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## Ottoman Settlement Policy in Iraq: Negotiation and Coercion

### Irak'ta Osmanlı Yerleşim Politikası: Müzakere ve Baskı

*Dr. Erhan Bektaş*

ORCID No: 0000-0001-7808-2825

*Uskudar University*

#### Abstract

This article, which handles the Tanzimat period, aims to examine the implementation of the tribal settlement policies of the government in the Iraqi province of the Ottoman Empire in context of the centralization. The focal point of this study is how the new kinds of practices about tribal settlement and tax collection in provincial life were introduced in the Iraqi province. This article attempts to draw a wide-ranging panorama by the examination of the border policies in Iraq. It also shows the efforts of the central state to introduce stability and urban life to the nomadic tribes in the Iraqi region to increase agricultural production and tax revenues through both negotiation and coercion policies.

**Keywords:** Iraqi Province, Tribe, Settlement, Taxation

#### Özet

Tanzimat dönemini ele alan bu makale, 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nin Irak vilayetinde, merkezi devletin göçebe aşiretleri yerleşik hayata geçirme politikalarının uygulanmasını, merkezileşme bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın odak noktası Osmanlı devletinin Irak bölgesinde aşiret yerleşimi ve vergi tahsilatı ile ilgili yeni tür uygulamalarının tanıtılmasıdır. Bu makale, Osmanlı Devleti'nin sınır politikalarının incelenmesiyle geniş kapsamlı bir panoroma çizmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu makale aynı zamanda merkezi devletin Irak bölgesindeki tarımsal üretimi ve vergi gelirlerinin artırmak için göçebe kabileleri hem zorlama hem de müzakere yoluyla, yerleşik hayata geçirmeye çabalarını göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Irak Bölgesi, Aşiret, Yerleşik Düzene Geçirme, Vergilendirme

#### Introduction

After the long wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nineteenth century was marked by a strong army that stands at the center of the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, this situation denoted new requirements of resources, that is; new and consistent tax revenues. Therefore, military reforms followed by economic means and the centralized Ottoman State



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applied the ways of increasing capacity of tax revenue in the nineteenth century. The Iraqi province<sup>1</sup> of the empire was one of the regions that were reformed in order to increase tax revenues and agricultural production in this century.

The more efficient state system was based on the regular collection of state revenues.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the central administration first attempted to abolish the current tax farming system (*iltizam*<sup>3</sup>) and tried to establish a much more direct and equal taxation regarding the agricultural production throughout the empire with the help of muhassıls (tax collectors) after the Tanzimat Edict.<sup>4</sup> The second way to increase the tax revenues was to settle the nomadic tribes in the peripheries of the empire because tax revenues were strongly correlated with the small landowners and their agricultural output. Ottoman bureaucrats aimed to increase tax revenues and the agricultural production on one hand, and to control tribes by sedentarizing them on the other. In this respect, the Ottoman Empire's reform program in Iraq mainly included a comprehensive transformation to achieve tribal settlement and impose the central authority over the tribes in Iraq. Therefore, this article focuses on questions such as; how Ottoman Imperial center attempted to settle the nomadic and semi-nomadic entities on the fertile lands of the Iraqi province, how central administration tried to turn nomadic tribes into agricultural producers and finally what kind of policies were implemented regarding their taxation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It mostly covers the period between 1830 and 1910 and primarily based on Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.

One important reason for my decision to look Ottoman Iraqi tribes in the nineteenth century is related to the pattern of implementing settlement of tribes and taxation policy in the frontier zones. To answer the question of how to increase the tax revenue of the Ottoman central government, it is necessary to examine the sedentarization policy. The central administration's ability to raise revenue and to collect regular and easier taxes depended on the degree of urbanization, strongest central administration system in the provincial centers and negotiation with various social groups like officials, local notables and powers. Subsequently, Ottoman State was able to settle significant fiscal centralization and large increases in tax revenues.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article uses the term "Ottoman- Iraqi province" to refer roughly to the area that three territories- Mosul, Baghdad and Basra; each one was administered independently. In the archival documents, the term "Ottoman Iraqi province" was named as "Hıttı-i İraqiyye".

