabiting villages on the slopes of the Qarajah Dagh, and in summer descending to the pastures of the Karajaghjagh and the Tigris. The chiefs look down with contempt on their tribesmen and, it is said, will not marry their women. There is a tradition among them that they came to settle in this region in the time of the 'Abhasid Caliphs. On the opposite side of the Tigris, in the angle formed by a wide sweep in the river, is found the double tribe of the Eimezan.

On the south side of the Tigris, between the river and the range of the Tur-el-'Abdin, is the tribe of the Surkishli Kurds, who number 900 families; they lead a sedentary life and speak the dialect of the Baban Kurds.

South of the Tur-el-'Abdin and half-way towards the Jebel Singar are three small tribes; the westernmost are the Dakhori, who migrated from Shernakh; in the middle are the Bunesi,* and south-west of the latter the Mirsinan.

Note III.

Since this chapter was written, an account was obtained from Mahmud himself of the tribes of the Milli confederacy over which he claimed to exercise suzerainty. As the list includes as many as 153 tribes, situated in such remote districts as the Russian Caucasus, the *vilayât* of Erzerum, Van and Bitlis, Persia and Angora, it is probable that this chieftain's claims should be taken with some reserve; at the most he can only be supposed to exercise but a very indirect influence on the outlying tribes rather than to have any real authority over them. Some of the tribes figure elsewhere in the present account of the Kurds, while others cannot be traced; many of them are perhaps very small and unimportant tribes, or even merely clans or families, with which the family of Mahmud and of Ibrahim Pasha have had relations in the past. Whether they would all acknowledge Mahmud's authority is a question which can hardly be answered.

The list is given in the form in which it was received, and the spelling of the English translation has been preserved.

* Sir Mark Sykes says that he is doubtful of the existence of this tribe; he has only heard of it from travellers, but has never seen any of its people.

Tribe.	Chief.	Location.
Zilan ...	Ali Eshref Bey ...	Revan, in Russian Caucasus.
Jelali ...		
Jemaleddeen ...	Kevk Agha ...	Kars, in Russian Caucasus.
Yesidi ...		
Chunkan ...	Lieut.-Col. Sadik Bey, son of Col. Reshid Bey	
Almanan ...		
Bavilan ...	Haji Kard and Kord Bey	Maki and Keze, in Persia.
Kaskan ...		
Arusan ...		
Jelalian ...		
Jemaleddenan ...		
Milan ...		
Haydaran ...		
Mimkan ...		
Suran ...		
Deluban ...		
Kadar ...	Ismael Bey ibn Muhamed Pasha, of the family of Ali Khan	Jihari, in Persia.
Mamash ...		
Mamkor ...		
Belyas... ..		
Eshkekt ...		
Mamdi ...		
Shikak ...		
Abdevi ...		
Korhistiban ...		
Merzikan ...		
Shemsikan ...		
Bakosnati ...		
Takouri ...		
Mukri ...		
Sarman ...	Hafez Allah Pasha and Sheikh Hamd Pasha	Bash Kale, in Van.
Melani Alendi ...		
Hakari ...	Major Osman Bey ...	Mahmudiyeh, in Van.
Mehendan ...		
Vekakash ...	Major Omer Agha ...	Hamidieh, in Van.
Mellan ...		
Artoush ...	Col. Sherif Bey ...	Bash Kale, in Van.
Merzikan ...		

Tribe.	Chief.	Location.
Shemsiki ...	Major Hussein Agha	Mabmudieb, in Van.
Mukri ...	Lt.-Col. Nejjib Bey ...	
Takouri ...	Lt.-Col. Hussein Bey	
Yesidi ...	Matib Agba	
Haydaran ...	Major Yusuf Bey ...	
Haydaran Kebir ...	Brig.-Gen. Hussein Pasha	Yarkira, in Van.
Hellaj ...	Suleyman Mami ...	Erjish, in Van.
Kevash ...	Hasan Bey ibn Teyyar Bey	
Karchikan ...	Noktallah Bey ...	Meksi, in Van.
Shuli ...	Arif Bey ...	Van.
Luvi ...	Lt.-Col. Kolikhan Bey	Barkiri, in Van.
Eymi ...	Kolikhan Haso ...	Archish, in Van.
Muskan ...	Mirza Agha Zade and Ali Pasha	Barkiri, in Van.
Shemsikan ...		
Seidkan ...		
Balikan ...		
Bilekan ...		
Ademi ...	Lieut.-Col. Muhamed Bey	Diyadiye, in Erzerum
Bilekan ...		
Jelali ...		
Jemaldini ...	Muhamed Bari ...	Kara Kilise, in Erzerum.
Avman ...		
Bashjian ...	Lieut.-Col. Agha Bey	Bashire, in Erzerum.
Kaskan ...		
Shadian ...		
Mehan Melkan ...		
Bavlan Banokan ...		
Banokan ...	Lieut. - Col. Abdul Himid Bey	Tonak, in Erzerum.
Pereyavan ...		
Sebkan ...	Major Kahriman Bey	Kenus, in Erzerum.
Karayayak ...	Capt. Haydar Effendi	
Zerkan ...	Hasan Agha ...	
Harekan ...		
Shadian ...		
Shushar ...	Muslim Agha ...	
Kombasuran ...	Capt. Mahmoud Agha	

Tribe.	Chief.	Location.		
Berazan ...	} Lt.-Col. Khalid Bey, of Hasanan	Malaskia, in Bitlis.		
Belkan ...				
Seidan...				
Sheikhan ...				
Karajan ...				
Ismedian ...				
Marsiyan ...				
Shuveshian ...				
Hasanan ...				
Memkan ...				
Belkan ...	} Col. Khalid Bey, of Jebran	Mush.		
Seidan...				
Memkan ...				
Siburkaran ...				
Jibran ...				
Seidan...	} Yusuf Seid Agha and Seidkhan Agha	Varto.		
Chikuran ...				
Kotban ...				
Mutkan ...				
<u>Bekran</u> ...				
Banukan ...				
Badkan ...				
Balakan ...				
Bekzade ...				
Shervan ...				
Hahsan ...	} Seid Reshid and Sela Heddeen	Shervan, in Bitlis.		
Shemdetban ...				
Charzan ...	} Seid Tahir ...	Bash Kale, in Van.		
Babos ...				
Reshkptan ...				
Sutkan ...	} Jata Agha Zade and Jemil Agha	Sado, in Van.		
Babakurdan ...				
Dersim ...	} Khalil Agha ...	Jezre, in Diarbekir. Suleymania.		
Shadian ...				
Chakaran ...				
Khaymana ...				
Silvan ...				
Reshvan ...				
Merdese ...				
			} Kaka Zade Sheikh and Ahmed Effendi	
			} Keki Agha ...	Erzinjan.
	} Haydar Bey ibn Shah Hussein			
	} Ali Shan Bey ...	Kaymana, in Angora.		
	} Khatib Bey ...	Diarbekir.		
	} Haji Bedir Agha ...	Malatia.		
	} Sheikh Agha ...	Adiaman.		

Tribe.	Chief.	Locality.
Bozavat ...	Bekir Agha ...	Urfa.
Bezki ...	Abdurrahman Agha ...	Suruji.
Berazi ...	Mustafa Bey ...	
Khaldan ...	Hussein Pasha ...	Urfa.
Reshuman ...	Muhamed Nouri ...	Aleppo.
Badrle ...	Said Bey ...	Urfa.
Dugeurlu ...	Bekir Bey ...	
Karakechili ...	Abdul Kadir Effendi ...	Severek.
Turkan ...	Sadun Agha ...	
Isoli ...	Zulfukar Agha ...	Malatia.
Isoli ...	Suleyman Bey ...	
Jedvan ...	Hassan Agha ...	Veranshehir.
Kezan ...	Haji Sinan Agha ...	Severek.
Mahalian ...	Muhamed Agha ...	Derek.
Metinan ...	Tayib Agha ...	
Mazi ...	Haji Nejim Agha ...	Mardin.
Kikan ...	Osman Agha ...	
Khalajan ...	Ibrahim Bey ...	Jezire.
Beitel Kudr ...	Muhamed Bey ...	
Dakkori ...	Abdulkerim Bey ...	Veranshehir.
Miran ...	Muhamed Agha ...	
Shertakh ...	Mahmond Bey ...	Lije.
Melane Kebir ...	Kamil Bey ...	Farkin.
Zerkan ...	Abdullah Bey ...	Beshira.
Sileva ...	Hasan Agha ...	
Sinkan ...	Esa Agha ...	Midiat.
Rejban ...	Emin Agha ...	
Reman ...	Tofik Agha ...	Silvan.
Delayeri ...	Ezzedoeen Agha ...	Beshiri.
Jizbeni ...	Muhamed Kulli ...	Kolih.
Sheekh Dudan ...	Family of Farko ...	
Birhisam ...	Sabri Bey ...	Beshiri.
Huvey Ban ...	Keur Suleyman ...	
Keyyan ...	Hasan Osman ...	Zok.
Alikan ...	Kemo Bey ...	
Maladibou ...	Jemil Chatto ...	Silvan.
Dodari ...	Salih Agha ...	Maden.
Betjieran ...	Mahe Zelfo ...	
Bekran ...		
Terikan ...		

§ 3.—*The Kurds on the Tur-el-'Abdin and in the plain round Nisibin.*

The Kurds of the Tur-el-'Abdin are all settled in the district between Sor (Sa'our) on the west, and Azekh on the east; on the north they reach Deraf, and on the south Nisibin, which lies low down in the plain. Thus Midiat is the natural centre of their country. Midiat and all the surrounding villages depend on rain for their water-supply; normally, this is sufficient both for the inhabitants and for the cattle; in the villages of Kefr Joz, Erdi, 'Ain Kag, Habasbaniyeh, and Kerboran, there are perennial springs, to which the people resort in times of drought; there is also at Daline a perennial spring of brackish water.

The soil, which is largely composed of red clay, is generally fertile, except in the neighbourhood of Middo and Azekh, where it is black and rocky. The country generally is hilly; the hills are formed of limestone rocks which are extensively employed in building houses. In Midiat, for example, which is the seat of a Kaimmakam, all the houses are built of stone, and are mostly of one story only; there are, however, many larger houses of two or three stories, which belong to the richer chiefs and merchants. Previous to the war there were three hundred shops in the town, but not more than ten are still open.

The summer is rather warm and mosquitoes are plentiful in the hot weather; malaria, however, is rare; and the town of Midiat is generally considered far more healthy than Nisibin. The Kurds in this region are farmers and shepherds. They grow wheat and barley for local consumption; they cultivate also rice and cotton in Challek, Kefr Joz, and Deraf, lentils round Midiat, and peas in the vicinity both of Midiat and of Azekh. The whole country is rich in figs and vines, while pomegranates and melons are grown at Midiat. Sheep and oxen are especially plentiful, donkeys are numerous, and mules also are reared. Camels, however, are almost unknown. A large quantity of native butter is sent for sale in the market at Aleppo; sheep are sold in the markets at Nisibin and Mardin; the merchants of Mush and Sairt buy raisins, honey, and molasses.

The Kurds in this part of the country are divided into many tribes, of which the following are the most important; in each case the approximate number of villages, houses and men are estimated:—

Tribe.	Chief.	Capital.*	Number of Villages.	Number of Houses.	Number of Men.
1. Sa'our ...	Nurullah Bey and Hamdullah Bey	Sa'our ...	10	1,000	1,500

* The boundaries and exact locality of each sub-tribe have not been shown on the map.

Tribe.	Chief.	Capital.	Number of villages.	Number of houses.	Number of men.
2. Rammah (Ramman)	Mohammed Agha and Emin Agha	Skapitran ...	10	500	800 or 5,000
3. Korjoz	Yusuf Agha and Ibrahim Agha	Kefr Joz ...	30	2,500	3,000
4. Baravin ...	'Osman Agha	Deraf ...	18	1,000	1,000
5. 'Arabiyeh ...	'Abdulkerim Agha	Challek ...	50	3,000	4,000
6. Rayitieh (Christians)	'Abd-ul-'Aziz Agha	Midiat ...	10	(?)	(?)
7. Ashirat Midiat	Rashid Agha	Midiat ...	8	600	800
8. Muhallamiyeh	Hasan Bey and Khalil Bey†	Kafr Howar and Derisbin	15	1,500	2,000
9. Surkij* ...	Ahmed Agha	Avinah ...	30	1,500	2,000 or 5,000
10. Beit Faro ...	Shatto Agha	Deir Hamza	30	1,000	1,000
11. Bisheiriyeh ...	Husni Agha	Beit Zerjili	15	(?)	(?)

Beside these tribes, the Kurds of Omergan, who live to the north of Mardin, are only known by name.

During the war, more than three-fourths of the Christians living in the *qazá* of Midiat were massacred by the Kurdish tribes, who acted in collusion with the Turkish Government. There now remain about 140 Christian houses at Midiat, 100 at 'Ain Warda, and 150 at Euhel; some survivors are also living in the monasteries at Hab and Deir Sulib; 500 remain in and around Azekh, under the protection of the two chiefs, Melki Agha and Hanna Elia Agha; 'Ali Batti, too, shelters some 400 Christian families in the villages of Deir Mar Melkd, Kharabi Muska, Kharabi 'Ali, Kharabi Kefra, Bahibbe, and Habab, which come under his jurisdiction.

The Haverki† Kurds live in the *qazá* of Midiat and the hills of Aznaur; they possess about 150 villages and could raise a force of about 1500‡ men. They have, in the past, caused the Turkish Government much trouble, often ignoring and occasionally defying its authority. The chief of the tribe is 'Ali Batti Agha, who resides at Muzeza; his consins Sarhan, Hajo, and Chalabi, used to exert considerable influence, but they

† Or Khaluf Bey.
‡ Or Hawerka.

* Or Surgetchi.
§ Another account estimates the tribe at 5,000 men.

have spent the greater part of the last three years in prison at Kharput. Their respective sons, Sardhan, Yusuf, and Mohammed Salih at present act for them, under the supervision of 'Ali Batti, who exercises authority over Arabs, Kurds, Yezidi, and Christians alike. The leading sub-tribes are the Habasbani, who live in the vicinity of 'Ain Kaf, under 'Izz-ud-Din Agha, the Dakshuri under Yusuf Agha and 'Ali Agha, the Chomeri* under Khalil Agha and the 'Umairyan under Suleiman at Chale. The only figures that are so far available about these tribes are an estimate, that the Habasbani own 30 villages, that they number 1,000 houses and can put 1,500 men into the field, and that the 'Umeiryau reach almost the same numbers.

The Kochakiyah, or, as they are sometimes called, the Kochekan Kurds, inhabit the hills on the north of Nisibin, in the direction of Daline. These Kurds have a fixed abode and are chiefly engaged in agriculture; they occupy roughly 30 villages, and can raise a troop of 400 soldiers, most of whom are dismounted. Their chief is Mahmud Agha ibn Ahmed Mali; he lives in a village called Bawerni, near the German Railway Construction Buildings, outside Nisibin. He protected many Armenians during the massacres, and his contempt for the Turkish authorities was shown by his disregard of the orders of 'Ali Ihsan Pasha, when summoned by him to Nisibin. It is reported that he is strongly in favour of the British and that he is anxious to fall upon the Turks at Nisibin. He is on good terms with 'Ali Batti Agha, the chief of the tribe of the Haverki.

The Shitiyah Kurds inhabit about 30 villages in the region between Qishairan, Dugir, Azuaur and Namali; this is a fertile district in the plain and is watered by several streams. The tribesmen, like their northern neighbours, the Kochakiyah, are cultivators, only leaving their villages during three months in the spring to wander in the direction of Tell Hadi, near Demi Kapu. Their families are about 300 in number and their total forces only amount to 700 unarmed men. These tribes obey no paramount chief, but each village or group of villages elects its own headman. The best known *aghawât*, if they can be so called, are El-'Abbas-ud-Dugir, Ibrahim-ul-Khalil, 'Abdi Agha Suar, and Hasan-ul-Khalil.

The 'Alian, Miran, and Kichan Kurds fall into a small group together in the hills on the west bank of the Tigris, between Jezirat-ibn-'Omar and Tell Rumailan. They are all herdsmen by profession and dwellers in tents, who, in the summer trek right up to the mountains round Lake Van. The *aghâ* of the 'Alian tribe is Bahram Agha ibn 'Omar 'Alian; the number of their tents is 200 and their fighting force consists of 200 men. The Miran§ are under the chieftaincy 'Abd-ul Kerim Pasha, the son of Naif

* Their exact locality is unknown.

§ Sir Mark Sykes says that the Miran number 1,000 families; they have an evil reputation for every kind of villany; they are, however, very friendly to Christians and Europeans but treat Moslems shamefully. They have a chronic feud with the Goyan.

Bey ibn Mustafa Pasha, who died during the war; their tents are 400 in number and the warriors of the tribe do not exceed that figure. Yusuf Agha Raspi rules the Kichan tribe, whose tents number 250, and their troops about 250 men.

There is another group of 'Alian Kurds who dwell in the hills between Dairmab and Tell Rumailan. They are tillers of the soil, who rear flocks also, which they drive down to the plains round Tell Abu for pasture in the spring. Their *aghā* is Mohammed Agha ibn Mar'an Agha. They occupy 30 villages and are supposed to have a strength of 500 rifles.

Sheep-rearing is the chief occupation of these tribes, and they do not devote much labour to cultivation. Cereals are scarce, especially wheat; but a considerable amount of rice is grown, and almost all kinds of fruit are obtainable except oranges and lemons. All the Kurds in these regions have won a reputation as experts at stealing arms; they are also good hunters.

Other small tribes in the same district are given in the following list:—

Tribe.	Chief.	Strength.	Locality.
Arshitan ...	Hasan Shamdin ...	10,000 men	Near Midiat.
Deiraberi ...	Aissa-'l-Hammo ...	5,000 men	Near Mardin.
Deirabi ...	'Osman Agha ...	5,000 men	Between Mardin, Nisibin & Jezirat- ibn-Omar.
Chelki 'Ali Rummo	'Abd-ul-Kerim ...	1,500 men	District of Midiat.
Zilieh ...	Mnsto Pasha Khoja	Very num- erous	Scattered.

Note I.

The list of Kurds living in the Tur-el-'Abdin, as given by Sir Mark Sykes, is a follows:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Remarks.
1. Mizizkah ...	390	Kurds; Moslems.
2. Saur ...	(?)	Mixed Christians and Moslems, speaking Arabic.

Tribe.	Number of families	Remarks.
8. Mahalemi ...	800	Probably mixed Arabs and Kurds; originally Christian, according to tradition: mostly Moslems now, but women unveiled; speaking debased Arabic.
4. Haruna ...	750	Sedentary Kurds; about 90 families are Jacobite Christians.
5. Del Mamikan ...	(?)	Sedentary Kurds; speaking debased Arabic.
6. Domana ...	180	Christians and Moslems.
7. Dorkan ...	120	Yezidi and Moslems.
8. Moman ...	600	Moslems, speaking Kermanji; about 90 families and 3 tribal chiefs are Christian.
9. Haverka ...	1,800	Half Christian, half Moslem, speaking Kermanji.
10. Salaban ...	(?)	(?)
11. Girgiri ...	500	Tent-dwelling agriculturalists, speaking Kermanji, but said to be of Arab origin.
12. Dasikan ...	900	Yezidi, Moslems and Christians, speaking Kermanji.
13. Alian ...	1,200	Yezidi, Moslems and Christians, speaking Kermanji.
14. Mizidagh ...	(?)	(?)

Of these only four tribes occur in our list also, namely the Saur (Sa'our), and the Mahalemi (Muhallamiyeh); the Haverka and the Alian are clearly identical with the Haverki and Alian in section 7, while the Girgiri are perhaps connected with the Gargariyah in this account.

About these tribes Sir Mark Sykes says that it is very difficult to state with any precision whether they can be classed as Kurds or not; presumably they represent scattered fragments of the old Aramaean population, mixed with the imperial colonists of Roman times, Kurds, Persians, Turks and Mongols. Some are entirely Moslem, others Jacobite Christian, others devil-worshippers, and others again comprise adherents of all three religions. Taken as a whole, they are an industrious and capable people, good stone-masons and admirable vine-growers, but withal fierce, bloodthirsty, vindictive, revengeful and treacherous.

Note II.

Major E. Noel, who made a special tour in this part of Kurdistan in the spring of 1919, gives the following list of Kurdish tribes in the *qazâ* of Sa'our:—

Tribe.	Number of villages.	Number of families.	Chief.	Remarks.
1. Omarian-ul-Fauqani	27	1,900	'Ali Agha and Ismail Agha	Reputed robbers; water in all villages, some of which are artificially irrigated; extensive vineyards.
2. Omarian-ut-Tabtani	25	1,800	Burdened with a ruling Beglar family, of which chief members are 'Osman Agha, Ahmed 'Ali, Janul, Khabl, Ghazali and Hajji Hasan.	Reputed robbers; extensive vineyards; half the villages irrigated.
3. Surgichi Cham-uz-Zhor	10	600	Hajji Ahmed Agba*	Population very much reduced by war; all villages irrigated.
4. Surgichi Cham-uz-Zhair	23	1,300		
5. Shaikhan ...	9	700		
6. Dereveri Banda Zbor	5	250	'Abd-ul-Hakim Bey	Unharmed by the war. All robbers; divided into two sections, always at feud with each other; undamaged by war; one village irrigated.

* Of Avinah; astute, but old and very rich and hospitable; a strong Kurdish nationalist who would be friendly to the British if sure that they favoured Kurdish national claims; he keeps his tribe well in order.

Tribe.	Number of villages.	Number of families.	Chief.	Remarks.
7. Dereveri Banda Zhair	5	250	Shukri & Tawfiq, sons of Esa Hamu	All robbers; one village irrigated; allies of 'Izz-ud-Din of Qasr.
8. Kohsar ...	10	800	Beglar family, of Sor	No irrigation; population slightly reduced by war.
9. Atraf Ishmahr	5	400	—	No tribal organisation; reduced by war.

The two divisions of the Omarian are really one tribe, which, in an emergency, might unite under the lead of Mohomed Jezire; they possess about 400 modern rifles with 300 rounds of ammunition a rifle, and about 1,500 rifles of an older pattern. Both sections of the Surgichi and the Shaikhan are under the same chief, Hajji Ahmed Agha, who is reported to have 1,200 modern rifles with 400 rounds of ammunition a rifle. The two Dereveri own about 150 modern rifles and 500 others of various patterns, and the Kohsar 50 modern and 200 others; the Atraf Ishmahr have very few modern weapons and about 50 of an older type.

