

# Nomadic Resilience: Investigating the Social Infrastructure of Kurdish Societies during the 1851-1914

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## Abstract.

This study project aims to fill a notable gap in the social history of Kurdistan by investigating the crucial involvement of Kurdish nomads from 1851 to 1914. The study intends to explore the complex relationships between nomadic populations, Kurdish emirates, and the Ottoman authorities, and their effects on social, economic, and political aspects through an interdisciplinary approach. The study will rely on literature review articles and books to collect data and analyse archival documents from worldwide collections to explore the socioeconomic structure, customs, , and impact of nomadic life on the wider Kurdish community. This research aims to fill a gap in social studies about the history of Kurdistan and build a scholarly basis for future investigations into this lesser-explored area of Kurdish history.

**Keywords;** *Nomads-Tribe, Identity formation, Social Infrastructure, Cultural immersion, Socioeconomic Structures,*

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## Kurds and Kurdistan: A Historical and Geographical Overview

### Introduction

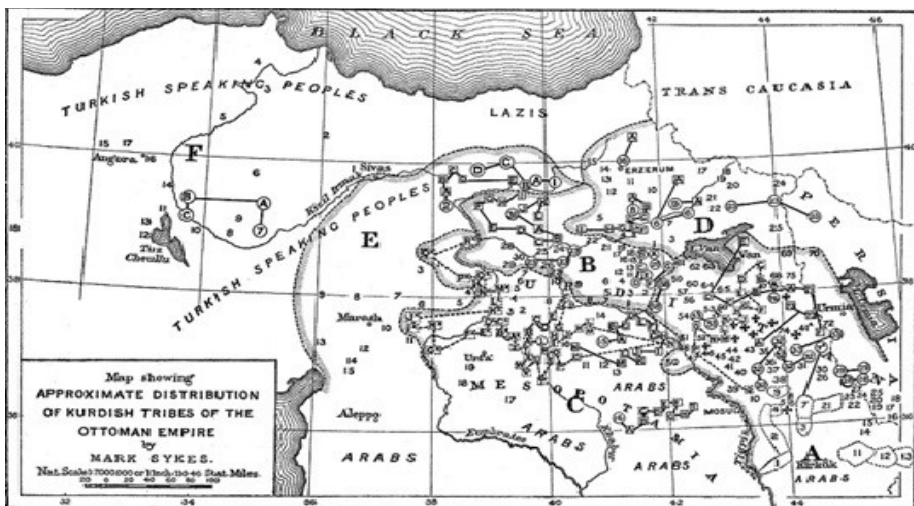
The Kurds, constituting the fourth-largest ethnic group in the Middle East after the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, exert a significant historical and cultural influence throughout the region. They are revered as one of the region's most ancient communities, proudly tracing their lineage back to the Medes. The appellation "Kurd" was bestowed by Arabs to denote the nomadic inhabitants of the region they endeavoured to govern, employing the terms Kurd or kural, (McDowall, 2021). In the eleventh chapter of 'Anabasis,' Xenophon (Ο Ξενοφών

(Ερχία, 430 π.Χ. - Κόρινθος, 355 π.Χ.) delves into the Greeks' arduous passage through the rugged Carduchian Mountains. These formidable peaks serve as the habitat of the Carduchians (Whately, 2021), a people accustomed to the challenges of this severe terrain. Historical records suggest that the Kurds trace their origins to a broader region spanning Asia Minor and Mesopotamia around 10,000 B.C. Furthermore, they exhibit genetic ties to ancient Kurdish civilizations such as the Guti, Kurti, Medes, Mardos, Kardukhs, Gordians, Zillas, and Kaldi, (McDowall, 2021). The region's prehistory is captivating, as it stands as one of the earliest, potentially the foremost, to undergo the transition from the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic epoch. This assertion finds support in archaeological discoveries dating back to the 10th millennium BC. The shift from Palaeolithic to Neolithic endured for numerous millennia, persisting throughout the Neolithic era and even extending until 600 BC, (Djene Rhys Bajalan 2012: K. Kopanias & John MacGinnis, 2016: D. Leupold – 2020). The scrutiny and analysis of Kurdish national identity have been the subject of numerous studies and contexts, as noted by scholars such as Gerald MacLean (2019), Bengio (2020), Elling & Harris (2022), McDowall (2021), Hennerbichler (2012), and Meyer (2022). While Kurdish identity has often been categorized as belonging to an Iranian ethnic group, factual evidence suggests that their ancestors originated from the Medes Empire within this specific region (Hennerbichler, 2012). Additionally, Kurds are recognized as an ethnic group native to the mountainous expanse of Kurdistan in Western Asia, spanning southeastern Turkey, northwestern Iran, northern Iraq, and northern Syria. The Kurdistan region comprises a range of mountains enclosing a network of internal valleys, aligning with the international borders of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, (Gerald MacLean 2019). It includes the Pontic Mountains and the Taurus Mountains to the north, the northern and central Zagros Mountains, and some of the southern Zagros Mountains. To the west are the steep slopes of these mountains, leading to the Mesopotamian Plain, (McDowall, D., 2021: Meyer, 2022). To the east lies the Iranian plateau, and to the north, the plains of Anatolia and Armenia stretch out. Precisely delineating the region proves challenging as there has never been an officially recognized country named Kurdistan. Nonetheless, despite its absence from official maps, Kurdistan holds tangible significance in the perceptions of its inhabitants, serving as a space intricately linked to their 'imagined community.' Additionally, Kurdistan exists within the minds of those who, for various reasons, deny its existence. While to some, 'Kurdistan' endures as 'a blend of myths, events, and aspirations,' for others, Kurdistan must remain officially

unrecognized. Efforts by Kurds to assert or even allude to their distinct national or cultural identity have often been met with some of the most abhorrent methods in the annals of human history, (H Bozarslan, C Gunes, V Yadirgi – 2021: Y Koç 2023: Hennerbichler, F. 2012).

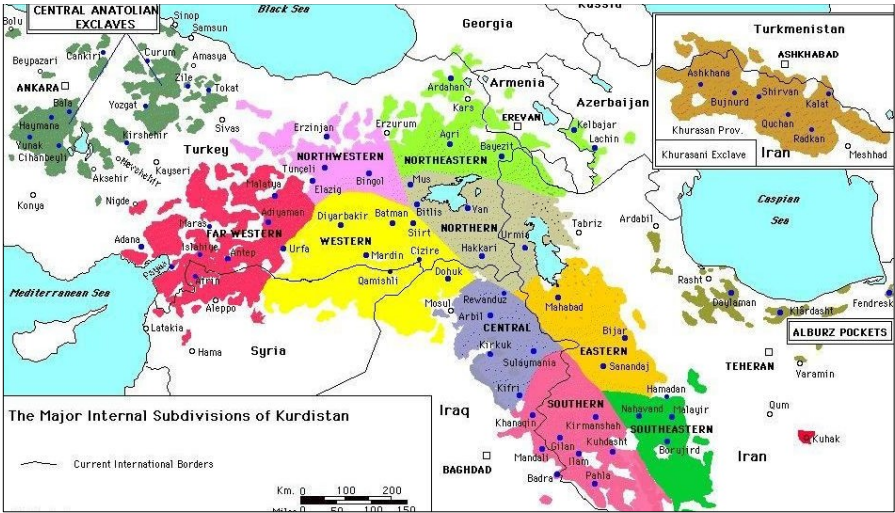
'Kurdistan can be defined as the region where populations have resided for centuries, identifying themselves as members of the Kurdish ethnic group (see Map 1). Mark Sykes' 2015 map provides vital historical insight into the Kurdish people of the Middle East. Despite these divisions being viewed as the greatest injustice to Kurds and Kurdistan by England and France, Sykes, a distinguished British politician and officer, played a significant role in the Sykes-Picot Agreement and participated in the Peace Conference in Paris. "His extensive research sheds light on the demographic distribution and long-standing presence of Kurds in the region. Sykes's interest in the Kurdish region, known as Kurdistan, grew as the Ottoman Sultanate declined. During trips to the Middle East, he visited various important areas of Kurdistan and documented his experiences in several books and papers. One such publication, "Kurdish Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," includes a clear map that displays the spread of Kurdish tribes across Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran. These findings serve as historical evidence that the region was primarily Kurdish and had little Arab, Turkish, or Persian presence. This challenges false narratives that suggest Kurds migrated from Turkey to Syria after 1919, as the new borders divided Kurdish cities and villages, (Hennerbichler, F. 2012).

A map depicting the distribution of the Kurdish nomad population (Mark Sykes 1915)



Despite the presence of linguistic, religious, and cultural differences, the Kurdish people perceive themselves as a distinct ethnic group separate from other populations inhabiting the region. Historically, a rich tapestry of diversity, encompassing various ethnicities and religious affiliations such as Arabs, Armenians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Nestorians, has marked this area. However, the Kurds constitute the predominant demographic and are concentrated densely within specific geographical locales. Across the nations where the territory of Kurdistan is divided—namely Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria—the Kurds are acknowledged as a national minority. Additionally, in select regions of the former Soviet Union, particularly in Azerbaijan and Armenia, a Kurdish minority is present. Turkey lays claim to the largest portion of Kurdish territory, stretching from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Anti-Taurus Mountains in the west, and sharing borders with Iran and the former USSR to the east. To the north, the Pontic Mountains enclose the region, while to the south; it is bordered by Turkey-Syria and Turkey-Iran-Iraq boundaries. (McDowall, D., 2021: Meyer, 2022). Refer to Map II.

Geographical representation of Kurdistan delineated by four distinct borders. (Prof. M.R. Izady).



