

Adela Jaff Khanum and the Ardalan Persian Divanship

There is a great legend surrounding Adela Khanum, concerning her heritage. It is a great Kurdish legend of the Twelve Horseman of Mariwan. This legend takes place during Abbas Mirza's invasion of Mesopotamia against the Ottoman Mamluks under Daoud Pasha with his Napoleonic armies. One of the Baban rulers of Ahmed Pasha Baban would turn against Daoud Pasha and assist the Persians in annexing the region of Southern Kurdistan. The Twelve Horsemen of Mariwan would remain loyal to the Mamluks. They would rise up against the Persians and defeat one of Abbas Mirza's armies of 10,000 men. Daoud Pasha Baban and the Mamluks would triumph over Abbas Mirza. A more loyal Baban prince would be proclaimed the Kaimakam of Suliamania. His name would be Mahmud Pasha Baban. One of the horseman would be Great Great grandfather of Adela Khanum, Ahmad Beg Sahib Qiran. He would be given extensive powers in the Baban fiefdom. His son Mahmud would be Bashchuwush commander of the Baban armed forces, and would lead the Ottoman defense of the Persian border lands of Mesopotamia. The Sahib Qirans would intermarry with the Ardalan, and eventually Ghulam Shah Ardalan would be descended from the Sahib Qirans. Many other important people of Kurdish culture would come from the Sahib Qirans such as the poets Ahmad Beg i Fattah Beg, Abdur Rahmin Salim, and Mustafa Kurdi. Salih Zaki would become an Ottoman general, who would rise to great prominence within the Ottoman Imperial government.

Adela Jaff Khanum, the strongwoman of Halabja, would come to dominate the Jaff tribe during much of the British Mandates of Mesopotamia and Iraq. She would come from the Ardalan tribe, a great tribe of Persia. It had been a great Khanate, which had ruled jointly with the Qajar throne in Tehran even intermarrying with them. The Ardalan were an important pillar to the Qajar throne as they were the Qajar's viziers. Their power base was in Sanandaj, which means "Fortress of the Shah." This was where Osman Pasha would take Adela Khanum as his bride in 1825, who was a daughter of a vizier to the Qajar throne. Adela Khanum came from a line of Persian Matriarchs, which had plagued the Ardalan tribe. Fath Ali Shah of the Qajar throne, an ally of Napoleon, had a daughter, Princess Hosn e Jahan, who would marry Khasrow Khan of the Ardalan. She would slowly begin to put the Ardalan under the complete dominion of the Qajar, depleting Khasrow Khan Ardalan of his power. Khasrow Khan would eventually meet a tragic end as he would die by poison in 1834. His offspring would become embroiled in rivalry, and eventually the Shah Fath Ali Qajar would remove them from power over the Ardalan, replacing them with his Uncle, Prince Farhad Mirza Mo Tamad Od Dowleh in 1867. Fortunately, Khasrow Khan Ardalan's sister Princess Noor Jahan would marry into the Vazir family in Sanandaj or government ministers, the Zarrinaal. She would marry Oghli Beg II Monshi. The Zarrinaal had returned from exile in Afghanistan during the reign of Nader Shah, and had been placed as Vazirs in Sanandaj to keep the Ardalan in check. Princess Noor Jahan would give birth to Agha Mirza Zaman Kordestani in the Khosrowbad Residential Palace of Sanandaj in 1840. Later, New Shah Naser al din would come on an official visit to Sanandaj, and would be most impressed with the well educated Agha Mirza Zaman Kordestani. Unfortunately, Oghli Beg II Monshi did not pay all of his retinue due to the Shah, so the

Shah took Oghli Beg II Monshi's son with him. He would be promoted to the rank of Laskar Newis, and sent to Tehran in 1859 where he would work in the court offices. He would take charge of the Persian military forces in the Sanandaj region, and be one of the Shah's main military advisors. He would acquire much property in 1868 he would marry Pari Solton Khanom, and produce much offspring.^{1,2}

Adela Khanum: the Ardalan legacy

The biblical Cyrus the Great of the Achmaenid dynasty would march with his great Persian army in the marshes of the Mesopotamian Tigris and Euphrates rivers and take the ruins of Babylon without a fight as the Chaldean leadership had crumbled from within in 550 B.C. His woman general Arteshbod Pantea, whom had been commander of his Imperial guard or Immortals, would take command of the occupation of Babylon. The Achmaenid Empire would then inherit the illustrious Hanging Gardens of Babylon that had been built by Sennacharib, which had transformed the drab Ziggurat domed city of Ancient Ninevah into a more fertile and lush Persian looking city to glorify his irristable Persian wife, Queen Amytis around 883-859 BC. Babylon was now truly a Persian city as it became the center of Persian occupation of Mesopotamia. The religions and beliefs of the Babylonians would be erased and replaced with an entirely Persian belief system. The word Chaldean would no longer refer to the race of Babylonians, but instead to the elite Persian leadership that had made themselves the seat of government in Babylon and the region of Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Their rule of Mesopotamia would last for 1000 years. They would outlast the Greeks and even the Roman Empire, as the Romans would fail to even take it from their grasp 114 A.D., the phalanx of Roman soldiers would be halted by Persian Immortals at Hatra. They would prove that the Roman phalanx was not invincible and this would encourage revolts throughout the region. As Rome would be conquered by the Goths, the weak Byzantine Empire would be easy pray for the Persian Empire. The Byzantines resorted to appeasing their Persian neighbors during the 6th century, often paying ransoms to them to keep peace. In 602 A.D., Persian Emperor Khasrou II would be angered by the murder of his Byzantine Ally, Emperor Maurice. He would launch a war to destroy the Byzantine Empire to avenge him, conquering Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia, eliminating Byzantine control of the Middle East. However, Khosrow II's juggernaut would end in tragedy as he would be betrayed and murdered with his family by his son Kavadh II. He would be supported by the Persian General Rostum Faroukhzod. General Rostum Faroukhzod would then gain control of the Persian Empire as Kavadh II would become his puppet. During this time Mohammed was proclaiming the religion of Islam and conquering much of Arabia. He would die in Medina in 632, and his father in law would proceed him, Abu Bakr. Abu Bakr disciplined an Islamic army under the stoic belief that the life after death was more glorious than the present life. This produced the most die hard of soldiers. His General, Khalid Ibn Al Walid, would unleash an Islamic fury upon the General Rostum Faroukhzod's forces in Mesopotamia defeating them at the battle of the chains, the battle of the river, the battle of Walaja, and the battle of Ullais in 633 A.D. This would put all of Mesopotamia under Islamic control except for Ctesiphon, the Persian capitol of Mesopotamia. He would die the next year in 634 A.D. Muthanna Ibn Harith would succeed him. General Rostum Faroukhzod would launch a counterattack against