The following list of the Kurdish villages in the *qazâ* of Midiat was also supplied by Major Noel:—

(i.) HAWAIRKI (HAVERKI) GROUP.

Village.	Number of families.	Population.	Chief.
1. Alika ...	15	600	Hutto and 'Osman-us-Salih.
2. Seyida ...	10	720	Aliai Baki Khalil Zade ibn Sayyid Ahmed.
3. Dermamuka* ...	15	500	Hasan Hama Salih.
4. Saliba ...	6	400	Ramazan ibn Ismail.
5. Mizizak† ...	12	1,000	'Ali Batti.
6. Beravi ...	12	600	'Osman and 'Abdi.
7. 'Arabia ...	50	2,400	'Abd-ul-Kerim.
8. Dumana‡ ...	12	700	Mohomed ibn Ailko and Yusuf ibn Sulaiman.
9. Qaza Alika ...	17	1,500	'Osman.

* Two Christian villages † Three villages of Yezidi. ‡ Three Christian villages.

(ii.) DAKSHURI GROUP.

Village.	Number of families.	Population.	Chief.
10. Arnas ...	5	500	Mohomed Salih.
11. Karjaus ...	11	1,200	Ibrahim Agha Bedr-ud-Din.
12. Raman ...	8	600	Mohomed-ul-Hajji Agha.
13. Hasan Kaif ...	3	800	Habib-us-Suadillah.
14. Hassar ...	15	750	Ismail.
15. Gulika ...	5	300	Salih ibn Saroka.
16. Habasbani ...	12	700	'Izz-ud-Din ibn Mohomed Salih Agha. §
17. Shamikha ...	7	600	Rashid.

(iii.) MAHALEMI GROUP.

Village.	Number of families.	Population.	Chief.
18. Mahalemi† ...	23	2,500	Khalil Bey and Hasan Bey.*

Of these tribes the two most important combinations were that under 'Ali Batti, who controlled the Alika, Seyida, Dermanuka, Saliba, and Mizizak, and that under 'Izz-ud-Din, who commanded the allegiance of the Karjaus, Raman, and Habasbani. 'Ali Batti could put into the field 2,000 men, of whom 1,000 would be armed with modern rifles of small bore, with 200 or 300 rounds of ammunition a rifle; 'Izz-ud-Din could call out 1,500 men, of whom 800 would have modern rifles.

§ 4.—*The Kurds in Upper Kurdistan.*

The upper part of northern Kurdistan is bounded on the north-west, between Erzerum and Lake Van, by a range of mountains of which the

§ Resident at Qasr; unpopular because of his exactions from his people and reported to be Turcophile.

† 'Abd-ul-Kerim, a chief of the Mahali, told Major Noel that fourteen generations ago, when one of his great-grandfathers, Shawali, was alive, the tribe was called the Mitowri and that they lived near Erzerum in the district known as Jabakehur. These Kurds speak Arabic in preference to Kurdish, and claim to be of Arab origin; they state that they were formerly called the Bani Halal and that they occupied a tract of country to the south of Nisibin. Many years ago, several consecutive years of famine broke up the tribe; one branch remained in Kurdistan and the other emigrated to Tunis.

* Resident at Kafr Kowar; both of them appeared to be strongly Turcophile.

highest peak is the Bingeul Dagh ; along its northern side flow the upper reaches of the Euphrates, under Erzerum and Erzingan, past the Munzur Dagh and the Aghnam Dagh ; there the river bends sharply southwards, thus constituting the western confines of this region ; it runs toward the south-west till it reaches the Bereta Dagh, where it curves outwards to embrace that range in its sweep ; finally, the first portion of the southern boundary is formed by the same river, which follows a south-westerly course round the Ziaret Dagh. On the other side the Tigris, which is usually unfordable there, and the deep Bitlis gorge offer an impassable barrier to all communication between the north and the south. This region is on the whole far more mountainous than the lower part ; it is perhaps for this reason that the Kurds who live in it are less known than their southern neighbours. Most of the information contained in this section has been taken from the work of Sir Mark Sykes, who admits that he has experienced great difficulty in obtaining any account whatever of many of these tribes.

The following classification treats them under the several groups into which they fall. The first group contains five tribes, situated at the south-western extremity of upper Kurdistan, in the vicinity of Bladur :—

Tribe.	Chief.	Strength.	Capital.
1. Ramman† (northern section).	Emin Abmed Agha ...	300 houses scattered among 7 villages.	Kafr Zo, near El-Madin.
2. Rajaban ...	Hamid ibn Herza ...	4 villages ...	Bladur.
3. Sinnikan ...	Husni Agha ; the sub-chief is Kanja Agha, his brother	300 houses, 6 villages	Zerjili.
4. Alikan ...	Hasan 'Osman Agha...	200 houses, 6 villages	Jinasgir.
5. Meladibo ...	Khalil Washi Agha ...	70 houses, 3 villages	Azik Yokari.

Besides these tribes, there are about 40 villages of which the inhabitants are mixed Arabs and Kurds, who have fled from Diarbekr and Mardin. Their chief is Ahmed Kehian Agha, who has fixed his capital at Tepe Keui.

† There is a southern section of this tribe in the Qazâ of Sor, where they own about 600 houses, scattered over 12 villages ; their chief is Khalil Mohammed, a cousin of Emin Ahmed.

The next group contains the following twelve tribes :—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.†	Remarks.
1. Musik ...	(?)	[At bend of Tigris, S.E. of Diarbekr]	Only known from accounts of previous travellers.
2. Penjinan ...	500	[N.E. of Sairt] ...	Noted for fighting qualities; some said to be Yezidi.
3. Keskoli ...	(?)	[N. of Musik] ...	Uncertain; perhaps subdivision of Penjinan.
4. Pouran ...	200	[N.W. of Keskoli] ...	Semi-nomadic agriculturalists.
5. Shaykhodanli ...	200	Exact locality uncertain	_____
6. Bekran ...	500	In winter near Diarbekr, in summer near Sairt	_____
7. Resbkotanli ...	500	[W. of Diarbekr] ...	Nomads.
8. Beshiri ...	(?)	Between Sairt, Meyfarkin, & Diarbekr	Sedentary.
9. Tirikan ...	650	Between Euphrates and Haini	Sedentary; wealthy, intelligent, and fond of bright clothes; well-disposed to Armenians.
10. Kuzlichan ...	(?)	Exact locality uncertain	Perhaps immigrants from Dersim mountains.
11. Gurus ...	(?)	[W. of Tigris and N. of Diarbekr]	_____
12. Elia ...	(?)	[Between Arghana Ma'den and Euphrates]	Nomads.

All these tribes appear to consist of semi-nomadic or sedentary Kurds, who have migrated at some unknown period through the Bitlis pass into the undulating land which is suitable both for tillage and for pasturage between Diarbekr and the Bitlis Su; they probably lived formerly in the

† Localities enclosed in square brackets are taken by a comparison of Sir Mark Sykes' outline-map with other sheets; those not enclosed in brackets are given in his own words.

territory of the ancient kingdom of Armenia. They have no connection with the other tribes living in this part of Kurdistan. The men are tall and well-built, fairly industrious, but not very hospitable.

The third group contains nine tribes, as follows :—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Zekeri ...	(?)	[Grouped together in the mountains south of Mush]	They speak Kermanji, Armenian, and corrupt Arabic, and claim to be of Arab origin.
2. Musi ...	(?)		
3. Sarmi ...	400		
4. Jellali ...	100		
5. Khazali ...	50	Between Mush and Kabeljous	—
6. Bederi ...	(?)	[S.W. of the Bosikan and Kurian]	They speak Kermanji, Armenian, and corrupt Arabic, and claim to be of Arab origin.
7. Malashigo ...	(?)	[S.W. of the Bosikan and Kurian]	—
8. Bosikan ...	180	Between Mush and Kabeljous	—
9. Kurian ...	180	Between Mush and Kabeljous	—

The tradition of these tribes is that the Bosikan and Kurian settled first in this region and they were converted to Islam by a Sheikh Nasruddin, an envoy from the Caliph of Baghdad, whose followers formed the tribes Zekeri, Musi, and Sarmi. Later, the Malashigo, Bederi and Jellali arrived and united with them to drive the Bosikan and Kurian into the northern mountains. All these tribes have Armenians attached to them; they do not resemble the Armenians of Lake Van, nor are they to be distinguished from the Bosikan and Kurian Kurds in dress or in appearance. At Tillu, a large village near Sairt, there still lives a Sheikh Nasruddin, who is reputed to be a lineal descendant of the Sheikh Nasruddin who came from Baghdad; they are supposed to be of 'Abbasid stock and claim the village of Tillu and certain lands by deed of gift from the Sultan Selim.

Modeki or Motikan is the name of the inaccessible mountain-region to the north of Bitlis; and it is also the generic name of all the Kurds inhabiting these hills. There are, apparently, seven tribes, the Keyburan,

Bubanli, Kusan, and Rutchaba, all of whom are Zaza; the Zeidan, Erikli,† and Pir Musi, who are Kermanji Kurds. They are extremely shy and wild and are averse from supplying information about themselves; hitherto, all that is known of them has been learnt from other Kurds, who have visited Motikan.

In the next place are eight tribes of loosely connected Kurds, who are enumerated in the following list:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Pinjari	450	District of Sassun...	Kermanji language.
2. Slivan	(?)	[District of the Murad Su]	Probably Zaza.
3. Zaza ...	1,000	[Scattered] ...	Non-tribal.

In the whole of this district there are a large number of non-tribal Zaza, who live almost in a state of anarchy; they have no regard for the sanctity of human life nor do they appear to have adopted any religion.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
4. Kedak ...	600	[S. of R. Peru on the Veshin Dagb]	Zaza.
5. Ashmishart	500	[S. of R. Peru, and E. of Kharput]	Zaza; Shi'ites.
6. Kulbin	(?)	[S. of the Kedak] ...	Zaza.
7. Sinan ...	(?)	[S. of R. Peru, and E. of Kharput]	Zaza.
8. Behirmaz	500	[Near Kharput] ...	Zaza; Shi'ites.

These tribes form miscellaneous groups with little or no connection with one another.

The last group consists of the Dersimli Kurds, a general name for the 12 Kurdish tribes living in the Dersim mountains:—

† Sometimes called Khiarta.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Milan ...	(?)	[Near Khozat] ...	Mother-tribe of the Milli who live round the Qarajah Dagh and with whom they still still keep up communication.
2. Kechel ...	1,000	Near Palu ...	Sedentary; recently converted to orthodox Sunnism.
3. Shawak ...	(?)	[In angle formed by R. Peru]	
4. Ferhad Ushaghi ...	(?)	In vicinity of Surpignan	Semi-nomadic or at least migratory, having quarters on the high land and in the valley.
5. Bakhtiarli ...	(?)	Near Chemishgezek	
6. Karabanli ...	(?)	At Asunik ...	Weavers of fine carpets of very intricate design.
7. Mirzanli ...	(?)	Exact location unknown	
8. Abhasanli ...	(?)	[In direction of Munzur Dagh]	Sedentary.
9. Balashaghi ...	2,000	[Near Merdjan Dagh]	Certainly not the name of a tribe but of a district in the Dersim; name also occurs as that of a tribe to the N. of Diarbekr.
10. Latchin Ushaghi ...	(?)	At Amuga ...	
11. Kuzlichan ...	(?)	A district in the Dersim	
12. Givran ...	(?)	Reported to be in Dersim, but doubtful	

All these tribes except the Shawak are apparently pagans who call themselves Shi'ites; their religion seems to be a mixture of magic and nature-worship verging towards Pantheism. They are brigands and murderers, but of uncertain courage; a very small display of authority suffices to banish them to their mountain-fastnesses, whither it is difficult to pursue them. The skirts of the Dersim range are inhabited by tribes

who live in a kind of feudal subjection to rulers who speak Turkish and veil their women, and who are the descendants of indigenous chiefs who have settled down and have adopted Turkish customs. The Dersimli Kurds are small, wiry men with sharp features; they are intelligent and have a keenly developed artistic sense for colour, which is shown in their dress. They speak a dialect closely akin to Zaza. Most of them are regular migrants from south to north in the late spring, when their villages are left empty and undefended.

Other tribes, or parts of tribes, whose names only are known, in upper Kurdistan, are the Akari, Meshendan, Bakushan, Kavash and Shemsiki, vaguely reported to be living in the district of Van; the Merzehki and Takuri, near Bitlis; the Halaji, Seidki, Jelali, Jemal-ud-Din and Milkan round Kharput; and the Mimki and Mukri somewhere near Diarbekr.

§ 5.—*The Kurds in the Vicinity of Erzerum and Lake Van.*

This section embraces the country to the north of Lake Van; its boundaries are on the north and east, the frontiers respectively of Russia and Persia, on the south the northern shores of Lake Van and a line drawn from that lake to the northern end of Lake Urmiah, and on the west by a line running from Erzerum in a wide sweep past Madrak and Mush and round to the western end of Lake Van. The tribes who live in this zone are extremely complicated in organisation, and very difficult to tabulate. They fall into four groups, distinguishable by marked differences in their habits and manner of life; but this grouping by no means corresponds to their geographical distribution.

Starting from the eastern end of this region we find a tribe of Yezidi devil-worshippers, whose tribal name is unknown, in the south-east corner, between Lake Van and the Persian frontier. Above them the Haiduranli stretch almost from the 'Ali Dagh across the frontier to Maku. This tribe, which numbers 20,000 families, is the largest Kurdish tribe in the tract of country from Mush to Lake Urmiah. They are a rough, low race of no merit, either as soldiers, agriculturalists, or shepherds. In the fold of the boundary on the south of Mount Ararat dwell the Adamanli, a semi-nomadic tribe consisting of 1,800 families. Following the Turco-Russian frontier westwards, we find the Bashmanli between Tashlija and Saribeg; many families from this tribe are said to live in Persia. In the next angle formed by the boundary we find the Badeli and Shaderli; both tribes are Shi'ites by religion and many of their tribesmen live at Alashgird. Around Daghar and Chalkani are the Zilanli; between this tribe and the western Haiduranli, on the south-west side of the Bashmanli, the Hamdikan and Manuranli are encamped. West of the Manuranli are the Mamakanli, and below them the Sipikanli; this tribe reckons the number of its families to be 3,000, and they count the Mamakanli as one of their

sub-tribes; they are a rough people, of a similar disposition to the Haiduranli. At some distance to the north-west of these two tribes lie the Berizanli, a sedentary tribe of 900 families; they are a sub-division of the Hassanali. Their neighbours on the south are the Zirikanli, numbering 6,000 families, who were originally nomadic, but who have settled down to a sedentary life during the last 25 years. Between these tribes and Lake Van dwell the Hassanali, a large tribe of 3,300 families, owning 110 villages in the districts of Hinis, Melasgird, and Varto. In the triangle lying between Melasgird, Mush and the western shores of the lake four tribes have their homes, the Isoli, the Chukurli, the Penjiman, who are nomads and only own a few villages in this region, and the Silukan. To the north of Mush are the Azli; and the district between Mush and the Bingeul Dagh is inhabited by the Jibranlı, a large and important tribe of 2,000 families, and the leader in a confederation of eight smaller tribes; these are the Mukhel, the Arab Agha, the Torini, the Alikli, the Asdini, the Shaykhekan, the Mamagan, the Shaderli, who are Shi'ites, and the Bellikanli; this last tribe numbers 6,000 families and is more independent of the Jibranlı than the other members of the confederacy; its people speak the Zaza language and are Shi'ites in religion. It is probable that, as the traditions of the tribe relate, the Jibranlı are immigrants from Arabistan, by which perhaps the country round Diarbekr is meant; and the tribes over whom they exercise a certain hegemony are the original inhabitants of this part of the country. This tradition is supported by the fact that the Jibranlı, who are now becoming sedentary, were formerly nomads. The men wear the most extraordinary clothes, buttons of pearls, collars, and cuffs of black velvet, baggy trousers and sashes; the richer tribesmen also wear a collar and tie; on the head they wear an enormous *turbush* of white felt, about a foot high and bulging out like a bushy, round which a very small turban of silk is wound. Another peculiarity is that they wear long hair and carefully-trimmed whiskers on each side of the face. The women as well as the men shave the top of the head.

Above the Bellikan and along the western flank of the Jibranlı confederacy are firstly, the Lolali, who consist of 480 families and who are Shi'ite Moslems; secondly, above them, the Bazikli and Rashwan, both of whom are nomads, numbering 70 families in each tribe. Lastly there are four tribes round Erzerum; on the north of the town are the Sheikh Bazeini, who are divided into two groups, the larger of which numbers 450 families and who are of sedentary habits; to the north-west are the Pisanli, a sedentary tribe of 700 families, who speak Kermanji; and on the south-west are the Girdi and the Putikanli, both of whom live sedentary lives.

Eleven of these tribes, the Hassanali, Berizanli, Jibranlı, Sipikanli, Zirikanli, Rashwan, Bazikli, Putikanli, Zilanli, Haiduranli, and Adamanli, fall into one homogeneous group. They are a distinct and easily distinguishable race of tall, heavily built men, of surpassing ugliness of face

and peculiar uncouthness of behaviour. They are seemingly true nomads by instinct and lack any capacity for war or agriculture; they appear at once stupid and treacherous, disloyal, rapacious and quarrelsome; they must, however, have some qualities that are not apparent, since they seem to have been masters of the country which they inhabited long before the Ottoman Government had any power there. Their women shave the hair on the top of the head in the form of a tonsure. They are all orthodox Sunnites.

The tribes of the Jibranlı confederacy, the Mamanlı, the Badeli, and the Shaderlı, are probably the aboriginal tribes of this region; they are usually of small physique and fine features, inoffensive, with no salient characteristics. The Isoli, on the contrary, and the Sheikh Bazeini are perhaps exiles, banished from their homes by the Sultan Selim, the conqueror of Erzerum.

North of this region in the Russian Caucasus a few scattered Kurdish families have been observed, especially in the vicinity of Tiflis and Kars. But nothing is known of them and they have no political significance.

§ 6.—*The Kurds in Southern Kurdistan.**

This zone is bounded on the north by Lake Van and the tableland of Armenia, on the west by the Tigris and on the south by the plains of 'Iraq, the Djalā Su and the Turco-Persian frontier; on the east lies Lake Urmīyah, into which the river Jachatu flows, completing roughly the confines of this part of Kurdistan. The country, though densely peopled with Kurds, has a considerable scattered population of Nestorian Christians. The Kurdish tribes fall into three main classes, based not on geographical distribution but on different habits of life. The following catalogue starts in each case from the north, by Lake Van, and works southwards.

In the north-west corner between the lake and the Tigris from Challek to Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, is the first group, consisting of the following tribes:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Duderi	400	On the shore of L. Van in summer	Nomads.

* The information contained in this section is taken entirely from Sir Mark Sykes' book.

|| Localities enclosed in square brackets are taken from Sir Mark Sykes' map after comparison with other sheets; those not so enclosed are given in his own words.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
2. Alikanli ...	150	[On S. shore of L. Van]	—
3. Halaji ...	900	On S. shore of L. Van	Mixed Kurds, Turks and Armenians; sedentary
4. Silukan ...	900	[S. of Duderi] ...	Nomads; cultivators; they migrate to plain of Mush in summer.
5. Kichian ...	150	[S. of Alikanli] ...	Nomads.
6. Tiyan ...	300	[S. of Halaji] ...	Bad reputation; reputed branch of Tavy Arabs.
7. Atmanikan ...	5,000	Headquarters near Bohtan and Bitlis pass; in summer in plain of Mush	Very wealthy, but possessed of very few horses.
8. Eiru ...	100	[W. of Atmanikan]	—
9. Balian ...	70	[S. of Eiru] ...	Semi-nomadic, poor and scattered.
10. Dakhori ...	(?)	In vicinity of Shernakh	Sedentary.
11. Hasseina ...	500	[Near Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	—
12. Keka ...	(?)	Near Julamerk ...	—
13. Shiriki ...	200	Locality at present uncertain	Sedentary; wealthy.
14. Takuli ...	450	[On Turco-Persian frontier, to E. of Van]	Perhaps sub-tribe of Zilanli; sedentary; very poor physique.
15. Tribe of unknown name	(?)	[Opposite Takuli, over frontier in Persia]	—
16. Shemsiki ...	900	[Close to frontier between Van and Urmiyah]	Sedentary; chiefs refined and handsome, tribesmen very ugly; chiefs claim Arab origin.
17. Shekak ...	6,000	[Scattered in sections between Lakes Van and Urmiyah]	Called Revand by local Armenians; sedentary, (spending only three months in tents).

The following tribes are probably not so much sub-tribes of the Shekak as members of an ancient political confederation:—

Sub-tribe.	Families.	Locality.	Remarks.
(i.) Butan ...	(?)	[S.E. of Lake Van]	—
(ii.) Sheveli ...	(?)	[N.E. corner of L. Van]	—
(iii.) Shekak ...	1,000	[On Persian frontier, S.W. of Urmiyah]	Nomads.

18. Hartushi:

This tribe may be the connecting link between the Kurds of Iraq and those of Armenia. It is divided into 16 sub-tribes, which are dispersed over the country between Lake Van, Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, Mosul, and Lake Urmiyah.

Sub-tribe.	Families.	Locality.	Remarks.
X (i.) Ezdinan ...	(?)	[S.W. of Lake Van]	Said to be of Yezidi religion.
(ii.) Merzigi ...	900	Near Bashkala ...	Sedentary.
X (iii.) Mamresh ...	200	[N. of Merzigi] ...	Yezidi.
(iv.) Mamed ...	200	[S.W. end of Lake Van]	Sedentary (?)
(v.) Alau ...	(?)	[S.W. end of Lake Van]	—
(vi.) Beroz ...	60	[Some distance to S. of Merzigi]	Famous as cultivators of tobacco.
(vii.) Jiriki ...	(?)	[W. of Beroz] ...	—
(viii.) Shidan ...	(?)	[W. of Beroz] ...	—
(ix.) Mamkhor ...	400	[S. of above tribes]	Nomads; very warlike.
(x.) Khawistan ...	(?)	[West of Mamkhor]	—
(xi.) Sharafan ...	3,000	[S. of Khawistan ; S. of Akra in spring]	—
(xii.) Mamadan ...	200	[S. of Sharafan ; some descend to Beykhey Dag, near Zakho]	Sedentary (?)

