

Sheikh's Resistance Dhari Al-Mahmoud for the British Occupation during the Revolution of 1920

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ABSTRACT

Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud was a key figure in the Iraqi resistance against British occupation during the 1920 revolution. The uprising was a response to the British colonial control established after World War I, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Al-Mahmoud, along with other tribal leaders, played a significant role in organizing and leading resistance efforts against the British, who failed to fulfill promises of Iraqi self-rule. The 1920 revolution, fueled by discontent with British policies, economic hardship, and a desire for independence, resulted in widespread protests and armed resistance. Although the British forces eventually suppressed the uprising, the revolt marked a crucial turning point in Iraq's struggle for sovereignty, influencing the later establishment of the Kingdom of Iraq under King Faisal I in 1921. Al-Mahmoud's actions contributed to the enduring legacy of Iraqi resistance against foreign domination.

Keywords: Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud, Iraqi resistance, British occupation, 1920 revolution, Iraqi independence

Introduction:

Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud's resistance to the British occupation during the 1920 Revolution:

From what is mentioned in British documents, we know that the tribes of the Dulaim Brigade were moving strongly to prepare for the revolution, through a letter sent by Lajman, who was holding the position of the British political governor of the Dulaim Brigade, on July 3, 1920, to his leadership, in which he referred to the conditions in the region and the state of anxiety felt by the British forces regarding the movements of the tribes in the region. The text of the letter included mention of the meeting held by the Iraqi tribes residing in the area extending between the cities of Baghdad and Fallujah, which was held in the guest house of Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud and attended by Sheikh Hassan Al-Hail, the sheikh of the Banu Tamim tribes.⁽¹⁾

Because of this meeting, which was a source of concern for the British authorities, Lajman took the initiative to hold a meeting of the tribal sheikhs of the Dulaim Brigade region. This meeting was called in British documents the "Ramadi Conference." Lajman's goal behind holding this meeting was to warn against any attempt to stand in the face of the British forces and declare a revolution against them, and that Britain would not stand idly by in the event of any movement against its forces. However, what happened during that meeting was the opposite of what Lajman had hoped and planned for. The meeting ended with the deepening of the dispute between Sheikh Dhari al-Mahmoud and the rest of the Iraqi tribes on the one hand, and between the British Lajman on the other.⁽²⁾

Meanwhile, the Iraqis everywhere in Iraq were growing in their resolve to stand up and fight against the occupation. The British faced battles and resistance in every inch of Iraq. In Karbala, the leaders of the revolution resided there in the Al-Wand Castle, which is located halfway between Karbala and Al-Musayyab. The lands around the castle were called Al-Wand lands, and the revolutionaries there controlled the western side of Al-Musayyab.⁽³⁾

The revolutionaries there agreed to send the Mujahid Jadou Abu Zaid to the Dulaim region to incite the tribes of Zubaa to revolt against the British occupier. This Mujahid arrived at the camps of Sheikh Dhari al-

⁽¹⁾Wameed Jamal Omar Nazmi, previous source, p. 116.

⁽²⁾Salman Hadi Al-Ta'ma, Karbala in the Revolution of the Twenties, Bissan Publishing, Beirut, 1st ed., 2000, p. 27.

⁽³⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 36.

Mahmoud in late July 1920. He carried letters to the Sheikh from al-Shirazi and from Sayyid al-Shahristani, and exchanged with Sheikh Dhari talk of the revolution. Through the conversation, the Mujahid learned that Sheikh Dhari's revolution against the British had begun a long time ago, and that he knew everything that was going on regarding the subject of the revolution, and that he was informed through the correspondence of the revolutionaries to him. However,⁽⁴⁾After Sheikh Dhari reviewed the letters of the religious scholars, he declared, saying: "I am an Arab, a patriot, and an Iraqi. I pledge to God - and he addressed Jadou' - and you, Jadou', are a witness to my words, that I will sacrifice my life and my wealth for the sake of the interests of my country, Iraq, against the greedy. Let the scholars and my brothers, the leaders, be satisfied, because I will work in the name of God, and you will witness my actions. I hope that my actions will please God and please you... God willing." Jadou' thanked him in the name of the religious scholars and revolutionaries and in his name and blessed him for what he had decided to do.⁽⁵⁾

Britain was not unaware of what the tribesmen were doing, so the British leadership began to search for various means and methods to win over the tribe leaders, to ensure that they would not carry out any actions against the British forces, through the methods of intimidation and enticement that Lejman followed.⁽⁶⁾

Fallujah revolution and the killing of Lajman:

Before discussing the events that took place between Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud and the British commander of the Jamman, it is necessary to mention what happened in the Mahmoudiya area and the sabotage of the railway line between Mahmoudiya and Baghdad.

