The Cambridge History of the Kurds is an authoritative and comprehensive volume exploring the social, political and economic features, forces and evolution amongst the Kurds, and in the region known as Kurdistan, from the fifteenth to the twenty-first centuries. Written in a clear and accessible style by leading scholars in the field, the chapters survey key issues and themes vital to any understanding of the Kurds and Kurdistan including Kurdish language; Kurdish art, culture and literature; Kurdistan in the age of empires; political, social and religious movements in Kurdistan; and domestic political developments in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Other chapters on gender, diaspora, political economy, tribes, cinema and folklore offer fresh perspectives on the Kurds and Kurdistan as well as neatly meeting an exigent need in Middle Eastern studies. Situating contemporary developments taking place in Kurdish-majority regions within broader histories of the region, it forms a definitive survey of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan.


Cengiz Gunes is Associate Lecturer and Honorary Associate in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at The Open University. He is the author of The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance (2015) and has published widely on different aspects of Kurdish politics across the Middle East.

Veli Yadiri is a member of staff in the Department of Development Studies at SOAS, University of London, and member of the London Middle East Institute: Neoliberalism, Globalisation and States, as well as the Centre for Ottoman Studies. He is the author of the double award-winning book The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (2017).
THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE KURDS

Edited by
HAMIT BOZARSLAN
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
CENGIZ GUNES
The Open University
VELI YADIRGI
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Contents

List of Figures  page x
List of Maps   xi
List of Tables  xii
List of Contributors  xiii
Acknowledgements  xxii
List of Abbreviations  xxii

Introduction: The Kurds and the Kurdish Question in the Middle East  1

HAMIT BOZARSLAN, CENGIZ GUNES AND VELI YADIRGI

PART I  
HISTORICAL LEGACIES

1 · The Rise and Fall of the Kurdish Emirates (Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)  25
BORIS JAMES

2 · Negotiating Political Power in the Early Modern Middle East: Kurdish Emirates between the Ottoman Empire and Iranian Dynasties (Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)  45
METIN ATMACA

3 · The End of Kurdish Autonomy: The Destruction of the Kurdish Emirates in the Ottoman Empire  73
SABRI ATES

4 · The Kurdish Movement and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1923  104
DJENE RHYS BAJALAN
Contents

5. Religious Narrations of the Kurdish Nation during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries 138
   Kamal Soleimani

6. The Political Economy of Kurdistan: From Development to De-development 166
   Veli Yadirgi

PART II
REGIONAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE KURDS IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

7. Kurds and Kurdish Nationalism in the Interwar Period 205
   Metin Yüksel

8. From Tribal Chiefs to Marxist Activists: Kurdistan from 1946 to 1975 229
   Béatrice Garapon and Adnan Çelik

9. Kurdish Politics across the Middle East during the 1970s 250
   Cengiz Gunes

10. Dark Times: Kurdistan in the Turmoil of the Middle East, 1979–2003 269
    Hamit Bozarslan

11. Kurds in a New Century: Prospects and Challenges 289
    Mehmet Gurses and David Romano

PART III
DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE KURDS IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

12. Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey, 1898–2018 311
    Mesut Yegên

13. Why Autonomy Hasn’t Been Possible for Kurds in Turkey 333
    Derya Bayir
Contents

14 · The Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 1991–2018  362
   GARETH STANSFIELD

15 · Street Protest and Opposition in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq  382
   NICOLE F. WATTS

16 · Minority, State and Nation: Kurdish Society in Iran in the
   Aftermath of the Revolution  407
   MASSoud SHARIFI DRYAZ

17 · The Kurdish Question in Syria, 1946–2019  436
   JORDI TEJEL

18 · The Yezidis in the Soviet Union  458
   ESTELLE AMY DE LA BRETE`QUE

PART IV

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

19 · Religion in Kurdistan  477
   MICHIEL LEEZENBERG

20 · Religion and Politics in Turkey’s Kurdistan from the Beginning of the
   Republic  506
   MEHMET KURT

21 · ‘Kurdish’ Religious Minorities in the Modern World  533
   PHILIP G. KREYENBROEK AND KHANNA OMARKHALI

22 · The Kurdish Alevi: The Followers of the Path of Truth (Raa Haq/Riya
   Heqi)  560
   ERDAL GEZIK

