

Defining Kurd Dagh (Jabal al-Akrad of Aleppo): Historical Geography and Administrative Boundaries Before 2010

I. Introduction

A. Defining the Scope and Purpose

This report provides a detailed examination of the historical geographical and administrative boundaries of the highland region known as Kurd Dagh (Kurdish: Çiyayê Kurmênc; Turkish: Kürt Dağı; Arabic: Jabal al-Akrad), located in northwestern Syria (Aleppo Governorate) and extending into southeastern Turkey (Kilis Province).¹ The specific focus is on delineating the region's extent, identifying its key settlements, and tracing its administrative configuration during the Ottoman Empire, the French Mandate period, and the era of the independent Syrian Arab Republic up to the year 2010.¹ The objective is to establish a precise historical understanding of what constituted this region prior to the significant geopolitical shifts that occurred after 2010.

B. Critical Disambiguation: Kurd Dagh (Aleppo) vs. Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia)

It is imperative at the outset to distinguish the subject of this report—Kurd Dagh, primarily associated with the Afrin District of Aleppo Governorate—from another mountainous region in Syria bearing the similar Arabic name "Jabal al-Akrad".¹ This second Jabal al-Akrad is situated further southwest, in the Latakia Governorate, forming the northern part of the Syrian Coastal Mountain Range (Jabal Ansariya) near the borders with Idlib Governorate and Turkey.³ While both names translate literally to "Mountain of the Kurds," they denote geographically separate and administratively distinct areas.⁴ Kurd Dagh (Aleppo/Kilis) is part of the Limestone Massif extending south from the Aintab plateau.¹ In contrast, Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) is geographically part of the coastal range, characterized by chalk relief and deep ravines formed by tributaries of the Nahr al-Kabir al-Shamali.⁴ Administratively, Kurd Dagh (Aleppo) corresponds largely to the Afrin District, whereas Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) falls primarily within the Al-Haffah District of Latakia Governorate (specifically the Kinsabba and northern Slinfeh sub-districts) and parts of the Jisr al-Shughur District in Idlib Governorate.⁴ The distinct histories are also notable. While Kurd Dagh (Aleppo) maintained a strong Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish identity through the 20th century¹, the population of Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia), though descended from Kurdish tribes reportedly settled there for military purposes by the Mamluks in the 13th century or later by the Ottomans, had largely become

Arabized centuries ago, retaining the name as a vestige of their heritage.⁴ The potential for confusion necessitates careful attention to geographical and administrative context when interpreting historical and contemporary sources.⁸ This report focuses exclusively on the Kurd Dagħ region associated with Aleppo Governorate and Kilis Province.

C. Methodology and Structure

The analysis herein integrates geographical data, including topography and natural boundaries, with a chronological review of administrative structures. It examines the region's configuration under the Ottoman Empire, its formalization as a distinct district (Kaza) during the French Mandate, and its status as the Afrin District within independent Syria until 2010. The report draws upon the provided research materials, incorporating multilingual place names (Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish) where relevant to reflect the region's complex identity.

D. The Politics of Naming and Identity

The multiplicity of names associated with this region—Kurd Dagħ, Çiyayê Kurmênc, Kürt Dağı, Jabal al-Akrad, and the later imposition of Jabal al-Uruba—is not merely a matter of linguistic variation but reflects deeper historical currents of political control, ethnic identity, and state-led assimilation efforts.¹ The use of "Kurd Dağ" (کرد طاغی) in Ottoman Turkish documents and maps acknowledged the Kurdish presence, a practice continued with variations like "Kurd Dagħ" or "Djebel Kourda" during the French Mandate.¹ Independent Syria initially adopted the Arabic equivalent, "Jabal al-Akrad," but this name was officially supplanted in 1977 by Decree 15801, which mandated the name "Jabal al-Uruba" (Mountain of Arabism) and banned Kurdish place names.¹ This act was consistent with broader Ba'athist state policies aimed at suppressing non-Arab identities, particularly Kurdish identity, within Syria.¹⁰ This official renaming created a stark divergence between the state-sanctioned toponymy and the local Kurdish name (Çiyayê Kurmênc), as well as the historical nomenclature. The persistence of "Kurd Dagħ" and "Afrin region" in international and academic discourse, despite the official Syrian change, highlights the contested nature of identity and the role of cartography and naming conventions as instruments in ethno-national politics.

II. Geographical Delineation of Kurd Dagħ (Aleppo/Kilis)

A. Location and Topography

Kurd Dagħ is a highland region spanning the border between northwestern Syria and southeastern Turkey. Within Syria, it falls primarily within the Afrin District of Aleppo Governorate; in Turkey, it extends into Kilis Province.¹ The geographical coordinates are centered roughly at 36°40'N latitude and 36°46'E longitude.¹

Topographically, the region is part of the Limestone Massif of northwestern Syria.¹ It represents a southern extension of the highlands found on the western part of the Aintab

(Gaziantep) plateau, transitioning towards the Aleppo plateau further south.¹ Elevations typically range from 700 to 1260 meters.⁹ Some sources have described it as the only significantly populated mountain area in Syria, emphasizing its unique character within the country's geography.¹¹

B. Natural Boundaries

The natural features defining the extent of Kurd Dagħ are relatively clear:

- **East and South:** The region is bounded by the valley of the River Afrin. This river valley separates Kurd Dagħ from the Plain of A'zāz and Mount Simeon (Jabal Sim'an) to the east, and from Mount Harim (Jabal Harim) to the south.¹
- **West:** The valley of the River Aswad (known as Kara Su in Turkish) forms the western boundary, separating Kurd Dagħ from the Mount Amanus range (Nur Mountains).¹
- **North:** The highlands continue northward across the political border into Kilis Province in Turkey, connecting with the broader highlands of the Aintab plateau.¹ The modern international border, established in 1923, artificially bisects this contiguous geographical zone.⁹

C. Ecology and Economy (Historical Context)

Historically, the Kurd Dagħ region has been characterized by its agricultural productivity and natural resources. It is particularly renowned for its extensive olive groves, a practice dating back centuries, possibly millennia, with olive oil being a significant export.¹ Charcoal production was another notable economic activity.¹ Other agricultural products included cereals, grapes (vines), figs, and mulberries.¹² Higher altitudes supported oak forests.¹² The agricultural system was described as intensive, particularly in the mountainous parts, supplemented by the raising of large herds of sheep and goats.¹² Local crafts, such as the weaving of kilims (flat-woven rugs), also contributed to the economy.¹²

D. Geo-Strategic Significance and Border Permeability

The geographical position of Kurd Dagħ has endowed it with historical strategic significance. As a highland area adjacent to major plains (A'zāz, Aleppo) and controlling routes between Anatolia, the Syrian interior, and the coastal regions (via passes through the Amanus range), it has been a contested and frequented landscape for millennia.¹ References point to its location on ancient routes, such as the path used by Seleucid armies towards Antioch¹⁵, and its proximity to Alexandretta (Iskenderun) was a factor in post-World War I geopolitical considerations.¹⁶

The imposition of the modern Syria-Turkey border in 1923 fundamentally altered the region's dynamics.⁹ This artificial line cut across a geographically and, to some extent, culturally integrated area, dividing communities and disrupting traditional patterns of movement and interaction.⁹ However, such borders often remain permeable. Kinship ties, trade (including smuggling), and political movements likely continued across the border, fostering a distinct borderland dynamic.⁹ The settlement of Kurdish Alevis fleeing persecution in Turkey into the

Syrian village of Mabeta in the 1930s exemplifies this cross-border movement.¹ This location, straddling natural corridors and later bisected by an international frontier, created a zone where local allegiances and state control were often in tension, influencing settlement, resistance, and identity long before 2010.