The events mention that the messenger of the clergy to Sheikh Dhari, after leaving Sheikh Dhari's camps, reached Yusufiyah, which is an area affiliated with the Mahmoudiyah district, and his arrival was on the twenty-eighth of July 1920 AD, and he incited the revolutionaries there to cut off the railway used by the British forces to transport equipment and supplies and connecting Mahmoudiyah to Baghdad, which caused great confusion for the British occupation authorities, and the revolutionaries took the initiative to implement the plan immediately, and they uprooted the iron bars from the south of the city of Mahmoudiyah to the north⁽⁷⁾.

During that period, a train headed from Baghdad carrying ammunition, equipment and soldiers towards the city of Hillah to rescue the besieged British army there.⁽⁸⁾When the train reached an area called (Awerij), the revolutionaries attacked it with a hail of bullets, and the British soldiers responded to them. The battle lasted for about four hours. The train was forced to return to Baghdad, after the revolutionaries had inflicted about one hundred and fifty deaths among the British soldiers. The revolutionaries had captured a lot of weapons and equipment, and the number of martyrs in that battle was estimated at about fifty men from the revolutionaries.⁽⁹⁾

As a result, the revolution erupted in Mahmoudiya. The British forces responded to the train incident by sending a number of planes that bombed the homes of the tribes in the Mahmoudiya area. The attacks left many victims among children, women and the elderly. The number of martyrs exceeded one hundred. In addition, these attacks destroyed the herds of livestock that were a source of livelihood for these tribes.⁽¹⁰⁾

When the sons of other Iraqi tribes learned what had happened to the Mahmoudiya tribes, they rushed to join the Sheikh Alwan tribes in Mahmoudiya. Among these were the Zubaa tribes led by Sheikh Dhari Al Mahmoud, the Sheikh Dharib tribe, head of the Al Jadadah tribes of Zubaa, the head of the Anbari tribe, Sheikh Khadir Al Hamadi, and others.⁽¹¹⁾

The tribes began to lie in wait for the British army, preventing it from traveling towards Mahmoudiya, and forcing it to return to Baghdad. The tribes besieged Mahmoudiya, and the British realized the danger of this siege, but the tribes did not attack the city, fearing for the lives of the residents. They maintained the siege and prevented the British garrison from moving. However, support for the British forces reached them from Iran, forcing the revolutionaries to lift the siege and leave the region. Sheikh Alwan was forced to leave his region and join the desert, and the region fell under British occupation once again.⁽¹²⁾

⁽⁴⁾Memoirs of Hajj Shalal al-Fadhel al-Muwah, Al-Ani Press, Baghdad, 1st ed., 1986 AD, p. 85.

⁽⁵⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 37.

⁽⁶⁾Nasser Mohammed Al-Zamel, Why Do They Hate Us, Al-Okabian Library, Riyadh, 1st ed., 2004, p. 127.

⁽⁷⁾Kazem Al-Muzaffar, The Iraqi Liberation Revolution of 1920, Al-Nabras Foundation, Najaf, 2nd ed., 2014, p. 111.

⁽⁸⁾Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz, Iraq from Occupation to Independence, Institute of Arab Studies, Cairo, 1st ed., 1954 AD, p. 13.

⁽⁹⁾Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, The Revolution of the Twenties on its Fiftieth Anniversary: Information and Observations on the Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Al-Tadamun Press, Baghdad, 1971, p. 255.

⁽¹⁰⁾Gertrude Lowthian Bell, A Recent History of Iraq, translated by Jaafar Al-Khayat, Ministry of Education, Baghdad, 1971, p. 453.