Sub-tribe.	Families.	Locality.	Remarks.
(xiii.) Gavdan ...	300	[W. of Mamadan; near Zakho in spring.]	Nomads; thievish, inhospitable and savage; wealthy horse-breeders.
(xiv.) Zedek ...	(?)	[N. of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	Nomads.
(xv.) Zefki ...	150	[W. of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	Nomads; shepherds.
(xvi.) Hafjan ...	500	[N.E. of Mosul] ...	Nomads.

Tribe.	Families.	Locality.	Remarks.
19. Bellicar ...	180	[In centre of Shekak and Hartushi tribes]	Semi-nomadic.
20. Givran ...	(?)	In the district of Giaver	—
21. Herki:			

This is a great nomadic tribe of 3,000 families; some are to be found near Lake Van, some in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and others near Mosul. They are a dark-skinned race, and their women are bold and manly. In the autumn they sleep out without any tents. They own large flocks of sheep and deal in inferior pack-horses. They have no fixed haunts, but generally roam about and encamp in small detachments; consequently, it is impossible to place them accurately on the map. There are four main sub-divisions of the tribe:—

Sub-tribe.	Families.	Remarks.
X (i.) <u>Mendan</u> ...	(?)	The name occurs also as a sub-tribe of the Milli.
(ii.) Zerhati ...	(?)	Rovers in the vicinity of Van.
(iii.) Zeydan ...	(?)	This name occurs as a sub-tribe of the Pinianishili and of the Motikan.
(iv.) Haji ...	200	Found in centre of the district occupied by the Herki, between Mosul and Urmiyah.

Tribe.	Number of families	Locality.	Remarks.
22. Girdi...	1,200	[Between Herki and the Persian frontier]	Baha Kurds, who migrated from Girdmamik about 60 years ago; sedentary, industrious and wealthy
23. Dere...	800	[W. of Herki]	
24. Jellali	4,000	Near Amadia	
25. Doshki	500	At Dehok	Brigands, speaking Kermanji.
26. Kohan	70	[S.E. of Jezirat-'ihn-Omar]	Nomads.
27. Shaykhan	(?)	Near Sheikh 'Adi, religious centre of Yezidi religion	Semi-nomadic; Yezidi.
28. Reshkan	(?)	[W. of Tigris, below Jezirat-'ibn-Omar]	Some of the tribe said to be Yezidi.
29. Hasseina	(?)	Near Mosul	Nomads and villagers.
30. Bejwan	800	[E. of Mosul]	Language a mixture of Arabic and Kurdish; said to be of Turkish origin.
31. Shabak	500	[E. of Bejwan]	Sedentary; said to be Shi'ites or Baba, or to have a secret religion.
32. Baliki	(?)	On frontier [to S. of L. Urmiyab]	_____
33. Spirti	(?)	Locality uncertain	Nomads.

The majority of Kurds in this class are semi-nomadic mountaineers, partly agriculturalists, partly shepherds, and partly horse-dealers. They are of a thievish disposition, bloodthirsty, cowardly, and often cruel. Their women are ugly and hard-worked, and usually ride mules or donkeys. The men are big-boned, of heavy build, and of a very dark complexion. They are poor and usually badly armed. In their wanderings they often dispense with tents and shelter themselves behind screens of reed. In religion they seem to have no fixed beliefs, but they are often counted as Moslems.

The tribes of the second class are tabulated in the following catalogue:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Hawatan	300	In the Bohtan district.	Sedentary.
2. Haweri	300	Near Zakho	Yezidi.
3. Sindi	1,500	[E. of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	Sedentary; mostly Moslems, some Nestorians.
4. Goyan	1,400	[N.E. of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	Sedentary and semi-nomadic; large and powerful tribe; noted for valour and independence. Some Zaza in this branch. In 1899 they defeated the Miran and killed their chief, Mustafa Pasha.
5. Shernakli	600	Near Shernakh	Sedentary; section of the Goyan.
6. Sheveli *	(?)	[S. of Lake Van]	Also found near Iskilip.
7. Mukeri *	1,200	One section at Nordous, other at Kosbab.	Sedentary; said to have migrated from Persia about 1850.
8. Shefikti *	1,200	[Near frontier between Lakes Van and Urmiyah]	Sedentary.
9. Khani	180	Near Koshab	Sedentary.
10. Pinianishli†	1,200	[Between Amadia and the frontier opposite Lake Urmiyah]	Head of a large confederation of tribes in this district.
11. Pinianishli	500	[N. of Nirva]	Off-shoot of preceding tribe; some families Yezidi, others Christians.
12. Berwari	600	[E. of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar]	Sedentary.

* These three tribes stand in some relation to the Shekak, probably in that of members of an ancient political confederation rather than of kin.

† The tribes in the confederation of the Pinianishli are the Zeydan, Barkoshan, Kinarberosb, Suratawan, Billijan, Jelli, Gewiji, Shevilan, and Musanan.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
13. Nirva	... 800	[E. of Berwari] ...	Sedentary.
14. Berzan	... 750	[S.W. of Neri] ...	Good warriors; its chiefs are famous as holy men.
15. Doshki	... 2,000	At Giaver ...	Industrious agricultur- alists.
16. Zerzan	... 100	[In Persia, close to frontier opposite Urmiyah]	—
17. Baradost	... 650	[On river Baradost, in Persia, close to frontier]	Named from the river.
18. Baradost	... 1,500	[On river Baradost, some distance within Turkish frontier]	Branch of above tribe.
19. Reikan	... 800	[S. of Nirva]	Sedentary.
20. Misuri	... 120	[N. of Mosul]	Sedentary; poor.
21. Zebari	... 1,000	[In the district of Zebar, N.E. of Mosul]	Sedentary; careful farmers, vine-growers, good huilders, hospita- ble, very quarrel- some among them- selves; good fighters; chronic feud with the Berzan.
22. Ashaghi	... (?)	[S. of Zebari] ...	—
23. Shirwan	... 1,800	[In district of Shir- wan]	Sedentary, industrious, hospitable, and war- like.
24. Badeli	... (?)	At Rowanduz ...	Sedentary; Sunnites.
25. Mamakan	... (?)	[Near Rowanduz] ...	Armenian priests say that these were Christians, who be- came Moslems; no- mads.
26. Zemzan	... (?)	[In border-country to S.W. of Lake Urmiyah]	—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
27. Piradtini ...	1,100	[S. of Zemzan] ...	Village-dwellers; Baba.
28. Koshnao ...	2,000	[Between Girdi and Sheikh Bazeini]	Sedentary; employed by Girdi and Sheikh Bazeini as workers and to look after crops in their absence; poor fighters.

The Kurds enumerated in the preceding list are to a large extent sedentary mountaineers; they are industrious agriculturalists, cultivating every available piece of ground in the vicinity of their village, diverting and damming streams, draining and digging ditches for the purpose of irrigating their terraced fields; they grow crops of barley, wheat, maize, rice, and excellent tobacco. They live under the rule of tribal chiefs and are constantly at war with one another. The men, who carry daggers and rifles, are active fighters and hunters. Near the centre of each village is a small double-bastioned block-house of hewn stone, in which the inhabitants take refuge in case of need. They are sedentary, dwelling in summer in bowers erected on the roofs of their houses. Their women are not veiled and are well-treated. Many Jewish families live among them unmolested, but Jews are not allowed to carry arms nor to engage in tribal wars; they are, therefore, able to travel freely among hostile tribes in the pursuit of trade. Nestorian Christians are treated similarly; sometimes they are in a state of vassalage to the Kurds, but more often they own their own lands and are on an equal footing with the Kurdish population.

The last group deals with the semi-nomad Kurds of the plains and the southern hills, several of whom form numerous and important tribes.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
1. Surchi ...	3,000	[N.E. of Mosul] ...	One-third complete nomads, the rest semi-nomads; Baba.
2. Khalkani ...	700	S.E. of Surchi ...	Semi-nomadic, unwarlike; Baba.
3. Mamund ...	(?)	[E. of Mosul] ...	Sub-tribe of the Hamawand.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
4. Shaykhan ...	500	Between Tigris and Greater and Lesser Zab	Baba.
5. D'sdie ...	5,000	Headquarters on the Sultan's demesne in Kara Chqk Dagb	Partly nomads, partly agriculturalists, who have suffered much from drought and locusts. Men good horsemen; women very handsome, wearing dark, heavy garments without colour or ornaments and blue turbans. Baba.
6. Daudieh ...	4,000	Banks of Lesser Zab	Semi-nomadic; warlike, poor horsemen, good swimmers. Baba.
7. Sheikh Bazeini	4,000	[S.E. of Mosul;] on Persian frontier from June to September	Warlike and turbulent, robbers, good horsemen; they live in villages in winter, in tents near villages in summer; Persian dress. Baba.
8. Girdi ...	6,000	One section at Ushkafsakka, other on W. of 'Ain Kawa; in summer in Wazna district	Very wealthy; shepherds and agriculturalists; warlike; good horsemen. Persian dress. Baba.
9. Acu ...	500	Some in town of Rania; in summer at Wazna	Semi-nomadic, warlike; good horsemen; Baba.
10. Bilbas ...	400	On frontier; in summer at Wazna	Semi-nomads. Baba.
11. Mamash ...	2,000	On frontier; in summer at Wazna	Nomads. Baba.
12. Piran ...	900	[On frontier opposite Bane]	Similar to Sbeikh Bazeini in customs.
13. Nuredi ...	(?)	[S. of Piran]	Baba.

14. Hamawand.

The Hamawand Kurds are a famous tribe, numbering about 1,200

families; they live in the angle cut out of the Persian frontier, where the Sival Su rises in the Kuh-i-guza Aghaj mountain. They are the most valiant and intelligent of all the Baba Kurds, excellent horsemen, good shots with the rifle, capable smiths and agriculturalists, and bold robbers; many who enter the service of the Government prove useful officials. In 1878, 600 horsemen of this tribe, armed only with lances, penetrated far into the Caucasus and returned with immense spoils. The Turkish Government has recently done much to suppress the Hamawand, but without success. Most of them speak Arabic, though their language is Kurdish; their dress is a mixture of the Arab and Persian styles. Formerly armed with lances, they now carry only daggers and rifles.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
15. Jaff ...	10,000	On both sides of the frontier [near the Hamawand]	Semi-Nomadic; their chiefs are noted for loyalty to one another. Baba.
16. Guran	(?)	[Neighbouring on the Jaff]	Baba.

The remaining six tribes inhabit the region across the frontier † from the vicinity of the Wazna Pass down to the Kuh-i-guza Aghaj mountain.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
17. Mengor	2,000	In summer at Wazna	Semi-nomadic; warlike.
18. Malkari	(?)	[S. of Mengor]	Baba.
19. Kialoner	(?)	[E. of Malkari]	Baba.
20. Ghowruk	(?)	[S. of Malkari]	Baba.
21. Babi Khassa	(?)	[E. of Ghowruk]	Baba.
22. Alan...	(?)	[S. of Babi Khassa]	Baba.

The tribes catalogued in this class are very similar to one another in habits and appearance. They are usually wealthy shepherds who only till the soil for subsidiary purposes; they frequently employ outside labour for

|| Saladin is supposed to have been sprung from this tribe.

† There are many scattered groups of Kurds in Persia who are not included in this account, as hardly anything is known about them.

agriculture and for selling the produce of their farms. They are expert smiths, weavers, and tent-makers. Mentally they are far superior to the majority of Kurds, being apt to education, astute men of business, and very industrious. The tribes live under the rule of hereditary nobles, who are generally very quarrelsome, frequently engaging in feuds and inter-tribal wars. These semi-nomads, who are known as Baba Kurds, are noted for their chivalry, valour and thievish proclivities. They are all fine horsemen and skilful marksmen, having recently discarded the lance and sword in favour of the rifle and dagger. All these tribes are orthodox Sunnites; their patron saint is Khalid ibn Walid, whom they hold in great reverence, and who, according to tradition, converted them from paganism. From October to February they dwell in villages; in March they move into tents; early in June many families from each tribe migrate with their flocks towards the Persian frontier, especially to the neighbourhood of the Wazna pass; they live there in tents or leafy bowers till the nights grow cold in September, when they return to their permanent villages. Most of their noble families inter-marry freely with the Arabs of Upper Mesopotamia. Their women are strikingly beautiful and are allowed great freedom, many of them riding and shooting as well as the men; they perform no manual labour except butter-making and the ordinary duties of the household.

The following tribes or clans of Kurds, of whom little is known, are reported to have settled in this part of the country:—round Suleimaniyah the Belkan, Shadian and Charekan; round Kirkuk, the Bodkan, Kamsuran, Hasanan, Khotban, Churran, Dilbaz, Dimilan, Shervan, Gharzan, Botan and Khimenan, with some others; all are probably small colonies, who have left the main tribe and migrated to the south. There are also many other sections of larger tribes who have crossed the border and taken up their quarters in Persia.

§ 7.—*The Yezidi Kurds.*

The Yezidi are a semi-barbarous race of mixed Kurdish and Arab origin, speaking a dialect of Kurdish, who dwell in the Jebel Sinjar, a range of hills lying on the east of the Tigris, opposite Mosul; starting about 25 miles west of the city, it runs in a semi-circular form across the plain for 70 miles, where it sinks again to the level of the low ground at a distance of 25 miles from the river Khabur. Hidden in the heights of the mountain, the tribesmen have always been able to defy with impunity the Turkish authorities and to maintain an almost complete independence, in spite of the repeated efforts of the government to reduce them. In particular, 'Omar Pasha led a force against them in 1892, harrying the villages and massacring all whom he could seize; his hands fell heavily in particular on the unfortunate inhabitants of the few villages which the Yezidi possess in the lowlands between the mountains and Mosul. The last expedition which the Turks undertook against this people occurred in

May, 1918. In consequence of these events, hostility to the Turks has inclined them strongly in favour of the British, under whose protection they are anxious to place themselves. They maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring Arab tribes, and they have often sheltered fugitive Christians from Turkish persecution in their mountain-fastnesses.

In physique,* says Sir Mark Sykes, the Yezidi resemble the Dersimli Kurds, being small-boned, wiry, lean and hungry-looking men, with pinched features, small hooked noses, pointed chins, broad shallow lower jaws, narrow close-set black eyes and thin lips; they twist their hair in six or seven small braided plaits which hang down on either side of their faces. Their dress consists of a pointed brown felt cap, a white shirt of cotton cut square at the neck, without an opening at the front, a cloak of gazelle-skin or light brown leather, sandals of raw hide and a leather belt.

The Yezidi occupy about 45 villages, most of which are built in almost inaccessible spots in the mountains; they are a courageous and hospitable people, industrious, and very abstemious, though still plunged in the darkest depths of ignorance; for their religion, which is said to be devil-worship, absolutely forbids the study of letters. It is, in fact, a survival of of primitive superstitions, overlaid with elements of Judaism, of Islam, and even of Christianity; they hold the devil in great awe and are prohibited from mentioning his name. They pay great reverence to the fakirs, who form a kind of religious order, and offer homage twice a year to idols; this, together with some few trivial observances in regard to ritual, sums up the whole of their religious duties. Their holy place is at the shrine of the Sheikh 'Adi, about 30 miles north-north-east of Mosul.

Though fond of women, they are not permitted to indulge in indiscriminate marriage, for a man, though he may marry more than one wife, must choose a bride out of out of his own class; any breach of this rule is severely punished.

They subsist almost entirely on what they themselves produce, namely, wheat, barley, onions, lentils, and other vegetables; the only natural products which they grow for export are figs and tobacco.

The present paramount chief of the tribe is Hamo Charo, who lives at Ba'Idri; each sub-tribe has its own chief whose election must be confirmed by the paramount chief. The most important sub-tribes are the Hasskane, under the leadership of Amme, the Samoki under Ahmed Mudoo, the Kirani under Halil Kassim, the Bakera under Daoud, the Teraji under Husein Bayas, and the Manussi under Ashour.‡

* Major Noel forms a very different estimate of the character of the Yezidi when he says:—"Near Derek we halted to drink coffee at the camp of some Yezidi tribesmen who extended to us a particularly warm and friendly welcome. Sir Mark Sykes speaks of the Yezidi in a very disparaging manner (vide p.333 et seqq., "The Caliph's Last Heritage"), which is difficult to understand, as such as I have encountered have seemed to me peculiarly affable and courteous. Sykes was, however, describing the Yezidi in his own country, and it may well be that long residence among other peoples has a beneficial effect upon him."

‡ The exact locality of each tribe is uncertain.

The Yezidi in Mesopotamia and the province of Mosul are supposed to be as many as 21,000 in number; there are also about 7,500 in the district of Diarbekr, mostly in the vicinity of Midiat; a few also have been observed close to Lake Van. Whereas the Yezidi of Jebel Singar are rather wild, those who live farther away are quiet and peaceable, though intensely tribal at heart. They would probably, however, be ready to join any Kurdish confederation, for the Kurdish blood still flows in their veins.

Note.

Sir Mark Sykes gives the following list of Yezidi tribes living in or near the Jebel Singar:—

Tribe.	Number of families.	Remarks.
1. Bumteywit ...	(?)	Arabs living in a state of serfdom to the Yezidi.
2. Mirkan ...	(?)	Sedentary.
3. Samnga ...	(?)	Dwelling in tents near Jebel Singar.
4. Beit-el-Kulta ...	(?)	Sedentary.
5. Hababa ...	(?)	Sedentary.
6. Kiran ...	(?)	Tent-dwellers on Jebel Singar.
7. Beled ...	(?)	Sedentary; dwelling near town of Beled Singar.
8. Bekiran ...	(?)	Sedentary.
9. Mendikun ...	300	Nomads, living between Tell Afar and Beled Singar; some are Moslems and do not inter-marry with Yezidi.

Of these tribes only the Samuga (Samoki), the Kiran (Kirani), and the Bekiran (Bakera) figure in our list.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

Kurdish Tribes outside Kurdistan.§ 1.—*Between Erzingan and Sivas,* and in the vicinity of Marash.*

There are ten Kurdish tribes in the area enclosed on the north by the river Germalie, and on the south by the Euphrates; its western limit is Sivas and the Kizil Irmak, and its eastern is the loop of the Euphrates by Erzingan and the reach which flows from there northwards to Karakulak.

In the loop of the river to the west of Erzingan are the Kureshli and Balabranli. The former amount to 2,000 families; they speak Kermanji and are either Shi'ites or pantheists and detest orthodox Moslems. They are a handsome, quiet people, who appear to have no predatory or nomadic instincts at all, but behind their silent demeanour there is a strange, savage spirit; they are excellent farmers, and, though illiterate, they are much given to philosophic speculation. The latter, who are only a small tribe of about 60 families, are Shi'ites in name, but apparently pantheists at heart; they talk the Kermanji dialect. Their home is on the opposite bank of the Euphrates to the Kureshli. A little south of Erzingan is another and larger branch of the same tribe, numbering 500 families. These differ from the other group in speaking Zaza instead of Kermanji. To the north-west, on the south bank of the river Germalie, live the Shaderli, whose families are 3,000 in number; they are similar to the Kureshli, but of a lower type. They live in underground houses and are very poor agriculturalists. Adjoining them, on the south-west, are the Badeli, 700 families in all, speaking Kermanji and Shi'ite in religion; there are said to be a few of them settled near Rowanduz. All the Kurds in this group lead a completely sedentary life and build fine villages; they are industrious and intelligent, peaceful, but treacherous, and on occasions ruthless and cruel, though very submissive. Many have fair hair and blue eyes; the men are generally short and handsome. Certain families of nomads, very poor, dark-skinned, and repulsively ugly, are attached to each of these families, almost as vassals. All are reputed to be Shi'ite in religion, though it is very likely that they practice a secret religion.

Along the northern bank of the Euphrates, on the west of Erzingan, are the Eski-Kochkiri, a tribe 400 families, of whom very little is known. In the vicinity of Karajaran are the Sarolar, Barlolar and Garnolar, and in that of Hamobad the Ibolar; these four are sub-divisions of the Kochkiri, a large tribe of 10,000 families, who have probably no connection with the Eski-Kochkiri. So peculiar are the Kochkiri that they may even be called

* The Kurds living between Erzingan and Sivas are only known from the account given by Sir Mark Sykes.

a district nation. The men and women are of a peculiar type, being dark with finely-chiselled features and resembling no other Kurdish race. Their language is apparently a dialect of Kurdish, but hardly comprehensible to Zaza and Baba Kurds or Kermanji Kurds of Diarbekr. In religion they are probably pantheists, but the question requires investigation. They dwell in subterranean dwellings and are miserable farmers. They carry no arms, being very unwarlike and extremely submissive.

Other tribes who have been observed in the district of Erzerum are the Meman, Kaskan, Zarkan and Jibrān; from Sivas also the Haydaran, Zilan and Sebkan have been reported; but nothing beyond their name is known of these tribes. A list of tribes of the Russian Caucasus places the Mehan and Jelalian near Kars, the Badilan and Jemal-ud-Din near Kachizian, and the Chunkan near Ardahan. These also are no more than names at present.

Another group of Kurds is found in the district round Marash, bounded on one side by the Euphrates and on the other by the ranges of the Anti-Taurus and the Amanus. To the north-west of Malatia the Sinaminli dwell; they are a tribe of 2,500 families, who speak a dialect of Kurdish closely akin to Persian and are genuine Shi'ites; they are very friendly to strangers, even to Europeans. South of the same town it has been reported that a tribe called Kurujik is to be found, but this is very uncertain; the name sounds unlikely and nothing further is known of the tribe. The El-Khass, consisting of 500 families, inhabit territory in the half circle formed by the bend of the Euphrates above Samsat. Between Alhistan and Samsat are 300 families of the Kara Hassan and 600 of the Kodir Zor; between Marash and Samsat live the Doghanli, a nomad tribe of 250 families, and the Dellianli, who are also nomads. To the north-west of Marash the Chughrishanli are settled; they number 500 families and are probably sedentary. A section of the Jellikanli occupy the plain of Marash, in the direction of Aintab; they are poor shepherds and probably have come from the neighbourhood of Lake Van, where another branch of this tribe is found. To their south there are two small tribes, the Dellikanli and the Bellikanli; the former are a tribe of 200 families, leading a nomadic life; in the summer they dwell in tents on the slopes of the Taurus, and in the winter they move to fixed settlements in the plain, about 30 miles west of Killis; in their camps the tents are surrounded by walls of stone. The men are tall and well-built, and the women good-looking. The latter, whose numbers do not exceed 250 families, are completely nomadic in their manner of life, roaming about the plains of Marash, although they possess no horses; they speak the Kermanji dialect. Lastly the Lek Kurdi are a small tribe who have settled down to the west of Adana; it is said that they speak Turkish, though they seem to be known to, and perhaps have affinities with, the Kurds of Persia.