the Islamic forces at Al Qadissiyah. General Rostum Faroukhzod was so determined to win the battle that he chained his men together. Muthanna Ibn Harith, whom had fortified his forces within the fortress like palace of Al Qadissiyah, would defeat the Persian juggernaut. Muthanna Ibn Harith would then take all of Mesopotamia from Persia, and would be the beginning of the birth of Arab domination of Mesopotamia and the nation of Iraq that we know today. However, there would always remain traces of the former Persian immortals whom had occupied what is now Iraq. Perhaps, the Kurds are the descendents of those Persian immortals.

Osman Pasha Jaff was marrying into the legacy of the Persian Immortals, when he married Adela Khanum. She was the offspring of one of the elite noble families of Persia, whom had been a pillar to the current throne in Persia, the Qajar. They were the Ardalan of Sanandaj, whom Major Ely Banister Soane obtained much information about. The Ardalan had formed a strong emirate within Sanandaj in 1300 A.D. They claimed descent from Sultan Saladin, whom had saved the Ayyubid Caliphate from defeat by the Papal Juggernauts that had invaded Jerusalem during the Crusades in the 1100s. Their founder was Ardal Khan. They established themselves upon Ancient ruins from the Era of the Persian Immortals of the Sassanians and Achamenids, which would become the current city of Sanandaj. There would be a powerful conquerer, who would establish the Persian Ashfar throne over all Aryan people from the Caucasus to India in 1736 to 1747. His name was Nader Shah Ashfar. The Peacock throne and the Koohinooor, which is one of the crown jewels, would originate from him. He would build towers of skulls from his enemies. The Ardalan and other Kurds would revolt against him in Khorosan, killing his soldiers and before he could march his army to meet the Kurds, he would be cut down by his own men at Quchan in 1747. Nader Shah Ashfar would fall from power in Tehran, and the Kurds would gain the Persian throne under the Shah Karim Khan Zand in 1760. Shah Karim Khan Zand would appoint Khasrou Khan Ardalan Vali over all Kurdish lands in the new Persian Vilayet of Kordistan. Unfortunately, the Zand throne was plagued with infighting, and Khasrow Khan Ardalan slowly began to turn against the Zand and began to support the Qajars to the throne. When Agha Muhammed Khan Qajar overthrew the Zand in 1789, the Ardalan became more powerful then ever. Khasrow Khan Ardalan had even sent troops to help Muhammed Khan Qajar to overthrow Shah Lotf Ali Khan Zand, whom had come to power through infighting within the Zand dynasty, in battles around Kermanshah. Amanollah Khan Ardalan would succeed his father Khasrow Khan Ardalan and Amanollah Khan Ardalan's reign would become a golden age for the Ardalan. The Ardalan and the Qajar throne would grow close as the Qajar came to rely on the Ardalan as an important ally for the region. His son Khasrow Khan Ardalan II would marry Princess Hosn e Jahan, who was daughter of Fath Ali Shah Qajar, the son of Agha Mohamed Khan Qajar. Khasrow Khan Ardalan would succeed his father Amanollah Khan Ardalan in 1825. Fath Ali Shah Qajar together with Princess Hosn e Jehan would begin to become increasingly tyrannical over the Ardalan. The Ardalan would come to respect Princess Hosn e Jehan more than Khasrow Khan Ardalan II. Fath Ali Shah Qajar would finally have Khasrow Khan Ardalan II poisoned in 1834, and Princess Hosn e Jehan would have complete control over the Vilayet of Kordestan, which she would rule with an iron fist. Khasrow Khan Ardalan would leave Princess Hosn e Jehan two sons. One of them was Ghulam Shah Ardalan, who was Adela Khanum Jaff's father. Ghulam Shah Ardalan would be at the head of the

true ruler of the Kordestan Vilayet, Princess Hosn e Jehan. Ghulam Shah Ardalan was Adela Khanum's father, the father of the daughter whom Osman Pasha Jaff had wedded at the Khasrowbad Residential Palace in Sanandaj in 1825.^{1,2,3}

