HOW TO MAKE A VOICE AUDIBLE? CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF KURDISH CULTURE AND OF SOCIAL REALITY IN POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES



FRITILLARIA KURDICA BULLETIN OF KURDISH STUDIES

Nº 7-8
03/2015
ISSN 2353-4052

INSTITUT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
NATIONAL SCIENCE CENTRE
KRAKÓW, DECEMBER 2014/MARCH 2015

Fritillaria Kurdica. Bulletin of Kurdish Studies. No 7-8/03.2015 ISSN 2353-4052

The e-zine is edited in the scope of the research project: How to Make a Voice Audible? Continuity and Change of Kurdish Culture and of Social Reality in Postcolonial Perspectives approved for financing by the decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03779 of The National Science Centre of Poland

Published by:

Section of Kurdish Studies, Department of Iranian Studies Institute of Oriental Studies of Jagiellonian University ul. Podwale 7, 31-118 Kraków

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Kraków, December 2014/March 2015

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Siódmy i ósmy (podwójny) numer naszego czasopisma wychodzi w formacie wielojęzycznym. Przedstawiamy w nim artykuły w języku angielskim, rosyjskim i kurdyjskim (dialekt sorani) w przekonaniu, że współczesna perspektywa postkolonialna powinna zakładać nie tylko dostrzeganie odmienności punktów widzenia, ale również wielości języków i sposobów, w których są one wyrażone. Dążenie do unifikacji języka i standardów, którymi bez wątpienia w ostatnich latach stały się język angielski i normy akademickie wypracowane na Zachodzie, choć jest niewatpliwie przydatne dla sprawnej globalnej komunikacji, wykształca jednak nowe podziały i hierarchie utrudniając swobodną wymianę myśli, tak istotną zwłaszcza dla rozwoju humanistyki. Czy miarą wartości wiedzy i prawdy o świecie może być jedynie jej dostępność w języku angielskim w szczególnie ustandaryzowanej formie? Czy tego rodzaju podejście, aczkolwiek pod wieloma względami uzasadnione, nie jest przyczyną powstawania wyizolowanej twierdzy, której mieszkańcy dbają tylko o swoje dobre samopoczucie? Trzeba przecież pamiętać, że spora część naszego współczesnego świata nie włada językiem angielskim. Istnieją też inne języki pełniące w pewnych jego rejonach rolę lingua franca, jak np. język rosyjski. Nie pragnąc dezawuować ani roli języka angielskiego ani wyrażonych za jego pomocą standardów, pragniemy jedynie podkreślić wartość wielości języków i tradycji poznawczych zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do Kurdystanu i Bliskiego Wschodu, które od wieków są miejscem przenikania się różnych wpływów kulturowych i pomysłów politycznych

The 7th and 8th (double) issue of our bulletin is published in a multilingual form. We present articles in English, Russian and Kurdish (Sorani dialect) believing that the contemporary postcolonial perspective should be focused not only on providing the different points of view but should also be sensitive to the diversity of languages and forms of expression. The tendency to promote the Western shaped English language academic standards which is very useful in global communication, creates the new divisions and hierarchies hampering free thought exchange which is so important in humanities. Is it only the accessibility of knowledge presented in a given standard in English language which can be accepted as the measure of value of the research? Such an approach, though very much justified, is it not the reason for establishing the isolated fortress, which inhabitants care only for their own well-being? We should remember that a considerable part of the contemporary world still does not speak English. There are also other languages which play the role of lingua franca in different parts of the globe, such as the Russian language. While we do not aim to demean neither the English language nor the standards formed by it, we wish to stress the validity of many different languages and research traditions in the case of the Middle East and Kurdish studies. We should not forget that for centuries this region was the arena for different cultural and political influences.

Hejmara 7-8an a kovara me nivîsên bi çend zimanan pêşkêşî xwendevanan dike: bi zimanê ingilîzî, rûsî û kurdiya soranî. Em pêbawer in ku perspektîfa postkoloniyal a îroyîn divê ne ku tenê piştgiriyê bide dîtinên cuda cuda; her wiha zimanên cihêreng jî. Em dibînin ku jiyana akademîk a cîhanê bi ingilîzî û bi standarda rojavayî ye; her wisa ji bo peywendiyên global girîng e. Lêbelê ji aliyekî din ve ev rewş bûye sebeba hiyerarşî û parçebûnên nû û parvekirina fikir û geşedana humanîstîkê asteng dike. Gelo em dikarin bibêjin ku hêjahiya lêkolînê tenê ji ber zimanê ingilîzî ye; ango lêkolînek bi zimanê ku tê nivîsandin û belavkirin hêjahiya xwe îspate dike? Dibê ku ji ber dîtinên wisa xelatek jî tê diyarkirin ku beşdarên wê tenê bi xwe kêfxweş in û naxwazin warekî derveyî vê xelatê nas bikin? Divê em ji bîr nekin ku parçeyê girîng ê cîhanê hê jî bi ingilîzî nizane. Ji bilî vê çendek zimanên din jî hene ku roleke lingua franca li gelek deverên dinyayê dilîzin, bo nimûne zimanê rûsî. Armanca me ne ew e ku em zimanê ingilîzî û standardên akademîk ên rojavayî yên hêja binpê bikin; lê divê em girîngiya ziman û kevneşopiyên din ên zanistî jî bibînin.

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(Sanctification of the Language. The Status of the Kurdish Language in Religious Discourse of the Middle Ages)

MARCIN RZEPKA

Unthinkable Translation, Conversion and The Kurdish Soul

Said Khan Kurdistani's Response to Christianity

ABSTRACT

Said Kurdistani (1863-1942), a Kurdish Christian is undoubtedly one of the most important persons in the history of Christianity in Kurdistan in the 20th century. But not only. He himself represents and also expresses some cultural values and aspirations of his nation. Becoming part of the history of education or rather the social history of science among Kurds, he translates cultures and religions. The variety of contexts in which Kurdistani appears allows us to place him in the global history of Christianity which loses its strict and particular links to the foreign missionary practices. Having been committed to various Churches, Kurdistani represents the tendency of a convert to simplify Christian doctrine and practice and make it more universal by emphasizing the non-denominational style of the church, which probably we may assume as his – Kurdish answer to Christianity.

Christianity in Kurdistan has a long, profound history. However, it comprises divided or even contradictory particular stories and narratives of churches, communities and missions which were established or conducted in that region (Galleti, 2003; Blincoe, 1998). Kurdistan as space was shared by its diverse inhabitants or split by those who invaded it and conquered. Kurdistan was imagined and remembered, and at the same time had an enormous impact on the ways in which Christians, Muslims, Assyrians, Armenians and Kurds were categorized by both the locals and foreigners. Such categorizations took shape in languages, the languages used by missionaries, travellers or invaders. Later they were presented in a vast collection of the missionary or travel narratives.

The language used by the local people became the source of categorization, especially when it was used as a common language by Muslim and Christian communities. The concept of the Kurdish language as a vehicle of Christian massage was seen as rather strange in the eyes of the early missionaries, however, in the 19th century some different Kurdish Bible translations appeared. Not all of them were addressed to Kurds, some were prepared just for Armenians (Rzepka, 2013). Generally speaking, the Kurdish language, whether used by Kurds or by Christian, became the main tool in constructing the identity of the people living in Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurdish language may be seen as a unifying tool in the world of divided identities, constructed by various local religious or political groups in Kurdistan. Undoubtedly, the issue of the language should not be oversimplified but put into a real context of multilevel self-categorizations and complex relations of people from different ethnic and religious groups using the same language.

The appearance of Protestant missionaries in different parts of Kurdistan introduced quite new types of relations between the peoples in that area. By emphasizing their necessity to make converts, the missionaries were concentrated on the Bible translation into a vernacular language as the first step in the missionary practice. The religious conversion understood by the missionaries as an individual and personal act leading to a rapid and radical rejection of the old way of life caused, in fact, the need to revise the convert's beliefs, and at the same time, also to redefine the boundaries of his or her own religion and religiosity. It applies to a large extent to the Protestant missions carried out by various churches and organizations in Kurdistan from the beginning of the 19th century. The impact of the missions was obviously different with connection to the Armenian, Assyrian or Kurdish communities, and its influence on the Kurds, who as a group did not raise significant interest among the Western missionaries for a long time should be noted separately.

The missionary perception of the Kurds was slightly nuanced after the missionary conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, when the Lutheran Orient Mission was granted responsibility for the work among the Kurds in Iran. Although the mission involved the Kurds into the global matters, it was hard to evoke spectacular mass conversions to Christianity. However, we may observe some individual conversions, among the highly recognized Kurdish converts to Christianity we should place Said Kurdistani (1863-1942).

Said Kurdistani is an important figure in the history of Christianity in Iran in the 20th century and at the same time in the history of the interactions between the missionaries and the people living in Iran as well. His name appears in a number of different sources presenting the development and growth of Christianity and Christian awareness in that country. He – which seems to be rather obvious – is a significant person in the history of Christianity among Kurds. In his case, I think, we can speak of some over-representation in the missionary literature. References to his activity and conversion can be found in devotional literature written by authors describing themselves as Anglicans or Presbyterians (Miller, 1984; Waterfield, 1973). The written missionary sources from 1920s revealed in Iran show a tendency to create a common Iranian Christian identity.

Taking the life and activity of Kurdistani into consideration we cannot avoid several important questions concerning his conversion to Christianity and general response to Christian faith. The main problems, in fact, are as follows: 1) the development of the missionary activity among the Kurds and their missionary representation, 2) the inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in the area of enormous missionary concern – the north-western part of Persia, including specific phenomenon of the local Protestant mission led by Assyrians – Protestants among the people of the region – Jews and Kurds, 3) the development of social awareness among the Kurds and the growing number of educational facilities changing the dominant Kurdish self-perception, consciousness and, finally, the concept of identity.

Yet a few particular issues are to be emphasized with regard to Kurdistani's life. How does he manifest his Kurdish identity after becoming Christian and is it really important to manifest it? What is his view on Christianity, has it been modified and adopted to the Kurdish values? How does the religious conversion help to overcome the stereotypes or, to the contrary, does it strengthen them?

MISSIONARY NARRATIONS AND AUTO-REPRESENTATIONS

The main feature of missionary narrations seems to be the tendency to interweave historical elements with ethnographic observations, statistics with personal comments and to connect the present with biblical prophecies. The missionary text is entirely related to the Biblical message. As such the text produced in the Protestant missionary context becomes a base upon which the image of others is constructed. While reading such texts one may have the impression that between the lines the author tries – unconsciously perhaps – to justify the activity that he or she undertakes. By proving the values of the missionary work he or she evokes the converts. Thus, conversion is a missionary goal and in the meantime the proof of a successful mission. Indeed, the ultimate goal of the mission is to convert people to Christianity. It means that in some missionary narratives or reports the problem of conversion occupies a central position. The conversion is presented to a certain reader by the missionaries in meta-language and described in a conventional manner. Firstly, because the Christian conversion should be verbalized. And it really is. A verbal witness presented by a convert would combine a missionary model of conversion narrative with autobiographical reflections. However, the missionary narratives concerning the convert and the convert's story revealed by themselves do not emphasize the same turning points in the process of embracing Christianity. It seems that a convert translates even a missionary pattern putting it into his or her cultural form. Thus the convert's story may be seen both as the story of coming to Christianity and as an intellectual autobiography. It is the case of Kurdistani's stories (Wilson, 1943).

Protestant missionaries focusing in their works on the Bible translations designate the Bible as an active tool in conversion. Conversion is seen as a personal encounter with word, God's word. Thus, the language does not only reflect the results of the religious change but causes such changes as well. Analysing the religious evolution of Kurdistani and the development of his spiritual needs we notice the role of the language in his self-categorization, in which he is shown as a religious man. "When I was about ten, it occurred to me that it was not right for the Kurds to pray in Arabic, and not understand when they were saying so I endeavored to put the regular prayers into Persian poetry" (Wilson, 1943: 129) – he says.

Christianity offers him the opportunity to use a language other than Arabic to communicate with God. Christianity in such approach becomes a decolonizing force by offering new communicative space opened also for the Kurdish language. Thus, the language paradigm determines Kurdistani's life.

The above-mentioned characteristics of the missionary narratives only partly corresponds to the richness of the sources from the missionary fields. Mostly because the well-known biographies were written from the inside perspectives by those who shared the same social or even cultural space with Kurdistani. In 1934 the book by Isaac Malek Yonan, titled *The beloved physician of Teheran* was published (Yonan, 1934). The book was published in English – its author was educated in the American schools in Iran – but it offers a deeper comparison with foreign missionary insights to the Kurdish life. Malek Yonan belonged to the famous Assyrian family and wrote also the book Persian women, which placed him among missionaries with strong social feelings.

Similarly, the book published after Kurdistani's death written in cooperation with his nephew Jay Rasooli and Cady H. Allen brings more personal and familiar thoughts on the Kurdish Christian (1957). We may assume that Kurdistani presented as Christian does not cease to be a Kurd and Kurdishness becomes the base of his identity manifested through the language. In the book we find the following statement: "He wrote the whole story of the Gospels in Kurdish poetry, a labor of love spread over thirty-five years, that he might reach his own people (Rasooli, Alllen, 1957: 173).

Kurdistani introduces Christianity to his own Kurdish tradition. Poetic form plays a significant role in this process giving an impression of interiorization of the biblical message. Poetry is here associated with the oral Kurdish tradition and oral performance, which seems to be quite important, thus, the poetic Biblical books have a chance to exist in the Kurdish cultural space.

Kurdistani became familiar with Christianity gradually and through different sources and his relations with Christians had a complex nature. On the one hand – as Kurdistani states – he possessed some stereotypical knowledge through reading Muslim texts, on the other – he contacted some representatives of various churches. Undoubtedly, it was the Presbyterian missionaries who had the most important and significant influence on the religious universe of that region. Although Presbyterians operated in the north-western part of Iran from 1835 their work was limited almost to the Urmia region only. But in 1870 their missionary efforts were intensified and they established a few stations outside Urmia – in Tabriz, Hamadan, Tehran, Mashhad. Unquestionably, the missionary centre in Hamadan became

second in importance. The importance of this city increased significantly during and after the First World War, when the city became one of the destinations for the Assyrian community migrating from the Urmia region. The area was dominated by the Presbyterians, however, it did not constitute their sole activity. In this region also Anglicans manifested their presence. One of them, Clair Tisdall initiated the translation of the gospel into the Kurdish dialect from the Kermanshah dialect, which was based on the Persian translation. Also Lutherans arrived here establishing the Lutheran Orient Mission station in Mahabad for which Ludvig Fossum took responsibility.

Despite the noticeable cooperation between Protestants it is hard to assume full doctrinal and organizational compatibility between them, which must have influenced the perception of the mission by the local people and also the way in which each local community was presented by the missionaries. The fact is worth reminding because the decision to embrace Christianity – the conversion, involved a convert in searching a particular Christian group which he or she became part of. Kurdistani seems to be an exception. He is presented in the history of different Christian groups, including the history of Pentecostalism in Iran, which constituted rather a marginal community among other Protestants for a long time.

How, then, against this background of the missionary narrations and representation, does the self-reflection of a Christian neophyte look, how does a convert treat Christianity, through its confessional feature or rather over-denominational and universal character. Let's try to look firstly at the ethnic and religious relations in the region which Kurdistani came from.

LIFE AMONG THE BOOKS

Christian missions represent a special kind of relationships. Work is always conducted in a specific social and cultural context. The missionary activity should not be merely limited to the purely religious aspects, it should rather be seen as part of a broader socio-cultural project in which establishing schools and hospitals played the main role. School conducted by missionaries in which the Bible was taught offered also a new educational program, which in some cases was attractive also

to Muslims. Schools were transformed into a common ground of interactions between various religious and ethnic groups. So were the hospitals open to everyone. Such activity determined the relations with missionaries and the ways in which they were described. A good example is the term Hakim Sahib used to describe Joseph Plumb Cochran (Speer, 1911).

Said Kurdistani, who was born in Sanandaj in 1863, grew up in the world of such relations, dependence and cooperation, in which missionary schools and hospitals prescribed the future contacts between the missionaries and local people, where the Christian doctors and teacher received certain respect. However, – as he says – his first contacts with Christianity and with the Bible were dominated by the Chaldeans, whose number in Sanandaj was about 70-80 families. This small community was visited regularly be a Chaldean bishop from Mosul. The city was also inhabited by a reasonable number of Jews (Rasooli, Allen, 1957: 22). Kurdistani grew up in a religious family, his father Mullah Rasul served important religious functions (Kurdish scholars clerics appear in the records of early missionary) and ran a school for boys, which was also attended by his son. However, his spiritual growth was impacted by the mystical experiences among Naqshbandiyya brotherhood (Rasooli, Allen, 1957: 29). The father also used to tell him stories about Muslim mystics.

Kurdistani admired his early life indicating the role of books he read. Among them he counted Persian poetry and Koran. He also showed his interests in other holy books very early. He received the Old Testament book from Chaldean deacon Fatah Petros (it was probably the translation by Robert Bruce), who knew the whole Book of Psalms in the Syriac language by heart. Chaldeans were the source of inspiration for the young Kurdish man, but, in fact, it was the first contacts with the Presbyterians that changed him deeply.

In 1881 James W. Hawkes, an American Presbyterian, came to Sanandaj together with an Armenian and a Jewish convert (Waterfield, 1973: 118). It must have been noticed by other people living in the city that the religion presented by the western missionaries crossed the ethnic barriers. It seems also very characteristic in autobiographical remarks by Kurdistani that he became interested in the Bible as a cross-cultural and above-denominational book.

At that time Protestant missions in the region were also conducted by the Assyrians. Some of them the first left their land after the world war and moved toward Hamadan. However, much earlier they came here as a missionaries. One of them Yahannan came to Sanandaj to learn Persian. The fact that he chose the Kurdish region to learn Persian seems slightly strange. But learning one's language means to be in contact with those who use it. Kurdistani taught him Persian and at the same time Hawks started to teach him English. In the case of Kurdistani's conversion to Christianity two elements should be pointed out: books and languages. The former create an idealistic relation with transcendenting word while the latter create a real relation with the interlocutor. Thus, at the beginning of Kurdistani's conversion there is a book. Circulation of the book, dissemination of knowledge and translation shape the universe of the convert. In fact, every biography of the Kurdish convert Said Kurdistani becomes a story of books which were read, translated and distributed. Some of them are devotional, educational, whereas others are highly polemical as the book Mizan ul-Haq written by Karl Pfander, which he was given from an 'Assyrian preacher in Ardabil'.

In consequence, Kurdistani was baptized on April 10, 1887. His baptismal ceremony was performed in public. After his conversion and baptism he got married to an Assyrian woman, the daughter of Kasha Shimon, an Assyrian priest from Geogtapa (Wilson, 1943: 136). Later they moved to Hamadan, where he and his wife lived in the Jewish quarter. His wife taught at a Jewish school and he practiced medicine.

The importance of conversion to Christianity goes far beyond a purely religious act, it rather defines entirely new social relations. The convert in that sense becomes a person mediated between cultures who often sets a trail for new cultural and social standards.

EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND THE SOCIAL CHANGE

Conversion is to some extent related to the intellectual desires, needs and research. Undoubtedly, in the time of Kurdistani conversion to Christianity among the Kurds had impact on the social position of the convert, their marginalization among relatives and their social advancement among others. Kurdistani started his studies of medicine in a missionary college. Many graduates continued their education in the USA.

Kurdistani is an exceptional person in the history of education in Kurdistan and among the Kurds. Mostly because of his achievement in the field of medicine. In his approach he tried to combine western medicine with eastern tradition reading and translating Avicenna. It is significant as the early missionaries were threatened by the Kurdish prejudices toward medicine. The knowledge of the English language which Kurdistani possessed while being taught by missionaries offered him the opportunity to go to Europe. During his stay in Hamadan he became acquainted with some Swedish missionaries. One of them, Lars Erik Högberg invited him to Sweden (Rasooli, Allen, 1957: 71). However, after his arrival in Stockholm on 9 June 1893 instead of learning he took part in a missionary campaign around the country. Swedish missionaries conducted extensive work in Russia and Chinese Turkiestan at that time and Högberg was well-known as a linguist. Kurdistani became tired of his new duties and life in Sweden relatively fast. After a short time of rest he left for London, where he studied medicine for two years and met some of famous British physicians, like Edward Cooke before he returned to Hamadan in 1895. Definitely, his education set new educational standards among the Kurds.

SEARCHING FOR NON-DENOMINATIONAL CHRISTIANITY

Kurdistani's conversion to Christianity was neither the beginning of his new religious life nor the end of searching for true and authentic spirituality inside it. In his lifetime, Kurdistani met representatives of different churches existing side by side, working apart and sometimes disputing with one another. While traveling across Europe, in Sweden and England, he became aware of the huge differentiation of Christian doc-

trines. He met Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Free Churches, Greek Orthodox, Free Thinkers (Rasooli, Allen, 1957: 72) and others. When he came to London he faced the real problem joining the church not because of the lack of churches but because of an overabundance of them. What is more, being part of the missionary campaigns in Sweden as a Kurdish he wore Kurdish clothes to make campaigns more attractive and eye-catching. It seems theatrical and to some extend resembles the colonial practices to show otherness spectacularly. Finally, the contact with the Plymouth Brethren in London gave him hope and restored his confidence in Christianity. Among the Brethren in London he found doctors, scientists and ordinary people sharing the same religious ideas and concentrated on the Bible in their worship. The lack of elaborate rituals, the simplicity and equality attracted him and he established the same Christian community after his return to Persia (Bradley, 2014: 240).

Therefore, it seems that for Kurdistani Christianity is an expression of independence of thought and by no means the membership in a particular church. What is also important is the fact that he tries to deal with the problem of divisions within Christianity and tries to overcome it by referring to the Bible. He aims at reducing both the theology and rituals to the biblical foundations. Kurdistani as a convert deconstructs both missionary practices and their representations decolonizing at the same time Christianity itself to become more Kurdish.

Christianity in Kurdistan has a long history but through the converts, people like Kurdistani, such history belongs to the Kurds. The religious conversion becomes a turning point in negotiation of identity and extension of the idea of Kurdishness, being a Kurd.

* * *

The importance to remind Kurdistani's life is well seen while studying the history of the missionary activity in Kurdistan, the ways in which the local people are represented in the missionary narratives and, on the other hand, the ways in which they are seen by the local people. It is also useful in making history in a micro scale paying particular attention to ethnic and religious relations in the Kurdish areas as Sanandaj. The convert's life means constant translation, unthinkable translation.

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The article is part of the research project: How to Make a Voice Audible? Continuity and Change of Kurrdish Culture and of Social Reality in Postcolonial Perspectives approved for financing by the decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03779 of The National Science Centre of Poland.

The Process of Leading Change in the Kurdistan Islamic Movement — Iraq

(Emergence, Factors and Trends)

ABSTRACT

This article studies the process of the emergence of the Islamic Movement in South Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) and follows its internal changes. It explains how the Islamic organizations rise came about and provides solutions to questions such as: What have the effective factors been in the emergence of this movement and its internal changes? What is the difference between this and other Islamic movements? How have other Islamic movements affected it? Which ideological-intellectual trends have existed within it? The effect of other Islamic Movements and the special situation of Kurdistan, on its trends, parties and ideological-intellectual relations with others will be mentioned. Indeed, by far, the reasons of the uprising of this movement, its relation with Kurdish nationalism and also its influence and function in an autonomous region of Kurdistan have been explained. The article tries to clarify which internal trend could be maintained in the Kurdistan political arena.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Islamic communities, some Islamic movements have opposed the undesired status quo. They have been the mass movements with various religious leaderships emphasizing on religious principles for changing the status quo especially social and political. New types of contemporary Islamic movements

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have emerged primarily to oppose the software and hardware West (modernity and colonialism) as the external reasons of these movements along with the internal potential of Islam as the religious internal motivation such as concepts like Jihad, martyrdom, justice and so on (Khorramshad, 2005). Such movements have always existed in most Muslim countries in different times. They gradually converted to various parties and trends that have activated organizations to reach their aims. Similarly, the Iraqi Kurdistan has also been under the effect of contemporary Islamic movements and Islamist waves in recent decades.

The Kurdistan Islamic Movement in Iraq has also been a reflection of new Islamic movements in the Islam world reviving Islam and opposing the non-Islamic parties; though, they fought against the Baath regime as well. Its fluctuating feature of history is not comparable with any of the other Islamic movements. These fluctuations from uniting to disbanding; from war and Jihad to form Islamic governments and legal contesting; covering the most radical fundamentalists to very low key Islamic parties have given this movement special characteristics. This study is based on the main contemporary political Islamic trends in Iraq and the movement of its splinter groups being examined.

CONTEMPORARY MAIN POLITICAL ISLAMIC TRENDS IN IRAQ

Iraq covers three geographical areas with different communities. The central area includes Sunni Arabs representing about 20% of the population; the south is mainly Shiite Arab about 55% of the population and the northern area under Kurdish authority which is approximately 20% of the population and the remaining 5% of small ethnicities (Saifzadeh, 2001, 69).

Apart from the ruling Baath party, before 2003 three kinds of main trends or political parties have existed in contemporary political history of Iraq: (a) the religious parties and trends; (b) Left parties include communist party, socialist party and so on; and (c) regional parties in Kurdistan. The contemporary religious trends in Iraq generally include three groups: (i) Shiite Islamic trend, (ii) Sunni Islamic trend and (iii) the Kurdistan Islamic trend. Because of their impact of religious

trends on the Kurdistan Islamic movement, it is necessary to have a look at Shiite, Sunni, and regional movements in Iraq.

Shiite Islamic Movement:

The first phase of Islamic movement in Iraq is related to the years between 1914 to the revolution of 1920 in the British colonial period especially among Shiites. After the Second World War up to 1957, several Islamic parties were formed with the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Tahrir Al-Islami and the Shiite Muslim Youth Movement. In 1957, the greatest and most organized Islamic party i.e. Shiite Dawa Party was established. However, the Shiite movement has been vast and it includes the various stages of developments up to the present day. To give an example, two cases of alliances within this movement related to Kurdistan Islamic movement are briefly outlined:

- 1. Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council; that in mid 1983 announced itself as the sole official representative of the Iraq Islamic movement. The important parties and groups of SIIC were Islamic Dawa Party, Islamic Action Organization, Movement of Iraqi Mujahidin and so on (Nazimyan, 2003, 87).
- 2. Alkotla Al-Islami; this group was an alliance of the Islamic Movement (Sheikh Jawad Khalsi), Al-Fath Al-Islami Movements (Sheikh Nadim Alhatami), Islamic revolution army (Abu Osamah) among others (ibid., 91).

It should be mentioned that after the Saddam regime, the Council including the Dawa Party had the most influence in the political arena of Iraq and the Shiites obtained the highest proportion in central government.

Sunni Islamic Movement:

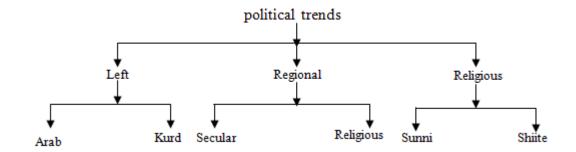
In 1946 the returning Sheikh Mohammad Mahmood Al-Sawaf from Egypt (who studied there also set up relations with the Muslim Brotherhood), the Muslim Brotherhood Movement entered into Iraq and Muslim Brotherhood Jamaat un-

der the religious leadership of Sheikh Amjad Al-Zahawi was constituted in 1948. Since the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Iraq was a group of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, they naturally followed and promoted the thoughts, newspapers and books of that movement. The early years of the Muslim Brotherhood Jamaat was allocated to create organizations and internal issues. Since this movement was Sunni, it often influenced the Sunni circles and amassing important audiences but experienced failure in the Shiite area (ibid., 38).

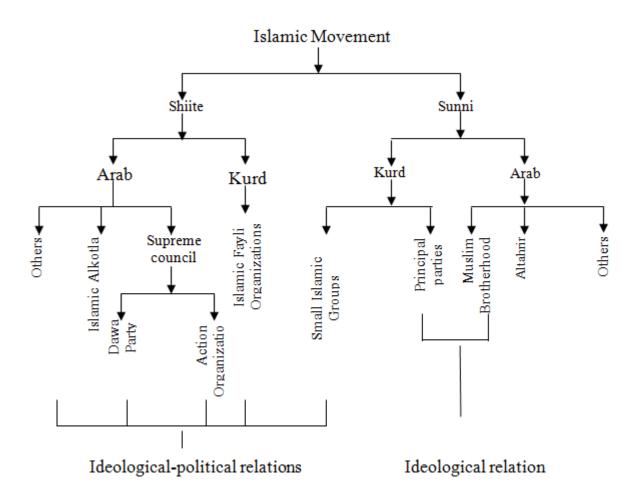
There were other Sunni groups of smaller dimensions such as Al-Jamaat Al-Islami under Shiekh Badri, which was in Islamic Alkotla alliance with Shiite Groups. After Saddam, some other Sunni groups and parties emerged in the political arena of Iraq. It should be noted that the Sunni ruling government, being a minority, and in fear of the Shiite majority, until the collapse of the Baath regime did not have effective political activities against the regime.

Regional Movement:

Another political movement in Iraq was on the basis of ethnicity or nationality (as the Kurds are called a stateless Nation) in Kurdistan, north of Iraq. In different parts of Kurdistan including this part in Iraq, there has been long-time fighting (more than a century) to gain their national rights. After the traditional stage of Kurdish movements, the secular nationalists have fought under modern parties especially Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) (1946) and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) (1975) up to now. Besides, from the 1980s, gradually, religious movements emerged. The Kurdish national movement in Iraq, eventually, after 1991 succeeded in establishing an autonomous government with the support of the United Nations and superpowers. And after 2003 with the collapse the Saddam regime, they began to participate in Iraq's central government.



a) A totality of political trends in Iraq



b) A totality of Islamic Movement in Iraq

KURDISTAN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Although most of the Kurdish uprisings and their national movements have been under the leadership of religious figures like Sheikh Abdulsalam and other Barzan Sheikhs, Sheikh Mahmood. But indeed, their movements were for gaining their own non-Islamic ethnic rights. On the other hand, they shared the same religion with Iraq's government and they didn't have a religious problem. Indeed, before the 1980's there was practically no Islamist trend in Kurdistan. It is only after the death of Mala (Mullah) Mustafa Barzani, the national leader of the Kurdish Movement in 1979, and after 1980 that under the effect of Islamic government in Iran and the Iran-Iraq War, the Islamic Movement emerged. In the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War, Iran founded and armed Islamic groups and Iranian supported Islamic groups began emerging in Iraqi Kurdistan (Kakei, 2013). Therefore, one can divide the emergence of the Kurdistan Islamic movement into two stages i.e.: (a) foundation of affiliatedsmall initial groups; and (b) foundation of principal parties.

A) Affiliated Small Initial Groups

In 1952 Sheikh Mohammad Sawaf went to Sulaimani (Sulaymaniyah) and Halabja and created a rapport with Mala Othman Abdul-Aziz (1922-1997) and Mala Mohammad Baha Addin. Meanwhile, the thought of Muslim Brotherhood came to Kurdistan and especially in Halabja (Mardokhi, 2004). Later Mala Othman, Abdul Aziz Prazani and Umar Rashawi took leadership of the Islamic party of Iraq from the 1950s until mid 1980s.

In the early 1980s, some of the Kurdish youths and religious figures under the leadership of Mala Othman, the Imam in Halabja and other influential figures in Kurdistan, were grouped as the Kurdistan Islamic Movement. It provided grounds for splitting the leadership of the Islamic party of Iraq because of conflict between the MB's pan-Arab Islamic unity ideology and the Kurdish nationalist view for the recognition of Kurdish rights within a post-Baathist Islamic state of Iraq and also the Kurdistan Islamic movement joining the military groups. After this conflict, Mala Othman left the ranks of the MB and eventually, along with some of his close associates, escaped to Iran (Jamal, 2004). However, in the mid 1980s the relationship between Baghdad and Sulaimani and Halabja started again, in 1987 under Baath regime law the members of Muslim Brotherhood were oppressed and some of its leaders were arrested while many of the Kurds escaped abroad in particular to Iran (Mardokhi, 2004).

Hence, the intellectual origin of Islamic trends in Kurdistan and especially the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood thoughts and teachings of Hasan Al-Banna (Jamal, 2004). In the 1990s, others who belonged to other tendencies and Islamic fundamentalist groups including Salafist, Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan and Jihadist in Afghanistan joined them.

Besides, there were some other unknown groups that were constituted in the early 1980s and often under the effect of the Islamic revolution of Iran and with support of the Office for Liberation Movements of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps of Iran that were mostly dissolved or joined the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK) especially the Sunnis. These groups are:

- 1. Kurdish Islamic Army: It was Sunni and the Founder was Abbas Shahin (Abu Osama). This group was in the Alkotla Al-Islami Alliance.
- 2. Islamic Fayli Kurdish Organization: This belonged to Shiite Kurds that within itself included three groups that each had a special view: the Muslim Kurdish Movement under the leadership of Hussein Fayli, Islamic Fayli Kurdish Association that was formed in 1982 in Tehran, Islamic Fayli Kurdish Movement under the leadership of Jalil Fayli and its activities were confined to scattered missionary work.
- 3. Hizbullah of Kurdistan in Iraq: This party was related to Sunni Kurds emerged in Iran in 1983. Sheikh Mohammad Khalid Barzani was its leader. This party was in the Shiite Supreme Council alliance. After the 1991 Gulf War, Hizbullah of Kurdistan dissolved itself encouraging its members to join the KDP under the leadership of Massoud Barzani current President of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq (ibid.). It should be noted that Adham Barzani, Sheikh Mohammad Khalid's nephew, constituted another party under Kurdistan Revolutionary Hizbullah (KRH) in 1988. KRH did not have any success in attracting forces and after the collapse of the Saddam regime, announced its dissolution in 2004 claiming it had reached its aims.
- 4. The Muslim Association: This also belonged to Sunni Kurds that was constituted in the years between 1979 and 1981. Its founders were Sheikh Albarzanji and Sheikh Ahmad Khanagha. They had a close relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran. They were also in good relations with the Supreme

Council of the Iraq Islamic revolution and they had one representative on the Council. One of the disputes of this group with the Muslim Brotherhood was their connection with Iran.