⁽¹¹⁾Al-Mazhar Al-Faraoun Team, previous source, p. 307.

⁽¹²⁾Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, the previous source, pp. 255-256.

When Colonel Lajman, who was the governor of the Dulaim Brigade, learned about the railway sabotage and the outbreak of the revolution in Mahmoudiya, he became worried and afraid, and began to think of a way to control the Dulaim Brigade. He summoned the tribal chiefs of the Anza and Dulaim tribes, and asked them to cooperate with him to resist the revolutionaries in the Dulaim Brigade. He promised those who cooperated with him that he would reward them with positions and money in return for their cooperation, and that he would preserve their positions and prestige.⁽¹³⁾

Indeed, some of the tribal leaders agreed to Lajman's request, and after Lajman was certain of the sincerity of the intentions of the sheikhs who had dug towards Britain, he allowed them to leave and thanked them for their position.⁽¹⁴⁾

Dhari Al-Mahmoud did not attend this meeting after he refused an invitation from Lajman to attend. Sheikh Dhari refused the invitation, claiming that his health condition did not allow him to attend. However, Lajman did not accept Sheikh Dhari's apology, and did not believe the excuse he presented for not attending. He insisted on requesting Sheikh Dhari's attendance, but he insisted on his position of not attending. Lajman tried to deceive Sheikh Dhari, and asked him to meet him at a place called "Khan Al-Nuqta."⁽¹⁵⁾ which was only four kilometers away from Sheikh Dhari's camp, so Sheikh Dhari agreed to that.⁽¹⁶⁾

Here, a question may come to mind: Why did Juman not reach the tents of Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud after approaching them at a distance of four kilometers? It seems that this is due to Sheikh Dhari's position on the British occupation forces, whose presence and cooperation he rejected, and he expressed his position on more than one occasion. Therefore, Juman was keen to meet Dhari Al-Mahmoud in order to convince him to cooperate with them. However, at the same time, he was afraid to enter the tents of the Zubaa clan because he thought that he would be betrayed. This is certainly far from the thinking of Sheikh Dhari and his clan, which cannot do that, because it contradicts the values and ethics of the clan in dealing with guests.⁽¹⁷⁾ Especially since Lajman came as a visitor and not to attack them or harm them. However, Lajman did not want to get involved in such a problem, and preferred to meet Sheikh Dhari in an area between the two parties, so that it would not be an excuse for Sheikh Dhari not to meet and use illness as an excuse.⁽¹⁸⁾

When Sheikh Dhari agreed to meet Lahman at Khan al-Nuqta, Sheikh Dhari arrived at Khan al-Nuqta at around 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, August 12, 1920. He was accompanied by his two sons, Khamis and Suleiman, along with his nephews, Sa'ab and Salibi, as well as a group of his relatives, including Waham al-Farhan and twenty of the bravest knights of Sheikh Dhari's clan. These people accompanied Sheikh Dhari to Khan al-Nuqta, but he did not take them with him to the meeting. Rather, he hid them in the inn, awaiting the outcome of the matter with Lahman.⁽¹⁹⁾

Here are many stories and hadiths about Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud's meeting with Lajman:

The first opinion is that of Arnold Wilson, who said: "Legman left Baghdad that day at about eleven o'clock in the morning, heading for Fallujah." Wilson continues: "Legman told him that he would be in Fallujah at about three o'clock that afternoon, and that if he arrived in Fallujah, he would send a telegram to Wilson informing him of his arrival." Wilson stated that Legman told him that he would ask Sheikh Dhari al-Mahmoud to bring him to Khan al-Nuqta, and that if he met him, he would hold him accountable for his actions.⁽²⁰⁾

As for the meeting place between Sheikh Dhari and Lajman, which is Khan al-Nuqta, there is almost a consensus among historians and researchers on the validity of this.⁽²¹⁾ Except for what was said by Miss Bell, who tried to accuse Sheikh Dhari of treachery and betrayal, which is far from her, because treachery is not among the

⁽¹³⁾Zaki Saleh, Introduction to the Study of Contemporary Iraq, Al-Rabita Press, Baghdad, 1953 AD, pp. 29-31.