Osman Pasha Jaff was marrying into the very heart of Kurdish Anti Turanism as Adela Khanum's family carried old blood feuds from the Ottoman Persian wars that had cost them so dearly in the early 1800s with Naser Din Qajar and Abbas Mirza against the Mamluk Valis of Baghdad. During the Mamluk Vali of Baghdad Suliaman Pasha's war in the late 1840s, which had installed Mohamed Pasha Jaff as the ruler of Gulambar, Suliaman Pasha would destroy the Ardalan's close allies, the Babans. The Ardalan would no longer have hegemony over the region. Also, Osman Pasha Jaff's tribe had long been subject to Ardalan during the 18th century, when they lived in Juanre under his grandfather, Qadir Beg Jaff. The Ardalan great power in the region had been degraded by their century old Ottoman foes, and Adela Khanum carried the burning resentment of her family of everything Ottoman in Shahrizor. She also carried her family's great ambition to restore the Shahrizor to its Persian Ardalan glory days during the early nineteenth century. She would lead her new subjects under Osman Pasha Jaff's jurisdiction in Gulambar and Halabja to hate both Istanbul and Baghdad alike with their Anti-Persian legacy, inspired by the ancient wars of Al Muthanna at the Battle of Qaddissiyah in 634 A.D. The Jaff would begin to wear the crimson robes of the Persians, and banners of the Ardalan and Qajars could be seen all over Halabja and Gulambar during the reign of Adela Khanum with the Persian roaring lion. Osman Pasha Jaff would slowly come to fear his wife as the Ottoman hold over the region was very weak from the recent wars with the Russians in the Caucasus, which had left the whole region in anarchy and led to his father's death at the hands of brigands that had been armed by the Russians in 1880. The Qajar and Ardalan were the near power in the region of Shahrizor. He would bow to his wife's authority, who held the weight of the Qajar and Ardalan thrones behind her. She would begin to redesign the Shahrizor into a vassal of the Qajar, degrading and sabotaging all Ottoman institutions within the region. To the Jaff tribe, Farsi became the language of the elite. The Jaff tribe began to despise the Arab and Turk alike, feeling a sense of superiority to them. Adela Khanum's stepson, Tahir Beg Jaff, portrays the beliefs best of the Kurd towards the Turk and Arab in his conversation with the British spy Major Ely Banister Soane. Tahir Beg Jaff was grateful towards Sultan Abdul Hamid II for his giving the Kurds absolute power over the Shahrizor and Northern Iraq and entrusting them as their armed forces in the region as Hamidiye cavalry. This was essential for the stability of the region as the Turk was unfit to govern the region or Ottoman Empire as a whole as history had always proved. For the Ottoman's had always relied on minorities to keep their armed forces in order from the Janissaries to the present Hamidiye Cavalry. He thought of the Arabs as an inferior race that was desheveled and disorganized that they were not capable of forming any sort of cohesive state. They must be controlled and contained. The Jaff tribe did indeed contain the Arab as is shown in the example that Major Ely Banister Soane encountered at the divan or tea party of Adela Khanum Jaff. Jaff horseman brought an Arab into the lounge room of Adela Khanum, whom they had caught stealing hay from one of their tribesmen. They were extremely wary of him, declaring all Arabs to be a race of beggars and thieves and demanded that Adela Khanum permit his execution. Adela Khanum Jaff in the end granted him mercy of course, being a woman of

compassion.^{1,2,3,4,5}

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

8 centuries ago before Christ, there reigned a great man in Ninevah, Sennacherib. Sennacherib from his Ziggurat in Ninevah would rally a grand army, and destroy the first Babylonian empire, sacking Babylon. He would build a grand empire from the Persian Gulf to the Sinai Peninsula, bringing the Jews of Israel into captivity within Mesopotamia, and interbreeding with other groups of Jews, creating the race of Samaritans. Though none of these conquests were as great as his wife, Queen Amytis. Queen Amytis had been a gift to Sennacherib from a Persian king. He would declare of her, "My beloved wife, whose features the mistress of the gods has made perfect above all other women." His love for his wife would inspire him to build a grand palace within the city of Ninevah 3140 meters in circumference and eighty feet in height, surrounded by lush gardens similar to those found in Persia. It mimicked the fertile woodlands of Persia, which surrounded the Zagros mountains to remind his wife of her homeland, Queen Amytis. This Palace would be recorded by the Ancient Greek and Roman scholars such as Strabo. It would become one of the Seven Ancient wonders of the world. The Vilayet of Mosul stood on the ruins of Ninevah and Osman Pasha Jaff's new city and capitol of Halabja stood on the ruins of Ninevah's immediate territory. Adela Khanum was Osman Pasha Jaff's Queen Amytis, who began to renovate the old Persian practice of gardening within Halabja, bringing a sense of civilization to the nomadic peoples of the Jaff. Halabja was a new town built by the Jaff in the 1850s. It had been nothing but a bunch of barren mud huts before Adela Khanum had entered the scene in 1825, when Osman Pasha Jaff brought her to his father's dominions from Sanandaj. The mud huts were near the ruins of the Ancient Assyrian glory of the region. By 1850 these groups of mud huts in Halabja would be developed as a town, and in 1880 this town would become the capitol of the Shahrizor Sanjak Osman Pasha Jaff. Osman Pasha Jaff would move the capitol from the traditional city of Gulanbar to the newly developed town of Halabja. It was here that Adela Khanum Jaff began to resurrect the Ancient Assyrian glory of gardening within the Jaff people of Halabja, turning the dirty mud huts of Halabja into lush Persian hanging gardens. With Adela Khanum, the Jaff tribe were beginning to shake off the old primitive habits learned from their southern Arab neighbor, and beginning to get in touch with their old Persian roots through Adela Khanum, and this was manifested in the gardens of Halabja. Trees and flowers native to the Zagros mountains of Persia would be brought to make Halabja look like the fertile regions of the Zagros mountains.^{1,2}

The reason because of the increase of the wealth in Halabja was because of its increase in European interests in the region of Northern Iraq. Around that time, the Germans had built a railroad connecting Baghdad to Berlin in 1904, as German banks had paid the Ottoman government for its construction. The railway would stop in Mosul. This allowed an influx of European goods to be traded in the Shahrizor among the Jaff tribes. Soon Jaff horsemen could be found with modern weapons of the times from the Imperial German army, including Mausers and Lugers. The Germans wished to establish their interests in the Persian Gulf and to make Basra their port to the Indian Ocean. The European Ottoman Empire would be connected with Mesopotamian Ottoman Empire, and the followers of Sheikh Khalidi I Baghdadi from the Balkans would make pilgrimages

to his disciples in the Shahrizor. Many Jaff tribesmen would then adopt more European clothing, as they outproduced their native clothes. The Germans were not the only ones interested in the region. The British soon began to develop an interest in the oil of Northern Iraq as well. They set up a joint Anglo Ottoman Oil Commission in the region of Qasr I Shirin. Many Jaff tribesmen were trained as technicians to work the oil fields. The British prized these technicians, and would later take them to their Persian Abadan refineries after the commission was interrupted by war between the Ottoman and British Empires during World War 1. The British began to be so enamored by the politics of the region that they sent a spy there to learn everything about the Jaff leadership that they could. His name was Major Ely Banister Soane. He would disguise himself as Adela Khanum's son's farsi teacher as she wanted to resurrect the Persian roots within the Jaff tribe. Under Osman Pasha Jaff, the Kurds being cattle herders, began to bring in all sorts of valuable commodities for trade to the city of Suliamania, including skins, wool, tobacco, and butter. They controlled all Caravan routes to Suliamania from Baghdad, Bana, Merivan, Sanandaj, and Sauj Buluq. The Jaff Cavalry guarded all these routes with all the best weapons that the Ottomans imported from their ally the German Imperial army. They were armed with Mauser rifles and Lugars, while retaining their native Hanjar knives, which were prized throughout the Balkans and the Middle East. In Halabja itself there was built a grand bazaar, where European goods would mix with the farm goods of the Jaff tribe. Europeans, Jews, Jaffs, and Assyrians would all mix within the bazaar, and Adela Khanum would be sole proprietor of the bazaar, charging interest over anyone who did trade within the bazaar. She soon amassed great wealth through this, and this allowed her to pay for the renovation of the gardens within the city of Halabja.^{1,2}