23 · Tribes and Their Changing Role in Kurdish Politics and Society  581
   HAMIT BOZARSLAN AND CENGIZ GUNES

PART V

KURDISH LANGUAGE

24 · The History of Kurdish and the Development of Literary Kurmanji  603
   ERGin ÖPENGIN

vii
Contents

25 · The History and Development of Literary Central Kurdish 633
JAFFER SHEYHOLISLAMI

26 · The Kirmanjki (Zazaki) Dialect of Kurdish Language and the Issues It Faces 663
MEHEMED MALMİSANİJ

PART VI
ART, CULTURE AND LITERATURE

27 · From the Wandering Poets to the Stateless Novelists: A Short Introduction to Kurdish Literary History 687
HASHEM AHMADZADEH

28 · A History of Kurdish Poetry 707
FARANGİS GHADERI

29 · A History of Kurdish Theatre 729
MARI R. ROSTAMI

30 · A Cinematography of Kurdishness: Identity, Industry and Resistance 752
BAHAR ŞİMŞEK

31 · Kurdish Art and Cultural Production: Rhetoric of the New Kurdish Subject 775
ENGIN SUSTAM

PART VII
TRANSVERSAL DYNAMICS

32 · A People beyond the State: Kurdish Movements and Self-determination in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries 805
JOOST JONGERDEN AND AHMET HAMDİ AKKAYA

33 · Kurdish Transnational Indigeneity 829
İPEK DEMİR

34 · Kurdish Diaspora: A Transnational Imagined Community 848
BARZOO ELIASSI
Contents

35 · The Women’s Movement in Kurdistan-Iraq 869
CHOMAN HARDI

36 · A Struggle within a Struggle: A History of the Kurdistan Women’s Freedom Movement, 1978–2019 893
ISABEL KÄSER

Index 920
Figures

16.1 Voter participation in presidential elections (1979–2017)  page 427
16.2 Voter participation in Iran’s Islamic Consultative Assembly (1979–2016)  428
Maps

0.1 Map of Kurdistan by Sherif Pasha (1919)  page xxvi
0.2 Map of Kurdish inhabited areas  xxviii
25.1 Central Kurdish identified among other major Kurdish varieties  634
Tables

6.1 Total revenue of the Ottoman Empire, 1527–1528 ........................................ page 167
6.2 Balance of provincial revenues, 1527–1528 (in million akçes) ......................... 168
6.3 Provincial tax-farm revenues of Anatolia and the coastal and northern portions of Syria, early seventeenth century (in akçes) .................................................. 170
6.4 Principal revenues for the provinces of Diyarbekir and Erzurum, early seventeenth century (in akçes) .............................................................. 170
6.5 English and French imports from the Levant, 1620–1789 ............................. 171
6.6 Mukataa revenues, 1706–1707 (in million akçes) .......................................... 172
6.7 Principal mukataa, 1698/1699–1748 (in million akçes) ................................. 173
6.8 Revenues of the Diyarbekir Vovodalıği, 1797–1798 (in kuruș) ......................... 174
6.9 Distribution of farm sizes ca. 1900 in the core regions of the Ottoman Empire 178
6.10 Customs revenues collected by the Diyarbekir Vovodalıği, 1797–1834 .......... 179
6.11 Revenues of the Diyarbekir Vovodalıği, 1797–1834 (in kuruș) .......................... 181
6.12 Imports and exports of Erzurum, 1871–1884 (in pounds sterling) ............... 185
6.13 Imports and exports of Diyarbekir, 1863–1884 (in pounds sterling) .............. 185
6.14 Imports and exports of Diyarbekir, 1890–1913 (in pounds sterling) .............. 186
6.15 Imports and exports of Erzurum, 1890–1913 (in pounds sterling) ................. 187
6.16 Indicators of development, 1913–1928 ...................................................... 194
24.1 The speaker population of Kurdish ........................................................... 604
26.1 Distinguishing sounds in Kurdish .............................................................. 669
26.2 'V'/ 'W' sounds in Kirmanjki and 'M' sound in Kurmanji ................................. 670
26.3 Sound changes in Kirmanjki and Kurmanji ................................................ 671
26.4 Sound changes in Kirmanjki and Kurmanji ................................................ 671
26.5 Further sound changes in Kirmanjki and Kurmanji ...................................... 672
26.6 'B'–'V'/'V'–'B' sound change examples in Kirmanjki ............................... 672
26.7 'B'–'V'/'V'–'B' sound change examples in Kurmanjki ............................... 673
26.8 'C'–'J' sound change examples in Kirmanjki .............................................. 673
26.9 'W'–'H' sound change examples in Kirmanjki ............................................ 674
Contributors

