

Kirkuk in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname 1655

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ملخص:

كركوك هي مدينة من أقدم المدن في بلاد ما بين النهرين ، وقد تركت العديد من الحضارات إرثها هناك. كان العثمانيون يحكمون في هذه المدينة واستخدموها عاصمة لمقاطعة (ولاية) شهرزور. تمت كتابة العديد من الدراسات حول تاريخ كركوك أثناء حكم الإمبراطورية العثمانية ، والتي استشهدت بالعديد من المصادر الأصلية. إن سياحتنامة للرحالة العثماني (أوليا جلبي) مفيد للغاية في إعادة كتابة تاريخ كركوك في القرن السادس عشر، لكن المشكلة هي أن المصادر الغير الدقيقة والروايات ذات الدوافع السياسية تساهم في عدم تقديم تاريخ موضوعي للمدينة. تحاول هذه الدراسة فهم تاريخ مدينة كركوك خلال القرن السادس عشر بالأعتماد على مخطوطة **Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname** الموجودة في قصر توب قابي في اسطنبول. ان منهجية البحث المستخدمة في هذه الورقة هي طريقة التحليل التاريخي والنصي النوعي مع تصميم بحث نوعي استكشافي ، اعتمادًا على المصادر الأولية والثانوية. يستشير الباحث العديد من المصادر الأولية ، مثل الأرشيف والمخطوطات العثمانية ، ومذكرات المسافرين الغربيين الذين تحدثوا عن كركوك قبل أوليا جلبي. علما ان سياحتنامة تحتوي على معلومات غنية وفي غاية الأهمية حول كركوك وشهرزور والتي لم يتم استخدامها بشكل كاف من قبل المؤرخين . من أهم النتائج البحث: رغم أن أوليا جلبي لم يزور كركوك المدينة ، فإنه يعطي معلومات غنية عن المدينة وحوالها. ونستنتج من هذه الورقة رغم كون سياحتنامة مليئة بالمعلومات التاريخية عن القرن السادس عشر للمنطقية، فإنها لم تحضأ بإهتمام الباحثين بالقدر الكافي.

كلمة مفتاحية: كركوك ، جلبي ، شهرزور ، سياحتنامه ، سفر.

Abstract:

Kirkuk is one of the oldest cities in Mesopotamia, many civilizations have been left their legacy there. The Ottomans have been ruling in this city and used it as the capital of Shahrizor Province. Many studies have been written on the history of Kirkuk during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, which have cited many primary sources. *Seyahatname* is very instrumental to

re-claim the history of Kirkuk, but the problem is that defective sources and politically motivated narratives cloud the exploration of this history by that time. This study attempts to understand the city of Kirkuk during the 16th century in deeply by utilizes Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname's manuscript which exists in the Top Kapı palace in Istanbul. The research methodology of this paper uses qualitative historical and textual analysis method with an exploratory qualitative research design, depending on both primary and secondary sources. As the result: Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname has much invaluable information about Kirkuk and Shahrizor that has not been adequately utilized by historians. Although, he has mentioned information about Kirkuk, but he did not enter and stay in this city.

Key Word: Kirkuk, Çelebi, Shahrizor, Seyahatname, Travel.

Introduction:

One of the most important Ottoman visitors was Evliya Çelebi (1611-1684), who came to Near East, particularly to Kirkuk and dedicated the whole volume four of his a ten-volume travel book entitled Seyahatname. In this volume he gives details of his sojourn in Kirkuk, which he visited during the period 1655-1656. Evliya Çelebi paid attention to the Kirkuk's history, science, administration, religious lives, and contribution to Ottoman administration. He extensively described the period extending from the beginning of Islamic rule there until the rule of Sultan Murat IV (r.1612-1640). He also recorded information about relations between the Ottoman Empire and Kurdish chieftains, and their role in and contribution to Ottoman administration.¹ Although, he has mentioned information about Kirkuk, but he did not enter and stay in this city.

The problem of the study is that, many studies have been written on the history of Kirkuk during the rule of the Ottoman Empire, which have cited many primary sources. *Seyahatname* is very instrumental to re-claim the history of Kirkuk, but the problem is that defective sources and politically motivated narratives cloud the exploration of this history by that time. The research question is that: did Evliya Çelebi narrate information on Kirkuk? How was the religious and educational life in Kirkuk?

The importance of the study, this study attempts to understand the city of Kirkuk during the 16th century in deeply by utilizes Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatname*'s manuscript which exists in the Top Kapı palace in Istanbul.

The research methodology of this paper uses qualitative historical and textual analysis method with an exploratory qualitative research design, depending on both primary and secondary sources. The researcher consults several types of primary sources, such as the Ottoman archives and manuscripts, and memoirs of Western travellers who talked about Kirkuk before Çelebi. As the result: Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* has much invaluable information about Kirkuk and Shahrizor that has not been adequately utilized by historians. In addition, Çelebi spent more than 11 years in Kurdistan, when he returned from Baghdad to Van. Although, he has mentioned information about Kirkuk, but he did not enter and stay in this city.

This research is divided into two sections, which are: the section one talks about Evliya Çelebi's life, Travel to Kirkuk, and the name of Kirkuk in *Seyahatname*. However, the section two shows the history of rules in Kirkuk, and Religious and educational life in Kirkuk.