III. Administrative Identity in the Ottoman Era (c. 1516 – 1918)

A. Incorporation into the Ottoman Empire

Following the Ottoman victory over the Mamluks at the Battle of Marj Dabiq in 1516, the region that includes Kurd Dagħ was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ The integration of Kurdish-populated areas into the Ottoman realm often involved negotiations between the central authorities and powerful local Kurdish chieftains (aghas or beys). These arrangements typically granted considerable autonomy to the Kurdish notables in exchange for loyalty and cooperation, particularly in strategic borderland areas contested with rivals like the Safavid Empire in Persia.¹⁷

B. Administrative Placement

Throughout the Ottoman period, Kurd Dagħ was consistently administered as part of the **Vilayet of Aleppo** (Halep Eyaleti, later Vilayeti), one of the major provinces of Ottoman Syria.¹ Ottoman administrative documents and maps referred to the region specifically as "**Kurd Dağ**" (meaning "Kurd Mountain" in Ottoman Turkish, written as كرد طاغی), explicitly acknowledging the predominant ethnic group.¹

Evidence suggests a specific administrative recognition within the Vilayet structure.

Eighteenth-century Ottoman documents refer to the area as the "**Sancak of the Kurds**".¹³ A Sancak was typically a second-level administrative division within a Vilayet. However, other references, particularly relating to the later Ottoman period and the early French Mandate, identify it as the **Kaza of Kurd Dagħ**.¹ A Kaza (or Qadha) was generally a subdivision of a Sancak. It is plausible that the administrative designation fluctuated over time, or that "Sancak of the Kurds" was a broader regional term used in the 18th century, later formalized as the Kaza of Kurd Dagħ within the Sanjak of Kilis or perhaps directly under the Aleppo Sanjak. The nearby city of Kilis served as an important administrative and economic center for the wider area before the modern border divided the region.⁹

C. Settlements and Population

The history of Kurdish settlement in Kurd Dagħ is long, though precise timelines are debated. Some scholars suggest a presence dating back to antiquity, possibly linked to mercenaries serving the Seleucid Empire near Antioch.¹⁵ A 1599 account by the English traveler William Biddulph mentions "Coords" dwelling in the mountains between Aleppo and Alexandretta, potentially referring to local Yazidi Kurds.¹³ Other sources emphasize settlement by Kurdish

tribes fleeing persecution in Anatolia, possibly referring to later waves of migration.¹¹ During the Ottoman centuries, the region was known to be inhabited by various Kurdish tribes. The Reshwan and Milli tribal confederations were significant forces in northern Syria during this period, although their specific dominance within Kurd Dagħ itself requires further clarification.¹⁵ The brief rule of the Kurdish Janbulad family as governors of the Aleppo Vilayet (1591–1607) also points to Kurdish influence in the broader region.¹⁵ While the surrounding villages, estimated to number around 360, often had ancient origins¹⁰, the town of Afrin itself emerged primarily as a market center in the 19th century.¹³ In addition to the majority Sunni Muslim Kurds (predominantly Hanafi, distinguishing them from many Shafi'i Kurds elsewhere in Syria), a notable Yazidi Kurdish population existed in the region, particularly in the southern parts near Jabal Sim'an.¹

D. Limitations in Sources

The available material does not include detailed Ottoman-era administrative maps explicitly delineating the boundaries of the Kaza or Sancak of Kurd Dagħ within the Aleppo Vilayet.¹ While the name "Kurd Dağ" is attested on maps¹, its precise administrative borders during the Ottoman centuries remain inferred rather than definitively mapped in the provided sources.

E. Autonomy versus Integration

The relationship between Kurd Dagħ and the Ottoman central state likely involved a dynamic interplay between formal administrative inclusion and significant local autonomy. While formally part of the Aleppo Vilayet¹⁵ and recognized through specific administrative terms like "Sancak" or "Kaza" of the Kurds¹, the region's mountainous terrain, tribal structures, and borderland location likely allowed local Kurdish aghas and tribal confederations to wield considerable influence.¹⁵ The general trend across Ottoman Kurdistan in the 19th century involved attempts by the central state to dismantle autonomous Kurdish emirates and establish more direct control.²² This process likely affected Kurd Dagħ as well, gradually shifting the balance towards greater integration into the provincial administration. Nevertheless, the Ottoman period established a precedent of the region being administratively linked to Aleppo while maintaining a distinct identity associated with its Kurdish population and geography. This historical pattern of being simultaneously part of a larger entity yet retaining local distinctiveness arguably persisted into the post-Ottoman era.

IV. The Kaza of Kurd Dagħ under the French Mandate (1920–1946)

A. Establishment and Administrative Placement

Following the defeat of the short-lived Arab Kingdom of Syria at the Battle of Maysalun in July 1920 and the subsequent consolidation of French control²³, the French authorities implemented the League of Nations Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon, formally granted in

1923.²⁵ A key element of French policy was the subdivision of Syria into several smaller states, often along sectarian or regional lines, in a strategy aimed at weakening nationalist movements and facilitating French control.²⁵

Within this framework, the historical region of Kurd Dagh was formally constituted as the **Kaza (district) of Kurd Dagh**.¹ This Kaza was placed within the **State of Aleppo** (État d'Alep), one of the initially separate states created by the French High Commissioner Henri Gouraud, existing from 1920 until its merger with the State of Damascus in 1925 to form the State of Syria.²⁸ The State of Aleppo itself encompassed a diverse population, including Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Circassians, and various Christian and Muslim communities.²⁸ French administrative documents and maps from the Mandate period consistently recognized the district, often using the name "**Djebel Kour**d" or similar transliterations.⁹ A census conducted under the authority of the State of Aleppo in 1922 enumerated the population of the Kaza of Kurd Dagh at 21,823 inhabitants.¹