⁽¹⁴⁾Abdullah Al-Fayyadh, The Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Al-Irshad Press, Baghdad, 1st ed., 1963 AD, p. 294.

⁽¹⁵⁾Khan al-Nuqta: Built by Sheikh Dhari al-Mahmoud at the request of the Ottoman authorities in Baghdad, khans were built on main roads as stations that provided protection for trade caravans as they passed near the khans. The leader of each clan was responsible for securing the road passing through his clan's encampments. The location of Khan al-Dhari was of great importance, as it connected Iraq's western border with Baghdad and the rest of Iraq's provinces. For more, see: Aloa Musil, The Middle Euphrates: A Descriptive Phase and

Historical Studies, translated by Sadfi Hamdi, The Iraqi Scientific Academy, Baghdad, 1990, pp. 5-9.

⁽¹⁶⁾Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, the previous source, p. 257.

⁽¹⁷⁾Al-Mazhar Al-Faraoun Team, previous source, p. 330.

⁽¹⁸⁾A.Y.L. Rush and Jane Breshaud, Iraq in the British Archives, Bayt al-Hikma, Baghdad, 1st ed., 2012-2013, p. 59.

⁽¹⁹⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 42.

⁽²⁰⁾Arnold Wilson, The Iraqi Revolution, translated by Jaafar Al-Khayat, Dar Al-Rafidain, Baghdad, 1971, pp. 128-130.

⁽²¹⁾The same source, p. 41; Abdul-Moneim Al-Ghulami, The Three Victims: Saeed Al-Barzanji, Abdul-Salam Al-Barzani, and Dhari Al-Zubaie, Al-Hadaf Press, Mosul, 1955, p. 55; Abdul-Moneim Al-Ghulami, Our Revolution in Northern Iraq (1337-1338 AH / 1919-1920 AD), Shafiq Press, Baghdad, 1966, Vol. 1, p. 31; Abdullah Al-Fayyadh, The Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Al-Irshad Press, Baghdad, 1963, p. 299.

characteristics of the Arabs. Miss Bell claimed that Lajman fell victim to the hatred that the leaders of the tribes who live along the road leading to the city of Fallujah held for him. She says that Lajman was visiting Sheikh Dhari in his camps, and that Sheikh Dhari's son ambushed Lajman and killed him immediately after he left his father's guest house.⁽²²⁾

Note that Major Bray⁽²³⁾ He claimed in one of his writings that Captain Willianer, one of the British army commanders in Ramadi, was the man killed by Sheikh Dhari as soon as he left his tent.⁽²⁴⁾

This contradiction confirms that this story is incorrect. It is also understood from Miss Bell's words that Lajman was in Sheikh Dhari's tents on the day of the incident. This story is far from the truth. All the widely circulated hadiths state that the meeting place between Sheikh Dhari and Lajman was in Khan al-Nuqta, which was previously called Khan Dhari.

Sheikh Dhari, in fulfillment of the promise he made to Jaman, went to the Khan al-Nuqta, but did not find Jaman, so he waited for him outside the khan until it was half past twelve, when Jaman arrived at the Khan al-Nuqta, returning from Baghdad, riding in his private car, accompanied by his driver and servant. Jaman met Sheikh Dhari at the entrance to the khan.⁽²⁵⁾

Most accounts of the incident state that Lajman entered the inn with Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud, and they sat together to talk about some matters. During the conversation, Lajman demanded that Sheikh Dhari hand over a number of fugitives whom Lajman called saboteurs who he claimed were robbing his men.

The meeting between the two parties continued until two o'clock in the afternoon. At that time, a group of Arabs arrived to complain to the Jamn that they were riding in their car when a group of highwaymen attacked them and robbed them of everything they were carrying. This incident occurred two miles from Khan al-Nuqta on the road heading towards Baghdad.⁽²⁶⁾

It is reported that Lajman sent one of his officers with ten of his men, and five men from the Zubaa clan, among whom was the son of Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud, in order to arrest the thieves. Lajman ordered that the force he had formed not to move more than two miles from the Khan Al-Nuqta.⁽²⁷⁾

Stories say that Lajman ordered Sheikh Dhari to send Umayya and some members of his tribe to pursue and arrest the perpetrators.⁽²⁸⁾ There are several narrations on this subject:

Mr. Abdul Razzaq Al-Hasani mentions that Lajman ordered the leader of the Shabana to take Sheikh Dhari's son, Sheikh Khamis, with him and twelve men from Zubaa to catch the thieves and recover what had been stolen.