These twelve tribes are, generally speaking, nomads from distant

regions, such as Diarbekr or Lake Van, who have gradually drifted across the country to their present homes. They are now settling down to agricultural life or hire themselves out as shepherds; they dwell in tents with walls of stone in the winter, in bowers in the autumn, and in tents in the summer. They are kind and hospitable, and they have won for themselves a good reputation in the country. They are, however, extremely ignorant. The men are tall and well built, the women good-looking. Owing to their turbulence the Turkish Government was compelled to impose on them a rigorous control and to confine them to fixed areas in and around the Jebel Bereket, the Kurd Dagh, the southern slopes and skirts of the Taurus range between Marash and Malatia, and in the region of the Euphrates. The Kurd Dagh, especially, is fairly well peopled, and is a rich and carefully tilled tract of country, on which numerous settlements have sprung up among vineyards, olive-groves, and gardens, and considerable parts of which are covered with cereal crops.

§ 2.—*In Anatolia.**

The tribes catalogued in this zone, which lies outside the limits of Kurdistan, have all been settled here as the result of forcible deportations carried out by the Sultan Selim.

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.†	Remarks.
1. Ukhchicemi ...	300	[W. of Sivas] ...	Sedentary.
2. Urukchili ...	400	[Near Tokat] ...	Perhaps Yuruk.‡
3. Milli...	20	Near 'Osmanjik ...	Shepherds.
4. SheikhBazeini(i)	120	Near Boiabad in Anatolia	Nomads, who speak Kermanji but wear Anatolian dress.
5. Sheveli ...	(?)	[In bend of river Kizil Irmak, near 'Osmanjik]	—
6. Badeli ...	200	Near Yozgat	Sedentary; forcibly converted to orthodox Islam about 50 years ago.

* This section is taken from the account given by Sir Mark Sykes.

† The localities enclosed in square brackets are taken from the outline-map given by Sir Mark Sykes after comparison with other sheets; those not enclosed in brackets are given in his own words.

‡ For an account of the Yuruk, see Sir W. M. Ramsay's "Impressions of Turkey" (chap. 6, § 3, p. 105).

Tribe.	Number of families.	Locality.	Remarks.
7. Hajji Banli ...	300	[In half-circle formed by Kizil Irmak above Kaisarie]	Semi-nomads from Qarajah Dagh
8. Kbatun Oghlu	400	[In half-circle formed by Kizil Irmak above Kaisarie]	Semi-nomads from Qarajah Dagh
9. Makhani ...	300	[In half-circle formed by Kizil Irmak above Kaisarie]	Semi-nomads from Qarajah Dagh
10. Omaranli ...	800	[On north side of Kizil Irmak opposite L. Cheullu]	Semi-nomads from Qarajah Dagh
11. Barakatli ...	1,000	[S.W. of Omeranli]	—
12. Tahur Oghli ...	300	[N.W. of Barakatli]	Semi-nomadic.
13. Sheikh Bazeini (ii.)	(?)	[Between Kizil Irmak and L. Cheullu]	—
14. Judi Kanli ...	200	[At N. end of L. Cheullu]	Perhaps from Jebel Judi, near Shernakh.
15. Khal Kani ...	400	[On W. side of L. Cheullu]	From a tribe near Rowanduz; now extinct.
16. Seif Kani ...	500	[At N.W. end of L. Cheullu]	Semi-nomadic.
17. Nasurli ...	600	[Between L. Cheullu and Angora]	—
18. Tirikan ...	400	[N. of railway, about 25 miles W. of Angora]	—
19. Atmanakin ...	(?)	Near Angora	Tent-dwellers.
20. Zirikanli ...	500	Near Angora	—
21. Janbekli ...	5,000	Most westerly Kurds	Nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary.

§ 3.—*In Syria.*

It is a difficult, if not impossible, task to estimate the number of Kurds in Syria; partly, they form an unstable element in the population, never settling for long in any one place, and partly they have become to a large extent merged in their Arab neighbours by intermarriage. The figures supplied by native agents have always to be taken with the greatest caution, in view of their well-known tendency to exaggeration and their inability to be accurate: for example, five natives, who were questioned, gave figures so far apart as 50,000, 30,000, 20,000, 12,000, and 10,000. Taking however into consideration only those families who are known to have kept alive the memory of their Kurdish extraction, and working on a basis of five or six persons in a family, their total cannot exceed 10,000 persons, while the lowest figure might come to not less than 6,000 persons; other observers have given from 6,000 to 7,000 as a fair estimate. The most important centre where they are found in Syria is Damascus; there is also a considerable colony in and around Hama. A Kurdish notable who has long resided in Damascus compiled the following table to indicate how they are distributed in the country:—

Place.	Number of families.
Damascus: City	125
Damascus: Salahiyah Quarter	1600
Izra	50
Hama	100
Krad Ibrahim, near Hama	50
Krad Otmano, near Hama	100
Kunaitra, Hauran, Kerak	150
Scattered families	400
Total	2575

There are a few families in the Lejah and the Hauran where they were sent during the war by the Turkish government, nominally on an agricultural venture, but really to expel some rebellious Arabs from their villages. The Arabs, however, were pardoned, and the Kurds, being unsupported by the government, settled down in the country as labourers or cultivators.

Most Kurdish emigrants into Syria have been actuated by two motives; either they have followed in the train of an exiled *agha*, or differences of opinion in the councils of the tribe have led them to break off from the main body. In the attached list of tribes many will be recognised as offshoots of the parent-tribes in Kurdistan, which have been already described, such as the Milli, the Sheikhan, and the Barazi. Others may perhaps be corrupted forms of names better known in their northern homes; but most are rather the names of individual clans or families which have lost all connection with their original tribes.

Name of tribe or family.	Present Chief.	Number of houses.
1. Sheikhaniya	Mahmud Pasha Bouzo	225
2. Kikiya	Ahmed Pasha Ajil Yakin	60
3. Milliya	Hasan Mullah	80
4. Zazatiya	'Ali Agha Zulfo Medina	85
5. Dakhoriya	Rashid Agha Shamdin	10
6. Baraziya*	Mustafa Bey Barazi	150
7. Zurkaliya	'Abd-ur-Rahman Pasha Yusuf	10
8. Ayyuhiya	Hasan Kous	55
9. Ushitiya	Babu Murad	50
10. Pinariliya	Ismail Agha Na'mo	10
11. Watiliya	Hasan Kaltoun	40
12. Husniya	(?)	15
13. Mushiliya	(?)	5
14. Isoliya	(?)	15
15. Mikariya	Haji Hasan ibn Haji Husein	30
16. Karashuliya	Muhyi-'d-Din Agha Karashuli	10
17. Meteiniya	(?)	10
18. Alushiya	(?)	5
19. Karakechiliya	(?)	20
20. Rushwaniliya		5
21. Kurumiya		10
22. Surakiya		2
23. Daariya	(?)	10
24. Baraviya	(?)	30
25. Karkuliya	(?)	2
26. Scattered families in the Hauran		150
Total		1,044

The reader will see at a glance that 1,044, the total number of families in this list, does not agree with the number 2,575, as calculated by the Kurd mentioned above. Both lists are given in order to show how the estimates vary and because the problem is regarded in each from a different point of view. In 1847, Bedr Khan, a famous Kurdish chieftain, whose capital was Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, went to war against the Turks and was captured by them through the treachery of one of his relatives, a man named 'Izz-ud-Din; he was banished by the reigning sultan, 'Abd-ul-'Aziz, to Damascus, where he spent the rest of his life till his death in 1880. He left fourteen sons, whose names are Hamid Bitly Bey, Najib Pasha,

* The majority of this tribe resides at Hama.

Badry Pasha, Bakry Pasha, Inaan Pasha, 'Ali Shamil Pasha, Husein Pasha, Kamil Bey, Khalid Bey, Mustafa 'Ali Pasha, 'Abd-ur-Razzaq Bey,† Khalil Bey, Mohammed 'Ali Bey, and Zubeir Bey; the last-mentioned of these princes is the only one now resident at Damascus.

About the same time that Bedr Khan was exiled, 'Izz-ud-Din also was banished to Damascus with his two sons, Tahir Bey, to whom a son, named 'Izz-ud-Din after his grandfather, and a daughter were born, and Mohammed 'Ali; the former are all still living, and the latter is known to be residing at present on his estate at 'Ajlun.

The importance of these two families lies in the report that a movement was being inaugurated in March to establish an independent Kurdistan under the rule of one of the sons either of Bedr Khan or of 'Izz-ud-Din; it has even been suspected that the family of Bedr Khan have despatched emissaries to Kurdistan for this purpose. Several of the sons of Bedr Khan are violently opposed to the Turks and are active supporters of the movement for the independence of Kurdistan. 'Abd-ur-Rahman was writing for a paper called "Kurdistan" in Cairo fifteen years ago, in which he gave utterance to anti-Turkish sentiments and carried on pro-British propaganda. A Khalid Bey, who is probably a grandson of Bedr Khan Pasha by one of his daughters, was a doctor in the Turkish Army; but he fled to Basra with several other officers and joined the British, for whom he worked as a medical officer in the internment camps at Bilbeis and Maadi. Other members of this family who are interested in the Kurdish movement are Sureya ibn Amin Bey, who fled to Egypt about 1912 through fear of the Committee of Union and Progress, and his five brothers in Constantinople, who, while originally opponents of the Committee of Union and Progress, seem recently to have become hostile rather to the Christians; the Committee of Union and Progress has always fostered enmity between the Kurds and the Armenians and is still playing on the fears of the Kurds that they will be made subject to the Armenians under a mandate given to one of the Allies.

† Other authorities mention a son named 'Abd-ur-Rahman, who is perhaps identical with 'Abd-ur-Razzaq; there are several other variants in the lists.

CHAPTER III.

THE KURDISH MOVEMENT.§ 1.—*History of the Movement.*

A movement in favour of the independence of Kurdistan seems to have been inaugurated as early as 1908 by Sureya Bey, a member of the family of Bedr Khan. This family had been banished from its home and sent to Syria for heading a rebellion against the Turkish Government. After the Revolution in 1908 in Constantinople, he went to reside in the capital and seized the opportunity offered by the new regime to found a paper called "The Kurdistan," in which he advocated the independence of the Kurds. Later, being forced to leave Turkey as a result of differences of opinion with the Committee of Union and Progress, he moved to Egypt, where his paper is still issued fortnightly in Cairo. The idea, however, seems to have found at the time little or no response in Kurdistan, but to have been rather an exotic growth, fostered by a disappointed exile.

During the war the movement naturally sank into obscurity; the Kurds worked under the orders of the Turkish Government, which found them useful accomplices in the deportation and massacre of the Armenians. In Kurdistan and Armenia both races live side by side in apparent peace, but under the surface there smoulders unceasingly the fire of racial and religious hatred, ready to burst into flame at a moment's notice. There is abundant evidence of the complicity of Kurds in these outrages; to mention only the *vilâyah* of Kharput, Hajji Kaza, a Kurd of the Isoli tribe and a member of the Administrative Council, and Khalil Bey, who is also a Kurd, earned an unenviable reputation in this connection. And it has happened on almost every occasion that Kurds have been the willing instruments of Turkish tyranny; a notable exception is the chief of the Baziki Kurds. For the most part, however, the Kurds seem to have been opposed to the Turks in the course of the last five years.

Previous to the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, three things in Southern Kurdistan had prepared the way for a movement in favour of independence.* The first was the treatment of the Kurdish population by the Turkish Government, the second was the conduct of the Russian troops in Kurdistan, and the third was the method adopted by the British authorities in dealing with the Arab Government and our evident intention of supporting some form of Arab independence. The

* That the idea was not unknown even earlier is proved by the fact that in July, 1918, certain Kurdish chiefs in Persian Kurdistan met to discuss the question of an independent Kurdistan under British auspices; the Mukri, also, an important tribe in the Sauj Bulak district, suggested this to the British Consul when on a tour near Sakiz, and pointed out that, with Kurdistan in the hands of the Kurds and freed from the weak and partial government of the Persians in Azerbaijan, the difficult Armenian question could be settled amicably with the good offices of the British Government.

first and third points strongly predisposed the Kurds in our favour, whereas the second gave a serious set-back to British prestige.

Turkish policy vacillated between extreme highhandedness and weak efforts at conciliation; and since the reformation of the constitution disorder had increased owing to the overbearing attitude of the Committee of Union and Progress on the one hand and the awakening of vague national yearnings on the other.† The Ottoman Government had succeeded in raising the hatred of the Hamawand and the Jaff, the two most powerful tribes on the frontier. The former were alienated in 1909 by the murder of their chief, Sayyid Qara Dagħli, a notorious and turbulent tyrant, who enjoyed at the same time a far-reaching reputation for holiness; in consequence of this, the tribe rose to exact vengeance for his death and remained in open revolt till Nazim Pasha, the Governor of Baghdad, patched up a half-hearted peace in January, 1910; this state of affairs only lasted a short time, and the Hamawand were in part still unsubdued at the outbreak of the European war. The Jaff were driven to rebel in the same year by an endeavour to extract from them a tribute which had not been paid for many years. A governor, Mahmud Pasha, was appointed at Mosul to control them, but he was recalled in less than a year, during which time he had effected nothing. Another Kurd, Mustafa Pasha Bajlan, a chief of the Bajlan, who lived on the Turco-Persian frontier, maintained a state of permanent semi-hostility to the Government, and was detained in 1912 for a while as a political suspect, probably because of his leaning toward the British.

The tribes suffered considerably during the war from the Turkish Army-command, which subjected them to heavy requisitions and otherwise humiliated their religious leaders. They provided a certain number of troops to the Turkish army and fought well against us at Shu'abih; they were, however, so badly treated by the Turks after this that they deserted almost to a man. The way was thus prepared for us and our Russian allies to receive a warm welcome from the Kurds, but the chance was thrown away by the behaviour of the latter.

Before the war, the Kurds had regarded the Russians with dislike, but the misrule of the Turks had for some time been driving them into their arms. For example, the Sheikh of Berzan and other chiefs from the district of Mosul had sought refuge in Russian territory early in 1914, when it was rumoured that the Hamawand, the Jaff, and the Dizai were

† There were several risings on the part of the Kurds during the last century, indicating perhaps rather a strong dislike for the Turkish Government than any yearning for national independence:—(i.) Under Mohammed Pasha in 1834; (ii.) Under Ahmed Pasha, of Suleimaniyah, who attacked the Turkish Governor of Baghdad about 1843; (iii.) In 1847 under Bedr Khan Bey, who first fell upon the Nestorians and then on the Turkish Army sent against him under 'Omar Pasha. Other disturbances among the Kurds were 'Obeidullah's attack on Persia in 1886, the rising of the Hakkari against the Turks in 1895 and the insurrection at Bitlis in 1914, which was suppressed with ruthless cruelty.



prepared to ask for Russian aid, in despair of obtaining from the Turks the reforms for which they were asking. But after the outbreak of the war, it was soon apparent that murder, rapine and famine followed in the wake of the Russian army. Thus, in the winter of 1915 to 1916, Rowanduz and the surrounding country were completely destroyed, and in 1916 a Russian reconnaissance, which pushed as far south as Khaniqin, looted the town. The situation was only saved by the retreat of the Russians and the capture of Baghdad by the British in March, 1917.

As early as December, 1914, General Sherif Pasha had offered his services to the British Army, but it was found necessary to refuse them, for there was then no probability of our action extending into Kurdistan.

From the moment of our arrival in Baghdad and when we effected a junction with the Russians at Qasr-ish-Shirin, the Chief Political Officer urged the necessity of our occupying Khaniqin in order to protect our interests among the neighbouring tribes; it was, however, impossible to detach troops for the purpose, and all that could be done was to ask Mustafa Pasha Bajlan to keep order there on our behalf. But the Russians, who had been in Khaniqin since the beginning of April, had alienated Kurdish sympathy from themselves and their allies by their lack of discipline and carelessness for the future. § No sooner had they occupied the town than a reign of terror began; Mustafa Pasha begged for the appointment of a British Political Officer to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants, but this could not be done without offending the Russian Command. Meanwhile, letters continued to be received from the Bajlan, Jaff, Sharafbani, and Talabani, and from the notables of Qizil Robot, complaining that the Russians would depopulate the country and that they were driving the people into the arms of the Turks. Finally, at the end of April, Mustafa Pasha himself came into Baghdad to lay the case before the British authorities. He stated that the Turkish Kurds were worse used than the Persian Kurds and that he himself had been robbed and threatened with the whip in spite of his friendly attitude to the British; he further reported the following facts, which have since been substantiated by independent evidence: (i.) At first the Russians paid about half-value in silver for what they requisitioned, though soon they began to pay in notes at their own rate; (ii.) The country-side was denuded of flocks and herds, many of which were driven across the frontier; the crops were cut and destroyed and no payments were made for them; (iii.) Consequently, wheaten bread was almost unobtainable, and all but the wealthiest classes were destitute; (iv.) No traveller outside the town was safe from robbery at the hands of the Cossacks, even though provided with a pass; (v.) Food exposed for sale was seized and officers went from house to house demanding more; even widows with children were not exempt; (vi.) The orchards were ruined by the cutting of the irrigation-

§ The Russian Army was menaced by the shadow of Bolshevism, which had already broken out in Russia.

canals and the refusal to allow the people to work on them; (vii.) Many people took refuge with the Turks at Kifri; (viii.) The Sallahiyah, who had at first refused to provision the Turks, were now doing so in order to obtain permission to remain in the district; (ix.) Some 400 men under the Sardar Muhi, a Persian rebel, had fled with 'Ali Akbar Khan, chief of the Sinjahi, into the Bamu mountain, about 50 miles north of Khaniqin, intending to surrender to the British, but the alarming reports of the Russian excesses prevented them from doing so.

Consequently, in proportion as the prestige of the Allies sank, that of the Turks rose in contrast. Mustapha Pasha again begged for the appointment of a British Political Officer, but again no steps were taken to remedy the situation for the same reason as before. At the end of June the Russians retired across the frontier into Persia and the Turks re-occupied Khaniqin, whereupon the work of looting and destruction was brought to completion. Distress became acute and, when the Ottoman troops evacuated Khaniqin at the end of August, some of the inhabitants returned and began to sow the maize which they had hidden in the mountains. The Daudi, under Sheikh Hamid, and the Talabani had proved themselves strong enough to resist all attempts on the part of the Turks to requisition provisions. The defeat of the Turks at Gaza in the autumn and the consequent abandonment of the projected Turco-German offensive in Mesopotamia at last rendered it possible to appoint a British Political Officer at Khaniqin in December.

The arrival of the British was hailed with delight, and the people began to return from their hiding places. There was still a great deal of distress, while it was not found possible to give as much help as was required for cultivation through fear that the crops might even yet fall into the hands of the Turks; meanwhile also the tribes living to the north and north-east of the town were still in a turbulent condition. As confidence, however, was restored, food-stuffs began to come into the district in ever-increasing quantities, and a considerable reduction was effected in the stores which reached the Turks. Early in May, 1918, our troops reached Kifri, Tuz and Kirkuk, where Political Officers were at once installed; most of the local chieftains immediately offered to give all the assistance in their power to the British Army.

In Suleimaniyah a meeting of notables was held to decide on the future policy of the Kurds. At this meeting it was decided to set up a provisional Kurdish government under Mahmud ibn Hafit ibn Kakha, *aghá* of the Bazanji * Kurds, while it was determined to follow a policy of friendliness to the British. Letters were received from the Sheikh, claiming to represent all the Kurds as far as Sennah and offering either to hand over the reins of government to us or to act as our representative under our protection.

Unfortunately circumstances prevented us from taking advantage of

* Or Barzinji.

the situation and even compelled us to abandon our new allies. The situation brought about by the Russian *débâcle* in the Caucasus had long been causing serious anxiety and in the early spring a mission had been sent there under General Dunsterville; this had now to be followed up with military support; owing to this and the difficulty of maintaining our advanced posts in Mesopotamia and of making proper provision for the forces in Persia, Kirkuk had to be abandoned. Sheikh Mahmud was appointed our representative at Suleimaniyah and the British forces were withdrawn to Kifri and Tuz. On re-occupying Suleimaniyah, the Turks at once proclaimed martial law and exacted retribution from all who had befriended us, Mahmud himself being removed to Kirkuk; he was, however, well treated and soon set at liberty. Simultaneously some minor successes achieved by the Turks increased the apprehensiveness of the Kurds. Consequently our endeavours to raise a force of Kurdish levies met with small success, whereas the enemy had formed a body of Kurdish cavalry to operate against us in northern Persia. A number of small tribes, such as the Merivan, were coerced into joining the Turks, but the Avroman remained consistently hostile to them. The lack of initiative shown at this period by the Turkish leaders, combined with the change on the front in France and the overwhelming victories in Palestine, played into our hands, and the withdrawal of every available Turk to defend vital positions nearer home once more turned the tide of public opinion in Southern Kurdistan in our favour.

The general plan of operations was an advance on Mosul in force, while a smaller column advanced towards Altun Köprü to prevent any troops in that district from being utilised in the defence against the main attack up the Tigris. On the 25th of October the northern force entered Kirkuk and on the following day the Turkish Army on the Tigris was surrounded. On the 30th the entire force surrendered. The other column, in the meanwhile, had driven the enemy across the Lesser Zab; on the 1st of November, when the news of the armistice arrived, troops were sent forward to occupy Mosul; by the 10th of the month the whole *vildayah* was clear of Turkish soldiers.