1. Evliya Çelebi and his travel to Kirkuk:

Turkish voyager (Evliya Çelebi) visited Near East during the period 1655-1656. Evliya Çelebi paid attention to the Kirkuk's history, science, administration, religious lives, and contribution to Ottoman administration. He extensively described the period extending from the beginning of Islamic rule there until the rule of Sultan Murat IV (r.1612-1640). Çelebi mentioned Kirkuk in many places.²

1.1. Evliya Çelebi's life

The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi was born in Istanbul. His family was from Kutahiya,³ He was born on Muharram 10, 1020/1611 in a house belonging to the Sağcılar mosque's foundation.⁴ Çelebi mentions that the family house was in the neighbourhood of Unkapi in Istanbul, where Çelebi's father had a jewellery store.⁵ Çelebi's first education was like most of boys in Istanbul, he studied Islamic sciences for seven years, followed by moving to the madrasah of Hamid Efendi, where he lived as a boarder. He later attributed his canonical style of recitation of the Qur'an was learned from Mohammed Efendi at the Darul Qurra of Sadizade. From his father he learnt silverwork, engraving, and various other related crafts.⁶

During his live he visited many places and spent 51 years with travelling. Çelebi died in 1684, because he was seen after the Ottoman's second blockade of Vienna in 1683, and he likely participated in the siege itself. Moreover, Çelebi's last travel was from Egypt to Istanbul. After that, he passed away in 1684, and his tomb is believed to be in the Meytzade cemetery in Istanbul.⁷

1.2. Travel to Kirkuk:

Çelebi moved and saw many places in Near East, he came to Kirkuk in 1655, which written in the fourth volume of the *Seyahatname*. He went to join his relative Melek Ahmed Pasha's new post in Van in 1655, and he was sent as an ambassador to the Safavid Governor of Tabriz. During the return, he found an opportunity to travel to Baghdad and then to southern Kurdistan. Evliya Çelebi used every opportunity to travel, therefore he visited a lot of places such as Baghdad, Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Akre, Amadiyah, Havra, Sine, Qizlija, Zakho, Duhok, Hakari, Jazira, Nisibin, Eski Mosul, Tikrit, Hasan Kaifa, Batman, and Mardin.⁸ However, during his travel to the south of Kurdistan, when he came back to Van from Baghdad, Çelebi started his speech on Kurdistan by talking about Shahrizor Province and Kirkuk City.⁹

1.3. The name of Kirkuk:

These are the old names of Kirkuk used in different times: Arefe, 'Arefe, Erbiḥ, Arabḥa, Kurkur, ve Kerkuk. This city was mentioned by Serjon-i Ekedî records in 2530-2473 BC, called Arabkha or Arbikh. It had a noted minaret and mosque, Azizye barracks and a stone bridge. There is no clear information on when Kirkuk Citadel was built, some sources date it from 3000 BC. The Citadel of Kirkuk has four gates: Topkapı, Taşkapı (Merdivenli), Yedi kızlar, and Helvajilar kapı. In addition, there is a stairway in front of the Seyid Najib Tekkye.¹⁰ Çelebi noted with regard to the establishment of Kirkuk:

During the latter years of the Abbasids, Hulagu Khan destroyed this Shahrizor (Kirkuk) with the worst force. In the years when the Marwani Kingdom, the brave son named Zwr collected all of the Kurdish tribes there and negotiated with

Mongols, and they repaired the Kirkuk Castle. Therefore, it was called the “Mongolian Castle” (*Kirkuk-i Mongol*), then this was shortened to “Kirkuk”.¹¹

1.4. The geography of Kirkuk in Seyahatname

Çelebi described the geography of this city indirectly, he says that, this city located at southeast of Erbil, and around two reaches far from Merâğa.¹² In addition, counted this city as a part of Kurdistan¹³, as he mentions: “*we have been started our travelling with Yûsuf Kethudâ through the land of Kurdistan such as Shahrizor, Luristan, and the Imadiyye country*”.¹⁴ Moreover, he showed Kirkuk in other pages regarding the same topic and counted Kirkuk as the capital of Shahrizor Province.¹⁵ However, in other places talks about the geography of Kirkuk and says, “*The Kirkuk Citadel is located at the desert, close to the River Zarb, and two reaches from Mosul city. There are 70 big and small cannon and other necessary munitions to protect the Citadel. The city has a huge wall around citadel*”.¹⁶

2. Kirkuk in Seyahatname :

This city has been mentioned for many times in Seyahatname because it was the capital of Shahrizor Province and this city was an important and strategic place to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷

2.1. The history of rules in Kirkuk:

The *Seyahatname* gives a lot of information about this city, it was the capital of Shahrizor province and located at the Ottoman-Safavid border, which was a very sensitive place for the Ottomans.¹⁸ After the Islamic Conquests, this place was ruling by the Governor of Kufa.¹⁹ After the Ottomans come to Shahrizor region, the Province was described by a document numbered 452 of 1551 as being ruled by Berber Murat Bey el-Erne’ud of Luristan²⁰ Province.²¹ The Province had some administrative units which were ruled by Kurds under the Ottomans named

“Liva”. There were nine livas: *Liva-i Harûniye*, *Liva-i Bire* and *Krid*, *Liva-i Hûride*, *Liva-i Zangene*, *Liva-i Jengule*, *Liva-i Shehrizûl*²² *Liva-i Bacvanlu*, *Liva-i Şehr-i Anber*, and *Liva-i Haji Şeyh*.²³ All of these administrative places became a part of Ottoman Empire without any battle.²⁴ When the Ottomans came to Shahrizor, they used the same system which the Ikhanids and Seljuks (1037-1194) had used before them in appointing land to commanders and leaders.²⁵ In 1537 Sultan Suleiman I gave Shahrizor to the amir of Imaddiya.²⁶ In 1554 the Shahrizor was a Sanjak of Luristan under Murad Bey’s rule, but the situation often changed because of Safavid and Ottoman struggles.²⁷ Eventually, based on the Amasya Agreement in 1554 and the Nusuh Pasha Agreement of 1603, it became an Ottoman land.²⁸ Çelebi counted the Kirkuk city as the capital of Shahrizor province and counted Sanjaks of Shahrizor Province according to Sultan Suleiman I’s Constitution as 21 sanjaks.²⁹ These included Erbil,³⁰ Keshân, Shehr-i Bâzâr-ı Jengûle, Jebel-i Jimri, Hezârmerd, Liva-i Zulhavârân, Mergâ, Dahhâk-i Mârî’yi, Demirci Gâve, Liva-i Harîr, Sûrân,³¹ Tiltari, Liva-i Sîne, Zenjîr, Ajûz, Liva-i Ebrûmân, Liva-i Davdan, Bak, Liva-i Berend, and the Kebîr Sanjak. Including Liva-i Ushtî’yı would take the total to 18 sanjaks. All were in mountainous regions, with good relations among themselves. The Ottomans did not conquer them, rather they sought to live under Ottoman rule. Hukûmet-i Gâzîyân İkincisi and Hukûmet-i Mehrevân sanjaks would take the total to 20 sanjaks, while the 21st was the centre of the province, Kirkuk, named “*Paşa Sancağ*”.³²