While Dr. Muhammad Mahdi Al-Basir says that Lajman asked the gendarmerie officer to pursue the thieves, arrest them, and recover the stolen goods, and to take with him on this mission ten members of the gendarmerie and some men from the Zubaa tribe, while Major Bray mentions a story that contradicts those stories, and says that Sheikh Dhari asked Lajman to take all his men and five men from the Zubaa tribe to pursue the thieves, and that he advised him not to go more than two miles from the inn.⁽²⁹⁾

Other accounts mention that Lajman planned this play to make it easier for her to trap Sheikh Dhari and his tribe, Zubaa, and that Lajman brought the executors of this play with him from Baghdad, and agreed with them on the implementation, so that he could use this play as a means to humiliate Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud and his tribe, Zubaa.⁽³⁰⁾ Iraqi historians mention that Sheikh Dhari left the khan after the force sent to pursue the thieves went out.⁽³¹⁾

But British historians believe that Lajman stayed with Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud and his son Suleiman. They stayed in the room, and in the courtyard of the khan was the driver of the car (Lajman's car), with his servant and a

⁽²²⁾Miss Bell, op. cit., p. 453.

⁽²³⁾Major Bray: The American ambassador to Istanbul until 1916. He wrote a book titled "Knowledge of the East in the Ottoman Era." For more, see: Major Bray, Knowing the East in the Ottoman Era: The Adventures of Lehman in Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula, translated by Salim Taha Al-Tikriti, Academic Center for Research, Iraq, 2015, p. 35.

⁽²⁴⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 43.

⁽²⁵⁾Kamal Mazhar Ahmed, The Role of the Kurdish People in the Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Al-Hawadeth Press, Baghdad, 1978, p. 138.

⁽²⁶⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 43.

⁽²⁷⁾Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, The Revolution of the Twenties on its Fiftieth Anniversary: Information and Observations on the Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Al-Tadamun Press, Najaf, 1971, p. 250.

⁽²⁸⁾Arnold Wilson, The Iraqi Revolution, translated by Jaafar Al-Khayat, Dar Al-Rafidain, 1st ed., 1971, p. 128.

⁽²⁹⁾Muhammad Mahdi Al-Basir, History of the Iraqi Issue, Al-Falah Press, Baghdad, 1st ed., 1923 AD, p. 25.

⁽³⁰⁾Lieutenant General Sir Almaz Holden, The Iraqi Revolution of 1920, Dar Al-Rafidain, Beirut, 2020, pp. 270-273.

⁽³¹⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 44.

man from the Zubaa tribe. It is said that Sheikh Dhari did not leave the police station, which was only a hundred meters away from the khan.⁽³²⁾

Meanwhile, Lajman was pacing the room, agitated, and directing insults and harsh words at Sheikh Dhari, and those words penetrated the Sheikh's ear like bullets. Lajman began to threaten him, and Sheikh Dhari stood up and was about to leave when Lajman said to him that you were a highwayman and attributed to you the theft incident that had occurred. He also blamed him for the fact that the heads of the clans and tribes had supported him and that he had not come with them. Sheikh Dhari replied: "I do not go to Baghdad because of my old age, and when I go there, if there is a need to visit you, I will visit you." Lajman replied: "I understand from your words that you do not support us." Sheikh Dhari replied: "How can I support someone who came to occupy my country and exploit it?" Lajman said to him: "Then you are inciting the tribes against us." Sheikh Dhari replied that the religious leaders had issued a fatwa that whoever cooperates with you is outside his religion and his people.⁽³³⁾

Lajman said to Sheikh Dhari that by visiting him and supporting the British government, the British government will help you and your sons and your tribe. Sheikh Dhari responded: "God forbid that I should betray my country, my tribe and my religion. I told you that I have no need for you to visit me."⁽³⁴⁾ Then, Lajman began to speak harshly to Sheikh Dhari and insult him, telling him that his position on the British forces was considered treason, in addition to accusing him of theft.⁽³⁵⁾