Hasem Ahmadzadeh received his doctoral degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Uppsala University in March 2003. His dissertation, ‘Nation and Novel: A Study of Persian and Kurdish Narrative Discourse’, was published by Uppsala University in the same year. Beside conducting research about various aspects of Kurdish culture and literature, he has taught various courses at the University of Exeter and Uppsala University, Lebanese French University in Kurdistan and the Swedish School of Interpretation. He has widely published and translated on the various aspects of Kurdish politics and literature. Currently, he teaches at the Department of Linguistics and Philology at Uppsala University.

Ahmet Hamdi Akkaya (BS Sociology, Middle East Technical University, Turkey; MSc Sociology and PhD Political Science, Ghent University, Belgium) worked as a Marie-Curie post-doctoral researcher affiliated to the Space and Power Research Group in the Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology at the Complutense University of Madrid, Spain. His PhD thesis, ‘The Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK): National Liberation, Insurgency and Radical Democracy beyond Borders’, examined the emergence and development of the PKK. His main research interests are in identity and nationalism, insurgency and social movements.

Estelle Amy de la Bretteque is a researcher in Anthropology at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). She conducted research on melodized speech and narratives of sorrow amongst the Yezidis of Armenia, on women’s mourning ceremonies in Azerbaijan and on the laments of Kurdish displaced women in Istanbul and Diyarbakir suburbs. She has published a book on epic narratives and laments amongst the Yezidis of Armenia (Paroles mélodisées. Récits épiques et lamentations chez les Yézidis d’Arménie, ed. Classiques-Garnier, 2013) and several articles on vocal repertoires in the Caucasus and Anatolia. She is currently conducting research in the Yezidi diaspora on social and religious changes.

Sakri Ates is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Southern Methodist University. He specializes in Ottoman–Iranian relations, Kurdish history, the late Ottoman Empire, sectarianism in the Middle East and borderlands. He is the author of Tunali Hilmi Bey: Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyet’e Bir Aydın (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), and The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making Boundary, 1834–1914 (Cambridge, 2013). At present he is working on his book on the Sheikh Ubeydullah Revolt of 1880.
List of Contributors

METIN ATMACA (BA, University of Ankara, 1999; MA, University of Texas at Austin, 2006; PhD, University of Freiburg, 2013) is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Social Sciences University of Ankara. He has published several monographic articles and book reviews on Ottoman Arab historiography, microhistory in Ottoman studies, Kurdish emirates and the perception of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern historiography in major scholarly journals, such as *Middle Eastern Studies, Insight Turkey, Oxford Bibliographies Online, Journal of World History, Ab Imperio* and *Kurdish Studies*. His book *Contributions to Zagology and Kardology: V. F. Minorsky and C. J. Edmonds Correspondence (1928–65)* (Brill) with Gennady Kurin is forthcoming.

DJENE RHYS BAJALAN is a historian, specializing in the history of the Kurds. He holds a DPhil in Oriental Studies from the University of Oxford and has worked and studied in Turkey, Great Britain and Iraqi Kurdistan. He is currently an assistant professor in the Department of History at Missouri State University and an assistant editor of the *Journal of Kurdish Studies*. He is also the author of *Jön Kürtler: Birinci Dünya Savaşıdan Önce Kürt Hareketleri 1898–1914 (The Young Kurds: The Kurdish Movement before the First World War)* (2010) and co-editor of *Studies in Kurdish History: Empire, Ethnic and Islam* (2015).