B. Impact of the 1923 Syria-Turkey Border

The establishment of the modern border between Turkey and Syria, finalized through the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 following the earlier Franco-Turkish Agreement of Ankara (1921), had a profound impact on Kurd Dagh.⁹ This border cut directly through the historical highland region, assigning the northern portion to the newly established Republic of Turkey (where it became part of Kilis Province) and leaving the southern portion, centered around Afrin, within French Mandate Syria.¹

This division had significant consequences. It separated communities, disrupted traditional economic ties, and diminished the regional importance of the city of Kilis for the inhabitants south of the new border.⁹ Consequently, the town of Afrin, previously a smaller market center, saw its importance grow substantially as it became the primary administrative and economic hub for the Syrian Kaza of Kurd Dagh under French development efforts.¹³ The geographical isolation of the Syrian portion of Kurd Dagh was further accentuated in 1939 when France ceded the adjacent Sanjak of Alexandretta (including Antioch and Iskenderun) to Turkey, which renamed it Hatay Province. This left the Afrin area almost entirely surrounded by Turkish territory, save for its eastern and southeastern borders with other Syrian districts.¹³

C. French Administrative Policies and Local Resistance

French Mandate rule in Syria was characterized by efforts to establish effective administration and security, often encountering local resistance.⁹ While the French created the Kaza of Kurd Dagh, acknowledging its distinct character, their presence represented an external imposition of authority over a region accustomed to varying degrees of Ottoman oversight and local autonomy. The borderland nature of Kurd Dagh made it a zone of instability, with recorded instances of armed opposition to French forces, sometimes led by local figures operating between banditry and organized revolt, particularly in the early years of the Mandate.⁹ French administration relied on its military forces, including colonial troops, and intelligence services (Services Spéciaux) to maintain control.⁹

D. Cartographic Representation

Maps produced during the French Mandate period are crucial sources for understanding the administrative and perceived ethnic geography of the time. Administrative maps confirmed the existence and general location of the "Djebel Kour" Kaza within the State of Aleppo.⁹ Ethnographic maps, such as the notable 1935 map produced by the French Services Spéciaux (archived at MAE-Nantes, 1SL/1/V 2129), attempted to delineate the predominant ethnic or religious communities in various regions.³⁰ This particular map visually represents the Kurd Dagħ area north of Aleppo as being predominantly inhabited by Kurds (though the map's legend groups Kurds and Turks under the same color code).³⁰ While valuable, it is important to recognize that such colonial ethnographic maps often reflected French administrative categories and political objectives, potentially oversimplifying complex local identities and demographic realities.³⁰

E. Solidification of Afrin as the Center

The French Mandate period proved pivotal in establishing Afrin city as the definitive administrative, economic, and social center of the Syrian portion of Kurd Dagħ. Before the Mandate and the creation of the border, the city of Kilis, north of the current border, held significant sway over the region.⁹ The 1923 border severed this connection for the population remaining in Syria.⁹ The French administration, needing a center for the newly defined Kaza of Kurd Dagħ on the Syrian side, focused development efforts on Afrin town.¹³ This confluence of geopolitical change (border creation) and colonial administrative necessity elevated Afrin from a 19th-century market town to the undisputed heart of Syrian Kurd Dagħ, a status it retained throughout the 20th century up to 2010.¹³

V. Afrin District in Independent Syria (1946 – 2010)

A. Administrative Continuity and Change

With Syria gaining full independence following the departure of French troops in 1946²⁵, the administrative structures established during the Mandate largely transitioned into the new republic. The Kaza of Kurd Dagħ became the **Afrin District (Manṭiqat Afrīn)**, remaining within the **Aleppo Governorate**.¹ Afrin city continued as the district's administrative center.³

B. Nomenclature and Politics of Identity

The naming of the region continued to be politically charged after independence. While the name "Kurd Dagħ" persisted in official use for some time, it was eventually replaced by the Arabic "Jabal al-Akrad".¹ However, under the influence of Arab nationalist ideologies, particularly following the establishment of the United Arab Republic (1958-1961) and the rise of the Ba'ath Party in 1963, state policies increasingly aimed at suppressing Kurdish identity and promoting Arabism.³⁶ This culminated in the 1977 Decree 15801, which officially renamed the region **"Jabal al-Uruba" (Mountain of Arabism)** and explicitly banned the use of

Kurdish names for places.¹ Despite this official decree, the name "Jabal al-Uruba" failed to gain widespread acceptance either locally, where the Kurdish name Çiyayê Kurmênc and the association with Afrin remained strong, or internationally. The region continued to be commonly known as Afrin or, in historical contexts, Kurd Dagh.

C. Pre-2010 Administrative Subdivisions (Nawahi)

The Afrin District, as constituted within Aleppo Governorate prior to 2010, was administratively divided into seven sub-districts, known as **Nawahi** (singular: Nahiya). This structure, reflected in the 2004 Syrian census, defined the main populated areas and administrative centers of the district.⁷ These sub-districts represent the core territory of Kurd Dagh within Syria for the period under review.

The table below lists the seven Nawahi of Afrin District and their administrative centers (main towns) according to the pre-2010 structure:

Nahiya Name (Sub-district)	Administrative Center (Town)
Afrin Nahiya	Afrin
Bulbul Nahiya	Bulbul
Jindires Nahiya	Jindires
Rajo Nahiya	Rajo
Sharran Nahiya	Sharran
Shaykh al-Hadid Nahiya	Shaykh al-Hadid
Maabatli Nahiya	Maabatli

Source: Based on data from.⁷

This administrative structure provides the most concrete definition of the constituent parts of Syrian Kurd Dagh immediately prior to the 2010 cutoff date.

D. Demographics (Pre-2010)

The 2004 Syrian census recorded the population of Afrin District as 172,095.⁷ Another source, potentially reflecting data closer to 2010, cited a significantly higher figure of 523,258 residents, noting the population was predominantly Kurdish.³⁸ *This discrepancy highlights potential variations in census data or estimates over time.*

Regardless of the exact figure, sources consistently describe the district's population before the Syrian Civil War (which began in 2011) as overwhelmingly Kurdish, with some accounts terming it "homogeneously Kurdish".⁷ Estimates suggested Kurds constituted around 90% of the population.¹⁰

Despite this predominance, minority communities existed within the district. Arabs constituted approximately 7% of the population, concentrated in about ten villages located in the eastern part of the district, near the border with the Azaz District.³⁸ Turkmen resided in two villages, also in the east, accounting for about 1%.³⁸ Smaller populations of Arnauts (individuals of Albanian origin) and Assyrians were also present.³⁸ A Christian community of roughly 2,000

people was noted.³⁸ Among the Kurdish population itself, while the majority were Sunni Muslims (mostly Hanafi), significant non-Sunni Kurdish groups included Yazidis, who constituted the largest minority after Sunni Kurds and were concentrated in villages in the southern part of the district near Jebel Seman (Çiyayê Lêlûn), and Alevis, many descended from families who fled the Dersim region of Turkey in the 1930s and settled primarily in the Maabatli area.¹

