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Adela Jaff Khanum and the Ardalan Persian Divanship

The Twelve Horseman of Mariwan is a great Kurdish legend surrounding the heritage of Adela Khanum. This legend takes place during the invasion of Mesopotamia by Abbas Mirza and his Napoleonic armies, fighting against the Ottoman Mamluks under Daoud Pasha. One of the Baban rulers of

Ahmed Pasha Baban turned against Daoud Pasha and assisted the Persians in annexing the region of Southern Kurdistan. The Twelve Horsemen of Mariwan remained loyal to the Mamluks, rising up against the Persians and defeating one of Abbas Mirza's armies of 10,000 men.

Daoud Pasha Baban and the Mamluks triumphed over Abbas Mirza. A more loyal Baban prince, Mahmud Pasha Baban, was proclaimed

the Kaimakam of Sullamania. One of the horseman— Ahmad Beg

Sahib Qiran—would be the great-great-grandfather of Adela Khanum,.

This horseman was given extensive powers in the Babaniefdom. His son

Mahmud became Bashchuwushcommander of the Baban armed forces,

and led the Ottoman defense of the Persian border lands of Mesopotamia.

The Sahib Qirans intermarried with the Ardalans, and eventually Ghulam

Shah Ardalan was descended from the Sahib Qirans.

Many other important people of Kurdish culture would come from the

Sahib Qirans, such as the poets Ahmad Beg i Fattah

Beg, Abdur Rahmin Salim, and Mustafa Kurdi. Salih Zaki would become an

Ottoman general and rise to great prominence within the Ottoman Imperial government.

Adela Jaff Khanum, the strongwoman of Halabja, came to dominate

the Jaff tribe during much of the British Mandates of Mesopotamia and Iraq.

She came from the Ardalan tribe, a great tribe of Persia. It had been a great

Khanate, which had ruled jointly with the Qajar throne in Tehran, even intermarrying with them. The Ardalan were an important pillar to the Qajar throne, as they were the Qajar's viziers. Their power base was in Sanandaj, which means Fortress of the Shah. This was where Osman Pasha took Adela Khanum as his bride in 1825.

Daughter of a vizier to the Qajar throne, Adela Khanum came from a line of Persian matriarchs that had plagued the Ardalan tribe. Fath Ali Shah of the Qajar throne, an ally of Napoleon, had a daughter, Princess Hosn e Jahan, who married Khasrow Khan of the Ardalan. She slowly began to put the Ardalan under the complete dominion of the Qajar, depleting Khasrow Khan Ardalan of his power. Khasrow Khan eventually met a tragic end, dying by poison in 1834. His offspring became embroiled in rivalry. Eventually, the Shah Fath Ali Qajar removed them from power over the Ardalan, replacing them with his uncle, Prince Farhad Mirza Mo Tamad Od Dowleh, in 1867.

Fortunately, Khasrow Khan Ardalan's sister, Princess Noor Jahan, married Oghli Beg II Monshi of the Vazir family in Sanandaj or government ministers, the Zarrinaal. The Zarrinaal had returned from exile in Afghanistan during the reign of Nader Shah, and had been placed as Vazirs in Sanandaj to keep the Ardalans in check. Princess Noor Jahan gave birth to Agha Mirza Zaman Kordestani in

the Khosrowbad Residential Palace of Sanandaj in 1840. Later, New Shah Naser al din came on an official visit to Sanandaj, and was most impressed with the well-educated Agha Mirza Zaman Kordestani. Unfortunately, Oghli Beg II Monshi did not pay all of his retinue due to the Shah, so the Shah took Oghli Beg II Monshi's son with him. He was promoted to the rank of Laskar Newis, and sent to Tehran in 1859, where he worked in the court offices. He took charge of the Persian military forces in the Sanandaj region, and became one of the Shah's main military advisors. He acquired much property and in 1868 married Pari Solton Khanom, with whom he produced many offspring.^{1,2}

Adela Khanum: the Ardalan legacy

The biblical Cyrus the Great of the Achmaenid dynasty marched with his great Persian army in the marshes of the Mesopotamian Tigris and Euphrates rivers and took the ruins of Babylon without a fight, since the Chaldean leadership had crumbled from within in 550 B.C. His woman general Arteshbod Pantea, who had been commander of his Imperial guard known as the Immortals, took command of the occupation of Babylon.

The Achmaenid Empire inherited the illustrious Hanging Gardens of Babylon built by Sennacharib. These gardens had transformed the drab Ziggurat domed city of ancient Ninevah into a more fertile and lush Persian-looking city—to glorify his irresistible Persian wife, Queen Amytis—around 883-859 BC. Babylon was now truly a Persian city as it became the center of Persian occupation of Mesopotamia. The religions and beliefs of the Babylonians were erased and replaced with an entirely Persian belief system. The word Chaldean would no longer refer to the race of Babylonians, but instead to the elite Persian leadership that had made themselves the seat of government in Babylon and the region of Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Their rule of Mesopotamia lasted for 1000 years. They outlasted the Greeks and even the Roman Empire, as the Romans failed to take it from their grasp in 114 A.D., when the phalanx of Roman soldiers were halted by Persian Immortals at Hatra. This proof that the Roman phalanx was not invincible encouraged revolts throughout the region.

As Rome was conquered by the Goths, the weak Byzantine Empire became easy prey for the Persian Empire. The Byzantines resorted to appeasing their Persian neighbors during the 6th century, often paying ransoms to them to keep peace. In 602 A.D., Persian Emperor Khasrou II, angered by the murder of his Byzantine ally, Emperor Maurice, launched a war to avenge him by destroying the Byzantine Empire.

He conquered Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia, eliminating Byzantine control of the Middle East.

However, Khosrow II's juggernaut ended in tragedy. He and his family were betrayed and murdered by his son Kavadh II, supported by the Persian general Rostum Faroukhzod, who gained control of the Persian Empire and made Kavadh II his puppet.

During this time Mohammed was proclaiming the religion of Islam and conquering much of Arabia. When he died in Medina in 632, he was succeeded by his father-in-law, Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr disciplined an Islamic army under the stoic belief that the life after death was more glorious than the present life. This produced the most diehard of soldiers. His General, Khalid Ibn Al Walid, unleashed an Islamic fury upon General Rostum's forces in Mesopotamia, defeating them at the Battle of the Chains, the Battle of the River, the Battle of Walaja, and the Battle of Ullais in 633 A.D. This put all of Mesopotamia under Islamic control except for Ctesiphon, the Persian capital of that land. He died the next year, 634 A.D., and was succeeded by Muthanna Ibn Harith.

General Rostum launched a counterattack against the Islamic forces at Al Qadissiyah. So determined was he to win the battle, General Rostum chained his men together. Muthanna Ibn Harith, who had fortified his forces within the fortress-like palace of

Al Qadissiyah, defeated the Persian juggernaut, however, and then took all of Mesopotamia from Persia.

This was the beginning of the birth of Arab domination of Mesopotamia and the nation of Iraq that we know today. Yet traces would always remain of the former Persian Immortals who had occupied what is now Iraq. Perhaps the Kurds are the descendants of those Persian Immortals.

When Osman Pasha Jaff married Adela Khanum, he was marrying into the legacy of the Persian Immortals. She was the offspring of one of the elite noble families of Persia, which had been a pillar to the then-current throne in Persia, the Qajar. They were the Ardalan of Sanandaj, whom Major Ely Banister Soane obtained much information about.

The Ardalan had formed a strong emirate within Sanandaj in 1300 A.D. They claimed descent from Sultan Saladin, who had saved the Ayyubid Caliphate from defeat by the Papal Juggernauts that had invaded Jerusalem during the Crusades in the 1100s. Their founder was Ardal Khan. They established themselves upon ancient ruins from the era of the Persian Immortals of the Sassanians and Achamenids, which would become the current city of Sanandaj.

A powerful conqueror established the Persian Ashfar throne over all Aryan people from the Caucasus to India in 1736 to 1747. His name was Nader Shah Ashfar. The Peacock throne and the Kohinoor, which is one of the

crown jewels, originated from him. He built towers of skulls from his enemies. The Ardalan and other Kurds revolted against him in Khorosan, killing his soldiers. Before he could march his army to meet the Kurds, he was cut down by his own men at Quchan in 1747.

Nadar Shah Ashfar fell from power in Tehran, and the Kurds gained the Persian throne under the Shah Karim Khan Zand in 1760. He appointed Khasrou Khan ArdalanVali over all Kurdish lands in the new Persian Vilayet of Kordistan. Unfortunately, the Zand throne was plagued with infighting. Khasrow Khan Ardalan slowly began to turn against the Zand, supporting the Qajar bid for the throne.

When Agha Muhammed Khan Qajar overthrew the Zandin 1789, the Ardalan became more powerful than ever. Khasrow Khan Ardalan had even sent troops to help Muhammed Khan Qajar to overthrow Shah Lotf Ali Khan Zand, who had come to power through battles around Kermanshah. Khasrow Khan Ardalan was succeeded by his son, Amanollah Khan Ardalan, whose reign became a golden age for the Ardalan. The Ardalan and the Qajar throne grew close, as the Qajar came to rely on the Ardalan as an important ally for the region. AmanollahKhan **Ardalan's** son Khasrow Khan Ardalan II married Princess Hosn e Jahan, daughter of Fath Ali Shah Qajar, the son of Agha Mohamed Khan Qajar. Khasrow Khan Ardalan succeeded his father in

1825. Fath Ali Shah Qajar and his daughter became increasingly tyrannical over the Ardalan, who came to respect Princess Hosn e Jehan more than her husband. Fath Ali Shah Qajar finally had Khosrow Khan Ardalan II poisoned in 1834. Princess Hosne Jehan gained complete control over the Vilayet of Kordestan, which she ruled with an iron fist.

Khosrow Khan Ardalan left his wife with two sons. One of them was Ghulam Shah Ardalan, who was raised at the heel of the true ruler of the Kordestan Vilayet, Princess Hosn e Jehan. Ghulam

Shah Ardalan was father of Adela Khanum, who Osman Pasha Jaff wedded at the Khasrowbad Residential Palace in Sanandaj in 1825.^{1,2,3}

Osman Pasha Jaff was marrying into the very heart of Kurdish anti-Turanism as Adela Khanum's family carried old blood feuds from the Ottoman Persian wars. These wars had cost them dearly in the early 1800s, with NaserDin Qajar and Abbas Mirza against the Mamluk Valis of Baghdad. During the war between Mamluk Vali and Suliaman Pasha in the late 1840s—which had installed Mohamed Pasha Jaff as the ruler of Gulambar—

Suliaman Pasha destroyed the Ardalan's close allies, the Babans.

The Ardalan would no longer have hegemony over the region. Also, Osman Pasha Jaff's tribe had long been subject to Ardalan during the 18th century, when they lived in Juanre under his grandfather, Qadir Beg Jaff.

The **Ardalan's** great power in the region had been degraded by their century-old Ottoman foes, and Adela Khanum carried **her family's** burning resentment of everything Ottoman in Shahrizor. She also carried her family's great ambition to restore the Shahrizor to its Persian Ardalan glory days during the early nineteenth century. She led her new subjects, under Osman Pasha Jaff's jurisdiction in Gulambar and Halabja, to hate both Istanbul and Baghdad alike with their anti-Persian legacy, first inspired by the ancient wars of Al Muthanna at the Battle of Qaddissiyah in 634 A.D.

The Jaff began to wear the crimson robes of the Persians. During the reign of Adela Khanum, banners of the Ardalan and Qajars with the Persian roaring lion could be seen all over Halabja and Gulambar. Osman Pasha Jaff slowly came to fear his wife as the Ottoman hold over the region was very weak. The recent wars with the Russians in the Caucasus had left the whole region in **anarchy and led to his father's death at the hands of brigands that had been** armed by the Russians in 1880. The Qajar and Ardalan were the near power in the region of Shahrizor. He bowed to the authority of his wife, who held the weight of the Qajar and Ardalan thrones behind her.

She redesigned the Shahrizor into a vassal of the Qajar, degrading and sabotaging all Ottoman institutions within the region. To the Jaff tribe, Farsi became the language of the elite. The Jaff tribe began to despise the Arab and Turk alike, feeling a sense of superiority to them.

Adela Khanum's stepson, Tahir Beg Jaff, portrayed the beliefs of the Kurd towards the Turk and Arab in his conversation with the British spy Major Ely Banister Soane. Tahir Beg Jaff was grateful toward Sultan Abdul Hamid II for his giving the Kurds absolute power over the Shahrizor and Northern Iraq, and entrusting them as their armed forces in the region as Hamidiye cavalry. This was essential for the stability of the region, since the Turk was unfit to govern the region or Ottoman Empire as a whole, as history had always proved. For the Ottomans had always relied on minorities to keep their armed forces in order, from the Jannisaries to the present Hamidiye cavalry. He thought of the Arabs as an inferior race that was disheveled and disorganized, that they were not capable of forming any sort of cohesive state. They had to be controlled and contained.

The Jaff tribe did indeed contain the Arab. This is shown in the example that Major Ely Banister Soane encountered at the divan or tea party of Adela Khanum Jaff. Jaff horseman caught an Arab stealing hay from one of their tribesmen, and brought him into the lounge room of Adela Khanum. They were extremely wary of him, declaring all Arabs to be a race of beggars and thieves, and demanded that Adela Khanum permit his execution.

Adela Khanum Jaff in the end granted him mercy of course, being a woman of compassion,^{1,2,3,4,5}



Adela Khanum and Halabja's profit in the Western interests of the Mosul Vilayet

Eight centuries before Christ, the great

Sennacherib reigned in Ninevah,. From his Ziggurat he rallied a grand army. Sacking Babylon and destroying the first Babylonian empire, he built a

grand empire from the Persian Gulf to the Sinai Peninsula. Through interbreeding with the captive Jews of Israel in Mesopotamia, as well as with other groups of Jews, the Samaritan race was created.

The greatest of his conquests, though, was his wife, Queen Amytis.

Queen Amytis had been a gift to Sennacherib from a Persian king. He would declare of her, "My beloved wife, whose features the mistress of the gods has made perfect above all other women." His love for his wife would inspire him to build a grand palace within the city of Nineveh 3140 meters in circumference and eighty feet in height, surrounded by lush gardens similar to those found in Persia. It mimicked the fertile woodlands of Persia, which surrounded the Zagros mountains, to remind his wife of her homeland.

This palace would be recorded by the Ancient Greek and Roman scholars such as Strabo and become one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

The Vilayet of Mosul stood on the ruins of Nineveh. Osman Pasha Jaff's new city, the capital of Halabja, stood on the ruins of Nineveh's immediate territory.

Adela Khanum was Osman Pasha Jaff's Queen Amytis. She renewed the old Persian practice of gardening within Halabja, bringing a sense of civilization to the nomadic peoples of the Jaff.

Halabja was a new town built by the Jaff in the 1850s. It had been nothing but a bunch of barren mud huts before Adela Khanum entered the scene in 1825, when Osman Pasha Jaff **brought her to his father's dominions from** Sanandaj.

The mud huts were near the ruins of the ancient Assyrian glory of the region. By 1850 these groups of mud huts in Halabja were developed as a town, and in 1880 this town became the capitol of the Shahrizor SanjakOsman Pasha Jaff. Osman Pasha Jaff moved the capitol from the traditional city of Gulanbar to the newly developed town of Halabja. It was here that Adela Khanum Jaff began to resurrect the ancient Assyrian glory of gardening within the Jaff people of Halabja, turning the dirty mud huts of Halabja into lush Persian hanging gardens. With Adela Khanum, the Jaff tribe were beginning to shake off the old primitive habits learned from their southern Arab neighbor, and beginning to get in touch with their old Persian roots. This was manifested in the gardens of Halabja. Trees and flowers native to the Zagros mountains of Persia were brought in to make Halabja look like the fertile regions of the Zagros mountains. The increase of wealth in Halabja was due to the increase in European interests in Northern Iraq. Around that time, the Germans had built a railroad connecting Bagdad to Berlin in 1904, as German banks had paid the Ottoman government for its construction. The railway stopped in Mosul. This allowed an influx of European goods to be traded in the Shahrizor among the Jaff tribes. Soon Jaffhorsemen could be found with modern weapons of the times from the Imperial German army, including Mausers and Lugers. The Germans wished to establish their interests in the Persian Gulf and to make

Basra their port to the Indian Ocean. The European Ottoman Empire was connected with the Mesopotamian Ottoman Empire, and the followers of Sheikh Khalidi I Baghdadi from the Balkans made pilgrimages to his disciples in the Shahrizor. Many Jaff tribesmen then adopted more European clothing, as they out-produced their native clothes.

The Germans were not the only ones interested in the region. The British soon began to develop an interest in the oil of Northern Iraq as well. They set up a joint Anglo Ottoman Oil Commission in the region of Qasr I Shirin.

Many Jaff tribesman were trained as technicians to work the oil fields. The British prized these technicians, and later took them to their Persian Abadan refineries after the commission was interrupted by war between the Ottoman and British Empires during World War I.

The British became so enamored by the politics of the region, they sent a spy there to learn everything about the Jaff leadership that they could. His name was Major Ely Banister Soane.

He disguised himself as Adela Khanum'sson's Farsi teacher, as she wanted to resurrect the Persian roots within the Jaff tribe.

Under Osman Pasha Jaff, the cattle-herding Kurds began to bring in all sorts of valuable commodities for trade to the city of Suliamania, including skins, wool, tobacco, and butter. They controlled all caravan routes to Suliamania from Baghdad, Bana, Merivan, Sanandaj, and Sauj Buluq.

The Jaff cavalry guarded these routes with the best weapons the Ottomans imported from their ally, the German Imperial Army. They were armed with mauser rifles and lugars, while retaining their native hanjar knives, which were prized throughout the Balkans and the Middle East. In Halabja itself a grand bazaar was built, where European goods mixed with the farm goods of the Jaff tribe. Europeans, Jews, Jaffs, and Assyrians all mixed within the bazaar. Adela Khanum was its sole proprietor, charging interest over anyone who did trade within the bazaar. She soon amassed great wealth through this, which allowed her to pay for the renovation of the gardens within the city of Halabja.

She amassed such a fortune in the trade of the bazaar that she began to build grand palaces for herself in Halabja. In her childhood in Sanandaj in the Persian Empire, she had lived in the grand Palace of the Ardalan Valis of Persian Vilayet of Kordestan, created under Fath Ali Shah Qajar. The palace had been named after Khasrow Khan Ardalan, and it had been built as a gift for his marriage to Princess Hosn e Jahan, the daughter of Fath Ali Shah Qajar. These were Adela Khanum's grandparents.

She had had a fond childhood within the Khosro Abad mansion. The white marble buildings with burgundy domes had balconies with Greek columns and Persian arches. The complex was made up of four buildings and had a garden in the center, with all the pleasures of the cedar trees of the Zagros

mountains. In the center of the garden was a gigantic pool in the form of a cross or swastika, as a popular Persian sign of good fortune. This is where Adela Khanum had acquired her love of gardening.

Though things had ended horribly for her father, Ghulam Shah Ardalan, and the palace fell directly under the control of her great-grandfather, Fath Ali Shah Qajar—who gave it instead to the Zarrinaal, who would become the rulers of Sanandaj—still the castle would always have an impact on Adela Khanum as she resided safely with her husband, Osman Pasha Jaff in Halabja. Soon it was Osman Pasha Jaff who resided safely with Adela Khanum, as she amassed great wealth for herself from the newly constructed bazaar, and she constructed several mansions modeled after the Khasro Abad buildings in Sanandaj in Halabja. They were made of drab clay, but were still beautiful in the elaborate Persian design. Inside the palace was the typical white-washed monochromatic feel, yet the mansion was lined throughout with fine carpets from Sanandaj, as she tolerated only Persian commodities. She had many hand-woven feather quilts to line the walls and nice silk cushions imported from the Orient. Her house had many rooms, and her divans were often attended by Europeans such as Vladimir Minorsky, Major Ely Banister Soane, and Gertrude Bell.



Adela Khanum, the Natural Arbitrator

Abdulmecid I, within the Gulhanne Park beside the Topkapi Palace, would proclaim the Edict of Gulhanne in 1839, giving equal rights to Christians and minorities to appease his Western allies. This, however, would have the effect of destabilizing the region. The Armenian populace, emboldened by the reforms, would rise up in full-fledged revolt, as would other minorities, including segments of the Jaff tribe under Mahmud Pasha Jaff. This development encouraged the Russian Imperial Army

stationed nearby to invade the Ottoman Caucasus in support of these insurgencies. In 1877-1878, the white coats of the Russian army would come in swarms across the Caucasus border, conquering Bayezid, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzurum against the blue coats of the Ottoman Army with their German-supplied weapons. This would cause anarchy throughout the region, from Van to Mosul. The Ottoman Army and state institutions of this region would be left in a state of disarray, creating much friction and disorder.