DERYA BATIR is the author of *Minorities and Nationalism in Turkish Law*. Her interests include international human rights and minority rights, law and religion, the Turkish legal system and Ottoman pluralism. She obtained her doctorate from the School of Law at Queen Mary, University of London. Her thesis was awarded a prize by the Contemporary Turkish Studies Chair at the LSE. Batir has litigated many cases before the European Court of Human Rights, including the prominent case of Güveç v. *Turkey*. She was affiliated to GLOCUL as a visiting scholar while holding a Leverhulme Research Fellowship to research secular law and religious diversity in Turkey. Her areas of research include human rights, minority rights, diversity and law, ethno-religious diversity in Turkey’s legal system, nationalism, Ottoman pluralism, constitutional law and autonomous and federal state systems.

HAMIT BOZARSLAN is a professor and Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. His research interests focus on the historical and political sociology of the Middle East. He holds PhDs in History and in Political Science, respectively, and has been teaching at the EHESS since 1990. His publications include *La question kurde. États et minorités au Moyen-Orient* (Paris, Sciences-Pol, 1997), *Histoire de la Turquie de l’Empire à nos jours* (Paris, Tallandier, 2013), *Révolution et état de violence: Moyen-Orient 2010-2015* (Paris, CNRS, 2015) and *Crise, violence et dé-civilisation. Essai sur les angles morts de la cité* (Paris, CNRS, 2019). He is currently researching anti-democracy in the twenty-first century.

ADNAN ÇELİK received his PhD in Social Anthropology from EHESS in Paris with the thesis ‘Internal Violence across Time and Space: Revisiting the Kurdish Conflicts in Turkey at the Local Level (From the 19th Century to the War of the 1990s)’. He is the co-author of *A Hundred-Year Curse: In Search of Collective Memory, 1915 Diyarbekir with Namık Kemal Dînc*, and has published several papers in journals such as the *European Journal of Turkish Studies, Revue Anatoli* and *Études arméniennes contemporaines*. His current...
research interests include political violence, collective memory, Kurdish and oral history and genocide.

**Ipek Demir** (BA, University of Ankara; MA and PhD University of Sussex; ESRC Postdoctoral Fellow, History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge) is Associate Professor in Sociology and Social Policy (SSP) at the University of Leeds. She previously taught politics and sociology at the universities of Cambridge, Sussex and Leicester, and the Open University. Demir is an interdisciplinary sociologist. Her work sits at the intersections of the fields of diaspora studies, ethno-politics, race and identity, indigeneity, epistemology, politics of knowledge and social and critical thought. Her current work on Kurdish diaspora examines the relationship between identity and epistemology.

**Barzoos Eliassi** is Associate Professor at the Department of Social Work at Linnaeus University. Eliassi is also a research associate at Oxford University, and affiliated researcher at the Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Lund University, and at the Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society, Forte Centre of Excellence, Linköping University. He has published widely on processes of inclusion and exclusion in multi-ethnic societies in the Middle East and Western Europe and wrote the first international book on Kurdish diaspora in Sweden: *Contesting Kurdish Identities in Sweden: Quest for Belonging among Middle Eastern Youth* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

**Beatrice Garapon** holds a PhD in History and Political Science from Sciences Po Bordeaux. She studied Turkey’s transition from one-party rule to democracy in the 1950s through local politics. She has published several papers in journals such as *Esprit*, *Anatolii* and *TV/Series*. Her current research interests include local politics, political anthropology and Turkish political parties.

**Erdal Gezik** is a researcher at the University of Amsterdam. He has studied history and economics in the Netherlands, and published widely on Alevi, Kurdish and Dersim history and religious traditions. He is intensively utilizing oral history method for his works. Currently, Gezik is conducting research on the history of hereditary religious organization of Alevis.

**Farangis Ghaderi** is Research Fellow at the Centre for Kurdish Studies at the University of Exeter. She obtained her PhD in Kurdish Studies from the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies of the University of Exeter in 2016 and her doctoral research examined the emergence and development of modern Kurdish poetry. She is the author of several peer-reviewed articles on Kurdish literature and an editor of the Kurdish-language academic journal *Derwaze*.

**Cengiz Gunes** obtained his PhD at the Department of Government, University of Essex. He is the author of *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance* (Routledge, 2012), *The Kurds in a New Middle East: The Changing Geopolitics of a Regional Conflict* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) and *The Political Representation of Kurds in Turkey: New
List of Contributors

Actors and Modes of Participation in a Changing Society (I.B. Tauris, 2021). He is the co-editor of The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation, and Reconciliation (Routledge, 2014) and has published articles in several international journals, including Nationalities Papers, New Left Review and Ethnopolitics. He is currently Associate Lecturer and Honorary Research Associate in Politics at the Open University.