After all this, it can be said that Sheikh Dhari was certain, after meeting Jaman and the conversation that took place between them, that he would inevitably kill him. Sheikh Dhari left after asking Jaman's permission to leave, so he left, but he returned after a few moments and asked Jaman's personal guard for permission to enter. He entered with his son Khamis and one of the members of his tribe.⁽³⁶⁾

This is according to one opinion. Another opinion states that when Sheikh Dhari finished talking to Lajman, he was about to leave, but Sheikh Dhari shot him, knocking him to the ground. A third account says that after Sheikh Dhari left and returned, his son Sulayman and another man from his tribe were with him. They shot Lajman, and Lajman was severely wounded. It is said that Lajman asked Sheikh Dhari, "Why did you shoot me when I didn't hurt you?" Then it is said that Sheikh Dhari drew his sword and killed Lajman.⁽³⁷⁾

There are many accounts of Lajman's murder and the way he was killed, but in general, Sheikh Dhari, one of his sons, his nephews, and his companions killed Lajman.⁽³⁸⁾

The accounts mention that they also killed his driver and his servant Hassan, who tried to escape, but did not succeed. Even the story of the servant and the driver, there are many differences in the accounts that have been reported about the story of their killing or their escape.⁽³⁹⁾

Some of these stories mention that a driver of the Lahman managed to escape and went to Baghdad to inform the British forces of the killing of Colonel Lahman. Indeed, a British force arrived at the site of Khan al-Nuqta, where the incident of Lahman's killing occurred, and his body was transported on Friday, August 13, 1920.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The killing of Lajman was the spark that ignited the revolution in the city of Fallujah. On the same day that Lajman's body was transferred to Baghdad, the Zubaa tribes cut off the railway line between Baghdad and Samarra with the participation of a force from the Tamim tribes headed by Ali al-Mu'idi. In this way, the revolutionaries cut off the British supply lines between the cities of Mosul and Baghdad, and thus the British reinforcements sent from the north to the center and to Baghdad would not reach them.⁽⁴¹⁾

The rebel army in Fallujah consisted of four hundred armed men, including cavalry and infantry. These men had reached the Taji area and continued to remove the railway tracks.

This tribal army met in the Taji area with a force of occupation police and another force that had arrived on the Sharqat train, heading to Baghdad. This force was equipped with heavy and light weapons, and they headed with their weapons to confront the revolutionaries.⁽⁴²⁾

⁽³²⁾Lina Hoyan Al-Hassan, *Men and Tribes*, Ministry of Culture, Damascus, 2013, p. 21.

⁽³³⁾Mahmoud Mansour Al-Barshoumi, "Sheikh Dhari," *Al-Risala Magazine*, Cairo, Year (22), Issue (1115), Cairo, May 27, 1965, pp. 26-27.

⁽³⁴⁾The same source, p. 27.

⁽³⁵⁾Adnan Sami Al-Zarri, *The Revolution of the Twenties: Milestones and Fruits*, Al-Salam Foundation for Studies and Publishing, 2020, pp. 68-69.

⁽³⁶⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 33.

⁽³⁷⁾H.F.V. Winston, *The Commander-in-Chief of the Sahara*, translated by Kazem Saad El-Din, *Al-Mawrid Magazine*, Issue 2, 2000, pp. 51-54.

⁽³⁸⁾Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 45.

⁽³⁹⁾H.F.V. Winston, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁽⁴⁰⁾The same source, pp. 46-48.

⁽⁴¹⁾Philip Willard Ireland, *Iraq: A Study of its Political Development*, translated by Jaafar Khayyat, Dar Al-Kashaf, Beirut, 1st ed., 1949, p. 209.

⁽⁴²⁾Abdul-Munem Al-Ghulami, *Our Revolution in Northern Iraq 1919-1920 AD*, Shafiq Press, Baghdad, 1966 AD, Vol. 1, p. 54.