This friction caused much distraction for Osman Pasha Jaff, as he had his hands full with suppressing the bandits who had risen up in revolt against the Ottoman authorities. Osman Pasha Jaff's number-one enemies were, however, the Hamavand, inherited from his father, Mohamed Pasha Jaff. The Hamavand had played a major role during Abbas Mirza's Persian conquest of the Shahrizor, aligning themselves with Mahmud Pasha Baban during the early 1820s. However, the Jaff tribe, under Mohamed Pasha Jaff, would create bad blood, as they aided the Ottoman reconquest of the Shahrizor against the Babans and Hamavand in the late 1840s. The Hamavand would rise up against the Ottoman Jaff rule, but Mohamed Pasha Jaff would launch a brutal campaign to crush them. They would be forced to flee to Zohab in Persia.

During the late 1870s, the Hamavand would find a new ally as the Imperial Russian army invaded the Ottoman Caucasus. The Hamavand would volunteer their cavalry to fight for the Russians against the Ottoman, and they obtained much more modern weapons. They then would begin to launch incursions back into the Shahrizor. They would align themselves with pro-Baban Jaff of the Aziz Beg Jaff section, and in a battle would kill Mohamed Pasha Jaff in 1880. Osman Pasha Jaff's brother, Mahmud Pasha Jaff, would begin to engage in non-cooperation with the Ottoman, doing nothing to prevent the brigandism of the Jaff segments, increasing factionalism within the Jaff tribe. Many would join the cause of Sheikh Ubeydullah in the 1880s. The Ottoman Sultan was responsible for giving Osman Pasha his power, as he had replaced his brother Mahmud Pasha, who was an agitator against the Ottoman and even among his own tribe, causing it to fragment. The Ottoman would replace Mahmud with his more pragmatic brother, Osman Pasha Jaff. Yet, his Mahmud would always be in his shadow, working against him. Osman Pasha's tribal soldiers would be declared Hamidiye Cavalry and be given power to pillage and plunder all tribes who defied the Ottoman state, including the Jaff's hated rival, the Hewreman tribe. However, Osman Pasha would find himself irresistibly pulled away from his Ottoman court and drawn towards the feared Ardalán tribe of the Persian Empire, which had been most brutal in its dealings with the Jaff tribe. He would go to the Ardalán tribe in

Sinne, who had become viziers in the Persian Empire, and take a wife from them. This wife was Adela Khanum, and she would be more than he could handle. She would begin to pull him and all of Halabja closer to the Persian Empire, and slowly strip him of his power. This was the world that drained Osman Pasha Jaff of his energy, allowing his wife, Adela Khanum, to devour his powers.^{1,2}

Pressing engagements led Osman Pasha Jaff away from his capitol of Halabja, leaving Adela Khanum the sole force of authority in the region. She had inherited a people plagued with crime and anarchy. The Jaff had progressed too far for their own good, as modern weapons made the tribe harder to control. Often, unnecessary deaths occurred as the Jaff clansmen would be mistaken for enemy Hamavand, who were constantly raiding the Jaff tribes. Bandits would swarm the countryside, raiding the many caravans that crossed the countryside. Even women would participate in these raids, true Amazons. Often these raids would be carried out among Jaff clansmen. Cattle would be taken from unarmed tribal members as well.

This chaos and unrest was complemented by religious extremism in the region, which would result in factionalism in the tribe. Sheikhs would rise up with their own interpretations of Islam and would sack whole villages against those who did not hold the same beliefs. Without Ottoman authority, clericalism would become a big problem in the Middle East. With the absence of Osman Pasha Jaff from Halabja, all Jaff clansmen would come to rely on Adela Khanum for justice. All Jaff clansmen came to fear her, as she kept strict discipline over her nobles. All the cavalymen would take orders from her and bring their captives before her for permission to execute them.

Major Ely Banister Soane, a British spy in the Jaff tribe, had written extensively about Adela Khanum, as the powerful men of the Jaff tribe would often be witness to Adela Khanum's divans within her newly built palace. There was one instance where a Jaff tribesman had caught an Arab stealing from their tribe. Such was the fanatical hate of the Arab by the Kurd that it was a wonder the Kurds did not execute the Arab on the spot. They instead brought him to Adela Khanum to arbitrate his sentence; she granted him amnesty. The Jaff clansmen complied under their obligation to her. This was an example of her great power over the tribe of Halabja. She was beginning of course to institute a new system of justice, different from that the Jaff was accustomed to. The Sunni Justice system is based on a constitution, or Hadith, and the Hadith was a guideline for each individual within the Jaff tribe to act upon in his own interpretation. However, Adela Khanum began to change all this, introducing a more Persian system of justice, which rejected the Hadith and placed all justice in the hands of an arbitrator. This was a Shia

form of justice that relied on the central authority of the Mullah, who was the natural arbitrator. Osman Pasha Jaff and any other person in his immediate family would not challenge this, out of fear of Adela Khanum's Ardalan ties. She would begin to have her own court built in Halabja, and this would be the center of government for all of Halabja. She would in effect become the Mullah of Halabja. She was in de facto annexing Shahrizor to Persia.^{1,2} Adela Khanum's discipline and micro management of her tribe would lead to the formation of two classes within the Jaff: the nobles and the average Jaff peasantry. The nobles would be under the firm control of Adela and would police the average Jaff, and mobilize them into a productive labor force. This was necessary for Adela to keep control of the whole populace of the Jaff tribe and reduce the level of crime. Public services would be instituted in Halabja through this lower class. The nobles and soldiers enjoyed special privileges above the Jaff serfdom and mobilized the latter effectively under Adela Khanum's direct orders.

Adela Khanum's goal was to eradicate completely the factionalism that had been introduced by her brother-in-law, Mahmud Pasha Jaff. She had to reduce the idleness of the populace by subordinating them to her absolute rule. She did this through a top-down style management. As long as the senior Jaff feared her and her Ardalan roots, she could control everything in the city, as the senior Jaff possessed the power to subordinate the common people to her will. This effectively got rid of all the crime and anarchy within Halabja. The city began to have cleaner streets, and the public gardens were well maintained. Business in the bazaar was conducted in a very orderly fashion.

Abdul Hamid II saw the discipline of the Jaff under Osman Pasha Jaff's (which was, in effect, Adela's) leadership and began to give him more power. His cavalrymen were proclaimed Hamidiye, which gave them the status of an Ottoman army within the Shahrizor. The Hamidiye had been Abdul Hamid II's effort to develop local law enforcements after his Imperial Armies had been decimated by the Russians during the Russo-Ottoman war in the late 1870s. This gave Adela Khanum the authority of the Ottoman Army as she began to clean up the routes in and around the Shahrizor. She would kill off all Hamavand who disrupted her territory with her horsemen. She tried to prevent raids on caravan routes, although this was a difficult task as it was hard to control anything outside of Halabja effectively. It was safe enough for her to travel back and forth between Halabja and Sanandaj in Persia. Constant contact with the Ardalan allowed her only to grow in power. Adela Khanum needed to something to maintain her subjects' fear of her, so she instituted the construction of a prison for all those who defied her system. Any enemy of

the state of Adela Khanum would bear the horrors of her prison, where men would be flogged to near death. The prison, along with the court, were Adela Khanum's great instruments in maintaining discipline over Halabja and ultimately usurping her husband's power. In the end, Osman Pasha Jaff became one of her subjects, performing menial tasks around Halabja.^{1,2,3}

Adela Khanum and Halabja's Anti-Ottoman Pan-Iranist Sentiment

Adela Khanum, through her growing ties with the Ardalan, began to Persianize the Jaff tribe. They began to dress in more Persian style, with their crimson robes and fur hats. Banners of the Qajar Empire began to fly over the city, and many Jaff caravans carried the Qajar banners. The symbol of the lion was the symbol of the Qajar empire. The Jaff were beginning to develop an identification with the Qajar Persia under Adela Khanum's avidly pro Persian rule. Many Ancient Persian ruins from the Sassanian times already surrounded the city. The Jaff felt a natural gravitation towards Persia as their birthplace. Persian or Farsi became widely spoken among the Jaff nobility. Trade increased between Halabja and Sanandaj. Qajar Persia considered Osman Pasha Jaff a Khan, and had rewarded him with a sword, effectively giving him control over the border regions between Halabja and Sanandaj, which cemented the ties between Persia and Halabja.

The Jaff were an Aryan people like the Persians. Adela Khanum began to develop a noble class of Persian Ardalan, importing them from Sanandaj. The noble class of the Jaff started to be composed of Ardalan clansman. This, in effect, was how Adela Khanum really brought about Jaff subordination to the Ardalan tribe. Ardalan tribesmen would be found at her palaces and at the gardens, maintaining them. She would import architects to build her palaces and gardens. She would introduce scribes to educate the Jaff in the Persian language. Adela Khanum would build Halabja into an Ardalan colony, and it would soon develop an intelligentsia of cultured people. Her sons would become the pillars of that intelligentsia. She would educate them in Ardalan culture. Tahir Beg Jaff, however, was not borne of Adela Khanum, but of Osman Pasha's first wife, who was closely tied to the Ottoman Empire, between 1878 and 1918. Tahir Beg would fall under the spell of Adela Khanum as well, attending her divans. He would become a scholar of the Persian language and a poet. He viewed the Turks and Arabs as an inferior race not to be trusted in the matters of administration, and praised the Sultan for realizing this, and for giving his tribe absolute power in ruling the region.

The British wished to exploit the Jaff tribe's Persian sympathies against the Ottoman Empire. A British Major, around 1910, had infiltrated the close circle of Adela Khanum's confidantes, attending her divans or tea parties.

His was the abovementioned Major Ely Banister Soane, the future Assistant Political Officer to the Sulaimania region for the British Civil Commissioner of Baghdad during the British Iraq and Mesopotamian Mandate from 1919 to 1932. He was disguised as a Persian scribe with his alias being Ghulam Hussein. Adela Khanum assigned him as servant to Tahir Beg. She wanted the Major to teach all her children Persian. She bestowed great importance to the Major's presence, since she had thought him Persian. Tahir Beg had another foreigner in his circle. He was a German. His name was Amin Effendi. Amin Effendi, being a German, recognized that Soane was English. He brought it to the attention of Tahir beg, who was deciding whether to execute him. Amin Effendi, having sympathy, dropped it, dissuading Tahir Beg about the fact that the Major was an imposter. Soane, when he was A.P.O. of the Sulaimania region, would promote another of her sons as a governor of Halabja. Ahmad Muxtar Beg Jaff would become governor of Halabja in 1922 and, around 1924, around the time of Adela Khanum's death, would become a member of Iraqi parliament.^{1,2,3,6}

A great hatred would develop against the Ottoman Empire in Halabja, where people were already anti-Ottoman under Mahmud Pasha Jaff's agitation. Adela Khanum exploited this further through her Pan-Iranist cult of personality. People identified with Persia in Halabja and wanted all Ottoman authority out of their city. They refused the Ottoman authority's offers to set up postal services or any other type of civil service within Halabja. They did not pay any type of revenue to the Ottoman. Abdul Hamid II would not have tolerated this if not for Osman Pasha Jaff, who was the mediator between the Sultan and Adela. He convinced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to set up a symbolic Ottoman postal office within Halabja, though it was reduced to idleness, as Halabja's residence did not use it or pay taxes for it. Halabja was a quasi-state within the Ottoman Empire, which was de facto part of the Persian Empire. Adela Khanum of course had her own reasons to hate the Ottoman Empire. The Ardalans had always wanted the Shahrizor from the beginning of the 19th century, joining in Persian General Abbas Mirza's invasion of the Shahrizor in in the 1820s. As the Babans would betray the Ottoman Empire, and go over to the Qajar, the Ardalans would advance further against Mosul, the great center of the Ottoman Empire for that region. The battle would end horribly for the Ardalans, and their armies would suffer a crushing defeat. Amanollah Khan would die in battle around 1825. This would end the Ardalans dream to dominate the lands of their Sassanian ancestors. This dream remained alive with Adela Khanum, who had made it come true through her marriage. It had not been brought by war from men, but from love from a woman, Adela Khanum's marriage to Osman Pasha Jaff. The

Ottoman were most concerned about Adela Khanum, and were upset with Osman Pasha Jaff's marriage to her. The Ottoman were too weak, and everyone realized that, including Osman Pasha Jaff. They would try one last bid to establish some sort of authority over the region by building a telegraph line to their symbolic post office in Halabja. The Jaff tribesmen would cut it down in defiance. The Ottoman would try again repeatedly, but it would end with the same result. Adela Khanum would claim to the Ottoman that it was against her wishes, and nothing happened in Halabja without her permitting it.^{1,2,3}

Osman Pasha Jaff would die the same year that the reign of Abdul Hamid II would end, in 1908. Mehmed V would succeed the latter. The Ottoman Empire was in trouble, but it was slowly being taken over by the German Empire. The Germans had been building their railroads and pouring money into their infrastructure for one purpose, and that was their expansion to the Persian Gulf and East Indies. The Ottoman armies were being trained and reorganized by the Germans. Soon, such government agents as Enver Pasha had full control. He had taken power of the government through a progressive movement, the Young Turk movement, in 1908, which had taken control of Constantinople. The Young Turks were virulently Pan-Turanist, and wished to seize all Eurasia, which was comprised of Turkish peoples. This led them to a very antagonistic relationship with the Russian Empire, which was to the German Empire's advantage. World War I would happen, as the German Empire would be forced into an Austria-Hungarian Pan-Slavic war against Russia, which would lead Enver Pasha to act upon his Pan-Turanist visions. He and a newly modernized Ottoman Army would attack Sarakamish in Russian Armenia to destroy the great Russian Army stationed in the Caucasus, so he could march his armies through Persia to Turkestan and Afghanistan. His armies would, however, be badly defeated in Sarakamish, and Great Britain would launch a war against the Ottoman as Russia's ally. The British would attack Constantinople, being badly defeated at Gallipoli. They then would shift fronts east in Basra in Mesopotamia. German General Colmar Freiherr Von Der Goltz would be dispatched to Mesopotamia to organize an Ottoman defense of Mesopotamia against the British advance from Basra. The British armies were having major logistics problems advancing to Baghdad through the swamps of Southern Mesopotamia. General Von Der Goltz would form an army in Mosul comprised of many Kurds, including Jaff from Mahmud Pasha Jaff's clan. This would be the Sixth Army of the Special Yildirim Group. The Sixth Army would be fielded at Ctesiphon, the Ancient capital of Persian Mesopotamia. Here, a great battle would ensue between the Ottoman and the British, and the British would be

forced to retreat in the face of the defensive Ottoman positions. The British would retreat all the way to Kut, where they would be placed under siege by the Sixth Army and Colonel Von Der Goltz. The British would be annihilated at Kut, but the Ottoman would lose at the hands of the Russians, and the British would make gains against the Germans and then the Ottoman in Palestine. Eventually, Baghdad would fall, and the Treaty of Mudros would be signed, blotting the Ottoman Empire from the map. This was all to Adela Khanum's delight, who considered the British common allies against all her enemies in the Mosul Vilayet, from the Hamavand to the Ottoman, which had been placed under a special British Commission, headed by the same person who had taught Persian to her son as a spy, Major Ely Banister Soane.^{1,2}

The British Mandate of Mesopotamia and Adela Khanum in Her Prime
When the British occupied Mesopotamia and set up the Mesopotamian mandate in Baghdad, they were quite unsure of what to do with the Mosul regions of Kurdistan. A great Mosul question had arisen, and since the North regions were different from the Arab regions, this question involved whether Mosul should become a separate country from the government of Baghdad, forming a primarily Kurdish nation to north, based around Mosul.

Sheikh Barzanji, Adela Khanum's counterpart in Suliamania, was the main supporter of this idea. The Treaty of Versailles, which had been signed by all its participants, had special clauses, specifying that the Kurds be given their own country. Therefore, the British had set up a Special Mosul Commission to establish an appropriate government for the Kurds to rule their own country. A British political officer would regulate each chief of the Kurdish tribes. The Chief political officer of the Civil Commission was Major Ely Banister Soane, the British Spy, who had taught Adela Khanum's son Persian. The Civil commission had worked out a form of tribal republic, where each chief elected one chief to rule them all. Everyone voted for Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, except for Mahmud Pasha Jaff, who ruled out any cooperation with the British. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, as leader of the tribes, would grow weary of dealing with the British. He would declare himself King of the newly proclaimed Kingdom of Kurdistan. All Kurdish tribes would yield to his rule, except for Adela Khanum, who despised the Barzanjis and saw them as a threat to her own ambitions.

An old Ottoman Colonel by the name of Colonel Mustafa Kemal Ataturk would rise up against the allied powers' occupation of the former Ottoman Empire. His forces would rise up against the French in Kahramanmaras, the British in Canakanale, the Armenians in Van, and the Greeks in Antalya. The allies of the Turks would be the Italians and the Bolsheviks. Mustafa Kemal would begin the formation of a new Turkish state under a Kemalist system of

government, which would be run by military and civilian branches. Mustafa Kemal would have his sights on oil-rich Mosul as well. He saw Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji as an important ally in claiming the city of Mosul. They would begin to give him aid and encourage him in his uprising against the British. Adela Khanum would be in complete opposition to Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's uprising. The Barzanjis had been enemies of the Jaff since the time of Jaff Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi. He had been in rivalry with the Sheikh Barzinji Sheikh Maruf, who would stir an uprising against Sheikh Khalidi Baghdadi, who would flee Iraq for the safety of Constantinople, as he was popular with the Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid II. The Jaff were despised by the Hamavand as well, who were great allies of the Barzanjis. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's revolt would sweep across Southern Kurdistan, and his forces would march on Halabja, where he would detain Adela Khanum's son, Ahmed Beg Jaff, within the Caves of Jasana. Adela Khanum, with British A.P.O. officer Major George Mason Leeds and his newly recruited Jaff levies, would hole themselves up with Adela Khanum in her house.

Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji would have a former Imperial Russian officer, General Kaderi, train his new armies. General Kaderi was experienced in building militias out of tribes. He had done so with the Kyrghiz tribes on the Persian front of World War I. Russia had successfully imposed its might on Persia during World War I, blocking any Ottoman or German advance into the country. They now had their sights set on the Mesopotamian territories. Their historical allies were the Kurds, since the times of Count Paskevich during the great Russo Ottoman war of 1877-1879. The Russians had armed the enemies of the Jaff, the Hamavand, who would kill the great Jaff chief, Mohamed Pasha Jaff, during the Sheikh Ubeydullah revolts in 1880. A Russian officer would covertly arm the new enemies of the Jaff, the Barzanjis. The Jaff in Halabja were completely opposed to the Barzanjis. The Jaff along the Persian frontier under Hamid Beg Jaff, however, were in alignment with Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. They would begin to defy paying taxes to the British and wanted to answer only to Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji.

The Halabja Jaff under Adela Khanum would, however, offer to continue to pay taxes with the British, and Adela Khanum and her son Ahmed Beg Jaff desired to be directly under the control of the British. Adela Khanum had become alienated from much of the rest of the Kurdish tribes and Suliamania, because most tribes recognized Mahmud Pasha Jaff's clan to be the true tribal leaders of the Jaff tribe. The former Ottoman authorities had put Osman Pasha Jaff in the place of Mahmud Pasha Jaff. Most Kurds did not recognize

this succession of power. Adela Khanum and her son, Ahmed Beg Jaff, had long held a position of collaboration with governing authorities of the Middle East. They had never taken part in the of such Kurdish insurgencies as the revolts of Simko Shikak, which would rise against the Persian authorities in the aftermath of World War I. There would be a coup in Iran, which would depose the Qajar. Reza Shah Pahlavi would come to power. The Kurds would revolt in the subsequent vacuum of power. The Persian authorities at Sanandaj would ask Adela Khanum, with her Ardalan ties, to mediate between the Persian government and the hostile Kurdish tribes of the Dizli and Merivan. Adela Khanum gladly did this, and convinced the Merivan and Dizli to cooperate with the Persian government, and not join the revolts of Simko Shikak.