Mehmet Gurses is Professor of Political Science at Florida Atlantic University. His research interests include ethnic and religious conflict, post-civil war peace building and post-civil war democratization. He is the author of Anatomy of a Civil War: Sociopolitical Impacts of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey (University of Michigan Press, 2018) and co-editor of Conflict, Democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). He has published extensively in journals, including International Interactions, Social Science Quarterly, Party Politics, Political Research Quarterly and Comparative Politics.

Choman Hardi is the founding director of the Center for Gender and Development Studies (CGDS) at the American University of Iraq Sulaimani and a co-director of the GCRF Gender, Justice and Security Hub. Her research focuses on women’s experiences of political violence as well as their role in social and political movements. At the GCRF Hub, Hardi is researching the role of institutions and practices in the construction of masculinity in the Kurdistan region. Under her leadership, CGDS is developing gender studies resources in Kurdish and Arabic, funded by the European Union. Also, as a poet, she has published collections of poetry in English and Kurdish.

Boris James is a professor at Montpellier University UPV, France. He holds a PhD in History from Paris Nanterre University. He is a specialist in Islamic and Kurdish history and was a research fellow at IFPO (Institut Français du Proche-Orient) and the head of its Erbil branch in Iraqi Kurdistan from 2014 to 2018. He is the author of several books and articles in French and English, including Saladin et les Kurdes: perception d’un groupe au temps des Croisades [Saladin and the Kurds] and ‘Constructing the Realm of the Kurds (al-Mamlaka al-Akradiyya): Kurdish In-betweenness and Mamluk Ethnic Engineering (1130–1340 CE)’. 

Joost Jongerden is Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, Wageningen University, the Netherlands, and Project Professor at the Asian Platform for Global Sustainability and Transcultural Studies at Kyoto University, Japan. He studies the ways in which people develop alternatives to market- and state-induced insecurities. This he refers to as ‘Do-It-Yourself Development’. A list of his publications is available at www.joostjongerden.academiedu.

Isabel Kaser is a visiting fellow at the LSE’s Middle East Centre. She gained her PhD at SOAS, where she worked on the Kurdish women’s freedom movement, looking at the movement’s history, knowledge production and transnational mode of organizing between the armed and political spheres. Her work, which speaks to debates around gender and war, militarism and body politics, is currently being turned into a book. She lectures at the University of Bern and is involved in a number of non-governmental
organizations in London and Iraqi Kurdistan, such as Culture Project, a platform for Kurdish feminist writers, artists and activists.

Philip G. Kreyenbroek (PhD, Leiden, 1982) studied Arabic, Persian, Ancient Iranian and religious studies in Amsterdam, Utrecht and London. He has held the posts of Lecturer in Iranian Studies, Utrecht University, 1973–88, Lecturer/Reader in Iranian Languages and Religions, SOAS, 1988–96, and Professor of Iranian Studies, Georg-August University of Göttingen, 1996–2016. He has published widely on oral traditions and minority religions in Iran, especially Zoroastrianism, Yezidism and Yarsanism.

Mehmet Kurt is a lecturer at Yale University and Marie-Curie Global Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research lies at the intersection of anthropology, political sociology and ethnography with a specific focus on the Kurdish question, political Islam, youth and civil society in Turkey and among Muslim diasporic communities in Europe and the USA. He currently works on transnational Islamic movements and mobilizations and examines the relationship between state policy and non-state actors to better understand how Muslims experience, live and imagine Islam, ethnonational and transnational identities and belongings in Western countries.

Michiel Leezenberg teaches in the departments of philosophy and religious studies of the University of Amsterdam and has a visiting position at INALCO/Sorbonne in Paris. His research focuses on the history and philosophy of the humanities, comparative literature and the cultural and intellectual history of the Kurds. Among his recent publications are articles on Eli Teremaxi and Mullah Mahmûdê Bayazidi, and on the development of vernacular languages in the modernizing Ottoman Empire and in mandate Iraq; and a book-length study on sexuality and politics in the Islamic world (in Dutch).