The predominant economic activity historically prevalent in the region has been pastoralism, although it is presently experiencing a decline. Agricultural production has perennially remained constrained, notwithstanding the region's notable natural resource endowments. Beneath its surface lie abundant mineral deposits, including chrome, copper, and iron, alongside

possessing approximately 40% of Iraq's petroleum reserves. In the regions with a large Kurdish population, the richest oil-producing areas of Iraq (Mosul, Kirkuk, Southern Shaikan), as well as oil-producing areas of Iran (Germiyan) and Turkey (Sirnak) and Syria (Deir ez-Zor), are included. Equally significant is the fact that the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the main water resources of the broader Middle East region, originate from Mount Ararat in Northern or Turkish Kurdistan. This natural wealth, coupled with the strategic importance of Kurdistan for the politics and economy of the wider region, largely explains why the countries where it is divided strive to assert control in every possible way. These same reasons are some of the causes for which the international community has repeatedly turned a blind eye to the tragedy of a people, insisting on excluding them from the nations entitled to self-determination, (Forti, L., Perego, Et al 2021: McDowall, D., 2021: Meyer, 2022). Contrary to their natural wealth, the Kurdish regions constitute the most neglected and underdeveloped part of the countries where they are distributed. These countries have attempted the violent assimilation or physical extermination of the Kurds. This endeavor is not only inhumane and unethical but also practically impossible. The Kurdish population is estimated to exceed 40,000,000. Due to the nature of their problem, it is challenging to provide exact figures. The countries where they are located do not report them as a separate ethnic category in their censuses, and when they are obliged to mention them, they tend to underestimate their numbers. Similarly, Kurdish nationalists tend to exaggerate them for obvious reasons (Forti, L., Perego et al., 2021).

### **Research objectives:**

This study centres on the Kurdish nomadic communities and their influence on Kurdistan during the period from 1851 to 1914. The study seeks to comprehend the impact of nomads on Kurdish society and their role in the establishment of a cohesive Kurdish nation. Furthermore, it analyses the social, economic, and political frameworks that facilitated the nomads' ability to adjust in response to external forces. Through the examination of historical records and pertinent literature, the research aims to reveal the factors that enabled the nomads to unite and actively promote Kurdish nationalism. In summary, this study provides significant insights into the alteration of Kurdish nomads and their enduring impact on Kurdistan during the specified epoch.

**H1;** to investigate the role and significance of Kurdish nomadic communities in the social, economic, and political aspects of Kurdistan during the period from

1851 to 1914. This objective aims to fill a notable gap in the social history of Kurdistan by exploring the complex relationships between nomadic populations, Kurdish emirates, and the Ottoman authorities.

**H2;** to analyse the socioeconomic structures, customs, and cultural immersion of Kurdish nomadic life and their impact on the wider Kurdish community. This objective seeks to provide insights into the ways in which nomadic practices shaped the social infrastructure and identity formation within the Kurdish society.

**H3;** to contribute to the scholarly basis for future investigations into the history of Kurdistan by filling a gap in social studies. This objective aims to build a foundation for further research and exploration of this lesser-explored area of Kurdish history, providing a comprehensive understanding of the nomadic communities' historical significance.

#### **Social Dynamics of Kurdistan:**

- a. Q: The level of social cohesion in Kurdish society is positively correlated with adherence to cultural traditions and values.
- b. Q: Economic disparities within Kurdish communities contribute to the stratification of social classes and hierarchies.
- c. Q: Urbanization and modernization processes are leading to shifts in traditional social structures and dynamics among the Kurdish population.

#### **Nomadic Social Organization in Kurdistan:**

- a. Q: Nomadic lifestyles among Kurdish communities foster strong familial ties and interdependence within extended kinship networks.
- b. Q: Environmental factors and resource availability significantly influence the migratory patterns and settlement strategies of Kurdish nomadic tribes.
- c. Q: The preservation of nomadic traditions and practices among Kurdish communities is essential for maintaining cultural identity and resilience in the face of modernization.

#### **Organization of the Tribe:**

- a. Q: Tribal leadership in Kurdistan is often characterized by a combination of traditional hereditary systems and contemporary democratic processes.
- b. Q: Inter-tribal conflicts and alliances are influenced by historical rivalries, territorial disputes, and resource competition.

- c. Q: The strength of tribal solidarity and cohesion in Kurdistan is positively correlated with the perceived external threats and challenges faced by the community.

### **The Negative Role of Clans in the Division of Kurdish Society:**

- a. Q: Clan-based rivalries and conflicts exacerbate social fragmentation and hinder collective efforts towards political unity and socioeconomic development in Kurdish society.
- b. Q: The hierarchical structure of clan organizations perpetuates inequalities and marginalization within Kurdish communities, particularly among minority groups.
- c. Q: External interventions and geopolitical interests exploit clan divisions to undermine Kurdish autonomy and self-determination movements.

### **Methodology:**

This research technique aims to examine the impact and importance of Kurdish nomadic communities on the social, economic, and political spheres of Kurdistan during 1851 and 1914. This study seeks to address a significant gap in the social history of Kurdistan by examining the intricate connections among nomadic communities, Kurdish emirates, and the Ottoman and Safavid and Qajar empires. The investigation seeks to analyse the socioeconomic structures, traditions, and cultural integration inherent in the Kurdish nomadic lifestyle and its influence on the broader Kurdish society. The project intends to enhance the scholarly foundation for future studies on the history of Kurdistan by addressing a deficit in social studies. A theoretical framework will be provided, and research gaps will be identified, as part of the literature review, which will include the existing literature on the history of Kurdistan, Kurdish nomadic populations, and their contacts with Kurdish emirates and Ottoman authority. In order to gain a better understanding of historical occurrences, political policies, and society norms, archival document analysis will be carried out. Following the collecting of data from a wide variety of sources, including Google Scholar and Science Direct, qualitative analysis will be conducted, with a particular emphasis on various thematic themes. For providing a thorough representation of Kurdish identity and experiences, the research will use a holistic approach, incorporating historical, anthropological, sociological, and political points of view. Through meticulous examination of historical documents, ethnographic literature, sociological analysis, and political studies, the research aims to fill a significant

gap in understanding the role of Kurdish nomadic communities from 1851 to 1914, contributing to the scholarly exploration of this lesser-known aspect of Kurdish history.

#### **Data collection and analysis:**

Data will be collected from several sources including Google Scholar, Research Gate, Science Direct, and the Scopus platform. The collected material, consisting of articles and e-books, will undergo qualitative research methods, namely thematic analysis. This strategy allows for the identification of recurring patterns, themes, and connections related to the research objectives.

#### **Social Dynamics of Kurdistan**

The majority of Kurdistan is composed of towering, rugged, and challenging mountains. Its inhabitants traditionally consisted mostly of nomadic herders organized socially through the tribal system (**ashiret**). This model of social organization was essential for the survival of a pastoral people in a harsh natural environment and under challenging living conditions. Conflicts between tribes over the limited grazing lands led tribe members to master the art of war, earning Kurds a reputation as brave and capable warriors from an early age, (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992: Deringil, S. 2003).

The need for continuous movement and the pursuit of grazing lands or their claim through war required collective effort, cooperation, and strong bonds among group members. In this type of social coexistence, the concept of solidarity among tribe members served as the central axis around which rights and obligations were defined, (Deringil, S. 2003: James Ciment 1996). Everyone has the right and obligation to demand and provide assistance and support to fellow tribe members in times of difficulty or against external threats. The survival and prosperity of the group take top priority, necessitating a high degree of cohesion and compliance among its members. Individual concerns come second, and personal differentiation, initiative, or self-assertion undermine collective work and action, jeopardizing the group's cohesion, (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992-2002: Olson, R. 1993). People, from a young age through the process of socialization within the tribe, learn that the group is a part of themselves and their social universe. The boundaries between self and the group become blurred, as the individual is defined as a member of the tribe. Thus, the perception of oneself, as well as the understanding and processing of life and reality, are mediated through the social space of the group, (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992: It serves as a filter through which the external world is



processed, data and situations are evaluated, needs are defined, goals are set, priorities are established, and strategies are developed. The well-being of the group translates into the well-being of the individual. The successes of the group are also the individual's success, and in every instance, they feel proud of their tribe and their role as a member, Ciment, J. 1996: Kreyenbroek, P. G., & Sperl, S. (2005). The racial model of social organization, as well as engagement in nomadic herding, characterized the majority of the Kurdish population. However, there was also a number of permanently settled individuals involved in agriculture. They were called **'reaya'**, similar to the submissive Christian producers in the Ottoman Empire, and the word had the same negative connotation for both groups. Their social position was clearly lower than that of nomadic herders and warriors, and the **reaya** were in a subordinate relationship to them. Raids and the appropriation of the labor of settled farmers or their violent conscription to meet war needs were common practices among the tribes, (: Abbas Vali, 2014: Kreyenbroek, P. G., & Sperl, S. 2005: Martin van Bruinessen, 1986- 1992-2002).

- a. Social structures and relationships within Kurdish society are deeply entrenched in traditional tribal systems, particularly among nomadic herders. The tribal system, or "ashiret," forms the basis of social organization, where solidarity among tribe members is paramount. This solidarity is crucial for survival in the rugged mountainous terrain and harsh living conditions of Kurdistan. The tribal system fosters collective effort, cooperation, and strong bonds among group members. Rights and obligations are defined around the central axis of solidarity, wherein every member has the right and obligation to assist, and support fellow tribe members in times of need or against external threats. Individual concerns are subordinated to the well-being and prosperity of the group, emphasizing cohesion and compliance among its members. Socialization within the tribe reinforces the idea that the group is an integral part of the individual's identity, blurring the boundaries between self and the collective. As a result, social structures operate on the principle that the well-being of the group translates into the well-being of the individual, with collective successes contributing to individual pride and identity.
- b. Several factors influence social interactions and dynamics in Kurdistan, with geography playing a significant role. The rugged and challenging mountains of Kurdistan have historically shaped the nomadic lifestyle of its inhabitants, necessitating continuous movement in pursuit of grazing lands or through

war to claim territory. This geographical factor drives collective efforts and cooperation among tribes, as well as conflict over limited resources. Additionally, historical factors, such as the reputation of Kurds as brave warriors, influence social dynamics by shaping perceptions of strength and honor within the community. Economic factors also play a role, with nomadic herding forming a racial model of social organization, while settled agriculturalists occupy a lower social position. This hierarchical structure leads to practices such as raids and the appropriation of labor from settled farmers, further influencing social interactions and power dynamics.