Major Ely Banister Soane would assign Major Leeds as the Political officer of Halabja, and the latter would serve as British advisor to Adela Khanum and Ahmed Beg Jaff. Major Leeds would develop a very good relationship with Adela Khanum and would begin to raise the Jaff levies from Halabja into an army. He wished to develop a military force that could deal with any threat. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji was a great threat to him, especially as Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji began to encourage anti-British sentiment among the Kurds. Barzanji ordered the Kurds under him to kill and capture all British political officers living amongst them to end the British rule of Kurdistan. Adela Khanum took advantage of her old ties with Major Ely Banister Soane and gave refuge to all the British political officers in Halabja. The British officials were given warm hospitality at her beautiful Persian mansions. Major Leeds with his Jaff levies would offer resistance against Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces as his allies launched an attack on Halabja, besieging it. The siege would hold out for several days, but Halabja would partially come under control of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji. Major Leeds and the Adela Khanum were under strain, and could only offer token resistance, as the greater Jaff were under Mahmud Pasha Jaff, who would only come to their aid if they had British support. Unfortunately for Adela Khanum and Major Leeds, there were no British forces in the area for miles. Major Leeds and Adela Khanum's forces would continue to hold against Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces. British officer General Fraser enlisted a group of Assyrian Christians to aid in suppressing the revolt, which they gladly did. They would counterattack against Suliamania, and wound and capture Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, ending the revolt and the Kingdom of Kurdistan. Cecil J. Edmonds would also accompany the Fraser force, advancing through Hamavand country, who were the archrivals of the Jaff and who had joined Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji in his revolt against the British. Edmonds would

come upon the village of Kak Ahmed with a force of Burman levies of the Imperial British Armies and would capture several Hamavand, who would be employed as his guides. His Burman detachment would deal a decisive blow to the forces of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, and wound the Sheikh in the battle. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji would retreat to Suliamania, where the main force of General Fraser would march into the town and seize the main depot of the revolt, where the British were holed up. Edmonds, accompanied by his Hamavand guides, would later find a wounded Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji lying on the road,. He would detain Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji at Bazyan. He would be exiled to India for two years. Cecil J. Edmonds would be the new Chief Political Officer, who would govern the Kurds. He and his forces would eventually come to Halabja to relieve Major Leeds and Adela Khanum, who were under siege. All of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces would disperse. Major Fraser was so pleased with Adela Khanum's efforts that he personally rode to Halabja in his car to award and pay proper respects to her for saving the British Civil Commission. He would award her the title of Khan Bahadur, which originated in India and was the Indian equivalent of Pasha. This of course had been adopted by the British in their Empire in India, and used for all their distinguished people in their colonial services.^{1,2,6,7}

Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji had thrown a real monkey wrench into Kurd's plan to get its own country. The British had to postpone assigning the Kurds their own republic, deeming the region too unstable after Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's uprising. This all worked to Adela Khanum's advantage, as she began to play a more central role in the Mosul Civil Commission. She wanted the full attention of Major Ely Banister Soane in Suliamania. Major Soane had lost his interest in Adela Khanum. He had by this time lost hope in the Kurds altogether. Adela Khanum was a sideshow to him in the Kurdish political makeup. Assigning his junior Major Leeds as her political officer would anger Adela Khanum, as she did not wish to be a sideshow to the British Civil Commission. This was during 1920-1922. Of course Major Leeds had tried to be a good political officer to her. He had taken up teaching her the western sport of tennis. Adela Khanum had installed a new tennis court at her palace, and adopted the British sport as a municipal past time. She would often try to interrogate Major Leeds for information on the dealings of the Civil Commission. She was determined to know everything about what was going on in the Northern Iraq region. She was good at getting information out of him with her persuasive ways. Major Leeds was anxious around Adela, who grew weary of playing footsie with him. She would intimidate him to her will. She sent her horsemen to shoot up his house but not kill him. When Major Leeds brought this event to Adela Khanum's attention, she

claimed them to be bandits. Major Leeds knew better. He sent a plane to buzz her palace in revenge, though this was not enough to stop Adela Khanum's games. He would continue to be harassed by gunmen during the night. This proved too much for Major Leeds to handle, and he felt an extreme discomfort in his work. He therefore resigned from his post and job, taking to the study of botany instead. Halabja and the Shahrizor would therefore never again fall under the jurisdiction of the British Civil Commission. Adela Khanum had achieved what Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji had failed to do. She had achieved independence from the British. The British would deem the Jaff tribe too violent to rule.^{1,2,3,6,7}

Major Cecil J. Edmonds would replace Major Ely Banister Soane as political officer of the Mosul Civil Commission in 1922. He would avoid Adela Khanum as much as he possibly could. He knew her history very well. By this time, it was becoming apparent that the Kurds would never be given their own country. They would instead be placed under the newly formed Kingdom of Iraq, and become their problem. It was Major Cecil J. Edmond's job to smooth over that transition. It was Adela Khanum's desire to capitalize on that transition, securing a position for her son to take part in the new Iraqi government. Adela Khanum would finally convince Cecil J. Edmonds to appoint her son, Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff, as governor of Halabja. The Jaff in effect had secured control over Halabja in the new Kingdom of Iraq. She would develop a close relationship with Gertrude Bell, who was an advisor to the new Iraqi monarch, King Faisal. They spoke much of the formation of the new Iraqi state, and it was through Adela Khanum's relationship with Gertrude Bell that she was able to secure a position for her son, Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff, in the Iraqi Parliament in 1924.

Unfortunately, Adela would die around that time. New complications would arise during the return of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji in 1922. A new Turkish threat to the British came from Mustapha Kemal's insurgency to the north of Mosul. The revolts had spread from Kahramanmaras to Ankara, and were now threatening Mosul, which Mustapha Kemal prized as a Turkish town. He wished to forge an alliance with the Kurds in overthrowing the British in the region. The British, feeling threatened, believed if they brought back Mahmud Barzanji, he would keep the Kurds from going over to Mustapha Kemal's movement. They even promised to give the Kurds their own country if he cooperated with them. To their surprise, he revolted again, reinstating himself as King of Kurdistan. This time his revolt would be much more successful, and the British would not suppress it until 1932. This caused many tensions for the Jaff in their bid to progress in the Kingdom of Iraq.^{1,2,3,6,7}

Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji would launch an attack on Halabja during his revolts of 1922. Halabja would be occupied by Barzinji's forces, and Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would be imprisoned by him because the British had set up their main headquarters in Tahir Beg Jaff's house. Barzinji would send a rebel garrison to occupy Halabja. Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would be held at the Caves of Jasana. He would, however, escape. Adela Khanum would flee to Kirkuk. Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would later move on to become a member of Iraqi Parliament in 1924. Adela Khanum would die of poor health in 1924, at around age 70, in Suliamania. Hamid Beg Jaff, chosen by the British, would move to take over the position of Begzada of the Jaff tribe.

Soane, Ely Banister. **To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise.** Chestnut Hill, MA: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005, [ISBN 1-4021-5914-5](#)

² Soane, Ely Banister. **“Notes on the Southern Tribes of Kurdistan,”** Civil Commissioner, Baghdad. 1918

³ Soane, Ely Banister. **“Report on the Sulaimania District of Kurdistan.”** 1910

⁴ The Zarrinkafsch-Bahman (Qajar) Family Webpage, <http://www.zarrinkafsch-bahman.org>

⁵ **Personalities in Kurdistan.** Civil Commissioner, Baghdad. 1918

⁶ Fieldhouse, David K., ed. [Kurds, Arabs and Britons: The Memoir of Col. W.A. Lyon in Kurdistan, 1918-1945.](#) London: I.B.Tauris, 2002. [ISBN 978-1-86064-613-3.](#)

⁷ Edmonds, Cecil J. **Kurds, Turks and Arabs: Politics, Travel and Research in North-Eastern Iraq, 1919-1925.** London: Oxford University Press, 1957. [ISBN 0-404-18960-1](#)

BRITISH NATIONAL ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS SHOWING THE COLLABORATION AND CENTER ROLE OF
THE JAFF IN THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY OF THE BRITISH AGAINST
SHEIKH MAHMUD BARZINJI'S INSURRECTION

for these fears for an offer of assistance from Waisch and Co. reached the Assistant Political Officer at this time.

The only people now left to deal with were the Begsadeh of Waisch. They were met on the 8th ~~XX~~ by the Assistant Political Officer when they undertook in writing to return the taxes collected. There is reason to think that they will perform their promise.

On the 9th the Column started on its return march to Sulaimani.

During the course of the operations the Assistant Political Officer was accompanied by the three leading representatives of the Jaf Beg Zadeh viz, Ahmed Beg Qaimmaqur, the Lady's son; Kerim Beg the Chief of the Jaf tribe and Hamid Beg member of the Divisional Council. They showed as much zeal in helping to break down the forces of opposition as they had previously displayed in building them up.

Adila Khanum

(Signed) E. NOEL,
Asst. Pol. Officer,
Halabja.

T.C.

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say up to one month, until Government can take action to relieve the pressure; failing action towards Sulaimani itself, which would solve every ill, some support of Halabja itself will be necessary. At present the administrative functions of Government are at a complete standstill. For example, before the reverse leases for all the Government canals had been arranged; now the parties have all refused to come in to sign them. No revenue has been collected. Of the whole ~~area~~ ^{headquarters} only the markaz-nahiya of Halabja and ~~the~~ the western "leg" of Warrawa from Dixiayish southwards are not in hostile occupation. It is perhaps superfluous to point out what a flagrant breach of the High Commissioner's orders Mahmud's present operations against Halabja constitute. The Qaimmaqam believed that the nomad Jaf had been affected by events in Halabja and complained that his messengers were being molested. Kerim Beg, Chief of Jaf, who was summoned to Kirkuk on 22nd maintains that this is not the case. I have however written to the Chiefs of the nomad Tarkhani, Roghzadi and Haruni, who will be starting to move north this week, warning them that they will be held responsible and punished for any disorders by their settled confreres after the arrival of the nomads in Shahrizur.

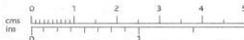
Although Ahmad Beg and Hamid Beg are outwardly working in harmony, it is only Ahmad Beg's friends who are at present supporting the administration. Each, in private, blames the other, for the events of the past month.

The Government offices are in the house of Tahir Beg next door to the Lady's. The Government Serai is in a terrible state of dilapidation and some Rs.1,500 will be required to put it in a reasonable state of repair.

Mulla Hasan came to Halabja with Ja'far Sultan and had left only on the 20th. His intrigue appears to have collapsed and he is regarded locally as having been badly let in and sinned against rather than as having sinned.

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101
SECRET.

*Copy to I.
Original with Staff's file*

Notes by the Chief Staff Officer on visit to Kirkuk.

On the 14th. saw Edmonds at Kirkuk:

He told me that the situation in the Halebja district was approximately as follows :-

That part of the district North West of the river was now being administered by a Mudir at Faqagina, and in Halebja itself and the territory South East of the river there were two factions, one which was largely Persian and religious and which had been given unofficial encouragement in high quarters, which was adverse to administration from Kirkuk; the other faction which was represented by the Lady of Halebja and her son Ahmed Beg, the Qaimagim, were desirous of being directly administered from Kirkuk.

Arrangements had been made to send administrative personnel there, but Mohammed'is'an Ahmed, who lived in Kanikowa, was opposed to direct administration of the whole of the area round Kanikowa, and would probably resist direct administration.

About three weeks ago Edmonds wrote to Mohammed'is'an Ahmed and instructed him to report himself at Faqagina. Edmonds had received no reply from Mohammed'is'an Ahmed, but the Mudir at Faqagina had had a letter from him to the effect that he was not coming in now.

The incident was one of flagrant defiance. Edmonds was of opinion that with regard to this man, Shaikh Mahmud was probably behind this defiance.

It had been decided therefore to bomb Kanikowa, and at 11 o'clock I sent the bomb raid off.

Edmonds had got most reliable information from Babekf Agha, from Chemehal and from other sources that Shaikh Mahmud had summoned all the disaffected Pishdar Aghas to Sulaimaniyah, and he had since received information that some of them, including Abbas Agha, were already in Sulaimaniyah.

The time for collecting Aoda is now due and Edmonds is of the opinion that Shaikh Mahmud would make this an excuse for bringing pressure to bear through such people as the disaffected Pishdar Aghas on those amenable to Government and especially Babekf Agha.

*S.O.I.
4.3
11/13*

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The following information was supplied by General Kaderi, who is of Sulaimani origin ^{and} served in the Russian Imperial army rising to the rank of Major-General ^{where} ~~and was~~ given command of a Kirghiz division by Koleshak.

He accompanied Mahmud to Sulaimani in September and on arrival was appointed "Inspector-General of all Government Departments". At first he enjoyed Mahmud's confidence but soon suffered the fate of all the Shaikh's counsellors. In the middle of December he succeeded with difficulty in getting away from Sulaimani nominally on leave. He has no intention of returning.

General Kaderi is a sensible and well-educated man whose opinions and statements are on the whole accurate and reliable.
FINANCIAL.

From September 5th, the date of evacuation, to the end of the year receipts and expenditure were roughly as follows:-

Receipts.

Left in Treasury on evacuation	...	Rs. 450,000
Taxes from etc. upto December 5.	...	" 295,000
" " " from December 5 to	...	" 100,000
December 31 (estimated).	...	" 100,000
Total -		Rs. 845,000/-

Expenditure.

Salaries - September	...	...	Rs. 54,000
October	...	...	" 80,000
November	...	...	" 130,000
December	...	...	" 180,000
S.S.	...	...	" 400,000
Total -			Rs. 844,000

The item S.S. covers almost entirely subsidies and presents to tribal chiefs and supporters. The following are some of the recipients:-

Jaf Begzadah	Rs. 25,000
Rizhder	" 74,000
Shaikh Abdul Qadir	" 7,000
Wejid Haji Rasul	" 7,000
Shaikh Ali Sirkar	" 7,000
Talebani	" 7,000

Salaries include the following:-

Shaikh Mahmud	Rs. 30,000 per annum.
Shaikh Qadir ^{his brother}	3,000 " "
Shaikh Mohamed Gharib	1,700 " "
Ministers	700 " "

Several thousand but figure not known. 120,000 is reserved for

only people from NS of Kafir who were responsible for his recent change of attitude.

of Sulaimani

his brother in law

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DOCUMENTS SHOWING RIVALRY BETWEEN ADELA KHANUM AND
MAHMUD BARZINJI'S INSURRECTION, AND MAHMUD BARZINJI'S
OCCUPATION OF HALABJA AND IMPRISONMENT WITHIN THE CAVES
OF JASANA OF ADELA KHANUM'S SON, AHMED BEG JAFF

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2.

Sulaimani Delegation that came to Baghdad in October, and has considerable influence among the KIFRI tribes, against which must be set the fact that most of their Chiefs are now receiving large subsidies from Shaikh MAHMUD.

- (c) Shaikh ABDUL QADIR, Mudir of SANGAO, who commands a good sized armed following, has also quite definitely broken with Shaikh MAHMUD, and is willing and able to support any attempt to remove him.

The above two, the first from the religious point of view and the second from that of the strength of his retainers, are the two most prominent Shaikhs outside Shaikh MAHMUD's own family.

- (d) Of the JAF, AHMED BEG and IZZET BEG, the two sons of the Lady of HALABJA, are now in confinement in SULAIMANI - the first with every possible ignominy, the second in more honourable fashion. The Lady may therefore be reckoned ~~upon~~ among Shaikh MAHMUD's enemies, KARIM BEG has had his salary reduced and has retired in dudgeon to his village near KIFRI. HAMID BEG is pro S.M. ALI BEG is pro-Turk but personally anti S.M. The JAF as a whole therefore can be reckoned on as hostile to Shaikh MAHMUD.

- (e) Of the HAMAWAND, KARIM FATAH BEG with his following of 150 or so, is clearly hostile to us and must remain so. His uncle, MAHOMED AMIN AGHA, now Qaimmaqam of CHESHAMAL, usually has a foot in both camps, and will probably go whichever way the wind blows. AMIN RASHID AGHA, consistently friendly, is at the moment

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Telegram (F)

From - Adviser, Kirkuk.
To - High Commissioner, Baghdad.
No. - 2.102.
Dated - 11th February, 1948.
Received - 12th February, 1948.

at Kirkuk

On the 8th instant I met Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Jangao and Sheikh Abdul Kerim at ^{Moderates} Radie Karam. Their sowars have been withdrawn from Sulaimani and their rupture with Mahmud appears complete. Kerim confirms the report that Mahmud received a visit by three Turkish officers about 30th January coinciding with the return of his emissary to Van or Angora sent last November and presumably with arrival of reports of Kirkuk agitation (see my letter of 27th January K.70). He has also been urged to begin an outbreak by the Shiah divines of Iraq who have promised to follow suit immediately in Iraq. After the interview with the officers three emissaries left for Turkey including a relation of Simko. Mahmud has arrested Izzet and Ahmed Beg's ^{sons} of the lady of Balaoja. Am also informed by Abdul Kerim that Mahmud has definitely kicked over the traces and is planning tribal outbreak for early March, directed against Kirkuk itself. He urges the necessity of prompt prophylactic measures. I received a letter on my way back, from Sheikh Qadir, saying that he expected the Turks had good reason for coming to Sulaimani, that he made a special appeal to the High Commissioner as he felt insecure for his life. I am sending this separately.

With Jaf, Jangao and Hamawend definitely hostile to Mahmud I consider we can liquidate the Sulaimani menace with a few simple but vigorous steps by the Government but the action must be prompt.

Could scourdillon fly up as soon as possible if you approve? Jan Noel suggest means of getting Simko to leave Sulaimani?

H.

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G O P Y.

File 116

89a

No 1494/1/19

Office of the Political Officer

Sulaimani. Dated 30/8/1922.

From :-

The Political Officer,
SULAIMANI.

To :-

Secretary to H.E. The High Commissioner,
B A G H D A D.

MEMORANDUM.

Notable + chief of police SENNAH
A'DELAH KHANUM
Jaf Reszadeh + others

Halabja reports as follows :-

"Wakil es Sultan has written to the Lady and Ahmed Beg from

Sennah saying the the affairs of the Persian Government in
Kurdistan are looking up owing to the promised assistance of
the Turks which has already materialised in the operations
against Simko. AS soon as the latter is finally disposed of
the combined Perso-Turkish forces intend turning their attention
to the Avroman and Merivan side. No trouble is anticipated as
Chief of Avroman - LUNUN of KAUSUD
Chief of Perso-Turkish forces
of Rowanah. 35 m. NW of
KURANUSAN - Kabilal

regards Jaffer Sultan, Sirgar Reshid etc. in fact all the tribes
with the exception of Dizli and Merivan. Wakil es Sultan then
goes on to ask the Begzadehs to exert their influence with these
two, to persuade them to meet the Sennah Government at a neutral
spot some few hours out of Sennah and make their peace with
the Persian Government. The Begzadehs anticipate frequent overtures
to us for assistance, from the threatened tribes.

Qadir Beg of Weneh writes that the defeat of Simko was
due to the combination of the Turks with the persians.

Simko is now in a bad way but still in the ring. He has
taken refuge in the mountains and the Persians are expected to
tackle him again. It is reported that after disposing of Simko
the Persians are to march to the assistance of the Turks on

* Jafar MAHMUD
KHAN ARZOMANI
3000 rifles
* Jafar MAHMUD
KHAN KHANISANANI
4000 rifles
Both prominent
+ arrived in 1919

yes
File 116
psol
11/12/22
10/19

RMP 14/19. 10/11/19.

The National Archives

Ref: AIR 23/340 (Order # 1188043)



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Mahmud Pasha Jaff and The Triumph of the Jaff Tribe's Inevitable Destiny

Mahmud Pasha Jaff was born in 1845 E.C. He had been the vessel through which his father, Mohamed Pasha Jaff, had fulfilled his lifetime quest, which was the destruction of the Baban clan and the archrival to the throne of the Jaff clan, his cousin Aziz Bey Jaff, who was **the Baban's puppet**. This alliance had kept his father a refugee in Persia for most of his life. Fortunately, at this time, the Ottoman Sultan was slowly beginning to turn against the Babans, his former guardians of the Mesopotamian Northern border.