To obtain control over the Kurds, Major Noel was immediately despatched on a mission to Suleimaniyah, where he arrived in the middle of November. He had been authorised to appoint Sheikh Mahmud as British representative in Suleimaniyah, if he considered this expedient, and to make similar appointments at Chamchamal, Halabja, and other places, at his discretion; he was also to endeavour to arrange with local chiefs for the restoration and maintenance of order in areas outside the limits of our military occupation. It was especially to be explained to tribal chiefs that there was no intention of forcing on them an administration foreign to their habits and desires; that they were to be encouraged to form a confederation for the settlement of their public affairs under the guidance of the British political officers; and that they would be called

upon to pay the taxes legally due under Turkish law, modified as might be found necessary for any purpose connected with the maintenance of order and the development of the country.

On his arrival Major Noel at once nominated Mahmud governor of the district with a staff of Kurdish assistants, while Kurdish officials were appointed to work in the various sub-divisions of the district under the guidance of British officers. All Turkish and Arab officials were removed and replaced by native Kurds. The system adopted was practically a feudal one, each chief being held responsible for the correct government of his own tribe. Arrangements were also made to import food, seed, and articles of merchandise, not only to cope with the pressing danger of famine, but also to hasten the revival of trade. Nor were the religious wants of the people neglected, for some of the principal mosques were repaired at British expense and a grant was made to assist the carrying out of religious observances.

On the 1st of December, the Civil Commissioner visited Suleimaniyah and held a meeting, which was attended by about 60 of the leading chiefs of Southern Kurdistan, to whom he explained the political situation. He found that the national movement was strong, for they had suffered much both from the Turks and Russians; yet, though they were determined to resist any endeavour to restore the Turkish *régime*, they were ready to recognise the need of British protection. At last, after considerable discussion, they drew up a petition, in which they asked to be placed under the British and attached to Iraq for administration. The Civil Commissioner, in return, signed a document, assuring the Kurds that whoever wished should be allowed to come under the leadership of Sheikh Mahmud, but that none should be forced to do so. The tribes and the townspeople of Kifri and Kirkuk decided to stand out. It was also made clear to the Persian Kurds that it was incumbent on them to remain loyal subjects of Persia. Further, Sheikh Mahmud asked for British officers for all the departments of the government and for the Kurdish levies, only requiring that the subordinate staff should consist of Kurds and not of Arabs.

Meanwhile the government of the *vilâyah* of Mosul was being organised by Colonel Leachman. As soon as possible officers were sent to establish communications with the Kurds at Akra and Zakho and on the frontier. Here, however, negotiations with the Kurds proved much more difficult than further south. The trouble was caused by the presence in this district of numerous Christian communities in the *vilâyat* of Bitlis, Van, and Urmiah, and by the acute nature of the Armenian question. A number of Turkish officials also still remained at their posts, and were only too glad to fan the flames of religious discord. A third difficulty lay in the mixed nature of the population in the *vilâyah* of Mosul, where there is a large Arab element; malcontents were ever ready to play on the Kurdish hatred of the Arabs. Lastly, French propaganda, by insisting that France had the reputation of protecting and supporting Christians, while in the eyes of the British administration all religions were equal, roused

the feelings of the Christians at the same time as it disturbed the Moslems by hinting that the British occupation would only be temporary, and that the French would ultimately receive the mandate for the district.*

To the Kurd the Armenian is a double-faced liar of superior cunning, far inferior in the military qualities which alone he respects, but who is about to obtain a preponderating share in the government of the country, according to the wild rumours which have reached him of the grandiose schemes being hatched in Europe for the restoration of the Armenian kingdom. He feels inarticulate and unable to voice his claims before the clever and better-educated Armenian, while from the religious point of view he fears that in a world of victorious Christianity Islam will receive but a scant measure of respect. These fears are accentuated by the idle boasting of the Armenian and by the report that the British have 50,000 Christians waiting in Iraq to be restored to the homes from which they have been exiled, well armed and eager to avenge the massacres in which he himself played no small part; he begins to doubt our good faith or our power to restrain them and is encouraged by Turkish and Pan-Islamic intrigue to be ready to resist by force of arms.

In Suleimaniyah by the end of December doubts were beginning to arise as to the wisdom of allowing Sheikh Mahmud further to increase his power. He was known to have been in times past in continuous revolt against the Turkish Government, and it was said that the tyranny exercised by his family had been worse even than that of the Turkish officials. But his influence, which was undoubted, was still too useful to us to be put aside or to be lost, perhaps, by a curtailment of power which might goad him into rebellion. Unfortunately, he was a mere child as regards intellect and breadth of view, but a child possessed of considerable cunning and undoubtedly inspired by an inordinate ambition. Moreover, he was surrounded by a class of sycophants who filled his head with extravagant and silly notions, leading him to style himself ruler of all Kurdistan and encouraging him to interfere in affairs far beyond the borders of the sphere allotted to him.

In Northern Kurdistan, soon after the signing of the armistice, the Kurdish movement burst into fresh activity. It seems to have been revived by prominent Turks, such as 'Ali Ihsan Pasha, and by members of the Committee of Union and Progress in order to embarrass the Allied Governments. In January, 1919, members of that Committee were in Kharput, urging the Kurds to claim their independence at the Peace

* Another line taken by French propaganda is seen in a speech delivered in Constantinople on the 24th of July by Avni Bey Bederhani, who is supposed to be a French agent. In addressing a meeting of the Kurdish party, he argued that the object of the British in occupying Kurdistan was to secure the frontiers of Mesopotamia and that such an occupation of their country would eventually enslave the Kurds; consequently, the welfare of the land could be assured only by the adoption of a Francophile policy, since the interests of the French, who are not politically concerned in that part of Asia, would only be commercial.

Confession. 'Ali Ihsan Pasha at the same time was visiting the Kurdish chiefs to discuss the same question and was supplying them with arms, horses and money for use against the British, whenever they should come to occupy the country. He also, it is said, incited the Barazi Kurds in the region round Seruj to rise against the followers of Basrawi and massacre them for their friendship with the British, with the result that frequent encounters occurred between the two tribes. 'Ali Ihsan's† relations with the Kurds dates from before the war, when he was one of the chief instigators in the murder of Armenians in Bitlis and round Lake Van. Another side of his character is shown by his behaviour in Persia, where he used to plunder the inhabitants in order to reward his subordinate officers. Toward the end of the same month a feeling of unrest became noticeable among the Kurds of Diarbekr; 'Ali Ihsan Pasha, assisted by the Turkish authorities, was active in this district also; he had one of the chiefs of the Karakechili tribe arrested and imprisoned at Diarbekr for no other reason than that he was apparently opposed to the Turks. Though, in fact, he is working in favour of an independent Kurdistan, it would seem that he only does so to embarrass the Allies; what he really wishes is to discourage them from taking over the control of Kurdistan, whereupon he will do his utmost to bring it again under Turkish rule.

Sometime in the course of January Sir Mark Sykes sent an emissary to the Kurds in the region of Midiat and the Tur-el-'Abdin to find out whether they were likely to assist the British and to try to prevent them from providing 'Ali Ihsan Pasha with supplies. 'Ali Batti at Muzeza and Rashid at Midiat proclaimed their adherence to the British cause and reported that they could bring into the field about 5,000 armed men; at the same time they refused to be coerced by the *qaimnaqam* of Midiat into signing a document in favour of Kurdish independence till they had received instructions from the British Government. Their attitude was directly opposed to that of the surrounding tribes, with most of whom 'Ali Ihsan Pasha had successfully tampered. Thereupon Sir Mark Sykes sent instructions to these chiefs and to 'Abd-ul-'Aziz and Melki Agha, who had joined them, to refuse all assistance to 'Ali Ihsan Pasha and to protect the Christians in their districts. Shortly afterwards their loyalty was put to the test and proved. 'Ali Ihsan Pasha sent to demand from them 1,000 rifles, as well as sheep and other supplies; 'Ali Batti refused to obey, and wrote to the *qaimnaqam* of Midiat to the effect that he would fall upon the garrisons at Midiat and Sa'our if the Turks should molest the Christians.

Another party appears to have come forward at the same time to agitate for a so-called "Turco-Kurdish Independence," which seems to mean that, if the Kurds are not to be embodied in the new Turkish Empire, they must not, at any rate, come under a foreign power. At Diarbekr, one 'Ali Bey was endeavouring at the end of the month to found a paper, with

† Till February, 1919, he commanded the Sixth Turkish Army.

the permission of the Government, to foster the views of this party. There, as well as in Mardin, many of the agitators were impelled by a sinister motive to join in the present disturbances; many of them were concerned in the Armenian massacres in 1915, and they feared that they would receive condign punishment at the hands of the British, whereas they could console themselves with a reasonable hope of impunity if the country were declared independent or subject to Turkish rule.

Soon after this, Basrawi, the Sheikh of the Ketkan Kurds, with whom the Sheikhan Kurds are allied, appealed to the British military authorities for protection; he affirmed that the majority of the tribes in his district were in agreement with him, but that a number of persons, among whom he enumerated Mustafa ibn Shahin Bey, Bozan ibn Nahu, Hajji Ahmed Bey and Ghalib Bey with his sons, Mustafa, Muslim and Dimo, were carrying out a reign of terror in collusion with the Turkish authorities. In the course of a few weeks the movement spread, and other Kurds, under the guidance of 'Ali Batti, began to voice a similar claim to that of their neighbours. Simultaneously, the Kurds at Sairt, which lies about 75 miles south-west of Lake Van, rose against the Turkish garrison and seized two machine-guns; 'Ali Ihsan Pasha, finding that he could not reduce them by force, tried to bribe their chiefs with offers of arms and ammunition; the weapons were gladly accepted and then turned against those who gave them. Here the movement seemed to be coloured more by dislike of the Turks than by any overwhelming desire for freedom.

At Silwan, Sadiq Bey, the *agha* of the Hazro Kurds, was regarded with suspicion by the Turks, as being the leader of a local movement to liberate Kurdistan from the Turkish yoke. It was also announced that the tribes of Bash Kala, which is situated about 70 miles north-west of the town of Urmiyah, had proclaimed their independence and that they had been joined by some Persian Kurds, who were being secretly encouraged by agents from Tabriz. The main point in their programme was that the movement was coloured with Pan-Islamism and that in consequence they hoped to prevent the repatriation of the Christians to the regions to the west of Lake Urmiyah, whence they had been driven out in the summer of 1918. The leading figure among these Kurds was Ismail Agha Simko, chief of the Shikak Kurds, who treacherously murdered Mar Shim'un, bishop of the Old Chaldaean community, in March, 1918. His followers inhabit the territory lying between the towns of Salmas and Kotur, at the north-west extremity of Lake Urmiyah.

On the 21st of February, 'Ali Ihsan Pasha was removed by the Turkish Government, owing to the continuance of disturbances which he seemed unable or unwilling to suppress, if he was not indeed actually instigating them. His work was carried on by his friends, Shevki Bey, Sidqi Bey, Hajji Bey, Memduh Bey, Bulbul Bey, and others; at Mardin it was said that Najib Effendi, the Director of the Agricultural Bank, was inspiring the tribesmen to rise. Meanwhile, inter-tribal conflicts proved that the Kurdish world was by no means unanimous in politics, nor was

it able to sink its differences in furtherance of the common aim. Thus the Ramman Kurds, who are settled near Midiat, were fighting with the Rashkota and Beshiri* tribes, who occupy the region round Sinan to the east of Diarbekr.

At the beginning of March the chief men of Severeck visited the Turkish authorities and the leaders of the local branch of the Committee of Union and Progress at Diarbekr; they decided to organise the Turkish troops and the tribes in the area of these two towns and of Urfah, in order to offer resistance to foreign occupation. They released Mahmud, the chief of the Milli tribes, and 'Abd-ul-Qadir ibn Derae, the chief of the Karakechili tribe, who were in prison on a charge of disloyalty to the government. The Turkish authorities then promised to recognise Mahmud as the paramount chief of the Milli and to make him the most influential *agha* east of the Euphrates; they ordered him immediately to call up his cavalry and to unite with the neighbouring tribes, in order to attack the British troops at Urfah and drive them across the river. Mahmud agreed to the plan and sent letters to the chiefs of the Badelli and Dukurlu Kurds and of the Jaish Arabs, inviting them to mobilise and join in the campaign. The two Kurdish tribes hesitated at first through fear of the British, but eventually they fell in with the proposal.

On the 12th of the month Basrawi, on the contrary, and a few important chiefs who were under his influence met the British military authorities at Arab Punar and discussed the situation with them. Meanwhile Chevket Bey, a member of the Administrative Council at Mardin, and 'Abd-ul-Qadir Pasha, the President of the Committee for Kurdish Independence, despatched political emissaries amongst the tribes, urging them to oppose foreign intervention. Only a few chieftains expressed their adherence; they were Khalil Chazal, who lives in the Ambarie Dagh, south-east of Mardin, the Ghorz chieftains between Mardin and Derek and Husein Bakero of Maserta; Khalil Chazal was the most important of these chiefs, in that he controlled a force of 5,000 rifles, whereas the Ghorz chieftains only commanded 250 and Husein Bakero only 200 armed men. It was asserted that Kanaan Bey, who commanded the 5th Turkish Division at Mardin, was supporting these politicians. Another supporter of the Turkish cause was Lubud Bey, commonly known as Mahmud Bey, a Kurdish notable in Urfah,† who, in the second week of March, began a campaign against the interference of the British, who are Christians, in the affairs of Moslem states. At the same time Severecki 'Ali Effendi and Baghdenle Sayyid Bey, two notorious leaders of the Committee of Union

* Or Beziri Kaza.

† As late as the end of July it was reported that the endeavour to found a Kurdish Club in Urfah had been unsuccessful, mainly because the attitude of the notables had not yet assumed a definite character. At the same time the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes began to come more frequently into Urfah to make protestations of loyalty to the commander of the Allied detachment occupying the district; among them were Sayyid Bey and Bekir Bey of the Badelli and Dukurlu tribes respectively, Mustafa Bey and Veysi Bey of the Karakechili, and Sinam Agha of the Sheikhan Kurds.

and Progress in the same place, were sowing the seeds of rebellion among the tribes in the immediate surroundings of the town and organising a force to fight against the British. For the same purpose Turkish troops were reported to be joining the Milli tribes, and the Turkish military authorities presented Mahmud with two or three field-guns. Meanwhile, Mustafa Bey, chief of the Karakechili tribe, quarrelled with his cousin 'Abd-ul-Qadir Bey, chief of the Karakechili tribe, over the question of joining the Milli; the government of Severek tried to mediate between these two chiefs in order to win them over to the side of the Milli, but without success.

In Diarbekr the Kurdish Club was already organised and at work; its activities seemed to be two-fold: primarily they were intended to check British intervention, for which a volunteer force of young Turks and Kurds was enrolled; in the second place, it was directed against the Armenians. To this end the *mufti* of Severek was induced to issue a religious decree that, as the Armenians who went to Aleppo did so in order to accuse Moslems of complicity in the Armenian massacres before their co-religionists, it was no crime for a Moslem to kill any Armenian who was guilty of such a course of action; consequently, the Armenians again became subject to molestation at the hands of Turks and Kurds. The ringleaders were Sherbeji Shamdin oghlu 'Abd-ur-Rahman and Sallah Bey Sayyid.

Nominally the Turkish government was opposed to these operations and ordered the arrest of several prominent members of the Committee of Union and Progress, who immediately took refuge with the neighbouring Kurdish tribes, where they were engaged in preaching the independence of Kurdistan. In their absence the crusade against the British and Armenians as Christians was carried on by other Turkish members of the club; they even went so far as to publish notices in the streets, inviting all patriotic Kurds to join the Kurdish Club. On the 21st of March they met a deputation of Kurdish chiefs and others, amongst whom were Hajji Ahmed, chief of the Serkuji, Serdim Pasha, chief of the Hazo, the *mufti* of Severek and two notables of Derek. It was arranged at this meeting to defend Mardin and Diarbekr against the British at all costs; simultaneously Nejim Effendi ibn Amin Effendi and Shevket Bey were sent to stir up the inhabitants of Midiat.

In Mardin the Kurdish Club was managed by seven prominent citizens, 'Abd-ur-Raziq Shahtana, 'Abd-ul-Qadir Pasha and his son Shakir Bey, Najib Effendi, Shevket Bey, Sheikhly Shahtana and Khadr Chelebi Shahtana. These men were careful to conceal their plans from all Christians, as their object was to prevent the occupation of Mardin by the British. They sought to obtain signatures to a document to the effect that all the inhabitants of the town, Kurds, Turks and Christians, were unanimous in desiring an autonomous Kurdistan; but many persons refused to sign it, including Mar Elias, the Patriarch of the Old Syrian Church, who gave as his reason for declining that he was an Ottoman and not a Kurd. Finally, they drew up another statement that, being Ottomans,

they did not wish for British intervention; the Patriarch, who affixed his signature to this document, together with other spiritual leaders, shortly afterwards left Mardin for Constantinople. It is probable that he was induced to give his assent to this document by a rumour which was circulated at that time, that it had been decided at the Peace Conference to establish an independent Armenia under an American mandate; the Patriarch, it was said, had announced that in such a case he and his community would remain loyal to Turkey or unite with the Kurds. Another opponent of the British is the Syrian Catholic Bishop; the club used to meet in the houses of these two prelates.

On the 19th of March, Yusuf Haidar and Khair-ud-Din uz-Zarguali, the directors of the paper called "El-Mufid," which is published in Damascus, printed a long article on Kurdish independence; that this article was of the nature of propaganda is proved by the fact that a large number of copies was distributed free in the streets of Aleppo. The document was entitled "An open letter to to the Kurds of North and South Kurdistan"; it began by lamenting the political indifference of the Kurdish race and called to their minds President Wilson's words about "the removal of the yoke of bygone days from the necks of nations, the yoke which stifles all progress"; after referring to the noble uprising of their kindred, the Arab people, to win for themselves a complete autonomy, it invoked them to bestir themselves to claim a free Kurdistan which should include Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekr, Mosul, and many other places, where three and a half million Kurds live. Unknown agitators also were very active in distributing pamphlets in the towns and villages; and their emissaries were known to have worked in Aleppo, Midiat, Azekh, Goyan, and in the country to the north of Zakho, Nisibin, Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, Sbernakh, Mosul, the country of the Zab and elsewhere. Nor was 'Ali Batti, chief of the Haverki, inactive; for about this time he met 'Abd-ur-Rahman, chief of the Shernakhli, and Ramazan, chief of the Salahan, in a conference at which they agreed to oppose the further advance of the British towards their country. 'Ali Batti then began to unite the *aghawát* of the tribes around him in this movement and made up his quarrel with 'Izz-ud-Din, chief of the Habasbani, in order to obtain his support.

The Kurdish agitation had been started in Jezirat-ibn-'Omar at the beginning of February by 'Ali Ihsan Pasha, who directed it chiefly against the occupation of the country by the British Army; influential Arabs and Armenians from Mesopotamia were detained in prison without cause and traffic on the Tigris was impeded at Mosul; the enrolling and arming of Kurds was carried out without hindrance and all orders from Constantinople to put into execution the terms of the armistice were disregarded by the Kurds, with the connivance of the local Turkish authorities. On the 25th of March representatives of the Kurdish National Committee at Constantinople passed through Mosul on their way to Suleimaniyah with letters to the Kurdish tribes, urging them to rise and throw off the British yoke

and to declare their independence under Turkish suzerainty. The leading envoy of the Committee was Khulusi Bey, a native of Rowanduz, a man of about 45 years of age, wealthy, and connected by marriage with the family of Bedr Khan. He had spent many years in exile in Constantinople as a result of his enmity with Sayyid Bey, the president of the local branch of the Committee of Union and Progress in Rowanduz. It is probable that, profiting by the downfall of this Committee, he has put himself at the head of a Kurdish political faction in order to regain his former influence. At the end of March it was learnt that the Kurds were massacring Christians in the district of Goyan, a short way north of Zakho, probably at the instigation of the Turks. These acts of turbulence culminated on the 4th of April in the murder of Captain Pearson, a British political officer; he had gone to this district to investigate the massacres and to set up a force of gendarmerie, when he was attacked and killed by Goyan Kurds, on the road between Belo and Mergi, about 30 miles north-east of Zakho. The murderers cut off their victim's ears and sent them to 'Abd-ur-Rahman, Agha of the Shernakhli Kurds, who sent back presents in return. All the tribes were greatly excited by the news of the murder. One of the murderers was caught by gendarmes at Marsis, about 11 miles north of Zakho, but was given up on the approach of a band of 250 armed tribesmen. The centre of disaffection was Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, where 'Abd-ur-Rahman† resided; he was, to a large extent, responsible for the trouble in this region. It was reported that he and other Kurdish chiefs were engaged in propaganda among the Turkoman tribes and that he had formed with Ramazan, chief of the Salahan, an alliance against the British; the Kurds of Midiat were expected to join them, whereupon they were credited with the intention of seizing Zakho and Jezirat-ibn-'Omar; the Miran tribes were also implicated in the conspiracy, and arms, ammunition, and supplies were being collected near Azekli.

Mahmud, the chief of the Milli, had also been making preparations; a report stated that in the first week of April he informed the Turkish officials at Severek and Diarbekr that, if they would supply him with guns and ammunition, he would put into execution the proposed attack on the British; but the Turks did not dare to violate so flagrantly the terms of the armistice. The Milli possessed, however, about 20 machine-guns which they had looted during the retreat of the Turkish Army. Mahmud was also unsuccessful in winning over to his side all the neighbouring Kurdish tribes, nor did the Jaisli Arah declare unanimously in his favour. Consequently, enthusiasm for the venture commenced to die down, as the hope of a strong combination of tribes grew fainter. Many of the chiefs and prominent men also began to reflect that failure would entail disastrous

† 'Abd-ur-Rahman was more or less a tool in the hands of Ahmed Helmi Effendi ibn Hajji Muhammad Khilwarzi, the notorious "mufti" of Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, whose extradition was demanded from the Turkish Government on several charges of murder; and the Goyan were under the influence of the Shernakhli.

consequences. In Adiaman and Samsat, though the notables disliked the idea of a British administration out of fear that they would be held responsible and perhaps brought to justice for their share in the Armenian atrocities, yet the poorer classes were ready to welcome such an event as a relief from the injustice and oppression of the existing government; business was at a standstill, the fluctuations in the value of coin and paper-money were causing much discontent and many small traders were already ruined or confronted with bankruptcy in the immediate future. The most fertile soil for agitation was amongst the lowest classes, who were taught that the British would disarm them and sternly put down robbery and brigandage. The ordinary tribesman, also, a herdsman or a cultivator by profession, who varied the monotony of a small farmer's life by occasional raids on his neighbours or by robbing travellers, showed no real desire for independence; his horizon was bounded by his farm and his political outlook did not extend beyond the tribes in his immediate vicinity. Consequently, it was no surprise to the British authorities when the news arrived at the beginning of May that Mahmud had ordered all tribes under his command to remain quiet, even if provoked, and that he had undertaken to refer all questions to them before taking any action. Thereupon, with the collapse of Mahmud's loose confederacy of Kurds, the usual inter-tribal quarrels broke out anew; the Miran Kurds and 'Anazah Arabs were reported to be combining against the Shembi, Milli and Kiki tribes; the Dukurlu and Badelli, after a truce of a few weeks' duration, came to blows again, and the tribes round Derek and elsewhere sank once more into the labyrinth of local politics and tribal feuds.