After Sultan Suleiman I’s period, especially in the years 1568-1574, the number of sanjaks in Shahrizor Province was changed and Liva-i Shahrizor “Şehrizûl” used for Kirkuk city. For example, according to the Ottoman financial records (*Maliye Ahkam Defteri*, number 536), the sanjaks of the Shahrizor Province totalled 25 Livas, such as: Liva-i Shahrizor “Şehrizûl - Kirkuk”, Liva-i Srujuk, Liva-i Zangene, Liva-i Havar, Liva-i Ulke-i Baban³³ Liva-i Kushafs³⁴

Liva-i Klash and Âlan-i, Liva-i Chinâr duviser, Liva-i Bajuvanlu, Liva-i Hezar Mêrd, Liva-i Dilhuran, Liva-i Mazkave, Liva-i Til û Tari, Liva-i Klas, Liva-i Sbranjin, Liva-i Abruman, Liva-i Bashke (Başke), Liva-i Davuran, Liva-i Hûrûn, Liva-i Ahmed Beg, Liva-i Bırınd, Liva-i Kale-i Ghazi, Liva-i Jighan Kduku (Kıdudki), Liva-i Kuy, and Liva-i Ushni.³⁵

Sultan Suleiman I's Constitution gave two Tugh Mîr-i mîrânlık³⁶ to Shahrizor Province, because it was a Kurdish province recently taken from the Safavids. In generally, the Shahrizor had khas and humayun amounting to 1,100,000 akche and Kirkuk's income was 600,000 akche. In addition, every chiefs had 5,000 akche and attended battle under the Governor of Shahrizor's army.³⁷ However, the Ottoman financial records (number 1452) talk about Shahrizor Province's income,³⁸ as shown in Table 1.

| Livas | Income |
|--------------------|---------|
| Liva-i Harûniye | 400,000 |
| Liva-i Bire û Krid | 284,000 |
| Liva-i Hûride | 200,000 |
| Liva-i Shahrizor | 600,000 |
| Liva-i Bajuvanlu | 172,73 |
| Hûmatu | 300,000 |

Table 1. Income of Livas

It can be seen that Liva-i Shrazwr (Kirkuk) in Shahrizor Province had the highest income. However, according to Sultan Suleiman I's Constitution, Shahrizor Province had 21 sanjaks includes Kirkuk, and Çelebi says that, "*There are mâl defterdârî, timâr defterdârî, defter kethudâsî, defter emîni, çavuşlar kethudâsî, çavuşlar emîni çavuşlar kâtibi, rûznâmeci, and mukâta'aci in the Shahrizor Province*".³⁹ Also, it had Saliyane tax of 1,100.000 akche.⁴⁰ Çelebi gives other information on Kirkuk through Shahrizor Province:

The judges of Shahrizor are 300, there are four schools of jurisprudence and Sheikhulislam, and Naqibulashraf... Kirkuk Citadel has the Head of Janissaries, 1,000 Janissaries, and 300 guards and 3,000 weapons.⁴¹

2.2. Religious and educational life in Kirkuk

Although there are many religious in Kirkuk, but Çelebi has not mentioned these religious there, just mentioned mosques and schools as says: "Kirkuk had four schools of jurisprudence with a naqibulashraf and sheikhulislam,⁴² and a mosque with the khutba on Friday".⁴³ Probably he did not enter the city or remain there for long, and he did not give detailed information. In the Ottoman Archives of the sixteenth century, the Muhimme Record (No. 7) shows that the first mosque was founded on 21-11-1568 when the city of Kirkuk became the capital of Shahrizor Province.⁴⁴ In general, Ottoman civilization and architecture had impacts on mosques in Kurdistan. Many mosques in this region existed since the early days of Islam in Kurdistan, and Çelebi pointed out that most mosques in Kurdistan were very old by his time, but increasing Ottoman interest in the region resulted in funding to restore existing mosques and build new ones, which brought some Ottoman styles from Çelebi's time onwards.⁴⁵ Ottoman records in the Muhimme record (Mühime Defteri, number 7) show that when Kirkuk city became the capital of

Shahrizor Province for the first time, a mosque was created there in 1568.⁴⁶ Most mosques in Kurdistan had common features with other Ottoman mosques, such as prayer halls with attached madrasahs and teachers, and some had tombs. Ottoman architectural style became particularly apparent from the 17th century onwards, when all new mosques (in addition to repairs) were constructed according to Ottoman tastes. Âras İsmâ‘il Khizir has written a detailed PhD thesis on this topic.⁴⁷ When Kirkuk became the capital of Shahrizor Province during the Ottoman period, the Ottomans built a mosque and palace for the Governor of Kirkuk epitomized Ottoman styles of the period.⁴⁸

Although, Çelebi has not mentioned other religious in Kirkuk and their temple, especially in the tomb of the prophets, Kirkuk claimed to host the tombs of the prophets Daniel, Hananiya, and al-Ye‘ariz (el-‘Ezariya).⁴⁹ Çelebi was keen on such issues, in his describing on other places in Kurdistan, he recorded that “*There are many Jewish sites such as the site of Khizir, the site of Yunus the site of Jerjis, the site of Zulkifl, the site of Ilyas, the site of Nuh Naji, and the site of Daniel*”.⁵⁰ Çelebi drew heavily on al-Maqdisi’s book to describe holy places and temples.⁵¹ This information shows that an important Jewish culture continued to thrive as a living tradition in Kirkuk at this time.