Mehemed Malıșanij (Mehmet Tayfun) (MA, University of Borås, Sweden, 1998; PhD, University of Zakho, Iraq, 2017) was born in Diyarbekir in 1952 and studied Iranian languages in Turkey, France, Sweden and Iraq. He has published several works on Kurdish dialects and Kurdish history. He currently teaches at the Kurdish Language and Culture Department at the Mardin Atuklu University in Turkey.

Khanna Omarkhalı is Researcher and Lecturer in Kurdish Studies at the Institute of Iranian Studies, Free University of Berlin. She was granted her Doctor of Philosophy of Science in 2006 at the Department of Religious Studies, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia. In July 2017, she ‘habilitated’ in Iranian Studies at the Georg-August University of Göttingen. Her main research covers Yezidism, religious minorities, orality and scripturalisation in the Middle East. She has authored works in several languages, including Religious Minorities in Kurdistan: Beyond the Mainstream (Wiesbaden, 2014), and The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition: From Oral to Written – Categories, Transmission, Scripturalisation and Canonisation of the Yezidi Oral Religious Texts (Wiesbaden, 2017).

Ergin Öpengin is a lecturer at the University of Kurdistan-Hewlêr. He obtained his PhD in General Linguistics from Sorbonne Nouvelle and the University of Bamberg in 2013. His
List of Contributors

research is mainly focused on the structural and sociolinguistic aspects of the Kurdish language. He is the author of The Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish (Reichert Verlag, 2016), and co-editor of the special issue of Kurdish Studies on Kurdish linguistics in 2014 and Current Issues in Kurdish Linguistics (Bamberg University Press, 2019). He is the managing editor of Derwaze: Kurdish Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities and associate editor of the Kurdish Studies journal.

DAVID ROMANO holds the Thomas G. Strong Chair in Middle East Politics at Missouri State University. His work has appeared in journals such as International Affairs, Journal of Refugee Studies, Third World Quarterly, International Studies Perspectives, The Middle East Journal, Middle East Policy and Ethnopolitics. He is the author of The Kurdish Nationalist Movement (Cambridge, 2006; also translated into Turkish and Persian) and the co-editor, along with Mehmet Gurses, of Conflict, Democratization and the Kurdish Issue in the Middle East (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Romano was also the recipient of the 2015 Missouri Governor’s award for teaching.

MARI R. ROSTAMI is Associate Member at the Centre for Research on Language and Culture Contact, York University, Canada. She is a graduate of the University of Exeter where she obtained her master’s and PhD in Kurdish Studies. Her book Kurdish Nationalism on Stage: Performance, Politics and Resistance in Iraq (2019) is the first history of Kurdish theatre in English.

MASSOUD SHARIFI DRYAZ is a sociologist, and currently an associate professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, a researcher at the CER-Migrations-Barcelona and an associate member of CADIS-EHESS-Paris. He has served as a member of the Catalan Association of Sociology Board of Directors since 2017. He completed his PhD at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales-Paris. His research interests lie in political sociology and social policy. He has published articles and book chapters in Lexington Books, Passés Composés – Humensis, Maghreb-Machrek, Anatoli, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme and Scientific Journal on Intercultural Studies.

JAFFER SHEYHOLISLAMI has been a graduate faculty member in Linguistics and Language Studies at Carleton University since 2008. His main research interests are sociolinguistics, discourse studies and Kurdish linguistics. He has delivered over twenty keynote and invited talks at international conferences. He has published widely in journals such as Language Policy, Discourse & Society and International Journal of the Sociology of Language (IJSL), has authored Kurdish Identity, Discourse and New Media (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and was the first editor of a special issue of IJSL focusing on Kurdish in 2012. Several of his publications have been translated into other languages.

BAHAR ŞİMİER was a research assistant in the Faculty of Communication, Ankara University, until she was dismissed as per an emergency decree in January 2017 due to being a signatory to the petition ‘We will not be party to this crime’ by the Academics for Peace initiative in Turkey. She has an interdisciplinary background in mathematics, cultural studies and politics. Her research interests include theories of gender, ethnicity and cultural politics.
List of Contributors

Kamal Soleimani specializes in Islamic and Middle Eastern history and politics. Soleimani received his PhD (2014) in Islamic and Middle Eastern history from Columbia University, New York, and has taught in universities around the world. His work has appeared in such major academic journals as The British Journal of Sociology, Ethnicities, Third World Quarterly, Postcolonial Studies and The Muslim World. In his first book, Islam and Competing Nationalisms in the Middle East (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), Soleimani questions the foundational epistemologies of the nation-state by focusing on the pivotal and intimate role that Islam played in the nation-state’s emergence.