The revolutionaries realized at that time that there was no point in resisting, so they withdrew. However, Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud, along with Sheikh Ali Al-Mu'idi, headed to Fallujah at the head of their tribes on the fifteenth of August to confront the British army, whose forces numbered approximately one thousand armed soldiers.⁽⁴³⁾

Sheikh Dhari and his clans, along with Sheikh Ali Al-Mu'idi and his clans, descended to the head of Abu Ghraib. They attacked on the second day and arrived at night near Fallujah.⁽⁴⁴⁾

At this point, Sheikh Dhari was of the opinion that the strength of the tribes needed to be organized and prepared in a way that was commensurate with the strength of the enemy. He went to the house of Sheikh Mashouh Al Jassim, the head of the Al Jamila tribe, and spoke to him about the matter of the revolution against the British. The two parties agreed to invite the Al Bu Issa tribes and some of the leaders of the other tribes in the region to a meeting.⁽⁴⁵⁾

When these people arrived, Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud told them that the religious scholars had ordered us to wage jihad against the infidels and that we were Muslims and that we must defend our honor and our homeland. Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud continued organizing the ranks of the revolutionaries for four days. At the same time, the British army was facing a number of Iraqi tribes, and five British ships carrying equipment, weapons, and ammunition were sunk.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The commander-in-chief of the occupation forces, Lieutenant General Holden, stated that the Fallujah area and its surroundings posed a threat to the British forces. These areas caused many problems for Britain, and the British forces were forced to withdraw from the city of Hit and Ramadi. The Fallujah area remained cut off from Baghdad until the end of September.⁽⁴⁷⁾

On September 23, the British commander, Holden, issued an order to form a military force whose primary objective was to eliminate the resistance of the fierce army. This force headed towards Khan al-Nuqta, and encountered violent resistance on its way. However, this force was able to reach the camps of Sheikh Dhari, where it wreaked havoc, cutting off water to the farms, destroying crops, destroying and looting homes, and killing women and children. Tanks and aircraft participated in this campaign, and this battle was the last of the battles that Sheikh Dhari al-Mahmoud fought in the 1920 Revolution against the British occupation.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The British entered Fallujah on September 24, 1920. A British train carrying armed soldiers from Baghdad arrived in Fallujah, arriving safely. They celebrated their victory over Sheikh Dhari and the Iraqi tribes.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Sheikh Dhari then gathered his sons and the elders of his tribe and said to them: "We must submit to the command and will of God Almighty, and this is our destiny, so you must agree and not separate." He ordered his two sons (Khamis and Suleiman) to head towards the northern regions, while he chose to go to the Al-Wand region, where the headquarters of the revolution's leadership was located.⁽⁵⁰⁾

When Sheikh Dhari arrived in the Al-Wand area, he stayed with the revolutionaries in Karbala and asked the revolutionaries to provide him with a number of men to go with to the Dulaim Brigade so that he could ignite the revolution in the region against the British. He got what he wanted, and he reached the outskirts of Fallujah with the men who were with him. However, he was unable to achieve what he was striving for, so he returned to Karbala and remained with the revolutionaries in Al-Wand until the revolution ended. The British achieved what they wanted, and Iraq was placed under British occupation.⁽⁵¹⁾

After that, Sheikh Dhari left Karbala with some of the revolutionaries of Zubaa heading towards Najaf. They were almost taken prisoner by one of the tribes, but a group from the Shammar tribe saved them from this situation. They provided him with a number of camels and took him to Najaf. From there, Sheikh Dhari resolved to go to Ibn Rashid in Hail. Some of Zubaa's men had gone to him before him, but news came of the Wahhabis attacking Ibn Rashid in Hail, which prevented him from doing so.⁽⁵²⁾

(43) Philip Willard Ireland, op. cit., p. 210.

(44) Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, p. 59.

(45) Philip Willard Ireland, op. cit., p. 211.

(46) Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, the previous source, pp. 258-259.

(47) Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz, *Iraq from Occupation to Independence*, Institute of Arab Studies, Cairo, 1954, p. 37.

(48) Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, the previous source, p. 265.

(49) Muhammad Ali al-Tahir, *Fifty Years in Arab Issues*, Dar al-Rihani Foundation, Beirut, 1978, p. 57.

(50) Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, pp. 60-64.