E. The Persistence of Identity Despite State Pressure

The demographic and cultural landscape of Afrin District up to 2010 stands as a testament to the resilience of local identity in the face of sustained state pressure. Decades of official Syrian government policies aimed at Arabization—manifested in the forced renaming of the region to "Jabal al-`Uruba"¹, restrictions on the Kurdish language, denial of cultural rights, and political marginalization experienced by Kurds across Syria¹⁰—did not succeed in erasing the distinct Kurdish character of the region. Multiple sources confirm its overwhelmingly Kurdish population and the persistence of the Kurmanji dialect and local Kurdish place names (like Çiyayê Kurmênc) in common usage.¹ The continued presence and visibility of distinct Kurdish religious minorities like Yazidis and Alevis further underscored the region's unique identity within Syria.¹ This deep-rooted sense of local identity, tied to geography, history, and strong community bonds, proved resistant to top-down state assimilation efforts. The lived reality and self-perception of the inhabitants remained anchored in their Kurdish heritage, a factor that would significantly influence the region's trajectory after 2011.

VI. Defining the Boundaries: Synthesis and Demarcation (Pre-2010)

A. Synthesizing Geographical and Administrative Data

Synthesizing the geographical and administrative evidence, the historical region of Kurd Dagħ, as it existed prior to 2010, can be defined as follows: Geographically, it is the highland area delineated by the Afrin River valley to the east and south, the Aswad (Kara Su) River valley to the west, and the southern edge of the Aintab plateau extending towards the Aleppo plateau.¹ Administratively, the portion of this region lying within Syria corresponds directly and precisely to the **Afrin District** of Aleppo Governorate, as it was constituted before 2010.⁷ This district comprised the seven sub-districts (Nawahi) detailed in Section V.C: Afrin, Bulbul, Jindires, Rajo, Sharran, Shaykh al-Hadid, and Maabatli.⁷ The northern extent of the historical Kurd Dagħ region lies across the border within Turkey's Kilis Province, though the specific administrative boundaries within Turkey are less detailed in the provided sources.¹

B. Core Settlements within Kurd Dagħ (Syrian part, pre-2010)

The key populated centers within the Syrian portion of Kurd Dagħ (i.e., Afrin District) before 2010 were:

- **Primary Urban and Administrative Center:** Afrin city.¹
- **Sub-district (Nahiya) Centers:** The towns of Bulbul, Jindires, Rajo, Sharran, Shaykh al-Hadid, and Maabatli served as administrative hubs for their respective sub-districts and surrounding villages.⁷
- **Villages:** The district encompassed approximately 360 villages.¹⁰ While an exhaustive list is beyond the scope of this report, notable villages include those identified with specific minority groups, such as the Yazidi villages concentrated near Jebel Seman/Çiyayê Lêlûn in the south ¹⁰, the Arab and Turkmen villages situated near the eastern border with Azaz District ³⁸, and the village of Mabeta, known for its Alevi population originating from Dersim.¹

C. Distinguishing from Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia)

To prevent any ambiguity, the key distinctions between Kurd Dagħ (Afrin/Aleppo) and the Jabal al-Akrad located in Latakia Governorate are reiterated:

- **Location:** Kurd Dagħ (Afrin) is northeast of Aleppo city, part of the inland Limestone Massif. Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) is northeast of Latakia city, forming the northern terminus of the coastal Jabal Ansariya range.¹
- **Governorate:** Kurd Dagħ (Afrin) belongs to Aleppo Governorate (Syria) and Kilis Province (Turkey). Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) is primarily in Latakia Governorate, with parts extending into Idlib Governorate.¹
- **Main Town:** Afrin is the center of Kurd Dagħ (Afrin). Salma is the largest settlement in Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia).¹
- **Syrian Administration (pre-2010):** Kurd Dagħ (Afrin) equates to Afrin District (comprising 7 Nawahi). Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) corresponds administratively to the Kinsabba and northern Slinfeh Nahiyas (Al-Haffah District, Latakia) and portions of Bidama and Jisr al-Shughur Nahiyas (Idlib Governorate).⁴
- **Historical Identity:** While both names signify "Mountain of the Kurds," the populations have different historical trajectories. The Latakia region's inhabitants, though of Kurdish origin (potentially Mamluk-era settlers), became largely Arabized over centuries.⁴ In contrast, Kurd Dagħ (Afrin) maintained a distinct Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish identity throughout the Ottoman, Mandate, and post-independence periods up to 2010.¹

D. The Border as a Defining Feature

For practical purposes of defining the *Syrian* part of Kurd Dagħ in the decades leading up to 2010, the most salient boundary was the administrative one established by the Syrian state: the perimeter of the Afrin District. This administrative boundary was itself a product of the historical trajectory outlined above, particularly the imposition of the Syria-Turkey border in 1923.⁹ The historical Kurd Dagħ region was undeniably trans-border.¹ However, the creation of the international frontier, followed by the French Mandate's establishment of the Kaza of Kurd Dagħ south of that line centered on Afrin ¹, and the continuation of this unit as the Afrin District by independent Syria ⁷, effectively contained and defined the Syrian component of

this historical region. Therefore, while acknowledging the larger historical-cultural geography extending into Turkey, the Afrin District boundaries as they existed prior to 2010 represent the most accurate and relevant answer to the query regarding the extent of Kurd Dagħ *within Syria* during that period.

VII. Conclusion

A. Summary of Findings

This report has established that the historical region known as Kurd Dagħ (Çiyayê Kurmênc / Kürt Dağı / Jabal al-Akrad of Aleppo) is a distinct highland area in northwestern Syria and southeastern Turkey, geographically defined by the Afrin and Aswad river valleys and its connection to the Aintab and Aleppo plateaus. Its administrative identity evolved over centuries: it was part of the Ottoman Vilayet of Aleppo, known as "Kurd Dağ" and likely administered as a Kaza or Sancak; it was formally constituted as the Kaza of Kurd Dagħ within the State of Aleppo during the French Mandate; and, following Syrian independence, it became the Afrin District within Aleppo Governorate. Prior to 2010, the Syrian portion of Kurd Dagħ corresponded precisely to the Afrin District, encompassing the seven sub-districts (Nawahi) of Afrin, Bulbul, Jindires, Rajo, Sharran, Shaykh al-Hadid, and Maabatli, with Afrin city as its primary center.

B. Final Reiteration of Distinction

It remains crucial to differentiate this region from the similarly named Jabal al-Akrad situated in Latakia Governorate. The two regions differ significantly in their geographical location, administrative affiliation within Syria, primary settlements, and the historical trajectory of their respective populations' identities. Kurd Dagħ (Afrin/Aleppo) maintained a strong, distinct Kurmanji-speaking identity, while Jabal al-Akrad (Latakia) experienced significant Arabization over time.