- 5. "Islamic Relationship" (Paywandi Islami): It was also established in the 1980s under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Barzanji and later they joined the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan in 1987.
- 6. Kurdistan Mujahidin movement: It was of Sunni Kurds and was constituted by Sheikh Abutalib Barzanji.

Indeed, the above small groups did not have the support of the people and most religious figures in Kurdistan. Apart from some individuals in the Muslim Association, most of their members had low level literacy in religious knowledge or they were from traditional Sheikh led tribes that no longer had any influence in the region. They mostly existed due to their ties with Iran, so didn't have much success in Kurdistan. One of the reasons they are constituted is because of subsidies by Iran's Office for Liberation Movements. They also had some connections with Shiite groups and the Supreme Council. Albeit, it does not mean that the other Islamic or secular groups didn't use Iran aid, but they didn't depend on Iran as it was mostly a political aspect (Nazimyan, 2003, 269 – 75).

However, what is well-known as the main Islamic trend in Kurdistan is the continuation of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (Harakat Al-Islami) along with its splinter groups have widely operated in the Kurdistan political arena.

B) Principal Islamic Parties in Kurdistan: Islamic Movement of Kurdistan and its splinter groups

In 1987, after Muslim Brotherhood and the people of Halabja's emigration to Iranian Kurdistan, the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK), including the Islamic Relationship group, a military-political organization under the leadership of Mala Othman Abdul Aziz and others was formally constituted in the Seryas camp and Sine (Sanandaj) city (Mardokhi, 2004). The IMK placed and planned the downfall of the Baath regime in its blueprint clearly. The Jihadist approach anticipated and

prompted the formation of an army as an outstanding field of its activity (Nik Anjam, 2003). So, in the midst of intensive fighting between the Kurdish Peshmarga (freedom fighters) forces and the Iraqi military units, the Iranian regime began training and arming members of them (Kakei, 2013). Nevertheless, after the USA attack on Iraq in 1991, gradually and practically, a principal section of this movement stands against the Kurdish secular trend.

Following the recognition of Kurdistan as a no-fly zone after the Gulf war and the retreat of the Iraqi government from three provinces of Kurdistan in 1991, Kurdish forces controlled them and after that, many of the opposers of the Iraqi Government transferred their activities to this region. The principal Islamic political forces that were exclusively Sunni within the framework of the IMK party also return to Kurdistan-Iraq. They started active propagation and incitation so that in the mid 1990s, after KDP and PUK, IMK they became the third most influential military-political force in Kurdistan. They had warred with other political parties during this decade. So, IMK's military arm found an internal function so that they fronted the heavy armed clashes with the forces of PUK that occurred in Kefri and Kalar in 1992. However, with signing a ceasefire agreement, the armed conflict ended but because of the ideological and intellectual distance, tensions at various levels between the two parties remained (Nik Anjam, 2003).

In the Kurdistan Parliament elections of 1992, IMK won only 5.1% of the total votes. Such a low percentage of votes was not enough to pass the 7 percent threshold needed to get a seat in the Kurdish Parliament. While the leaderships of the KDP and the PUK began cooperating to govern the region, the IMK leadership instigated violence in order to destabilize the Kurdish coalition government. Iran stepped in arming the militant wings of the IMK especially those who in the 1980s had fought in Afghanistan. These wings included "the Islamic fundamentalist group under the leadership of Ali Bapir and the Jihadists group led by Mala Krekar – a former jihadist who returned to Kurdistan in 1992 after extensive training in Afghanistan" (Kakei, 2013).

IMK extended its activity beyond the framework of Kurdish common administration under the ruling PDK-PUK and established a separate administrative, political and military infrastructure in the region under its control especially in the Hawraman and Sharazur area neighbouring the regions controlled by PUK. In De-

cember 1993, the military clashes between PUK and IMK in parts of the Sulaimani province and Karkuk peaked and the IMK was forced to retreat to the Border of Iran. The leaders of the Movement left the region and for several months were under the guardianship of the KDP in the Salah Aldin countryside. When the tension between PDK and PUK worsened and degenerated into war in May of 1994, most of the IMK's forces along with PDK's forces fought against the PUK. Eventually, the leaders of the IMK could return and formed its own headquarters in Halabja (The report of HRW, 2002). During this time, the militant wings of the IMK, the two above-mentioned pro-Iranian Islamic fundamentalist groups remained in Iran throughout 1994 and 1995 (Kakei, 2013). Indeed, during the war between the PDK and PUK, radical groups didn't fight against the PUK because of Iran's support for the PUK.

OFFSHOOTS OF IMK

In its history, the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK) has experienced many fluctuations that led to the split in the axis of these groups i.e.; the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafists and Jihadists.

1. Offshoots related to Muslim Brotherhood

The IMK have had two splinter groups from within that attributed themselves to the Muslim Brotherhood. They are:

a) Uprising Movement

In the initial years of IMK's formation in 1987, Mala Othman's brother, Mala Sediq Abdul Aziz, along with others formed Alnehza likening to the Muslim Brotherhood. Although they partially agreed to use weapons and military they often had missionary invitations. This group later under the name Uprising Movement (Bzutnaway Raparin) continued and in 1999-2000, they united with the IMK and called themselves "Bzutnaway Yakbun" (Unity Movement).

b) Kurdistan Islamic Union (KIU)

In 1994, another group of the Muslim Brotherhood separated from IMK and under Kurdistan Islamic Union (Yekgirtûy Islâmî Kurdistân), announced itself, gradually, they became the biggest Islamic organization in Kurdistan-Iraq. They call themselves the real representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kurdistan. KIU has been influenced by Intellectual foundations of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood founders, but because of the special situation in Kurdistan, they have active organizations outside of the Islamic party of Iraq, that is the actual representative of the Muslim Brotherhood in the country.

Initially, they emphasized reform. They started with three axis slogans; freedom, fraternity and justice. Salahaddin Muhammad Bahaaddin was elected as Secretary General at its first general conference in 1994. This group contrary to the common approach in Kurdistan in that period, in its statement of being, negated the military activity and armed fighting voluntarily adopted a political and cultural strategy in regions encouraging the building of mosques, clinics and plans for creating villages or towns where they had more followers taking support of Saudi Islamic organizations. It became one of the most successful politically effective forces in the Kurdistan arena. Indeed, one of the reasons for its success, was the focus on humanitarian measures such as building and management of orphanages for children, helping families without the all important man or head of the family and no discrimination between them, either Islamic or secular, during Kurdistan's civil war in the 1990s (Nik Anjam, 2003; Jamal, 2004).

Simultaneously, the activity of KIU in political and cultural aspects was extended. The leaders of the party believed that the situation of the region needed a democratic solution. For them democracy and elections were the ways to reach political power, ignore violence (Nik Anjam, 2003). Culturally, understanding the special situation of Kurdistan and identifying the spectrum of its audiences, this party constituted some organizations such as "Kurdistan Muslim authors association" and in the press, a few newspapers and journals offering information. A weekly magazine, "Yekgirtû," was printed full of news, politics and analytical policy (Yakgrtu weekly, 2014). "Payami Rasti" the organ of the Kurdistan Muslim Authors Association, has had a literary and cultural approach (371 formal newspapers..., 2014). Beside these, "Hajan" quarterly has worked on theoretical and intellectual debates,

and has propagated and explained religious teachings in a discourse compatible with the intellectual space of Kurdistan. Fundamentally, the idea of having printed information has been on the line of modification of the space of religious discourse in Kurdistan and they have tried to set the spirit of tolerance. They also have paid attention to mainstream media and have gained proportional success in the free and competitive space of media in Kurdistan (Nik Anjam, 2003).

In comparison with other Islamic parties, this party has had a more Kurdish nationalist stand. During the USA attack, responding to the criticisms of some people and parties in the Muslim world including the parties with a common intellectual approach like the Muslim Brotherhood of Jordan that issued a "Fatwa" (judicial decree) against the groups that cooperated with Allied forces, Salahaddin Mohammad Baha the leader and the General Secretary of the party at that time stated: "The opinion of any clergy is respected, but the competency of issuing a Fatwa on the problems occurred in our land in the first place is with ourselves. Maybe being away from this land and the lack of understanding our situation leads them astray from true Fatwa" (ibid.) Besides, they have more important debates on the lack of conflict between nationalism and religion. In this regard, one of its leaders, Abubakr Ali, offers serious discussions on nationalism and its relevance in the domain of the thought of Muslim people, a debate that has preoccupied a part of the political and intellectual elites of Kurdistan for years.

The special characteristics of this party have set it in a different stance from other Islamic parties in Kurdistan. Salahaddin Muhammad Baha was one of the five Kurdish leaders in the Iraqi Governing Council after Saddam. Abdul-Rahman Sidiq Kareem another leader of this party was the minister of the environment inthe cabinet of this government. Moreover, the constitution drafting committee of Iraq formed the party with 25 people, 5 of them were Kurdish and 1 was from the KIU. It has always had representatives in Iraqi Parliament. And during recent years it became the fourth biggest party after PDK, PUK and Goran.

Briefly, as Nik Anjam (2003) has mentioned, the reflection of actions and functions of this party says that considering the alternatives with flexible trends that are compatible with the conditions of society and new situations is one of the solutions for inhibition of religious extremist tendencies.

2. Offshoots related to Salafists and Jihadists

The IMK continued its activities under the leadership of Mala Othman until his death in 1997 and succeeded by his brother Mala Ali Abdul Aziz. In 1999-2000 Bzutnaway Raparin also joined them and continued under the IMK-Unity (Bzutnaway Yakbun). So, from 1994 to 2001 there was no formal split. During this period,theIMK interacted with two principal parties of Kurdistan in different ways, from Military confrontation to participate in local cabinet having a minister in the cabinets under PDK and PUK. But in 2001, because of internal problems at the Tawela congress, IMK-Unity once again divided into the following splinter groups: The Islamic Movement of Kurdistan under the leadership of Mala Ali Abdul Aziz; Jamaat-i- Islami led by Mala Ali Bapir; Aleslah (Reformist) group led by Mala Krekar; and, also small radical groups such as Altawhid, Alhamas and Soran forces.

The reasons for splits in Islamic Movement of Kurdistan are: (i) 'unclear process of organizational management of the party, closed leadership system, and intellectual and spiritual inability of its leaders to satisfy the body of the party' (ibid.). And (ii) conflicting views of Islam so that 'the members of the IMK had diverse ideological concepts and backgrounds such as Muslim Brotherhoods, Pro-Turkish Islamists, Salafist fundamentalists, and Jihadist Kurds who had ties with the al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan' (Kakei, 2013). However, finally, the survivors of the IMK-Unity, were Jamaat and IMK. After an overview on the extinct group of Ansar Al-Islam, the two parties are briefly examined.

Ansar Al-Islam

As mentioned above, some smaller factions of the IMK had an extremist view and became followers of the more radical Islamic ideology. Some of these groups opposed and didn't cooperate with secular political parties and even opposed the decision of the IMK in 1997 to join with the PUK Local government. They fought against everyone who according to them didn't follow Islamic Law precisely and tried to implement this law completely in the areas under control of the IMK (Mahmoudi, 2005).

One of the first groups the Kurdish Islamist veterans in Afghanistan led by Najmadin Faraj Ahmad known as Mala Fateh Krekar (a longtime member of the IMK and familiar with the Islamic Jihad and Mujahidin in Afghanistan) separated and formed the Aleslah group. Secondly, Al-Hamas group under the command of Mala Umar Baziani and Hassan Sofi which promoted a Salafist view. This group also opposed the IMK's measure to join the PUK local government. The third group was Soran led by Abu Habiba (the military arm of movement and strongest among these affiliations) armed hundreds, including non-Iraqi people, as some of them had fought in Afghanistan. The fourth group was Altawhid (Islamic Unification Movement or IUM), the most radical branch. This group of 30-40 persons settled in Balek in the Qandil Mountains near the Haji Omran and Border of Iran (Mahmoudi, 2005; Kakei, 2013).

The small splinter groups of the IMK gradually integrated with each other. In July 2001, Altawhid and Alhamas integrated and constituted the Islamic Unity Front (IUF). After one month the Soran forces joined them and they settled in Tawela and Biyara. On 1st September 2001, the IUF was dissolved and the three participating groups formally announced the Jund Al-Islam under the leadership of Abu Abdulla Shafiei. The group promptly announced Jihad against secular political parties in Kurdistan that deviated from the "true path of Islam." The military war in which the PUK defeated Jund Al-Islam, led to the dissolution of the group in December 2001. After that, Abu Abdulla Shafiei and the rest of the group united with Aleslah group to form Ansar Al-Islam (the supporter of Islam in Kurdistan) and continued their activity under this new name. Mala Krekar became the leader (Amir) of the group (The Report of HRW, 2002; Mardokhi, 2004); and centered their activity in the villages of Tawela and Biyara belonging to the Halabja district in the Sulaimani province near the border of Iran (The Report of HRW, 2002). Jund and Ansar Al-Islam even admitted people from other nationalities to join.

These groups had lots in common with radical fundamentalist movements originally from Saudi Arabia. They emphasized the common principles with literal interpretation of the Quran and the return to a more pure Islamic community. Jund Al-Islam had announced that they want to eliminate the interference of secularists on Islamic land. The aim of this group was to disseminate duty of "enjoining good"

and forbid evil" and to extend Islamic Law and "jihad against renegade seculars" (ibid.).

The Human Rights Watch during a visit to a mission in the region in September 2002 describes the actions of Jund Al-Islam:

On September 8, 2001, one week after it came into being, Jund al-Islam issued decrees, including: the obligatory closure of offices and businesses during prayer time and enforced attendance by workers and proprietors at the mosque during those times; the veiling of women by wearing the traditional ,abaya; obligatory beards for men; segregation of the sexes; barring women from education and employment; the removal of any photographs of women on packaged goods brought into the region; the confiscation of musical instruments and the banning of music both in public and private; and the banning of satellite receivers and televisions. Jund al-Islam also announced that it would apply Islamic punishments of amputation, flogging and stoning to death for offenses such as theft, the consumption of alcohol and adultery.

It should be noted that following the dissolution of Jund al-Islam and its reconstitution under the name of Ansar al-Islam in December 2001, the group announced a ceasefire. Negotiations were held with the PUK, aimed at arriving at a political agreement, but on April 2nd 2002, the assassination attempt against Barham Salih, chief minister of the PUK regional government, led to their suspension. In June 2002, relations between the two sides deteriorated further as the PUK held Ansar al-Islam responsible for attempting to perpetrate more acts of sabotage (ibid.). Besides, though Mala Krekar after his arrest in Tehran airport and subsequent return to the Netherlands in 2002 denied any relations with al-Qaeda and Saddam and existence or making of chemical weapons by his groups, Kalin Pawil in February 2003 had told the Security Council of the UN that Ansar Al-Islam plays a key role in Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network with the Iraqi government. After Kalin's speech the USA promptly and formally announced Ansar Al-Islam a terrorist group (Kurdish Islamic Movement, 2003). However, fighting between Ansar and PUK occurred. Finally, after the USA attack in 2003, the PUK forces destroyed this group and they lost control of the area. Then, the rest of this group and other militant groups started secret and scattered activities and liaised with Al-Qaeda to participate in terrorist operations in Kurdistan.

a) Kurdistan Jamaat-i-Islami (Komal)

Emerging conflicts and crisis in the internal elections of the IMK-Unity's first congress in 2000, a group (including some of the members of the Movement leadership's council) through a statement on 20/5/2001, announced their change to Jamaat-i-Islami (Komalay Islami Kurdistan) and the council association of this new party elected Mala Ali Bapir as seigneur (Amir) (Komal, Political newspaper..., 2001). Bapir, a longtime IMK military commander, had won the above-mentioned elections. Since Mala Ali Abdul Aziz didn't accept the results, based on old disputes Bapir forced his supporters to separate from the IMK- Unity. After a few months, some neutral individuals (during the conflicts in IMK-Unity) also united with Jamaat-i-Islami and Sheikh Mohammad Barzanji became a spiritual leader and Ali Bapir maintained in his original position (Nik Anjam, 2003). When the USA and the UK controlled Iraq, Bapir with three friends and some guards were on the way to meet an American officer on 10th July 2003 they were arrested. On their release after being held for 2 years (28/2/2005) in an interview, Bapir said: "With the Baathists, I was in Kruper prison, even Saddam was there. When I was released, I didn't sign the release papers as it said I was as a Baathist but I am the only person in Kurdistan who killed his brother because he was a Baathist" (The news of release..., 2005).

This party is intellectually ascribed to Wahhabi ideology and politically to Iran (Kakei, 2013). Although, they eventually came into electoral campaigning and by far turned to moderation but especially in the beginning they opposed democracy as they believed Islam and democracy are incompatible, for them democracy was unlawful and had no legitimacy (Jamal, 2004). However, this party recognizes itself as a Kurdish party and after the Iraq war (2003) surrendered its weapons to the Americans and claimed they do not cooperate with any radical groups that are in conflict with the USA such as Ansar Al-Islam. This party has legal activity and

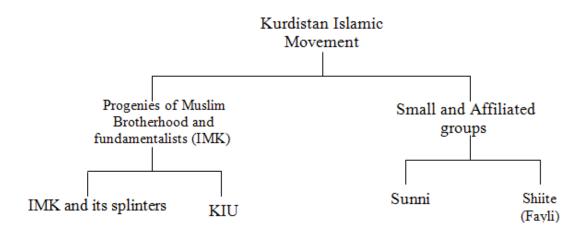
² In this relation, it should be noted that one of the Komal's members, Fadhil Qaradaghi, in 1998 wrote a book under "Myth of democracy".

operates especially in Sulaimani and Raniye (komall.org, 2005). It has some representatives in Kurdistan and Iraq Parliaments (komalnews.net, 2014).

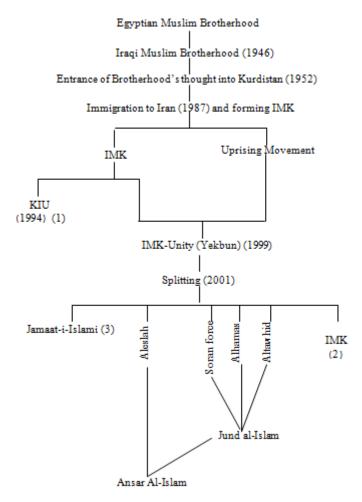
b) Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK)

The rest of the IMK-Unity with the similar name of 'Islamic Movement of Kurdistan' under the leadership of Mala Ali Abdul Aziz continued their activities. Though Mala Ali had been called a spiritual leader (for all of the Islamic movements in Kurdistan), but for some, after the death of Othman Abdul Aziz in 1997, Mala Ali did not have the charismatic style of his late brother and his approach was criticized which perhaps prepared the ground to further splits (Nik Anjam, 2003).

After the fall of the Saddam regime, American forces arrested Mala Ali and 14 persons in 2003 but later released them (The News of arrest..., 2005). He died in 2007 and his brother Sidiq Abdul Aziz (the ex-leader of the Uprising Movement) became the spiritual leader of this party. Irfan Haji Ali was its political leader. This party is legally active in the Kurdistan political arena especially in Halabja and its surrounding areas (Kurdish Islamic Movement, 2003). Generally, the influence and function of the party in elections was less successful only obtained a few seats in the Kurdistan assembly but remained in good relations with Iran.



c) Totality of Kurdistan Islamic Movement — Iraq



d) The historical process of forming the principal Islamic trends in Kurdistan and their relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood. The numbers 1, 2 and 3 are the rest of this movement up to now.

EFFECTIVE FACTORS IN EMERGENCE OF THE MOVEMENT

The history of Islamic movements in Iraq represents a complexity so that they are, by far, incomparable with similar movements in other countries. The Islamic trends of Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish (Shiite and Sunni) in three regions have existed for sometime. The main root of Islamic Movements in Iraq returned to the reasons as follows: British colonial period (especially from the view of Shiites), the collapse of Islamic Caliphate (especially for Sunnis) and suppressing the Shiites and their lack of participation in power after 1920. Besides, the emergence of the Kurdistan Islamic Movement had two other reasons: Firstly, the Islamic fighting against central government to remove the ethnic discrimination and setup of justice. Secondly,

fighting against the growth of non-religious and secular trends in Kurdistan and so the revival of Islam. Comparing the effect of Shiite and Sunni movements, the Islamic Brotherhood Movement had an important impact on the Kurdistan Islamic movement, given that the Shiite community is smaller in Kurdistan. The main philosophy of the Sunni Islamic parties' activity and Islamism in the present age has been the interest to return to the Caliphate system that was a failure by the secular forces. So, enforcing Islamic law is the main subject of Islamic movement and it was the main task of its members including Kurdistan.

However, different conditions made Kurdistan Islamic trends distinct from other Islamic trends in Iraq: (a), the existence of a diverse nation and a strong longtime freedom movement provided a field for development of Islamic trends too. (b), the pressure on the Kurds was more constant than others. So, though until late 1980s the Muslim Brotherhood movement did not have a separate organization in Kurdistan, after pulling out of Iraq and especially after the Halabja chemical attack by the Iraqi regime in 1988, the centre of Muslim Brotherhood activity, practically contrary with other Sunni Groups, organized itself for military conflict against the Baath government. (c), through international support since 1991 Kurdistan was free from the ruling political norm in Iraq that practically had arrested the political activity of non-Baath parties. So, the Kurdish parties were active in the region under their authority, but other opposition parties of Iraq operated out of their related regions in Kurdistan or other countries. (d), unlike the other parts of Iraq where the conflict is sectarian between Shiite and Sunni Arabs, in Kurdistan because of the growth of secularism during recent decades, Islamic parties mostly for political competition with the Left and secular parties to form an Islamic government and revive Islam, came into the political arena.

The philosophy of the Kurdistan Islamic Movement is justified by the principle that all Islamic issues are summed up in five points: Keep the faith, protect life and soul, preservation of race and generation, maintaining finance and economy; and maintain wisdom.³ Therefore, on this line, these groups and parties partially aimed to keep the faith and gaining their civic and national rights. When they have

³Imam Shatibi in his Book 'Almuwafiqat' has said the aims of Islam are these five principles. The Kurdish Islamic groups that most of them have been Sunni followed this principle (See: Mardokhi, 2004).

been affected by other Islamic movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-e-Islami and Salafism, they had overlapped with the Sunni and Shiite trends in Iraq, as they have had differences with them related to Kurdish rights, political issues and the situation of Kurdistan. Indeed, other Islamic movements have no national-identity problems, but Kurdish Islamic parties politically wanted equality with other Muslim nations, as well. It should be noted that their relation with Islamic movement outside of Iraq, often has been intellectual and ideological and their relationship with the Islamic movement in Iraq especially Shiite has been political but also military too against the Baath regime.

CONCLUSION

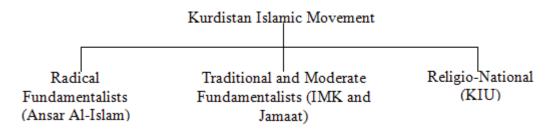
The Study of the various parties and groups in the history of the Kurdistan Islamic movement represents three different trends with certain characteristic tendencies:

1. Religio-national: This tendency belongs to the Kurdistan Islamic Union that it is the most tolerant and compatible with a democratic and modern society. This group did not have a military arm and did not enter into a military phase. Its activity has been in the format of civil institutes. It is an actual representative of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kurdistan and affected by the initial leaders of the movement especially Hasan Al-Banna.⁴ They respect other thoughts and intellectual trends in society. Unlike other Islamic party in Kurdistan, the KIU claims that they agree with democracy and human rights playing an important role in bringing democratic rule to Iraq. Theoretically, they have linked modern institutes and thoughts as nationalism to Islam. They agreed with the USA attack and participated in the Iraqi Interim Government. So, this party has considered nationality (Kurdish), democracy and peaceful electoral competition more than others. They outlined the religious issues in the framework of non-violent Jihad missionary works. They believe that

⁴Hiwa Mirza the Manager of special and general organizations of KIU has said that: "the internal program adapted by his party indeed is based on the writing of Hasan Al-Banna, Ahmad Alghanushi and other Islamic clergies" (See: Jamal, 2004).

democratic ideals supported by the party are compatible with the teaching of the Quran and tradition (Sunnat) as the main sources of Shariat (Jamal, 2004).

- 2. Islamic Radical Fundamentalists: A certain example of the groups with this tendency, as discussed, was Ansar Al-Islam that contrary to the KIU their view was same as Talabanism and Salafism. They faithfully followed the orders as the Talban did in Afghanistan. They were sometimes known as a branch of Al-Qaeda. They opposed modernity and the West. They ordered armed Jihad against the USA and the secular groups in Kurdistan. Hence, according to their interpretation of Islam, they pay more attention to the strict preservation of faith. After 2003, these groups were almost eradicated from Kurdistan.
- 3. Traditional and Moderate Fundamentalists: This tendency is located between the two above spectrums that it is seen in the Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK) and Jamaat-i-Islami. These have been affected by both the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafism. On one hand, they are close to the Muslim Brotherhood after Hasan Al-Banna especially Said Qutb as IMK's initial leaders were members of the Iraqi Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic party of Iraq. On the other hand, they partially tended to Salafism and had a military wing. However, they were neither the most radical like Ansar Al-Islam nor had the widespread civil activity as the KIU. And finally they accepted party rivalry.



e) The trends of Islamic parties and their relation with nationality and radicalism

Comparing these three trends, the religio-national one, according to its different and positive views on socio-political issues and understanding of the situation in Kurdistan with its special characteristics, had a better stance in Kurdish society. Gaining a high proportion of votes in elections during the recent decade by the KIU shows a better condition for the moderate trend in comparison with traditional and radical fundamentalist ones.

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Towards The Study of New Kurdish Migration in Turkey⁵

ABSTRACT:

The paper proposes a new approach to the study of Kurds in Turkey, it focuses on the new wave of voluntary migration. The article begins with a general overview of theories on migration to provide scientific context, then, the history of forced Kurdish migration in Turkey is explained including its potential impact on new migration. The third part of the paper is devoted to the flow of voluntary migration in the Turkish Republic, their circumstances and significance. The fourth and final part defines the scheme of voluntary migration in Turkey and some characteristics of Kurdish migration in 20th century.

As Minoo Alinia (2004: 80) states, "Kurdish Migration is basically involuntary, and Kurdish communities mainly consist of war refugees and political refugees (of course disregarding the labour migration of the 1960's)". However, one can argue that since the beginning of 21st century voluntary migration played a substantial role in the mobility of Kurds, owing to stabilization in Southern Kurdistan (Autonomous Kurdistan Region in Iraq) and improvement of democracy in Turkey. Most of the existing studies on Kurdish migration are focused on displacement and expulsion experienced by this group especially between 1970 and 1999. It appears that there is a shortage of works examining voluntary migration and new spatial movements of Kurds in the 21st century. This article proposes such types of studies and will provide some background for them as follows:

Part 1, some theories used in analyzing Kurdish migration and internal-migration in Turkey are cited providing conceptual framework. Part 2, is devoted to

⁵The article was written in the scope of project financed by Polish National Science Center by the decision number DEC-2013/09/N/HS3/02014.

general information on Kurdish forced migration in Turkey and overall spatial mobility. Part 3, examines internal-migration flows within Turkey and undertaken studies of this topic. Part 4, sketches the characteristics of a potential new wave of Kurdish migration in Turkey to categorize the trends of internal migration in different decades.

Although some factors on micro and meso level are cited below, the analysis is limited to illuminate general settings on a macro-scale.

MIGRATION – A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

According to Stephen Castles and Mark Miller (1998: 283) migration had a key role in: colonialism, industrialism and globalization of capitalism. As the migration after the second world war increased and it played a significant role in creating a global market some scholars such as Castles, Miller and Edward Said have called the 20th century the age of migration. Minoo Alinia (2004: 76) also notes that some scholars point to some kind of continuity between 15th century colonialism and modern international migration as often the majority of modern immigration to western countries comes from their previous colonies (see Sassen 1996: 80-85).

For many social scientists and demographers there is an important distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration. Although many voluntary migrations are in a way forced by needs (e.g. economic, educational), Abu-Lunghold (1988:61-62) underlines that there is still a substantial difference between such a migration where the need pulls someone to the host area and an exile when the migrant is pushed from his homeland. As Said (2000: 182) pointed out – involuntary migration creates difference not only on relation towards the arriving place but also to native areas as refugees may be prevented from returning or their fatherland may even not exist anymore. Said has put special emphasis on this expulsion from the motherland, theorizing exile as a "state of mind" (see Alinia 2004: 80).

Most theories of voluntary migration concentrate on rational calculation of potential loss and gain posing migration as an economical dilemma. Larry Sjastaad (1962) theorized migration as an investment and has shown that when age increases the probablity of migration lowers . This is because potential time for gain owed

to migration is smaller. Sjastaad notes that risk of migration venture increases also with distance. Michael Todaro (1969) underlined that it is the probability of finding a job that is a dominant factor taken into consideration when choosing a place of migration. Oded Stark (1991) and other researchers inspired by him treated migration as diversification of risks by families, as they send their members to different locations of varied labour market conditions, (see Chen et. Al 2003; Filiztekin and Gökhan 2008: 6). Some scholars have also indicated that it is not a mere inequality of salaries and job opportunities but rather a combination of them and income uncertainties, driving migration from their area (see Ghatak et. al 2006).

Scholars theorizing network migration concentrated on chain-migration as a phenomenon connected with the decrease in risk of moving to another location due to established social relations with migrants in the place of destination. An early or first wave migrant has a fragile situation but later he can create a network of migrants (usualy his relatives or people from the same village or district), helping them to find a job and accommodation (see Massey and Espana, 1987; Bauer and Gang, 1998). Jacob Mincer (1978) – identified a rise in costs of migration also with a number of members of a household, but also stressed that the more income-earners among them, the greater are potential gains.

Ceren Coban proposes the use of Mike Parnwell's (1993) multi-level analysis to the problem of internal migration in Turkey. Such an approach enumerates micro factors which are mirrored in personal decisions, meso-level constituted by socio-economic conditions and macro level on which large scale development processes and transformations occur. Situation of labour market, its requirements and state policy towards reinforcement of certain sectors of the market and potential encouraging employment are important components on a macro level. Therefore, state and local government can support or aim at blocking immigration.

The most often cited push factors of rural areas are: overpopulation, domination of non-effective ways of land cultivation (e.g. not mechanized) while other means of sustenance are underdeveloped, expected scarcity of land to cultivate due to increase in rural inhabitants. These main circumstances create a situation in which the perceived chances of supporting a family and achieving economic fulfillment are low. The pull factors of large cities provide much more optimistic perspectives

on ones future living – perceived large demand of labour, vast diversification of employment, better educational, housing and health-care opportunities.

Despite other obstacles (such as: family situations, distance, legal restrictions in changing a place of living and policy against immigrants) one of the most frequent hardships of rural-urban migration (or from less to more economically developed areas) is the diffrence of daily costs which frequently force migrants to survive periods of time under much worse conditions than those which are standard for most inhabitants. Economic migrants are usally more tolerant to this urban deprivation as it is perceived as a temporal situation on a road to better ways of sustaining one-self and his or her family (see Coban 2013: 3; Todaro 1969).

Pull factors can also be connected with cultural and social advantages in cities that provide a wider range of free time activities, access to art, opportunity to engage in various activist organizations. So called "social advantages" are the result of heterogeneity of migrate-society, this notion is understood as different norms and interaction schemes that may be perceived by migrants as more open, and, bringing chances to easily form relations with other people. It is certain that perception of these cultural and social factors can vary much more frequently (making them micro factors rather than meso-level ones) than evaluation of economic, educational and health care standards of the place of migration. Individual evaluation of norms and importance of cultural life may be dependent on ones personal socialization, ethos, attitude towards tradition and relations with primary groups. Other, probably more inluential micro factors are for example: education, amount of income in the family, social status, ties with family and social environment, age and marital status. As a result of, among others, social obligations to the family, young unmarried men generally migrate more frequently (see Parnwell 1993, Coban 2013: 3). Despite complex circumstances of migration on a micro-level, it is the political and socioeconomic situation in the host area that determines the treatment and general atmosphere of migrants (see Alinia 2004: 82).

Young Kurds in Turkey can create their ethnic identity based on participation in many public organizations, economic, political and artistic ones, which usually have their centres in Istanbul. Cultivation of their ethnic identity can also be practiced through contacts with Kurdish diaspora and transmigrants (por. Khayati 2008: 79-83).

DISPLACEMENT OF KURDS IN TURKISH REPUBLIC

A vast proportion of overall Kurdish spatial mobility in Turkey was in fact – as pointed out by Alinia (2004: 80) – involuntary. Resettlement was part of a policy towards gaining control of remote and relatively hard to control areas even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic that was based on nationalistic principles (see Ayata 2011). Emigration took part after the first Kurdish uprisings, among them notably Ararat (*Agirî*), rebellion (1927) which was led by – *Xoybûn* – political organization formed in Syrian (Western) Kurdistan (see Tejel 2009: 4). Internal deportations were the result of Sheikh Said's (1925) revolt and one of the reasons the Dersim rebellion was held in 1937 and bloodily suppressed. Since the beginning of the Turkish Republic this region was treated as the cradle of subversive ideas and movements that can be overcome only through intensive resettlement and military intervention. The reaction of the Turkish army left an estimated 10% of the Dersim population dead (including women and children), thousands of houses and livestock were burnt (see Bruinessen 1994).

Apart from the state of emergency in Dersim, the following two decades brought a relatively peaceful development in the country which included the rise in voluntary migration in Turkey. As rural-urban migration intensified in 1950s, many Kurds migrated to cities due to the change in traditional relations of production in their villages. Those changes occured owing to modernization of cultivation, land reforms by government and previous resettlement conducted by authorities (see Romano 2006: 111-112). In Daivd Romano's (2006:112) opinion, urban migration and participation in socioeconomic life of influential middle-eastern cities allowed the creation of a Kurdish bourgeoisie and emergence of a new well educated and politicized class among them. Owing to the emergence of this new class, relative democratization and opening of a political sphere after the post 1960-coup constitution, several Kurdish associations and movements flourished throughout the 1960's and 1970's (see Özcan, 2008: 75; Romano 2006: 47). However, after every military coup (which occurred subsequently on: 27th May 1960, 12 March 1971 and 12 September 1980), Kurdish societies were targeted with arrests and bans. This suppression led many activists to emigrate, especially after the 1980 coup, that practically resulted in leaving only the PKK on the Kurdish political scene. As

the result of tense political atmosphere after the 1980 coup groups of Yezidis living in Turkey emigrated abroad (see Kreyenbroek 2009: 33-38).

