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## **EDITORIAL**

We are together for the seventeenth issue, the January issue of 2023. It is very exciting to present this new issue of our e-journal, the International Journal of Kurdish Studies – a journal for Kurdish Studies. Every issue provides new ambitions and motivation for us to achieve a better journal, thanks to your fruitful and motivational support, collaboration and encouragement.

The papers in this issue are as usual listed in the Contents. They are again our contribution to the field of Kurdish Studies. We thank the journal employees, authors, reviewers and all the others who have contributed to the preparation process. And, we hope to meet you all again in the forthcoming issues...

Hasan KARACAN, Ph. D  
Editor in Chief



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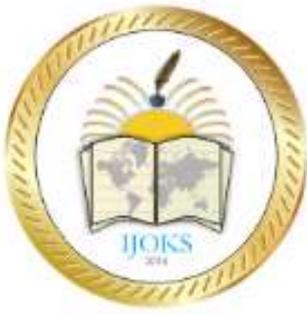
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Article

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**The Position of Kurdish Women in the View of the British in the First Half of the Twentieth Century**

**Qadir MUHAMMAD**<sup>1</sup> 

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**Abstract**

When British travelers visited Kurdish regions in the first half of the twentieth century they recorded their memories and opinions on Kurdish society, especially the position of women. This article analyses the text the British travelers produced to understand whether they were written from an orientalist perspective. The freedom of Kurdish women impressed the British travellers and officers, and in particular they differentiated between Kurdish women and other Muslim societies. They admired the high status of Kurdish women in society regardless of class, in both rural and urban communities. That freedom was reflected in their clothing, lack of face coverings and confident treatment of foreigners. Women participated in politics, became leaders of their communities, and educated themselves, leading British travelers to make comparisons between Kurdish and European women. This article challenges the idea that British travelers considered Kurdish women solely from an orientalist perspective. While orientalism determined many of their views on Kurdish society, British views of Kurdish women were informed by comparison with Europeans.

**Keywords:** Kurdish Women, Liberty, Martial, Oriental

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## **Introduction**

Kurdish society has been living in many parts of the world such as Armenia, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey throughout the history (Babayiğit & Dilbaz, 2015; Karacan & Babayiğit, 2017); hence, Kurds have always kept attention of various societies due to the fact that this language holds many dialects and cultural aspects in various regions (Babayiğit, 2020; Babayiğit, 2021a; Babayiğit, 2021b). One can be claimed that imperial strategy ensured that the British enjoyed had a long history of visiting Kurdish regions. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many British travelers, officers, administrators and soldiers visited even the most remote Kurdish regions for different purposes before and after the First World War, and especially after they had annexed southern Kurdish regions (Mosul Wilaiat) to the newly founded Iraq. During the period of the British Mandate, they stayed in the region for long periods. It is rare to find a British traveler, military officer, merchant or administrator who visited Kurdish regions without recording opinions on the position of Kurdish women. This article attempts to identify the perspectives of the British in the first half of the twentieth century with regard to the role of Kurdish women in society. While those British travelers who were passing through the region on their way to India or visiting other parts of the Middle East tended to discuss Kurdish society in brief, those with political or administrative roles in the region provided more detailed commentary.

The travelers tried to understand the ways in which Kurdish women were important in society, even though did not investigate why the position of the women was significant. But they did make comparisons. Kurdish women enjoyed a greater degree of liberty than women in other Muslim societies, but they also resembled British women in their demands for their rights and their moral code. Critical understanding of British perspectives of the East has long been dominated by concepts of Orientalism, whereby Europeans are regarded as “powerful, civilised, clothed, and cultured; the rest of the world [as] subdued, exotic, savage, half-naked and primitive” (Wintle, 1999, p.160). In Edward Said’s classic formulation, Westerners considered the East a suitable place of fantasy, sherbet, daydreams, dancing girls, harems, ointments and princesses (Said, 2003)[put quotation marks]. Rana Kabbani believed that Westerners believed the East to be the site of “lascivious sensuality”. These beliefs endured from the Middle Ages in Europe until the twentieth century, reaching a high point in the nineteenth century on account of

the increased contact between the Orient and the Occident ( Kabbani, 1996). Europeans considered that Oriental women often elicited feelings in them that oscillated between contempt, pity, outrage and desire. They were often presented as the victim of sex (Kabbani, 1986), in contrast to 'the ideal of the vulnerable, spiritual and pure Englishwoman'. (Mabilat, 2006, p.44). They were also perceived as different from Turk (Ottoman) women who were depicted as short, fatigued and sick, especially in comparison to the assumed physique and health of English women (Odams, 1996). This article is an attempt to look beyond the stereotypes to understand how the British travelers portray Kurdish women, and how far their views were determined by Orientalism.

Previous scholars have focused on particular areas of Kurdish society. Martin Van Bruinessen argued that only the Kurdish women of the elite and noble families enjoyed a considerable amount of liberty (Bruinessen, 2001). Ahmet Serdar Aktürk, tried to marginalize the role of Kurdish women. He relied on Kurdish folklore songs which suggest that Kurdish women were oppressed by their male society. However songs, while evocative, do not provide strong or conclusive evidence.

This study is based on original sources, mostly the memoirs of British officers and travelers.

It attempts to illustrate the beliefs of the British at the time, and to evaluate British attitudes to Kurdish society and Kurdish women.

The article consists of the introduction and four sections. Section one discusses the important position of Kurdish women in society, paying attention to their high status, their liberty, and the extent to which they could make contact with the opposite sex. In the second section, the article discusses the leadership, political, and martial characteristics of Kurdish women in society. The third section discusses the status of marriage and the fourth section discusses the level of education amongst Kurdish women and girls.

### **Section 1: The Importance of Kurdish women**

The section discusses the important role of the Kurdish women in society, including the degree of freedom they enjoyed in speaking to foreigners, in comparison with other women in Muslim society. The freedom of Kurdish women can also be seen in their dress, leading the British to

observe similarities between Kurdish women and Europeans. In the second part of the article the decline in the importance of Kurdish women is addressed.

### **1:1 Liberty of Kurdish Women**

This section discusses the liberty of Kurdish women and their important position in society, in the view of the British. The common orientalist stereotypes about females in the East were negative: women of the East were presented as weak, sensual, and worried. By contrast it was the freedom and the high status of the Kurdish women which was discussed by British officials and travelers. One such was a Dr. Ross who worked among the Bakhtyari Kurds (Asatrian, 2009), who were settled in the Lursitani bzburg, which is situated in the lands between Isfahan and the Karun River (Ross, 1921). While working there as a medic, she wrote a diary and dedicated most of her book to the Bakhtyari women and girls. She had another perspective, which is significantly different from most of the Westerners. She wrote more positively about the tribe and their women, and believed that the important position accorded to women came from the role of the Prophet of Islam. During the early Islamic period, women had a high level of freedom. The Prophet had never advocated minimizing the role of women. Even in his last pilgrimage he concentrated on the rights of women. His wife Aysha was the army leader in the Camel battle. His daughter Fatima had a significant role in political issues, and his granddaughter Zainab also had a strong personality, but after the death of the Prophet, the role of women was gradually minimized (Ross, 1921). The positive role of the Prophet is ignored by Orientalist perspectives rooted in a negative understanding of Islam and the Prophet Mohammed.

The liberty of Kurdish women attracted the attention of the British, and many praised Kurdish women. For example, G. E. Hubbard who crossed most parts of the Kurdish regions, noted his views on the Kurds in Hawraman. He wrote about how, for example, Kurdish men did not treat their women like slaves; rather they gave them the same liberty men had in society (Hubbard, 1917). For Hubbard, there was no gender discrimination, and that liberty which Kurdish women were given led them to become more confident, and to have a greater role in society. Mark Sykes, who frequently visited the country, obtained a large amount of information about the country and its people. He believed that Kurdish women and girls had considerable freedom; they were treated well by men, and they could use guns and ride horses (Sykes, 1908). This is in clear contrast to Edward Said's notion of Orientalism, which considered that Europeans often

saw their role as a mission to teach notions of freedom and liberty to the Eastern people because they were ignorant of them (Said, 2003). Said's beliefs about Egyptian women cannot be applied to Kurdish women, especially in relation to the degree of freedom they enjoyed.

The Kurdish women's freedom in society was reflected in many aspects of their lives, such as the freedom to express their opinions, and to speak about their rights. Soane, for example held this view, noting that Kurdish women had enough liberty to speak out. According to him, Kurdish women could express themselves freely without filtration. They could speak about any topic without any judgment (Soane, 1914). This type of freedom could be seen among many Kurdish tribes. Mark Sykes in another account noted this freedom amongst different tribes of Kurds. He said that among the Zaza Kurds the women had more freedom because the women confidently had fun with the caravan (foreigners who crossed their areas) (Sykes, 1915). Besides, the Bakhtyari women could speak with foreigners such as European medical doctors (Ross, 1921). Freedom of speech meant women had the confidence to meet or welcome foreigners, in contrast with European beliefs that Eastern women were faithless and fickle (Kabbani, 1986).

In addition, the British positively differentiated Kurdish women from other Muslim women. Captain Hay, who spent two years in the Southern parts of Kurdish regions' considered that Kurdish women were much more respected than other Muslim women (Hay, 1921). Therefore, men gave them more rights. Coan (1939) like many of the British officers and travelers, could not hide his orientalist perspective on Kurdish society. He believed that some Kurds had a tendency towards criminal behavior, but that Kurdish women were different from other Muslim women, namely Persians and Turks. Kurdish women were accorded a greater amount of freedom than the Turkish and Persians, as Bengio has also argued (Bengio, 2016). British writers differentiated Kurdish women from other women in the East. That liberty was reflected in many ways, including dress.

The veil is one of the aspects that was often seen as identifying Oriental women according to European officials and travelers. The Eastern female was enigmatic, and the real person was hidden (Mabilat, 2006). The veil was also considered as a symbol of restriction, and a way of separating local women from others (foreigners) (Lewis, 2019). The British in many respects tried to represent Kurdish women as different from other Muslim communities, the style of clothing being one of them. They found Kurdish women in many parts of the country unveiled.

For example, according to Lynch, writing on the Bilki tribe in northern Kurdish areas'“ Their women go about in perfect freedom and unveiled” (Lynch, 1901). Furthermore, Fredrick G Coan noted that the Kurdish men did not oblige their women to remain in seclusion and they did not wear a veil (Coan, 1939). From the European point of view, the people of the East separated their females and prevented them from mixing with the outside world, but the British did not see this amongst the Kurds. The Bakhtyari women in their villages had never veiled, which was according to the Prophet's permission (Ross, 1921). In addition, among the Balake Kurds who settled in the southern part of Sasun, the women were totally free and did not wear a veil ( Lynch, 1901), unlike other Muslim women who could not go outside without a veil (Soane, 1914). Not wearing a veil distinguished Kurdish women from other Muslims but brought them closer to English women (Hubbard, 1917). British travelers portrayed Kurdish women as free and unmasked like European women.

The British officials and travelers went further however, and tried to find more similarities between them and European women. Ross recorded that one of the most important aspects of the life of the Bakhtayri women was their liberty, as they could do everything they wanted. The Bakhtayri women had, or obtained power, an achievement envied by many less successful suffragist women in Europe (Ross, 1921). This commentary confirms the difference between the treatment of and rights accorded to women in comparison to other women in the East. It does not fit with the Orientalist notion that highlighted mental differences as the main barrier between the assumed lazy Oriental people and the supposedly wise Occidental people (Kabbani, 1986).

There was another similarity between Kurdish and British women. Ross highlighted the moral codes which created a link between them. She observed that immorality was rare amongst the Bakhtyari women; in the twenty years she spent with them, there was just one case (Ross, 1921). Noel compared the situation with England at the time (Noel, 1920), and further noted that the Kurdish women had a great amount of liberty but they never misused it, and this added to the sense of their personal strength. Noel confirmed that prostitution had not been seen among the Kurds at all, suggesting they enjoyed a high status, rather than being regarded as the sexual servants of men. This is evidenced by the fact that in the Kurdish language there was ' no word for prostitute' (Noel, 1920, p.85). Sykes argued that, the Kurds were emancipated but their moral codes and chastity were still very important, which differentiated them from other parts of the

Ottoman Empire (Sykes, 1915). For Noel 'the Turkish women close her veil and open their skirt, our women just do the opposite' (Noel, 1920,p.10).

Sykes observed that even the Kurdish women in the towns and cities had a great deal of freedom. In Sinjar, Rwanduz and Zakho (Kurdish towns) Kurdish women were swimming in public, which was very rare in other (non Kurdish) cities (Sykes, 1915). Sykes may have been drawing comparisons between Kurdish women of these towns and the women of the mixed cities like Mosul. He may also have been making a point about class: Kurdish women of all classes had a considerable degree of freedom. If they were presented as exotic, this was regarded as a positive point.

Another aspect of a free society seen among the Bakhtyary women, was property ownership. It is true that in the Islamic societies, and according to the Islamic rules, women had the right to obtain an income, but gradually they lost their rights and a woman's income was deemed to belong to a man, until the man in question had died. Among the Bakhtyary Kurds the Bibis, wives of chiefs, had their own income, which came from their villages (Ross, 1921). Financial independence conferred a substantial amount of liberty on women, and facilitated their participation in the local economy.

### **1.2:The decline in the position of Kurdish women**

It is clear that Kurdish society had changed, especially as foreign lifestyles were adopted, leading to the abandonment of some of norms and culture. As society changed the role of women was transformed. Through reading the British accounts, it is clear that the high status of Kurdish women did not continue indefinitely. Wigram stated that the liberty of Kurdish women gradually declined, as he said the Kurds 'esteem for their women had decreased recently' (Wigram, 1922). According to Wigram, there were many fights and intertribal wars, but when the Kurds fought against each other, women were normally kept safe, and no one molested them; this situation had changed in the last few years (Wigram, 1922). Wigram's comment suggests that Kurdish tribal society had had a high respect for its women. While he did not analyse the reason behind the change, it was probably a result of the adoption of a modern lifestyle. As Kurds settled in various towns the status of women gradually started to decrease, and Kurdish men tried to limit the liberty of women and girls. This is particularly notable when we compare the comments of the British in the early t the twentieth century with later periods.

## **Section 2: The Political Role of Kurdish Women**

This chapter focuses on two main points. British travellers and officers highlighted that the Kurdish women participated in political affairs in their local communities; in rural areas they had influence over their husbands, or they became the real tribal leaders of their communities. Even in the urban areas they had an important political role. In the second part of this section the martial role of women in their communities is explored.

### **2.1: The Leadership of Kurdish Women**

The female leadership of the community in both rural and urban areas in Kurdish society was one of the aspects of society which attracted the British, and differentiated Kurdish women in their minds from the notion of the -‘oriental’ women. When the male leaders ruled their tribes, women exerted influence over them. According to Hay’s experience, many of the chiefs were under the influence of their wives. These wives participated in decision making to prevent their husbands from making mistakes (Hay, 1921). Furthermore, the Kurdish women had the right to participate in political issues. These wives could also become powerful figures in governing entities or tribes. According to British texts, a Kurdish woman could become the chief of the tribe and the head of the village when her husband passed away and an infant son remained. She could also rule the village and the tribe until her child became an adult (Hay, 1921). When men went to war, the women participated in the council of their tribes (Coan, 1939), helping their male rulers to govern their community. V. Minorsky, (1945) believed that many Kurdish women could govern their community successfully in a number of ways.

Kurdish women themselves became tribal leaders. Near Rwanuz there was a female leader, named Fatima Khanum. According to Captain Hay her husband died before the defeat of the Ottomans in the First World War, and she became the leader of the tribe. Her village was situated between Faqian and Akoyan near Rwanuz, and Major Noel gave the authority to her. She had her own views about the rights of women, and Major Noel supported her. While some male chieftains did not want to govern under a female leader, they dared not disobey and cause trouble.

Fatima Khanum also had diplomatic ability as she helped the government to collect the sheep-taxes in the region (Hay, 1921).

There was another kind of leadership enacted when the great chief of the tribe did not have direct control over all villages. Each village had its own Mukhtar (village leader). A Mukhtar was a person who was ruling on behalf of the main chief of the tribe or the community, and collecting the tithe (taxes) from the peasants (Bruinessen, 1992). This position was important, and a Mukhtar could be a leader not just of one village but multiple villages. There are some cases where a woman became a Mhkhtar of their villages. For example, Fasla Kahtun was the leader of the Takima tribe and she was the Mukhtar until she died in 1963 (Bruinessen, 2001). The role meant that she had diplomatic responsibilities, and had to negotiate between the chief and the rest of the villagers.

Further evidence of female influence is provided by the example of Qadam Kher, who was well known in the early twentieth century in the Eastern part of Kurdish regions. She was a leader of her tribe, and fought against Raza Shah Pahlawi after her brother was killed by the Shah's order (invoking the second doctrine of Islam). Her rebellion continued for five years but it was contemporaneous with Shekh Mahmud's rebellion in Southern of the Kurdish regions. She aimed to join Shekh in fighting for independence. Eventually, she was misled by Raza Shah and arrested, and later, she was put in prison where she died (Ahmed and Nori, 2020). Qadam Kher was a significant leader in her community, and she was a nationalistic leader. She also tried to participate in Sheikh Mahmud's movement which was in the southern part of the Kurdish regions.

According to the information provided by various British visitors, the position of women among the Yazidi Kurds was similar to that of the Muslim Kurds, and there are examples of female leadership seen among them. When the Prince of the Yazidis Ali Beg died in suspicious circumstances, his younger wife Mayan Khatun led the Yazidi community from 1913-1957. It was later believed that Mayan Khatun killed her husband because she felt in love with a Kurdish tribal leader. She ruled the whole community, and when her son Saaid Beg grew up, she did not give up power to her son because she considered that he was a weak leader. She had a grandson

and became his guardian until she died in 1957 (Guest, 1987). She appear to have remained in power throughout and no man successfully challenged her in her lifetime.

While the British largely commented on the role of the Kurdish women in the tribal societies, there were also many reports of Kurdish women leaders and activists in towns mentioned by the British. These women appeared to lead their communities, and had a working knowledge of the political situation in their region. According to British accounts, the leadership character of Kurdish women was not seen only among the tribal groups, but also among the civil Kurds in the towns and cities. For example, one of the leadership characteristics of Kurdish women was seen in the account of Rabi'a Khan, who was the head of the bakers in Sulaymaniah in the 1920s. She was a business woman, and financially independent. She could deal with British authority figures confidently and represented her community successfully, and this was not unusual (Edmonds, 1957). For example, there was another Kurdish female politician in the 1930s known as Hafsa Khan . She was the wife of Sheikh Qadir, a distinguished figure in Sulaymaniah. In 1930, alongside some of the male Kurdish leaders, chieftains and tribal Kurds, she signed a petition against the Iraqi government, and was subsequently arrested by Iraqi officials. According to British reports, she was the decision-maker of her community, not her husband (F.O. 1930). Kurdish women were as important in towns as in tribes.