C. Concluding Thought

The Kurd Dagħ region associated with Afrin represents a clear historical-geographical entity within Syria. Its boundaries and character leading up to 2010 were shaped by a confluence of factors: enduring natural geography, centuries of Kurdish settlement and local power structures, incorporation into the Ottoman provincial system, the critical impact of colonial border-drawing and administration during the French Mandate, and the policies of the post-independence Syrian state. Despite official name changes and assimilationist pressures, Afrin District remained a recognizably distinct, predominantly Kurdish region within the Syrian Arab Republic on the eve of the transformative events that began in 2011.

VIII. Works Cited

- ¹ Wikipedia. "Kurd Mountain." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurd_Mountain

- ² DBpedia. "Kurd Mountains." Accessed May 2024.
https://dbpedia.org/page/Kurd_Mountains
- ¹ Wikipedia. "Kurd Mountain." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurd_Mountain
- ¹¹ Joshua Project. "Kurd, Kurmanji in Syria." Accessed May 2024.
https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/print/12877/SY
- ³ Wikiwand. "Kurd Mountain." Accessed May 2024.
https://www.wikiwand.com/en/articles/Kurd_Mountain
- ¹² PrayWay. "Prayer Profile: The Western Kurd of Syria." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.prayway.com/unreached/peoplegroups/953.html>
- ⁴⁰ Wikipedia. "Jabal al-Akrad." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jabal_al-Akrad#:~:text=It%20is%20located%20in%20the,with%20Idlib%20Governorate%20and%20Turkey.&text=The%20region%20is%20rich%20in,groups%20and%20the%20Syrian%20army.
- ⁴ Wikipedia. "Jabal al-Akrad." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jabal_al-Akrad
- ⁵ OpenTripMap. "Jabal al Akrad." Accessed May 2024.
<https://opentripmap.com/en/card/Q17064640>
- ⁶ Mindat.org. "Jabal al Akrād, Latakia Governorate, Syria." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.mindat.org/feature-174107.html>
- ⁴¹ Wikipedia. "Kurdish Front." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdish_Front
- ⁸ Library of Congress. "Syria: A Country Study." Accessed May 2024.
https://www.loc.gov/resource/frdcstdy.syriacountrystud00coll_0/?q=syria&sp=94&st=text
- ⁴² The Carter Center. "Weekly Conflict Summary - June 30-July 6." Accessed May 2024.
https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/weeklyconflictsummary-june30-july6.pdf
- ¹⁸ Wikipedia. "Afrin Region." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region#:~:text=During%20the%20Ottoman%20Empire%20(1299,eventually%20also%20settled%20throughout%20Anatolia).
- ¹⁵ Wikipedia. "Afrin Region." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region
- ¹⁴ DCKurd.org. "Withering Branch: The Story of Afrin and Its Peoples Pre/Post Operation Olive Branch." March 9, 2022.
<https://dckurd.org/2022/03/09/withering-branch-the-story-of-afrin-and-its-peoples-pre-post-operation-olive-branch/>
- ¹³ Wikipedia. "Afrin, Syria." Accessed May 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin,_Syria
- ³¹ The Kurdish Project. "Afrin Syria." Accessed May 2024.

- <https://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/syrian-kurdistan/afrin-syria/>
- ¹⁶ NLKA.net. "Destroying Afrin: The Historical Roots of Turkey's Occupation." Accessed May 2024.
<https://nlka.net/eng/destroying-afrin-the-historical-roots-of-turkeys-occupation/>
- ¹⁰ ECCHR. "Justice for Afrin." Accessed May 2024.
<https://loa.ecchr.eu/dossiers/justice-for-afrin/>
- ³⁴ Wikimedia Commons. "File:French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon map en.svg." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:French_Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon_map_en.svg
- ³⁵ Wikimedia Commons. "File:French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon map fr.svg." Accessed May 2024.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:French_Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon_map_fr.svg
- ²⁵ Wikipedia. "Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon
- ⁴³ Reddit. r/MapPorn discussion on French Mandate Syrian ethnic map. Accessed May 2024.
https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/1hbmwqq/remake_of_french_mandate_of_syrian_ethnic_map/
- ⁴⁴ Cambridge Core. "Occupying Syria under the French Mandate: Nomad Space: Securing the Desert." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/occupying-syria-under-the-french-mandate/nomad-space-securing-the-desert/5DF77C5F4ED34A71DE0D703CE5C6D5BC>
- ⁴⁵ Reddit. r/MapPorn discussion comparing French Mandate Syria and Civil War Syria maps. Accessed May 2024.
https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/1cfvqdn/maps_of_french_mandatory_syria_and_civil_war_syria/
- ³³ Cambridge Core. "Occupying Syria under the French Mandate." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/occupying-syria-under-the-french-mandate/952829DAB32DC2AB8A039DC004513A4D>
- ⁷ Wikipedia. "Afrin District." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_District
- ³⁹ Wikipedia. "Afrin Canton." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Canton
- ⁴⁶ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Borders Without a Nation: Syria, Outside Powers, and Open-Ended Instability." September 2024.
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/09/borders-without-a-nation-syria-outside-powers-and-open-ended-instability>
- ⁴⁷ MapAction. "Aleppo Governorate Profile." April 2013.
<https://maps.mapaction.org/dataset/28183240-0071-41d3-8406-56f7b7d98957/resource>

[e/b84d21b1-88b3-42bd-9149-23eeefb333573/download/snapaleppogovernorateprofileap
r2013.pdf](https://www.scribd.com/document/1447760239/bfa-regiones-et-res-publicae-the-kurds-2015)