- c. Cultural norms and traditions deeply shape social behaviors and practices among the Kurdish population. The tribal system, rooted in centuries-old traditions, dictates social organization and relationships, with solidarity among tribe members serving as a fundamental principle. Cultural values such as honor, loyalty, and collective responsibility permeate social interactions, guiding behaviors and expectations within the community. The blurred boundaries between self and tribe reflect a collectivist mind-set, wherein individual actions are often subordinated to the needs and goals of the group. Moreover, cultural norms surrounding gender roles and family structures also influence social dynamics, with traditional patriarchal values shaping power dynamics within households and communities. Overall, cultural traditions play a central role in shaping social norms, behaviors, and interactions among the Kurdish population, contributing to the cohesion and resilience of their social fabric.

"For additional clarification, examples are provided as follows:

The Qadir Tribe, known for their expertise in animal husbandry and their fierce warriors, inhabited the mountainous region of southeastern Kurdistan during the 17th century. Their conflicts with the neighboring Zoray Tribe over grazing lands often led to violent confrontations. However, through mediation and negotiations facilitated by respected tribal elders in the year 1672, the Qadir and Zoray Tribes managed to establish a mutually beneficial agreement, resolving their territorial disputes and fostering a sense of cooperation, (Vali, Abbas. 2014: Bruinessen, Martin van. 1993).

The Barzan Tribe, residing in the northern part of Kurdistan, had a longstanding rivalry with the Hawraman Tribe during the 18th century. These two tribes frequently clashed over control of vital water resources in the region.

However, recognizing the importance of water for survival and acknowledging the need for sustainable resource management, the Barzan and Hawraman Tribes initiated dialogues and implemented shared irrigation systems in 1765. This resolution not only mitigated conflicts but also strengthened intertribal ties through collaborative efforts in water conservation (Bruinessen, Martin van. 1993: Deringil, Selim. 2003: Ciment, James 1996).

The Soran Tribe, situated in the central plains of Kurdistan, and the Halabja Tribe, located in the eastern mountainous region, often found themselves at odds due to differences in lifestyle and economic activities during the 16th century. The Soran Tribe was primarily engaged in settled agriculture, while the Halabja Tribe relied heavily on nomadic herding. This contrast in livelihoods created tensions over land use and resource allocation. However, recognizing the value of diversity and the potential for economic cooperation, the Soran and Halabja Tribes established trade networks and formed alliances in 1602. This resolution allowed for the exchange of agricultural produce and animal products, fostering economic interdependence and reducing conflicts stemming from resource disparities, (Kreyenbroek, Philip G., and Stefan Sperl 2005).

The Badinan Tribe, inhabiting the western part of Kurdistan, and the Jaf Tribe, residing in the southern mountainous region, had a history of territorial disputes and raiding activities during the 19th century. These conflicts often resulted in the appropriation of labor and resources from settled farmers belonging to the Jaf Tribe. However, with the emergence of a more centralized governance structure in Kurdistan, the Badinan and Jaf Tribes participated in peace negotiations facilitated by regional authorities in the year 1827. Through the establishment of clear boundaries and the recognition of individual rights and sovereignty, the tribes resolved their conflicting claims and embraced a more cooperative relationship, focusing on mutual development and prosperity, (Bruinessen, Martin van. 1993)

### **Nomadic Social Organization in Kurdistan**

To comprehend the significant role played by Kurdish nomads in shaping the cultural and social fabric of the late 19th century, it is crucial to explore the historical context of these nomadic communities. These communities constituted an integral component of Kurdish society, characterized by a distinctive way of life centered around animal husbandry and the constant movement across expansive territories in pursuit of fertile grazing

lands (Philip G. Kreyenbroek, Christine Allison 1996: Meyer (2022)). By adopting a nomadic way of life, Kurdish nomads developed a deep bond with nature and their livestock, leading to a symbiotic relationship that had a profound impact on their cultural beliefs and social structures. The nomads relied on their herds for sustenance, utilizing their milk, meat, and wool for food, clothing, and trade. This close connection with their animals shaped their worldview, emphasizing the importance of harmony and interdependence with the natural world (Meyer,2022: Bruinessen, Martin van. 1993-2010). Kurdish nomads developed a keen understanding of the land and its resources, mastering the art of navigating through diverse terrains and locating suitable grazing areas. They possessed intricate knowledge of seasonal patterns, water sources, and vegetation, enabling them to sustain their herds and maintain their way of life. This ecological expertise was passed down through generations, forming the foundation of their cultural heritage. Bruinessen, Martin van. 1993-2010). The nomadic lifestyle also influenced social structures within Kurdish communities. Clan and tribal affiliations played a crucial role in organizing nomadic groups, ensuring cooperation, and facilitating collective decision-making. Respected elders who possessed extensive knowledge of the land and its resources often held leadership positions. Mutual assistance and shared responsibilities were fundamental values, promoting solidarity and cohesion among the nomadic groups. Furthermore, the mobility of the nomads fostered a dynamic exchange of ideas, traditions, and goods with settled communities they encountered during their journeys. This cultural interaction enriched the collective identity of the Kurdish nomads, influencing their language, music, folklore, and artistic expressions. Overall, the symbiotic relationship between Kurdish nomads, nature, and their livestock profoundly shaped their cultural beliefs and social structures. The nomadic lifestyle instilled a deep appreciation for the environment, fostered social cohesion, and facilitated cultural exchange, leaving a lasting impact on the Kurdish society of the late 19th century. (McDowall, 2021: Beck, L. 1990). The nomadic society of Kurdistan maintained significant influence on the political, economic, and social spheres of the period Meyer (2022). The contemporaries, along with the stoical Kurdish infrastructure, were the primary drivers for the occurrences of that historical time. The Kurdish nomads had a significant impact on the strength and weakness of the Kurdish territories during the period of their presence. Particularly, the nomads performed a crucial role in the political history and Kurdish nationalism movement of Kurdistan between 1851 and 1914 and World War I. The complex

interplay between the Kurdish nomads' manner of life, economic networks, and political influence has been thoroughly researched by scholars such as Deringil, Selim, M. Hanioglu, 2000; Bozarslan, 2021; Meyer, 2020; Ventura, 2022). Their findings have thrown light on the intricate relationship that exists between their way of life, economic networks, and political impact (Degli Esposti 2020; Ventura (2022). The leader of nomadic communities must consistently devise and implement tactics to safeguard their independence and engage in diplomatic discussions with different governing entities to ensure the wellbeing of their interests and customary lifestyle, (Bajalan, D. R. 2012; Polanyi 2021; Foster, 2022; McDowall, 2021; Degli Esposti, 2020). Kurdish nomads exhibit varying degrees of complexity in their social organisation, yet they adhere to two fundamental structural principles that are also observed in other Middle Eastern tribes. One of the principles, referred to as segmentary lineage, entails tracing ancestry through the paternal line and forming marital unions within the tribe. The purpose of this is to ensure equality among members of the tribe by regarding them all as family with equitable entitlements. The second principle entails the establishment of an inner hierarchy, wherein tribal chieftains and lineage elders maintain centralised authority over the tribe and its subordinate divisions, occasionally employing an authoritarian approach. In essence, the tribe consists of different sections that are all considered equal in terms of their structure (Bozarslan et al., 2021; Meyer, 2022; Philip G. Kreyenbroek, Ch. Allison 1996). Each section is comprised of multiple subsections, which are subsequently subdivided into smaller units. This hierarchical framework promotes endogamy, whereby persons are encouraged to marry close relatives, such as cousins or members of the same lineage. Although this marriage pattern enhances cohesion within the extended family or shallow descent group, it restricts assimilation into the broader tribe or its larger subdivisions Foster, 2022; McDowall, 2021; Degli Esposti, 2020; Abbas Vali, (2014). It is crucial to acknowledge that this pattern severely restricts women's freedom of choice and ability to make deals. If the aforementioned trends were not counterbalanced by common interests, particularly the collective rights to grazing and farmland, lineages would continue to fragment into smaller segments. Tribes assert and protect their traditional land rights in an ongoing manner, in order to counter rival claimants. Conflicts serve as the binding force in tribal organisation, and the segmentary structure of the tribe is most evident during periods of conflict. Tribes form alliances to confront rival tribes, but they also frequently experience internal divisions, where alliances and opposition align closely with the

segmented structure of the tribe. The tribe comprises several sections that are structurally equivalent to each other. Each of these sections is further divided into multiple subsections, which are subsequently divided into further smaller sections. This hierarchical structure extends all the way to the lowest level of the extended family, where there is a notable inclination towards endogamy. It is customary for a man to marry his paternal uncle's daughter, or if that is not feasible, another closely related individual (McDowall, 2021: Abbas Vali, (2014: Deringil, S. 2003: James Ciment 1996: Olson, R. 1993).

This specific familial connection structure ensures that the daughters' reproductive capabilities are restricted to the extended family or a closely related group, thereby greatly bolstering its cohesion (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992). However, this advantage is counterbalanced by the difficulty of integrating the extended family into the wider tribe or its larger subgroups. This integration could potentially be more effectively accomplished by adopting alternative marriage structures. Furthermore, it significantly curtails women's autonomy and their ability to engage in negotiations. In the absence of shared interests, particularly collective rights to grazing and agricultural land, lineages would continue to splinter into smaller factions. Tribes assert and safeguard their ancestral land rights against competing claimants, (McDowall, 2021; Abbas Vali, 2014; Martin van Bruinessen, 1992-2002). Conflicts serve as pivotal catalysts in preserving the coherence of tribal organization, with the segmented framework of the tribe conspicuously manifesting itself during periods of strife. Tribes coalesce in combat against rival factions, yet are often beset by internal discord, wherein allegiances and opposition intricately mirror the hierarchical segmentation of the tribe, (Martin van Bruinessen, 1992-2002: McDowall, 2021: Abbas Vali, 2014). In other hand, chiefs have the choice of marrying into marriage with women originating from different Kurdish tribes or even from other ethnic groups residing in nearby or urban areas. Engaging in polygamy allows them to establish and maintain connections with other people, while simultaneously reinforcing ties within their own families. Nevertheless, the authority and impact of a chieftain within a tribe primarily rely on their capacity to advocate for the tribe's interests to other people, particularly the governing body. Both in Iran and the Ottoman state, tribes were regarded as cohesive units, and a system of governance known as indirect rule was established, wherein tribal leaders held significant influence (McDowall, 2021: Abbas Vali, (2014). In Persia and the Ottoman Empire, tribes were considered as cohesive entities, and a system of governance was implemented wherein tribal leaders held significant influence.