British accounts make clear that Kurdish women were perceived to have important political roles in the society and were interested in political issues, especially in reading the newspapers (Ross, 1921). The Bakhtyari Bibi was aware of the political situation in Iran, knew how the political trend had changed there and understood that women could participate in political issues. Women could also gain a political role, as was seen when the first lady had been chosen for the Iranian Parliament. One woman of the Bakhtyari was recorded as saying that it was the right time for women to participate in politics. She stated, "We could break windows just as well as English women" demonstrating that the Kurdish women were aware of the political role of European women in their societies, and felt equal to them (Ross, 1921, p.107). The Bakhtyari women were highly ambitious and active in politics and women's rights.

Kurdish women's awareness of political issues was comparable to that of women in the West. Kurdish scholars have uncovered Kurdish women's involvement in political and intellectual issues in the capitals or metropolitan cities like Istanbul. In 1919 in Istanbul, Kurdish women

established an organization to help them to be involved in political and intellectual activities (Ahmed and Nori, 2020). These examples are in sharp contrast to the Victorian idea that Oriental women were doubly inferior; they were from the East and they were female, but they were a more "conspicuous commodity" than other Occidental women (Kabbani, 1986).

## **2.2: The Martial Role of Kurdish Women**

Nearly all of the Western observers presented the Kurds as a martial race (Muhammad, 2017). For that reason, when discussing Kurdish women, they also highlighted their martial duties and freedom to perform them. According to Mark Sykes, Kurdish women could ride a horse and visited remote places without a male escort sometimes it was claimed that they bullied their husbands. In this regard, they enjoyed a freedom akin to English women (Sykes, 1915). Noel for example noted that a female relative of a well-known Kurdish man helped her husband; she could use a rifle, and she could cut her hair (Noel, 1920). Edmonds reported similar ideas about a Kurdish woman in Pshdar, whose name was Faqe Marif (although this name was unusual as it is a male name). She freely mixed with men, rode horses, carried weapons, dressed in men's clothing and participated in horsemen's ceremonies (Edmonds, 1957). Mark Sykes had an even stronger view, and considered that the majority of Kurdish women had martial abilities; they could use guns in shooting as accurately as the men, and Kurdish women could also ride horses, and became knights (Sykes, 1908). Kurdish women, as a result of having a significant position in society, exercised traditional male roles and duties. This evidence directly contradicts the orientalist idea that women in the east "were either sexual beings who were whorish or caring companions in the home, untinged by sexual ardour" (Kabbani, 1986, p.48).

## **Section 3: Marriage**

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, orientalist's ideas of women and marriage in the Near East were different to those of the Europeans and the British. This section focuses on marriage amongst the Kurds according to British perspectives, and on how marital customs changed over time.

The Orientalist narrative depicted Eastern women as weak, shy and totally dependent on men in society. The British however tried to differentiate between the Kurdish women and other Muslim

societies. For example, marriage among the other Muslim ethnicities could only be organized by a third party, like parents, while Kurdish women had enough freedom to marry someone they loved, as European women did (Soane, 1914). They did not need a third party to organize the marriage, and the man was free to choose a wife (Noel, 1920). In the marriage process, women played a significant role (Noel, 1920). Kurdish people bestowed freedom on the younger generation to marry, as in Europe, and the Kurds believed they shared a similar racial heritage with Europeans.

Whilst women had an important role in choosing their husbands, the trends in marriage, changed over time. In the past both sexes married at an early age, but according to British observations, the age at which women married rose gradually among the Kurds, in particular for Bakhtyari women. For instance, Ross cited Samsam on the Saltanah's belief about the rise in what was considered a marriageable age. She told the doctor that she married when she was eight but her daughter-in-law was married when she was fifteen, and her daughter would not be allowed to marry until she was seventeen (Ross, 1921). One of the reasons for that change was the adoption of new lifestyles. Some Bakhtyari Khans (boys) for example, started to study in Europe and did not return home until they reached their twenties. They then married, thus raising the age of marriage among the Bakhtyari (Ross, 1921). It is also possible that when they visited Europe, they adopted some of the customs of the European lifestyle, including marrying later in life, and reaffirming their belief that Kurdish society was different to the Orientalist and supposedly unchanging perspectives of Eastern Societies.

However, the adoption of new lifestyles was double-edged for some Kurdish women. As more Kurdish men and women moved into towns and cities from rural areas, they came into contact with lifestyles that curtailed women's freedom of movement and status. This is revealed in British reports warning of the decline of the liberty of the Bakhtyari women because they had more contact with Muslim women of the towns who had more limited personal freedom (Ross, 1921). Ross explained her belief about several Bakhtyari khans, and the decrease of freedom of the Bakhtyari women. According to her, whilst the majority of Khans wanted their women to have a high degree of liberty, when they went to live in towns, they had to submit to the common customs and norms of the towns which limited their freedom, and there their lifestyles became similar to those of the Muslim women in the towns (Ross, 1921). As Bakhtyaris had a strong

relationship with the governing Persian families, when they migrated to the cities, in particular to the Persian cities, they also had to submit to their culture and lifestyles, which did not permit women to have so much personal freedom.

#### **Section 4: Education**

In the nineteenth and the early twentieth century in the Kurdish regions, the educational system was controlled by the religious schools and madrasas. The majority of the students were boys, but some girls studied and could learn reading and writing within their houses with support from their families, or in the schools. According to Ross, the Bakhtyari allowed their girls to study as much as they could; however, they did not let them leave their home for the sake of studying, and they were expected to study in their hometown. As a result, Ross observed, it would be impossible to find an illiterate Bibi among the younger generation (Ross, 1921). Kurdish women had an important position in society, as was reflected in their right to study. Ross continued to discuss the nature of Kurdish women's literacy. She related that Bakhtyari women were generally very skilled in writing and reading. Arithmetic was one of the subjects in which they could learn to a high standard in the schools (Ross, 1921). Her comment regarding the education levels and intellect of Bakhtyari women contradicts the orientalist perspectives that characterized people in Eastern societies as lazy and ignorant (Said, 2003). These mental differences were often central to the perception of the differences between the 'lazy' Oriental people and the 'wise' Occidental people (Kabbani, 1986)

Ross wrote further on the purpose of girls' education. She said that some of the Bibi Bakhtyari women aimed to learn foreign languages (Ross, 1921). It was rare to find any Kurdish native with knowledge of another language, and therefore, they totally depended on foreign teachers. This situation shows the tolerance of Kurdish families in allowing their women and girls to have contact with foreign or non-Muslim teachers.

Medical information about the Bakhtyari women was another point which attracted Ross, as she related that the Bibis were very good doctors in their community (Ross, 1921). The majority of the women had enough education to recognize medical treatments, and how to use them. The

women worked as medical doctors, for the sake of the health of their community. Another point to note is that Kurdish women had sufficient freedom to treat people outside their families.

In the early twentieth century, in many parts of Muslim society, only men had the chance to study, but among the Kurds the situation was quite different. The Bakhtiary women could be considered as free women, within Kurdish society. Bibi Mah Begum, the wife of the Bakhtiary chieftain, was reputed to be highly intelligent and could read newspapers, and was even ‘ quite au fait with all the latest doings of our suffragettes’ (Ross, 1921, p.44). The implicit assumption made by Ross here was that the intellect of Kurdish women and their education had allowed them to be aware of the women’s rights’ movement in England, and maybe also led them to further understand their status as similar to that of the suffragettes. Gradually education amongst the Kurdish women increased in particular in the southern part of Kurdish region, where some women became school teachers and English interpreters (Hansen, 1960)

## **Conclusion**

British travelers and administrative officers who came to the Kurdish regions tried to depict the degree of freedom and status enjoyed by Kurdish women in a number of ways. They found that Kurdish women enjoyed considerable liberty; they were brave and even became leaders of their tribes, which was an important aspect of Kurdish society. These views contrasted with their predominantly orientalist view of Kurdish society as a whole. They believed Kurdish women to be different from other women in the Islamic world, and more similar to European women in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

This article has also confirmed that women of all classes and of all religious doctrines, in nearly all parts of the country had considerable liberty. This finding again contrasts with the prevailing scholarly views that only women and girls of noble families and elite people were given liberty. As many of the British travelers and officers stayed for a considerable time in the country, this gives added credence to the idea that they were able to see most sections of society and therefore could comment on Kurdish women and girls that were not from elite families.

The British travelers’ understanding of Kurdish women differed markedly from their orientalist perspectives about Eastern people in general, and even Kurdish society. They

recognized that many women of the Bakhtyari were financially independent, and ruled their tribes and communities.

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Article

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Salim Barakat's First Novel: *Sages of Darkness*

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Abstract

Aviva Butt has just finished translating in collaboration with the author, Salim Barakat's first novel *Fuqahā' al-Zalām* (*Sages of Darkness*) written in 1985. The translation was done from a later original Arabic manuscript roughly the same as the 1994 Baghdadi edition. *Sages of Darkness* is a Kurdish Sufi novel depicting Kurdish life in late Ottoman times. It is, in fact, a philosophical novel with a strong dose of psychological realism, written in a style derived from Classical Modernism. And so, it is mainstream literature, an achievement in view of the late start in novel-writing by the Kurdish far-flung writers' community. The action line, full of suspense, violence, and murder, is greatly about the tribal notable "Avdei Sarei," who does everything he can to ensure the survival of his business and the economic health of his endeavors. In this article, the translator of *Sages of Darkness* analyzes Barakat's novelistic techniques for the purpose of prompting a better understanding of the novel, and by-the-by, if possible, to solve the enigma of the meaning of the title.

**Keywords:** Salim Barakat, poet and novelist, *Sages of Darkness*, Kurdish novel, psychological realism, Kurdish Sufism, Islamic Kabbalah,

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## Introduction

Salīm Barakāt (Kurdish: Selim Berekat) was born in 1951 in the city of al-Qamishli, in the Kurdish region of Jazira in the north of Syria that lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. When he was eighteen years of age, he left his birthplace and has never returned. From then on he wrote poetry and prose, almost all the content of which has been connected to his own Kurdish existence. For the past twenty odd years, he has lived in Sweden where there is a Kurdish writers' community. As evident from my book of 2021,<sup>2</sup> together with the as yet unpublished translation of the novel under discussion, Salīm Barakāt is the greatest of the mainstream Arabic modern poets and also most likely the greatest writer of modern mainstream literary fiction.

During 2022, I translated Salim Barakat's novel *Sages of Darkness (Fuqahā' al-Zalām)* from the Arabic original to English, in collaboration with the author. In 2022, I also wrote two articles on *Sages of Darkness*, both published in the *International Journal of Kurdish Studies (IJOKS)*. Now I would like to add a few more remarks having come to the end of translating the book.

The present translation, the first to English, is from the manuscript the author sent me, and it approximates the 1994 Arabic edition.<sup>3</sup> In taking on an increased aura of mysticism between the 1985 Cyprus publication, and the 1994 first edition, it shifts from being greatly psychological realism to become a philosophical novel with extensive description of Islamic Kabbala.<sup>4</sup> One might say that it is a Kurdish Sufi novel that illustrates the way of life of Kurdish communities in late Ottoman times. This period in Ottoman history was not only a period of transition to adapt to modernization and a global economy, but also a time of corrupt Ottoman governance and collapse. Inevitably there would be tensions, and in fact there was so much economic hardship and insecurity in general, that even the "mighty men" of those times were crazed by the extreme hardships they endured. Thus, the historical background yields a suspenseful tale, as well as the need to interpret ongoing tragedies, and then to re-invent Kurdish culture which is currently common in different parts of the world such as Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey (Babayiğit, 2020; Babayiğit, 2021 & Karacan & Babayiğit, 2017). The historian Michael Eppel makes a few

<sup>2</sup> See Aviva Butt. *Salim Barakat, Mahmud Darwish, and the Kurdish and Palestinian Similitude: Qamishli Extended*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing. UK: September 2021: 270 pp. This book has an anthology of poems as Appendix and analyzes the more recent techniques of the poets discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Salīm Barakāt, (1<sup>st</sup> edition). *Fuqahā' al-Zalām / فقهاء الظلام [Sages of Darkness]*. Baghdad: Al-Mada Publishing House, 1994. Previously published in 1985 in an earlier version in Nicosia Cyprus.

<sup>4</sup> See Aviva Butt, "Salim Barakat's novel, Sages of Darkness: Who is Benav's son Bekas?" *International Journal of Kurdish Studies* 8 (1), January 2022: 82-98. <https://doi.org/10.21600/ijoks.1028134>.

comments about the period of the Tanzimat Reforms in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1876) and towards the end of the nineteenth century, relevant to understanding Barakat's novel:

On the one hand, the elimination of the tribal Kurdish emirates and the weakness of the Ottoman administration allowed the tribes and tribal leadership to gain strength over the course of the nineteenth century. . . . But, even as landowners became more powerful, the elimination of the autonomous emirates that had ruled over the tribes strengthened tribal frameworks and loyalties. Insecurity, anarchy, robbery, and violence increased, against the background of impotent Ottoman rule and poverty and the constant struggle for survival in the harsh terrain and climate of Kurdistan. . .

In the vacuum that followed the elimination of the emirates, the Sufi shaykhs became more influential. . . Though modified to some extent, the tribal patterns were basically preserved, with some tribes still headed by traditional tribal notables, while others congregated around the shaykhs. The lack of significant change in the conditions of production and survival contributed to the preservation of tribal social patterns, notwithstanding the disappearance of the emirates.<sup>5</sup>

In *Sages of Darkness*, Barakat's protagonist Mullah Benav is one of those "traditional tribal notables" mentioned above by the historian Michael Eppel. The novel opens with a description of a Kurdish Mullah laying claim to moments of private contemplation. At the same time, the author establishes the methodology he will use to achieve his goal of unity and unbroken continuity for his lengthy novel:

A man-of-means, Mullah Benav Bin Kojarei aimed to appear as composed as usual. He smiled with confidence, his lips over big strong teeth. Then he raised his hands and recited the opening prayer in a murmur.

Some of the men roundabout rose from where they sat, intending to ingratiate themselves with him. But he didn't turn towards them. He spread his prayer rug and performed two Rak'as, thus prolonging the externalities of prayer with fading murmurs of thanks, and words of praise.

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Eppel. *A People without a State: The Kurds From the Rise of Islam to the Dawn of Nationalism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016: pp. 65-66. DOI: 10.7560/309117.

That is, just as there are the externalities of prayer as differentiated from the Mullah's heartfelt prayer, in the forthcoming chapters there will be the tale of historical externalities of a tale interwoven with the mystical and fantastical workings of a human drama. In Chapter Two, an ongoing ballade will provide an altogether additional parallel content—miraculously, due to the skill of the author providing touch points from time to time between the ballade and the second narrative with its often mysterious and strange content.

The book, Barakat's first novel, has five chapters which are lengthy, all the more so since each one contains intertwined narratives. Chapter One begins by bringing to the fore the protagonist Mullah Benav, who is highly respected in a Kurdish community of the Hasakah Governate, where he lives in late Ottoman times in Syria. The Mullah's existence in this environment seems to hearken back to a Kurdish Golden Age—a sempiternity in which its no-time (*waqt*) will soon shift to a world of present, past, and future, a different kind of time (*waqt*)—a shift-in-meaning. The Mullah himself explains the world in which he lives:

For anyone who finds favor in Allah's eyes, his affairs would run properly of their own accord. At the neighbors, women baked bread for the family, in an oven, ample supplies for the winter from the sacks of flour. The butcher chose the best of the meat, and took it to the gate himself, even without being asked. The children were spoiled, the relatives competing to win his wife's affection, so that she would of course intimate to him, who was worthy of his excessive generosity. Even a stray olive sapling in the courtyard, not grown more than a meter in seven years, would find someone willing to loosen the earth around it.

But no more. Now Mullah Benav is witnessing “a great decline in his agricultural activities.” He is, in fact, confronted with the effects of drought, alongside new ideologies, new farming methods, and attempts by the Governate and local government to exercise tighter, unwanted, and bumbling control of Kurdish communities that were once run autonomously. The Mullah is confused and unable to cope.

The Mullah cannot reconcile his expectations, what he demands of himself as a good, a righteous, and a moral person—and at the same time cope with for example the immediacy of his community's pending economic disaster:

The men noticed but didn't question the Mullah's distancing himself from them. Perhaps his sorrow had caught up with him and he'd stepped aside to hide his feelings as befitting a man of his status. They thought about it and forgot about it. Meantime, the Mullah reached the gravestone, all the while not taking his eyes off that black whatever-it-was—the tip of a cloak? He walked half-way around the gravestone and found himself face to face with what was concealed. Dumbfounded, he felt as though he'd scream. A certain looseness in his joints was overcoming him. He felt a stinging sensation from under his tongue to under the skin on his face, on his eyelids and on the edges of his lips. He slowly disintegrated and collapsed in slow motion onto the snow, where he sat—exposed to a pair of eyes that looked at him in utter calm.

In the below passage, the author uses the device of personification to present two ghosts. The image that is the Mullah, an image in our familiar world—and the image the Mullah sees—in colors that include violet and bright yellow, suggestive of very bright light that is blinding to whoever beholds it—the image that is in the intermediary world of images, that is, “radiance.”

A white face with violet tufts of hair hanging at both sides. Eyes with a bright yellow hue. A greyish beard, and a shapeless head under a cloak that fell from the top of the head over the rest of the huddled body. The creature's back was resting on the gravestone. “Be-ka-as,” the Mullah muttered between clenched teeth. His face had changed a lot, but there was something about him that was unforgettable. Was it the mockery in his eyes? Or perhaps the eyebrows attached to the slope above the base of the nose? Or was it the convex nose, like the nose the Mullah displayed on his face? Altogether it was the face of the father, despite the coloring of the mask.

The Mullah's outward appearance, as described in the last chapter, Chapter Five of *Sages of Darkness*, in retrospect becomes anecdotal and emphasizes what embodies an era disconnected with our modern vision:

The Mullah, like all men of the North, had a small round pocket mirror, with a mottled copper cover, which when he shut it became an elegant box to be put into

the pocket of his loose jacket. He also had kohl, made of the bone of the hoopoe, and a small blue bag in which the kohl was kept. He wrapped it up when he finished using it and knotted a braided cord of pure silk threads over it. As for his tweezers with which he trimmed his mustache, they were made of brass, with rust-green at the corners.