- ³² Études rurales via OpenEdition Journals. "City and Countryside Connections in Northern Syria..." Accessed May 2024.
<https://journals.openedition.org/etudesrurales/9290?lang=en>
- ³⁸ SyriaUntold. "Afrin on the Road to Arabization." August 13, 2018.
<https://syriauntold.com/2018/08/13/afrin-on-the-road-to-arabization/>
- ⁴⁸ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "How Regional Security Concerns Uniquely Constrain Governance in Northeastern Syria." March 2017.
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2017/03/how-regional-security-concerns-uniquely-constrain-governance-in-northeastern-syria?lang=en¢er=middle-east>
- ¹⁷ Ecoi.net (BFA). "Regiones et Res Publicae: The Kurds." 2015.
https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1262738/90_1447760239_bfa-regiones-et-res-publicae-the-kurds-2015.pdf
- ⁴⁹ Cambridge Core (IJMES). "Jin, Jiyan, Azadî and the Historical Erasure of Kurds." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies/article/jin-jiyan-azadi-and-the-historical-erasure-of-kurds/ABD2F2585A3AD4FOFF3735CDOB4FECAA>
- ²² Cambridge Core. "The Cambridge History of the Kurds." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-history-of-the-kurds/BDA1E4CBEA98ADFD471D89A251C3FD4>
- ⁵⁰ Loma Linda University Scholars Repository. "An Ethnographic Study of the Kurdish People." 1981. <https://scholarsrepository.llu.edu/etd/1764/>
- ⁵¹ Austriaca.at. "Promising Beginnings: Early Contributions to the Development of Kurdish Studies..." Accessed May 2024.
https://www.austriaca.at/Oxc1aa5576_0x003d20f7.pdf
- ⁵² European Journal of Economic and Social Systems. "Self-Governing Cultural Production..." 2023. <https://www.ejecs.org/index.php/JECS/article/view/1927>
- ²⁰ Virtual Genocide Memorial. "Ort 33." Accessed May 2024.
<https://virtual-genocide-memorial.de/region/ort-3/ort-33/>
- ⁵³ Dokumen.pub. "Ottoman Explorations of the Nile..." Accessed May 2024.
<https://dokumen.pub/ottoman-explorations-of-the-nile-evliya-elebis-matchless-pearl-these-reports-of-the-nile-map-and-his-accounts-of-the-nile-and-the-horn-of-africa-in-the-book-of-travels-9781909942172-1909942170.html>
- ⁵⁴ Virtual Genocide Memorial. "Vilayet Van." Accessed May 2024.
<https://virtual-genocide-memorial.de/region/the-six-provinces/vilayet-van/>
- ⁵⁵ Yerevan State University Library. PDF document related to Ottoman history. Accessed May 2024. http://lib.y-su.am/disciplines_bk/a2d687b9ada39dc2ad3f03f19f45c004.pdf
- ⁵⁶ Bilkent University Repository. Thesis download related to Ottoman history. Accessed May 2024.

<https://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/bitstreams/9a4636aa-c180-4dc4-9003-e5e47f033ae8/download>

- ⁵⁷ Dokumen.pub. "End of the Ottomans..." Accessed May 2024.
<https://dokumen.pub/end-of-the-ottomans-the-genocide-of-1915-and-the-politics-of-turkish-nationalism-9781788312417-9781788317511-9781786736048.html>
- ⁵⁸ METU Open Access Repository. Thesis index related to Armenian community. Accessed May 2024. <http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12609106/index.pdf>
- ²¹ Houshamadyan. "Vilayet of Aleppo." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetaleppo.html>
- ⁵⁹ Wikipedia. "Aleppo Eyalet." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleppo_Eyalet
- ¹⁹ Wikipedia. "Aleppo Vilayet." Accessed May 2024.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleppo_vilayet
- ⁹ ResearchGate. "Contested Terrain: Cross-border Violence, Politics and Memory in Syria's Kurd Dagħ Region." Accessed May 2024.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/384185610_6_Contested_Terrain_Cross-border_Violence_Politics_and_Memory_in_Syria's_Kurd_Dagħ_Region
- ³⁶ National Digital Library of Ethiopia (hosting Tejel's work). PDF on Syrian Kurds. Accessed May 2024. <http://ndl.ethernet.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/23576/1/287.pdf.pdf>
- ²³ Archive.org. "The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East..." Accessed May 2024.
https://archive.org/stream/BenjaminThomasWhiteTheEmergenceOfMinoritiesInTheMiddleEastThePoliticsOfCommunityInFrenchMandateSyria/Benjamin+Thomas+White+The+Emergence+of+Minorities+in+the+Middle+East+The+Politics+of+Community+in+French+Mandate+Syria_djvu.txt
- ³⁷ Utrecht University Student Theses Archive. PDF thesis by Altug. Accessed May 2024.
<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/205821/altug.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- ⁶⁰ Syrians for Truth and Justice (STJ). "Deprivation of Existence..." October 16, 2020.
https://stj-sy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Deprivation-of-Existence_16_October_2020.pdf
- ⁶¹ Edinburgh University Press. PDF book "Regimes of Mobility..." Accessed May 2024.
<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/pub/media/ebooks/9781399503679.pdf>
- ⁶² Durham E-Theses. PDF thesis on French Mandate mapping. Accessed May 2024.
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1868/1/1868.pdf>
- ⁶³ Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund (CEPF). PDF Draft Mediterranean EP Rev. Accessed May 2024.
https://www.cepf.net/sites/default/files/resources/Donor%20Council/DC_Draft_Mediterranean_EP_Rev_27_July.pdf
- ²⁶ Cambridge Core. "Federalism and Decentralization in the Contemporary Middle East..." Accessed May 2024.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/federalism-and-decentralization-in-the-contem>

[porary-middle-east-and-north-africa/decentralization-conflict-and-state-fragmentation/B1C852A4DDE5E6BF801D2C5E94C810EA](#)

- ⁶⁴ Reddit. r/AskMiddleEast discussion on 1935 French ethnic map. Accessed May 2024. https://www.reddit.com/r/AskMiddleEast/comments/100pbgc/a_french_map_from_1935_of_the_ethnic_groups_in/
- ²⁵ Wikipedia. "Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon." Accessed May 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon
- ⁴⁵ Reddit. r/MapPorn discussion comparing French Mandate Syria and Civil War Syria maps. Accessed May 2024. https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/1cfvqdn/maps_of_french_mandatory_syria_and_civil_war_syria/
- ²⁷ Country Studies (US Library of Congress). "Syria - The French Mandate." Accessed May 2024. <https://countrystudies.us/syria/9.htm>
- ²⁸ Wikipedia. "State of Aleppo." Accessed May 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_Aleppo
- ²⁹ Saylor Academy Resources. PDF on French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon. Accessed May 2024. <https://resources.saylor.org/wwwresources/archived/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/French-Mandate-of-Syria-and-Lebanon.pdf>
- ³⁰ Mid-Afternoon Map Blog. "Syria Ethnic Map." August 2013. <http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/08/syria-ethnic-map.html>
- ⁶⁵ Mid-Afternoon Map Blog. "14 Maps of Syria's History." January 2014. <http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2014/01/14-maps-of-syrias-history.html>
- ⁶⁶ Dig Podcast. "The French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon." June 27, 2021. <https://digpodcast.org/2021/06/27/levant/>
- ²⁴ University of Central Arkansas DADM Project. "French Syria (1919-1946)." Accessed May 2024. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/middle-eastnorth-africapersian-gulf-region/french-syria-1919-1946/>
- ¹ Wikipedia. "Kurd Mountain." Accessed May 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurd_Mountain
- ⁶⁷ Academia.edu. "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE KURDS." 2021. https://www.academia.edu/125950333/THE_CAMBRIDGE_HISTORY_OF_THE_KURDS
- ⁶⁸ Archive.org. Full text of "1325 pdf". Accessed May 2024. https://archive.org/stream/20211001_20211001_0251/%D8%A6%DB%86%D8%B1%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C_djvu.txt
- ⁶⁹ Dokumen.pub. "Syria: Borders, Boundaries, and the State." Accessed May 2024. <https://dokumen.pub/syria-borders-boundaries-and-the-state-1st-ed-9783030448769-9783030448776.html>
- ⁷⁰ METU Open Access Repository. Thesis index on border dwellers. Accessed May 2024. <https://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12618206/index.pdf>