In addition, Çelebi described this city in *Seyahatname*, but did not mention educational centres, although the Ottomans provided extensive support for education in Kirkuk⁵² such as the Madrasah of Saray (est. H.1049/ M.1639), the Madrasah of Mohammed Pasha Kayish, and the Madrasah of Shah Ghazi (est. H.1067/ M.1657).⁵³ The schools of Sera (1637) and Shah Ghazi (1656). Generally, these schools gave instruction in history, jurisprudence, *tafsir*, and hadith.⁵⁴ Science Centres and Scholars not mentioned by Çelebi. Although, Çelebi informed us about

many madrasahs and scholars in Kurdistan, he did not give detail everywhere, and omitted some places known from other sources.⁵⁵

For this topic we have seen many sources but there is no any European traveller who came to Kirkuk and prove Çelebi's speech on Kirkuk.

Results

- 1- Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* has much invaluable information about Kirkuk and Shahrizor that has not been adequately utilized by historians.
- 2- The *Seyahatname* is an important source in understanding the Kirkuk in the seventeenth century.
- 3- Çelebi spent more than 11 years in Kurdistan, when he returned from Baghdad, although he has narrated information on Kirkuk, but he did not stayed in Kirkuk.
- 4- There were many religious communities in Kirkuk city, but Çelebi only recorded about Muslims and mosques in this city.

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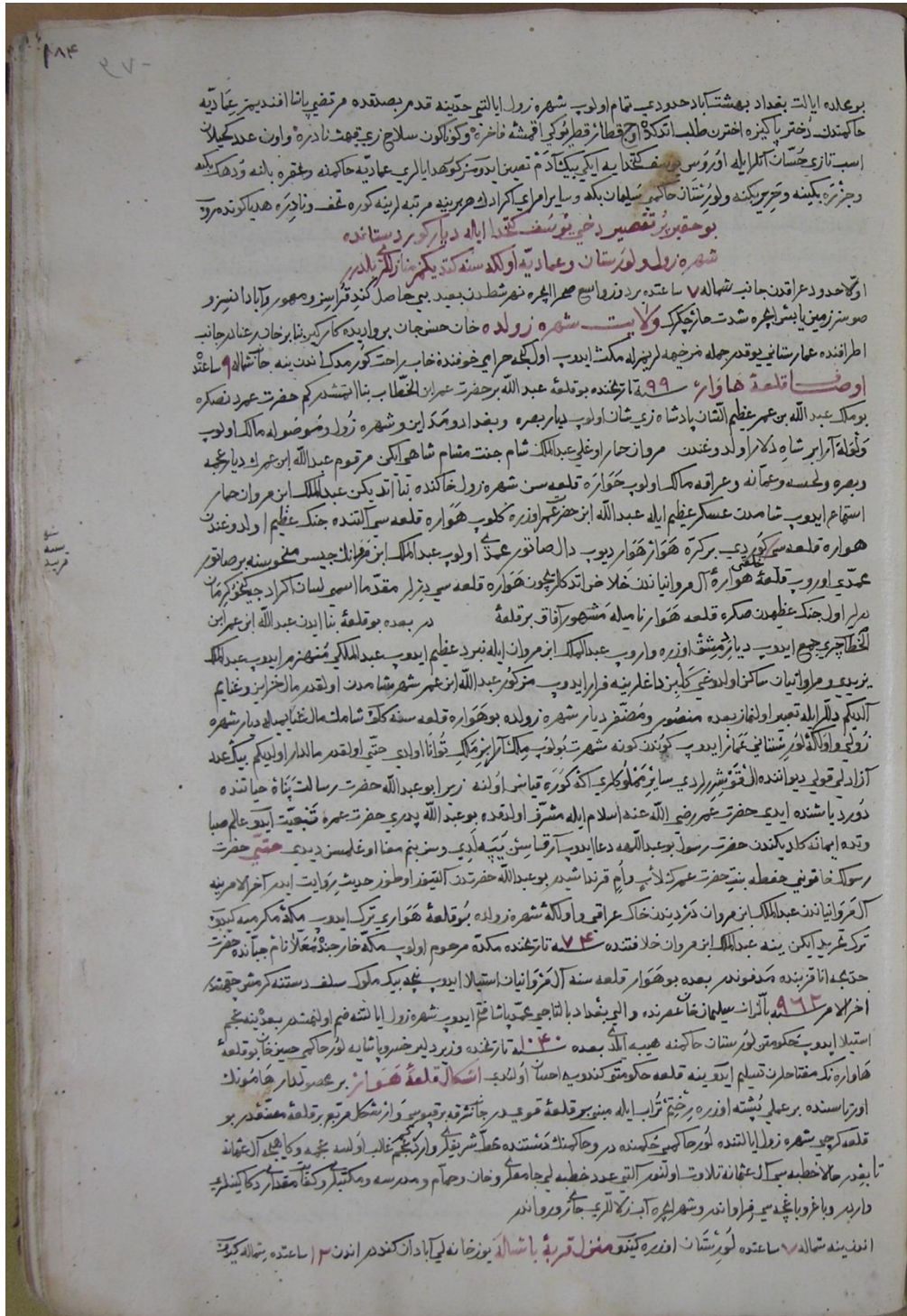
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Figures