There is a disconnect with what has become a global and imposed Western materialistic vision in our modern times, and his outward appearance matches the venerable Mullah's understanding of beauty and a way of life that was Good, not Evil, and in keeping with the antiquity of Kurdish traditions. Prior to Islam, dualistic concepts of Zoroastrianism were strong throughout what was then the Persian Empire and the Arabian Peninsula. In Zoroastrianism, "all physical existence became a mixture of good and evil, light and darkness."<sup>6</sup> Due to Kurdish oral traditions, especially poetry, this straightforward, unbending, and dualistic view of Good and Evil found expression in Kurdish Muslim belief in the succeeding Islamic period. The Kurdish peoples adopted Islam in its earliest manifestations during the first and second Caliphates,<sup>7</sup> the Rashidun Caliphate (632 CE), and the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750 CE). Accordingly, assuming Barakat's book is still representative of the present majority Kurdish outlook, Muslim Kurds have clung to early Sufism (mysticism), early philosophy such as that of Plato,<sup>8</sup> and history achieving continuity with the past unto the mystery of the creation. That is, there has been no disruption in the Kurdish view of past, present, and future as happened for example between the ancient and the modern Greeks. As Kappagoda says in his dissertation *Semiosis as the Sixth Sense: Theorising the Unperceived in Ancient Greek*, "explaining the perceived in terms of what is unperceived" is a particular kind of theory-making.<sup>9</sup>

Barakat mentions Mechanical Philosophy and "mechanisms" in his novel. Here we have René Descartes' new formulation of the ancient thought of the Greek philosopher Aristotle which then could be said to have evolved over a period of time:

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<sup>6</sup> Arthur Zajonc. *Catching the Light: The Entwined History of Light and Mind*. Oxford University Press, 1993: p. 42. Available as pdf: <https://archive.org/details/catchinglightent0000zajo> .

<sup>7</sup> Eppel. *A People without a State*, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Not the philosophy of Ibn Sina' which entered the three religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam at a much later date as religious philosophy.

<sup>9</sup> See Astika K. Kappagoda. *Semiosis as the Sixth Sense: Theorising the Unperceived in Ancient Greek*. Dissertation in Discourse Analysis, Dept of Linguistics, MacQuarie University, Australia, 2004: p. 9.

What are the building blocks of the universe? If the world is a book, what are the letters? Aristotle had given an answer in terms of the four elements, the four qualities, and something called 'prime matter.' René Descartes believed he had a completely different answer, and many of his contemporaries agreed. Descartes was a French-born philosopher who developed what came to be known as 'the mechanical philosophy,' according to which the natural world consists in nothing but matter in motion. Descartes' universe was a stripped-down version of Aristotle's: Descartes' had one element rather than four, and the only qualities he recognised were shape, size, and speed. The mechanical philosophy, so-called because it depicted the world as a machine, was extremely popular in the seventeenth century, not just among philosophers but among a wider public. The philosophy certainly had its critics, some of them vociferous, but many critics ended up modifying the philosophy rather than rejecting it altogether.<sup>10</sup>

Although the actors in Barakat's Kurdish drama for sure never heard of Descartes or his Mechanical Philosophy, Barakat finds mentioning this modern version of ancient philosophy a convenient way to explain Kurdish thought and traditions. And in so doing, he puts forth his own view of the created world as being all of it 'matter,' that is, 'physical' with specific geometric forms and shapes—and confirms, in accord with the ancients, cyclic.

#### CONTINUITY THROUGHOUT THE NOVEL

The author achieves continuity throughout the novel. Each long chapter describes the story of the externalities in the life of Kurdish enclaves in the region, in the main hardships, as well as the philosophical aspects of Kurdish existence.

In the case of Chapter Two, Barakat deals with shape and form, perceptual and perceptive forms, animalistic abstractions, and other philosophical concepts to do with creation and creativity; these are also common in Kurdish divans in terms of mythological legendary and religious heroes (Tanrikulu & Babayiğit, 2021a ;Tanrikulu & Babayiğit, 2021b). The chapter opens with the beginning of what will be a continuous free form ballade, interrupted at intervals by a parallel tale of murder and the needed heroism for economic survival among the Syrian

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<sup>10</sup> John Henry. *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science*. Chapter 5 (The Mechanical Philosophy), London: Red Globe Press, 1997.

Kurdish enclaves. The narrator describes incidents revealing the corruption and the relationship between the local government, and the provincial government, and the resultant chaotic scene for the “governed.”

Chapter Two starts out with a free form ballade that tells the tale of a “creature,” in fact a sperm, whose passageway to “completion” also serves as an imaginative account of happenings in the waters of creativity. This poem, identifiable by the repetitive hint of a refrain, “the creature swimming in the sticky albumen” or a variation thereof runs the length of the chapter:

A creature crawls in the darkness. Rather, it swims in the darkness, effortless but floundering in sticky albumen.

Thousands of white creatures, resembling it with their round heads, and spindly threadlike tails proceed onwards acting in the same way, swaying left and right, in a mysterious race through the sticky albumen over the darkness of the tunnel floor. One of them will arrive, the creature knows, and driven instinctively will come out into the light. . . . Engorged by its speed, it says: “They call me a creature, even though I’m their memory.”

Barakat uses the tale of his “creature,” a sperm “engaged in a mysterious race,” as a miniscule of the events in the waters of creativity. Moreover, as the poet says, the sperm’s importance is that it is the memory of generation after generation, the memory of both shape and form, passed on through the organ that the poet refers to as the male “extension.” Details of such events are not described in scripture, which leaves a gap for the poet to use his imagination:

“Self-importance,” [the creature] repeats these words to itself. “The question is whether or not to pre-occupy myself with what will grant me form, more than with this big blind entourage, merely attracted to smell—how boring.” And it goes on, exuberant: “Completion is awaiting me!”

Later on in the ballade, the poet puts into the mouthless head of his creature the following memories of past events in Kurdish history:

As the creature races along in a feverish journey, it unceasingly exerts its memory to call up images from the past: “This lying-in-wait in a thicket is not the

first time,” it says to itself. “The stalker is pitifully disoriented. . . . The creature remembers the intrigues and the call of the tanbur to Kurdish fighters:

Despite the feverish journey, the creature unceasingly exerts its memory, groping about in the thin network, icy cold. “This lying-in-wait in a thicket is not the first time,” it says to itself. “The stalker is pitifully disoriented.” Well, there is another installment to that physical loftiness, achieved by sound coincidence. “Open up, open up!” The creature speaks mind-to-mind to the feverish contestants and its own feverish alarm due to its wanting but not finding sempiternity. How preposterous!

In the above passage, when the narrator says that “there is another installment to that physical loftiness, achieved by sound coincidence,” the poetic device of sound symbolism, *jalāl* (loftiness) resembling *jabāl* (mountains) hints at the landscape, and is therefore a reminder that the ambush is on a high mountain. Barakat wrote an epic in 1985 with twenty-one episodes and with no title other than perhaps the word “Turns,” the first word of a short introductory verse of four lines: “Turns. A midday of feathers. Diligence describing the night. / Unearthly dust, // And a tomorrow as if an enemy stalking strange alleys.”<sup>11</sup> *Sages of Darkness* uses a vocabulary similar to that poem both here and elsewhere.

## BEFRIENDING EVIL

Dovetailing with the Ballade of the second chapter of *Sages of Darkness*, is the story of Mullah Benav's father-in-law, and tribal notable, “Avdei Sarei”—to be specific, his struggle for economic survival. He is unsuccessful in protecting Kurdish farmland against the Bedouin who live in tents and rove and steal without regard for the rights of settlements—and are supported by the foreign imperialist governance. Carrying on with his usual but depleted trading, Avdei's smuggling business over the Syrian-Turkish border supplements the community's income. He finds it unbearably hard to come to terms with the loss of his heroic son Majido, whom he sacrifices for the sake of the survival of his family, the community, and Kurdish notions.

Unlike Mullah Benav, Avdei Sarei is prepared to compromise and to befriend “Evil.” In a long poem, an epic that Barakat published in 2004 entitled *al-Mu'jam* (The Obscure), the poet

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<sup>11</sup> For the Arabic of the entire epic, see Salīm Barakāt. *Al-A'māl al-Shi'riyyah—Salīm Barakāt* [The Poetry Works—Salīm Barakāt]. Beirut: al-Mu'assash al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 2007: pp. 351-371.

explains the Kurdish outlook on Good and Evil, and also the reasoning behind Avdei Sarei's need to ask help not from Good but rather from Iblis, that is, from Evil. To briefly quote from that thirty-page epic:

*Call to him, O Evil;*

*Call Good away from an end that is without prior succession; without future succession.*

*[Laws of ] purity as argument the bones will defile the earth without further ado.*

*Your dung produces the reason for verdure in a verdant field of ash.*

*By reason you are also luxuriantly green an offering of ironclad enticement; by reason*

*Of the certainty. . your young lad is impervious to what is righteous, what is immoral. .*<sup>12</sup>

In the above lines of Barakat's poem, the subject of insurgence against Heaven is introduced. The "young lad" is enticed and unwittingly answers the call to insurgence. The word *hayr*, previously translated as "good" now has another dimension, a shift-in-meaning to "righteous," in a bad sense, near to being the opposite to good.

Avdei Sarei and his network engage not only in legitimate but also illegal trading, which leads to smuggling from over the Turkish border when the opportunity arises. The sheer brutality and on-the-spot justice of the smuggling trade contrasts with the strict code of honor of the participants and at times their heroism—the incredible courage needed to succeed on a well-policed border. Majido, the heroic son of Avdei Sarei, father of Mullah Benav's young and beautiful wife Brina, dies upholding his and his father's Kurdish code of honor. This tale is full of suspense and also has an undertone of tragedy. In the case of Majido, Avdei Sarei's son, obedient to his father, he enters the story when he settles a grievance in context of Kurdish tribal interactions and Kurdish interactions with the State. He murders Bavei Joanei, who committed the wrongdoing of slander and badly injured his father's reputation and livelihood.

The scholar Martin van Bruinessen briefly describes the background to why at that point in time the young man in Barakat's story could commit a murder and then seek refuge in becoming a smuggler involved in his father's side ventures: "To my surprise I found that the tribes had been shaped deeply by their interactions with the state and almost appeared as products of policies of the states that had been in control of the region. . . . The drawing of new borders separating Turkey, Iraq, and Syria in the 1920s, for instance, forced nomadic tribes to partially settle and

<sup>12</sup> *Al-A'māl al-Shi'riyyah—Salīm Barakāt*, 2007.

change their migration routes but also offered new economic opportunities in the form of smuggling.”<sup>13</sup>

#### THE TALE OF THE INTERNALITIES: KABBALA AND LOVE FOR A WOMAN

Whereas the tale of Avdei Sarei's son, Majido, largely deals with externalities, we find that Kirzo, the Mullah's young son by his first wife, like his father is immersed in mysticism.<sup>14</sup> He is entrenched in Kabbalah, the Islamic mystical philosophy first discussed in written form by the Andalusian Şūfī, Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī (1164–1240) in one of this greatest of philosopher's most prolific works entitled *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.<sup>15</sup> The author of *Sages of Darkness*, true to form, searches for origins, this time regarding the esoteric tradition, the received tradition, that is, Kabbalah. His novel *Sages of Darkness* illustrates a Kurdish way of life in which the actors live out the notions of Islamic Kabbalah. From speaking with the author Salim Barakat, I understand that he like for example Avishai Bar-Asher of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem finds a commonality with the Jewish tradition of Kabbalah in the origins of both. What is especially relevant to an understanding of Barakat's poetry is the notion of divisions of the celestial heavens into seven (sometimes eight) levels, and as vivified by Barakat in *Sages of Darkness*, the division of our world of images into two, both known as *barzakh*. In his article “The Ontology, Arrangement, and Appearance of Paradise in Castilian Kabbalah in Light of Contemporary Islamic Traditions from al-Andalus,”<sup>16</sup> Bar-Asher writes on the heavenly divisions:

This study is a comparative analysis of the appearances of the lower and upper Paradise, their divisions, and the journeys to and within them, which appear in mystical Jewish and Islamic sources in medieval Iberia. Ibn al-‘Arabī's vast output on the Gardens of divine reward and their divisions generated a number of instructive comparisons to the eschatological and theosophical writing about the same subject in early Spanish Kabbalah. Although there is no direct historical evidence that kabbalists knew of such Arabic works from Catalonia or Andalusia,

<sup>13</sup> Martin van Bruinessen (2022): “Foreword: the various manifestations of the Kurdish tribe.” English original of a text published as ‘ÖNSÖZ: Kürt Aşiretlerinin Muhtelif Tezahürleri’, *Tuncay Şur & Yalçın Çakmak*, eds, *Aktör, Müttefik, Şaki: Kürt Aşiretleri*, Istanbul: İletişim.

<sup>14</sup> Kirzo is ten years old when the story opens. With the disappearance of the Mullah, Kirzo's stepmother returns along with the Mullah's children to her father Avdei Sarei's house. There, Kirzo grows up to be thirteen years old.

<sup>15</sup> Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-‘Arabī, 1946.

<sup>16</sup> In: *Religions* 2020, 11, 553; doi:10.3390/rel11110553

there are commonalities in fundamental imagery and in ontological and exegetical assumptions that resulted from an internalization of similar patterns of thought. It is quite reasonable to assume that these literary corpora, both products of the thirteenth century, were shaped by common sources from earlier visionary literature. The prevalence of translations of religious writing about ascents on high, produced in Castile in the later thirteenth century, can help explain the sudden appearance of visionary literature on Paradise and its divisions in the writings of Jewish esotericists of the same region.

It seems as though Kirzo is destined to be the next Mullah. The incredible landscape reaching out to him from the threshold of his father's house beckons. Its mountain ranges, two plateaus, and vast spaces below are for Kirzo a place to wander and meet with visions of the intermediary world of ghosts and apparitions. Barakat writes:

He looked up into the vast expanse where unhurried, starlings crossed the hermetic field of his despair. "Kirzo, Kirzo." A voice came from somewhere. The boy listened intensely to pinpoint the source of the sound. He thought that he could have heard his own scream echoed in the cold white kingdom as far as he could see. But then steps away, his name was repeated. He started, then stood up: On a mound of snow flaking away, there was a ghostly being propped up on its knees in prayer, the lower leg covered under the layers of snow. The boy stepped back to better note the features of the figure he was viewing, but his panic-stricken eyes were veiled by a translucent curtain of grey vapor.

At first, only the eyes and nose were distinguishable in the ghostly face, but then the snow mask started to crumble bit by bit due to the movement of the jaws, and also the lips when he spoke the name of "Kirzo." He again murmured: "Kirzo!"

Kirzo drew near. For a moment, the boy stared, astounded. Then, he let out a muffled scream: "Bekas, Bekas!"

With the death of Kirzo's father and disappearance into the intermediary world, Kirzo and his siblings, along with their beautiful young stepmother Brina moved from the Mullah's house to the house of Avdei Sarei, Brina's father. And in the next three years, Kirzo grew into an amazing

thirteen-year-old with an elegant single curl on his shaven head, as was the custom. Avdei Sarei built a new house, and his band of smugglers followed him and settled down with their families in an alley. Avdei Sarei entered into seclusion, and the two “mighty men,” Hishmo and Jahwer attempted to replace him. They blocked the alley and controlled the comings and goings of the inhabitants. Kirzo taunted them and tried to arouse in them a realization of their dead-end situation. He nevertheless found a much sought-after freedom and independence on the rooftops:

The houses were joined one against the other, on both sides, as was the case with the houses of the Western Quarter in general, so that a person, or animal, could cross the whole distance moving from roof to roof. There were some breaks, inconspicuous as they were, they could be crossed by a boy leaping, which is exactly what Kirzo did. He'd lift his robe to above his knees, and then leapt. In that way, Kirzo was able to observe the alley that Jahwer and Hishmo had blocked, and on the other hand, with a few quick steps to witness passageways to the west or east, parallel to the blocked alley. The whole scenario, from his “observatory,” tickled Kirzo's sense of humor, so much so that no sooner had he left the rooftops than he returned to them, casting his shadow here and there, according to the direction of the sun. Moreover, Kirzo was captivated by the casting of his shadow.

However, eventually Kirzo being isolated, became angry and bitter:

Kirzo prevented Hishmo's children from climbing the stairs to the rooftops, so they had to content themselves with standing by the gate and watching from there. Kirzo himself claimed a monopoly of the view over the alley, passageways, and everything in sight. Taking possession of the rooftops, without allowing even the hens to join him, he isolated himself, becoming angry and bitter. His eyes were deeply sunken, the sockets seeming to contain the whole neighborhood as if it had shrunk.

Blocked from a normal existence and in a situation he could never hope to solve, he turned to his stepmother Brina, his one and only confident. Barakat writes:

Kirzo didn't reply, except to lift his head and look at her sorrowfully. In fact, they were friends, and they were used to discussing trivial matters, in general, together, since Mullah Benav disappeared. Brina consoled him, and Kirzo consoled her, accomplices, without design, to compensate for what they had missed due to their predestinations, the clear and unerring part it played. She was his mother, and he was her husband. Maybe things had gotten mixed up. And Brina let him down for neglecting him as a boy, in one way or another. He nevertheless responded, come what may, to the rule of her restricted femininity, accomplishing what she asked of him, in silence.

Femininity is like the whisper of the wind among broad corn leaves. It whispered between the boy and the woman, as imperious and resonant as is a whisper: "We want to be. . . and the boy completed with his eyes what he couldn't complete with his tongue.

So the woman again asks him to explain: "What do we want to be, Kirzo?"

The boy closed his eyes nervously, then slapped his hands on his forehead, indicating a sudden emotion added to a strong emotion: "Hasn't anyone seen for Heaven's sake?" And when he saw that his father's wife was perplexed about what he'd left unsaid, he grabbed her hand and almost dragged her up the stairs to the rooftops: "Come. Come on."

It was natural that Kirzo's eyes would be sunken, but should one have felt derisive or sad about that. Brina, for a fleeting moment, felt that her own eyes were straying from a visible exterior to the hidden depths of herself. No imagination could ever offer such a defined distinction articulated in unswerving detail. It was the difference between the blocked alley and the passageway, and what went beyond it to the west, which she couldn't visualize. Kirzo, watching the woman's face, and, of course, not seeing what she saw, nevertheless started to smile, gradually, according to the reversals in the woman's face. Brina, almost beseeching, began to rock from one side to the other, as if comparing one scenario to its counterpart, hoping, with the movements of her pleading hands, to stop the delirium of the floundering reality. But it was the visible that was flickering, like a

stream, beneath the overhead observatory where the woman and the boy, and the sky stood together, pursuing its dominion over forms.<sup>17</sup>

Barakat writes a unique love scene, filled with compassion for two people caught in an unnatural situation. He leaves judgement to Heaven, and his readers with something to think about after the final curtain call.