- ⁷¹ Marmara University Repository. PDF Symposium proceedings. Accessed May 2024. http://tar.itbf.marmara.edu.tr/dosya/itbf/tar/2022-2023/Yeni%20Eserler/2023/Sempozyum/OSMANLI%20SEMPOZYUMU%20CALISMA_DGT.pdf
- ⁷² KCDME.com. Page 199. Accessed May 2024. <http://www.kcdme.com/page199.html>
- ¹ Derived analysis based on.¹
- ¹³ Derived analysis based on.¹³
- ⁷ Derived analysis based on.⁷
- ³⁸ Derived analysis based on.³⁸
- ³² Derived analysis based on.³²
- ⁴ Derived analysis based on.⁴
- ³⁰ Derived analysis based on.³⁰

Works cited

1. Kurd Mountain - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurd_Mountain
2. About: Kurd Mountains - DBpedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://dbpedia.org/page/Kurd_Mountains
3. Kurd Mountain - Wikiwand, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.wikiwand.com/en/articles/Kurd_Mountain
4. Jabal al-Akrad - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jabal_al-Akrad
5. Mountain peak Jabal al Akrad - OpenTripMap.com, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://opentripmap.com/en/card/Q17064640>
6. Jabal al Akrād, Latakia Governorate, Syria - Mindat, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://www.mindat.org/feature-174107.html>
7. Afrin District - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_District
8. Image 94 of Syria : a country study | Library of Congress, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.loc.gov/resource/frdcstdy.syriacountrystud00coll_0/?q=syria&sp=94&st=text
9. 6 Contested Terrain: Cross-border Violence, Politics and Memory in Syria's Kurd Dagh Region - ResearchGate, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/384185610_6_Contested_Terrain_Cross-border_Violence_Politics_and_Memory_in_Syria's_Kurd_Dagh_Region
10. Justice for Afrin - Living Open Archive - ECCHR, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://loa.ecchr.eu/dossiers/justice-for-afrin/>
11. Kurd, Kurmanji in Syria Profile - Joshua Project, accessed May 1, 2025, https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/print/12877/SY
12. The Western Kurd of Syria - PrayWay, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://www.prayway.com/unreached/peoplegroups/953.html>
13. Afrin, Syria - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin,_Syria
14. Withering Branch: The Story of Afrin and its Peoples, Pre & Post "Operation Olive

- Branch" | Washington Kurdish Institute, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://dckurd.org/2022/03/09/withering-branch-the-story-of-afrin-and-its-peoples-pre-post-operation-olive-branch/>
15. Afrin Region - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region
 16. Destroying Afrin: The Historical Roots of Turkey's Occupation - The Kurdish Center for Studies, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://nlka.net/eng/destroying-afrin-the-historical-roots-of-turkeys-occupation/>
 17. THE KURDS | ecoi.net, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1262738/90_1447760239_bfa-regiones-et-res-publicae-the-kurds-2015.pdf
 18. en.wikipedia.org, accessed May 1, 2025,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region#:~:text=During%20the%20Ottoman%20Empire%20\(1299,eventually%20also%20settled%20throughout%20Anatolia.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region#:~:text=During%20the%20Ottoman%20Empire%20(1299,eventually%20also%20settled%20throughout%20Anatolia.)
 19. Aleppo vilayet - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleppo_vilayet
 20. Aleppo / Halep Vilayet (Province) - Virtual Genocide Memorial, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://virtual-genocide-memorial.de/region/ort-3/ort-33/>
 21. Maps | Vilayet of Aleppo :: Houshamadyan - a project to reconstruct Ottoman Armenian town and village life, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetaleppo.html>
 22. The Cambridge History of the Kurds, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-history-of-the-kurds/BDA1E4CBEA98ADFDC471D89A251C3FD4>
 23. Full text of "Benjamin Thomas White The Emergence Of Minorities In The Middle East The Politics Of Community In French Mandate Syria" - Internet Archive, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://archive.org/stream/BenjaminThomasWhiteTheEmergenceOfMinoritiesInTheMiddleEastThePoliticsOfCommunityInFrenchMandateSyria/Benjamin+Thomas+White+The+Emergence+of+Minorities+in+the+Middle+East+The+Politics+of+Community+in+French+Mandate+Syria_djvu.txt
 24. 11. French Syria (1919-1946) - University of Central Arkansas, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/middle-east-north-africapersian-gulf-region/french-syria-1919-1946/>
 25. Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon
 26. Decentralization, Conflict, and State Fragmentation (Part IV) - Federalism and Decentralization in the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa - Cambridge University Press, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/federalism-and-decentralization-in-the-contemporary-middle-east-and-north-africa/decentralization-conflict-and-state-fragmentation/B1C852A4DDE5E6BF801D2C5E94C810EA>
 27. THE FRENCH MANDATE - Syria - Country Studies, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://countrystudies.us/syria/9.htm>

28. State of Aleppo - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_Aleppo
29. French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://resources.saylor.org/wwwresources/archived/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/French-Mandate-of-Syria-and-Lebanon.pdf>
30. Mapping Minorities in Syria - Afternoon Map, accessed May 1, 2025,
<http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/08/syria-ethnic-map.html>
31. Afrin Syria - The Kurdish Project, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/syrian-kurdistan/afrin-syria/>
32. Kurdish Sufi Spaces of Rural-Urban. Connection in Northern Syria, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://journals.openedition.org/etudesrurales/9290?lang=en>
33. Occupying Syria under the French Mandate - Cambridge University Press, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/occupying-syria-under-the-french-mandate/952829DAB32DC2AB8A039DC004513A4D>
34. File:French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon map en.svg - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:French_Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon_map_en.svg
35. File:French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon map fr.svg - Wikimedia Commons, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:French_Mandate_for_Syria_and_the_Lebanon_map_fr.svg
36. Syria's Kurds: History, politics and society - National Academic Digital Library of Ethiopia, accessed May 1, 2025,
<http://ndl.ethernet.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/23576/1/287.pdf.pdf>
37. Sectarianism in the Syrian Jazira: Community, land and violence in the memories of World War I and the French mandate (1915 - DSpace, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/205821/altug.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
38. Afrin on the Road to Arabization | SyriaUntold | حكاية ما انحكت, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://syriauntold.com/2018/08/13/afrin-on-the-road-to-arabization/>
39. Afrin Canton - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Canton
40. en.wikipedia.org, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jabal_al-Akrad#:~:text=It%20is%20located%20in%20the.with%20Idlib%20Governorate%20and%20Turkey.&text=The%20region%20is%20rich%20in,groups%20and%20the%20Syrian%20army.
41. Kurdish Front - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdish_Front
42. Weekly Conflict Summary – June 30 – July 6, 2016 - The Carter Center, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/weeklyconflictsummary-june30-july6.pdf
43. Remake of French Mandate of Syrian Ethnic Map from 1935 : r/MapPorn - Reddit,