The Babans had also begun to become insubordinate to the Ottoman Sultan's mandates, aiding in Persia's conquest of Shahrizor, for example. The Babans would later hand Shahrizor to the Persian General, Abbas Mirza Qajar, in his devastating war against the Ottoman Empire in 1921. The Babans were crushed in 1847 by the Sultan's armies in the battle of Koya, in collaboration with the Jaff. The Baban Emirate would collapse as a whole in 1850. His father, along with his tribe, would then come under the protection of the Mamluk, or Ottoman Military Dictator, from the Ottoman Russian provinces, Sulaiman Pasha, who was the Vali of Baghdad. He would destroy all traces of the Baban in Shahrizor, over which he would give Muhammed Pasha Jaff complete dominion. His father's army would then be proclaimed part of the Ottoman Military by the Sultan, and they would crush all enemies who were opposed to his rule. His father would inherit a land full of many enemies. His father's cousin Aziz Bey Jaff's reign would come to a swift end, and Gulambar would be the new capital of the Jaff tribe. Shahrizor would be their new dominion.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II summoned Mahmud Pasha Jaff to be appointed as the leader and Qaimaqqam of Shahrizor in 1873, upon the Tanzimat reforms, which had reorganized the Ottoman Empire's administrative divisions from Eyalets into Vilayets. The newly-acquired Ottoman territory of Shahrizor, with Gulambar, would be organized into the Mosul Vilayet, becoming an official Ottoman territory. Mahmud Pasha would then become an official governor within the Ottoman Empire. He is remembered for having played a prominent role in the maturation of the Kurdish national consciousness, which began appearing during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and was also honored with medals and peerages by the Ottoman Empire. He had all the

characteristics of a leader; he was a strategist, and his organizational skills were remarkable. Mahmud Pasha had to perform his duties within a very complicated geopolitical context, and in a defining era for the future of the Kurdish people of the late nineteenth century. On one hand, the stagnant Ottoman Empire was in a clear process of decline, and the centrifugal forces within it—demands of political participation, nationalist sentiments, economic interests—postponed its transformation. But

on the other hand, the international dynamics were moving toward the end of imperialism, and the rise of nationalist claims within all social groups that made up the Middle East created insecurity and instability in their immediate environment, leading the leaders of the Jaff tribe to adopt a pragmatic stance that did not antagonize either the Ottoman Empire nor the Qajari authorities in Iran, while maintaining an armed force of 4,000 members organized for defense.^{2,3}

The Ottoman and Iranian states constantly cultivated friendship with the Jaff tribe, lending strategic importance to this area which was considered a "buffer zone" between the two empires, helping to ensure the integrity of their political boundaries. Mahmud Pasha was at the center of this strategy of demarcation; therefore, both the Iranian and Ottoman authorities extended honorary degrees to him recognizing his invaluable position: the title of Khan, awarded by the Iranian state, and the title of Pasha, from the Ottomans. Sultan Abdul Hamid II looked upon his alliance with the Jaff with grand ambition, for the Kurds proved to be more reliable soldiers than his own Ottoman armies, and he wished to model a Kurdish force after Tsarist Russia's Cossack units, which were trusted with the core securities of the state. The force would be named after him as the Hamidiye Cavalry.⁴ But despite the importance of the region for both countries, Mahmud Pasha Jaff embraced autonomist intentions and had his own plans for it, so he decided to distance himself from both. This antagonized Istanbul, which did not look kindly upon the rise of a nationalism that could destabilize the Ottoman Empire from within. He would take advantage of Russia's devastating invasion of the Ottoman Empire in an effort to support the Armenian insurgencies in the Ottoman Caucasus in 1877-1878, which would deplete the Ottoman war machine and leave the administration of its Eastern provinces in disarray. This would also create a perfect environment for Mahmud Pasha Jaff to distance himself from the Ottoman government. Segments of the Jaff, along with the Hewreman, would engage in brigandage and factional violence unhindered by the rule of Mahmud Pasha Jaff.⁵

During the time of the reign of Kai Khosrau Beg Jaff, there was a man by the name of Khaled I Baghdadi who would become a great Sufi

Sheikh with 12,000 followers from Arabia to India, including the young Mohamed Pasha Jaff. Khaled I Baghdadi would Journey to Delhi and become a disciple of the Sufi Sultan Abdulla, returning to Kurdistan during the reign of Mahmud Pasha Baban. He would speak about many great ideas such as self-sacrifice and the fact that all things were brought into this world out of non-existence, and he was revered by the people of Shahrizor and Mahmud Pasha Baban himself, who was a devout follower. Mahmud Pasha Baban would seek Khalid I-Baghdadi's advice in his relations between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, opening all letters of correspondence between him and his brothers from the Sherzade of Kermanshah and the Mamluk Vali of Baghdad in Khaled I Baghdadi's house. A coup against Mahmud Pasha Baban was prevented from his Uncle Abdulla Pasha, in cooperation with the Vali of Baghdad Suliaman, through the mediation of Khalid I Baghdadi.

One of his followers would ultimately be Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid I. Abdulmecid I would put many of Baghdadi's principles into practice during his administration. Abdulmecid I, within the Gulhanne Park beside the Topkapi Palace, would proclaim the Edict of Gulhanne in 1839 C.E., which would provide equal rights to Christians and minorities in an effort to appease his western allies, and also out of respect to the Jaff Sheikh Baghdadi. He would later build a tomb and mausoleum for Baghdadi in Damascus, Syria upon his death. This, however, would ultimately destabilize the region. The Armenian populace, emboldened by the reforms, would rise up in full-fledged revolt, as would other minorities, including segments of the Jaff tribe under Mahmud Pasha Jaff.

The Russian Imperial Army, stationed in the Caucasus, was encouraged by this development to invade the Ottoman Caucasus in an effort to support these insurgencies. The white coats of the Russian army would swarm across the Caucasus border and conquer Bayezid, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzurum against the blue coats of the Ottoman army with their German-supplied weapons. This would cause anarchy throughout the region, from Van to Mosul. The Ottoman army and state institutions of the region would be left in a state of disarray, creating significant friction and disorder on the borders of the Persian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires's border.

His successor, Sultan Abdulaziz, was faced with his own

insurgency. In the Ottoman Empire, Islam was heavily influenced by factional sectarian Arab Sheikhs, which was a threat to Sultan Abdulaziz's authority. The Turks were also very sectarian, and followed the Arabs, who controlled Mecca more than they did him. There was a general Islam-inspired anger against the Gulhane Edict reforms that Abdulaziz inherited from his predecessor, Abdulmecid I. The reforms were seen as pro-Western and benefitting the Christian minorities more than the Muslims. The opposition had grown ever since

the Gulhane Edict reforms had emancipated people from slavery, as the slave trade was a major income provider among Arabs. This had turned Mecca against Abdulaziz. The Mutasharrif of Mecca, Abd al-Muttalib, would plot against him, and would join with many other angry officials within the Ottoman government of Istanbul conspiring against Sultan Abdulaziz. He had very few friends in his empire, and this included his own people. The only people he could rely on from within his own empire were the Kurds. It was concluded that a Pro-Kurdish policy should be adopted within the Ottoman Military doctrine to shore up support against the Islamist and Arab brigands of the Ottoman Empire. For in the following years, Ottoman Policy would tend to favor the Kurds.

Mahmud Pasha Jaff was born in 1845. He had been the vessel through which his father, Mohamed Pasha Jaff, had fulfilled his lifetime quest, which was the destruction of the Baban clan and the archrival to the throne of the Jaff clan, his cousin Aziz Bey Jaff, who was an ally to the Baban. This alliance had forced his father to remain a refugee in Persia for most of his life. Fortunately, at this time, the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz was slowly beginning to turn against the former guardians of his Mesopotamian Northern border, the Babans. The Babans had begun to become insubordinate to the Ottoman Sultan's mandates, aiding in Persia's conquest of Shahrizor. The Babans would hand Shahrizor to the Persian

General, Abbas Mirza Qajar, in the devastating war against the Ottoman Empire in 1921.

The Babans were crushed in 1847 by the Sultan's armies in the battle of Koya, in collaboration with the Jaff. The Baban Emirate would collapse as a whole in 1850.

His father, along with his tribe, would then come under the protection of the Mamluk, or the Ottoman Military Dictator, from the Ottoman Russian

provinces, Daoud Pasha, who was the Vali of Baghdad. Hewould destroy all traces of the Baban in Shahrizor, and give Mohamed Pasha Jaff complete dominion over it.

His father's army would then be proclaimed a part of the Ottoman Military by the Sultan, and they would crush all enemies who opposed his rule. His father would inherit a land full of many enemies, and his father's cousin Aziz Bey Jaff's reign would come to a swift end. Gulambar would be the new capital of the Jaff tribe, and Shahrizor would become their new dominion. After the Mamluk Vali of Baghdad, Daoud Pasha, dealt a crushing defeat to the Persian occupation of Abbas Mirza Qajar of Northern Mesopotamia, and put to the Babans to flight in 1850, Mohamed Pasha Jaff—along with the Jaff nomads—were allowed to dwell in the Shahrizor, unharrassed by the Ottomans or Persians in any way.

A golden age began for the Jaff, as they became a major power in the region. Their nomadic caravans were allowed passage from Khanaqin and Qizil Rubat to Panjwin in the Shahrizor region of Kurdistan. In these regions, Mohammed Pasha Jaff—from his position of power—began to crack down on all of his enemies, from the Pro Baban Jaff under Aziz Bey Jaff, who was the son of Kai Khasrow Beg Jaff, to the rival tribe of the Hemevand, who were anti-Ottoman. He would erect a Fortress on the banks of the Shirwan river to guard against all of these foes in 1866.

The name of this fortress is now known as the Shirwana Castle. In 1868, he would be appointed by the Mamluk Vali, Daoud Pasha of Baghdad. However, Daoud Pasha and Mohammed Pasha Jaff's power would begin to weaken during the Russo-Ottoman war, around 1878. The Jaff's rivals, the Hamavands, would go to the Caucasus and fight for the Russians against the Ottomans. The Russians would arm them and send them back to agitate the Shahrizor in an effort to create anarchy. Then, in collaboration with the Aziz Bey Jaff faction, they would launch an attack against Mohamed Pasha Jaff, killing him in 1880. Mahmud Pasha Jaff had inherited from his father the great task of ending the insurgency of the Hamavand, whose allies were wrecking havoc all along the Mosul Vilayet, which the Imperial Russian Empire had the bold intention of annexing during their expansion into the Ottoman Empire from the Caucasus during the late 1870s. The Mosul Vilayet was rich in oil.

The Ottoman Empire had every intention of keeping it. They no longer even trusted their own valis with the administration of the region, switching

them out after short periods of time. The province was truly ruled by the new sultan, Abdul Hamid II himself, and he wished for the Jaffs to be his allies and to continue the legacy of Mohamed Pasha Jaff against the Hamavand threat. The Jaff had always hated the Hamavand, and this was why Sultan Abdul Hamid II trusted the Jaff above all the other Kurdish tribes. The equally powerful Barzinjis of Suliamania were former allies of the Babans. The Ottomans, therefore, did not trust the Barzinjis.

The Jaff were the most promising allies for Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Sultan Abdul Hamid II looked upon his alliance with the Jaff with a grand ambition, for the Kurds proved to be more reliable soldiers than his own Ottoman armies, and he wished to model the Kurdish force after Tsarist Russia's Cossack units, which were entrusted with the core securities of the state. The force would be named after him as the Hamidiye Cavalry. The Hamavands had gone on a rampage. They would launch a campaign of mass extermination in the region in an effort to create additional living space for their tribes. Mosul itself was now the center of the Ottoman administration for the Mosul Vilayet. Mosul was also the center of the Chaldean Catholic church, which would constantly come under attack by the Hamavand.

The Hamavand would kill many, and cause disarray against the city. The Assyrian population would live in fear, as they did not possess adequate forces to properly defend themselves against the Hamavand. Mahmud Pasha Jaff would come to the aid of the Assyrians, defending them against the Hamavand armies. He would put up fierce resistance to the Hamavand juggernaut, from Mosul to Gulambar, to avenge his father. The Hamavand would eventually flee to Qasr-I-Shirin, where the Jaff would lay siege to them. The Ottoman administration and the Assyrian population would award the Jaff army with 100 mares in gratitude for the defense of Sheikh Ubeydullah's and the Evangelicals' collaboration with the Jaff tribe in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman war, and the upcoming Armenian uprising in 1880.

This was coincidentally taking place at the same time as Sheikh Ubeydullah was launching his invasion of Persia in an effort to reclaim Urmia from the Mosul Vilayet for his new sheikhdom, which was his home city. Sheikh Ubeydullah was an insurrectionist trained by the Russians along with his army in Urmia, after the Russians had established a presence there during the Russo-Ottoman and Persian wars. Urmia had become a center of Pro-Russian Armenian nationalism, which had also fueled Kurdish nationalism as well. Armenian Russian generals had led the Russian thrust into the Ottoman Empire during the Russo-Ottoman war of the 1870s, and they were now giving aid to Ubeydullah's forces. Mahmud Pasha Jaff thought it to

be within his right to proclaim his own country, and he began to collaborate with Sheikh Obeidullah, who had been heavily influenced by protestant missionaries from America, who encouraged him to revolt.

The missionary Joseph Conchran of Ubeidullah's Urmia had informed William Abbott, the British consulate in Tabriz, about Ubeydullah's insurrection, who then kept a close eye on the situation. Great Britain's grand strategy was to annex the whole Mesopotamian region for themselves. Mahmud Pasha Jaff sent his most learned scholar, Keffee Effendi, to become Sheikh Obeidullah's personal scribe. He would travel all around the Kurdish lands in the Mosul Vilayet and would document them to provide Sheikh Obeidullah with knowledge about everything and everyone within his country. Kefee Effendi would arrive in Mosul and become quite fascinated by the Yazdani schools, who worshipped fire and were the original religion of the Jaff from the Shaho mountains and Javunrud in Persia. He decided to reside in Mosul, and he soon came under the influence of evangelicals, becoming a part of the Committee for the revision of the Turkish Bible. This committee translated the bible into Turkish. It was here that Kefee Effendi began to gain knowledge of much of the known world. Kefee Effendi would come into contact with many of the different national envoys to Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Constantinople. Kefee Effendi would make a very good impression with the Jaff tribe to much of the Western world, for Said Pasha Kurd of the Jaff tribe would eventually be appointed as Ambassador to Berlin in Germany, a country that would become the number one ally of the Ottoman Empire. Kefee Effendi would become very close to one primary missionary, who was the head of the evangelical missions to Armenia. Reverend Dwight's missions would later serve as logistics and coordination centers for the great Armenia revolts during the 1890s, which would kill many Kurds. Sheikh Ubeydullah had many Armenian Christians swelling the ranks within his army, and there was a great admiration for Sheikh Ubeydullah from Christians. He had developed extensive relations with the Evangelicals in the region, and he would later use their missions as bases for his troops. Evangelicals like Reverend Dwight encouraged Sheikh Ubeydullah's revolt in order to allow for a complete overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and thus the restoration of Christendom to Asia minor. Sheikh Ubeyduulah's hordes would attack from the Mosul Vilayet into Persia. They would then conquer the territory of the Jaff's old foes, the Ardalan, who had driven them from Javunrud in Persia in the 18th century. He would conquer the regions of Bohtan, Badinan, and Hakkari, all within the Ardalan Qajar Vilayet of Kordestan, defeating the Pro-Qajar Persians. But Ottoman Emperor Abdul Hamid II would not allow for Sheikh Ubeydullah threat to his

power to stand, especially in the vital region of the Mosul Vilayet, which was becoming an important asset with regards to his visions for the future of the Ottoman Empire. He would march with an Ottoman force against his hordes and, together with a Qajar counter attack, would crush the revolt in one year. Sheikh Ubeydullah would surrender to the Ottomans and be exiled to Istanbul, the same city where his subject Kefee Effendi was living. They would both die in Istanbul in 1883.

Though the Kurds had caused a great vexation to Abdul Hamid II's reign, this did not shake his resolve to make them the main ally of his administration, especially the Jaff. He would make one Jaff his ambassador in 1883 to his most important European ally, the German Empire. His name was Said Pasha Kurd, and he would later be promoted to the position of Foreign Minister of Abdulhamid II's Ottoman administration. [SEP][SEP]

The Ottoman government was wary of the factitious sentiment that Mahmud Pasha Jaff had produced in Kurdistan, so they sent officials to prepare reports giving evidence allowing them to remove him from office in Halabja. The commander responsible for this was Namiq Pasha, the Qaimmaqam of Baghdad. Mahmud Pasha Jaff had knowledge that Namiq Pasha was sent by the Ottoman Government to spy on him, and thus he did not offer him any hospitality. This inhospitality was enough for Namiq Pasha to write a flawed report, accusing Mahmud Pasha Jaff of equating himself with the Sultan Abdul Hameed II and cooperating with his enemies, which would make him a threat to the security and stability in the region. [SEP][SEP]



As a result of this report, a proclamation was made in 1888-1889 after which the Sultan dismissed Mahmud Pasha Jaff as the Jaff tribe leader and was replaced with his brother, Osman Pasha Jaff. Also, to keep him away from this area forever, he was appointed governor of the province Orpah. However, Mahmud Pasha Jaff rejected this offer. Instead, he joined the Kurdish revolt in 1880 that sought territory for the creation of autonomous Kurdish areas of the Ottoman Empire. Abdul Hamid's ambitions would continue on with Mahmud Pasha Jaff's brother Osman Pasha Jaff, and the formation of the Jaff tribe into Hamidiye regiments. This would ultimately undermine Sheikh Ubeydullah's rebellion, and the Hamidiye calvary would

become a potent force that would ultimately play a major role in terms of the internal security of Ottoman Empire, killing off all the Armenian and Arab brigands and crushing their revolts. They would be feared by the Russian Army in their wars with Ottomans, including in World War I. SEP

The outlook would change with the British occupation of Iraq, but not the importance of the Jaff tribe as an invaluable asset toward maintaining stability and security in the region. The British political forces attempted to ally with the tribal chiefs in order to gain support for their plans. However, Mahmud Pasha Jaff was unwilling to cooperate with the British, who looked with suspicion upon his intentions with the Kurdish people. The following incident is a clear indication of both the British intentions as well as Mahmud Pasha Jaff position in the matter. The commander Edward William Charles Noel, political governor in Sulaimania, went to visit Mahmud Pasha Jaff in Zalem in an effort to ensure his allegiance to the British forces. However, Mahmud Pasha Jaff dressed in his Ottoman uniform to receive him.

The following conversation took place:

"Does Mahmud Pasha know the purpose of this visit?" said Commander Noel.
"I have no knowledge and would like to hear directly from you," said Mahmud Pasha.

Commander Noel: "The British Government intends for Kurdistan to give joy to the Kurdish people and to save them from the cruelties of the Ottomans, and the British Government wants to have the support of personalities and leaders like yourself in this task. What is your response?"

Mahmud Pasha replied: "My answer is full rejection for the following reasons. Firstly, I do not think that your intentions towards the Kurdish people are sincere. If your goal is to serve the Kurds and save them from the cruelties as stated, then you can be sure that, even without my support, there will be hundreds who will be willing to help you and certainly will succeed. The second reason is that I am a Muslim, and my religion prevents me from cooperating against my brothers in religion. The third and final reason is my old age, disability, and inability to take action."

After this meeting, the British began pressuring Mahmud Pasha Jaff, imposing heavy taxes on the Kurds while his physical condition weakened. He finally died in 1921 and was buried in the mosque of the city of Saedeia.

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چون اسب عربت و الدوت عا دما محمد پای جاب مورنگاه
ادس مینو ناسی بر و حاد مکار سا ابرار حسن عبوس حضرت ادرین کال حسودی الله مکر ادر صبا ستمه
با عظمای انصاف شرح اوردند و در این امر و در آنکه در وقت و صلا کمر صبا در دست مین ال اولاد و نای بی

Osman Pasha Jaff and the Rooting out
of Insurgency in the Jaff tribe Prosperity and
Women's rights:

The other key Jaff tribal leader was Osman Pasha Jaff, Ottoman ruler in the Mosul Vilayet, who greatly contributed to women's suffrage in the Middle East.¹ Abdul Mecid I, within the Gulhanne Park beside the Topkapi Palace, would proclaim the Edict of Gulhanne in 1839, giving equal rights to Christians and minorities in an effort to appease his Western Allies. However, this would prove to have negative effects for the region, ultimately destabilizing it. The Armenian populace, emboldened by the reforms, would rise up in full-fledged revolt, as would other minorities, including segments of the Jaff tribe under Mahmud Pasha Jaff. The Russian Imperial Army, stationed in the Caucasus, was encouraged by this development to invade the Ottoman Caucasus in order to support these insurgencies. The white coats of the Russian army would swarm across the Caucasus border, ultimately conquering Bayezid, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzurum against the blue coats of the Ottoman army with their German supplied weapons. This would cause anarchy throughout the region from Van to Mosul. The Ottoman army and state institutions of this region would then be left in a state of disarray, causing a great deal of friction and disorder on the borders of the Persian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires' border. The Russian, Persian, Ottoman, and British Empires would respectively agree to a Border Demarcation committee to restore the respective boundary between them from 1912 to 1914.

Russian-Tehran liaison officer Vladimir Minorsky would be the head of the Russian delegation to the Border Demarcation Committee. He would journey to the Zagros Mountains in Iran, the birthplace of the Aryan people, and also where Mount Ararat is located, the supposed landing point of Noah's Ark, as declared in the Holy Bible. The Zagros Mountains was a land of milk and honey, as it was an Oasis of lush green shrubs and trees. Abdul Hamid II was making it a strategy to develop strong relations with local authorities in an effort to take up Ottoman Administrative responsibilities in the region. This included Osman Pasha Jaff of the Jaff tribe, as his horseman had been proclaimed Hamidiye cavalry of the Ottoman Imperial army, donning their blue uniforms. Vladimir Minorsky would visit Osman Pasha Jaff in the Shahrizor steppe at Halabja, his new capital, at the foot of the Zagros Mountains. He would be much impressed with the social changes being made in the region, and he would notice specifically the Westernization of the Jaff tribe by their Ottoman overlords. The cloths of the Kurds were changing from cotton baggy pants and shirts of the nomadic turban style to the more Western-style drab pants and button-down shirts. Women were also moving away from wearing burqas and toward floral dresses, which were commonly worn in the Balkans along with head

coverings. Unique to the Jaff tribe was the fact that the women were more independent than the men. Vladimir Minorsky noted that women would walk freely and do as they pleased on the streets of Halabja. For example, women would receive men in their tents without male chaperones.