In any case, Brina decides to return to the Mullah's house, standing empty and untouched under the watch of the stunted olive sapling in the middle of the courtyard, mulling over events from the viewpoint of its existence as a plant. The little sapling welcomes Brina's return along with Kirzo and his siblings, even though the touch of the Mullah's hand turning over its leaves is missing. Brina brings the pregnant "Sinem" with them. "And the sum total of the whole farce was that Sinem had given birth to a male son in the guise of his father, in his cycles." With this sentence, the author clarifies that Bekas the son of Bekas is Bekas in another cycle of his existence. And actually Sinem exists in another cycle of her existence. The pair, Sinem and Bekas illustrate the physical existence of the Kurdish people along with their culture; Sinem and Bekas marry for one night.

In the last chapter, Chapter Five, the author clarifies some points that might have been puzzling his readers. For example, the returning "ghosts" have a philosophical discussion:

Still standing, Bekas II replied: "Did you see my twelve twins entering with me?"

And the ghost muttered: "No," while quietly looking around him.

And Bekas II, near to exploding, stamped on the carpet: "You're as limited as are your mechanisms."

Then the ghost likewise arose in order to face the other, and he started to shout: "You'll back off when I tell you some of what my mechanisms do to you."

Then Bekas II, replied: "You'll back off, and your mechanisms will explode when I recite to you the list of my [death] agonies."

In the above dialogue, Barakat puts into the mouth of "ghosts" a discussion that hints at Mechanical Philosophy, the doctrine that all natural phenomena, including life and thought, can

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<sup>17</sup> "Overhead observatory" first meaning the high up view the two had from the rooftops, then enjoying a shift-in-meaning to Heaven's view of the created forms that are below the skies.

be explained with reference to mechanical or chemical processes. Early mechanical philosophy saw life going around in terms of cycles or circles. These theories were hinted at elsewhere in the novel.

There is one mystery that Barakat does not solve for us, namely, the meaning of the title of the book, "Sages of Darkness." The first and obvious explanation is to say that the novel is about dark and troublesome times. Or that some sages still existed. Or that a generation preferred to pass from the light of day into the world of shadows and darkness, rather than face our modern times. Or that people, even their sages, were and are ignorant fools, in which case the motto that I placed at the start of the book resounds throughout this saga of an extended Kurdish family: *And we offered the Amanah to the Heavens, to the Earth and to the mountains, but they refused the burden and were afraid to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but he has proved a sinner and a fool* (Surah 32, Al-Ahzāb:72).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> إِنَّا عَرَضْنَا الْأَمَانَةَ عَلَى السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالْجِبَالِ فَأَبَيْنَ أَنْ يَحْمِلْنَهَا وَأَشْفَقْنَ مِنْهَا وَحَمَلَهَا الْإِنْسَانُ إِنَّهُ كَانَ ظَلُومًا جَهُولًا

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**İslam Toplularında Bâtını Fırkaların Ortaya Çıkışı: Yezidilik Örneği**

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**Özet**

Bâtınlık içerdiği anlamlar açısından dikkat çekici konulardan biridir. Madalyonun bir yüzünde bilgiye ulaşmada sezgi, duygu ve seçilmiş karizmatik liderlerine bağlılıklarından dolayı kendilerini şanslı görenler, diğer yüzünde ise ana akım siyasi-dini toplumların ve devletlerin mutlaklaştırılmış inançlarına meydan okudukları için şeytanlaştırılarak dışlanan toplulukları görmekteyiz. Bunların ortaya çıkmasında sosyal, ekonomik, siyasi ve dini sebepler vardır. İslam toplumlarında ortaya çıkan en önemli bâtını fırkalardan birisi kuşkusuz Yezidilerdir. Bâtınlık İslam topluluklarında genellikle Gulat Şia ile ilişkilendirilirken Yezidilerin kimliği farklı temellere oturmaktadır. Kendilerinin sıklıkla tercih ettikleri şekliyle Ezidiler, tarihsel anlamda “muğlak” bir süreç yaşamış ve günümüze kadar gelebilmişlerdir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yezidilik, Yezidiler, Ezidi, Bâtını, Bâtınlık, Hermetizm, Gulât, Fırka.

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## The Emergence of Batini Sects in Islamic Societies: The Example of Yezidism

### Abstract

Bâtinism is one of the remarkable subjects in terms of the meanings it contains. On one side of the medallion, there are those who consider themselves lucky because they rely on intuition, emotion and their chosen charismatic leaders in reaching information. On the other side, we see communities that are demonized and excluded because they challenge the absolutized beliefs of mainstream politico-religious societies and states. There are social, economic, political and religious reasons for their emergence. Undoubtedly, Yezidis are one of the most important esoteric sects that emerged in Islamic societies. While bâtinism is generally associated with Shia in Islamic societies, the identity of Yezidis is based on different foundations. The Yazidis, as they often prefer, have experienced an "ambiguous" process in the historical sense and have survived to the present day.

### Keywords

Yezidism, Yezidis, Yazidi, Esoteric, Esoterism, Hermetism, Gnosticism, Gulat, Sect.

### Giriş

Ezoterizm, Okültizm, Bâtînlilik, gulât gibi isimlerle anılan dini-ruhçu akımlar tarih boyu her coğrafyada var olmuştur. Tarihsel kayıtlar hemen her devirde kendilerini ana akım dini gruplardan ayıran ve dönemlerinin hâkim paradigmasına aykırı bilgi teorileriyle şekillenen bu tür grupları bize göstermektedir. Devirlere ve coğrafyalara göre isimleri değişen bu akımlar bazen müstakil bir inanç, fikir ve yaşam tarzı olarak görülmüş bazen de büyük dinlerin ve felsefi akımların bir kolu olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır. Bu gruplar İslam toplumunda ortaya çıktıklarında da eski kültürlerini yaşatmaya devam etmişlerdir. Bir anlamda kültür geçmişin aynası olduğundan bâtinî fırkaların da kadim köklerini incelemek önemlidir (Babayiğit, 2020; Cebi & Babayiğit, 2021; Karacan & Babayiğit, 2017). Bâtinî gruplar özellikle kurumsallaşmış dini ve felsefi akımların bir kolu olduklarında “sapkınlık” ile eş anlamlı kabul edilmişlerdir. Oysa konuya farklı açılardan bakıldığında bunun bir bilgi felsefesi olduğu da düşünülebilir.

Eski Mısır, İran, Yunan, Anadolu ve Mezopotamya havzasında bugün sıklıkla “bâtinî” terimiyle ifade ettiğimiz gruplar için Okültizm, Ezoterizm, Hermetizm kavramlar kullanılmıştır (Hanegraaff, 2006; 338; Initiates, 2018; 17, 19; Eliade, et al., 2018; 127). İslam toplumlarında da ilk zamanlar “İsmâîlilik” denilse de sonraları “bâtinî, gulât veya gulüv”

kelimeleri tercih edilmiştir (Avcu, 2020; Yavuz, 1996, 341). Emevi, Abbasi ve Selçuklular ile temsil edilen ana akım Ehli Sünnet anlayışı dışında kalan dini-fikri-siyasi akımlar çoğunlukla “bâtînî fırkalar” olarak görülmüş ve yaftalanmıştır. Diğer taraftan bu gruplar bazen bütün olarak İslam’ı reddederek ayrı bir inanç, ritüel ve geleneği temsil ettiklerini ilan etmiştir. Çağdaş bazı Ezidi aydınların bu yolu tercih ettiği görülmektedir.

Bu araştırmada bâtinî fırkaların doğuşu ve kurumsallaşması konusu Yezidi örneği üzerinden ele alınacaktır. Kuruluş ve gelişim süreci birçok bâtinî fırkaya göre daha dramatik tarihsel süreçte olduğundan bu inanç üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu noktada grubun kadim bâtinî gelenekle benzerlik ve ilişkilerine odaklanılmıştır. Böylece ilk dönem klasik mezhepler tarihi ve ilgili kaynaklara göre açıkça bir Ehli Sünnet geleneğini temsil eden Adeviyye’nin dönüşerek bugün müstakil bir inanca evrilmesi açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır.

### 1. Bâtînîlik Nedir?

“Bâtîn” sözcüğü kelime olarak bir şeyin içi, özü, dışındaki görünen kısmı haricindeki asıl bölümü manalarını ihtiva etmektedir (Uludağ, 1994; 87; Avcu, 2018). Temelde varlığın görünen-görünmeyen, fizik-metafizik, kabuğu-özü gibi düalist ayrımı esas alınmaktadır. Terim anlamında da herkes tarafından bilinmeyi bilmek, gerçek bilgiye sahip olmak, gizli bilgileri öğrenmek ve her şeyin iç yüzüne ayan olmak anlamlarına gelmektedir (Uludağ, 1994; 87; İlhan, 1992; 191).

Bâtînî sözcüğü Mezhepler Tarihi ve İslami İlimler literatüründe de sözcük anlamına yakın manalar içermektedir. Sözlükte görünenin ardındaki görünmeyen, zahirin ardındaki batın ve sezgisel bilginin seçilmiş bir kimse aracılığıyla seçkin topluluğa ulaştırılan sırlı bilgi gibi anlamlara gelmektedir (İlhan, 1992; 191). Bu kavram eski uygarlıklardaki Hermetizm, Yeni Eflâtunculuk, Pisagorculuk ve Okültizm gibi akımlardan oldukça etkilenmiştir (Avcu, 2019; 323). Düşüncenin tarihsel gelişiminde tespitlere göre önce “egzoterikos” sözcüğünün zıttı olarak “iç, içsel, gizli” anlamında “ezoterizm” (esoterikos) ortaya çıkmıştır. Bâtînîliğe benzer şekilde bilgi ancak derin bir sezgiyle bir mürşide ilham olur sonra sır şeklinde sadece seçilmiş kimselere aktarılır (Hanegraaff, 2006; Guénon, 2002, 67-72). Bu özelliğinden dolayı bâtinî gruplar hemen her zaman sır grupları ola gelmiş ve gizli örgütlenmeyi tercih

etmişlerdir. Benzer özelliklere sahip bu sır gruplarının kısaca tanınması araştırmamız açısından önemlidir.

Hermetizm, Bâtınıliğin ilk bilinen örneklerinden biridir. Bu anlayışın takriben 18-20 bin yıl önce yaşamış olan Mu Medeniyetinden Yunan ve Mısırlılara geçtiği tahmin edilmektedir. Kavram Batı toplumlarında daha çok Hermes Trismegistus (üç kere büyük Hermes) şeklinde kullanılmıştır (Hope, 1986; 45 Initiates, 2018; 17). Eliade'ye göre Hermetizm'in kaynağı çok eskilere gitse de olgunlaşması Helenizm döneminde olmuştur. Büyü, astroloji, simya ile gnostisizmin harmanlanmasıyla beraber ilk ve orta çağlarda olgunluğa ulaşmıştır (Eliade, et al., 2018; 127).

Gnostisizm de Bâtınıliğin öncü hareket ve referanslarından biridir. Diğer öncü geleneklere göre bâtinî İslam firkalarının ortaya çıktığı yerlere ve zamana daha yakın olması hasebiyle özellikle dikkat çekicidir. Tanrısallığın gizli bilgisi ve bu bilginin özel yollarla elde edilmesi anlamına gelen "gnosis" sözcüğünden türetilmiştir (Williams, 1996; 27). Varlığı düalist tarzda ele alması, kurtuluşçu ve seçkinci anlayışları, gizli tanrısal bilgi ve sezgicilikleriyle Gnostikler Ortadoğu'da birçok akımı etkilemiştir. Öncelikle büyük kavgalar yaşadığı Hristiyanlığın içine giren Gnostisizm sonraları bâtinî İslam firkalarını da şekillendirmiştir (Gündüz, 2012; 136; Işık, 2012; 31-33). Bu sebeple ilk dönem batılı araştırmacılar bâtinî İslam firkalarıyla Hristiyanlığı birbirine çok benzetmişlerdir. Gnostisizm özellikle Patristik dönemde, Hristiyanlığı güçlü şekilde etkilemiş, teslis inancı dâhil birçok konuda İncil'in yeniden yorumlanmasında başvuru kaynaklarından biri haline gelmiştir. Gnostikler ilk önceleri Hristiyanlığı sade ve yüzeysel olmakla eleştirmişler, zamanla kilise babaları da bu eleştirileri dikkate alarak Hristiyanlığın Tanrı, evren, insan ve kâinat konusundaki bilgilerini gnostik unsurlarla yorumlamaya başlamışlardır (Carus, 1898; 505; Gündüz, 2000, 51, 75; Pelikan, 1993; 21, 28).

Yeni Eflâtunculuk, Orfizim, ruhçuluk ve elbette Pisagorculuk da tarihsel anlamda Bâtınıliğin gelişim aşamasında önemli akımlardır. Bu akımlar Eski Yunan, Mısır ve Mezopotamya'da güçlü etkiler bırakmıştır. Hangisinin diğerlerini ne ölçüde etkilediği net değilse de aralarında etkileşimin olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Genel özellikleri "zahir"den ziyade "bâtın"a, görünenden çok görünmeyene ve açık bilgi kanalları yerine sezgiye önem vermeleridir. Dünyanın değersiz görülmesi, ruhun önemsenmesi, kısmen ruh göçüne

inanılması, seçilmiş topluluk olduğuna inanma benzer nitelikleridir (Edmonds III, 2013, 396; Guthrie, 1993, 2, 6).

Yukarıdaki kısa kavram arkeolojisi Bâtınîlik ile Hermetizm, Gnostisizm, Ezoterizm, Orfizim, Yeni Eflâtunculuk ve Pisagorculuk arasındaki güçlü bağı kavramamızı kolaylaştırmaktadır. Bunun İslami firkalara geçişi elbette sonraki bölümlerin konusu olacaktır. Ancak kavramın ilk dönemlerde ulemada çağrıştırdığı manaları da kısaca ele almak yerinde olacaktır. İslam toplumlarında Bâtınîlik başlı başına bir hareket olarak ortaya çıkmamıştır. Dolayısıyla tanımlanması da bu anlamda zordur. Dört halife zamanından beri çeşitli siyasi-sosyal hareketlerin şekillenmesinde bu düşüncenin etkileri gözlenmiştir (Gül, 2016; 108; İlhan, 1992; 191). Bu bağlamda “bâtınî” sözcüğüne ilk rastlanılan kaynaklardan biri el-Makdisî'nin (ö. 966) “el- Bed'ü ve't- Tarîh” eseridir (el-Makdisî, trhsz; 6). Bu eser bâtinî fikirlerin ete kemiğe büründüğü ve Gulât-ı Şia şeklinde tanımlanmaya başladığı dönemde kaleme alınmıştır (Avcu, 1918). Devam eden süreçte Abbasilerin zayıflamasına paralel olarak Gulât-ı Şia ya da ilk bâtinî İslam firkaları da güçlenmeye başladı. 1200'lerde konuyla ilgili kaynaklar da artmıştır.<sup>2</sup>

Bâtınîlik çeşitli din ve geleneklerde farklı isimlerle karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Mesela Hristiyanlıkta Katharlar, Yahudilikte Kabalistler, Budizm'de Vajrayana, İslam'daki Dürzilik, Nusayrilik, Alevilik, Gulat-ı Şia, Ehli Haklar, Kakailer ve Yezidiler bilinen bâtinî geleneklerdir. Bunların köklü dinlerdeki mistik yorumlamalardan ayrı görülmesi gerekmektedir (Guénon, 2002; 67-72).

## 2. İslam Toplularında Bâtınîliğin Ortaya Çıkış Süreci ve Sebepleri

Bâtınî firkaların veya müstakil inançların ortaya çıkışı toplumlara göre değişiklik göstermektedir. Bu akımlar bazen dağlık, çöl ve çorak yerlerde kendilerine mümbit alanlar oluştururken bazen de Eski İran, Harran, Mısır ve Yunan coğrafyasında örneğini gördüğümüz şekliyle bereketli, fikri açıdan güçlü ve zenginlikleriyle bilinen yerlerde ortaya çıkmışlardır (Lapidus, 2016, c. I; 491; Gül, 2016; 63-65). Bu bağlamda son 50 yıldır Yeni Dini Hareketler (YDH) şeklinde bilim ve teknikte en gelişmiş Anglosakson dünyada karşımıza çıkan grupların da bâtinî karakter arz ettiklerini akılda tutmak gerekmektedir (Köse, 2014; 131,

<sup>2</sup> Bkz. (Bağdadî, 2008; Gazâlî, 2019; Şehristanî, 2008).

137; Özkan, 2006; 83, 161, 181). Bazı tezatlarla karşın bu firkaların ortaya çıkışıyla ilgili belirli teoriler geliştirmenin mümkün olduğunu görmekteyiz. Bunların bazısını açıklamak yerinde olacaktır.

Öncelikle bâtinî firkaların belirli dini-felsefi akımların bir parçası olarak ayrıldığını görmekteyiz. Bunun sebebi ilk başlarda çoğu zaman siyasi-ekonomik ve sosyal anlaşmazlıklarken zamanla yeni bir fikri temelin yaratıldığı bilinmektedir. Bu ayrışma sürecinde yaşanan dışlama, tazyik, kovuşturma ve ötekileştirmeler sebebiyle bâtinî gruplar ana akımı temsil eden siyasi-dini otoritelere en uzak yerlere yönelmişlerdir. Mezopotamya'da dağlık Batı ve Kuzey Suriye, Lübnan, Kuzey Irak ve İran ve Doğu Anadolu'nun tarih boyu bu tür akımlara beşiklik etmesi bu açıdan dikkat çekicidir. Diğer taraftan Basra, İskenderiye, Bağdat gibi sonradan kurulan, kozmopolit ve kalabalık şehirlerin de bâtinî akımlar için uygun yaşam alanı oluşturduğu görülmektedir (Ocak, 2010; 126; Lapidus, 2016, c. I; 491; Gül, 2016; 63-65). YDH'in bugün dünyanın sosyo-ekonomik açılardan en gelişmiş ve kozmopolit bölgelerinde taban bulması da aynı şekilde yorumlanabilir.