- accessed May 1, 2025,
https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/1hbmwqg/remake_of_french_mandate_of_syrian_ethnic_map/
44. Nomad Space: Securing the Desert (Chapter 7) - Occupying Syria under the French Mandate - Cambridge University Press, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/occupying-syria-under-the-french-mandate/nomad-space-securing-the-desert/5DF77C5F4ED34A71DE0D703CE5C6D5BC>
 45. Maps of French mandatory Syria and Civil War Syria : r/MapPorn - Reddit, accessed May 1, 2025,
https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/1cfvqdn/maps_of_french_mandatory_syria_and_civil_war_syria/
 46. Borders Without a Nation: Syria, Outside Powers, and Open-Ended Instability, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/09/borders-without-a-nation-syria-outside-powers-and-open-ended-instability>
 47. ALEPPO – Governorate profile - MapAction, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://maps.mapaction.org/dataset/28183240-0071-41d3-8406-56f7b7d98957/resource/b84d21b1-88b3-42bd-9149-23eefb333573/download/snapaleppogovernorateprofileapr2013.pdf>
 48. How Regional Security Concerns Uniquely Constrain Governance in Northeastern Syria, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2017/03/how-regional-security-concerns-uniquely-constrain-governance-in-northeastern-syria?lang=en&er=middle-east>
 49. Jin, Jiyān, Azādī and the Historical Erasure of Kurds | International Journal of Middle East Studies | Cambridge Core, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies/article/jin-jiyān-azādī-and-the-historical-erasure-of-kurds/ABD2F2585A3AD4F0FF3735CD0B4FECAA>
 50. "An Ethnographic Study of the Kurdish People" by Glenn M. Fleming Jr., accessed May 1, 2025, <https://scholarsrepository.llu.edu/etd/1764/>
 51. PROMISING BEGINNINGS: EARLY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF KURDISH STUDIES AT THE TIME OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.austriaca.at/Oxc1aa5576_Ox003d20f7.pdf
 52. Self-governing through Cultural Production in Diaspora-centric Space: A Comparative Study of Kurdistan's Jews in Jerusalem and the Kurdish Diaspora in Berlin, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://www.ejecs.org/index.php/JECS/article/view/1927>
 53. Ottoman Explorations of the Nile: Evliya Çelebi's 'Matchless Pearl These Reports of the Nile' Map and his Accounts of the Nile and the Horn of Africa in The Book of Travels 9781909942172, 1909942170 - DOKUMEN.PUB, accessed May 1, 2025,
<https://dokumen.pub/ottoman-explorations-of-the-nile-evliya-çelebi-s-matchless-pearl-these-reports-of-the-nile-map-and-his-accounts-of-the-nile-and-the-horn-of-africa-in-the-book-of-travels-9781909942172-1909942170.html>

54. Van - ۛۛۛ Vilayet (Province) - Virtual Genocide Memorial, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://virtual-genocide-memorial.de/region/the-six-provinces/vilayet-van/>
55. End of the Ottomans - The Genocide of 1915 and the Politics of Turkish Nationalism, accessed May 1, 2025, http://lib.ysu.am/disciplines_bk/a2d687b9ada39dc2ad3f03f19f45c004.pdf
56. contested nationalisms: turkish nationalist propaganda in the sanjak of alexandretta, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/bitstreams/9a4636aa-c180-4dc4-9003-e5e47f033ae8/download>
57. End of the Ottomans: The Genocide of 1915 and the Politics of Turkish Nationalism 9781788312417, 9781788317511, 9781786736048 - DOKUMEN.PUB, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://dokumen.pub/end-of-the-ottomans-the-genocide-of-1915-and-the-politics-of-turkish-nationalism-9781788312417-9781788317511-9781786736048.html>
58. syrian armenians during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth, accessed May 1, 2025, <http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12609106/index.pdf>
59. Aleppo Eyalet - Wikipedia, accessed May 1, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleppo_Eyalet
60. Deprivation-of-Exist.. - Syrians for Truth and Justice, accessed May 1, 2025, https://stj-sy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Deprivation-of-Existence_16_October_2020.pdf
61. rethinking state and border formation in the middle east - Edinburgh University Press Books, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/pub/media/ebooks/9781399503679.pdf>
62. The settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon, 1915-1939. - Durham E-Theses, accessed May 1, 2025, <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1868/1/1868.pdf>
63. MEDITERRANEAN BASIN BIODIVERSITY HOTSPOT - Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund (CEPF), accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.cepf.net/sites/default/files/resources/Donor%20Council/DC_Draft_Mediterranean_EP_Rev_27_July.pdf
64. A french map from 1935 of the ethnic groups in modern-day Syria, Lebanon and Hatay. Do you think that it would look different now? - Reddit, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.reddit.com/r/AskMiddleEast/comments/100pbqc/a_french_map_from_1935_of_the_ethnic_groups_in/
65. 14 Maps of Syria's History, accessed May 1, 2025, <http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2014/01/14-maps-of-syrias-history.html>
66. France's League of Nations Mandate in Syria and Lebanon - Dig: A History Podcast, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://digpodcast.org/2021/06/27/levant/>
67. (PDF) THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE KURDS - Academia.edu, accessed May 1, 2025, https://www.academia.edu/125950333/THE_CAMBRIDGE_HISTORY_OF_THE_KURDS
68. Full text of "1325 pdf" - Internet Archive, accessed May 1, 2025,

https://archive.org/stream/20211001_20211001_0251/%D8%A6%DB%86%D8%B1%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C_djvu.txt

69. Syria: Borders, Boundaries, and the State [1st ed.] 9783030448769, 9783030448776, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://dokumen.pub/syria-borders-boundaries-and-the-state-1st-ed-9783030448769-9783030448776.html>
70. COMMUNITY, BELONGING AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATA ON THE SYRIAN BORDER OF, accessed May 1, 2025, <https://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12618206/index.pdf>
71. Mehmet Genç Anısına Osmanlı İktisat Tarihi Çalışmaları - Marmara Üniversitesi, accessed May 1, 2025, http://tar.itbf.marmara.edu.tr/dosya/itbf/tar/2022-2023/Yeni%20Eserler/2023/Sempozyum/OSMANLI%20SEMPOZYUMU%20CALISMA_DGT.pdf
72. On the 'Democratic Civilisation' A Critical Reading of Abdullah Ocalan's Work - Accueil En, accessed May 1, 2025, <http://www.kcdme.com/page199.html>