Vladimir Minorsky visited Osman

Pasha Jaff's wife, Adela Jaff Khanum, numerous times at her tent without Osman Pasha Jaff's presence. Minorsky also noted that the Jaff Kurds made **great lovers, and how a British diplomat's daughter had been captured by** a Jaff tribesman, but she subsequently refused to leave.

Shahrizor and Suliama were becoming very important assets for Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and he valued his relationship with these regions so much that he increased trade with them. Under Osman Pasha Jaff, the Kurds—being cattle herders—began to bring in all sorts of valuable commodities for trade to the city of Suliama, including skins, wool, tobacco, and butter. They controlled all Caravan routes to Suliama from Baghdad, Bana, Merivan, Sanandaj, and Sauj Buluq. The Jaff Cavalry guarded each of these routes with the best weapons that the Ottomans had imported from the German Imperial Army, their ally. They were armed with mauser rifles and lugars, while retaining their native hanjar knives, which were prized throughout the Balkans and the Middle East. Subsequently, the British also began to prize Suliama and Shahrizor, setting

up a joint Anglo Ottoman Oil Commission in the region of Qasr I Shirin. Many Jaff tribesmen were trained as technicians to work the oil fields. The British prized these technicians, and would later take them to their Persian Abadan refineries after the commission was interrupted by war between the Ottoman and British Empires during World War I. The British began to be so enamored by the politics of the region that they sent a spy there to learn everything about the Jaff leadership that they could. His name was Major Ely Banister Soane. He also observed the remarkable freedom of the woman were, They had a great

sense of command, and were very beautiful, with their thin cheek bones. Obesity was not common at all in Kurdistan, and women often performed the same chores as the men did. Some of them would even be found among the cavalry patrols of the Jaff on the caravan routes, and they would often even join in the pillaging of their adversaries. The Jaff women were fierce and bold, yet they also possessed a significant beauty, unlike other women of the region. Perhaps their bold lifestyles gave them their goddess-like appearance. They were perhaps the Amazons of Homer's **Illiad**, whom had appeared in the same regions as the Jaff tribe. They were very liberal in their

views about modesty. Men were unafraid of their wives associating with men, even in their own houses. Yet the Kurdish marital bond was one of passion. The attraction between man and wife had to be mutual. The society was also very open about sexual intercourse. To Ely Banister Soane, Osman Pasha's wife Adela Khanum was the model of Kurdish womanhood, especially because of the fact that she held the title of Khanom, which was a position of authority bestowed upon a woman, unique only to the Persians and Ardalans. Perhaps Persia had always had a history of great female leaders, all the way from the ancient times. Queen Artemesia I had commanded the Persian navy at the epic Battle of Salamis against the Greeks in 480 B.C. Pantea Arteshbod, in 559 B.C., would become the Persian overlordess and military dictatoress of Mesopotamia during Cyrus the Great's conquest of the Middle East.

The Ottoman government had always been very tolerant of the dictates of Sharizor concerning their government. It had been this way since the time when Mesopotamia was first conquered by the Ottoman Empire. Sulieman the Magnificent would launch a campaign into the region around 1532 A.D. With the fall of the Abbuid Caliphate to the Mongol horde of Ghenghis Khan, many wars were fought throughout Asia and Europe. The world had been torn to pieces by Ghengis Khan following his death, and regional powers were beginning to pick up the pieces. The Ottoman Turks, who had originally been Mongol converts to Islam, had ransacked Asia Minor and become heirs to Byzantine and Roman Empires, and Sulieman the Magnificent was Sultan to this grand empire. From his dynastic line, he inherited the bitter Christian hatreds and Persian rivalries of ancestors, but now they were becoming far worse, allying against him in a Catholic Hapsburg and Safavid Persian Alliance. This would leave the Ottoman Empire on two fronts of war in both Asia and Mesopotamia. Sulieman the Magnificent would align himself with the French, and the French would wage war on the Austria-Spanish Catholic Hapburgs, and Sulieman would make war on the Safavids, crushing them in Mesopotamia, and sacking many towns. Baghdad would finally fall in 1534. During this time Sulieman the Magnificent had been put in charge of many non-Muslim and completely foreign populations. The Turks were very smart Imperialists, and they knew how to remain in control of foreign populations. They would conquer regions, but would not change the culture or the customs specific to those regions. This was a policy meant to keep the populace calm, so that an Ottoman occupation could become normalized within the society.

Suliaman the Magnificent was an Ottoman Sultan with a great understanding of philosophy. He had been schooled at the educational facilities of the Topkapi Palace, which possessed all the splendor of the Ancient Roman and Greek philosophers as they inherited all the philosophical writings from the Byzantine libraries after the Ottoman Conquest of Constantinople. Suliaman was always presented with obstacles to using this knowledge in law reforms, as the Ottoman Empire was Sunni Muslim and therefore under the final dictates of Quranic Haditha law. He took advantage of these newly conquered peoples to gain leverage against the Haditha law and create a more secular law system for these non-Muslim majorities. It was really the foreign peoples who guaranteed the Sultan's control in the Ottoman Empire and enabled him to overpower the Sunni Haditha majority. He began to institute the Qunaname to regulate these foreign people, and in turn to mobilize a force from the foreigners to regulate the Haditha Sunnis. This was how law in the Kurdish region began to be tolerated, and this is also how a relationship of interdependency came about between the Kurds and the Ottomans, as the Ottoman Sultan began to rely more on the Kurds than his own people for the security of the Ottoman Administrations within the region. The Qunan developed specific laws specifically for Shahrizor to appease his Kurdish allies and keep them separate from all other Sunni Muslims. The Kurds adopted the Persian practice of having female rulers in the absence of a male heir, since women had always been relied upon in the administration since the times of the Achamaenids. Suliaman's Qunaname would state that a woman could take up administrative positions after the death of her husband, who had been the previous administrative authority. This was how equal rights among women were able to survive in the Shahrizor, and this was how Adela Khanum's authority was tolerated among the inhabitants of the Shahrizor.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II and Osman Pasha Jaff Oust Mahmud Pasha Jaff from Power:

Sultan Abdul Hamid II looked upon his Kurdish allies with great favor, especially the Jaff. The Jaff and Kurds as a whole were essential pieces of the Ottoman Middle Eastern territories. The Sultan never trusted Arabs in his administration. In the past, Kurds had shared leadership of Mesopotamia with military dictators from Ottoman Russian provinces or Mamluks, as Arabs were never trusted in the Ottoman administration. The Ottoman Army adopted the practice of taking Christian boys from the Caucasus and Balkans and educating them in their special military schools to brainwash them into fanatical military soldiers. They would then be placed

in high leadership positions in the army. This was the Sultan's way of maintaining control of Ottoman society, as the mainly Sunni Muslim populace could not be trusted with the governance of his Empire. They were just too factitious and rigid in their administration of Haditha law, which operated in a vigilante style. These fanatical Mamluks would be placed in power over the most unruly territories of the Ottoman Empire, which were usually neighboring Mecca and were mainly Arab territories. These Christian brainwashed soldiers were necessary in order to keep the peace in the Arab territories, yet, unfortunately for the Sultan, they often had minds of their own, and they would soon set up their own independent fiefdoms within the Ottoman provinces of Egypt and Iraq. The powerful elite of the Mamluk class in Baghdad would be fully consolidated under Maluk Vali Sulayman Pasha in 1779, and he ruled the Baghdad Eyalet with an iron fist.

The city of Suliamania in Kurdistan would be named after him, as the Baban Kurds would be subordinated to him. Under his great grandson, Dauod Pasha, the Ottoman-Persian war would break out in 1821, and Persian General Abbas Mirza Qajar's armies would invade Shahrizor and take Suliamania as the head of the Shahrizor Eyalet, Mahmud Pasha Baban, would betray the Ottomans and defect to the Qajars. The Persian Qajar armies would occupy Suliamania, and this would permanently weaken the Mamluk. The Ottomans would invade from Damascus and install a more loyal Mamluk to the Vali of Baghdad, Ali Ridha Pasha, in 1831. Soon, the Ottomans—with cooperation of the Vali of Baghdad—would bring Suliamania back under Ottoman control, as the Ottoman Empire made war with the Babans just as the Qajar grip on Shahrizor weakened. The Jaff would play a major role in this conflict in 1847, helping the Ottomans to occupy Shahrizor. The Jaff, under Mohamed Pasha Jaff, would be rewarded the whole of Shahrizor, and be established as governors of the region at Gulanbar. Mohamed Pasha Jaff would reign as King and make war with all the remnants of the Baban Emirate, including pro-Baban factions of his own tribe, who were then under the rule of Aziz Beg Jaff, and he held an iron grip on his rule until he was killed by the Aziz Beg Jaff faction in battle in 1880.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II summoned Mahmud Pasha Jaff to be appointed the leader and Qaimaqqam of Shahrizor in 1880, upon the Tanzimat reforms, which had reorganized the Ottoman Empire's administrative divisions from Eyalets into Vilayets. The newly-acquired Ottoman territory of Shahrizor, along with Gulambar, would be organized into the Mosul Vilayet, becoming an official Ottoman territory. Mahmud Pasha would

then be an official governor within the Ottoman Empire. He is remembered for having played a prominent role in the maturation of the Kurdish national consciousness, which began appearing during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and was also honored with medals and peerages by the Ottoman Empire.¹ He had all the characteristics of a leader; he was an impressive strategist, and his organizational skills were remarkable. Mahmud Pasha had to perform his duties within a very complicated geopolitical context and in a defining era for the future of the Kurdish people of the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, the stagnant Ottoman Empire was already in a clear process of decline. The demands of political participation, nationalist sentiments, and economic interests ultimately postponed its transformation. On the other hand, the international dynamics pointed toward the end of imperialism and the rise of nationalist claims on all social groups within the Middle East, creating a culture of insecurity and instability within **each group's** immediate environment and leading the leaders of the Jaff tribe to adopt a pragmatic stance that did not antagonize either the Ottoman Empire nor the Qajari authorities in Iran, while also maintaining an armed force of 4000 members organized for defense.^{2,3}

The Ottoman and Iranian states constantly cultivated friendship with the Jaff tribe, lending strategic importance to this area which was considered a "buffer zone" between the two empires, further helping to ensure the integrity of their political boundaries. Mahmud Pasha was at the center of this strategy of demarcation. Therefore, both the Iranian and Ottoman authorities extended honorary degrees to recognize his invaluable position: the title of Khan, awarded by the Iranian state, and the title of Pasha, from the Ottomans. Sultan Abdul Hamid II looked upon his alliance with the Jaff with grand ambitions, because the Kurds proved to be more reliable soldiers than his own Ottoman armies, and he wished to model a Kurdish force after Tsarist Russia's Cossack units, which were entrusted with core securities of the state. The force would be named the Hamidiye Cavalry, in his honor. ⁴ But despite the importance for both countries, Mahmud Pasha Jaff embraced autonomist intentions and had his own plans for the region, so he decided to distance himself from both.

This ultimately antagonized Istanbul, which did not look kindly upon the rise of a nationalism that could destabilize the Ottoman Empire from within. Mamud Pasha Jaff would take advantage of Russia's devastating invasion of the Ottoman Empire to support the

Armenian insurgencies in the Ottoman Caucasus in 1877-1878, which would deplete the Ottoman war machine and leave the administration of its Eastern provinces in disarray. This would also create a perfect environment for Mahmud Pasha Jaff to distance himself from the Ottoman government. Segments of the Jaff, along with the Hewreman, would engage in brigandship and factional violence unhindered by Mahmud Pasha Jaff.⁵ The Ottoman government was wary of the factitious sentiment that Mahmud Pasha Jaff had produced in Kurdistan, so they sent officials to prepare reports giving enough evidence to remove him from office in Halabja. The commander responsible for this was Namiq Pasha, the Qaimmaqam of Baghdad. Mahmud Pasha Jaff had knowledge that Namiq Pasha was sent by the Ottoman Government to spy on him, so he did not offer him any hospitality. The inhospitality was enough for Namiq Pasha to write a flawed report, accusing Mahmud Pasha Jaff of equating himself with the Sultan Abdul Hameed II, harboring bad intentions towards him and cooperating with his enemies, which would be a threat to the security and stability in the region. As a result of this report, a proclamation was made in 1888-1889 after which the Sultan Mahmud Pasha Jaff was dismissed as the Jaff tribe leader and replaced with his brother, Osman Pasha Jaff. Also, to keep him away from this area, he was appointed governor of the province of Orpah. However, Mahmud Pasha Jaff rejected this offer. Instead, he joined the Kurdish revolt in 1880 seeking space for autonomous Kurdish areas of the Ottoman Empire. Abdul Hamid's ambitions would continue on with Mahmud Pasha Jaff's brother Osman Pasha Jaff, and ultimately would lead to the formation of the Jaff tribe into Hamidiye regiments. This undermined Sheikh Ubeydullah's rebellion, and the Hamidiye Cavalry would become a potent force playing a major role in the internal security of Ottoman Empire, killing off all the Armenian and Arab brigands, and subsequently crushing their revolts. They would then be feared by the Russian Army in their wars with Ottomans including World War I.^{6,7}

Sultan Abdul Hamid II would be forced to replace Mahmud Pasha Jaff with his more obedient brother,

Osman Pasha Jaff.^{5,2} Tired of being junior to his brother, Osman Pasha Jaff wished to exploit the rift between his brother and the Sultan. He wanted to be leader of the Jaff, in place of his brother, who he hated for being very factitious, and sparking much strife and disunity within the tribe.

However, the Ottomans presented him with an opportunity to become chief of the Jaff tribe and, even more importantly, an

Ottoman Kaimaqam of Shahrizor. By joining forces with the true authorities in Shahrizor—the Ottomans—he could cheat his brother out of authority. Osman Pasha Jaff's clan would be proclaimed Hamidiye by the Sultan, and with this authority they would strike down all foes standing in their way. Mahmud Pasha Jaff would flee to the borderlands and live as a nomad with his clan. He would be the Chief of the Jaff, according to the Jaff. Osman Pasha Jaff would be chief of the Jaff tribe, according to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Osman Pasha Jaff would become the established Kaimaqam of

Shahrizor, establishing himself in Gulambar. Mahmud Pasha Jaff and Osman Pasha Jaff came to hate each other, and were banned from crossing into **each other's territories. When they did meet, they would often engage in knife** fights. They would luckily be restrained from killing each other, because any act of strife could give the Ottoman government the opportunity to exile them. The Ottoman government would often relocate some of the Kurdish tribes in an effort to weaken them and to get rid of all the brigands in the region.

Many Kurds were being sent to the Ottoman Barbary states in North Africa to live as exiles in the Sahara dessert. They had even pondered sending Mahmud Pasha Jaff and his clan to Mauritania, but luckily Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji had dissuaded Sultan Abdul Hamid II against this. Gulambar was very far from Suliamania, and Osman Pasha Jaff was too far from all the action in Suliamania and Kirkuk, so he decided to move his capital to Halabja. It was a barren village of mud huts, but was ideally located near all the caravan roads and the Kirkuk Suliamania road. His new Persian Ardalan wife, Adela Khanum, would transform Halabja into a beautiful "Hanging Garden of Babylon."

Ardalan empowerment of Osman Pasha Jaff Through his Marriage to Adela Khanum:

Osman Pasha Jaff continued his father's war against his enemies, and he would also continue to keep his brother at bay in the borderlands. This would cause a significant amount of tension in Persia. Persia had begun to display anger toward Mahmud Pasha Jaff, and would ultimately coordinate with the Ottoman Empire on how to contain him and his clan. Mahmud Pasha Jaff was often venturing into Persian territory, and remnants of his tribe were known to have collaborated with Sheikh Ubeydullah, who was launching an invasion of the Vilayet of Kordestan in Persia. This prompted close cooperation between Persia and the Ottoman Empire against Mahmud Pasha Jaff, and Persia slowly began to court Osman Pasha Jaff. He grew

closer to them because he was the main force of containment against his brother, Mahmud Pasha Jaff. Osman Pasha Jaff began to rely more on the Persians than the Ottomans because the Ottoman Empire was weak and unable to contain Mahmud Pasha Jaff, the Hewreman, or any other faction against Osman Pasha Jaff. He was very weak in his position of power over the Jaff tribe, and he had come to rely on the Persians instead, especially the Ardalans, who were the most feared tribe on both sides of the Ottoman Persian border.

The Ardalans were the enemies of Osman Pasha Jaff's father and grandfather, who had launched a campaign of extermination against them in Javunrud, Persia. This would lead to the killing of his grandfather, Qadir Beg Jaff, and cause the mass Jaff exodus to Shahrizor, not to mention that the Persians had already been a great adversary of his father, Mohamed Pasha Jaff. However, Mohamed Pasha Jaff had taken more than adequate vengeance upon the Persians and Ardalans during the Ottoman re-conquest of Shahrizor in 1847. The new enemies were the Hewreman and his brother, Mahmud Pasha Jaff. He did not feel any loyalty at all the anti-Persian legacy of his family as his chieftainship was not a part of their legacy to begin with. He would make his own legacy where he was wanted, in Persia, by the Ardalan. He rode to Sanandaj to the Khasro Abad Residential building in 1825. During this time, Ghulam Shah Ardalan reigned as Vali over the Vilayet of Kordestan in Persia. He was closely under the heel of his Qajar mother, Princess Hosn e Jahan Qajar. From this matriarchal line of a feminine iron fist, he would take Adela Khanum Jaff as his bride, sealing the pact of alliance between the Ardalans and Jaff that would come to dominate the Shahrizor and challenge Suliama. After the sealing of this pact, the Hewreman and Mahmud Pasha Jaff would not dare touch Osman Pasha Jaff.

Naser Din ad Shah Qajar then granted Osman Pasha Jaff a sword and the official title of Khan for his marriage to his great-grand-daughter, Adela Khanum. Osman Pasha Jaff was now an official in the Persian government, and with the authority of the Persian Ardalan behind him, he would make war upon his enemies. Naser Din Ad Shah Qajar was now an in-law of Osman Pasha Jaff, and not only did his enemies fear him, but Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II feared him as well. Osman Pasha Jaff now served two or three countries.

Osman Pasha Jaff now served the Jaff tribe, the Ottoman Empire, and Qajar Persia, and Mahmud Pasha Jaff or the Hewreman would dare not touch him. Mahmud Pasha Jaff would dwell in the plains between the Shahrizor and Zagros Mountains for the rest of his life. Adela Khanum, his beautiful bride,

would begin to transform Halabja into a Persian palace. Mahmud Pasha Jaff hated the Persians and Ardalans. Osman Pasha Jaff would never be welcome in Mahmud Pasha Jaff's territory. However, Mahmud Pasha Jaff would never touch Osman Pasha Jaff, because he feared the Ardalans. Osman Pasha Jaff would then turn toward the enemy of his father, the Hamavand, who were the scourge of Shahrizor and had been the cause of his father's death. By now, his force was far superior to that of the Hamavands, as the outdated Russian-armed Hamavand were no match for the superior modern German Ottoman armed Jaff of Osman Pasha Jaff. Osman Pasha Jaff gave the Hamavand an ultimatum to leave his lands or face mass extermination, to which the Hamavand complied. They would immediately leave his lands and rise instead against Suliamania in 1908. The full might of the Ottoman army would personally come down in force upon the Hamavand, wiping them out completely. The Hamavand would disperse, and the remnants would flee to Persia. Osman Pasha Jaff had avenged his father, and had also restored law and order the Shahrizor, even trapping his brother. He had built two secure cordons around the strategic cities of Halabja and Gulambar, and this was all he needed to assert power over the Shahrizor. Halabja would blossom into a beautiful Kurdish city, while Suliamania was still under the iron heel of the Ottoman army. Halabja was the true beginning of the Kurdish national identity, a city built by the Kurds for the Kurds, while Suliamania was a city built by the Ottomans or Mamluks for the Ottoman Kurdish puppets.