İslam toplumlarında Bâtînilik'in ortaya çıkışının bir sebebi de dört halife döneminde hızla genişleyen İslam devleti sınırları içerisine giren envaiçeşit topluluğun getirdiği kültürel mirastır. Bu görüşe göre Bâtînilik İslam'ın kendi ürettiği bir zihniyet değildir. Ne var ki zamanla içerisine aldığı Gayrimüslim toplumlarda bulunan bâtinî fikirler İslam ile yorumlanarak bu dinin firkalarını yaratmıştır. Bu bağlamda hususiyle İran'ın fethiyle başlayan süreçte Zerdüş, Mecusi ve Brahmanist memurların bâtinî firkaların doğuşuna güçlü etkilerinin olduğu düşünülmektedir (Lapidus, 2016, c. I, 134). Bu etkileşim bir yönüyle zaruri işlerin yürütülmesinde bu din mensuplarının teknik konulardaki bilgilerine dayanmaktaydı. Ancak bir diğer yoruma göre bâtinî fikirlerin İslam toplumunun içerisine girişi İslam karşıtlarının "dini içeriden çökertmek" için geliştirdiği bir stratejinin parçasıdır. Yahudi, Hristiyan, Sabîî, Zerdüş geleneklerden gelen birçok kişi İslam'ın güçlenmesi karşısında yaşanan dini-kültürel mağlubiyeti önlemek için bâtinî firkaları kurmuş, desteklemiş veya bunlar içerisinde çalışma yürüterek varlığını sürdürmeye çalışmıştır (İbn Hazm, 1977; Gül, 2016, 129).

Bâtînilik'in Müslüman toplumlarda başlangıcı dört halife dönemine kadar indirilse de asıl güçlenmenin Emevi ve Abbasilerin uyguladığı sosyal-ekonomik-siyasi politikalara tepki

sonucu olduğu söylenebilir. Dışlanan topluluklar kendilerini korumak ve ifade edebilmek için bâtinî grupları ve fikirleri kullanmıştır. Diğer taraftan gulât fikirlerin yaygınlaşma süreci genellikle güçlü halife ve devletlerin olmadığı zamanlardır. Özellikle Şii, Moğol ve Haçlı saldırılarının yoğunlaştığı 900-1300 yılları arasında Dürziler, Nusayriler, İsmaililer, Yezidiler gibi varlığını günümüze kadar devam ettiren gruplar ortaya çıkmıştır. Dolayısıyla bâtinî firkaların hem doğuşu hem de yaygınlaşmasında siyasi istikrarsızlığın önemli bir etkisinin olduğu söylenebilir (Avcu, 2009, 2; İlhan, 1992, 192).

Yeni Platonculuk ve Pisagorculuktan etkilenen Yahudilik, Maniheizm ve Zerdüştlük ile bâtinîliğin bir kısım ortak özellikleri bu firkaların tarihsel kökenini anlamak açısından önemlidir. Seçkin insanların tanrılaştırılması, tanrının insanlaşması, rec'at, hulûl, ruh göçü ve güçlü mesih inancı bu ortak noktalardan bazılarıdır (İlhan, 1992, 194). Bâtînî İslam firkalarını ortaya çıkaran bir diğer sebep de Mısır ve Suriye kökenli felsefi geleneklerdir. Câbirî'ye göre özellikle bu yolla gelen bâtinî fikirler İslam toplumunun içerisine daha kolay girmiştir. Çünkü siyasi ve sosyal açılardan kendilerini üstün gören ilk dönem Müslümanları felsefi açıdan eksikliklerini biliyorlardı. Dolayısıyla felsefi fikirleri kendi bünyelerine alırken daha cüretkâr davranıyorlardı (el-Câbirî, 2001, 211). Bu felsefi fikirler süreç içerisinde muhalif dini-siyasi akımlarca kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Hususiyile firkaların liderlerini meşrulaştırmak için sıklıkla hulûl, rec'at ve temessül konularını işlemişlerdir.

Karakterleri gereği bâtinî akımlar gizli faaliyet yürütmekte ve bu da onların tarihsel serüvenini takip etmemizi zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu sebeple Müslümanların yaşadığı coğrafyada gulât firkaların ortaya çıkış sebepleri ve tarihsel süreçler tarihçiler arasında farklı yorumlara neden olmaktadır. Ancak ortak kanaate göre gulât fikirler sonradan İslam'a girmiştir. Bu durum hicri ilk asırda başlasa da Şii grupların gelişimine paralel olarak güçlenmiştir. Siyasi yanlışlıklar ve kargaşalar Bâtînîliğin gelişimini hızlandırmıştır.

### 3. Yezidiliğin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Bâtînîlik

İslam toplumlarında ortaya çıkan önemli bâtinî firkalardan biri Yezidiliktir. Bu firkanın önce Ehli Sünnet bir tarikat olarak kurulduğu, zamanla dönüşerek Bâtînîliğe kaydığı düşünülmektedir. Elbette bu bağlamda çeşitli görüşler de vardır. Bu bölümde Ezidiliğin kuruluşu ve Bâtînîlik arasındaki ilişkiler sorgulanacaktır.

### 3.1. Yezidiliğin Ortaya Çıkışı

Yaygın kanaate göre Yezidilik 12. yy'da Adeviyye tarikatı şeklinde ortaya çıkmış, zamanla bugünkü halini almıştır. Kurucusu tarihi bir şahsiyet olan Adî bin Musâfir'dir. Şam'da 1072-73 yılında, Beytfâr köyünde doğmuştur. Ailesinin Emevi soyundan geldiği düşünülmektedir. Kendisinin Musul/Laleş'de Ehl-i Sünnet geleneğine bağlı olarak yaşamını devam ettirdiği kabul edilmektedir. Takriben 1162'de 90 yaşlarında vefat etmiştir.<sup>3</sup>

Yezidiliğin ismi ve kökeniyle ilgili tartışmalar devam etmektedir.<sup>4</sup> Ahmet Turan yaptığı araştırmada Yezidi isminin nerden geldiğine dair altı farklı tespitte bulunmuştur. İslam orjinli olduğu ve Emevi halifesi meşhur Yezid'e olan sevgileri sebebiyle bu ismin verildiği görüşü en bilinenidir (Turan, 2015; 1, 2). Kaynak taramalarında Yezidilere verilen isimlerin zamana göre bazıları öne çıkarken bazılarının reddedildikleri görülmektedir. Yezid sevgisi sebebiyle bu ismin verildiği iddiası günümüzde şiddetle reddedilirken mezhebin kuruluş devri incelendiğinde bunun akla yatkın olduğu düşünülebilir. Dini metinler, qawller, ilahiler incelendiğinde Sultan Yezid'e yapılan övgüler ve bunların sıklığı açıkça görülebilir.<sup>5</sup> Ancak diğer taraftan bu hareketin kadim inançlardan derin izler taşıması sebebiyle İran kültürüne atıf yapılarak Ezidi isminin kullanılması da şaşırtıcı değildir.

Halen Ezidiliğin merkezi olan Laleş çevresi Şeyh Adî'nin yaşadığı dönemde Emevi soyundan gelen ve Abbasi baskısından kaçanların sığındıkları yerlerden biri oldu. Bunların bir kısmı Şeyh Adî'nin müridi oldular (Tâdifî, 1972, 229, 230). Ancak şeyhin ilk müritleri genel manada sosyal ve kültürel açıdan bâtinî bir inanç karakteri taşıyan dağ toplulukları oldu. İslamlaşmanın henüz zayıf olduğu bu dönemde Şeyhin müritleri arasında bile bid'atların yaygın olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Lescot'un tespitlerine göre, şeyh katı bir mutasavvıf olmasına karşın müritleri bunu kaldıramayacak kadar cahil bir karakterdeydi (Lescot, 2009; 29, 32).<sup>6</sup> Şeyh Adî ile yakın tarihlerde yaşayan İbn Hallikân (v. 1282) onun hakkında övgü dolu ifadeler kullanıp ününün her tarafa yayılmasından bahsetmiştir. Bunun yanında müritlerinin

<sup>3</sup> (İbn Hallikân, 1970, c. 1, s. 254; Tâdifî, 1972, s. 217; 'Azzâvî, 1935, s. 74; Demlûcî, 1949 s. 29; Lescot, 2009, s. 20; Guest, John S. 1987, 42.) Adî bin Musâfir hakkında müstakil bir araştırma için bkz. (Bozan, 2012/a; s. 37-52).

<sup>4</sup> Mezhepler Tarihi'nin önemli sorunlarından biri fırkaların isimlendirilmesi meselesidir. Dolayısıyla Ezidiler konusunda yaşanan tartışmalar birçok fırka için de geçerlidir (Kutlu, 2007; 6, 7; Watt, 1981; 5, 55).

<sup>5</sup> (Musâfir, Şeyh Adî b. "İ'tikâdu Ehli's-Sünne ve'l-Cema'a", 189; Paşa, 2008)

<sup>6</sup> Ayrıca bkz. (Aydın, 1988, 33-74; Çakır, 2007, s. 44, 45).

arasında şeyhe bir kıblegâh gibi hürmet edildiğini, dua etmek için kendisine yöneldiklerini ve onu ahirette kurtarıcı olarak gördüklerini aktarmaktadır (İbn'i Hallikan, 1970, c. 1, s. 254). Buradaki tespitler Yezidiliğin İslam orjinli olduğu teorisine destek vermektedir. Ayrıca bu kaynaklarda Yezidilik yerine “Adevîlik” isminin kullanıldığı da bilinmelidir.

Çağdaş Yezidi aydınlar tarihsel açıdan Emevi Halifesi “Sultan Yezid” isminin çağrıştırdığı negatif mana sebebiyle ve bu isimle Ezidiliğin kuruluşu arasında bir ilişkinin olmadığını iddia ederek kendilerine “Azday halkı, İzidi ya da Ezidi” demeyi tercih etmektedirler. Onlara göre Ezidi inancı İslam’dan öncesine dayanmaktadır ve Sümer kaynaklarında bile geçmektedir. Kürtlerde Yezid isminin Êzî ya da Îzî şeklinde kullanılmasını da kendilerine dayanak yapmaktadırlar. Dolayısıyla Sultan Yezid’den hareketle Yezidi denilemeyeceği savunulmakta ve kendileri için Êzidi-Îzidî isimlerini kullanmaktadırlar.<sup>7</sup>

Yezidiliğin İslam ile ilgisini reddeden kimseler bunu çeşitli şekillerde savunmaktadır. Osman’a göre bu inanç eski İran dinlerinden Mitrayizm’in devam eden halidir. Zerdüştlükle de iç içe gecen Mitrayizm en son haliyle Yezidilikte karşımıza çıkmıştır. Şeyh Adî kısmen bu inancı İslam’a yaklaştırmıştır (Pir Osman, 1996). Şeyh Adî konusunda daha sert eleştiriler de vardır. Bunlar şeyhin gizlice Ezidiliğin içerisine girerek bu inancı bozduğunu ve Ezidilik içindeki sırları yaydığını ileri sürmektedirler (Bozan, 2012, 34, 35; Demlûcî, 1949. 302). Tolan da Ezidiliğin kadim bir inanç olduğunu ve Şeyh Adî öncesinde de var olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Ona göre Laleş’in kutsanması Mitrayizm’den Ezidilere kalan bir gelenektir. Burasının hac mekânına dönüşmesi Şeyh ile olmuştur (Tolan, 2006; 80). Yezidiliğin doğuşunu Maniheizm’e kadar götürenler de vardır. Bunlara göre en yüce tanrı yanında yedi büyük melek ve bir büyük melek (Melek Tavus) inancı, tenasüh ve devir anlayışları, ateşe olan hürmetleri gibi benzerlikler önemlidir (Menzel, 1997; 426; Kreyenbroek, 2014, 47, 56).

Kaynaklar Yezidiliğin ortaya çıkışını farklı şekillerde ortaya koymaktadır. Biz bunlardan şu yorumu yapabiliyoruz; Yezidilik muhtemelen Şeyh Adî ile başlayıp yakın akrabalarıyla büyümüştür. Bu ilk 2-3 kuşak boyunca Adeviyye tarikatı olarak bilinirdi. İbn Teymiye bile risalesinde Adevîlerin bazı aşırılıklarını uyarılmışsa da onları tekfir edecek

<sup>7</sup> (el-Yezidi, 2018, 123, 133; Guest, 1987, 42, 43; Başbuğ, 1987).

derecede ileri gitmemiştir (İbn Teymiyye, 1823). Grup şeyhleri açısından Ehli Sünnet olsa da buldukları coğrafya sebebiyle müritleri çoğunlukla değişik batıl inançlara değer veren bir topluluktur. Hususiyile Şeyh Hasan ve sonrasındaki şeyhlerde müritlere benzemeye başlamış ve Yezidilik hızlı bir değişim sürecine girmiştir. Bu dönemde Ezidi şeyhlerin öldürülmesi, sürgüne gönderilmesi ve Laleş'in yıkılıp Yezidilerin dağıtılması da Yezidiliğin dönüşümünde önemli bir faktördür (Paşa, 2008; 33, 57). Bu dönemlerde kadim İran ve Mezopotamya inançlarının Yezidiliği etkilediği düşünülebilir.

### 3.2. Yezidilik ve Bâtînlilik İlişkisi

Bâtînlilik kendisine has özellikleri olan inanç ve düşünce sistemidir. Farklı şekillerde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yezidilik de bu sır topluluklarına dâhildir. Birçok bâtinî özelliğe sahiptir. Bu bölümde bunların en belirgin olanlarını ele alacağız.

Yezidilik ve Bâtînlilik bağlamında ilk dikkat çekici ortak noktalardan birisi bu topluluğun sır dini olmasıdır. Bu topluluğa girişlerin kan bağıyla sınırlanması ve öğretilerin sır olarak dışarıdan kimselere verilmek istenmemesi önemlidir. Dinin kurallarının yabancılara öğretilmemesi, dışarıdan biriyle evlenmek, yemeklerini yemek bu yasaklardan bazılarıdır (Demlûcî, 1949, 300; 'Azzâvî, 1354/1935, 135). Sonradan Yezidi olunamaması kuralı sır geleneğine bağlı kalınarak uygulanmıştır. Aynı şekilde Ezidi olmayanlarla evlenme de "kirlenme" olarak kabul edilmiş ve yasaklanmıştır.<sup>8</sup> Bu iki kural da bâtinî firkaların mantığına uygun olarak "sırların ifşa edilmesi" şeklinde düşünülmüştür (Ahmed, 1975, 112). Bu kuralın yer yer esnetildiği görülse de Avrupa'daki Yezidiler arasında bile güçlü etkileri bulunmaktadır. Bunun sebeplerinden biri "seçilmişlik" inancından dolayı bu kısıtlamaların kimlik meselesi olarak kabul edilmesidir (Kreyenbroek, 2011, 194, 195, 205). Yezidi toplumu bâtinî karakteri gereği dinsel metinlerini de yabancılara gösterme ve buradaki bâtinî yorumları anlatma konularında isteksizdir. Bunlar tipik bâtinî topluluk reflekslerdendir.

Tenasüh, hulûl, teccim, temessül, devir inançlarının bulunması da bâtinî grupların benzerliklerindedir. Bu durum Orfizm, Gnostisizm, Ezoterizm, Hermetizm, Yeni

<sup>8</sup> Göçler ve modernleşmenin etkisiyle yurtdışı Ezidi topluluklarda "sonradan Ezidi olunmaz" kuralı esnetilmeye başlanmıştır. Yine Yezidi olmayanlarla evlilik de hoş görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bkz. (el-Yezidi, 2018, 152; Kaplan, 2013, 140). Genel anlamda modernleşmenin Kürt toplumundaki toplumsal ve dini değerlerde yaptığı değişim için bkz. (Yanmış, 2017, 263-290).

Platonculuk gibi kült gruplarında da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. İlk bâtinî İslam fırkalarının da tipik ortak özelliklerinden biri tanrının imamlarda görünmesi meselesidir. Hem tanrının bir insanda temessülü veya hulûlü hem de bireylerin ruh göçü yoluyla tekrar tekrar dünyaya gelmesi inancı İslam öncesi ve sonrası bâtinî sistemlerin genel özelliklerindedir.<sup>9</sup> Temessül, hulûl, teccessüm, rec'at gibi inançlar bâtinîlerin kendilerini yüceltme unsurlarından birisidir. Genel teoriye göre bâtinî grupların kurucu ve yöneticileri tanrının yeryüzündeki bir çeşit resmi veya temsilidir. Tanrı bu şekilde seçilmiş kullarına destek verir. Genel bâtinî topluluk üyeleri de kurtuluşa erene değin dünyada bedenlenirler. Bazı topluluklarda tenasüh ya da reenkarnasyon sadece sır grubuna has görülürken bazılarında herkesi kapsamaktadır. Ancak sırlara vakıf olan kimseler her yeni dirilişte daha iyi bir yaşamla ödüllendirilirken inançsızlar daha kötü bir yaşam hatta bir hayvan ve cansız bendende dirilmeyle cezalandırılabilirler. Yezidi inancında da tenasüh, hulûl, temessülün yansımalarını güçlü şekilde görebiliriz. Buna göre her Yezidi ruhu arınana kadar tekrar tekrar bedenlenir. Ancak günahkârlar ve Yezidi olmayanlar ceza olarak daha kötü şekilde ya da bir hayvan bedeninde yeniden dirilirler.<sup>10</sup> Diğer taraftan tanrının her yedi devirde Yezidi liderlerde bedenlenmesi ve o ruhun Yezidi liderlerde dolanması inancı Bâtînilik inancı bağlamında dikkat çekicidir (Kaplan, 2013, "Qewle Qere Ferqan", 243). Bu şekilde Yezidi liderlerin ve din adamlarının tanrısal sırlara vakıf olması daha kolay açıklanmaktadır (el-Yezidi, 2018, 41).

Yukarıda temas edildiği gibi seçilmişlik inancı da bâtinî grupların tipik özelliklerinden biridir. Birçok gulât harekete bakıldığında bunların bağlılarına güçlü bir kimlik kazandırmak için insanlığın geri kalanından üstün olduklarına inandıracak yöntemleri kullandıkları görülmektedir.<sup>11</sup> Bu noktada ilk yaratılıştan insanlığın iyiler ve kötüler ya da seçilmişlerle sıradan olanlar şeklinde ikiye ayrıldığı kabulü yaygındır. Bu teoriler belirli sır topluluğunun neslinin seçkin bir atadan sürüp geldiği iddialarıyla desteklenir. Bâtîni gruplar çoğunlukla bu ayrımı Âdem ile Şit<sup>12</sup> arasında yapmaktadır ve Âdem neslini kötü ya da sıradan Şit neslini de seçkin kabul etmektedirler. Bazen de Şit yerine İdris ve Hızır nesli inancı benimsenmektedir. Yezidiler kendilerinin Âdem peygamberin Şâhid b. Câr isimli oğlunun soyundan geldiklerini

<sup>9</sup> Bkz. (Eş'ari, 2009, 36; Şehristânî, 2008, 248; Nevbahtî-Kummî, 1992, 40, 41).

<sup>10</sup> Yezidi kutsal metninde tenasüh ve hulûl için bkz. ("Kitâbu'l- Cilve", "Mushaf-ı Reş: Kitab ül Esved", Sever, 2018, 164-167. Demlûci, 1949, 121-124. Tori, 1998, s. 137).