Gareth Stansfield is Professor of Middle East Politics and the Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, where between 2010 and 2015 he served as Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies (IAIS), standing down for research leave between 2015 and 2019. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA), and elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (FAcSS). He is a Senior Associate Fellow of the Royal United Services Institute and a Global Fellow of the Middle East Program of the Wilson Center in Washington, DC. Between 2002 and 2012, he was an Associate Fellow with special reference to Iraq at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Chatham House.

Engin Ustam is an associate researcher at EHESS and at the University of Geneva. He was a visiting lecturer at the University of Paris 8. His research and publications focus on Kurdish studies, post-colonial studies, art theory and social movements. His main interests include, among others, urban uprisings in the Kurdish space and social ecology, and the politics of sovereignty of urban conflict in the world. He is the author of Kurdish Art and Subalternity (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2016) and Unexpected Insurgency: New Spaces for Global Uprisings (Istanbul: Kalkedon, 2020). He is a member of the reading committee of Teorik Bakis (Istanbul), of online Review (Re)Penser l’Exil (Geneva) and of NGBK Visual Art Berlin and Université Libre et Autonome de Genève.

Jordi Tejel is a research professor at the Department of History at the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, where he leads a project funded by the European Research Council (ERC, Horizon 2020) on borders and state formation in the Middle East in the interwar period. Tejel has extensively published on the Kurdish issue, most notably Syria’s Kurds: History, Politics and Society (Routledge, 2009), and La question kurde: passé et présent (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2014).

Nicole F. Watts is Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University. Her publications include Activists in Office: Kurdish Protest and Politics in Turkey (University of Washington Press, 2010) and many articles on dissent, protest and campaigns for political change in the contemporary Kurdistan region of Iraq, especially in Halabja.

Veli Yadirgi (BA, King’s College, London; MSc, LSE; PhD, SOAS) is a member of staff in the Department of Development Studies at SOAS, University of London. He is the author of the double award-winning book The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (Cambridge, 2017). Currently, his research covers a broad range of issues and areas, including comparative politics of the Middle East and
List of Contributors

North Africa (MENA), political economy of the Global South, globalization and regional development, the issues of development in MENA, nationalism and ethnic politics, as well as the social, economic and political history of Turkey and of Kurdistan. He is a member of the London Middle East Institute: Neoliberalism, Globalisation and States, as well as the Centre for Ottoman Studies.

Mesut Yegen is a full professor at the Department of Sociology, Istanbul Sehir University. He holds BSc and MSc degrees in Sociology from Middle East Technical University and a PhD in Sociology from the University of Essex. He has taught at the Department of Sociology, Anatolia University, and the Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University. His research and publications have focused on the Kurdish question, Turkish nationalism, Turkish politics and citizenship in Turkey. He is the editor of the Turkish-Kurdish quarterly Kürt Tarhi (Kurdish History).

Metin Yüksel received his PhD at the University of Chicago’s Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations in 2011. He is an associate professor at Hacettepe University in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, where he teaches world history, colonialism/post-colonialism and society and politics in the Middle East. His research focuses on social and cultural history of the modern Middle East with particular attention to Turkish, Kurdish and Persian literature. His work has appeared in edited volumes and various journals such as Middle Eastern Studies, The Muslim World, Iranian Studies, Journal of Postcolonial Writing, Derwaze, Journal of Folklore Research and Archiv Orientalí.
Acknowledgements