The expulsion of thousands of Kurdish villagers was part of a counter insurgency war doctrine by the Turkish authorities during the 1980s and especially in the 1990s. As the remote countryside in the Southeast was perceived by the military and authorities as the hotspot of guerrilla warfare training. The resettlement plan envisioned eliminating the PKK from rural areas of the Southeast by gaining intelligence and local insight as a result of spatial control lead by military operations and formation of a paramilitary "village guard". This initial way of fighting the PKK included evictions, imprisonment without a trial, burning of villages, executions, destruction of households and livestock (see Jongerden 2007:43-44; Göç-Der 2008). Turgut Özal in 1984 modified the Village Act (Koy Kanunu) enable the hiring of Temporary and Voluntary Village Guards (Geçici ve Gönüllü Köy *Koruculari*). This institution apart from instigating inner-conflicts between Kurds, also created a situation under which villagers were often forced to decide whether they want to join the government service or leave their homeland. Moreover, often providing help to either village guards or guerillas was punished by each side of the conflict (see Jongerden 2007: 79).

The policy of resettlement in Southeastern Turkey (Northern Kurdistan) was inspired by Turgut Özal's ideas which was included in one of his last letters in 1993 to prime minister Suleyman Demirel. He had stated that there should be a plan for encouraging people from remote mountain areas to migrate to more densely populated locations. Özal also underlined the importance of state control over migration from Kurdish inhabited areas in order to prevent the situation where only those having a better economic situation would have migrated leaving the lower classes and creating an environment open to further conflict and dissent. Joost Jongerden (2007: 50-51) points out that although the majority of means proposed by Özal have been implemented, the resettlement was not conducted on a basis of deliberate planning of settlement in chosen western provinces and providing the necessary facilities for migrants.

Large scale industrial dam projects – GAP (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi) in the southern part of Turkish Kurdistan and DAP (Doğu Anadolu Projesi) its slightly smaller counterpart and provinces of North Kurdistan, provided knowledge on

the area, its inhabitants, their culture and patterns of behaviour, being a source of information to improve the control of the state. These industrial projects may also pose as a part the policy retaining central power over the Kurdish inhabited lands as Özal had also written about the possibility of constructing dams in order to prevent evacuated Kurdish people from returning to the southeastern mountains (see Jongerden 2007: 46).

Turkish authorities have been accused of deliberately downsizing the number of expelled people in order to diminish the size of the problem of IDP's (Internally Displaced Persons) in the eyes of interntional opinion. Estimations of the total number of evacuated and displaced people vary widely. Reports from the Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs place it below 400,000 while the Kurdish Human Rights Project activists reported a number between 3 and 4 million a more accurate one. Estimates of Turkish social scientists (from Hacattepe University of Population Studies and Turkish Economical and Social Studies Foundation – TESEV) point to a number between 900,000 and 1,5 million IDP's (see Jongerden 2007: 79-81). According to the survey by scholars from Hacattepe University, 80% of forced migrants were from villages and only 20% from urban areas (Jongerden 2007: 80). Kurdish IDPs migrated mostly to the provinces of: Malatya, Adana, Mersin, Antalya, Izmir, Manisa, Bursa, Ankara and Istanbul (Jongerden 2007: 81).

The majority of village evacuations were took place in 1994, at the end of the decade the number of resettled areas decreased and after the capture of Ocalan in 1999 and the end of the state of emergency in southeastern regions in 2002 resettlement stopped being the main policy towards potential danger of guerilla warfare. Consequently, forced migration began to play a lesser role giving way to the pull factors as substantial agents in Turkey's internal migration in the new millenium.

Being an IDP throughout the years created problems in everyday life as Turkish authorities, treating Kurdish IDPs as criminals, refused to recognize displaced people and also denied them services and social help. Moreover, most of them lacked the previously existing social networks that could help them in the destination area, many had problems in the proper use of the official Turkish language as Kurdish was often their sole language in remote mountainous areas. These characteristics put them in danger of under-class deprivation and potential engagement of criminal activities. Ayşe Betül Çelik (2012) categorized types of problems of

IDPs as: economic, political, social, relational and security issues. Circumstances of their legal recognition improved in the beginning of the 21st century due to Turkey's bid for accession into the European Union. The Law on Compensation for Losses Resulting from Terrorism and the Fight against Terrorism (Law No. 5233) was proclaimed in 2004.

In april 2005 a strategy framework towards IDPs was released by the Council of Ministers – 'Measures on the Issue of Internally Displaced Persons and the Return to Village and Rehabilitation Project in Turkey". In accordance with this framework an action plan was issued that envisioned delivery of the services to IDPs and even an encouragement for return-migration (but only to larger state controlled areas rather than remote villages – see Jongerden 2007: 119-172, Çelik 2012: 8-9).

The problem of forced migration in 1990's also remains relevant for the new wave of migration. It can affect it in a way that voluntary migration can follow previous deportation (as forced migration creates a multi-step migration), new migrants can be also children of IDP's and finally IDP's may have created a network that poses as source of support for voluntary newcomers.

INTERNAL MIGRATION FLOWS IN TURKISH REPUBLIC

Although Kurds in Turkey experienced heavy displacement throughout the years of Turkish Republic existence, it would be untrue to think that involuntary migration is the only type of migration undertaken by this group. Even in the decades of 1980s and 1990s when forced migration dominated in the country there was a substantial number of voluntary migrants. To a large extent the problem of internal migration in Turkey is a Kurdish problem, as leaving less urbanized and economically marginalized (remaining at the same time a place of military conflict especially in late 80s and 90s) South-East of the country (considered by Kurds as the northern part of Kurdistan) was one of the dominating tendencies in population movements in Turkey. Therefore, in order to understand Kurdish voluntary migration in Turkey it is vital to look at the migration flows and tendencies inside the country.

Substantial voluntary internal migration took place also in the times of Ottoman Empire. The flow of officers that gained another step in the bureaucratic hierarchy is seen as a major factor in modernizing the country by Kemal H. Karpat (2004). His argument is that this mobility have transformed existing local relations and created new elites. Internal migration flows also played a major role in times of Turkish Republic, changing its population structure and making it an urbanized country circa 1985.

According to the census of 2000, over 62% of Istanbul inhabitants were born outside of the city, while in the whole country almost 28% of population moved to a different province and the annual migration rate was 1,58% (Filiztekin & Gökhan 2008). By the 2011 immigration to western and south-western provinces even increased: 84% of Istanbul residents were arrivals, 68% of people living in the capitol – Ankara were not born there and 39% of Turkish citizens were migrants. This number can be treated as very high as its even above the tripled percentage of migrants in 1950 (12%) and a significant rise to 17% in 1975 (Akaraca & Tansel 2014). Summing these tendencies Ali T. Akarca and Aysıt Tansel (2014) noted that since 1950 for every five years around 7 to 8% of population changed of their place of living within the borders of Turkey.

Surprisingly, according to analysis of worldwide macro-scale studies (conducted by Gallup between 2011 and 2012) made by Neli Esipova, Anita Pugliese and Julie Ray (2013), for the International Organization for Migration, 5% or less of respondents in Turkey had answered "yes" to the question "Did you move from another city or area within this country in the past five years?". Affirmative answers were most frequent in New Zeland (26%) and United States (24%) but even Poland was included in the group of countries with a higher rate of internal migration (between 6 and 10 percent) (Esipova, Pugliese and Ray 2013).

The rapid increase in internal movement that was mentioned earlier, coincided with Turkish urbanization. Although one can argue that from the foundation of the Republic until the end of the Second World War, Turkey was a definite rural country with a relatively limited pace of urbanization, after 1945 urbanization was more intensive (Özcan 2008: 57-60; Karpat 2004). In the 1950s only a quarter were Turkish citizens living in the city, in 1975 this proportion was higher but still be-

low a half (45%), at the turning of the centuries the majority lived in metropolises (65% in 2000) and by 2011 more than three-quarters (77% in 2011).

Lack of services, inadequacy or low standard of infrastructure are often cited push factors, but according to Ayşe Gedik (1997) who analyzed internal migration in Turkey in the years 1970, 1980, 1985, the same impact on the decision of migration is made because of the pull factors such as: job-opportunities, communication and transportation facilities, existing ties with family members or people from the same village in the migration area. Psychological distance may be more important than physical ones as places where family members, neighbours or friends resided are preferred with no regard to proximity. Generally, the three biggest metropolises are preferred (which are – Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir).

Differences in gross national product, industrialization, rate of tourism, coastal location and socioeconomic development are the factors increasing the probability of migrants coming to the area, while military conflict and terrorism has a reverse effect (see Gezici and Keskin 2005; Filiztekin and Gökhan 2008: 6-7).

Migrants from ages 15 to 29 constituted more than a half of internal migrants in 2000 while the average age of a migrant was on the decrease (Filiztekin and Gökhan 2008: 10). Dependent migration and changing residence for marriage were the frequent reasons of internal migration for women.

The general information cited above is meant to summarize internal migration in Turkey, but the circumstances of spatial mobility were different in different decades. In the 1950s the development of industry began to play a substantial role in the economy of the country. Industrialization and mechanization of agriculture lead, on the one hand, to a boom of cultivation and its efficiency but on the other hand made landowners more powerful and widened the group of landless and deprived people. In the same decade production and usage of motor vehicles were popularized and relative liberalization of markets brought development of private entrepreneurship. At the end of the decade urbanization increased by 6% (Coban 2013:4).

In the 1960's the pace of industrialization grew and transportation facilities were developed. The government introduced Import Substitution Industrialization policies aimed at strenghening internal economic markets. These policies achieved a growth of internal economy but further deepened the inequalities as they were fo-

cused only on industrial sectors of the economy. This created a demand for labour in urban areas but not necessarily providing facilities for newcomers. During this decade migrants coming in hope of improving their income and live conditions created basic housing structures on state-owned land in the outskirts of big cities prompting inhabitants of the city to call these buildings – "built during night" – *gecekondu*. Because of disparity in income and services between migrants and the rest of city's population, a second market emerges. Since this decade international migration from Turkey also increased (Coban 2013:5; Karpat 2004).

Analyses by Nilay Evcil, et al. (2006) and Ayşe Gedik (1997) have shown that migration from city to a city, since the 1970's had become the most popular type of internal migration even in the least urbanized provinces. That may be also true for the Kurds as the popular pattern of their migrations in the 1990's forced by military conflict was a multi-step (from the South-East to some city closer to the region but situated usually in a more western part of the country, and from that city to other urban areas located at a further distance, often Istanbul). In the period of 1975-1980 some urban to rural migraiton appeared which may be explained by the worsening economic situation in the cities (see Gedik 1996).

In the beginning of 1980s almost half of the population lived in the cities (45%). Studies on the phenomenon of migration carried out by Bilal Ciplak (2012) and Ayşe Betül Çelik (2005), show that during the 80s and the 90s of the 20th century, the wave of migration took place in Turkey, which in contrast to the previous ones (between 1940-1980), was enforced. This migration was related to conflict between the PKK and the government of the Republic of Turkey. Consequently, many Kurds were forced to leave south-eastern agricultural regions and move inside the country. Apart from the dominating push factors, such as lack of security and enforced migrations, voluntary migrations also occurred – these are related to the so-called pull factors, such as better economic conditions, educational opportunities and higher quality of medical care in Turkish metropolises (Ciplak 2012: 4-7). While voluntary migrants could rely on help based on their relationships with people coming from the same region of Turkey (hemşehri), people who were forced to migrate were not provided with such assistance during their adaptation to life in big cities. During 1995-2000 there was an increase in rural to urban and

decrease in urban to urban migration, as a result of the resettlement policy in the Southeast see Eryurt and Koç 2012).

Previously described internal-migration flows in Turkey in addition with new the migration of the 21stcentury can be summarized as proposed migration waves depicted on the table below.

1923-1949	Low urbanization, deportations connected to Kurdish uprisings
1950's	Voluntary migration, steady industrialization and urbanization
1960's and 1970's	Intensive industrialization and urbanization, voluntary migration and rise of Gecekondu's
1980's and 1990's	Forced migration due to struggle with PKK, resettlement policy
2000's and onward	Economic and educational migration, economic growth

Table 1. Internal-migration flows in Turkey
Source: Author's compilation

NEW WAVE OF KURDISH MIGRATION IN TURKEY

Considering that the government of Turkey eventually abstained from the policy of obligatory migrations at the end of the 90s of the 20th century, it was foreseen that young migrant Kurds will be voluntary migrants, who decided to change their place of living mostly because of economic and educational reasons. Owing to democratization connected with the Turkish EU bid and substantial growth of the economy in the country, there was a further increase in the internal migration rate in the country in the 2000s.

Urban to urban migration remains the dominant type of migration, but at the same time the urbanization rate grew in the first decade of the 21st century. Contemporary voluntary Kurdish migrants can study (or complete a part of their studies e.g. undergraduate) in one city and then move to another (as was the case with some of my respondents in Istanbul).

News studies on migration and trans-nationality underline the possibility of ethnic group's functioning and preservation of symbolic culture even under conditions of radical spatial separation from the land traditionally inhabited (ref. Khayati 2008: 24-28). Social processes connected with the development of new ways of communication with native villages (tur. *memleket*) will also take place among Kurdish migrants.

Changes in migration to the Istanbul province may serve as an illustration of migration growth since the beginning of the new millennium. In the first decade of the 21st century, migration to Istanbul has increased very quickly – it reached its peak between 2010-2011 (450 thousand migrants), and then, it decreased to 384,535 registered migrants (TurkStat 2013). This data coming from the Turkish Statistical Institute covered statistics of the official institution called "Address Based Population Registration System" (Turkish shortcut ADNKSS), while the number of migrants without registration could significantly increase the total number of migrants.

It is also important to note that while some provinces are popular places of migration (6 out of 81 provinces make up a third of country's population) other are depopulated – only 25% of people born in Bayburt, Çankırı and notably Tunceli (formerly Dersim, inhabited by a Kurdish Alevi majority) still live in the same province (Akaraca & Tansel 2014). Negative net migration of Southeastern (or Norhtern Kurdistan) regions implicate that there is still an ongoing migration flow from these areas. As shown in the table below regions of Southeastern Anatolia, Middle-eastern Anatolia and Northeastern Anatolia are all characterized by negative net-migration for the period of 2012-2013.

TURKISH STATISTICAL INSTITUTE

ADDRESS BASED POPULATION REGISTRATION SYSTEM (ABPRS) DATABASE

SRE-1 regional in-migration, out-migration, net-migration and net-migration rate (the period of 2012-2013)

Nuts1 region		Population ABPRS 2013	In- migration	Out- migrationn	Net- nigration	Net- migration rate
	Türkiye	76.667.864	2.122.454	2.122.454	0	0,00
TR1	İstanbul	14.160.467	437.922	371.601	66.321	4,69
TR2	Batı Marmara	3.278.705	118.803	99.543	19.260	5,89
TR3	Ege	9.897.313	204.839	189.098	15.741	1,59
TR4	Doğu Marmara	7.198.284	220.469	173.425	47.044	6,56
TR5	Batı Anadolu	7.362.247	228.304	200.077	28.227	3,84
TR6	Akdeniz	9.766.093	212.491	219.509	-7.018	-0,72
TR7	Orta Anadolu	3.873.470	113.920	132.541	-18.621	-4,80
TR8	Batı Karadeniz	4.499.102	161.961	187.639	-25.678	-5,69
TR9	Doğu Karadeniz	2.553.647	105.175	114.398	-9.223	-3,61
TRA	Kuzeydoğu Anadolu	2.207.602	69.019	111.784	-42.765	-19,19
TRB	Ortadoğu Anadolu	3.774.582	107.275	134.247	-26.972	-7,12
TRC	Güneydoğu Anadolu	8.096.352	142.276	188.592	-46.316	-5,70

Table 2. Net-migration in the regions of Turkey during 2012-2013.

Source: TurkStat 2014

CONCLUSION

Kurds experienced severe forced migration in the Turkish Republic throughout the 20th century but they also participated in waves of voluntary migration. Substantial population flows change social structure and relations. Kurds were also a part of that process. In the 1950s and 1960s Kurdish migration to urban areas and their education in universities allowed the emergence of new political activists. In the 1980s and 1990s due to military struggle with the PKK and rise of policy in evacuations from Kurdish inhabited villages, forced migration was dominated spatial mobility in the country. After the end of the resettlement policy in the 2000s migration and urbanization continued, owing to economic growth and relative democratization of the country in the beginning of the new century. As illustrated by statistics showing depopulation in the southeastern regions (Northern Kurdistan) these new movements may constitute another wave of Kurdish migration.

Although educational and economic pull factors seem to play a major role for these new migrants, they can be also affected by displacements in previous decades being children of IDP's or IDP's themselves who decided to change place of their living. Newcomers may also benefit from social networks created by IDP's. Taking into consideration criterion of exile and relation with the motherland underlined by Edward Said, some of the new migrants may visit their parents and family having lost contact or being unable to enter their place of birth (as it could have been burnt down in 1990s). Other new migrants may freely travel between their city or village and migration destination. Some of the migrants may stay in western cities just because of economic reasons while others feel the benefit of more social freedoms. Nevertheless, contributing to social life of their new places of living, and being able to participate in Kurdish organizations, these new migrants may in the future change social structure in Turkey again, constructing new political groups. For these reasons studying this new group appears to be vital for modern scholars of social sciences.

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Towards a Comprehensive Methodological Conception for Analysing Language Policy in Kurdistan

ABSTRACT

Due to significantly diversified factors defining social reality of Kurdistan: linguistic, ethnic, religious, economic and political ones, it seems intractable to discover or design a methodological conception on language policy that will explain mutual dependence between language policy and language usage and will be adaptable to all parts of Kurdistan irrespective of size and type of its ethnic groups. While searching for such a comprehensive model one has to refer then to different notions and ideas coined by scientists so far and in this article I discuss, assess and compare the theories of language vitality of Howard Giles and Harald Haarman, scale of endangered languages of Joshua Fishman and Paul Lewis, and, finally, a conception of language policy by Bernard Spolsky. Although, none of these theories proves to be fully comprehensive and applicable to every linguistic and ethnic minority in Kurdistan, their distinguishing of many sociolinguistic components and variables determining language vitality and status provides us with some methodological equipment that considerably increases the probability of successful examination of language policy execution at various social levels and forms of its expression in the entire Kurdistan region.

Although Kurdistan, in all its parts and long history, has been overwhelmingly inhabited by Kurdish speaking Kurds, it has never formed neither a linguistic monolith, as there have been other ethnic and religious groups speaking their own native languages like Aramaic, Armenian, Turkic or Arabic, nor even Kurds as a nation used one Kurdish language, comparatively homogeneous in vernacular and written structures of its dialects. The main aim of the article is to select a conception of fundamental relations between language policy and language, and consequently,

ethnic preservation in a specific community that will be most applicable for analysing structure and aims of language policy, both that of majority and minority languages, in Kurdistan. Therefore, such theory should above all take into account social and political circumstances rooted in Kurdistan's complex reality and this includes:

- A four-state political and administrative division of the Kurdistan area into Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, which entails a different official approach to the language question
- An increasing impact of Kurdish intelligentsia, both in Kurdistan and diaspora, on language policies in Kurdistan by endorsing one of two main Kurdish dialects, Kurmanji or Sorani, or by promoting one merged form of Kurdish language by combining the two latters;
- A significant degree of varieties and dialects of Kurdish language: Kurmanji, Badinani, Sorani, Gorani and Zaza
- Functioning of a number of minority languages such as Aramaic (Neo-Aramaic precisely), Armenian, or Turkic (by Turkmen)
- A structural dominance or advantage of state languages such as Turkish, Arabic and Persian over Kurdish and minority languages
- A continuity presence in Kurdistan many indigenous groups such as Assyrians, Armenians, Turkmen, Yezidis, Kakais and Shabaks, who accentuate their own distinct ethnic or religious identity in juxtaposition with neighbouring communities.

A four-state division of Kurdistan area obviously impedes any attempt to coin out one cohesive concept of language policy for whole Kurdistan. So, before drawing any inferences or making any comparisons that concept has to be examined and elucidated separately in each of the respective states. However, such linguistic diversity is not an exception in this part of the world, as we can find it, for example, in Iran, Jordan, Syria or Lebanon.

On the one hand, though at first glance studying the linguistic map of any continent make us likely to put forward a supposition that the more populated an area the more language minorities there are, we cannot simply adjust this regularity to

every region in the world. But on the other hand, it's hard to disagree that this rule can be easier applied to trans-border areas of different states than to one state territory. This assumption can be drawn, for example, from Ernst Gellner's definition of nationalism. As Gellner once put it, nationalistic-oriented states always strive to attain situations where political entities coincide with national entities ('political and national unit should be congruent') (Gellner, 1983: 1) and one of the most crucial processes of building national unity is the standardization and dissemination of one national language over the nation area i.e. the state (Gellner, 1983). Thus, language policy becomes an important instrument of implementing nationalist ideology. But on the other hand, ethnic groups, as it is stated by Anthony Smith, also strive to follow some principles that assure them continuity of their culture and ethnic identity. These principles are at the same time immanent attributes of ethnic communities, according to which they are distinguished by both members and outsiders, and they include:

- 1. a common identifying name or emblem;
- 2. a myth of common ancestry; it's rather myth than a historical fact and includes the idea of common origin in time and place, which provides an *ethnie* with a sense of fictive kinship, what Horowitz calls a 'super-family' (Horowitz, 1985: 2);
- shared historical memories and traditions; it might be specified as shared memories of common past with heroes, enemies, great events and their commemoration;
- 4. one or more elements of common culture, which usually embrace language, religion and customs;
- 5. a link with a historic territory or ,homeland', which focuses mostly on the ethnie's symbolic attachment to its ancestral land, and thus not necessarily means its physical occupation by the ethnic group, though it always remains a dream or political goal of diaspora people;
- 6. a measure of solidarity, at least among some sections of the ethnic population, usually the elites (Smith, 1999: 12-13)

According to Smith these attributes can be easily applied not only to nations and predominant ethnic groups but to ethnic minorities as well, that it may trigger tensions and conflicts between them. Although Smith's definition of core ethnic attributes constituting ethnic groups identities has become very popular among sociologists we shouldn't forget that Smith's view, known as ethno-symbolism, represents only one of at least a few key and comprehensive concepts on ethnic groups and their enduring identities. The other ideas, called primordialism, perennialism and constructivism, are also popular among scientists. However, I'm not going to analyse all the top concepts about ethnicity but will focus only on part of an ethnic identity maintaining process, namely, the explanation of a key role that language, according to some scientists, can play in this process through language policy. Hence, we shouldn't evade alluding to at least a few famous concepts of Joshua Fishmann, Howard Giles, Paul Lewis, Harald Haarmann and Bernard Spolsky concerning language policy and language's persistence among ethnic minorities, who usually seem to be most vulnerable to the disappearance of their identity.

Language policy is one of several factors that determine the overall language status in a specific community. The language status was explained by Heinz Kloss and William Stewart as a position of a language vis-à-vis other languages used in the society and is defined by five features: language origin, official language policy, degree of standardization, vitality and status of linguistic rights. Language origin tells us whether a specific language is indigenous or imported to the speech community. A degree of standardization is the extent of development of a set of norms that define the use of standard language accomplished by some significant group of people i.e. ensued either from an agreement between the regulators of the language, such as philological academies, ministries of education, etc., of the definite state or simply acknowledged by the intelligentsia's elite of a specific language/ethnic group. A legal status of linguistic rights can assume various forms as: one official language, joint official language, regional official language, promoted language (without national or regional status but sometimes used by public institutions for specific functions), tolerated language (accepted but ignored) and proscribed language (forbidden by official law) (Rubin J., Jernudd B. H.: 1977).

LANGUAGE VITALITY

The language vitality is established by a ratio of users of a language in comparison with the total population and exposes a degree of a language maintenance, either through oral or written communication. While talking about language vitality we must refer to Joshua Fishman and Howard Giles who are considered as pioneer modern researchers in this field.

Howard Giles along with Bourhis and Taylor figured out a conception of ethnolinguistic vitality in which three factors: status, demography and institutional support were seen as the most influential in survivability of an ethnolinguistic group. Each factor consists of a number of variables so status refers to social, economic, linguistic and socio-historical planes. Giles explains that the higher status of a group elevates its vitality. The second category, demography, can be explored in numbers of migration, immigration, absolute birth-rate and mixed marriage as well as distribution of the population over a national territory, a degree of its concentration and proportion to the other neighbouring ethnic groups. High demographic indexes improve collective vitality. Finally, the third factor, institutional support, includes formal representation in media, education and government services, and informal once in cultural, religion and industrial organizations. The author claims that the more usage of the language in these institutions the more vital is the group as a collective entity (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003: 45; Edwards, 2010: 89-90). Although the researchers note that group's members perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality may not always correspond with objective appraisal of outsiders, he concludes that the perceptions may occur more vital in determining group and individual behaviour, what agrees with psychological observations. Bourhis devised even a so called 'subjective-vitality questionnaire', though in this short essay the most important insights for us concern not the psychological aspects of language persistence but those that may be applied in language policy's compilation and implementation namely status, demography and first and foremost institutional involvement. Giles's model has been criticised mostly on methodological grounds as its factors are quite inexact and may be mutually dependent on each other, which can depict a simplistic image of the ethnic group's language situation, especially in settings where comparisons are made between more than two languages (Edwards, s. 91).

One of the ethno-linguistic vitality model's critic was Harald Haarmann who asserts that, even though it may be effectual in studying a macrolevel condition of a language, it fails to present more detail languages relations at a microlevel. He emphasises that to meet the latter challenge one must take into consideration all possible variables, both general and specific, which impact either directly or indirectly on language usage in the relevant ethnic group. Therefore, he elaborated a language ecology conception, based on prior Haugen's observations, opting for its holistic approach as '[f]ollowing the basic assumption that the interaction between ethnic groups is the result of environmental factors influencing their members, phenomena have to be analyzed in terms of ecological relations. The ethnic identity of any ethnic group comprises elements which are the reflection of a sum of experiences in the group's ecological settings.' Hence, the ecological view 'should cover the whole network of social relations which control the variability of languages and their model speakers' behaviour' (Haarmann, 1986: 3), moving along with a gradable scheme of language manifestation, from the most specific to the most general level: individual – group – society – state. To omit any ambiguous inaccuracy regarding this hierarchical structure Haarmann proposes definitions of society of state. He considers society as the most complex organization of social groups, including ethnic groups, which are subordinate to the society being, then, submitted to state because of its political power. He maintains that society cannot exist without the state's authority, whereas the state can be functional without society's support. (Mac Giolla Chríost, 46-47).

On this ground Haarmann proposes an inventory of ecological variables pertinent to language condition in ethnic groups, which can be divided into seven categories, each one comprises of a number of components:

1. Ethnodemographic variables:

- a) The size of an ethnic group.
- b) The rate of ethnic homogeneity in the area of an ethnic group's dwelling.
- c) The divergence between concentrated and dispersed population in ethnic communities.

- d) The divergence between urban and rural settlements within an ethnic group.
- e) The divergence between static settlement and migration movement in an ethnic group.

2. Ethnosociological variables:

- a) The social stratification of an ethnic group.
- b) The distribution of the population in an ethnic group by sex and age.
- c) The polarity between various age groups in language choice and behaviour.
- d) The difference between dynamic changes and stability in the cross section of an ethnic landscape of the relevant region.
- e) The exploration of family relations in social structures of an ethnic community.

3. Ethnopolitical variables:

- a) The relation between ethnic groups and the state.
- b) The institutional status of the group's language.
- c) The relation between speaker, language and state.
- d) The diversification of the labour profile of the population.
- e) The potential of reproduction of the group's language.

4. Ethnocultural variables:

- a) descent as a criterion of group solidarity.
- b) The disparity between ethnocultural patterns and social distance in interethnic relations.
- c) The role of cultural and political organisations in the promotion of a community's interests.
- d) The role of a language's *ausbau* status.
- e) The specifics of a language's sociocultural potential.

5. Ethnopyschological variables:

a) The role of enculturation for ethnic identification.

- b) The role of self-categorisation among the members of a community.
- c) The function and ways of categorising other ethnic groups among the members of a community.
- d) Language maintenance as a measure of ethnic identity.
- e) The attitude of the members in a community towards interaction with members of contacting ethnic groups.

6. Interactional variables:

- a) The role of communicational mobility in a language community.
- b) Interactional determination in the use of communicational means.
- c) The role of intra- and interethnic role relations for interaction.
- d) The degree of routine interaction with members of other ethnic groups.
- e) The degree of publicity of speech settings.

7. Ethnolinguistic variables:

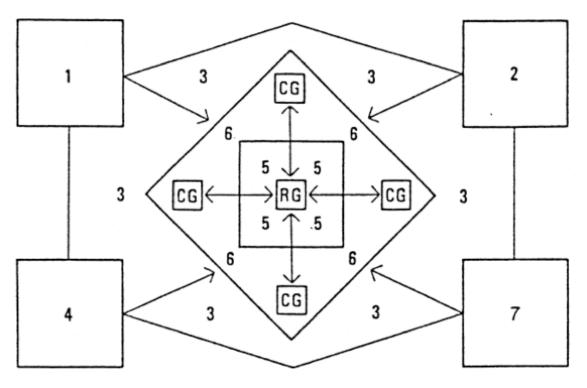
- a) The relevance of linguistic distance between contact languages.
- b) The relevance of ethnically specific pragmatic strategies of verbal interaction.
- c) The role of grammatical determinism within the framework of deictic categories.
- d) The characteristics of language contacts with respect to the sociocultural status of the contacting languages (Haarmann, 1986: 11-16)

Haarmann drew up a resulting model for his conception of primary relations between language and ethnicity, where all applied variables refer to the behaviour of communities, not individuals.

Despite being more comprehensive and detailed than Giles's model, Haarmann's conception also meets with some sort of criticism. Firstly, some of the categories may be not fully independent of another, for example, ethnosociological, ethnocultural, ethnopolitical, ethnopsychological and interactional variables. Secondly, some components like group-state relations, an institutional status of language, organisational promotion of group interests or community's attitudes require further in-depth clarification. Thirdly, geographical, economic and historical factors

are all avoided. Nevertheless, at least a few categories are very likely to become useful tools in evaluating some aspects of language policy in Iraq, especially the ethnopolitical one as the most influential on other factors since Haarmann concedes that 'the functional range of ethnopolitical factors is best understood as an embracing category comprising all other functional ranges. This indication of an outer framework of ecological relations implies that political factors influencing the behaviour of ethnic groups form a general background for all other societal and intergroup relations (...). As all social conditions of ethnic groups are bound to the political organization of society in a given state, the components of the political systems must be indicated separately. It is assumed that the effect of ethnodemographic, ethnocultural or other factors on the behaviour of reference and contact groups can only be represented in an overall ecological system when these have been integrated into the general framework of a society's political foundation (or organization)' (Haarmann, 1986: 28).

Borrowing the notion of ethnic boundaries from Fredrik Barth's Haarmann is prone to perceive it as a scene of inter-ethnic conflicts noting that '[e]thnic boundaries (...) as a nexus of various features are an important subject in the study of ethnopolitical conflicts' (Haarmann, 1986: 40) and that '[m]ost ethnopolitical conflicts – at least in the European framework of comparison – result from the crossing of ethnic boundaries, which is typical of fusion processes categorized as incorporation (assimilation)' (Haarmann, 1986: 57). Based on his study in the Soviet Union, Turkey and France Haarmann points out that crossing ethnic boundaries generally leads to either ethnic fusion (integration or assimilation) or ethnic fission (segregation or diversity). As a tactic for reducing ethnic tensions he proposes a prestige planning, which should 'consists of a network of identity elements and evaluations, including many stereotyping components of self-identification and categorization of other ethnic groups and their languages. The term applied here refers to the whole mechanism of categorization which controls intragroup and intergroup relations.' (Haarmann, 1986: 89). This has to be designed with the aim to curtail conditions that make ethnic/language conflict more likely to surface: 'Ideally, prestige planning in a setting of contact between a minority language and a dominant language is balanced so that the potential circumstances of ethnic friction and conflict can be reduced to a minimum (Ibidem). Forming a range of



Remarks:

RG – reference ethnic group

CG — contact group, ethnic group in contact with the reference group

1 – ethodemographic range of ecological functions

2 – ethnosociological range of ecological functions

3 – ethnopolitical range of ecological functions

4 – ethnocultural range of ecological functions

5 — ethnopsychological range of ecological functions

6 – interactional range of ecological functions

7 – ethnolinguistic range of ecological functions

Figure 1. Basic model of ecological relations between language and ethnicity (Haarmann, 1986: 27).

'multiple identities' offering alternative identities for ethnic communities' members, embracing ethnic, social, economic and political status, seems to be a crucial element of prestige planning, which 'warrants broad application because it can function as a strategy of activating those attitudes toward ethnicity which are likely to weaken ethnic conflicts and create patterns of multiple identities in speech communities' (Haarmann, 1986: 99).

It is worthy to mention that in the case of the USSR Haarmann predicted that successful ethnic strategy should have been aimed at 'strengthening of ethnic identity among members of small nationalities' and 'integration of all Soviet nationalities (...) which requires the extension of ethnic identity to a multiple identity including a supranational element.' (Haarmann, 1986: 98). The collapse of the Soviet block in the early 1990s and resurgence of ethnic conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe and the subsequent failure of so called 'multi-culti' policy of France towards language minorities depictured by the outbreak of violence in Paris in 2005 derived from, as it is thought, voluntary cultural separation of young generations of most Arab communities living in France, resulted in large scepticism about a policy strengthening multiple identities.