She amassed such a great fortune in the trade of the bazaar that she began to build grand palaces for herself in Halabja. In her childhood in Sanandaj in the Persian Empire, she had lived in a grand palace that had been the Palace of the Ardalan Valis of Persian Vilayet of Kordestan, created under Fath Ali Shah Qajar. The palace had been named after Khasrow Khan Ardalan, and it had been built as a gift for his marriage to Princess Hosn e Jahan, the daughter of Fath Ali Shah Qajar. These were both Adela Khanum's grand parents. She had a fond childhood within the Khosro Abad mansion. The buildings were of burgundy colored domes with white marble walls, balconies with Greek columns, and Persian arches. The mansion was made up of four buildings with a garden in the center with all the pleasures of the cedar trees of the Zagros mountains. In the center of the garden was a gigantic pool in the form of a cross or swastika, as a popular Persian sign of good fortune. This is where Adela Khanum had acquired her love of gardening. Though things would end horrible for her father Ghulam Shah Ardalan, and the palace would fall directly under the control of her Great Grandfather, Fath Ali Shah Qajar. He would give it to the Zarrinaal instead, who would become the rulers of Sanandaj. Still the castle would always have an impact on Adela Khanum as she resided safely with her husband, Osman Pasha Jaff in Halabja. Soon it was Osman Pasha Jaff, who resided safely with Adela Khanum as she amassed great wealth for herself from the newly constructed bazaar that she constructed several mansions modelled after the Khosro Abad buildings in Sanandaj in Halabja. They were made of drab clay, but were still beautiful in the elaborate Persian design. Inside the palace it was that typical white washed monochromatic feel, yet the mansion was lined with all fine carpets from Sanandaj, as she tolerated only Persian

commodities. She had many hand woven feather quilts to line the walls and nice silk cushions imported from the orient. Her house had many rooms, and she would often have Europeans attend her divans such as Vladimir Minorsky, Major Ely Banister Soane, and Gertrude Bell.^{1,2,5,}

Adela Khanum the Natural Arbitrator

Abdul mecid I within the Gulhane Park beside the Topkapi Palace would proclaim the Edict of Gulhane in 1839, giving equal rights to Christians and minorities to appease his Western Allies. This however would have bad effects for the region in destabilizing it. The Armenian populace, emboldened by the reforms, would rise up in full fledged revolt as would other minorities, including segments of the Jaff tribe under Mahmud Pasha Jaff. The Russian Imperial Army stationed in the Caucasus was encouraged by this developement to invade the Ottoman Caucasus to support these insurgencies. The white coats of the Russian army would come in swarms across the Caucasus border, and conquering Bayezid, Ardahan, Kars, and Erzurum against the blue coats of the Ottoman army with their German supplied weapons in 1877-1878. This would cause anarchy throughout the region from Van to Mosul. The Ottoman army and state institutions of this region would be left in a state of disarray, creating much friction and disorder. This would create much distraction for Osman Pasha Jaff, as he had his hands full with suppressing the bandits, which had rose up in revolt against Ottoman authorities. Osman Pasha Jaff's number one enemies were however the Hamavands. They were the enemies inherited from his father, Mohamed Pasha Jaff. The Hamavands had played a major role in during Abbas Mirza's Persian conquest of the Shahrizor, aligning themselves with Mahmud Pasha Baban during the early 1820s. However, the Jaff tribe under Mohamed Pasha Jaff would create bad blood as they aided the Ottomans reconquest of the Shahrizor against the Babans and Hamavands in the late 1840s. The Hamavands would rise up against the Ottoman Jaff rule, but Mohamed Pasha Jaff would launch a brutal campaign to crush them. They would be forced to flee to Zohab in Persia. During the late 1870s, the Hamavands would find a new ally as the Imperial Russian army invaded the Ottoman Caucasus. The Hamavands would volunteer their calvary to fight for the Russians against the Ottomans. Hence, the Hamavands obtained much more modern weapons. They then would begin to launch incursions back into the Shahrizor. They would align themselves with pro Baban Jaff of the Aziz Beg Jaff section, and in a battle would kill Mohamed Pasha Jaff in 1880. Osman Pasha Jaff's brother, Mahmud Pasha Jaff, would begin to engage in non cooperation with the Ottomans doing nothing to prevent the brigandism of the Jaff segments, increasing factionalism within the Jaff tribe. Many would join the cause of Sheikh Ubeydullah around the 1880s. The Ottomans would replace him with his more pragmatic brother, Osman Pasha Jaff. Yet, his brother would always be in his shadow, working against him. This was the world, which drained Osman Pasha Jaff of his energy, allowing his wife Adela Khanum to devour his powers.^{1,2}