<sup>2</sup> Hala Fattah, *The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq, Arabia and the Gulf 745-1900* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 96.

<sup>3</sup> For the definition of the term "iltizam" see Mehmet Genç, "İltizam," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 22 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2000): 154-158.

<sup>4</sup> "in 1840, the Porte abolished the long-established tax-farming system and, in its place, founded muhassıl system, in which salaried muhassıl from Istanbul would collect the taxes in the provinces." Yoichi Takamatsu, "Ottoman Income Survey (1840-1846)," in *the Ottoman State and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Register*, ed. Kayoko Hayashi and Mahir Aydın (London: Kegan Paul, 2004), 18-20.

<sup>5</sup> According to Şevket Pamuk, although tax revenues of the empire consisted of three percent of the total economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was exceeded to twelve percent of the total production and income in the years before the World War I. This increase in the revenues kept the empire together until World War I. Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi: Büyüme, Kurumlar ve Bölüşüm* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 91; Şevket Pamuk, "Fiscal Centralization and the Rise of the Modern State in the Ottoman Empire." *The Medieval History Journal* 1 (April 2014): 4-21.



## The Implementation of Tribal Policy in the Iraqi Province

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the bankrupt Ottoman Empire produced new policies in order to ensure resources to keep flowing to the central treasury. Securing resources for the treasury through taxation of agricultural production was one of the government's goal. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire first attempted to sedentarize the tribal confederations in Iraq. Tribes living in the Iraqi provinces of the empire were economically independent and politically unpredictable. The nomadic Iraqi tribes produced grain, meat, animal skins, and dates. However, they did not produce for regional markets and trading centers, they could only meet their own needs.<sup>6</sup> The settling of these nomadic tribes to the more accessible regions was seen as one of the foremost strategic aims of the Ottoman central government to protect the regional position in Iraqi geography and to increase both agricultural production and tax revenues. However, sedentarization and keeping the tribes under control was very problematic due to the geographic isolation of Iraq from the Ottoman center, Istanbul.<sup>7</sup>

The government had two ways to succeed in the effective control mechanism for a more direct rule against the reactions of tribesmen to the Tanzimat's settlement policies in Iraq. The first one was to increase the cultivated areas and agricultural production. The second one was the electric telegraphs in the provinces to reach the all territories effectively.<sup>8</sup> Iraqi province had limited the cultivated areas because of the absence of adequate irrigation system, low level of productivity, and low participation rate of agricultural production in the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The building of the irrigation canals such as Hindiyya, Hamidiyya, and Asifiyya Canals<sup>10</sup> provided solutions for irrigation of lands and increased the percentage of fertile lands in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.<sup>11</sup> In return, the surroundings of these irrigation canals became the influential causes for preferring of settlement by the tribes because the tribesmen could produce labor-intensive crops such as rice and dates in these fertile lands.<sup>12</sup> The construction of irrigation canals and creating new arable lands affected the state's capacity in settlement of tribes and turned them into agricultural producers. In spite of the agricultural efficiency of the around of irrigation canals, to settle the Iraqi tribes around the canals was not always possible through peaceful methods and the state sometimes resorted to oppression.

### Negotiation Policy

The central administration's ability to raise revenue and to collect regular and easier taxes have been dependent on the degree of urbanization, strongest central administration

<sup>6</sup> Samira Haj, "The Problem of Tribalism: The Case of Nineteenth Century Iraqi History," *Social History* 16, no.1 (January 1991): 50-53.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Soli Shahvar, "Tribes and Telegraphs in Lower Iraq: The Muntefiq and the Baghdad- Basrah Telegraph Line of 1863-65," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no:1 (2003): 92.

<sup>9</sup> Mohammad Salman Hasan, *The Role of Foreign Trade in the Economic Development of Iraq, 1864-1964: A Study in the Growth of a Dependent Economy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 349.

<sup>10</sup> For the purpose of building of these irrigation canals in Iraqi province of the Ottoman Empire, see Cengiz Eroğlu, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Bağdat* (Ankara: Global Strateji Enstitüsü, TİKV, 2006), 136.

