Contents

List of Illustrations x
Acknowledgments xiii
Note on Transliteration and Usage xvii
List of Abbreviations xix

Introduction 1
The Nature of the Ottoman-Iranian Frontier 1
A Note on Terminology 8
Dividing the Umma, Defining Its Frontiers 10
Islamic Concepts of Frontier 13
Ottoman-Iranian Treaties and Frontiers 20
A Note on Sources and Methodology 26
Structure of the Book 28

1. The Kurdish Frontier and Ottoman-Qajar Relations 31
The End of the Ancien Régime and the Rising Capacity of States at the Borderland 34
The Administrative Organization of Ottoman Kurdistan 37
Babans between the Ottomans and Qajars 42
Tribes and Empires: The Case of Haydaran and Sipki 49
The Last Ottoman-Iranian War, 1821–1822 52
The Erzurum Treaty of 1823 54
Developments Leading to the Making of the Frontier 57
Great Power Intervention and the Making of the Boundary 64
Pacification of the Borderland: The First Phase 66
Khan Abdal and the City of Van 68
The Babans, for the Last Time 71
The Case of the City of Van and the Mir of Bohtan 75
Taxes, Conscription, Retribalization: The State Is Here to Stay 81
## Contents

2. Laying the Ground: The Concert of Zagros  
   - The Commissioners and Their Work  
     - There Was a Treaty of 1639, but Where Is It?  
     - Geopolitics and Boundary Making: The Case of Zohab/Qasr-i Shirin  
     - Shatt al-Arab, Muhammarah, and the Ka'b Tribe  
     - Imperial Decision Making  
     - Pasture Politics: Frontiers and Tribes  
     - Other Issues at the Conference  
     - The Erzurum Treaty of 1847  
   - The Long Journey of the First Survey Commission  
     - The Commissioners and Their Duties  
     - Creating Facts on the Ground, or Dervish Pasha’s Long Detour at Kotur  
     - Locating the Boundary of Muhammarah and Shatt al-Arab  
     - Locating the Boundary of Zohab-Qasr-i Shirin  
     - Commissioners and Borderlanders: Inscribing Subjecthood on the People of the Frontier  
     - The Case of the Failis of Posht-e Kuh  
     - Using the State to Advance Local Claims: The Case of Banu Lam  
     - Sunnis for the Caliph: Claiming the Lands in the Name of Defunct Kurdish Dynasts  
     - To Which Pasture the Nomads Belong, and to Which Country the Pasture?  
     - Limits of Sectarianism: Ottoman Efforts to Lure the Sunnis  
     - The End of the Survey  
4. The Borderland between the Crimean War and the Berlin Congress  
   - The Crimean War and the Northern Borderland  
   - The Crimean War and Ottoman-Iranian Relations  
   - The Locals and the Localities: How to Control, Whom to Stop  
   - Forming a New Commission, Teaching the Borderlanders a Lesson  
   - Bringing the State into Local Disputes  
   - New Actors and Notions: Migration as Asylum  
   - The Commission of 1874  
   - The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 and the Transformation of Borderland Identities  
   - The End of the War: Kotur and Minor Moving into Major  
5. Sunnis for the Sultan: The Ottoman Occupation of Northwestern Iran, 1905–1912  
   - Justifying the Integration  
   - The Case of the Bilbas and the Beginning of the Ottoman Occupation  

## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Kurdish Tribe, an American Missionary, and the Dekhalet Petitions</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Responses to the Occupation</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Commissions and Claims: The 1908 Frontier Commission</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The End of Abdulhamid II’s Reign, the CUP, and the Borderland</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sunni Appeals to the CUP and the Impending End of the Annexation</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The “Independent” 1911 Commission</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ottoman Policies in the Nevahi-i Şarkiyye</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The End of the Occupation</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Boundary at Last</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Changing Power Dynamics and the Northern Borderland Communities</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exclusion of Iran from Negotiations</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Final Commission, 1913–1914</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Select Bibliography</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>