أوصاف صحرائها يعني ما ندر اربيل شهر قديم قلعة اربيل ابتدا بجای صحروده اصحاب نیلت
 ابره نام بویمه بود دله شتا قوت چهار اتش شری بعده کوفه و واسط و حران و حران دبار از خراب و بیاب
 و خلق کباب و خانه لر تراب آیده مرکزین استغیون نکر چیسین یوزیک قبل الله نماز عباس و طایف خراب آیده در کماله کوه
 دست اوروپ بیت شرفل جمیع حران قیلله یوکلا وید خده بندرنده جمله مکه طاشلرن قلمر در آسنه نوکدی آخر
 حیرلا سوری برندن قلع اربوب در پایه انقالک اجوز هر شفق فیله حیرلا سوری خلیل ایدلر سه مارالله تبار اولو حیر
 الاسود اولان نیلک بالوقوزیلر خرد اولوردی بو جالی ابره لعین تور و بیخارنه مصر اولوب حیرلا سوری کنیدی فیله حیر
 دسنه یوکلا وید غر مراره اندر کن جناب حو طره فندن بررغد و برق ظاهر اولوب ابره وید یالی نوب حیرلا سوری اول اشند
 سنگ سیاه اولدی دوشقه مور خراب الله باز منسلر سیر طوفان نوحک عدا صومینه قالد بچون سیاه اولدی مثل مکه مور خراب
 حیرلا سوره غاصیل نورلن سور دیکون سیاه اولدی دمثل اما مقول محمد انا سطر حیرلا سوری قلد الطوفان بیت محمودن
 قالمش بیاض الخیر بر طایف دمثل خلاصه کلام حیرلا سوری مکه والوب جمله اصحاب قیل اوزره صیر اربیل ناخرا ندره کلا
 طاشلر براغوب جمیع اصحاب نیلک دیه لرند اول حاشلر لوب چکه ری التندن چیتوب جمیع اصحاب قیل مرد او تو بعده
 مکه مکر محمد
 اصحاب نیلک بو اربیل ها منولرنده مشتاده قالن اصحاب قیل اوزره فرغ اربیل جقم حران طرقلرنده قوم قیل اوزره اقل
 ایوب دینه رنده اربوب جمله ردا اولدی جالا خراب اربوب کبر سا حانده دور نوزیشتر و قیه کلر ادم دیشلر چیتار دینو
 مستی ادملر شه اذ ایدلر و تور کچی شتی اولان سینه قلعه سوره چه سوزره التشر و قیه ادم دیشلر وار در اصحاب
 قیلر شیدر در لغت عربیده و غیریدیه دیشه سیندر اول دیشلر سین شهرنده مصفا اولدوشون قلعه بین
 در اردو خراب ایشلر حالینه بو صحرائی اربیل اصحاب نیلک حده استخار اولدند دلدانر دولور **بوقالعه اربیل** اربیل یاد دین
 اربیل از بهشتوان اربن توش اربن منو جمر بنا ایوب حضرت تخیمیه انهار کتمشده ابعده انوشروان عادل چهار ایشلر اند
 عباسیان عمر بنده هلاکوخان خراب ایشلر مکه کوه غار و کوه کره خراب اولمشده آخر قلعه ایشلر سیاهان خا عمر بنده بکت
 انا جومید با شاعر ایوب بنده قلعه ایشلر مکه استیلا ایوب بنده خستروا شایع ایوب درون حضاره مستوفاجیه
 خانه و عسکر جمیع منیر حصین اندی نه علم مستور اولوب قلعه ایشلر مکه مرادخان مرا بکت مهاتب صلته طاقت
 کتره منور قلعه معطل براغوب صا محمد با شاعران بغداده کلویه کله قلعه اربیل ضبط ایوب چهار ایوب کفا بقده
 درون حضاره عسکر کار توید جالا شه زول خا کنده شقا بکی ایشلر
اشکال زمین قلعه اربیل بیان اید نهر از اربیل و نهر زار اربیل صفر کم بواره نهر منیر برب علی در بو نهر بربیطه نیلک
 مایستنده برخولستان ویر بیان برده بر بنشته عالی اوزره اوجه سز چکش شکل مربع بر قلعه مصعد جانب بر بنویس
 وار خندق بو قده درون قلعه
 بو قلعه قبل سوره منده قلعه موصل ایکی کونک بولدر بو اربیل قلعه کونک جانب شرقی سنده ایکی منور بر در
 اما قلعه خارجده آشفوش شهر یحان قدیمه سواد غلیم ایشلر جالا ایشلری بیحمتا ظاهر و باهره الحاق بر اولو و اعی
 مناره سیله میل محبتده قلش و ایکی عدد نهر کاریزی وارده کاه مجریه آیده و کاه یا بشو اولور اختار کسنده برخون جاریه
 نهر زار بین کاریزی و بو قلعه چو لیک نه ایشلر جانب غربیه قلعه موصل مقابله سنده بونس نیوا استانه خا کنده شط
 کنارنده تمام اولور و ولایت حریر بو قلعه اربیل خا کله مشاهیر علم دیار نندن کلن کارانندن بو اربیل قلعه بو قوله ارب سلطان
 آلر زار شهره نول ایالتند کنیدی و موصله کیدر کن نهر ضری عبور ایکی حمله قلعه موصله کار با و اصل
 اولور