These pressing engagements left Osman Pasha Jaff away from his capitol of Halabja, leaving Adela Khanum the sole authority force in the region. She had inherited a people plagued with crime and anarchy. The Jaff had progressed too far for their own good, as modern weapons made the tribe harder to control. Often unnecessary deaths would happen as the Jaff clansmen would be mistaken for enemy Hamavand, who were constantly raiding the Jaff tribes. Bandits would swarm

the countryside, raiding many caravans that crossed the countryside. Even women would participate in these raids, true Amazons. Often these raids would be between Jaff clansmen. Cattle would be taken from unarmed tribal members as well. This was complemented with religious extremism in the region, which would result in factionalism in the tribe. Sheikhs would rise up with their own interpretations of Islam, and would sack whole villages against those who did not believe the same as they did. Without Ottoman Authority, clericalism was becoming a big problem in the Middle East. With the absence of Osman Pasha Jaff from Halabja, all Jaff clansmen would come to rely on Adela Khanum for Justice. All Jaff clansmen came to fear her, as she kept strict discipline over her nobles. All the calvarymen would take orders from her, and bring all their captives before her for permission to execute them. Major Ely Banister Soane, a british spy in the Jaff tribe, had written extensively about Adela Khanum, as the powerful men of the Jaff tribe would often be witness to Adela Khanum's divans within her newly built palace. There was one instance where Jaff tribesman had caught an Arab stealing from their tribe. Such was the fanatical hate of the Arab from the Kurd that it was wonder they Kurds did not execute the Arab on the spot. They instead brought him to Adela Khanum to arbitrate his sentence, which she granted him amnesty. The Jaff clansmen complied under their obligation to her. This was an example of her great discipline amongst the tribe of Halabja. She was beginning of course to institute a new system of justice different from that the Jaff was accustomed to. The Sunni Justice system is more based around a constitution or Hadith, and the Hadith was a guideline for each individual within the Jaff tribe to act upon in his own interpretation. However, Adela Khanum began to change all of this, introducing a more Persian system of Justice, which rejected the Hadith and placed all justice in the hands of an arbitrator. This was a Shia form of Justice, which relied on the central authority of the Mullah, who was the natural arbitrator. Osman Pasha Jaff and any other person in his immediate family would not challenge this out of fear of Adela Khanum's Ardalan ties. She would begin to have her own court built in Halabja as this would be the center of government for all of Halabja. She would in effect become the Mullah of Halabja. She was in de facto annexing Shahrizor to Persia.^{1,2}

Adela Khanum's discipline and micro management of her tribe would lead to the formation of two classes within the Jaff. There would be the nobles and the average Jaff peasantry. The nobles would be under firm control of Adela, and would police the average Jaff, and mobilize them into a productive labor force. This was necessary for her to keep discipline of the whole populace of the Jaff tribe and keep them out of crime. Public services would be instituted in Halabja through this lower class. The nobles and soldiers enjoyed special priviledges above the Jaff serfdom, but mobilized them effectively, and were under Adela Khanum's direct orders. Adela Khanum's goal was to eradicate completely the factionalism, which had been introduced by her brother in law, Mahmud Pasha Jaff. She had to reduce the idolness of the populace by subordinating them to her absolute rule. She did this through a top down style management. As long as the senior Jaff feared her with her Ardalan roots, she could control everything in the city, as the senior Jaff possessed the power to subordinate the common people to her will. This effectively got rid of all the crime and anarchy within Halabja. The city began to have cleaner streets, and the public gardens were well maintained. Business in the bazaar was conducted in a very orderly fashion. Abdul Hamid II

saw the discipline of the Jaff under Osman Pasha Jaff's leadership, and began to give him more powers. His calvarymen were proclaimed Hamidiye, which gave them the status of an Ottoman army within the Shahrizor. The Hamidiye had been Abdul Hamid II's effort to develop local law enforcements after his Imperial Armies had been decimated by the Russians during the Russo Ottoman war in the late 1870s. This made Adela Khanum bear the Authority of the Ottoman army as she began to clean up the routes in and around the Shahrizor. She would kill off all Hamavand with her horsemen who disrupted her territory. She tried to prevent raids on caravan routes although this was a difficult task as it was hard to control anything outside of Halabja effectively. It was safe for her enough to travel back and forth between Halabja and Sanandaj in Persia. This constant contact with the Ardalans allowed her to only grow in power. Adela Khanum needed to something to maintain the Jaff's and all inhabitants of the Shahrizor's fear of her, so she instituted the construction of a prison for all those who defied her system. Any enemy of the state of Adela Khanum would bear the horrors of her prison, where men would be flogged to near death. The prison along with court were Adela Khanum's great instruments in maintaining discipline over Halabja, and ultimately usurping her husband's power. In the end Osman Pasha Jaff became one of her subjects, doing menial tasks around Halabja.^{1,2,3,}

Adela Khanum and Halabja's Anti Ottoman Pan Iranist sentiment

Adela Khanum through her growing ties with the Ardalans, began to Persianize the Jaff tribe. They began to dress more Persian in their crimson robes and fur hats. Banners of the Qajar Empire began to fly over the city, and many Jaff caravans carried the Qajar banners. The symbol of the lion was the symbol of the Qajar empire. The Jaff were beginning to develop an identification with the Qajar Persia under Adela Khanum's rule, who was virulently pro Persian. Many Ancient Persian ruins from the Sassanian times already surrounded the city. The Jaff felt a natural gravitation towards Persia as their birthplace. Persian or Farsi became widely spoken among the Jaff nobility. Trade increased between Halabja and Sanandaj. Qajar Persia considered Osman Pasha Jaff a Khan, and had rewarded him with a sword, effectively giving him control over the border regions between Halabja and Sanandaj, which cemented the ties between Persia and Halabja. The Jaff were an Aryan peoples like the Persians. Adela Khanum began to develop a noble class of Persian Ardalans, importing them from Sanandaj. The noble class of the Jaff was beginning to be composed of Ardalans. This in effect was how Adela Khanum really brought about Jaff subordination to the Ardalans. Ardalans would be found at her palaces and at the gardens, maintaining them. She would import architects to build her palaces and gardens. She would introduce scribes to educate the Jaff in the Persian language. Adela Khanum would build Halabja into an Ardalans colony, and it would soon develop an intelligentsia of cultured people. Her sons would become the pillars of that intelligentsia. She would educate them to be like Ardalans. Tahir Beg Jaff was not born of Adela Khanum, but of Osman Pasha's first wife in 1878 to 1918, who was closely tied to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Sultan was responsible for giving Osman Pasha his power, as he had replaced his brother Mahmud Pasha Jaff, who was an agitator against the Ottomans and even among his own tribe, causing it to fragment. His tribal soldiers would be declared Hamidiye Calvary and be given power to pillage and plunder all tribes, who