<sup>11</sup> (Ezenî, 1863, 59; Bodrogi, 2017, 52-57; Neccâr, A. 1965, 57; Hüseyin, 1960, 6).

<sup>12</sup> Şit peygamber bâtinî topluluklarda özel bir yere sahiptir. Bkz. (Gündüz, 1993, 93-126).

ileri sürmektedir (el-Yezidi, 2018, 146). Başka bir iddiaya göre ise Yezidiler Âdem'in Şit ve Huriye isimli ikizlerinin soyu yani Azazil-Melek Tavus soyundan gelmektedir (Çöl, 1934, 74). Bâtınî düşüncenin en belirgin özelliklerinden birisi kuşkusuz düalist yaklaşımdır. Bütün bir varlığı ve insanı iyi-kötü, ı ışık-karanlık veya kutsanmış-lanetlenmiş şeklinde ikili gruplara ayırma alışkanlığı köklü bir bâtinî gelenektir. Yezidilerdeki seçilmişlik inancı da bir anlamda bu düaliteden beslenmektedir. Bütün insanlık kıskanç ve hileci kabul edilen Havva soyundan kendileri ise meleklerden birinin soyundan dünyaya gelmiş olması bu ayrımı göstermektedir.

Seçilmiş olduğuna inanan topluluklarda dışarıdan bilgi akışı sınırlanıyor ve “kapalı grup” oluşuyor. Bireylerin kontrolünü artırmak için sıkı birer kardeşlik sistemi oluşturuyorlar. Kardeşlik mekanizması çok mühim olduğundan bâtinî fırkalarda özel olarak isimlendirilirler. Mesela Nusayrilerde “amcalık”, Alevilerde “musahiplik” ve Yezidilikte “ahiret kardeşliği” bu şekilde ele alınabilir (Keser, 2011, 103; Sertel, 2005, 77; Bodrogi, 2017; Guest, 1987). Zamanla dış grupla birçok bağlantı asgari düzeye indiriliyor. Seçilmiş, sır grup olmanın bir gereği olarak grup içi kontrolü artırmak için kardeşlik mekanizması inancın önemli bir ögesi yapılmaktadır. Özellikle ergenliğe ulaşan bireylere yapılan “Erginlenme törenleri” bu anlamda önemlidir (Eliade, 2015, 15, 62, 88; Frazer, 2020, 475). Yezidilerde de bu sistemin halen çok güçlü olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Din kardeşliği her bireyin ergenliğe ulaşıp sırları alma yaşı geldiğinde oluşturulur. Kişi ölüp mezara konulana kadar kardeşine karşı sorumlulukları devam eder. Şeyh ve pirlere bir ahiret kardeşi seçilir. Kadınlar evlenmeden önce bir kadını ahiret kardeşi seçse de evlendikten sonra kocasının kardeşiyle kardeş olur. Saç kesimi töreni, sünnet, vaftiz, evlilik ve cenaze merasimlerinde ahiret kardeşi kişinin yanındadır. Hemen her olayda kişi kardeşine hediye vererek şükranını sunmalıdır (Guest, 1987; Şengül, 2015, 148).

### **Sonuç ve Değerlendirme**

İslam toplumlarında henüz dört halife döneminde görülmeye başlanan Bâtınîlik özellikle 9. ve 13. yüzyıllarda oldukça güçlenmiştir. Bu dönemde bâtinî gruplarla Müslüman toplumun kaynaşması, felsefenin belirgin etkileri ve siyasi karışıklıkların fazla olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak bu tarihlerden sonra güçlenen merkezi Sünnî devletler ile onların dayanak noktalarından olan ulema sınıfı bâtinî fikirlerle büyük mücadeleler vermiştir. Bu iki

mekanizmanın güçlü olduğu dönemlerde İslam coğrafyasında bâtinî veya gulât fikirler hareket alanı bulamamıştır.

Yezidiler İslam coğrafyasında ortaya çıkan güçlü bâtinî firkalardan biridir. Genel teoriye uygun olarak 1200'lerin sonlarında, dağlık ve merkezi otoritenin ulaşamadığı yerlerde zemin bulmuştur. İlk takipçi kitlesinin dağlı Kürt toplulukları olması Şeyh Adî'nin katı tasavvuf anlayışını benimsemelerini zorlaştırmıştır. Şeyhten sonra Adeviyye tarikatının dönüşerek bugünkü Ezidiliği ortaya çıkardığı düşünülmektedir. Aslında Ezidiliğin Eski İran dinlerinin İslam kisvesi altına girerek devam ettiği düşüncesi de yaygındır.

Bâtinîlik tarih boyu eşitli isimlerle karşımıza çıkmıştır. Yezidilerin de bazı yönlerden bâtinî karakter arz ettiği görülmektedir. Gizliliğe önem vermeleri, dinin emir ve ritüellerinin yabancılardan saklanması, yine yabancılara karşı getirilen evlenme yasağı, erginlenme törenleri, güçlü seçilmişlik inancı ve insanların iyi-kötü şeklinde ikili ayrımı dikkat çekici bâtinî unsurlardır. Yazılı metinlerdeki ve sözlü kültürü oluşturan qawllerdeki ifadelerin bâtinî yorumlarının esas alınması, buralarda hulûl, tecessüm ve tenasühle ilgili ifadeler de önemli bâtinî işaretlerdir. Yine yazılı ve sözlü kültürdeki yedi devir inancı ve mehdi beklentisi Bâtinîliği çağrıştırmaktadır.

Yezidi bilgi teorisi zahirden çok batını önemseydiği için bu durum inancın her alanında karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bâtinî yorumlamanın kendine has mantığı sebebiyle başka bâtinî inanç gruplarıyla da benzerlikleri şaşırtıcı görülmemelidir. Bu durum onları genel İslam toplumundan daha fazla bâtinî gruplara benzettirmektedir.

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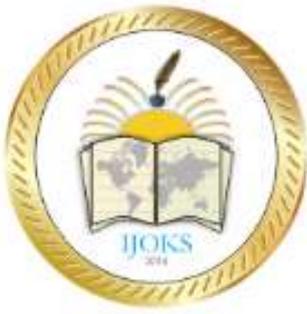
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## Book Review

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### Ji Aliyê Rêbaz û Etîka Zanistî ve Rexneyek li ser Rêbera Rastnivîsînê ya Komxebata Kurmanciyê<sup>1</sup>

Necat KESKÎN<sup>2</sup> 

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#### Kurte

Rêbaz û pabendî bi etîka zanistî ji bo her xebatekê du xalên herî girîng in. Ev her du xal in ku xebatekê serkeftî an jî qels dikin.

Ev nivîs jî di vê çarçoveyê de nixandineke li ser Rêbera Rastnivîsînê ya Komxebata Kurmanciyê ye ku ji aliyê Weqfa Mezopotamyayê ve di Kanûna Pêşîn a 2019an de hatiye çapkirin. Ji pirtûkê tê famkirin ku ev Rêber encama çend salan ya Komxebata Kurmanciyê ye û bi beşdarbûna 20 kesan hatiye amadekirin. Ligel ku di maweya çend salan de hatiye amadekirin jî, tê dîtin ku xebat û Rêbera hatiye amadekirin ji aliyê rêbaz û etîka zanistî ve xwedî pirsgirêkên cidî ne. Lewma di vê nivîsê de pirsgirêkên metodolojîk û etîka zanistî yê Rêberê û amadekirina wê hatine nixandin.

**Peyvên sereke:** Kurdî, Rêbera Rastnivîsînê, Komxebata Kurmanciyê, Rêbaz, Etîka Zanistî

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<sup>1</sup> Komxebata Kurmanciyê (2019). Rêbera Rastnivîsînê. Çapa yekem. Weqfa Mezopotamya: Diyarbekir

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## **A Critique of the *Kurdish Working Group's Writing Guide* in Terms of Methodology and Scientific Ethics**

### **Abstract**

Methodology and adherence to scientific ethics are the two most important points for any work. These are the two points that make a work successful or weak.

This article, in this framework, is a review of the *Kurdish Working Group's Writing Guide* published by the *Mesopotamia Foundation* in December 2019. It is understood from the book that this *Guide* is the result of several years of the *Kurmanci Working Group's* work and was prepared with the participation of 20 academics / academically affiliated people. Although it has been prepared for several years, it can be seen that the work and the prepared *Guide* have serious problems in terms of scientific methods and ethics. Therefore, methodological problems and scientific ethics of the *Guide* and its preparation process have been evaluated in this article.

**Keywords:** Kurdish, Spelling Guide, Kurdish Working Group, Methodology, Scientific Ethics

## **Metodoloji ve Bilimsel Etik Açısından Kürtçe Çalışma Grubu'nun Yazım Klavuzu Üzerine Bir Eleştiri**

### **Öz**

Metodoloji ve bilimsel etiğe bağlılık, herhangi bir çalışma için en önemli iki noktadır. Söz konusu çalışmayı başarılı ya da zayıf yapan da bu iki noktadır.

Bu çerçevede, bu makale de Mezopotamya Vakfı tarafından Aralık 2019'da yayınlanan *Kürtçe Çalışma Grubu (Komxebata Kurmanciyê) Yazım Kılavuzu'nun (Rêbera Rastnivîsînê)* bir incelemesidir. Bu Kılavuzun *Kurmanci Çalışma Grubu'nun* birkaç yıllık çalışmalarının sonucu olduğu ve akademisyen/ akademi ile ilişkili 20 kişinin katılımıyla hazırlandığı kitaptan anlaşılmaktadır. Birkaç yıldır hazırlanmış olmasına rağmen, çalışmanın ve hazırlanan *Kılavuz'un* bilimsel yöntem ve etik açısından ciddi sorunları olduğu görülmektedir. Bu nedenle bu makalede *Kılavuz'un* ve hazırlanma sürecinin içinde var olduğu düşünülen metodolojik ve bilimsel etik ile ilişkili sorunlar değerlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kürtçe, Yazım Klavuzu, Kürtçe Çalışma Grubu, Metodoloji, Bilimsel Etik

## Destpêk

Ev kurte-gotar/rexne wek ku ji sernav jî diyar dibe derbarê *Rêbera Rastnivîsînê*<sup>3</sup> ye ku ji aliyê *Weqfa Mezopotamyayê* ve di Kanûna Pêşîn ya 2019an de hatiye çapkirin. Ji wê demê heya niha wext di ser re derbas bûye lê hîna jî li ser niqaş dibin, rexne lê tên kirin an jî tê nirxandin. Ev nivîsa berdest jî ji vî alî ve rexneyeke derengmayî ye.<sup>4</sup> Lê aliyekî vê derengmayîne yê pozîtîf jî heye li gorî min ku ew jî derfetê dide mirov ji bo çavdêrî û pijîna fikir. Di encamê de ev nivîs derket meydanê ku dikare wek “şerh”eke ji bo vê *Rêbera* navborî jî bê nirxandin. “Şerh”eke derbarê rêbaza komxebatê û aliyê etîka zanistî ya nivîsandina *Rêberê*. Ji ber ku ev her du xal jî ji bo xebatekê pir girîng in.

Di vê maweya çavdêrî û pijîna fikir de herweha bala min li ser bû bê ka kî, li kû, çawa vê *Rêberê* bi kar tînin; bikaranîna wê motîvasyoneke çawa derxistiye meydanê? Gelo bi rastî pêdiviyek bi vê *rastnivîsînê* hebû? Gelo ya/yên ku heta niha me bi kar dianî/n têra me nedikir/in? Gelo tez, proje û gotarên ku bi “ya din” hatibûn çapkirin û weşandin kêma zêde konsensûsek ava nekiribû? Çima me berê xwe ji vê lihevkerina xwezayî dida dereke din? Dîsa di çarçoveya vê mijara zimên de, gelo çima kurd dixwazin xwe ji tradîsyonên heyî dûr bixin? Gelo çima divê her dem dîsa û careke din ji “sifir”ê dest pê bikin?

Ji hêla din ve ji bilî rexneyên li ser *Rêberê* yên di nav danûstandin û axaftinên rûbirû; yên dûvdirêj ku hatine weşandin jî motîvasyona nivîsandina vê kurte-gotarê geştir kir. Di nav van rexneyan de ya herî balkêş jî “daxuyanî”ya Deham Ebdulfettah bû ku hem endamê komxebatê bû û hem jî navê wî li ser halê “çapkirî” yê *Rêberê* jî hatibû nivîsandin.<sup>5</sup> Ev mînak bi tena serê xwe pîrsgirêka “etîk” û “metodolojiya” komxebatê/*Rêberê* derdixe holê ku mijara vê kurte-gotar/rexneyê ye jî.

<sup>3</sup> Ji vir û pê de di metnê de dê *Rêber* bê bikaranîn.

<sup>4</sup> Yek ji sedemên vê derengmayîne jî endîşeya şaşfamkirîne bû û ew endîşe hîna berdeham e. Ji ber ku mijara “etîka nivîsê” bi giştî mijareke hesas e û di nav *akademiya kurdî* de jî ev mijar tê *axivîn*, lê *zêde* nayê *nivîsandin*. (ji bo mînakeke nivîsandî bnr. Alan,2019). Lewma jî berî ku biryara belavkirîne bê dayîn bi hinek hevalan re ev nivîs hat parvekirin ku nêrînen xwe li ser bibêjin. Herçiqasî di ser van şandîyan re wextekî dirêj derbas bû jî tu bersivên van şandîyan –ên nivîskî- nehatin. Wekî ku bi awayekî nedixwestin tevî vê mijara *hesas* bibin. Lê li gorî min akademî dikare encax bi rexneyên wisa *hişk* pêş ve biçe û niha pêwîstiya akademîya kurdî jî bi vê heye. Ev rexne ne qedrê saziyan kêma dîke û ne jî keda xebatan piçûk dîke. Ji aliyê din çend xwendekarên min û hevalên din ku min ev nivîs bi wan re parve kiribû ew cesaret dan min ku ez vê nivîsê belav bikim. Li vir ez careke din spasiya wan dikim.

<sup>5</sup> Bnr. <http://portal.netewe.com/daxuyaniyek-di-derbare-rebera-rastnivisine-da/?fbclid=IwAR0LpAfo4Caojg9M8bw1nGH82myLR1HNYCt6JId3DXpZuPHkgkKZUKb8sLQ> (Lênêrîna dawî: 26.07.2022).

Li aliyê din, li gorî çavdêriyan dikare bê gotin ku hejmara rexneyên hatine weşandin li gorî nîqaş û rexneyên derbarê *Rêberê* ku di civatan de tên kirin hindiktir in. Bi ya min ya balkêştir jî kêmbûna rexne an nirxandinên ji “akademi”ya kurdî ye.<sup>6</sup> Ji bilî nirxandineke erênî (Aydın 2020) di kovarên kurdî yê akademîk de tu rexne an nirxandinên derbarê *Rêberê* xuya nabin ku ew bixwe wek pirsgirêkeke akademiya kurdî ya li Tirkîyeyê ye.<sup>7</sup> Ligel ku ev *Rêber* di hinek kovaran de nayê bikaranîn, dîsa jî nirxandinek xuya nake. Ango, an qebûlkirineke bêîtîraz heye an jî “hayjênebûn”ek!<sup>8</sup>

Wek mînak, tenê kovara *Folklor û Ziman* ku di heman demê de di bin banê *Weqfa Mezopotamyayê* de derdikeve, “nivîsandina li gorî *Rêberê*”ê di nav “rêgezên nivîsandin”ên kovarê de aşkere diyar kiriye.<sup>9</sup> Ji bilî wê, xuya dibe ku kovarên din hem gotarên li gorî *Rêberê* hatine nivîsandin û hem yê din jî qebûl dikin û diweşînin. Ev jî bêguman bi xwe re tevliheviyekê derdixe meydanê.

Piraniya rexneyên heyî li ser malper an jî “blog”an hatine weşandin. Yusuf Eroğlu (2019/2020), Halil Aktuğ (2017), Husein Muhammed (2020) û Qasimê Xelîlî (2020) bi nivîsên dirêj û bi awayekî hûrgilî rexneyên xwe yê derbarê *Rêberê* anîne ziman. Rexneyên Ergin Öpengin (2017) yê derbarê *Rêbera Rastnivîsînê* ya Mustafa Aydoğan (2012) jî dikarin di çarçoveya van rexneyan de bî qebûlkirin ji ber ku ya *Weqfê* jî li ser bîngeha ya Mustafa Aydoğan hatiye amadekirin!. Ji bilî rexneyên derbarê rastnivîsê ku wek “ferzkirin” (Muhammed 2020) û “otorîterî”yê (Eroğlu 2020) jî hatine nirxandin, rexneyên derbarê rêbaza xebatê jî di van nivîsên navborî de hene. Husein Muhammed rexneyên xwe bi giştî di çarçoveya “ferzkirin” û “hîperkorektî”yê de tîne ziman. Li gorî Muhammed pirsgirêka mezin ya *Rêberê* hewldana wê ya çêkirina zimanekî rasttir, anga hîperkorektî ye;

Pirsgirêka mezin ya *Rêberê* ew e ku ew hewl dide zimanekî ji zimanê piraniya kurdînivîsan “rasttir” çêke. Di zimannasiyê de navê vê diyarde û fenomenê “hîperkorektî” anga zêderastî yan “rastiya ji rastiye zêdetir” e ku ji guhnedana kûr ya zimanî tê (zimannas.wordpress.com, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Li vir mebest “akademiya kurdî” ya Tirkîyeyê anga Bakûr e.

<sup>7</sup> Piştî ku ev nivîsa berdest bi dawî bû ez rastî xebata Orak-Reşitoğlu (2022) hatim. Di gotarê de *Kovara Hawarê û Rêbera Rastnivîsînê* ya Komxebata Kurmanciyê ji aliyê rastnivîsê ve hatiye berawirdkirin. Kêmasiya gotarê ew e ku qet behsa xebatên din ên derbarê rastnivîsê nehatiye kirin û wek nav jî derbas nabin.

<sup>8</sup> Di maweya du salan de di kovarên akademîk yê kurdî de (Journal of Mesopotamian studies, IJOKS, Nûbihar, Kurdîname, Bingöl Üniversitesi Yaşayan Diller Enstitüsü Dergisi) derbarê *Rêberê* de tenê nirxandina Tahirhan Aydın ya di kovara *Kurdînameyê* de xuya dibe. Bnr. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/kurdiname/issue/57977/833215>

<sup>9</sup> Bnr. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/folklorziman/writing-rules> (Lênerîna dawî: 26.07.2022).