During the Safavid era in Iran, the government established or reinforced significant tribal confederations by appointing chieftains to lead them. In the 16th century, the Ottoman system permitted the existence of autonomous Kurdish principalities (Deringil, S. 2003; James Ciment 1996). Nevertheless, as the central authority extended its dominion over Kurdistan, these smaller autonomous regions were replaced by more extensive tribal alliances, functioning as entities for indirect governance. With the ongoing expansion of the state administration, smaller regions were governed in an indirect manner, resulting in the emergence of smaller and less intricate tribal units (McDowall (2021; Martin van Bruinessen, 1992-2002). The social history of Kurdistan encompasses various tribes, religious families holding dominion, relationships between Kurds and non-Kurdish residents, and interactions between these groups and the government and economy. This compilation of studies presented in this volume serves as a significant addition to the social history of the Kurds and Kurdistan Polanyi (2021).

Researchers, scholars, and academics across various disciplines widely acknowledge the profound and significant impact of resilient and enterprising Kurdish nomads on the intricate political, social, and economic landscape of Kurdistan during a specific historical period (Meyer, 2022; Polanyi, 2021; Foster, 2022; Ciment, 1996; William Spottiswoode, 1863; Deringil & Hanioglu, 2000; Gunter, 2001; Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, 1991; Marx, 1996; Khoury & Kostiner, 1991; Van Bruinessen, 2002; Bajalan, 2012). It is crucial to acknowledge and appreciate the invaluable contributions made by the Kurdish nomads, whose indomitable spirit and unwavering determination played an instrumental role in transforming not only the physical terrain of Kurdistan but also its intricate socio-economic fabric (McDowall, 2021; Bayraktar, 2020; Bozarslan et al., 2021). Their multifaceted contributions extended beyond a singular domain and encompassed politics, economics, society, and culture, leaving an indelible imprint on every aspect of Kurdish existence.

The strategic acumen and distinct political strategies employed by the Kurdish nomads, along with their astute understanding of alliances and power dynamics, exerted a profound influence on the ever-evolving and delicate political landscape of Kurdistan during this unparalleled period in history. Their actions shaped the trajectory of the entire region for generations to come. Numerous scholars, including Deringil, S. 2003; James Ciment 1996; Olson, R. 1993; Vassilis Filias. 2022; Thévenin, M. 2011; Ventura, F. (2022; Foster, 2022)

have meticulously examined this pivotal epoch in Kurdistan's history and have shed light on the diverse factors and intricate dynamics that propelled the involvement of Kurdish nomads in the socio-political and socio-economic realms. To fully understand the far-reaching impact of the Kurdish nomads, it becomes imperative to delve into the deep historical context and unravel the profound societal structures that prevailed in Kurdistan during this transformative era. An in-depth analysis of the historical backdrop will enable us to grasp the multifarious ways in which the nomadic lifestyle of the Kurds influenced and shaped the very development of Kurdistan itself. It is within this broader context that the rich tapestry of cultural traditions and practices of the Kurdish nomads emerges, portraying their sophistication, diversity, and interconnectedness. "These cultural exchange networks, fostered by the nomadic lifestyle and constantly facilitated by the extensive migration patterns of the Kurdish nomads, led to a vibrant exchange of goods, ideas, and cultural practices, transcending geographical boundaries and connecting different regions within Kurdistan (Bayraktar, 2020). This multifaceted historical analysis highlights the significance of Kurdish nomads (Bozarslan et al., 2021). Their nomadic lifestyle also played a pivotal role, as noted by Meyer (2022) and Polanyi (2021)."

The establishment of thriving trade networks and the diffusion of these vibrant cultural practices throughout Kurdistan had far-reaching implications, fostering economic growth and prosperity while simultaneously nurturing a sense of unity, solidarity, and shared identity among the Kurdish population (M. Van. Bruinessen – 2016, 2002). The invaluable contributions made by the Kurdish nomads, spanning the realms of politics, economy, society, and culture, formed a critical cornerstone in the ongoing saga of Kurdish history, and their lasting legacy endures as a testament to their resilience, resourcefulness, and unwavering commitment to their homeland. As we continue to explore and delve into the captivating narratives and multifaceted dimensions of Kurdish history, it becomes increasingly evident that without the remarkable endeavours and enduring contributions of the Kurdish nomads, the dynamic texture of Kurdistan would have been bereft of its intricate beauty and profound significance (M. Van. Bruinessen – 2016, 2002).

The historical presence of Kurdish nomads in Kurdistan has significantly influenced the social fabric and cultural diversity of the region, particularly in the context of the unity gap and challenges faced in Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey.



Between 1851 and 1914, the customary customs and itinerant way of life of the Kurdish nomads exerted a substantial influence on the economic and political dynamics of Kurdistan. The Kurdish nomads' tribal structure and strong sense of community were pivotal in their assimilation into the Social, cultural, structure of Kurdistan during this era (Hennerbichler, F. (2012). The complex tribal organisation also played a role in the development of a formidable Kurdish nationalist movement, which had a significant impact on the political situation in Kurdistan. By actively engaging in the nationalist movement, the Kurdish nomads effectively voiced their aspirations for self-governance and acknowledgement as a separate ethnic entity (Degli Esposti, 2020: McDowall, 2021). The nomads' demands for autonomy and recognition were motivated by their profound connection to their land, as well as their aspiration to safeguard their cultural and linguistic identity (Degli Esposti, 2020: Darici, 2023). The nomads' strong connection to their land and their dedication to maintaining their cultural heritage were evident in their economic pursuits, which included animal husbandry and agriculture. These economic activities not only supported the nomads' means of living but also made a significant contribution to the overall economic advancement of Kurdistan during this period. Moreover, the involvement of the nomads in trade and agriculture cultivated a feeling of mutual reliance within the social structure of Kurdistan. (Degli Esposti, 2020).

The geopolitical conditions in the 19th century greatly influenced the divided state of Kurdish society. The Kurdish population was dispersed across diverse regions and subjected to the governance of distinct political entities. Examples of empires that can be mentioned include the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Russia (McDowall, 2021; Kaya, 2020). These political entities not only enforced their own legal codes and regulations on the Kurdish nomads, but also exerted an impact on their social and economic relationships with nearby communities. The intricate system of governance had a significant influence on the day-to-day existence and means of subsistence of the Kurdish nomads. (Forti, L., Perego et al., 2021: Meyer, 2022). An analysis of the historical context of Kurdistan between 1851 and 1914 is crucial for comprehending the influence of Kurdish nomads on the social, economic, and political aspects of the area. Here are instances of Kurdish nomadic tribes, including their regions, dates, achievements, and their interactions with the Ottoman and Safavid empires for better comprehension.

a. The key characteristics of nomadic social organization within Kurdish communities include clan and tribal affiliations, mutual assistance, shared responsibilities, respect for elders with extensive knowledge, and a hierarchical structure based on segmentary lineage. These communities trace ancestry through the paternal line, form marital unions within the tribe to ensure equality among members, and establish inner hierarchies where tribal chieftains and lineage elders hold centralized authority over the tribe and its divisions.

b. Nomadic lifestyles significantly influence social cohesion and community dynamics in Kurdistan by fostering cooperation, solidarity, and cohesion among nomadic groups. Mutual assistance and shared responsibilities are fundamental values that promote unity and collective decision-making. Additionally, the mobility of nomads facilitates cultural exchange with settled communities encountered during journeys, enriching the collective identity of Kurdish nomads.

c. Traditional practices and values play a crucial role in shaping nomadic social organization among Kurdish tribes. Respect for elders, adherence to segmentary lineage, and the practice of endogamy contribute to maintaining cohesion within extended families and shallow descent groups. Moreover, the emphasis on collective rights to grazing and agricultural land serves as a common interest that helps prevent lineage fragmentation and reinforces tribal unity.

**The Herki Tribe.** Territory: Primarily situated in the borderlands of modern-day Turkey, Iraq, and Syria, the Herki tribe traversed the rugged terrain of the Kurdish regions. Emerging as formidable warriors, the Herki tribe often resisted external incursions into their lands. They gained renown for their skilled horsemanship and prowess in battle. Relationship with Ottoman and Safavid Dynasties: The Herki tribe maintained a complex relationship with both the Ottoman and Safavid powers, often shifting alliances based on strategic interests and regional dynamics. At times, they allied with one against the other, leveraging their nomadic mobility to their advantage.

**The Zibari Tribe.** Territory: Roaming the mountainous areas of Kurdistan, the Zibari tribe established a presence across what is now northern Iraq and southeastern Turkey. Known for their resilience and independence, the Zibari tribe fiercely defended their territories against encroachment. They excelled in animal husbandry and trade, contributing to the economic vitality of the region.

The Zibari tribe navigated a delicate balance between the Ottoman and Safavid empires, often engaging in strategic alliances or remaining neutral to safeguard their autonomy and interests. Additionally, The Zibar tribe likely interacted with both Ottoman and Safavid authorities, with their mobility allowing for trade and occasional diplomatic engagements.

**The Botan Tribe.** Territory: Roaming the plains and valleys of southeastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia, the Botan tribe established a nomadic presence in the region. Renowned for their expertise in animal husbandry and agriculture, the Botan tribe contributed to the economic prosperity of the region. They also played a significant role in local politics and trade networks. The Botan tribe maintained pragmatic relations with both the Ottoman and Safavid powers, often leveraging their strategic position to ensure their survival and prosperity in a volatile political landscape. Furthermore, In the late 19th century, the Kurdish tribes of Baradust, Jalali, and Shamdinan occupied distinct regions within Kurdistan, each with its own achievements and challenges.