<sup>11</sup> Hasan, *The Role of Foreign Trade in the Economic Development of Iraq, 1864-1964: A Study in the Growth of a Dependent Economy*, 350. Taking into account a settled life of dwellers in the deserts in the Iraqi province, closeness to water resources played a major role in the continuation of settled life because of the severity of the climate and dryness of the plains. The development of irrigation system through canals resulted in the growth of agricultural foreign demand for Iraqi products.

<sup>12</sup> Haj, "The Problem of Tribalism: The Case of Nineteenth Century Iraqi History," 49.

system in the provincial centers and negotiation with various social groups like the tribal leaders who were effective figures at the districts. Therefore, central officials firstly attempted to engage in negotiations with tribal leaders to convince them to settle permanently in the Iraqi region. The Ottoman governors then tried to establish alliances with nomadic tribes through cooperation and mediation of tribesmen to guarantee its control over them.

The sheikhs or tribal leaders controlled all tribal activities; they performed similar functions with the central administrators of state in their regions. Their power was based on strict traditions and customs. Tribal sheikhs had greater potential in directing of their own tribal confederations as well as in the representation of their tribes. The decisions of the sheikhs were superior to the other people's decisions in the tribes.<sup>13</sup> The state provided tribal sheikhs with support by giving some privileges to tribes to increase agricultural production and tax revenues. Instead of having a direct intervention to tribes with coercion, the administration was forced to negotiate and interact with tribes before implementing settlement policies by the central state. The state gave new titles and status for the tribal sheikhs and they were appointed as district governors (with the *kaymakam* status). The sheikhs were officially recognized with integration into the ruling system by the Ottoman administration. By extending domination over the sheikhs, the empire could compose alliances and guaranteed authority over the newly settled districts. For example, after the death of Anezeh Tribe leader Sacer Efendi, the central government appointed Sheikh Abdülmuhsin Efendi as the tribal leader with the title of district governor on the condition of accepting a settled way of life by forming agricultural villages. The appointment of Sheikh Abdülmuhsin as a district governor in the Muhsine district was declared in the official state newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, on July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1872. Sheikh Abdülmuhsin Efendi guaranteed the unification of all the tribes of the confederation in the Muhsine district.<sup>14</sup>

Another important negotiation policy of the central government to settle Iraqi tribes peacefully was to support tribal leaders with salaries such as outstanding members of the Anezeh, Şammar, and Rabia tribes (in lower Iraqi region). For instance, Ottoman official Sami Pasha indicated in a report dispatched from Baghdad to the imperial center that the Sheikh Zebab who was the leader of Hazail Tribe was in financial difficulty and this would lead to unrest among the individual members of Hazail Tribe. Sami Pasha demanded salary from the central state for the leader of Hazail Tribe, Sheikh Zebab to prevent the unrest between Hazail Tribe. And, the Ottoman Financial Ministry gave a monthly salary of 300 piasters for restraining Hazail Tribe from rebellion against the Ottoman rulers.<sup>15</sup> The second example, the

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Baranet Colonel Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* (Reading, U.K.: Garnet Publication, 1994), 421.

<sup>14</sup> *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 16 Cemaziyelevvel 1289/22 July 1872: 2-3. "Anezeh Şeyhülmeşayihî Sacer Efendinin vukuu vefatına mebni aşayirî merkumenin idaresine muktedir birinin tayini lazım gelmiştir... Şeyhlik namının devamıyla aşiret halkının meşihat idaresinde kalması ve vahşet ve bedeviyetten kurtarılmalari... ve şeyhi sabıkı Abdülmuhsinib aşayir-i merkumenin iskanını taahhüd etmesi ve böylece arazi-yi haliyeyi mamur eylemek ve aşayir halkının orada birleştirerek hane ve karye teşkil etmek ve kerbela sancağına merbut olmak üzere Muhsine kazası ismiyle bir kaza teşkil olunarak beylik ünvanıyla kaymakamlığa mir-i mumaileyh tayin kılınmıştır... Anezeh aşiretinin ne derece vahşi ve bedevi bir kavim oldukları malumdur. "