Heman rexne ji hêla Öpengin ve (2017) li ser xebata Mustafa Aydoğan jî hatibû kirin. Wekî din Eroğlu di nivîsa xwe ya pêşî de (2019) rêbaz û “ziman”ê *Rêberê* û herweha hinek pirsgirêkên rastnivîsê jî rexne dike. Sernavê nivîsa duyemîn ya Eroğlu (2020) jî *Rastnivîsîn (?) : Otorîte yan otorîterî* ye. Ev nivîs dikare wek “reddiye” yeke *Rêberê* jî bê xwendin ku dibêje “Bila ji wan re oxir be. Bila Rastnivîsîn a wan be, rastnivîs têra me dike”.<sup>10</sup> Wekî din rexneyên ji “hundir” jî wek mînak yên Deham Ebdulfettah û Dilawer Zeraq jî balkêş in.

Lewma divê bê gotin ku hinek pirs û rexneyên di wan nivîsan de hatine îfadekirin dibe ku di vê metna berdest de jî cih bigirin. Lê ev nivîs an jî rexne wekî li jorê jî hatibû îfadekirin ji rastnivîsê bêhtir dê li ser metodolojiya Komxebatê/*Rêberê* û aliyê “etîka zanistî” ya *Rêberê* bisekine. Ji ber ku ji bo her xebatê û bi taybetî jî xebateke akademîk an jî xebateke ku ji hêla kesên xwedî pileyên akademîk ve hatibe nivîsandin du xalên girîng hene; *Rêbaz û pabendî bi rêgezên etîk ên zanistî*.

*Akademiya kurdî* ya li Tirkîyeyê hîna di asta destpêkê de ye<sup>11</sup> û lewma jî niqaşên li ser mijarên wisa hîna gelekî kêr in. Ji ber vê yekê armanceke vê rexne-gotarê jî ew e ku balê bikişîne ser vî aliyê xebatên kurdî û rê li ber nirxandinên li ser vê mijara hesas veke.

### Ji aliyê rêbazê ve xebat

Şeweyên curbicur ên nivîsandina pirtûk û gotaran hene û her yek jî di nav xwe de, li gorî xwe bi “rêbaz”ekê tê nivîsandin ku girêdayî xwendin, nêrîn û paşxaneyê nivîskar e. Lê eger xebatek ji hêla kesên xwedî pileyên akademîk ve hatibe nivîsandin, bêşik ji wê xebatê tê hêvîkirin ku ew xebat bi rêbazeke zanistî û di çarçoveyê zanistî de hatibe kirin û weşandin. Xebata bi navê *Rêbera Rastnivîsînê* ku mijara vê nivîsê ye jî ji hêla kesên xwedî pileyên akademîk û xwedî sîfêten têkildarî qadekê, wekî “zimannas” ve hatiye amadekirin. Lewma jî dê rexne ji aliyê vê “rêbaza zanistî” ve bîn kirin.

<sup>10</sup> Herçiqasî Eroğlu di nivîsa xwe de “otorîterî”yê rexne bike jî, îfadeyên ku bi kar tîne jî wek “otorîterî”yeke din xuya dikin, wek “...Lê em destûr nadin ew ziman xira bikin. Bila ji şaştiya xwe vegezin. Bila nebin kelem, nebin sedemê tevliheviyê.” Eroğlu di dawiyê nivîsê de jî berê rexneyên xwe dide Zanîngeha Artukluyê [mebest beşên Kurdî yên Artukluyê ne!] ku bi ya min ji mebesta sereke ya nivîsê bi tevahî dûr ketiye! Ev mijareke din a niqaşê ye û derveyî çarçoveyê vê nivîsê ye, lê bi kurtasî divê bê gotin ku Zanîngeh ne ew mekanên yekdeng in. Wekî din tawanbarkirina bêbingeh (bêyî referans, çavkanî!) û rexne ne heman tişt in!

<sup>11</sup> Li cihêkî din *akademiya kurdî* ya li Tirkîyeyê û pirsgirêkên wê hatine nirxandin. Herçiqasî hinek dem di ser wan nirxandinan re derbas bûbe jî dikare bê gotin ku rewş û pirsgirêkên akademiya kurdî hîna jî bi heman rengî berdewam in. Ji bo vê xebatê bnr. Keskin (2018).

Mirov dikare di seriyê pêşî de ji “komxebat”ê, avakirina komxebatê dest pê bike. Ji ber ku ev yek bi serê xwe pirsgirêkeke mezin e û di xebatê de jî nehatiye ravekirin. Hinek pirs dê mebesta me diyar bikin?

- Ev komxebat çawa, bi çi rengî, li gorî kîjan esasan hatiye avakirin? Kesên di nav de cih digirin li ser kîjan esasan hatine bijartin? Kê an jî kîjan lijneyan ev nav bijartine? “Standart” di vê bijartinê de çi bûne?<sup>12</sup> Komxebat çima bi 18 kesan hatiye sînordarkirin? Temsîlyeta van kesan a tevahiyê çi ye?<sup>13</sup>

Derbarê mijara “temsîlyet”ê, Bahoz Baran, yek ji endamê komxebatê, di hevpeyvîneke xwe de wisa dibêje; “Pisporên me yê Komxebata Kurmancîyê temsîla her çar parçeyan û temsîla derveyî welatî jî dikin.”<sup>14</sup> Gelo nîşankirina vê temsîlyetê li gorî çi ye? Gava mirov xebateke sehayî bike dikare bibêje “ez ê ji %10ê tevahiyê bistînim ku temsîla giştî ya sehaya min bikin?”. Gelo ev xebateke bi vî rengî ye? Ev xal di Rêberê de nehatiye ravekirin û lewma jî ev pirsên me bêbersiv dimînin.

Li aliyê din, gava mirov li rewşa xebat û tevgerên derbarê kurmacî yê îroyîn tenê binêre (ne pirsgirêkên polîtîk û zimanî) bêbingehbûna vê îdîayê aşkere dibe. Tenê li Tirkiyeyê, hebûna beşên ziman, çand û edebiyata kurdî; hejmara kesên ku di van beşan de masterên xwe kirine, tezên xwe parastine; kovarên akademîk, ên nîv-akademîk, ên popûler;<sup>15</sup> xebatên hatine çapkirin û tîrî çapkirin; nivîskar û xwînerên van xebatan û di serî de jî hebûna weşanxaneyên kurdî (ku di nav wan de *Nûbihar* zêdeyî 30 salî û *Avesta* zêdeyî 25 salî xebatan diweşîne)<sup>16</sup> vê îdîaya jorîn bêbingeh dihêle! Lewma dikare bê gotin ku bi tu awayî ev “komxebat” temsîla tevahiya “qada” kurmacî û xebatkarên wê nake.

<sup>12</sup> Ji bo ku xelet neye famkirin divê bê gotin; li vir rexne ne li şexsan bixwe ye; gotin ne li ser kesayetî û berhem û xebatên wan ên takekesî ye; mebest li vir tenê “rêbaz”a avakirin û pêkanîn an jî nepêkanîna wê ye; ango gotin li ser hebûn û nebûna *rêbazê* ye.

<sup>13</sup> Ev mijar di rexneya Qasimê Xelîlî de jî cih digire û wekî tîne ziman temsîla “Colemerg, Serhed, Qafqasya” di komxebatê de cih nagire. Herweha temsîla herêmên wekî Mereş, Efrîn, Sewas, Meletî jî dîsa di vê komxebatê de tune ye.

<sup>14</sup> Bnr. <https://krd.riataza.com/2019/04/15/der-bare-rebera-rastnivisine-de/> (lênerîna dawî: 26.07.2022).

<sup>15</sup> Hebûna van beş û kovaran kêr, zêde; qenc, xerab li Tirkiyeyê akademiyeke kurdî ava kiriye. Ev beş û kovar ji her alî ve dikarin bî rexnekirin û niqaş derbarê wan de dikarin bî kirin û tîrî kirin jî; lê mirov nikarê derbarê wan xwe li nedîtîne deyin!

<sup>16</sup> Bêguman li Tirkiyeyê weşanxaneyên din jî hene ku bi kurdî/ derbarê kurdî-kurdan de weşanan çap dikin; lê di nav wan de yê herî temendirêj ku îro jî karê xwe dewam dikin *Nûbihar* û *Avesta* ne. Mebesta dayîna navên van weşanxaneyan ev e.

Dîsa eger em bi pirsgirêkên sazkirina komxebatê dewam bikin;

- Li gorî nav û pileyên kesên di komxebatê de cih digirin, tê dîtîn ku pileya herî bilind a akademîk ji bo kesên di komxebatê de cih girtine pileya doktoriyê (Dr.) ye û pê re jî “zimannas” wekî sifetên hinek kesan hatiye nivîsandin (careke din, rexne tu car ne li kes û kesayetiyê ye!). Gelo tu profesorek tune ye di qada kurdî/kurmancî de? Gelo ev kar tenê karê “zimannas”an e?<sup>17</sup> Sosyolojiya “ziman”; antropolojiya ziman; felsefeya ziman û hinek qadên din ên têkildarî ziman divê di nav karekî wisa de cih negirin gelo? Bêyî van qadan xebateke wisa “berfireh” dikare bê kirin?

Lewma li gorî van xal û pirsên jorîn dikare bê gotin ku sazkirina komxebateke bi vî rengî ji aliyê rêbazê ve ne rast e û ne di çarçoveyeke zanistî de ye. Wekî ku hatiye îdîakirin temsîliyetê wê ya wisa berfireh jî xuya nabe. Beriya sazkirina komxebateke wisa, kongre, sempozyum an jî komxebatên cuda bihatana lidarxistin, dibûya ku komiyonên cuda derketana meydanê ku qet nebe pirsgirêka “temsîliyet”ê berteraf bikira.

Ji aliyê din ve, xebateke ku ji hêla lijneyeke xwedî pileyên akademîk ve hatiye amadekirin divê xwedî “rêbaz”ê hundiirîn be jî. Ji hemû xebatên “lêkolîn”ê ev yek tê hêvîkirin, lê bi taybetî ji bo xebatên “zanistî” ev meseleya bivê-nevê ye. Lewma, divê berî her tiştî bersiva hinek pirsên sereke bê dayîn, weki;<sup>18</sup>

Ev xebat çima, ji bo çi, li ku, çawa hatiye kirin? Pêwîstiya xebatê û pêdiviya bi xebatê çi ye? Çarçove û sînorên xebatê çi ne? Ya herî girîng jî li ser kîjan daneyan ev xebat hatiye birêvebirin? Ev pirs di destpêka xebatekê de divê bîr ravekirin. Lêbelê gava mirov li *Rêberê* dinêre, dibîne ku ev xal gelekî lawaz û bêbersiv mane. Rast e, bersivên hinek ji van pirsan bi kurtî û di serê di xebatê de hene; wekî li ku (di bin banê Weqfa Mezopotamyayê de, li çar bajaran!), armanc (sazkirina standarta rastnivîsa kurmancî), çawa (bi rêya heft civînan)? Lê ya girîng “pêwîstiya xebateke wisa” û “pêdivîbûna xebatê” bi zelalî nehatiye ravekirin û ya heyî jî ne qanehker e. Jixwe berî her tiştî xebatek divê di seriyê pêşî de ji van hêlan ve qanehker be da ku qet nebe ji aliyê rêbaz û etîkê ve serkeftî bê pejirandin.

<sup>17</sup> Çawa, bo çi, li ser bingeha kîjan xebat an jî formasyonên “zimannasî”yê mirov dibe “zimannas”, bixwe mijareke sereke ye bo niqaşkirinê, lê cihê vê niqaşê jî ne ev der e.

<sup>18</sup> Hinek ji van pirsan rasterast an bi awayekî şiroveyî dibe ku di nav rexneyên din ên derbarê *Reberê* de jî cih bigirin, lê wekî hat gotin ew rexne bêhtir li ser mînakên xebatê bûn û ya me bi taybetî li ser “rêbaz”ê disekine. Lewma herçiqasî wek ev pirs an şirove wek “dubare” bîr xuyakirin jî ji vî alî ve ji wan cuda dibe.

Bêguman di vir de mijara herî girîng derbarê “pêwîstî û pêdivîbûn”ê, danasîn û ravekirina “valahiya” di lîteraturê de ye (eger tiştêkî wisa hebe!). Gelo îro pêwîstiya kurmancî bi “Rêber”êke wisa hebû, yên berê (ya Mustafa Aydoğan jî di nav de) bi kêrî çî nedihatîn, çî valahî hebûn di wan de, çî li wan hatiye zêdekirin? Û ya herî girîng; gelo çî pêwîstî bi “guherîn”ê hebû ku ev çend sal in pê tez, proje, gotarên akademîk hatine nivîsandin û bi xwe re û jixweberî tradîsyonek ava kiribû? Li vir pirseke din a girîng derdikeve meydanê ku ew jî ev e; ev *Rêber* li ser bingeha lêkolîna kîjan lîteraturê hatiye birêvebirin û kîjan valahiya di lîteraturê de dagirtiye? Ev yek jî divê bê/bihata nîşankirin. Lêbelê tiştê hatiye nivîsandin û dubarekirin ev e; “ji bo amadekirinê xebata Mustafa Aydoğan wek bingehê hatiye standin”. Gelo heta niha *tenê* xebata Mustafa Aydoğan heye/hebû? Beriya wê kurdan çawa dinivîsand gelo an jî li gorî çî dinivîsandin? Ev agahî jî di *Rêberê* de cih nagirin.<sup>19</sup>

Li aliyê din em binêrin bê avakerê elfabeya latînî ya kurdî û rastnivîsa kurmancî Celadet Bedirxan (divê navê Kamîran Bedirxan jî neyê jîbîrkin)- ku bi ti awayî di *Rêberê* de cih nagire!- sedemên pêdivîbûna elfabeyêke nû ya kurdî çawa aniye ziman:

"Di sala 1919'an de, me dabû çiyayen Meletyê. Em keti bûn nav eşîra Reşwan. Mêcer Nowel (îngilîzek) jî digel me bû. Micer zari nîvro dizanîbû, dixebitî ko hînî zari bakûr bibe û ji xwe re her tişt dinivîsandin. Min jî hin methelok, stran û çîrok ber hev dikirin. Carinan me li nivîsarên xwe çaven xwe digrandin, dixwendin û diedilandin. Min bala xwe dida Mêcer, bi bilivkirineke biyanî, li bê dijwarî destnivîsa xwe dixwend, li belê ez, heta ku min ( û ) ji (o) û (î) ji (ê) h.p. derdixistin, diketim ber hezar dijwarî. Ma ciman?.. Ji ber ko Mêcer bi herfen latînî, lê min bi herfen erebî dinivîsandin. Ser vê yekê, di cih de min qerara xwe da ji xwe re ji herfen latînî alfabekek lêkanî [pêk anî]" (...)

"Wekê em vejeriyay hatin Stenbolê bi vê elfabeyê min kitêbeke elfabeyê û ferhengeke kiçik nivîsand û ji bona çapê kar kiri bûn. Lê mixabin ne ew elfabê, ne jî ew ferheng îro ne di destê min de ne. Di sala 1925 a de digel hin nivîsarên min ên din geştiyane heta pêşberê Mehkema Xarpûtê" (...)

"Sala 1924 a de, li Elmanyayê min careke din çavê xwe li elfabeya xwe gerand, hûr lê mêze kir û midekê xwe liser xebitim". (...)

"Ez paşê ji bi elfabeya xwe mijûl dibîm. Lê hetanî ko tirk elfabaya xwe belav kirin ya me weke xwe dima û tede me tiştêki bingehî ne diguhart. Min her tiştên xwe pê dinivîsandin û nasên xwe re dida zanîn." (...)

"Ji gotinên jorîn qenc xuya dibe ko elfabeya me paşîya xebateke sêzdehsalî e, gora zimanê kurdî, gora dengên zimanê me ye. Herê ev elfabê berî sêzdeh salan hatiye nivîsandin û gora zimên û dengên wî hîn bi hin edilî û ket halê xwe ê îro. Berî û piştî

<sup>19</sup> Hêja ye em li vir behsa xebata Özmen (2019) jî bikin ku sê rastnivîsên kurmancî bi hevdu re berawird kirine. Herweha, em ji xebata Özmen têdigihîjin ku heta niha derbarê rastnivîsê –rasterast an jî nerasterast- gelek xebat hatine kirin û berhem hatine weşandin. Ji bo danasîn, berawirdkirina û nirxandina wan berheman bnr. (Özmen, 2019: 11-21).

belavkirina elfabêyê min fikrên gelek kesan pirsin û gotinên hinekan bi kêrî min hatin. Di nav wan de mirovînen yekcar nexwenda jî hebûn. Ji lewra ez vê elfabêyê ji keda xwe bêtir keda miletê xwe dihesibînim û pêşkeşî wî dikim. Ji xwe herçî yê wî ye, ji yê herkesî hêjatrî û spehîtrî e". (28 Çiriya Paşê, 1932, Şam).

Jegirtineke dirêj çêbû, lê ji serî heta dawî mebesta me diyar dike; yek, ji ber ku tê de, sosyolojiya ziman ango sosyolingûstîk heye; antropolojiya ziman heye; şewir heye û kêmilandin ango avakirina tradîsyonê heye. Xweş dide diyarkirin bê divê ji bo xebateke ziman (çi rastnivîs- çi jî aliyekî din) "rêbaz"eke çawa bê şopandin.

Du; ligel ku di ser re nêzî sed salan derbas bûye û gelek xebatên din jî hatine kirin; nêrîn û rêbaz di qadê de zêde bûne; gelek tecribeyên din jî derketine meydanê û tecribeyên gelên din jî wek mînak li pêşiya me ne; dîsa jî qet nebe em wê "rêbaz" a wî nayîn cih. Gelo em nikarin an em naxwazin?

Û sê; ligel van xalan hîna jî em xwe li nedîtîne dialiqîn! An jî li xwe danayîn ku navê wî di xebatên xwe de bi kar bînin ku ev yek bixwe hem ji aliyê "rêbaz"ê ve û hem jî ji aliyê "etîka zanistî" ve pirsgirêkeke mezin e.

Meseleyeke din a têkildarî metodolojiyê jî "tunebûn" a çavkanî ango referansan di *Rêberê* de ye. Wek li jor jî hatibû îfadekirin, lêgerînek an jî danasîna lîteraturê ango xebatên heyî yên derbarê mijarê di *Rêberê* de cih nagirin. Ligel tunebûna vê yekê, çavkaniyên din ên giştî jî di xebatê de cih nagirin.