defied the Ottoman state, including the Jaff's hated rival the Hewreman tribe. However, Osman Pasha would find himself irresistably pulled away from his Ottoman courtiers, and drawn towards the feared Ardalan tribe of the Persian Empire, which had been most brutal in its dealings with the Jaff tribe. He would go to the Ardalan tribe in Sinne, who had become vizirs in the Persian Empire, and take a wife from them. This wife was Adela Khanum, and she would be more than he could handle. She would begin to pull him and all of Halabja closer to the Persian Empire, and slowly strip him of his power. Osman Pasha's son, Tahir Beg, would fall under the spell of Adela Khanum as well, attending her divans. He would become a scholar of Persian and a poet. He viewed the Turks and Arabs as an inferior race not to be trusted in the matters of administration, and praised the Sultan for realizing this, and giving his tribe absolute power in the administration of the region. The British wished to exploit the Jaff tribe's Persian sympathies against the Ottoman Empire. A British Major around 1910 had infiltrated the close circle of Adela Khanum's confidants, attending her divans or tea parties. His name was Major Ely Banister Soane, the future Assistant Political Officer to the Sulaimania region for the British Civil Commissioner of Baghdad during the British Iraq and Mesopotamian Mandate from 1919 to 1932. He was disguised as a Persian scribe with his alias bieng Ghulam Hussein. Adela Khanum assigned him as servant to Tahir Beg. She wanted the Major to teach all her children Persian. She held great importance to the Major's presence, since she thought him Persian. Tahir Beg had another foreigner in his circle. He was a German. His name was Amin Effendi. Amin Effendi, being a German, recognized that he was English. He brought it to the attention of Tahir beg, who was deciding on executing him. Amin Effendi having sympathy dropped it, dissuading Tahir Beg that the Major was an imposter. Major Ely Soane Banister, when he was A.P.O. of the Sulaimania region, would promote another of her sons as a governor of Halabja. Ahmad Muxtar Beg Jaff would become governor of Halabja in 1922 and around 1924 would become a member of Iraqi parliament around the the time of Adela Khanum's death. ^{1,2,3,6,}

A great hatred would develop against the Ottoman Empire in Halabja. In Halabja people were already anti Ottoman under Mahmud Pasha Jaff's agitation. Adela Khanum exploited this further through her Pan Iranist cult of personality. People began to identify with Persia more in Halabja, and wanted all Ottoman Authority out of their city. They refused the Ottoman's to set up postal services or any other type of civil service within Halabja. They therefore did not pay any type of revenue to the Ottomans. Abdul Hamid II would not have tolerated this if not for Osman Pasha Jaff, who was the mediator between the Sultan and his wife. He convinced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to set up a symbolic Ottoman Postal office within Halabja, though it was reduced to idolness as Halabja's residence did not use it nor pay taxes for it. Halabja was a quasi state within the Ottoman Empire, which was de facto part of the Persian Empire. Adela Khanum of course had her own reasons to hate the Ottoman Empire. The Ardalans had always wanted the Shahrizor from the beginning of the 19th century, joining in Persian general Abbas Mirza's invasion of the Shahrizor in the 1820s. As the Babans would betray the Ottoman Empire, and go over to the Qajar. The Ardalan would advance further against Mosul. The great center of the Ottoman Empire for that region. The battle would end horrible for the Ardalans, and their armies would be given a crushing defeat. Amanollah Khan would die in the battle around 1825. This would end the Ardalan dream to dominate the lands of their Sassanian ancestors. The dream remained alive with Adela Khanum,

who had made it come true through her marriage. It had not been brought by war from men, but from love from women, Adela Khanum's marriage to Osman Pasha Jaff. The Ottomans were most concerned about Adela Khanum, and were upset with Osman Pasha Jaff's marriage to her. The Ottomans were too weak, and everyone realized that, including Osman Pasha Jaff. They would try one last bid to establish some sort of authority over the region by building a telegraph line to their symbolic post office in Halabja. The Jaff tribesmen would cut it down in defiance. The Ottomans would try again repeatedly, but it would end with the same result. Adela Khanum would claim to the Ottomans that it was against her wishes, but nothing happened in Halabja without her permitting it.^{1,2,3,}

Osman Pasha Jaff would die the same year that Abdulhamid II reign would end in 1908. Mehmed V would succeed him. The Ottoman Empire was in trouble, but it was slowly being taken over by the German Empire. The Germans had been building their railroads, and pouring money into their infrastructure for one purpose, and that was their expansion to the Persian Gulf and East Indies. The Ottoman Armies were being trained and reorganized by the Germans. Soon their agents had full control of the government such as Enver Pasha. He had taken power of the government through a progressive movement in 1908, the Young Turk movement, which had taken control of Constantinople. The Young Turks were virulently Pan-Turanist, and wished to seize all Eurasia, which were comprised of Turkic peoples. This led them to a very antagonistic relationship with Russian Empire, which was to the German Empire's advantage. World War I would happen, as the German Empire would be forced into a Austro Hungarian-Pan Slavic war against Russia, which would lead Enver Pasha to act upon his Pan Turanist visions. He and a newly modernized Ottoman army would attack Sarakamish in Russian Armenia to destroy the great Russian Army stationed in the Caucasus, so that it could enable him to march his armies through Persia to Turkestan and Afghanistan. His armies would however be badly defeated in Sarakamish, and Great Britain would launch a war against the Ottomans as Russia's ally. They would attack Constantinople being badly defeated at Gallipoli. They then would shift fronts east in Basra in Mesopotamia. German General Colmar Freiherr Von Der Goltz would be dispatched to Mesopotamia to organize an Ottoman defense of Mesopotamia against the British advance from Basra. The British armies were having major logistics problems advancing to Baghdad through the swamps of Southern Mesopotamia. General Von Der Goltz would form an army in Mosul comprised of many Kurds, including Jaff from Mahmud Pasha Jaff's clan. This would be the Sixth Army of the Special Yildirim Group. The Sixth Army would be fielded at Ctesiphon the Ancient capitol of Persian Mesopotamia. Here a great battle would ensue between the Ottomans and British, and the British would be forced to retreat in the face of the defensive Ottoman positions. The British would retreat all the way to Kut, where they would be placed under siege by the Sixth army and Colonel Von Der Goltz. The British would be annihilated at Kut, but the Ottomans would lose at the hands of the Russians, and the British would make gains against the Germans and then the Ottomans in Palestine. Eventually Baghdad would fall, and the Treaty of Mudros would be signed, blotting out the Ottoman Empire from the map. This was all to Adela Khanum's delight, who considered the British common allies against all her enemies in the Mosul Vilayet from the Hamavands to the Ottomans, which had been placed under a special British Commission, headed by the same person, who had taught Persian to her