ENDANGERED LANGUAGES SCALES

All the above-mentioned ideas refer to language practices and policies without an apparent distinction drawn between statuses of respective languages, what, actually, seems essential regarding dissimilar positions of ethnic minorities languages in Kurdistan, especially Aramean (Neo-Aramean). Hence, it is advisable to allude to the language theory of Joshua Fishman. It was initially articulated in his book entitled 'Reversing language shift. Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages'. 'Reversing language shift' was a quite seminal issue, suffice to say that previously scientists had been focusing mostly on the process of language shifting and loss of language diversity than its preservation. Fishman argues that 'Stressing the wrong priorities is a very costly example of lacking a proper social theory or model of what RLS entails (...) The sociolinguistic landscape is littered with the relatively lifeless remains of societally marginalized and exhausted RLS movements that have engaged in struggles on the wrong front (...), without real awareness of what they were doing or of the problems that faced them.' (Fishman, 1991: 113). He conceived a model for the stabilization and possibly revitalization of endangered languages, which comprises of a few phases: ideological clarification, RLS-measures, working plan and research phase. The last two phases interact closely with Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

(GIDS), also coined out by Fishman, which appears to be valuable contrivance to both in ideological and practical stage of language policy. Any RLS initiative should be determined by the GIDS level of the language, which exhibits a degree of language endangerment ranging from stability to extinction (see Table 1).

Table 1. Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community) involving interaction between Xen and Ymen
Stage 4	Xish in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	the attainment of intergenerational informal oral language and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
Stage 8	most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated older people and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories

Xmen refers to member of the language minority, while member of the majority is called Ymen. Respectively Xish means endangered languages, while Yish — dominant languages (Fishman, 1991: 395)

GIDS's scale envisages that the reversal of language shift can be best achieved by gradual advance whereas it is difficult to vault over to a higher level without contriving to get through a lower level. For example, Fishman maintains that schools can only improve a situation of an endangered language when it is immersed in the language community both among old and young generations. The most prominent phase is stage 6 as it ensures grounds for language revitalisation. Stages 5-8 are thought by Fishman 'the minimal basis' for RLS, where the endangered minority language (Xish) prevails in some more traditional domains e.g. communication at home or in religious settings, while the majority language (Yish) controls more modern domains e.g. media or public institutions.

Fishman theory of RLS has recently inspired some scholars to figure out a new model of GIDS for endangered languages as a theory agenda for UNESCO. Paul

Lewis, along with a team of language scholars compiled a report advancing a scale of 'Language Vitality and Endangerment' (LVE) distinguished by nine factors:

- 1. intergenerational language transmission;
- 2. number of speakers;
- 3. proportion of the total population made up by speakers of the language in question;
- 4. loss of existing language domains;
- 5. response to new domains (including media);
- 6. materials available for purposes of education and literacy;
- 7. official language attitudes and policies;
- 8. speakers' own attitudes to their language;
- 9. amount and quality of relevant documentation (Minasyan, 2011: 3-4)

The measurement of endangerment is achieved by introducing a further evaluating five-point scale to all, but the second factors, where 0 represent the lowest value, whilst 5 means the highest one. The scored points assigned to each factor places a language in a scale of endangerment. Following these findings in 2010 UNESCO published a report entitled 'Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger', in which it classifies the world's languages according to the LVE scale with intergenerational language transmission as decisive factor. The LVE scale embraces six degrees: safe, vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct. The 'safe' degree means that all generations of a specific language community freely speak its native language, which is intergenerationally transmitted without obstructions. 57% of the total of over 6000 languages spoken in the world are considered are 'safe', so, in fact, the remaining 43% are endangered ones. The 'vulnerable' level is assigned to 10% of all languages and entails that most children speak the language, but it may be limited only to certain domains e.g. home or temple. 10% of languages are deemed 'definitely endangered' what alludes to a situation where the learning of a mother tongue by children at home is discontinued. Accordingly, the 'severely endangered' status, embracing 9% of all languages, implies that not only children no longer learn the native language but also their parents don't speak it with them or among themselves, though they may understand it while talking with older generations e.g. grandparents, who still use the language in daily communication. 10% of languages are thought 'critically endangered' and it denotes that solely grandparents and older generations speak the language, but occasionally and partially. As one might expect the 'extinct' degree signifies that there are no living speakers left of the language and it is believed that 4% of all languages find themselves in such a hopeless situation (Moseley, 2011: 4-6)

In Kurdistan or to be more precise in countries with a significant number of Kurdish communities UNESCO distinguished a number of endangered languages. The extinct languages include:

- In Iraqi Kurdistan three languages being dialects of Jewish Neo-Aramaic: Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic, Lishana Noshan (the former used to be spoken near Erbil, while the latter near Koy Sanjaq) and Lishana Deni (near Zakho).
- In Iranian Kurdistan two dialects of Jewish Neo-Aramaic: Lishan Didan (between Salmas and Urmia) and Hulaula (near Iranian-Iraqi border city Baneh);
- In Turkey and Syrian Kurdistan a variant of Syriac dialect called Mlahso (on the border area between Midyat and Qamishli)

The critically endangered languages in Kurdistan embrace according to UNE-SCO's discoveries:

- In Turkey Kurdistan a Neoaramaic dialect called Hertevin (in villages near Pervari in Siirt province)
- Mandaic near Basra in Iraq and in Khorramshahr in the province of Khuzistan in Iran and also but not quite in Kurdistan the Iranian town Ahvaz.

The severely endangered languages in Kurdistan comprise a dialect of Neo-Aramaic called Turoyo used in town Midyat, whereas the definitely endangered languages in Kurdistan include, on the one hand, western Neo-Aramaic spoken near Al-Nabk in Syria and Neo-Aramaic in Northern Iraq and northeast Syria near the

Turkish border, and, on the other, Hawrami (also called Gorani) being a Kurdish dialect used in the west of the Khuzistan province, Iran. The only vulnerable language indicated by UNESCO in Kurdistan is a Kurdish dialect called Zazaki, popular in the north-western part of Turkey Kurdistan, the provinces of Musz, Erzurum, Sivas, Kayseri and Diyarbakir. (UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger;

Although, after online publication of 'The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger' the UNESCO scale of LVE and classification of particular languages had been commonly received with curiosity and enthusiasm, both scholars and speakers of specific languages, mostly from western Europe, have been expressing their criticism on certain findings, especially regarding categorization of the extinct and vulnerable languages. However, thanks to these remarks the UNESCO team of scholars are more disposed to revising and upgrading the subsequent edition of the language atlas. (Moseley, 2012).

LANGUAGE POLICY

It is widely assumed that language policy refers to an authority's, mostly governments, strategy usually closely combined with ethnic and national policy and expressed through legislation predicting legal status and scope of usage of a particular language or languages in a society both informally and in public institutions, especially educational settings. In practice, it gives or curbs the rights of citizens or communities to communicate in and preserve their mother tongue. The language policy may be designed and executed in different approaches that range from assimilation, non-intervention, policies of differentiated legal status, promotion of the official language, sectorial policies, bilingualism or trilingualism, linguistic internationalization policies, multilingualism and mixed linguistic policies. Yet, language policy is understood by Bernard Spolsky in a broader sense as a strategy of language usage formed and implemented not only by authorities but

¹See: Moseley, Christopher (ed.), UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, www.unesco.org, [online] http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html – 03.06.2014.

also by common speakers, who may follow this policy implicitly or explicitly, not always being aware of what language and social tenets and canons they do obey and convey to their interlocutors or oppose. Therefore, Spolsky underlines that the language policy may be implicit or explicit. He pinpoints four major features of the theory of language policy. The first is the division of language policy into three interrelated components: language practices, beliefs and ideology, and man**agement**. Language practices are the observable people's behaviours and choices, which can be thought a policy, or policy's symptoms precisely, since they are regular and predictable. It depends on many social variables such as age, gender, social class and status or ethnic attachment. The next key element of language policy is made up of beliefs and ideological views about language and especially about its varieties, which are thought to play a vital role in individuals' group association and social identity, whether it is a nation, ethnic group, region, a company's staff or school class. The third component, language management, is defined by Spolsky as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs." (Spolsky, 2007: 4). The most evident forms of language management are constitution and law, both national and international, determining some manners of usage of the official language and passed by legislative or executive bodies and exercised, inter alia, by a judiciary system. The law establishes certain guidelines and constrains the use of a specific language in communication, for example, with government agencies, public institutions or in diplomatic, business meetings and correspondence. Although the three elements are found on every level of social organization of speech communities, they appear in different intensities. In families, for example, language practices and beliefs are found far more often than management.

The second essential facet of language policy is that it deals not only with general language traits but with "all the individual elements at all levels that make up language" (Spolsky, 2004: 40). The language policy may be then concerned with grammar, style, spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary as well as to 'correct' language or 'bad' language such as racist or obscene speeches. Moreover, it may affect both standard and autonomous as well as non-autonomous varieties of lan-

guage. Handling and categorizing varieties of language are considered to compose pivotal questions in the study of language policy.

The next basic remark is that language policy permeates every language community irrespective of size and type of social bonds. Definable speech communities are called domains and encompass any social, political, religious or military group ranging from a family through a neighbourhood, a sports team, school, workplace, organization, medical or scientific institutions, village or city, nation state or regional alliance. (Spolsky, 2004: 40) Spolsky notices that each domain can be influenced in the language choice, to a different extent, both internally by the speakers' conduct (language practices, beliefs and management within the domain itself) and externally either from 'below' or 'above' social levels (domains).

He further convinces that there is no room for doubt that language policy is closely linked with political units since, in our times, states are an apparent centre of power, with a constitutionally legitimized supremacy of governments over their citizens. So, theoretically and in practice, both legislative and executive state bodies, mostly parliament and government, can create and pass a constitution, law or regulation, more or less directly connected with a language policy and implement it, sometimes even without a society common consent. However, enacting and enforcing that policy is far more complex in a federal system or any sort of colonial dependency, which, in fact, is a part of Kurdistan and every Middle East country's historical experience. Spolsky suggests that the relation between power and language policy is two-way as power is needed to exercise the language policy laws, but on the other hand, a comprehensive implementation of a coherent language policy underpins the central state power system. (Ibidem)

The fourth key notion asserts that language policy operates within a composite ecological setting with a number of interrelated linguistic and non-linguistic variables. As Spolsky observes, 'when we look at specific implemented language-management decisions, we often find either no result (the failure of preachers to eradicate blasphemy or of teachers to enforce grammatical correctness, for instance) or unanticipated results (the way that reversing language shift or language revival activities produce novel, undesired forms of language)'. (Spolsky 2004: 41) Furthermore, he points out that the popular social categories such as age, gender, class or ethnicity are often vague and depend on the user. Even relations between social

elements cannot be described as though and constant, but rather as a probable association; it may be fuzzy, as in the case of pronunciation in a certain ethnic group or social class, where it is difficult to define which factor causes which. (Ibidem)

As regards to domains, Spolsky follows Cooper's prerequisite that language planning study should not be curtailed only to state policy, but also has to include a family level since 'the same processes which operate in macrolevel planning also operate in microlevel planning' (Spolsky, 2004: 42). He also agrees with Fishman that language choice can be best examined in the context of sociolinguistic domains, which can be describe by three major dimensions: participants, the location and topic. In the upshot of his study of the Latin district of the Puerto Rican, Fishman distinguished several domains of local significance: home, neighbourhood, church, school and work, of which the school he acknowledges as most likely to be influenced internally and externally, including activists intervention in favour of a specific language variety. (Ibidem: 42-48) One must admit that language practices, beliefs and especially management are prone to differentiate in monolingual, bilingual and polilingual societies.

CONCLUSION

To bring the paper to a close, we can assess the usefulness and summarise the key points of the presented theories on various means of language transmission and maintenance in studying relations between a social status of a particular language and the development of language policy. So, firstly, Spolsky's division of language policy into three interrelated components: language practices, beliefs and management, seems meaningful for methodologically identifying categories of different sociolinguistic behaviour and thus for more-detailed unveiling of forms of manifestation and sources of observable aspects of language usage and habits within a specific ethnic group. In fact, it might also reveal mutual dependence between different sociolinguistic variables, especially in the language management sphere since a state seems contemporarily to have one of the most overwhelming impacts on determining means and manners of usage of the official language, and by the

same token status of unofficial languages, through laws passed and executed by its legislative, executive and judiciary bodies.

Secondly, following on from Fishman's and Spolsky's findings we can set apart some domains (speech communities) vital for language shifting and choices, whereas the scope of the domains might embrace not only macrolevel, which seems more strenuous for meticulous studying in practice, but microlevel entities in small communities as well. So, at macrolevel domains regard to new and traditional media, public institutions, inhabitants of some villages, towns or regions, ethnographic and ethnic groups and even nation state or international alliance. The latter, in reference to Kurdistan, can be envisaged as four-state-divided Kurdistan and Kurdish diaspora. At this level, focal for this study, it is advisable to scrutinise language planning made and implemented by governments to detect any discrepancy between tactics applied by federal and regional power in this regard as well as to discern influence of that language planning on particular domains and its efficacy. At microlevel we can enlist entities such as home, neighbourhood, mosque or church, organization, village, school or work. The educational system seems to be most vulnerable to internal and external spurs of language policy. Presentation of differences in language choices according to certain domains exposes their roles in a process of preserving and reviving of mother tongue or intensifying language shifting process.

Thirdly, by adjusting appropriate variables, indicated by Haarmann, Fishman and Lewis, we may distinguish which political and social factors have the most impact on language status in a particular community, of which intergenerational language transmission is considered by both Fishman and Lewis as a primary one to assess language endangerment. Thus, we may be able to determine language status and factors that contribute most to heightening language shifting or endangerment, especially in reference to GIDs and LVE scales, which particularly concerns minority languages, classified as unsafe (from vulnerable to extinct), as is the case e.g. of Aramaic language. Based on such findings we might attempt to account for reasons why people speak or do not their mother tongue or predominant language provided that profound research will be done, which, actually, is beyond the scope of this paper

To make our study more comprehensive we shouldn't avoid influence of new social factors such as international internet business, news and social media on language status and policy, since they are becoming a more and more popular means of communication, especially among the young generations, even in Kurdistan. The same remark relates to language policy of religious institution such as religious schools, mosques, churches and missionary activities, which have a long tradition in Kurdistan.

Nevertheless, this article shouldn't be considered as an instruction of conducting research, regardless at macro or micro level, in assessing language status but rather an attempt to enlist the most important factors and methodological approaches that have to be taken into account while analysing language policy in Kurdistan. The examination of the language theories of Haarmann, Fishman, Lewis and Spolsky make me likely to admit that all of them are applicable to Kurdistan's social circumstances. However, the former's concept appears more suitable for identifying factors with most impact on language social status, while Fishman and Lewis' models might be better for evaluating the degree of language endangerment, whereas Spolsky's concept seems the best one for a comprehensive study of language policy, especially to indicate how contemporary turbulent changes in political and social relations between ethnic groups translate into change and continuity of language practices, beliefs and management within these communities. Nonetheless, application of these theories depends on the purposes of our research, since all subjects, variables and their interrelationship can be found in Kurdistan's complex social and political reality.

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The article is part of the research project: How to Make a Voice Audible? Continuity and Change of Kurdish Culture and of Social Reality in Postcolonial Perspectives approved for financing by the decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03779 of The National Science Centre of Poland.

Курды в Турции: депортация как метод решения этнического конфликта в XIX-XX вв.?

ABSTRACT

The Kurds in Turkey: Deportation as a Method of Solving the Ethnic Conflict in the XIX-XX Centuries?

This article includes the review of Kurdish rebellions in Turkey during the last two centuries and reaction measures of Turkish authorities to combat the upsurge of the Kurdish National Liberation Movement. The analysis of deportation and multifaceted assimilation politics of Turkey from the moment of founding the republic until nowadays reveals the inability of the Turkish government to resolve the protracted long-term ethnic conflict.

Урбанизация, образование и широкая доступность информации порождают новые потребности и способы их удовлетворения. Но реальные возможности таких обществ растут медленнее, чем потребности людей. Несовершенство политической системы, неспособность ее решать противоречия, ведут к конфликтам.

Сэмюэл Филлипс Хантингтон

Специфика курдской хронологической линии в многовековой истории Западной Азии, колыбели мировой цивилизации, заключается в том, что история курдов - это преимущественно история их борьбы за свободу и независимость. Например, в некоторых источниках указывается, что только за последние 200 лет произошло более 50 восстаний.

¹Angelika Pobedonostseva Kaya (Saint-Petersburg State University, Faculty of Asian and African Studies) works on the problem of Russian-Kurdish relations in XVIII-XIX cc.

Значительная удаленность от османских и персидских² административных центров с одной стороны благоволила укреплению национальной идентичности в виду некоторого послабления прямого произвола властей, но с другой – способствовала изоляции Курдистана от внешнего мира, что только усугублялось труднодоступными районами проживания курдов. Начавшийся еще в XVII в. и резко обострившейся в XVIII в. военно-политический и социально-экономический упадок Турции и Ирана привел к заметному ослаблению власти турецких султанов и персидских шахов над курдскими провинциями и, таким образом жизнь курдских племен проходила относительно независимо (McDowall, 2005: 39) до периода с рубежа XVIII-XIX вв. до конца Первой мировой войной, который определен как эпоха распада Османской империи и превращения ее и каджарского Ирана в государства, зависимые от колониальных держав Запада и России. Этот период характерен ростом курдского сепаратизма, когда значительная часть Юго-Западного, Южного и Юго-Восточного Курдистана фактически отделилась от Турции и Ирана, образовав самостоятельные курдские княжества, что вынудило Порту провести «вторичное завоевание Курдистана» в 30-х-40-х гг. XIX в. несмотря на значительные территориальные потери на Западе и освободительной борьбы христианских народов.

Попытки создания независимого курдского государства предпринимались не единожды. Из наиболее ярких можно назвать восстание в 1840-х годах Бадрхан-бека, эмира области Бохтан со столицей Джезире, обладавшего значительным авторитетом среди феодальной знати и популярный в народе, а так же пользовавшийся поддержкой местного населения. Однако летом 1847 г. Эмират был ликвидирован. «Усмирив» на некоторое время Курдистан, турецкие власти стали вводить там свою администрацию, лишая наследственных феодальных правителей их прав и привилегий (Халфин, 1963: 56-57), пока эстафету племянник Бадрхана — Езданшир, который, воспользовавшись Крымской войной (1853-1855), поднял восстание в конце 1854 г., сумел взять

² После победы в 1514 г. османов над персами в сражении при Чалдыране произошел и был впоследствии закреплен раздел Курдистана, причем львиная доля которого (северная, западная и южная части) отошли к Османской империи, а к Персии - только его восточная часть.

Битлис и Мосул, но в марте 1855 года был заманен на встречу с турецкими представителями, схвачен и отправлен в Стамбул.

Джезире, расположенная на значительном удалении от столичного региона³, как будто располагала к духу независимости, и за семейством Бадырхана, ставшего национальным героем, в 1880 г. шейх Обейдулла⁴ из соседнего с Джезире района Хаккяри вторгся в Иран, воспользовавшись восстанием местных курдских племен. Восстание Обейдуллы так же не могло рассчитывать на успех. Для многих курдских вождей были характерны узкоплеменные интересы, определявшие цели и задачи этого восстания. Внутренняя рознь между вождями курдских племен значительно ослабила восстание и в итоге оно было подавлено (Никитин, 1964: 10). Тем не менее, борьба курдов за независимость не прекратилась, а, напротив, она перешла на новую ступень, став поистине всенародной и охватив весь этнический Курдистан.

По своему образу жизни курды делятся на кочевых, полукочевых и оседлых. Число последних к концу XIX в. было сравнительно невелико и основную массу составляли полукочевые курды, занимавшиеся в основном овцеводством (Ментешашвили, 1984: 6). Стремление найти удобные для скота пастбища являлось главной причиной кочевания курдов, даже, невзирая на государственные границы. Таким образом, миграции курдов происходили в зависимости от социально-экономических, а в дальнейшем политических и конфессиональных причин в регионы с большей плодородностью земель и пастбищ и относительно спокойной военно-политической обстановкой (Özcan, 2009: 109-110). Помимо добровольного переселения, связанного с нуждами племени, практика переселений в разных значениях применялась в разное время разными правителями. Как один из самых ранних, зафиксированных в хрониках, случаев можно назвать, так называемое, переселение курдов-шиитов Ирана по указам шаха Исмаила Сефеви (годы правления 1487-1524) на границу современных Ирана и Туркмении в Хорасан (Денегез, Кучан, Боджнурд), где они проживают и поныне (Жигалина, 1998: 112).

³ Современная Юго-Восточная Турция на пересечении границ Турции, Ирана и Ирака.

⁴Лидер суфийского ордена Накшбанди, пользовавшийся большим уважением в Курдистане как по своему положению, так и за личные качества.

Накануне и во время XIX века в практику османских властей входило укрепление турецко-персидской, а позднее русско-турецкой границ, путем заселения окраин империи курдскими племенами. В тоже время курды из приграничных районов выселялись в центральную Анатолию (Кайсери, Анкара, Испарта и др.) и побережье Мраморного и Эгейского морей (Текирдаг, Чанаккале и др.) (Özcan, 2009: 111).

На рубеже XX в. курдский национализм был сформирован и как идеология, и как политика, а его основной целью стал независимый Курдистан как курдское национальное государство. В это же время к курдским землям был проявлен большой интерес по военно-стратегическим и экономическим соображениям со стороны России и западных колониальных держав. После раздела Османской империи договорами Сайкс-Пико (1916), Версальским (1919), Севрским (1920) и Лозаннским (1923), определяющими сферы экономического и политического влияния Англии и Франции, стран-победительниц по итогам Первой мировой войны (ПМВ), на Ближнем Востоке возник курдский вопрос, как политическое явление. Оставшись только на бумаге, Севрский договор знаменовал собою крайне важный поворот в развитии курдской проблемы, так как впервые в истории в дипломатическом документе подвергся рассмотрению вопрос о «местной автономии районов сплошного расселения курдов» (Ушаков, 2002: 292).

Как результат перекройки карты Передней Азии и Ближнего Востока, в 20-х - 30-х годах XX в. по Турции, Ираку и Ирану прокатилась волна курдских восстаний⁶, главное требование которых было объединение всех курдских земель и создание курдского государства. И, надо сказать, что именно этот период определил дальнейшее положение курдов в Турции.

В феврале 1925 года вспыхнуло возглавленное шейхом Саидом восстание курдов, продолжавших борьбу за независимость. Никогда не любившие центральную власть свободолюбивые племена не симпатизировали установленному над ними после провозглашения республики контролю и ставшему

⁵В результате раздела более чем 30 млн. курдов, проживающих на суммарной площади 400 тыс. кв. км., оказались в четырех странах региона — Турции, Иране, Ираке и Сирии.

⁶Восстания под руководством шейха Саида, Ихсана Нури, Сеида Резы (Турция), Махмуда Барзанджи, Ахмеда Барзани (Ирак), Исмаила-ага Симко, Салара од-Доуле, Джафар-Султана (Иран) и др.

куда более жестким сбору налогов⁷, что в итоге привело руководство страны в лице Мустафы Кемаля Ататюрка к решению воспользоваться восстанием курдов, как минимальным предлогом для расправы над набирающей силу оппозицией (Ушаков, 2002: 284). По отношению к курдскому восстанию перед турецким правительством стояли следующие задачи: жесткое подавление восстания, разоружение всех курдов вне зависимости от участия в мятеже и расселение курдов по разным районам страны, чтобы они нигде не могли образовать большинства (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 125).

В апреле 1925 главные силы повстанцев были разбиты, шейх Саид вместе с другими руководителями восстания был схвачен и казнен в Диярбакыре, а последующие действия, пресекающие активность оппозиции, вылились в «рекомендации» прессе и не только воздержаться от какой бы то ни было критики в своих статьях, а так же и запрет на употребление некоторых слов. Что примечательно, что с того самого времени Мустафа Кемаль ни разу не произнес слово «курд».

События 1925 г. и последующих лет дорого обошлись Турции. Только на подавление восстания Шейха Саида ушло около 20 млн. лир (50 млн. по другим источникам) или 20 млн. фунтов стерлингов (Qasimlo, 2009: 73), что подорвало бюджетный баланс страны. Обширные территории Турецкого Курдистана оказались в руинах, 206 деревень в период с 1925 по 1928 г. были сожжены, убито более 15 тыс. жителей, а еще порядка полмиллиона курдов депортированы в западные вилайеты (Лазарев, 2005: 67). Был взят курс на разрушение традиционного уклада и тюркизации курдских племен. Для этих целей ко двору пришелся Закон о Выселении (Sevk ve İskân Kanunu или Теһсіг Капипи), который был принят 27 мая 1915 по отношению к армянскому населению⁸. Статья 12 Закона о Выселении гласила: «.... курды, разделившись на незначительные группы, будучи освобожденными от оружия, будут от-

⁷В качестве причин восстания указывается так же несогласие с упразднением института халифа, вестернизация страны и т.д. Подробнее см. Лазарев М.С. Курдистан и курдский вопрос (1923-1945). С. 57-71.

⁸Закон "Vakt-i Seferde İcraat-i Hükûmete Karşı Gelenler İçin Cihet-i Askeriyece İttiraz Olunacak Tedâbir Hakkında Kanun-ı Muvakkat" (چون جهت سفرده اجراآت حکومته قارشی کلنلر اچون جهت) вышел 14 мая 1331 (или 27 мая 1915). Впервые был опубликован 1 июня 1915 г. в официальном печатном органе - газете Takvim-i Vekâyi

правлены в различные регионы и там не будут превышать 5% по отношению к основному населению (деревни, района, области)...» (Özcan, 2009: 111).

В период Лозаннской конференции и после нее курдские лидеры не раз обращались к советскому правительству, как с просьбами о помощи, так и даже с проявлением готовности принять протекторат СССР над Курдистаном. Но политический курс Советской России в то время был направлен на укрепление и развитие дружбы с Турцией и Ираном, из-за силу чего не планировалось подвергать его испытаниям из-за курдов (Лазарев, 2005: 36). Более того, в советских документах, непредназначенных для печати, указывалось отрицательное отношение к курдскому движению не только в Турции, но и в других странах (Лазарев, 2005: 60).

В 1928 и 1930 гг. были опубликованы два важных агитационных курдских документа, которые утверждали, что зимой 1926-1927 гг. 200 деревень с населением в 13 тыс. жителей были разрушены, а за период между 1925 и 1928 гг. было снесено около 10.000 домов, больше, чем 15.000 жителей убито с особой жестокостью и более половины миллиона депортировано, из которых примерно 200 тысяч погибло (McDowall, 2005: 200), но, несмотря на принудительное переселение в стране в дальнейшем образовывались крупные курдские анклавы, а многие переселились в поисках работы в промышленные портовые города, такие как Стамбул, Измир, Адана и т.д. Однако, эти группы так или иначе оказались подвержены ассимиляции, а на их земли направлялись турецкие и мусульманские переселенцы (албанцы, боснийцы и др.) по соглашению с правительствами балканских стран (Лазарев, 2005: 68). Принципиальный противник политического сепаратизма, Ататюрк не допускал даже самой мысли о каких-либо национальных автономиях и суверенитетах, и неслучайно проводимую им в отношении курдов политику курдские националисты называли «политикой отрицания». Идеалом Мустафы Кемаля являлось единое государство, объединенное турецким языком и литературой, в связи с чем активно проводилась политику насильственной тюркизации национальных меньшинств под лозунгом: «Одна страна - одна нация». Родной язык, в частности курдский, не являющийся турецким, в деревнях, среди

⁽تقويم وقايع). После чего получил известность, как "Sevk ve İskân Kanunu". (см. Ayverdi, 2013: XVIII-XIX).

ремесленных сообществ, религиозных деятелей и прочих к употреблению запрещался (Qasimlo, 2009: 78). И поэтому в декабре 1926 г. министерство культуры уже официально запретило употребление таких слов, как «курд», «лаз» и «черкес», поскольку они «нарушали единство турецкой нации» (Ушаков, 2002: 285). В турецкой историографии, с момента «признания» курдов в качестве курдов, курдские восстания описываются в основном с точки зрения сепаратистских настроев. Но хотелось бы упомянуть и такую причину, как банальные народные волнения в связи с недовольством власти, высоких налогов и т.д., в которых курды тоже принимали участие, т.е. будучи одним из народов Османской империи. Как пример могу назвать трехтомник «Курдские восстания в документах Генерального Штаба», где дается обзор восстаний начиная с 1924 по 1938 г. (Genelkurmay, 1992).

После того, как было подавлено восстание Шейха Саида, было разрушено множество деревень и их жители подверглись депортации. В курдских районах усилилось административное давление, сопровождаемое экономическим кризисом, что стало еще одной предпосылкой к последующим восстаниям, помимо обнищания населения в результате зависимости от своих феодалов, карательных экспедиций и общего бесправия. Неспособность турецких властей, а по большей части нежелание, каким бы то образом улучшить уровень жизни и устранить прочие причины восстаний влекло за собой новые (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 143). Самыми крупными и кровопролитными были восстания в районе Арарата (1927), организованное обществом «Хойбун», и в Дерсиме под руководством шейха Сеида Резы (1938), о которых есть смысл рассказать немного подробнее.

«Хойбун» был создан на съезде курдских организаций, таких как «Кurd Taali Cemiyeti» (Ассоциацию содействия процветанию Курдистана), «Кurd Millet Fırqası» (Курдская национальная партия), «Kurd Teşkilâtı İctimai» (Общество социальных проблем), Comité de l'Indépendance Kurde (Комитет независимого Курдистана), которые вошли в его состав, в 1927 г. в Ливане. В том же году «Хойбун» провозгласил независимость Курдистана по Севрскому договору, одновременно объявив войну Турции (Лазарев, 2005: 104). Отдельной строкой шло армяно-курдское сотрудничество в лице влиятель-

⁹Хойбун – (курдск. Hoybûn) независимость.

ной армянской националистической организацией «Дашнакцутюн», которая была одним из посредников в финансировании «Хойбуна», получая средства из Франции. С целью пропаганды курдского вопроса зарубежом со стороны «Хойбун» были организованы филиалы в Сирии, Ливане и некоторых стран Запада. Из-за чего, излагая свои взгляды на причины восстания, официальные круги и СМИ подводили причины беспорядков на востоке страны к проискам агентов империалистических держав (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 144). Как одно из достижений деятельности общества можно указать создание Араратской республики, просуществовавшей с момента Араратского восстания в 1927 году по 1930 год. Несмотря на то, что восстание было подготовлено «Хойбун», имелся ряд факторов, которые привели к поражению: Араратское восстание началось волей обстоятельств, без тщательной подготовки; «Хойбун» не имела четкой организации и хорошо отработанной программы действия; отсутствовало единство курдских племен, что позволило турецким властям привлечь на свою сторону часть курдских вождей и направить их против национального движения курдов; по своей сути Араратское восстание осталось локальным и не получило распространение на другие районы Турецкого Курдистана; восстание не получило поддержки не только внутри страны, но и, по существу, за рубежом (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 24-26). Справедливости ради, нужно отметить, что за время существования Араратской республики восстание было не одно, а два – в мае-июне 1926 г. и сентябре 1930 г., на что Анкара реагировала стандартными и в чем-то привычными мерами. Например, продлением в 1927 г. еще на два года закон «Об охране порядка», реальное применение которого вылилось в массовую депортацию, которой подверглось около 1 млн. человек (Лазарев, 2005: 109). Желая показать стремление к стабилизации обстановки на Востоке страны, турецкие власти объявили амнистию, начало экономических реформ, а так же предприняли попытки по возвращению некоторой доли депортированных курдов обратно. Эти шаги не были восприняты населением с должным эффектом, так как сопровождались непризнанием национальной идентичностью курдов с последующей ассимиляцией, программа по внедрению которой дошла и до Дерсима.

В 30-х годах XX века турецким правительством был установлен курс подчинения полунезависимых курдских племен. Курдистан давно называют заповедником религий и Дерсим тому подтверждение. Основное население этого района представлено курдами-алевитами, которые в силу отсутствия религиозного прозелетизма по сей день имеют значительные отличия от курдов-мусульман. 10 Расположение Дерсима крайне труднодоступном горном районе позволило курдам-алевитам сохранить свою особую конфессиональную идентичность. Так как главная особенность геополитического положения Курдистана состояла в том, что он всегда занимал пограничное положение, находясь на стыке двух или нескольких государств (Римской, Византийской, Османской империи, Персии и др.), то этно-социальное развитие курдов всегда протекало в условиях политической разделенности этноса государственными границами, что не могло не сказаться на языке. Курдский язык делится на ряд диалектов и наречий, из которых наиболее распространенным среди турецких курдов считается курманджи и лишь небольшая часть курдского населения Турции использует диалект заза (или думили). Именно этот лингвистический фактор, а также конфессиональные отличия курдов-заза-алевитов, как нельзя, кстати, вписались в ассимиляционную политику. В июне 1936 г. на закрытых заседаниях Великого Национального Собрания Турции (ВНСТ) было принято решение о переименовании Дерсима в Тунджели с последующей реорганизацией вилайета и установления в нем зоны уже четвертой генеральной инспекции. В вилайете было введено осадное положение, а населению приказано максимально разоружиться под угрозой наказания. Намерения правительства заключались в дроблении исторической общности курдов-заза, принудительно насаждая «цивилизацию», переход от кочевого к оседлому образу жизни и т.д.. После письменного протеста со стороны лидера дерсимских курдов Сеида Резы по отношению к нововведениям были введены турецкие войска для проведения типичной карательной операции, в ответ на которую курды оказали вооруженное сопротивление. В дальнейшем вооруженный конфликт на протяжении периода с 1936 по 1938 г. был почти прекращен, если не считать партизанские отряды в горах (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 159; Лазарев, 2005:172-174), а по итогам восстания при-

¹⁰ Большинство курдов исповедует Ислам суннитского толка.

нято считать курдов-заза отдельным этносом. В ходе подавления восстаний этого периода (1925-1938) было убито около 2 миллионов курдов, примерно столько же депортировано во внутренние районы Турции. В результате установившегося в Турецком Курдистане режима военно-полицейского террора (в том числе запрет на употребление курдского языка, ношения курдской национальной одежды, использования самого названия «курды», которых ученые объявили «горными турками», одичавшими и забывшими исконный турецкий язык) и массовых депортаций курдов в Западную и Центральную Анатолию курдское движение в Турции на долгие годы было остановлено, что отвечало принципам идеологической концепции Турции о создании моноэтнического общества без предпосылок для развития культурных традиций национальных меньшинств. Одним из примеров проявления турецкой «политики отрицания» в действии стал запрет с 1925 по 1991 год на празднование Новруза¹¹, который в настоящее время помимо праздника весны и обновления природы стал символом национальной идентичности курдов (Жигалина, 1998: 123-124).