At the end of May the news of the Greek occupation of Smyrna and rumours about the formation of an independent Armenia served the purpose of uniting the local leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress and the Kurdish notables at Malatia. Here the movement for an independent Kurdistan was strongly encouraged also by the *mutesarraf*, a Kurd of the Bedrkhani tribe.

* Meanwhile, in Southern Kurdistan the situation had grown worse, chiefly owing to the folly of Sheikh Mahmud. Towards the end of December, 1918, Major Noel left Suleimaniyah and went through the districts to the west and north as far as Rowanduz, introducing everywhere the same system of government. Political officers were appointed at Koî Sanjaq, Rania and Rowanduz; order was rapidly restored and the tribes were brought under our influence. They all expressed their readiness to accept the rule of Sheikh Mahmud as British representative in Southern Kurdistan and were apparently eager to join the Kurdish confederacy.

The district was found to be in an appalling state of desolation after the passing of successive waves of demoralised Russian and Turkish soldiers; in Rowanduz only 60 houses were standing out of the 2,000 which had existed before the war. Cultivation in the country had

completely stopped, while the population had been reduced by about 75% of its original numbers. In some parts the people were subsisting entirely on herbs and acorns and had been constrained to eat not only cats and dogs but even human flesh. Steps were at once taken to import grain from Erbil, poor-relief was started, and agriculture encouraged. It was, however, very difficult to bring law and order into the almost inaccessible mountains and valleys to the north of Rowanduz, owing to the absence of an adequate force of police; but a number of tribes submitted to the prestige of the British army from fear of future punishment. The difficulty was enhanced by the fact that the district on one side bordered on the area of Turkish occupation and on the other on the Persian province of Azerbaijan, which was in a complete state of chaos. The causes of this were, it seems, firstly an intense feeling of repugnance to the return of the Assyrians and Armenians, fostered probably by some form of Pan-Islamic movement centred in Tabriz and perhaps stirred up by Persian officials for their own ends, and in the second place the extreme dislike felt by the Kurds for the emasculated Persian rule. So weak was this that in February, 1919, a meeting was held by the more important chiefs on the Persian side of the border to discuss the question of a revolt against Persian authority. It is believed that the majority voted in favour of a rising, with the reservation that it would be advisable to wait and see what the attitude of the powers would be towards the Persian Kurds and the repatriation of the Armenians.

In the meantime, in the north-western corner of the *vilâyah* of Mosul pro-Turkish and anti-Christian propaganda was meeting with considerable success; the position of the inhabitants of the Christian villages between Zakho and Jezirat-ibn-'Omar became one of considerable danger and in some cases anti-Christian disturbances actually occurred. On the 17th of March letters from 'Abd-ur-Rahman Agha, chief of the Shernakhli Kurds, were intercepted; in them he urged the expulsion of the foreigners, stating that the movement had the support and favour of the Turkish Government, whose efforts were being seconded by individuals and by committees in Constantinople, Cairo, and apparently in Paris, who were working for an independent Kurdish State. Turkish officers at the same time visited Shemsdinan with Turkish propaganda but were coldly received, while one entered the *vilâyah* of Mosul with the same object. The local centres of activity were Jezirat-ibn-'Omar and Shernakh, while the Goyan Kurds were the chief instruments in the hands of the agitators. The murder of Captain Pearson followed close on these events.

Everything then seemed ripe for Sheikh Mahmud to extend his sway by diplomacy or, failing that, by an appeal to arms. Realising the danger of giving him too much power or of allowing him to aim at a wider rule than he already enjoyed, the British representatives decided to restrict his authority; in particular, the powerful tribe of the Jaff Kurds were taken from his jurisdiction and an assistant Political Officer was stationed

at Halabja to deal with them directly. As soon as it was seen that he was not to be permitted to have control over any tribes who were unwilling to submit to him, his influence began to wane almost everywhere except in the immediate vicinity of Suleimaniyah. It is difficult to trace exactly the subsequent course of events, but on the 22nd of May Mahmud raised the standard of revolt.

† Except in his own district he received small support. Of the two main causes of the failure of the rebellion, the first was Mahmud's personal unpopularity, which outbalanced the influence derived from a famous family and from his claim to be a *sayyid* of the family of the prophet Mohammed; the other lay in the inability of the Kurds to meet trained troops accustomed to mountain-warfare. His chief supporters were Kurds from across the Persian frontier; apart from these, he relied for support on the tribes living to the north and north-east of Suleimaniyah and on the armed rahhle of the town itself.

The Avromani, living about 40 miles south-east of Suleimaniyah over the Persian frontier, sent about 100 foot and 50 horse under Mahmud Khan Dizli; the Hamawand sent a section under Karim Fattah; the Ismail Uzairi, a small tribe in the valley of Suleimaniyah, were engaged in the fighting at Tashlujah, after which their levy returned home; a small party of the Jaff took the side of Mahmud, but the majority of the tribe were opposed to him; about 200 men of the Jabbari, whose headquarters are at Tawirbarz, 20 miles south of Qara Anjir, joined Mahmud, under the leadership of Sheikh Sayyid Muhammad, but on the 5th of June it was said that they had left him; the Merivani, who are neighbours of the Avromani, were originally reported to have taken sides with Mahmud, but their attitude remained uncertain throughout the rising; Aziz Sherif Jalal, a notorious brigand of the Shuan tribe, took part in the fighting at Qara Anjir on the side of Mahmud, to whom he brought 250 men; Faris Agha joined Mahmud with 50 men of the Sheikh Bazeini, but they all deserted with the exception of a few horsemen. Otherwise, Mahmud's principal allies were the tribes in villages owned by him or by his relatives in the districts of the Qara Dagh and of Qara Hasan, in the immediate vicinity of Suleimaniyah and Chamchamal. His chief individual supporters were Sheikh Qadir, his brother; Sheikh Sa'id, owner of Jigri (6 miles S.E. of Qara Anjir); Sheikh Ismail and Sheikh Amin of Bizala (8 miles S.S.E. of Qara Anjir); Sheikh Hamid of Qarawaisi (11 miles S.W. of Chamchamal); Sheikh Muhi-'d-Din of Kani Kawa (in the Bazzan valley); and Sheikh Sa'id of Mamlahah (8½ miles S.S.E. of Chamchamal).

The outbreak was sudden; the small force of Kurdish levies on the spot were speedily defeated and dispersed; the British political officers and their staff were confined to their houses but were not maltreated in any way, though a British motor-driver was killed. Mahmud assumed the entire control of affairs, appointed his own *qaimmaqám*, seized the archives of the government and took two lakhs of rupees from the

Treasury; the telegraph-line between Suleimaniyah and Kirkuk was also cut.

On the 23rd of May an aerial reconnaissance reported that Suleimaniyah was full of armed men, who were estimated at 1,500 infantry and 500 mounted troops; the political officers signalled from the roof of their house to the aviators not to land. Next day a small force was sent to reconnoitre the road from Kirkuk as far as the Tashlujah pass, some 14 miles from Suleimaniyah; it was attacked on the following day by the Kurds and compelled to retire to Chamchamal. On the 25th an aeroplane on a reconnaissance near Piradi met with a heavy fusillade, and on the 27th a Kurdish patrol was observed in occupation of the Bazzan pass, nine miles north-east of Chamchamal. At the same time the situation became critical at Halabja, which lies 35 miles south-east of Suleimaniyah, near the Persian border; on the 26th the Kurds took possession of the town. On the other hand, several tribes came forward to offer their help to the British, notably the Jaff and Pishdr.

On the 28th detachments of the 32nd Lancers and the 1/5th East Surrey Regiment moved out from Kirkuk and occupied a temporary post at Qara Anjir, about 16 miles west of Chamchamal, on the main road; there they were attacked by a force of about 500 enemy horsemen, who were believed to be under the command of Sheikh Qadir, whose camp was at Binna, 4 miles west of Chamchamal. The attack was beaten off but was renewed the next day, when the garrison was relieved by a detachment from Kirkuk; the hostile camp at Binna was bombed with good effect. The Kurds were known to have suffered considerable losses in their repulse from Qara Anjir and in the bombing raid, among the killed being a nephew of Sheikh Sayyid Muhammad, chief of one of the Jabbari tribes.

On the 3rd of June the troops recovered all the convoy carts which has been abandoned in a defile six miles east of Qara Anjir; during the return they were attacked by a party of more than 300 mounted Kurds and fought a rearguard action right up to their camp. On the 5th an aerial squadron bombed the enemy's camps at Ibrahim Agha, which lies seven miles north of Qara Anjir, and at Binna. At the same time an aviator discovered that the Bazzan pass, across which the Kurds had built a stone wall, was not effectively blocked. News was also received that Mahmud's supporters were losing faith in him. On the 7th it was reported that many of the local tribes had gone home and that others had refused to be mobilised. Simultaneously another account was received that Mahmud himself was becoming anxious and that he would be willing to negotiate; his four machine guns were very short of ammunition and the best officer in charge of them had been killed. His forces were stated to have dwindled to about 400 cavalry and 60 dismounted men, who were concentrated in the Darband Valley, between the Bazzan and Tashlujah passes. On the 8th a camp lying to the east of the Bazzan pass and the troops in the pass itself were bombed with good results, and shortly after-

wards Qara Anjir and Chamchamal were captured by British troops; on the 12th a small force took Bash Bulaq, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-south-east of Chamchamal, and discovered there property looted from the government; the nephew of the *mukhtâr* was taken as a hostage, and the defences of the village were destroyed.

On the 17th the Bazzan pass was attacked by the British and a passage was forced at dawn on the 18th. The pass is 3,000 feet above the sea-level and the surrounding hills stand 1,000 feet higher. The Kurds had defeated a strong Turkish force there in 1910, but, being unaccustomed to fighting against troops trained to mountain-warfare, they were easily routed; they had several killed and lost over 100 prisoners, including Mahmud himself, who was severely wounded, and other leaders,* 3 machine-guns, and some horses, together with a quantity of stores. In the evening the British troops reached Suleimaniyah, where they disarmed the inhabitants and released all the prisoners. Another column, marching from the south through very difficult country, took Halabja† on the 28th of the month and set free some Indian troops, who were interned there. Some small detachments were then sent up the surrounding valleys to pacify the tribes, and the movement collapsed with the capture of Mahmud.‡

The examination of captured correspondence revealed several interesting facts. In the first place, it was learnt that Mahmud's infantry was organised as one battalion, four companies strong, whereas there was no trace of any organisation of the cavalry; secondly, after the initial successes of the campaign, a spirit of dissatisfaction pervaded his infantry, chiefly caused by his failure to pay the levies and resulting in numerous attempts to escape military service; thirdly, that there was a shortage of ammunition was proved by a captured order, forbidding the expenditure of a single round without orders under penalty of punishment and any shooting at all till the machine-guns had opened fire; lastly, no mention of patriotic Kurdish motives was discovered, the troops being exhorted to stand fast for Islam.

✕ After the suppression of Mahmud's rising, a few local chiefs fled to the mountains to escape from justice. They included Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Qadir, formerly *mudir* of Sangao, Sheikh 'Abd-ur-Rahman, of Gopita, and

* These were Sheikh Gharib, a relative of Mahmud, and two officers of the Kurdish levies from Suleimaniyah.

† Until the arrival of the British troops, Adela Khanum, the widow of 'Othman Pasha, a member of the family of Begzada Jaff and at one time the virtual ruler of Halabja, kept order in the town with a force of 300 men. She supported the British cause throughout the rising and contributed to the escape of the political officer stationed in the town. She was assisted by her nephew, 'Ali Bey, a son of Mahmud Pasha, who prevented certain nomad sections of the Jaff from joining him and interrupted all enemy communications between Suleimaniyah and Halabja.

‡ Many chiefs of the tribes and villages, who had been allies of Mahmud, afterwards came in and submitted to the British authorities, notably Karim Fattah Bey and other leaders of the Hamawand.

other petty rulers; Sheikh Mahmud Khan Dizli was said to be considering whether he would surrender or not, in which he was perhaps influenced by the fact that friendly chiefs of the Avromani and Merivani had written to the British authorities, offering to assist them against Dizli. Sheikh Qadir, of Kirpachinah, one of Mahmud's brothers, also escaped after the action. Two other brothers, who took no part in the rising, are still alive; one is Sheikh Muhammad, a religious recluse who lives in Suleimaniyah, and the other is Sheikh Ibrahim, a boy about 16 years old. One of Mahmud's sisters is married to Sheikh Gharib, who was captured with him at the Bazzan pass. Their father was Sheikh Sa'id, who was assassinated at Mosul in 1908; the latter's grandfather, Sheikh Hajji Kaka Ahmed, a man of great piety, is still regarded with veneration by the people of Suleimaniyah, who treasure relics of him and look upon his grave as a shrine.

Another centre of Kurdish unrest was the *vilâyah* of Van and the Persian province of Azerbaijan. The Moslems in Van apparently decided to act independently of instructions received from Constantinople and to oppose the return of the Armenians. On the 23rd of May it was reported that the Kurds had seized the governor of Salmas, the district which lies to the north-west of Lake Urmiyah, and had surrounded Khoi; in connection with this rising, it was stated that Ismail Agha Simko, the chief of the Sbikak Kurds, had been wounded by a bomb, which had been sent to him through the post. The cause of this outbreak appears to have been a statement made in Van to the effect that the British and Persian authorities intended to repatriate all Christians belonging to the district. The Kurds immediately appealed for advice to Javid Bey, commanding the 11th (Caucasus) Division of the Turkish Army, and to the *Vali*, Haidar Bey, who was notorious for his anti-British and anti-Christian sentiments, and who was a member of the Committee of Union and Progress; a meeting of Kurdish leaders was held, from which Simko was absent, though he had been invited to attend, and it was decided to oppose the return of the Christians.

The *Vali* distributed rifles and ammunition to the Herki Kurds, who live a nomad life between Akra and Lake Urmiyah, and to the Oramar, who occupy the district of that name, about 23 miles to the south-west of Diza; the Agha of the Oramar, with many other chiefs, visited Simko and then had an interview with Haidar Bey, the results of which were not divulged. Simko's movements were very obscure, but he was supposed to be collecting his forces; he was encamped at Qal'at Chairik, which lies about 10 miles to the south-west of Dilman. The Persian Governor, Sadir-ul-Fatih, was favourably disposed to the Christians, but he had no troops with which to keep order; nor were there any Turkish troops in the neighbourhood, except a few deserters, most of whom joined Simko. In Azerbaijan everything was in confusion; the Persians were too weak to maintain the peace, while one of the chief obstacles to law and order was the *Vali-ahd*, the heir-apparent to the Persian throne, a well-known

partisan of the Turks and the Germans, and a rallying point for all agitation against the Entente.

On the 1st of June the Persian authorities sent 30 soldiers with two guns by steamer from Sherif Khaneh, the port of Tabriz, to land at Urmiyah, but they found on their arrival that the wooden pier had been burnt; after exchanging a few shots with the Kurds who lined the shore they returned to Tabriz. On the 2nd the Governor-General of Tabriz received a message from Sadir-ul-Fatih, informing him that he had driven the Kurds out of the town, but that great disorder prevailed in the surrounding districts and that all communications with the outside world had been cut. At the same time, the British Legation in Tehran received a telegram from Urmiyah, signed by Armenian and Assyrian representatives, to the effect that a massacre of the Christians was expected. No further news came through till it was learnt on the 1st of July that the American Consul at Tabriz had succeeded, with considerable difficulty, in transporting all the Christian population from Urmiyah to Tabriz, except a few women who were detained in Mohammedan houses. After that the situation improved and gave less cause for anxiety.*

Note.

The following note is an extract from Major Noel's diary of his journey in Kurdistan, and gives his view of the political situation at Diarbekr in May:—

"As in most towns of the East, the notables of Diarbekr can, with certain exceptions, be classed as corrupt and degenerate intriguers. They oppress their tenants, devour men's property and are always ready to go into partnership with a corrupt Turkish official to swindle the government.

"With these characteristics it is not surprising that many of them were active supporters of the Committee of Union and Progress, to which they were attached solely by claims of self-interest.

"With the eclipse of the Committee of Union and Progress and face to face with the possibility of the disappearance of the Turkish

* Information regarding the disturbances in the district of Urmiyah, which has been received from the Spanish Vice-Consul (an Armenian) at Salmas, gives a somewhat different version of these events. He arrived in Tabriz on the 8th of June, bringing a friendly message from Ismail Agha Simko; he stated that the cause of the trouble was the sending of a bomb through the post to Simko; the bomb exploded, killing five Kurds, amongst whom was Simko's brother. Suspecting some Persians at Khoi of the responsibility of this plot to murder him, he immediately ordered the disarmament of all Persians in Khoi, Salmas and Urmiyah. This was successfully accomplished in Khoi and Salmas, but in Urmiyah the Kurdish force, which was in the minority, was driven out by the Persians, who appear then to have attacked the Armenian compound belonging to the American mission, where several Kurds were supposed to have taken refuge. This resulted in a massacre of Christians. The Vice-Consul further stated that Simko refused to take any part in the movement against the return of the Christians to the districts of Van and Urmiyah and that he was really friendly disposed towards them.

Government, these men joined the Kurdish National Party. At first they were doubtless put up to do so by the Turks with the bait of Kurdish autonomy under Turkish protection, which promised even more favourable opportunities than of yore for dirty work of all kinds. Since then, however, the tantalising version of President Wilson's doctrine that everybody should do as he liked, has slowly dawned on their horizon with all its alluring possibilities, and erstwhile Turco-Kurds are now convinced that, if they shout loud enough, President Wilson will hear and allow them to mismanage Diarbekr by themselves, and to continue to fatten on the Christian property that they stole during the massacres, without even having to share the spoil with the Turks.

"To do justice, however, to the Kurdish Club, one must acknowledge that it contains some members who are actuated by a genuine desire to work for the welfare of Kurdistan as a whole. The best of them are, I think, Kiamil Bey Khyali Zade and Showket ibn Ismail, of the Zaza family. Among others are Ihsan Bey, Dr. Fuad Bey and Akram Bey. The latter is energetic and has studied in Switzerland, but he is perhaps handicapped by belonging to the family of Jemil Pasha, which was so implicated in the execution of the massacres in 1915 and profited so materially thereby.

"This party, which might be called the Kurdish moderate party, would, I think, welcome a British protection and administration, provided that the development of their country on national lines was assured.

"The *Itilaf* party, which is composed chiefly of Government officials, has succeeded in winning over two influential townspeople, viz., Niazi Bey and Naqib-ul-Ashraf Bakr Bey. Their presence on the side of the Government takes a good deal of wind out of the sails of the Kurdish Club. The latter, during its early history, was fairly subservient to the Government, but of late it has been showing a more and more independent spirit, which has resulted in the Government regarding it with increasing disfavour and finally deciding to liquidate it altogether.

"The events which led up to this occurrence are not without interest, in that they give a typical example of the many undercurrents of intrigue which are flowing here and the methods to which the Turks are having recourse.

"When the news of the occupation of Smyrna was received, the Turks were not slow to turn it to their own uses. News was spread of a massacre of Mohammedans by Greeks, and the British were represented as having brought in the Greeks. The Kurds were invited to apply the analogy of Smyrna to Diarbekr: the English would come first and occupy the town, which would be but a prelude to the arrival of Armenian troops.

"All these measures had their natural effect. A good deal of fanaticism was aroused among the common herd, and the old reactionary and corrupt townsmen, who were now so-called members of the Kurdish Club and who dreaded an inquiry into their misdeeds of 1915, hoped for

another massacre which would destroy the last remaining witnesses of their past and would effectually confuse the issues.

"By this time the Christians were thoroughly frightened. A deputation was sent off in hot haste to me at Mardin to ask for British intervention. The government also began to have its qualms, for its propaganda had slightly miscarried. Feeling was to have been worked up against the British, not against the Christians, while the inopportuneness of another massacre was fully realised. However, a neat way out of the difficulty suggested itself. The Kurdish Club was to be made the scapegoat, which could be done with a show of justice owing to the activities of its more corrupt and fanatical members. Under the guise of protecting the Christians, an inconvenient organisation opposed to Turkish sovereignty could be suppressed.

"The Christians were accordingly told that it was the Kurds, instigated by the Kurdish Club, who thirsted for their blood. After their experiences of the last few years, they were always ready to believe the worst, and it was only natural that they should have given full credence to this new presage of disaster. From words the Government proceeded to deeds. Guns were mounted on the citadel to overawe the town, the military were called out, the leaders of the Kurdish Club were arrested, and finally the club itself was closed on the 4th of June.

"The Government had saved the situation—the situation of its own creation!"

X

§ 2.—*Origin and Causes of the Movement.*

From the above sketch of the Kurdish movement, it is evident that an extensive propaganda is being carried on amongst the Kurdish tribes, a propaganda which is primarily anti-British and perhaps also anti-Christian, and secondly pro-Kurdish. It is necessary in the first place to discuss the local influences at work in Kurdistan and then to investigate its origin, which is almost certain to be found outside the country, in Constantinople and to a small extent in Egypt. The motive which seems to weigh most heavily with all classes of Kurds, as far as they have any political opinions at all,* is the fear that the Allies will set up an independent kingdom of

* Major Noel quotes the following popular verse, well-known in Kurdistan, as reflecting the feelings of the average Kurdish peasant on the question of independence:

"If we had a King,
 "He would be worthy of a crown;
 "He should have a capital
 "And we should share his fortune.
 "Turk and Persian and Arab
 "Would all be our slaves;
 "But what can we do? Our market is dull;
 "We have the goods but cannot find a buyer."

The same officer relates that a Kurdish merchant at Derek said to him: "We, the Kurds, do not mind what the government is, so long as it is a just one."