son as a spy, Major Ely Banister Soane.^{1,2}

The British Mandate of Mesopotamia and Adela Khanum in her prime

When the British occupied Mesopotamia and set up the Mesopotamian mandate in Baghdad, they were quite unsure what to do with the Mosul regions of Kurdistan. A great Mosul question had arisen, and since the North regions were different from the Arabs, this question involved whether Mosul should become a separate country from the government of Baghdad, forming a primarily Kurdish nation to north of it based around Mosul. Sheikh Barzani, Adela Khanum's counterpart in Suliamania, was the main supporter of this idea. The Treaty of Versailles, which had been signed between all its participants had special clauses, concerning that Kurds be given their own country. Therefore the British had set up a Special Mosul Commission to establish an appropriate government for the Kurds to rule their own country. Each chief would be regulated by a British political officer, who regulated each chief of the Kurdish tribes. The Chief political officer of the Civil Commission was Major Ely Banister Soane, the British Spy, who had taught Adela Khanum's son Persian. The Civil commission had worked out a form of tribal republic, where each chief elected one chief to rule them all. Everyone voted for Sheikh Mahmud Barzani, except for Mahmud Pasha Jaff, who ruled out any cooperation with the British. Sheikh Mahmud Barzani, as leader of the tribes, would grow weary of dealing with the British. He would declare himself King of the newly proclaimed Kingdom of Kurdistan. All Kurdish tribes would yield to his rule, except for Adela Khanum, who despised the Barzanis, and saw them as a threat to her own ambitions.

An old Ottoman Colonel by the name of Colonel Mustafa Kemal Ataturk would rise up against the allied powers occupation of the former Ottoman Empire. His forces would rise up against the French in Kahramanmaras, the British in Canakanale, the Armenians in Van, and the Greeks in Antalya. The allies of the Turks would be the Italians and the Bolshieviks. Mustafa Kemal would begin the formation of a new Turkish state under a Kemalist system of government, which would be run by a Military and civilian branch. Mustafa Kemal would have his sights on oil rich Mosul as well. He saw Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji as an important ally in claiming the city of Mosul. They would begin to give aid to him, and encourage him in his uprising against the British. Adela Khanum would be in complete opposition to Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's uprising. The Barzanji's had been enemies of the Jaff, since the time of Jaff Sheikh Khalid I Baghdadi. He been in rivalry with the Sheikh Barzinji Sheikh Maruf, who would stir an uprising against Sheikh Khalidi Baghdadi, who would flee Iraq for the safety of Constantinople, as he was popular with the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Mecid II. The Jaff were despised by the Hamavand as well, who were great allies of the Barzanjis. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's revolt would sweep across Southern Kurdistan, and his forces would march on Halabja, where he would detain Adela Khanum's son, Ahmed Beg Jaff, within the Caves of Jasana. Adela Khanum with British A.P.O. officer Leeds and his newly recruited Jaff levies would hole themselves up within Adela Khanum's house with Adela Khanum.

Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji would have a former Imperial Russian officer, General Kaderi, train his new armies. General Kaderi was experienced in building militias out of tribes. He had done so with

Kyrgyz tribes on the Persian front of World War 1. Russia had so successfully imposed its might on Persia during World War 1, blocking any Ottoman German advance into the country. They now had their sights set on the Mesopotamian territories. Their historical allies were the Kurds, since the times of Count Paskevich during the great Russo Ottoman war of 1877-1879. The Russians had armed the enemies of the Jaff, the Hamavand, who would kill the great Jaff chief, Mohamed Pasha Jaff, during the Sheikh Ubeydullah revolts in 1880. A Russian officer would covertly now arm the new enemies of the Jaff, the Barzanjis. The Jaff in Halabja were completely opposed to the Barzanjis. The Jaff along the Persian frontier under Hamid Beg Jaff were in alignment with Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. They would begin to defy paying taxes to the British, and wanted to answer only to Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. The Halabja Jaff under Adela Khanum would, however, would offer to continue to pay taxes with the British, and Adela Khanum and her son Ahmed Beg Jaff desired to be directly under the control of the British. Adela Khanum had become alienated from much of the rest of the Kurdish tribes and Suliamania, because most tribes recognized Mahmud Pasha Jaff's clan to be the true tribal leaders of the Jaff tribe, the brother of Adela Khanum's husband, Osman Pasha Jaff. The former Ottoman authorities had put Osman Pasha Jaff in the place of Mahmud Pasha Jaff. Most Kurds did not recognize this succession of power. Adela Khanum and her son, Ahmed Beg Jaff, had long held a position of collaboration with governing authorities of the Middle East. They had never taken part in the insurgencies of Kurdish irredentists such as the revolts of Simko Shikak. The revolts of Simko Shikak would rise against the Persian authorities in aftermath of World War 1. There would be a coup in Iran, which would depose the Qajar. Reza Shah Pahlavi would come to power. The Kurds would revolt in the vacuum of power. The Persian authorities at Sanandaj would ask Adela Khanum with Ardalan ties to mediate between the Persian government and the hostile Kurdish tribes of the Dizli and Merivan. Adela Khanum gladly did this, and convinced the Merivan and Dizli to cooperate with the Persian government, and not join the revolts of Simko Shikak.