В виду постоянного присутствия в юго-восточных пределах государства турецких вооруженных сил, пресекавших любые формы недовольства курдского населения, курдское движение приостановилось до начала 50-х годов. Но так или иначе власти не могли при всем своем желании изолировать «своих» курдов от событий курдского национально-освободительного характера, связь с которыми, несмотря на разделение Курдистана государственными границами, всегда существовала (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 186). Особенно Анкара была встревожена созданием Мехабадской республики в Иранском Курдистане, поскольку это могло означать усиление волнений в Турции, в связи с чем были предприняты меры и с конца 1945 по начало 1946

¹¹Новруз (перс. новый день) — начало Нового года по иранскому календарю, праздник весеннего равноденствия и начала сельскохозяйственных работ и первого выгона скота на летние пастбища. Согласно курдской традиции в этот день кузнец Кава освободил курдов от тирании царя-дракона Зохака (или в другой версии Дахака).

¹² Район Мехабада был оккупирован советскими войсками в августе 1941 года в соответствии с англо-советской совместной оккупации Ирана. Оказавшись «нейтральной зоной», входящей в советскую сферу влияния, район был провозглашен республикой, просуществовавшей недолго - с 22 января по 16 декабря 1946 года, со столицей в городе Мехабад.

года начался очередной этап выселения курдов из пограничный с Ираном и Ираком районов (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 189). Учитывая специфику вопроса, турецкое правительство, бескомпромиссно подавляя движение курдов за национальную автономию на собственной территории, выступало в защиту прав курдского населения в Ираке, как это еще повелось с Мосульского конфликта¹³, указывая на общность курдского населения по обе стороны. Данное обстоятельство не самым положительным образом сказалось на ирако-турецких отношениях, что, опять же, не мешало обеим странам проводить схожую политику в отношении курдского вопроса.

После перехода в 1945 г. к многопартийной системе возросла роль народных масс в политической жизни Турции существенно возросла, что вынудило правящие круги отложить массовые репрессии курдов. Тогда же усилилось влияние курдской верхушки, которая сблизилась с турецкими господствующими классами в результате игры в демократию. Для получения голосов Народно-республиканская Партия (НРП) провела ряд мер, в частности, относящихся к закону о переселениях №2510, принятого в 1934 году. Были упразднены все временные ограничения в правах по отношению к переселенным до принятия закона, а так же было разрешено в течение одного года вернуться в свои или соседние вилайеты, но недвижимость в таком случае отходила государству. Так или иначе двойственная политика НРП, как заигрывание с курдскими лидерами и продолжением ассимиляции, ослабляла позиции партии по отношению к оппозиционной – Демократической партией (ДП), за которую в итоге в 1950 году проголосовала значительная часть курдского населения, но с приходом парии к власти мало чего изменилось. В качестве послабления режима можно указать закон № 5826 о разрешении проживания в освобожденных от запрета зонах (например, Тунджели) лиц, переселенных в административном порядке в западные вилайеты после 1 января 1938 года, т.е. после событий в Дерсиме, чем и завершились предвыборные обещания ДП (Гасратян, Лазарев, Мгоян, 1987: 190-191).

¹³ Территориальный спор между Великобританией и Турцией по вопросу о принадлежности нефтеносного района Мосул, входившего до Первой мировой войны вместе с районами Киркук, Эрбиль и Сулеймания в состав Мосульского вилайета Османской империи.

После военного переворота в Турции в 1960 году, когда к власти пришел Комитет Национального Единства, представленный высшими военными кругами, были приняты по пресечению любых проявлений недовольства турецкими курдами, сопровождавшийся арестами и карательными экспедициями. Рост курдского национализма, сначала в Ираке в 1961 году, а затем в Иране в 1964 году, привел к возникновению в 1978 году Рабочей партии Курдистана (РПК), ставившей своей целью создание государства курдов в Турции.

15 августа 1984 года РПК развернула партизанскую войну в юго-восточных провинциях Турции, где для борьбы с партизанами была привлечена регулярная турецкая армия, а в 1987 году в регионе было введено чрезвычайное положение. Несмотря на то, что самым значительным успехом Турции стал захват турецкими спецслужбами лидера РПК Абдуллы Оджалана в Кении в феврале 1999 г., партизанская борьба РПК пошла на спад, чтобы к 2000-м годам почти прекратить боевые действия на юго-востоке Турции. Но в 2005-2006 годах движение вновь активизировались и вооруженный конфликт между правительством Турции и РПК продолжается по сей день. Действия РПК находили сочувствие и помощь у жителей курдских деревень, последствие которых вылились в аресты, депортации и прочие методы политического давления.

В 1991 году с появлением закона № 2932 был снят официальный запрет на курдский язык. Но, по своей сути, конфликт так и не разрешился. Несмотря на то, что появилась возможность издавать на родном языке газеты и журналы (Önen, 1991: 34-39), и в данном случае в круговороте событий были задействованы 8 и 312 статьи закона о борьбе с терроризмом (Кауа, 2010: 196-197). Одной из главных причин многих конфликтов является негативная историческая память этнических групп, связанная с пережитыми историческими несправедливостями или репрессиями. Другой распространенной причиной

¹⁴Сейчас повседневное употребление курдского языка и ношение национальной курдской одежды не приводит к тюремному заключению, но, несмотря на появление на базе турецкого государственного канала TRT канала TRT Kurdî (с 2009 по 2014 год TRT6),вещающего на курдском языке, и введение в 2011 году аспирантуры в вузах Мардина, Тунджели (Дерсима) и др.,изменений в Конституции Турецкой Республики не последовало и по сей день, что является еще одной причиной для выражения протестов курдской общественности.

является фактическое неравенство граждан при формальном равенстве, в том числе в демократических государствах. Разногласия на почве расы, этнического происхождения, национальности или религии обычно возникают вследствие несправедливого перемещения национальностей, или в условиях экономической конкуренции и растущих невзгод различных общин (Дуглас, 1992: 83). По сравнению с западными и центральными районами Турции, экономический уровень жизни курдского населения на Востоке страны значительно ниже среднего. Так же следует упомянуть про высокую долю безработных и отсутствие элементарных удобств (электричества, средств связи и т.д.) в некоторых поселениях. Экономическая политика Турции не имеет приоритетов для развития отстающих районов страны, где проживает в основном курдское население. Привлекательный для повышения уровня жизни Стамбул, на сегодняшний день является самым «курдским» городом мира. По данным Управления статистики Турции на 2008 год численность курдов в Стамбуле составила примерно 3 млн. 358 тыс. человек (Мосаки, 2008), что вряд ли является окончательной цифрой ввиду постоянной миграции. Депортация курдов с их исторических областей считалось самым сильным оружием среди завоевателей Курдистана. XX век оказался наиболее «урожайным» по массовому принудительному курдскому переселению за всю историю вопроса.

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JOANNA BOCHEŃSKA

Рассказ и Любовь

Об источниках этических ценностей в курдской культуре

Памяти Ольги Ивановны Жигалиной

ABSTRACT

Story and Love. The Source of Ethical Values in Kurdish Culture

The article aims to dispel the widespread conviction that the ethical dimension of Kurdish culture (so called ahlaq) boils down to the Islamic or tribal community norms. In fact, ethics and the process of moral education is much broader. It was also rooted in Kurdish oral tradition of storytelling and in the concept of Love presented in Yezidi sacred texts, Ehmede Khani's classical poem Mem and Zin and in the Sufi tradition. Alasdair MacIntyre defines so called "traditional communities" rather as "heroic" ones pointing out the role of heroic stories in bringing up the mature and loyal member of such a community. His definition is well suited to the Kurdish traditional society where the meaning of heroic deeds and ethics were often taken from the many diverse stories. Courage and honour were the most important values on which that a single member or group would always rely upon. In other words both values were crucial in building the fragile equilibrium of a given society. On the other hand, the Love idea was able to challenge the existing patterns and open it up to new meanings and solutions. In Khani's work Love became crucial even for a ruler and man in obtaining maturity and perfection.

The paper was presented during the Moscow conference Lazarevskiye Chteniya which took part in Moscow in May 2013.

Dedicated to the memory of Prof. Olga Ivanovna Zhygalina who died shortly after.

Этические ценности курдской культуры редко ставились в центр научного исследования. Они, правда, присутствуют во многих работах, посвященных обычаям, литературе или курдскому обществу, но о них говорится будто случайно, в сторону. В курдском обществе термином, связанным с моралью и этикой, является слово *ахлаq*¹, которое ассоциируют с нормами, связанными с религией (прежде всего исламом), племенной структурой общества, но прежде всего – с характером и склонностями человека. Кроме того, свою роль в нравственном воспитании человека безусловно играет пример и поучения других людей, чаще всего тех, кто пользуется авторитетом. Изучение системы моральных ценностей кажется необходимым для более глубинного восприятия разных, в том числе современных текстов этой культуры. Как подчеркивает Макс Шелер — система ценностей (названная им системой любви и ненависти) является ключевой для того чтобы полноценно понять происходящие в обществе изменения (2013; 15).

Стоит сразу обратить внимание, что мир курдских этических ценностей не сводится только к примеру и поучениям других. Он более богат и изыскан, чем может показаться вначале, смотря на курдское общество извне, поверхностным глазом. В настоящей статье я хочу обратить внимание на два источника этических ценностей в курдской культуре. Один из них - это рассказ. Он как будто источник «внешний», «формальный», связан с передачей этических ценностей, нравственным воспитанием. Второй источник — понятие Любви. Оно, по мнению Шелера, создает глубинное, «внутреннее», «философское» ядро системы ценностей и культуры в целом.

 $^{^1}$ По курдско-русскому словарю Курдоева слово ахлад означает: 1. характер, свойство характера, 2. мораль; нравственность; 3. привычку, (1960: 234). Тем самым оно указывает как на нормы, которым следуют, так и на склонности и способности человека, которые позволяют или препятствуют выполнять эти нормы. Учитывая происхождение слова «этика» от греческого слова «этос» ($\tilde{\eta}\theta$ о ς) обозначающего характер, привычку, я позволю себе всё-таки употреблять слово «этика» и «этический» также и в контексте курдской культуры.

ПОВЕСТВОВАНИЕ И ОБУЧЕНИЕ ЦЕННОСТЯМ

Рассказ и повествование имеют значение как для выявления, так и для восприятия главных ценностей курдским обществом. Говоря «повествование», я имею в виду прежде всего фольклорную традицию, но также курдскую классику и современную литературу. В каждом из вышеуказанных случаев этическим ценностям придавалось особое значение, но объединяющим фактором всегда является роль литературной метафоры и использование неких, свойственных курдской культуре архетипных образов. Метафора придает любому тексту легкость и контекст, который строится, исходя из данной исторической реальности и из определенной системы архетипов, заложенной в данном обществе (Eliade, 1993). Многозначность и непринужденность «литературного этического поучения» позволяет впоследствии слушателю принимать вполне самостоятельные решения, руководствуясь не столь абстрактными понятиями или назойливыми назиданиями окружающей среды, как бытующими в культуре образами и действием выображаемых героев. Такого рода «литературный этический пример» намного эффективнее. Он свободен от контекста сложных эмоциональных взаимоотношений между членами общества или семьи, зато обладает силой выображения и возможностью слушателя-читателя отождествиться с героем. С другой стороны, как подчеркивает шотландский философ Аласдер Макнтайр, рассказы, созданные традиционным обществом, всегда являлись отражением определенных реальных межчеловеческих отношений и системы ценностей, свойственных данному обществу (1996; 227). Это, в какой-то мере, соответсвует также современной курдской литературе, которая в разной степени и разными способами пытается отразить проблемы человека, живущего сегодня в Курдистане и в эмиграции. Современные писатели как осознанно, так и интуитивно возвращаются к истокам собственной литературной традиции, поэтому стоит повнимательнее присмотреться к источникам этических ценностей в курдской культуре.

Говоря о добродетелях героических (традиционных) обществ, Макинтайр с самого начала подчеркивает, что повествование и героический эпос являлись основным способом нравственного воспитания. По его мнению, рассуждения о том, в какой степени сказанное в эпосе отражает историческую правду, а в какой это только лишь вымысел, вовсе не имеют значения, если смотреть на повествование как на способ морального воздействия (1996; 226). Героический эпос отражал скорее всего сознание общества, в котором и для которого создавался. Понять героическое общество и смысл его рассказов, по его мнению, - задача ключевая, если иметь желание понять последующие эпохи и происходящие в обществе изменения (1996; 226). Этот принцып применим, пожалуй, также и по отношению к курдскому обществу, которое по сей день сохранило много черт «героического общества», а изменения, которые в нем происходят, бросают вызов традиционным ценностям. Поэтому исследование курдской литературной традиции нельзя сводить только к филологическим аспектам текста. Оно сегодня дает возможность понимать глубинный и многогранный смысл сложных общественных явлений.

Согласно Макинтайру, член традиционного общества понимал свою идентичность прежде всего сквозь роль, которую играл в сложной структуре вза-имосвязей этого же общества. Уважение к человеку строилось в опоре на его поступках и умении выполнять общественную роль (1996; 228). Для этого требовалось понятие определенной совершенности, которая подразумевала отвагу и верность. Эти ценности создавали, в свою очередь, понятие чести, которое человеку придавали его товарищи. Честь являлась своеобразной гарантией надежности человека. Свидетельствовала о том, что на него можно опираться. Поэтому человек, не имеющий чести, без чести, не считался человеком вообще (1996; 234). Подтверждение этому мы находим в курдских сказках, но также в эпосе Ахмеда Хани Мам и Зин. Отвага часто является отличительной чертой главных героев. Отважным является Мирза Махмуд

² Макинтайр нигде в своем произведении прямо не разъясняет, что подразумевает под понятием «героическое общество». Он применяет его по отношению к древней Греции и Средневековой Европе, то есть, говоря об обществах, в которых создавались «героические эпосы». Его понятие, пожалуй, во многом совпадает с употребляемым более часто термином «традиционное общество».

из сказки Шарур Бульбуль³. В самом начале он отправляется в путь, о котором известно, что он самый сложный и опасный. Его братья выбирают более комфортный образ жизни и в конце сказки подводят себя, обманывая Мирзу Махмуда и собственного отца. Несмотря на свое королевское происхождение, они оказываются людьми без чести. И однако, Мирза не убивает их, принимая во внимание, что они члены его семьи. Отважной является также Чилькези⁴, которая не боится противиться традиционным обычаям, отправляясь самостоятельно на поиски любимого. Описанный в *Мам и Зин* Ахмеда Хани Тадждин стал среди курдов символом настоящего друга. Он ради Мама готов рисковать жизнью - собственной и своей семьи, поджигая дом, а затем открыто сопротивляясь эмиру Зейн эд-Дину. Принц Зейн эд-Дин, который руководствуется любовью к власти, ради чего способен обречь на смерть одного из лучших парней своего княжества, представляется также человеком без чести и — по замыслу Хани - не достоен памяти и прощения.

Однако следуя за всеми этими героями, мы сразу замечаем, что так называемое «традиционное» курдское общество было скорее всего не таким уж «традиционным». Отважный человек — это скорее был тот, кто нарушал устойчивые общественные законы и представления о жизни. Кроме того, он вынужден был неоднократно действовать в одиночку, руководствуясь лишь помощью сверхъестественных существ. Однако, чтобы этой силой воспользоваться, надо было в начале в нее поверить и допустить к себе возможность ее существования. В *Мем и Зин* Хани соответсвующей опорой для подвига является, конечно, вера в Бога.

³ Курдские сказки приводятся здесь по архиву семьи Джалиль и по русскому изданию этих сказок: Курдские сказки, легенды и предания (1989), Издательство Наука, Москва

 $^{^4}$ В упоминаемом выше русском издании эта сказка опубликована под заглавием Kырх Cачлие

ВРЕМЯ И ПОДВИГ

В работах, посвященных религии, Мирча Элиаде обращает внимание на то, что жизнь традиционного общества сосредотачивалась вокруг священного, которое почиталось и создавало центр каждого пространства и понятия времени. Связь со священным имела ключевое значение для правильного выполнения общественной роли (Eliade, 1993; 82)⁵. В курдской традиции священное представало, и по сей день предстает в многогранном облике: имеются в виду пересечения множества религиозных традиций, в том числе ислама, христианства и йезидизма. Соседство разных людей и разных вероисповеданий способствовало заимствованиям, которые в первую очередь можно наблюдать и прослеживать в мистической традиции, как ислама (суфизма), так и йезидизма и христианства. Не погружаясь в довольно беспредметные и не нужные здесь рассуждения о том, кто, что и у кого заимствовал, я хочу лишь обратить внимание на несколько, на мой взгляд, существенных мотивов, которые сказываются на восприятии этических ценностей и нравственности в целом.

Во вступительной статье к изданию йезидских текстов Филип Креенброек обращает внимание на противоположность в них мирского и священного. По его мнению, с этим было связано убеждение о проявлении священного или тайны в разных формах мирской жизни (2005; 21). Связанное с проявлением мистической тайны йезидское восприятие времени и истории строится на сочетании разнообразных представлений о времени, в том числе на линейном и кругообразном понятии времени (Omarkhali, Rezania, 2009; 346). Руководствуясь классификацией польского социолога Анны Павелчинской, возможно уместнее было бы назвать эту схему спиральной (1986; 20). Она заключает в себе понятие как повторения, так и обновления и эволюции. Мы можем обнаружить ее не только в йезидизме, но даже в повседневном и распрастраненном сказании, что «история любит повторяться». В этом случае

⁵О связи героя курдских сказок со священным, в частности более тщательное описание сюжетов, см. в статье: Joanna Bocheńska, (2013), What is the source of good and beauty? Ethic and Aesthetic Aspects of Kurdish Fairy Tales from Jalils' Family Collection, *Folia Orientalia* no. 50, Kraków

имеется в виду скорее не точное повторение, но обнаружение неких сходств между разными эпохами и событиями. Такого рода «спиральные повторения» мы многократно обнаруживаем в курдских фольклорных текстах. В сказке о Шарур Бульбуле Мирзе Махмуду сначала необходимо победить трех девов: Черного, Красного и Белого. У каждого из них есть дочь и замок, но хотя они похожи друг на друга все-таки каждый из них опаснее прежнего. Таким образом Мирза Махмуд не просто повторяет свой подвиг, он каждый раз его обновляет. Получая новый опыт, он становится более зрелым и мужественным. Исламская традиция по сути заложена на спиральном обновлении. Пророк Мухаммед последует многим другим пророкам иудаизма и христианства, послания которых им обновляются при других исторических, географических и даже культурных условиях. Однако в то время как мусульмане часто подчеркивают завершительный аспект посланий Мухаммеда, йезидизм все же допускает возможность появления в мире новых ипостасий Шейха Ади.

Следует предположить, что спиральное представление о времени сказывается не только на содержании йезидских текстов — в которых история подчинена циклу мистического проявления Божества в мире, но также на определенном понятии об этическом воспитании человека. Говоря иными словами, факт мистического повторения создания мира и появления Шехйа Ади в человеческой истории непосредственным образом влияет на восприятие того, что связанно с äxлаq. Человеческий поступок строится напрямую в зависимости от существования и циклического обновления контакта со священным. Перед встречей с девами Мирза Махмуд каждый раз призывает Божью помощь или просто доверяет себя Господу, говоря:

Всевышний, или дай мне его одолеть, или пусть он одолеет меня (Джалиль, 1989; 28). Контакт со священным, по сути, не повторяем, он обновляется при других условиях и заключает в себе также изменение, не только одно и то же повторение. Таким образом обновляться вынужден также *äхлаq* и человеческие поступки. Для чего требовалась отвага в первом случае, не обязательно потребуется при других условиях. Однако роль отваги и чести остается неизменной. Все это заметно в курдских сказках. Перед их героем поставлено много задач, но их правильное выполнение зависит также от умения оценить реальную потребность, то есть строится также в расчете на ум и

способность рассуждать. Не стоит добавлять, что поступок, который может быть повторен и выполнен при тех же условиях, не является уже подвигом. Суть подвига в том, чтобы увидев незамеченной другими потребность, суметь действовать вопреки многочисленным сомнениям и страху. В нем всегда заложен серьезный риск. Поступок, который можно легко повторить, не есть подвиг.

Кроме того, в сказке Шарур Бульбуль можно выделить также некие этапы этического развития героя:

- 1. На первом этапе Мирза Махмуд доказывает, что умеет владеть собой и устоять против соблазна (3 встречи с дочерьми Девов),
- 2. На втором он доказывает, что умеет слушать и последовать советам старика, хотя они иногда кажутся странными,
- 3. На третьем несмотря на свои достижения и доблести, Мирза Махмуд по воле судьбы все-же попадает в беду и вынужден начать все сначала. Умение начать все сначала, как-будто прощая судьбу, и есть очередное важное достоинство, которому следует научиться. Оно связано с умением преодолеть собственную гордость и чрезмерную уверенность в себе.

ЦЕЛЬ ПОДВИГА И ЗНАЧЕНИЕ ЛЮБВИ

Однако, согласно курдским сказкам и *Мам и Зин* Ахмеде Хани, преодолевать трудности и побеждать опасность и тревогу нужно всегда во имя чего-то. Нет, пожалуй, ни одного курдского рассказа, в котором спираль задач не имела бы более важного значения. В упоминаемой уже несколько раз сказке о Шарур Бульбуле — целью является чудесная птица, пенье которой может спасти сад падишаха от бесплодия. Птицу желает получить старый падишах, отец Мирзы Махмуда, чтобы перед смертью увидеть плоды деревьев. Мирза Махмуд действует не ради себя, а ради отца, а точнее — из любви к отцу. Интересно, что именно пение — совсем не материальный фактор - может стать лечебным средством для совсем уже материального исцеления

деревьев и сада (тот же мотив - исцеление с помощью песни и чудесного голоса - использован курдским кинорежиссером Бахманом Кубадим в фильме Полумесяц). Пение обладает чудесной силой, которая способна порождать новую жизнь. Мирза Махмуд совершает подвиги ради отца, но как-будто по дороге он встречает любовь и в своей жизни. Наградой за верность отцу и делу становится рука прекрасной Гули Гульзады, владелицы Шарур Бульбуля (несмотря даже на то, что птица у принцессы была украдена именно Мирзой Махмудом). Таким образом любовь становится центром всех действий главных героев. Кроме того, она имеет многообразное значение. Речь ведь идет о любви сына к отцу, отца к саду и к музыке (к искусству), но также о любви Гули Гульзады к Мирзе Махмуду. Парадоксально, но умениие украсть чудесную птицу, а затем сбежать с нею становится доказательством доблести Мирзы Махмуда, которая в свою очередь вызывает у Гули Гульзады чувство любви и доверия. Любовь символизирует также пение соловья, которое способно возродить сад.

В сказке Чилкези («Девушка сорока кос») главная героиня отправляется на поиски своего мужа во имя любви и верности. Она не желает стать женой другого человека и использует любые ухищрения, чтобы не стать жертвой насилья в обществе, в котором одинокая странствующая женщина может оказаться чужой собственностью или просто жертвой любого мужчины. Ради любви она способна в то же время сопротивляться общепринятой традиции, которая видела в женщине скорее робкое домашнее существо, действующее ради того, чтобы блюсти чистоту и верность своему избраннику или, говоря другими словами, действовать во имя «намуса», который по сей день остается очень важной ценностью для курдских женщин.

Курдские сказки — это, наверное, не единственный источник знаний о значении любви в курдской культуре. Мы обнаруживаем его во многих йезидских текстах, где о любви говорится не только метафорически, но также прямо, ее называют абстрактным именем. Филип Кроенброек подчеркивает, что термин «любовь» используется не только в одном определенном смысле, но во многих контекстах (2005; 28). Чаще всего любовь выражена словом *mihbet*, которое Курдоев переводит как: 1. любовь, 2. дружбу, расположение и 3. внимание (1960; 536). В гимне *Zebûnî Meksûr* слово *mihbet* появляется 12

раз, кроме него 2 раза употребляется также слово *aşq/eşq*, тоже обозначающее любовь. Два раза речь идет о aşiqa — влюбленных, которые способны понять божиие послание. В гимне *Afirîna Dinyayê* слово *mihbet* выступает три раза. Подобным образом обстоит и с гимном *Bê Elîf и Qere Ferqan* (2005; 57). Стоит обратить внимание на приведенные строки. Сразу становится очевидным, что Любви предназначено почетное место в сфере йезидских этических ценностей. В гимне *Qere Ferqan* речь идет о ее происхождении:

Ilahiyo, tuyî wahidî, qahirî Ji berî binyana ,erda, ji berî ,ezmana Ji berî mêra, ji berî meleka Mihbeta bi tera çêbû, te çi jê çêkirî? (2005; 95)

Боже Ты единственный, Ты побеждающий До того как была заложена твердь земли До того как сотворилось небо До того как возник человек и ангелы Любовь родилась вместе с Тобой Что Ты из нее создал⁶

В этом фрагменте выступает первобытный и даже священный характер Любви. Она является не только орудием в руках Бога, но она будто Его «сестра», главный признак Его существования и действия. Такого рода священная Любовь предстает первым, что познает человек:

Berî mişûre, berî xete berî qeleme, berî heqîqete Mêr nasîbû ew mihbete.(2005; 72)

 $^{^6}$ Перевод йезидских текстов на русский язык сделан автором на основетекста оригинала и перевода на английский язык, который помещен в книге Креенброека и Рашова. Однако в случае последней строки *Mihbeta bi tera çêbû, te çi jê çêkirî?* английский перевод меняет значение текста: *Love was at your disposal: what did you create with it?* придавая ему другой смысл.

До того как появились книги и письмо До того как возник калам и правда Человек познал эту Любовь.

Смысл жизни человека связан именно с Любовью, так как по воле Всевышнего он в нее «погружен». Любовь - это также источник красоты и прелести:

Êzdanê me bi rehmanî Hisn û cemal ji me re anî Destûr da qalemê qudretê Em avetin nav sura mihbetê (2005; 67).

Наш Господь милосердно
Одарил нас красотой и прелестью
Позволил Каляму силы
Погрузить нас в Тайну Любви.

Во всех вышеуказанных примерах Любовь способствует творчеству. Это из нее Бог сотворяет мир. Любовь считается источником жизни и ее обновлением. Не удивительно, что именно Любовь воспринимается также как фундамент для системы этических ценностей:

Padşayê minî kamilî hukim giran e Di nav da zor erkane Mihbeta xerza nûranî dane wan bi nîşane.(2005; 60)

Мой Царь совершенный, его су весомый В мире много фундаментов⁷
В качестве знака Он одарил
их Любовью, светящейся опарой.

Таким образом, Любовь получает фундаментальное значение для того, что-бы выявить суть других ценностей, в том числе справедливости. Она создает и возглавляет своеобразную иерархию, придавая смысл другим ценностям. Такое понятие Любви близко многим философским концепциям, в том числе Макса Шелера, Николая Гартманна или Николая Бердяева. Однако, учитывая курдскую традицию, стоит подчеркнуть, что именно оно использовано также Ахмеде Хани в эпосе *Мам и Зин*. Опираясь на мистическую традицию Ближнего Востока, поэт создает изысканную идею Бога-Любви. Любовь у Хани показана сквозь призму многобразной тематики, но несомненно она имеет священный характер. С одной стороны, она послана Богом, с другой - она все-таки тайна, так как понять Любовь Бога к человеку можно лишь глубокой верой, а не разумом. В начале произведения Хани указывает на близкую

связь Бога с Любовью, которая является чуть ли не главным Его именем:

Sernameê name, namê Ellah Bê name wî netemam e wellah

Ev metleê husnê işqebazî Mehbûbê heqiqî û mecazî

Namê te ye lewhê nameya işq Îsmê te ye neqşê xameya işq

Bê neqşê te, neqşê xame xam e Bê name te, name netemam e (Xanî, 2005; 116)

⁷Креенброек и Рашов переводят *erkane* как *cornerstone*, краеугльный камень, фундамент, поясняя что речь идет о моральном праве и принципах. Действительно слово erkane появляется в йезидских текстах несколько раз в похожем контексте, смотри *Qewlê Îmanê* 28-33, c. 87

Начало книги — имя Аллаха, Без имени Твоего, клянусь, она несовершенна

О место — проявления красоты любви Явный и скрытый возлюбленный

Имя Твое — скрижаль писмен любви Название Твое — начертание пера любви.

Без твоего образа начертанное пером несовершенно, Без твоего имени книга является несовершенной. (Хани, 1962; 35)

По сюжету тема любви выявляется многократно. Это:

- любовь Мама и Зин (мужчины и женщины)
- любовь к стране (к Курдистану)
- любовь к Богу (мистиков Мама и Зин)
- любовь Бога к человеку, в которой зло (Иблис-Бекир) играет существенную роль

Из этого видно, что Хани употребляет прежде всего слово *işq/eşq*, которое, как известно, было распространено среди мусульманских, а не только курдских мистиков. Курдоев переводит его на русский как: 1. любовь, страсть, 2. радость, веселье, 3. интерес, воодушевление, и 4. здоровье (1960; 241). Однако как в йезидской традиции, и у Хани любовь является не только именем или «сестрой» Бога, но также «светящейся опарой» - единственной силой, которая способна объединить мир, разделенный между добром и злом. Это именно Любовь может придать другое значение злу, которое перестает пугать, являясь, как и добро, орудием в руках Господа. Благодаря этому Бекир, который подсказывает плохие поступки эмиру Зейн эд-Дину, удостоен прощения и вечной жизни в раю, возле душ Мама и Зин. Однако эмир, как символ слабости и порока, обречен на забвение. Причина его слабости и не-

совершенства связана безусловно также с «больезнью сердца», то есть с отсутсвием уменья или желания любить:

Mîrin hene aqil in, eziz in
Lê sadedil, di bêtemiz in
Ew, sade ji bulh û natemamî
dil nadine menş'a kelami.
Wan dil guh e, guh bi dil ve nîne
Resçav in û merdimeksipî ne (2005; 520)

Есть правители умные и здоровые, Но есть и простодушные и не умеющие распознавать вещи.

Это простодушие поисходит от глупости и несовершенства.

Они не прислушиваются сердцем к источнику мудрых речей.

Нет у них сердца, они не прислушиваются к нему, Глаз у них черный, а зрачек белый (1962; 184)

Тем самым Любовь воспринимается одновременно как знак и дар от Бога и как дарование и усердие человека. Умение человека любить определяется его волей и конкретной восприимчивостью как к другим людям так и к священному. Здесь заключена способность различать добро и зло, а тем самым - моральность и систему этических ценностей. Любовь необходима для полноценной жизни не только обыкновенного человека, но и эмира, который принимает решния, касающиеся других. Более того, не умея любить, Зейн эд-Дин попадает в зависимость к другим людям (Бекиру). Обнаруживая механизм духовного рабства, Хани ищет также ответ на вопрос о причине бед Курдистана. По его мнению, Любовь - это единственный надежный фундамент политической власти и независимости в том числе.

АРХЕТИПЫ ЛЮБВИ

Как уже упоминалось раньше, существенную роль в этическом воспитании человека играет метафора, символ и рассказ — то есть пространство в котором остается место для разновидной интерпретации. Здесь этическое поучение действует именно путем образов, а не абстрактных понятий. Элиаде обращает внимание, что обитающие в человеческом выображении — иногда подсознательно — архетипы имеют ключевое значение для того, чтобы понять культуру, менталитет и судьбу человека. Эти первичные образы связаны с его прошлым, но они скорее всего выявляют его духовную реальность (психологическую, религиозную), нежели историческую. Согласно Элиаде, мифы, символы и обряды всегда говорят о потребности человека противопоставить себя истории, обноруживая вечный, священный смысл жизни. Поэтому архетипы прослеживаются и в настоящей мирской реальности человека, их нельзя изжить или просто заменить другими образами, они свойственны каждой культуре (1993; 35). В курдской культуре, пожалуй, тоже можно проследить разнообразные архетипы, которые с особой силой проявляют себя в современном искусстве и литературе. Однако мне хотелось здесь сосредоточиться на тех образах, которые, по-моему, связаны с понятием Любви, особенно в том широком плане, о котором речь шла выше.

Прежде всего мы можем обратить внимание на образы, которые распространены широко, особенно в культуре Ближнего Востока. Это в первую очередь персонажи несчастных влюбленных Мема и Зин. Они похожи на других героев ближневосточной литературы, которые не могут добиться счастия в мирской жизни, их тоска часто используется автором в качестве претекста для создания более глубокого, мистического смысла данного произведения. Тоска и страсть к любимой символизирует мистическое стремление к Богу. Однако интересно, что у Ахмеда Хани этот мистический путь к Истине совершает не только мужчина (Мам), но и женщина (Зин). У них обоих право на поиск Бога, женщина не является только предметом, божественным образом, но и активным субъектом действия. Это, в свою очередь, придает новое значение как архетипу влюбленных, так и самой половой любви, значение которой столь решительно подчеркивает Николай Бердяев, говоря о боже-

ственном Эросе (2012). Эта тема требует, однако, дополнительных исследований и затрагивается здесь лишь попутно, для примера.

Другим, не менее интересным первичным образом является символ жемчуга и океана, который использован в йезидской традиции. В гимне Afirîna Dinyayê (О сотворении земли) (2005; 66) речь идет о создании Богом белоснежной жемчужины, которая одновременно является божьей обителью, символом единства и чистоты. Бог помещает в ней Любовь. Затем жемчуг изменяется, в нем обнаруживаются два глаза и вытекает вода, создавая большой океан. Бог словно бы одновременно создает жемчуг и обитает в нем. Он покидает его, чтобы завершить дело сотворения мира. Вода, море, океан кажутся здесь символами всепоглащающей силы Любви, которая в свою очередь порождает новые создания. Из единства возникает многообразие, мир бесконечно заполняется новым. Символ Любви — океана, как силы дарующей жизнь и уничтожающей ее одновременно, что усиливается появлением коробля, который послан людям Богом в качестве спасения. Он, конечно, ассоциируется с Ноевым Ковчегом.