In fact, his administration was not limited to the confines of the Ottoman Empire. He also moved into Iranian territory, where he served in the official functions of monitoring that region.³ Osman Pasha Jaff had many enemies among his tribe. Many of them had become sectarian during Mahmud Pasha's reign, who had spurred the tribe into a rebellious spirit. The Ottoman Empire also appeared to be incapable of governing the region. He slowly began to gravitate towards the Qajar Empire, the feared Ardalan tribe in particular, which seemed more authoritative and disciplined—the very discipline he would need to reassert authority over his tribe. He wished to find an ally in this powerful former adversary of the Jaff, who had expelled the Jaff from their former Persian lands. This would be the beginning of factionalism within the Jaff tribe, the faction of the sovereigns of Osman Pasha and the insurgents of Mahmud Pasha. They would always be on opposite sides in the Kurdish insurgencies which would ultimately arise because of the instabilities of the Baghdad and Mosul Vilayets^{5,6,7,8},

Osman Pasha ruled alongside his wife, Adela Khanum, who was a skillful administrator appointed to preside over the court in Halabja. During his

Government, he passed laws against acts of infringement and in favor of the rights of women. But Osman Pasha would slowly see his power taken from him as his wife, Adela Khanum, would make him her puppet in service of her ambition to begin a cultural renaissance in the city of Halabja and the region of Shahrizor, bringing the nomadic Jaff back to their sophisticated Persian roots.⁷ Osman Pasha had gained much power through his marriage to his wife, but he had given away much as well. His wife owned him, and she slowly began to assert power over him. The residents feared Adela Khanum, who was the real source of power rather than Osman Pasha Jaff. Slowly the Ardalans would be placed in positions of power over the Jaff. Adela Khanum would reshape Halabja into a society which did not respect him the chief, and instead viewed her as its leader. Osman Pasha Jaff would be reduced to idleness, becoming nothing more than a playboy, smoking hookah and attending divans, roaming the countryside and handling military affairs at the Jaff border. The only people who still respected him were the Ottomans, and that wasn't much for him. He would die in 1908 after the last of Hamavand had fled from the Shahrizor, leaving the Shahrizor secure under Adela **Khanum's** rule.

1. http://www.pukmedia.com/EN/EN_Direje.aspx?Jimare=21734
2. T.C.Basbakanlik Devlet Mudurulugu Osmanli Arsleveri: Date: 13 / ZA /1319 (Hijri) File No: 94 Shirt Number: 1319 Fund Code: İ.HUS.
3. T.C. Basbakanlik Devlet Mudurulugu Osmanli Arsleveri: Date :17/N /1312 (Hicri) File No :35 Shirt No :1312 Fund Code :İ.HUS
4. T.C.Basbakanlik Devlet Mudurulugu Osmanli Arsleveri I.DH [903/71772](#) 7
5. Ely Banister Soane, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise. 1912.
6. Ely Banister Soane, Report on the Sulaimania district of Kurdistan. 1910.
7. Ely Banister Soane, Notes on the Southern Tribes of Kurdistan, Civil commissioner, Baghdad. 1918.
8. Personalities in Kurdistan, Civil Commissioner, Baghdad. 1918.

T.C. Bakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü
Ottoman Archive Documents

**BROTHER OF MAHMUD PASHA JAFF GOVERNOR OF
GULANBAR; BEING AWARDED THE ORDER OF MECIDI BY THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Yıldız Palace

Chief Secretary

Your majesty Sultan has decided to promote Mehmet Ali Bey, the brother of Mahmud Pasha of the Jaff who was rewarded with a 4th degree Order (nişan-ı mecidi) as notified to him, and to appoint him as the district governor of a suitable place in Bagdad province. The command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

12 moharram 1892

16 August 1890

Chief Secretary

Ottoman Empire
I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16.10.2015

بدرزاد محمدی

باش کتابت داره سی

۵

عده سه رفته تا این شماره نیزه دور دینی رفته فاشه مجیدی اید نطفه جویدین تنگه برسمه کز فایده نبینا قلته
 جان محمد دینک برادری محمد علی بکاک بغداد دلاویز اول بادل اجدید صبه صاحب برضا نام محمد قلته یقین دهن
 جد اراده سه صفت یاد شده بولنه همد صبه اورده صفت مع الادکر
 ا محمدی ۱۴
 دا محمدی ۱۶
 ط ص ۱۵
 بر کار

۱.۵H 1190/93161

**APPOINTMENT OF OSMAN PASHA JAFF AS PASHA AND
GOVERNOR OF GULANBAR DISTRICT BY THE OTTOMAN
ADMINISTRATION**

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN

Yıldız Palace

Chief Secretary

Number 2429

Upon notification of Mosul province as to presentation of a sword to Osman Bey, the governor of Kel-anber district and head of the Jaff people, and following investigation on the matter; a telegram was written in this regard to state the said person was not a prominent individual; however until the investigation about Mahmud of the Jaff was concluded, he is supposed to remain at his Office and therefore it was requested for the sword to be accepted and a license for the sword to be issued. Finally, the official letter was presented with all its annexes on 28 Rebiülevvel 309(1893). The command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

29 rebiülahir(the fourth month of Islamic calendar) 309 (1893)

20 November 307 (1891)

Chief Secretary



Ottoman-English I declare that
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true to its original.
16.10.2015

بلد سراج

باش کتابت داروس

نومرد

۴۴۴۹

ایمانه دولت طرخته کل غنچه تقاضای و جان عیترتی بیس عثمانه که قلعج ویردین دار مولا دلاویز اسحاق
 اورزیه بیابج کی مطالعه فی عرضی صفت سجد ایتم استعلامه صوباً ولایت شایر ایلامه دار داولاً تقاضای
 موسی الیه بیابج امیت اولوب فقط جانی محمود ماده سنه بیجی و بیجی قدر موقع و مؤویق ابقای و مدکو -
 قاجانق قورنه رخصت دیرلی ایجاب مال و صلحته اولدیفی در میانه ایرلیه نظر استینه مردوظه بیابج
 دار رسیده دست تقظیم اولدو ۹۸۱ رح الاصله ۹۸۱ ایجابی تذکره خصوصیه قیامه زری ملغزیه معاً لری لقی
 مشور نظام همییم اوله ویدوج عهه دانسته ایجابی اجرائی تقضای اراده نینه جناب صلاقیه بیابج
 اولدو بیابج مردوظه طرزه دل الاصله ۹۸۱ رح الاصله ۹۸۱ دبا در بیابج

**AWARDS OF MOHAMED PASHA JAFF'S SONS BY THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Mosul province

Quantity 23

To the Ministry of Interior

It is understood from 3 stanzas of telegram received from the 6th Army of Humâyûn and submitted as is that a letter was written to reward Mahmud, son of the deceased Mehmet Pasha, the chief of the Jaff people and the governor of Gelenler district; and Osman, the notable person of the clan's division and Abdullah Bey, one of his Sheikhs as they visited the cavalry regiment and presented 200 mares this year and last year and now it is clear that the letter is being kept at makam-ı âli ser. At the moment, Mahmud Bey is already the Director of Court's Stable, who was rewarded for his services to the cavalry regiment of the royal army and if it is possible to reward other two persons in this regard, then whether to assign these people as the Head Gatekeeper is at the command of the Sultan

8 Muharram (the first month of Islamic calendar) 1885

27 October 1883

Tahsin

Tahsin
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true to its original.
Tahsin

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



The state does not assume any responsibility concerning private communication.

From Bagdad

Type of Letter	Night		Day		Date	Group	Words	Number
Official	Hour	Minutes	Hour	Minutes		67	96	10087

To the governor of Mosul,

200 mares were received as the gift both this and last year from the Jaff people with the encouragement and support of Mahmud, the district governor of Kel'anber; Osman, the head of the Jaff people, and Abdullah, Aziz and Kadir Bey at his command and Abbas Aga, the chief of Kelabi division and proposal to reward the said persons were submitted to the Ministry of Defense (Makam-I Seraskeriye) and in a letter to response it was asked whether such persons already had Orders. As known, these people have a great number of herds and an influence on their people and if the majesty's Sultan deems appropriate, my humble proposal is to write a letter in this respect.

11 October 99 (1283)

Ch. Eng. I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16/10/2005

YEMINLI TERCUMAN



The state does not assume any responsibility concerning private communication.

From Bagdad

Type of Letter	Night	Day	Date	Group	Words	Number	
Official	Hour	Minutes	Hour	Minutes	57	7	10297

To the governor of Mosul

Cipher Telegram

15 October 99 (1883)

Sir, we have not received any information yet regarding rewards for the Jaff people

Att. Fig.
I have translated this document true to its original.
16.10.2015

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN

An Bağdat ila ??



Location number	Number of words	Group	Date	Hour	Minutes	Day of Night	Method	Signature
10596	41				11	day		official

Quantity 1027

To the governor of Mosul

Following telegram sent by the military authorities concerning the location where the chiefs of the Jaff people, the situation were notified to you. However, as no response has been received so far, no information could be submitted to the relevant authority. Considering the significance of the matter, it is crucial that the opinion on this matter be sent promptly.

22 October 99

Hidayet??

23 October 99

Ött. F. S.
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16.10.2005

سنة في
Le 188

وصول نومروسي
N° d'arrivée
دقيقة ساعة
h. m. du

ارسال
Réexpédié
a

مأمورك امضاسي
Signature de l'employé

نومره ١



سنة في
Le 188

واسطه سيله
Transmis par
دقيقة ساعة
h. m. du

بدا مخاره
Commencé à
ختم مخاره
Fini à

مأمورك امضاسي
Signature de l'employé

ل'Etat n'accepte aucune responsabilité à raison du service de la télégraphie privée.

De Pour عن لشار الى

مخلى نومروسي	عدد كلمات	غروب	مخلى تاريخي	ساعة	دقيقة	روز و ياشب	طريق	اشارات مخصوصه
N° du dépôt	Nombre de mots	Group	Date du dépôt	Heure	Minutes	Matin ou soir	Voies	Indications non taxées
١٠٥٩٦	٤١				١١	رعد		رعد

مأمور و سيله سيله

١٠٤٧

جاني ريشترنده اولي مغان تنك لاند فكلو نرفقن مقام رعدكچ مدور تفردقة اذربنه كيفه عطفندينه
ارلي عهده اوشيدى هاسر هيداي الزم نيفنده مقامت الهه هدا يازيد مدك بوي مدسه تا فربج عجز هاسر اركند
بديا به ك ماملو ريزه سرعده اسفاري مزلده ١٠٤٧

رئيسه برتد بامريك لعيوه اوقته نفاير هسيه
١٠٤٧

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Military Authority- Makam-ı Ser Askeri

Editorial Department

372

With the support and the encouragement of the troops and the encouragement and Mahmud, the district governor of Kel'anab, son of the Jaff Mehmet Pasha; Osman, the head of the clan, and Abdullah, Aziz, Kadir Bey at his command and Abbas Agha, the events took place between the clans of the Jaff people in Mosul were suppressed and beneficent people of the said clan gave 100 mares to the cavalry regiment as an aid; in addition, this year many more mares were given; therefore, it is kindly requested that the rank of Mahmud, the Director of Stables be promoted as a reward for his services and Osman and Kadir Bey be also promoted and Abbas Agha be rewarded with a nişan-ı zişan in the letter comprising two stanzas of telegram sent from 6th Army and it was explained that it was found suitable to reward the said persons and decided to promote the rank of Mahmud bey, the Director of Stables and to promote the ranks of Osman, Abdullah and Aziz Bey as degree 5 and to reward Abbas Agha with a 5 degree Order. The command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

17 Moharram 1885

6 November 1883

Ott. Eng. I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16.10.2015

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Bab-ı âli (Ottoman Porte)

Ministry of Interior

Editorial Office

Quantity 854

To Mr. Prime Minister (Sadrazam)

The decision of the Mosul province to reward Mahmud, son of the Jaff Mehmed Pasha , the governor of Kel'anab and Osman, the head of clan of the Jaff and Abdul, Aziz and Kadir Bey at his command and Abbas Agha, the Chief of Kelabi clan for their services during the events happened between the clans of the Jaff people involving deaths as well as other services was incorporated with the official letter sent by the Military Command and presented.

Concerning the request of the Supreme Military Command to reward Mahmud, Osman and Abdullah Bey for their services, the command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

3 safer 1885 (second month of Islamic Calendar)

12 November 1883

Ottoman I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16.11.2015

موضوع: حقه مدینه

مظاہر الاموال الخیة

عدد

۱۵۶

مدومه جاگیر لبره
 جاف عبیدہ فرزند بیگ محمد امیر مغاندنک بر طرف ایستد و خصوصاً سازه در صده فصدی مشهور دوله کلفاب قائمقام جاف محمد یاساز محمد محمود و جاف عبیدہ
 رؤسائے عثمانہ و اولادہ عبدالہ و عزیز و قاور بکرا بل کلابه فرقس رئیس عباس اغانک نامہ و رتبہ اعظم سیمہ تطبیدی حقدہ طرف ولای سکریدہ
 بیوت و نظریہ عاجزیم مودوع تکلمه اولیایہ موصی و لایسہ بہ ہندہ نظریہ مودود تحریرہ ایم بر شہید برک لفا اعادہ و تقدیم فرمای ہوندرہ محمود عثمانہ
 و عبدالہ بکارک زون تطبیدی تحریرہ مذکورہ در حق در بیانہ او منہ نظرًا اشارت علی وجہ اجابت ایضا وابستہ اسرو سطح علیہ خجائہ کی بولیمہ اولیایہ
 اسرو بیانہ حقدہ مدہ لایسہ ایچولک نامہ بر شہید

ادق

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Bab-ı âli (Ottoman Porte)

Department of Prime Ministry

Editorial Office

Quantity 1277

To the Ministry of Interior

The official letter concerning the reward for Mahmud, son of the Jaff Mehmed Pasha , the governor of Kel'anab and Osman, the head of clan of the Jaff and Abdul, Aziz and Kadir Bey at his command and Abbas Agha, the Chief of Kelabi clan, all of whom contributed to a great deal to eliminate the events happened between the clans. The command is your discretion your majesty Sultan.

24 Moharram 1885

13 November 1883

The official letter is the request of the Supreme Military Command and submitted with the decision of the Council of Mosul province to reward Mahmud, Osman and Abdullah Bey for their services and the command is your majesty Sultan's discretion to reward the said persons for their services. Moharram 1885

19 November 1883

Ottoman Empire
I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
19.11.1883

رضی عنہ رب جبرئیل جبرئیل

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

ذاتکذا عظمی

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

۱۲۷۷

موضوعہ جاوید رک

جانب غیرت فوری بندہ محمد ایدہ مقالک بر طرف ایدلندہ و خصوصاً سارہ رہہ صبر صبری شہور اولادہ کھناب قلمی جان محمد با سارہ محمود و جان غیرت
رؤسانہ عثمانہ و لڑاندہ عبادہ و عزیز و قادر بکلیہ کلابہ فرسی رئیس عباس امانک ربہ و سائہ اعصم سز تطہدی حقہ طرف اولی شکرید بہ
بدرہ نغار سوسوی عالی آصفازی فاضلہ لطفہ مال نظر ساج اوجہ سے لعلہ آصفازین اسما رہم عیاد و بی بی زکریا بی بی علیہ امر و ارادہ حضرت لعلہ

سید محمد علی بی بی

موضوعہ جاوید رک

ظہور امر و شمار سہن حضرت صدیق اکبر و مکتوب نگہ سرکاری مؤدی رہبہ بقاہ عجبہ اولی خدمات دھریہ نیا ذہور و محمود و عثمانہ و عبادہ بکرب حورہ تطہدی حقہ میں دوتی نہ
سعودت قربت دھی مکتوب نگہ لعلہ بی بی بکلیہ لقا تقدیر شہ اولندہ باہ اولادہ خدمتہ مکافا نگہ سرکاری وجہ اجلا کجاہ امر و ارادہ عیدہ خیر لعلہ و ابنتہ بی بیہ امر و ارادہ حضرت مہلا بکرب

سید محمد علی بی بی

1.0H 903/71772

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



My great and wealthy Excellency

The official letter of request from the Military Command to reward Mahmud, son of the Jaff Mehmed Pasha , the governor of Kel'anab and promote his rank from the Director of Stables to Emir-ül ümeralik and to promote the ranks of Osman, the head of clan of the Jaff and Abdul, Aziz and Kadir Bey at his command as degree 5 and Abbas Agha with a 5 degree Order for their services during the events happened between the clans of the Jaff people involving deaths in Mosul province as well as other events happened and the official letter of the Ministry of Interior was incorporated and presented. The command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

9 safer 1885

28 November 1883

This official letter arranged as above was review with its annexes and found appropriate; therefore it is to be submitted to the Sultan. The command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

10 safer 1885

29 November 83

O. Hammeting I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16. Mai. 2015

YEMİNLİ TERCÜMAN



Your excellency

The Ministry of Finance was notified about the salaries to be given to Abdurrahman who was appointed as the governor of the Jaff people for the establishment of a center in the place called Bekirbayif in Bagdad province and the staff to be recruited in the future as well as the others as well as stationery costs and the ministry was requested seven thousand two hundred and eighty kurush be given to the governorship and to deduct such amount from the total budget of 30342 kurush and upon decision of the your excellency Sultan, the order will be implemented.

3 moharram 292 (1876)

This official letter and the letter of the Prime Ministry were incorporated and presented to the Sultan and requested whatever necessary be done. The letter was approved and returned; the command is your majesty Sultan's discretion.

4 moharram 91 (1875)

Öttemen Erg I declare that
I have translated this document
true to its original.
16.10.2015

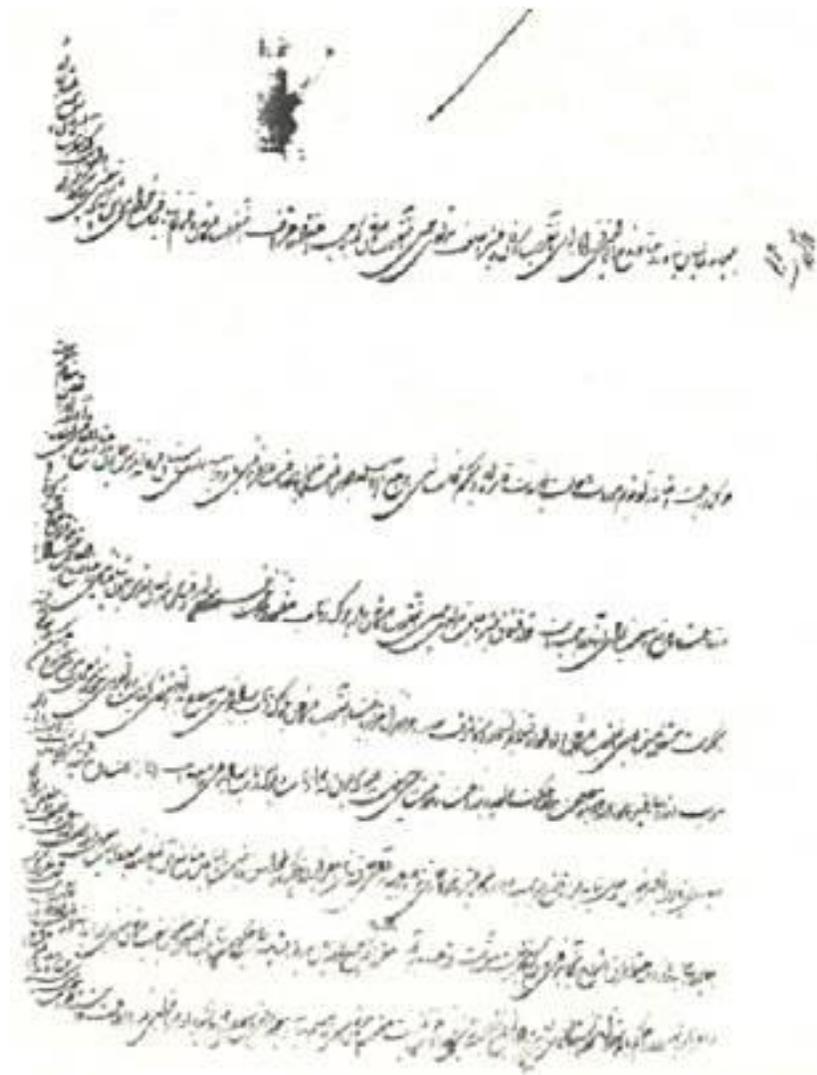


Mohamed Pasha Jaff was born to Qadir Beg Jaff in the late 1700s, he was born in a time of turmoil. The Ardalan were intruding into the lands of the Jaff, and making war upon them. The Ardalan had become major power brokers intermarrying with the Qajars. The Ardalan had been major allies in the Qajar's bid to overthrow the Kurdish Zands. Fath Ali Shah Qajar had given his daughter Princess Noor Jahan in marriage to Khosrow Khan Ardalan. The Ardalan had been proclaimed Valis of the new founded province of Kordestan under the Qajar administration. The Ardalan

would govern the whole Kurdish province of Kordestan under Qajar administration.