The **Baradust Tribe (Mîrektiya Biradost)** situated in the Zagros Mountains of the Kurdistan region, distinguished themselves through their adept animal husbandry skills and their ability to traverse diverse terrains. Despite their proficiency in these areas, they often found themselves treading a delicate line with the Ottoman and Safavid authorities. Their desire to maintain independence and uphold their traditional lifestyle clashed with the political agendas of the ruling dynasties, leading to a precarious relationship characterized by tension and occasional conflict. Meanwhile, the **Jalali Tribe**, located in Eastern Kurdistan, emerged as key players in the Kurdish nationalist movements that surged from 1851 to World War I. Advocating for Kurdish autonomy and rights within their territories, they likely engaged in intricate political maneuvering with both the Ottoman and Safavid authorities. Their efforts aimed to assert Kurdish identity and push back against external control, marking them as significant figures in the struggle for Kurdish self-determination. In Southern Kurdistan, the Shamdinan Tribe stood out for their resilience in defending traditional land rights and grazing areas against rival claimants. As they sought to safeguard their territory from encroachment, they inevitably clashed with the Ottoman and Safavid authorities over land disputes. Negotiations and conflicts were commonplace as the Shamdinan tribe endeavoured to maintain their ancestral lands and preserve their way of life amidst external pressures. Overall, these Kurdish tribes of the late 19th century navigated complex relationships with the

Ottoman and Safavid dynasties while striving to uphold their autonomy, cultural heritage, and territorial integrity in the face of external challenges

## **Organization of the Tribe**

### **A. The Tribe**

The structure of Kurdish society during the late 16th and early 20th centuries was marked by a strong sense of community and a deeply ingrained nomadic way of life. This nomadic lifestyle, which had deep historical roots, played a significant role in shaping the social hierarchy within Kurdish society, placing the nomadic clans at the forefront. Kurdistan largely comprised of towering, rugged mountains, and its inhabitants were predominantly nomadic herders organized through a clan system known as ashiret. This social organization model was essential for the survival of pastoral people in a challenging natural environment and harsh living conditions. Inter-tribal conflicts over limited pastures exposed the tribesmen to the art of war, and from an early age, the Kurds gained a reputation as courageous and skilled warriors (Dargın, 2023; Forti, L., Perego et al., 2021). Moving constantly in search of pastures or engaging in warfare to claim them required collective effort, cooperation, and strong bonds among group members. Solidarity among tribe members formed the central axis in defining their rights and obligations, where everyone had the right and duty to provide aid and support in difficult situations or against external enemies, (Grobba, F. 1966; MacLean, G. 2019)(see map III). The group's survival and well-being took precedence and necessitated a high level of cohesion and compliance among members. Individual interests ranked secondary to the safety and comprehensive needs of the group, discouraging personal differentiation, initiative, or self-indulgence that could undermine teamwork and cohesion. Individuals enjoyed the security and fulfilment of their needs within the group context but were obligated to remain within its framework and adhere to its regulations, (Ventura, F. 2022; Foster, 2022). Through socialization within the tribe from a young age, tribe members learned that they were an integral part of the group and their social universe. The line between self and group became blurred, as individuals identified themselves as members of the group, (Van Bruinessen, M. 2002; Bajalan, D. R. 2012). Consequently, their perception of themselves and their understanding and interpretation of life and reality were influenced by the social dynamics of the group. The group acted as a filter through which they processed the external world, evaluated data and situations, defined needs, set goals, and developed priorities and strategies. The

well-being of the individual depended on the well-being of the group. The success of the group is also the success of the individual who, in any case, feels proud of his race and his membership in it. The tribal model of social organization as well as the occupation of nomadic animal husbandry characterized the majority of the Kurdish population. However, there were also a certain number of permanent settlers engaged in agriculture. They were called reaya, like the vassal Christian producers in the Ottoman Empire, and the word had the same negative connotation for both groups. Their social position was clearly lower than that of the nomadic pastoralists-warriors and indeed the reaya were in a relationship of servitude to them. Raiding and exploiting the labor of settled peasants, or forcibly conscripting them to meet war needs, was a common tribal practice, (Forti, L., Perego et al., 2021).



The tribe and its subdivisions this practice further solidified the social hierarchy within Kurdish society, with the nomadic clans exerting power and control over the settled peasants. The Kurdish tribe is a socio-political and, in general, territorial (and therefore economic) unit that is based on descent and familial ties, whether it be actual or imaginary, and has a distinct inner structure. Naturally, it is subdivided into a number of sub-tribes, which are then further subdivided into smaller units such as clans, lineages, and some other similar categories, (Nicola Degli Esposti, 2020: Koç, 2023: M. Bruinessen, 1992). The way a clan is formed is not based solely on the ties of kinship and there is no specific rule of formation that applies or is confirmed in all cases. Even the



to meet its military needs. In the latter case, they gradually became integrated into the tribal system. Elements of this type of social stratification, such as the superiority of nomadic warrior tribes over the lower-class settled farmers, persist in Kurdish society to this day. Members of tribes have an advantage over non-tribally organized individuals, and even the engagement of tribal leaders (**agha**) in agricultural activities remained derogatory, even if they were owners of large land holdings (Foster, 2022: M.N. Bruinessen, (1992). Every tribe is intricately linked to a particular geographical region that it governs. Often times, the tribe is named after the region, and inversely. Tribe members possess an inherent entitlement to utilise all pastureland under their control of their tribe, while maintaining separate and autonomous operations from other tribes. The property rule exhibits regional variations and is shaped by Kurdish traditions, Islamic customs, and the policies of the prevailing state under whose dominance they are positioned. Furthermore, the economic activities of each tribe, whether they involve nomadic pastoralism or settled farming, play a significant role in determining their socioeconomic status. The distinctive character of the tribe is intricately linked to its activities. These attributes differ across different locations and adapt over time in response to developments in economic and social factors Marx, Emanuel, 1996: Philip S. Khoury, Joseph Kostiner, 1991: Ciment, J. (1996).

The degree of cohesion and the boundaries of the tribe become visible primarily when there is an external threat or danger. In such situations, the members of the tribe rally around their tribal leader to face the threat, which may concern either the interests or the very lives of the tribe members. This threat can originate from the state under whose sovereignty the tribe falls or from a competitive or hostile tribe, Marx, Emanuel, 1996: Philip S. Khoury, Joseph Kostiner, 1991: M.N. Bruinessen, (1992). Inter-tribal relations are characterized by continuous competition for superiority, often defined in the simplistic friend-enemy dichotomy. The classification into one category or another is frequently determined by the well-known Kurdish proverb, "the enemy of my enemy is my best friend." The custom of vendetta, which remains quite alive today, can also escalate relations between hostile tribes to acute points. Finally, alliances and conflicts are quite fluid, determined by the specific interests at stake each time and which tribes are involved, (Bajalan, D. R. 2012: D. Leupold – 2020: Elling, R. and Harris, K., 2022: Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992: Malek, M. H. (1989).

The tribal organizational system within Kurdish society has endured significantly up to the present day. However, it has experienced several transformations over time. Primarily, Kurds have largely abandoned their nomadic pastoralist lifestyle, with an increasing number either of tribes settling voluntarily or because of policies imposed by the dominant states to which they are affiliated. Presently, nomadic tribes are scarce, and some engaged in pastoralism continue to lead semi-nomadic lives, migrating during the summer months in search of grazing lands. Additionally, the phenomenon of urbanization has been notably prevalent among the Kurdish population in recent decades, (Malek, M. H. 1989: D. Leupold – 2020: Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992: Elling, R. and Harris, K., 2022). However, these economic and social changes proved inadequate to eradicate tribal structures. A multitude of factors has contributed to the survival and perpetuation of this social organization. Despite some disruption of tribal structures due to urbanization, the majority of Kurds still primarily reside in rural areas, where tribal bonds have remained exceptionally robust in many cases. For Kurdish peasants, state authoritarian mechanisms lacked legitimacy, in contrast to their tribal leaders, whom they tended to adhere to. (K. Polanyi, 2021).

This phenomenon significantly contributes to the diverse development of the Kurdish national identity. Tribal leaders, who emphasize the preservation of traditional ways of life, advocate resistance, and vehemently oppose assimilation efforts by state authorities, articulate one expression. The other expression pertains to the national sentiment articulated by urbanized Kurds, who have also shaped Kurdish intellectual thought. Often influenced by Marxism, they reject both tribalism and the state's policy of assimilation along with its official ideology (Gürses, M. (2019: K. Polanyi, 2021). As noted by M. Malek, 1989: "In this conflict between 'tradition' and 'progressive nationalism,' the two sides remain united in an eternal love-hate relationship, with urban thought providing education and cultural and international solidarity for the movement, while the military backbone belongs to the tribes." In almost all cases, the military aspect of the Kurdish struggle is closely connected to the tribal system, perpetuating and confirming the tribal martial tradition. However, tribalism is also responsible for most of the misfortunes of the contemporary Kurdish movement. Conflicts among tribes and exploitative relationships between subordinate and dominant social strata have divided Kurdistan for many years. Conflicting interests have always been an obstacle to collective action. Nowhere are the problems of tribalism revealed with such clarity as in



the case of the "protected" Kurdish "independent" enclave in northern Iraq. The resurgence of tribalism or the "neo-tribalism" characterizing the situation in northern Iraq has diminished, if not thwarted, the hopes of Kurds born with the establishment of the Kurdish enclave.

a. Structural Components of Tribal Organization in Kurdistan:

Ashiret System: Kurdish society is organized through a clan system known as ashiret, which comprises nomadic herders as the predominant group. These nomadic clans form the backbone of Kurdish tribal organization.

Subdivisions: Tribes are subdivided into smaller units such as clans, Tire, tayfe, and other similar categories, reflecting a hierarchical structure within the tribe.

Clan Formation: Clans are formed not solely based on kinship ties but also on other social factors, with varying rules and significance of social groupings across time and place.

Leadership Structure: A leader, whose titles, powers, represents each clan or subgroup within the tribe and responsibilities may vary depending on the specific tribe or location.

Geographical Affiliation: Tribes are intricately linked to specific geographical regions that they govern, often named after or inversely related to the region itself.

Economic Activities: Economic activities, whether nomadic pastoralism or settled farming, play a significant role in determining the socioeconomic status and distinctive character of each tribe.

b. Power Dynamics and Leadership Structures within Kurdish Tribes:

Collective Leadership: Leadership within Kurdish tribes often operates on a collective basis, with leaders representing various clans or subgroups within the tribe.

Social Mobility: There exists a degree of social mobility within tribes, with individuals and groups shifting between nomadic and settled lifestyles based on various factors such as economic conditions or tribal needs.

Military Backbone: Tribal leaders, known as agha, often play a significant role in military affairs, perpetuating the tribal martial tradition and representing the military backbone of the Kurdish struggle.