Интересно, что образ Любви-Океана появляется в романе Мижабад современного курдского писателя Джана Доста (2011), подтверждая теорию Элиаде об устойчивости архетипов. Сюжет Мижабада основан на исторических событиях создания курдской Республики Махабад (1946). Однако история не является здесь главной темой, она лишь претекст, чтобы рассказать о судьбе человека. Одним из героев романа является Эмираль Ага. Он сумасшедший и никто всерьез его слов не принимает. Но то, что он их бесконечно повторяет, (все-таки) должно в конце концов заинтересовать внимательного читателя. По мнению Эмираля Аги, то, что нужно Курдистану, чтобы создать независимое государство, — это море и корабли. Конечно, эти слова можно понимать лишь как бред или безумную, сугубо националистическую идею создать большущий Курдистан (от моря до моря), но если прочитать этот текст с учетом контекста культуры, в которой он появился, не сложно придать словам чекнутого (Эмираля Аги) дополнительное мистическое значение. Тем более, что по традиции слова бузумных в Курдистане часто воспринимались скорее как знак от Бога, нежели просто безумие. Используя йезидский образ Океана-Любви, порождающей жизнь и многообразие, писатель намекает также на его объединяющий принцип. Так Хани говорит о необходимости увидеть Любовь как ценность первоначальной и необходимой. Пренебрежение ею и непонимание многогранности ее смысла кажется и здесь одной из причин курдских бед и несчастий. Этот недостаток или пренебрежение к Любви свойствены, конечно, не только курдам, но прежде всего окружающему их миру, который к ним безразличен и жесток.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Этические ценности — абстрактные понятия, которые воспринимаются по- разному в каждой культуре. Для полноценного этического воспитания нужен не только пример как способ применения этических ценностей в жизни, но и умение обнаружить и назвать в повествовании определенные ценности. Без этого этическое значение многих текстов будет просто утрачено, оно не выявляется и им пренебрегают. В случае курдской культуры дело обстоит еще хуже потому, что из-за политических условий, в которых живут курды, связь с собственной традицией и ее посланием во многих случаях теряется. Без глубинного познания собственной традиции нельзя понять вполне ценности других культур, в том числе влияющую на весь мир европейскую и Западную. Познание системы и способа применения ценностей данным обществом позволяет также более серьезно рассуждать на тему любых, в том числе социальных и политических изменений.

В курдской культуре мы можем обнаружить как этический литературный пример, который основан на богатой и по сей день живой традиции повествования, так и наличие абстрактных понятий о ценностях. Абстрактные имена, правда, как указано выше, введены в структуру повествования и не создают отдельных трактатов, но все- таки позволяют сегодня строить основу для рассуждений о смысле и роли этических ценностей в курдской культуре и общественной жизни. Пренебрежение курдской литературой и культурой, которое заметно также в научном мире, увлекающемся скорее всего темами политическими и социальными, сказывается также на отсутсвии более глубокой перспективы для исследования так называемого «курдско-

го вопроса». Кроме того, лишенный духовности, поверхностный взгляд на курдскую культуру как на нечто вроде этнографического музея, отнимает у нее возможность этически воздействовать на курдское общество. Точно так же не замеченный иностранными исследователями глубинный смысл этой культуры лишает ее уверенности в себе, которая необходима для обыкновенного общения с другими.

Рассказ и понятие Любви – это, как нам представляется, два главных истока этических ценностей в курдской культуре. Их смысл многогранен и не может быть исчерпан в короткой статье. К сожалению, значение рассказа и понятия о Любви затерялись и не влияют в нужной степени на курдское общество. Однако само их наличие несомненно, требует сегодня серьезных исследований и, разумеется, существенной поддержки со стороны международного научного сообщества.

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The article is part of the research project: How to Make a Voice Audible? Continuity and Change of Kurdish Culture and of Social Reality in Postcolonial Perspectives approved for financing by the decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03779 of The National Science Centre of Poland.

پیرۆزکردنی زمان خویندنهوهیه کو بق پیگهی زمانی کوردی له گوتاری ئایینی سهدهکانی ناوه راستدا

ABSTRACT

Sanctification of the Language

The Status of the Kurdish Language in Religious Discourse of the Middle Ages

The Arab - Islamic conquest of Kurdistan led to a lot of political, social, administrative and religious developments. As a result, in the longue durée of the Middle Ages, the Arabic language becomes a legitimate language used in the areas under the Islamic caliphate, especially in the religious field. Consequently, the local languages had lost their position especially in the religious sphere. The Kurdish language was one of those languages. However, the Kurds consort with the new religions' doctrine and become part of what they call the Islamic nation. However, the Kurdish language was not up to the level of expression of the religious sacred. Kurdish political discourse, which represents a system of independent Emirates, had not been able to develop an internal religious heritage which depends on the local language. With the advent of Sufism and spread among the Islamic societies - including the Kurds - changed the status of languages in the religious sphere. Sufism has a mystical association with the social reality of the Kurds, and for some Kurds Sufi appeared because they do not know the Arabic language or are not very familiar with Arabic religious sciences. So they tried to use non-Arabic language to express their Sufi opinions and beliefs. They used Languages which preceded Islam, such as the old Pahlavi language and they put their ideas and Sufi poems in this language. This use of the local language has far-reaching effects, including reverence for the language spoken in the social sphere, which believed in the Sufi and followed their rituals.

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دەروازە

له دوای هاتنی ئیسلام و بوونی به ئایینی بالادهست له کوردستان، زمانی کوردی خوّی لهبهردهم باوه پیلی و پیروزییه کدا دوزییه وه که پهیوهسته به جیهانبینی و هیّزی ده لالهتیبانه ی زمانی عهر مبییه وه نرمانیک که ئیدی دهروازه ی به گهردوونبوونی بهسهردا کرابوّه. بوّیه بوّ کوردی و زمانه کانی تریش گوزارشت کردن له باوه پرداری و پیروّزییه ئایینیه کان جوّریک له پرووبه پرووبوونه وهی تیدابوو. لیرهوه ئه توانایه ی به زمانی دهسه لآت درابوو، ههروه ها خوّنواندنی دهسه لآتیبانه ی کورد له پانتایی خه لافه تی ئیسلامی و ئه و گورانه مهزه همیبیانه ی له زهمینه ی کوردی پروویانداوه، له گهل پیکهاته ی کوّمه لایه تی کورد و ئاستی تیگهیشتن له ئاین و باوه پرداری به گشتی، کهم تا زوّر پرولیان له پیگه یه دمتوانی به شیّك له میژووی گهشهسهندنی همبووه. بیگومان تیگهیشتن له ته واوی ئهم گوراوانه و ئهم پیگهیه دمتوانی به شیّك له میژووی گهشهسهندنی زمانی کوردیمان بو دهروه ئه و کهناله باوه پیهی له میانهیدا و لهماوه ی دریژی میژووییدا سیسته مه کوردانی داده پشت و دهبووه ئه و کهناله باوه پیهی له میانهیدا و لهماوه ی دریژی میژووییدا سیسته کولتورییه کهیانی پیکهیانی پیکهایی داده پیکهیانی پیکهیانی کوردانی داده پیکهیانی پیکهایی کولتورییه کهردانی به کولتورییه کهناله باوه پیه کهناله باوه پیه کهنایه داده پیکهیانی پیکهایانی پیکه کهنادی داده پیکهیانی پیکهایانی پیکهایه کولتورییه کهناله باوه پرییه کولتورییه کهنایش کوردانی در پیکهایانی پیکه کولتورییه کهناله باوه پیه کولتورییه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتورییه کهنانه باوه پیکهیانی پیکه کولتوریه کهنانه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتورییه کولتورییه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتور پیه کهنانه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتورییه کهنانه کولتورییه کولتوریه کهنانه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوری کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوری کولتوری کولتوریه کولتوری

تیگهیشتن له و پهیوهندییه ی نیّوان ئایینیّکی دهرهکی لهگه آل زمانیّکی نیّوخوّیی وه کوردی به هانامانه وه دیّت بوّ تیّگهیشتن له فوّرمه کانی باوه پرداری و ئه و دهرکه و ته لوّکالّییانه ی دهشی ئایینیّکی ههمهگیر ههی بیّ و له ئاکامدا سیّکتی ئه وتوّی لیّ ده ربکه ویّ، یان کاریگه ری به سه ریانه وه ههی، که تایبه تمه ندبوونی خوّیان له شویّن و کات و زمانه که و هردهگرن و لهنیّویاندا ده ژین لیّره وه دهخوازین، لهم تویّرینه وه له موه به موردی که چوّن زمانیّکی لوّکالی وه کوردی، به زاره فرهجوّره کانیه وه، کارده کات بو خوّ دوّزیینه وه له نیّو باوه پی ئایینی غهیره زماندا، که ئیسلام و عمره بییه. بو ئهمه شده دهی هم له قوّناغی پووربه پرووبونه وه و دهست پی بکهین؛ ئه و قوّناغه ی زمان له ئاکامی ژیرکه و تن و لهده ستدانی مافی به کارهینان له کایه ی ئایینی، خوّی له گهل در اوه نویّیه کانه و ده گونجیّنی، تا ئه و کاته ی لهنیو ئایینه که داروه نویّیه کانه و ده و نه و هیزه به زمانه که ده دو زیته و ده و نه و هیزه به زمانه که ده بتوانی دیدی ئایینی و پیروزییه کانی نه وان له خوّ بگریّ، یان لایه نی که مه له زهمینه ده به که ده داره بیّت.

بینینی ئهم وهرچهرخانه له نیو زمان کاریکی ئهستهمه، بهتایبهت ئهگهر زمانه که پتر له ئاستی زارهکیدا مابیتهوه و نهیتوانیبی له سهنتهره شارستانیبهکاندا پیگهی ئهوتو بوخوی دروست بکات، که دهقی نوسراوی پی بهرهممبهینری. کاتیک دهقی نوسراویش نهبی، ئهوا ئهو زانیارییهی ههیه، تهنیا ئهوه دهبی، که له نیو دهقی غهیره کوردییهوه یاداشت کراوه. له سهدهکانی ناوه پاستیشدا ئهو دهقانه پتر عهرهبی و فارسین. ئیدی لهویشدا زور بهدهگمهن لایان به لای زمانی کوردی کردوتهوه. ههر ئهمهش وا دهکات نهتوانین تیگهیشتنیکی پروون له بارهی وهرچهرخانه زمانییهکان له پانتایی کوردیدا گهلاله بکهین. خو ئهم ناپروونییهش بهشیکه له پروسهی وهرچهرخانه و دهکری وهك دهرئهنجامیکی بهریککهوتنی زمانی کوردی و باوه پیکی ئهیینی غهیره زمان بیت.

١: ئاستهکانی به کارهینانی زمانی کوردی له سهده کانی ناوه راستدا

١:١ زماني كوردى لهبهردهم هه رمووني ئاييني - سياسي عهرهبيدا

ئهم رەوشه گشتىيە له پانتايى كوردىشدا، تاپرادەيەك ھەروا بووە. ئەگەر لەوى ئەم بەريەككەوتتە لەگەلل عەرەب و زمانەكەيان، بە دامەزراندن يان نوپكردنەوەى ھۆندىك بنكەى شارستانى و شارى شۆوە سەربازگە دەست پى دەكات، بە تايبەت لە كەنارەكانى و لاتەكە،، ئەوا بەرەبەرە زمانە تازە ھاتووەكە لەو زەمىنە جوگرافىيەدا كەسىنتىيەك بۆخۆى دادەپرشت و دەبووە ئامرازى پەيوەندى نۆوان گرۆيە ئىتنى و تەنانەت ئايىنىيەكانىش. تتكەلل بوونى ئەم گرۆييانە، لەوانەش كوردەكان، بە عەرەبەكان و نىشتەجىنبوونيان لەگەل يەكتر، يان بەشدارىكردنيان - ھەر لە سەرەتاى حوكمپرانى ئومەوبيەكانەوە (٤١-١٣٢ك/ ٢٠٦٠ - ٥٠٠ز) - لە چالاكى سياسى و بزاوتى ئايىنى ھاوبەشدا (عزت، دون تاريخ)، رێگەى تتكەللبوونى ئەوانى بەو ناوكۆييە ئىسلامىيە خۆشكردووە. ئىدى زۆرى نەبردووە تا لەنىو كورداندا عەرەبى زان و شارەزا لە زانستە ئايينيە ئىسلامىيە — عەرەبىيەكان دەردەكەون (التميمى، ١٩٥٢: ٨/٣٣٠؛ ابن الجوزى، ٢٠٤١هـ: ٢/٥٥،٠١٥). ئىسلامىيە — عەرەبىيەكان دەردەكەون (التميمى، ١٩٥٢: ٨/٣٣٠؛ ابن الجوزى، ٢٠٤١هـ: ٢/٥٥،٠١٥). ئىسلامىيە — كەرەبىيەكان دەردەكەون (التميمى، ١٩٥٤؛ مەرەبىيەكانى وۆردان، كە بەريەككەوتنەكە سنوردار بووە و زۆر بەدەگمەن زمانى عەرەبى توانبويەتى كارىگەرى خۆي ھەبى.

^۲همر بۆ نموونه تەماشای چۆنیەتی دەركەوتنی عەرەببیانەی شاری موسلّ و كاریگەربیەكانی له باكوری میزۆپۆتامیا (هەرێمی جەزیره) بكه، (Chase F. Robinson, 2000: 63-89)

له بهرامبهر بهم ههر موونهی عهرهبی، دهبوا زمانه کانی تر پیناسه یه کی تریان بو ئهرکی کومه لایه تبیانه می خویان بدو زیبایه وه. به به به مهره سه ختی به به به به به به بود، که چه نده ده توانن له ئاستی ئایینیدا گوزار شت له پیرو زیبه کان بکه ن و له نیو سیسته می ده لالیانه یاندا جیگه بو چه مك و ده سام واژه ی ئه وتو بكه نه و له نیو عهرهبیدا داری و تر راون. بو ئه و می نه و نامرازه ی له زمه بو ئه و کومه لایه تیم که یاندا که سیتی زمانه که ی خویان به نین و تیگه پیشتر او بی له کرده ی خوداناسیی بو ئه و مروقانه ی ئایین ته واوی جیهانبینی ئه وانی دارشتبو و و پتر به مه وه ده یانتوانی پیناسه ی خویان بکه ن ، نه که همر چه شنیکی تری ناسنامه.

له سهرچاوهکانی بهردهست زانیاربیهکی ئهوتو لهبارهی بهکارهینانهکانی زمانی کوردی، به شیّوهزاره فرمجوّرهکانییهوه، که له سهدهکانی ناوهراستدا پیّی ناسراوه و وهك خهسلهتی دیاری زمانهکه ئاماز مي بق كراوه ، لمئاستي ئايينيدا نييه. له راستيدا ئهم بهكار هينانهي كور دي له ئاستهكاني تريشدا همر به لنِلْی دەردەکەوئ و ئەو دەقانەی بەردەست بایی ئەوە نین وینەیدکی روونی رەوشی ئەم زمانەمان – بە تابیهت له رووی گهشهسهندنی کومه لایه تبیانهی زمانه کهوه - بو بنه خشینن. بیگومان کاتیك زمانی کور دیش نهبۆته زمانی نوسین، ئەوا به یپی تیگهیشتنی سەدەكانی ناوەراست بۆ پیگهی زمان، ناچیته چوارچیوهی ئەو زمانانهی به زمانی شارستانی ئه رمار دهکران (الأندلسی، ۱۹۱۲: ۷-۱۰) و دهقیکی ئه و توی یی بهر ههمنه هيّنراوه كه لهبهر دهستدا بني يان لهلايهن "زمانه شارستانييهكان" سودي لني وهرگيرابي. ههروهها يه راويزخستني باسي تايبه تمهندي و ئاسته كاني به كار هيناني له لايهن ميروونوسان و زمانناساني ئه وقوناغه هۆكارى سەرەكى ئەم لىلىيەن و رېگرن لە بەردەم نوسىنەوەي مېزووپيەكى ديار بۆ زمانەكە. تارادەيەك كە ئیمه به هیله همره گشتبیه کانی ئهم میز ووهش ئاشنا نین. همر بو نموونه ئیمه نازانین بو تیگهیاندنی کوردان له بيروباووري ئاييني ئيسلامي، له قوناغي موسلمانبوونيان له دواي ولاتگيري ئيسلامييهوه تا سهدهي سنييهمي كۆچى/ نۆيەمى زايينى، زمانى كوردى بەكارھننراوە يان نا. لە سەرچاوەكاندا دەقتكى ئاوا بەردەست نيە باس لەم پرۆسەيە بكات. ئەگەرچى بەكار ھێنانى زمانى غەيرە عەرەبى بۆ نتىگەياندنى خەلكى ئاسایی له باوهری ئیسلامی، له روزهه لاتی جیهانی ئیسلامی، ریگهیه کی باوی موسلمانه تی و پابهندبوون بووه به بنهماكاني ئايينهكه، وهك - بق نموونه - بهكار هيّناني زماني فارسى له ناوچه فارس نشينهكاندا (صفى الدين بلخي، ١٣٥٠هـش: ٥) .

بههدر حال، ئهوه ی له و میر و وه دیار بی، وهك توفیق (۲۰۰۸: ۹-۹۳)، له لیکو لینهوه یه کی تاییه ت به پرهوشی زمانی کوردی له سه ده کانی ناوه پر استدا پیی گهیشتووه، هه بوونی قه واره یه کی سه به بو نهم زمانه و جیاواز بوونییه تی له زمانه کانی ده وروبه بر. به تاییه ت نه وانه یان که بوونه ته زمانی نوسین و هه و و نیان به سه رزمانه زاره کییه کانه وه هه بووه، وه ک زمانی فارسی که تازه ناما ژه مان بو کرد. هه وه همکار هینانی زمانی کوردییه له کاروباری روز آنه و له ئاسته میللییه که ی، وه ک زمانی ئاخاوتن و پهیوه ندی گریدان له نیوان هوز و خیله کوردییه کانه وه.

به لام که دیّینه بواری ئایینی، ئهم ئاستهی بهکار هیّنانی زمانهکه به تهواوی وون دهبی و بوّ هیچ کامیّك له نوسهره کلاسیکهکان، نابیّته بابهتی باسکردن. همرچوّنیّك بیّت، لهم بوارهدا، بهو کهمه زانیارییهی

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[ً] مەسعودى (م٥٤٣/٣٤٦) دەلمى: ((ھەر جۆرە كوردىك زمانىكى بە كوردى ھەيە – لكل نوع من الأكراد لغة لىهم بالكردية)) (٢٠٠٠: ٢٠٠١)، كە دىارە مەبەستى زارە كوردىيەكانە، نەك زمانى سەربەخۆ.

ناساندن	سالمی مردنی	ناو
یه کنیك له سهر کرده کورده کانی خهواریج (این الاثیر، ۲۰۰۲: ۲۸۸۲).	۱۲۲۵/۸۸۱ز	محهمهد کوړی خورزادی شارهزووری
و درگیریکی کورد، لهوانه ی له سهردهمی زیرینی و درگیراندا، به شداریان له گورینی سهرچاوه ی فارسی بو عهره بی کردووه (توفیق، ۲۰۱۳: ۷۹).	سەدەى چوارەمى كۆچى/ دەيەمى زابينى	موسای کوړی عیسای کوړی یهزدانړوّژ
سۆفى بەناوبانگى شارى ورمى، كە خاوەن رىنبازىكى سەربەخى سۆفىگەس سۆفىيە دىارەكانى سۆفىيە دىارەكانى ھاوسەردەمى ناسراوە، بەتايبەت ئەبوبەكىرى شېلى (لەشكىرى، B ۲۰۱۳، ۱۳۸)	۹۴ <i>۳</i> /۰۶۹ز	حوسینی کوړی عالمی کوړی یامزدانیار

۱: ۲ نەبوونى پالپشتى سىياسى – ئايىنى بۆ بەكارھننانى زمانى كوردى

ئەم گۆرىنەى سىستەمى ناونانە، ئاماۋەيەكە بۆ نەمانى ھەر بالىشتىيەكى ئايىنى – سىاسى، كە دەشى بىئىشتر زمانەكە ھەيبووبى ورىگەخۆشكەر بووە بۆ جىگىربوونى بىرۆزىي تىايدا. تا ئەوكاتەش، كە دەسەلاتى ناوەندى عەرەبى – ئىسلامى بەھىزە و ھەۋموونى بەسەر بانتايى كوردىدا ھەيە، ئەوا ئەستەم دەبى زمانەكە ھىچ جۆرە بالىشتىيەكى ھەبى، تا بتوانى بىئتەوە زمانەى گوزارشتكردنى لە باوەرى ئايىنى، بەتابىەت لەئاستى دەستەبرىرى سىاسى و ئايىنىدا.

لهبهرامبهر بهمه، ئهو فرناغهي چاوهرواني ئهوهي لني دهكرا، زماني كوردي ئهم روَّلهي همبي، قوناغی گهشهسهندنی سیاسی کوردهکان و دامهزراندنی سیستهمی خوبهریوهبردنه له پانتاییه جوگرافییه کهیاندا. ئهمه له سهر دهمی بالادهستی بوهیهییه کانهوه (۳۳۶- ۴۱؛ کک/ ۹۶۰-۱۰۰۰ز) دهست پی دەكات، كە دەسەلاتى نىمچە سەربەخۆى كوردى دادەمەزرين (مىرنشىنە كوردىيەكان) و تا درەنگانىك ئەم سیستهمهی خوبهریو مبردن گوزارشت له گوتاری سیاسی ئهوان دهکات و وهك دابرانیکی کوردی له نیو ميْژووي سەدەكانى ناوەراستدا دەبىنرى (Minorsky, 1953: 2,33). بەلام لەم قوناغەشدا زانيارېيەكى ئەوتۆ نىيە ئاماژە بۆ بەكار ھێنانى كوردى لە كايەى ئايينىدا بكات. بە ووردبوونەو، لە مێژووى دەركەوتنى ئەم قەوارانە، زیاتر رەنگدانەوەي داخوازېيەكى كارگێرى – كۆمەلايەتى بووە؛ بە مەبەستى نەھێشتنى ئەو یشیوییهی که دهشتی له نار ا بوویت، یاخود بر کر دنهوهی ئهو بوشاییه دهسه لاتییهی به هوی لاو از ی سهنتهرهوه دروست دەبوو (عەبدولا، ۲۰۱۲: ۹۰-۹۰۱). بۆيە كەمتر دەركەوتنى ئەم قەوارە سىاسىيانە، گەشەسەندنىكى نێوخۆپى گوتارى سياسى كوردى بێوه دياره، كه بريارى دابێ له دووتوێي سيستهمێكي ئاواي دەسەلاتدار يتيدا خۆي بنوينني. ئەر كولتورە ئايينيەش كەلە سنورى دەسەلاتداريتى مىرنشىنەكە بەر ھەمدەھات در پژکر اوه و تمواو کمری کولتوره ئاپینیه باوه سمنتمر گیرهکه دهبی نمك جیاواز لمو. ئیدی – بو نموونه -هیچ زانیار بیهك بهرچاو ناكهوی ئاماره به بهكار هینانی زاره كوردییهكان له خوتبهی ئاپینی روزانی همینی بكات. ئەوەي لەبەردەستدايە ئەوەيە خوتبەي ئايينى بە زمانى عەرەبى بووە و نزا و يارانەوەي زانا ئايينيهكان بهم زمانه كراوه. گهريدهي ناوداري فارس ناصري خوسرهوي قوبادياني (م. ٤٨١ك/١٠٨٠ ز)، له پایته ختی همریه که له میرنشینی رهوادی (۳٤۳-۳۶ کاک/۹۰۶-۱۰۷۰ز) له همریمی ئاز دربیجان و میرنشینی مهروانی(۳۷۲-۴۷۸ فا۱۰۸۰-۱۰۸۰) له دیاربهکر و جهزیره، گهواهیدهری بهکارهیّنانی عهرهبیبه له خوتبهی ههینییدا (ناصر خسرو، ۱۹۹۳: ۲۸، ۵۲).

له سنوری ئهم میرنشینه کوردییانه دا، خوتبه ی دینی – ئهگه رچی رهمزیکه بو رهوایه تی دهسه لاتداریّتییه که – به لام هاوکات گوزارشتی له پروّسه ی تهواوکاری ئایینی لهگهل سهنته دهکرد و ریّگه ی به به به به باوه به باوه به بایینیه که، که پاراستنی مهرجیّکی بنه به به داننان بووه به به به به دهسه لاتی میرنشین (الماوردی، ۱۹۸۹: ٥٠)، له ئاستی گوزارشت کردندا ناوخوّیی ببیّته وه و له نیّو زمانی ئهویّدا نیشته جیّ ببیّ. ههربویه دهبینین، ئهگه پشیّوی نه دهما و سهنته به به دهبو و به مدهسه لاتداریّتییانه مهبه ستی بوونی خوّیان لهده ست ده دا، مانه وه و نهمانه و هسیان پهیوه ست دهبو و به راده ی هیّزی خوّیان (میره کان به تاییه ت) نه که پشت ئهستور به پاشخانیّکی کولتوری – ئایینی که ئه وانی له دهوروبه و بالپشتی واتا ئه و توره پهیوه ندیه ی پویست بوو له زهمینه جوگرافی – کوّمه لایه تییه که دا دروستی کردبی و پالپشتی واتا ئه و توره پهیوه ندیه ی پویست بوو له زهمینه جوگرافی – کوّمه لایه تییه که دا دروستی کردبی و پالپشتی

مانه وه ی بکات و روخانی سیسته مه که وه که هه کوه شینه ری سیسته می پهیوه ندییه تیکچرژاوه کان ببینری. بیگومان که ئهمه سنوری ده سه لاتداریتی ئهم قه وارانه بووه، ئه وا زمانی پانتاییه ئیتنییه که نهیوته به شیکی کرده ی سیاسی ئه وان و وه ک زمانی به پیوه بردن و ده سه لاتداریتی فورمه ه نابی. بهمه شهیزی گوزار شتکردنی له باوه ری ئایینی یی نادری، ته نیا له سنوره میالییه که ی به کار هیناندا ده مینیته وه.

۱: ۳ بوونی زورینه ی کورد به شافیعی و پیروزی عهرهببون

ئهگهر دەسه لاتى سياسى هاوكار نهبووه، له برەوسەندنى زمانى ئايينى كوردى، ئەوا ئەو رێبازه ئايينيەش، كە بەرەبەرە لە پانتاييەكەدا بالادەست دەبوو، سنورێكى شەرعى بۆ ئەم برەوسەندنە داناوه، كە ئەويش رێبازى شافيعىيە. بوونه شافيعى بەشى هەرە زۆرى كوردەكان لە سەدەى پێنجەمى كۆچى/ يانزەى زايينى بەدواوه، ھەروەھا پەرگيرى برێكيان لە پەيرەوكردن و پشتگيريكردنى ئەم رێبازە لە وڵاتەكەياندا (سىد مرتضى، ١٣٨٣: ٩٩)، ئەگەرى بەكاربردنى زمانى كوردى لەنتو گوتارى ئايينيدا كەمتر كردۆتەو، بەتايبەت لە لايەن دەستەبرێرى ئايينى و سياسىيانەوە.

رێبازی محهمهدی کوړی ئیدریسی شافیعی (م. ٤٠ ٢ك/٨٠ز) رێبازێکی عهر مبیخوازانهیه؛ لای شافیعی (دون تاریخ: ١١-٤٩)، زمانی عهر مبیی کوّلهگهیه کی ههره بنه پوتی ناسنامه ی ئیسلامه تی پێکدێنێ، چونکه پێی وایه ئهمه زمانێکی گشتگیره و له ههموو زمانێکی تر سیستهماتیك تره، ههر بوّیه پهرگیرانه رایدهگهیهنێ که قورئان به عهر مبییه کی پهتیبه و ووشه ی هیچ زمانێکی تری تیدا نیبه، بوّیه مروّقی موسلمان ئهو کهسهیه که عهر مبی ده زانێ. بهجوٚرێك که، به بروای ئهو، عهر مبیوون و موسلمانبوون له یهکدی جودا نابنه وه و موسلمانی نا عهر مب دهبی زمانی خوّی جێبهێلێ و بهرهو عهر مب بچێ، ئهوا له ئههلی ئیسلام داده نرێ (السید، ۱۹۹۳: ۱۲۱-ئهوه ی زمانی خوّی جێبهێلێ و بهرهو عهر مب بچێ، ئهوا له ئههلی ئیسلام داده نرێ (السید، ۱۹۹۳: ۱۲۸-۱۸۲). بێگومان شافیعی ههر به پیروزکردنی رههای زمانی عهرهبی و حهتمییه تی زانینی ناوستێ، بهلکو جمخت لهسهر حهتمییه تی عهر مبیون له پروسه ی دهسه لاتداریتیشدا ده کاتهوه، که دیاره مهبهست قوړه بشنیتی دهسه لاندار و فهزلی قوړه میشه بهسه خهلکی ترهوه، که ویک ئهبو زمید (۲۰۰۳: ۱۱) بوّی چووه حمه وهوند به گرنگی زانیوه تا وا دهرده کهوی بردبێتیه سهرووی بنهما ئیسلامییه ههمهگیره کانهوه، ئهوانهی مهوه ده که دیاره مهره و غهیره عهره به دکهنه وه.

ئیمه ووردهکاربیهکانی کاریگس نهم تیزانه بهسهر تیگهی کوردهکانمان لهبهر دهستدا نبیه. به لام هموه دهزانین کهوا کاریگهری دوورمهودای بهسهر نواندنی نهم دهسته بریّره بر کوردبوونی خویان به گشتی همبووه. تا نهوکاته ی له فیقهی سیاسی شافعییدا دهسه لاتداریّتی پهیوهسته به عهرهببوونه وه له دهرهوه ی رهسه نی قورهیشیدا فهرمانره وایه تی شهر عیه تی دینی بهدهست ناهینی، نه وا باشترین ریّگا بو دهسه لاتداری کوردی پهیوهست به مریّبازه نایینیه، خوگیرانه و و خوتواندنه و دهبی لهنیو رهسه نیکی عهرهبیانه دا، که له زوویه کهوه، له سهده ی ههشته می زایینیه وه، له نیّوی کولتوری میّر وونوسیی عهرهبیدا بانگهشه ی بوّکراوه و وه فاکتی میّر وویی خراوه ته روو (بولادیان، ۲۰۱۳). لهلایه ندهسته بریّری کوردیشه وه پالیشتی له کراوه، به جوّره کال له دروستکردنی نهم گیرانه و بره و پیّدانیاندا به شدارییان کردووه و

بهپنی ئهوهی مهسعودی (۲۰۰۰: ۲۳۲۱) باسی دهکات کورد به هه آبر اردنی ره چه آهکی عهرهبی بو خویان رازی بوون. تا وای لئی دیّت هیندین له فهرمان ده اور دهکان، که رهنگه له ههموویان دیارتر و ناسراوتر بنه ماله ی نهیوبی بیّت، بو سه الماندنی عهرهبیوونی خویان کتیبی میّر وویی دهنوسن تا "کوردبوون" وه کوتمت لهسه خویان لابیهن بی بیگومان نه و تیگهیشتنه له رهوایه تی دهسه آلاتداریّتی، ریّگر دهبی لهبهرده گرنگیدانی دهسه آلاتیانه به زمانی کوردی و ههر ههو آیکی جیّگیر کردنی زمانه که له نیّو گوتاری ئایینی پهیره و کراو له زمهینه ی فهرمان ده و ایه تیه که دا و ریّگه به وه نادری و های زمانی دهسته بریّر ببینری و ههرده و و که زمانی خه که ساده و نهخویّنده و از داده نری .

همرچونیک بیت، عمرهبیوون و خودامالین له کورد، به قوناغیکی گرنگ له قوناغهکانی موسلمانیوون و تهماهیکردن له عهقیدهدا دادمنریت. لهو کاتهدا خو بردنهوه سهر عهرهب پیگهی کوههلایه به کهسهکهی بهرز دهکردهوه، بویه و مرگرتنی ریشهی عهرهبی لهلایهن بهشیک له کوردهکانهوه دهمانخاته بهرده هوناغیکی نوی له قوناغهکانی خوپیناسهکردنی کورد و پیکهاتنیان و گهران بهدوای خوددا لهناو پیدراوهکانی (ئهویتر)ی بالادهست و یادهوه ربیه میژووییهکهیدا. ئهمه جوّره میژووییبوونیکی کهسیتیی کوردی دههینیته ئارا تا له ناو رهوشه نویههکهوه جیّگهی ببیتهوه. بهمهش ئهمه کردهیهکی ئاگایانهیه بو دیاریکردنی ماهیهتیان به پیی (ئهویتر) و زانینه میژووییهکهی و پاشان تیکهلیوونه لهگهل ئهو (ئهویتر)هو بهشداریکردنیه یه نهندی له نهندیشهیدا. ئیدی توانهوه ی کوردهکان له ریشهی عمرهبیدا ههولیکه بو دهرچوون له پهراویز و چوونه پال ئه و بواره ی دهسه لاتی ناوهندیی خاوهن رهههندی ئایینی ههژموونی ههیه. بویه ئهم هموله ی کورد رههاندیکی سیاسیشی همیه و دهیهویت به هویهوه له جمرگهی رووداو و دهسه لاته رامیارییه هموله ی کورد رههاندیکی سیاسیشی همیه و دهیهویت به هویه و مودی کوردهو . ایرودا پروسهی رهچهاکهری کردیهکی کوردانهیه و دهسته خویندهواره که به ئاگاداری و ئاگاییهوه له همولیکدا بو سهماندنی بوونیان و حدیه کردیهکی کوردانهیه و دهسته خویندهواره که به ئاگاداری و ئاگاییهوه له همولیکدا بو سهماندنی بوونیان و دهسته به دوندان به شم عیهتی نهم بوونهدا، ئهنجامیان داوه (لشکری، ۲۰۰۶: ۲۰۱۰-۱۰۳).

که ئاوا زمانی کوردی له ماوهی در پرژی میرژووییدا نابیته خهمیکی کوردانه ؛ خهمی دهسته بر پری سیاسی و ئابینی. ئیدی ناتوانی له ئاستی نوسیندا له نیو باوه پریکی ئابینی ههمه گیر و خودان زمانی پیروزی خوی (ئیسلام و عمره بی)، جیگه ی خوی بکاته وه. ته نانه هه همر به کار هینانی زمانه که له ده قی ئابینیدا، وه که با به تیکی بیر لینه کراوه بیر میرانی همروه ها موسلمانیوونی کوردان، کارگیریی و زانستی و ئاماده یی رهگه زی عهره بی له پانتایی کوردیدا، همروه ها موسلمانیوونی کوردان، به به به به به به می و دهسته واژانه ی بو تیگه پشتن و به به به کار هینانی روژانه گرنگ بوون، به تابیه چه که و دهسته واژونه گرنگ بوون، به تابیه چه که و دهسته واژه کی ئابینی. به مه ش بویه پیکهاته ی زمانله به کار هینانی روژونه گرنگ به به تابیه می خود ده نابینی به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به کار هینانی و ده تابیه با تابیه به تابیه تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه به تابیه تابیه به به تابیه به

همر بق نموونه بروانه چونییه تی داکو کیکردنی مهلیك ئهمجه دی ئهیوبی (م. ۱۲۷۱ك/۱۲۷۱ز) له ناسنامه ی عمر هبییانه ی بنه ماله که ی و رهتکردنه و می کور دبوونیان (۱۹۷۸: 5.4 ± 1.8).