They began to become heavily involved in the wars of the Shah's son, Mirza Abbas, who was planning an invasion of the Ottoman Empire and Mesopotamia. He wished to reclaim Baghdad, the Caucasus and other former Ottoman territories. Abbas Mirza had entered into an alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte during the treaty of Finkenstein. The Treaty of Finkenstein had been made by Napoleon Bonaparte at his new conquered German castle at Finkenstein, where he had made an alliance with the Ottoman Empire and Persia. The treaty would be agreed that there would be a joint attack on Russia between the French from Europe toward Borodino and the Persians in the Caucasus towards Kars. The Persian armies under the command of Abbas Mirza would receive training as a result. The war would go terrible for both the French and the Persians, but the French mission would remain, training the Persians in their possible invasion of the Ottoman Empire.

The Jaff inhabited the city of Javunrud. Javunrud was a beautiful city. The city was close to the Persian Mesopotamian border. Javunrud was up in the Zagros mountains. It was close to Shaho mountain where there are many Yazdan practitioners. Yazdan are of a religious faith, which has the some Zoroastrian and Sufi elements. This form of religion hails from the Islamic Saiyyid Pir Khidhr of Shaho or the green one of Shaho. Sufism and Yazdanism were common religions of the Kurds, who were nomads and did not have permanent mosques to worship at. It was at the small village of Javunrud that the Jaff developed their sense of identity, and being in close proximity with Shaho mountain and Pir Khidhr of Shaho developed their sense of identity.



Javunrud was in the sights of the Ardalans, who were threatened by the Jaff as the Jaff had grown too large, and were a threat to the Ardalans control of the region from their base in Sanandaj. The sanandaj chose to tax them. These taxes were harsh towards the Jaff, and hurt their livelihood. When the Jaff did not pay these taxes, there were often harsh retaliatory measures taken by the Ardalans, where they made war on the Jaff. Qadir Beg Jaff would die in one of these retaliations. This would leave Mohamed Beg Jaff in the care of his Uncle, Khosrow Beg Jaff. Mohamed Pasha would live a childhood full of anguish and war, and would grow to dislike the Persians.

Kai Khosrow Beg Jaff would watch over Mohamed Pasha Beg Jaff as he led the tribe away from Javunrud to the safety of Mesopotamia. He had reached out to Mahmud Pasha Baban and the Ottomans. The Babans had always been a buffer between the Persians and the Ottomans, and the Ottomans had given the Babans the leadership over the Shahrizor Eyalet. Mahmud Pasha Baban gladly welcomed the Jaff into the Shahrizor as he had just endured a revolt from his uncle Abdurahman Pasha Baban, and had been weakened considerably. Mahmud Pasha Baban needed allies to shore up his alliance to guard against a Mamluk takeover from Baghdad, who were his more powerful Southern Ottoman neighbors.

Mahmud Pasha Baban would welcome Kai Khosrow Beg Jaff with open arms, and Mohamed Pasha Jaff would spend his days in a Kurdish warrior tradition as the Jaff tribe became the celebrated soldier of the Shahrizor Eyalet, and would be much feared by the common Kurd, especially the Hamavand. The Jaff could field thousands of horsemen in combat. They would make enemies with the smaller Hewreman, who were hated by Kurd alike. They were a most violent tribe, but of the same Yazdan background of Shaho mountain as the Jaff. Mohamed Pasha Jaff became highly skilled in calvary warfare, and would gain much combat experience against the Hewreman.

Under the Babans, Jaff culture would flourish, and many great thinkers of the Islamic discipline would come out of the Jaff tribe under Kai Khosrou Beg Jaff, including Shiekh Khalid Baghdadi. He would become a great Sufi Sheikh, who would have 12,000 followers from Arabia to India, including the young Mohamed Pasha Jaff. Khaled I Baghdadi would Journey to Delhi and become a desciple of the Sufi Sultan Abdulla, returning to Kurdistan during the reign of Mahmud Pasha Baban. Abdulla Shah was born in Patiala, Punjab of the Mughal Empire in India in 1743 A.D. during the reign of Muhammed Shah, who was dealing with a threatening insurgency in Southern India posed by the rival Maratha Empire, which had risen up to challenge the Mughal's Imperial hold over the Indian subcontinent. His Empire would also come under siege by the Persian Emperor, Nader Shah, who had unleashed a Persian Juggernaut across Asia. Nader Shah would besiege Delhi, and take the greatly esteemed Peacock throned with its diamond of the Kohinoor in 1739 prior to the birth of Abdulla Shah in Punjab. The Mughal Empire followed a line of Islam originating in the Mughal kinlands of Uzbekistan under the former Timurid Khanate in the regions of Samarkand and Dushanbe, whom had invaded the Indian Subcontinent from the lands of the former Timurid Khanate. The line was that of Abdul Khaliq Gajadwani, a sufi in 1179 A.D. He was Sufi Sheikh, for most Turkic peoples were followers of Sufism, because they were nomads and did not worship in Mosques. Sufism offered them a way to connect to their religion without the need of Mosque. Abdul Khalig Gajadwani would originate the dogma for the Naqsbendi Sufi order known as the Kalimat I Qudsiya. A line of Muslim Sheikhs would succeed him going all the way with the Mughal invasion into the Indian Subcontinent to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Abdulla Shah would begin his initiation into the Sufi order under Sheikh Mirza Mazhar Jan e Jahaan. Sheikh Mirza Mazhar e Jahaan was a great poet, and his writings became one of the "Four pillars of Urdu literature." He was a son of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's general, Mirza Jan. Abdulla Shah would record most of his teachings with the book Maqamat Mazhari. He would spread most of his beliefs throughout the Middle East. One of Abdulla Shah's dervish's would reach Suliamania, Kurdistan, who was Mirza Rahim Allah Azimabadi in 1809. He would meet Haj Khalid I Baghdadi. Mirza Rahim Allah Azimabadi would tell Khalid I Baghdadi to travel to Jehanabad in the Mughal Empire to meet Sheikh Abdullah Shah. Mirza Rahim Allah Azimabadi believed Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi to be the chosen one, whom Sheikh Abdulla Shah had prophesized about. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi then reached Jehanabad that same year, and met Sheikh Abdulla Shah and joined his Islamic school or Madrased, where he was trained in all the Naqsbendi ways. He would be proclaimed Sheikh Abdulla Shah's Khalifa of all Western Asia.

During his time in the Mughal Empire, Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi noted how the Empire was slowly being taken over by the British. It repulsed Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi, who saw how the British were slowly infiltrating all facets of Mughal society, including Islam, which was being indoctrinated and manipulated by British missionaries to weaken Mughal society to make it more British. The Maratha had completely eroded the Mughal control over the Indian Subcontinent, and the Mughals had to seek protection from the British at the end of 18th century. Slowly the British East India Company would take over the Mughal Empire. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi would note that Muslims must stop fighting each other over their different belief systems or the infidel would overcome them like they did in India.

Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi would return to Kurdistan. He would speak many great things such as self sacrifice and that all things were brought into this world out of non existence, being revered by the people of Shahrizor and Mahmud Pasha Baban himself, who was a devout follower. Mahmud Pasha Baban would seek Khalid I-Baghdadi's advice in his relations between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, opening all letters of correspondance between him and his brothers from the Sherzade of Kermanshah and the Mamluk Vali of Baghdad in Khaled I Baghdadi's house. A coup against Mahmud Pasha Baban was prevented from his Uncle Abdulla Pasha in cooperation with the Vali of Baghdad Suliaman through the mediation of Khalid I Baghdadi.

Mohamed Pasha Jaff would become a follower of Khalid I Baghdadi, he attend the madrasa of Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi. He would adhere to many of his **Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi's teachings, including his anti-British doctrines** that he had obtained while in the British Empire, and that was never to enter into treaties and alliances with infidels, who wished to divide Muslims against each other, so they could be easily conquered. The British had succeeded in conquering the Muslims of the Mughal Empire by dividing them through alliances. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi believed that Muslims must unite and avoid sectarian violence in one another. Mohamed Pasha Jaff followed these statutes,, and he taught them to his sons. His son Mahmud Pasha Jaff would later refuse an alliance with the British to fight against the Ottomans, declaring that Muslims must not fight Muslims.

Khalidi I Baghdadi would make frequent trips to Damascus and Istanbul. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi would pass through Cizre often on his travels between Damascus and Suliamania. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi began to accumulate favor with the people of Cizre, who considered him a holy man. He would be known to them as Mullah Khalid. In 1826 he would meet Sheikh Khalid El Cezeri, and would declare him to be the man of his prophesies.

Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi would have El Cezeri perform his holy tasks, and El Cezeri would successfully perform them. Upon completion Sheikh Khalid El Cezeri was proclaimed Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi's caliph. Sheikh Khalid El Cezeri would then establish the Basret Madrese, an Islamic school that would spread Khalid Naqsbendi Sufism to most of the Turkish Kurdish region in 1839. He had his Madrese in the village of Basret, which was strategically located at the foot of the Gabar Mountains where all the tribes passed along their travels to Diyarbakir. Sheikh Khalid El Cezeri would teach many in the ways of Khalid Naqsbendi Sufism. Many of his caliphs would rise in the neighboring Kurdish provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In Bitlis his Caliph Salish I Sipka in 1852 would arise. In Siirt and Mardin his Caliph Sheikh Hamid I Mardin would arise in 1882. In Bahcaseray his Caliph Sheikh Sibgatullah Arvas would arise. Sheikh Khalid El Cezeri became a dogma of the Khalid Naqsbendi sufism within the Kurdish regions of Turkey, and the spread of Khalidi Naqsbendi Sufism within Anatolia can be attributed to him. He was a fellow disciple with Sheikh Ubeydullah, who was also one of Khalid I Baghdadi's disciples. Sheikh Ubeydullah was the Caliph of the El Cezeri's neighboring region of Hakkari. Eventually the Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid II would be counted as a member of the Khalidi Naqsbendi Sufi sect, who would proclaim the Edict of Gulhane in 1839. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi maintained correspondance with Sheikh Khalid I El Cezeri. The descendents of Sheikh Khalid I El Cezeri have recorded most of the letters of correspondance between Sheikh Khalid I El Cezeri and Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi in a book known as the Muktabat I Khalidi.

The Babans were not getting along with their neighbor in Baghdad the Mamluk Vali Daoud. He had often tried to interfere in the affairs of the Babans, turning Mahmud Pasha Baban's brother Hassan Beg against him. Hassan Beg was Mahmud Pasha Baban's half brother. He was born to a daughter of Khosrou Kai Beg Jaff. He would attempt a coup of power against his brother Mahmud Pasha Baban in Keuy Sanjak as the Mamluk Vali of Baghdad Daoud Pasha would march with an army on Suliamania. Mahmud Baban would repulse Daoud Pasha's attack, and Hassan Beg would flee to Baghdad. Daoud Pasha would ultimately betray Hassan Beg to Mahmud Pasha Baban as a token of peace, ending Hassan Beg's insurrection. Mahmud Pasha Baban would remain suspicious of his neighbor in Baghdad and the Ottoman Empire as a whole.

In 1821 the Persian General Abbas Mirza would finally launch his invasion of the Ottoman Empire. The Russian Empire had been defeated by the Ottomans, who now held the Caucasus in their possession. Abbas Mirza would again launch an invasion of the Caucasus. His far superior army would defeat the Ottomans at the Battle of Erzurum. In response, the new Mamluk Vali of Baghdad Suliaman Pasha would launch an attack on Persia. His attack would be repulsed, and Baghdad would become besieged by Persian forces. Mahmud Pasha Baban would then launch a coup against the Ottomans, allowing Persian Armies into the Shahrizor Eyalet. Together with the armies of Abbas Mirza, they would crush all remnants of the Ottoman regime in the Shahrizor Eyalet. The Shahrizor Eyalet would effectively become Persian territory, and the Jaff would become Persian subjects in 1823 after the signing of the Treaty of Zahab.

Mahmud Pasha Baban grew increasingly paranoid and increasingly Anti Ottoman. He would begin to turn against Khalid I Baghdadi, who had extensive connections within the Ottoman Empire. He would begin to support all the Islamic Imams and Urmias against him, who were against Khaled I Baghdadi as he was a threat to their teachings. In the end Khaled I Baghdadi would be branded a heretic, and he would flee Suliamania for the sanctuary under Abbas Mirza. Mahmud Pasha Baban would go so far as to strip Osman Bey Baban of all power in Suliamania for holding contact with the Ottomans. Osman Bey Baban would flee to Persia for sanctuary under Abbas Mirza. This environment was too hostile for Mohamed Pasha Jaff, and he would distance himself from his Uncle Kai Khosroo Beg. He along with his clan would become nomads in the plains of Shahrizor and within the Zagros mountains of Persia. Kai Khosroo Beg would pass into obscurity as his son Aziz Beg Jaff would succeed him. Mahmud Pasha Baban's grip on power would continue to weaken, and so would the Baban's hold on power.

While dwelling as a nomad. He would come to be despised by Abbas Mirza, who had began a campaign around 1839 to weaken and destroy his clan for they refused to pay taxes to the Persian army. Many times the Jaff clan would come under attack by Persian Calvary in the Zagros mountains and Shahrizor. Mohamed Jaff Pasha would fight back though, and formidable his resistance was against Abbas Mirza of Persia.

A French military officer, who was apart of a group of French advisors to the Persian army, had accompanied Abbas Mirza's daughter to Tehran, Princess Fekret Doulet. His name was Colonel Joseph Pierre Ferrier.

Joseph Pierre Ferrier began his military in the French Army as a Captain in North Africa during the French invasion of Algiers around 1830. The French invasion of the Barbary pirate lair had happened over a disagreement about wheat trade deal between the French government and the Barbary Sultan of Algiers. The fleet of France would bombard Algiers and French army would occupy it. However, an insurgency would continue from the Arab nomads, who lurked in the Algerian Sahara desert under an insurgent by the name of Al Qadir. It was here that Captain Pierre Ferrier would learn most of his counter insurgency tactics in fighting Arab nomadic resistance movements in the desert. He would distinguish himself that he would later be redeployed to France's main ally in the Middle East, which was the Persia of Fath Ali Shah Qajar. The French had made a military investment in the Persian Military from the of Napoleon and the Treaty of Finkenstein in 1807. The French wished to use Fath Ali Shah Qajar's government to destroy both Russian, British, and Ottoman interests within the region, and ultimately upset their control of Mesopotamia. Captain Pierre Ferrier became the main advisor to the Great Persian General Abbas Mirza, advising him against the Kurdish insurgencies and brigands within the Vilayet of Kordestan.

A French military officer, who was apart of a group of French advisors to the Persian army, had accompanied Abbas Mirza's daughter to Tehran, Princess Fekret Doulet. His name was Colonel Joseph Pierre Ferrier. The governor of Zohab Ibrahim Pasha would also accompany them. His convoy would come under attack by Mohamed Pasha Jaff's calvary. The guard would be overwhelmed, and Princess Fekret Doulet, Governor Ibrahim Pasha of Zohab, and Colonel Joseph Pierre Ferrier would be taken prisoner. Mohamed Pasha Jaff, in negotiation with Governor Ibrahim Pasha of Zohab, agreed to exchange them with Abbas Mirza for reparations for the affronts against his tribe. Mohamed Pasha Jaff would escort the Princess to Serpeul, where Abbas Mirza had his headquarters. He would come to be respected by Colonel Joseph Pierre Ferrier and Governor Ibrahim Pasha of Zohab. Many Persians would come to hold a high opinion of him as he would eliminate all bandits and brigands, who roamed the countryside.

Daoud Pasha Mamluk was a Mamluk Dictator, who took charge of the Baghdad Eyalet on behalf of the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century from 1816 to 1831. He came from a long line of Mamluk successors. The Ottoman Sultans never trusted Arabs in their administration. In the past Kurds had shared leadership of Mesopotamia with military dictators from Ottoman Russian provinces or Mamluks, as Arabs were never trusted in

Ottoman administration. The Ottoman Army had the practice of taking Christian boys from the Caucasus and Balkans, and taking them to their special military schools to brainwash them into fanatical military soldiers. They would then be placed in high leadership in the army. This was the Sultan's way of maintaining control over Ottoman society as the mainly Sunni Muslim populace could not be trusted with governance of his Empire. They were just too factitious and rigid in their administration of Haditha law, which operated in a vigilante style. These fanatical Mamluks would be placed over the most unruly territories of the Ottoman Empire, which were usually neighboring Mecca and were mainly Arab territories. These Christian brainwashed soldiers were necessary in keeping the piece in the Arab territories. Yet, they often had minds of their own unfortunately for the Sultan. They soon would set up their own independent fiefdoms within the Ottoman provinces of Egypt and Iraq.

Daoud Pasha was the final Mamluk leader of the Baghdad Eyalet. He inherited an Eyalet plagued with many problems. The Qajar Persians were beginning to gain a foothold in the region, especially with the Shahrizor Eyalet to the north. The Babans of the Shahrizor Eyalet could no longer be trusted with the administration of the Eyalet as they became more independent minded and successionist. Abdulrahman Pasha Baban began to rise up against the Ottoman Empire in 1813 to make Shahrizor an independent Emirate. He would build a string of fortresses around Shahrizor. The Ottomans, intimidated by Abdurrahman's posture began to deal more closely with the Babans rival tribes in hopes of usurping their power. They appointed a non Baban as Kaimakam. This infuriated Abdurrahman Baban Pasha, who stabbed the Ottoman Sanjak of Suliamania, and would crush all Kurdish tribal forces that had rallied around him. He would proclaim Kurdish independence from the Ottoman Empire. This would infuriate Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II, and he would dispatch his Mamluk dictator in Baghdad Daoud Pasha to deal with this threat. The Vali Daoud Pasha would march with a military force on the fortifications of Abdulrahman Pasha in Suliamania, and Abdulrahman Pasha would have his own forces mutiny and turn against him. This would be the end of Abdulrahman Pasha's reign. He would flee to Qajar Persia, taking refuge with the great adversary of the Ottomans.

Mahmud Pasha Baban would replace Abdulrahman Pasha Baban. He would make Khasrou Kai Beg Jaff his right hand man, and would call on him to organize 3000 men to deal with any interior threat of the Shahrizor Eyalet. Mahmud Pasha Baban would turn against the Ottoman Sultan, and would defect to Qajar Persia, whom invaded Mesopotamia during the 1820s. The invasion was led by Abbas Mirza Qajar, who had rebuilt his armies in the

aftermath of devastating wars with Russia during the Napoleonic wars. He reclaim lost territory within the caucasus from the war with the Russians, which was now under the control of the Ottomans. Abbas Mirza French trained army would defeat the Ottomans in the Battle of Erzerum. The Babans would then defect to Persia in the aftermath of the war, and the Shahrizor Eyalet would come under control of the Qajars around 1823. The Persian Qajar armies would occupy Suliamania, and this would weaken the Mamluk and Daoud Pasha in Baghdad permantly. Abdulmecid I would reform the Ottoman Empire and the Eyalets would be changed into Vilayets under the tanzimat reforms of 1839, which had more government positions to a lower level from Vali to Kaimakam. Abdulmecid I also wished to do away with Mamluks, whom he saw as obsticle to more effective administration to his Middle Eastern provinces. The Ottomans would invade from Damascus, and install a more loyal Mamluk to the Vali of Baghdad, Ali Ridha Pasha in 1831. Soon the Ottomans with cooperation of the Vali of Baghdad would bring Suliamania back under Ottoman control as the Ottoman Empire made war with the Babans as the Qajar grip on Shahrizor weakened. The Jaff would play a major role in this conflict in 1847, helping the Ottomans to occupy Shahrizor in the Battle of Koya.

Sultan Abdulmecid I of the Great Ottoman Empire was an ambitious man with great goals for the Ottoman Empire. He was a man, who was a great follower of the teachings of the Jaff Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi, and was a member of the Khalidi Naqsbendi order. Alot of Khalid I Baghdadi's teachings influenced the Sultan. Mainly his teachings in the fundementals of Imam, which stated each religious Sheikh was the leader of his own Qadi, and his own Qadi were subject to the Sheikh's own interpretations of the Quran. One should not judge another for following the different practices of a foreign Qazi. It was from these teachings that tolerence was taught. Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi's followers extended all over the Ottoman Empire to Dagestan. Abdulmecid I was so influenced by Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi that he began to introduce reforms to the Ottoman Empire in 1839 A. D.

Abdulmecid I within the Gulhanne Park beside the Topkapi Palace would proclaim the Edict of Gulhanne in 1839 C.E., giving equal rights to Christians and minorities to appease his western allies. A new era would begin under Abdulmecid I of creating a country of tolerance and unity within the Ottoman Empire. The country was falling apart, and was behind the western powers in industrial development. His reforms were a bid to keep the country united amid a restructuring of the Ottoman Bureaucracy.

This however would have bad effects for the region in destabilizing it. The Armenian populace, emboldened by the reforms, would rise up in full fledged revolt as would other minorities, including segments the Kurds such as the Babans. The Egyptian Vilayet would break off and form its own nation, succeeding from the Ottoman Empire in opposition to the reforms, forming the Khedivate of Egypt.