اصحاب نیلک بو اربیل ها منولرنده مشتاده قالن اصحاب قیل اوزره فرغ اربیل جقم حران طرقلرنده قوم قیل اوزره اقل ایوب دینه رنده اربوب جمله ردا اولدی جالا خراب اربوب کبر سا حانده دور نوزیشتر و قیه کلر ادم دیشلر چیتار دینو مستی ادملر شه اذ ایدلر و تور کچی شتی اولان سینه قلعه سوره چه سوزره التشر و قیه ادم دیشلر وار در اصحاب قیلر شیدر در لغت عربیده و غیریدیه دیشه سیندر اول دیشلر سین شهرنده مصفا اولدوشون قلعه بین در اردو خراب ایشلر حالینه بو صحرائی اربیل اصحاب نیلک حده استخار اولدند دلدانر دولور بوقالعه اربیل اربیل یاد دین اربیل از بهشتوان اربن توش اربن منو جمر بنا ایوب حضرت تخیمیه انهار کتمشده ابعده انوشروان عادل چهار ایشلر اند عباسیان عمر بنده هلاکوخان خراب ایشلر مکه کوه غار و کوه کره خراب اولمشده آخر قلعه ایشلر سیاهان خا عمر بنده بکت انا جومید با شاعر ایوب بنده قلعه ایشلر مکه استیلا ایوب بنده خستروا شایع ایوب درون حضاره مستوفاجیه خانه و عسکر جمیع منیر حصین اندی نه علم مستور اولوب قلعه ایشلر مکه مرادخان مرا بکت مهاتب صلته طاقت کتره منور قلعه معطل براغوب صا محمد با شاعران بغداده کلویه کله قلعه اربیل ضبط ایوب چهار ایوب کفا بقده درون حضاره عسکر کار توید جالا شه زول خا کنده شقا بکی ایشلر اشکال زمین قلعه اربیل بیان اید نهر از اربیل و نهر زار اربیل صفر کم بواره نهر منیر برب علی در بو نهر بربیطه نیلک مایستنده برخولستان ویر بیان برده بر بنشته عالی اوزره اوجه سز چکش شکل مربع بر قلعه مصعد جانب بر بنویس وار خندق بو قده درون قلعه بو قلعه قبل سوره منده قلعه موصل ایکی کونک بولدر بو اربیل قلعه کونک جانب شرقی سنده ایکی منور بر در اما قلعه خارجده آشفوش شهر یحان قدیمه سواد غلیم ایشلر جالا ایشلری بیحمتا ظاهر و باهره الحاق بر اولو و اعی مناره سیله میل محبتده قلش و ایکی عدد نهر کاریزی وارده کاه مجریه آیده و کاه یا بشو اولور اختار کسنده برخون جاریه نهر زار بین کاریزی و بو قلعه چو لیک نه ایشلر جانب غربیه قلعه موصل مقابله سنده بونس نیوا استانه خا کنده شط کنارنده تمام اولور و ولایت حریر بو قلعه اربیل خا کله مشاهیر علم دیار نندن کلن کارانندن بو اربیل قلعه بو قوله ارب سلطان آلر زار شهره نول ایالتند کنیدی و موصله کیدر کن نهر ضری عبور ایکی حمله قلعه موصله کار با و اصل اولور

اندر جا کبابیه م سا کیدوب
 اربیل

اوصاف قلعة شامک انوشروان عادل عصر نده بزرج مهرک قرضد اشکی شامک نام برده لوان بنام عاشر
 تمام اندکمون قلعه شامک در خاک شهره زولده بولدن بعد برشته اوزره شکل مستدس خاک ایله مبنی بر قلعه
 فوسد اما کوجکده جاکمی بروجه اوجا قلیق آراد بکل نیلک شهبی عشار بر صار بلیدن حیدر بلد بونده خاکنده قلعه
 نکر کش و زلزله وجهه خانه سرجله حیدر بکل حکمده در اوغوشیرت صا حیدر کم اوزر بلد توفنگ اندازه مالکده
 واهل سنت و الحما عدن اولوب حضور حقه سالکده دایجا در بند ماشا دینغم حدینه بموجب سلطانیه قلعه سن و شهر
 شهرن وزیرکان شهرت اوروب همدان و دز کزیننه وارینه دیار بختی طلاوه و وزیر بر حیدر کرار قمار بلیدر و جهه
 عشیرت کزیننه سسی عازیلر در و شهر بجه ایله خانیه مفید و مختدره جامی و خانی و حاجی و چار سوبی بلزری واردر

اندینه جانست قبله کم
 دیارده قبله جانب غربه میلکده واقع اولور چولستان اوزره ۹ ساعت کیدوب منزل اورن خان نهر لاری کتارنده بر کوجکده خان
 واردر انده مهبان اولوب مهران خیلندد خیللی خوف و خشیت جاککک بوخانی اما نذغیر بی عشار شای توفدر و بو جهه نهر
 ناز صغیر کوه در بند ماشا دینکلوید
 قلا غره اوغرایوب
 قریبده
 نهر مملو اولور بو غلزلدن علی الشرف القویب الشرف جبرن بعد ضرب اکبر نهری اوزره بموجب ۹ ساعت قبله
اوصاف دیار شاک بر نهر یعنی شهر زورق این شاک بنام قلعه کرکاک مؤتمر منقذ سیر
 اوزره بو قلعه شهره زورق ابتدا بنا ایستاد زورق این شاک ماریدر اصلنده شهر زورق غلط مشهوری شهره زولده بختی
 شهر زورق خاک عراقه کوفه و مدالیندن صکره بو شهر زورق عمار اولوب کویا روضه جنا اولدی بعده آغا ساسا عصر نده
 هلاکوخان بو شهر زورق زورق یازوب توانا سیله خراب وینا آندی بعده سه تازخند آلا موتولدر وان جهاده انفرانچی
 اولدی سندنه زورق این شاک مار نسلدن مفلوک کزکوک نام بر شام فرید هم بعضی قایل آراد ایله یکدیگ کجهت
 اولوق ازلر استغانه تیله شهر زورق بعد آغا ایوب اسپنه قلعه کرکاک مفلوهر مرور ایتم ایله الشفة ناسد مغلط
 مشهور اوله اولما غله حاله قلعه کرکاک در ااما کاکل و کاکت و کرکت کله کلک ایالت ارضه و مده بر نواجیند
 اسپهر اما بو خاک عرافت ایله مسا ایالت شهر زورق پای بختی بو قلعه کرکاک ککن شهر زورق قدیم دیار غم حدود نده
 مراغه شهر ننه قریب اولوب تیمور خاندن بر و خرابه نهریب فالمشهر شهر مراغه دخی تیمور خاندن تاملشهر بعد معما
 اولمشهر شهر زورق قدیم ایله شهر مراغه بینی کتی مرحله زمین محصور داردر