 $^{^{\}circ}$ شاعیر و میری کورد حوسیّنی کوری داودی فیّنکی له هوّزی به شنه وی کوردی، که هاوسه ردهم و V لایه نگری میر بادی کوری دو سته کی، دامه ریّنه ری میرنشینی مه روانی کوردییه. له چهند دیّره شیعریّك به عمره بی بالیّشتی له و بوّچوونه ی سه ره وه ده کات، به تاییه کاتی له دیریّکیاندا دهلی:

مفاخر الكرد في جدودي ونخوة العرب في انتسابي (الأصبهاني، ١٩٦٨: ٢/١٥٥) واته: شانازيه كارد له بابير انمدايه و جواميري عمرهب له رمچه لمهكمدا.

همردوو ئاستى فۆنۆلۆژى و مۆرفۆلۆژىدا گۆړانى بنەرەتى بەسەردادى. ئەمە ئاكامەكانى ئەوكاتە دەردەكەوى، كە شۆوەزارە كوردىيەكان هۆزى دارشتن و نوسىن پەيدا دەكەن. ئەمە لە شىعرى كلاسىكى كوردىدا دىارە، ھەر لە مەلاى جزيرى(م. ١٦٤٠ز) يەوە، وەك شاعيرۆك كە لە كۆتابيەكانى سەدەكانى ناوەراستدا ژياوە، بگرە تا – بۆ نموونە – مەحوى (م. ١٩٠٦ز)، وەك يەكۆك لە دوابين گەورە كلاسىك (شوان، ٢٠١٠).

۱: ٤ ههونی گوزارشتکردن به زمانی کوردی له پیروزی نیسلامیی له ناستی میللییدا

ته واوی ئه وهی گوتمان، به و مانایه نبیه، له ماوهی دریزی سهده کانی ناوه راستدا زمانی کوردی هیزی گوزارشتکردنی له ئایین و پیرۆزیی به گشتی نعبووبی، به تایبهت له ئاستی میللیدا. ئەو ئاستەی فيربووني زماني عمرهبي و تيگهيشتن له دهقه ئايينيهكاند زور ئهستهم بووه، ئهگمرچي پيداويستييهكي رۆژانەش بووە. بەلام ئەم گوزارشتە پەيوەست بە پېكھاتەي كۆمەلگاى كوردى ئەوكات بووە، كە چوارچیوهیه کی دیاریکراوی بو باوهرداری و سهرهدهری لهگه فی دهی ئایینیدا همبووه. ئیدی بیکهاتهی خیله کییانه ی کور دهکان و زالبوونی دیار ده ی کوچهری و نیمچه کوچهری، تاییه تمهندی همره باوی سیستهمی كۆمەڭلايەتىيان بووە (توفيق، ۲۰۰۷: ۲۰۱۰)، تا رادەيەك دەستنىشانىي سنورى پەيوەندى ئەوانىي بە دەقىي ئاييني كردووه. خو له ئاستى گشتى چاوديريكردنى ئەم چەشنەي كۆمەلگادا دەردەكەوى نەخويندەوارى خەسلەتى باوى ئەم چەشنە سىستەمە. ئەمەش وا دەكات بە كەمى دەقە بنەرەتىيە ئايىنيەكان بناسن (لە بابهته کهی نیمه: دهقی قورئان و فهرموده و فیقهی و ...هند). تهنانه ت به کار هینانی ئهم دهقانه ش له بهجیّگهیاندنی سروته ئایینیهکان (بهتایبهت نویّژ) زیاتر وهك ئامرازیّکی باوهربیانه و پهرستنییانه و گوتنهوهیهکی رووکهشییانهی بنی قوول بوونهوه و رهنگه ناتیّگهیشتووانهش بووبنی، چونکه بهگشتی وهك توێژهرێك دەريخستووه، ئەر كۆمەڭگا موسلمانانەي دياردەي كۆچەرىيى بەسەرياندا زالله، زۆر كەم لەبارەي ئیسلامی دەق دەزانن، تەنیا ئەو رەھەندەی نەبئ كە كردەكبیە و لەگەڭ باوەری باو ریكدیتەوە (التلیلی، ۲۰۱۰: ۵۳). دەق تەنيا وەك رەمزىكى بالاي پابەندى ئايىنى و روخسارى پېرۆزى ناسنامەكەيان دەمىنىتتەوە. همر ئەمەشە وايكردووه لە زەمىنەي كۆمەلايەتى ئاوادا ئاين پەيوەستى نەرىت و ويژدانى بۆماوەيى بېت، يتر لموهی گمرانموه بی بو رینماییه کانی دهق و ریباز و بیروکه کان.

کاتیک سهر مدمری کردن لهگه فی دمقی ئایینی ئاوا ئهستهم بیّت، ئهوا بیّگومان گوزارشتکردن له باوه پرداریش لهم ئاسته میللییهدا، پهیوهست دهبی به توانای زمانیی کومه فیکاکه و گونجاندنی لهگه فی نهم توانایه و ئه و سیستهمه ده لالییهی ههیمتی. بوّیه ئاسایی دهبی، ئهگهر هانا بباته بهر خهزینهی زمانیی خوّی که ناعهر مبییه و لهویّوه مانا بو ئه و پرهمز و رهگه زه ئایینیانه بدوّزیته وه، که له ناوکویی باوه په مکهدا، به عهر مبی، مانای تاییه تی خوّیان ههیوه. بویه دهبینین کوردی موسلمان، له سنوریّکی بهرتهسکدا، ویستویه تی ئهو ئایینه که نامو بوو به سیستهمی ده لالی و مانایی زمانه کهی ئه و، لهگه فی و وشه پیروّزکراوه کانی خوّیدا بگونجینی بی و الله الله الله به بوی و به همشت. جحیم یوزه خوره نی دوره و به به همشت. جمیم دوزه خوره و به به بروّسه به گورینی مانا و ده لاله ته ئایینیکانی چهمکه کانی لهگه فی خویدا هیّناوه. چونکه به راوردی کی ساده ی نیّوان ئه و سیستهمه کولتورییه ی و وشه لوّکالییه کانی تیّدا به رهمه مهاتووه (که پتر

لموه دهچی ترادیسیونی زهردهشتی بی)، لهگه آن تیگهی ئیسلامی – بو نموونه – بو بهههشت و دوزه خ، ئهم پروسیسی گورینه دهردهخات. ئهوهی لیرهدا پروویداوه، له سنوری ئهو وه پرگیرانه دا ماوه ته وه به به بیوهیه کی گشتی له پهیوهندی دیاریکراوی نیوان داله ههمه چهشنه کان لهسهر مهدلولی هاوبه شی باوه پریانه، که ههسته کین، دروست دهبی (فرای، ۲۰۰۹: ۲۱). که باس له "الله" دهکری و لهبه رامبه به به به تودی، خودا، یه زدان همن، ئه وا به رهبه هه له خهیالدانی کومه لایه تیدا خه سلمت و تایبه تمه ندییه کانی "الله" له و ناوه لوکالیبانه دا جی دهکری ته و گوتاری باوی ئایینی ریگه به به کار هینانیان ده دات.

جیّگهی ئاماژه پیدانه، مانهوهی ئهم چهمك و ناوه پیروّزه پیّش ئیسلامییانه له نیّو كورداندا، لهلایهن پهیرهوكارانی ئایینی تریش دركی پیّکراوه، به تایبهت كریستییانهكان، بوّیه ئهگهر ویستبیّتیان به زمانی كوردی ده قی ئایینی خوّیان بهرههمبیّنن، ئهوا هانایان بوّ ئهو ناو و دهستهواژانه بردووه كه له نیّو زمانهكه دا گوزارشتی لهو پیروّزییه كردوه كه ئهوان ویستویانه دهری ببرن. ئهمه له كوّنترین تیّکستی ئهرمه نی دهرده كهوی، له دهرده كه تا ئیستا لهبهردهست بی و پستهیمكی كوردی تیّدا یاداشت كرابیّ. ئهو تیّکسته كاتی خوّی، له پهنجاكانی سهده ی بیستدا، مینوّرسكی (۲۱۷: ۲۱۷) پیّی وابووه كوّنترین ده قی نوسراوی كوردییه و هی سهده ی چوارده بهم چهشنهیه:

"پاکڑ خودی، پاکڑ زەخم، پاکڑ قیمهرگ، کو هاتی خاچی مه، عهسکهری مه، رەحمهتی مه"

بههمرحال، له زممینهی کوردیدا، تهنیا به گونجاندنی ناو و چهمکه لۆکالبیهکان لهگهل ناو و چهمکه هاتووهکان، نهوهستاون. بهلکو هیندیک له ووشانهی که دههاتن له چوارچیوهی تایبهتمهندی زمانه لۆکالبیهکهدا لهخو دهگیران. ئهوهتا ههندی له چهمک و ووشه و ناوه ئایینیه عهرهبییهکان، کهوتوونه ژیر کاریگهری لهخو دهگیران. ئهوهتا ههندی له چهمک و ووشه و ناوه ئایینیه عهرهبییهکان، کهوتوونه ژیر کاریگهری و یاسا و ریساکانی زمانی کوردییهوه، له چوارچیوهی ئهوهی پییدهگوتری گونجاندنی فونولوژی و مورفولوژی. ئهوهتا – بو نموونه – ناوی "محمد"، وه که ناویکی پیروزی ئیسلامی، دهبیته: مهم، مهمون مهملان. تهنانه نهگهر له دهقه فهرمی و ئهو دراوانهی لهلایهن میره کوردهکانهوه لی دهدران شیوه عمرهبییهکهی ناوهکه دهنوسرا، ئهوا له ئاسته میللییهکهیدا گوکردنه کوردییهکهی باو دهبی و بهکار دههینری عمرهبییهکهی ناوهکه دهنوس به مانای کهمکردنهوهی بههای پیروزی خودی ناوهکه بیت.

ئهم نموونانه دەرىدەخەن، كە ئىمە لەبەردەم رەھەندە كردەكىيەكەى ئايىن داين. ئەو رەھەندەى تىايدا بىلەما ئايىنىيەكان راستەوخۆ پەيوەستن بە رىخخستنى كۆمەلايەتىيەوە و وەك بىلەماى چارەسەركردنى كىروگرەتەكانى كۆمەللگا دەردەكەون، ئەوا بىلىگومان پەنا بردراوەتەوە بەر زمانى كورديەوە. وەك لە بوارى دادوەرىدا دەبىنىن زمانى كوردى بەكارھىنراوە. مىزۋوونوسى ھەولىر ئىبن مستەوفى(م. ١٦٣٧ك/١٢٩١ز)، باسى قازىيەكى شارەكە دەكات، كە ئەوىش ئەبوبەكر محەمەدى كورى عەبدولاى كورى ئەبوبەكرى ماھانى (٢٤٥ – ٧٦٦ك/ ١٥٩١). ئەمەش لە پىناو نەھىشتنى ھەر ھەر كىشە و پشنوپيەك دەبى، كە رەنگە لە تىنەگەيشتنى دەقە شەر عىيەكانى پەيوەست بە دادوەرىيەوە دروست بېي.

به لام ئه و ئاسته ی به کار هیزبانی زمانه که، هاو کار نهبووه له به رهمهیزبانی ده قی ئایینی، که ته واوی بنه به این نایینه که له نیز خویدا جی بکاته وه. خو ئه گمر ده قیش هه بووبی، ئه وا بیگومان له ئاستی زاره کیدا ماوه ته وه و دریزی ماوه ی نه نه نه سینه وه شریگر بووه له به ردم به وه یی یاده وه ری ده سته جه معی بتوانی وه ک خوی پاریزگاری لی بکات. بیگومان ده وله مهندی ئه ده بیاتی زاره کی کوردی به حه کایه و به بیت و به سه وه این نایینی، له باره ی پرووداو و که سایه تی و پرهمزه دیاره کانی نیو خه بالدانی ئیسلامی (وه ک مهنودی پیغه مهمه و فی خوردانی که سین یا که می کوری نام و تالیب و کوره کانی حه سه و حوسین، شهره کانی و نام از من بو چونیه تی خویندنه وه میلاییانه ی ئیسلامی و بیان بین که و با نیو کورداندا. له گه ل ئه وه شدا، نه و دابرانه زمانیه ی نیوان نه وای و با با به به وی با می نایینی دروست کردوه و ره خنه ی نه وه بان لی ده گیرا، که به ته واوی له و ناسته دا له گه ل یا سا و ریسا ئایینیه کان ته ماهیان نه کردووه و تیکه ل نه بوونه و ساده و ساکارن له تیگه پشتنیان با نایین و جیم می به نایس و ریسا ئایینیه کان ته ماهیان نه کردووه و تیکه ل نه بوونه و ساده و ساکارن له تیگه پشتنیان بو نایین و جیم می به نایس و ریسا نایینیه کان ته ماهیان نه کردووه و تیکه ل نه بوونه و ساده و ساکارن له تیگه پشتنیان بو نایین و جیم کردنی سروته کانی (الغزالی، ۱۹۹۱: ۲۷۰۱۳).

دواجار، رونگه ئه و پرسیاره بکری، که – ئهگهر رووشهکه ئاوابوو – بۆچی زمانی کوردی به شیّوهزاره فر مچهشنهکانیهوه، که نه دهسه لاتیکی سیاسی و نه دهقیکی ئایینی ههر موونگهرا و نه فهر ههنگیکی نوسراوی دهو لهمهند پالیشتی لئی نهدهکردن، نهمرد؟ یان عهر مبی لهجیّی ئهودا نهبووه زمانی میللی؟ بهتاییه له بنکه شارستانییه گهورهاندا، که لهویّدا ئهو پهیوهندییانهی شارهکانی به جیهانی عهر مبی – ئیسلامی دمبهسته و هاندهر بوون بو گورانهکه، بهتاییهت پهیوهندی سیاسی – کارگیری و زانستی و خو گهراندنهوه شد به سهر رهسهنی عهرب پرسیّکی زیندوو بووه. وهك – بو نموونه – له شاریّکی وهك ههولیّر بهرچاو کهوتووه و لهلایهن گهریده ی ناودار یاقوتی حهمهوی(م. ۲۲۱ک/۱۲) تیبینی کراوه، کاتیك دملیّ: ((واکثر اهلها اکراد قد استعربوا – زورینهی خهلکهکهی کوردن بوونه همووی، ۱۹۸۷) (۱۹۹۷ دملیّ: نیوان شار و گوند، بازاریّك توانهوه له نیو شوناسی عهر مبیّنیدا، ههووونی خیله کوردییهکان وهك پیکبهستی نیّوان شار و گوند، بازاریّك که کوردهکانی تیدا دهنویّنن، وا دهکات زمانهکه له ئاستی زارهکییدا به زیندوویی بمیّنیتهوه و وهك بینیمان بو یهکلاکردنهوهی کیّشه و گیروگرفتهکانی پانتایی شارهکه بهکاربهیّنریّت. خو نهگهر خهگه ئاسابیهکهی نهویش – نهك دهستهرژیر - ههولبدهن به عهر مبی پازیشت له خویان بینیمان بو ویکه به ناستی خویان بکهن، به تایبهت بخوازن شیعری پی بهوننهوه، نهوا بهرههمهکانیان کرچ و کال دهردهچیّ و زورجار رووبهرووی رمخنه دهبنهوه (ابن المستوفی، ۲۰۱۳: ۲۰۱۵)، ۲۳۷).

بیّگومان، که ئهمه رهوشی به عهر مببون و به کار هیّنانی زمانی عهر مبی بیّت له ناوهندیّکی شار نشینی پهیوهست بهم کولتوره و پابهند – له رووی ئابوری و سیاسی و ئابینیه – به پانتایی عهر هبی – ئیسلامی، ئهوا بیّگومان له ناوچه دووره دهست و له نیّو خهلکه ناشار بیه که زوّر کهمتر دهبی و جیّکهوته ی بینراوی نابیّ. ئیدی کیشه ی بوونه عهر هب ته نیا له نیّو دهسته بریّریک دهمیّنیّته وه، که له لایدا و ه ک بینیمان دار شتنی ناسنامه یه کی دانییانراو بابه تیّکی گرنگه.

به کارنه هینانی زمانی کوردی بو به ههمهینانی گوتاری ئایینی و هه شموونی زمانی عهر هبی مانای ئه وه نبیه کورده کان له باوه ری ئایینی ئیسلامی دوور که و تبنه وه، نه گهرچی - وه ک بینیمان - رهخنه له

۲: سۆفیگەرى و چەند ھەنگاویکى دارشتنى زمانى ئايينى كوردى

۲: ۱ قەبوڭكردنى سۆفىگەرى ئىسلامى لە زەمىنەى كوردىدا

سۆفیگهری، وهك دەركهوتهیهكی ژیانی رۆحانی ئابینی ئیسلام، بواری ئهوهی همبووه لهدەرهوهی سهنتهرگیری زمانی عهرمبیههوه، گوتاره ئابینیهكهی دابریژی. بیگومان نهك بهمانای نهفیكردنهوهی زمانی عهرمبی، به للكو بهمانای ریگهبهخودان بو بیركردنهوه و گوزارشتكردن به و زمانهی خوی پیی دهدوی. ئهمهش پهیوهسته به میژووی ئهم دیارده ئابینیه، بهتایبه له قوناغی فورمهله بوونیدا. ئهو قوناغهی، وهك قهره مستها (143:2002) بوی چووه، پتر بریتی بوو له چونیهتی تهشهنهكردنی بهرهبهرهی سوفیان له قهره مستها نیسلامییهكانی دوور له سهنتهری دهسه لاتی ئیسلامی. ئینجا نتیكه فل بوونیان لهگه فل باوه په میستیکییه خوجیییهكان و بوونی سوفیگهری به پهووتی سمره کی ئایینی له نیو خه لکی شارنشین و گوندنشیندا. لهویدا، گهلی سوفی باوه په باوه په باوه په داری دوسه سوفی و سیستهمیکی تایبهتمهندییان بو بوونه سوفی و دهسه لاتداریتی روحانی له نیو ئهلهمی خویان دارشتووه. سوفیگهری لهو شوینانه دا نه ههر جیگهی سهرنجی ناوهنده زانستی – ئایینیه کان بووه، به لکو ههر زوو بوته پیکهینه دی ههره بنه پهرهتی باوه پداری میللی. وه که له کوردستاندا و وویداوه.

 و پەيوەندىييەكى تەواوكارى لەنٽوان تايبەتمەندىيە كردەكىيەكانى سۆفيگەرى و چەند دەركەوتەيەكى شوناسى ھەمەگىرى مرۆۋەكان چى بېئت (لەشكرى، ۲۰۱۳ B).

بیگومان ئهم قهبولگردنهی سۆفیگهری، لهگهل خویدا گورانکاری بهسهر زمانی ئایینی له پانتاییه کهدا هیناوه؛ ئهگهر سۆفی دهیخواست لهوی جیگهیه بوخوی بکاتهوه و تیزهکانی جیکهوتهیان ههبی، ئهوا دهبووا به و زمانه گوزارشت بکات که کارایی به بوونی ئه و دهبخشی. ئهگهرچی سۆفیگهری وه کایهیه کی نایینی پر له راز خوی ده ناسینی و له میانهی کومهلی و دهستهواژه ی ئالوزه وه بنهماکانی باس دهکات و بیروباوه پرهکانی پی دهخاته روو، به لام له رووی کرداریه و زوو توانیویه اله کهسی ساده و رشهخه لك نزیك ببیتهوه و وه کورییازیکی ئاسانی باوه پرداری تهماشای بکری و جوری که پهروشیی له و ناسته سادهیه بو تیگه باوه پیهکهی ههبی. ئهم بوچوونه تهنیا پهیوهست نیبه به زهمینهی کوردی دیارده ئاسته سادهیه بو تیگه باوه پیهکهی ههبی. ئهم بوچوونه تهنیا پهیوهست نیبه به زهمینهی کوردی دیارده هم له سهدهی دو وهمی کوچی/ههشتهمی زایینیهوه، زمانی فارسییان بو گوزارشتکردن له بیروباوه پرهکهیان به کهوا به کار هیّنانی زایینه نویییه که به نایینه نویییه که به کهوا به کار هیّنانی زایینه و شهر له سهده و رستهیه کی کهم، به لام دهریده خهر رهههنده عیرفانییه کهره با گوری تهنانه نه نهر بو گوزراشتکردن له پیروزی، به کمو هیندیکهیان خودی زمانه که فارسیه، به پیروز دهبینین و پیّبان وادهبی شایسته ی نهوهیه گوزراشتی ئایینه پی خودی زمانه کهش، که فارسیده، به پیروز دهبینین و پیّبان وادهبی شایسته ی نهوه یه گوزراشتی ئایینی پی خودی زمانه کهش، که فارسیده، به پیروز دهبینین و پیّبان وادهبی شایسته ی نهوه یه گوزراشتی ئایینی پی به بیروز دهبینین و پیّبان وادهبی شایسته ی نهوه یه گوزراشتی ئایینی پی

ئهمهی باسمان کرد، ئاماژهیه بق کرانهوهی کایهی سقفیگهری، بهسهر کولتووری لقکائی ئهو میلله انهی تیایدا پهیره وکاری همبووه. تا ئهوکاتهی سقفیگهری ناسنامهی ئایینی خقی له خوداناسیدا چر دهکاتهی تیایدا به ته به باشی بهسهر زمانی ده دهره خسینی که نهیانتوانیوه به باشی بهسهر زمانی عمرهبیدا را بگهن و لنیو ئایینی ئیسلامیدا به تهواوی تیگهی ئایینیانهی خقیان بنوینن. لهوانهش هیندیک لهو کوردانهی مهیلیان به لای سقفییاندا همبووه و له نیو ئهلقهی ئهواندا خقاین بینیوه تهوه، ئهگهرچی شاره زاییه کی ئهونویان له زمانی عمرهبیدا نهبووه.

در او ه ته پال چهندین سوّفییه وه ه وه ه ته به و ه ه ته به و لای بابونی، نهبوبه کری کوړی یه زدانیاری و رمیّیی، بابا تاهیری ههمه دانی و نهبولوه فای حولوانی (له شکری، ۱۳ ۱۳ ۲۰۱۳).

گرنگی به سه رهاتی ئه محال گورانه له وه دایه، که وا ئاماژه به به نه ویستراوی زمانی کوردی، لایه نی که مه له کوری فه قیهه کان. وه ک زمانیک بو فیربوونی زانسته شهر عییه کان قه بول نه کراوه، جیگه ی گالته پیکردنه، به تاییه کاتیک له لایه نسوفی سوفی به کار ده هینری به سه هاته که به چه ند شیوازیک ده گیردریته وه، باوترینیان ئه وه یانه که شیرازی (م. پاش ۱۹۷۱ / ۱۳۸۹ز) له کتیبه که ی خویدا (۱۹۰۱ و ۱۳۸۹ز) له کاتی باسکردنی ژیانی سوفی کورد ئه بو عه بدولای بابونی، که له شاری شیرازی و لاتی فارس گیرساوه ته وه و ده لی تاییه و ده سالی (۳۷۳ کی ۱۸۶ و ایم له ویدا مردووه، هیناویتییه وه و ده لی:

كوردنك چووه يهكنك له قوتابخانهكان، بيني چهند خويندكاريك خهريكي دەور کردنهوهی زانسته کان و خویندن بوون. ئهویش پرسیاری شنتیکی لئ كردن، به لام ئەوان ينيي ينكەنين. گوتى: دەمەوى ھنندنك لەوەي ئنوه خەرىكىن فێربېم. ئەوان بێيان گوت: ئەگەر دەتەوى ببيە زانا، ئەوا ئەم شهو شتيك له بنميچي مالهكهت ببهسته و (توند قاچي خوتي لئي گرئ بده) و تا بۆت دەكرى بلى: كەزبەرە عەصفەرە، ئەوكات دەرگاى زانستت لەبەردەمدا والا دەبىخ. ئەوان بەمە دەيانويست گالتەي يى بكەن. ئىدى پیاوهکه چۆوه ماڵی خوی، پهتیکی له پیی بهست و توند له بنمیچی خانوه که دا گریی دا. ئینجا به نیهت پاکی و راستی په قینه وه ئه وهی به گالته گوتیان بیلیوه دمیگوتهوه. تا بهر میمیان شهونخونی کرد و نهخهوت و به نارهزوو و ویستهوه ووشه کانی نهوانی دووباره دهکردهوه. نهوکات خودا دەرگای زانستى ئىلاھى بۆ خسته سەر بشت و سىنگى به نورى پیروز رموان کرد. ئیدی بووه زانا و وهلی و له نیعمهتی خودای گهوره دمدوا و وه لامي همموو شتیکي نادیار و نمزانراوي دمدایموه و (له گفتوگۆدا) له ههموو نەيارانى دەبردەوە. بەمەش بووە ئايەتتېكى ديار، كە خودا بق ئاگادار كردنهوهى خهلك دەرىخست. ئەمەش فەزلى خودايه و به ههر كەستكى دەبەخشى كە خۆ ى بيەوى.

ئهمه پهرینهوهیه له ساکاری کوردانهوه (ئاشنا نهبوون به زانسته ئایینیهکانهوه) بر قو لایی عهرهبیتی (شارهزایی لهو زانستانه، بهوپیهی عهرهبی زمانی بنهرهتی ئهو شارهزاییه بوو له پانتایی ئیسلامیدا). به دهسته واژهیه کی تر ئه و کوردهی تیکه لاو به جیهانبینی سو فییانه بووه، دهشتی له شه و و رو ژیکهوه له سادهیی کوردانه وه بچیته نیو قو لایی زانسته شهر عبیهکانه وه بهرده وامی گیرانه وهی ووته که وایکردووه ببیته حالیکی جیگیری سو فییانه و گوزارشت له رازیکی خودایی بکات که ئاماژهیه بو ناسینی بی پهردهی شهریه سهر وه هم وه هم وه هم وه که نامان که نامان ایم به بنهما ئهستهمهکانی ئه شهر وه ها ئه و که که دایی ده دو زیته وه که گهوره یا واک گهوره یا وانی فارس مه و لانا جه لاله دینی رو می (م.

۲۷۲ك/۱۲۲ز) گوتوويەتى بۆ سۆفىيان بە گشتى پێويستە لەو رازى گۆړانە لە حاڵى كوردىيەوە بۆ حاڵى عەرەب تێبگەن^۲.

۲: ۲ ئەبولو دفاى كورد _ نموونەى سۆفى سەرگەردان لە نيوان عەرەبى و كورديدا

رمنگه ئمو سۆفىيەى باشترين نموونەيەك بۆت بۆ بەرجەستەكردنى ئەم تېگەيشتنه و بەكار هێنانى زمان لە لايدا بەو ئاراستەيدا رۆيشتېن، سۆفى ناودارى كورد تاجولعارفين ئەبولوەفا محەمەدى حولوانى (مان له لايدا بەو ئاراستەيدا رۆيشتېن، سۆفى ناودارى كوردبوونەكەى تەواوكەرى ناسنامە سۆفىيانەكەى بوو. بەخۆرێك كە يەكێكە لەوانەى – لە ماوەى درێژى سەدەكانى ناوەراستدا – مىللەتى كوردى پې دەناسێنرى (بەخ ئەبۇرێك كە يەكێك لەوانەى ، ئەو لەرێگرێكەوە دەبێتە باوەردارى يەكەمى كوردان، وەك لە ووتەى يەكێك لە موريدەكانى، كە شێخ عەبدولقادرى گەيلانى (٤٧٠-١٦٥ك/ ١٠٧٧-١٦٦١ از)يە، ديارە كاتێك دەڵيت: "لە بەردەم قاپى ھەق(خودا)دا پپاوێكى كورد نيە وەك شێخ ئەبولوەفا بێت – ليس على باب الحق رجل كُردى مثل الشيخ أبو الوفا" (التادفي، ١٩٥٦هـ: ١٨). ئەو لەنێو كوردەكان خۆشياندا نازناوى كوردى خۆى ھەبووە و پێى گوتراوە "كاكيس"؛ ئەم ووشەيەش بە "باوكى پياوان" وەرگێردراوەتە سەر زمانى عەرەبى (الواسطي، مخطوط: ٥).

خەسلەتتكى ئەم سۆفىيە ئەوەبيە لە قولايى ولاتى كوردىيبەوە، بەتاببەت ئەو ناوچانەى سروشتتكى چيابيان ھەيە و ببووە بەشتكى ناسنامەى كوردى و مۆلگەى سۆفىيان، دەرنەكموتووە. بەلكو لە ناوچە زۆنگاوييەكانى نيوان شارى بەصرا و واسطى خوارووى عيراق بووە. لەوى، لەگەل ئەندامانى تيرەكەى كە نەرگسىيەكانن و سەر بە ھۆزى جاوانى كوردىن، ژياوە (مستەفا جەواد، ٢٠٠٨: ٥٠). واتا لە نيو ژينگەيەكى خىلەكىدا بووە و رەفتار و نەريتى ئەم ژينگەيەكى بەسەردا زالبووە و لەكاروكردەوەى رەنگى دابۆوە و بەر لە بوونى بە سۆڧى خەريكى ريگريى و جەردەيى بووە (الشطنوڧى، ١٤٠٣هـ: ١٩١).

ئه و له و زهمینهیدا، ئینجا هاموشو کردنی شاری به غداد و ئامادهبوونی له کوّری زانا و فهقیهه ئایینیه کان، دهیخواست به عمرهبییه کی باش بتوانی گوزارشت له تیگهی ئایینی خوّی بکات. به لام شیّوه کوردی ئاخاوتنی عمرهبییانه ی ئه و و زالنهبوونی به سهر زمانی عمرهبی به گشتی جیّگه ی رهخنه بووه (الواسطی، مخطوط: ٤٩) و وه که کهمایه تیبه که تهماشا کراوه. ئهبولوه فا خوّی، یان لایه نی کهم پهیرهو کارانی، در کبیان بهم مهسمه یه کردووه و ناچار بوونه به هانه ی بو بدوّزنه وه. ئهوه کیشهیه کو وه له گهل ئهو

آله مه شده وی (۱۳۸۱ه.ش: ۱۲۱) دا هاتووه: گفت در خود که هست از اور

گفت پیغمبر که هست از امتم مر مرا ز آن نور بیند جانشان بی صحیحین و أحادیث و روات سر أمسینا لکردیا بدان

بلك اندر مشرب آب حيات راز اصبحنا عربيا بخوان

کو بود هم گوهر هم همتم که من ایشان را همی بینم بدان

"بِيْغهمبهر گوتى له ئوممهتى مندا همن له گهوههر و هيممهتى مندان، ئهوانهى رۆحيان لهو نورهوه من دهبينى كه من ئهوانى پى دهبينم، ئهمهش بى دوو صحيحهكه (صحيح بخارى، صحيح مسلم) و فهرمووده و گيرهرهوانى، بهلكو تهنيا له سهرچاوهى ئاوى ژياندا، بۆيه رازى "أمسيت كرديا" بزانه و هى "أصبحت عربيا" بخوينهوه".

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مهقامه ی پیّی در ابوو و نائاسایی بوونی کهسیّتییه که و رههه نده که رامه تنویّنییه که ی نهده گونجا. بوّیه دهبووا هه ر له نیّو نهم رههه نده دا چاره بکریّ. نهمه ش له دووتویّی نهوه ی پیّشتر بینیمان و بریتی بوو له گورانی حال له نهرانیی کوردییه و بو باس ده که نه دهستی عهره بی سهره ده ری له گهلدا کراوه. بوّیه و ا باس ده که نه دهستی نی کوردی بوو. به لام دواتر وه که دهستی نی کوردی بوو. به لام دواتر وه که عمره بیّک له گوتار خویّنی و زیکر و شاره زایی له زانسته نایینیه کان په وانبیّر بووه و خوّی ده یگوت منم که:

" نیّواره عهجه م بووم و به یانی عهره با" (الواسطی، مخطوط: ٤٦). نیدی له نیّو کولتوری سوّفیگه ریدا (الواتری، ۱۳۰۱ه: ۲۸) و اویّنای که سیّتییه که ی ده که نه به شیّوه یه کی غهیبانی توانیویه تی له زانسته شمر عییه - عهره بییه کاندا شاره زا بیّت و وه لامی ته واوی نه و پرسیارانه بداته و ه که له لایمن فه قیهه کانه و مو تاقیکر دنه و ه لیّان کردوه ، تا ناشاره زایی نه وی سوّفی له م بوارانه دا بسه میّن .

دواجار دهبی نهوه بلّین، که نهگهر حالّی گهوره سوّفییانی کورد ناوابی و لهبهردهم رهخنهی نهوهدابنزمانی عهرهبی باش نازانن، وهك ئاکامیّکی نهمهش شارهزاییان له زانسته ئایینیهکان نبیه و ئاگادارییان له بنهماکانی نهم زانستانه له ئاستیّکی ساده دایه، نهوا مانای نهوهیه له رووی زمانهوه کهمتر توانیویانه پابهندی عهرهبی ببن. نه که بهمانای دهرچوون له چوارچیّوهی پیروّزییهوه، بهلکو به مانای نهستهمی گوزارشتکردن بهم زمانه. نهمه له کاتیکدا لهو زهمینهی نهوانی تیدایه، بهردهوام داواکراون بو نواندنی روّلی نائاسایی و نهرکی چارهکردنی پشیّوی کوّمهلایهتی و رینماییکردنیان به گشتی خراوه ته نائاسایی نهستویانهوه، تا وای لی دیّت درهنگانیک لهلایهن گوتاری فیقهییهوه، کوردهکان به پیروّزکردنی نائاسایی شیخهکانیان تومهتبار دهکریّن.