<sup>15</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA.), İrade Meclis-i Vala (İ.MVL.) 536/24085, 6 Muharrem 1282/ 1 June 1865. "Müntefiklerin hazail aşiretinden olub bağdata celb olunarak bazı mahzurat üzerine bağdatda ikamet etmek ve canib-i hükümetten ruhsat verilmedikçe aşiretleri tarafından gitmemek üzere kefaletle rabtiyesiyle tahliye kılınan baş ağa zebab elganımın taşirlerine medar olacak bir gune nesneleri olmadığı cihetle emr ü idarelerinde zaruret çekmekte olduklarından bahisle emsalleri misüllü kendilerine dahi birer mikdar maaş tahsisi ifade ve istida olunmaktan naşi... bunların öyle hal zarurette

outstanding leader of the Hemvend Tribe was put on salary to settle the tribe members in the Bazeban district in lower Iraq in 1879 by the central government. The monthly salary for the tribe leader was accompanied by 347,434 piasters of debts to Hemvend Tribe to meet the tribe's all daily needs. Also, the government officials supplied with the seeds and store of grain (*tohumluk, zahire*) to cultivate their new lands in Bazeban. However, these economic privileges were ended after they settled. The state asked them to pay the 347,434 piasters of debts within three years with the decision of the council of the Ottoman Empire. Since the debts could not be paid on time in 1877, the tribe gradually paid them in 1877 and 1878.<sup>16</sup>

Giving tax exemptions for the nomadic tribes in Iraqi province was another peaceful settlement policy of the central government. To give an example, the necessary condition for the settlement processes of the Hemvend Tribe in the Iraqi region was financial incentives for this tribe and their leader to encourage settlement permanently. The Hemvend Tribe was exempted from paying of taxes and tithes between years of 1873-1876 within the context of the financial privileges.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Gülhor Tribe in the Iraqi province of the empire had tax exemption for settlement to arable lands of Baziyan town in Iraq.<sup>18</sup>

The other settlement policy of the central government with negotiation was the military service exemption for tribesmen. The matter of conscription of tribesmen was one of the biggest obstacles to the persuasion of the settlement of the tribes in the nineteenth century. The tribesmen could not be conscripted because there was not enough information about the number of tribesmen and the regions where they lived. However, the conscription of the tribes in the Iraqi region was necessary to maintain public security and authority over the tribes. To prevent the reluctance of tribesmen to perform military service, the government exempted tribesmen from military service if they agreed to become sedentary. For instance, the central state exempted all the settled tribes in Müntefik<sup>19</sup> region of Iraq in 1912. Nevertheless, the military privileges of tribes were also not permanent and the newborn children in Müntefik Tribe were not included in military exemptions. Their newborn children continued to be recruited.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the members of Gülhor Tribe were exempted from military service in return for a settled life, but they started to be conscripted after two years beginning from their settlement.<sup>21</sup>

*birakılması bilhare aşiretleri canibine karar ile bir takım fesadeta ictisar etmelerini müeddi olacağı anlaşılmuş ve bu makulelere münasib mikdar maaş tahsisi emsali iktizasından bulunmuş olmağla mahallerine avdete mezun olduklarında kat edilmek üzere gösterilen tarihinden itibaren mumaileyhimaya olmkidar maaşın tahsisi hususunun mahalline işarıyla hazinece ifa-yı muktezasının dahi maliye nezaret-i celilesine havalesi tezekkür kılınmış ise de ol babda her ne vecihle irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i mülukane müteallik ve şerefsüdur buyurulur ise ona göre hareket olunacağı beyanıyla tezkire-i senaveri terkim kılındı efendim.”*

<sup>16</sup> BOA. İrade Şura-yı Devlet (İ. ŞD.) 43/2320. 5 Zilhicce 1296/ 20 November 1879.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> BOA. Dahiliye Mektubi Kalemî (DH. MKT.) 301/45. 29 Rabiyyülahir 1312/ 30 October 1894.

<sup>19</sup> BOA. Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası (BEO.) 4020/301457, 6 Rabiyyülahir 1330/ 25 March 1912. “Müntefik confederation was a powerful tribal confederation that resided in Basra. Ottoman state tried to settle them in producing areas violently to integrate them into economic system. Also, according to estimations in the Ottoman report, the number of tribes were a quarter million people in the Müntefik areas in the Ottoman Iraq.”