Abdulmecid I however would achieve victory over the Russians in alliance with the British and French in aiding the Ottoman Empire's Crimean allies. They would deal Russia a crushing defeat at the battle of Sevastopol. The Treaty of Paris would be signed in 1856 A.D. between Great Britain, France, The Ottoman Empire, and Russia. The Ottoman Empire would be considered a European nation at the signing of the treaty. This treaty would however not stop Russia from its mission to devour the Ottoman Empire. Many of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire like the Kurds and Armenians would begin to resist the Ottoman Empire. The Babans would rise against the Ottomans in revolt.

In 1879 the Russian Imperial Army stationed in the Caucasus was encouraged by this developement to invade the Ottoman Caucasus to support these insurgencies. The white coats of the Russian army would come in swarms across the Caucasus border, and conquer Bayezid, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzurum against the blue coats of the Ottoman army with their German supplied weapons. This would cause anarchy throughout the region from Van to Mosul. The Ottoman army and state institutions of this region would be left in a state of dissarray, creating much friction and disorder on the borders of the Persian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires's border. His succesor Sultan Abdulaziz was faced with his own insurgency. Islam in the Ottoman Empire was heavily influenced by factional sectarian Arab Sheikhs. This was a threat to his authority. The Turks also were very sectarian, and followed the Arabs who controlled Mecca more then they did him. There was a general islam inspired anger against the Gulhane Edict reforms that Abdulaziz inherited from his predecessor Abdulmecid I. The reforms were seen as pro-western, and benefitting the Christian minorities more than the Muslims. The opposition had grown since the Gulhane Edict reforms had emancipated people from slavery as slave trade was major income among Arabs. This had turned Mecca against Abdulaziz. The Mutasharrif of Mecca, Abd al-Muttalib, would plot against him, and would join with many other angry officials within the Ottoman government of Istanbul in conspiring against Sultan Abdulaziz. He had very few friends in his empire, and this included his own people. The only people he could rely on in his own empire were the Kurds. It was concluded that a Pro Kurdish policy should be adopted within the Ottoman Military doctrine to shore up support against the Islamist and Arab brigands of the Ottoman Emperor in the following years, Ottoman Policy would tend to favor the Kurds.



After the Vali of Baghdad, Ali Ridha Pasha, dealt a crushing defeat to the Persian occupation of Abbas Mirza Qajar of Northern Mesopotamia, and put to flight the Babans in 1850, Mohamed Pasha Jaff along with the Jaff nomads were allowed to dwell in the Shahrizor unharrassed by the Ottomans or Persians in any way. A golden age began for the Jaff as they became a major power in the region. Their nomadic caravans were allowed pasture from Khanaqin and Qizil Rubat to Panjwin in the Shahrizor region of Kurdistan. In these regions Mohammed Pasha Jaff from his position of power began to crack down on all of his enemies from the Pro Baban Jaff under Aziz Bey Jaff, who was the son of Kai Khasrow Beg Jaff to the rival tribe of the Hemevand, who were anti Ottoman and Anti everything. He would erect a Fortress on the banks of the Shirwan river to guard against all of these foes in 1866. The name of this fortress is now known as the Shirwana fortress. In 1868 he would be appointed by the Mamluk Vali Sulieman Pasha of Baghdad. However Sulieman Pasha and Mohammed Pasha Jaff's power would begin to weaken during the Russo Ottoman war around 1878.

The Hamavand were an offshoot of the Jaff tribe, whose settlement was around Qasr I Shirin in Persia. The tribe came from the same Saiyyed as the Jaff, who was Pir Khidhr of Shaho, and were of the same fire worshipping religion as the Jaff, which was Yazdanism, which was a form of Zoroastrianism. Their leader was Mir Jawan Khan, and the Persian and Ottoman Armies feared him alike. The Persian government paid Mir Jawan a tax to guard the frontier. The Ottomans allowed Mir Jawan Khan to settle in Qara Dagh. Mir Jawan Khan would participate in the fighting in the Caucasus around Beyazid during the Russo Ottoman War of 1877 to 1878 receiving arms and munitions from the Imperial Russian Army under the command of Armenian General Ter Gukasov. The Hamavand of 300 horsemen would become a well equipped fighting force. They would come back in 1881 during Sheikh Ubeydullah's uprising against the Ottomans, and besiege Suliamania for four days nearly taking the city until the Ottomans would counter attack with a force from Kirkuk. During this time the Hamavand would join the enemies of Mohammed Pasha Jaff, who were under the command of Aziz Beg Jaff, the son of Kai Khosrou beg Jaff. Aziz Beg Jaff contested the title of Begzada from Mohamed Pasha Jaff. The Hamavand wished to destroy Mohammed Pasha Jaff's hold on the Shahrizor, and so aligned themselves with Aziz Beg faction. They would together ambush Mohammed Pasha Jaff in battle, killing him in 1880. The Jaff under the command of Mahmud Pasha Jaff would pursue the Hamavand and Aziz Jaff clan to Gil, but would be defeated by the Hamavand. They would be joined, however, by Ottoman troops and continue their advance on the Hamavand, pursuing them all the way to Qasr I Shirin in the castle of Qala I Juanmir. The Hamavand would be placed under the protection of the Persian Governor of Isfahan, Zill Es Soltan. It was here that Mahmud Pasha Jaff would gain control of the Zohab region, overcoming the Persian and Hamavand forces, and both the Ottomans and Persians would be disturbed by the dissaray caused by the fued between these two tribes. The Ottomans and Persians formed an alliance to counter the growing Kurdish threat posed to their frontiers. The Jaff-Hamavand fued and disturbance was seen as part of the greater invasion of the forces of Sheikh Ubeydullah within Persian territory to establish a Kurdish state. In 1884 the Persians who were allies and guardians of the Hamavand within Qasr I Shirin would betray the Hamavand after the death of Zill Es Soltan. They immediately killed all their leaders, and gave the Hamavand up to the Ottomans, who would exile them to Sinai and Tripolitania in North Africa. Mahmud Pasha Jaff would eliminate the last remnants of the Aziz Beg Jaff clan, who contested his authority as begzada within the Qala I Juanmir in Qasr I Shirin. The Ottomans would not exile the Jaff, they were to valuable to

the Ottomans administration of Mosul frontier. They would instead replace Mahmud Pasha Jaff with Osman Pasha Jaff as Kaimakam of Gulanbar and Halabja, because he was a leader easier to control. This would be the Ottoman bid to end all warlordism in their Middle Eastern provinces, and develop a more centralized state



British National Archive Documents

British Documents concerning the Turco-Persian Boundary Demarcation Committee

DOCUMENT:FCO 78/2731

Original Document 1

N^o 116

Tehran 21st May 1874

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram
of the 12th instant, I have the honor
to inform Your Lordship that my
Russian Colleague and I having
called the next day on the Persian
Minister for Foreign Affairs at the
house indicated, were informed by
His Highness that the Turkish
Minister had declined to take part
in the Conference to which like us
he had been invited.

Copy sent to
India Office

Turk. Min. to Min.
for For. Aff. March 25.

Mem. for For. Aff. to
Turk. Min. March 30.

Turk. Min. to Min.
for For. Aff. May 1.

id to id May 2.

id to id May 3.

Mem. for For. Aff. to
Turk. Min. May 7.

id to id May 10.

The Right Hon^{ble}
The Earl of Derby

He

to to to

of so conciliatory a nature, that although he was of opinion it could no longer be tolerated he was still prepared to submit to our decision if, after becoming acquainted with it, we were of opinion it should be continued.

He said there were four points under discussion. one, Bagdai and Ghoreybeh, otherwise Seyid Hassan and Malik Tavee. The second, that of Boroomeych, or the question arising out of the insurrectionary proceedings of Sheikh Abedoolah Effendi.

Third, the savage and vile acts

of

of Abdurrahman Agha of Kartli,
and Fozath, the question having
reference to the residence of Mahomed
Beg, Turkish refugee, and a portion
of the Jaff tribe at Jorab near the
Turkish frontier. He said that
throughout this correspondence the
Persian Government had most
guardedly observed the requirements
of courtesy and deference in its
language, while on the part of the
Turkish Minister menaces instead of
arguments were employed - Sometimes
they were to the effect that unless
certain

M. Beger and I withdrew to another part of the room and, after consultation, said to him - that we did not find ourselves competent to enter upon the discussion of those questions, but that as Representatives of the Mediating Powers on the Turco-Persian boundary and earnest well wishers to both the Turkish and Persian Governments, we were desirous to smooth to the utmost of our power any difficulties which might have arisen during the correspondence so regarded form, and that therefore

if

we said that we were of opinion that the form of his note about Mahomed Bey, Jaff, should be altered, divesting it of its menacing character. He said he was only following out the instruction of the Sublime Porte, but we were of opinion that his Government would not be dissatisfied if he should come to an arrangement with respect to the substance of the matter in dispute by withdrawing the note and presenting another less offensive in form. He asked that we should give an assurance that if he did

so

so the substance, that is to say, the
withdrawal by Persia of the Jaffa to
a distance from the frontier, would be
carried out. We said we could give
no assurances to that effect - that
we limited ourselves to the exertion of
our good offices to smooth the
difficulty which had arisen as to
form only, but that possibly the
Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs
might give those assurances himself.

On the 20th Mr. Beget and I
went this time together to the Persian
Minister for Foreign Affairs, and at
out

our conference it was agreed that
he should give those assurances, but
on the express condition that the
internation of Refugee tribes should
be reciprocal, and that a list should
be sent us of tribes which had taken
refuge in either of the two States from
a certain date and that their removal
to the interior was to be carried out
on both sides.

I have the honor to enclose
translations of the correspondence
alluded to herein, and beg to add
that in consequence of other business

Waters

matters and the dispatch of the courier
I have been unable to give the results
of the Minister for Foreign Affairs'
proposal by this opportunity.

I have the honor to be with
the highest respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
humble servant

W. Layton Thomson

72a

1874
Johann. 21st May

Mr Taylor Thomson

No 116 ✓

Rec^d By July 5 Time

Turco. Persian Dispute.
Correspⁿ between Turkish
Min^{is} & Persian Gov^t.
Action taken by English
and Russian Ministers.

~~This is a complete~~
~~list of the~~
~~events~~ (See No. 123)

292

Printed Document 1

My Lord,

With Reference to my telegram of the 12th instant, I have the honor to inform your Lordship that my Russian Colleague and I having Called the next day the Persian minister for Foreign affairs at the hour indicated, were informed by his highness that the Turkish Minister had declined to take part in the conference to which like us he had been invited of so conciliatory a nature, that although he was of opinion it could no longer be tolerated he was still prepared to submit to our decision if, after becoming acquainted with it, we were of opinion it should be continued. He said there were four points under discussion. One Bagsai and Ghoreybeh, Otherwise Seyed Hassan and Malik Taves. The Second, that of Goroomeyeh, or the question arising out of the insurrectionary proceedings Ubeidullah Effendi. Third, the savage and vile acts of Abdurrahman Agha of Artush, and fourth, the question having reference to the residence of Mohamed Pasha Beg, Turkish refugee, and a portion of the Jaff tribe at Zohab near the Turkish frontier. He said that throughout this correspondence the Persian government had most guardedly observed the requirements of courtesy and deference in its language, while on the part of the Turkish Minister menaces instead of arguments were employed. Sometimes were it to the effect that unless certain M Begas and I withdrew to another of the room and after consultation said to him that we did not find ourselves competent to enter upon the discussion of those questions, but that as representative of the mediating powers on the Turco-Persian boundary and comment well wishes to both the Turkish and Persian governments. We were desirous to smooth to the utmost of our power any difficulties which might have arisen during the correspondence in regarded form, and that therefore if we said that we were of opinion that the form of his note about Mohamed Beg Jaff, should be attained divesting it of its menacing character. He said he was only following out the instruction of the sublime porte but were of opinion that his government would not be dissatisfied if he should come to an arrangement with respect to the substance of the matter in dispute by withdrawing the note and preventing another less offensive in form. He asked that we should give an assurance that if he did so the substance. That is to day, the withdrawel by Persia of the Jaffs to a distance from the frontier would be carried out. We said we could give no assurances to that effect. That we limited ourselves to the exertion of our good offices to smooth the difficulty which had arisen as to form only, but that possibly the might give those assurances himself. On the 20th the M. Beges and I went this time together to the Persian Minister for foreign affairs and at out our conference it was agreed that he should give those assurances but on the express condition that the internation of refugee tribes should be reciprocal and that a list should be sent us of tribes which had taken refuge either of the two states from a certain date and that their removal to the interior was to be carried out by both sides. I have the honor to enclose translations of the correspondence attended to herein, and beg to add that in consequence of other business matters and the dispatch of the carrier I have been unable to give the results of the minister for foreign affairs proposal by this opportunity. I have the honor to be with the highest respect, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient humble servant , Major Taylor Thomson.

Original Document 2

Translation.

Turkish Minister at Tehran to
Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

25th March 1874.

1874

I am directed to acquaint the
Persian Foreign Office with the contents
of a telegram received at this Legation
from the Sublime Porte and which are
as follows: "It has caused surprise
" that Mahomed Beg should be termed
" a 'Political Refugee'; For, when he
" crossed into Persian territory he was
" not accused of any political offence,
" as he had only enticed part of the
" Jaff Tribe into Persia, and is now
" residing

H

" residing in the vicinity of the frontier
" and endeavouring to make the rest
" come over. It is evident that such
" behaviour on the part of Mahomed
" Beg excludes him from the class of
" Political refugees. As the admittance
" of each other's tribes into one another's
" territory is based on a special act
" of reciprocity between the two Govts.
" the Turkish Govt. on account of the
" great cordiality which exists is
" justified in requiring from the Persian
" Govt. that Mahomed Beg should be
" given up. If he were in reality,

" a

"a political refugee the Turkish Govt
"would never have interfered - Should
"the Persian Govt notwithstanding the
"existing friendship and cordiality, not
"give up Mahomed Beg, or not remove
"him to some distance from the frontier,
"the Sublime Porte will look upon such
"a proceeding as one of disregard and
"coolness and will feel deeply moved
"and grieved thereby."

It is therefore advisable that
the Persian Govt should in justice and
in its own interests not object either
to give up Mahomed Beg or to
remove

remove him to a suitable distance,
from the frontier, and then oblige and
gratify a friendly and neighbouring
power, which is also a co-religionist.

The Turkish Govt is now awaiting
the final reply of the Persian Govt
in this question, so that in case of a
want of cooperation it may take
the necessary measures itself.

Translated by
(Signed) J. Ibrahim.

be her own subjects and proteges, who
owing to some reason or other, fled
to Turkish territory and have now
without any inducement returned of
their own accord to their real homes
with Mahomed Bey.

Should any such allusion have
been made in course of conversation
it has been caused by the Sublime
Porte putting such an interpretation
on the distinct terms of the Treaty,
thereby dividing the fugitives into two
classes. One class Turkey has
denominated "Political fugitives" and
these

those she does not wish to be given up.
The other class she considers "criminal
fugitives" and has consented verbally
that they should be given up, but in
deed and action this arrangement has
never been carried out, even to the
present day, and all the representations
of the Persian Agents in this respect
have remained fruitless.

It is also mentioned in the
said telegram that as the admittance
of each others tribes into one another's
territory is based on a special act of
reciprocity between the two Governments, Turkey

is

is justified in demanding that Mahomed
Beq. should be given up. In the first
place such an arrangement as that
now mentioned does not exist between
the two States. The decision arrived
at by both parties was that the habit
of the tribes of both sides in going
reciprocally to the winter and summer
quarters situated in the territory of
each Govt. and of their afterwards
returning to the territory of their
respective countries should be given up
and this temporary sojourn in the
territory of each Govt. be henceforth
abandoned entirely. This point has
nothing

nothing to do with the case of Mahomed
Beg and the Jaff tribes, because, firstly,
they have returned to their original
homes and, secondly, they have broken
off all connection with Turkish territory,
and have given up the lands they
possessed, and they now intend to
reside perpetually and not temporarily
in Persia. If the Sublime Porte
adheres to the argument that the Tribes
of each State are not to be admitted,
then why and on what grounds has
the Hain Mekam of Mendelej recently
induced about 200 families of the
Khalidee Tribe of Kalkhor with Biga
Kooler

justice and equity will admit that the Persian Gov^t always most heartily wishes that its intercourse with the Sublime Porte should be of the most sincere and friendly nature, and it has given numerous and repeated proofs of the sincerity of such a wish in all questions and matters, and is again ready to shew, as far as practicable, a fresh proof of the same.

The Persian Ministers for reasons, all of which are in unison with the views of the Sublime Porte and which may be regarded as a fresh proof of their sincere and friendly intentions have not yet assigned

Translation

Turkish Minister at Tehran to
Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs
2nd May 1874

A telegram has been received from
the Sublime Porte respecting Mahomed Beg
of Jaff and the families which have
fled with him into Persian territory,
the substance of which I now transmit.

"Besides Mahomed Beg residing at
Zohab, the son and brothers of Bahram
Beg are living at the disputed fort of
Merivan, which is within an hour
and a half of the undisputed
territory of Turkey. Notwithstanding
that this fact is contrary to the
agreement

assigned the summer and winter quarters
of Mahomed Beg and his followers.

They will shortly assign them with the
greatest disinterestedness and good
intentions, and U. E. will be informed
when such assignment has been made.

I have to request that U. E. will
convey to the Turkish Ministers the
great desire and good intentions of
this Govt. to strengthen the friendly
relations which now exist between the
two Powers in those acceptable terms
for which U. E. is so well known.

Translated by
(Signed) J. Ibrahim.

PRINTED DOCUMENT 2

Leading in the vicinity of the frontier and endeavoring to make the rest come over. It is evident that such behavior on the part of Mohamed Beg excludes him from the class of political refugee. As the admittance of each others tribe into one another territory is based on a soecuak act of reciprocity between the two governments. The Turkish government on account of the great cordiality which exists is justified in requiring from the Persian government that Mohaed Beg should be given up. If he were in reality a political refugee the Turkish government would never have interfered, Should the Persian government notwithstanding the existing friendship and cordiality, not give up Mohamed Beg or not remove him to some distance from the frontier. The Sublime porte will look upon such a proceeding as one of disregard and coolness and will feel deeply moved and grieved thereby. The Persian government should in justice and in its own interests not object either to give up Mahomed Beg or to remove him to a suitable distance from the frontier and these oblige and gratify a friendly and neighboring power, which is also a co religionist. The Turkish government is now awaiting the final reply of the Persian government in this question so that in case of a want of cooperation it may take the necessary measures itself. Be her own subjects and protégés who owing to some reason or other fled to Turkish territory and have now without any inducement returned of this own accord to their real homes with Mohamed Beg, Should any such allusion have made in course of conversation it has been caused by the Sublime Porte putting such an interpretation on the distant terms of the treaty thereby dividing the fugitive into two classes. One ckass Turkey has denominated "Political fugitives" and these she does not wish to be given up. The other clase she considers "criminal fugitives" and has consented verbally that they should be given up, but indeed and action this arrangement has never been carried out even to the present day, and all the representations of the Persian agents in the respect have remained fruitless. It is also mentioned in the said telegram that as the admittance of each others tribes into one another's territory is based on a special act of reciprocity between the two governments, Turkey is justified in demanding that Mohamed Beg should be given up. In the first place such an arrangement as that now mentioned does not exist between the two states. The decision arrived at by both sides in going reciprocally to the winter and summer quarters situated in the territory of each government and of their afterwards returning to the territory of sojourn in the territory of each government be henceforth abandoned certinely. This joint has nothing to do with the case of Mahomed Beg and the Jaff tribes, because firstly they have returned to their original homes and secondly, they have broken off all connection with Turkish Territory and have given up the lands they possessed adnd they now intend to decide perpetually and not temporarily in Persia. If the Sublime Porte adheres to the argument that the tribes of each state are not to be admitted. Then why and on what grounds has the having Mekam if Mendelej recently induced about 200 families of the tribe of ...justice and equity with...that the Persian government always most heartily wishes that its intercourse with the Sublime Porte should be of the most sincere and friendly nature, and it has given numerous and repeated people of the sincerity of such a wish in all questions and matters, and is again ready to shew, as far as practicable a fresh proof of the same. The Persian Ministers for reasons all of which are in unison with the news of the Sublime Porte and which may be regarded as a fresh proof of their sincere and friendly intentions have not yet assigned the summer and winter quarters of Mohamed Beg and his followers. They will shortly assign them with the greatest disinterestedness and good intentions, and Y. E. will be informed when such an assignment has been made. I have to request that Y. E. will convey to the Turkish ministries the great desire and good intentions of this government to strengthen the friendly relations which now exist between the two Powers in those acceptable terms for which Y.E. is so well known.