It took nearly three years to complete this book. Indubitably, it was an extensive, incredible journey. We are very grateful to all the colleagues who have contributed to this edited volume through their writings and the sharing of their thoughts. Their efforts have turned this volume into a collection of chapters that will enhance our understanding of Kurdish history. Special thanks go to our anonymous reviewers for their constructive and supportive comments and reviews. We would be most ungracious if we were to omit expressing our appreciation of the Cambridge team for their instrumental guidance, editing, time and labour.
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AYM</td>
<td>Anayasa Mahkemesi (Constitutional Court)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDP</td>
<td>Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Peace and Democracy Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People’s Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUP</td>
<td>İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Society for Union and Progress)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBP</td>
<td>Demokratik Bölgener Partisi (Democratic Regions Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDKO</td>
<td>Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları (Revolutionary Cultural Hearths of the East)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEHAP</td>
<td>Demokratik Halk Partisi (Democratic People’s Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>Demokrasi Partisi (Democracy Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFNS</td>
<td>Democratic Federation of Northern Syria (Federaliya Demokratik a Bakûrê Sûriyê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyanet</td>
<td>Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (Directorate of Religious Affairs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTK</td>
<td>Demokratik Toplum Kongresi (Democratic Society Congress)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTP</td>
<td>Demokratik Toplum Partisi (Democratic Society Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSA</td>
<td>Free Syria Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HADEP</td>
<td>Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (People’s Democracy Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>Halkların Demokratik Partisi (Peoples’ Democratic Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEP</td>
<td>Halkın Emek Partisi (People’s Labour Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hêvi</td>
<td>Kürtlê Talebe ‘Hêvi’ Cemiyeti (Kurdish Students’ ‘Hope’ Society)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations

ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KADEK Kongreya Azadî û Demokrasiya Kurdistanê (Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress)
KCK Koma Civakan Kurdistan (Kurdistan Communities Union)
KDP (PDK) Kurdistan Democratic Party (Partiya Demokrat a Kurdistanê)
KDPI (PDK-Iran) Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan
KDPS Kurdistan Democratic Party in Syria
KNC Kurdistan National Council (Encûmena Niştîmanî ya Kurdî li Sûriyê)
KNK Kongreya Netawa Kurdistan (Kurdistan National Congress)
KNMC Kürd Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for the Propagation of Education)
Komala The Revolutionary Organization of the Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan
Komalay JK Komalay Jiyanaway Kurdistan (Society for the Revival of Kurdistan)
Kongra Gel Kongra Gelê Kurdistan (People’s Congress of Kurdistan)
KRG Kurdistan Regional Government
KRI Kurdistan Region of Iraq
KSM Kurdistan Socialist Movement
KSSE Kurdish Students’ Society in Europe
KTC Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti (Society for the Betterment of Kurdistan)
KTTC Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for Mutual Aid and Progress)
KUK Kürdistan Ulusal Kurtuluşcular (National Liberators of Kurdistan)
MHP Milliyetci Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
MİT Millî İstihbarat Teşkilatı (National Intelligence Organization)
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NES Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria
OSCE Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PAJK Partiya Azadiya Jin a Kurdistan (Freedom Party of Women of Kurdistan)
PAK Partiya Azadiya Kurdistanê (Kurdistan Freedom Party)
List of Abbreviations

PJAK Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê (Party of Free Life in Kurdistan)
PKK Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers’ Party)
PSK Partiya Sosyalista Kurdistan (Socialist Party of Kurdistan)
PUK Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Yekîtiya Nişîmanî ya Kurdistanê)
PYD Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat (Democratic Union Party)
SDC Syrian Democratic Council (Meclîsa Sûriya Demokratîk)
SDF Syrian Democratic Forces (Hêzên Sûriya Demokratîk)
SHP Sosyaldemokrat Halkçî Parti (Social Democratic Populist Party)
TCK Türk Ceza Kanunu (Turkish Criminal Code)
TEV-DEM Tevgera Civaka Demokratîk (Movement for a Democratic Society)
TIP Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Workers’ Party of Turkey)
TKDP Türkiye Kürtistan Demokrat Partisi (Kurdistan Democrat Party of Turkey)
TKSP Türkiye Kürtistanı Sosyalist Partisi (Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan)
TMK Terörle Mücadele Kanunu (Anti-terror Law)
UDG Ulusal Demokratik Güçbirlîtiği (Union of National Democratic Forces)
Xoybûn Being Oneself
YPG Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (People’s Defence Units)
YPJ Yekîneyên Parastina Jin (Women’s Defence Units)
Map 0.1 Map of Kurdistan by Sherif Pasha (1919)
Redrawn based on Memorandum on the Kurd Question submitted to the Paris Peace Conference 1919, Sherif Pasha

XXVI
Map 0.1 (cont.)