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> BOA. DH. MKT. 301/45. 29 Rabiyyülahir 1312/ 30 October 1894.

## Coercion Policy

Apart from mediatory methods of the empire for tribal settlement such as putting the chiefs of the tribes on salaries or giving the financial privileges for the tribe members, coercion was another common practice of the state in the period of sedentarization of tribes in the Iraqi province. Negotiation with the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes was not always a useful method in the persuasion of tribes to settle in the new lands. In such conditions, the state did not hesitate to resort to using military troops in the settlement of the nomadic tribes and collection of taxes.<sup>22</sup> For instance, an official document sent to Sublime Porte by the Basra governor mentioned that the tribes of el- Hicam and el- Hasan in the Sukuşsuyuh region of Iraqi province did not pay their annual taxes. Thus, the government decided to use military troops to sedentarize and collect taxes from the tribes of el- Hicam and el- Hasan.<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, the central authority used military power to settle the Müntefik tribes in the valley of Euphrates and Tigris. The central state settled Müntefik tribes in these fertile lands by constructing small villages for each of the one hundred households and gave thirty acres of land for them.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, much of Müntefik tribes had British guns and these guns would be used against Ottoman troops. Therefore, the guns of the tribesmen in Müntefik were collected by the state.<sup>25</sup> Ottoman gendarmerie was also deployed permanently for providing security in settled life for these tribes.<sup>26</sup> However, All Müntefik tribes were not completely settled and many of them continued to live independently from the state authority.<sup>27</sup>

Additionally, using the gendarmerie forces or regular troops to collect the taxes in exceptional cases became a standard practice with time.<sup>28</sup> When the tribes refused to pay their taxes, the Ottoman officials used the military forces to collect the taxes from the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes in Iraq. In response to the coercive policies of the officials, the tribesmen rebelled against the central government. For instance, the revolt of Hazail Tribe in Baghdad in 1827 was one of the reactions to the forced sedentarization and taxation policy of the state. In this revolt, Ottoman military troops (*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*) suppressed the Hazail uprising by killing all seditionists of the tribes.<sup>29</sup> Apart from the revolt of Hazail Tribe, the

<sup>22</sup> I.Matti Moosa, "The Land Policy of Midhad Pasha in Iraq, 1869-1872," *Islamic Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1968): 150; Haj, "The Problems of Tribalism: The Case of Nineteenth Century Iraqi History," 50-54.

<sup>23</sup> BOA. BEO. 2685/201309, 21 Safer 1323/ 27 April 1905; BOA. BEO. 2728/204540, 18 Şevval 1323/ 16 December 1905. "Müntefik sancağın Sukuşsuyuh kazası dâhilindeki el hicam ve el hasan aşiretlerinin vergilerini vermemekle beraber memuriyet-i hükümetin evamirine itaat etmemeleri üzerine cereyan eden muhaberat neticesi olarak bir tabur asker-i şahane ile iki tabur sevkine mukaddema irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafetpenahi şeref müteallik buyurulmuş."

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Shahvar, "Tribes and Telegraphs in Lower Iraq: The Muntefiq and the Baghdad-Basrah Telegraph Line of 1863-65," 95. Soli Shahvar gave also a great emphasis on the policies of Tanzimat state in Basra like paying taxes and conscription and he conveys following; It had a general policy of imposing direct rule, mainly for taxation and conscription, but this was difficult to achieve over areas known for their local autonomous life and notorious for the rebellious spirit and turbulent behavior of their population, and southern Iraq (Müntefik) was one such area.

<sup>27</sup> R. Ghassan Atiyah, *Iraq 1908-1921 A Socio-political Study* (Beirut: The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1973), 26.

<sup>28</sup> Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), 157.