Urban Influence: While urbanization has affected tribal structures, tribal leaders often maintain legitimacy and authority among Kurdish peasants, contrasting with state authoritarian mechanisms.

c. Role of Tribal Affiliations and Identities in Shaping Interactions:

Social Hierarchy: Tribal affiliations and identities contribute to a social hierarchy within Kurdish society, with nomadic clans exerting power and control over settled peasants.

Inter-Tribal Relations: Interactions among Kurdish tribes are characterized by competition for superiority, alliances, conflicts, and the custom of vendetta, influencing relationships between tribes.

National Identity: Tribal leaders advocating for traditional ways of life contribute to one expression of Kurdish national identity, contrasting with urbanized Kurds influenced by Marxism, who reject tribalism and state assimilation policies.

Development of Kurdish Identity: The conflict between traditional tribalism and progressive nationalism shapes the development of the Kurdish national identity, with tribalism playing a role in the military aspect of the Kurdish struggle but also contributing to conflicts and obstacles to collective action.

**The negative role of clans in the division of Kurdish society**

The landscape of fierce power struggles among themselves was further framed by "unholy alliances" (Ankara, Baghdad, Tehran), described by leaders of each faction as "tactical manoeuvres". Regardless of whether these alliances have been formed out of necessity or desperation, they tarnish the image of the Kurdish movement and its leadership, which appears willing to sell principles, values, and even human lives to the highest bidder. The disruptive effects of tribalism have made it a valuable weapon in the hands of dominant states. For this reason, as much as racism contradicts central state authority, in cases where states could benefit from it, it was not only against but was actually reinforced in practice. In the case of Turkey, for example, as analysed in detail later on, not only was the racial system not fought against, but also at times, it was strengthened through the reinforcement of feudal structures in the Kurdish economy. In addition, of course, the perpetuation of the material and economic background of a society can only perpetuate its social structures as well. Thus, the term "**agha**", which once referred to a smaller or larger racial leader, is now used to denote the wealthy landowner, especially one who holds both political

power and authority (Lekkas, 2011; Richard Tapper, 1991). It is important to note that the belligerent mind-set of regional powers (Iran, Turkey, and Iraq) has been largely effective in fragmenting the Kurdish population, a division that persists to this day. The policy and strategy of the Qajar and Ottoman authorities relied on awarding land and power to nomadic leaders, deliberately dividing the nation and exacerbating existing social and economic disparities to prevent a sense of social, cultural harmony and solidarity. In order to eliminate any social and cultural association. The purpose is to prevent and modify the inclination and mentality of pursuing status in the Kurdish community. The Ottoman and Qajar empires made a critical decision to transform the Kurdish social structure into a feudal system by implementing a policy that granted power and resources to each individual clan in the region, as well as allocating land and property to the chiefs of these clans. This strategy was designed to destabilise the Kurdish nation by destroying social cohesion and separating them off from national solidarity and collaboration. The strict limitations on the use of Kurdish were often accompanied by attempts to diminish its significance as just a regional version of the official state languages, namely Turkish and Persian. The independent states aimed to eradicate diversity and distinctiveness while also emphasizing the value of tradition, history, and the "genuineness" of language, which in turn relates to the notion of national identity, (P.Lekkas 2011). Hennerbichler, F. (2012) provides a linguistic representation of the demographic and linguistic geographic distribution of the Kurdish population, (see map 5).

Map 5: Distribution of Kurdish language

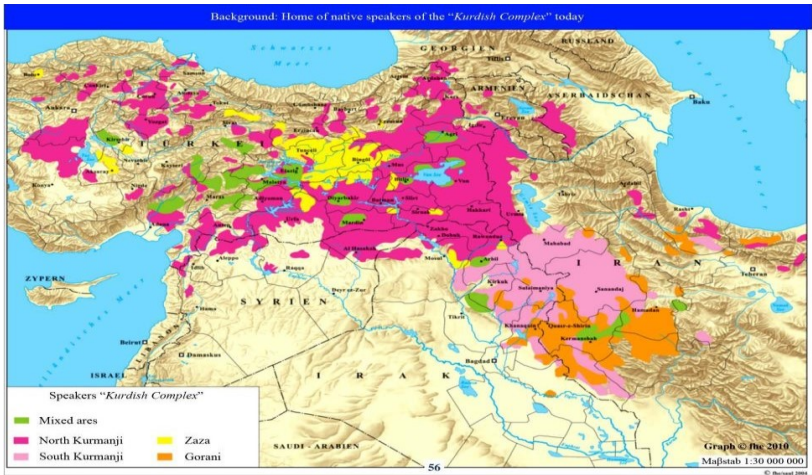


Figure 1. Habitat of speakers of the "Kurdish Complex" today (Hennerbichler, 2011: p. 56).

The author asserts that the consequences and adverse effects on the social cohesion of the Kurds might include the subsequent factors.

Social division within Kurdish society is a prevalent issue that stems from tribalism. These prevailing sentiments have caused significant rifts within society and have had a detrimental impact on social cohesion. These divisions not only undermine national solidarity and unity, but also perpetuate social disparities and deviations. Consequently, the erosion of moral values and social structures within society is unavoidable. Positive interactions are severely limited in such conditions, and the community becomes fragmented and weakened due to clan classifications. This diminishing of solidarity and cohesion hampers the development of citizen participation, cultural and scientific exchanges, and the establishment of shared societal principles. Therefore, the greatest threat to society lies in fanning the flames of tribalism, whether through internal levers or the influence of external forces and destructive policies. Social disintegration occurs when a nation feels culturally estranged from its own cultural, social, and political norms. Thus, social categorization is antithetical to societal progress and leads to a profound divide in national unity. Addressing these challenges necessitates fundamental cultural transformations within society. Creating spaces for cultural and social exchange, enhancing communication between individuals, prioritizing social education that emphasizes shared socio-cultural-political values, and maximizing social and individual knowledge serve to promote interactions, constructive dialogue, and the development of social unity. Social justice and effective governance are also pivotal in fostering national security and social cohesion. Furthermore, a secure society fosters strong citizenship ties, where each individual feels empowered to shape their future and participate in decision-making processes. Encouraging mutual understanding, promoting fair economic development, and employing responsible resource management are additional factors that contribute to strengthening national security and social cohesion. Ultimately, by believing in the importance of solidarity and minimizing divisive ideologies, a safe and stable environment can be created. This lays the foundation for social security and provides the necessary stability for the various cultural subsystems of society. When members of society benefit from social and cultural security, they are naturally afforded opportunities to develop and preserve their cultural values and principles. Social stability, particularly within cultural subsystems, enables

individuals to uphold and adapt to their cultural norms and ideals. Such stability serves as a crucial pillar in strengthening cultural identity and fostering enduring social bonds. In the realm of social security, cultural subsystems act as reservoirs for preserving values, history, and ideas. This cultural stability also facilitates cultural exchange between different communities and emphasizes equilibrium within cultural diversity Vassilis Filias. 2022: D. Leupold – 2020: Elling, R. and Harris, K., 2022: Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992).

- a. Q: Inter-clan rivalries and disputes worsen social division and impede collaborative endeavours for political cohesion and socioeconomic progress in Kurdish society. The differences in the community weaken national solidarity and sustain social inequities and deviations. Consequently, the deterioration of ethical principles and societal frameworks is unavoidable. Under these circumstances, good interactions are greatly restricted, resulting in a fragmented and weakened community. This reduces the possibility of citizen involvement, cultural and scientific interactions, and the development of common society values. It is essential to tackle the adverse effects of tribalism, both from inside and through external influences and harmful policies, to enhance social unity and advancement.
- b. Q: The hierarchical structure of clan organisations perpetuates inequities and marginalisation within Kurdish communities, especially among minority populations. The allocation of power and resources to individual clans, along with the allocation of land and property to clan chiefs, has created a system that further widens social disparities. The Ottoman and Qajar empires intentionally used this method to disrupt the Kurdish people, break down social unity, and hinder the development of national solidarity and cooperation. Restrictions on the use of the Kurdish language and efforts to reduce its importance have also played a role in marginalising Kurdish cultural identity. To tackle this issue, it is crucial to encourage cultural changes in society, improve communication and understanding among individuals, prioritise social education that highlights common values, and guarantee social justice and efficient governance. These initiatives will facilitate in closing the disparities and fostering a more inclusive society.
- c. Q: External interventions and geopolitical interests use clan differences to undermine Kurdish autonomy and self-determination movements. The

aggressive attitudes of regional powers like Iran, Turkey, and Iraq have successfully divided the Kurdish community, hindering their ability to form a united front. Granting authority and resources to nomadic leaders while intentionally creating divisions within the nation has been a calculated strategy to undermine Kurdish self-governance and hinder social and cultural unity. The treatments try to eliminate variation and uniqueness while highlighting the importance of tradition, history, and the predominant state languages. The Kurdish community must enhance cohesiveness, preserve their identity, strive for self-determination, and seek international assistance to fight external interventions and advocate for their rights globally.

### **Kurd before and after the Ottoman, Safavid and Qajar dynasties**

The Kurds have been connected to the region of Kurdistan for centuries before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. The tribal social organization characterized not only the Kurds but also all the peoples living there, including nomadic shepherds and settled cultivators. "The region's higher forms of social organization included political entities that resembled states and were organized on tribal bases". These entities were mainly founded by pastoral and military peoples who, through conquests, managed to subjugate other peoples and place them in a state of subordination, (D.R Bajalan, 2012: H. Ozoglu – 2012).