Armenia, in which a large part of Kurdistan, especially of Northern Kurdistan, will be merged. All Kurds are agreed that the result of this will be a war of extermination between the two races, as neither will submit to the yoke of the other; for the Kurds are naturally afraid of the vengeance which they expect the Armenians to take on them in retaliation for their share in the massacres and deportations; the Armenians, for their part, are no less afraid that the Kurds will not hesitate to have recourse to murder in order to rid themselves of them. Nor is there any likelihood that these inveterate enemies will acquiesce amicably in such an arrangement. If one is to become an independent kingdom, the other must become the same; but this is an ideal almost impossible of realisation in view of the inextricable mixture of the populations in the two countries. It is, however, possible that, if a suitable boundary* were fixed, those who were living away from their race across the dividing line and retained their nationality to a sufficient extent would cross the frontier and rejoin their own compatriots, while those who remained would gradually become merged in the dominant race. At present, however, both sides are obsessed with the fear of being placed in subjection to a hated enemy.

Secondly, there are a certain number of Kurdish chiefs who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to seize a kingdom and become hereditary rulers of Kurdistan. For example, it is suspected that 'Abd-ul-Qadir would like to establish for himself a position similar to that of the King of the Hejaz in Arabia. Very few, if any, of the *aghawát* who are actually resident in the country seem actuated by this motive; most of them probably realise too well the difficulty of subduing all the petty jealousies of the diverse tribes and of uniting them under one head. Those who allow themselves to be dazzled by the vision of wearing the crown of Kurdistan are mostly dreamy idealists or ambitious politicians who live in Constantinople or elsewhere, far from their native mountains.

Thirdly, there are many Moslems and Kurds who have played an all too prominent part in the Armenian massacres or who live by brigandage and murder; with the removal of the weak and incapable Turkish rule and of those officials who were their guilty partners in crime, their only hope of escaping from justice and punishment lies in the establishment of a free Kurdistan, in which they can reasonably expect that law and order

* The population is predominantly Armenian in the districts of Erzerum and Van, and especially on the whole littoral of Lake Van; there is another large tract between Tifis, Alexandropol, Erivan and Lake Sevanga, while there is also a small ring of Armenians around Mush and Julamerk. Lake Van with Erzerum and Trebizond might perhaps form the best nucleus for a new Armenia; the parts about Tifis would constitute another centre, which might ultimately be linked up with the southern half of Armenia, if the Russians offered no objection to the scheme.

will be as little respected as it was under the Turkish Empire.* They may even be able to continue to practice their former livelihood, provided that no foreign power receives a mandate to administer the country. These men, then, would prefer an autonomous Kurdistan or, failing that, they would be willing once more to accept the yoke of the Ottoman Empire; but their motives are as selfish as those of the second class.

Other agents who seem to be working to liberate the Kurds from foreign control are really actuated far more by hatred of the English or of the Christians than by any form of altruism. There is perhaps in every town a small section of the population who are genuine Moslems and who are driven by religious scruples to oppose any intervention by Christian powers, on the ground that the Prophet Mohammed has taught distinctly in the Quran that it is unlawful for Moslems to be subject to infidel powers.† There are also many members of the Committee of Union and Progress whose sole object is to baulk the plans and aspirations of the British, in revenge for the downfall of their own schemes. And, lastly, there are agents of the Arab Administration at Damascus, who work untiringly throughout the Near East; they hope, not perhaps to include Kurdistan in the realm of the King of the Hejaz, but to rouse among all the peoples of the East an anti-British feeling in order to increase their own chances of building up an independent Arab kingdom, which shall stretch from the Mediterranean Sea to the confines of Persia, and from the mountains of Kurdistan, which bound the plain of the Euphrates and the Tigris, south-

* To put Kurdistan again under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire would be to throw away the last chance of settling the Armenian question on peaceful lines. To allay the anxiety and to remove the hostility of the party which opposed the arrival of the British through fear of condign punishment for their share in the Armenian massacres, Major Noel was instructed to announce at Mosul that the British authorities had decided to grant an amnesty to all such offenders; in this it was stipulated that there should be no forced return of stolen goods, subject to the restitution of persons and immoveable property in all clearly-proved cases. This line of action was doubtless dictated as much by policy as by the impossibility of bringing the real criminals to justice.

† On the religious aspect of the movement, Major Noel makes the following comment:—"From the experiences that I have had during the last two months (viz., from March till May, 1919) on the Kurdo-Arab border, it would seem that the Arab has a much more pan-Islamic orientation than the Kurd. Islam looms much larger on the Arab's horizon than any question of nationality, whereas with the Kurd the national question will, I feel sure, eclipse all others. It may not, perhaps, do so at present, because the consciousness of national existence and aspirations is not properly roused, but that this consciousness will be aroused is a fact which impresses itself upon me more and more. It follows from the above that the Kurd will be much easier to administer than the Arab, provided that he feels that the development of his country on national lines is receiving due consideration. The Kurd, moreover, is very receptive, and a great outlet for superfluous energy will be found on the development of the arts and crafts which will follow the introduction of a modern method of administration." In this connection he notes that it is well-known that in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's field and refinery in the south-west of Persia the best mechanics are Kurds, many of whom have risen to positions of considerable responsibility.

wards to Arabia, and which shall comprise the whole of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Many Kurds, too, who think that there is no chance of the doctrine of a free Kurdistan finding favour in the eyes of the delegates at the Peace Conference, are urging on their countrymen the wisdom of throwing in their lot with the Arabs.

Since then these motives are all fictitious and by no means disinterested and represent no national feeling amongst the Kurds except the negative sentiment of a dislike of subjection to Armenia, it is necessary to look elsewhere for its origin. And this is not far to seek. All competent observers are now agreed that the source of the movement is to be found in Constantinople. Although it is not always possible to analyse the numerous Kurdish or pseudo-Kurdish elements at work in the Turkish capital and to state definitely which are anti-British and which pro-Turkish or pro-Kurdish, it is at least certain that several are working in Turkish interests. The leaders of the movement are clearly 'Abd-ul-Qadir, his brother-in-law Sayyid Taha, Dr. Abdullah Jevdet, and Suleyman Nazif and the sons of Bedr Khan. Sureya Bey, another son of Bedr Khan, works in Egypt, as has been said before, and is strongly in favour of the British; herein he represents faithfully the best Kurdish feeling; for the party in Constantinople which is genuinely national is pro-British rather than pro-Turk. The Turco-Kurdish party, on the other hand is represented mainly by members of the Committee of Union and Progress.†

† It was very reliably reported at the end of July that the Turkish Government had summoned a delegation of the Kurdish notables residing in Constantinople to explain the activities of the Kurdish party. A delegation under the presidency of Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Qadir Effendi, and comprising Mevlan Zade Rif'at Bey, a journalist, Amin 'Ali Bey, a former official of the Ministry of Justice at Adrianople, and Amin Bey, a Kurdish notable, attended at the Sublime Porte, and were received by Avni Pasha, Minister of Marine, Ahmed Abuk Pasha, ex-Minister of War, and the ex-Sheikh-ul-Islam, Haidar Effendi. These ministers asked the delegation for an explanation of their recent activities and desired to be informed on what authority the Kurdish party were negotiating with the British in Constantinople on matters relating to Kurdistan. This, they pointed out, was a purely interior question, the decision of which depended on the Porte, which was in a position to grant a large degree of autonomy to the Kurds. Mevlan Zade Rif'at Bey, speaking on behalf of Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Qadir Effendi, replied that, according to the principles of President Wilson, every nationality had the right to work for their own welfare, and that the Kurds were convinced that the only power which could assure them freedom and security was Great Britain. They had therefore considered it desirable to approach the British authorities. He asked how it could be possible for the Turkish authorities to grant any form of autonomy to the Kurds, seeing that the Turks themselves were not sure of their own position. This last question angered Ahmed Abuk Pasha, who jumped up from his chair and said that the Government was now stronger than ever, and that they had decided not to hand over a foot of land to any intruders whatever; that orders had been given to all army commanders in the Caucasus to oppose any advance of foreign troops and not to allow the repatriation of Armenian refugees. There Ahmed Abuk Pasha stopped, having been brought to order by a look from Avni Pasha. Later information shows that a Kurdish Mission, composed largely of members of the Bedr Khan family, is shortly leaving Constantinople for the interior.

'Abd-ul-Qadir and Sureya Bey are both adherents of the party of the "Entente Liberale" and are opposed to the Committee of Union and Progress, and consequently the former is probably as friendly to British interests as the latter. The interest shown by the Committee of Union and Progress in the Kurdish question is largely due to their anxiety to weaken the power of the "Entente Liberale." 'Abd-ul-Qadir, who is President of the Council of State, has taken a leading part in the representations made by the Kurdish Committee at Constantinople to the High Commissioner and is supposed to be ambitious of attaining a high position for himself in the new kingdom. Two sons of Bedr Khan, 'Abd-ur-Rizzaq Bey and Kamil Bey, have joined 'Abd-ul-Qadir in these representations; but, as 'Abdullah Jevdet and Suleiman Nazif have hitherto refrained from doing so, it is inferred that they are concerned for Turkish interests. 'Abdullah Jevdet is a native of Diarbekr, where he is a member of the local *Itilâf* committee, and a scion of a well-known Kurdish family; in Constantinople he was one of the editors of the Turkish newspaper "Vakit"; and it has been reported that shortly before the occupation of the country by the British, he visited Switzerland to confer with the Kurdish general Sherif Pasha. Suleiman Nazif, who was formerly *vali* of Mosul, is editor of a paper called *El-Hadithah*; his interest in the Kurdish movement is probably inspired by pro-Turkish sentiments. Another collaborator with these politicians is Sayyid Taha, nephew and brother-in-law of 'Abd-ul-Qadir, who lives at Neri and is chief of the Shemsdinan Kurds; his authority was originally acknowledged also by the Girdi and Baradost tribes, but it is doubtful if they still follow him. He is on bad terms with 'Abd-ul-Qadir and an obstinate opponent of the Turks. These two families endeavoured for many years to align their politics with those of Russia and for this reason kept in touch with the Russian diplomatic agents at Teheran and Tiflis. But with the downfall of the Russian Empire in the present war, they found it necessary to feign signs of repentance and to seek a *rapprochement* with Turkey, though in the early days of the conflict they had done all in their power to harass the Turkish army and in particular to overthrow the strategy of Von der Goltz on the Persian frontier. Now however that the Turkish Empire has followed the Russian Empire to defeat and ruin, they are eager to turn and rend the fallen tyrant on which they fawned and to gratify the lust of avarice or ambition at its expense. As regards the Committee of Union and Progress, the motives of those who are occupied in Kurdistan have already been analysed and described; those in the capital who are apparently eager for the freedom of that country are actuated in all probability solely by political necessity; they are in fact as eager to oppose the policy of the "Entente Liberale" as to thwart the Allies in Asia Minor.

It is therefore hardly possible to estimate at a higher value the motives of those who put forward a claim to plead for the Kurds in Constantinople than those of the men who are ostensibly working for the same cause in

Kurdistan itself. Few of them could face a careful cross-examination, for the dominant factor in almost every case would prove to be self-interest. It is as difficult "to distinguish the fat from the lean," to quote an Arab proverb, as to distinguish the disinterested patriot from the self-seeking time-server in Oriental politics.

Supposing, however, that the independence of Kurdistan is conceded by the Peace Conference, the question of its future ruler remains to be solved. The chief candidates are apparently Sureya Bey Bedr Khan, 'Abd-ur-Rizzaq Bedr Khan, 'Ahd-ul-Qadir, Mahmud ihn Hafit ibn Kakha, *agha* of the Bazanji, and Mahmud, chief of the Milli Kurds. Sureya Bedr Khan can probably be disregarded as a serious political factor in the problem; he is a journalist and a theorist who has long lost touch with his native country; and his whole family during their long exile in Damascus have probably vanished from the memory of most living Kurds. It is hardly credible that a Kurd almost unknown in his own country should be able to unite into a single whole the diverse elements that go to form the Kurdish nation; none the less, the work that he has done for his country must not be depreciated, for he, more than anyone else, has familiarised the outside world, and especially the British people, with the idea of a free Kurdistan. Further, he would be unwelcome to many Kurds as his family is of Arab origin, of the Bani 'Abbas; similar objections are raised to the claims of 'Abd-ur-Rizzaq. 'Abd-ul-Qadir also has probably lived too long in Constantinople to have any real influence in the country; he seems, moreover, to be involved in family quarrels. Mahmud, the leader of the agitation at Suleimaniyah, clearly has no following in Northern Kurdistan; he has failed to find more than a very few supporters outside the gates of his native town; and his claim to be a descendant of the Prophet would have small weight among people on whom the yoke of Mohammedanism sits but lightly. It is said that the Yezidi of Jebel Singar might adhere to his cause; but they are so backward and ignorant that their votes could not be expected to have much influence in a ballot of all Kurdistan.

Another candidate who has recently come forward is General Sherif Pasha, who bases his claim on his superior education and European culture; it is understood, however, that at present he has few adherents. Another point which tells in his favour is that he is a man possessed of a strong personality and that his long residence abroad, while it may have put him out of touch with local affairs in Kurdistan, has, nevertheless, given him a broader outlook than that of any of his rivals. He is, moreover, the only candidate who has conceived and is ready to carry out a definite line of policy. In this connection it is matter of considerable interest to recall the views which he expressed on the independence of Kurdistan at an interview with Sir Percy Cox in June, 1918, and which may be taken fairly to represent educated, if somewhat Europeanised, public opinion in Southern Kurdistan. It must, however, be remembered that he has been absent from his country since boyhood, and that conse-

quently he is not in a position to give advice or information on purely local affairs, though he is deeply interested in the whole future of Kurdistan. The General considered that it was of the first importance that we should take constructive steps to rally the Kurds as a whole and that to this end it was important that we should announce our intended policy towards them. What he thought feasible and what he hoped was that we should give the Kurds of Southern Kurdistan guarantees of autonomy under our protection; enlightened Kurds, in his opinion, realised that no government could be achieved so well as under Great Britain and that of necessity they would have to look for assistance with personnel to control the administration for some time to come. His idea was that we should adopt towards the Kurds a policy similar to that which we had followed in regard to the Arabs in Mesopotamia, while he suggested Mosul as the most suitable centre for such an administration. In a later communication, in October, he pointed out that the chief difficulty would be the reconciliation of the Kurds and the Armenians, whose relations had changed considerably for the worse owing to the artificial fostering of racial hatred by Turkish agents. For the purpose of establishing a basis for negotiations, he suggested the immediate formation of a committee, which should sit in London, consisting of representatives from Kurdistan and Armenia.

The outstanding figure in Kurdistan is evidently Mahmud, paramount chief of the Milli confederation. He seems to have considerable influence outside his own tribes; the Dersinli acknowledge his position and tribes as far away as the Caucasus know of him as the greatest chieftain in the land; he himself asserts that even the Bohtan, Bedr Khan's own tribe, would admit at least the theoretical validity of his claim. His present fame is based largely on the position which his father, Ibrahim, made for himself and who has since become almost a legendary hero in the mouths of the tribesmen; but he has won for himself scarcely less renown. Another advantage which Mahmud enjoys over his rivals lies in the personal nature of his rule; he is a firm believer in the patriarchal system and an upholder of old traditions; and the only form of kingdom which would be possible in Kurdistan is one established on some such lines as that of King Husein in the Hejaz, on a tribal basis. Mahmud himself would be glad to welcome a British mandate; he realises that foreign support would be necessary for the establishment of the royal power in internal politics, for the creation of political and administrative institutions and for the maintenance of order; and that a firm hand would be required to control the foreign relations of the young kingdom with the neighbouring powers, especially with the new Arab kingdom.

Though, therefore, the motives of many, perhaps of most, of those who are working for the independence of Kurdistan are corrupt, there are others who have a nobler inspiration and a clearer vision, and it is but natural that many of these should regard some form of autonomy as the

sole condition of a continued existence, national and political, for the Kurdish people. There are also few who would hesitate to agree with this view in so far as freedom from the Turkish yoke is contemplated; for the Turks, who have ruled an empire for almost five hundred years, have only proved beyond a shadow of doubt their incapacity to govern; the rich plain of Mesopotamia, upon which the ancients looked as the granary of the world, has been reduced to ruin; the wealth of Syria and Palestine remains even now to a large extent undeveloped; almost half the Armenian race has been exterminated by organised massacre or scattered far and wide by compulsory deportation; the Kurds maintain a semi-independence and live largely by brigandage and murder; and the Turks of Asia Minor are perhaps to-day as uncivilised and ignorant as their ancestors were four hundred years ago. Who can doubt that it is in the highest interests of the Kurds that they should be for ever liberated from Turkish misrule? But to give them complete autonomy would be, in the words of a Greek poet, "a gift that is no gift, but profitless." A half-savage race must pass many years in tutelage before it can learn truly to use and appreciate its liberty and to exercise self-government. So it is with the Kurds; they cannot master at once the arts of civilisation nor learn the maintenance of law and order, which it has taken the western nations of Europe nearly twenty centuries to evolve and to develop. One of the Great Powers must accept a mandate to administer their country and must instil into the hearts of its people the lessons which other nations have learnt by the experience of centuries.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

(A)

The following notes about the mixed Kurdish and Armenian tribes which have been kindly supplied by the Rev. T. K. Mugerditchian, an Armenian pastor, who has been attached to the British Consular service since 1896 and has been British vice-Consul at Diarbekr since 1904, arrived after the report had been put into the printer's hands:—

P. 8, l. 39. Diarbekr.

Conquered by the Tatars in 1517.

P. 24. l. 16. Karakechili.

Another tribe living with the Karakechili is the Guessan, who lead a sedentary life in the district of Chermug. The tribesmen are half Armenian and half Kurd, half Christian and half Moslem. Most families are divided between the two creeds, both the Armenian priest and the Moslem *nulla* regularly visiting them.

P. 26, l. 14. For "Kaimmaqam" read "Qaimmaqam."

P. 39, l. 26. Sileva.

In this district, of which the centre is at Mufarakin (Farkin), there are two large tribes, the Sulev and the Zuruka; of these the Sulev are clearly the same as the Sileva given in the list of Mahmud ibn Ibrahim Pasha. These tribes are sedentary and own many villages, some of which are Kurdish and others Armenian.

P. 39, l. 28. Sinkan and Rejban.

Also called Sineka and Regiba. These tribes possess a number of villages in the Buseri (Beshira) district and are partly Kurdish, partly Armenian.

P. 42, l. 25. Shitiyah Kurds.

On the southern and western banks of the Tigris there is a powerful tribe of Kurds, called the Ashiti, who are perhaps connected with the Shitiyah, or the Arshitan (*see p. 40*). It is probable that the Ashiti were originally Christians of the Armenian tribes Ashdik and Hashdiank. It is said that the Haverki and Dakshuri are really branches of the original Ashiti tribe. The present tribesmen are farmers, shepherds and vine-growers; they are good fighters, but addicted to brigandage.

P. 44, l. 3. Mahalemi (Muhallamiyeh).

Armenians and Jacobites who relinquished the Christian faith under the leadership of the Syrian Patriarch Ismai

P. 48, l. 29. Alikan.

(Or Alica, formerly Alyan or Alan). Their neighbours are the Reshkota on the N.W., the Buseri on the W., the Mamiga on the N. and N.E., and the Khalda on the S.E.

P. 49, l. 16. Reshkotanli or Reshkota.

Called also Rushdunik; a sedentary tribe situated between the Batman Su and the Redvan Su. There are 7 sub-tribes, Khasarka, Darmanka, Shekhuka, Babujanka, Bundurka, Chaluka and Piroka. The tribesmen are chiefly occupied in agriculture and sheep-breeding they are savage and quarrelsome and are only nominally under the control of the Turkish authorities. A few villages only, which remained Armenian, paid taxes to the Turkish Government. Most of the Mamagoni amalgamated with the Khalda, an Armenian tribe; the rest constitute the Kurdish tribe called Mamiga. (See Mamakan, p. 61, l. 33).

P. 50, l. 37. Modeki or Motikan.

(Or Motga, formerly Magwis or Mogwis). This tribe inhabits a woody and fertile tract of upland country in the Antokh Dagħ; its boundaries are the main road from Mush to Bitlis on the N., that from Bitlis to Zok on the E., the Gherzan tribe on the S., and Sassun on the W. The tribe is very strong and all the tribesmen are good riders and skilful with the rifle. In March, 1919, they seized Bitlis, drove out the Turkish authorities, and held the town for about a fortnight, till they were expelled by a strong force sent against them from Van.

P. 51, l. 30. Dersimli Kurds.

The Dersimli began to yield to the Turkish Government in 1848 and were placed under a native governor; in 1887, however, the Turks annexed the district to the *vilâyah* of Kharput. The tribes have always remained hostile to the Government. The district is noted for the large number of its monasteries, which tends to prove that the people of the Dersimli were once Christians, probably Armenians; in fact, many people believe that the Dersimli are sprung from the Armenian tribe, Terchan.

P. 52, l. 10. Palu.

Another small tribe near Palu is the Houn, a sedentary people occupying the Pala-Hovid valley to the S.E. of the town. This tribe also is a mixture of Kurds and Armenians.

P. 54, ll. 10 and 16. Penjiman and Mamagan.

Situated on the Redvan Su are the Khalda, a powerful Armenian tribe, which is divided into the Mamigan, Penjinar and Bamord; the first two of these sub-tribes are clearly identical with the Mamagan and Penjiman in this report. The whole group is under hereditary chiefs of the Kalusdian or Kaloyan family. The Mamigan and Bamord are partly Armenians and partly Kurds; the majority of the Penjinar are Kurds. All the tribesmen now speak Kurdish. Branches of the Khalda are still found in Jezirat-ibn-'Omar, Urfah and Marash, whither they were deported long ago and where they were forced to embrace Islam.

P. 56, l. 2. Halaji.

Near the Halaji is a small tribe composed of Kurds and Armenians, called Yegueghiat (Yeghigi) or Akhti; the Kurdish tribe is also known as the Douder. They wander from Lake Van to Diarbekr, breeding mules and cattle, and they often frequent the market at Aleppo.

P. 56, l. 11. Tiyan.

An Armenian tribe called Tayan lives with a Kurdish tribe of the same name in the Kardukhi (Gortanatz) Dagb, N.E. of the Tigris, They roam continually between the Jebel Sinjar and the Tigris, spending the summer near Van.