در فصل خاکیمان شهر زورق قانون نامه سلیمان خان عمر بری اوزره حین فقهه ایالت اولوب اولکده عظیم اولمشدر و
 اسپهالنلور بر لوب پشه کوه اوج طوغلیع وزیر لاره صدقه اولمشدر و بالنتنده اولان اکراد امر لرینه ایکش طوغلی
 میر میرانلو پایه سیر و پشدر و امر شرفدارنده میر میران القابری یازمشدر اما والیو شهره زورق انشمان سرحد
 عراقرده اولوب بغداد ایله حدود دس اولما قایل و الیوشه زورق حکموت یابداد قبول نینه وار بجه نافرینر تا بوی
 مرتبه حکموت جا بریدر والیوشه زورق قانون اوزره خاص همانوی اول مرکز بوزیک لجه در قانون میر میرانلو
 در کم هر فقهی مملکت اولدی اوددی بیسه اول بکل بکر سیار میر میران اوزره تقدم ایدر و هر بکل بکیند خاص لری
 ننه مقدار انجما بیسه قانون سلیمان خان اوزره بشیک لجه بر جید لو عسکر بک سفر اشرا اردی صیره مهتران سیر
 بیراقلدی و ایچ اغاری و یاننده مطره جباری و او کوی صیره شاطر لری و ده کلری و طوغلی و قویو بی باشور و اجمل اغاری
 و صنفه کان و دی و کوه کله و تانار عسکرن چکوب مامور اولدوغوشی سفره کیدر اما شهره زورق والیو بغداد والیو
 اوزره قصده ایبر زورق ایله تاننده سلیمان خان ایالت شهر زورق ایچ ایدوب انذ بغداد ایچ اولمش اوزره حکومت
 اوج بیک کزیده عسکر ایله بهر سینه بر وجه عدالت بوزیکسه تفصیل ایبر

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عدد قلعه قیوسیدر و کرچو خاک عبر پاک ایله مینبر بر قلعه در اما غایت متانت اوزره انشا اولمیشم هر سته طرف
پادشاهین تعمیر و ترمیم اولنور جهاله عدد قلعه و طابیه لر ایله آراسته و جهاله عدد ابراج لر و دزدان بدن لر ایله
پیراسته اولمیش بر قلعه انتها سر حد در جبهه خانده سیر و تشر عدد صغیر و کبیر طویلیب و سایر صمات نواز مال و صوفو
رسور عودده سستایش عمارت قلعه کرکوک اولادرون قلعه جهاله عدد تراب پاک ایله و کرچ ایله مستور
خانه مهمور کاتر کیرینا تخانی و شوقانی سیر تلدر اما قلعه اچنده اولاق ایله باغ و باغچلی و آب و انلی خانه لر کالدر
وجهاله عدد کرچ ایله اوله

- ¹ Bzhar Othman Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye” (Musul, Shahrizor and Imadiyah According to Evliya Çelebi's Travel Book), (M.A Thesis, University of Sakarya, 2017), v.
- ² Bzhar Othman Ahmed, *Kurdistan la Seyahatname-i Evliya Çelebi da-Bashi Yakam: Bashuri Kurdistan*. (Suleimaniyah: Sara Press, 2019), 10.
- ³ Mehmet Akbaş, “Evliya Çelebi'nin gözüyle Kürtler ve Kürdistan”, *Journal of Artuklu Academia*, issue: 2(1), (2015),7.
- ⁴ Bzhar Othman Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye”, 17.
- ⁵ Evliya Çeleb, *Evliya Çeleb, Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi*, book I. (İstanbul: Topkapı Palace), 25.
- ⁶ Martin Van Bruinessen & Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır*, (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 3.
- ⁷ Akbaş, 3; Ahmed, *Kurdistan la Seyahatname-i Evliya Çelebi da-Bashi Yakam: Bashuri Kurdistan*, 7-8.
- ⁸ Bruinessen & Boeschoten, 4.
- ⁹ Evliya Çeleb, *Evliya Çeleb, Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi*, book IV. (İstanbul: Topkapı Palace), 293.
- ¹⁰ Pshko Heme Tahîr 'Abdulrehman Aghceleri, Shari Kirkuk le Nêvan Salani 1917-1926 (Kirkuk in the years 1917-1926), (Suleiman: Hamdi Press, 2007), 45-46.
- ¹¹ Çelebi, IV, 305.
- ¹² Çelebi, IV, 196.
- ¹³ There are many sources which prove that Kirkuk is a part of Kurdistan, such as Ottoman formal documents, the studying program (Geography lesson) in Ottoman schools are prove that Kirkuk is a part of Kurdistan. For more information in this regard, kindly read these codes from Ottoman archives: HAT_00788_36750_A_00001; HAT_00788_36750_G_00001.
- ¹⁴ Çelebi, IV, 293.
- ¹⁵ Shahrizor was a Kurdish province in the Ottoman administration when the Ottomans came to Kurdistan. This region became a province of the Ottoman Empire, with many citadels. In 1565 Kirkuk became Shahrizor's capital. BOA. Bab-i Asafi Ruus Kalemi, Defter no.1452, 331-334.
- ¹⁶ Çelebi, IV, 304-305.
- ¹⁷ Ahmed, *Kurdistan la Seyahatname-i Evliya Çelebi da-Bashi Yakam: Bashuri Kurdistan*, 28.
- ¹⁸ Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye”, 28.
- ¹⁹ Hesen Mehîmud Heme Kerim, *Kurdistan leberdem Ftuhât İslâm-i da*, (Suleiman: Nuvser Yayınları, 2007), 35.
- ²⁰ The basic of Luristan was *Lur*, referring to the Kurdish Lur tribe. “*Stan*” means a land. At the bigining of sixteenth century there were two parts of Lur tribe: Greater Luristan under the Safavids in the sixteenth century, and Minor Lur under Ottoman rule. Fađil Beyat, *Al-Dewle 'Uthmaniye fi al-Majal al-'Arabiye* (The Ottoman State in the Arab side), (Beyrut: Merkez dirasat Vehde el-'Arabiye, 2007), 358.
- ²¹ BOA. Bab-i Asafi Ruus Kalemi, Defter no.1452, 331-334.
- ²² Shehrizûl or Shahrizor are equivalent terms. Before the Battle of Chaldiran, Shahrizor was a liva in Luristan only, and its name changed from Luristan Province to Shahrizor Province. Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye”, 29.
- ²³ Beyat, 360-361.
- ²⁴ Sinan Marufođlu, “19.yy'de Irak Vilayetlerinde Toprak düzeni, Tapu ve Mulkiyet sorunları”, *Uluslararası Tarih ve Sosyal Arařtırmalar dergisi*, No:9, (2013), 236; Heme Kerim, *Molla İdris-i Bedlis-I û Rolî le Yekħstnî Mirnşine Kurdiyekan*, 50-55.
- ²⁵ Sinan Marufođlu, *Osmanlı döneminde Kuzay Irak 1831-1914*, (İstanbul: Eren Press, 1998), 33.
- ²⁶ Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye”, 30.
- ²⁷ On Ottoman-Safavid struggles, see Fađil Beyat, 349-357.
- ²⁸ Ünal Tařkın, “1002 Numaralı Tahrir Defterine göre Şehrizar”, *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, c. 24, Sa: 1, Elazığ, 2014, 298-299.
- ²⁹ To see the numbers of Sanjaks, see 'Ayn-i 'Alî Efendi, *Kavânin-i Âl-i 'Othman der Hulâsa-i Mezâmin-i Defter-i Divan*, (İstanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr Gazetesi Press, 1280 H, 1864 M), 1-33.
- ³⁰ This is one of the oldest Kurdish cities, inhabited by Kurds, Turkmen, and some Arabs. After the Muslim opening, Arabs and Turkmen came to Erbil. In the following topics will give more information about Erbil. Marufođlu, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kuzay Irak*, 54-56.
- ³¹ Harîr u Surân cities were ruling by the Bey of Suran emirate then became a part of Shahrizor's province. Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*'ne göre Musul, Şehrizar ve İmâdiyye”, 31.
- ³² Çelebi, IV, 301.