What differentiated the Kurds from other pastoral peoples was the absence of a political hierarchically superior tribal organization, a disadvantage when it came to engaging in conquests. However, the flexibility they possessed, combined with their military capabilities, provided them with increased defensive ability. Their defense was also strengthened by the rugged terrain of the steep mountains, which provided refuge to this mountainous people while discouraging aspiring conquerors for whom a mountainous and barren area was not enticing (H. Ozoglu – 2012). In this environment of continuous warfare and unrest, the Kurds managed to preserve their culture, independence, and autonomy, resisting a series of successive conquest movements from various peoples such as the Turkomans and the Mongols. However, the Arabs succeeded in subjugating them by Islamizing them. Until the 10th century, the Kurds had been Islamized; although later the Arabs withdrew, leaving behind the new religion, which played a decisive role in shaping the political and social character of the region. Amidst this backdrop of constant armed conflicts and upheavals, power balances easily became disrupted. Various tribal states

collapsed, while others took their place. These states coexisted with the tribal system in continuous interaction. When state-tribe relations were competitive, they were characterized by constant raids and looting by the tribes, and by the state's continuous effort to subjugate them and bring them under state control and taxation, (Abbas Vali, 2014). However, between states and tribes, there were also cooperative relationships. In such cases, tribal leaders collaborating with the state received various rewards (money, positions, etc.). The fame of the Kurds as indomitable, capable, and brave warriors made them highly sought after in various mercenary armies. As mercenaries, they participated in the armies of the states in the region, as well as in the Islamic army against Christian states during the time of the Crusades. The compensation for their services often involved the grant of fiefs, which became the cause of the permanent settlement of some tribes and the abandonment of the nomadic way of life. These fiefs gradually took the form of independent small states or principalities, known as "beyliks" or emirates. Large tribes or federations of tribes inhabited them where a powerful tribal leader had managed to impose his authority and emerge as the ruler. The inhabitants of these states could be tribes or individuals who declared allegiance to the ruler, seeking his protection (D. McDowall, 2021; Smith, A. D. 1992). Over time, certain families (dynasties) managed to establish their dominance in these states, maintaining their position despite various internal and external conspiracies. Thus, aristocratic elite began to emerge within these states, Lapidus, I.M, 1990; PS Khoury, J Kostiner, 1990). Shah Ismael the founder of the Safavid dynasty, while in occupied Kurdistan He sought to conquer and dominate the region, beginning in Northwestern Iran and citing religious motivations. Shah Ismael supported the Shiite branch of Islam and used messianic symbols to rally against Christians in the East and Sunni Muslim states, calling them "infidels." He enlisted the help of Kurdish and Turkmen tribes, capitalising on the shifting power dynamics in the region. By neutralising powerful local rulers, he incorporated the region into his expanding empire. Ismail Shah either put his own people in charge or appointed rival tribal leaders to govern Kurdish principalities, with the goal of dismantling the existing aristocracy. Despite the Persian occupation, many Kurdish tribes resisted and fled to the mountains. Abbas Vali, 2014). On the other side, the Ottomans, after their conquests in Western Anatolia and Europe, sought to annex the principalities located in the east, consolidating their power. Triggered by some uprisings of Shah's recruits in Ottoman territory, whom the Shah sought to support, the two empires came into conflict. The majority of Kurds, as well as

Kurdish leaders who had survived significant persecutions from Ismail and his army, allied with the Ottomans. They did so both to confront their conquerors and because they identified more with the Sunni Ottoman Empire. The outcome of the conflict was determined at the Battle of **Chaldiran in 1516**. The Ottoman Sultan Selim the Grim achieved a significant victory against the Persians, largely due to the support of Kurdish leaders. The relationships between the two empires remained perpetually competitive. The division of their respective borders that followed separated the Kurdish region in half. This was the first division that Kurdistan experienced. In exchange for their assistance, Selim drafted a treaty with the most powerful leaders of the Kurdish tribes. He restored the remaining members of the Kurdish aristocracy, granting those titles and fiefs, along with a system of relative autonomy (M. Sykes, 1908: H. Ozoglu – 2012).

During this era, the Ottoman Empire exerted significant authority over the Kurdish regions, which played a crucial role in determining the extent of autonomy enjoyed by the Kurdish nomadic communities. Additionally, in Iran, the Safavid & Qajar dynasty established Shari system specifically for the Kurds. The living conditions in these areas were challenging, marked by poverty, diseases, limited access to healthcare, and a lack of government assistance. Furthermore, the burden of high taxes fell heavily on the impoverished population. (Akın, 2022: Tamadonfar & Lewis, 2022). These factors further exacerbated the already difficult circumstances faced by Kurdish nomads. An investigation into the consequences of the Ottoman Empire's governance on Kurdish society reveals a significant influence on the formation and independence of Kurdish society across various aspects. The Ottoman and Qajar dynasties actively segregated and categorized nomads, aiming to hinder the unity and assimilation of the Kurdish people, resulting in frequent attacks on Kurds. Additionally, their Political agenda was aimed at suppressing Kurdish identity and autonomy. (Degli Esposti, 2020). The Ottoman and Qajar dynasty authorities ever work together or have any conflicts with Kurdish leaders. During this period, the relationship between the Kurdish nomads and the Ottoman and Qajar authorities was characterized by a constant struggle for power and control over the region. The nomads often found themselves caught in the middle of territorial disputes and faced oppressive policies from both sides. (Bajalan, 2020). Before the Ottoman, Safavid, and Qajar dynasties, the Kurdish region was primarily organized into tribal societies marked by constant warfare and unrest. Despite facing incursions from various groups like the Turkomans and Mongols, the Kurds maintained their culture, independence, and autonomy.



Their decentralized tribal structure, combined with the rugged mountainous terrain, bolstered their defensive capabilities, thwarting attempts at conquest. During the Ottoman, Safavid, and Qajar periods, significant changes occurred in the political, social, and cultural landscape of Kurdistan. These dynasties sought to impose their authority and suppress Kurdish identity and autonomy. The Ottomans, in particular, exerted control over Kurdish regions, regulating the autonomy of Kurdish nomadic communities. Both the Ottomans and Qajars implemented policies aimed at dividing and weakening Kurdish unity. The impact of these dynasties on Kurdish identity, autonomy, and socio-economic structures was profound. They attempted to suppress Kurdish identity and autonomy, resulting in oppression and territorial disputes that affected Kurdish nomads significantly.

## **The rebellions of the Kurdish against Ottoman and Persian Empires**

### **Political overviews (Bay, Khan, Agha, Sheikh)**

The region of Kurdistan, which is remote and secluded, began to be affected by the changing and unstable political situation. This occurred when the central authority tried to establish control, causing difficulties for the semi-autonomous status of the Kurdish principalities. The central administration started demanding higher taxes, and the Kurdish population was recruited during the Russo-Turkish (1828-1829: 1877-1878) wars. These actions set the stage for what happened next. Instead of cooperating with the central authority, some Kurdish rulers saw this as an opportunity to strengthen their own power and potentially achieve autonomy or even independence, (Richard Tapper, 1991). Over the past two centuries, the empire has faced many challenges, resulting in a decline in its control over the outer regions. This allowed certain Kurdish rulers to significantly increase their influence and reject the previously established relationship of being subordinate to the weakening central state. The assessment was proven when the Turkish army suffered consecutive losses, primarily at the hands of the Egyptian army. Additionally, the intervention of Western powers seemed to give them control over the ongoing events. These foreign actors also showed interest in the Anatolian Christian communities, which posed a challenge for the Kurds. The Kurds viewed the Christian populations in the neighboring regions, particularly the Armenians who had clear national aspirations, as competitors in their quest for regional dominance. They feared that the establishment of an independent Armenian state would increase the likelihood of their own annexation by a Christian-dominated state. This fear

further fuelled tensions between the Kurds and the Armenian population and contributed to the complex social and political dynamics of the region during the Ottoman-Iranian era. The situation appeared increasingly precarious with the prospect of the potential support of Armenians by foreign nations, particularly Russia. Both the Ottoman authorities and the religious leaders intentionally fostered these fears, as their influence expanded quickly in this evolving context, (D. Leupold – 2020: Elling, R. and Harris, K., 2022: Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992: Malek, M. H. (1989: Mark Sykes, 1908: O'shea, M. T. 1994).

The 19th century witnessed a series of Kurdish rebellions, which were sparked by the unstable environment of the time. These rebellions were driven by the Kurdish feudal lords' desire to maintain their privileges and strengthen their power. In certain cases, the pursuit of independence was also cited as a goal. It is important to note that these rebellions were mainly confined to specific regions and led by ambitious Kurdish feudal lords who were motivated by the potential reduction of their privileges or the aspiration to expand their influence in the broader area. The notable rebellions included the establishment of "autonomous" Kurdish states ((Robert Olson, 1991: Esposti, N. D. (2022). During the 19th century, there were several Kurdish rebellions against the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Here are some examples of rebellion movements, along with their leaders, dates, and areas of influence. Table 1, presents an overview some of Kurdish movements, featuring examples prominent, historical contexts, geographical distributions

Name/ date	Geography, Area
<b>Baban Rebellion (1806-1831):</b>	Led by Ibrahim Pasha, the Baban Rebellion took place in the Baban principality, which covered parts of present-day Iraq and Iran. The Baban rulers sought to maintain their autonomy and resist central authority.
<b>Bedir Khan Rebellion (1847-1867):</b>	Led by Bedir Khan Beg, this rebellion occurred in the Botan region of Kurdistan, which is located in present-day Turkey. Bedir Khan sought to establish an independent Kurdish state and fought against Ottoman forces.

<b>Sheikh Ubeydullah Rebellion (1880-1881):</b>	Led by Sheikh Ubeydullah, this rebellion took place in the region of Hakkari, in present-day Turkey. Sheikh Ubeydullah aimed to establish an autonomous Kurdish state and fought against Ottoman forces.
<b>Sheik Obeydullah rebellion (1880-1881):</b>	Led by Sheikh Obeydullah Naqshbandi, this rebellion took place in the Hakkari region of Kurdistan, which spans parts of present-day Turkey and Iraq. Sheikh Obeydullah sought to establish an autonomous Kurdish state and fought against Ottoman forces. The rebellion was ultimately suppressed by the Ottomans
<b>Jeladet Ali Bedir Khan revolt (1913):</b>	Jeladet Ali Bedir Khan, a Kurdish nationalist leader, led a revolt against the Ottoman Empire in the Dersim region of Kurdistan, located in present-day Turkey. The revolt aimed to assert Kurdish autonomy and cultural rights. However, the rebellion was short-lived and swiftly crushed by Ottoman forces.

These are just a few examples of the many Kurdish rebellions that took place during the 19th century. Each rebellion had its own specific goals and regional focus, but they all shared a common desire for greater autonomy and resistance against the central authorities of the Ottoman and Persian Empires. The Kurdish rebellions against the Ottoman and Persian Empires during the 19th century, led by various political figures such as Bay, Khan, Agha, and Sheikh, played a crucial role in shaping Kurdish autonomy and identity, while also being influenced by geopolitical, socio-economic, and cultural factors.