(B)

Preface, l. 8.

Add: "After the report had been sent to the printers, the editor obtained a copy of the "Précis of Affairs in Southern Kurdistan during the Great War" and of "Notes on the Tribes of Southern Kurdistan," both of which were signed by "E.J.R.," and published by the Government's Press at Baghdad in June, 1919.

P. 8, l. 13. For "old Syrians" read "Old Syrians."

P. 13, l. 21. For "siezed" read "seized."

P. 18, ll. 23-24. For "Abd-ul-Qadir" read "Abd-ul-Qadir."

l. 32. 'Ahd-ul-Qadir.

He is a son of the Sheikh 'Oheidullah who rebelled against the Persian Government in 1881 (*see note on p. 76*); he accompanied his father to captivity in Constantinople, where he still remains. Under the new *régime* he became a member of the Government, and is now working for the independence of Kurdistan. He is on bad terms with Sayyid Taha of Neri. His brother, Sheikh Sadiq, remained in Kurdistan and became notorious for oppressing the Christians and for smuggling tobacco.

Sayyid Taha, his opponent, was before the war a friend of the Russians, and states that even then he was working for Kurdish independence under Russian protection, as the Russians were more capable of keeping order than the Persians. He has recently suffered long periods of imprisonment both under the Russians and the Turks. He can, however, still control all the country between Bashkala, Rowanduz, Ushnu and Urmiyah, and is everywhere regarded with the highest religious veneration. His character is difficult to estimate, some people regarding him as a unassuming, helpful and broadminded man, others as a blackguard of the worst type.

l. 34. Delete comma after "Effendi." For "Abd-ul-Hamid" read "Abd-ul-Hamid."

P. 19, l. 4. For "easternmost" read "most south-westerly."

l. 27. Alai-ud-Din.

A recent estimate puts their strength at 300 houses, with three sub-tribes, the Miranli (20 houses), the Alai-ud-Din (180 houses), and the Ma'afa (150 houses).

l. 28. After "Murad the Fourth" add "(1623-1640)."

l. 29. After "Baghdad" add "in A.D. 1638."

l. 33. Dinazi.

They are reputed to number about 600 houses.

P. 20, l. 1. Didan.

They number about 200 houses.

Sheddad.

The Sheddad count about 280 houses, with four sub-tribes, the Asian (50), the Zeruah (20), the Okhian (70), and the Alizer (80).

l. 19, Zerwerat.

(Or Zurveran). They number about 200 houses; their chief is Mustafa Melik Agha or Mustafa-'l-Meilij, according to other accounts.

P. 27, l. 29. Baqqarah.

This tribe and the Jaish Arabs are traditional enemies; the railway is supposed to constitute the dividing-line between them.

P. 28, l. 10. For "Mohammed-es-Sino" read "Mohammed-us-Sino."

P. 39, l. 5. Khaldan.

Between the Sheddad and the Dinazi is the small tribe of Khaldan (or Khaltan), (80 or 90 houses) at Kouyi Chai; the tribesmen are Yezidi, though the chief, Husein Pasha, is a Sunnite.

P. 40, l. 15. For "Kaimmaqam" read "Qaimmaqam."

P. 48, l. 19. For "vincinity" read "vicinity."

P. 49, l. 19. For "W. of Diarbekr" read "E. of Diarbekr."

ll. 20-21. For "Meyfarkin" read "Mufarakin."

P. 50, l. 16. After "Kurian" add bracket.

P. 58, l. 19. Herki.

Their paramount chief is Hajji Agha, who resides in Persian territory near Urmiyah. The tribe is very scattered. The chief section, whose centre is in the Derah district, is the Zerhati (Serati); they range all along the frontier, spending their summer near Shems-dinan and the winter at Derah.

The Mamkala is under Tahir Agha, a tool of Sayyid Taha; he has 100 tents, which winter in Derah, 50 in Rowanduk and 40 in Akra. Ahmed Khan, formerly paramount chief, and Khurshid Bey also possess about 100 tents in Derah. All the tribe are good fighters, well armed, truculent, and expert thieves.

The Kheilani spend the summer with the Herki between the

Baradost and Rowanduk; in winter they roam between Derah and Erbil. They are fairly well armed and are expert thieves. There is a section of this tribe in the Dast-i-Harir, under 'Aziz Yahudi.

P. 59, l. 3. Girdi.

The present chief is Jemil Agha; under him are his brother, Masjid Agha, who is well-educated and talks Persian, and Arab Agha. Their strength is 300 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. Most of the tribe live near Erbil, on the banks of the Bastura Chai; those near Rowanduz live between that river and Derah, under Masjid Agha. Arab Agha controls two villages near Khoi. They are well armed and warlike. They originally came from Shemsdinan and are followers of Sayyid Taha. Kakil Agha, the late chief, was strongly anti-Turk; he was once imprisoned, but was released through the representations of Sayyid Taha. The tribe has a chronic feud with the Zerara, on whose territory they are continually encroaching. The latter is a small tribe owning 8 or 9 villages in the same district; their chief is Ahmed Agha, a clever, cunning man. The Zerara are closely allied to the Khura, whose chief is Masjid Agha, and who are cultivators, owning some land in the Shaklowa district.

In this district are found also the Khushnao (or Koshnao, *see p. 62.*), about 1,000 strong, under Qadir Bey; they are very rich and powerful, and they vigorously opposed the Russian advance in 1916. Their sub-tribes are the Mirmahli (chiefs: Qadir Bey and Rashid Bey; 36 villages), the Miryusufi (chiefs: Salih Bey and Khidr Bey; 28 villages), and the Pizhtgelli (chief: Ahmed Bey; 29 villages).

P. 60, l. 19. For "Shernakli" read "Shernakhli."

P. 62, l. 32. Surchi.

The Surchi are a sedentary tribe, given to agriculture, on both banks of the Greater Zab, from the Bastura Chai to Kani-Othman; it also covers most of the Dast-i-Harir; there are the seven following sub-tribes:—

Name of tribe.	Chief.	Remarks.
Yusu Kaskif ...	Mahmud Agha and Haris Agha	9 villages.
Atrafi Harir ...	Mejid Khan ...	5 villages round Harir.
Kulu Agha ...	Kalinj Agha ...	11 villages.
Malabas ...	Mahmud Agha...	24 villages.
Mamasani ...	Tajdin Agha ...	14 villages.
Mamsal...	Kasaq Agha ...	Nomadic; 120 tents.
Binin Naodast ...	Haris Agha ...	9 villages.

P. 63, l. 17. Daudieh.

(Or Dauda). There is no paramount chief; the most influential men at present are Raf'at Bey and Mahmud Bey, sons of Ismail Bey. Their strength is about 170 cavalry and 250 infantry. The tribe which is sedentary and engages in agriculture and mule-breeding, lives in the Aw-i-Spi, near Tuz Khurmatli, where it settled about A.D. 1710. The tribe is connected with the Talabani and Zenyana by marriage.

l. 20. Sheikh Bazeini.

This tribe came from Zakho about a century ago and settled on both banks of the Lesser Zab; a few tribesmen remain still at Erbil and Zakho. By religion they are Sunnites and speak Kermanji. They were always hostile to the Turks. Their boundaries are Kōi Sanjaq on the N., the Shuan on the S., Taktak and the Shiwah Su on the E., and Altun Kōprü on the W. They own about 50 villages, numbering 490 houses and 540 adult males. The tribe is quiet and orderly, though there is no paramount chief. On the left bank Faris Agha of Serchinar is acknowledged as chief, and Mahmud Agha of Sardik on the right bank.

l. 42. Hamawand.

The paramount chief is Muhammad Amin Agha; its boundaries are on the Tokma mountain on the N., Tauq Su on the S., the Tashluja range on the E., and Qara Hasan on the W. The peasants are sedentary. It is composed of the nine following sub-tribes:—

Sub-tribe.	Chief.	Families.	Remarks.
Begzada (Chalabi)	Muhammad Amin Agha and Karim Fattah	—	} Fighters; strength about 250 horse- men.
Rashawand ...	Faqir Muhammad Agha	—	
Ramawand ...	Amin-ur-Rashid Qadir Haidar	—	
Safarwand ...	Fatih-i-Riga...	—	
Setabasar ...	Hamazap ...	—	
Kaferushi ...	_____	100	150 men.
Piriai ...	_____	250	350 men.
Sufiawand ...	_____	130	160 men.
Chingini ...	_____	—	_____

The last four sub-tribes are entirely composed of peasants.

The tribe came originally from Sennah about two centuries ago.

P. 64, l. 15. Jaff.

Mahmud Pasha, of the Begzada family, the paramount chief, is old and his sons are not equal to the task of ruling; he is therefore

represented by his nephew, Karim Bey. The tribe have, however, rallied under one chief, 'Ali Bey, as they have been weakened by disunion; they are ready to welcome the British. They spend the winter roaming from Kifri to Qizil Robot and return in the summer to Persian territory near Sennah and Sakiz. The tribe is divided into many sub-sections, as follows:—

Sub-tribe.	Chief.	Famil-ies.	Remarks.
Mikaili ...	Hasan-ul-Hajji Qadri	2000	In Gil country; five sub-sections.
Gelali ...	Reza Agha ...	800	Round Kifri. One sub-section.
Rukhzadi ...	Rustam ibn Muham-mad	800	Round Kifri. Four sub-sections.
Haruni ...	'Abdul Muhammad ...	780	Round Kifri; five sub-sections.
Shatiri ...	Mahmud ibn Muham-mad Ibrahim	150	Round Kifri. Four sub-sections.
Tarkbani ...	Muhammad Hasan ...	400	Nomadic.
Yezdan Bakshi	Muhammad-us-Sultan	750	In Shemiran and Gul-amvar.
Kamalehi ...	Fattah Muhammad Karim and Darwish Samin	—	Nomadic, but becoming sedentary.
Naoruli ...	Muhammad Husein & 'Aziz-ul-Hajji 'Abdul	—	In Shariyah district. 20 villages.
Bashki ...	Murad Wais ibn Mah-mud	200	Round Kifri.
Tileh Kuh ...	Ahmed ibn Muham-mad Bey	150	Round Kifri.
Sadani ...	'Abdullah ibn Rustam	300	Round Kifri.
Amaleh ...	Muhammad Amin ...	200	Retainers of Begzada family.
Tavguzi ...	Said 'Abdullah ...	(?)	At Tavguzi.
Badakhi ...	Ahmed Rahim ...	150	Retainers of Mahmud Pasha.
Yarwaisi ...	Ahmed ibn Fattah ...	100	Retainers of Karim Bey.
Sheikh Ismaili	Qadir-us-Salih ...	150	In Sharizur.
'Isai ...	'Ali-'l-Amin Khan ...	200	
Sufiwand ...	Mustafa Qadir ...	70	In district of Kifri.

The Basiri, who belong to the Baba, the Ismail Uzairi and the Pishtamaleh are sometimes counted with the Jaff.

The Ismail Uzairi are under Hidyat Bey and number 100 horse-men and 300 infantry. They are a robber-tribe and purely nomad. Connected with them are the Chingini, a nomad tribe about 350 strong, under Ahmed Agha.

Two other tribes in the Kifri district are the 'Umbril, who inhabit one village owned by the Sada family of Kifri, and the Zangana. This tribe is divided into two sections, the Faris Agha under 'Abd-ul-Kerim Agha and the Rustam Agha, under Muhammad Karim Agha. Each can count on about 35 horsemen and 100 infantry. The tribe, which probably came from Persia, speaks corrupt Kermanji.

P. 63, ll. 32 and 35. Aeu (Akho) and Bilbas.

In the district of Rania are two small tribes, the Akho and the Bilbas. The Akho are divided into four sections, as follows :—

Sub-tribe.	Sub-sections.	Chief.	Number of villages.
Bashagai ...	—	Mamand Agha ...	8
Mandamera ...	—	Bahlul Agha ...	7
	Bawabia ...	Hajji Muhammad Amin and Ghafur Khan	7
	Khaila ...	Hamad Agha Kanabi ...	8
Naodashti <i>or</i> Rizbikeri	Bharush ...	Hamad Amin and Hamdi 'Abdullah	8
	Babekh Aghai	Kaka Ahmed ...	3
	Boli and Boli *	Hamad Miran and Hajji Motan	3
Shawr † ...	Dol-i-Raga & Sbawr-i-Gulan	—	7

The Bashagai came originally from Kizler, near Suleimaniyah, and ruled the whole tribe, but Mamand has lost all influence owing to his bad reputation for oppression.

The Bilbas is a confederacy of tribes who support each other in war, but have no other inter-relation. The tribes are as follows :—

* Migratory, living amongst the Girdi in winter.

† Non-tribal organisation.

Tribe.	Chief.	District.
Ojaq	Agha-i-Baiz Agha ...	Qal'at Diza
Mangur-i-Kohistan ...	Hasan Agha ...	Persia
Mangur-i-Zudi ...	Husein Agha ...	Qal'at Diza
Mangur-i-Gul Agha ...	Rasul Agha ...	Qal'at Diza
Mamash-i-Garmian † ...	Hasan Agha, ...	Qal'at Diza
Piran § ...	{ Sowar Agha ...	Rania
	{ Hasan Agha ...	Persia
Sinn	Rania
Ramak { Mir Khidri ...	Ibrahim Agha ...	Rania
{ Faqi Weiri ...	Kaka Agha ...	

A large portion of the Piran still inhabit their old homes in Lajan in Persia; those under Hasan Agha propose to settle in the Balikh valley near Darband.

P. 65, l. 21. Other little known tribes in Southern Kurdistan are: (i.) the Zend in the Zangabat district; they are sedentary and good cultivators and number about 75 adult males; they have no chief at present; (ii.) the Dilo, with no paramount chief with any authority; they number about 500 infantry and cavalry; they are Sunnites by religion and nominally sedentary, though addicted to raiding. Mahmud Bey of Khaniqin, the most prominent man in the tribe, is pro-British; there is also a section under Salim Bey in the Qara Dagh; (iii.) the Gawkhar, under a *muhtâr* called Muhammad Said; they are, perhaps, attached to the Gezh; (iv.) the Gezh, under Khurshid ibn Muhammad Mustafa; their strength is about 250 in all; they are sedentary and famous for agricultural skill; they live round Yalghuz Alhaj and Abu 'Alig; (v.) the Kakai or Qaghanlu, who have no chief and whose total numbers are about 500 mounted and 700 dismounted men; they are cultivators; their ruling family is of the Barzingi clan; their western limit is the Qara 'Ali Dagh and their eastern the Hawijah district; (vi.) the Palani, about 50 strong, under Shafur Agha and Rustam Khan.

P. 69, l. 25. For "Kara Hassan" read "Qara Hasan."

P. 70, l. 15. Anatolia.

For an unfavourable account of the Kurds in the Haimane district, south of Angora, see Sir W. M. Ramsay's "Impressions of Turkey" (ch. 5, § 6, pp. 114 ff.)

† See p. 63, l. 37.

§ See p. 63, l. 39.

P. 73, l. 37. After "‘Abd-ul-‘Aziz" add "(1816-1876.)"

P. 74, ll. 2 and 33. For "‘Abd-ur-Razzaq" read "‘Abd-ur-Rizzaq."

l. 24. Sureya Bey Bedr Khan.

He is a son of Amin Bey Bedr Khan and grandson of the famous Bedr Khan Bey ibn ‘Abdullah, hereditary chief of the Boti Kurds in Jezirah, who exercised paramount influence over a large number of neighbouring tribes. Bedr Khan Bey had made himself an almost independent prince, but he was defeated and exiled by the Turks about 70 years ago; his family were removed as hostages to Constantinople. One of his sons, ‘Abd-ur-Rizzaq, as a result of a personal quarrel, murdered Redvan Pasha, the Governor of Constantinople; thereupon all the family were banished to Tripoli in Africa and other distant places, Sureya Bey, then 18 years old, being sent Syria, where he remained for three years. The revolution of 1908 was followed by a general amnesty, and Sureya Bey returned to Constantinople, where he occupied himself with Kurdish national propaganda and journalism. He was appointed *mudir* of Burnahat, near Smyrna, where he came into close contact with the British colony. When the Committee of Union and Progress came into prominence, Sureya Bey refused to join it, in spite of the repeated requests of Tala‘at Bey, and soon he found it necessary to escape into Egypt, to escape from persecution. (1912

P. 76, l. 10 Qaradaghli.

This family originally came from Sharizur and was allied with the chiefs of Amadia by marriage. It has always been notoriously anti-Christian. Its exactions made it so unpopular, that in 1881 the people called in the Hamawand to drive them out, but the timely arrival of Turkish troops prevented this. Since then the history of Suleimaniyah has consisted of the struggle between the populace, the Qaradaghli family and the Hamawand.

l. 21. Bajlan.

The tribe has two sections, the Jumur with eight sub-divisions, and the Qazanlu with nine sub-divisions. The chief of the former is Mejid Khan and the latter Vali Agha. The total strength of the tribe is about 1,300 families. The Jumur occupy the plain of Bajlan and the Qazanlu the plain of Bin Khudra. The tribesmen are mostly peasants.

The chief of the family, Mustafa Pasha Bajlan, a man of harsh, determined character, carried his Anglophile sentiments so far as to sacrifice his estates and property in order to keep his word to the British after the capture of Baghdad. The family came from the district of Diarbekr about 1630; they first settled in Zohab, whence they were driven out by Muhammad ‘Ali Mirza. When Zohab was ceded to Persia by the Erzerum Commission the family migrated to Khaniqin.

The Suramiri (Surkhamiri) which came originally from Hulailan in Luristan, followed the Bajlan from Zohab and settled round Khaniqin; its chiefs are Muhammad Bey and Husein Bey; its five sub-tribes are called Kalhuri, Tutik, Mamajan, Aina and Antar.

P. 76, l. 37. Dizai.

(Or Dizdeh). There are three sections of this tribe, the Piran, Guntula, and Maman; the leading chiefs are Ibrahim Baiz, at Makhmur, (700 cavalry and 2500 infantry), Ahmed Pasha at Kandinawa (700 cavalry and 1,500 infantry), and Hajji Pir Daoud at Khurmatu (400 cavalry and 1,000 infantry). All are well armed and addicted to inter-tribal feuds, which they vary with brigandage; consequently they do not favour a British occupation of the country, though the *fellahin* may welcome it. Further, these chiefs have received no recognition from the new administration, from which the *fellahin* conclude that they are of small importance.

Ibrahim Baiz is the best of the three chiefs; he is very hospitable, a good tribal leader and possessed of sound agricultural knowledge.

P. 77, l. 25. Sharafbani.

The chief is 'Othman Bey ibn 'Abdullah Bey; the sub-tribes are the Keureki, Amir Khan Begi, 'Aziz Begi, Gakhar, and Nadri, amounting to about 700 families; the last three sub-tribes are composed solely of peasants. They range between the Bamu mountains and the Shirwan river. They are immigrants from Zohab and are probably of Jaff origin.

Talabani.

The most important chief is Sheikh Hamid; his own sub-tribe lives in the Gil and Qara Bulaq districts and numbers 700 houses; in the Gil his neighbours are the Jabbari on the N., some of the Dauda on the S., the Zangana on the E., and the main part of the Dauda on W.; at Qara Bulaq his tribesmen live between the Shirwan river and the Kushk Dagh. His sons own the village of Bin Kudra. At Gurshala on the Shirwan, Sheikh Muhammad Ra'uf has 200 houses; Sheikh Tahir has 150 in and around Sartaf and Hajilar, and Sheikh Nuri owns the village of Badiawa and lands round Kirkuk. The tribesmen are pastoral and agricultural. Sheikh Hamid, who is very influential in all Southern Kurdistan, is a strong Anglophile. He has attracted many Kurdish peasants to his estate by fair treatment. On his lands at Gil there is a valuable oilfield from which he has made considerable wealth.

A sub-section of the tribe consists of the Tilishani family, under Qadir Agha; its strength is about 50 houses between Eski Kifri and Zardaw.

In the district of Gil, in Kirkuk and in Serbil is the small tribe of Salihi, sedentary agriculturalists, who are hostile of the Talabani. Their total numbers hardly exceed 200 adult males.

P. 90, l. 16. Avromani.

This tribe occupies the slopes of the Avroman Dagħ, partly in Persian and partly in Turkish territory.

Tribes.	Sub-tribes.	Chiefs.	Fighting Strength.
Luhun ...	—————	Ja'far-i-Sultan ...	600
Takht ...	{ Rezao ...	Husein Khan ...	2,500
Shahr ...	{ Dizeli ...	Mahmud Khan Dizeli	350
	—————	Nadir Sultan ...	450

They are well armed and have made themselves virtually independent of the Persian authorities and have seized the property of many notables of Sennah. Husein Khan, a very intelligent man and a sound leader, controls all the tribe; Ja'far-i-Sultan is a bitter opponent of the Turks and strongly Anglophile; Mahmud is nothing but a turbulent brigand.

l. 22. Jabbari.

Their chief is Sayyid Muhammad; their strength is about 100 horsemen and 150 infantry. They are settled between Kirkuk and Chamchamal and are engaged in agriculture.

l. 25. Merivani.

This tribe has been terribly reduced by war, famine and disease and their numbers probably do not exceed 900 fighting men under Kai Khusru Khan and 1,650 under Mahmud Khan. They live on the Persian frontier round Merivan.

l. 28. Shuan.

There are two sub-tribes, the Kashik under Hasan (10 villages) and Rajab (35 villages), and the Sarkhasa under 'Aziz Sherif Jalal (11 villages), Rashid (6 villages) and 'Abdullah 'Othman (8 villages). They occupy the land between the Sheikh Bazeini on the N. and the Qara Hasan hills on the S.

They cultivate wheat, barley, maize, lentils, and beans, as well as some cotton and tobacco; but most of their ground is hilly and 80% is useless for cultivation.

The Bibani, under Katkhuda Ahmed ibn Ma'rif, who occupy two villages in the Gurgur hills, take refuge with the Shuan in times of trouble.

P. 91, l. 16. Pishdr.

(Or Pizhder). This is a warlike and powerful tribe in the district of Qal'at Diza, consisting of two sections, about 1,000 fighting men under Babekr Agha, a fine man who maintains law and order well, and about half that number under 'Abbas Agha, who gathers malcontents round himself and continually gives trouble.

Map, square G. 5. For "Alendin" read "Aleddin."