Nîşandana çavkaniyan di xebateke zanistî de ji bo du tiştan girîng e; yek derfeta kontrolkirinê dide xwîner; du, tûrikê nivîskar dide xuyakirin; palpişt a îdîayên wî/ê/an xurt dike (an jî qels dike). Wekî din aliyekî vê nîşandayîna referansan bi etîka xebat û nivîsîna zanistî re jî heye bêguman. Ev rêgezêke esasî ye ji bo xebatên akademîk.<sup>20</sup> Lê gava mirov li *Rêberê* dinêre xuya dibe ku pabendî bi vê rêgezê nehatiye danîn. Tenê çend mînak dê ji bo mebesta me têrê bikin;

Di rûpelê 22an de sernavekî bi "qaîdeyên kîtekirin"ê heye û di bin de hatiye îfadekirin ku 2 (du) "prensîbên kîtekirinê" hene. Lêbelê tu referans nehatine dayîn da ku em bizanibin bê kê, li ku gotiye an nivîsandiye? Gelo ev qaîdeyên komxebatê ne, ji hêla endamên komxebatê ve hatine keşfîkirin? Gelo ev qaîdeyên giştî ne ji bo hemû zimanan an tenê qaîdeyên têkildarî kurmancî ne?

<sup>20</sup> Ev mijareke girîng e di xebatên zanistî de û derbarê wê jî gelek xebat dikarin bîn peydakirin. Wek mînak bnr: Bûlbûl (2004); İnci (2015).

Ev tenê wek mînakekê ye û ji bilî vê mînakê hinek hevokên din ên biûdîa hene ku pêwîstiya wan bi palpiştan, bi referansan heye. Hinek ji wan îdfiyan dikarin bo mînakê bîn destnîşankirin;

“...tîpa ducare, di morfemên kurmanciyê yên sade da tune ye” (r. 44). Çawa, li gorî kîjan xebatan, referans çî ne, nehatiye diyarkirin. Lê ji aliyê din ve Öpengin (2017:187) bi mînakan û referansên zimannasî hebûna wan diyar dike!

“...di hin devokên kurmanciyê de...” (r.148). Kîjan devok, li gorî kîjan çavkaniyan? Ev jî nehatiye nivîsandin!

“...awayê herî belav ew e ku...” (r.150). Li gorî kê an kîjan xebatên sehayî *herî belav*? Gelo derbarê vê xebateke berfireh heye? Bersivên van pirsan di *Rêberê* de tune ne!

Ev meseleya *herî belav* ku dîsa bûye mijara hinek rexneyan (bnr. Eroğlu) di hevpeyvînekê de jî derdikeve pêşiya me ku bi yek ji endamê komxebatê Bahoz Baran re hatiye kirin. Li ser pirsê Baran di nav bersiva xwe de îfadeyeke wisa bi kar tîne;

“*Mesela, di paşdaçekên “da” û “ra”yê da hem berbelavî dibe palpişt, (bi tenê hûn li bajarên kurmancîaxêv binêrin %80-85 bi “da” û “ra”yê ne)...*” (Mîtan 2019) (Kirpandin a min e). Li gorî kîjan xebatên sehayî û îstatîstîkî ev rêje derketiye meydanê? Gelo li ber destê komxebatê îstatîstîkeke wisa heye?

Bêguman di hevpeyvînekê de ev îfade dikarin ji bo xurtkirina nêrînekê bîn bikaranîn û dibe ku asayî be jî, lê gava ev şêwe bikeve nav vegotina xebatekê wê demê dibe pirsgirêk.

Lewma dema îfadeyên wekî; “...li gor hin devokan... li gor hin devokan...” (r.188); “...li hin welatan...” (r.189) di xebateke zanistî de hatin bikaranîn divê referansên wan jî bîn dayîn ji bo ku pirsên wek *kîjan devok, li ser bingeha kîjan xebatên sehayî, kîjan welatan* neyên kirin.

Herweha wekî ku ji van mînakan jî dikare bê dîtin, ne tenê ji aliyê sazkirina komxebatê, lêbelê ji aliyê karkirin û nivîsandina *Rêberê* ve jî pirsgirêkên rêbazê hene. Ji ber ku palpişt *Rêberê* ne daneyên nû ne ku ji sehayê hatine berhevkerin lê tenê xebateke heyî ye, gelekî asayî ye ku ji aliyê metodolojiyê ve jî hin pirsgirêkan vehewîne.

### Ji aliyê etîka zanistî ve *Rêber*

Wekî hat îfadekirin “tunebûn” an jî nişannekirina çavkaniyan bixwe têkildarî “etîk”a xebat û nivîsîna zanistî ye ku di *Rêberê* de nayê dîtin, ligel ku hemû endamên komxebatê jî xwedî pileyên akademîk in. Objektîfbûn, nîşandana çavkaniyan bi zelalî, vekirîbûn, dayîna agahiyên rast hinek mijarên têkildarî “etîk”a zanistî ne, bi taybetî jî di nivîsê de (Înci 2015). Mijarên ku di çarçoveya “ihlalkirina” etîka zanistî de tîn behskirin jî, hinekî bi yên jor ve têkildar, dikarin wek *întîhal (plagiarism)*, *întîhala xwe-bi-xwe (self-plagiarism)*, xapandin, *dubarekirin*, *nenîşankirina çavkaniyan* –ku ew jî rê li ber întîhal û dubarekirinê vedike- bîn îfadekirin.

*Rêber* ji vî alî ve jî hinek pirsgirêkan di nav xwe de dihevine. Wekî ku li jor jî hatibû îfadekirin ji bilî çend jêrenotan di xebatê de çavkanî nehatine nîşankirin, bi taybetî jî di mijarên teorîk de. Ev pirsgirêkeke sereke ya xebatê ye hem jî aliyê rêbaz û hem jî ji aliyê etîka zanistî ve.

Pirsgirêkeke din a girêdayî etîka zanistî jî ew e ku *Rêber* ji bilî çend xalan, dubarekirina xebateke heyî (duplication) ye. Ji bilî mînakan, li gelek cihan metin jî yek e. Nivîsandina "...û xebata wî ya bi navê ‘Rêbera Rastnivîsînê’ ji bo komxebatê bû bingeh” (*Rêber*, r. 14) a di beşa spasiyê de vê pirsgirêkê ji holê ranake, lê zêdetir dike û bêhtir derdixê pêş. Wê demê pirsên derbarê etîka “xebat”ê bixwe jî derdikevin meydanê! Gelo ji bo dubarekirina xebatekê pêwîstî bi civînên li bajarên cuda hebû?

Yeke din jî dikare di çarçoveya *plagiarismê* (întihal) de bê nirxandin ku ew jî dîsa têkildarî dubarekirinê ye. Tenê “pêşgotin” ji bo vê yekê bes e. Ji ber ku ji bilî her çar paragrafên dawî yên *Rêbera* Komxebatê, hemû pêşgotin peyv bi peyv ji ya Mustafa Aydoğan hatiye wergirtin, lêbelê di bine wê de “Komxebata Kurmancî” hatiye nivîsandin (*Rêber*, r. 18). Ev yek rasterast plagiarism (întihal) e û hebûna Mustafa Aydoğan di komxebatê de vê pirsgirêkê çareser nake, heta belkî zêde dike ji ber ku wê demê ne tenê plagiarism, lêbelê self-plagiarism jî dikeve nav niqaşê de. Ev yek di tevahiya *Rêberê* de derdikeve pêşiya me, ji ber ku li gelek deveran ji bilî mînakan, hevok jî rasterast yek in. Lewma ev jî tê wê wateyê ku komxebatê xebateke kesekî din wekî ya “xwe” nîşan daye û ev jî ji aliyê “etîk”a xebat û nivîsa zanistî ve ne guncav e.

Pirsgirêka sazkirina komxebatê li jor di nav mijara rêbazê de hatibû niqaşkirin; lê yeke din ku dikare di çarçoveya etîka zanistî de jî bê nirxandin, hayjêbûna (an jî hayjênebûn) endamên komxebatê ji “encam”ê an jî ji halê dawî yê weşandî û parastina fikrên di xebatê de ye. Hebûna

navên li ser xebatekê tê wê wateyê ku ew xebat ji hêla wan ve hatiye “nivîsandin”, rastî û xeletiyên xebatê yên wan in, ji encama xebatê jî haydar in û ji serî heya dawî berpirsiyariya xebatê jî digirin ser milên xwe. Gava ku xwîner halê çapkîrî yê *Rêberê* dibîne û li navên li ser dinêre bêşik bi van hizran xebatê dixwîne an jî dinirxîne. Hussein jî di nivîsa xwe de balê dikişîne ser heman pirsgerêkê û wisa dibêje;

Ji ber ku navê nêzikî 20 kesan li ser kitêbê heye, gelek xwandevanan bi xeletî wisa fehîm kiriye ku kitêb wek encama şewirmendî û gotûbêjên berfireh di navbera wan kesan de hatiye amadekirin û wek encama yekdengiya wan hatiye belavkirin.<sup>21</sup>

Lêbelê, ji daxuyanî û peyamên vekirî û herweha yên ne *aşkerekirî* tê xuyakirin ku xebat ne “encam”eke li ser lihevkerî ye. Daxuyaniyên Deham Ebdulfettah û îfadeyên Dilawer Zeraq ne tenê vê prisgirêka etîk derdixînin meydanê, lê di heman demê de sitûnên xebatê jî ji binî ve ji holê radikin. Ebdulfettah di daxuyaniya xwe de wiha dibêje;

Sebaret bi gefûtogokirina mijaran di civînên komxebatê da, min berî nuha gotibû ku gelek dengên endaman paşguh dibûn û yê min jî yek ji wan bû. Wê hingê diket gumana min ku lihevkirineke pêşînde li ser erêkirina hin mijarên aloz di navbera hin endaman da heye. Di wê rewşa komxebatê da min biryar wergirt ku ez beşdarîya xwe sivik bikim û paşê ez li her du civînên dawî (ya Mêrdîn a duwem û ya Stanbolê) amade nebûm. Hebûna navê min jî li ser *Rêberê* ne bi dilê min bû, lê weşanxaneya Wardozê ji min ra ragihand ku navê te pêşniyaza dostê te yê herî nêzî te bû, ne me ji ber xwe ve nivîsiye. Dema ku min ji dostê xwe pirsî, çima ... Got: hebûna navê te giring bû ....

Ji peyama Dilawer Zeraq a li ser twitterê jî tê famkirin ku ew jî di hinek mijaran de ne ligel endamên din e û fikrên wî derbarê hinek xalan cuda ne. Ligel îtîrazên wî, navê wî jî wek endamê komxebatê û herweha amadekarê vê *Rêberê* xuya dibe.<sup>22</sup>

Ji aliyê din, Hussein Mohammed îdîa dike ku “...du kesên din di komxebatê de hebûne ku ne ligel encama rastnivîsê ne..” û wisa dewam dike;

Herwiha herdu kesên din yên ku navê wan li ser kitêbê ye û bi şexsî têkilî li gel min daniye, diyar kiriye ku ew di gelek mijarên nîqaşbar de ne alîgirên *Rêberê* ne, bi taybetî:  
nivîsîna -iy- wek -îy-  
çemandina lêkera ”hatin”  
nivîsîna paşdaçekên ”de, re” wek ”da, ra (Mohammed 2020).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Bnr. <https://zimannas.wordpress.com/2020/02/09/besen-pestir-besa-1-besa-2-besa-3-besa-4-besa-5-besa-6/> (lênêrîna dawî: 22.12.2022).

<sup>22</sup> Ji bo peyama Dilawer Zeraq bnr. <https://twitter.com/dilawerzeraq/status/1223147934885216256>

Ji van mînanan jî xuya dibe ku xebat ne li ser konsensusekê hatiye encamden û jê wêdetir têbiniyên wan kesan jî dîsa di xebatê de cih nagirin. Lewma hebûna navên wan kesan li ser xebatê ku têbiniyên wan hene û ji encamê ne razî ne wekî “xapandin”a xwîneran jî dikare bê nirxandin ku ew jî dikeve nav mijara îhlalkirina etîka zanistî.

Bêguman gelek pirsên wek ev rastnivîs dê li ku bê bikaranîn, gelo Wezaretê Perwerdehiyê ya Tirkiyeyê dê ji bo dersên kurdî vê rastnivîsê bipejîrîne; Bakur-Rojavayê Suriyeyê - ev gelekî girîng e ji ber ku îro bi awayekî fermî perwerdehiya kurmancî bi tîpên latînî lê tê kirin- çî dibêje, gelo ew jî vê rastnivîsê dipejîrînin, dê bi kar binin; têbinî û rexneyên wan çî ne, ew çî difikirin? ku bersiva wan nehatiye dayîn jî ji hêla metodolojî ve hinek pirsgirêkên din ên xebatê ne.

Lewma, wek dubare dikare bê gotin ku divê xebateke wisa heya bikaribe li ser beşdariyê berfireh pêk be. Beşdarbûna berfireh ji bo rakirina tevliheviyan ji holê, ji bo konsensuseke berfireh û ji bo “meşrûbûn”a (legitimacy) encamê jî dibe bingeheke bihêz. Ji bo vê yekê divê tecribeyên derdorê; yên gelên din bîn şopandin.<sup>24</sup> Eger derî li beşdarbûna berfireh bê girtin û di çarçoveyê teng de ev kar bîn kirin, wê demê di rewşa kurdî ya îroyîn de her yek dibe xwedî wî mafî ku li gorî xwendin, paşxane û zanînen xwe tiştêkî “nû” çêbike.<sup>25</sup>

Dîsa di rewşa îro ya kurdî/kurmancî de ku li gorî xebatên sehayî (û çavdêriyên giştî jî vê yekê dupat dikin!) her diçe rêjeya bikaranîna kêr dibe (Rawest 2020), xebatên tîn kirin divê rê nedin tevlihevîyê lê zelal bikin; bikaranîna zehmet nekin lê serê xwe biêşînin bê çawa bikaranîna ziman hêsantir û zêdetir bibe.

## Encam

<sup>23</sup> Lêbelê Hussein Mohammed di nivîsa xwe de navê wan du kesên din aşkere nake.

<https://zimannas.wordpress.com/2020/02/09/besen-peştir-besa-1-besa-2-besa-3-besa-4-besa-5-besa-6/> (Lênêrîna dawî: 22.12.2022).

<sup>24</sup> Ligel ku ew qasî tê rexnekirin û niqaşkirin jî di warê “beşdarkirin”ê de tecribeya tirkî balkêş e. Sekretriya giştî ya Saziya Zimanê Tirkî (Türki Dil Kurumu) ji bo “kurultaya 3yemîn” bangewaziyekê di rojnameyan de diweşîne û dibêje kesên ku bixwazin dikarin hem wek endam, wek guhdarvan an jî bi “tez”ên xwe beşdarî vê komcivînê bibin. (Bnr. Açiksöz, 1 Temmuz 1936).

<sup>25</sup> Wekî mînak, hunermendê kurd Şêxo ku ji herêma Mereş/Gimjimê ye û ji 1978an ve li Almanyayê dijî û ji wê demê ve stranên kurdî/kurmancî dibêje, îdîa dike ku elfabeya kurdî têra bilêvkirina devoka wê herêmê nake û divê hinek tîpên din (wek ó û ú) li ser bîn zêdekirin û wan tîpan di albûmên xwe yên dawî de jî bi kar tîne. (Bnr. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5S1Syarypw>). Eger “standartkirin” ne bi konsensusekê hatibe saz kirin, dê kî, çawa, li ser kîjan bingehan bikaribe, wekî mînak, Şêxo îkna bike ku ew bixwe kurdî, almanî, îngilîzî jî dizane û li gorî xwe lêkolînen derbarê ziman jî kirine!

Standartkirina zimanekî an jî zelalkirina xalên rastnivîsê ji bo pêşxistina zimanekî girîng e, lê bi qasî vê yekê rêbaza ku tê şopandin jî girîng e. Dubarekirin, hebûna întîhalê an jî întîhala xwe-bi-xwe, hayjênebûna endamên komxebatê ji encamê û herweha neligelbûna endamên komxebatê ligel hinek mijarên *Rêberê*, xebata bi navê “Rêbera Rastnivîsînê” hem ji aliyê metodolojiyê ve û hem jî ji aliyê etîka xebat û nivîsîna zanistî ve qels dike. Ji ber van mijaran e ku rexneyên tûj lê hatine kirin û tên kirin jî.

Ji aliyê din ve hem sazkirin hem jî encama komxebatê – *Rêber*- bixwe dide xuyakirin bê xebateke bi vî rengî divê çawa bê birêvebirin, rêbazeke çawa bê meşandin, çi li ber çavan be girtin.

Zimanek (an jî rastnivîsa zimanekî) çawa tê standardîzekirin? Divê çi li ber çavan bîn girtin? Ji ezmûnên heyî tê xuyakirin ku; an ji jor ve, bi hêza saziyekê ku navê wê dewlet e; an jî ji jêr ve, bi lihevhatineke berfireh. Eger her du jî tune bin, “dem” bixwe dihêle ziman, ji nav xebat, niqaş û bikaranîn heyî, tradîsyona xwe ava bike, biguherîne, xwe ji nû ve saz bike.<sup>26</sup>

Rewşa kurdî (ango di mînaka me de zaravayê kurmancî) ya îro, ji ber ku dewletek an jî saziyeke “temsîlkar” tune ye; an dê bi lihevkirineke berfireh ev kar bê kirin an jî ji demê re bê hiştin ku tradîsyonekê ava bike. Eger ew konsensûs tune be wê demê rê li ber wê yekê vedibe ku her yek an jî kom dikare li gorî xwe/devoka xwe/nêrîna xwe rastnivîsa xwe çêbike.

Eger bê dubarekirin, tu guman derbarê “nêta baş” a komxebatê û kesên tê de cih girtine tune ye. Lê ev nayê wê wateyê ku her encama karekî bi nêteke baş dest pê kiriye jî dê “baş” be. Wekî ji rexne û têbiniyan jî diyar dibe; encama vî karê “Rastnivîsîna Kurmanciyê” ku bi nêteke baş hatiye destpêkirin di dawiyê de tevliheviyek jî bi xwe re aniye û xuya dibe ku wê dewam bike û ji bo pêşeroja zimanê kurdî jî dê ne baş be.

Lewma wek gotina dawî dikare bê gotin ku di rewşa îro de pirsgerêka sereke ya kurdî/kurmancî ne “rastkirin” e, lêbelê berfirehkirina bikaranîna ziman e. Ji ber ku li gorî hinek xebatên sehayî yên nû rêjeya bikaranîna kurdî/kurmancî her diçe kêmtir dibe. Encama “rastkirin”êke bê lihevkirineke giştî jî tevlihevî û bandoreke neyînî ye li ser bikaranîna ziman.

<sup>26</sup> Ev nayê wê wateyê ku dê xebat neyên kirin. Bêgûman di vê maweyêde dê ceribandîna çêbibin, dê xebat bîn meşandin, bîn pêşniyazkirin û dibin jî, lê hêvî ew e ku bêyî şeweyeke liserferzkirinê ev xebat di çarçoveyê zanistî de bîn kirin û rêgezên etîk ê zanistê li ber çavan bigirin.

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