#### **Geopolitical Factors:**

- A, The weakening central authority of the Ottoman and Persian Empires created a power vacuum in which Kurdish leaders saw opportunities to assert their autonomy.
- B, External geopolitical interests, such as interventions by Western powers and the rivalry between the Ottoman and Persian Empires, provided both challenges and opportunities for Kurdish leaders seeking autonomy.

**Socio-Economic Factors:**

- A, The demands for higher taxes and conscription by the central authorities strained the socio-economic conditions of the Kurdish population, leading to discontent and rebellion.
- B, The feudal system prevalent in Kurdish society allowed local rulers like Bay, Khan, Agha, and Sheikh to wield significant power, making them natural leaders for rebellion against central authority.

**Cultural Factors:**

- A, Kurdish identity and cultural distinctiveness played a significant role in uniting the population against external rule. The desire to preserve Kurdish language, customs, and traditions motivated many rebellions.
- B, Religious leaders, such as Sheikhs, often played a dual role as spiritual and political leaders, mobilizing support for rebellions based on religious and cultural identity.

**Leadership and Autonomy:**

- A, Leaders as if Bay, Khan, Agha, and Sheikh emerged as symbols of Kurdish resistance and autonomy, rallying their followers around the cause of self-governance.
- B, The establishment of "autonomous" Kurdish states during certain rebellions, even if short-lived, demonstrated the Kurds' aspiration for self-rule and governance.

**Outcomes and Evolution:**

A, While many rebellions were suppressed by the Ottoman and Persian Empires, they contributed to the gradual evolution of Kurdish identity and autonomy.

B, The resistance put up by Kurdish leaders against central authority paved the way for later nationalist movements and aspirations for statehood in the 20th century.

C, The memory of these rebellions and the leadership of figures like Bay, Khan, Agha, and Sheikh continued to inspire Kurdish nationalist movements in later years, influencing the modern Kurdish struggle for recognition and autonomy. Consequently, the Kurdish rebellions against the Ottoman and Persian Empires during the 19th century, led by various political figures, were shaped by a combination of geopolitical, socio-economic, and

cultural factors. These rebellions contributed to the evolution of Kurdish autonomy and identity, laying the groundwork for later nationalist movements and aspirations for self-governance.

### **The emergence and establishment of the Kurdish feudal system (stratification)**

As stated previously, the endeavour to enhance the central governance led to a rise in the inward focus of the Kurdish society. The general populace, increasingly reliant on their regional authorities, agha and sheikhs, gradually became more disconnected from the external realm. Interacting with government officials was a daunting and unfamiliar process that instilled both fear and reverence in individuals, (Anthony D. Smith, 1992). Consequently, the responsibility was entirely delegated to the local lords, who acted as representatives of the entire community. Put simply, they assumed the role of the sole intermediaries between the state and the local community, (W. G. Elphinston, 1946; Michael M. Gunter, 2004). The enactment of the land legislation of 1859 significantly facilitated this procedure. This legislation allowed for the transfer of semi-feudal Miri lands to individuals, known as the "Tapu code" or "Tapu Nizamnamesi," upon payment of a fee collected by local economic authorities, referred to as "defterkhanes." Initially, the state retained a considerable level of ownership. However, over time, this evolved into a system of complete private ownership. This transformation encouraged the establishment of vast land holdings and subsequently contributed to the proletarianization of farmers, (Robert Olson, (1991). The prominent members of Kurdish society, including the agha and the sheikhs, utilised their prominent status to enhance and solidify their political and economic authority, resulting in the establishment of a feudal ruling class that continues to maintain its power in numerous instances up to the present day, (Esposti, N. D. 2022; Smith, A. D. 1992). Tribal leaders, agha, and sheikhs, played a role that was inconsistent and conflicting. On one hand, they were the central elements of the tribal society, ensuring its continuation by preserving its unique political and cultural systems, (Robert Olson, (1991). On the other hand, they also served as intermediaries with the state authority, with their level of compliance and cooperation varying from complete obedience to rebellion, depending solely on their self-centred interests, (Anthony D. Smith, 1992).

## Conclusion

Consequently, the research contributed to provide a broader perspective on transformative dynamics in Kurdistan, improving historical discourse and shedding light on the long-term effects of nomadic influence on the region's political and socioeconomic structure. Addressing significant gaps in current scholarly literature. This research highlighted the importance of conducting further studies into the socio-economic infrastructure, historical evolution, and cultural aspects of Kurdish society. The evidence and literature reviews presented herein emphasise the distinct manifestations of Kurdish pastoralism, nomadism, and tribalism over specific times. However, the chaotic conditions after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire presented considerable obstacles, leading to a significant impact on the cultural and social foundations of Kurds community. The division of the Kurdish community among the Ottoman and Persian dynasties has resulted in a significant gap and instability within the Kurdish alliance, which persists to the present. Despite a backdrop of various challenges, the Kurds tenaciously maintained their distinct culture, asserting their Kurdish cultural heritage. The escalation and broadening of conflicts among nomadic communities with the intention of destabilising and breaking down their cohesiveness have continued until the present time, posing a significant and long-lasting challenge. The study highlights the obstacles that prevent the Kurdish people from achieving power and unity, which are primarily attributed to the substandard living circumstances of Kurds in neighbouring countries and the strategic placement of clan and tribe chiefs in military and government positions. Furthermore, the prolonged absence of an autonomous Kurdish state is attributed to the Kurdish population's fragmentation and neighbouring countries' Reluctance to recognize the Kurdish nation officially. The establishment and expansion of Kurdish communities were additionally influenced by the strategies of external powers, such as the Ottoman Empire, Safavid/Qajar dynasty, and the Russian Empire, each pursuing different interests and methods in dealing with the Kurds. The presence of external power dynamics exacerbated the division within Kurdish society, leading to different levels of political self-governance and external assistance among distinct communities. Internal power dynamics, such as feudal structures and tribal affiliations, had a significant impact on community formation. The presence of local chiefs and Kurdish tribes, which were at odds with one another and operated independently, caused fragmentation as they prioritised their own nomadic interests and engaged in power struggles. The formation and growth

of Kurdish communities in the nineteenth century were the result of a complex interaction between external powers, internal power dynamics, and individual interdependence within Kurdish society. This indicates that in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Kurds were getting closer to forming their own country. However, Western policies ignored the Kurdish nation's desire by dividing Kurdistan into several parts through the Sykes-Picot agreement.

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## المرونة البدوية: دراسة البنية التحتية الاجتماعية للمجتمعات الكردية خلال الفترة

١٨٥١-١٩١٤

### الملخص:

يهدف مشروع الدراسة هذا إلى سد فجوة ملحوظة في التاريخ الاجتماعي لكردستان من خلال التحقيق في المشاركة الحاسمة للبدو الأكراد من عام ١٨٥١ إلى عام ١٩١٤. وتهدف الدراسة إلى استكشاف العلاقات المعقدة بين السكان البدو والإمارات الكردية والسلطات العثمانية وعلاقاتهم. الآثار على الجوانب الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية من خلال نهج متعدد التخصصات. ستعتمد الدراسة على المقالات والكتب التي ستعرض الأدبيات لجمع البيانات وتحليل الوثائق الأرشيفية من المجموعات العالمية لاستكشاف البنية الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والعادات وتأثير الحياة البدوية على المجتمع الكردي الأوسع. يهدف هذا البحث إلى سد فجوة في الدراسات الاجتماعية حول تاريخ كردستان وبناء أساس علمي للتحقيقات المستقبلية في هذه المنطقة الأقل استكشافاً من التاريخ الكردي

**الكلمات الدالة:** قبيلة البدو، تكوين الهوية، البنية التحتية الاجتماعية، الانغماس الثقافي، الهياكل الاجتماعية والاقتصادية

## ناویشانی توێژینهوه؛ خۆراگری کۆجهری؛ لیکۆڵینهوه له ژێرخانی کۆمهڵایهتی کۆمهڵگا

کوردییهکان له ماوهی ساڵانی ١٨٥١-١٩١٤

### پوخته:

ئهم پرۆژه لیکۆڵینهوهیه ئامانجی پرکردنهوهی کهڵێنیکى بهرجاوه له میژووی کۆمهڵایهتی کوردستاندا به بهواداچوون بۆ تیۆهگلانی چارهنووسساز و چارهنووسسازنهکانی کۆجهری کورد له ساڵی ١٨٥١ تا ١٩١٤. توێژینهوهکه به مهبهستی لیکۆڵینهوه له پهيوهندییه ئالۆزهکانی نێوان دانیشتوانی کۆجهری و میرنشینه کوردییهکان و دهسهلاتدارانی عوسمانی و ئهوان... کاریگهرییهکانی لهسهرا لایهنه کۆمهڵایهتی، ئابووری و سیاسییهکان له ڕێگهی ڕیباژیکى نێوان زانستهکانهوه. توێژینهوهکه پشت به بابته و کتییی پێداچوونهوهی ئهدهبیات دهبهستیت بۆ کۆکردنهوهی زانیاری و شیکردنهوهی بهلگهنامه ئهرشیفییهکان له کۆکراوهکانی جیهانییهوه بۆ لیکۆڵینهوه له پیکهاته و داب و نههیت و داب و کاریگهرییهکانی ژیاى کۆجهری لهسهرا کۆمهڵگهی کوردی فراوانتر. ئهم توێژینهوهیه ئامانجی پرکردنهوهی کهڵێنیکه له توێژینهوه کۆمهڵایهتییهکان سهبارته به میژووی کوردستان و بنیاتنانی بنهمایهکی زانستی بۆ لیکۆڵینهوهکانی داهاتوو لهم بواره کهمتر لیکۆڵراوهی میژووی کورد.

**په‌یڤین سه‌هره‌کی؛** کۆجهری-خێل، پیکه‌ینانی ناسنامه، ژێرخانی کۆمه‌ڵایه‌تی، نو‌قمبوونی کولتوو‌ری، پیکه‌اته کۆمه‌ڵایه‌تی و ئابوو‌رییه‌کان،