- ³³ Ulke-i Baban was a Kurdish tribe and emirate in the region of modern Suleimaniyah city in Kurdistan of Iraq, the capital of the Baban emirate from 1781. Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*’ne göre Musul, Şehrizer ve İmâdiyye”, 31.
- ³⁴ Liva-I Kuşaf in 984 had 200,000 akche. BOA. MAD, no.536, 171.
- ³⁵ BOA. MAD, no.536, p. 182-183.
- ³⁶ The condition of Mîr-i mîrânlık was that a person who got the lands under the Safavids for the first time would be the biggest Bey “*Mîr-i mîrân*” there. Çelebi, IV, 304.
- ³⁷ Evliya Çelebi, IV, 304.
- ³⁸ BOA. KK., Ruus Defteri, no209,p.116,126.
- ³⁹ Çelebi, IV, 305.
- ⁴⁰ Ayn-i ‘Alî, 7.
- ⁴¹ Çelebi, IV, 305.
- ⁴² Ibid., 305.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 305.
- ⁴⁴ BOA. Muhimme Dfteri, no.7, s. 801,852.
- ⁴⁵ Ahmed, “Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*’ne göre Musul, Şehrizer ve İmâdiyye”, 52.
- ⁴⁶ BOA. MD. no.7, s. 801,852.
- ⁴⁷ “Al-‘Anaşir al-Mi‘marye wal-Nuqûsh al-Zeghrefiye fi al-‘Ama’ir al-‘Othmaniye al-Baқиye fi İklim Kurdistan- al-İraq”, (Phd. Thesis, University of Carion, 2014), 10-100.
- ⁴⁸ BOA. MD., no.7, s. 801, 852.
- ⁴⁹ Karstın Nîpor, Rehle Nîpor ilâ al-‘Iraq al-Kamilah, translated by: Su‘âd Hadî al-‘Emri, Mustafa Jewad, Meħmud Huseyin al’Emin, (Al-Verek Press, 2012), 309.
- ⁵⁰ Çelebi, IV, 360.
- ⁵¹ Al-Makdisi, *Kitab Aħsen al-Teķasim fi Me’rifet al-Aķâlîm*, (Lidn al-Meħruse: Bırl Press, 1909), 136.
- ⁵² BOA. DH. ŞFR. 60. 259. 1.
- ⁵³ Necât Kevser Ođlu, Al-Ta’lîm fi al-Kerkuk Qadîmen ve Ĥadîsen(1534-2010), (London: Dar al-Ĥikme, 2016), Book I, 45.
- ⁵⁴ Ĥeme Tahîr, 105-106.
- ⁵⁵ Çelebi described a Kurdish Sheikħulislam in Baghdad named Mustapha Efendi, who was teaching in the Madrasah of Merjaniye. Moreover, Çelebi described that more people talked in Kurdish than in Arabic and Persian. Therefore, we can emphasize that Arabs, Kurds, and Turks were living together. Çelebi, IV, 24; ‘İmad ‘Abdulselem Re’uf, *Drasat Vesa’ikiye fi- al-T’arih al-Kurd al-Ĥadîş wel Ĥedâretuhum*, (Damscus: al-Tefsir Press, 2012), 35.