<sup>29</sup> BOA. Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT.) 509/ 25001. 7 Rabiyülahir 1242/ 8 November 1826. "Bağdat ve Basra arasında bulunan Hazail aşiretinin isyan alameti göstermesi sebebiyle Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye gönderilmiş ve harpte galip gelerek alınan başlar irsal olunmuştur."



rebellions of Beni Lam, Kaab and Şammar tribes against the Ottoman State were other resistance examples to oppressive politics of central government.<sup>30</sup>

Tribes in Ottoman Iraqi province perceived the Ottoman state as a constant oppressive power against them and they showed resistance for state policies about settlement, taxation and conscription.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, all of the coercive politics of the Ottoman government mostly remain inconclusive. When the pressure of governors and military troop increased in the frontier zones for the settled life, tribal people left the Ottoman territory to escape from state authority and oppressive politics.<sup>32</sup> For instance, the tribesmen of Beni Lam and Beni Esed<sup>33</sup> in Iraqi region crossed the Iranian border to escape from settlement, taxation and conscription policy of Tanzimat state.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, a document which was written by the Van governor mentioned that the Milli tribe moved into the Iranian region to avoid paying the cattle tax.<sup>35</sup> Ruşali tribe also crossed the Iranian border from Mosul in 1890 to avoid paying tax and military conscription.<sup>36</sup>

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the Ottoman Empire realized the inefficiency of the old military, administrative and economic structures after encountering their European counterparts for 200 years. It was understood that a centralized and modernized army was fatally important to stop the war and –as a result- land losses. A centralized military base also required additional resources from the state treasury in cash. Thus, as the empire's major income, taxes collected from tribes' agricultural producers gained significance on the way of reforms.

One of the most crucial aims of the imperial settlement politics in Iraq was to control tax revenues and to increase agricultural production. The Ottoman imperial center launched a comprehensive reform movement to control the agricultural production and to increase the tax revenues in the Iraqi province during the Tanzimat and onwards periods.<sup>37</sup> For the Ottoman administration, one of the most influential ways to increase both tax revenue and agricultural production was to achieve tribal settlement and control the tribes in Iraqi region. The central government constructed irrigation canals and created new arable lands for providing tribal settlement. Also, central government re-identified the importance of leaders of tribes in settlement processes by giving new status and titles to them. The settlement of tribes could be achieved with the settlement policy of the central state over the tribes. The tribes started to cultivate fertile lands that they were settled and the Ottoman government was able to increase tax revenue in the Iraqi region. However, some of the tribes resisted centralization strategy of the state regarding settlement, conscription and taxation because they were afraid of losing authority and political power over their tribes.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shiis of Iraq* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 44.

<sup>32</sup> Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 105.

<sup>33</sup> BOA. BEO. 4020/301457. 6 Rabiülahir 1330/ 25 March 1912. "The report included the clan names of Beni Lam and Beni Esed tribes in Müntefik, extensive knowledge about tribes' religious beliefs and demographic situation in Müntefik region. It was interesting that the tribes also were categorized according to their loyalties of the tribes towards the Ottoman Empire. These tribes were the Shiite supporters (caferi) in Müntefik region, each of tribes approximately composed of 180 persons. Their loyalties towards the Ottoman state were of moderate level."

<sup>34</sup> BOA. DH. MKT. 2410/64. 17 Ramazan 1328/ 22 September 1910; BOA. DH. MKT. 262/13. 15 Ramazan 1301/ 9 July 1894.

<sup>35</sup> BOA. Sadaret Mühimme Kalemi Evrakı (A. MKT. MHM.) 163/34. 21 Muharrem 1276/ 20 August 1859.

<sup>36</sup> BOA. DH. MKT. 1506/5, 21 Şevval 1305/ 1 July 1888.

<sup>37</sup> Nakash, *The Shiis of Iraq*, 32.

Lastly, this article showed the following two: First, the real purpose of settlement policy of the empire over the Iraqi tribes was the incorporation of tribes within agricultural production system due to the inabilities of Ottoman central treasury. Second, tribal settlement policies were implemented with oppressive methods if the settlement of nomadic tribes could not be achieved with peaceful ways. However, the oppression mostly brought about hostility to the Ottoman central administration. Ottoman Empire could not achieve the expected efficiency in increasing its agricultural production and tax incomes despite its oppressive solutions, but on the other hand it perpetuated the central dominance over tribes and sustained the social structure over the Iraqi region of the empire.

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