(51) The same source, p. 66.

(52) Muhammad Ali Kamal al-Din, *The Revolution of the Twenties on its Fiftieth Anniversary: Information and Observations on the Great Iraqi Revolution of 1920*, Al-Tadamun Press, Najaf, 1971, p. 347.

Sheikh Dhari continued his travels until he settled in Al-Jazeera, and met his family in the land of Al-Fada opposite Samarra. Zubaa traveled to the Sinjar region, where Shammar's tents were.⁽⁵³⁾

Sheikh Dhari remained in the Syrian Al-Jazeera region for a period of time, and we see the British forces continuing their targeting of Sheikh Dhari in a statement issued on October 14, 1920, in which they mentioned: On the 12th of the month, it dropped bombs on rebel camps on the right bank of the Euphrates, 9 miles from Mahmoudiyah, where it was reported that Sheikh Dhari was stationed.⁽⁵⁴⁾ He then decided to leave for Turkey due to the changing political conditions in Syria at that time.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Three months after the end of the Great Iraqi Revolution, a conference was held in Cairo to decide British policy in Iraq. At this conference, it was decided to declare a general amnesty for the Iraqi revolutionaries.⁽⁵⁶⁾ When the British representative at the conference, Percy Cox, returned to Baghdad, he broadcast the statement approved by the Cairo Conference, which read as follows:

- The British government declares a general amnesty for all those who had a hand in the 1920 riot (the statement called the Iraqi revolution a riot according to their interests).
- Prisoners and detainees are released, and fugitives are allowed to return.

However, the statement excluded some individuals, who it considered responsible for heinous crimes, according to them, and who are fugitives from justice. These are, as the statement mentioned:

- Sheikh Dhari, his two sons Khamis and Suleiman, and his two nephews, Wadham bin Farhan, all from the Zubaa tribe, are accused of killing General Lajman or inciting his murder.

There are other people mentioned in the statement, and because of this statement, Sheikh Dhari, his sons, and those with him remained displaced in the border areas between Iraq and Syria for a period of seven years, during which they experienced the harshness of life.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The stories mention that Sheikh Dhari's efforts to liberate Iraq did not cease. Rather, while in exile, he communicated with a number of the leaders of the 1920 Revolution who were refugees like him in southern Turkey, and they discussed the possibility of igniting the revolution again against the British occupation authorities.⁽⁵⁸⁾

At that time, Sheikh Dhari was seeking to liberate Mosul, and then all of Iraq. Sheikh Khamis Dhari narrates that those who agreed with his father in this endeavor were Sheikh (Ajami Al-Saadoun), Sheikh of the Muntafiq tribes, and Sheikh (Hamid Farhan) Al-Jarba.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Conclusion

After completing this study, the researcher reached several main points, the most important of which are the following:

- 1- To know who Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud was and how he grew up in a society that rejected humiliation and degradation in the face of the British occupation.
- 2- The Iraqi people unite as one front in defending their country, Iraq, and unifying efforts and sacrificing their most precious possessions in resisting this occupier.
- 3- Sheikh Dhari killed General Lahman, which is considered one of the most important events that Iraq witnessed during the Iraqi resistance to the British occupation.
- 4- The sons of Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud participated with their father in resisting this occupier in cooperation with the rest of the sons of the Arab tribes.
- 5- Sheikh Dhari Al-Mahmoud endured his exile to Syria and then to Turkey, but this did not deter him from making plans and providing assistance to resist the British occupation.

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⁽⁵⁵⁾ Abbas Baghdadi, *Baghdad in the Twenties*, General Directorate of Cultural Affairs, Baghdad, 2000, p. 11.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Kamil Salman Al-Jabouri, *Documents of the Great Iraqi Revolution*, Dar Al-Mu'arikh Al-Arabi, Beirut, 1st ed., 2009, vol. 5, p. 40.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Abdul Hamid Al-Aluji and Aziz Jassim Al-Hajji, the previous source, pp. 70-73.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Ibrahim Khalil Al-Alaaf, *Sheikh Dhari and his influence on the 1920 Revolution*, Sons of Mosul Newspaper, Issue 1166, 9/25/2023 AD.

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