Major Ely Banister Soane would assign Major George Mason Leeds as the Political officer of Halabja, and would serve as British advisor to Adela Khanum and Ahmed Beg Jaff. Major George Mason Leeds would develop a very good relationship with Adela Khanum and would begin to raise Jaff levies from Halabja into an army. He wished to develop a military force that could deal with any threat. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji was a great threat to him, especially as Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji began to encourage anti British sentiment among the Kurds. Barzani ordered the Kurds under him to kill and capture all British political officers living amongst them to end the British rule of Kurdistan. Adela Khanum took advantage of the situation and gave refuge to all the British political officers in Halabja, taking advantage of her old ties with Major Ely Banister Soane. The British officials were given warm hospitality at her beautiful Persian mansions. Major George Mason Leeds with his Jaff levies would offer resistance to Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces as his allies launched an attack on Halabja besieging it. The siege would hold out for several days, but Halabja would partially come under control of Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji. Major Leeds and the Adela Khanum were under strain, and could only offer token resistance, as the greater Jaff were under Mahmud Pasha Jaff, who would only come to their aid if they had British support. Unfortunately for Adela Khanum and Major Leeds there were no British forces in the area for miles. Major Leeds

and Adela Khanum's forces would continue to hold against Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji's forces. British officer Major Fraser enlisted a group of Assyrian Christians to aid in the suppressing revolt, which they gladly did. They would counter attack against Suliamania, and wound and capture Sheikh Mahmud Barzani, ending the revolt and the Kingdom of Kurdistan.

Cecil J. Edmonds would also accompany Fraser force, advancing through Hamavand country, who were the archrivals of the Jaff. They had joined Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji in his revolt against the British. Cecil J. Edmonds would come upon the village of Kak Ahmed with a force of Burman levies of the Imperial British armies, and would capture several Hamavand, who would be employed as his guides. His Burman detachment would deal a decisive blow to the forces of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, and wound the Sheikh in the battle. Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji would retreat to Suliamania, where the main force of General Fraser would march into the town and seize the main depot of the revolt, where the British were holed up. Cecil J. Edmonds with his force would later find a wounded Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji lying on the road wounded, accompanied by his Hamavand guides. He would detain Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji at Bazyan. He would be exiled to India for two years. Cecil J. Edmonds would be the new Chief Political officer, who would govern the Kurds. He and his forces would eventually come to Halabja to relieve Major Leeds and Adela Khanum, who were under siege. All of Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji's forces would disperse.

Major Fraser was well pleased with Adela Khanum's efforts that he personally rode to Halabja in his car to award Adela Khanum and pay proper respects to her for saving the British Civil commission. He would award her the title of Khan Bahadur, which originated in India and was the Indian equivalent of Pasha. This of course had been adopted by the British in their Empire in India, and used for all their distinguished people in their colonial services.^{1,2,6,7,}

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

buzz her palace in revenge. Though this was not enough to stop Adela Khanum's games. He would be continued to be harrassed by gunmen during the night. This proved to much for Major Leeds to handle as he felt an extreme discomfort from his work. He therefore resigned from his post and job, taking to the study of botony instead. Halabja and the Shahrizor would therefore never fall under the juristiction of the British Civil Commission. Adela Khanum had achieved what Sheikh Mahmud Barzani had failed to do. She had achieved independence of the British. The British would deam the Jaff tribe too violent to rule.^{1,2,3,6,7,}

Major Cecil J. Edmonds would replace Major Ely Banister Soane as political officer of the Mosul Civil Commission in 1922. He would avoid Adela Khanum as much as he possibly could. He knew her history very well. By this time it was becoming apparent that the Kurds would never be given their own country. They would instead be placed under the newly formed Kingdom of Iraq, and become their problem. It was Major Cecil J. Edmond's job to smooth over that transition. It was Adela Khanum's desire to capitolize on that transition, securing a position for her son to take part in the new Iraqi government. Adela Khanum would finally convince Cecil J. Edmonds to appoint her son Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff as governor of Halabja. Thee Jaff in effect had secured control over Halabja in the new Kingdom of Iraq. She would develop a close relationship with Gertrude Bell, who was an advisor to the new Iraqi monarch King Faisel. They spoke much of the formation of the new Iraqi state, and it was through Adela Khanum's relationship with Gertrude Bell that she was able to secure a position for her son in the Iraqi parliament in 1924, Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff. Unfortunately, she would die around that time. New complications would arise during the return of Sheikh Mahmud Barzani in 1922. A new Turkish threat to the British came from Mustapha Kemal's insurgency to the north of Mosul. The revolts had spread from Kahramanmaras to Ankara, and were now threatening Mosul, which Mustapha Kemal prized as a Turkish town. He wished to forge an alliance with the Kurds in overthrowing the British from the region. The British feeling threatened, believed if they brought back Mahmud Barzani, he would keep in check the Kurd's going over to Mustapha Kemal's movement. They even promised to give the Kurds their own country if he cooperated with them. In 1922 he returned, but to their surprise he revolted again, reinstating himself as king of Kurdistan. This time his revolt would be much more successful, and the British would not suppress it until 1932. This caused alot of tensions for the Jaff in their bid to progress in the Kingdom of Iraq.^{1,2,3,6,7,} Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji would launch an attack on Halabja during his revolts around 1922. Halabja would be occupied by Barzinji's forces, and Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would be imprisoned by him. The reason was that the British had set up their main headquarters in Tahir Beg Jaff's house. Barzinji would send a rebel garrison to occupy Halabja. Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would be held at the caves of Jasana. He would however escape. Adela Khanum would flee to Kirkuk. Ahmed Muxter Beg Jaff would later move on to become a member of Iraqi parliament in 1924. Adela Khanum would die of poor health in 1924 at around age 70 in Suliamania. Hamid Beg Jaff would move to take over the position of Begzada of the Jaff tribe, chosen by the British.

¹ Ely Banister Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, London 2007, [ISBN 1-4021-5914-5](https://www.amazon.com/dp/1402159145)

² Ely Banister Soane, Notes on the Southern Tribes of Kurdistan, Civil commissioner, Baghdad. 1918

³ Ely Banister Soane, Report on the Sulaimania district of Kurdistan. 1910

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

⁵ Personalities in Kurdistan, Civil Commissioner, Baghdad. 1918

⁶ David K. Fieldhouse (9 February 2002). [*Kurds, Arabs and Britons: The Memoir of Col. W.A. Lyon in Kurdistan, 1918-1945*](#). I.B.Tauris. [ISBN 978-1-86064-613-3](#).

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