٢: ٣ به كارهينانى زمانى لؤكائى له لايه ن سوفييانه وه

که سۆفی ناتوانی به تهواوی بهسهر زانسته ئایینیه – عهر مبییه کان پرابگات، له ههمان کاتدا ئهو کایه ئایینیهی خوی نیدا بینیوه تهوه داوای لی ده کات گوزراشتی ئایینی ههبی؛ چ له گه فی خوی، چ له گه فودا، یان ته نانه ته له گه فی که که داوای لی ده کات و مهقامه می تیدایه شروقه بکات و به یانی بکات، ئهوا بیش و بی کومان پیویستی به وه دهبی، زمانیك به کار به ینی له بو خوی و ئه و زهمینه ی تیدایه تیگه یشتراو بیت و به کار به ینرووییه می اله به ردهستدایه، ئاماژه بو زمانیك ده کات، که له یا عمر مبی و فارسی باوبووه، به تایدی له به رهمینانی ده قی ئه ده بی و زیاتر وه ک زمانی شیعری میلایی و ناوچه یی فارسی باوبووه، به تایده تی اله همینانی ده قی ئه ده به و زیاتر وه ک زمانی شیعری میلایی و ناوچه یی دووری دوری ده وردی همین و میرانگری په هله وی "بیه یه و تاسه رده می بالادهستی عهر مبی ئیسلامییدا هه بی و میرانگری په هله وی کون بی و تاسه رده می بالادهستی عهر مبی ئیسلامییدا به کار هیزرابی (Tafażżolī, 1999).

بهپنی دیاریکردنی ده کلاسیکبیهکان بو جوگرافییای "ولاتی فههلهوی – بلاد الفهلویین"، ده ده ده ده و لاتهوه، بهتاییهت ده ده ده کوردنشینهکان ده چنه چوارچیوهی ئهم ولاتهوه، بهتاییهت ناوچهکانی روز ئاوای ههریمی چیا، که به چیای کوردان ناسرا بوو، وه شارهکانی: ههمهدان، نههاوهند، کرماشان، دینهوهر، ماه سهبدان و چهند شاری تر (توفیق، ۲۰۰۸: ۱۰۳). ئهمه ریگه بهوهدهدات بلین، لهو پانتاییه به شین که کوردان به هیشتنهوهی کولتوری فههلهوی و برهوپیدانی و بهکارهینانی له ئاستی میالییدا. خو مانهوهی هیندیک کورد تا درهنگ، لایمنی کهم تا سهده چوارهمی کوچی/ دهیهمی

زابینی، که توانای خویّندنهوهی زمانی کوّنی په هلهوی و راقه کردنی ماناکانیان ههبووه، پالپشتی ئهم بوّچوونه دهکات ۱۰ بوّچوونه دهکات ۲۰ .

همرچوننك بیّت، ئیمه ناخوازین بهگشتی له رموشی زمانی فههلموی سهدهکانی ناوه راست بدویین. ئهوه ی بو نیّمه گرنگه ئهومیه، له نیّومندی سوّفیگمریدا، بهتایبهت له و ناوچه کور دیبانه ی به و لاتی فههلموی داده نران، هیّندیّك له سوّفییان پشتیان به و زمانه دهبهست بوّ گوزار شتکردن له خوّیان و تیّگه باوه رییه کهیان، له چوارچیّوه ی دهقی شیعرییه و و رمنگه کوّنترین کهسیّکیش باسی لیّوه کرابیّ، ئه حمه دی کوری محمه دی کوری فهزل ناسراو به ئهبولعه باسی نههاوه ندی (م. ۱۳۳۵ / ۳۶۴ ز)یه. که له شاگردانی سوّفییانی ناسراوی و مه جه عفه رخولدی (م. ۱۳۷۱ / ۱۹۸۹ و که و عمیدو لای کوری خهفیفی شیرازی (م. ۱۳۷۱ / ۱۸۹۷). بووه، تاهانه ته و مه و دووه م ناوی ده هیّنریّ (زرکوب شیرازی، ۱۳۵۰ هـ.ش: ۱۰۰).

ئهم شیخهی شاری نههاوهند، که له ماوهی دریزی سهدهکانی ناوه راستدا زوّربه ی دانیشتووانه که ی کورد بوون (حمدالله مستوفی، ۱۳۶۲هـش: ۱۱۹)، به زمانی لوّکالی شاره که ی خوّی شیعری هوّنیوه تهوه. ئهوه ی لهم بواره له پاشیدا به جیّ مابیّت، چوارینه یه که تیایدا دهلّی:

دلا أز عاشقی یارت یکی وس و گرها دوکنی نبو کهس نصیحت رایگان أرها بژیری هرآن کس دل یکی یارش

یکی وس

(فصیحی خوافی، ۱۳۸۹هـش: ۲/

.(0.7

بیّگومان ئهم چوارینهش – ئهوهی تا ئیستا زانرابی – کونترین دهقی فه هلهوییه، له قوناغی دوای بالادهستی عهرهبه موسلمانه کان، که به زاریّکی لوّکالّی له ناوچهیه کی کوردنشین یاداشت کرابیّ و دهستپیّکه بوّ کوّمه لیّك دهقی تر که له لایهن سوفییانی تری ئهم ناوچهیه برهوی پیّ دهدریّ.

همرچوننك بنت، دەقه شيعرىيەكە و بەكار هننانى زمانى لۆكالى لە تنگەيشتنى ئەم سۆفىيە بۆ چىيەتى سۆفىگەرىش نزىكە. ئەبولعەباسى نەھاوەندى پنى وابوو سۆفىگەرى پتر لە چوارچنوەى بوارە كردەكىيەكەيەوە دەردەكەوى، بەجۆرىك كە پىى وايە ئەو كاتە سۆفىيوون دەست پى دەكات كە ژيانى ھەۋارانە و دەرویشىيانەى دەگاتە ئەوپەرى (عطار، ١٣٨١هـش: ٢٦٨/٢). ئەگەرچى ئەو پنى وابوو دەبىي سۆفىيانەى كۆمەلايەتى دوور بكەويتەوە، تا لە حالى سۆفىيانەى نەگەن. بەلام ھەر لە شارەكەى خۆيدا – بەكارىگەرىي سەرمايە رەمزىيەكەى – بەو دووركەوتنەوەى رازى نەبوون و رىزى زۆريان دەگرت و خزمەتيان دەكرد (الانصارى، ١٣٨٦هـش: ٥٠٣). بەتايبەت كە دەبىتە رەمزىكى ئەودا ھەبووە. كە رىنىشاندانى ئەوانەي لە "راستەرنى ئايىن" نەگەيشتوون، بىلگومان بەو مانايەي لە فەزاكەي ئەودا ھەبووە. كە

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بهپنی فهسائی (۱۳۷۸ هـش: ۱۰۳۱)، كاتنك میری بوهیهی عضد الدولة (۲۲۶-۳۷۲ك/ ۹۳۱-۹۸۳ز)، له سالی
 ۴۵ کام ۱۳۵۵ و دهقی نوسراوه په هلموییه کهیان بۆ
 ۴۵ کام ۱۳۵۵ و دهقی نوسراوه په هلموییه کهیان بۆ
 خویند و ته دو ده کیلی کهیشتو ته لای تالسری الکاتب الکردی" بووه.

ئهویش ئاوا زمانی ناوهنده کوّمه لایه تبیه که ده کاته زمانی ده ربرینی تیگه سوّفییانه کهی، ئهوا پرهنگه ههر ئهمیش شو کاریکی تر بی، که وای کردووه سوّفیگهری ببیته دیار دهیه کی ویستراوی ناوهنده جوگرافییه که نههاوهنده و رووخساره کرده کیه کهی گهشه سهندنی به رچاو به خوّوه ده بینی. ئیدی له دیار دهیه کی تاکه که سبیانه می پهیوه ست به سوّفییه و دهگوری بوّ دیار دهیه کی دهسته جهم و که سانیك له خوّی خپر ده کاته و که ههمان تیگهیشتنی ئایینی و ئه زموونی روّحانی ئهویان ههیه (الانصاری، ۱۳۸۱ ه.ش: ۳۷۰؛ عطار، ۱۳۸۱ ه.ش: ۲۱۸۷).

رەنگە بەناوبانگترىن كەستكىش، كە فەھلەرياتى زۆرى لەدوادا بەجى مابى و لەنبو ئەدەبىياتى کوردیدا، به گرنگ و دهستپیکی میزوویی ئەزمار بکری، بابا تاهیری هەمەدانی یه، که لهوه دهچی ماوهیهکی کهم دوای سوّفی نههاوهند ژیابتی. لهبارهی بابا تاهیر و شیعرهکانی و پیّگه ئهدهبی و سوّفییانهکهی زوّر نوسراوه و دممیکیشه له لایهن تویژ مرانی روز ئاواشهوه گرنگی به خوی و به چوارینه کانی دراوه و وەرگیردراون بۆ سەر زمانانی تر (Heron –Allen,1902). بەلام ئەوەي جیگەی تیبینییە ئەوەيە فه هله ویاته کانی ئه و به شیوه زاری لوری، به تیپه ربوونی کات و نه زانیی نوسه رانه وه، زور له وینه ر مسهنه که ی کال بو ته و و تاییه تمهندییه زمانییه کانی له دهستداوه و ئه وهی ئه مرو له به ر دهستدایه ئه وهنده ی له فارسى دەرىپەوە نزىكە، ئەوەندە مۆركە لورىپەكەي بۆوە نابىنرى (طوسى، ١٣٣٧هـش: ١-٢). ئەگەرچى ئەو دەقانەي لە مۆزەخانەي قۇنيا پاريزراون و لە سالى (٨٤٨ك/٤٤٤ از) نوسراون و چەند دەقتىكى ترى كە له دەستنوسە فارسىيە كۆنەكاندا ياداشتكراون، ھێندێك له تايبەتمەندىيە فەھلەوپيەكانيان ياراستووه و تار ادهیه کی باش له لای ئه وانه ی شیوه زاری ئیستای لوړی ده زانن، تیگهیشتر اون. لهگه ل ئه وه شدا له ئاکامی ئەو درەنگ نوسىنەوە و دەستكارىيەيە، ئەستەم بووە بتوانىن تايبەتمەندىيە زمانىي و تەنانەت روخسارە شیعرییه کانی دهقه بنه رهتیه کانی ئه و ببینین و له جیهانبینی بابا تاهیر خویه وه نزیك ببینه وه و بهسه ته واوی رهههنده پیکهیّنهرهکانی نهم جیهانبینییه رابگهین و لهوهش گرنگتر جیّکهوته زمانیی – ئایینیهکهی لهو زەمىنەي ئەم سۆفىيەي تىدا بووە بەرچاو بخەين. ئەگەرچى ئەو رۆلە يېكبەستەكىيەي نىوان كۆمەللگا و دەسەلات به ئەو بەخشراوه و ھاوسەنگى لە نيوان دەسەلاتى رەمزى خۆي بەسەر مورىد و ئەو گەلە خه لکه ی باو دریان یپیه تی و دهسه لاتی کرده کیی، که لیره دهسه لاتی سولتان تو غرل به کی سلجوقی (۲۹۹-٥٥كك/١٠٣٧-١٠٦٣ز)ييه، دروستكردوه و ئهم دەسەلاتەي وا لنكردووه بەجۆرنىك لە گوێرايەللىيەوە لەبەردەم شىخى سۆفى رابومستى تابىيى بلى جۆن شەرعىيانە سەرەدەرى لەگەل كۆمەلگادا بكات (راوندى، ١٣٦٣ هـ.ش: ٩٩-٩٩).

ئموهی لمگه فل بابا تاهیر و به کارهینانی زمانی لوکالی تیبینی دهکری ئموهیه، که به کارهینانی ئمو زمانه جوریکی تر له پیروزیی – سمرباری ئموهی همیمتی - به سوفی به خشیوه. له کمسیتییه کی میرووییه و دهبیته کمسیکی سمرووی میروو، که پابهندییه کی ئمتووی به کات و شوینیکی دیاریکراوه وه نامینی، ئمو ئاماده بیه بابا تاهیر له نیو کولتوری یارساندا همیمتی جمخت لمسمر ئمو بوچوونه مان ده کات و میرودی بابا تاهیر له نیو کولتوری یارساندا همیمتی جمخت لمسمر ئمو بوچوونه مان ده کات و میرودی کتیبی " الکلمات القصار" گوزارشتی له خوی کردووه (عین القضاة الهمدانی، ۲۰۰۷) و و نه و کهمتر لمایی میروسه ی نواندنی ده کهونه ی کهونی بروسه ی نواندنی نیو بایره به کهونی بوسرای و دیاردا باوه بی کهین یارساندا، نمو بوته به شیکی پروسه ی نواندنی نیو باوه بی که کایینی بو کهسانی خاوه بی پیگهی نائاسایی. نمو ده بیته هاوکاتی "شاه خوشین"ی رهمزیکی نیو

باوه پرهکه (جیحون آبادی، ۱۹۲۱: ۲۹۰-۲۹۱) و دهقه شیعربیه کانیشی، له ناوکوّی "سهرئه نجام"دا، ئه گفتوگوّ روّحانییه پیکدیّنن که گوایه له نیّوان ئهوی سوّفی و شاه خوّشیندا ههبووه (طاهری، ۲۰۰۷: ۶۹-۲۰). ته نانه ته له سیسته مه باوه پریه دا خهسله تی مروّقانه له دهست ده دا و له قوّناغی به به جهسته بوونی خودایه تی له شاه خوّشیندا، که قوّناغی مه عریفه ته، دهبیّته یه کیّك له و فریشته ده رکه و تووانه ی پیّیان ده گوتری "یارانی چوار مهله ک" (Minorsky, 1986: 1/260). بیّگومان ئه م ئاماده پیهی بابا تاهیر – که م تا زوّر – پهیوه سته به ئاماده پی ئه و له نیّو زمانی پهیره و کارانی ئایینه که پیه یان لایمنی که م زمانی که تیگه پشتر اوه له لایمن نه و انه م به به داوه و و اده کات و شویّنیه که که به که سیّتییه که داوه و و اده کات له یاده و هری ده سته جه معیدا شیعر و ده رکه و ته عیرفانییه که ی بمیّنیّته و و به که به که ناماده ئایینیه کور دبوونی ئه و نبیه و گومان له پیگه کی ئه و له میّرووی ئه ده بیاتی کور دی بکری، به لام ئه م ئاماده ئایینیه که و به و به به به به به به بالی)، دهستیشانی که و به به به به به به بالی)، ده ستیشانی که و به به به به به به به بالی)، دهستیشانی کاریگه می به به به به بالی)، ده ستیشانی کاریگه که و به به به به به به به بالی که ده کات.

بههسرحاڵ، ئەوانەى لەمجۆرە ئەدەبياتەيان كۆڵيوەتەوە، دركيان بە پەيوەست بوونى بە پانتايى كوردىيەوە كردووە، بەتايبەت بە ھەورامانەوە. چونكە خۆشترين بەيت و بالۆرەى دەقى فەھلەوى، بە تتىگەيشتنى شەمس الدين رازى (١٣٨٧هـش: ١٧٣)، كە لە سەدەى حەوتەمى كۆچى/ سۆزدەى زايينى ژياوە و يەكۆكە لە يەكەمىن ئەو نوسەرانەى قسەيان لەسەر ئەم چەشنە ئەدەبياتە كردووە، ئەوانەن كەوالەگەڭ ئاوازى (اورامن = ھەورامان) دەخوينرانەوە، وەك لە دۆرە شىعرىكدا ئاماۋەى بۆكراوە:

لحن اورامن و بیت بهلوی زخمه و روذ و سماع خسروی

که ما خود عاشقان را واشناسیم

که دیم عاشقان را رنگ تبو

(عين القضات همداني، ١٣٧٧ هـش: ١٧٦/٢)

همر لهچوار چیوهی پهیوهندی نیوان عاشق و مهعشوقهوه، دیریکی تری اورامه دههینیتهوه:

من نه بأن أميم اببر تو

که بجفاشم یا بدشناسم شم (عین القضات همدانی، ۱۳۷۷ هـ.ش: ۲۱۱/۲)

له دیریکی تری ههورامیدا، که له چوارچیوهی رهخنهگرتن له فروّشتنی دین به دونیا؛ ئهوانهی بوونهته بهندهی دونیا و ئارهزوو پهرستن و بیر له چارهنوسیان ناکهنهوه، دهلیّ:

سيا وا شامهء پيشين أما كژ

وا در آن چه کرد و این چبو (عین القضات همدانی، ۱۳۷۷ هـش:

(4 7 5 / 7

هاوشنیوهی ئهمه، دیریکیش لعبارهی بیگهی مروقی معرد و نامعرد ده هینیتهوه، که تیایدا ده لی:

نه هرکش بار نبود در و یاقوت

دشمرش نهلند وا زر و دبیا

(عين القضات همداني، ١٣٧٧ هـش:

(174/4

جگه لهم تاکه دیرانه، چوارینهی "أورامانی"یش وهك نموونه دههینیتهوه. ئهوهتا دهلی:

نا دم برو آن مه مست و هاموش

گرثم لافین تنت در آئوش

بو هانم جشی بکوش دوات برم

اجى برقال اجى زوارج باگوش

(عين القضات همداني، ١٣٧٧ هـش:

(£ £ £ / ٢

خویندنهوه ی دروستی ئهم بهیته ههورامییانه ی عمینولقوضاتی ههمهدانی و شروقه کردنی ناوه رو که کانیان کاریکی ئاسان نیه بهتاییه ت که گهیشتن به شیوازی راستی نوسینی بهیته کان ئهستهمه ههر بویه ئیمه به و شیوه یه یاداشتمان کردوته وه، که لیکولهران و راستکهرهوانی نامه کانی عمینولقوضات، ههریه که علینوی و عفیف عسیران، نوسیویانه نهوان له یهراویزی لیکدانه وی بهیته کانیشدا فورمه

جیاوازهکانی نوسینی ووشهکانیان بهینی دهستنوسهکانی ئهم نامانه توّمار کردووه. رهنگه ئهمهش هاوکاری تویّرهرانی ههور امیناس و فههلهویناس بکات له تیّگهیشتنی ووردی بهیتهکاندا.

ئەوەى لىرەد بۆ بابەتەكەى ئىمە گرنگ بىت ئەوەيە، كە ھەبوونى ئەو بەيتانە، جەخت لەسەر بەكار ھىنانى بەربلاوى ھەورامى لە كۆرى سۆفىيانى ئەو پانتابيەى عەينولقوضاتى تىدا ژياوە، بەتابيەت ھەمەدان و دەوروبەرى، دەكاتەوە. ھىنانەوەى زياد لە بەيتىك و جەختكردنەوە لەسەر ھەوارمىبوونيان، گەواھى لەسەر جىگىربوونى نوسىن بەم شيوە زارە و ئەم جۆرە ئاوازە تايبەتمەندە دەدات و رۆلى سۆفيانىشمان بۆ دىارى دەكات لە برەودان و ھۆنىنەوەى شىبعر بەم جۆرەى فەھلەويات.

بیگومان کاتیك سۆفی ئاوا به زمانی خهلك دهدوی و شیعری عارفانه دهنوسی، كۆمهلیك چهمك و دهستهواژهی بارگاوی به بنهمای دینی، له نیو زمانهکهدا جی دهکاتهوه. بهمهش خهسلهتی گشتگیرانهیان و مرگرتووه و له زمانی دهستهبری ده گوازراونه و نیو زمانه میللیه که. ئیدی و هك تهفهزولی (Tafażżolī,1999) دهلی ئهمانه نهك و هك ده قی شیعریی جوان بینراون، بهلکو و هك پر کهرهویه کی روّحانی و هزریی مروّفه کانیش بووه. ئهم پروّسهیه ههر چوّنیك بووبی، ئهوا بیگومان ریّگهیه بووه بو بهرههمهینانه و هی نایینی به و زمانه. لهگهلیدا ههر موونی عهره بی و تهنانه تده بنه و متبیه کانیش کهمتر دهبنه و و نهم ده قانه جیّگهیان دهگرنهوه. شمس الدین رازی (۱۳۸۷هـش: ۱۷۳) در کی بهم و مرچهرخانه زمانییه کردوه و بینیویه تی که خهلکی "عیّراق" می له "زانا و خانه دان و پهشهخه لك"، خوویان به دانان و گوتنه و می بهیتی فه هله و ی گرتبوو... تار اده یه که هیچ ئاوازیکی ناسك و دانروایکی خانه دانانه، له شیّوه ی "ووته ی عهره بی و غهز ملی ده ری" و هك نهم به بیته فه هله و یبانه کاری لی نه ده کردن.

^ دیاره لیره معبعستی شمس الدین رازی له ووشهی عیراق، عیراقی عمجهمییه؛ نهو ناوهی له سهردهمی سهلجوقبیهکانهوه، نزیك به سهدهی پینجهمی کوچی/ یانزهی زایینی، به ههریّمی چیاكان دهگوترا. نهك عیراقی عهرهبی، كه بهشی خوارووی میزوّپوّتامیای دهگرتهوه (Le) Strange, 1905: 185).

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خۆيەتى (نەھاوەندى، لورى، ھەمەدانى، ھەورامى)، دىن تايبەتمەندىتىيەك وەردەگرى و لەن يو سىستەمى زمانى ئەودا بەنامۆ دانانرى.

۲: ٤ زمانى كوردى و گوزارشتكردن له حالى سۆفىيانه

له دەر ەو دى وڭاتى فەھلەرپش، شٽو ەزارە كور دېپەكانى تر، تەماھى لەگەن سۆفيگەرپدا دەكەن و سۆفى لەو زەمىنە كۆمەلايەتىيەي تىپدايە زارەكىيانە بەكارى دەھىنىي و بە ئاماۋەي ئايىنى بارگاوى دەكات. ئيدى به کار هيناني زماني کوردي همر له ئاستي بهر ههمهيناني دهقي شيعريي نهوهستاوه، به لکو له ئاستي تریشدا بهکار هیّنراوه، له گوزراشت کردن له حالْی سوّفییانهش، له نیّو ئهو زمانهدا بهدوای مانادا گهرِ اون، لموانهش ئمبولوهفای حولوانی. ئهگهر ئیمه پیشتر باسمان لموه کرد که کمرامهتبیانه به عمر هبی گوزارشتی لمخوى دەكرد، بەلام ئەمە بەو مانايە نايەت، يشتى لە كوردى كردبوو، تەنانەت لە بەكار ھينانى سۆفىيانەشدا. بهتایبهت که له ئەلقەي مورید و لایەنگراني ئەودا كەساننىك ھەببوون – سەربارى سۆفیگەرى – كوردبوون بهیهکهوهی دهبهستنهوه و زمانی کوردی زمانی پهیوهندی بووه بۆیان و بۆ دهربرینی حالی سۆفییانه بهکاربردراوه. ئهمه له پهیوهندی ئهبولوهفا به شیخ محهمهدی کوری دهشمی کوردی ناسراو به شیخ جاگیر (م. ٩٠ اك/١٩٤ از) وه دياره، كانتك ئهم شنخه لهو مهقامه سۆفييانهى به هاوكارى ئەبولو دفا پنى گەيشتبوو ئاماژهی بر چاکهی شنخهکهی بهسهرییهوه نهکرد، له ئاکامدا تووشی حالهتیك له رارایی و ناجیگیری دەروونىي بوو، شىخ بېيى گوت جېگىر بە، ئىدى لەو كاتەرە، ئەم ووشە كوردىييە؛ "جاگىر – جېگىر"، بووە نازناوی سۆفییانهی و ییی دهناسرایهوه (الواسطی، مخطوط: ۵۷، ۹۵۱). گرنگی ئهو بهکار هینانهی کوردی لموهدایه که نهك تهنها بر بهكار هیّنانی دهقی شیعریی بووه، بهلْکو له دهربرینی سوّفییانهشدا بهكار هیّنراوه و ووشهکانی به مانای ئایینی تازه بارگاوی کراون. بنگومان دووریی ئهم ناوچهیهی ئهبولوهفای تندابوو له ز ممینهی کوردی، وادهکات به کار هینانی ئهو و یاوهرانی بو زمان جیکه وتهیه کی کور دبیانه ی نهبی و وهك ئەزموونىكى تاكەكەسىيانە بمىنىتەرە و بەردەوامىي مىز وويى نەبى.

به لام کاتیک سۆفی له زهمینه که دا ده ری و به زمانی خه لکی ئه وی دهدوی، ئه وا جوریک له پابهندی ئایینی له نیوان ئه و و ناوهنده که دروست دهبی. تا وای لیدی که سیتی سوفییانه ی شیخ ته نیا له رووه سه روو ئاساییه که ی دهبینری، که ئاکامیکی پهیوهندی پیروز کراوی نیوان هم دوو لایه. ئه مه به ئاشکرا له سوفییه کی نا ئاساییی، له رووی ویناکر دنه و ، دهبینری، که ئه ویش شیخ عهدی کوری موسافیری هه کاری (۲۶۷-۱۱۲۲) درای

لعبارهی ژیان و کهسنتی ئهم سۆفییه قسهی زور کراوه، به تایبهت ئهو پنگهیهی له ننو دوکترینی ئایینی ئنزدیدا همیمتی و وهك کهسنکی میتا منزوویی سهرهدهری لهگهلدا کراوه. همرچوننك بنت ئهوهی بو ئیمه گرنگه ئهو قوناغه منزووییهی ژیانییمتی که له ناوهنده شهریعهتییهکه دادهبری و بهتهواوی، له ده شهری همکاری له لالش، نیشتهجی دهبی. لهویدا شیخ عهدی وهك یهکیك له سوفییه گهورهکانی سهردهمهکهی باسی

دەكرى، به حوكمى ياوەرىتى كردن و پەيوەندى توندوتۆلى لەگەل ھۆندى لەو سۆفىيانەى كارىگەريان بەسەر نەخشى دواترى سۆفىگەرىدا ھەبووە، وەك شۆخ عەبدولقادرى گەيلانى. خۆ ناوبانگى شۆخ عەدىش لە ھى ئەو كەمتر نەبووە و رەنگدانەوەى ئەو پەيوەندىيە بووە كە لە نۆوان ئەو و ناوەندە كۆمەلآيەتىيەكەى چى ببوو. پەيوەندىيەك كە واى كردووە شۆخ عەدى وەك شۆخىكى سۆفى ئاساييى نەبىنرى. ئەو خۆى لە سەردەمۆكدا ژياوە، كە رەھەندى كەرامەتتوۆنانەى كەسىتى سۆفى زال بوو بەسەر رەھەندە ئايىنيەكانى ترى، بەتايبەت ھەردوو رەھەندى شەربىعەتى و حەقىقەتىيانەى. ئەمەش كارىگەرى دەبى لەسەر ئەو پەيوەندىيە زەانىيەش كە لەو زەمىنەى شۆخى تۆدا بووە زالبووە. ئەو لە گفتوگۆدا زمانى كوردى بەكارھۆناوە؛ وەك لە سەرچاوە سۆڧىيەكاندا ويناكراوە، لە حالى كەرامەتتوينىدا بە كوردى قسەى كردووە. يەكۆك لە مورىدەكانى ئەم بەسەرھاتە دەگۆرىتەموە:

⁴ لیکوّلُمری معناقیبنامهکه لیّره و له شویّنی تریش له بری "لالش"، ووشهی "کالش"ی نوسیوه، که پیّدهچی هملّهی ناسخی دمستنوسهکه بیّ. چونکه پایهی شیخیان لهپیر فرزیدا بر دوته ئاستیك، که قهبول نهکر اوه و لهلایمن ئهوانهی خویان به داکوکیکار له شمریعهت دهناسینن به شیخپهرستی تومهتبار دهکرین (ابن تیمیه، ۱۹۹۱: ۱۹۰۰% ۲۲۶/۷).

ههر چۆننك بنت، ئهو گوتاره شهريعهتييه بهردهوام كارى بۆ جياكردنهوهى شنخ عهدى لهو ناوهنده ئايينيه دەكرد، تەنانەت كە دەشىيەرى ناوەندەكە – بە تىگەيشتنى خۆى – بگەرىنىتەرە نىو خۆى، دەخوازى ئەو شیخ عەدىيەيان يى بناسینیتەوە، كە ئەو خۆى قەبولىيەتى و يینى رازېيە، ئەمە بە ئاشكرا لە نوسین و "وهسيهته گهورهكه-الوصية الكبرى"ى ئيبن تهيميه (م. ٧٢٨ك/١٣٢٧ز) بۆ يهيره وكارانى شيخ عهدى دياره (۱۹۸۷: ۳۷). به لام كيشهى ئهم گوتاره ئهوميه كه شيخ عهدييهك دهبيني به عهرهبي دواوه و لهويدا عمقیدهی ئه هلی سوننه و جهماعه تی به پانکر دووه (الهکاری، ۱۹۹۸)، نهك "شیخادی" پهك که له و زممینه په بهره بهره لمنیو دهقی زارهکیدا دادهریژر ایموه ، ئهمهش به پشت بهستن به دیوی حمقیقهتییانهکهی. ووردتر بلّنین و بنای سو فییانهی ئمو، که له نیو نماقهی سو فییاندا همبووه و تبیدا شیخ عمدی به موجاهمده گمیشتوته ئاستىك، بە تىكەيشتنى كەسىكى وەك شىخ عەبدولقادرى گەيلانى، لە مەقامى يىغەمبەرىتى نزىك خستۆتەوە (الیافعی، ۲۰۰۱: ۷۸). همروهها کهستنیدهکی کهرامهتنوینی نائاسایی که بهرنامهیه کی بور ریکخستنی كۆمەلايەتى، لەسەر بنەماي ئايىنى - تەرىقەتىيانە ھەبووە. لەكولتورە زارەكىيە سەروو زەمەنىيەكەدا، ووردە وورده رههنده ئيسلامييه – عمر مبييه کهي ئهو دهسريتهوه و لهجييدا "شيخادي"بيهك دمبينين که توانيويهتي سیستهمیکی کولتوری سمربهخو دابریژی و پهیرهوکارانی ناسنامهی خویان لهسم ئهم سیستهمه و بهیشت بهستن بهو دهقانه دابریزن و له ماوهی دریزی میزوودا خویان رووبهرووی مهترسی و توندوتیزییه کی پیرۆزکراوی گوتاره هەژموونگەراكە بكەنەوە. ئەم زارەكىبوونەی باوەرەكەش – ئەگەرچى لەگەل ھەر هەڭمەتتكى قركردندا دەبىي بەشتكى لەناوچووبىي – بەلام ھەر ئەم رووبەرووبوونەوەيە پېرۆزى سەروو ئاسایی ییّدهبهخشی و گوتن و خویّندنهو میان سروت و کهسی تمرخانکراو "قهوال"ی بوّ دروست دهبی، که وهك دەقىي پېرۆز سەرەدەرى لەگەلدا بكەن و پارێزگارى لىي بكەن(رەشۆ، ۲۰۰٤: ۲۹۱/۱ ۳۹۱/۱). ئەگەرچى بە كاريگەرى زەمەن روخسارى بنەرەتى بەيت و دەقەكان كاڭ بۆتەو، بەلام خۆ لەوپدا شېخادى همر کاریگمری دممینییتموه و له نیو ئمو زمانهی پمیرهوکارانی قسمی یی دهکمن همم خوّی و همم زمانهكهش بهردهواميي دهبهخشنه يروسهي بهرههمهيناني بيروزي ئاييني. له ئاكاميشدا تهنيا ئهو وينايهي سوّ في دەمننىتەو م كە لە خەيالدانى ئىز دىيەكاندا ھەيە.

ئەنجام

کاتیك زمان ده کهویته بهردهم زمانیکی ئایینی بالادهست، ئه وا ده کهویته حالهتی رووبه پرووبوونه وه بویه همولده دات به پنی پرهوشه نوییه که گوزارشت له حهقیقه تی ئایینی بکات، له گهل گوپرانی زهمه و کاره کته ره ئایینیه کانیشدا، بتوانی بهرده وامی به و ده لاله تانه بدات که له نیو گوتاره ههمه گیره کهی باوه پره که کاره کته کی کردوونه ته وه. زمانی کوردی له سه ده کانی ناوه پاستدا خوّی له نیو په و شیکی ئاوادا بینیوه ته وه خوگه کی کردووه، کوردی پاشه کشه کی که زمانه بالادهسته که کونترولی ده که که کوتاره ئایینیه کهی کردووه، کوردی پاشه کشه کی کردووه له وه که نیو نهم گوتاره دا جیگه یه بکاته و و ببیته به شیکی سیسته مه پیکه پینه به دو و که پیکه پینه و ده سته واژه کانی زمانی فه رمی له نیو خویدا جیگه بکاته و و له پریگه پیانه وه به و سیسته مه ئاشنا بیت. ئه مکاره ش ئاکامیکی کرده ی سیاسی کوردان و تیگه ی مهزه بییانه ی زانا ئایینیه کورده کان بووه و نهم دوو گرویه ده سته بری نه نایستی میالیی بووه و په نایینیدا - به ن نه وه ی کراوه پتر له ئاستی میالیی بووه و په نگدانه وه ی موسلمانبوونی کومهلگای ده ربوی نی دوره و له سنوری ده ربوینی زاره کیدا ماوه ته و .

کاتیکیش هیّندیّك پرموتی ئابینی قموارهی سمربهخوّیان دهبیّ میالیی دهبنموه و له دهرهوهی همرهموونی ئاپراستهی فمرمیی ئاپیندا، که ئاپراستهی شمریعهتخوازانمیه، زهمینهی کوّمهلایهتی بو تیّز و تیّگه ئاپینیهکانیان دهدوّزنموه، وهك سوّفیگمری، ئموا بواری تیّکهلبوونموهی باوه پی ئاپینی و زمانی لوّکالی که کوردییه ده پرهخسیّ. پرهنگه همر ئهمهش، له پال فاکتمری جوگرافی و سروشتی کوّمهلایهتی کوردهوه، هوّکاریّکی بمردهوامیدان بووبیّ به قموارهی زمانه و پیگریّك بووبیّ له توانموه و تمواو لمناوچوونی. ئیدی سوّفیگمری دهتوانیّ – ئهگمر له سنوریّکی بمرتمسکیش بی – زمانی کوردی به باوه پی ئابینی ئاشنا بکات و لمنیو زماندا پیروّزیی بهرهمهمهیّنیّت.

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